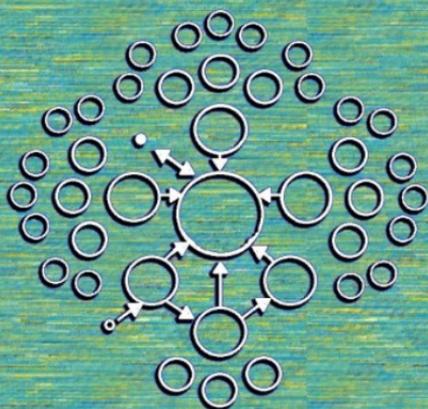


**The  
Evolution  
of Consent**  
**Collected Essays**  
vol. II



**William Schnack**



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**By  
William Schnack**

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**T**HIS IS DEDICATED TO ALL who are cultivating a voluntary, consensual, and reciprocal society, free from the state, government, and usury.



## Prologue

AT THE HEART of my work is my intention to reconcile ideologies. I believe that every ideology is based on an instinct that is natural for its holder to have.<sup>i</sup> Just as it is natural for people to have a great spectrum of feelings, from love to sadness to hate and beyond, it is equally natural for society to hold within itself a grand spectrum of ideologies, representing the mass collection of these feelings in groups of individuals. As feelings are to individuals, ideologies are to societies. These ideologies, like the feelings of individuals, can be based in hate and narcissism, as was done with fascism, or love and altruism, as can be argued with communism. Like love and like hate, which are emotions natural for every individual, depending on the context in which they are placed, these ideologies are equally natural for society. This being so, rather than simply condemning one side or the other, I find it more productive to ask, “How can we encourage and nurture balance between the extremes of these ideologies?” Condemning hatred does little to solve its origins.

In order to settle the disputes between ideologies, I have found it necessary to create a sort of “super ideology” which encompasses them, and explains their interactions as part of a larger compatibilism. My project has been to understand the perspectives from many viewpoints, and to figure out how they can interact in a healthy manner, without encroaching on others, while also playing out their own perspectives to the fullest possible extent. To accomplish this, I have delved into many areas of knowledge, and have taken it upon myself to write a great extent about my findings, both objective and intuitive. My writings have come from this struggle in my life to put the pieces together. The associated research and contemplation can be difficult at times, due to its multidisciplinary nature, but it is more rewarding than it is difficult. I have found that it has provided me with much psychological comfort, but it has also provided the grounds for much responsibility.

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<sup>i</sup> Considering their endowments and experiences, of course.

## *Prologue*

My work reconciles the often unwanted facts of reality with our visions of something more ideal. This is done both in the context of cosmology— that area of knowledge concerned with the Universe at large— and in political economy. In reconciling the polar forces of the Universe,<sup>ii</sup> I have come to understand two comprehensive and compatibilistic ideologies: dualist pantheism and geo-mutualist panarchism. These lie at the heart of my work, so I'd like to describe them for you in short.

### **DUALIST PANTHEISM**

**D**UALIST PANTHEISM reconciles the philosophical and cosmological disputes relating to what there is and how to know, commonly known as ontological and epistemological positions. For instance, dualist pantheism, rather than picking sides between atheism and theism, finds the working qualities in each perspective. It celebrates both scientific phenomena and spiritual noumena as aspects of an existence that can be hinted at, but which we can never described in its full complexity. Dualist pantheists regard God and the Universe as being fundamentally the same entity.

Ultimately, I make the argument that living beings are driven by goals, and are therefore teleologically determined. That is, life is driven by the future rather than the past alone (as inanimate objects). For instance, the laws of physics can explain quite well what direction and how far a ball will go once it is hit, so long as the circumstances are under control. The choices of living beings are quite another story; they are not so easily predicted. A bird, if we were to hit the poor creature, would face the physical momentum on its body, but it would also make the choice of how to respond. A bird has an opportunity to catch its balance, it isn't merely tossed about like a stuffed animal. To know the outcome before it occurred, we'd have to tell the future. Such would not be a scientific endeavor, but a working hypothesis. Spirituality must be understood under such terms.

All living beings express a degree of free will. It is this freedom of will that we associate with the human spirit, and which

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<sup>ii</sup> To my limited ability, of course.

## Prologue

animates us. It's not just us; all *animals* are *animated*. Freedom of will is not only a matter of consciousness, but also of biology. Living beings are composed of genetic mutations, which are considered to be "random." This randomness can be associated to freedom of will, which, as Ulisse Di Corpo points out, is passed up from the quantum scale to ours by way of the hydrogen bridge. This same hydrogen bridge is what allows for the complexity and uniqueness in snowflakes. Life, being composed mostly of water, likewise expresses uniqueness and complexity.

Being determined by the future means that living things seem quite mystical, and are often best described under such terms. Scientists still don't know what it really is to think or feel or make decisions. Spiritualists of various sorts offer wonderfully interesting hypotheses. Scientists may suggest something is "random," but this is merely an admission of not knowing. There is a reason we don't know, not knowing isn't just a "brute fact" (Leibniz's Principle of Sufficient Reason demonstrates that brute facts are of no use). The cause of not knowing can be explained through rational spiritual models. We don't know, because mutations are conscious phenomena, passed up from the hydrogen bridge. The direction of mutations comes from the future, which we have yet to access. When we do access it, the future is seen as something new, and often something which sprang from our own creativity. The process is actually quite mystical for the experience.

In many ways, dualist pantheism is my project to reconcile the beliefs of theologians and spiritualists with those of atheists and scientists, because I believe both sides have something to offer, and because I believe they are both natural perspectives to have. That is, I believe people believe the things they do because of the situation in which they are placed, both externally by way of their environment, and internally by way of their genetics, which make each person unique. To tell someone that they should not believe what they do (rather than challenging the absoluteness of their idea) is to curse their very being, to deny their experiences, to question their ability to evaluate circumstances for themselves, and to place one's values before their own. It is natural for sense-oriented people to study material phenomena, and to hold science up high. Science is important, and has provided much important knowledge to the world. It is likewise natural for intuition-oriented

people to study mental noumena, and to have a high regard for spirituality. Spirituality, too, has provided the world with much value. All too often, the ideologies of scientism and spiritualism clash. Dualist pantheism reconciles atheism and scientism with theism and spirituality into a self-determined and free Universe, which could just as easily be called *God*. They are considered one and the same.

### **GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM**

**S**IMILAR TO MY PROJECT of dualist pantheism, geo-mutualist panarchism is my project to reconcile ideologies, but this time in the area of political economy. It reconciles the differences between anarchists and those who believe in government (“archists”), and similarly the economic differences between socialism and capitalism. Allow me to explain.

Anarchists believe government to be any institution which holds an exclusive, unequal, or non-participatory monopoly on the use of force. That is, any institution that can hurt a person, without facing consequences, is considered by an anarchist to be a government. For this reason, anarchists see government as something which is to be opposed at all costs. Government, of course, is not to be mistaken for organization; the anarchists are strong proponents of organization! Anarchists want participatory organizations, rather than hierarchical ones.

On the flip side, statist, those who believe in government and support it as a virtue, believe that government can be good or bad, but that any institution that provides law and order is a government. By this definition, even the participatory organizations of the anarchists are governments, even if “good governments.” Statists believe it is not a matter of government or not, but of good government or bad government.

Both sides can offer reasonable arguments for their positions. The problem is that they are using differing definitions, and definitions that are really quite hard to reconcile. Anarchists suggest that particular institutions that dominate others are governments, while peaceful institutions are not; statist suggest that any organization is a government, good or bad. These two views are mutually exclusive.

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Panarchism, the view that everyone should be able to choose the rules under which they operate, reconciles the views of the anarchist and statist, by allowing them the space to play out their own systems. Panarchists recognize that statist consider the projects of anarchists to be attempts to construct a new state, and that anarchists do not believe there can be such a thing as “good government,” because, to the anarchist, to govern another is to dominate them. Panarchism solves the problem by allowing them to practice their own systems, taking away the need for agreement in the first place. In a family, many disputes may be solved by providing rooms for individuals to live separate lives. Shared spaces, where people are forced to compromise, can get ugly. Likewise, in our country. If we must all compromise all of the time, without the space to play out our own subjective preferences to their fullest extent, we will always have conflicts. It is best to allow people to play out their own interests and at their own costs.

Panarchism resolves the disputes between anarchism and statism, while geo-mutualism resolves the clash between socialism and capitalism. Geo-mutualism can be considered a form of libertarian socialism, otherwise called “free market socialism,” or “voluntary socialism.” Geo-mutualism promotes a socialist society by way of the free market, and actively opposes market regulation and taxes. Instead, geo-mutualists believe the problems of society can be solved by a proper system of banking, and a new system of property rights.

A geo-mutualist society would be a society wherein people run their own businesses, either alone, as partners, or together in larger democratic cooperatives. It would be libertarian, because taxation would be non-existent and market regulation would be unenforced, but it would be socialist because workers would be self-managing, and would lack poverty and war.

In practice, a geo-mutualist society would function in this manner: One would join the group of their choice—Democrat, Republican, Communist, Green, anarchist, or what have you—or act as a free agent. The group or free agent would declare themselves by signing up with a civil registry service, which is an office held in common by all, but which performs no decision-making other than registration services. The group, now declared as a government or anarchist society as desired by the participants,

goes to two more offices, one to acquire interest-free credit, and the other to acquire a lease for land, by way of public bid. This allows every group to have land on which to practice their values, and the money with which to make exchanges and settle disputes.

Some societies may be thoroughly geo-mutualist, and I believe these societies will hold a competitive advantage to the others, but there may also be internally socialist and capitalist societies, who interact together in a geo-mutualist fashion. While the larger society will not impose taxes, there is no reason the smaller and more voluntary units cannot impose taxes on their members, regulate markets, encourage communes, or on the other side of things, even to promote the interests of landlords and capitalists; the question is whether or not such a society is desirable, and has the means of acquiring members. I do not think they do, so, though I don't personally find a strict socialism or capitalism desirable, I'm not afraid of letting them try. I believe a thoroughly geo-mutualist society is the best society in which to live, and the best society in which to live requires little to no guns for its enforcement. People join it voluntarily, to gain in its benefits.

## **THE PARTICULAR IN THE UNIVERSAL**

**W**HILE I AM INTERESTED in bridging the gaps between ideologies, I am not completely without my own preferences or biases, which certainly come through in some aspects of my work. For instance, while I promote a doctrine of panarchy, there is no doubt in my mind about some of the particulars of the society in which I would like to live my daily life (which would be cooperative and meritocratic). The specifics of my chosen society would exist within the framework of the more universalizable concept of panarchy. For this reason, sometimes I will speak in terms of universal principles, but in others I will refer to my more particularistic choices. That I speak of both my particular choices, and those which I would rather immediately universalize, without always making clear the context, may provide some difficulty to the reader, but with continued reading, the joint where my choices and the freedom of others meet will become quite clear.

## *Prologue*

While I do not delve into the specifics of many ideologies, such as Christianity, Marxism, etc., but delve into the specifics of such positions as mutualism—my choice society— it is not expected that mutualism, or any of my other priorities, is to be forced onto people, or its specifics immediately universalized. The finer aspects of mutualism, such as economic cooperation or monetary exchange, are understood to be less immediately universalizable, and should be understood as a particular, existing alongside the others (Christianity, Marxism, etc.) in the universal context of pantheism and panarchy. While I do hope to universalize the specifics of ideologies such as mutualism, I hope this universalization to happen as a process within a panarchy that is cohabited by the particulars of other ideologies, all competing for long-term legitimacy.

### **THIS VOLUME**

**T**HIS VOLUME WILL BE A CONTINUATION of the basic ideas presented in the first, and can be read largely on its own, without reference to the other (although it would be beneficial). However, this will not simply be a recasting of the previous work, but will present new material, and more in-depth discussion of some of the ideas in the previous volume. While Volume I begins with dualist pantheism and ends in geo-mutualist panarchism, you will find the reverse to be true in this volume, with discussion of dualist pantheism found mostly toward the end of the book.

The book starts with a historical and anthropological understanding of social evolution, largely influenced by Gerhard Lenski and Patrick Nolan, in “The Fall and Rise of Sociality,” before going through lengths discerning the nature of the state, the relationship of capitalism and republics, and markets and democracy, in “Thoughts on History and the State,” “Capitalism and Republics: A Mutual Relationship,” “The Geo-Mutualist Treatment of Markets and Democracy,” and “Understanding Markets Without Capitalism.” It then introduces the philosophy of geo-mutualist panarchism in “The Philosophy and Origins of Geo-Mutualist Panarchism” and discerns its position on state and government as one capable of being understood as “Complete

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Anarchy.” I then lay out the legal program for “The Provision of Henocentric Law,” and describe its emanationist properties in “Henocentrism and the Grayscale of Anarchism.” Then begins the focus on revolutionary activity, in “Geo-Syndicalism,” “The Prefigurative Revolution of Geo-Mutualist Panarchism,” “10 Simple Reasons to Stop Voting,” “The Civic Bank,” and “A Geo-Mutual Panacea,” in which I present methods of change useful to the geo-mutualist panarchist, and consistent with the values of cooperative self-determination. I present “Geo-Mutualist Panarchism: A Synopsis,” before getting into some of the details of mutualist and geo-mutualist economics, as in “Mutualism, Cost, and the Factors of Production,” “Mutualism, Emergence, and the Right of Increase,” “Geo-Mutualist Management of Monopoly,” and then touch on geo-mutualism’s relation to sustainability in “Geo-Mutualism and Ecology.” “The Principle of Fair Regard” begins a transition into legal principles and decision-making, as found in “Decision and Method: For Consensus,” “The Application of Democracy in Geo-Mutual Panarchy,” “Whose Consent?” and “On Truth and Economy.” Next, in “Dualist Pantheism and Geo-Mutualist Panarchism” and “Why Panarchists Should Embrace Dualist Pantheism,” I look at the relationship between geo-mutualist panarchism and dualist pantheism, before expanding on the specifics of dualist pantheism in “The Eternally Perfect and Absolutely Necessary ALL” and closing with “Ideological Progressions in the Monad,” which looks at the manner in which ideologies develop and conflict occurs within an eternal Universe.

Just as in the first volume, none of my work would be possible without those who have influenced me. These include all of those mentioned in the first volume, as well as some new names. These include revolutionary anarchist, Nestor Makhno for his platformism, historian, George Woodcock, for his biographies of Pierre Proudhon, Warren Mosler for his Modern Monetary Theory, C.T. Butler for his understanding of consensus, and Keith Preston for his pan-secessionism and critique of “totalitarian humanism.” Some of the influences previously mentioned in Volume I, such as Rudolf Rocker and Paul Emile de Puydt, are made more use of in this volume. I have also developed a better understanding of neo-Platonism and the work of Plotinus, as well as that of Pythagoras,

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which may reflect in my thoughts, as well as explicitly in my discussions, especially as it relates to my proposals for “henocentric law.” Other new names include libertarian thinkers, William Gillis, Tom Bell, and Brad Spangler; the historian, Ronald Fraser; Max Nettlau; Joseph Campbell; David Graeber; and Agnes George de Mille; though these later influences are comparatively minor.

As it was in the last volume, much of the value of my work can be found in my putting together of various concepts, which are often found to be unrelated to each other. In this—the marrying of the theological theme of henotheism with the legal concepts of monocentric and polycentric law, for instance—is to be found the utility of my ideas. However, I am not without my own contributions, as I hope the “Principle of Fair Regard” to be an example. Whether I am tying together loose knots, or I am putting something together new, I think you will enjoy thinking about the values and society depicted in this book. It is my sincere belief that a society built around mutual credit, common ownership of the Earth, and voluntary association can provide a positive step for the human species.

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# The Fall and Rise of Sociality

## TECHNOLOGICAL CIRCUMSCRIPTION

TODAY, WE ARE WITNESSING a massive increase in information technologies; it only makes sense we are finding ourselves in the political climate that we are in. Technology and ideology almost always develop together.

With any drastic change in one's technological environment, one can expect changes also in the social environment. Technologies greatly affect our agency and abilities, both as individuals and as communities. In fact, some, such as Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski, authors of *Human Societies*—and whose model of social evolution will serve as a basic framework for this discussion—, go as far as to suggest that subsistence technologies—those technologies that are used to produce food—are likely the most crucial component to societal change. They suggest that even ideologies are largely expressions of a society's technological culture, though they are clear that technology is not the only influence in society. Nolan and Lenski suggest that

there are a number of reasons to suspect that advancing technology will change the way people view the world and their place in it.<sup>1</sup>

They say,

subsistence technology is not just any characteristic chosen at random from the almost endless list of societal characteristics. On the contrary, it appears to be *the single most powerful force responsible for the most important differences among human societies.*<sup>2</sup>

Gerhard Lenski and Patrick Nolan, in *Human Societies*, and other works, propose a model of human evolution called *ecological-evolutionary theory*. The idea behind the ecological-evolutionary theory is that people are connected geographically and ecologically

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to the lands they inhabit, which both limit and provide opportunities to the inhabitants. The opportunities provided by the land lead to differences in human cultures and the technologies they produce. Of the most important factors in human societal evolution, Lenski and Nolan place subsistence technologies. Subsistence technologies are those technologies that are used in the production of food.

A reading of Lenski and Nolan will demonstrate that changes in modes of subsistence technology marked transitions in previous societies to different manners of relation. The change from hunting and gathering to horticulture, from horticulture to agriculture, and from agriculture to industrial society all came with drastic changes in the cultural climate. For instance, slaves are not readily found amongst hunter-gatherers, but are plentiful in horticultural societies. Agricultural societies make use primarily of serfs. In industrial societies, we have workers.

The relationship of workers to their employers and tenants to their landlords is not so different from the relationship of the serf or peasant to their count or duke. The main difference between workers and peasants is that peasants were tied to the land, and could not choose a new employer and landlord, a right that we exercise as workers today.

I'm not convinced that we have reached the pinnacle of social evolution, however. The transition from agricultural feudalism to republican capitalism was a liberatory moment in history. Today, as workers, we have many privileges that we would not have had as peasants. Still, we are not free. We may be able to choose our landlords, our employers, and others to make decisions for us, but deciding for ourselves is greatly limited in this society. Still we have bosses and landlords, who reap from workers profits and from tenants rent, and a strong creditor class, who takes from the lot of us interest upon loans in which they share in little to no risk. We have a right to choose our masters, but we have no right to master ourselves. For this reason, if no other, the forward motion of societal evolution must continue. As Gerhard Lenski and Patrick Nolan point out, however, societal change is dependent on technological development. This being the case, I'd like to take us through the evolution of society, and technology's corollary

relationship to ethics. I will do so within the general framework Lenski and Nolan lay out, though I may stray in my interpretation from their specifics.

### FORAGERS AND HERDERS

**E**ARLY HUMANS, such as the Cro-Magnons, and others before the development of civilization, lived the lives primarily of hunter-gatherers. That is, early people, who had a similar mental capacity to us today,<sup>i</sup> and share our genomic structure, lived like many wild animals do now, foraging in the woods for food, and hunting primarily for small game and insects. They had no permanent places to live, being nomadic.

Hunter-gathering people utilized the efforts of the small family band or clan in foraging for food, and were fairly self-dependent. They didn't invest in their future, but simply took what was offered by nature. This meant that family members were the sole source of value in the community. Family relied on one another, and nothing else, for subsistence. Individuals in the family had a direct connection to one another, and families had direct connections to nature. This meant that families made decisions together, and that they worshipped nature, as animists. Gerhard Lenski and Patrick Nolan point out that,

The rudimentary nature of the political system and the primitive nature of the economic system contribute to yet another distinctive characteristic of modern hunting and gathering societies: minimal inequality and privilege. Differences between individuals are so slight, in fact, that a number of observers have spoken of a kind of "primitive communism." To some extent this is justified [... Political authority with the power to

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<sup>i</sup> This is the basis of evolutionary psychology, that cultural evolution is faster than biological evolution.

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coerce is virtually nonexistent. Differences in influence exist, but only to the degree permitted by those who are influenced, and only as a result of their result for another individual's skills or wisdom. When individuals lose this respect, they also lose their influence.

In most hunting and gathering societies, differences in wealth are minor. Many factors are responsible for this. For one thing [...] the nomadic way of life prevents any substantial accumulation of possessions. In addition, the ready availability of most essential resources (e.g. wood for bows, flint for stone tools) precludes the need to amass things, while technological limitations greatly restrict what can be produced. Finally, there is the widespread practice of sharing in most of these groups.

As a general rule the concept of private property has only limited development among hunting and gathering peoples. Things than an individual uses constantly, such as tools and weapons, are always his own, but fields and forests are the common property of the entire society.<sup>3</sup>

Small band societies such as found amongst late hunter-gathering people and early horticulturalists would often loosely cooperate amongst one another, mostly (but probably not consciously) for the sake of preserving genetic diversity in the group and exchanging technologies. They would often meet up to have orgies or exchange wedding partners. This was often accompanied by loose gifting and barter exchanges of tools or jewelry. It was sometimes accompanied by tension and violence. Anthropologist, David Graeber, remarks—while criticizing the view that strict barter played more of a role in early human exchanges than did loose systems of credit or gifts—that

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Even when strangers met and barter did ensue, people often had a lot more on their minds than getting the largest possible number of arrowheads in exchange for the smallest number of shells.

[...]

[T]he Amazonian Nambikwara, as described in an early essay by the famous French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss [...] was a simple society without much in the way of division of labor, organized into small bands that traditionally numbered at best a hundred people each. Occasionally if one band spots the cooking fires of another in their vicinity, they will send emissaries to negotiate a meeting for purposes of trade. If the offer is accepted, they will first hide their women and children in the forest, then invite the men of other band to visit camp. Each band has a chief and once everyone has been assembled, each chief gives a formal speech praising the other party and belittling his own; everyone puts aside their weapons to sing and dance together—though the dance is one that mimics military confrontation. Then, individuals from each side approach each other to trade.<sup>4</sup>

He then cites Levi-Strauss as having said,

If an individual wants an object he extols it by saying how fine it is. If a man values an object and wants much in exchange for it, instead of saying that it is very valuable he says that it is worthless, thus showing his desire to keep it. 'This axe is no good, it is very old, it is very dull', he will say...<sup>5</sup>

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David Graeber continues,

In the end, each “snatches the object out of the other’s hand”—and if one side does so too early, fights may ensue.

The whole business concludes with a great feast at which the women reappear, but this too can lead to problems, since amidst the music and good cheer, there is ample opportunity for seductions (remember, these are people who normally live in groups that contain only perhaps a dozen members of the opposite sex of around the same age of themselves. The chance to meet others is pretty thrilling.) This sometimes led to jealous quarrels. Occasionally, men would get killed, and to head off this descending into outright warfare, the usual solution was to have the killer adopt the name of the victim, which would also give him the responsibility for caring for his wife and children.

He says,

[T]he Gunwingu of West Arnhem land in Australia [are] famous for entertaining neighbors in rituals of ceremonial barter called the *dzamalag*. Here the threat of actual violence seems much more distant. The region is also united by both a complex marriage system and local specialization, each group producing their own trade product that they barter with the others.

In the 1940s, an anthropologist, Ronald Berndt, described one *dzamalag* ritual, where one group in possession of imported cloth swapped their wares with another, noted for the manufacture of serrated spears. Here too it begins as strangers, after initial

## *The Fall and Rise of Sociality*

negotiations, are invited to the hosts' camp, and the men begin singing and dancing, in this case accompanied by a didjeridu. Women from the hosts' side then come, pick out one of the men, give him a piece of cloth, and then start punching him and pulling off his clothes, finally dragging him off to the surrounding bush to have sex, while he feigns reluctance, whereon the man gives her a small gift of beads or tobacco. Gradually, all the women select partners, their husbands urging them on, whereupon the women from the other side start the process in reverse, re-obtaining many of the beads and tobacco obtained by their own husbands. The entire ceremony culminates as the visitors' men-folk perform a coordinated dance, pretending to threaten their hosts with the spears, but finally, instead, handing the spears over to the hosts' womenfolk, declaring: "We do not need to spear you, since we already have!"

In other words, the Gunwinngu manage to take all the most thrilling elements in the Nambikwara encounters—the threat of violence, the opportunity for sexual intrigue—and turn it into an entertaining game (one that, the ethnographer remarks, is considered enormous fun for everyone involved).<sup>6</sup>

Wolves, who are scavengers, would follow these hunting and foraging people around, eating their trash. The wolves co-evolved with people, and probably pre-human hominids, for a great deal of time. The origins of the domesticated dog are hazy: Some suggest co-evolution continued to such a point that dogs evolved alongside society, and were later domesticated; and others suggest that they evolved after wolves were kept in captivity. Regardless, dogs have been participants in an important relationship of biological mutualism ever since.

Sometime before or alongside the early horticultural era, herding societies and pastoralism developed. In other words, some of the late hunting and gathering peoples and some of the early, still nomadic, horticultural peoples, learned to raise animals, such as goats and sheep, which they could take with them on their nomadic convoys. The dogs they had previously co-evolved with aided them greatly in herding and protecting their flocks.

Late foraging peoples eventually learned to settle down. Most likely, nomadic peoples learned the role that seeds played, and would take their favorites along with them on their journeys, planting them along their favorite paths. Many of these became semi-adapted, an early effort of what today is called *artificial selection*, the human determination of their own genetic environment. These late foragers learned to settle down for short periods of time, building temporary shelters. They started to tend to wild orchards. They would dig gardens with sticks, and plant their favorite foods in them, such as leafy green vegetables, beans, and tubers. The use of the stick for planting gardens allowed communities to establish themselves for longer periods of time, and to gain some degree of leisure that they otherwise did not have. This marked the shift from hunting and gathering to horticultural people. Horticultural people grow forest orchards or small gardens of vegetables, and dig those gardens with sticks. The leisure produced by horticulture ensured that the horticultural era would not last as long as the hunting and gathering one. Leisure leads to innovation, and innovation eventually leads to new subsistence technologies. Lenski and Nolan suggest that “Few events in history have been as important as the shift from hunting and gathering to horticulture.”<sup>7</sup>

## HORTICULTURE AND MARITIMES

**H**ORTICULTURAL PEOPLE, who depended on gardens for their standard of living, saw the first mass departure from total concern from the group. With the rise in population that horticulture allowed, and with some joining of bands, multi-family clans developed. Horticulture and extended relations meant that family efforts played a larger role in the outcomes of food production. Before horticulture, humans were biologically adapted

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to family cooperation; horticulture demonstrates technology beginning to evolve faster than human biology. That is, technology is an expression of our culture, and our culture evolves faster than our bodies do. Because of this, horticultural families were not biologically adapted to cooperate with one another in large tribes. Hunting and gathering families regulate conflict by way of gossip, which is a biological function of our species, but horticultural families began to grow to a point past Dunbar's number (the number of people a person can keep track of), which meant that gossip was not enough to regulate conflicts. Horticultural families, however, unregulated by gossip, and with mixed loyalties, would take advantage of one another. This shifted some of the importance of the community at large to the importance of family, and their commonly held gardens. Instead of simple gossip, norms of possession started to become enforced, and absolute sharing between families started to decline. Families were still united into clans, tribes, and later nations, however, even if they were not as solidified as the previous band societies of extended family, as hunter-gatherers had had. At times these clans, tribes, or nations would war with one another, sometimes taking slaves or wives. Lenski and Nolan point out that

There is little evidence of warfare in early horticultural societies. Graves rarely contain weapons, and most communities had no walls or other defenses. Some, it is true, had ditches and fences, but these were more suitable to protection against marauding animals than against human enemies. Later in the horticultural era the picture changed drastically and warfare became increasingly common. In this period, battle-axes, daggers, and other arms are found in the graves of adult males, reflecting the impact of technological advance, specifically metallurgy.<sup>8</sup>

With the shift to horticulture also came massive shifts in the ideological climate. The horticulturalists were largely polytheists, who believed in a great number of different gods and

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goddesses, representing their differing and conflicting values. These gods and goddesses were largely metaphors used to present their arguments or to explain highly-generalized natural phenomena, such as the changing of seasons, which horticulturalists had to pay much attention to. Many of these gods represented stars, natural cycles, or fertility. The political unit of horticulturalists seems to tend toward some form of oligarchy, with the male warriors, shamans, and sometimes councils of elderly women, and rarely the whole clan, making the bulk of political decisions over the younger, non-warring, and slave classes of their societies. It's important to note that the previous hunting and gathering people rarely had any stratification in their society, but that this originated in later horticultural societies, in the form of slavery. Stratification in earlier or less-advanced horticultural societies was minor in comparison to its future developments. Nolan and Lenski suggest of simple horticultural societies that,

The power of political leaders has been quite limited in nearly all horticultural societies. Even in the larger, multicomunity societies, local villages have virtual autonomy except in matters of war and relations with other societies. Both the village headman and the tribal chief (i.e., leader of the multicomunity society) depend more on persuasion than on coercion to achieve their goals.

[...]

In some simple horticultural societies, shamans also serve as the headmen or chiefs because of the awe or respect in which they are held. In others, secular leaders assume important religious functions and become quasi-religious leaders.<sup>9</sup>

They suggest further on, that

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[T]he institutional structures of these societies frequently evolve to a point where they can, to some extent, supplement the personal attributes of their leaders. No longer does a headman have to be the best man in the group; he need only be competent, because he now has assistants who will support and help him. As a consequence, the headmanship is more likely to be inherited than is the case in hunting and gathering societies.<sup>10</sup>

Of the differences between these simpler and earlier societies and those of more complex and later varieties, Nolan and Lenski say that the later and more complex variant, which gained from the production of bronze,

enjoyed more substantial *numerical* superiority over simple horticultural societies and every victory brought more people under their control, enabling them to enlarge their armies still further. This could not have been accomplished by a hunting and gathering society, whose simple technology would make it impossible for conquerors to incorporate a defeated people into the group.

[...]

Marked social inequality was the rule in these societies. There were two basic classes, a small warrior nobility and the great mass of common people. The warrior nobility were the governing class and lived in walled cities that served as their fortresses. It was they who enjoyed most of the benefits of the new technology and the new social system. The chief use of bronze was to manufacture weapons and ceremonial objects for the

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benefit of this elite class. Almost none of this scarce material was made available to the common people for farm tools.<sup>11</sup>

Other societies, using differing means of subsistence, such as hunting and gathering or herding, existed alongside the horticulturalists, often at odds with them. Pastoralists from the Steppe regions, such as the Kurgans, who had taken to herding and hunting lifestyles, and who often made use of early horseback and chariot warfare, often attacked and established dominance over the horticultural peoples of the Fertile Crescent and Eurasia. As Joseph Campbell says,

You have the basic birth of civilization in the Near East with the great river valleys then as the main source areas, the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, and then over in India, the Indus valley and later the Ganges. This is the world of the goddess; all these rivers have goddess names finally.

Then there come the invasions. These fighting people are herding people. The Semites are herders of goats and sheep, and the Indo-Europeans of cattle. They were formerly the hunters. They translate a hunting mythology into a herding mythology, but it's animal oriented. And when you have hunters you have killers, and when you have herders, you have killers, because they're always in movement, nomadic, coming into conflict with other people and they have to conquer the area they move into. This comes into the Near East, and this brings in the warrior gods, like Zeus, like Yahweh.<sup>12</sup>

Maritime societies were horticultural societies that existed around waterways. They were often much more culturally developed than their dryland counterparts, and benefited greatly from trade and geographical advantages. Many maritime societies

were highly egalitarian and libertarian in comparison to their late horticultural and early agricultural counterparts. Ancient Athens, for instance, is cited as the home of democracy, and the Papal States of the Italian Peninsula were often run as republican merchant communes; both were maritime societies. Maritime societies, due to their access to waterways, tended toward commerce and political equality.

The invention of the hoe marked the later end of horticulture. Those societies that practiced both horticulture and animal husbandry eventually learned to put some of their larger animals, such as the ox, to work in the fields. The invention of the plough, a tool pulled by animals to till the soil, marked the end of horticulture, and the beginning of agriculture. Agriculture was accompanied by wider use of grain and bean crops, and specialization of food production, allowing for professionals to develop, later becoming family castes. It is often attributed to the rise of patriarchy, because pregnant women can play a role in food production in horticultural societies—that is, pregnant women can sit in gardens and dig—, but they cannot as easily control the behavior of an ox pulling a plow. As Joseph Campbell remarks, “it is only later, when the plow is invented in the high culture systems, that the male takes over the agricultural lead.”<sup>13</sup> Many attribute late horticulture and early agriculture to the origins of civilization, when people could finally settle down into permanent settlements. Early horticultural people were still partially nomadic, but later horticulture and early agriculture was marked by permanent cities. The plow even greater increased the leisure time of people, and innovation became more rapid. Populations grew larger and larger, and more and more technology was created.

## AGRICULTURE

**A**GRICULTURAL SOCIETIES saw the rise of the multinational state, composed of many previously warring nations of herders, hunters, and horticulturalists. There were many forces that allowed for the rise of the multinational empires. The invention of the plow, by integrated herding and horticultural societies, was of special importance. The invention of the plow

further increased the division of labor in society, allowing many to become professionals with much time for leisure and innovation. Like all new subsistence technologies, the plow also allowed for population growth, which feeds into the positive loop of innovation and growth. Nations in late horticultural and early agricultural times that had particular geographic advantages over one another, and especially those that developed alongside seaways and became maritime societies, started to dominate the others. National leaders established themselves as imperial monarchs. The early, often priest-, kings of this time united pagan deities into one and none, as did Pharaoh Akhenaten of Egypt with Amun-Ra and Aten, and Zoroaster of Persia did under Ahura Mazda and Angra Manyu. The transition from polytheistic paganism to monotheism can be loosely traced from kathenotheism to monolatry to henotheism to monotheism. The early Jews practiced monolatry—likely evolving from kathenotheism—, believing other gods to exist, but not to be worthy of worship. The Ancient Greeks and Hindus had many deities, but understood Zeus or Brahma to be the most supreme. Zoroastrianism is likewise henotheistic. Later, with the development of Catholicism and Islam, it was only permissible to recognize one God. Religions such as these, which united previously divided belief systems, allowed the newly established monarch to control masses of people.

Where horticultural people were generally ruled by some form of oligarchy, such as a priest or warrior class, or councils of elders, agricultural people tended to be ruled by a single monarch. This was all fueled by the power that certain tribes had over others, due to maritime channels of trade or technological innovation, such as the plow. Agricultural societies were highly stratified, with most of their participants being peasants or serfs, a step up from slaves. Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski tell us that

In hunting and gathering societies, there were only minor status distinctions among individuals. The members of agrarian and maritime societies, however, were usually born into classes, which profoundly influenced their opportunities in life. Similarly, prior to the horticultural era, differences

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among societies were minimal; but by the end of the agrarian era, advanced agrarian and maritime societies were far wealthier and far more powerful than other societies in the world system.<sup>14</sup>

Late agriculture is marked by innovations such as gunpowder, and, from a Western perspective, especially by European interest in, and development of, it. This new technology shifted interest, in many ways, toward substances that could perform physical work, and interest which would bring us toward the industrial age.

Late agricultural societies developed from constantly warring multinational empires into industrial nation-states, which are much more concerned with maintaining their borders and calming ethnic divisions than they are with conquest (though they are certainly still concerned with conquest). Whereas agrarian multicultural empires were controlled by monarchs and their family heirs, and whose borders would constantly shift according to conquest, nation-states seem to be exactly the opposite, being republican and having much more consistent and long-term borders.

There are some large reasons for this shift, among them political changes such as the Magna Carta, the plague, exploration into the East and into the Americas, the invention of guns, and eventually the use of steam, which dealt the death blow. Mercantile ideologies of republicanism had started to bleed into the Anglo-Saxon noble classes, who forced King John under the rule of law, as put forth under the Magna Carta, an important step toward Western democratization. The Crusades and the black plague had left many of the ruling classes dead, and their manors were claimed by the peasantry, who joined the mercantile and artisan classes. There was a great bit of mercantilization occurring at this time. Pirating became more common, and gunpowder was utilized by criminals in the distribution of wealth. The Americas and Australia had been discovered by sea, and had become frontier societies, unable to be controlled as colonies of larger empires. Revolutions occurred, and mercantile political systems of republicanism were put into widespread use in nation-states.

These changes marked a shift from technology-driven ideology toward ideology-driven technology. In other words, it is here that ideology and innovation begin to play a dominant role in societal evolution, and begins to direct, rather than remain dependent on, technological development (this point is crucial). The Americans were freed shortly after the invention of the steam engine, and just before its core developments. Steam was especially put to work after the American Civil War. This allowed the federalist-industrialist North to free the chattel slaves of the Southern agrarian feudalists.

Agriculture met its end with early industrialism, when coal and steam started to become of use in factory production. Animals became of lesser importance for work, and machines, such as trains and tractors, began to play the dominant role in food production and distribution. Industrial societies tend toward state capitalist economic systems and republicanism. They are also mostly associated with religious freedom or eclecticism, secular humanism, and agnosticism.

### INDUSTRY AND BEYOND

THE LIFESTYLE THAT WE ARE USED TO living—a degree of freedom in religion, the republican political structures wherein we can vote for our decision-makers, and the capitalist economy wherein we have the right to choose our employer—is the result of technological innovations. Today, we are moving even more quickly into the new way of life that awaits us. We must remember that, as Lenski and Nolan point out, each development of subsistence technology—from the digging stick, to the plow, to fossil fuels—creates more leisure and population growth, which in turn creates more innovation. This speeds the development of society up considerably. Hunting and gathering was a long experience; horticulture lasted quite a while, but not that long; agriculture was not brief, but it was shorter still; and industrialism has been the shortest of them yet. As futurist, Ray Kurzweil, suggests, technological innovation increases in an exponential fashion. We should not be surprised that we are already approaching the later end of industrial society. In each transition of society— from hunter-gatherer, to horticultural, to

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agricultural, to industrial— there have been correlating massive shifts in ideological attitudes and cultural behaviors. The same will be true of our own time.

What is perhaps most important to recognize so far is twofold: Firstly, there is a strong correlation between subsistence technologies and societal evolution, and secondly, that this correlation has two arrows. The first arrow describes the tendency of societal evolution from hunter-gatherers to agricultural peoples, and the second from agriculturalism into our present day. The difference between these two arrows is that the first was a development away from the importance of community, and toward the importance of possessions. If you remember, hunter-gatherers have strong family units, but horticulturalism marked a shift away from that, and toward the protection of gardens between families. This tendency culminated in the late agricultural era, during the times of large empires and social domination on behalf of kings. It started to shift when mercantile idealism started to influence the newly propertied in Europe and the colonists and frontiers-folk of the Americas. For the first time, social power had begun to be distributed again, as it had been with hunter-gatherers, and ideas started to direct subsistence technologies, rather than the other way around. Nolan and Lenski tell us

Before the Industrial Revolution, the nature and fate of human societies always seemed to be subject to forces beyond the control of mere mortals. Societies were as they were, and life was as it was, because the will of God or the gods or the working of fate or natural law. Monarchical government, the patriarchal family system, widespread poverty and suffering, huge inequalities in power and privilege, and all the other basic features of life in agrarian societies seemed fixed and immutable features of an established order of things, much like famines, floods, earthquakes, and other natural disasters.

The Industrial Revolution drastically changed conditions and people's perceptions

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of things. Because of the enormous increase in productivity that resulted from advances in technology, the economic surplus expanded rapidly, and this, in turn, extended the limits of the possible and made numerous important social changes feasible. They also persuaded millions of people that things did not have to be as they were, or the way they had always been; people have it in their power to change society and to improve social conditions. All that was needed was the will, the imagination, and the plan.<sup>15</sup>

Still, the change has just begun, and there is much more to be done if social justice is to be fully accomplished, and we are to reach the convivial, post-industrial society. We can see the convivial society all around us, blossoming from the future. We are in the Spring era, and have yet to reach the Summer.

Many suggest that we are already living in a post-industrial or information-age society, but I think that may be jumping the gun. However, I do think there are many elements of post-industrialism that are creeping from the future into our present, including many of the information technologies currently in development. The new mode of subsistence technology seems to be moving toward a basis in information processing and proper energy management. A post-industrial convivial society will most likely be composed of smart technologies that utilize natural systems of energy, moving us away from dependence on fossil fuels and specialized management. Information technology may put an end to capitalism, without needing the help of government, but just its use by common people.

Current trends in social dynamics include the decentralization of capital, decisions, and information. Peer-run organizations, digital and physical, have become much more common. Wikipedia, IndieGoGo, Bitcoin, Uber, and many more technologies distribute decision-making and managing powers, as well as means of semi-self-employment. Information technology is taking over, it is unbundling services, getting people connected, and dispersing social power through user participation. Many of these

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services, and those with special potential to impact society, are informed by ideologies of the late industrial age, including socialism, anarchism, liberalism, and libertarianism. The Swiss service, Ethereum, clearly mixes an understanding of third way economics with cryptography. Using the decentralized blockchain technology invented with Bitcoin, open-source programs have the potential to change social governance, and governments may not be able to stop it.

In the age of information technology, ideology is beginning to play a role in the utility of technology. We are moving past scarcity, and toward abundance; our values are naturally flipping from quantitative materialistic ones toward qualitative spiritual ones. Information technology is much more oriented in the subjective preferences of the individual than merely producing large numbers of surplus goods. Information technologies allow user-interface and choice of provider; these are largely qualitative returns that may lead to secondary quantitative ones.

Alongside more recent understandings of ecology and political economy in real life, such as permaculture, the cooperative movement, alternative currencies, and more, ideology-directed information technology has the potential to transition us into new paradigms. It will become especially important when it can play a role in underclass subsistence. We are not quite there, but we can get a glimpse of what the future conviviality will hold. Such a society will be the result of the trends toward user participation and the unbundling of services. Ideologies such as geo-mutualist panarchism and dualist pantheism will influence such a direction. Industrial society was carried in by influence of the works of Enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith. The project will be continued forward, if not by my own work, by works of a similar tendency. It is written in the waves of time.

**REFERENCES**

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- <sup>1</sup> Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski, 70.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid., 71.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid., 93.
- <sup>4</sup> David Graeber
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid., citing Claude Levi-Strauss
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>7</sup> Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski, 127.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid., 111.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., 115.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid., 119.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid., 121.
- <sup>12</sup> Joseph Campbell
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski, 183.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid., 313.

# Thoughts on History and the State

## ORIGINS OF THE STATE

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISTS UNDERSTAND prehistoric, historic, and contemporary hunter-gatherers and simple horticultural people to often constitute stateless peoples. These hunter-gatherers and early horticultural people were and are always on the move, and, as such, could not and cannot maintain large surpluses with which to govern a society. In order for authority to have established itself, it must have accumulated wealth, either through conquest or through geographic advantages. This occurred in the late horticultural era or Bronze Age. Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski, authors of *Human Societies*, write that

Of all of the changes in human life that resulted from the horticultural revolution, the most fundamental—the one with the most profound consequences—was the creation of *stable economic surplus*. Hunting and gathering societies were rarely able to create such a surplus: food producers and their dependents usually consumed within days all they were able to provide.<sup>1</sup>

Most likely, different grades of land allowed for environmental advantages to be held by different societies, which could then produce food more efficiently, produce larger populations, retain more knowledge, and produce more technology. There are many theories as to the specifics of the rise of government, but land<sup>i</sup> seems to be the central issue, with conflict

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<sup>i</sup> I am referring to “land” in the economic sense as a factor of production, which includes all natural resources, even air, water, wild plants and animals, and the soil in its unhampered state, as well as anything else which cannot be said itself to be a product of human labor, or human labor itself.

being a secondary one. The original conflict may have involved peacefully rich people on open and widely available land, who were confronted by peoples pressured by poor land to war on the others for resources (this is a common theme in history, after all, as can be seen by the Viking conquests). It may, as Robert Carneiro points out, have involved environmental and social circumscription. What seems to be clear is that no matter who the first to use violence was, that economic rents—the differences in value between great and poor land—had started to affect the balance of societies, and some horticulturalists had gained comparative advantages in their land holdings. These societies, which wielded a surplus over the others, and thereby maintained larger populations and higher-grade technologies, maintained the power to use their surpluses to dominate other societies. These may have been the original holders, or they may have been victorious attackers. However, it is quite possible that the first cities in the Fertile Crescent, and those of the Indus Valley, were themselves peaceful trading centers, which, while having a surplus due to economic rent, did not wield their surpluses against others until sometime after being taken over by marauders, such as held in some views of the Kurgan hypothesis. According to such a view, pastoral marauders, who had learned to utilize horses in the Pontic Steppe, had been forced from their homelands, due to climatic conditions, and had begun to violently raid other societies, including those that would develop into the first well-recognized states in Mesopotamia.<sup>ii</sup> It is possible that these raiders happened upon a lucrative and peaceful people, and established themselves their lords, from then on commanding their surpluses as a ruling class. This would force them into regional relationships, no longer built around kinship. However, it must be noted, that one need not use aggressive force to be considered a state, but simply maintain economic rent through defensive action. This would make any defensive action on behalf of later

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<sup>ii</sup> Horses also gave a considerable advantage to American Indians such as the Comanche and Cheyenne, who began to raid one another which much more ferocity after becoming equine pastoralists.

horticulturalists, against those who would claim some of their surplus, an act of statism.<sup>iii</sup>

What we see, in the development of history, is peaceful people who lived as hunters and gatherers, simple herders or horticulturalists, who then face the rise of agriculture, which was really a strong mixing of pastoralism and horticulture—animals used for growing food— during the Bronze Age. With agriculture arose the city-state, wherein authority had become established, class stratification became standardized, and people were forced into relations with one another based on residency, rather than kinship. The statism of the agricultural era peaked during the age of totalitarian empires and kingships, but actually started slowly to decline after the fall of the Roman Empire. The power of the state would continue to decline well after the breaking up of the Empire, and especially with the rise of mercantilism.<sup>iv</sup>

The shift from hunting and gathering toward agriculture represented a sort of “fall” for human societies, in that knowledge was concentrated, community control was lost, and ruling classes established themselves, but the the shift from agriculture to industrialism represented the beginning of the “rise,” in that knowledge was spreading, communities began to become more influential, and ruling classes began to lose some of their relative power. The process is not over, of course, we are still rising. By

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<sup>iii</sup> Similar to the Kurgan raiders, the Vikings faced harsh climates, and relied on pillaging high-rent areas. This was not necessarily unjust on their part, no more so than the private claims to economic rent held by those they robbed.

<sup>iv</sup> The shift from feudalist monarchies toward capitalist republics must be understood as positive in nature. While this is not the same as suggesting support for the remnants of the state, it is suggesting support for the elements of anti-statism that accompanied the transition from feudal monarchies to capitalist republics.

maintaining this understanding of history, geo-mutualist panarchists can look back into more immediate history for positive influence, without accepting it outright. In other words, geo-mutualist panarchists, by having an understanding of history as undergoing ups and downs, and seeing the present as part of an upward process, can embrace history, rather than rejecting it. While *The Declaration of Independence* may not be a perfectly anarchist document, geo-mutualist panarchists can celebrate it, not as something to apply to the future, but as something to be thankful for from the past. This becomes particularly useful when the geo-mutualist panarchist addresses the origins of the current liberal nation-state under which we live.

### **CORRUPTED FROM THE BEGINNING**

**I**T IS WELL KNOWN that the United States was founded by protestants, and especially Freemasons. There are many theories as to the origins of Freemasonry, but it seems that Freemasonry unofficially started as a stonemason's guild, but, after the Crusades, wherein the masons found much affinity with such groups as the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller, became a secret society, likely due to attempts to abolish craft guilds, revoking their monopolies. Freemason secrecy was in part a response to such abolition, in an attempt to maintain or re-establish their monopolistic pacts. The Knights Templar had become a powerful banking institution, especially after its members learned Islamic mathematics and Jewish lending practices in the Middle East.<sup>v</sup> The masons, eventually incorporating non-masons into their

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<sup>v</sup> Jews had long played an important role in the medieval economy, due to the Catholic Church having outlawed usury, while also maintaining exclusive forms of legal tender. The Jews— whose religion was not opposed to the practice of usury, so long as it was toward a gentile and not another Jew— became the predominant lenders in the Christian societies, often placing nobility under

ranks—probably due to the Catholic Church’s disapproval of the power the Templar Order was gaining—, adapted toward commerce. This trade society, but not alone, would become a mechanism of transition from feudal monarchies toward capitalist republics. An Earl of Lancaster once took over the property of the outlawed Knights Templar, in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. A friend of his, Baron Robert de Holland worked with him against King Edward II. Baron Robert de Holland was a distant ancestor of three of the four first United States presidents, including George Washington, a known Freemason, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, both of whom were likely to have been Freemasons.<sup>vi</sup>

A piece of little-known history may make the influence of the Freemasons clear. In the city of Boston, before the American

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debt, and finding themselves members of royal courts, such as the “court Jews,” from which many of the early capitalist financial barons came from. Because of the Jews’ important role to the nobility and trading classes, the burgers—the well-to-do traders inside the walled Middle Age cities, who would become the bourgeoisie— protected the Jews during the raids of The People’s Crusades, which were uprisings against Jews by lesser Knights and some common people. The privileges granted to some Jews, and the role that they played in the medieval economy, would lead to mixed feelings that would carry on into the travesties of World War II.

<sup>vi</sup> In any case, Thomas Jefferson is clearly familiar with Freemasonry and Adam Weishaupt, the 1776 founder of the Illuminati. James Madison was congratulated by John Francis Mercer, Governor of Maryland, who is reported to have told Madison, “I have had no opportunity of congratulating you before on your becoming a Free Mason — a very ancient and honorable fraternity.”

Revolution, there was a public house called the *Green Dragon Tavern*. The Green Dragon Tavern had previously been the property of William Douglas, a physician and free thinker, who condemned paper money. Adam Smith had cited William Douglas favorably in his *Wealth of Nations*. After Douglas had died, his sister sold the Green Dragon Tavern to the St. Andrews Lodge of Freemasons. The Green Dragon would find itself the “Headquarters of the Revolution,” under the authority of Grand Master Mason, Joseph Warren. In the Green Dragon Tavern met such groups as The Committee of Correspondence, who would develop into a shadow government, slowly taking control of the colonies despite their official governments; the Boston Caucus, which seems to have been a means of directing public consensus; and The Sons of Liberty, a secret society who would later be responsible for The Boston Tea Party. It was from the Green Dragon Tavern that Paul Revere would go on his famous ride.

The American Revolution marks a transition toward progress, but it was not a victory for farmers or workers. It was a victory of the new aristocracy, the landed gentry and wealthy merchants who had joined into secret societies, and created shadow governments. While likely internally-democratic—like the Holy Orders and guilds they evolved from—, these shadow governments also created a false sense of public democracy, by way of organizations like The Committee of Correspondence and The Boston Caucus.

The Boston Caucus would hold town meetings in order to gain public support, but actual decisions were made in a “smoke-filled room,” by a consortium of power-holders, before they were “made” by the public. John Adams himself writes, “selectmen, assessors, collectors, fire-wards and representatives are regularly chosen [at The Committee of Correspondence] before they are chosen in the town [at the Boston Caucus...] There they smoke tobacco till you cannot see from one end of the garret to the other.” The illusion of participation was important for Boston revolutionaries. However, real democracy would challenge the power of the wealthy and upper middle-class colonists, who were the main proponents of revolution, and who were the ones to meet in secret societies, and to create shadow governments. Workers and

farmers were encouraged to participate, but had no real decision-making power.

It's no wonder, then, why some years after the revolution, a farmer by the name of Daniel Shays, who, after seeing abuses of power wielded against a widow, raised an army of farmers, in an event today known as *Shays' Rebellion*. Shays' Rebellion would strike fear into the new aristocracy. At this time, before the Constitution, the country was governed under The Articles of Confederation, which, while being democratic, restricted participation only to wealthy land-owners. No one else was allowed to vote. However, after Shays' Rebellion, it was decided that this structure was not sufficient for the purposes of defending against invasion, both foreign and especially domestic. This marks the rise of the Federalists, who would illegally appoint a new Constitution, which would set back into place a shadow government, and extend a vote to all freeborn white men, in an effort of "political machining."

This was not enough, of course. Soon, the rise of the first third-party in the United States, the Anti-Masonic Party, would come about. The Anti-Masonic Party would focus especially on political corruption, as perpetuated by the Freemasons. John Quincy Adams, whose father was President John Adams—a participant of the Boston Caucus (but not a Mason)—, was a member. They won some concessions, but ultimately disbanded. However, the fight against political corruption would continue, and would face a strong revival with Henry George, and the following "progressive" movement. It's a well-known, but often uncomfortable and rejected, fact, that secret societies, from the Mafia to the Ku Klux Klan to Skull and Bones, have long influenced the affairs of governance.

For the most part, it can be rather difficult to tell what is factual and what is not factual about our current regimes. However, looking back into history provides a lot less biased view, as the elite are much less threatened (though still so) by knowledge of their previous actions, than knowledge of their current plans. Looking back into history confirms shadow governments, political machining, smoke-filled rooms, and secret societies at our country's origins, as well as after the new Constitution. However, bringing this up in public will often lead to accusations of

“conspiracy theory,” a term which, while not being intrinsically polarized, has become a tool for painting a statement as nonsense, as if conspiracies have never occurred in real life. A quick search around, regarding material about conspiracies, will certainly turn up a bunch of nonsense. Much of this could be intentional, on the part of the elite; knowing people are onto them, they flood the market with nonsense to weaken their interest. Much of it is also just nonsense put out there for attention by the author, oftentimes as an inside joke. Nonetheless, there are facts in history which suggest that we are governed from the shadows, and these are best not ignored. These facts accepted, the best stance toward any information promoted by the state is one of agnosticism, until that point it has been confirmed by a better source. This is especially true when it comes to political elections. The voluntaryist position of non-voting is the correct one.

### **POLITICAL ENGINEERING AND MOVING FORWARD**

ONE NEED ONLY LOOK into the philosophy of the Freemasons, as presented in the Hermetic tradition— as outlined by one of their publications, *The Kybalion*—, to get a taste of their inspiration and how they operate. This short book describes the polar forces of the Universe, and how they can be used to shift one’s “mental gender” in order to influence “lower planes” of existence, the material planes on which the unthinking masses operate. The basic wisdom of *The Kybalion* is rather unquestionable—the Universe does contain polarities, and planes of power—, although the intentions can be understood in terms of narcissistic egoism. The tradition is concerned with power. Hermeticism, however, was an ancient Greco-Egyptian religion, which has already found success. History must move forward. No longer does might alone make right, as it did in the agricultural era, but, in the industrial era—the age of republics— right is gaining in its ability to organize the might of the masses. Republics themselves represent the transition from monarchy to aristocracy, a

reduction in power which followed The Enlightenment. The show must go on.<sup>vii</sup>

Elections represent some of the largest displays of political engineering. Every four years the population is divided between two individuals, a Republican and a Democrat. Today's Republican is a religious conservative in a red necktie, and it's Democrat a secular liberal in blue. This is not unlike Rafael's depiction in *The School of Athens* of Plato, author of *The Republic*, standing to the right in his red flowing robes, pointing to the sky (where the gods reside), and his younger, more liberal student, Aristotle, a democrat in blue, standing to the left, his hand leveled with the Earth. Left and right wings were added to politics, it may be added, after conservatives were seated on the right side of the French Estates General, wanting to preserve the power of the monarchy and religious tradition, and liberals, after more democratization and secularism, were seated on the left. The two-party system in the United States reflects a similar divide. Throughout the years, the two-party system and the parties within it has developed, at some points swapping tendencies altogether, but what has always remained consistent is a two-party system, by which the elite, in their smoke-filled rooms, may dictate the "choices" of the masses before they happen, making them seem like true choices. Everyone with half of a brain understands that the Republicans and Democrats are two faces of the same band of bankers, mega corporations, and business unions. The real government is that of the bankers, and it lurks in the shadows.

From what we've seen in history, the state originated with the private capture of land rents in areas such as Mesopotamia, and

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<sup>vii</sup> Some have valid criticisms regarding the effects of The Enlightenment, suggesting that it came with a reduction in personal integrity and a neglect of myth and morality. Naturally, as the thesis, private control, shifts to its antithesis, majority control, balance is not to be found. An anarchist society, representing the synthesis, must include the positive aspects of each.

likely became violent when peaceful states had been taken over by pastoralists from the Eurasian Steppe. After this point, communities more commonly acknowledged as states, due to their class stratification and such, started to become more standard. This represented a sort of “fall” for human culture, which would increase until the mid-late agricultural era. It was slowed toward the end of the agricultural era, and was turned around by the industrial age. The breaking down of power that capitalist republics represent over that of feudalist monarchies represents the “rise” of human culture back onto its feet, a trend that is likely continuing. While understanding capitalist republics to be the current enemy of the panarchist, they must also be understood to be a part of the liberating process, even if it did not complete the journey. This being so, we can understand the shift to capitalist republics as historically positive, even if they represent the current paradigm we wish to get away from.

The shifting from monarchical feudalism toward republican capitalism was ushered by the free thought of The Enlightenment, the waking of people to new ideas. These ideas were primarily expressed within the upper middle classes, who would band together into secret societies, such as the Freemasons. Rather than attempting reform, some of the Freemasons sponsored revolutionary activities, such as those undertaken by Joseph Warren and the Sons of Liberty. Within their own class, they depended on an actual sense of democratic equality to maintain their organizations. This was non-threatening to them, because they came from similar economic backgrounds, and benefited largely from the same sorts of privileges, namely private property. These upper and middle class revolutionaries did not have the numbers needed to support the revolution on their own, and so depended also on gaining support from the working classes. In order to do this, they pretended to involve them in decision-making, which gave the workers a sense of security and inclusion. From this illusion of inclusive democracy, the aristocracy developed their power.

While certainly not wanting to take their direct path, and being unable to do so as workers in the first place, there is much to be learned from the landed gentry and merchants who overthrew

the English monarchy. While depending on deception, they also understood the fact that people will not work towards something that is not directly beneficial to them. As members of privileged classes, they could manufacture a sense of inclusiveness from their smoke-filled rooms, while not actually delivering inclusion to the working classes in anything substantial. Within their own class, however, they genuinely relied on fairness, and conditions suitable to everyone. Likewise, the working classes in America, if they want to gain power, must do so by building a greater sense of inclusion and security. Unlike the new aristocrats, however, they have no one to trick, and must be genuine in their offerings, as workers themselves make up the masses, and lack the surpluses with which to utilize the magic of aristocratic secret societies. So long as workers remain mesmerized by elections, and don't themselves begin to construct a free society, they will remain under the control of those in smoke-filled rooms.

Slaves don't own their labor, serfs don't own their land, and workers don't own their capital. In the late horticultural and early agricultural age, freedom entailed a lack of bindings. In the agricultural era more generally, freedom entailed land-holdings. Today, freedom entails access to capital. Any move made by American workers, must be an act of sovereignty in regard to capital, in defiance of the decrees of its deciding classes. Workers must give up on the illusion of American freedom, which they have never truly had. Nothing better will come by voting for one corporate puppet over another. Instead, we must follow after the advice of Max Stirner, who suggests to us that the Sultan acts on his own accord, and, if we want to have power like the Sultan, we must act similarly. He says,

[O]nly look at that Sultan who cares so lovingly for his people. Is he not pure unselfishness itself, and does he not hourly sacrifice himself for his people? Oh, yes, for "his people." Just try it; show yourself not as his, but as your own; for breaking away from his egoism you will take a trip to jail. The Sultan has set his cause on nothing but himself; he is to himself all in all, he is to

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himself the only one, and tolerates nobody who would dare not to be one of "his people."

And will you not learn by these brilliant examples that the egoist gets on best? I for my part take a lesson from them, and propose, instead of further unselfishly serving those great egoists, rather to be the egoist myself.<sup>2</sup>

While the American government may be considered a foe of liberty, the solution to the problem is in following its actions, but without its trickery. While oppressed by the corporate aristocracy, this is so because the landlords and merchants challenged a monarchy and won. If workers are to be freed, they must successfully challenge the new aristocracy. Lucky for workers, the trend of history seems to be heading in their favor.

**REFERENCES**

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<sup>1</sup> Patrick Nolan and Gerhard Lenski, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Max Stirner

# Capitalism and Republics: A Mutual Relationship

## INTRODUCTION

**M**ANY WANT TO CHANGE THE WORLD, but few care to do the work of understanding it. If one wants to change the current paradigm, one first must come to an understanding of how it operates. One of the most crucial things to understand is the manner in which republican forms of government and capitalist varieties of economy are mutually-reinforcing. Without such an understanding, one is tempted to reform various aspects of the system, never realizing the futility of such an approach. It is not possible to challenge capitalism with the present electoral system, without shifting it instead toward state socialism, which is no more—perhaps less—desirable. Nor is it possible to change the present system of representative government while using a currency that is supplied by its chartered banks. The two arose together, and must fall together. As I have written much on the topic of what is to replace capitalism, republics, and the state, as well as on the nature and origin of the state itself, I will instead focus here on the origins and nature of representative government and capitalist economy. This is in hopes that a) government will not be seen as an alternative to capitalism, b) capitalism will not be seen as an alternative to government, and therefor c) a revolutionary approach will be adopted by the reader, which strays from both capitalism and state-socialism, and which better approximates geo-mutualism.

## REPUBLIC

**A** REPUBLIC REFERS TO a system of governance in which citizens—enfranchised members of the state—elect public officials, who act according to the rule of law, often founded on a constitution.

Is a republic a democracy? Yes and no. In the loosest sense of the term, a republic is a democracy, because citizens do vote. In a pure, or direct, democracy, however, citizens do not vote for a

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legislative branch of government, but vote on all major issues that affect them. In this sense, a republic is distinct from a democracy. A republic is not a pure, or direct democracy, but a republic is a representative democracy. So, a republic is a democracy when generally speaking, but is not a democracy when being more specific.

<b>Specific</b>	Republic	Democracy
<b>General</b>	Representative Democracy	Direct-Democracy

In a direct-democracy, citizens legislate law themselves by voting on it. In a republic, they vote for representatives to legislate law on their behalf. Republics are often supported over democracies based on the premise that representation is more expedient, allows for more specialization, and for better judgment.

In a representative democracy, or republic, there are typically three branches: executive, judicial, and legislative. The legislative branch passes laws, the executive branch puts them into practice, and the judicial branch enforces them. There are various “checks and balances” built into the system.

If a citizen wants to impact the laws of a republic, on one scale or another, the main legal method of doing so is to campaign for a representative who promises to do something that the citizen likes, or to try to appeal in some form or another—either through intellectual persuasion (which rarely works) or through pressure—to existing representatives to get something desirable done. As representatives rely on the votes of the citizen to remain in office, they often bend to pressures when they become strong enough, but especially when they are pressed by potential or actual constituents with lots of wealth and power, be they private individuals or lobby groups. These kinds of pressures—private capitalists, landlords, creditors, as well as organized groups such as business unions and special interests—have much influence over the process of political nomination and campaigning. This is especially true of the pressures of the big bankers and corporations. The common citizen has little to no power to legally influence the decisions of

their government, having little to no time and resources with which to apply social or economic pressures. Laws which would benefit the common citizen, by removing privileges of economic elites, are unlikely to be passed, let alone proposed. Any politician who proposes such a mechanism can expect to be ostracized by the elite members of society, who also run the media and fund their campaigns. This ensures that capitalism persists.

## CAPITALISM

CAPITALISM REFERS TO a market economy in which the government upholds laws that support the private monopoly of land and capital, and in which debtors, workers, and tenants are allowed to choose their providers of credit, employment, and land to rent.

Is capitalism the free market? No. While many use the term *capitalism* to refer to the freedom to exchange possessions, this is not the historical understanding of capitalism, which is much more related to state-protected monopoly of land, credit, and capital. Capitalism refers to a particular condition of a market economy, wherein there are people who do not have access to their own land, cannot print their own currencies, and have no capital, and who must instead rent land from others, borrow their money, and face life-term employment by others.

In the system of capitalism, there is always a private individual standing between those who possess property (land, credit, capital)—the tenants, debtors, and workers—and their legal title to it. These are the private landlords, private bankers, and private capitalists.

Capitalism exists only by the fact that the state stands by to protect and promote the interests of private property, an institution on which capitalism rests. Private property, in this more formal historical sense, refers to property which is owned by and benefits private individuals, but which is used by others. Examples include the property of an employer, who may themselves not do much of the daily work, but who usurp much of the income produced from the work of their employees for their use of his or her property; a landlord who does not have any personal use for a piece of land,

but who extracts rent from the sharecropper for its use; or a banker who faces no risk in their loans, but extracts interest from them nonetheless. Private property refers to property which is rented in some form, such as money loaned at interest, a factory loaned to workers (called *employment*) for profit, or land loaned to a farmer for rent. This is to be distinguished from what is called *personal property* or *possessions*, which refers to property which is generally used by its owner, whether an individual person or an association of some sort. An owner-occupant, owner-operator, and member-owner describe individuals who are using personal, rather than private, property, so long as they are not making a living from renting out their property (as with bosses, landlords, and creditors). Private property is the foundation of capitalism, and is itself a form of ownership tinged with monopoly, and enforced with the violence of the state. Private property cannot exist without violent enforcement, while personal property exists by mutual necessity.

## REPUBLICS AND CAPITALISM

REPUBLICS AND CAPITALISM share an important relationship, in that both are purported to be what they are not, and both, while being preferable to their predecessors (monarchy and feudalism), depend on coercive hierarchical authority in order to function.

Whereas a republic makes use of authoritarian representation in the political sphere, capitalism makes use of authoritarian representation in industry. As there is no pure or direct political democracy where there are legislators, there is no pure or free market where there are private monopolies. Republics are defined by their legislators, and capitalism by its bosses, landlords, and creditors.

Both capitalism and republics disallow direct-action on behalf of the lower members of society, but leave decisions relating to law and policy to representative members of society, such as politicians, who have been entrusted to run government for the benefit of capitalism, and private monopolists, who have been

entrusted to run the economy for the benefit of the republic.<sup>1</sup> If a citizen wants change, they must elect or ask a politician to change things for them. If a worker wants change, they must pick a boss who will do what they like, or ask their existing boss to change things. The same goes for the tenant and the debtor. They, too, must ask a representative to do something in their interest. If the citizen wants lower taxes, or for taxes to be better spent, they must ask the government, whose members benefit from high taxation, and enjoy spending the money of others without hesitation. If the worker wants higher wages, he or she must beg of it to come from what would otherwise be the boss's profits. If the tenant wants lower rent, it will cost their landlord one of their vacations. Naturally, the privileged classes have no desire to do away with their privilege, and when given the option to retain it, or to voluntarily forfeit it, few choose the latter option.

### INTERTWINED IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

**I**N ORDER TO UNDERSTAND the relationship between republics and capitalism, it is necessary to look at their common roots during the Enlightenment, and how they developed from the Medieval period. Renaissance exploration into the humanistic ideas of the Greeks and Romans had begun to spawn inquiry outside of Church dogma and toward the natural world and humanity's innate abilities. This set the stage for folks like Baruch Spinoza to usher in the Enlightenment, which was concerned more with social issues, relating to governance and economy, lifestyle and culture. Whereas

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<sup>1</sup> If this seems like circular logic, it's because it kind of is. It's a positive feedback loop. Positive feedback loops are common in living sciences. We have a system with an interlocking directorate, in which members of the capitalist class decide on the members of government, who, in return, acts on their behalf, chartering new corporations, some of whom (very rarely) rise to prominence, and can then influence government.

the Renaissance had been about spiritual self-awareness, the arts, and humanities, and carried with it many religious themes, the Enlightenment developed as a reaction to the oppression of many of the more modern religious and scientific views, as well as to an increased awareness among the merchant classes about political economy, thanks largely to the work of the Physiocrats and Adam Smith during the mercantile stage of feudal-capitalism.

The Enlightenment was ushered in, in part at least, by such ideas as the Republic of Letters, a culture of liberal letter-writers, who believed that the power of well-spread enlightened thought had the potential to render governments relatively powerless. Their networks extended across national boundaries, adding to their influence. Another group, the Freemasons, spread Enlightenment ideas in their lodges. The Freemasons played an integral role in the founding of the United States. Looking at their history can demonstrate the combined interests of capitalism and republicanism as part of the explanation for their near-simultaneous social adoption. Capitalists (here used in the loose sense to refer to any private monopolist) and politicians share a similar interest.

In the case of the Freemasons, Freemasonry most likely developed from long-standing, but now fugitive, guild traditions. The name, Freemasonry, may refer historically to a class of laborer (freemen, or specialists given more autonomy), or to the fact that the Freemasons were practicing civil disobedience by keeping guild traditions alive after they had been outlawed by the states of Europe. Their being outlawed is at least a part of why it was necessary for the Freemasons to operate as secret societies. The Freemasons probably developed from stonemason's guilds, some of which had been deployed in the Crusades, along with Holy Orders, such as those of the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitallers. Together, the skilled architects of castles and the holy military orders uncovered the secrets of the Eastern world, including Ancient Greek philosophy, Jewish banking, Muslim mathematics and economy, Zoroastrian, Jewish, Muslim, Hermetic,

and neo-Platonic cosmological and spiritual views.<sup>ii</sup> They also discovered many items desirable for trade. The exposure to the East gave the Holy Orders and the craft guilds, such as the masons, advantages in trade and bargaining that made both the religious and political elite back home—the kings, the feudal elite, the Pope, cardinals and bishops—quite uncomfortable. This eventually led to the outlawing and forcing underground of both Holy Orders and skilled labor and merchant guilds. First, the Holy Orders were outlawed, leading to the Templars and Hospitallers finding sanctuary in the craft and merchant guilds with which they had associated, and promoting their traditions within them. Later, merchant and craft guilds of various sorts (originally organized for the purpose of protesting feudal tax practices, but evolving into corporations benefitting from patent-protection) were outlawed, forcing the master guildsmen underground with the rogue Orders. Among the survivors, the Freemasons seem to have been the most prolific and adaptable, eventually showing a public face again in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

By the time of the Enlightenment, the concerns of the day shifted from the cosmological, theological, and metaphysical disputes of the Renaissance toward social, political, and economic concerns. Renaissance awakening underwent a lot of repression by the authorities, who saw free thought as a challenge to their power. While much of the conversations of the Renaissance continued on into the Enlightenment, the repression of this thought shifted much of the concern to the protection of freethinking, which entailed political and economic changes, as were expressed in the Republic of Letters, and as was endorsed as a practice within the structures of Freemasonry.

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<sup>ii</sup> Along with the plague, the Crusades left much nobleman's property to be squatted by the lower classes of feudal society. This gained hand in material possession for the peasants and the artisans would also play a crucial role in the development of capitalism and republics.

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Freemasonry is officially apolitical in regard to national politics, but its internal republican practices were integral to the overthrow of the British during the American Revolution. Like the Holy Orders and the guilds from which Freemasonry had sprung, and taking much inspiration from the Greek and Roman republics, the Freemasons practiced republican governance within their organizations. Their membership, like most secret societies of the day, was well-to-do and upper middle-class, mainly beneficiaries of the prosperity that had been brought to the West after its exposure to the East. In the Americas, they were usually land-owners, and in the Americas and Europe alike they tended to be capitalistic merchants of various sorts. It is here that the establishment of modern capitalism and republicanism share a root. While the Freemasons may not be the only actors of this period, a study of their history will uncover general trends in the Enlightenment. They act as a fine model for radical Enlightenment free thought amongst the privileged classes of the period. Of course, the general culture is most at play, and groups like the Freemasons are just expressions of the cultural outlook of the day.

The American Revolution was organized largely out of Freemasonry and similar fraternal organizations and merchants' clubs. The "Headquarters of the Revolution," as it was called, was the Green Dragon Tavern, which was also the St. Andrews Lodge of Freemasonry, headed by Master Mason, Joseph Warren. From here the Boston Tea Party was planned, and Paul Revere set about on his ride. It's no secret that George Washington was also a Freemason. The main organization of the revolution, the Sons of Liberty, was started and led, in part, by Freemasons and others of a similar outlook and culture. The Committee of Correspondence, an organization which orchestrated a false public democracy, the Boston Caucus, in order to get public support for the causes of the merchants, met at the Green Dragon Tavern, and was orchestrated largely by Freemasons. The decisions were actually being made in what is called "smoke-filled rooms," in which the well-to-do members of secret societies made decisions and then manufactured public consent to them. Eventually it would be only white, land-owning, males that were allowed a vote, according to the Articles of Confederation.

The point of all of this history is that capitalism and republics are intertwined and are mutually-necessary, which is why they have co-arisen. Republics were established by merchants to overthrow monarchies, so that they could live their dreams out as capitalists. The establishment of secret societies and gentlemen's clubs—republics which would evolve to overthrow and replace monarchies— occurred in order to protect the interest of capitalists from monarchies. After finding success with this, they turned their energy to repressing the lower classes, as in Shays' Rebellion. This conflict shifted the direction of the country from an Athenian-style direct-democracy for the rich, as was presented under the Articles of Confederation, to the republican government we are used to under the present Constitution. This change was sponsored by the Federalists, largely in order to protect their interests as private property owners against the lower classes of society, who had not benefitted much from the American Revolution. They saw in Shays' Rebellion a threat to their interests as capitalists, landlords, and bankers, and established a republic in order to protect their interests. Also true is that soon after, George Washington, who had fought against the tyrannical taxation of the British, rode as a tyrant to impose the Whiskey Tax during the Whiskey Rebellion. The corruption continues into Fries' Rebellion. Eventually, the Anti-Masonic would form as the first third-party in the United States.

### **REPUBLICS REINFORCE CAPITALISM AND PROTECT PRIVATE PROPERTY**

**I**N THE PRESENT SYSTEM, members of the capitalist class (bosses, enfranchised professionals, landlords, creditors) are always elected as representatives, and always maintain the dynamics of capitalism, from which they benefit. The republican system ensures that the mechanisms that keep capitalism in place— especially private property in real property and monopolistic control over the money supply—, remain. The mass majority of people do not benefit, but rather suffer, from private property and monopolistic control of the money supply. They are unable to challenge the conditions of capitalism within the constraints of the

republican governmental system. Representatives are always of the capitalist class, and appeal to the capitalist class, as only the capitalist class has the means to fund a political campaign. The mass majority of people do not benefit from political representation.

Even the most left of center candidates get their funding from the union bosses of the business unions. These would-be officials of state-socialism have just as much potential for abuse as private capitalists. Let us not forget the role the soviets (workers' councils, unions) played in establishing state-socialism in Russia, or, even how the syndicates and fascies (unions) established the national-capitalism (fascism, which is falsely called "national socialism" but is more related to capitalism or feudalism) of Italy and Germany in the early to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. The only unions worth messing with, such as the IWW, do not run political candidates or take part in electoral politics. Even if capitalism could be shifted away from, using the political process, the resulting state-socialism would be quite undesirable.

Some cling tooth and nail to the system, tirelessly campaigning against war, for universal healthcare, or for third parties of various sorts, for instance. They are unwilling to hear the message of the revolutionary, that the system cannot be reformed for the benefit of the lower classes; the worker, the tenant, the debtor, and the common citizen. They exhaust themselves sending letters, holding signs, and going on marches, arguing for their party and their candidates, always placing their future into the hands of the system and its officials, never claiming a future of their own. This sort of activism usually comes from those who are not directly disenfranchised by capitalism, but who otherwise do not like what is going on; usually middle class do-gooders, such as independent business owners or skilled professionals of various sorts. At times, rebellious young people from middle and upper class homes can also be found "Summer squatting" or "weekend warring" in activist movements, particularly those that could become riotous, or conflictarian. These youth are often part of a trainhopping and hitchhiking culture. Very few lower class people are found involved in political campaigning, or taking much of an interest in political matters.

## SOLVING THE PROBLEM

THE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS of political and economic representation are political and economic direct-action. That is, rather than asking for permission, or to be represented by a certain class of individuals—politicians, bosses, landlords, creditors, etc.—, citizens need to implement direct-democracy on their own behalf, need to work in cooperation without bosses, need to challenge the power of the landlord, and produce their own credit in union with one another. The ideology I feel best exemplifies such political and economic ends is the geo-mutualist panarchism that I support.

Similar to the necessity of representative democracy to the support of capitalism, free markets depend on direct-democracy. As republics arose from the demand for protection of private property from monarchs, democracy will arise from the demand for protection of personal property from the republican state. When capitalism and republics replaced feudalism and monarchies, the nation-state also replaced empires. Similarly, free markets and democracy will see the replacement of the nation-state with panarchy. Free markets must replace capitalism, democracy must replace republics, and panarchy must replace the state.

It is not enough for a market to be free. So long as individuals act completely autonomously, they will not be reaching their full potential. Economic cooperation and mutual aid are necessary for the flourishing and prosperity of a society. Thus, strict individualism is to be transcended for the ends of cooperation.

It is not enough for a democracy to be direct. So long as individuals exist at the whim of the collective, there cannot be said to be freedom or equality of persons. Unanimous consent is a necessary limit to social contracts for the flourishing and prosperity of the individual. Thus, strict collectivism is to be transcended for the ends of voluntarism.

The pursuit of voluntary cooperation is ultimately the pursuit of anarchy, and the abolition of the state, capitalism, and representation. Such ends can only be brought about through the direct-action of those who benefit from such change;

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representatives will never do away with themselves, so long as they benefit from their positions of power, nor will the propertied do away with their private claims on their own. Thus, anarchists have taken to the methods of direct-action, employing concerted activity in actions of civil disobedience, such as strikes, boycotts, occupations, and expropriations. They have proposed syndicalism and agorism as dual-power mechanisms of change.

For a rich alternative to the present system, I suggest a study into the program of geo-mutualist panarchism. The geo-mutualist model supports the common ownership of the Earth, mutual ownership of natural monopolies, cooperative management of associations, and access to capital and credit. It does away with political and economic representation by politicians, bosses, landlords, and the like.

## The Geo-Mutualist Treatment of Markets and Democracy

THE COMMON FORM of government in Western nations is the republic, and the prevalent form of economy is capitalism. By republican government, I am referring especially to the system of representative democracy, wherein periodic elections decide on individuals to make decisions on behalf of the public. By capitalism, I am referring to an economic system in which private property—as opposed to personal or cooperative property—<sup>i</sup> is dominant, and that property earns a return above cost, such as interest, profit, or rent. It is common for Western nations to have republican governments, wherein elected representatives make decisions on behalf of the population, and capitalist economies, wherein private firms compete for profits. These political and economic systems are not all alike, but come in many varieties, from parliamentary to congressional republics and from social capitalism to “laissez-faire” capitalism. Capitalist republics, these nations remain.

Capitalism can be seen to be a step toward freer markets, while not having established free market purity, and republics can be seen as a step toward democracy, while not pure democracy. Before capitalism, there was feudalism, and before republics there was monarchy. The main difference between capitalism and feudalism is that under capitalism a worker can choose their employer, and may relocate, rights of association which were

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<sup>i</sup> Private property and personal property are different in this context, in that personal property refers to property that one personally uses, and does not rent to others, while private property refers to property that is owned by someone separate from the user. According to this view, a homesteader is a holder of personal property, whereas a landlord is a holder of private property.

restricted from the serfs and peasants of feudalism. The main difference between a republic and a monarchy is that under a republic, citizens may elect their leaders, and their terms of representation are limited, while monarchies were often inherited and perpetual. The transition from monarchical feudalism toward republican capitalism was one towards greater amounts of freedom, both political and economic. It was one toward greater degrees of voluntary association in the market, and democratic participation in the political process.

Historically, capitalism and republics have been closely related. During the late horticultural and the agrarian ages, long before industrialism, maritime (sea-faring) societies would commonly have more republican forms of government, and capitalistic economies. The Phoenicians, the Greeks, and others serve as good examples of this. While neither of these societies can, in whole, be said to be fully republican or capitalist, relative to societies of their time, these societies were very liberal, allowing for much more civic participation and commerce than the feudalistic societies they were surrounded by. The same can be said of many of the medieval communes, wherein merchants and artisans established walled cities to protect themselves from the domination of feudal lords. The Papal States are another great example of medieval republics, which were accompanied by the commercial interests of strong merchant and artisan classes. These forms of political and economic civic structures were not the standard of the agrarian age, but were the exception. It would not be until after the Enlightenment that republican capitalism would become normalized, and these would in turn usher in the industrial age. It had already begun, however, as in the Renaissance, where parliamentary monarchy had become the norm in England, which had sponsored a mercantile economy.

What is most important to point out here is that, contrary to popular belief, markets and democracy are mutually-reinforcing, rather than mutually-antagonistic. The bargaining power and leveling power alike, which the merchants found in the market, allowed them the ability to form republican societies, and these republican societies, in turn, enforced property rights that allowed the market to function more smoothly on behalf of the merchants

and artisans. Historically, republics are a necessary form of governance to enforce private property rights, which a monarch was likely to neglect, and markets have provided the bargaining power to establish republics, and the leveling power to ensure that republics do not degrade back into monarchy. When we look throughout history, markets and democracy are mutually-reinforcing. Without one another, they would degrade.

In order to understand why markets and democracy are mutually reinforcing, we must look to the problems that can occur when each system acts on its own accord, and in neglect of the other. Democratic societies can themselves become problematic, when their representatives get out of hand, or when a majority becomes oppressive to a minority. So long as one cannot leave such a society, or change their officers, there is little to keep this in check, in the case a problem develops. Markets can become problematic when they operate between and further incentivize monopolies. However, and strangely enough, the solutions to these problems are help from their opponents. Marketeers see their opposition in the (small-D) democrats, and the democrats in the marketeers, but the two values actually strengthen one another when they are properly applied.

Property and markets are a great solution to overwhelming majoritarian democracy and rogue representatives, and have been found to accompany republics throughout history. Voluntary association or dissociation in the market keeps institutions in check, by putting pressures on the institutions to perform well, or to otherwise face a loss of business. While the transition from monarchical feudalism to republican capitalism did not allow for complete freedom of association, the modern nation-states of the West do allow for considerable more rights to free association than the monarchies of the past. While workers may find it economically infeasible, they at least maintain a theoretical right to relocate, even to another nation if they will be accepted. This was not a right allotted to serfs or peasants in feudal economies under monarchical forms of governance. It was the transition to republican capitalism that allowed for this, which was a move toward democratization and freer markets, while not meeting their full maturation. Modern nation-states do compete for citizens, particularly from the

educated professional classes, and they must do so, to some extent, by making their policies—particularly those relating to private property rights and business interests— more appealing to those classes.

Democratic processes are nonetheless important, despite having some associated pitfalls, such as empowering representatives or a vicious majority. Free association is not enough. Democratic processes have ensured that property is more widely distributed (even if not fully so) and that the people's voices are heard to a greater degree. Democracy provides one of the most successful counterweights to the problems of private property. In Western nations, for instance, republics have supplied their citizens with varying degrees of welfare, in order to provide some kind of a cushion for the victims of property. Similar to markets, which have been anything but truly free, democratic processes relating to our time are not pure by any sense, and are far from perfect. Any provision of social benefits granted by republics has been incremental, and not absolute. Still, in comparison to monarchy, republics have ensured capitalism as the norm, which is, like it or not, much more egalitarian than feudalism was. More people own private property under capitalism than they did under feudalism, which also means that republics have allowed for more economic freedom than monarchies.

Voluntary association in the market provides a solution to the problems of democracy, and political participation through democracy provides a solution to the problems of capitalism. The oppressive conditions of both capitalism and democracy are dissolved when the two are married and surpassed. Voluntary association of the market prevents the tyranny of the democratic majority, and participatory decision-making prevents the monopolization of the commons, as capitalism implies.

Voluntary association and democratic processes provide checks on one another, and this is the reason they are seen to be in opposition to each other, rather than mutually-reinforcing. However, they also stabilize and improve one another, the way evolutionary arms races do, such as those between the cheetah and the antelope, which has encouraged the swiftness in both creatures, despite their opposition as predator and prey. On one level, there is

opposition, but this opposition lends itself to the mutual improvement of each. In the struggle, each reaches ever further for the ever-transcendent warmth of the blazing star,<sup>ii</sup> and in so doing,

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<sup>ii</sup> Opposition is necessary for each other's definition, and for the stability of society. Society is ultimately a holographic projection, an interference pattern of the oppositional values within it. Without the oppositional forces within society, the construct of society would fall apart before any desirable end (such as the sublation of the collective and the individual), which society has been established as a means to reach, comes around. We would have to start over, the same as if one of our holographic projectors went out. Remember, it takes two interacting beams to create a hologram, which is simply an interference pattern, and we live in a holographic Universe.

The ultimate goal of human life, and the ultimate political destiny for human societies, will not be found in the domination of one vice over another, but in the synthesis of these oppositional forces. Afterall, opposition is needed for definition, and for maintaining balance. Ultimately, specificist human ideologies never play out as they are fully desired, and no single individual ever gets exactly what they want, but instead nature maintains a balance of their interests, and this balance allows for the existence of human societies. Without it, societies would fall apart. When looked at mechanically, polar ideologies play the role of defining values, and this role is necessary for society, even if these individuals will never see their values come fully into fruition. If we are to have the fruit of our

develops from their chrysalis, sprouts from their nut, maturing in their form. As it goes in spiritual thought, the acorn holds the form of the oak tree already within itself, and likewise, human ideologies contain in themselves a mature form. Republics and capitalism, these are the acorns to the oak tree of participatory democracy and free markets. As they conflict, each is stabilized in identity, and is brought closer to its mature form.

Having an economic democracy, by most definitions, implies a step toward communism, wherein the state maintains as much control of the economy as the majority believes to be necessary. Having a free market, in contrast, implies a step toward capitalism, so long as property rights are kept the same way they are today. For this reason, I associate democracy loosely with communism, as each imply social decision-making, rather than individual autonomy, and markets loosely with capitalism, though democracy can exist without communism, and markets without capitalism. I argue, in fact, that a purer democracy depends on a freer market, and vice versa. The two keep one another in check, and balance society.

In a communist democracy everything is owned in common, and decisions are made in a directly-democratic fashion. This is democratic centralism. Because all items are owned in common, all changes to those items require common management, in this case democratic process. Clearly, this is not how communists actually wish to operate, as no communist suggests that in order to drive a car, the whole commune should vote on it. In practice, communism has to step a bit away from centrism in order to function. Can you imagine receiving a referendum every time someone in the community wanted to use a car? That would be quite overwhelming, so in theory communists break decisions down to smaller units, but allow for considerable over-riding power on behalf of the larger units. The point is, any democratic element in communism must establish some system of possession for sake

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values, we must integrate them with others, and accept that our realism or idealism may conflict with the world's idealism or realism.

of efficiency, and, in practice, possession allows for exchange. This democratic element in communism, however, is quite weak. More commonly, dictators are established. While they still must hand some power down to officers and the like, communist dictators are the antithesis to democracy, and commonly revert to some system similar to that of feudalism.

On the flip side, consider “libertarian” capitalism. Everything is privately owned, and all decisions are made by the proprietors. What we have is a variety of decentralized feudalism, wherein land is privately owned and leased, without property-protection from the government. Eventually, the threat of the serfs revolting will establish some form of union between the landlords, for the sake of mutual protection of one another’s interests. If these landlords are to remain on equal footing within such an association, they must engage somehow democratically, sharing in equality of rights. Eventually, they will need to convince their renters they are somehow acting in their best interests. The point is that property rights are unstable without social conventions to back them up, and proprietors have a vested interest in establishing a union in order to maintain their privileges of private property, and protecting them from outsiders.

As you can very well see, property rights and democracy are mutually-supporting. Even the communist, if they are to be democratic, must admit subsidiary possession rights. Short of this, they will be bogged down with referendums, or must admit representation or dictatorship. Possession rights tacitly imply exchange, for what one possesses one can exchange. If this is not so, exchanges must be made by referendum, and we are back to the problem originally described. The capitalist, if they are to hold onto their property, must establish democratic government to protect it from kings and servants alike. The alternative is to lose their privileges or to associate unequally, both of which seem distasteful.

The oppression that we face today under capitalism and republics is dependent on the mutual reinforcement these have on one another. Without understanding this, it becomes easy to attack one side, and elevate the other, leading to problems. If we want to progress, it is better not to fight the forces of history, but to catch their wind and sail. Markets cannot be abolished in the name of

democracy, as the Marxist communist would have it, nor can democracy be abolished in the name of property, as the Rothbardian capitalist would have it. Communism reverts to property or dictatorship, and capitalism to democracy or feudalism. Rarely has actually-existing communism upheld directly-democratic values, or actually-existing capitalism upheld decentralism. Instead, we see communism coupled with dictators, or reverting back to capitalism, and capitalism coupled with republics.

Communists reject the market entirely, but purport to uphold democracy. In practice, they've established dictatorships. "Libertarians" of the capitalist variety uphold private property rights, but oppose democracy. In practice, private property without democratic government reverts to feudalism, wherein the market is monopolized by a single monarch. Don't look to governmental centrists for the solution, either. While more tolerable than the others at times, they merely pick and choose from solutions provided from the left and right, and mix them up. They are not truly centrist, at least not while maintaining a consistent set of values. Their picking and choosing tends to be arbitrary, rather than methodological. Rather than upholding property rights at the expense of democracy, or vice versa, governmental centrists seem to lack principles altogether, having highly subjective, random, and incoherent consequentialist positions.

Historically, it has been necessary for markets and democratic forces to coexist, so why are these so often pitted one against the other?

For one thing, our current situation has much to be improved upon, and many people are quite aware of this. For this reason, they are drawn to the various forms of psycho-political movements, such as those relating to personal identity, social placement, etc. Many of these ideologies are short- or one-sided, or both. An individual may suffer from a particular aspect of a society, grounding their psyche in the situation, and rejecting a particular part of the society or the society as a whole. They may see problems with representative democracy, while ignoring the problems of capitalism, leaving them to become "libertarians," for instance, or vice versa, becoming "democratic socialists."

Another component of the problem is historical ignorance, and the lack of consideration towards processes and evolution. People see aspects of a society that they do not like, unaware of what it was like before, or outright romanticizing a false age of glory. They often refuse to see that, while there is much progress to be made, evolution is a process. One can't build a house if one decides to keep starting over every time a foundation is established, simply because the house isn't finished yet. That is what happens with politics, though! A Marxist and a Rothbardian may agree that the society we are living in is not ideal, but they lived their whole lives not seeing that the solution was not in the eradication of the other's philosophy, but in their mutual reinforcement. Rothbard wanted nothing to do with democracy, Marx nothing to do with markets. However, freer markets are contingent on populist democracy, and populist democracies are contingent on property rights. This is true historically, and it is true futuristically.

The paradigm of capitalist republics was ushered in by the resonance of markets and democracy, and the paradigm of the future society will be governed by the same principles. Similar principles, universal in application but unique in context, drive all of evolution. Supply and demand—market selection—, for instance, is simply a matter of natural selection, and as economies are subsidiary to biology, it follows that the laws of economy must be derivative of biology. As all individuals have been sculpted by the same forces of evolution—selection—, so too have societies. The forces of societal selection have been described in detail as various forms of innovation, diffusion, subsumption, etc. in the fields of anthropology and sociology. The various forms of societal selection can philosophically be understood to work dialectically, meaning that societies evolve through the struggle offered between the competing interests in those, or between those, societies. We can see that today the struggle is taking place between advocates of capitalism and those of communism. Rather than seeing one dominate the other completely, we are more likely to see a synthesis from this struggle. That is, we will see the freedom of the market and the equality of democracy amplified together, rather than seeing one advance at the other's demise. Capitalism and

republics will be transcended, and something new, perhaps geo-mutualism and panarchy, will take their place.

In order to properly understand how the process works, we must view the present system not only as something to get past, but as something to also be preserved, as it is itself a step forward from an even deeper past than our own, which was even more vicious. Republican capitalism, that is, was a positive step away from monarchical feudalism, though it retained parts of it, the same as all evolutionary processes do.<sup>iii</sup> Just the same, we cannot look to completely eschew the things which have helped us move forward. We cannot throw our cars away at the mere thought of a flying machine, but must recognize that much of the same technology used in the car will be used in the flying machine, even if not in exactly the same fashion. Similarly, we cannot simply do away with markets or democracy, as the communist or the capitalist would have, but must put these together, perhaps with new elements, in new and useful ways.

It is good and well to criticize both capitalism and republics, but these are best criticized on the grounds that capitalism does not free the market enough, and that republics do not allow for enough democracy. Capitalism and republics alike are replete with monopolists. Republican representatives are always of the capitalist class, and the capitalist class always has the say on representation. When elected, representatives always uphold laws that protect the interests of the capitalist class, and when it comes to nomination, the capitalist class always sponsors one of their own for election, and funds their campaign. It's a revolving door policy,

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<sup>iii</sup> Nothing that exists on an atomic level or higher has simply sprung into existence, but must transition. Transition entails points in-between. It entails that step B is a mixture of A and C, rather than being wholly unique. Just because we want to get to C from A, does not mean it is possible to skip B. In fact, C is nothing more than the mixture of B and D.

and no one has been powerful enough to stop it. It does no good to criticize capitalism for having markets, or republics for having democracy.

Rather than rejecting republican capitalism altogether, it is best to learn how it overthrew monarchical feudalism, so that a new paradigm, such as panarchist geo-mutualism, can follow suit, using the same liberatory principles. These principles, by the way, were not simply ideas, but forces of nature, like the force of gravity. We too may learn to wield them, and nothing can refute them. We commonly approach politics as opinions to be forced onto others, and which do not matter until others accept them, but the laws of political economy, like those of nature herself, are not dependent on one's willingness to accept them, but are themselves a fact of their own. By learning to wield these principles, we need no longer to convince with words, but through demonstration. Geo-mutualism, a free market industrial democracy, effectively addresses the concerns on both sides of the dialectic, and by establishing institutions based on geo-mutualist principles, we are essentially catching the current downstream, to where we really want to be.

If our goal is to achieve freedom, we must work for equality, and if we want to achieve equality we must work to achieve freedom. Rather than being paradoxical, this is an argument for feedback. We can't work for economic equality by ignoring economic freedom, or vice versa; nor can we work for political equality at the expense of political freedom, or vice versa. If we want to work for freedom and/or equality, we have to work for both at the same time. This is not my opinion, but the rules of nature. You can disbelieve me if you like, but you will never achieve your goals of freedom or equality separate from one another, believe me or not.

If you are a communist because you would like to see wider amounts of wealth spread around, and democratic participation by the workers in decisions that affect them, communism is actually antithetical to your goal. If you are a capitalist because you would like to have less arbitrary restrictions, and more freedom, capitalism is antithetical to your goal. I'm not saying to trade sides, but to find the place in the middle. Worker

democracy and free markets are not only mutually compatible, but are mutually-reinforcing. In fact, it is impossible to have one without the other, the same as it is impossible to have capitalism without a republic, and communism without dictatorship.

Both capitalism and communism have positive elements, and negative ones, and the trick for the flourishing of the future society is to keep the positive, while moving past the negative. The positive aspect of capitalism is the market, but the negative aspect is private property. The positive aspect of communism is industrial democracy, but the negative is compulsory association. "Libertarian" capitalists often fashion themselves as being anti-state, as being anarchists, while communists tend to support a "workers" democracy. The market aspects of capitalism, which truly are libertarian, need to be maintained, but by maintaining an ideology of private property, no capitalist can truly be a libertarian or anarchist. Similarly, industrial democracy is a wonderful idea, but so long as the state is empowered to implement that democracy, it has nothing to do with genuine worker control of the means of production.

As an alternative to private capitalism and statist communism, alike, I propose the philosophy of geo-mutualist panarchism, which incorporates the truths of each into a comprehensive worldview. A geo-mutualist panarchy is a thorough application of both free market principles and participatory industrial democracy. In such a society, all association would be completely voluntary, and all decisions would be made by individuals affected by those decisions, and none other. The society would have free markets without capitalism, and industrial democracy without the state. The deeper expression of voluntary association will ensure that such a society maintains democratic internal organization; and internal democratic organization will ensure fairness in the provision of property rights. Many churches, unions, and cooperatives are good examples of democratic market institutions, kept in check internally by democratic process, and externally by free association. If a church, union, or a cooperative becomes particularly oppressive, it is much easier to leave than one's government is. Churches, unions, and cooperatives have provided their members with democratic alternatives to the

ownership structures capitalism, rather than simply extending them bandages for their lesions. As you can see, the voluntary association of the market ensures that—so far as it is allowed to operate—institutions are kept democratic. The shared political power in democracies ensures that their members are treated more fairly.

Geo-mutualist panarchism is unique amongst ideologies, in recognizing that markets and participatory decision-making are not at odds, but are essential to each other's development, and must be co-nurtured. Because geo-mutualism does not fight the forces of history, it is not entirely unlikely to provide the next major synthesis between today's oppositional forces, democratic communism, and private capitalism, taking their positive elements, and leaving the rest for compost.

# Understanding Markets Without Capitalism

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## INTRODUCTION

A COMMON DISCUSSION taking place among libertarians in recent years is in regard to capitalism's compatibility with a free market. While some fly capitalism as a flag of freedom, others see capitalism as being antagonistic to voluntary exchange, believing capitalism to be a relationship of domination.

From my own mutualist perspective, I will be offering my understanding of a libertarian middle ground between capitalism and socialism, a free market of worker-owners. This vision is commonly called "free market anti-capitalism." The goal will be to distinguish markets from capitalism. In order to do this, I will offer definitions grounded in ethics and in history, before describing their common usage, discussing the role they play as isms, and distinguishing them in a measurable sense. I will conclude by depicting a market without capitalism. First, a necessary discussion on semantics.

## LOADED TERMS

WORDS LIKE *SOCIALISM* AND *CAPITALISM* are loaded terms, which come with a variety of meanings to their beholders. While some may understand the word *socialism* to indicate government management over the economy, for instance, others hold the view that a socialist society should manage itself more directly, without state interference.

This second view of socialism has been embraced by such normally opposing forces as individualistic and collectivistic anarchism. The anarcho-communist, Peter Kropotkin, for instance, imagined in his works a society of freely federated communes,

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which would supply resources to one another based on his understanding of mutual aid. Influenced by Kropotkin, a similar sentiment of freedom is reflected in Oscar Wilde's libertarian socialist treatise, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism." The individualist anarchists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, concerned much more with individual liberty than with combinations of people into communes, also considered themselves to be socialists by fact that they believed that the masses of society should indeed manage more capital. This can be read in Benjamin Tucker's essay, for instance, entitled "State Socialism and Anarchism: How Far They Agree, and Wherein They Differ," in which he suggests that anarchism is a "school" of "Socialistic thought," which is to be understood in contrast to state-socialism.<sup>1</sup> Even the modern individualist market anarchist, Brad Spangler, suggests, in "Market Anarchism as Stigmergic Socialism," that his own

contention is that Rothbardian anarcho-capitalism is misnamed because it is actually a variety of socialism, in that it offers an alternative understanding of existing capitalism (or any other variety of statism) as systematic theft from the lower classes and envisions a more just society without that oppression.<sup>2</sup>

One can see the confusion that can be caused by adopting a hard set of meanings for words that people use so variably. We easily speak past one another when we cannot learn to adopt each other's definitions, at least for sake of deliberation. One does not argue that someone speaking Japanese is wrong because they use different words. Instead, we accept that similar concepts can be described with very different words, and similar words can mean different things. Likewise, even within our own language, we must understand that the words we speak are connected with a variety of concepts, and others' understandings of our words do not always align with our customary usage.

With this in mind, and as I continue forward, know that the word *capitalism* is in a similar boat as *socialism*. Like *socialism*, the word *capitalism* has a sense which is authoritarian, in that it has often been used to philosophically legitimize the control of those

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who have been disenfranchised from the institutions of the state on behalf of those who have been granted capital in its favor; and it has a sense which is libertarian, which can be seen as the rule of law, whereby even public officials must respect a citizen's rights to their property to some degree. I am aware of both of these contexts, and, for this reason, I'd like you to understand why I disavow words like *capitalism* and *socialism*, while they both maintain a positive and a negative usage. This will be rooted in the idea of equilibrium, here reflected in both economics and ethics, and will tie in with my working definitions, which I will state briefly, before following up later, as: a) *capitalism* is the absence of things commonly associated with socialism, and b) *socialism* is the absence of things commonly associated with capitalism. Things I commonly associate with capitalism are property rights, markets, state-granted privilege to business, and a renting class (workers, tenants, debtors, etc.). Things I commonly associate with socialism are communal ownership, democracy, centralism, and state-control of the economy. Before we establish the difference between markets and capitalism, we must be clear what we mean by *capitalism*, and to do this we must contrast it to its opposite.

### ETHICS AND IDEOLOGY

**I**N A WAY, my definitions of capitalism and socialism negate one another, placing each on an extreme. According to this view, any mixing of the elements of capitalism and socialism dilutes them both into a neutral third solution. In this way, capitalism and socialism are found as polar forces on opposite sides of an equilibrium, which I associate with mutualism, and which can be addressed also as *free-market anti-capitalism*. Such a dialectical process of sublation—that is, the mixing of the best parts of capitalism and socialism—toward a neutral equilibrium does not only reflect healthy economic systems as they adjust prices, but also reflects a society grounded in virtue-ethics, and can be related then to Aristotle.

In Aristotle's *Ethics*, he outlines his system of eudemonia, wherein virtues are esteemed as a means to maintain and achieve happiness. Virtues, he suggests, are never found on the extreme end of a spectrum, but are rather found somewhere in the middle.

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Vices, the opposite of virtues, are found in the extremes of deficiency and excess, while virtue is found in balance. A real world example tells us that it is neither healthy to eat in excess, nor to starve ourselves—gluttony and anorexia are equally vicious—, but rather to eat a decent amount, being an exhibition of virtue. Likewise, I argue, with the economy.

If we apply Aristotle's virtue ethics to the economy, we can understand capitalism as a vice of excess, and socialism as a vice of deficiency. This is because, in capitalism, prices are kept artificially high by way of monopoly, and a *surplus* is built up, which then must be pushed on the masses by way of advertising. In contrast, socialism artificially forces prices down, in an attempt to make everything more affordable, but this actually makes things *scarcer*, because no one wants to do harder work without more compensation. This is why socialism often ends up in work camps.

Here we can clearly see that capitalism, which builds up an economic surplus due to monopoly, is on the side of excess, while socialism, which exhausts its resources, is on the side of deficiency. If we are working with Aristotle's virtue ethics, these are clearly vices. Virtue would be found somewhere in between. I offer mutualism as that spring of virtue.<sup>i</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> Some may contest that my definitions are too rigid, and that liberal forms of political economy, such as *democratic socialism*, or models offered by, say, *The Fabian Society*, are also “middle way” paths between capitalism and socialism. While this is certainly true to some extent, especially economically speaking, it breaks down at the point of the state. Statism is, in no way, a “middle way.” Statism is “my way, or else.” Like socialism and capitalism, statism and crime can be found as two vices on the ends of a spectrum, with anarchism found between them.

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Interestingly enough, mutualism does not only satisfy Aristotle's virtue ethics, it also appeals to Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative, as well as utilitarianism.<sup>ii</sup>

I've so far grounded my own working definitions in a spectrum having two poles—capitalism and socialism being vices on the extremes of the economic spectrum, where, when one grows, it is at the expense of the other—, but I'd like also to place them in history, focusing this time on distinguishing capitalism, as a vice, from one of its aspects, which can be considered a virtue. This aspect of capitalism is markets.

### DEFINING OUR TERMS HISTORICALLY

**A** MARKET WITHOUT CAPITALISM, according to my definitions grounded in ethics, would be a market which does not exclude the positive aspects of socialism. Just as capitalism has positive aspects—markets being primary— socialism also has its virtues. A market exists without capitalism to the degree to which these positive aspects of socialism are allowed to flourish. These positive aspects, to which you may be inquisitive, are influence in social contracts—that is, democracy in association—and shared ownership of cooperatively-used capital. The degree to which such a market exists is the degree to which free-market anti-

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<sup>ii</sup> While ideas within capitalism and socialism carry valuable purposes, this remains only so far as they satisfy conditions of mutuality and reciprocity, which are universalizable, and in accord with Kant's categorical imperative.

Mutualism also satisfies utilitarian outlooks on the world. If there's anything that does well at sorting out utility, it's a society full of free exchanges, without state interference. There is no need to comment further, in a room of libertarians, on this obvious fact.

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capitalism exists. Let's take a look at these words, *markets* and *capitalism*, from a historical context.

The word *market* has been used for centuries! Being derived from the Latin, *mercatus*, meaning trade, markets express an ancient form of human interaction, where people get together, set up store fronts, specialize in various trades, and bargain with one another. Though there has historically always been state influence present in a market, this is not a distinguishing characteristic of markets themselves. Historically, an increase in the market has come with a reduction in the state. This can be seen, for instance, in the transition from feudalism into mercantilism, whereby barons lost control to merchants, and a middle class ushered in aristocratic forms of government, such as modern republics.

In contrast to *market*, the word *capitalism* has not been around long. It, in fact, has its origins in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly enough, the word *capitalist* has an older origin. Both of these words share a Latin root word, of course, *capitalis*, which means "having relation to the head." The stated "head" is that of cattle, or livestock, which gives us clues also to the nature of the stock exchange. Capital is a word for wealth that was traded all the way back in pastoral societies.

Some who use the word *capitalism* in an idealized sense use it to mean the opposite of state control, but, historically speaking, this is only half of the truth. While the shift from feudalism into capitalism certainly had its steps away from the state, capitalism as we know it today still has much state involvement in the economy. Kevin Carson, a modern mutualist, defines capitalism under such historical terms, referring to "actually existing capitalism."<sup>3</sup> He suggests that "state intervention [...] distinguishes capitalism from the free market."<sup>4</sup> When looking at capitalism under these terms, capitalism, which includes markets to some degree, can be contrasted with, as William Gillis calls it, the "*freed* [my italics] market."<sup>5</sup> Markets as they exist today are polluted with government subsidies, tolls, privileges, and disincentives. This is what mutualists and other anti-capitalist free marketeers oppose when we suggest we are against capitalism; not personal possession and voluntary exchange. We believe these forces—subsidies, licensing, etc.—to contribute to the domination of workers.

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When capitalism is defined in historical terms, as “the economic era following feudalism,” we can see the evolutionary stretch toward freedom in our economy, with capitalism being a development toward such freedom, as capitalism did indeed come with an increase in market determination. However, if we are defining our terms historically, in this fashion, capitalism should not be understood as a system which will develop from this one. Our semantics are, in this way, grounded in a historical context.

### THE MEANING OF CAPITALISM TODAY

**T**ODAY, CAPITAL INCLUDES tangible goods used for production or trade, which disincludes land and labor.<sup>iii</sup> There are, however, two clashing views on what determines a capitalist, and what constitutes capitalism. Is any owner of capital a capitalist? Some would argue that this is so, while others argue that capitalism is the system whereby those with capital employ those without (this second view is consistent with our working definition, wherein capitalism includes markets and excludes strong aspects of socialism). Gary Chartier, of *the Center for a Stateless Society*, for instance, names three senses of the word *capitalism* (which he adapted from Charles W. Johnson):

Capitalism<sup>1</sup>: an economic system that features personal property rights and voluntary exchanges of goods and services.

Capitalism<sup>2</sup>: an economic system that features a symbiotic relationship between big business and government.

Capitalism<sup>3</sup>: rule – of workplaces, society, and (if there is one) the state – by capitalists (that is, by a relatively small number of people who control investable wealth and the means of production).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>iii</sup> This definition still applies to cattle which have been bred and raised by humans, but not wild cattle.

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Gary's first sense of capitalism is consistent with all definitions of markets. One certainly can't have a market without property rights or voluntary exchanges. His second and third senses, which he uses to base his argument, "Advocates of Freed Markets Should Oppose Capitalism"<sup>7</sup> on, are the negative senses in which capitalism is defined, and are the ways in which capitalism dispels the positive aspects of socialism. That is, his first sense of capitalism is a conflation of capitalism with some of its positive aspects, while his second sense of capitalism is a conflation with its negative aspects. In my view, capitalism is the system whereby all three of these senses exist to some degree, while a virtuous economy would retain the positive aspects of the first sense of capitalism—markets—and dismiss its negative aspects—alienation of labor. A virtuous system would embrace the positive aspects and reject the negative of both extremes, socialism and capitalism, and would find a happy middle ground in mutualism.

Roderick T. Long, a contemporary left-libertarian, makes use of a Randian notion, the *anti-concept*, and, in particular, a form called *the packaged deal*:

Rand used to identify certain terms and ideas as "anti-concepts," that is, terms that actually function to obscure our understanding rather than facilitating it, making it harder for us to grasp other, legitimate concepts; one important category of anti-concepts is what Rand called the "package deal," referring to any term whose meaning conceals an implicit presupposition that certain things go together that in actuality do not. Although Rand would not agree with the following examples, I've become convinced that the terms "capitalism" and "socialism" are really anti-concepts of the package-deal variety.<sup>8</sup>

Like Chartier, and also working off of Charles W. Johnson, Long offers three distinctions of capitalism. He says,

Libertarians sometimes debate whether the "real" or "authentic" meaning of

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a term like “capitalism” is (a) the free market, or (b) government favoritism toward business, or (c) the separation between labor and ownership, an arrangement neutral between the other two; Austrians tend to use the term in the first sense; individualist anarchists in the Tuckerite tradition tend to use it in the second or third. But in ordinary usage, I fear, it actually stands for an amalgamation of incompatible meanings.<sup>9</sup>

This is what Long means by capitalism being a “package deal.” According to many people’s view, meaning (a) is incompatible with the other two. That is, according to classical individualist anarchism and mutualism, the free market would not include in its definition “government favoritism” or “separation of labor and ownership.” The free market is seen to contradict these outcomes; this is what Long means by a “package deal.” He makes up a word in order to illustrate this:

Suppose I were to invent a new word, “zaxlebox,” and define it as “a metallic sphere, like the Washington Monument.” That’s the definition a “a metallic sphere, like the Washington Monument.” In short, I build my ill-chosen example into the definition.<sup>10</sup>

Now, we all know the Washington Monument is not a metallic sphere, but Long argues that this usage of his word, “zaxlebox,” is similar to the way capitalism is used now. He says,

what most people mean by “capitalism” is this free-market system that currently prevails in the western world. In short, the term “capitalism” as generally used conceals an assumption that the prevailing system is a free market. And since the prevailing system is in fact one of government favoritism toward business, the ordinary use of the term carries with it the assumption that the

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free market is government favoritism toward business.<sup>11</sup>

From this, we can deduce a need to semantically distinguish *free markets* from *capitalism*. Free markets are the opposite of government-given privileges, and a free market in banking would actually serve to distribute capital more widely, allowing for a society abundant with owner-operators. So long as capitalism carries with it these later definitions— Chartier’s “Capitalism<sup>2</sup> and Capitalism<sup>3</sup>,” and Long’s (b) and (c)— it is inconsistent with their preceding correlations, which equate to the free market [Capitalism<sup>1</sup> and (a)].

### THE NATURE OF ISMS

IDEOLOGIES, OFTEN EXPRESSED in forms of “isms,” are powerful things, to be used for better or for worse. Behind the isms of our ideologies lie sets of general tendencies; the ism’s moniker itself can often tell us its purpose. Individualism, for instance, is clearly a philosophy regarding the centrality of the individual to human affairs. Collectivism, on the other hand, is clearly oriented toward society as a unit, opting at times to ignore individual prosperity in favor of collective well-being. For this reason, individualist philosophies are usually accompanied with capitalism, conservatism, and republican forms of government, which are meant to protect the rights of the individual; while collectivist philosophies are often accompanied by a large degree of socialism, liberality, and democratic management of society on behalf of the majority. It is assumed that individuals acting toward their own benefit will avoid collectivistic tendencies whereby their individuality may be overridden; and that collectivities acting on their own behalf will avoid the fruition of the virtuous individual, opting instead to endow power to the majority. Like *capitalism* and *socialism*, discussed earlier, *individualism* and *collectivism*, when used in this manner, negate one another. A move toward collectivism, then, would be a move away from individualism, and vice versa.

It is my belief that we need to look at the nature of ideologies, and to see what they are negating. All ideologies negate. By taking a word and adding an ism behind it, one is saying “my

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decisions are based around this idea,” and all ideas are the opposite of something else. By adopting individualism, one negates collectivism, with the opposite also being true. By adopting capitalism, one rejects socialism; and by accepting socialism, capitalism diminishes. So far we have used vices to establish polarities, but what does a virtue negate?

A virtue—defined earlier as being somewhere in the middle, and not on the extreme— negates the negative aspects of both corresponding vices. That is, to illustrate, when one eats the right amount, both anorexia and gluttony are negated. A virtue also maintains the positives of each, however. Anorexia can be seen as the lack of eating, and gluttony as the act of eating, but to the extremes of each. The act of eating should be exercised, just not to the extreme of gluttony, and the inaction of not eating may apply to the proper rate of refrain, so long as it is not taken to the extreme of anorexia. A virtue, to use the words of Ken Wilber, “transcends and includes.” That is, it negates the bad, and keeps the good. We should approach ideologies in this respect.

Isms are suggestions for social behavior or management. A hard socialist ideology, like communism, for instance, gives off the vibe that “everyone should live in communes, which should manage society.” This comes at the expense of capitalism, whereby houses can be privately owned and rented out, and where society is managed on behalf of individual capitalists. We should see both the positive and negative aspects of both of these systems, maintain the positive, and shuck the negative. The positive aspects of capitalism include the rights to property and voluntary exchange—to the degree it is allowed to exist—, and the positive aspects of socialism are having a right to influence social contracts by way of group decision-making, and the cost reduction that can come with sharing resources. The negative aspects of capitalism and socialism are both tied to domination in some form or another. On the side of socialism, this is domination on behalf of the majority of society, by way of the state. On the side of capitalism, this is domination on behalf of a minority of capitalists, by way of the state. That is, in socialism the state rules through democratic centralism, and in capitalism the state rules by chartering capitalists, similar to the way lords chartered fiefdoms to vassals in the feudal ages, upon which the serfs were forced to work.

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Indeed, capitalism itself worked along a similar progression of history when it “transcended and included” feudalism. Capitalism, when seen historically, certainly came with a net increase in freedom compared to feudalism. The main distinction between the two is the freedom serfs gained when they became workers. Instead of being tied to the land, and thus their master, as they were under feudalism, workers under capitalism can choose who to apply to for access to resources—land and capital—with which to labor. In this sense, they transcended the relationship of feudalism, by gaining the ability to choose who they work for, but they also included the relationship of master and servant, which was prevalent in the medieval economic system, by having to work for someone other than themselves. This is the dialectical method by which history operates.

For this reason, it is best to look toward compatibilistic philosophies, which do not become polarized, stigmatized, but, instead, represent something universally acceptable, and which embrace the truths of varying ideologies, and encompass them into their own. While ideologies based around individuals or collectivities, around current holders of capital or communes, are naturally polarized, negating one another, ideologies based around principles of reciprocity, mutuality, and fairness—universally celebrated, and exemplified principles—, are well-balanced, well-reasoned, and grounded in human satisfaction, celebrating the positive aspects found in the *variety* of all of life’s splendor.

We can see that those isms which are polarized against other isms often reject the positive aspects of those isms as well. Isms which are more compatibilistic, on the other hand, celebrate those positive aspects of other ideologies, and, since few ideologies are rooted in fundamentally negative values (“murderism” is not a philosophy of which I am aware, for instance), they need not pit themselves entirely against other ideologies when rejecting their negative aspects. In this way, capitalism and socialism are pitted one against another, negating each other, while mutualism pits itself against only those negative aspects of each, reflected as a whole in no ideology which exists today. In this way, mutualism is a positive philosophy, as it pits itself entirely against no other, but only against the negative parts of existing philosophies. A double negative is a positive.

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Knowing what is meant by our terms, and their orientations, we may now establish the line of demarcation between capitalism and the free market, and move along our course to understanding markets without capitalism, the goal in mind.

### **THE LINE OF DEMARCATION**

**C**AN WE SIMPLY PLACE our point of demarcation between markets and capitalism at employment of one person by another? Again, this becomes a difficult topic, this time because of the nature of bosses. If we think about it, a boss is an inflated consumer. A boss may choose to work, but the nature of a boss is that they may purchase labor from others without themselves having to work to the same extent. Regular consumers, however, are an essential ingredient to the marketplace. Without buyers and sellers the market breaks down. Consumers, though not bosses, are certainly employers! So, we must make a distinction between consumers and bosses, while both employ others. This distinction is connected to reciprocity or a break from it.

Consumers, while employing others by way of their purchases, generally do so by the fact that they themselves have been employed in a similar manner, or have taken credit backed by future employability. This is a reciprocal exchange. Bosses, on the other hand, employ others by fact that they have access to capital and workers do not. This parasitism is not due to virtue on behalf of the boss, as some would like to maintain, but is instead due to the fact that the boss has received money backed by labor that is not their own. There we have it, the classical mutualist solution to the social problem.

When people earn money by way of their own labor, they are unable to employ others without working themselves. When they have access to federal bank notes, however, representing a portion of the GDP—everyone's labor in the economy—which is not their own, they are able to employ people without working. The reason for this is that federal bank notes are titles of ownership to labor. In other words, dollars are IOUs which are written on our behalf, backed by the GDP, without our permission, and we are forced to work for these bills in order to pay our taxes. If we do not work for them, we will be removed from our homes

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by way of force. This is similar to someone writing a title to your car, or deed to your house, and using it to trade for something, without your permission. Dollars are, in fact, deeds representing everyone's productivity in the economy. These dollars are not issued for free to the general populace, whose efforts they represent, based on their productivity, as would be done in a mutual bank. Instead, they are issued in a manner reminiscent of feudalism, in that a select few landlords and bosses—today's barons and dukes—are given access to command everyone's labor.

This has very measurable effects. In fact, almost all of the interest, rent, and profit in the economy, and certainly all of the taxes, demonstrate this. That is, a free society would be entirely free of taxes, and would have very little, if any, interest, rent, or profit. The only reason these feudal returns on property or privilege granted by the state—interest, profit, and rent—are able to exist to any meaningful extent is because of aggression—assault, fraud, theft, infringement, etc.—on its behalf. Without the state's interference, competition would reward labor alone, and property would be distributed reciprocally, according to voluntary exchange and merit of claim. The state is responsible for capitalism, and is indeed its chief executive.

### **IMAGINING A MARKET WITHOUT CAPITALISM**

**A** MARKET WITHOUT CAPITALISM would be very different from the one we have today. A market without capitalism would be one in which everyone is entitled to use land for their personal benefit, where credit distributes capital more equitably, where state-business collaboration no longer exists, and where bosses can no longer remain inflated consumers, buying and selling labor that is not their own. Without the state's unilateral monopoly on force, aggression would largely disintegrate, and with it the economic returns associated with capitalism.

Such a society would incorporate the positive elements of capitalism and socialism into a form of free market anti-capitalism, wherein there is complete economic equality of opportunity, and freedom of exchange. This society would be a market society filled with competing jurisdictions, each one reflecting the will of its membership. The free market would be a sea with competing

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islands of democracies and republics, such as cooperatives and mutual associations. Instead of providing options between bosses, as capitalism provides, a mutualist society would provide options of social contracts, sets of bylaws, regulations. Instead of choosing between bosses, one would begin to make choices regarding participation in decision-making systems and their prior outcomes. In the free market, if one doesn't like the way a place functions, one doesn't move on to the next arbitrary rule of the next capitalist, but instead can find a place which allows them more influence. In this manner, the competition of the free market breeds democracy and cooperation. This should come as no surprise, as markets have always accompanied freer social organization, as seen in Ancient Athens and in most maritime societies, as well as in the papal states of the Italian peninsula of the medieval ages, and in our own capitalist republic today.

Instead of forcing democracy on people, as socialism does with its democratic centralism, mutualism allows one to "opt out," and to belong only to those associations which one feels brings them personal benefit. Mutualism—that is, markets without capitalism—in no way endorses the forcing of people into aggregate compounds, but instead supports voluntary combination from the bottom up, facilitated purely by the forces of nature. A mutualist market, in every sense of the word, is free of state interference, and a market free from the state is a market free from capitalism.

**REFERENCES**

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Tucker<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Brad Spangler

<sup>3</sup> Kevin A. Carson, 116.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., “Preface”

<sup>5</sup> William Gillis

<sup>6</sup> Gary Chartier, 108.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>8</sup> Roderick T. Long

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

# The Philosophy and Origins of Geo-Mutualist Panarchism

## Three Wise Men

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM is a complex political and economic philosophy that combines the solutions of three radical libertarian social viewpoints: Georgism, Mutualism, and Panarchism.

In order to fully grasp geo-mutualist panarchism, we must look to the originators of each of the philosophies from which it is primarily derived. In the case of the “geo-” prefix, I am speaking of American philosopher and economist, Henry George, from which Georgism, and the shortened geoism, derive their names. Mutualism was a view expressed in the philosophy of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, from France, whose anarchism impacted the early utopian socialist movement. Panarchism was espoused by the Belgian botanist and economist, Paul Emile de Puydt.

Georgism focuses on land politics, mutualism primarily on money, and panarchism on social governance. Georgists believe that everyone should have an equal right to land. Mutualists believe that everyone should have an equal right to money. Panarchists believe that everyone should have the right to choose the legal system under which they live.

Georgism is named after the American economist, Henry George. Henry George believed that everyone should have an equal right to the use of the Earth. He was a strong advocate of free trade, and suggested the lifting of taxes, except for those on land rent, which he supported a strong increase in. Henry George believed that taxing the full rental values of land was all that was needed for a healthy society to function. He believed that land rent taxes could fund all public services, without further taxing anyone’s efforts, such as their goods and services. Because land is not something that people created, it would not disincentivize labor or slow production to tax its rental value, and so public services could be provided without taking anyone’s earnings or hurting the economy. Taxing land at its full rental value would also

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disincentivize speculation, and would allow for free land to be homesteaded.

Mutualism was the project of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, French originator of anarchist political philosophy. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon believed that government necessarily came with high costs, such as being controlled. Both a libertarian and a socialist, Proudhon saw government and capitalism as intimately linked. Proudhon believed that if government would step out of the way, and let workers issue their own interest-free credit, instead of giving privileges to state or private banks, that landlordism and wage-slavery would also diminish. Proudhon supported a self-managed workers' confederation, which would organize production and consumption by way of a mutual bank that provided interest-free loans to its members. These interest-free loans would allow workers to acquire for themselves a means of production, thereby eliminating their need for landlords and employers.

Panarchism was envisioned by Paul Emile de Puydt, a Belgian botanist with a knack for political economy. Paul Emile de Puydt envisioned a political order in which anyone who had the means could form their own society and register it with a common civil registry office, giving the society a sense of credibility in the registry's network of users. The societies involved could take many forms, internally governmental or voluntary, as the members saw fit. As de Puydt saw it, as a botanist, this would allow for the better societies to develop and flourish, and for the others to be voluntarily abandoned over time.

Of the three main philosophies addressed, it will be Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's mutualism that shines brightest among them. Not only was Pierre-Joseph's first, the others' philosophies are likely derived, in part, from the work of Proudhon. George and de Puydt both acknowledge Proudhon in the following quotes.

What I have done in this book is to unite the truth perceived by Smith and Ricardo with the truth perceived by Proudhon and Lassalle. I have shown that laissez faire—in its full, true meaning—opens the way for us to realize the noble dreams of socialism.<sup>1</sup>

-Henry George

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It is simply a matter of declaration before one's local political commission, for one to move from republic to monarchy, from representative government to autocracy, from oligarchy to democracy, or even to Mr. Proudhon's anarchy – without even the necessity of removing one's dressing gown or slippers.<sup>2</sup>

-Paul Emile de Puydt

While George made great contributions in the way of land politics, and de Puydt in the nature of social compromise, these views are already included in Proudhon's mutualism to a great extent, though they were not spelled out by Proudhon in the same manner. Proudhon was a fervent supporter of federalism and freedom of association, which implies, at least to some extent, a panarchical arrangement of associations. While he mentions "panarchy" in his *The Principle of Federation*, he does so with a differing meaning attached than that of de Puydt, relating it to communism, or total control. This is not what de Puydt intended when he formulated a vision of panarchy, and so the two cannot be related. Instead, we must look at Proudhon's words, to see that his vision of society was something of a panarchy itself, being composed of voluntary associations of various local flavors. Proudhon said also, that "monarchy and democracy, communism and anarchy, all of them unable to realize themselves in the purity of their concepts, are obliged to complement one another by mutual borrowings."<sup>3</sup>

While an avid socialist, he had no intentions of legally forcing his socialism onto anyone, and made room for others to live as they saw fit, even if it differed. He said,

I protest that when I criticized [...] the complex of institutions of which property is the foundation stone, I never meant to forbid or suppress, by sovereign decree, ground rent and interest on capital. I think that all these manifestations of human activity should remain free and voluntary for all: I ask for them no modifications, restrictions or

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suppressions, other than those which result naturally and of necessity from the universalization of the principle of reciprocity which I propose.<sup>4</sup>

Were there to exist a band of capitalists in Proudhon's proximity, it would be legally safe, so long as its members were there voluntarily. Proudhon's anarchism implied a certain amount of toleration for outsiders. However, legal safety is not the same as economic security. Proudhon saw capitalism as inefficient, and believed it would ultimately be abandoned.

Regarding George, there are times when Proudhon suggests that land surpluses should be paid as insurance to those who use worse land, which can easily be understood to parallel George's sentiments of the single tax.

Let us suppose that an appropriated farm yields a gross income of ten thousand francs; and, as very seldom happens, that this farm cannot be divided. Let us suppose farther that, by economical calculation, the annual expenses of a family are three thousand francs: the possessor of this farm should be obliged to guard his reputation as a good father of a family, by paying to society three thousand francs,—less the total costs of cultivation, and the three thousand francs required for the maintenance of his family. This payment is not rent, it is an indemnity.<sup>5</sup>

While Proudhon's project contains the sentiments of both George and de Puydt to some extent, it also falls short of George and de Puydt's clarity. George's treatment primarily regards land and de Puydt's regards freedom of association, but Proudhon's treatment of labor suggests an entirely new way of living and working together. Centered on his mutual bank, it has vast implications, such as the end of wage slavery, arbitrary authority, and various forms of social unrest.

Proudhon's geostic and panarchistic sentiments were not explicitly detailed in volume. Mixed with his inconsistencies, and

the many interpretations of mutualism, history has found it easy to separate the philosophies, without recognizing the similarities in Proudhon's work. This being so, among other reasons, it has been necessary to adapt the monikers "geoism" and "panarchism" as complementary to my mutualism, as to highlight its important differences. While mutualism is traditionally anarchist, I have taken de Puydt up in his challenge to perform within his larger panarchy, and George in the task of allocating economic rent. This has led to a much more comprehensive form of modern mutualism, which properly treats land possession, and which is capable of tolerating and even cooperating with non-mutualists.

## Mutualism

### PIERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON

**P**IERRE-JOSEPH PROUDHON was born to a family of meager means, in the Mouillere suburb of Besancon, France, on January 15, 1809. Proudhon's father, Claude-François, was an artisan, earning a meager living as a journeyman brewer and cooper. His mother, Catharine, had been born a peasant, and had lived working as a personal servant. Claude-François and Catharine together had five young boys, including Pierre. Two of them died at an early age, but Pierre Proudhon was to retain a strong relationship with his other two brothers, Jean-Etienne and Claude, both of whom were younger.

As a boy, Proudhon worked with his father in the tavern and cooper shop owned by Mr. Renaud's large brewing industry, learning to brew beer and make caskets of various sorts. He also worked in the fields, doing basic agricultural work. In 1814, Besancon was invaded and bombarded by the Austrians, and the Proudhons' suburb of Mouillere, existing outside the walls of the Besancon citadel, was destroyed. Pierre's father established a new brewery in Battant, following the blockade's aftermath. Proudhon spent some time herding cattle in the Jura mountains, and then taking a job as the cellar boy of an inn. Even artisan-peasant boys get time for play now and again, and Proudhon enjoyed spending time outdoors. He also had a knack for learning, and enjoyed it.

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Proudhon was naturally gifted, but was set within circumstances that were uncommon for would-be philosophers. Proudhon was not formally educated until later, but instead, his mother, Catharine, took a very active role in his education, teaching him to spell words by the age of three. She taught him to read the Bible, which would have a lasting impact on him.<sup>i</sup> According to a friend of Proudhon's, and his eventual biographer, J.A. Langlois, his mother was

an orderly person of great good sense; and, as they who knew her say, a superior woman of HEROIC character,—to use the expression of the venerable M. Weiss, the librarian at Besancon. She it was especially that Proudhon resembled: she and his grandfather Tournesi, the soldier peasant of whom his mother told him, and whose courageous deeds he has described in his work on “Justice.”<sup>6</sup>

Proudhon's mother, dedicated to see her son along his education, arranged a bursary with the help from the family's former employer, Mr. Renaud, which put him through school. Proudhon was unable to afford books. J.A. Langlois tells us that,

Proudhon entered school as a day-scholar in the sixth class. He was necessarily irregular in his attendance; domestic cares and restraints sometimes kept him from his classes. He succeeded nevertheless in his studies; he showed great perseverance. His

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<sup>i</sup> Proudhon once said, according to friend and biographer, J.A. Langlois, “My real masters, those who have caused fertile ideas to spring up in my mind, are three in number: first, the Bible; next, Adam Smith; and last, Hegel.”

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family were so poor that they could not afford to furnish him with books; he was obliged to borrow them from his comrades, and copy the text of his lessons. He has himself told us that he was obliged to leave his wooden shoes outside the door, that he might not disturb the classes with his noise; and that, having no hat, he went to school bareheaded. One day, towards the close of his studies, on returning from the distribution of the prizes, loaded with crowns, he found nothing to eat in the house.<sup>7</sup>

The anarchist historian, George Woodcock (from whom much of my knowledge of Proudhon is drawn), tells us further that “Despite the humiliation of being a child in sabots (wooden shoes) among the sons of merchants, he developed a taste for learning and retained it.”<sup>8</sup> Proudhon was autodidactic. J.A. Langlois quotes Sainte Beuve as having said,

In his eagerness for labor and his thirst for knowledge, Proudhon was not content with the instruction of his teachers. From his twelfth to his fourteenth year, he was a constant frequenter of the town library. One curiosity led to another, and he called for book after book, sometimes eight or ten at one sitting. The learned librarian, the friend and almost the brother of Charles Nodier, M. Weiss, approached him one day, and said, smiling, “But, my little friend, what do you wish to do with all these books?” The child raised his head, eyed his questioner, and replied: “What’s that to you?” And the good M. Weiss remembers it to this day.<sup>9</sup>

After some family hardships, Proudhon was forced out of his education, and into the printing trade, wherein he taught himself Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, to be more proficient. He apprenticed at a shop in Battant, before switching to a shop owned by one of his school-friend’s family. This brought him back to

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Besancon, which was a center of activity for ecclesiastical study. Proudhon studied a great deal of Christian theology, which eventually led to his rejection of Christianity altogether. He became much more interested in social theory than religious theology. At one point during his employment in Besancon, Proudhon had the opportunity to meet the utopian socialist, Charles Fourier, and to directly oversee the printing of Fourier's books. Conversing with Fourier left a lasting impact on Proudhon. Around a similar timeframe, Pierre-Joseph met and befriended Gustave Fallot, who had been impressed by Proudhon's proof-reading skills, and sought him out. The two became close, discussing important issues in social philosophy.

After becoming a journeyman compositor, Proudhon was unemployed for a time, traveling and looking for stable employment, until Gustave Fallot sponsored his studies in Paris. Fallot would eventually catch cholera, however, being unable to care for Proudhon any further. Proudhon had developed distaste for urban living, and so returned to the solitude of the countryside of Besancon. Though Proudhon was never to see Fallot again, Fallot's support was a monumental occurrence in Proudhon's life, and would eventually give him the confidence needed to turn from printing the works of others, to writing works of his own. This boost was not immediate, however, and Proudhon, needing an income, would start a press with a friend. His interest in philosophy and writing was a detriment to his printing business, however, and after the suicide of his associate, Proudhon had to shut down his trade, and focus on his writing.

Proudhon would eventually earn a scholarship to the academy of Besancon. He had already developed a strong distaste for authority, and when the academy of Besancon asked for an essay on the importance of Sunday celebration, he was awarded a bronze medal. He took pride in the bronze, seeing it as a sign that he had made elite academics uncomfortable. George Woodcock tells us,

Proudhon's country childhood and peasant ancestry influenced his ideas to the end of his life, and his vision of the ideal society almost to the end remained that of a

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world in which peasant farmers and small craftsmen like his father could live in freedom, peace, and dignified poverty, for luxury repelled him, and he never sought it for himself or others.<sup>10</sup>

Proudhon's concern for the peasantry and working classes can easily be seen in his first work, *What is Property?*, published in 1840, in which he made his famous declarations, "I am an anarchist!" and "Property is theft!"<sup>11</sup> It was followed in 1842 by *Warning to Proprietors*. George Woodcock reminds us that,

This slogan, ["property is theft"] which gained much notoriety, was an example of Proudhon's inclination to attract attention and mask the true nature of his thought by inventing striking phrases. He did not attack property in the generally accepted sense but only the kind of property by which one man exploits the labour of another. Property in another sense—in the right of the farmer to *possess* the land he works and the craftsman his workshop and tools—he regarded as essential for the preservation of liberty, and his principal criticism of Communism, whether of the utopian or the Marxist variety, was that it destroyed freedom by taking away from the individual control over his means of production.<sup>12</sup>

Proudhon is often attributed to being the father of both anarchism and mutualism, but both of these titles are disputable. While not having declared himself an anarchist, William Godwin had preceded Proudhon in his renunciation of government, and similarly criticized the repressive role of property in his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, published in 1793. Proudhon was not familiar with his works. Regarding Proudhon's siring of mutualism, George Woodcock reminds us of a familiar trend in history, of group efforts to be usurped by a figurehead.

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In 1843 [Proudhon] went to Lyon to work as managing clerk in a water transport firm. There he encountered a weavers' secret society, the Mutualists, who had evolved a protoanarchist doctrine that taught that the factories of the dawning industrial age could be operated by associations of workers and that these workers, by economic action rather than by violent revolution, could transform society. Such views were at variance with the Jacobin revolutionary tradition in France, with its stress on political centralism. Nevertheless, Proudhon accepted their views and later paid tribute to his Lyonnais working-class mentors by adopting the name of Mutualism for his own form of anarchism.<sup>13</sup>

Not too long after Proudhon, Herbert Spencer would dispel the myth of the Great Man in history. It's important not to understand Proudhon as a Great Man, but in his actual capacity. Proudhon was certainly brilliant, being one of the few of his era to rise from peasantry to such notoriety that he received special treatment while locked in a cell; but it's important, for the sake of his own argument, not to understand him as some sort of Christ figure. Proudhon, like all scholars, was a product of his culture. Proudhon's is a philosophy which exalts the potential of the common person, and to place Proudhon on an altar of his own is to contradict the purpose of his work.

Proudhon continued to write, publishing *The System of Economic Contradictions, or The Philosophy of Poverty*. He attempted to run a printing press for a short time, before finding employment as a manager with a firm in Lyon, and finally ending up in Paris. The Revolution of 1848 broke out, in which Proudhon participated. He published his own solution, entitled *Solution of the Social Problem*. In this work, Proudhon laid out a system of mutual banking, which would allow workers to become cooperatively self-sufficient.

Proudhon began to publish articles in newspapers, which boosted his public observance greatly. He tried to establish a popular bank, gaining the support of around 13,000 people, most

of whom were workers. Unfortunately, he did not have the means to carry the operation through. He spent some time in politics, losing an election, but eventually becoming elected to join in on the debates of the constituent assembly. Here he underwent many debates, including those with Frederic Bastiat and Louis Blanc, who sat with him on the Left, among others. When the National Workshops— employment centers for the unemployed, which Proudhon was opposed to, but didn't want to eliminate until workers could become self-employed— were shut down, it provoked the June Days Uprising. Proudhon went to the barricades himself, being sympathetic to the insurrectionists, but tried to convince them of acting more peaceably. He had become very turned off by the violence of the French Revolution, and throughout his life he remained an advocate of non-violence. This did not keep him from insulting then-president Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, which would find him imprisoned for nearly three years, before being exiled to Belgium. In prison, he got married, and sired his first son, as well as wrote *Confessions of a Revolutionary* and *General Idea of the Revolution*. He was given special treatment, due to his prestige. Proudhon continued to write after he was released. He would return to France after political changes, dying two years later, on January 19, 1865, in Paris.

## FELLOW TRAVELERS AND FOLLOWERS

**P**ROUDHON'S ANARCHISM LEFT quite a wake in the waves of history, with many taking up the moniker after him, or travelling his beaten path. These would include, firstly, the egoist Max Stirner, followed by Mikhail Bakunin, Joseph Dejacque, Anselme Bellegarrigue, Elisee Reclus, and Peter Kropotkin, among others. Anarchism would take many forms throughout the years, from the communism of Joseph Dejacque to the syndicalism of Rudolf Rocker.

Like Edison and Tesla, Proudhon had not been alone in his creative activities, but had been produced by a culture in which others lived and contemplated just as well. Long before Proudhon, but unbeknownst to him, the Englishman, William Godwin, had already criticized property and government, and just before Proudhon, the American individualist, Josiah Warren, had already

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begun work on his own projects, which would later be known as individualist anarchism. Josiah Warren's individualist anarchism, of which Henry David Thoreau is considered a fellow traveler, had a large impact of its own, carried on loosely through such folks as Lysander Spooner, Joshua Ingalls, Moses Harman, Ezra Heywood, and Stephen Pearl Andrews.

Those who took up the banner of anarchism, who were familiar with Proudhon, were not always in direct solidarity, but also had plenty of criticisms. These included those named previously: Stirner, Bakunin, Dejacque, etc. It would also include a school of thought developed from one of Proudhon's largest detractors, Frederic Bastiat, who had greatly influenced Gustave Molinari. This meant that anarchism was never to be a monolith. Those who stood nearest Proudhon, picking up the banner of mutualism, would have mixed relations with the other schools of thought.

Perhaps the best known populizer of the mutualist philosophy, after Proudhon himself, was the American individualist anarchist, Benjamin Tucker. Benjamin Tucker had come to the mutualism of Pierre Proudhon by way of the Unitarian minister, and ex-military officer, William Batchelder Greene, who had himself become an anarchist, and a proponent of mutualism, writing a book called *Mutual Banking*. Benjamin Tucker had learned of William Greene through his mentor, Ezra Heywood, an advocate of free love, and an anarchist. Ezra Heywood had also introduced Benjamin Tucker to the works of the earlier individualist anarchist, Josiah Warren. Warren had been a student of the utopian socialist, Robert Owen, but had rejected his communal experiments, instead promoting a principle of "cost the limit of price," based around a labor theory of value. Tucker's own views resemble a mixture between Greene and Warren, among others.

Greene's mutualism was similar enough to Proudhon's that it need not be treated here, but Josiah Warren's views stood alone. Unlike Proudhon, Josiah Warren was not born into poverty, but actually seems to have had some social privilege. He was no less brilliant than Proudhon, being a talented inventor and musician, as well as a well-known entrepreneur and community-former, but his privilege may not have driven as much dire need as

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Proudhon had felt living as a peasant in France. His work, while quite admirable, and worthy of all the same regard given to transcendentalists of his era, did not pick up on quite the same implications as Proudhon, though it was based loosely around the same premise. Josiah Warren's philosophy was largely a philosophy of individualism and pricing; Proudhon's was a complex societal program, which reconciled the individual and the community, and in which he treated banking and pricing and much more.

Because of Tucker's promotion of mutualism, in his periodical, *Liberty*, and its mixture with individualist values, anarchist mutualism can be said to be divided loosely into two flavors. The individualistic variety of mutualism, primarily found in the United States, tends much more toward market exchanges, and less toward association, as it does in France. While mutualism as Proudhon originally envisioned it was not collectivistic, neither was it wholly individualistic, but actually sought to reconcile these values. American mutualism, due to influence from Josiah Warren, tended much more toward individualism, but looked to French mutualism for help with contracts and banking. Tucker, for instance, and many others in the individualist anarchist tradition were soft on employers, and ridiculed cooperative production as inefficient. This was not true of all of the American mutualists, however. Dyer Lum was an American mutualist who was also an avid syndicalist. In Europe, the relationship was switched, with mutualists generally supporting association. The French anarchist, Emile Armand, however, would align himself with the American individualist variety.

One of the major differences between the American and French mutualists may be that the Americans approached mutualism from a liberal mindset, which exonerated property from socialist attacks, while the European mutualists, following Proudhon more directly, came primarily from the socialist tradition, ridiculing property. Much of the discrepancy between the two schools is likely due to the influence of Josiah Warren, who praised property, and rejected socialism. Faced with influence from both Warren and Proudhon, there was a jumbling of terms, but the main concerns remained the same. Mutualists are primarily concerned with eliminating the monopoly on money, and secondly the monopoly on land. Following this, they support various forms

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of economic cooperation. This can be seen with clarity in the work of Francis Dashwood Tandy, Alfred Westrup, or Clarence Lee Swartz. Today's most prominent anarchist mutualist thinkers include Larry Gambone, Kevin Carson, and Shawn Wilbur.

Still, we have not fully covered the full breadth of mutualism. There are other currents of mutualism also worthy of mention. Within the tradition, we could loosely include the syndicalist movement, as both of its figureheads, Georges Sorel and Rudolf Rocker, spoke highly of Proudhon (but not each other), and included mutualism in their projects. We could further include the New Mutualism of Oceania and the United Kingdom, such as that promoted by Race Mathews, and the mutualist social movements of Latin America, such as the mutualistas. New Mutualism looks further back than Proudhon, before mutualism was directly associated with Proudhonian anarchism, and finds inspiration in the cooperative and mutualist movements of the late 1700's, from whom Proudhon himself gained inspiration. The New Mutualism movement works to directly promote cooperatives of various forms, credit unions, labor unions, and mutual insurance programs, which are also found in anarchist varieties of mutualism. It is distinctly marked as being a softer and more reformist approach to mutualism than the mutualism often held by anarchists. The mutualista movement in Latin America took a strong hold in Chile and Argentina, as well as in Mexico. For the most part, these mutualists resembled the anarchists of Europe and America in their concerns and formulations, practicing syndicalism and cooperativism, though they were not always outright anarchist. Like the New Mutualists, other Latin mutualists, such as the mutualistas in Mexico, often saw mutualism as a social self-help movement, rather than something directly antagonistic to capitalism or authority. They were often marked by social conservatism.

### **THE PHILOSOPHY OF MUTUALISM**

**M**UTUALISM IS A DYNAMIC PHILOSOPHY, with a large range of applications, ranging from decision-making and organizational structure to banking and monetary policy.

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The very foundation of mutualist economics, however, can be found in its notion of free contract.

Mutualists believe that individuals or groups should be able to engage in whatever kind of contracts they wish, so long as they are not aggressive in nature. They believe that government has no legitimate right to meddle in the affairs of other people, or otherwise to interfere in their agreements. With the freedom of contract also comes the freedom of exchange, making mutualism a libertarian philosophy. It is also socialist, however, because mutualists believe the employment contract to be a result of state-sanctioned monopolies, something which would wither away under conditions of free banking and free land. Absent a monopoly on land and credit, mutualists believe that workers would contract to work in associations, such as cooperatives, and to provide for each other in mutual firms. Because mutualism carries both classically liberal and socialist values, it falls into the broader category of libertarian socialism.

Proudhon's overall vision sees society working as an organic whole, with its competing interests healthily balanced. Such a society would be organized by way of voluntary contract into an agro-industrial federation, as he called it, which would consist of various forms of cooperatives and mutual companies. These companies would be united primarily for the purpose of organizing an equitable system of credit, which would promote and sustain their cooperative activities.

Mutualists propose a system of banking called mutual banking, and a system of currency called mutual credit. The currency would be backed by hard goods of various sorts, such as houses, or by labor itself, and would be issued and redeemed by the mutual bank. The mutual bank, similar in some ways to a modern day credit union, would be a democratic entity owned by its members. It would act as a bank of issue, supplying its members with its own notes, by way of interest-free loans.

The effects of mutual banking and mutual credit would be the matching of prices with labor value. In the terms of Josiah Warren, "cost" would be "the limit of price." Proudhon used a different phrasing from Warren, to discuss a similar phenomenon, often railing against what he called "the right of increase," or the right of property owners to collect tribute for renting their

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property. Josiah Warren and Pierre Proudhon were in agreement; interest, rent, and profit were forms of unearned income, which existed only as expressions of state-enforced monopolies. They could be remedied only by free, labor-backed currencies.

Another of the large issues that mutualists concerned themselves with was the issue of land monopolization. Both Josiah Warren and Pierre Proudhon found this to be a major concern. Josiah Warren intended to enable everyone the means to utilize natural resources, and Proudhon the same. Proudhon spoke of this in complex terminology, in his *What is Property?*, wherein a distinction can be made between title based on possession-usage and title based on perpetual rights. For many of Proudhon's followers, especially in Europe, *property* was a word that was more-or-less synonymous with absentee ownership, while *possession* implied direct use of the item being claimed. In the United States, mutualists continued to use the word *property* favorably, taking after Josiah Warren.

A follower of both Warren and Proudhon, and an affiliate with Benjamin Tucker, Joshua Ingalls would provide the criteria of "occupancy and use" to land claims, which was more or less derived from the concerns of Proudhon and Warren. The doctrine of occupancy and use holds that these two criterions are the only fair or just standards for holding land. This can become confusing, however, as, though Ingalls was a follower of both Proudhon and Warren, and though Proudhon had also argued in favor of a similar doctrine, Proudhon had also made similar arguments to Henry George and his single-taxers, whom American mutualists, especially, would find themselves at great odds with, despite George's favorable mention of Proudhon in the introduction to his book, *Progress and Poverty*.

## Georgism

HENRY GEORGE

**H**ENRY GEORGE WAS BORN on September 2, 1839, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to lower-middle-class parents, Richard and Catharine George. Together, Richard and

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Catharine George had ten children, which put a little extra stress on their otherwise well-off, but non-wealthy, lifestyle.

Henry George's father was a devout Christian and publisher of religious texts. An Episcopalian, he sent Henry to the Episcopal Academy. George didn't take his studies at the Academy seriously, but talked his father into hiring a tutor. He supplemented his formal education with personal studies and lectures at the Franklin Institute. Due, in part, to his large family, Henry was the second of his ten siblings who had to end his formal education at a young age, 14.

After working as a clerk for a short period, Henry George decided at the young age of 15 to sail aboard *The Hindoo* as a foremast boy to Melbourne, Australia and Calcutta, India. He spent a year and a half out at sea. He returned to Philadelphia, and got a job as an apprentice type-setter. After nine months, he had decided to move to San Francisco, California. There, he got involved for a short time in the gold rush, and followed it up to British Columbia, but faced terrible failure. Despite George's economic hardships, and arguments from her prosperous uncle, who had also been her legal guardian, he managed to marry an Australian woman, by the name of Annie Fox, and started a family with her. An author writes,

Henry was around 22 years old when he fell in love with an eighteen-year-old Australian girl who was an orphan. He married Annie Corsina Fox by eloping with her in 1861. Annie had just turned into an adult when Henry ran away with her in a borrowed suit. The couple was happy having 4 children, two sons and two daughters.<sup>14</sup>

They lived in poverty for some time, at some points nearing starvation, before George got a job at a newspaper, as a printer. He developed his writing skills, and eventually became a journalist, writing for *The San Francisco Times*, among other papers, including some of his own. The George family struggled for quite some time, but George's prestige eventually brought them out of poverty. Agnes George de Mille, George's granddaughter, writes,

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George had the unique opportunity of studying the formation of a civilization — the change of an encampment into a thriving metropolis. He saw a city of tents and mud change into a fine town of paved streets and decent housing, with tramways and buses. And as he saw the beginning of wealth, he noted the first appearance of pauperism. He saw degradation forming as he saw the advent of leisure and affluence, and he felt compelled to discover why they arose concurrently.<sup>15</sup>

Henry George had had an epiphany regarding land, which came to him first on a horseback ride, on which he stopped to rest while overlooking the Bay of San Francisco. Henry George writes of the experience,

I asked a passing teamster, for want of something better to say, what land was worth there. He pointed to some cows grazing so far off that they looked like mice, and said, 'I don't know exactly, but there is a man over there who will sell some land for a thousand dollars an acre.' Like a flash it came over me that there was the reason of advancing poverty with advancing wealth. With the growth of population, land grows in value, and the men who work it must pay more for the privilege.<sup>16</sup>

Henry George's experience on that ride had left him forever impacted, and from that point forward, George would look at land speculation as a primary evil in society, responsible for the impoverishment and servitude of workers. One author writes,

The great line of demarcation between the wealthy and the poor was highly criticised by George. He further stated that there was grave injustice in the imbalance of wealth distribution. George explained that natural resources were subjected to restricted

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access resulting in private profit thus levying high taxations on the actual producers. In his book and in his thoughts George showed how this system of divide created a system similar to slavery. Coming from [sic] a poor family George could assess [sic] the situation very clearly. George was able to point out the growth in living conditions while residing in California. He saw the Californian railroads being constructed which instantly increased land values and rents much faster than the wages were rising.<sup>17</sup>

It seems to have been a trip taken to New York that Henry George decided on the theme behind his later published work, *Progress and Poverty*. On this trip, Henry George was impressed by the great amount of wealth, but was disappointed to see that an area so rich was also filled with so many living destitute lives. Back in California, there was both less wealth and less poverty. He had decided that the imbalance in wealth was due to land monopoly, which had taken from society all of its rewards and created poverty, and which could be resolved by way of a tax on land. Henry George's single-tax proposals were to be espoused in one of his articles, "Our Land and Land Policy." George was eventually forced to leave his position at the newspaper, following an argument with one of the creditors of the newspaper.

Henry George entered politics. He started as a Lincoln Republican, but later became a Democrat. He was very critical of mining and railroad interests, political corruption, and land speculation. Needless to say, this did not make him popular with the elite, who overpowered his election campaigns, and ensured his reforms were not set into place. One of his articles, "What the Railroad will Bring Us," ensured an enemy of the Central Pacific Railroad, whose executive helped defeat George's bid for election.

Henry George released his masterpiece, *Progress and Poverty*, in 1879. He started with 500 copies that he had published himself, even having done some of the typesetting. After making quick sales, he was picked up by a publisher, and eventually began

rivaling sales of *The Bible*. By this point, George had become a world-renown public figure. Agnes George de Mille writes,

During his lifetime, he became the third most famous man in the United States, only surpassed in public acclaim by Thomas Edison and Mark Twain. George was translated into almost every language that knew print, and some of the greatest, most influential thinkers of his time paid tribute.<sup>18</sup>

George's fame compelled him to move to New York, where he became involved in Irish nationalism, eventually inspiring his travels to Ireland and Scotland, where land politics had become an issue of the day. He returned to New York a hero of sorts, and was persuaded by a petition of 34,000 voters to run for mayor under the United Labor Party. He lost the election, coming in second, just ahead of third-place candidate, Theodore Roosevelt. Supporters of Henry George thought that there had been some sort of fraud in the election.

Also while in New York, and in despite of his wanting to nationalize land and natural monopolies, George had written a strong defense of free trade, called "Protection or Free Trade." Following a trip to Australia and New Zealand, George's health started to suffer, but it didn't keep him from writing, one of his works being a scathing criticism of Herbert Spencer, entitled *A Perplexed Philosopher*. Attempting a final run for office, despite his poor health, Henry George died on October 29, 1897, in New York.

## FELLOW TRAVELERS AND FOLLOWERS

**H**ENRY GEORGE'S PHILOSOPHY, called *Georgism*, or *geoism*, left a strong impact on the populists and political labor movements of his time. Because of George's focus on land politics, and his resolution for taxing land, coupled with his praise for free trade, Henry George's followers would be known as *single-taxers*. The single-tax movement had a comprehensive following, with clubs, charities, and communities forming around

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the idea. Some attribute the rise of the progressive movement to the efforts of George. His influence can be seen on such brilliant minds as Albert Jay Nock, John Dewey, Albert Einstein, Martin Luther King, Jr., George Bernard Shaw, Franz Oppenheimer, Teddy Roosevelt, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and more.

Henry George had not been the first to promote the idea of land value taxation, however. This had been a theme running throughout liberalism after the Enlightenment, which can be found in the works of the English philosopher, John Locke, as well as that of pantheist, Benedict Spinoza, among others, such as the physiocrats, Pierre Le Pesant, sieur de Boisguilbert, and Sebastien Le Prestre de Vauban, and, later, the renown economists, Adam Smith and David Ricardo. It would also be promoted in Thomas Payne's work, *Agrarian Justice*, in John Stuart Mill's *The Principles of Political Economy*, and in early editions of Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*. Henry George, still, had become the largest popularizer of, and most consistent thinker regarding, the idea.

Like Proudhon before him, George's followers would not always meet him on every issue. While George's philosophy also treated money, trade, and civil government, his overall impact was mostly in regard to land, and his followers referred to themselves as *single-taxers*. The simplicity behind the name may have increased the influence of George's land policy, but it led also to the great neglect of George's other contributions. Today, Georgism comes in many hybrid forms, as well as those which appeal to George more directly. Some completely ignore George's proposals that didn't deal with land directly.

George was a greenbacker, and he opposed both private banking and metal-backed currencies. He felt it to be the government's role and duty to issue a stable currency. He was opposed to the idea that money had to have intrinsic value, in the way that commodity-money or commodity-backed money does. Instead, he supported notes that retained their value due to being redeemed in taxes and government fees and fines. Mainline Georgism retains George's basic monetary policy, but there are others who disagree with George, while maintaining his views on land policy. Of these include the contemporary economist, Fred Foldvary, who supports metal-backed currencies and free banking, coming from an Austrian School understanding of money.

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While Henry George was an avid supporter of government-issued currency and collection of taxes, there are those who have taken influence from George, while rejecting the role of government altogether. Already mentioned, Fred Foldvary teeters on such lines, having written a paper, “Geoanarchism,” in which he proposes that voluntary communities can be responsible for collecting and distributing land values. Long before Fred Foldvary, a similar idea had been proposed by a fellow by the name of Spencer Heath. Spencer Heath believed that government was the improper instrument for the collection of rent, and instead supported the collection of rent by private landlords, who would use the rent to compete with government, by providing better semi-public services to their tenants than governments do to their citizens. While Spencer Heath supported private landlords, Fred Foldvary seems to be largely in favor of democratic communities, though he is otherwise an avid supporter of capitalism, and doesn’t oppose hierarchy. For this reason, among others, we can understand geoanarchism and Heathianism as two separate, but somewhat related, entities, which stand in contrast to “geostatism.”<sup>ii</sup>

Whether anarchist or statist, there are different positions taken in regard to what should be done with land rent once it is collected. Henry George had proposed that land rents could fund all governmental services, but, taking after influence from Thomas Payne, that any surplus collected should be paid back to society, not as a charity, but as a right. This payment to society of land rents was called the *citizen’s dividend*. While anarchists may be more inclined to dividends than public services, this may not always be the case, so long as the services are provided contractually. While statist may be less opposed to public services than anarchists, there still exist minarchists, who would like to see government’s role reduced to, what they see as, a minimum. What is to be done with the land rents once they are collected provides a split among

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<sup>ii</sup> I do not regard Heathianism to be a proper form of anarchism, any more than I do other forms of anarcho-capitalism, or anarcho-communism. It is my opinion that mutualism provides the true basis of anarchy.

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Georgists. Those who refer to themselves as geolibertarians generally favor more citizen's dividends, and less public services, while those I'll label "geoliberal" are contented with smaller dividends and more public services.

It's not with surprise that Henry George influenced both the libertarian and socialist camps, as well as between. George's view treats land, labor, and capital as being distinct, and his position on land was certainly held with favor by socialists of his day and after. His free trade position on labor quite contented the libertarians. He was met with mixed feelings in regard to his treatment of such things as capital and money, however. George wanted natural monopolies to be run by the government, sometimes on municipal scales, but he was otherwise a staunch advocate of free trade. Libertarians would ridicule George for his support for state involvement in natural monopolies, as not being consistent with his views of free trade; and socialists would ridicule George for his free trade views and support for employers.

Despite the differences between Georgists, there is a general agreement between them that land values belong properly to the people, and should not be privatized. This has even influenced some politicians to setting land-value taxes into place to some extent, though there can't be said to exist a true single-tax utopia. Land value taxes rarely, if ever, equal the full rental value of land, and are never the only established tax, but are always found alongside others. While this has kept Georgism from solving the social problem, there is still a small set of empirical evidence that George's land policies do what he suggested, removing land speculation and idle property to a noticeable extent.

Perhaps the most iconic of George's waves of influence has been the board game, *Monopoly*, originally called *The Landlord's Game*, and created by a Georgist Woman by the name of Lizzie Magie. The game was designed to demonstrate to children the principles of Henry George's land politics, and took into mind also his banking policies. Before becoming monopolized itself, *The Landlord Game* had become a cultural phenomenon, similar to hopscotch, with boards copied from one another in the way children have copied the squares of hopscotch from one another over the years. The monopoly of *Monopoly* is one of the great ironies of progressive history.

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF GEORGISM

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GEORGISM begins, and for some ends, with Henry George's treatment of land. Henry George understood land to be a public asset that had been privatized and monopolized. This allowed wealthy landowners and industrialists to have an unfair say in politics, and to rob laborers and employers of their efforts. Henry George believed that a majority of the great advances made through innovation and free exchange had been privately taken and enjoyed by a class of—primarily landlord—monopolists. The land monopoly had resulted in land speculation, land which has held out of use, and allowed to sit fallow, while the owner waited for its value to rise. It offended George to see so much idle land, held for speculation, while so many of his fellow countrymen and women were living in poverty, having no claim to the lands on which they were born.

In order to remedy this, Henry George proposed that the full rental value of land be collected as a tax by government. This, Henry believed, would do many things. Most importantly, it would alleviate the economy from the clutches of monopoly. It would do this by incentivizing the possession of only that land which one was putting to use, and by distributing the rent of the land to society in a more equitable fashion. Land would no longer be held in speculation, and there would be ample revenue to fund government, without having to tax anyone's efforts. This would ensure an increase in innovation and production, which was the opposite effect of other taxes, such as those on labor or capital. Any amount of rent that was not used to fund public services would be distributed to the public as a citizen's dividend, which would ensure a certain degree of economic equality.

While Henry George proposed such a tax system, and otherwise advocated free trade, it is both correct and incorrect to call Henry George's proposal a *single-tax*. It is correct if one wants to speak this way about a family of taxes, but that's what Henry George's proposal really was, a type of tax, not a single form of taxation. While the basis of his tax proposals centered on land, this took many forms. In his concerns for land, George also treats such matters as transportation and right-of-way, as well as water and mineral supplies, among others. In Georgist terminology, land is

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simple-speak, which actually refers to all natural resources, including water, minerals, space, and the ecology of an area. Each area of George's concern regarding natural resources was to be treated separately, but under the same general premise that natural resources are a common asset. For this reason, it may be better to regard Henry George's proposals as a set of taxes, rather than a single-tax. However, as these taxes are all grounded in the same concern, and are remedied in much the same way, it is not entirely improper to suggest that these constitute many forms of one, single-tax.

Aside from his proposal for land-value taxation, George's monetary theory stands out most. While some Georgists have rejected his monetary views, or have tinkered with them a bit, others are more-or-less contented with George's original proposal. Henry George made a strong distinction between money and goods. Goods, as he saw it, maintained a value due to their ability to be consumed. This role was not necessary of money, which had value due to being able to facilitate exchanges. George saw no need in money having intrinsic value, but only redemptive value. This was not unlike the mutualists, except George would have money printed and redeemed by government in tax payments, rather than voluntarily provided by a mutual bank. George was opposed to metal-backed currencies, such as gold and silver certificates. He also made a distinction between credit and money: credit had preceded money. While George was a proponent of credit, along the lines of the Real Bills doctrine, he also made a strong criticism of the expansion and contraction effects relating to credit, which he did not see as an issue with government-supplied currency. Today, Georgist monetary views range, with some taking influence from the Austrian school, Keynesianism, or other sources, such as monetarism, which some have incorporated more-or-less into a traditionalist Georgist understanding of money. Recently, there has also been much interest in the post-Keynesian approach to money, called *Modern Monetary Theory*, or MMT.

Henry George helped to usher in the progressive era, and did not stop at his land and monetary proposals. George, again like the mutualists, was opposed to intellectual property. He supported the suffrage of women, and even went further to propose a women's house in Congress. He opposed political corruption, and

promoted, quite successfully it seems, the use of the secret ballot, as well as campaign finance reform and political spending restrictions. He also supported public transportation and libraries. While many of these views are held today by Georgists, many also diverge, some being entirely discontented with George's willingness to use government to set his ideas into place. Much of the criticism on this end comes from a tradition which was arguably expressed first by Belgian economists, Gustave Molinari and Paul Emile de Puydt, and later in the work of Austrian economists.

## Panarchism

PAUL EMILE DE PUYDT

**P**AUL EMILE DE PUYDT was born on March 6, 1810 in Mons, Belgium, to Jean Ambroise de Puydt and Marie Michot de Puydt, a comfortably well-off family. Jean Amroise had served as governor of a province in Belgium, called *Hainaut*, beginning when de Puydt was twenty years of age, and lasting four years. De Puydt's father had also been married prior to meeting Paul Emile's mother, a relationship which gave him six children, Paul Emile's older half-siblings. One of these siblings, Remi de Puydt, seems to have gained some degree of public attention as a civil engineer, politician, and military colonel. Jean Ambroise would marry Marie, Paul Emile's mother, giving him another four children, of which Paul Emile was the second to be born.

After his studies had ended, de Puydt spent some time as a journalist and an editor. With friends, he eventually produced a theatre piece. Eventually he started to participate in government, and had secured himself a position as the director of Mount of Piety, a pawn broking operation that acted as a charity. De Puydt had a passion for botany, especially for orchids, and established himself as quite a well-respected botanist, putting out multiple editions of his works. His surname, de Puydt, serves as standard botanical author-based nomenclature, and names the species he analyzed and described. He had also authored a few novels. He eventually took a position as a secretary at the Society of Horticulture in Mons, and later became vice-president, and then

president, of the Hainaut Society of Arts and Letters. In 1841, Paul Emile would wed Fanie Catherine Cousin, with whom he had two children.

Aside from his novels and botanical works, de Puydt had also written on matters of political economy. Most famously, he wrote a paper called "Panarchy," wherein he demonstrated his desire for a society wherein people could choose for themselves, without moving, the form of government, or even non-government, they wanted to live under. De Puydt specifically mentions Proudhon and his anarchist project in his system of panarchy, as a potential competitor in the economic competition between social systems. The anarchist, Max Nettlau, writes,

One will feel closer to his idea if one replaces in one's mind the word "government," which he always uses, with "social organization," especially since he himself proclaims the coexistence of all governmental forms up to and including "even the AN-ARCHY of Mr. Proudhon," each form for those who are really interested in it.<sup>19</sup>

De Puydt would also write work dealing with charitable institutions, the progress of civilization, and the relationships between morality and the arts. He died in Mons, Belgium, on May 20, 1891.

## FELLOW TRAVELERS AND FOLLOWERS

UNLIKE PROUDHON AND GEORGE, Paul Emile de Puydt never seemed to see any real economic hardships in his life. When he writes of hardship, and deals directly with the matter, it is by way of charities, which necessarily place him on the giving end. Unlike the peasant, Proudhon, or even the lower-middle-class born George, who had also faced hardships as a young worker, poverty had not touched de Puydt personally. It was his soft-hearted nature alone that drove him to address social and economic issues, and he did so as somewhat of a philanthropist, it

seems. This being so, de Puydt's philosophy was much less likely from the start to appeal to the masses in the same way of Proudhon's ridicule of the monopolization of capital, or George's derision of the land monopoly. De Puydt necessarily approached the matter of political economy as an outsider, at least as it would be held in the views of the working classes. What good would being able to start one's own government do, if one lack the resources to do it? The largely-socialist workers of de Puydt's era did not latch on with near the ferocity of that of Proudhon's mutualists or George's single-taxers. Indeed, George and Proudhon themselves had a hard enough time appealing to the workers with notions falling short of full collectivism. This being the case, de Puydt would not leave as much of a splash as Proudhon or George, though his contribution would be remembered, and revived by those looking for solutions to the social problem, including those from socialist and anarchist backgrounds.

Paul Emile de Puydt was not the first, not even from his own country, to promote the idea of governments competing for citizens within the same territorial area. It seems the first to have spelled the idea out in detail may have been Gustave de Molinari, in his paper, "The Production of Security." In a similar manner to de Puydt, but eleven years before him, Molinari suggested that security could become a marketable good like any other, and become subject to the demands of the market. As he saw it, this would be drastically more efficient than monopolistic government, and so was likely to outgrow it. De Puydt was likely familiar with Molinari. Molinari's approach is not quite the same as de Puydt's panarchy, however, though they are both related. The main difference is that de Puydt proposed an office be used, which would register the competing governments, called a *civil registry*.

In some senses, the notions behind panarchy were also implied by the project of Proudhon, although Proudhon approached the situation from the bottom, up, rather than from the top, down. Proudhon's anarchy was a uniting of cooperative interests, while de Puydt's panarchy was selective and not entirely inclusive. Proudhon's anarchy was more universalistic, while de Puydt's panarchy was particularist. However, Proudhon understood his own unitive anarchism as necessarily developing from competing interests, and de Puydt understood his selective

panarchy could eventually lead to mass agreement about what is best. In a strange way, anarchism and panarchism can be understood to be striving toward the same thing, though from different angles and interests.

There is not much to be found in the way of de Puydt's immediate impact. Of the earliest I am aware to mention him, was the anarchist historian, Max Nettlau, who wrote an article, called "Panarchy: A Forgotten Idea of 1860." More recently, panarchy has been revived by father and son, Kurt and John Zube. Others, such as Richard C.B. Johnson, an economist from Sweden, and Michael Rozeff, a finance professor from New York, Le Grand E. Day, a writer in California, Aviezer Tucker, a professor in Alaska, and Swiss thinker, Bruno Frey, are some of the latest to fly the same banner, or walk a similar path, as panarchy.

### THE PHILOSOPHY OF PANARCHISM

**A** PANARCHY IS an intersocietal arrangement in which multiple providers of civil codes and services, registered with a common office, compete for customers. One can imagine a panarchy as a political situation that is much like the situation of churches today, each having their own doctrines and manners of governance, but with members living in mixed neighborhoods, each subscribing to their own choice. In a panarchy, one can choose one's government in the way one chooses their church, or any other services, without having to move away. The idea of panarchy originated from the paper, so called, by Emile de Puydt, but has since lacked the same attention that the other philosophers previously mentioned, Proudhon and George, had gotten. Unlike Proudhon's anarchist mutualists, and George's single-taxers, Paul Emile de Puydt never gained such a following. Neither de Puydt himself—so far as I am aware—, nor others to come immediately after him, have expanded on his project, working to give it definition. Still, this might be for the better, for much of the beauty in de Puydt's *Panarchy* is in its simplicity and nonpartisanship.

One gets the sense that de Puydt himself was a libertarian, clearly influenced by market economics, and wished to apply market exchanges to matters of social governance. This is what

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puts his project in direct affinity with the liberal anti-statism of Gustave Molinari.

Paul Emile de Puydt has little to say in his essay on “Panarchy” about money, public services, etc. but one must presume that all of these will be taken care of by the government chosen to provide such services, in the manner most satisfying to its customer base. Much of the idea behind competing governments within overlapping jurisdictions, is that if governments—or equally sovereign entities—have to compete for citizens, they must do so by providing services to them. While a citizen may agree to the right of such a government to tax or subdue them in certain circumstances, it would not be an infringement on their original voluntarism. As de Puydt saw it, almost paradoxically, freedom had to include within it the right not to continue to be free.

De Puydt, instead of waiting to win elections, and thereby forcing ideas onto others, was much more interested in people doing the work to create their own governments economically from the bottom up, and seceding from those with whom they disagreed. He entertained the notion that the competition between governments may lead to such an increase in quality, that everyone may choose the same one. So long as it comes from the free agreement of people, de Puydt sees no offense in such an end.

## Geo-Mutualist Panarchism

WILLIAM SCHNACK

I WAS BORN on May 14, 1985, in Carson City, Nevada, to comfortable, though not wealthy, parents, Kirk and Cindy Schnack. My father was raised on a ranch in Northern California. As an adult, he and my grandfather shared some entrepreneurial activities. My mother, a strong-willed and very capable person, came from a poverty-stricken background, her family having to camp at times in order to survive. She had lived a hard life.

From a young age I took a strong interest in zoology and history, especially—being a young boy—the history of warfare.

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Reading on these subjects entertained me quite some bit as a child. I never much cared for school, however. Anything I was forced to read, and especially fiction, I rejected as having little to no practicality in my life. If it had value, why was I being forced to read it, rather than seeking it out, from the success I have seen it bring to others? These are the sorts of questions I would wonder. I asked my parents to pull me out of school, to which my father, likely correctly in the state we were living, replied that if I didn't go to school, the government would take me away. Needless to say, this didn't ring out as logical or right to me, and contradicted all of the other things I had been told, like how I was lucky to be living in "the land of free," and how proud I should be to be an American. "How is this the land of the free," my childhood mind reasoned, "if I have to go to school?" Today, as an adult, I only wish more thought like I did as a child.

This attitude only became inflated when I was introduced to punk rock, while I was living in Arkansas, as a middle schooler. I had previously liked some select country and rock songs, but, overall, music bored me. I didn't get it. Punk rock, however, had an element of realness that was missing in other music, and soon enough I was playing in bands myself. The singers of punk bands touched on social issues, and groups like Anti-Racist Action and The Positive Youth Foundation set up tables at punk rock festivals. Between the groups and the musicians, there was an obvious dislike for authority, which appealed to me greatly. Bands like Crass, Propagandhi, and Aus-Rotten, for instance, as well as some of the zines I received at the booths I visited, promoted the idea of anarchy. At first, I thought it was just shock material, as many of the punk bands resorted to shock value for entertainment purposes. Becoming interested in my new chosen lifestyle, as a punk, as well as the accompanying aesthetic, I soon attached myself to the anarchy symbol. Soon enough, I would be declaring myself an anarchist, knowing little to nothing about the actual philosophy, but knowing I disliked authority. Discussions on the internet convinced me otherwise, for a short time, and I experimented with liberalism, libertarianism, and communism. Anarchy always stuck in the back of my mind, though, and after reading Benjamin Tucker and Peter Kropotkin, I had solidified my anarchism. No longer were the circle-As I would scribble meaningless rubbish, but they

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actually had a long, rich, and impressive history. Better yet, one that really resonated with me, and continues to do so today. Anarchy is order, or so proclaimed Proudhon, and the “O” around the “A” represents this statement.

As soon as I could—in part inspired by a Crimethinc pamphlet, “Dropping Out”—I dropped out of highschool. If not for my anarchist philosophy, I would never have done this, but my mindset at the time had solidified confidence and courage in me, that I otherwise would not have had. I had no interest in getting rich, because I had learned that getting rich was always something that occurred at the expense of others. Formal education represented the means of gaining privilege to exploit others. It was also disinformation. I had also lost all interest in school and directed education, preferring to study and decipher truth on my own. Perhaps most importantly, I had given myself value, and started to believe in my own potential, a potential which authority had always tried to stifle, knowingly or not.

When I became a legal adult, I got an apartment, and moved out with my girlfriend of the time. This part of my life represents the complete solidification of my anarchism, as it represents a high point in my young adult, self-directed education. By this point I had joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and considered myself largely an anarcho-syndicalist, with preferences toward mutualist economics, a position I would hold for quite some time. I would organize with the IWW for some six years or so, establishing a local General Membership Branch with a few friends, and being elected delegate. I eventually talked my girlfriend at the time into “salting” a corporate coffee house, after I had failed to get hired there. This led to the first Starbucks Workers’ Union in Texas, which was part of a larger, international campaign at the time. Not long after, I would resign from the IWW. This was due in part to my criticism of majority rule, and the inability to charter our local branch while using consensus, but also because I felt the IWW to be somewhat restrictive in its focus. All it took was a harsh breakup to solidify my decision to resign, and to focus my efforts elsewhere.<sup>iii</sup>

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<sup>iii</sup> I still hold the IWW in high esteem, especially as a historical organization.

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Since my time in the IWW, I co-founded The Black Cat Collective, a general-purpose mutual aid association, and its affiliated People's Arcane School, a peer-instructed school of philosophy, science, and mysticism. In my organizations, I have engaged many in the consensus process, have inspired many to step into leadership roles they otherwise would not have, have set up many public events of various sorts, hosted many educational workshops and classes, and started a literary journal and a lending library. On my own time, I have written many essays, given many public talks, and instructed many classes. I continue to do so.

### **FELLOW TRAVELERS**

**W**HILE I BELIEVE I am the first to have put geo-mutualism and panarchism together into a comprehensive whole, I am much less confident in saying the same of geo-mutualism more simply. This is both because of fellow travelers who came long before me, as well as due to a contemporary, Jock Coats, who seems to have beaten me by just a short time in coining the term.

I first became aware of Jock Coats after having published an essay on my blog, "Interest and Premium: A Geo-Mutualist Synthesis," wherein I thought I was the first to bridge the two antagonistic schools. While I just may have been the second to use the term seriously, it was soon pointed out to me by my new Georgist allies that Jock Coats, an Englishman, who had served for some time as Oxford City Councilor, had already coined the phrase. Jock, it seems, had coined the phrase after a Henry George binge, but would eventually reject it, in favor of mutualism, more simply.

Long before Jock Coats and myself, there were already folks travelling down the paths cleared by both Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Henry George. Perhaps the most important of these include Silvio Gesell, a German merchant, and Ralph Borsodi, an early "back-to-the-lander."

Silvio Gesell would take great influence from both Henry George and Pierre Proudhon, synthesizing their work to a great

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degree in his political program of *Freiwirtschaft*, which means *free economy*. In his work, *The Natural Economic Order*, Gesell would propose a Georgist system of land, which he referred to as *free land*, and a system of money, called *free money*, loosely inspired by— but as Gesell saw it, greatly improved from— Proudhon's efforts. Gesell's free money had an innovative new characteristic: It expired. Gesell had applied a system of demurrage to his currency, a fee for its use, which would keep idlers from speculating on money, allowing it to better do its job as a means of exchange. This was similar to the way George had solved land speculation.

Ralph Borsodi had been inspired by both Henry George's land reform ideas, and the alternative currency views of many of the individualist and mutualist anarchists, such as Josiah Warren, Benjamin Tucker, and Laurence Labadie. Borsodi is perhaps best known as the founder of the community land trust movement, which applies the principles of Henry George to joint property, voluntarily. Along with Ralph Borsodi's community land trust schemes, he created alternative forms of credit, to allow homesteaders to start their lives in the communities he founded. Borsodi's non-profit institution, The School of Living, does great work to this day.

Gesell and Borsodi were not alone in their mutual influence by George and Proudhon, they are simply the most important to focus on in this work, as Gesell's system of demurrage, and Borsodi's land trusts, will feature quite prominently in geo-mutualist economics, as they are presented in this work. Also sharing the influences of George and Proudhon, or at least mutualism, are Borsodi's contemporary, Bolton Hall, as well as Borsodi's modern heir, Bill Mollison, famous for founding the Permaculture movement. Long before Gesell, Borsodi, Hall, and Mollison, the Russian anarchist of Christian persuasion, Leo Tolstoy, held the work of both Proudhon and George in high regard. A work by Fred Schulder, associated with the American individualist or mutualist tradition, called "The Relation of Anarchism to Organization," touches briefly on land, suggesting Georgist elements among anarchists.

While not necessarily fellow travelers of the philosophy of George or Proudhon— but because they have been an influence on me more personally, but have not yet been mentioned, and as I

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am to construct a comprehensive understanding of geo-mutualist theory and practice—, it is necessary to bring a few more influences to the table. Firstly, it is without a doubt that the organizationalist strain of social anarchism, especially as expressed by way of Russian revolutionary Nestor Makhno's platformism, and German anarchist Rudolf Rocker's anarcho-syndicalism, has had a large impact on my approach to anarchy and its establishment. I have envisioned geo-mutualism as nothing more than the economics behind a highly complex and modern industrial workers' democracy. It is here also necessary to mention, however quickly, the influence of Gustav Landauer's folk communalism on me, which provided me with an anarchist affirmation of the organic community. Next, but just as briefly, the distributism of G.K. Chesterton, with its criticism of coercive federalism, and its promotion of the principle of subsidiarity, has been of influence. Probably more than any of the so-called anarcho-capitalists, Samuel Edward Konkin III has been of large impact. While others, such as Molinari and von Mises, have inspired me as well, Samuel Edward Konkin had a populism about him that set him quite apart from the others. In many ways, Konkin's agorism—the idea that gray market exchanges can evolve society past the state—resembles the mutualist project, even seeming to promote egalitarian associations at times. Still, he took much unneeded influence from others in the so-called anarcho-capitalist camp. In some senses complementary to G.K. Chesterton, and his love for the small, the permaculturist, Bill Mollison, has been a large impact on me, and has influenced my ecology. Perhaps my most recently impacting influence has been Keith Preston, whose concept of pan-secessionism, while also quite frightening, has become a beacon of hope for this once-young anarchist.

### **THE PHILOSOPHY OF GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM**

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM describes a society in which people have fair access to land and money, and have the ability to choose the legal system under which they live. Its primary influences are Henry George, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Paul Emile de Puydt— whose coordinating philosophies combine to name the approach—, while taking further influence

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from others, such as Josiah Warren, Silvio Gesell, and Ralph Borsodi, to name a few among many.

Geo-mutual panarchists take a panarchist position on social governance, believing that every individual or group has the right to decide on their own legal system. An individual or group's choice of legal system is to be applied only within their own boundaries, which are expected to overlap in many cases. This is similar to the manner in which one chooses one's church. One's neighbors may go to completely different churches, or none at all. There is, however, an agreement to non-aggression and fair regard.

Geo-mutual panarchists take a Georgist position on land, believing everyone to rightfully hold the right to the use of the Earth. Unlike Georgists, geo-mutualists do not refer to land collection as taxes, but, taking after Proudhon, are anarchists, and taking further inspiration from Ralph Borsodi, support the collection of land values by land trusts, as dues. Rather than land-value taxes collected by government, geo-mutualists support dues paid to a confederation of cooperatively-managed land trusts. Geo-mutualists do not believe force to be necessary in the collection of land rents, but fully believe in the power of labor-banks, controlling the labor market, to take control of the economy at large, eventually subsuming land and capital into its cooperative control. Geo-mutualism is expected to be established in a completely voluntary and non-aggressive manner. Rather than seeing Georgism as antagonistic to occupancy and use, geo-mutualists believe Georgism provides the best means of defining the right to such occupancy and use.

In regards to banking, geo-mutual panarchists believe that everyone has a right to the means of exchange. Geo-mutualists would provide everyone such a right, firstly, by way of a member's dividend—similar to George's citizen's dividend—paid to those who live on low-rent land. It would be the duty of those living on high-rent land to provide services to these others, in order to acquire their money to make their own rent payments to their land trust. While shifting economic rent to the dispossessed, this would not provide enough currency for a healthy economy. The rest would be issued in the form of mutual credit, whereby anyone could monetize their collateral or future labor. This would be done through a mutual banking confederation, which would issue its

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members loans, to be repaid without interest. In order to stabilize the currency, and to prevent speculation on money, demurrage is to be applied to all money which has faced a loss in the value of its basis, and a seigniorage payment paid to those whose collateral has gained in value.

Geo-mutualism itself would include within its program a concern for cooperative management of enterprise, mutual organizations for the provision of social services, and more. However, when panarchism is applied, these microeconomic aspects, while not forgotten, are not pressed in the beginning stages. The reason for this is that geo-mutualist panarchists understand such microeconomic conditions relating to the cooperativization of workplaces, and the mutualization of municipal services, to be effects of larger macroeconomic conditions already laid out in the program of geo-mutualism (namely fair access to land and credit, and freedom in one's associations). This being the case, geo-mutualist panarchists don't have to explain their whole worldview to others, but simply must appeal to them on the issues of free credit, free land, and free association. This allows geo-mutualist panarchism a degree more flexibility in its relation with external ideologies, than geo-mutualism alone would have, with panarchism neglected.

While most mutualists, due to their rigid ideology, find it hard to work with others who truly aren't as pure in their anarchism, such as anarcho-communists or anarcho-capitalists, geo-mutualists understand that some changes come about tacitly, rather than explicitly. In other words, instead of arguing with anarcho-capitalists about worker self-management, or anarcho-communists about freedom of exchange, geo-mutualist panarchists are free to focus on action involving macroeconomic tools that both have unifying potential between these antagonists, and which will actually force development into the microeconomic patterns geo-mutualists favor anyways. If approached with plans of pan-secessionism, such as that promoted by Keith Preston, geo-mutualist panarchists have tools readily available to make inter-organizational work possible. While neither capitalists nor communists will be ecstatic about adopting traditionally mutualist or Georgist solutions, if they are truly serious about establishing either capitalism or communism, they will have little choice but to

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find middle ground between one another to fight a common enemy. This middle ground can only be found in geo-mutualism, which promises all parties fair access to land and credit, and thereby provides a sense of security. Geo-mutualist macroeconomics would allow for both capitalist and communist societies to exist within its boundaries, to the fullest extent. However, the relations between these communities would be geo-mutualist, each community securing its boundaries through mutually-beneficial rent payments, and settling disputes, and possibly even trading, with mutual currency. This is referred to as *benocentric law*. Unbeknownst to both capitalists and communists, upon adopting such a system, pressures of a free economy are set against the workings of their preferred ideologies, and toward a more thoroughly geo-mutualist economy, complete with cooperative enterprise, more local land trusts and mutual credit systems, and mutual provision of social services.

**REFERENCES**

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- <sup>18</sup> Agnes George de Mille
- <sup>19</sup> Max Nettlau

# Complete Anarchy: The Geo-Mutualist Approach to the State and Government

## INTRODUCTION

THE DEFINITIONS of *state* and *government* provide for disputes amongst anarchists. “Winged-anarchisms”—that is “left-” or “right-anarchism,” manifested especially as anarcho-capitalism and anarcho-communism—represent the “extremes” on both ends of the spectrum. One side—that of the capitalist—is rooted in negative liberty, wherein rights of retention are held sacred; and another—that of the communist—is rooted in positive liberty, wherein rights of claimancy are held in high esteem.

When government is understood to be that class of people who manage the affairs of the state, and the state is understood to be involuntary association, anarcho-communists and capitalists alike purport to be against both state and government. Anarcho-capitalists, however, typically focus on the state, or involuntary association, as the main problem, while anarcho-communists mostly oppose government, or hierarchical decision-making. In order to add to the confusion, parties from both sides may also suggest that they oppose the state, but not government, depending on the definition of the term.<sup>i</sup> No matter the exact approach, the two philosophies provide biased approaches to the state and

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<sup>i</sup> Both anarcho-capitalists and anarcho-communists may say that they oppose the state, but are okay with government, or governance. In this case, they are using “government” to refer to social organization. The anarcho-capitalists would prefer a private government, and anarcho-communists would prefer participatory governance. In order to avoid confusion, I will not be making as much use of these distinctions, as anarchists of very similar positions have long avoided positive use of the term “government.”

government, which need to be transcended in order to approximate a complete anarchism.

## THE ANARCHO-CAPITALIST APPROACH

**A**NARCHO-CAPITALISTS TYPICALLY FOLLOW a definition of the state provided by the sociologist, Max Weber, though a slightly modified variant. Max Weber suggested that the state is the institution which provides a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. Anarcho-capitalist definitions question the “legitimacy” of any monopoly’s use of force, feeling all involuntary associations to be illegitimate. For the anarcho-capitalist, this illegitimacy is the essence of statehood. Government, for the capitalist, can be seen as synonymous with the state, or the people who run it, or, less commonly, can refer to the private legal structures contained within the market (“voluntary government”).

While anarcho-communists—as you will see—concern themselves with decision-making processes and distribution of wealth, anarcho-capitalists are much more concerned with freedom of association and exchange. The state, to the capitalist, is that institution which forces association, and especially association to a protection racket. The state is seen as such as racket, because, like many mafias, it takes payment against the will of its customer, who receives “protection” in return for taxes. This is seen as problematic to the capitalist because they would prefer protection to be delivered voluntarily by way of the market, which they feel would offer better prices, more accountability, and better services. Taxes, to the capitalist, are seen as unfair profits, which are taken by way of force.

While anarcho-capitalists are opposed to the state, they are quite often strong proponents of the rule of law, often as provided by way of common law in dispute-resolution organizations. Here it is necessary to mention that the capitalist and communist share some similarities in terms of the necessity of association. The difference between the two happens to be that capitalist expression of common law provides defense of property and individualism, while the communist’s law—though they may prefer not to use that term—provides defense of possession and collectivism. The capitalist defends property under the rule of law, and sees the state

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as an institution which claims to be above the rule of law and the right of property, thereby claiming unfair access to taxes. The state, then, is to be superseded by the rule of law and the right of property.

The capitalist anarchists are opposed to democracy and majority-rule decision-making, and are much more prone to suggest a hierarchy based on merit. They tend to believe that the masses are uninformed on the majority of issues, and that decision-making is best allocated to those who are immersed in the subject, as a professional or expert of some sort. One doesn't want the general populace to vote on the best way to perform their brain surgery, for instance, but would rather leave the decision up to a few specialists who have experience, knowledge, and the capacity to perform the function.

Economically, the anarcho-capitalists are staunch individualists. They are hardly concerned about the needs of society as a whole, but would rather see the members of society tend to their own needs. For this reason, capitalists suggest the right to retain their property. It is through the right of property that the capitalist believes society may look after itself. Those in society who do not look after themselves are seen as being unfit for survival in the real world.

### **THE ANARCHO-COMMUNIST APPROACH**

**A**NARCHO-COMMUNISTS TYPICALLY SUGGEST that they are in favor of free association, but the bulk of them will also argue that society is necessary for survival, and so nature, in its own way, will induce people to associate. For the anarcho-communist, the matter of the state is not as big of an issue as that of government. They are less concerned about a monopoly on force in a given area—the definition provided by Max Weber and typically latched onto by anarcho-capitalists—than with political division of participants in these associations into compartments of decision-makers and decision-takers. In other words, the anarcho-communist—though most suggest they favor free association—is less concerned with forced association than with having their say in the associations they are a part of. They are opposed to hierarchical systems in which one person, or group of people, make decisions

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that affect other people. For this reason they are generally opposed to giving people the titles of president, employer, executive, senator, landlord, etc.

Anarcho-communists are typically in favor of a radical form of direct- or participatory-democracy, and they are generally okay with the system being practiced on a large geographic scale to a certain degree (though they prefer decentralism when they can have it), as a form of federalism. Rather than presidents and executives, who are empowered to make decisions over the group, anarcho-communists are satisfied with facilitators of meetings and secretaries to keep track of decisions that the group agrees on together, typically by way of majority-rule. Rather than having managers, they support breaking decision-making down into committees.

It is arguable that an institution which is participatory enough, even if—in some senses—it holds a monopoly on force in a geographic area, does not constitute grounds for statehood, but can, instead, be regarded as a form of contract. If decisions are being made together, and are not forced onto others, but are created by way of agreement, even if these decisions occur under one roof, they do not constitute grounds of statehood, or even really monopoly (perhaps a “panopoly”?). This is complicated, however, by majority-rule decision-making, which allows such democratic association the means for the majority to dominate the minority.

Economically, the concerns of the communist are collectivistic in nature. While the capitalist is concerned with retaining their property, the communist is concerned with the ability to claim needs for survival. The communist anarchist wishes to abolish the institution of private property, and respects only community-given rights of possession, which typically excludes private use of productive capital and land, but suggests rights to use of one’s own living quarters and the moveable possessions in them (clothes, toiletries, art, etc.). The state, and especially the hierarchical capitalist government, is seen as the institution that disallows communism to come to natural fruition, and thereby to allocate things to those who need them in order to lead happy lives.

## AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

WE CAN SEE THAT, while both the capitalists and the communists claim access to the term “anarchist,” the two schools of thought are coming from drastically different—seemingly oppositional—angles. The capitalist suggests that the state— or government, depending on the definition— is the institution that holds a geographic monopoly on force, often for the benefit of the majority, and for the sake of infringing on the right to property. The communist, on the other hand, suggests that the state— or government— is the institution that separates decision-makers from those who must follow the decisions, often for the benefit of a minority, and for the sake of keeping others from having title of possession. The communist tends toward holding the majority as sovereign, and sees their will as being distinct from that of the government. The capitalist tends to hold the private holder of property as sovereign, and does not believe the private holder of property to be a form of state. Some, such as Spencer Heath, promote a quasi-feudalistic and monarchistic system of private communities as being distinct from the state.

Both sides are incomplete in their analyses. They are incomplete because they ignore one another’s truths. If the goal of anarchism is the gestation of freedom, both of these sides would do best to listen to one another, as they are both very concerned with the issue of freedom. The communist sees freedom as social equality, a freedom grounded in positive rights. The capitalist sees freedom as social liberty, a freedom grounded in negative rights. The communist levies the challenge that one cannot be free while they are subject to the use of another’s property, and therefore supports shared-ownership and democratic decision-making in the stead of property rental. The capitalist suggests that one cannot be free if they are restricted by the efforts of others. They suggest that equality, taken to its extreme conclusion, entails taking the good fortune from the strong and successful. The only way to make a blind man and a man who can see, equal, for instance, is to remove the eyes—the right to see— from the latter.

A more complete analysis of state and government would suggest that elements of both sides are correct, and that negative

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and positive liberties both play necessary functions in society. Negative liberty—the liberty of being left alone—is manifested in its positive sense by way of market competition, which keeps prices low; the ability to keep one's wealth and invest in the future, leading to longevity; and the ability to differ in one's priorities, a necessary precondition to evolution and progress. Positive liberty—the liberty of social influence—is manifested in its positive sense by way of unbiased starts and equality of opportunity, without which fairness cannot be said to exist; one's right to have access to help in dire conditions; and a healthy level of consideration in social circumstances. Positive liberty can become repressive, however, when it is applied outside of the range of free association; and negative liberty can become problematic when it keeps others from having anything to retain for themselves. The task at hand is in describing the proper allocation of negative and positive liberties, and thereby to allow for the maximum amount of equal liberty. Equal liberty is the condition under which one's liberty does not impede on the liberty of another to do the same thing.

### **GEO-MUTUALISM AS COMPLETE ANARCHY**

**H**AVING BEEN LEFT with the task of allocating positive and negative liberties, in a manner that is neither forced nor domineering, we come to geo-mutualism as our resolution. Geo-mutualism resolves the conflicting views of statehood and governance by relating positive liberties to land and negative liberties to labor, with capital having varying degrees of positive and negative liberties accorded it.

If one depends solely on another's land for sustenance, one will forever be reduced to serfdom. The landlord, having a monopoly and therefor controlling the price, can always charge rent equal to the productivity of the tenant, minus the absolutely necessary expenditures needed in order to preserve the tenant's life for future production. With land already having been monopolized, freedom entails the positive right of society to claim land, despite negative claims of retention today in existence on behalf of the landlord.

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If one depends solely on society for their needs, and maintains little or no right of self-determination, one is reduced to an agent of society, and must set aside their individuality, personal preferences, and merited status. One has little ability to satisfy their own wants or priorities, but relies on others for such satisfaction and for definition of needs. Positive liberty may demand labor without reward, ingenuity without satisfaction. In many ways, positive liberty, when it applies to labor, reduces humanity to the status of automatons.

It must be clear that the greatest amount of the most realistically accessible freedom is a matter of exclusive rights to one's own labor and products, and inclusive rights to the use of the Earth, and to scarce resources extracted from it. One cannot be free while others command their work, but neither can one command their own efforts without land upon which to labor. The government, then, are those who manage the labor of others and the state is the institution that keeps them from having access to their own land, or an equal share of the outputs of the Earth. The word, *state*, after all, comes from the word *estate*.

With our new definition, we can see that there is now made some discrepancy between tacit and explicit forms of anarchism. That is, with this new definition set into place, some who may regard themselves as statist or governmentalist, and who many self-proclaimed anarchists may also regard as statist or governmentalist, may, for this reason, be explicitly statist, but—according to the definition now at hand—must be understood to be, or at least approximate, tacit anti-statism. One such example would include many forms, or at least aspects, of Georgism. On the other hand, this definition being set into place entails that many who are explicitly anarchist—such as our “winged-anarchists,” the capitalists and communists—are implicitly unanarchistic. Both sides like to levy these shots at one another, anyway, so it should come as no surprise that, for a mutualist, such as me, neither side can be seen as being consistently anarchist.

The communist cannot be understood as being completely anarchist. Their communes depend on top-down management; communist “anarchists” often suggest that those who do not work will face repercussions from their community, such as restrictions from consumption. It matters not if the worker feels the non-

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market “price” being offered is a fair exchange. Therefore, the community claims the efforts of labor. This was a problem that was seen to occur in Revolutionary Spain, the forced collectivization of small-holdings and artisan shops, and which reflects an impartiality in regard to voluntary association and personal property.

The capitalist cannot be understood as being consistently anarchist, because capitalist “anarchists” suggest that society must live according to land arrangements that are based in force, rather than contract. A common law jury, even within a wider polycentric system, is no substitute for the wider consent of society, nor can it be found to be stable. By assuming perpetual and exclusive rights to the use of land, and by willing to control it by force, without community approval, the capitalist restricts others from the use of the Earth.

Geo-mutualism does not favor one side or the other. It allows for both group decision-making and decision-making according to merit. Generally speaking, geo-mutualists don’t believe merit belongs exclusively to one individual, nor do they suppose that groups have to be all-inclusive. Geo-mutualists generally favor small groups of people, who are related by common experience, making decisions to the degree they are affected by them. In this manner, merit is preserved, but is expressed largely in groups of related specialists, even if not restricted by one all-encompassing group (the state). Geo-mutualism does not restrict the right to live in communes or to employ others, though geo-mutualists do tend to believe that a geo-mutualist economy greatly disincentivizes these behaviors. One would be free to join in on a communal lease, or to try to employ others in the market, but privacy issues and interest-free loans would make such decisions quite scarce, even if allowable.

### **DEFENDING THE APPROACH**

**T**HE TWO MAIN ASPECTS a state or government must maintain in order to sustain its definition as such is forced-combination and unilateral decision-making. An institution which is not the state or government must be limited to voluntary association and shared decision-making.

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Some may levy the challenge that the geo-mutual institution does not satisfy definitions of voluntary association, because the geo-bank claims geographic control over a certain area. It must be remembered, however, that the condition of voluntary association is a focus on the right wing, of anarcho-capitalists. In order to satisfy their definition, the new model must only satisfy the terms of free association as far as an anarcho-capitalist model does.

Now, the anarcho-capitalist suggests that one must have a right to associate with any provider of common law services they want to, in a polycentric system of law. However, capitalists are also in favor of landlords and employers, and do not see their jurisdiction of private property and code-enforcement as an example of monocentric law; even though an employer may have many employees, and a landlord many tenants, under the same jurisdiction in a certain area. To the anarcho-capitalist, it does not matter even if they have access to all of the best land. If there is land that is accessible, and it is not claimed by state or government, the conditions of free association are satisfied. One can homestead the swamps, as far as they are concerned. This being the case, and with the very same logic applied, community control of the best land is no more monopolistic than a landlord's control is. The community as a whole treated as the landlord now, this must not be seen as exclusive geographic monopoly, but a matter of property, just like it is under anarcho-capitalism. Community control is even less of a geographic monopoly than a landlord is, however, because decisions are not monopolized by a hierarchy. Majoritarianism, of course, can still be a problem.

Under a geo-mutualist system, sub-marginal land is always available for free, and without hassle, just as it is under anarcho-capitalism. One always has a place to secede into, even if it's not as good. The same scale and standards of association are applied, but the landlord has switched from the private individual to the community at large. Where there was a landlord, there is now a housing cooperative or land trust, perhaps. Societies claim land as common property, and, even if the jurisdiction of the owner is applied geographically, property claims are not antithetical to polycentric law any more than they are under capitalism, but are

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actually participants in it. What has changed is private ownership, which I argue is incompatible with polycentric law.

Others may levy the claim that the geo-mutual bank does not satisfy the definitions of participatory decision-making. This argument can be rooted in the fact that the purpose of the bank is not so much to apply uniform decisions to society, but to allocate decision-making power to subsidiary units. For this reason, some anarcho-communists may suggest that mutualism allows for people to make “anti-social” market decisions, and that, therefore, capitalism will return. It must be remembered that even in anarcho-communism decisions are decentralized when they can be, such as into committees and working groups. Decentralism does not go against the demands of anarcho-communism. What is left to satisfy the basic organizational demands of anarcho-communism, then, is to demonstrate that decisions in large and subsidiary units alike maintain a great level of participation. While they are correct to suggest that capitalist systems of banking promote employer-employee dichotomization, and decision-making models that result, these communist claims may not justly be levied against the mutual bank, whose very purpose is to distribute capital in a manner in which those who work the capital own it and make decisions over it, either as individuals (as with the artisan) or in groups (as with industries requiring associated efforts). If decisions affect, or require the concerted activity of, groups, associations may be formed that represent the interests of all involved parties.

A geo-mutualist institution functions according to consensus-based decision-making processes and sphere-sovereignty. In other words, people are allowed to associate freely according to common interests, but within these associations decisions are made together. Decisions are “private” in the sense that smaller units don’t have to have the approval of larger conglomerations in order to act, but they are “social” in the sense that one cannot force their decisions—including property claims—onto their associates, but have to consult them. The need for consultation isn’t due to a decree from the top, but to the fact that capital is so widely distributed that no one relies on an employer for access to work, but work together as partners.

## CONCLUSION

I HOPE TO HAVE DEMONSTRATED the necessity of an integral approach to approximating a “pure” or “complete” anarchism, which rejects both state and government, involuntary association and hierarchical decision-making. Communist and capitalist anarchisms—which provide the “soft” varieties of anarchism, found on the margins of the spectrum— would do better to synthesize than to find one another at odds. The proper outcome of such synthesis can be found in the program of geo-mutualism, which can be argued to be the true form of “hard,” “pure,” “consistent,” “integrated,” or “complete” anarchism.

# Geo-Mutualist Panarchism and the Provision of Henocentric Law

## INTRODUCTION

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM is the view that everyone should share in the surplus of the Earth, that everyone has a right to credit that is equal to, consistent with, and backed by the value of their collateral or good-will, and that markets should operate within a well-structured system of henocentric law, which will provide the subject-matter of this piece.

## PANARCHY

**P**ANARCHISM IS a natural-law view of jurisprudence given to us by Paul Emile de Puydt, a botanist and political economist. Displaying his natural law tendencies, de Puydt suggests that,

Although nothing is perfect in human endeavours, at least things move towards a never attainable perfection: that is the law of progress. The laws of nature alone are immutable; all legislation must be based on them, for they alone have the strength to support the structure of society; but the structure itself is the work of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

Likely due to his views as a botanist, but also as a radical libertarian, Paul envisioned a world wherein people were free to choose the government, or non-government, of their choice. This reflects, in many ways, the laws of natural selection and market-choice. The only thing tying units together would be a civil registry office, wherein one may declare themselves a citizen of one or more governments or free institutions. He says,

My panacea, if you will allow this term, is simply free competition in the

business of government. Everyone has the right to look after his own welfare as he sees it and to obtain security under his own conditions. On the other hand, this means progress through contest between governments forced to compete for followers. True worldwide liberty is that which is not forced upon anyone, being to each just what he wants of it; it neither suppresses nor deceives, and is always subject to a right of appeal. To bring about such a liberty, there would be no need to give up either national traditions or family ties, no need to learn to think in a new language, no need at all to cross rivers or seas, carrying the bones of one's ancestors.

It is simply a matter of declaration before one's local political commission, for one to move from republic to monarchy, from representative government to autocracy, from oligarchy to democracy, or even to Mr. Proudhon's anarchy – without even the necessity of removing one's dressing gown or slippers.<sup>2</sup>

Often, when hearing about a radical and new system, a listener will ask, "How will this solve  $x$ ?" completely disregarding the fact that  $x$  has not been resolved under the current regime. Anarchists, for instance, are asked constantly, "How would crime be solved?" as if crime is not an issue in current society, due to the courtesy and benevolence of involuntary government! De Puydt accepts the challenge of resolving disputes among governments with competing jurisdictions, pointing to the fact that governments, as they exist today, have disputes that must be resolved, and manners of resolving them, oftentimes without the need for force:

If a disagreement came about between subjects of different governments, or between one government and a subject of another, it would simply be a matter of

observing the principles hitherto observed between neighbouring peaceful States; and if a gap were found, it could be filled without difficulties by human rights and all other possible rights. Anything else would be the business of ordinary courts of justice.<sup>3</sup>

De Puydt, despite what may be inferred by the idea, does not discount the idea that society needs to operate on a larger scale at times. He understands that

There might and should be also common interests affecting all inhabitants of a certain district, no matter what their political allegiance is. Each government, in this case, would stand in relation to the whole nation roughly as each of the Swiss cantons, or better, the States of the American Union, stand in relation to their federal government. Thus, all these fundamental and seemingly frightening questions are met with ready-made solutions; jurisdiction is established over most issues and would present no difficulties whatsoever.

Certainly it will happen that some malicious spirits, incorrigible dreamers and unsociable natures, will not accommodate themselves to any known form of government. Also there will be minorities too weak to cover the costs of their ideal States.

So much the worse for them. These odd few are free to propagate their ideas and to recruit up to their full complement, or rather, up to the needs of their budget, for everything would resolve into a matter of finance. Until then they will have to opt for one of the established forms of government. It is assumed that such small minorities will not cause any trouble.<sup>4</sup>

In many ways, de Puydt's system does for the institution of the state what free elections and limited terms did for the institution of democratic government (here to be defined as such: *the state* is the apparatus, and the *government* the people who work it, a distinction I am not always consistent in using). Elections and limited term-lengths ensured that no one held governmental power to wield the state for too long. This is akin to a perpetual revolution, a perpetual overthrow of the monarchy. Likewise, de Puydt's system ensures that "states" (as he sees them, but not as I define them in "Complete Anarchy") come and go as they are found necessary by their participants, a perpetual revolution of the very structure of "the state." It is hard to declare such an institution a state at this point, as it no longer holds an exclusive monopoly within a geographic region. Its participants are free to join any institution they would like.

Panarchy, for myself— otherwise an anarchist—, came with the realization that many of the institutions to which anarchists are opposed are often ferociously defended by their constituents. These constituents are already living in anarchy, at least in the voluntaryist sense of the term (which I accept, but am not limited to). They voluntarily participate in, and defend, the structures that anarchists find oppressive. It is the anarchist, who must live under the will of this majority, who is not living in anarchy, because it is the anarchists who find themselves in discontent with the way of the day, and who would prefer something different. For me, panarchism correlated to the realization that anarchy, as understood in a voluntaryist sense, already exists today for many people, though it is not at all my preferred version of anarchy, and although it does not include me in its realm. The state is anarchy for those who accept it. This anarchy to others is the government I wish to rid myself of.

Ridding myself of involuntary governance does not suggest that I have the desire to abolish the governments to which others subscribe, but to grow my anarchy alongside the anarchy of others, which I, and others who consider themselves anarchists, today consider government (because it lacks our consent and demands our membership). Panarchy offers the solution to the problem, by providing the common grounds between anarchists and governmentals. Paul Emile de Puydt suggests that

What is most admirable about this innovation is that it does away, forever, with revolutions, mutinies, and street fighting, down to the last tensions in the political tissue. Are you dissatisfied with your government? Change over to another! These four words, always associated with horror and bloodshed, words which all courts, high and low, military and special, without exception, unanimously find guilty of inciting to rebellion, these four words become innocent, as if in the mouths of seminarists, and as harmless as the medicine so wrongly mistrusted by Mr. de Pourceaugnac.

“Change over to another” means: Go to the Bureau for Political Membership, cap in hand, and ask politely for your name to be transferred to any list you please. The Commissioner will put on his glasses, open the register, enter your decision, and give you a receipt. You take your leave, and the revolution is accomplished without spilling any more than a drop of ink.<sup>5</sup>

Paul’s system offers a comforting approach to libertarian politics, which is considerate of cultural differences and actually-existing priorities. These priorities, if we admit the truth, do not always seem rational to us as anarchists. People make decisions for themselves that we would never make for ourselves. If anarchism includes the right to be wrong, but not to force one’s opinions onto others, anarchism includes the right of voluntary emergence. It cannot be forced. As de Puydt suggests, “Freedom should even extend to the right not to be free, and should include it.”<sup>6</sup>

### GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM

**W**HILE DE PUYDT’S RETORT regarding conflict between institutions—that “it would simply be a matter of observing the principles hitherto observed between

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neighbouring peaceful States; and if a gap were found, it could be filled without difficulties by human rights and all other possible rights”<sup>7</sup>—actually provides an argument quite strong, it does not necessarily consider the problems that exist between governments when they are not in times of peace.

Many of the conflicts that exist between governments are enabled and driven by the desire for more resources. This is true of most human conflicts, which are greatly rooted in economic conditions. Economics, after all, is the study of people’s choices regarding scarce resources with infinite wants. Most human conflicts come down to some of these wants going unsatisfied. Michael Tomasello, for instance—a lead researcher at the Max Planck Institute’s anthropology and behavioral psychology studies—lends himself toward a strong argument that humans are instinctually pre-determined to concern themselves with matters of fairness. He says that in a

study in our laboratory [...] a subject is given an amount of real money, say 100 euros, and is told that she should offer some to an unknown partner. This partner, who knows how much has been given to the subject, may then accept the offer, in which case both partners take their shares and go home. Or the partner may reject the offer, and no one gets anything. There are some cultural variations in the way humans react, but by far the most common reaction by partners in this game is to reject low offers, less than about 30 euros. The logic of rational maximizing would say, “Take the 25 euros, because, even if that guy is a jerk, 25 is better than none.” But people do not do this; they reject low offers because, as subjects report, they are not fair. Proposers anticipate this, by the way, and so typically offer an even split.<sup>8</sup>

When people feel they are “getting the short end of the stick” they are more likely to act out in antisocial manners. Geo-mutualist panarchism is the realization within panarchism that

violent conflicts between existing governments are greatly related to property distribution and concerns of fairness.

While de Puydt's project is noble and honest, it lacks in practical clarity. Is the matter of property not a matter of sovereignty, today secured by government? With communist, socialist, capitalist, fascist, and other kinds of views on property, what is to keep one government from infringing on the government of others? What is to keep the strong governments from ignoring the declarations of the weak? To de Puydt, the solution seems rather open. He does offer a structure similar to a voluntary confederation, but he speaks nothing of the specifics of the institutions of property and credit.

While I am a proponent of natural selection, and believe in the power of supply and demand to allocate labor and resources in the most efficient manner, I do believe natural selection and the law of supply and demand to be the very reason institutions exist. That is, there is a demand for institutions, which is conducive to fitness. While the process view is correct—that nothing is, or should be thought of as, permanent—I feel it to be unpragmatic to ignore *things* as they occur to us in the seemingly present moment. These things I speak of are not restricted to material things, but also mental constructs, such as norms regarding property rights. De Puydt ignores the necessity of a positive theory of property to regulate conflict between institutions in his panarchy.

It is my belief—taking after my mutualist and Georgist forebears—that conflict-resolution must be tied to the distribution of wealth. The anarcho-capitalist, in the form of strict voluntarism, does quite well at describing voluntary interaction in the market, but is quick to assume that property in land and in natural monopoly should be a perpetual and private affair, or something to be ignored. The anarcho-communists quickly resolve this issue by putting the entire economy into the hands of a workers' federation, declaring distribution according to need. This does well in regard to resolving disputes over management and claims to land, but anarcho-communism places the laborer's effort and their product under the terms of the community as well. This lack of autonomy creates a great deal of resentment. De Puydt acknowledges the role of resentment in today's politics, though he does not propose an economic— but a political— solution:

Under the present conditions a government exists only by the exclusion of all the others, and one party can rule only after smashing its opponents; a majority is always harassed by a minority which is impatient to govern. Under such conditions it is quite inevitable that the parties hate each other and live, if not at war, at least in a state of armed peace. Who is surprised to see that minorities intrigue and agitate, and that governments put down by force any aspiration to a different political form which would be similarly exclusive? So society ends up composed of ambitious resentful men, waiting for vengeance, and ambitious power-sated men, sitting complacently on the edge of a precipice. Erroneous principles never bring about just consequences, and coercion never leads to right or truth.<sup>9</sup>

De Puydt's vision of a free society is quite beautiful, but I fear that it is impractical without a uniform system of wealth-distribution that satisfies everyone involved. As long as people do not feel they are getting their fair share, there will exist violence between interested parties. Equilibrium will not be established. Geo-mutualism, I believe, provides the best solution, as it allows the price of land and credit to settle into equilibrium, ridding society of the two monopolies which most hinder its happiness.

Benjamin Tucker, like Proudhon and other mutualist and individualist anarchists, considered the monopolies on land and credit to be particularly damaging. He says, "Somebody gets the surplus wealth that labor produces and does not consume."

[...]

And where do the Somebodies get their power? From monopoly. Here, as usual, the State is the chief of sinners. Usury rests on two great monopolies; the monopoly of land and the monopoly of credit. Were it not for these, it would disappear. Ground-rent exists

only because the State stands by to collect it and to protect land-titles rooted in force or fraud. Otherwise the land would be free to all, and no one could control more than he used. Interest and house-rent exist only because the State grants to a certain class of individuals and corporations the exclusive privilege of using its credit and theirs as a basis for the issuance of circulating currency. Otherwise credit would be free to all, and money, brought under the law of competition, would be issued at cost. Interest and rent gone, competition would leave little or no chance for profit in exchange except in business protected by tariff or patent laws. And there again the State has but to step aside to cause the last vestige of usury to disappear.

The usurer is the Somebody, and the State is his protector.<sup>10</sup>

This is not a scenario that exists only within governments, but also between them. Some states find themselves the victims of others. I suppose de Puydt imagines that each government or institution will have the means to create their own systems of property, but if property is to exist on a scale in which governments support and respect one another's declaration of property-rights, this entails an overarching system of contract. It is easy to suggest that we can take care of problems similarly to the manner in which nation-states today take care of problems between their borders, but it is rare that we see non-imperialist satellite states, colonies, or territories. Instead, we see grouping and monocentric law. The solution must be much more similar to the manner in which property rights and private security are dealt with under a state. Property rights are protected by lawsuit, and suits depend on higher levels of association, even if not a state. If we are looking toward a system of polycentric law, this is dependent firstly on a participatory and consensual system of monocentric law. The combination of the two (mono- and polycentric law) is my proposed henocentric law.

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When confronted with a comment from an imaginary reader (in italics) about the evolution toward a single system, de Puydt replies that he feels it is unlikely, but that it is not completely out of the picture:

*When all possible types of government have been tried everywhere publicly and under free competition, what will be the result? One form is sure to be recognised as the best, and thus finally everyone will choose it. This would lead us back to having one government for all, which is just where we began.*

Not so fast please, dear reader.

You freely admit that all would then be in harmony, and you call this going back to where we began? Your objection gives support to my fundamental principle, in so far as it expects this universal agreement to be established by the simple expedient of “laissez-faire, laissez-passer.”

I could seize this opportunity to declare you convinced, converted to my system, but I am not interested in half-convictions and I am not looking for converts.

No, we would not revert to having a single form of government, unless perhaps in the far distant future when governmental activities will be reduced by common consent to the simplest form. We are not there yet, not anywhere near it.<sup>11</sup>

In many ways, though, de Puydt’s system of panarchy under registry offices is a proposal for such a singular, but dynamic, system. While it may be true that de Puydt supports competing offices, in order for them to really take effect without conflict they must establish common agreements between them. Afterall, what is to stop a registry office from signing members up to governments without their consent, as telemarketers do with phone lists? All that would be needed is a little theft of identity information. I suppose the legitimate institution can offer up some sort of empirical proof—signatures, photos, documents, etc.—, but to whom will

they be showing these documents for protection? God? “God helps those who help themselves.” There is an obvious need for association and agreement to common terms of title.

## CONFLICT AND RESOLUTION

IT IS THE NATURE of conflict-resolution that it promotes higher and higher levels of association. Association promotes understanding, the creation of norms and ground rules, which preempt conflict before it happens.

According to some models of social evolution, conflict comes with a choice of behavior: *avoidance*, *accommodation*, *control*, *compromise*, or *collaboration*. That is, one can avoid another, can do as they wish (against their own will), can dominate them, can allow for individual space or decisions, or can share that in space and those decisions. Likewise, evolutionary models based in game-theory suggest that there are four possible choices for inter-organismic behavior: *spite*, *altruism*, *narcissism*, and *reciprocity*. The models suggest that spite is the least successful, because it is most detrimental to both parties; altruism is very unsuccessful because it allows for being taken advantage of; narcissism allows the strong to preserve themselves at the expense of others, but also allows damage to occur in conflict; but that reciprocity or mutualism is the most successful because it creates a win-win situation. We can, in my opinion, pair these two models in this way: *avoidance* and *spite* (both are degrees of lose-lose behavior); *accommodation* and *altruism*; *control* and *narcissism*; and *compromise* and *collaboration* together as degrees of *reciprocity* (or *mutualism*). In many ways, mutualism is teleologically pre-determined.

It is the nature of conflict that a community steps in to resolve issues. The loss of a group-member is also a loss for the group. Bruce L. Benson, a legal and economic scholar on matters of free-market law, suggests that

Should a dispute arise [under customary law, without the state], reciprocal support groups give individuals a position of strength. This does not necessarily mean, however, that disputes are settled by warfare

between groups. Violence is a costly means of solving a dispute: if the accuser and his support group attack the accused, the accused's group is obliged to defend the attack. Consequently, arrangements and procedures for non-violent dispute resolution should evolve very quickly in customary law systems.<sup>12</sup>

Bruce L. Benson suggests that customary, common, commercial, and contract-based systems of law—that is, popular forms of law that don't depend on the state—generally center around concepts of possession and compensation for offenses. He suggests that behaviors are generally unregulated, except so far as they constitute actual offenses against a person or their possessions. If a person harms another person, or their property, the community settles the matter by making the offender compensate the victim. Benson goes on to suggest that customary law—which is simply law reinforced by norms and customs of a specific group—evolved into common law, a system of codes regarding offenses and their treatments. Criminal law, according to Benson, was introduced by the Norman invasion, and included laws regarding behavior, rather than simply covering offenses and suits. It also evolved away from compensation of victims to fines paid to government. This was a negative and authoritarian application of law. With the rise of commercial society, commercial law started to fill the gaps left by governments. Bruce L. Benson suggests further that

[...] as the norms of commercial law became more precisely specified, they were increasingly recorded. These written laws were not in the form of statutory codes (although many governments ultimately adopted privately created mercantile law in the commercial legislation), but took the form of written commercial instruments and contracts.<sup>13</sup>

## *Geo-Mutualist Panarchism and the Provision of Henocentric Law*

It is clear that human systems of law develop as means for communities to better resolve disputes among their members.

Community dispute resolution, of course, must be accompanied by group decision-making processes. As an anarchist, I am quite drawn to consensus-based decision-making. C.T. Butler, author of *On Conflict & Consensus*, and an instructor on the formal decision-making process, suggests that conflict is often a necessary element which precedes consensus:

Conflict is usually viewed as an impediment to reaching agreements and disruptive to peaceful relationships. However, it is the underlying thesis of Formal Consensus that nonviolent conflict is necessary and desirable. It provides the *motivations* for improvement. The challenge is the creation of an understanding in all who participate that conflict, or differing opinions about proposals, is to be expected and acceptable. Do not avoid or repress conflict. Create an environment in which disagreement can be expressed without fear. Objections and criticisms can be heard not as attacks, not as attempts to defeat a proposal, but as a concern which, when resolved, will make the proposal stronger.

This understanding of conflict may not be easily accepted by the members of a group. Our training by society undermines this concept. Therefore, it will not be easy to create the kind of environment where differences can be expressed without fear or resentment. But it can be done. It will require tolerance and a willingness to experiment. Additionally, the values and principles which form the basis of commitment to work together to resolve conflict need to be clearly defined, and accepted by all involved.

If a group desires to adopt Formal Consensus as its decisionmaking process, the

first step is the creation of a *Statement of Purpose* or *Constitution*. This document would describe not only the common purpose, but would also include the definition of the group's principles and values. If the group discusses and writes down its foundation of principles at the start, it is much easier to determine group versus individual concerns later on.<sup>14</sup>

There is need for a reciprocal contract or constitution, which empowers a common registry office, and allocates land and credit in a manner that balances conflict. This contract should "be reduced by common consent to the simplest form."<sup>15</sup>

Governments are powerless without a sovereign claim to a piece of the Earth, without an area over which they may claim sovereignty. In order for people to establish the governments or institutions of their choice, it is necessary to provide them with an area over which they may express sovereignty. In order to prevent imperialism, it is necessary to distribute economic rent in a manner that enriches everyone equally.

A geo-mutual panarchist confederation would simultaneously provide credit, a community land trust, a citizen registry system, and reciprocal defense. Upon joining such an institution, one would be issued credit backed by their collateral or good-will; be given the opportunity to bid on land with their credit and/or to receive a dividend for forfeiting the best land; and/or given the opportunity to register with a subsidiary unit, which will provide these services in a manner more consistent with their values. One would also agree to participate in the reciprocal reinforcement of the laws. One can join directly to the geo-mutual bank as an individualist, declare themselves sovereign, and have the means to make exchanges and the territory over which to act as a sovereign; or they can, more collectivistically, join a subsidiary association, which has such a deal itself, but manages it in another manner, perhaps according to the principle of "from each according to ability, to each according to need," or some similar axiom from the other end of the spectrum (or anywhere within it, really). This being the case, the only role of the geo-mutual confederation is to register sovereigns; provide the sovereigns an

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equal value of territory over which to express their sovereignty; to issue a common means of credit, with which sovereigns may freely make exchanges and settle disputes; and provide a common contract with which to settle disputes among sovereigns. After this, the sovereigns should be free to express their sovereignty, whether it be alone or in groups. This brings us to the practice of henocentric law.

### **HENOCENTRIC LAW**

**M**Y VISION FOR HENOCENTRIC LAW has elements of a collaborative and consent-based monocentric law, which serves the sole purpose of decentralizing sovereignty; accompanied by the practice of decentralized sovereignty, as expressed in polycentric systems of law and order. That is, a polycentric system that operates in the general framework of a monocentric system.

Allow me to explain mono- and polycentric systems of law, in order that the distinction can be made a little clearer. Monocentric law refers to a system under which everyone is subject. A monocentric system of law is a system that applies to everyone within a given territory. The law provided by the United States Federal Government, for instance, is a monocentric system of law, because all citizens must obey it (at least in theory). A polycentric system, however, allows for the overlapping of jurisdictions, and the provision of law on a subscriber-basis. A good example of polycentric law can be found in the manner in which churches operate. While a certain church may receive membership within a certain area, this same area can be filled with members of other religious institutions, or completely areligious folks, all following different codes of behavior and rules of their religion on their own property. If an atheist is invited into the home of a Christian, it is generally with the understanding that certain attitudes must be forfeited while in such a domain. While the atheist has the right to display upside-down crosses in their own home, and within their own associations, for instance, this behavior generally stops once they enter the property of the Christian, as a matter of respect of sovereignty. Tom Bell, a proponent of polycentric law, suggests that

The very definition of polycentric law implies that individuals choose the sort of law under which they prefer to live. In a broad sense, then, all legal issues in a polycentric legal order would boil down to the law of contracts. In a narrower sense, however, competing legal systems would offer substantively different means of resolving disputes over property, torts, business agreements, etc. A wide variety of communities should therefore develop, sometimes overlapping and sometimes separate, each offering its own unique sets of laws.<sup>16</sup>

Henocentric law, as I have named it, is given its moniker after the theological framework of henotheism. In a system of henotheism, one God is often worshipped as supreme, while others are also acknowledged to exist. The Greek pantheon, for instance, was headed by the supreme deity, Zeus, who ruled over the other gods. In Hindu cosmology, a pantheistic form of henotheism, Brahman provides the grounds of all being, and all other gods are expressed within Brahman. Similarly, my system of henocentric law would recognize the “political all,” the panarchy, as sovereign, but would allocate all affairs of management to subsidiary units. As henotheism is a mixture of monotheism and polytheism, henocentric law is the mixture of monocentric and polycentric systems of law.

In order for conflict to be pre-empted, and in order for property distribution to settle into equilibrium, it is necessary to live under a common system of property and exchange. This common system of property and exchange, if it is to do its duty—to provide fairness and justice—, will administer property and credit to allow for all economically viable and voluntary forms of sovereignty. The purpose of the monocentric system of wealth allocation will be to allow for polycentric law to take place. My vision of henocentric law is a dynamic system in which a participatory monocentric law provides the grounds upon which polycentric law may be established.

## *Geo-Mutualist Panarchism and the Provision of Henocentric Law*

While polycentric law is a dynamic vision, allowing for the maximum practice of human preferences, the idea of polycentric law becomes complicated by the nature of geography. The reason we don't have polycentric systems of law today is largely due to the fact that the surplus of the Earth has been monopolized. Those communities who monopolized the surplus value of the land dominated the others, and established themselves as states. This is the very reason we don't have polycentric law as proposed by folks like Gustav Molinari or Tom Bell. In order for polycentric law and free exchange markets to be practiced, wealth must be distributed, the rent of the Earth must be held in common. Otherwise, unilateral and non-participatory monopolies will form, as they have in the past (giving us states). Geo-mutualist panarchism is the realization that, in order for panarchy to function, the economy must be set straight. This is done by issuing free credit and leasing the land on a basis of rent-sharing.

Henocentric order is made necessary by the external facts of geography and the economic rent that some land provides as benefits over others. If the Earth and its value was less complicated, and easier to distribute fairly according to homestead, and if natural monopolies were nonexistent, polycentric law would be all that is necessary. However, because justice finds itself to be a matter of natural monopoly, a community affair, and because the Earth varies so greatly in human-derived value, a common understanding, a consensus, is in order. Lacking such a consensus, humanity is left in a state of conflict, bickering over land, and enforcing their opinions with blades, bullets, and rockets.

Geo-mutualism is an economic view which proposes that humanity has a positive right to the use of the Earth and a negative right in the application of their labor. In other words, geo-mutualism proposes that everyone should have a basically unrestricted right to decide where their labor goes, and should have a right to an equal share of the Earth on which to subsist. This being so, geo-mutualism best supports the notion that labor should operate according to polycentrism, and property should be issued according to monocentric practice. That is, plots of the Earth should be allocated by the community as a whole, according to common agreement, but labor on those plots should be left to the management and voluntary exchange of the individual. A geo-

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mutual anarchist confederation would allocate land, issue credit, register participants, and preserve law and order between constituents. What is done with land once it is leased, with credit once it is issued, is a matter of choice on behalf of the holder. This practice, henocentric law, surpasses and contains both monocentric and polycentric systems of law.

**REFERENCES**

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Emile de Puydt

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Tomasello

<sup>9</sup> Paul Emile de Puydt

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin Tucker<sup>2</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Paul Emile de Puydt

<sup>12</sup> Bruce L. Benson

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> C.T. Butler

<sup>15</sup> Paul Emile de Puydt

<sup>16</sup> Tom Bell

# Henocentrism and the Grayscale of Anarchism

## MUTUALISM AND ANARCHISM WITHOUT ADJECTIVES/HYPHENS

**M**UTUALISM IS UNDENIABLY a variety of anarchism, as classical anarchism finds its home in the philosophy of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the first to describe himself as such. The same cannot be said of capitalism or communism. While both have claimants to anarchism on their side, each equally declares the other incompatible with anarchism. Mutualism does not face such a hardship, but—while facing some irrational challenges from both ends—actually finds allies on both sides. “Anarcho”-capitalists and “anarcho”-communists—at least the educated among them—generally maintain no hard feelings toward mutualism, but see mutualism as historical anarchism, even if slightly annoying (because it is so hard to understand, and involves economic science).

It has been a common approach throughout the years to attempt to overlook the differences behind the different kinds of anarchists—real and obscure—and to embrace a philosophy of “anarchism without adjectives” or “anarchism without hyphens.” The general idea is that those who consider themselves anarchists should find one another mutually tolerable, and even gain from each other’s views, if possible. This view works quite well for dogmatic views, such as those held by capitalists and communists who also consider themselves to be anarchists. Holding to such a view is certainly an improvement, but is no end in itself, or a pure understanding of anarchism.

By reducing anarchism to simple preferences, one must treat political economy under the terms of metaphysical idealism, a libertarian free will philosophy, which suggests that one can do anything they put their mind to. This ignores the positive reality which we share, which keeps some ideologies from ever coming into practice. One cannot ride a unicorn because the natural laws of biology forbid it, and one cannot be a communist or a capitalist and an anarchist because the natural laws of political economy

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forbid it. “Anarchism without adjectives” would have us believe in fairy-tales, that capitalism and communism are compatible with anarchy, as if unicorns are compatible with natural science. Anarchy is mutuality, and that is all that needs to be said in definition. Mutuality precludes communism, but not communes; capitalism, but not capital.

While maintaining a “without adjectives/hyphens” approach is likely quite healthy for “anarcho”-capitalists and –communists, the same cannot be said of the undisputable claimant to anarchism. Mutualism, which is anarchism pure, can only become diluted, or watered-down, by accepting such an ideology as “without adjectives/hyphens.” However, this is not so much because mutualism distinguishes itself from the others in a hard sense, but because mutualism—*anarchism pure*—already incorporates the anarchic elements of both capitalism and communism, including free markets and industrial democracy. In this sense, mutualism is anarchy, and anarchy already includes a wide range of choices, some individualistic and others communistic. To accept an “anarchy without adjectives/hyphens,” as a mutualist, is to suggest that mutualism does not already complete the project, while it does. Mutualism allows for sufficient individualism as well as collectivism, without needing to tolerate the dogmas of capitalism or communism.

### **THE GRAYSCALE OF ANARCHISM**

**A** CCEPTING CAPITALISTS AND COMMUNISTS as anarchists, when anarchy was originally the balancing of the two, is like if someone were to mix black and white and come up with gray, but then someone were to start calling white “gray” too. Obviously, gray is a word to distinguish between both white and black, and so calling white “gray” makes no sense. The same is true of anarchism. Anarchism—*mutualism*— was a balance of the forces of communism and capitalism (this is according to Proudhon himself), and so to call one of the forces being balanced “anarchism” is simply a crock of shit, which serves to dilute anarchism.

That said, it could be argued that white, black, and gray exist on a gradient, and that some grays are closer to black, and

some are closer to white. Even still, it is possible to establish a middle range which could be used as a standard for true gray, and this is mutualism. This brings us to the geo-mutualist panarchist system of henocentric law, and its mechanism of ascension.

## HENOCENTRIC LAW

**I**N THE GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHIST MODEL of henocentric law, there is a central organization which is created for the purpose of facilitating fair decentralization. This organization uses the tools of mutual credit and land-sharing to issue credit and territory to its member-organizations. In other words, member organizations, which may be communist, capitalist, or what-have-you join a central body that issues them land and credit. In this way, the central body is established in order to provide the means for decentralization. Most of the real management decisions will occur on the land issued to the member-organizations by the central body.

Another way of looking at the setup is that the tools of geo-mutualism (classical mutualism, that is) are being used by capitalists, communists, etc. In a way, a capitalist member-organization would also be softly geo-mutualist, at least in practice. It is also conceivable, and in fact promoted, that a more thoroughly geo-mutualist organization will form, and will compete economically with the others. The overall structure would allow for any form of economy, and one of these economies may be geo-mutualist in practice, a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm.

Another gradient is made apparent in the geo-mutualist system. This gradient ranges from soft to hard geo-mutualism, within a larger panarchy. Soft geo-mutualism would include those capitalist and communist member-organizations participating in the henocentric system of the geo-mutualist panarchy. Hard geo-mutualism would entail a member-organization that also practices geo-mutualism more specifically within the larger and more general panarchy. With this being so, one can view geo-mutualism in an emanationist manner.

**GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHY AS EMANATION**

ACCORDING TO SOME VIEWS of emanationism, God is Being, and, as such, represents both the whole and the center. The center represents a sort of fullness or completeness of Being, while Being permeates the whole, if not with the same intensity. As an example, consider a shining light. At the source of the light, it is very bright and dense, and further away it gets dimmer and scattered. Emanationists believe that God, in the same way, is the source of the light as well as the light itself. In this way, God is the center (the Source) and the whole. If you can imagine a light in a dark room, we can imagine further that the light represents existence, or Being, itself, and the dark room represents non-Being. As the light scatters, it moves from Being toward non-Being, without ever actually diminishing. Commonly stated according to emanationists, one pursues Being (unhindered existence) by getting closer to the Source. Another way to understand what is being said here is that God is everywhere, is everything, but that there is a manner in which, though we are not separate from God, we may become closer to God in some sense. You can imagine this “thing getting closer to itself” as contracting, in an objective sense, or self-understanding, in the subjective sense. A return to the Source (which I understand in terms of physics to be a singularity) is necessarily a contraction, or a clearer understanding (nothing beyond knowing) of Self.

Now, applied to political economy, we may understand geo-mutualist panarchism as being a sort of cosmo-political center, which all things move to and from, while also being the grounds of their being. As described above, a geo-mutualist panarchy would allow for various different kinds of political and economic systems to play out, which is similar to God capturing all that exists in the grounds of Being, including the fragments, furthest from the Source. However, as geo-mutualism can be expected to evolve as a macro-system from republican capitalism or its successor, maintaining capitalist and communist member-organizations, it can expect to further mature as a micro-system, without the need for compulsion. In other words, as the geo-mutualist panarchist confederation can be expected to compete against the current republican-capitalist state, geo-mutualist anarchist member-

organizations can be expected to compete against the communist and capitalist member-organizations, and come out on top. This is so because mutualist economics naturally approach equilibrium, and suffer neither scarcity nor surplus, which cannot be said of the others. This being so, geo-mutualist economies will tend toward better health, and will tend toward replication. This power for geo-mutualism to compete in the selective processes of the market and the social atmosphere, ensures that all will be drawn toward it, as a political *telos*. If we consider Being to be synonymous with success, we may also associate *telos* with Being. In this way, geo-mutualist panarchism is both the whole, or grades of Being, which includes other subsystems, and the center, a subsystem which draws the others into it, a fullness of Being, or a *telos*. That is, geo-mutualist panarchism, while grandfathering the other systems, has Becoming built into it, and nurtures this evolutionary process within its wholeness toward its mature end. It is this which will allow geo-mutualist panarchism to be established in the first place, to capture the momentum of the other groups toward its final ends.

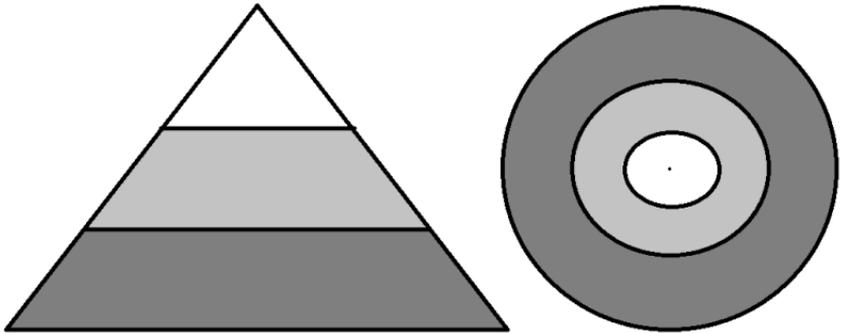
#### **ANARCHIST PHILOSOPHIES IN THE GRADES OF BEING**

**W**E CAN SEE THAT, politically and economically, geo-mutualist panarchism shares a strong relationship with emanationist pantheism, such as the dualist pantheism I espouse. Emanationists see God as both the cosmic whole and the center, and geo-mutualist panarchists wish to establish a confederation governed by the whole, and a member-organization, or cultural phenomenon, which draws all others toward it. As this is the political future, it is the act of becoming, toward pure Being.

If we understand geo-mutualist panarchism this way, we may understand “anarchism without adjectives/hyphens,” “anarcho”-capitalism and –communism, and various other political philosophies to exist on a gradient, with geo-mutualist panarchism representing the place nearest the Source, and the others stuck in the emanation between Being and non-Being. Geo-mutualist p/anarchism (which is really beefed-up classical mutualism) represents Being, because it maintains the fewest detractors, while the extremes (“anarcho”-communism and –capitalism) contradict one another, taking away from their Being. They do not Realize

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one another. Mutualism, from both sides, is considered a form of anarchism, and is Realized, while neither side on the extreme considers the other a variety of anarchism, but a form of statism. We may place (geo-) mutualism, then, at the top of a three-tiered pyramid, labeled “undisputed anarchism.” Beneath it, we may put “disputed anarchism,” wherein “anarcho”-capitalism and –communism, as well as “anarchism without adjectives/hyphens,” are placed. Below that, of course, we find “undisputed statism,” with all self-professed statists. The top represents full Being, or *telos*, and the bottom the nearest one can be to non-Being without ceasing to Be. The goal is to move toward the top, which will allow for human flourishing. In compliment to my project of henocentric law, I call this political or legal *benosis*.



### **GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHY VS. ANARCHISM WITHOUT ADJECTIVES/HYPHENS**

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM avoids the pitfalls of anarchism without adjectives/hyphens—dilution of truer forms of anarchism into a formless blob<sup>i</sup>—while

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<sup>i</sup> One certainly doesn't want to get caught in the vague, grey void that is “anarchism without adjectives/hyphens” without further definition. One may as well call oneself a “livingist” because one wants to be alive. Such a term tells us nothing of any

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maintaining an inclusive atmosphere. It also goes further than anarchism without adjectives/hyphens, by including self-professed statist in its paradigm, instead of stopping at disputed anarchists, who are seen by others as statist. Why play favorites with statist?

Geo-mutualism avoids the pitfalls of anarchism without adjectives/hyphens by incorporating the other “anarchist” visions into a structure which recognizes the evolution of individual and collective consciousness, rather than treating them under the terms of “flatland,” wherein they are all treated as equal, when they are not at all equal in quality. As disputed anarchists, and not by opinion but by fact, “anarcho”-capitalists and –communists are at least partial statist. They are not on the same level as mutualism. However, it is nonetheless important to ally with and to cordially entertain these, and to use their momentum, and so they should be included in a panarchy, which will also tolerate thorough anarchism (mutualism). If we are going to include these partial statist, I argue, we may as well go ahead and include self-declared statist, as well, so long as they can agree to the terms of the panarchy. They’re not much more statist, in my opinion, than “anarcho”-communists or –capitalists. If we can capture their momentum, we can use it just as well to bring the panarchy into being. The panarchy, after all, is just fertile grounds for the growth of a more thorough anarchism (mutualism).

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substance, but that one believes their own preferences not to infringe on others. Whether this is true or not it is not considered to be debatable, because it is assumed that it is true simply because the word *anarchist* has been used (at least, that is how it seems).

# Geo-Syndicalism

## INTRODUCTION

**I**N THIS SHORT ESSAY we will be looking at the potential marriage between geonarchism, as presented by Fred Foldvary, and anarcho-syndicalism, as introduced by Rudolf Rocker. We will first look at each philosophy on its own, before looking to their synthesis.

## GEOANARCHISM

**G**EOANARCHISM IS A PHILOSOPHY (first named by Fred Foldvary) which reconciles Georgism with anarchism. For those unaware, Georgism is a political philosophy which supports the common ownership of land and community access to its rent (that part of wealth which is not due to labor, but to varying grades of land); and anarchism is a philosophy which opposes the state, or government. Like all anarchists, geonarchists oppose state intervention; like all Georgists, geonarchists support the common ownership of land and its rent.

Georgists are not unusually called “single-taxers,” because many of them take a libertarian approach to the economy, suggesting that land is the only thing which should be taxed, with taxes either to be used for public goods, or to distribute wealth more fairly by way of a citizen’s dividend. Anarchism, however, takes a strong stance against taxation. Instead, geonarchists support community land trusts, or similarly-styled organizations. According to Fred Foldvary,

In a libertarian or anarchist world, some people might be unaffiliated anarcho-capitalists, contracting with various firms for services. But if we look at markets today, we see instead contractual communities. We see condominiums, homeowner associations, cooperatives, and neighborhood associations. For temporary lodging, folks stay in hotels,

and stores get lumped into shopping centers. Historically, human beings have preferred to live and work in communities.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, it's hard to go anywhere without noticing the combinations of human efforts. Anarchism would allow interpersonal relationships to flourish. Foldvary suggests further that,

Geoist communities would join together in leagues and associations to provide services that are more efficient on a large scale, such as defense, if needed. The voting and financing would be bottom up. The local communities would elect representatives, and provide finances, and would be able to secede when they felt association was no longer in their interest.<sup>2</sup>

As mutualists have suggested, and Fred here seems to repeat, the free and fair market would ensure that the internal affairs of associations remain just, usually entailing cooperative ownership and democratic management. Those associations that aren't fair won't be supported, and will fail.

No doubt, there may be competing systems of land-tenure, but the sheer efficiency of Georgism will allow it to come out on top. Fred says,

In the anarchist context, private communities and companies would provide the civic works and collect the payments by contract. Geoist communities would try to assess how much of the rental is natural rent, and distribute that equally to the population in those communities. Market anarchists outside the geoist leagues would probably be hostile to this rent-sharing system and might refuse to trade with the geoists, but that would not be much of a problem for geoists, since the

efficiency of geoism would attract much of the enterprise.<sup>3</sup>

As capitalist land-tenure may certainly create rich people, those rich people come at the expense of even more poor people, who must labor to subsidize them. If given the chance to operate without state influence, community land trusts—or geonarchist associations—would consistently suck up membership from the lower classes of anarcho-capitalist societies (since they would provide low-cost land-tenure), eventually draining them completely. First, they need to be established.

### ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

**A**NARCHO-SYNDICALISM IS an applied philosophy which promotes the use of trade-unions to seize the means of production and put into place an anarchist society. When describing it himself, Rudolf Rocker—the idea’s most celebrated philosophical proponent— suggests that, “Modern Anarcho-Syndicalism is the direct reaction against the concepts and methods of political Socialism.”

Anarcho-syndicalists have no faith in the state’s ability to distribute wealth on society’s behalf. Instead, they think collective direct-action must be taken to emancipate the workers:

Anarcho-Syndicalists are convinced that a Socialist economic order cannot be created by the decrees and statutes of a government, but only by the solidaric collaboration of the workers with hand or brain in each special branch of production; that is, through the taking over of the management of all plants by the producers themselves under such form that the separate groups, plants and branches of industry are independent members of the general economic organism and systematically carry on production and the distribution of the

products in the interest of the community on the basis of free mutual agreements.<sup>4</sup>

Instead of using representative politics, or indirect action, the anarcho-syndicalists promoted the use of collective direct-action, which would create a new, free, socialist economy. Rudolf Rocker was a prominent anarcho-syndicalist, but he was also an anarchist-without-adjectives. By socialism, he meant it in the widest of terms, not restricting society to simplistic models of behavior. He believed all forms of anarchism could coexist, and likely would do so:

Common to all Anarchists is the desire to free society of all political and social coercive institutions which stand in the way of development of a free humanity. In this sense Mutualism, Collectivism and Communism are not to be regarded as closed systems permitting no further development, but merely as economic assumptions as to the means of safeguarding a free community. There will even probably be in society of the future different forms of economic co-operation operating side by side, since any social progress must be associated with that free experiment and practical testing out for which in a society of free communities there will be afforded every opportunity.<sup>5</sup>

Though he personally aspired toward communism, he nevertheless suggested this communism should be built voluntarily from the ground up, for those who want it:

The organisation of Anarcho-Syndicalism is based on the principles of Federalism, on free combination from below upward, putting the right of self-determination of every member above everything else and recognising only the organic agreement of all

on the basis of like interests and common convictions.<sup>6</sup>

It may seem strange to some for a philosophy to simultaneously promote the use of force *and* the voluntary organization of society. It's important to note, for this reason, that the anarchist use of force is purely defensive in nature. The anarchists had no desire to take power, but, rather, to dissolve it. This entailed a process. Rucker says,

according to the Syndicalist view, the trade union, the syndicate, is the unified organisation of labour and has for its purpose the defence of the interests of the producers within existing society and the preparing for and the practical carrying out of the reconstruction of social life after the pattern of Socialism. It has, therefore, a double purpose: 1. As the fighting organisation of the workers against the employers to enforce the demands of the workers for the safeguarding and raising of their standard of living; 2. As the school for the intellectual training of the workers to make them acquainted with the technical management of production and economic life in general so that when a revolutionary situation arises they will be capable of taking the socio-economic organism into their own hands and remarking it according to Socialist principles.

Anarcho-Syndicalists are of the opinion that political parties, even when they bear a socialist name, are not fitted to perform either of these two tasks. The mere fact that, even in those countries where political Socialism commanded powerful organisations and had millions of voters behind it, the workers had never been able to dispense with trade unions because legislation offered them

no protection in their struggle for daily bread, testifies to this.<sup>7</sup>

The anarcho-syndicalist vision is the creation of a (small-s) socialist society, built from the ground up. The workers join the union, the union joins the syndicate, and the syndicate joins the federation, all without compulsion. The unions strike, the syndicate sympathy strikes, and the federation eventually expropriates the means of production. The syndicalists certainly wanted to educate the masses, but they had no plans of stopping there, they wanted to show results:

For the Anarcho-Syndicalists the trade union is by no means a mere transitory phenomenon bound up with the duration of capitalist society, it is the germ of the Socialist society of the future, the elementary school of Socialism in general.<sup>8</sup>

### **GEO-SYNDICALISM**

**M**Y VISION FOR GEO-SYNDICALISM is one of marriage between anarcho-syndicalist praxis and geonarchist philosophy. In essence, it would be the use of tenant unions to set into place a geonarchist society. Where anarcho-syndicalism was an effort to transform the capitalist workplace into self-managed worker-democracies, geosyndicalism would be an effort to gain sovereignty on behalf of tenant unions, ending their status as unions, and claiming their status as community land trusts.

The scale on which common trust is necessary is up to various factors. Should the whole world be held in one trust? Should many trusts exist independently? Should they federate? These are difficult questions, and I am yet to conclude a hard answer myself, but my soft answer is that I believe many different models can be experimented with, and the best will naturally rise to the top. If we find that this market leads to a worldwide natural monopoly, so be it, so long as it is a participatory one, which functions on principles of federation and subsidiarity. If this is unnecessary, it should not be forced.

In Spain, during the Revolution, the libertarians experimented with various different models under the federal authority of the CNT (National Confederation of Labor, Spanish acronym). Ronald Fraser, in *Blood of Spain*, suggests that,

From the beginning, the CNT supported different solutions, both locally and nationally. At the latter level, Madrid had called for the 'classic' anarcho-syndicalist line of *socialization* of large industry, business, and transport (by which it meant that the unions should run, but not own, them), workers' control in other private enterprises and the planning of large industry. Barcelona, on the other hand, proposed *collectivization* of all enterprises without distinction, with profits to be handed over to a common fund administered by the Economics Council of Catalonia [...]

[...]

there was a heated discussion between the advocates of *socialization* and *cooperativization*. The bigger, more powerful unions, like the woodworkers, the transport workers, the public entertainments union, all of which had already socialized their industries, wanted to extend their solution to the rest of industry. The smaller, weaker unions wanted to form cooperatives, arguing that the latter would retain the identity of each firm.

He says,

Collectivization, socialization, cooperativization—few people could give a precise definition of what was meant by the different terms being used. But one thing dominated the libertarian revolution: the practice of self-management—the workers'

administration of their factories and industries.<sup>9</sup>

Just as the Spanish anarchists came up with various solutions, the same can be done with geo-syndicalism. The interesting thing about syndicalism is it is more of a praxis than an outcome-based philosophy. Mutualists, communists, collectivists—and, I suggest, even Georgists—can be syndicalists. Indeed, even Mussolini made use of syndicalism; national syndicalism. The Spanish anarchists had various visions within the CNT: some wanted their shop committee to take ownership of the firm after the revolution, as in a cooperative, while others wanted various levels of socialization, or complete collectivization. Just as a labor federation can transform an economy into a sea of independent cooperatives, or can opt to keep ownership on a federal level, the same can be done with tenant unions: amidst the seizing of land, they can keep ownership at the federal level which was necessarily constructed in order to expropriate, or they can allocate sovereignty to land trusts based on bioregions. Most likely, in my own opinion, would be a sort of henocentric law (one big law, many small laws: federalism), wherein the federation remains, which is then responsible for allocating charters to smaller land trusts, perhaps with multiple layers of association.

For those unfamiliar with tenant syndicalism, allow me to state a case: Co-op City. Built atop the abandoned Freedomland theme park, on swamp land, in the Bronx, New York, Co-op City is the largest cooperative housing development in the world. As one site suggests,

The project was sponsored and built by the United Housing Foundation[...] and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

[...]

The construction of the community was financed with a mortgage loan from New York State's Housing Finance Agency (HFA). The complex defaulted on the loan in 1975 and has had ongoing agreements to pay back

HFA, until 2004 when it was financially unable to continue payments due to the huge costs of emergency repairs. New York Community Bank helped Riverbay [the Co-op's company name] satisfy its \$57 million mortgage obligation, except for \$95 million in arrears, by refinancing the loan later that same year. This led to the agreement that Co-op City would remain in the Mitchell-Lama Housing Program for at least seven more years as a concession on the arrears and that any rehabilitation that Co-op City took on to improve the original poor construction (which happened under the State's watch) would earn credit toward eliminating the debt. By 2008, Riverbay had submitted enough proof of construction repairs to pay off the balance of arrears to New York State.

Co-op City is situated in The Bronx, at the northeastern edge of New York City. Mismanagement, shoddy construction and corruption lead to the community defaulting on its loan in 1975. The original Kazan board resigned and the state took over control. Cooperators were faced with a 25 percent increase in their monthly maintenance fees. Instead, a rent-strike was organized. New York State threatened to foreclose on the property, and evict the tenants – which would mean the loss of their equity. But Cooperators stayed united and held out 13 months (the longest and largest rent-strike in United States history) before a compromise was finally reached, with mediation from then Bronx Borough President, Robert Abrams, and then Secretary of State, Mario Cuomo. Cooperators would remit \$20 million in back pay, but they

would get to take over management of the complex and set their own fees.<sup>10</sup>

This is just a minor example of the potential for tenant organization. What could they do if an entire region of the country went on such a rent-strike, as decided by a democratic tenant's union? There is not enough room in the jails, nor scabs for the machinery of an entire region; the rich would have to evacuate, but this would be uncomfortable, and unlikely. What can they do if the population rises? If we recount what happened in the Tiananmen Square incident, the first set of troops sent in to crush the student-worker protests were reasoned with, and actually fired upon the next round of troops who had been sent in, and who did not speak the same language. We lack the language barriers here; it would be much easier to reason with our military personnel, convince them that they have brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, fighting on our side, and for that reason they should not fire upon their own citizens. It is really the military that must be convinced in order to abolish power, but this depends firstly on the concerted activity of the working— and, indeed, renting—classes.

### CONCLUSION

**A**NARCHO-SYNDICALISM AND GEOANARCHISM are quite compatible. When applied to tenant issues, syndicalism is a viable method by which direct-action may be applied to redistribute land according to Georgist means.

**REFERENCES**

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<sup>1</sup> Fred Foldvary

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Rudolf Rocker

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ronald Fraser, 210-212.

<sup>10</sup> N/A<sup>2</sup>

# The Prefigurative Revolution of Geo-Mutualist Panarchism

## INTRODUCTION

**A** GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHY would constitute a completely different society from the one we have today. As such, it is necessary to discuss the general approach by which such a society could be brought about. This will be a brief outline of the prefigurative institutions that geo-mutualist panarchists wish to utilize in a larger strategy of dual power, revolutionary gradualism. It will end with a description of how it can be applied.

## GEO-MUTUAL PANARCHIST METHODS OF SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISTS are not reformists. That is, we do not believe that the system of coercive hierarchy can be changed by appealing to those in power. Instead, geo-mutualist panarchists practice direct-action. Direct-action is an action which is taken without appealing to an intermediary, such as a politician, a boss, or someone else in charge, for permission or help. Instead, direct-action is an act which is undertaken by an individual or a group to resolve an issue that they are facing firsthand. Geo-mutualist panarchists support the use of non-aggressive direct-action to achieve our goals, rather than appealing to the state or crony capitalists. Geo-mutual panarchists don't expect that our ideal society will be brought about overnight, but expect it to take a long, gradual, evolutionary, but also revolutionary, process of direct-action.

Holding to a position of revolutionary gradualism, geo-mutualist panarchists take upon themselves the responsibility of demonstrating the possibilities that the future society has to offer. Revolutionary gradualism is the position that since the new society cannot be reformed through the normal means of elections, single-issue campaigning, or even the way we spend the dollar, that instead it must be revised by common people, slowly, and from the

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bottom, up using direct-action. This means, instead of asking politicians to do things for us, or expecting money that we have no control over to give us bargaining power in the market, that we create institutions that reflect our interests as common people, and which grant us *de facto* power over our lives. Such institutions are often called *dual-power* institutions. This is especially so when they begin to defy mandates from the state, and compete with it for legitimacy. These grow from prefigurative organizations.

A prefigurative organization is one which is designed to reflect the mode of a future society's operation in the present day. This is often an attempt to demonstrate to people that such a society can operate successfully, while slowly establishing the new society, piece by piece.

While not set into stone, geo-mutualist panarchism leans toward the support of a number of key prefigurative institutions to bring about gradual revolutionary change. These reflect the goals and values of geo-mutual panarchism,<sup>i</sup> which are primarily centered

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<sup>i</sup> Geo-mutualists wish to create a society which is as completely voluntary and self-managed as the laws of nature allow. Geo-mutualism has much in common with strains of social anarchism, including participatory economics, anarcho-syndicalism, collectivist anarchism, and anarcho-communism. Like these ideologies, geo-mutualists promote industrial democracy and cooperation, economic confederalism, worker and community self-management, and participatory decision-making, to name a few of their commonalities. Geo-mutualists similarly hold values to be found in individualist strains of anarchism, such as classical American individualist anarchism, especially, but also by early libertarian capitalist thinkers, as well as by voluntaryism, cryptoanarchism, and agorism. Values in common with these include the sovereignty of the individual, the cost principle, equality of

on fair access to land and credit, and freedom of association, with a somewhat ancillary interest in economic self-management.<sup>ii</sup> The

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liberty, the principle of non-aggression, freedom of exchange, and abstinence from politics. Further, geo-mutualists find commonality with those wings of anarchism that are not necessarily individualist nor collectivist, such as eco-anarchism, distributist anarchism, egoist anarchism, and illegalism, to name a few. These anarchist perspectives and values are reflected in the institutions that geo-mutualism promotes.

While having particularly much in common with anarchism, geo-mutualist panarchism is not limited to its anarchist positions, but also finds some common ground with classical and modern positions relating to “good governance.” These include ideologies such as Ricardian socialism, utopian socialism, Georgism, distributism, guild socialism, autonomous Marxism, council communism, situationism, as well as libertarian capitalism and Austrian economics, monetarism, Keynesian and post-Keynesian economics, chartalism, economic democracy, nationalism, fascism, and more. Especially important to geo-mutualists is panarchism. To be retained from these ideologies include issues relating to pragmatic and legitimate uses and limits of force, social order and cohesion, the proper relationships between units and subunits (subsidiarity), proper rates of taxation, proper management of the economy, the organic structure of society, and how to allow all of these governmental systems, as well as anarchical systems, to co-exist.

<sup>ii</sup> Ancillary only because it is assumed to be a natural outcome of the former. Geo-

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most important of these institutions include the confederation, land trust, mutual bank, and the civil registry. Of secondary importance include personal trusts, mutuals, cooperatives, collectives, partnerships, and independent contractors of various kinds, as well as the various associations, networks, and confederations they form.

The confederation is the network of geo-mutualist institutions. While also called *federations* at times—depending on the historical, regional, or ideological context—, confederations can also be formally distinguished from federations. When distinguished, the difference between the two is the level of free association, and the level of say that the member-organizations have in relation to the more central organization. A confederation is marked by such things as voluntary association and the right of secession, bottom-up decision-making, and limited funding to the central body, whereas a proper federation will disallow secession, will make top-down decisions, and has the ability to levy taxes on

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mutualist organizers may prefer to forgo disputes about ideological specifics. Instead, they may stick to discussions about the tools that make their ideas pragmatically possible, and which enable, also, other ideologies to exist, so long as they may do so at their own cost. In other words, geo-mutualist organizers may wish to wield a “thin” variety of geo-mutualist panarchism, without going into the specifics of the “thick” to an audience that would be off-put by it. A “thick” geo-mutualism would utilize stronger language about anarchism, including worker self-management, community participation in decisions, the cost principle, etc. which is unnecessary to get a consensus on in order to bring into being. Once the tools of “thin” geo-mutualism—the land trust, mutual bank, and civil registry—are accepted and applied, the soil has been made rich for the seeds of its “thicker” variety.

its member-units. Both confederations and federations will often have clear divisions of power between the central and affiliated units of membership, allocating certain powers to the central body, and limiting its powers over the smaller units.

### **INSTITUTIONS OF “THIN” GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM**

A GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHIST confederation would consist of various divisions, branches, and offices, as found desirable by the membership. Amongst these would be found the mutual bank, the land trust, and the civil registry. The members of the confederation would consist of “thick” geo-mutualists (those who want a geo-mutualist society within the larger geo-mutualist panarchy) and their allies, which could include any group with which an alliance is found suitably appropriate, including groups as diverse as agorist networks, labor syndicates, religious communities, nationalist groups, Jeffersonian patriots, etc. who are willing to work with others to create, and compete within, a marketplace of autonomous communities. A geo-mutualist panarchist confederation would be the perfect structure to facilitate the kind of across-the-spectrum pan-secession project that Keith Preston talks about. The “thick” geo-mutualist, as well as the other “thin” groups, all have a stake in participating in such a network, especially when the tools of mutual credit and land trusts are involved. As I argue in “The Civic Bank” as well as in “A Geo-Mutual Panacea,” this is made possible by the fact that labor-backed currency has the power to dominate the market once a sufficient critical mass is hit, and by the proposed policies of the bank.

The mutual bank is a bank in which the consumers are also the policy-holders and the beneficiaries of the bank, which is run similarly in some ways to a trust. The bank is obligated in its policy to behave in a certain manner, as bargaining between consumers and producers dictates. Most importantly, the bank is to supply credit without interest to its members and keep prices stable. It does so by accepting goods, promissory notes, warehouse receipts, the GDP of a nation, etc. as collateral. Many of my articles go into the details of mutual banking, so I will not be going into detail here. These are the basics.

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The civil registry is an office which registers various forms of societal arrangements, governmental and anarchistic. This is very important to the philosophy of geo-mutualist panarchism, and provides an important office in the geo-mutualist panarchist confederation. The civil registry would register the various groups and rogue individuals as sovereign members of the confederation. As an extra measure of the confederation, upon registration each would agree to a set of standards regarding their behavior toward one another's person and territory. This would be outlined in documents such as a mutually-controlled platform (such as that used by the Russian platformist anarchists, but written with the goals and values of geo-mutualist panarchism in mind) and constitution, and would be enforced mutually by the members of the confederation, as chosen by lot, perhaps.

The land trust would provide an equal starting position for the communities to be started, regardless of the form that they take. The land trust would hold the land in common, and would act as the trustee of the members, its beneficiaries, to whom it would lease the land. Any free association which meets the conditions set forth in the constitution will be respected as a unit capable of leasing the land from the common trust. These associations may organize in any way they please, and may be as internally fascistic, capitalistic, socialistic, or communistic as they can afford. The rents from the land will go to pay for all common expenses of the confederation, and the rest will be evenly divided amongst the members, allowing each a fair and equal opportunity to test the viability of their desired political economy.

At this point—aside from some subsidiary offices and departments of the confederation or its branches—, all of the “compulsory” (for membership) portions of the geo-mutualist panarchist confederation (as I envision it) have been established: the confederation, and its component land trust, mutual bank, and civil registry. Participating in these alone would constitute a “thin” geo-mutualist panarchism. The “thick” variety merely entails carrying the structure of geo-mutualist panarchism down into the member-organization, as a sort of fractalized, cellular, or “nested” system. *Political henosis* is a term (I believe) I have coined to refer to the sort of gravitational effects I believe a “thicker” geo-mutualism to have. This is based on my personal preference for geo-

mutualism, which I believe to take from, and remain open to, the best of all worlds. I believe geo-mutualism has an evolutionary advantage capable of establishing dominance in a manner that is non-coercive, and thus consistent with the values of geo-mutualist panarchism. I'm willing to test this, by allowing other forms of society to compete with its "thicker" variety within the context of the "thin." This having of a "thick" and "thin" is a characteristic of *henocentric law*.

## INSTITUTIONS OF "THICK" GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM

THE INSTITUTIONS of "thick" geo-mutualist panarchists would include, but would not be limited to, those already discussed, but in smaller forms. There may, for instance, be a smaller, "thicker," geo-mutualist confederation which is a member of the larger, "thinner" one, and which subleases land to its members from its own leasehold, releases credit in a similar manner, and even allows for different modes of even "thicker" forms of geo-mutualism, which may all vary. It is expected at this level that the more radical aspects of mutualism can come into play in daily matters as well, such as self-management and equal liberty. These will take specific form in the mutuals and cooperatives of various sorts. Of course, independent contractors and entrepreneurs will always be celebrated for their skill and ingenuity.

A cooperative (co-op) is an organization which is member-owned and operated. What makes a cooperative a cooperative is that each member has an equal say in the overall functioning of the organization, often by way of a general assembly. Co-ops can take many forms, some of them run as shareholder organizations, others as stakeholder organizations, etc. They are typically producer, tenant, or consumer-owned, though other forms of ownership exist as well. In a consumer-owned cooperative, for instance, a stakeholder may pay dues into the organization to cover general fees, but may purchase shares of product. It's important to understand that in shareholder-run cooperatives, a member may only own one share of the cooperative, but the cooperative may facilitate unequal purchases for the members as shares of stock. For instance, members A and B are both shareholders of a consumer cooperative, and have one equal share, but A buys three shares of

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wheat stock *through* (not *of*) the cooperative, and B only one. The ownership of the cooperative has remained the same, but it has facilitated different amounts of purchases for the members, based on their demand. Likewise, a producer cooperative may have equal shareholders who perform different (or similar, but more experienced) work for different pay. Further still, a cooperative may function as a dues-paying guild, in which each producer receives common services from the whole, but operates largely independently (this is similar to many “Makerspaces” today, as well as many skilled trades). Similarly, an individual may be an equal member of a land trust cooperative or a co-housing community and, while having equal opportunity, pay different prices for different living places. A “thick” geo-mutualist society could expect to see a large number of cooperatives, and very little employment by others in a non-cooperative or non-transactionary (the way independent contractors do) basis. This would be ensured by the policies of the mutual bank, but enforced through supply and demand.

A mutual firm is an organization which is run for the benefit of its policy-holders, typically represented by consumer interests. A policy is the mode, or rule structure, by which an organization operates. The policy-holder is the person who controls this rule structure. So, in a typical mutual organization, producers of a good or service will agree to sell the terms under which they operate for a fixed price, and thereby will agree not to be able to change their mode of operation for a specified term. They act as an agent, similar to a trustee, to the consumer, their policy-holder. The policy may include terms such as reallocation of any accidental profits of the firm back to the consumer policy-holders, and will state a fixed salary or a salary limit for those working inside. Mutual organizations are great solutions to natural monopolies or less-than-competitive industries, wherein simpler competition is not enough to drive prices to cost. In such markets, concerted activity may be necessary on behalf of the consumers to form a bilateral monopoly situation which later leads to mutualization. Imagine a natural monopoly that is run by a producer’s cooperative, which charges exorbitant prices for its products. The consumers form a consumer cooperative to have bargaining power (perhaps backed by a loan from the mutual bank,

which sees the lowered prices as collateral for the consumers). The bargain settles in mutualization, with the producers selling a policy to the consumers, agreeing to terms favorable to each, and to redistribute the profits (not to be confused with salaries or wages of the firm's workers). Mutualization may also be a necessary component of some capital-intensive industries, which are artificial, but possibly desirable monopolies to have, in which case consumers would put up capital in return for control of the policy, as investors of sorts. Mutual firms are expected to be common for distribution of products, insurance, healthcare, communication, power, and other places where monopolies currently supply the lowest-cost services.

It is expected that the institutions of a “thicker” geo-mutualism—cooperatives of various sorts, mutual, land trusts, etc.—have competitive advantages that allow them to outcompete autocratic or majoritarian institutions alike.

## GETTING STARTED

SO FAR, the end-results of our dual-power institutions have been briefly sketched, but how are we to get them going in the first place? How is the gradualist revolution going to evolve?

As we have mentioned direct-action, we already know that the revolution won't be brought about by governmental officials, academic specialists, etc. but must be carried out by everyday working people and common folks of various sorts. This means it has to occur without public or private funding or support, but instead depends on cooperative self-reliance, community resilience, and mutual aid. All of the grand dual-power institutions we envision must evolve from prefigurative organizations that common people—not specialists (though we may reference their material), not officials (though we will ask if they have done anything of worth)—create. The revolution will be DIY.

Most importantly, we cannot get caught up worried about creating an echo chamber. The fight of the geo-mutualist panarchist should not be so much ideological as practical. It should be the gradual demonstration and cultural acceptance of prefigurative organizations, informed by the philosophy of geo-

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mutualist panarchism, which cannot occur through conversation alone, no matter how rational or logical. This is not to say that evangelizing the values of geo-mutualist panarchism does nothing to help, but that most people are not driven by value-oriented action. Far fewer people, for instance, know exactly how a car works, compared to those who drive it. Most people get in the car and drive it to where they need to be, and if it breaks down, they get it fixed. Similarly, people will be more inclined to use the tools of geo-mutualist panarchism than they will be to learn the underlying principles. Those common folks who know how to design prefigurative organizations must do so in a user-friendly manner, in which it is only required for those with a serious interest to learn about the specifics. Over time it will become second-nature to people, and especially as they find it necessary or beneficial to participate.

Organizing must be done across the various spectrums that currently disturb the lower classes. This means that anarchists must organize with statist, racist whites with black nationalists, communists with fascists, feminists with masculists, etc. This will be no easy task. People who don't like one another culturally or ideologically often participate in spiteful and often self-deleterious acts of (as they see it) revenge. However, these same people also walk past one another in the grocery aisle without conflict all of the time. Once again, the organizing—especially amongst non-organizing participants—should focus as little as possible on ideology, but the practical tools should be used to bring people of differing interests together. People who would otherwise hate one another come together in the grocery store, as customers, employees, and employers. Likewise, people of differing ideologies will come together so long as ideology is not made a focal point of the group, and the group provides them with practical things, such as access to land, money, and self-management.

The most important institution to begin with is probably a mutual credit system, which could function in many ways, but the one I would expect to be the most beneficial would be to back the credit with commodities and locally-desirable services. This would take a little know-how, but plenty of geeks and highschool dropouts could have a great time figuring the specifics out. As I mention in “Credit, Collateral, and Spot-Pricing,” I envision folks

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putting together something like a cooperative or mutual pawn shop, which would take goods, warehouse receipts, promissory notes, etc. as collateral for credit in the shop. I envision common people renting houses, spaces in houses, warehouses, or various other locations and forming underground networks wherein they supply goods and services to one another in an agorist fashion, utilizing mutual credit. Such underground banking systems could function in unlikely spaces (like in homes), thereby avoiding hassles with industrial rent and zoning restrictions and such. Similarly, various pirate restaurants, pop-up stores, the sharing economy, and other such projects could provide goods and services in the network. As the system grows, various open-source programs and apps could be created by the bank. Not too fast, though, it has to get going first.

The mutual bank will allow people to begin to employ themselves to some extent and will also begin to lower prices drastically (if production is done on the right scale). This has these effects: As people leave the governmental labor market (the one that uses federal bills), it drives up the price for labor (using those bills) in that market, and creates a greater dependency on labor for the crony capitalists while reducing the need for the workers; and it allows people to save their money (by avoiding regulations, interest payments, etc.). So, workers begin to make more money, and save more money, simultaneously. As their needs are more and more satisfied by the mutual credit economy, they make more money (both mutual credit and federal bills) and can begin to acquire property. When a transaction is made with the mutual credit, it means that one's dollars are freed up, and these can be put to things that are harder to acquire with mutual credit, such as real estate. Using the mutual credit in the labor market frees up dollars for use on real estate. This is crucial, because this is our "grocery-store" tool, which allows us to bring diverse and even antagonistic interests together (without this, "thick" geo-mutualism could not be attempted or fostered, because the participants would be so low).

No matter one's ideological orientation, or even just one's preferences, one needs access to property to put their thoughts into action. As the network grows to include more and more people of varying interests, a land trust can be utilized and a confederation

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can begin to form, recognizing the various interests through a civil registry which more-or-less incorporates them into a documented body. These could include anarcho-communist collectives, nationalist fascies, communes, private communities, or whatever else. These various groups would be able to access credit in a manner similar to individuals, thereby allowing them group agency, and could begin to lease land from the land trust as it is acquired. Eventually the system matures, and crony capitalists outside the system find it unfeasible to pay the high prices for labor (when they pay with dollars). Dependent on mutual credit to make exchanges, they have no choice but to join the network, wherein the policies of the bank dictate that their state-granted privileges are debited (as described in “The Civic Bank” and especially “A Geo-Mutual Panacea”). The ruling class, then, has no choice but to join the lower class together in the new, enlarged, middle class. When large enough, tax resistance can be practiced in concert, and sovereignty of the panarchy established. Our little prefigurative organization has developed into a full-fledged dual-power institution, capable of facilitating a gradual revolution, utilizing non-aggressive direct-action.

# 10 Simple Reasons to Stop Voting

1. THE UNITED STATES was founded under a document called the Articles of Confederation, which, while being democratic for those who were allowed to vote, did not allow anyone but land-owning, white, protestant, males to vote. Considering that most whites at this time were not land-owners, this was a small percentage of the population. Under these Articles, Shays' Rebellion, and other farmer-led rebellions occurred. Many of these were due to evictions, high interest rates, taxes, and regulation of colonial scrip. Because there was still very much a class society in the United States, and because of the rebellions it was spawning, the Federalists, such as Hamilton and Madison, wanted to create a stronger government. The Anti-Federalists, led by Patrick Henry, wanted otherwise. The Federalists held an illegal assembly, which illegally ratified the United States Constitution. This allowed more taxes to be levied, and for internal rebellions to be smashed in favor of wealthy land-owners. It also moved us toward the form of government that we have today, which allows all citizens who are not felons to vote for a representative. While still preferable to monarchy, perhaps, representative government was created for the purpose of stamping out the interests of the working poor. It does this mentally, by suggesting that the poor are self-determined and free; and it does this physically, by militarizing the federal government. Our government is quite imperialistic, after all, thanks to the power to levy taxes created by the constitution. Basically, if you're a patriot, you should study your history. You won't be a patriot much longer.

2. We are given two options, neither of which represent our own class interests or individual autonomy. All elected officials come from ruling class backgrounds and are supported by ruling class interests.

3. Even if someone from our class and with our basic interests gets elected, there are still things they will do that we won't like. Nobody can represent us 100% except for ourselves. "Packaged deals" are quite common. Often a candidate will promote a certain behavior, and may even hold true to it, while they are not telling us about a hidden agenda.

## *Ten Simple Reasons to Stop Voting*

4. Even if you lose, you already agreed to the winner. When one explicitly and voluntarily partakes in a game, which by its nature has rules, one agrees to abide by those rules. Upon losing the game, one has already agreed that it is right that they lose, because they have agreed to play by the rules of the game. You should not agree to play this game, which has okayed everything we find intolerable about capitalism.

5. Representative democracy assumes that people need others smarter than them to make decisions on their behalf, but ignores the paradox of letting them choose these individuals for others. As I'm not a dentist, I have no knowledge of dentistry. While I should be free to choose my dentist, to allow me to vote on officials in the American Dental Association would be ludicrous! Likewise, to allow people who know nothing of jurisprudence to decide its best provider for others!

6. Majority-rule, unless consented to, is rationally unethical. While it may have been okay in the past somehow, it should not be okay to force your opinion onto others. It doesn't matter how many people you have behind you, or how much firepower you have. It is rationally wrong.

7. The Electoral College, campaign financiers, special interest groups, voter fraud, and many other concerns keep even the majority from having their voices heard during elections.

8. Voter-participation is important for the image of government validation. If the numbers of voters go down (assuming we actually get the real numbers in the first place), the validity of government is made publicly questionable. Government should not only be questioned, but eliminated.

9. Government depends on the consent of the governed. We should not give such consent. This begins with the removal of explicit consent, and then onto tacit consent.

10. If your goal is to create a society wherein people's opinions matter, and their feelings are considered real, voting cannot get you there. A society wherein people's opinions and feelings matter (anarchy) is a society wherein people can express themselves in many different ways, and are not forced to conform to the outcome of others' votes. Such a society depends on the concerted activity of its proponents, all having different values, for

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the sake of protecting the right to differing values. To get to such a society, voting must be dispelled with. We can't suggest that we are trying to create a pluralistic society, which takes concerted effort from many walks of life to establish, and then tell these people which candidate to vote for. This is no manner by which to sustain a movement toward the respect of differing values. It's a way to alienate people from one another, and to divide them. This is how the ruling class wins: Divide and conquer. It has done this with the races, with the genders, with sexual preferences, etc. If not for being pitted one against the other, our identities would be valued by one another, and we'd see the true enemy (authority) for who they are.

# **The Civic Bank: The Geo-Mutual Bank as Revolutionary Instrument, Political Mobilizer, and Provider of Welfare and Security**

## **INTRODUCTION**

**I**N THIS ESSAY, we will take a look at the characteristics of the geo-mutual bank, within the wider context of the geo-mutual panarchist confederation. More specifically, we will discuss the ability of the bank to mobilize populations, establish itself as sovereign, and to ensure people's safety and well-being. In order to do this, I will be utilizing elements from many perspectives, including geo-mutualism, Modern Monetary Theory, anarcho-syndicalism, and agorism.

To begin, I will introduce the geo-mutual bank, and describe its functions. I will then proceed to give some background on approaches to change, describing the tactics of agorism and syndicalism in terms of Murray Bookchin's lifestyle anarchism and social anarchism. I will proceed to suggest mutual credit as a necessary, neutral, and complimentary component of each, a means of tying the schools together, and empowering them. Using classical mutualism and Modern Monetary Theory (MMT), I will suggest the manner by which mutual credit may mobilize, secure, and defend a revolutionary society.

## **APPROACHES TO CHANGE**

**T**HE MOST COMMON MEANS of political action is the vote, or reform. Revolutionists long gone and newly arriving are under the consensus that the vote is not a means by which capitalism can be corrected. This is partly due to the fact that elected officials all come from the economic ruling class of capitalism, and have no incentive to end their own privilege. They may offer concessions every now and again, especially in order to gain and maintain their elected positions, but the system that gives them power will remain in place. The revolutionists have all

concluded that the working and/or middle classes have to settle things themselves, by use of collective force. As this essay is not based on the question of “revolution or reform,” and I find myself clearly on the side of gradual revolution, I will not be detailing this dispute. However, I do suggest you read further on the matter.

Anarchist praxis— as described by Murray Bookchin, a well-respected author of communitarian and social-ecological strains of anarchistic municipalism— can be divided into two classes: *Lifestyle anarchism* and *social anarchism*. These two views are often at odds with one another.

Lifestyle anarchism is based in the individualist belief that it is the multiplication of individual actions that create change in society. Lifestyle anarchists, then, focus on living in manners that are contrary to capitalism and the state, and taking personal steps to lively freely in the now. Good examples of lifestyle anarchism include maintaining a dietary program, like veganism or macrobiotics, growing permaculture gardens, being punk, bartering, dumpster diving, nomadic living, illegalist actions such as stealing from or scamming corporations, insurrectionist activities, and anything else that the individual can do in their immediate lives to confront the values of capitalism or the state, or to free themselves directly to some extent, without having to engage in communal activities. Crimethinc., at least in their earlier years, as I am familiar with them, is a good example of lifestyle anarchism; promoting illegal and adventurous activities, living “off the map,” vandalizing property, scamming capitalists, dumpster diving, etc. Lifestyle anarchists often criticize the others of lacking immediate results, and wasting time in meetings.

On the other end of the spectrum is social anarchism, wherein people are less centered on their individual activities, and are more concerned with group activities. Social anarchists will often reject the value of lifestylists, suggesting that they are unable to make any long-term systemic change without the combined interests of the group. The social anarchist will often participate in mainstream culture, holding mainstream and “working class” (as they argue) diets, having liberal and communalist tendencies in regard to education and healthcare, and, aside from participating in meetings and organized actions, may live otherwise mainstream

lifestyles. A good example of an organization largely representing social anarchist interests is the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World, which is a revolutionary labor union.

These two tendencies of anarchism, lifestyle anarchism and social anarchism, are often found to be at odds, but there are also some common grounds between them. One good example, though Bookchin may disagree, is the wildcat strike. The wildcat strikes of France in the 60's were not caused by mass social organization so much as culture (specifically the thought of the Situationists), although it was certainly a social practice, and one informed by organized labor. I would also argue that programs related to cooperative gradualism also provide a common category for the individualist-lifestylists and the collectivist-socialists, as cooperatives (and similar projects) provide an immediate return, as well as a plan for growth and continued association through confederation.

Extreme tactics of lifestylism, including insurrection, illegalism, and other forms of confrontational direct-action, such as “propaganda of the deed,” have long provided a shocking approach to anarchist activity. Such people as Johann Most and Luigi Galleani proposed the violent overthrow of the state. This is a tactic that I more than less have to reject, as it is possibly unethical, and certainly lacks in the area of tact. Before such a proposed use of force can gain any kind of gravity, it will lose favor to popular and established— though arguably false— opinion.

### **AGORISM AND SYNDICALISM**

**T**WO APPROACHES TO CHANGE that get to the heart of the matter include anarcho-syndicalism, or anarcho-unionism, and agorism, or gray-marketsteering.

Agorism is a philosophy created by rogue libertarian Samuel Edward Konkin III. It is based on the idea, perhaps first described in depth by Gustav Molinari, that security is provided best by firms in a free market. Konkin suggested that, since this is so, it would be profitable to grow “gray market” systems of justice. That is, provision of law that is, paradoxically, against the law as it is established. Konkin promoted the idea that gray market law,

under the proper conditions, can abolish the state. He suggested that overthrowing the state could be “profitable.”<sup>i</sup> He cites the activities in the black market, suggesting that the black market operates solely upon the fact that breaking the law provides high returns (so long as one is not caught and is providing valuable services). Konkin points to the fact that black market economies exist because they are profitable to those who participate in them. He suggests the same can be true with the provision of law against the state. Konkin promotes the use of gray markets (which exist as middle grounds of legal, white market sales, and illegal, black market sales; white markets being the sale of legal goods, black markets the sale of illegal goods, and gray markets the sale of legal goods illegally, or without licensing, taxes, respect for zoning, etc.) as eventual providers of law, suggesting that popular providers of law have the means by which to abolish the state, so long as they can find the proper entrepreneurial approach. Agorism offers a pragmatic tool for dismantling the state: the gray market.

The best examples of social anarchism can be found in the programs of the revolutionary syndicalists and the revolutionary platformists. The platformists, such as Nestor Makhno of revolutionary Ukraine (who was also an insurrectionist), created a document laying out the vision for a future anarchist society. It supported revolutionary syndicalism to a great degree, as well as agrarian communes. Anarcho-syndicalism, as presented by Rudolf Rocker, promotes the idea that workplaces should be managed directly by the workers, and that the means to accomplish such ends is through labor unions. The tactic behind anarcho-syndicalism is to get a mass of the workers to join directly-democratic and autonomous labor unions. These labor unions would also be a part of a larger federation that is capable of expropriating workplaces and setting them under the direct control

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<sup>i</sup> I certainly have my qualms with profit, but I do think his system, if adopted in a mutualist manner, could operate without it.

of the workers. This would ensure that everyone's voice is heard and payment (if it exists) is organized more fairly. The revolutionary syndicalists, like the workers of revolutionary Spain, used directly-democratic labor unions to overthrow the state, and to establish a workers' democracy. While it was eliminated by the combined interests of fascism, having occurred shortly before World War II, it provides an important experiment in social anarchism (though many of the participants in the CNT were also proponents or participants of illegalism). Syndicalists provide a proven means of dismantling capitalism.

Each of these anarchists' tactics have advantages and limitations to them, but together they can mutually reinforce a libertarian system. Social and lifestyle anarchists would do best to unite under a common umbrella, and even to intermingle and adapt one another's strategies. Life doesn't have to be one-or-the-other; we're allowed to blur the area between them. Lifestyle anarchists can do well at living in ways that are conducive to a free life, attracting many free-spirited types to anarchism; social anarchists, likewise, often know how to run good meetings, and to work toward long-term goals. Anarchism needs both of these approaches, but in the proper doses and at the right time.

Many of the problems of the social anarchists stem from the things the lifestylists criticize them for, such as lacking immediate benefit to their actions. Many of the things social anarchists do are wonderfully necessary, but circumstance in the life of the worker often muddies the water. Meetings, picketing, organizing, etc. takes time out of the life of the worker. Coupled by "slave-morality" (Nietzsche) and "totalitarian humanist" (Keith Preston) approaches to socialism, social anarchists have a hard time sustaining membership for their beautiful and much-needed long-term projects. The projects of the social anarchists require mass action, but masses take time to build, and, without offering "the meat" they're after, people aren't going to stick around. They need material returns, or at least the rush from a good adventure (hopping trains, as many lifestylists, perhaps).

On the other end of the spectrum, the lifestyle anarchists may offer a good adventure, and some immediate returns (such as methods to live without working), but they also lack a clear vision

of social ends. Their behavior may provide them a degree of happiness (it doesn't appeal to me), but it can do nothing to end capitalism or the state. Capitalism and the state can only be thwarted through social means. Social anarchists are correct to criticize them under these terms.

### FINDING COMMON GROUND

**H**ERE ARE TWO THINKERS on the near polar ends of anarchism: Rocker, a collectivist, who tolerates markets; and Konkin, an individualist, who tolerates democratic decision-making in firms. The two are not so opposed as to be unable to coexist. Each actually concedes facts of the other. Syndicalists are with the individualists, suggesting that revolutionary activity should provide for material needs. Syndicalists believe that union membership must be grown through gradual union victories. Agorists share concerns with the syndicalists, promoting worker-owned business and concerted activity on behalf of gray-marketeers.

Any real revolutionary activity must be simultaneously individualistic and collectivistic in order to succeed. The synthesis of these forces, of course, is mutualism; similarly the synthesis of narcissism and altruism, reciprocity. As humans are concerned with their individuality and the well-being of the collective, simultaneously, a system will not be adopted unless it can be shown to provide for needs, both individual and collective, better than the alternatives. By conceding to the truths of the other side to some degree, syndicalists provide the best means of victory on behalf of social interests, and in the claiming of positive liberty; but agorists provide the strongest suggestion on behalf of individuals, and in the grab for negative liberty. Being oriented as they are—one for the benefit of the collective, while recognizing individual needs; and the other for the benefit of the individual, recognizing strength in numbers—they still find themselves at odds with one another. There is need for a “gray space” between them, which does not necessarily conflate their interests, but which facilitates their co-dependence and allows for solidarity between the groups. Syndicalism—labor, consumer, and tenant-oriented—provides

the best means of dealing with naturally monopolistic markets—the provision of law, communications services, etc.—, while agorism provides the best means of freeing markets from diseconomies of scale, where artificial monopolies have been constructed. Naturally competitive markets, bogged down by artificial monopoly, demand competitive solutions (agorism), while naturally monopolistic markets demand monopolistic solutions (syndicalism).

Revolutionary syndicalist organizations, as well as many other collectivist and volunteer-oriented movements, often face the challenge of staying organized and executing tasks. Volunteers are unreliable, unmotivated, and unaccountable. Anarchists who insist that organizations must function without payment are shooting themselves in the foot. There is so much work that is needed to be done, and so few willing or reliable enough to do it. When work does get done in such organizations, the organizations risk the beginning of a hierarchy, because of the natural ownership people tend to feel over organizations in which they do all of the work without compensation. Indeed, the criticism of the individualistic lifestyle anarchists seems to ring true; the social anarchists lack immediate rewards with which to motivate action.

Agorists lack the means to start their economy. They can profit for a short time by utilizing gray markets facilitated by federal bank notes. This does, thereby, distribute wealth further, but, so long as agorists limit themselves to the use of federal bank notes, their projects will be limited. While agorism, by exchanging federal bank notes under the table, can undercut monopolies that gain profit, interest and rent cannot be eliminated through the agorist process alone. Mutual credit is necessary to challenge the two grandest of productive monopolies: land and capital. While profits are certainly to be done away with, it is interest and rent that provide the real challenges to the revolutionary. Agorists have no reliable means by which to do away with interest. Mutual credit has always been a vessel capable of doing away with interest; as we continue in this essay, we will also see why it may put an end to the rent of the landlord. The exercise of mutual credit is only possible through concerted activity, as social anarchists suggest.

## THE GEO-MUTUAL BANK

THE GOAL OF THE GEO-MUTUALIST, sharing tendencies with both agorism and syndicalism, should be to incorporate their values into a holistic framework of mutual reinforcement, and to facilitate their growth. Indeed, I have argued in other essays, such as “Revolutionary Incrementalism and Rebellions of Scale,” that the two tactics of agorism and syndicalism have different applications. They could equally benefit, however, from mutual credit.

The geo-mutual bank provides the means by which immediate concerns can be managed in a social manner for the benefit of all involved individuals. Where social anarchists lack the ability to mobilize and maintain their membership, a geo-mutual panarchist confederation, if grown correctly, would provide the means to do so: credit.

If a mutual credit bank forms, this association can issue credit in whatever manner it wants (charging demurrage or dues to make up for any inflation the release of currency may cause). This means that it has the capacity to mobilize social labor, and to distribute its costs. Rather than relying on volunteers, socially valuable labor can be rewarded without need for the dollar (which can only be gained by performing labor for a capitalist). An organization that can pay its constituents—without need for income from capitalism—is an organization that is destined to put up a challenge.

The geo-mutual panarchist confederation would utilize and embrace tactics from both lifestylism and socialism. It would provide the organizational foundation for industrial unionism, craft guild organization, tenant activities, and more. With mutual credit, the work of organizing these institutions can be compensated. The geo-mutual bank—in many ways the central organization of the confederation—also provides the means by which lifestylists can live more efficiently, and a macroeconomic strategy to increase the return to agorists. Functioning on a common constitution, and having a common program, the confederation can also promote a platform.

## WHAT IS THE GEO-MUTUAL PANARCHIST CONFEDERATION?

**T**HE GEO-MUTUAL PANARCHIST confederation provides the functions of civil registry, supreme court of common law, mutual credit-clearing house, and community land trust. It registers members to voluntarily-chosen subsidiary units (nations, “governments,” syndicates, etc.), issues them interest-free credit, adjusts for seigniorage as time passes, allocates possession of land according to commonly-managed leasehold agreements, and resolves disputes between members.

The civil registry provides the function of filing declarations of sovereignty. If a member wishes to join as a sovereign individual, they will be free to do so. If they wish to join as a federation of communes, a workers’ syndicate, a Heathian fiefdom, a left-Rothbardian community, a paleoconservative confederation, a social-ecological municipality, a participatory society, a national identity, etc. they will likewise be enabled to do so.

The community land trust will provide the grounds over which a community may claim sovereignty, whether in compact areas as clusters, or in overlapping jurisdictions. For instance, a community may decide that its members’ land must directly connect to others; it may just demand members exist in a service-area (regardless of direct connection); or it may accept membership from anyone, digitally. This may, but does not necessarily, mean that to get to the other side of a community of which one is a member, one will have to pass through communities that one does not have direct membership in (but perhaps a confederal association to). More than likely, this will induce communities to find common ground and to adapt one another’s values. Those communities which have access to the best land will compensate the communities who take more marginal lands. Just about everyone will have a basic income from dividends from the land.

The geo-mutual bank is the central credit organization of a geo-mutual panarchist confederation. As a mutual credit-clearing house, the geo-mutual bank will issue credit to its members (either as individuals or in groups), which can be used to lease land from the confederation, can be invested in mental and physical capital,

used to make general purchases, and to settle disputes. The credit will be backed by collateral or by good-will to perform labor (debt), and will be issued without interest. The bank will adjust for demurrage and dividends on a periodical basis, as the value of the collateral and labor backing the currency fluctuates. This will keep the value of currency directly proportionate to the things it represents.

The mandated officials of court of common law will preside over all lawsuits. Juries will hold the power to interpret and challenge laws on a case-basis. Punishments will not be issued, but full and immediate restitution will be enforced at all times necessary.

In the manner described above, the geo-mutual panarchist confederation allocates members to their preferred system of management, offers them a share of the Earth on which to practice this system, the money with which to participate, and the courts by which disputes may be resolved between participants.

The rest of this essay will focus on some of the other, more specific and potential, roles a geo-mutual bank can play. These roles include those relating to the mobilization of civil society, such as the ability of the geo-mutual bank to deal with problems of war, to provide welfare and security, and to dismantle and defend itself against the state. As this paper is not about the geo-mutualist confederation as a whole, but the role the bank plays in the revolutionary activities of the confederation, I will not be going into great detail regarding the activity of labor, tenant, or consumer unions; I will, instead, be focusing on the manner by which the mutual bank may distribute credit, thereby incentivizing gradual revolutionary activity.

## THE POWER OF MUTUAL CREDIT

**M**UTUAL CREDIT has the unique power to beat prices offered under capitalism, without detrimental effects to wages. Many of the prices we pay in the market today are inflated by capitalism. Costs associated to privileges like licensing, and returns to monopolists, such as profit, rent, and interest, are all passed down to the consumer in the prices set in the market. When

we pay for items at a store, for instance, all of the costs of the store—including the fees that were paid for their license to operate, interest to the bank for the loan needed in order to start up business, rent to the lord of the land the store sits upon, and taxes paid to sustain operation—are added into the price. Customers, then, pay all of the costs of business privileges, including the privilege to operate, to have land to operate on, and to have the means to start one's business. A free society would operate without these privileges.

As suggested, a geo-mutual confederation could provide the means by which everyone would have fair access to interest-free credit, to a fair share of land or a dividend, and to the provision of justice. Such a society would operate without such costs as licensing fees, taxes, interest, and rent to be passed on to the consumer. Thus, prices would decrease without reducing the return to labor. In fact, by eliminating the privilege of first access to loans enjoyed by the capitalist or boss class, the “wage-system” itself—wherein profits and interest from capital are taken by an unemployed employer and workers receive a fraction of their due return, called a “wage” (not to be confused with true wages, equal to the productive efforts of labor)—would be eliminated, and so-called “profits”—the missing portion of the true wage—would find themselves in the hands of the workers.

The main thing standing in the way is the state, and the mentality which protects its interests. By accepting the dollar as “legal tender for all debts public and private,” we enable the state to create a capitalist, landlord, and boss class. So long as we place our value on federal bank notes—which represent our labor without our permission—and do not monetize our own labor, we will suffer the perils of capitalism. Every price we pay will carry a toll of tribute to the lords of land, credit, and industry.

If we were to monetize our own labor in a cooperative fashion, and to respect it as equally valid, the prices of the capitalist could be beat. By monetizing our own labor and using our own homes as unlicensed cottage industries, we could produce more efficiently in many markets, without paying for extra rent in order to respect zoning ordinances, paying interest for a loan for start-up, or profit to the holder of exclusive licenses. With an agrist

foundation, collective institutions can spring up, and mutual credit can be used to pay for socially-needed labor, such as secretariat work, and for contracting.

It is not only the ability to beat prices in competitive markets that gives the mutual bank its power, but also its ability to mobilize social activities. Long holding in the interest of the mutualist is the paradigm of insurance. The geo-mutual bank is not limited to the facilitation of individual exchanges, but also has the potential to mobilize collectivities for socially beneficial purposes. This is not true only so far as mutual credit—or land value indemnity— can pay for “public” servants, but also so far as this credit-money can be used for social programs relating to the well-being of society, such as healthcare, accident and death insurance, education, etc. While mutualists are correct to see the value of mutual credit for the transactions of the individual, geo-mutualists should not find themselves limited to this aspect alone. Mutual credit can also be issued in a social manner, in order to support programs relating to welfare and security. Mutual banks, themselves being democratic, can provide socially necessary services separate from the issue of individual credit. The coming sections will focus on this aspect.

## **MUTUAL BANKING AND MODERN MONETARY THEORY**

**A** KEY TO UNDERSTANDING the power and limitations of the mutual bank is to firstly understand the descriptivist view of money as it exists, according to Modern Monetary Theory (MMT). Modern Monetary Theory studies the relationship between money and sovereignty. The sovereign, a nation-state, will print money and spend or lend it into the economy as it sees fit, and will take it back as interest and taxes. The sovereign does not have to earn the money, just create it. Money is nothing more than a piece of paper that a sovereign issues. It is accepted in our economy because it pays taxes. The entity that can demand taxes from others and who does not have to pay taxes to others, is sovereign. Modern Monetary Theory studies money and its relationship to sovereignty, and suggests that the sovereign is free

to issue money as it sees fit, by lending or spending, and to demand it back by way of taxation.

In many ways, mutualism speaks the same language. The goal of the mutualist is to allow everyone to become their own sovereign by creating access to interest-free loans from democratic banks (effectively monetizing their own labor), which allow them to have productive property with which to employ their own labor. Both schools of thought attribute currency-issuing power to sovereignty. MMT is based in Warren Mosler's descriptivist approach, which very nicely describes sovereignty as it operates today under the nation-state. Mutualism, on the other hand, describes sovereignty if it were placed directly in the hands of the workers, without monopoly or hierarchy.

One of the most interesting aspects of Modern Monetary Theory is that it promotes the idea that the government is not restricted in its lending and spending, and can lend and spend in whatever manner it sees fit. This is very different from a view which suggests that the supply of money must be fixed to a certain proportion in regard to the goods it represents; at least, until effects on prices and velocity are taken into account. So long as taxes and interest (demand for money) balance the fresh supply of money the inflation endured because of it will be temporary, and the supply of money will again be fixed to such a proportion that velocity is ideal. In reality, government spending, if it is balanced by taxes, simply distorts pre-existing contracts.

For the liberal, unrestricted government spending is cheery news! It means the government can spend on whatever do-gooder social welfare programs it wants to, such as education and medical care. For the mutualist, it is also cheery news! Just as central state banks can spend and lend as they wish, so can the mutual bank. So long as the members of the bank consent to specific programs and the sort of post-Keynesian spending Mosler suggests in MMT, such spending does not infringe on the principles of equal liberty or self-ownership. So long as a convincing argument can be made as for why the mutual bank should spend or lend in certain ways, and the members agree, this is plainly consistent with the ethic of mutuality. This includes spending to mobilize soldiers during times of war, as well as spending for social programs like education and

healthcare. Such spending, in terms of a mutual bank, can be understood as an act of reciprocal insurance. The cost of such spending will, of course, be resolved in demurrage<sup>ii</sup> or will come out of the economic rent, in a similar manner to the rising of interest or taxes in MMT. If a program is sponsored, it will lead to the increase of demurrage or a decrease in the citizen's dividend, which is necessary to balance the monetary inflation.

When the above is considered, the only real dispute between Modern Monetary Theory and mutual credit is a matter of normative and positive economics. MMT, taking a positive or descriptivist approach, suggests that the state is the sovereign who issues money and collects taxes. Mutualism does not necessarily disagree, it just adds a normative or prescriptivist element that most MMTists would reject (without much thought): Mutualists suggest that workers should claim sovereignty for themselves, issue their own credit through the mutual bank, operate under terms of market competition, and undermine the sovereignty of the state. Rather than seeing the state as eternally sovereign, mutualists believe banking can be put into the hands of the workers, and therefor sovereignty as well.

## **A REVOLUTIONARY INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL MOBILIZATION**

**T**HE BATTLE OF THE GEO-MUTUALIST includes, but is not restricted to, price wars. It also relates to the socially necessary issuance of credit and beating the prices of the capitalists. It is not only the prices that must be beat, however, but also the manner in which money and titles are to be released into the economy.

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<sup>ii</sup> An idea proposed by the economist Silvio Gesell. Demurrage is an expiration rate, or a holding-fee, for the use of money. For more, on this, see my essay "The Proper Rate of Money."

It is all good and well to beat the prices of the capitalists, but at the end of the day any agorist network or revolutionary syndicate is powerless to stop the state's implementation of force without having a plan of action. While the mutual bank is beating the prices of the capitalists in agorist networks, and mobilizing official positions in syndicates, the state is not restricted to market competition. It will simply print more money, in order to mobilize armed forces to physically eliminate the revolution. This mechanism is an act of social sovereignty, and one that must be challenged by the geo-mutual bank. If the state needs more money to pay troops, to send people to college, to pay for healthcare, it just makes it. Mutual credit and spending by the bank, likewise, can be issued in such a manner.

While the state distorts contracts in its creation and release of new money, mutual credit can be released in a manner that simply provides a meta-contract. A meta-contract would be one which comes before, or underlies, another. An example would be possessions. People are generally free to do as they wish with their things, but there is a meta-norm which places limitations on such an approach: they cannot harm another person in the act of doing as they wish with their possessions. Before one has a right to do what they wish with their possessions, they first must respect the right of others to do the same. Likewise, one has a right to individual credit and to make exchanges, but this right sits firstly upon the welfare of society and the ethic of reciprocity.

While market competition generally does a great job of allocating goods and resources, and while it is also true that security is governed by the laws of competition, the competition of security-provision is not merely a matter of market forces. That is, if we understand market economies to be a matter of exchanging money, the creation of money and the claim of possessions to be exchanged is meta, or prior, to this. Markets are provided for by jurisprudence and the application of law.

Law is a matter of enforcing mores. In order to be enforceable, a system of mores needs to gain support. In order to gain support, the system of mores must appeal to already-existing values. The competition of mores is not one of markets, but of cultural selection. Mores precede markets, and can be worked into

a social meta-contract. Any system of anarchist jurisprudence depends firstly on a reciprocal agreement of mutual protection, and a means of funding.

Without security and protection, there is no *social* title to possessions with which to make exchanges in the first place. There are merely one's immediate claims to possessions, those which can be protected with personal force. Credit-money, backed by an absentee claim to possessions, is made impossible under such conditions.

The title to possessions and the right to exchange is protected socially through jurisprudence, for the sake of common benefit. If titles are no longer found to be socially beneficial, they are to be socially abolished, and protected at the individual's own cost. This is yet to happen. Social norms protecting the title to possessions have been established and accepted by society at large, because the individual reduces their cost in such a compact. If society did not suit the needs of individuals, society would cease to function. If property does not suit the needs of society, while society is found beneficial for individuals, property is to be abolished. Individuals should have a right to enter and exit society, so far as they can take their influence with them, but society should have a right to demand expectations of its freely associating members. It just so happens that individuals, while maintaining concern for their own efforts, found it beneficial to agree upon rules regarding the mutual respect of these efforts. Jurisprudence and socially-granted title sprang up to protect concerns already existing.

Agorism, in its proposal of creating gray-market systems of law, provides a good means of challenging the state, but this network depends on a means of funding and the guidance of a principal that underlies and protects the market. In other words, as the state may print money at will to apply force to protect its mores, agorist networks depend on the same social mobility, guided by agreeable principals.

Anarcho-capitalists, of which agorists are a soft variant, are often mocked by leftists for maintaining a profit-based system of social services. A common challenge suggests that taxes are necessary for things like fire departments, schools, etc. Multiple

times I've heard it suggested that a profit-based fire-department may refuse service to an individual who is unable to make a spot-transaction. The argument suggests, quite fairly, the necessary means of social expenditure that is not reliant on spot-transactions.

Indeed, the only good retort to the challenge of the leftists suggests that fire stations and similar establishments could operate on a system similar to insurance. Such services as fire protection can be voluntarily socialized, as they are with insurance programs. Refusal to be insured can be considered an act of negligence by the wider community, if they wish. If refused to be addressed, this negligence could be equal to an act of aggression, similar to the manner in which driving without insurance is today considered an offense (because a threat is to be treated the same as the act itself, and refusing to be insured is the same as threatening to externalize costs of one's accidents onto others).

A system of values exist practically to such an extent that people are willing to expend effort to set it into place. This effort can be direct, or it can be indirect. The direct expenditure of effort can be understood as being employed or volunteering in defense organizations counter to the state, while the indirect expenditure of effort can be understood as employing that effort.

Humans are only willing to exhaust effort if they believe it will reduce the need for future effort. A washing machine, for instance, is maintained so long as the effort needed to fix the machine is less than the effort needed to wash clothes by hand. If the effort is not believed to save future effort, it will not be undertaken. Likewise, a system of jurisprudence, which takes specific effort to set into place and enforce, will only be set into place and enforced if it is believed to reduce costs more generally.

The geo-mutual bank may provide in its contract a plan by which spending may occur, allocating funds from land value indemnity, or creating fiat, for necessary expenses such as employment of security, the provision of health care, education, etc. as the confederation sees fit. While such spending may distort contracts between individuals, this distortion will be accepted through the underlying social, meta-, or mother-contract of the bank. Because of this, such expenditure will be purely voluntary. Social decisions, as within the bank, will be made by consensus, but

individual decisions will be made by market transactions. People will only put up with the distortion of their contracts if doing so allows for more fundamental issues to be addressed.

### SKETCHING A POST-KEYNESIAN MUTUALISM

**M**UTUALISTS HAVE LONG ADVOCATED mutual insurance and mutual protection programs. What I am suggesting is nothing new in this department. What I am suggesting is only a new manner by which geo-mutualists can understand and organize payment. As the state does not have to earn money in order to spend money, but instead makes payments on behalf of society, the geo-mutual bank can do the same. The bank does not have to wait for and store dues-payments in order to mobilize socially necessary labor. Socially necessary expenditure can be written into the contract.

Konkin suggests that agorists may employ private or cooperative gray-market protection firms as good guys that can come kick out the bad guys (the state). His model, of course, would rely on decentralized user-fees. The accumulation of such user fees can be costly, and may be unnecessary, so long as everyone is to be provided equal services. The immediate spending of money into the economy as it is found socially necessary is much less limited, and reduces the need for storing surpluses. If money can be spent in times of emergencies, and used to allocate socially necessary labor, this is much more efficient, and allows for the immediate resolution of problems. The problem of spot-transactions to the fire department is resolved. The cost is socialized, as a form of insurance, and everyone benefits from the service. Perhaps accidents will reflect on one's credit, or will be drawn from one's land-dividend rate, as the community sees fit.

Implementation of a geo-mutualist system would not be much different from universal insurance. Rules and procedures would be established in order that spending was limited to events that were indeed necessary to be addressed on a social level. When one signs up for insurance, for instance, one's policy outlines the conditions of claims. Likewise, spending by the geo-mutual bank, whether it is for protection or security, education, medical care, etc.

will be outlined by the policy of the bank to which one becomes a member. There will be federal programs only so far as they are found agreeable to member organizations.

Upon signing up with a mutual credit union, one will be asked to review the policy of the bank. The policy will outline times when social spending may be necessary, thereby reducing one's account or land-dividend. Such spending may be used for education programs, health programs, payment to a security force or militia, help with natural disasters, etc. Once established as a dual power institution, the mutual bank will also have procedures for debiting members for their economic rent, interest, and profit.

The mutual bank, if it is to be so grand, must begin as all things begin; as a seed planted into sufficiently fertile conditions for its growth. Indeed, as many Georgists contest, the mutual bank—at least in its beginning stages—is unable to provide the means to pay rent and taxes. Alongside this, it lacks the means by which to confront the agents of the state. Yes, this is sufficiently true, but it does not capture the whole story. It is not the duty of a greenling to reach the forest canopy, just to get enough light as to continue to grow, at which point it may compete for space already taken. Likewise, it is not the duty of mutual credit, in its stages of gestation, to provide the means by which any and all needs may be met. It is merely its duty to, in some form or fashion, reduce costs for its participants. While it is true that a freshly created mutual credit system cannot force landlords and politicians to accept its currency as legal tender, it can be used in its early stages to free such notes for its holder. If one can purchase food with mutual credit, this frees up the availability of money to be spent on rent and taxes.

If sufficiently grown, the mutual credit network can eliminate profit, and begin to command the mass of the labor market. The gray market, if allowed to flourish, will produce security firms, just as Konkin suggests. Once firmly established, a scenario of dual power will present itself. It is true that workers currently need to earn dollar bills to pay for their rent and taxes, but this is only so long as rent and taxes are seen as necessary payments. They are today considered necessary only because of the fact that the state stands by to mobilize force against dissenters.

## *The Civic Bank*

With the labor market in control of the workers, however, and with security falling into such a category, mutual credit gives workers the upper hand. With a weakening means (the dollar) to mobilize security, or any productive labor for that matter, the rich's property is destined to be "picked off" and claimed piece by piece. Landlords and employers, having no real means of commanding labor, will be forced to apply for membership in mutual credit networks, which will debit them for their economic rent, interest, and profit. The workers will find themselves triumphant; capitalism will be swallowed up in the sovereignty of geo-mutualism.

# A Geo-Mutual Panacea

## INTRODUCTON

**T**HIS ESSAY WILL INTRODUCE a speculative model for a geo-mutual panarchist confederation. The purpose of the model is to incorporate various interest groups— economic, political, cultural, etc.— into a revolutionary organization capable of bringing about a geo-mutual panarchy.

## GEO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM

“**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM? What is that?” Well, geo-mutualist panarchism has those three parts: geo-, mutualist, and panarchism. Let’s dissect our terms, shall we?

*Geo* in *geo-mutualist panarchism* comes from the last name of Henry George, the founder of Geoism, or Georgism, and may also be understood to have a connection with the politics of geology or geography. Henry George believed that the Earth was rightfully common property, and that anyone who has an unfair share in the Earth should compensate society for it.

*Mutualist* in *geo-mutualist panarchism* comes from the mutualism of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who suggested that people have a right to free credit, or interest-free loans. Proudhon suggested that such loans should be provided by democratically-run credit unions, and that the effects of such loans would be the wide dispersal of capital, allowing workers to become self-employed in cooperatives.

*Panarchism* in *geo-mutualist panarchism* comes from the philosophy of Paul Emile de Puydt, who suggested that people should be able to choose whatever form of organization they want to operate under, whether it be governmental or voluntary. This would allow people of varying philosophies to express their values, without having to force others into it. This being so, the geo-mutual prefix exists only because land and currency are matters of widespread concern.

We can understand geo-mutualist panarchism to be a society where people combine into whatever kinds of groups and form whatever kinds of laws they want to (so long as it does not impede on the other societies' ability to do the same), compensate one another for taking differing grades of land, and have access to interest-free credit to allow them an entrance into the capital market.

### **HENOCENTRIC LAW**

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM incorporates values of the left and right in the large sense, but allows their fullest and separate expression in the smaller sense. That is, geo-mutualist panarchism expresses both individualism and collectivism in its approach, but allows its constituent parts to be altogether individualist or collectivist at their choosing. The geo-mutual bank, the central organization of the geo-mutual panarchist, is a consent-based institution that distributes wealth and allows workers to become self-managed, qualifying it as a leftist or socialist approach; but, at the same time, it is a bank, and it does allow people to make unhindered exchanges in the free market. For this reason, the approach must also be considered rightist or individualist.

On the large scale, geo-mutualist panarchism incorporates values of both the libertarian left and right. However, at the point of land distribution and credit issue, one is allowed to form or join whatever group one wants to, where either left or right wing values can be expressed exclusively and to the fullest extent. For instance, an individual may combine their interests with others who share their conservative or liberal values, and may run the system of their dreams on the land that they have access to, using the credit that is equally available when it is needed for exchanges with outsiders. On the smaller scale, one can be as liberal, progressive, conservative, traditionalist, moderate, or radical as one likes. This practice is understood to be a form of henocentric law.

Geo-mutual panarchy is a henocentric approach, maintaining pluralism within a distinct higher order; that of the whole. It relies on the free and organic consolidation of interests, a kind of cooperative corporatism. Rather than simply

compartmentalizing units completely from the top, downward, they are allowed a great deal of free association. This allows the individual units— be they individual members, cooperatives, communes, or what have you— to combine together according to their own natural and mutual interests. By allowing associations to form organically, disputes are resolved, and social binding may more successfully occur.

Geo-mutualist panarchism concerns itself with many issues, but at the heart there is an effort toward balancing economic interests of differing parties, and finding ways to induce cooperation with minimal coercion. For this reason, geo-mutualist panarchism, when thoroughly applied, can be understood to be a form of voluntary, or libertarian, socialism.

Because geo-mutualist panarchism is not a purist ideology, it allows for the practices of other ideologies in their more extreme senses (so long as it is on their own leasehold), such as capitalism and communism, and so others may attempt to practice alternative forms of living in a geo-mutualist society. So long as it is at their own costs, this is not a problem. However, geo-mutualism may also be practiced on the smaller scale, in which case the society or territory will, in connection with the large scale application, be thoroughly geo-mutualist.

A geo-mutual panarchy is a society in which one gets to choose their own government or like association, and thereby lease their land and gain access to credit. If one chooses to be a communist, the commune will lease the land and gain access to credit for trading and dispute resolution outside of the commune; if one chooses to be a capitalist, one may opt for a Heathian-style fiefdom or private community; if one chooses to be a thorough-going geo-mutualist, they will opt for a nested system of land trusts and mutual credit-clearing banks. The system is meant to be dynamic. The only limit is one's imagination and its relation to reality. Oh, and the state.

## NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION

**G**EO-MUTUALISM is a libertarian socialist approach to political economy. Like most forms of libertarian socialism, geo-mutualism concerns itself with establishing an equitable society, wherein wealth is distributed according to the utility of labor, and workers manage their own affairs, either as individual artisans or contractors, or cooperatively in democratic units. In order to establish such an industrial democracy, workers must organize into an appropriate confederation, and set immediately into practice the principles of such a society.

Revolutionists have long emphasized the inability of the current system to be reformed. This is true on the left and on the right side of the ideological spectrum. These polarized views, however, fail to see the way things actually are. The left primarily blames the corporations, and the right the state, and none turn an eye to the decision-making process itself. The state and the corporations are part of the same governmental apparatus; corporations are vassals, granted fiefdoms or charters, by the lord of the land (the state), in return for revenue collection services. Politicians, having the money and support to campaign for office, come from the corporate classes, rely on the corporate classes for support, and benefit the corporate classes. They benefit from the decision-making processes as they exist.

Electoral democracy has its limitations. It may or may not be okay for selecting secretaries, treasurers, and other office workers, but the very nature of electing decision-makers, rather than decision-takers, is cause for immediate concern, as such an act expresses the forfeiture of social sovereignty. Elected decision-makers are easily bought out (so much so that, in Ancient Athens, fear of this meant that public positions were chosen by lottery, not by election).

Even if this were not the case, and public officials were solid as rocks, unable to be moved by promises of wealth or power, a rudimentary look at epistemology, or even of physics, would suggest a degree of relativity when it comes to matters of truth. No individual is able to know everything, and this is because they lack the time and ability to. No human is omniscient or omnipresent.

Even after being bombarded by public opinion, they are unable to sift through all of the positions in detail. Inevitably, decisions will be made that will not be satisfactory to one party or another.

If the current setup were the only way things could be, so would necessity entail this is how we should continue, but there have been many proposals for new manners of social relation, the most important being from those who suggest they all be put to test under their own expense, to let the guidance of time figure out the most satisfactory. Indeed, this is the approach of geo-mutualist panarchism, and to various degrees, other schools of libertarian and anarchist thought.

Being that workers, tenants, and other renters of land and capital are still disenfranchised, and are still unable to affect political change through the official apparatus, we must use other means. These means are many in number, but all center around the notion of direct action. Direct action, as implied, is the opposite of indirect action. Indirect action is depending on other people, such as politicians to carry out decisions on one's behalf, or looking to them for approval. Direct action is relying on oneself and acting on one's own behalf with one's own approval.

Direct action can be concerted, or it can be taken on behalf of an individual. If concerted, direct action relies on voluntary association and shared decision-making. If unapproved command or coercion is of any element, the action is indirect. The strongest and most fruitful examples of direct action include those activities that are positive, and that are social, in nature; those that build up, rather than take down (though this is certainly necessary at times). Such activities bring some sort of inherent benefit to their participants.

## RETURNS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY

**W**HILE ALTRUISTIC ORGANIZATIONS, which give charity and the like, can bring warm feelings to volunteers, this cannot be the limit or goal of our economic incentives. Material economic benefit is the driving force of human behavior, and any organization determined to gain long-term and loyal membership is bound to put the metaphorical "wheat" on the table

first. The economic wheat, of course, can be measured in terms of increased income or savings, or the provision of valuable goods or services, or preserving something considered to be of intrinsic value (like a park). There are four approaches that I find to be fruitful in providing the economic wheat, and which actually assert the necessity of doing so. These are mutualism, syndicalism, communalism, and agorism.

Mutualism promotes the use of mutual credit and cooperative and mutual associations. These provide benefits by putting stakeholders in direct control of their needs. However, the approach is limited legally. Proudhon, mutualism's founder, did support acting outside of the state's permission, but this was more strongly the focus of others, such as Rudolf Rocker, the founder of syndicalism, and Samuel Konkin III, the founder of agorism. Syndicalists promote the activity of revolutionary labor unions, while agorists support tax- and law-evasive market activities. The communalism of Gustav Landauer and Peter Kropotkin, and the Christian anarchism of Leo Tolstoy and others, supports the building of organic communities, and evolving past the state through non-aggressive activities.

All of the above activities provide some kind of benefit to the participant. Mutual credit allows for a more equitable economy in general, unions threaten the low wages of capitalism, gray market activity undermines the sovereignty of the state, and communities provide support. Credit unions and cooperatives, under mutualism, are much more productive, and offer much lower prices. Unions can bring wages up for their members. Gray markets allow people to earn money from home, and offer cheap prices to consumers. Communities bring people together, creating a natural support network. If a behavior does not provide a return, it should probably be avoided; syndicalism, agorism, and the like provide immediate benefits to their participants.

## GRADUAL REVOLUTION

**A**N ORGANIZATION must be built in order to unite the varying but pragmatic approaches of syndicalism and agorism, communalism and economic mutualism, and to

facilitate agreements, so that these approaches may reinforce, rather than hinder, one another. In order for this to be done, an umbrella ideology must be supported between them. Geo-mutualist panarchism is such an umbrella ideology, supporting a wide range of cultural, political, and economic expression. Enabling this expression is part of its plan.

Acting without the approval of one's potential allies can be quite clumsy. Before anything that provides social benefits is removed, something must be built to take its place.

Revolution must be gradual, and must follow an agreed upon plan, and have a method of reaching such agreement. If stepped into immediately, revolution will lead to catastrophe, and perhaps worse conditions than existed previously. Instead, an organized but non-confrontational approach of peaceful non-compliance should be adopted. Out of this peaceful non-compliance, a new economy should develop, through the above-mentioned means of mutualism, syndicalism, communalism, and agorism. Disconnected cells, competing tactics, have little potential to effect change. These tactics must be combined under a common organization.

The building of alternatives, in itself, is the most preferable means of challenging the status quo. If associations can be built that provide more value than the institutions provided by state and corporate power, these associations will both provide more draw for the revolutionary movement they are a part of, as well as provide the necessary structure to take the place of the state and corporate power structure once it is challenged. *This point is essential.* We do not want to remove anything that provides benefits to people until something better is already set into place. This entails a great deal of forethought, social approval, and organization. A decision-making process and plan of action is necessary.

### UNITY IN DIFFERENCE

**T**HERE ARE MANY IDEOLOGIES, many ideas, and cultural perspectives about what the best course of action would look like. Many of us are heavily invested in our ideologies, though we may find others with interest in them to be scarce.

When taken as a whole, however, us odd few are not so odd or few after all. We are alike in our difference. Everyone outside of the reigning Democratic-Republican spectrum (and many within it) has a vested interest in uniting with others who also fall outside of this range (even the Democrats and Republicans can only serve to gain from geo-mutualist panarchism, so long as they are not members of the ruling class), if not only to gain space for their own ideology to be set into action. Herein lies potential for a sense of unity. Though we may all have varying preferences, we agree that the state of things is not as they should be, and all serve to gain by attaining our own spheres of sovereignty, in which we may express our differences without impeding on others.

A geo-mutualist panacea, which incorporates all other ideologies into itself, and which resolves the problems above, is no small venture to organize, but it must be done. Such an organization must promise a future for its constituents, and one that is agreeable to all to the degree they are affected. In short, the divisions of power must be established in such a manner that every sphere is sovereign unto itself, allowed to practice its own culture and establish its own values. Decisions must be made with regard for subsidiarity. There must also be a general sense of fairness among the constituents. It is toward this end that the geo-mutualist panacea, a confederation of revolutionary potential, is to be established. The need for a revolutionary organization now being known, I would like to put some ideas forward as to what such an organization could look like, and what it would entail. These should, of course (like every proposal I make for social relations), be amendable by other geo-mutual panarchists throughout time.

## DOCUMENTS AND SOURCE VALUES

**A** GEO-MUTUAL PANARCHY is a society built upon free and voluntary contract. Any confederation established to bring such a society about and to maintain it must operate with this in mind. There are two contracts that stand out as being of crucial importance, and their orientations are of means and of ends. First of these is a *General Organizational Platform* (as was used by the anarchist, Nestor Makhno, to illustrate, in some ways similar to a

manifesto, the ends that was to be worked toward when under the common banner of the Ukrainian anarchists), and to achieve the platformist goals of theoretical unity, tactical unity, mutual responsibility, and federalism. Such a document loosely, but formally, outlines the ends that are to be attained by an organization, and the reasons for doing so. Secondly, the necessity of a constitution, or a set of *Articles of Confederation*, should be undisputed. Such a document outlines the specific means of making decisions. It is, as such, a contract of contract-creation, an underlying meta-contract that suggests the method of contracting in the future. Without these two documents, an organization lacks a vision of future development, and a present means of achieving it.

In the General Organizational Platform, and also to be referenced in the Articles of Confederation, could be stated a set of *Source Values*. Being that the nature of the confederation is to protect the diverse expression of its membership, these values should nurture this outcome. These values could include, but should not be limited to, the *principle of equal liberty*, the *non-aggression principle*, the *principle of fair regard*, and the *cost-principle*.

The principle of equal liberty states that the reaches of personal liberty end at the hindrance of another's liberty. Murder is strictly forbidden by the principle, as, though the act may be the expression of freedom on behalf of the murderer, the act of murder necessarily exists as the infringement on another's equality of liberty. The principle of equal liberty is not the same as pure equality (positive liberty), or absolute (negative) liberty, but actually finds the balance between the two extremes. Freedom and equality are best understood as balancing forces to one another, in a way similar to supply and demand.

The non-aggression principle expresses the negative form of liberty, suggesting that no one has a right to infringe on another person's body or rightfully-gained property. This works well to protect people, but protection is merely a function of preservation. If protection of one gets in the way of the preservation of another, its validity is questionable. If by not protecting oneself, one would inevitably lose without gaining back, protection is valid. However, by saving the life of another person— by allowing them to

momentarily infringe on your property, or your persons in a minor way (by demanding physical effort to help them, perhaps disturbing your plans)—, you are enabling them to continue, and thus to pay you back for your costs. Understanding that the preservation of human well-being is the focus of jurisprudence, a caveat must be added to the non-aggression principle; the principle of fair regard. The principle of fair regard states that “help can only be demanded to that degree it can be repaid,” but that it may be demanded thus far, even to the immediate neglect of another person’s effort, plans, or possessions, in cases of emergency.

The cost-principle suggests that prices should never rise above (or fall below) the actual human labor cost of creating (or preserving) a good or service. In the area of political economy, it is a statement against the unearned incomes of profit, interest, rent, and taxes. All of these are returns that, unlike wages, salaries, and some contract bids, are not due to labor or effort, but simply from having monopolistic privilege granted by the state. In terms of jurisprudence, we can understand that the granting of monopolistic privileges is an infringement on equal liberty (as it is the giving of some forms of liberty to some, and not to others). The amount of infringement can be determined according to decision-making power, or it can be measured in terms of economic surplus. In this way, the cost-principle is used to measure the infringements on the principles of non-aggression and fair regard.

A good geo-mutualist platform should suggest why the society that we have today is not in line with the Source Values, and what can be done to set it along a more equitable course.<sup>i</sup> It could point to the fundamental inequities of the great monopolies, particularly the monopolies on land and credit, and followed by the others pointed out in Tucker’s Big Four, which has since been expanded upon by others, such as Kevin Carson. The platform could explain the nature of the state, and point to the feudal functions of corporate power. The platform could also explain the

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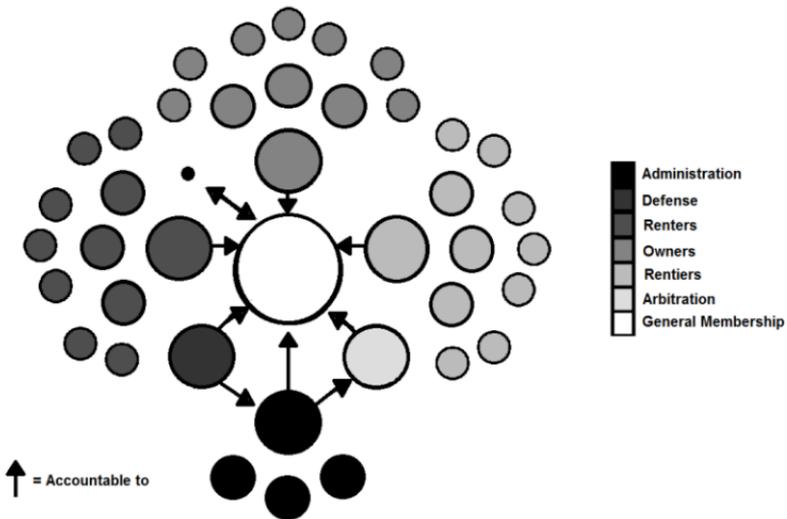
<sup>i</sup> I will not be going into detail here, as I have written extensively on the subject in other articles, such as those found in my book and on this site.

means of dealing with the problem, as introduced by Proudhon, Rocker, Landauer, and Konkin, by way of mutual credit, concerted activity, solidification of communities, and gray market exchanges. It will outline the principles of the geo-mutualist society that is to be established, and will present a general vision of the society.

The General Organizational Platform of the geo-mutualist anarchists should be a formal and synoptic statement of the (perhaps anti-) ideology of the organization, its theory, constituents, and tactics. The Articles of Confederation should be a formal document outlining the method by which decisions are made within the confederation, and by what body those decisions will be made by.

### MEMBERSHIP

**T**HE CONFEDERATION COULD CONSIST of the following bodies: **General Membership**, **Arbitration**, **Administration**, and **Defense**, with members divided between **Owners**, **Renters**, and **Rentiers**.



The **General Membership** would be the sovereign member-body, and consist of all voting members in good-standing. All other bodies would be subsidiary to the General Membership, except for the physical bodies of its individual members, who retain full secession rights, except when they have been convicted of an act of violent aggression. Members retain a reciprocal relationship with the General Membership in this way. The member can secede from the General Membership, and the General Membership may, in drastic cases, remove a member from its registry and restrict the individual from future membership. General Membership is expressed locally, regionally, and worldwide, according to free combination within conditions of scale.

Upon joining the confederation, members could be registered politically and economically. They would register politically according to ideology (communist, nationalist, capitalist, etc.), and economically according to one of three social classes, composing the Consolidation of Renters, Owners, and Rentiers. Renters are those who use the property of others to subsist, Owners are those who neither rent their property to others or from others, and Rentiers are they who rent their property to the Renters. Rentiers could be given membership in order that they may make exchanges using the credit of the panacea (and thus may be debited for their economic rent, interest, or profit, as will be discussed), but, due to their exploitive nature, they should not be given voting rights in the General Membership, though they could be given the right to deliberate.

**Consolidations of Renters, Owners, and Rentiers** could contain subsidiary units and their associated staff, each consisting of a General Membership, General Arbitration, and General Administration of their own. The subsidiary units in mind are **Owner Alliances, Renter Syndicates, and Rentier Containments**. Each Alliance, Syndicate, and Containment could consist of the same basic structure and officers (though it may add to it). They could have associated departments, following suit in structure and staffing. These could include Departments of Consumption, Production, Tenure, and Trust, each organized

according to industry and firm, on all levels of General Membership affiliation.

The **Department of Consumption** could organize all consumers within each Consolidation; likewise the **Department of Production**, the producers (including many managers and all employers in the Consolidation of Rentiers); the **Department of Trust**, beneficiaries of trust agreements (such as students, young people, etc. who are not direct consumer policy-holders); the **Department of Tenure**, the users of land (everyone). To these departments, various producer, consumer, tenant, and trust organizations could affiliate. All members of subsidiary or chartered bodies, including but not limited to unions, cooperatives, industries, Departments, Alliances, Syndicates, etc., could also be members of their larger categorical grouping. Producer Cooperatives, for instance, could be joined by industry, their industry by its department, and its department by Alliance, Syndicate, or Containment, which, in turn, could be organized according to their respective Consolidations, which ultimately combine in the Panacea. Membership on any level carries itself to higher associative categorization.

Eligibility for membership could be open to anyone who agrees with the Mission of The Panacea, and who pledges an oath to a) abide by the Articles, b) follow the course outlined in *The General Organizational Platform*, and c) respect all other official documents of the panacea; and who is not a) a federal employee, b) a current or potential member of the armed forces, and does not c) have any direct connection to law making, enforcement, presiding over legal proceedings, or any other such legal and governmental activity, under the authority of a sovereign state.

## DECISIONS

**D**ECISIONS BY THE GENERAL MEMBERSHIP should follow the procedures named in the Articles of Confederation, which should be created and maintained by consensus, but could dictate decision-making by other means (such as super- or simple majority, instant-run-off, proportional voting), or allocate subsidiary decisions to delegates, branches, departments,

committees, subcommittees, etc. (which may or may not be open in membership, but should always be audited, and decisions made by these bodies transparent and entirely disclosed) or even to mandated officials (who should also be subject to audits), according to the will of the membership. In this way, consensus could be used for important and consequential matters, but also to defer to simpler or more instantaneous decision-making processes. This is particularly so when a matter is inconsequential (no one gets hurt or has to pay; it's a matter of preference), and when extended deliberation is less utilitarian than instantaneous, though less direct or participatory, means of making decisions. Decisions regarding the Articles of Confederation, or that are not deferred to another subsidiary decision-making body, should be made by the General Membership by way of participatory spokescouncils operating on consensus, and between these spokescouncils by way of initiative and referendum. Members should have ultimate say in the workings of their organization through the General Spokescouncil and the initiative and referendum process.

The General Membership could have officers directly accountable to them, including a General Announcer, a General Secretary and their Secretariat, a General Treasurer and their Bursars, Process Keepers, Agenda and Itinerary Wardens, and Spokespersons from the Owners and Renters and Commissioners (unable to vote, but allowed to speak) from the Rentiers. The General Announcer would repeat motions made in the assembly, and declare decisions that have passed. They would be the official mouth of the panacea, but only when they are repeating the members. The process keeper would guide agreed upon processes. The secretaries, of course, would be responsible for keeping track of all official business of the panacea, including minutes from meetings. They would be listening to the Announcer especially, for official motions and verdicts. They would also be keeping track of official statements by other officers, in order to document them and report them to currently absent members in good-standing.

**BRANCHES**

**B**ETWEEN OFFICIAL ASSEMBLIES, the officers of the General Membership could also sit on the **General Administration Branch**, facilitating decisions of the members by way of initiative and referendum. The General Administration could be in charge of applying the decisions of the General Membership to the panacea. The General Administration could consist of a Grand Constable, the Grand Constable's Counsel, and a Department Auditing Committee. It could have three departments, including the **Registrative Department** (the Civil Registry), employing a Chief Registrar and Staff Clerks; the **Pecuniary Department** (Mutual Bank), employing a Council of Administrators, Credit Brokers, Claims Adjusters, and Collateral Auditors; as well as a **Conveyance Department** (Community Land Trust), employing Assessors, Appraisers, and Auditors.<sup>ii</sup> The Grand Constable would be in charge of enforcing the internal rules of the General Membership, and dealing with matters of violent dispute. The Grand Constable's Counsel should advise the Constable, and Deputies to the Grand Constable could be selected by lot from the General Membership, if domestic aggression is needed to be resolved by physical force.

In order to settle disputes between members and memberbodies, and to ensure the accountability of the General Administration to the General Membership, the **General Arbitration Branch** should be formed. The General Arbitration Branch could enforce the laws of the panacea, as well as resolve matters of tort and contract. It could employ a Supreme Lawspeaker and the Supreme Lawspeaker's Counsel, whose duties

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<sup>ii</sup> These departments—the Registrative, Pecuniary, and Conveyance Departments—are essential to the operation of geo-mutual panarchism. These are the institutions representing de Puydt's civil registry, a Georgist community land trust, and Proudhon's universalized credit.

it would be to become familiar with the law, to preside over the courts and guide process, and to declare verdicts made by due process. It could also employ a Minister of Equal Liberty, a Minister of Cost, a Minister of Non-Aggression, and a Minister of Fair Regard, who would act as advisors to the Lawspeaker and their Counsel, as well as to the Jurors, who should be selected from the General Membership according to an agreed upon process. The duties of the Ministers could be to look at matters from the perspective of their prescribed ministerial role; that is, the Minister of Fair Regard should look at court proceedings in terms of the Principle of Fair Regard, the Minister of Equal Liberty for infringements on equal liberty, etc. The Ministers could advise the courts and the juries accordingly. Also employed in the Arbitration Branch could be Court Clerks and Court Scribes. Deputies of the Constable could be present at all court functions. The courts of the panacea should be looked at as a last resort, when mediation and communication has not led to agreeable results. It should not be used lightly. Much preferable is the use of mutual dispute resolution firms, and other forms of arbitration and mediation units, which should exist freely in the free market of a geo-mutual panarchy.

While the Constables and the Courts could resolve problems internal to the organization, there is also then necessity of resolving larger disputes, which could occur between the panacea and another unrelated body, such as a nation-state. In such a case, the Arbitration Branch, under the scrutiny of the General Membership, could interact as diplomatically as possible with any offender. If the offender is violent, this gives need for a General Defense Branch. The **General Defense Branch** could include a Sub-Commander, the Sub-Commander's Counsel, and a Council of Fieldmarshalls, composed of past Draftees of high esteem. In times of war, a draft could occur. The Sub-Commander, the Counsel, and the Fieldmarshalls would be inferior to their draftees in times of Branch assembly, and their superior in times between.

The General Membership should remain the sovereign member body, with all other member bodies, including all branches and their departments, considered subsidiary. The consolidations should be accountable to the General Membership, as should the

Defense, Administration, and Arbitration Branches. The Defense Branch, further, should be accountable to the Administrative Branch. The Administrative Branch should also be accountable to the Arbitration Branch. The Arbitration Branch would be wholly responsible to the General Membership.

These units and my vision for them, of course, are not fixed ideas, and can be changed. Many of them, such as relying on deputies to enforce law, are likely overly simplistic, or inefficient, and are proposed merely for the sake of illustrating some of the possibilities. No doubt, more excellent specifics can be developed from the consensus process. I will not be offended. The wider vision is the substance of my proposal.

### CLASS CONSOLIDATION

THE GEO-MUTUAL PANACEA should not just be a matter of nuts and bolts. This machine should serve a purpose, and its purpose should be inherent in its design; to establish and maintain a geo-mutualist society. This would be done through the absorption of the Renter and Rentier classes into the Owning class, through the means of mutual credit (mutualism), grey markets (agorism), concerted activity (syndicalism), cooperation (cooperativism), and community solidarity (communalism).

The geo-mutual panacea could provide the infrastructure necessary to both transition into and maintain a geo-mutualist society, free of renters and rentiers, and plentiful with owner-operators. The reason for organizing the confederation according to Renters, Owners, and Rentiers would be to allow for successful social deliberation and consensus-building. By “clustering” members according to their common economic circumstances (but allowing free association among and between clusters), the classes can better communicate within and amongst one another to resolve matters that affect them. Within and between these economic clusters, called *Consolidations*, voluntary associations of varying types could be built.

Each of the Consolidations are further broken up into departments, according to Production, Consumption, Trust, and Tenure. Because of this, one may find themselves members of

multiple Consolidations. That is, one may own their home, but rent their job (that is, be employed by someone else). They may rent their job, but rent out their home to others, making them both a Renter and a Rentier.

In order that the more state-privileged members will not be able to hinder the revolutionary orientation or activity of the others, decision-making should exclude members of more privileged consolidations from participation in the lesser privileged ones. For instance, in such a case as the latter instance above, where a member "may rent their job, but rent out their home to others, making them both a Renter and a Rentier," this individual could be allowed to participate in the Renter's Tenant Syndicate, but disallowed from voting in the Consolidation of Renters. They could, however, be allowed full participation in the Consolidation of Rentiers. In the case of the former, wherein a home is owned but a job is rented, the individual should be allowed to participate in the Renter's Producer Syndicate, but not to vote in the Renter's Consolidation. They could, however, be allowed full participation in the Owner's Consolidation. In the case a member is both an Owner and a Rentier, the same principles should apply; the individual could be allowed to vote in the Owner's Alliance of relevancy, but not in the Consolidation. They could, however, participate fully in the Consolidation of Rentiers.

To put it another way, anyone who has membership in any Rentier Containment could be allowed full participation in the Consolidation of Rentiers, but not in any other Consolidation. Anyone who has membership in an Owner Alliance, and not a Rentier Containment, could be allowed full participation in the Consolidation of Owners, but not in the Consolidation of Renters. Anyone who has membership in a Renter Syndicate, but not an Owner Alliance or a Rentier Containment, could be allowed full participation in the Consolidation of Renters. In this way, the revolutionary persuasion of the organization would be written into its function. Renter membership would bleed into the Consolidation of Owners, and Owners into the Consolidation of Rentiers, but not the other way around. The Renters would be protected from the Owners and the Rentiers, the Owners from the

Rentiers, and the Rentiers would be left to face the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While Owners would be excluded from the affairs of the Renters, and not vice-versa, this should not suggest that the organization puts the Owners at a tier below them. Instead, the Owners would be held in high esteem. It is simply because the nature of the organization is to create economic virtue that the Owners should be restricted (by lack of participation) from hindering the Renters from joining their class. With the Renters as the lower class, the Owners as the middle class, and the Rentiers as the upper class, and with geo-mutualism being a formula for achieving voluntary socialism and abolishing the system of class stratification, the Owners, as middle class standards, would stand bright and tall. It would be here that the golden mean of virtue would be felt. As Aristotle suggested, virtue is found toward the middle, with vices to be found on each side. As the goal of geo-mutualism is the abolition of the economic class system, this means the absorption of the lower and upper classes, the Renters and Rentiers, into the middle, the Owners. An economy cannot function without the work of the lower class, nor can it exist without the operative role of the upper class. However, a society of owner-operators, found somewhere in the middle, is quite doable, and actually quite desirable, utopian even. Indeed, this is the goal to be achieved by geo-mutual panarchism. How is it to be done?

### **“DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT”**

**T**HE GEO-MUTUALIST PANACEA fuses the approaches of mutualism, syndicalism, cooperativism, agorism, and communalism, providing the means by which the two vicious classes, of Renters and Rentiers, may be subsumed into the Owners, who neither rent their property from others, nor put their property out for rent. Proudhon, Rocker, Landauer, and Konkin all provide pragmatic methods of revolt: Mutual credit, revolutionary unionism, community solidarity, and gray markets.

Renters provide the fundamental class from which unions could be organized, and, as such, the Renter's Consolidation should be composed of various departments of union activity, including

the syndicates of production, consumption, tenure, and trust. Likewise, Owners should naturally be participants in cooperatives and mutual organizations, as well as agorist projects, and could also be divided between production, consumption, tenure, and trust. Rentiers, unlike the others, would be given membership primarily to absorb their wealth, which would be used for cooperative development, strike support, and the like, or given out as dividends. As the Renting classes would subsume the Rentier classes, through expropriation and cooperativization of their property (the unions transform into cooperatives once gaining sovereignty), the Renting classes would cease to be renters, and instead become members of the Owning class.

Mutual credit and agorism (gray marketeering) allow workers to hire one another, and to beat the prices in simple labor and value-added markets. Let these networks grow, and they will become more complex. Because labor is the source of all value, and because the economy does not function without the “free” will with which God animates us, it is labor that calls the shots. It is labor that applies jurisprudence, protects land and enforces its monopoly, and it is organized labor that will set things straight. Once control the labor market, including the market for security, and the markets for capital and land will be forced to use the currency of labor. If this is not done willingly, on behalf of the monopolists, it matters not; their contracts are invalid, based in fraud and aggression, and there is no reason jurisprudence, in the hands of labor, should respect those contracts. More than likely, the monopolist classes, the Rentiers, will simply apply to the panacea for the credit in the labor market, and may even use their land and capital as collateral. There is nothing stopping the mutual credit system from debiting these landlords and capitalists for their economic interest and rent at this point. Put this alongside revolutionary syndicalism, and the force hits twice as hard.

### THE PANACEA IN ACTION

**T**HE PANACEA IS A CONFEDERATION designed to set into place and maintain a geo-mutual panarchy. A geo-mutual panarchy is a society wherein everyone has access to credit

and land, and maintains the ability to join any governmental or thoroughly voluntary institution that will have them (or declare themselves sovereign). These institutions may be thoroughly geo-mutualist, or they may practice their own forms of economy amongst their friends and members, using their credit collectively to establish a commune on their leasehold, or individually to claim a homestead.

Upon joining the confederation, an individual or group could be allocated membership in one or more Renter Syndicates, Owner Alliances, or Rentier Containments, and full voting rights in one of the Consolidations. Members of Rentier Containments would be full members of the Rentier Consolidation only. Members of Owners Containments would be full members of the Owners Consolidation only (unless they are members of a Rentier Containment, in which case they would be members of the Rentier Consolidation instead). Renter Consolidations should contain full members who are not Owners or Renters. Renters and Owners should be allowed full participation and voting rights in all general affairs; Rentiers could be allowed limited rights of deliberation, and may be condescended a vote, but should not be given the right to vote. The goal of the confederation would be to absorb the Renter and Rentier classes into the Owning class.

The Renting and Owning classes would be the first to participate in the confederation (the Rentiers would be economically pressured into membership). The Renting class would participate through the practice of revolutionary syndicalism, and the Owning class would participate through cooperativism and the grey market. In this way, the confederation would play many roles. For instance, the Producer Syndicates and Alliances would play roles not that unlike the Industrial Workers of the World and the United States Federation of Worker Cooperatives. The Producer Syndicate would take part in concerted activity, in the same way industrial unions (like the IWW) do. The Producer Alliance would take part in business partnerships and establish federal programs between worker and producer cooperatives. However, there would be more syndicates and alliances than that; based around consumption, tenure, and trust. The Tenure Syndicate would engage in rent strikes; the Alliance would associate cooperative

housing projects. Etc. Consolidations of Owners and Renters would settle disputes between the various interest groups.

As the confederation grows in power, by way of revolutionary tenant, worker, consumer, and beneficiary unionism, and by agorism and cooperativism in the same fields, it could begin to challenge capitalism. The unions could challenge the legitimacy of the ruling class, winning small victories that gain members and culminate into large victories. The Owners would stand as the models of the new society, and could challenge the legitimacy of the ruling class by undermining them through agorism.

Important to the panacea would be the role of the Pecuniary and Conveyance Departments. The Conveyance Department would be responsible for collecting the economic rent (minus hardships imposed by capitalism, if applicable) of the Owners and Rentiers. The Pecuniary Department would pay out dividends and provide credit to members, in order that Owners could exchange in agorist networks, that Renter and Owner officials could be paid without legal tender, and that the Renters could have a means to become Owners, without necessarily relying on general strikes and expropriation. It would debit the Rentiers on behalf of the Renters and Owners, according to the appeals by the Conveyance Department; the debits would be used to pay for functions of the panacea, with any remainders to be paid as dividends to the Renters and Owners. In order for the Rentiers to be put under Containment, the majority of the labor market should be commanded by mutual currency; at this point, the operations of capitalism stop, and Rentiers would bend to the use of said currency, and membership in its issuing bank, which debits them for their economic rent and interest, under voluntary contract, without duress imposed by anything but supply and demand. In this way, voluntary socialism, free market industrial democracy, would be set into place.

# Geo-Mutualist Panarchism: A Synopsis

**T**HE VISION I PROPOSE for society is called “geo-mutualist panarchism.” This view is a combination of the mutualism of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, the classical liberalism of Henry George, and the panarchism of Paul Emile de Puydt, supplemented with libertarian and classical liberal theories of law and jurisprudence, and socialist approaches toward worker self-management and social involvement in decision-making. What would such a society look like?

In line with the panarchy of Paul Emile de Puydt, everyone would be able to live in the society of their choice, governmental or anarchistic, without moving location, with the only limit to their success being economic viability. Democrats could subscribe to a democratic system of social management, Republicans to theirs, and the same is true of more radical communists or nationalists, and even of my beloved anarchists.

I support a treatise between these groups, with two balancing rules: the non-aggression principle and the principle of fair regard (my original rendering). Any disputes could be handled by interpretation of these principles by a jury. All disputes should be settled according to common law practice. Victim-insurance should be made readily available, with offenders who are caught responsible for the premium. Credit penalties should be the primary mechanism for law enforcement for non-violent offenses.

In order to enforce the treaty and execute agreements, there could be a confederated system with functional branches, departments, and offices, including a civil registry, a mutual bank, a land trust, as well as a system of arbitration/courts, administration, and defense. The operation of these branches should be detailed in a constitution.

Official decisions would be decentralized according to the principle of subsidiarity, and made according to consensus. In cases of disputes and arbitration, the consensus would disinclude the parties to the dispute.

Taking inspiration from Pierre Proudhon and Henry George, everyone would have access to land and credit, and the mutual bank would remain in continual contact with the land trust.

A universal basic income would be supplied as a citizen's dividend, and "public" goods would be subsidized by land values. To do this, the land trust would charge a location fee equal to the economic rent, and the mutual bank would issue dividends, after all collective expenses have been accounted for. According also the philosophy of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, money beyond this extent should be issued into the economy as interest-free loans. This system would ensure that everyone has access to land and money, and in proportion to their economic input.

Because everyone would have access to land and credit, workers would no longer need to rent themselves in order to survive. Instead, they could employ themselves as independent artisans or contractors, or in concert in cooperative enterprises, or they could be elected as officials in their respective collectives. Natural monopolies would be counter-balanced by bank-funded monopsonies of the same extent, and vice-versa. Bilateralism of this sort is intended to lead to an equilibrium cost price, and potential mutualization of the firm. Interest, rent, and profit would not exist. Prices would drop as wages and employment rise. Poverty, authoritarian employment, and involuntary unemployment would be no longer.

Due to the massive reduction in privatized expendable surplus, wars would go unfunded and unfought. There would be no rich or poor for one to persuade the other to do their killing. Political and national interests would have their costs internalized. They would be unable to force their will onto others, relegating political and national units to voluntary cultural preferences (in other words, one may be Republican or Democrat, communist or nationalist, but only "in form," not "in substance;" all political and national units become "flavors" within a spectrum, or "colors," of mutuality).

Repressed racial groups, which currently make up a large portion of the working class, would cease to be relegated into an involuntary caste, lacking upward class mobility, and would instead benefit from the egalitarianism of a free economy, which naturally destroys cultural privileges when they may no longer wield economic ones.

## *Geo-Mutualist Panarchism: A Synopsis*

Women would be free to live in whatever way they see fit. Economic plentitude would do away with many of the disputes between the sexes.

Geo-mutualist panarchism is a system of voluntary associations confederated under a treatise of non-aggression and fair regard, and enforced according to a simple constitution, which delegates powers to functional branches, departments, and offices, for the purpose of registering constituents, fairly allocating land, and issuing credit, as well as for the sake of administration, arbitration, and defense, with decisions being made according to consensus. Land and credit would be made available to everyone, effectively ending wage-slavery, poverty, involuntary unemployment, war, coercive racism, and greatly reducing sexual tension. Political and national identities would be reduced from forced identities to cultural preferences.

# Mutualism, Cost, and the Factors of Production: Terminology of Geo-Mutualism

## THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION

**W**ITHOUT UNDERSTANDING the terminology and the associated definitions an ideology uses, it is impossible to understand the ideology itself. Geo-mutualism is no exception to this rule. Some of the more important terms that geo-mutualists may use relate to matters of economics, particularly what are called the *factors of production* and their *returns*.

A **factor of production** is an element needed for creating goods and services. These include land, labor, and capital. Two of these factors are absolutely necessary to production—land and labor—while it is quite unthinkable today to go without the third, capital. All economic production is done with a combination of these factors, and none other.

**Labor** includes all human time or effort, mental and manual. This includes strenuous forms of labor, and passive forms of labor, which merely take up one's time. It also includes stress.

**Land** includes all natural resources to the degree they are unchanged by human hands, or are reclaimed by the wilderness. As a factor of economic production, land includes more than just dirt, but also air, water, and wild plants and animals. It also includes things which have been abandoned or lost by humans.

**Capital** includes any mixture of the other forms of production, which has not been reclaimed by nature, or which has been claimed back from nature. In classical economics, unlike common Marxian jargon of today, capital includes more than productive property, but all goods, moveable and otherwise, such as gardens, orchards, domesticated animals, houses, machinery, factories, and more which are used in production. Anything which has been created by, tended to, cared for, claimed by, etc. human hands—that is, any land mixed with labor—is considered a form of capital.

## THE RETURNS TO THE FACTORS

**A**CCORDING TO THE CLASSICAL ECONOMISTS, each of these factors of production received a particular kind of return. A **return** is the income derived from using a factor of production. These included wages, rent, and interest. Then there was profit and taxes, which were particular forms of wages and rent.

**Wages** were the return to labor, which included any of the human efforts described above. Today this would include various forms of salaries, unit production pay, and hourly pay. Any payment to someone for taking up their time, skill, energy, etc. is a wage.

**Rent** is the return to land. We are used to rent referring to the payment for borrowing something, but economic rent *does not* include the payment for the use of capital—such as houses or buildings—, but only natural resources, such as space or “natural capital.” Rent *does* include payments made to another person to use a piece of land, but it *also* includes the return to the user of the land. For instance, a person with better land—either due to having better soil, better location, or what have you— will make more sales—from their better fertility, better exposure to customers, etc.— or otherwise enjoy its use more, and this added value is called *rent*, even if they don’t let another person use their current location. This difference is, however, the reason a piece of land can be leased to another at a price. Without this extra value, the land would not be leased at a price. When one pays rent to a landlord, they are making up for the production or enjoyment he or she could otherwise have on the piece of land were they to use it directly.

**Interest** is the return to capital. When one rents their home, some of this payment—that which is paid for the land—is true rent, while some of it—that paid for the house and other capital improvements—is properly interest. Similar to rent, interest includes the difference between the productivity or desirability of capital goods. If a capital good has extra value— most likely due to its ability to increase production—, it can be loaned out or sold, and the return for this, above the amount of labor put into it, is

called *interest*. It is important to remember that wages cover all necessary costs of labor involved in the production of a capital good, and so not all sales or loans of capital goods at a price are sufficient to be deemed *interest*, but only those which receive a return above the wages of labor. Adam Smith, considered to be the father of modern economics, suggested that the workers' product was their natural wage. Interest, however, is the positive difference in returns between two similar items of capital; if one receives more, it receives interest. If they all receive the same, for the same output, they are merely the means by which a worker earns their wages. A worker without the proper means cannot enter the market, and interest is gained by capital to the degree it is hard to acquire; in the case of natural monopolies; or to the degree it is a single or established provider in a market that requires economies of scale, or which has high switching costs.

### MONEY AND INTEREST ON MONEY

**W**E ARE USED TO using the word *interest* to refer to payments for the use of money. This is because money is associated with capital, and can rightly be thought to represent the total value of the capital it represents, interest and all. However, money performs a function beyond capital, and can receive a return not as capital alone, but as means of exchange.

It is only because money is associated with the ability to gain the productive capacity of capital that its return is called *interest*, but the return to money— outside of representing the total value of the capital which it backs— is due to an entirely different function it serves, that as a means of exchange. A means of exchange is what it sounds like; it is what allows for trade to happen. Without a means of exchange, problems with equivalency of value, double coincidence of wants, and other well-known problems occur. “Gifting” (involuntary debt, moka exchange) and barter are primitive solutions to this problem, but they only allow for the most limited of exchanges, as one can only keep up with so many faces or make so many equivalent trades. The return due to the lending of money is not entirely the interest on the capital it is backed by, but its function as a means of exchange, which is

another matter altogether. This being so, the return to money is not to be confused with the return to the capital which it represents.

### TAXES, PROFITS, AND THE “WAGE SYSTEM”

**T**WO OTHER TERMS that classical economists use, outside of the returns to the factors of production, are *taxes* and *profit*.

**Taxes** are compulsory payments that are not matters of justice, but which are arbitrary in nature. A tax, by its very nature, is non-compensatory in nature, but is instead taken for the use of government spending. The most prolific form of tax in history was the compulsory payment of rent to warlords, which began first as *corvée*, or forced labor, and later became an involuntary tithe. Taxes started out as rent, and rent continues today to be a form of taxation, though indirectly so. The only reason rent is not commonly understood to be a form of taxation is because there are many tiers of landlords, and some are bigger than others. The biggest landlord—the government—gets the privilege of calling its rent *taxes*. However, taxes have often included more than rental payments, and may also be taken from interest or wages, beyond the amount of rent paid.

**Profit** is a return that is greater than cost. In other words, profit is a payment that is higher than the amount it takes to keep one’s business running, the wages. We may occasionally hear a friend offer us something “at cost,” and by that they mean at the price they paid for it, minus the effort they put in. However, if they are not including their own effort into the price, as a wage, they are actually selling under cost.<sup>1</sup> Cost includes wages. In fact, true cost—voluntary cost—is only composed of wages all the way down the line of production and distribution. When your friend offers you an item at cost—their labor aside for the moment—, and this includes items they had to purchase, these items themselves are only a necessary cost because it was necessary to compensate the workers

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<sup>1</sup> Though, it could be argued that they are extending their selfhood to you (in a spiritual sense), and are thereby direct beneficiaries of your enjoyment of use-value.

to make the items. Cost price includes only this amount, the wages necessary for work to get done, and does not include profit. Profit is an amount above cost. Cost is effort, labor, and the return to labor is wages, not profit. Profit is gained from having monopoly privileges. All rent and interest are forms of profit, while some, but not all, profit can be produced from labor, such as the profit “earned” by a doctor, lawyer, or professor who have exclusive licenses to provide their services. When put alongside the others—rent and interest—it should be understood that the profits come from labor, but not that of the profiteer.

It is common for anarchists and left socialists to talk about “abolishing the wage system.” Amongst communists, this may literally translate to the abolition of money, and the abolition of the worker’s right to retain their product (which, if you remember, is their natural wage, according to Adam Smith). However, amongst others, the “**wage system**” refers to the system in which an employer, who has an exclusive license or privately owns capital, “rents” that capital to workers, or otherwise employs them, and pays them a portion of the income while keeping the rest. The keeping of the extra portion is called “profiting,” because it has not been worked for, but is instead due to the employer’s privileges. Some of this profit may be rent, interest, or even wages gouged from some of the more desperate among the working class. It is important to remember that when talking about wages as a return to labor as a factor of production that we are not talking about a specific relationship, “the wage system,” but about the outcomes due to using the factor of labor in the use of production. This being so, one can support “the abolition of the wage system”—the end of employer/employee relations in which the boss takes the meat and the workers take the bones— while at the same time supporting the right of the worker to retain their wages. If one’s intentions are to ascribe the worker the full right to retain their product, this entails eliminating “the wage system” while supporting the workers’ right to their wages. The “wage system” is the system by which bosses gouge workers of their wages, as much of the boss’s profits are composed of the workers’ wages. This persists due to their inability to work elsewhere (without a similar or lesser deal, or potentially high switching costs).

## MONOPOLY, COMPETITION, AND BILATERALISM

**A** MARKET IS A RELATIONSHIP between buyers and sellers, using money as a means of exchange. There are two poles that a market can take, and these poles exist for both buyer and seller. These poles are monopoly and competition.

**Competition** describes a situation in which buyers and sellers rigorously compete to get better prices. Buyers always want low prices, and sellers always want high prices. Competition depends on many buyers and many sellers each competing for the price they want most, which settles at an equilibrium price equal to cost, the wages of those selling the goods and services.<sup>ii</sup> An equilibrium price is a price at which supply and demand meet, the one which is most agreeable to each party.

**Monopoly** describes a situation in which a seller is able to provide a good or service without competition, while a monopsony describes the same for a buyer. They can both loosely be referred to as *monopoly* in a general sense, however. Due to a monopoly's lack of competition, a monopoly can begin to control prices as it desires, and can drive prices above or below their natural price, causing shortages or surpluses. Its prices are outside of equilibrium, and outside of cost. Only monopolies can receive a profit or demand taxes.

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<sup>ii</sup> More properly, it could be understood to shift equilibrium, but without going from a state of disequilibrium. The price is always at cost when cost is understood to be a matter of labor value, because labor value is equal to the effort of duplication by competitors. As the effort of duplicating the work of an entrepreneur is difficult, their returns are not above the labor or cost value. Thus, the price is always in equilibrium and at cost, so long as there are no external forces hindering the exchange; but the equilibrium shifts as more suppliers enter the market.

Markets can exist anywhere between perfect competition to monopolistic competition to oligopoly to absolute monopoly.

**Bilateral monopoly** describes a situation in which a monopoly is met by a monopsony, or vice versa, and equilibrium cost price is once again established between them. Similar to the competition of individuals, which balances the desires of buyers and sellers, bilateral monopoly balances the desires of monopolies and monopsonies. In the case that a profit is generated in a bilateral monopoly, it is given back to the consumers, often in the form of a dividend.

### THE MUTUALIST COST PRINCIPLE AND THE RIGHT OF INCREASE

IN REGARD TO A THEORY of prices, mutualists speak the language of the cost principle and one's right of increase. The mutualist **cost principle** refers to the maxim that cost is the proper limit of prices, which means that any return outside of wages—any return which is not due to work—is unfair or inefficient. These prices, profit, interest, rent, and taxes, could also be called *increase*. The **right of increase** refers to the ability of the government, a private lender, an owner of land or capital, or a holder of an exclusive license, to extract unearned income from workers, consumers, or citizens.

The cost principle suggests that prices are dictated by costs, but that they are properly dictated by costs alone. In other words, labor is the only factor of production truly worthy of compensation. Any return that is not due to labor is due to a monopoly which has been protected by government, such as exclusive rights to land or licensing. One's right of increase is attached directly to their government-granted privileges, and without these privileges—which are the source of the monopolies' power—monopolies would be defanged. However, it is easier said than done, because the government itself is a monopoly, and until it is challenged none of the others can be. They are all subsidiary to government. Without government taxes, interest, rent, and profit could not exist. Government exists because the population lacks the confidence, values, and cohesion necessary to sustain freedom.

Some like to argue that if an individual receives nothing but cost for their labor that there is no reason to make exchanges, and that profit is necessary. This is pure lack of logic or misunderstanding, as workers see much necessity in their wages for making exchanges. Even if each worker were to be paid exactly the same, there would be situations in which comparative advantage, division of labor, or economies of scale would become an advantage for them.

Comparative advantage describes a situation in which tasks are allocated according to opportunity costs; in other words, from people being placed in their most productive places. Division of labor describes the separation of tasks and the ability to specialize. Economies of scale and scope describe the benefits of producing and consuming in large batches, or with a large group. All of these, in the proper conditions, have benefits, and none of these benefits necessarily generate profit, interest, taxes, or rent. These benefits can all be transferred to higher wages and reduced prices for consumers. Wages alone can keep the economy in motion, and as the economy develops, everyone's access to wealth rises.

## **BACK TO THE LABOR THEORY OF VALUE**

**T**HE COST PRINCIPLE is based upon the **labor theory of value**, the idea that labor is the only thing that legitimately gives an item value in a human economy. Mutualists believe that an economy free of compulsion and violence would also be free of unilateral monopolies, and thus taxes, profit, and privatized interest and rent. Instead, they believe freedom would promote a society full of wealth, in which everyone receives the full value of their labor, retaining their natural wage.

Some would like to challenge the labor theory of value on the grounds that labor, in and of itself, does not intrinsically have value, that I can work all day, breaking a sweat but doing nothing useful. This is a very true, but very misguided, challenge to the labor theory of value. The labor theory of value does not propose that labor is intrinsically valuable, but that the limit to an item's value is the amount of labor that would be necessary to reproduce or replace the item. If the item is not valued, then the labor to

create it won't be demanded. A rational consumer will not pay more for an item than the amount of time and effort it would take to do the work themselves. If they can make the thing they want in less time or with less effort than it would take to earn the wages necessary to make the purchase, they will not freely make the purchase. If a rational worker will not receive at least their labor's value for an item (except as a marketing scheme or such, in which case they could be said to be a consumer of consumers), they will not freely make a sale. *This* is what the labor theory of value means, and it has nothing in it to contradict marginal or subjective theories of value whatsoever. Labor is cost, and cost—effort— is subjective.

### GEO-MUTUALIST TERMINOLOGY

**W**E HAVE DISCUSSED the three factors of production—land, labor, and capital—and their related returns—rent, wages, and interest—, as well as profit and taxes. There are two others I would like to bring up briefly, as they are distinctions that I find important. These are premium and yield. These are important distinctions for me, because I believe they can allow for a fuller discussion for geo-mutualists.

By **premium**, I mean that return that is gained by an entrepreneur through their inventive use of new capital in production which occurs before the market adjusts and the technology becomes widespread, and which is not the result of government privileges, such as patent rights, licensing, subsidies, tax breaks, etc. This is a pertinent distinction, because it is important not to confuse this high return to the entrepreneur with profit or interest. Remember, profit and interest are returns above cost, and cost is labor, specifically the amount of labor necessary to do the job for one's self. This being so, the high returns to the inventive entrepreneur—unless they are due to government privileges— are not profit. However, they are not classically wages, either. Classically, they are considered interest, but this term clashes with our mutualist senses. Premium is a better term.

We may study a bit further, to find that, at times, the arguments of the mutualists are refined to suggest the absence of

## Mutualism, Cost, and the Factors of Production

not all, but *excessive* interest, profit, or rent, which they refer to sometimes collectively as *usury*. This becomes confusing, however, when mutualists argue generally against interest, but make exceptions. Part of the issue is that the return to the entrepreneur, while due to capital, is not above cost (the amount the consumer will freely pay), and so the entrepreneur's return is just as much due to labor, a sort of economic paradox. That is—short of government privilege—the entrepreneur's success is restricted by cost, or labor—others' inability to do what they are doing with less effort—but is magnified by capital. This being so, the return is a hybrid wage-interest, which I call *premium*. This way, a hard and consistent attack can be made against interest and profit.

By **yield**, I am referring to that portion of wealth which is created by land, but which is not rent. This includes classical wages and interest, collectively. Any portion of economic production which is not rent is considered to be yield, and when the rent is collected by the community and redistributed, it can also be considered yield.

With these definitions in place, we can understand a little more symmetrically, that:

Factor of Production	Just Return	Unjust Return
Land	Yield	Rent
Labor	Wages	Profit
Capital	Premium	Interest

The just or fair returns—those that *do not* require state compulsion to exist—include the yield provided by the land, the wages of labor, and the premium of the entrepreneur's capital. The unjust or unfair returns—those that *do* require state compulsion to exist—include the rent of the land, profit on labor, and interest on capital. The privatization of rent depends on the externalization of property protection costs, profit on labor depends on exclusive licensing, and interest on capital depends on patents, externalized property protection, licensing, subsidies, and more.

Geo-mutualist economics is an attempt at a thorough and consistent application of the sole intentions behind the cost-principle and the labor theory of value. The aim of the geo-

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mutualist is to internalize all costs in the economy, so that everyone lives at their own cost, and imposes their costs onto none other. This is the grand and most classic ideal of anarchy, the governing of none, as to govern another is nothing more than to make them take up one's cost for one's benefit or amusement.

In order to achieve its ends, geo-mutualism seeks to socialize land and its rent, put capital under competition or bilateral control to get rid of or socialize interest, and put labor under competition to get rid of profit. This is essentially the program of rolling back the state.

## Mutualism, Emergence, and the Right of Increase

MUTUALISM CAN BE UNDERSTOOD to be distinct from both capitalism and communism, while maintaining elements of each. Mutualism's most-celebrated founder, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, was interested in the manner in which theses and antitheses synthesize, and in which antinomies may come to balance one another. Mutuality, or reciprocity, forever approximates this place of synthesis or balance. This places mutualism between capitalism and communism.

One of the fundamental values of mutualist political economy is the idea that prices should be dictated by voluntary costs alone. This is known as the cost-principle, which states "cost the limit of price." Cost is effort, manual or physical. Any price paid to get someone to work—wages—covers cost. Profit, rent, and interest are prices paid above cost, because they are not payments for work, but for having government privileges, such as exclusive licenses or externalized property protection costs. Landlords, bosses, and private lenders could not exist without government—as they are monopolists who benefit from government privileges—and because government is simply sustained threat or aggression, their returns fall outside of voluntary costs. Thus, the cost-principle suggests the elimination of all interest, rent, and profit in the economy. Taxes are also to be eliminated, as an obvious form of government compulsion.

Getting back to ol' Proudhon, he called these returns (at least, is commonly understood in English to have called them)—rent, interest, and profit—*increase*. Accompanying this terminology, he spoke of the *right of increase*. For Proudhon, in an effort to internalize costs, the right of increase—the right to claim interest, profit, or rent—was properly socialized, if it were to exist at all. Similar to Henry George—but referring to it as *indemnity*, or *insurance*, rather than *taxes*—Proudhon supported the community collection and fair dispersal of ground rents. Going further, interest and profit was to be eliminated by free competition, or socialized by way of mutual ownership. Taxes were to be abolished through non-compliance.

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In many areas, Proudhon sought to eliminate the right of increase, while in other necessary areas he desired to socialize it. For instance, Proudhon wanted to eliminate the right of increase for the individual landlord, but did so by passing it to the community, which defined occupancy and use through payments of ground rent.

The increase in question is not to be understood as any and every gain, but the right of increase refers to, as Shawn Wilbur puts it, “the general belief that having wealth gives one a right to accumulate more wealth [...]”<sup>1</sup> Another word that Proudhon and the mutualists use to describe this is *usury*. What the mutualists oppose is the ability to extract wealth from others without doing so as a form of voluntary exchange for mutual benefit. Involuntary exchanges can be loosely categorized into Proudhon’s concept of increase, or into a wide category of usury, but can be understood more specifically as various forms of interest, profit, rent, or taxation. These are all returns above cost; that is, they are unearned income, gained from exploitation and the threat or use of force.

This seems to be a hard concept for many people to grasp, because we are used to people being able to extract interest, profit, and rent, and even taxes from us, while at the same time calling them *friend*. After all, people work hard to own their property, or to get their exclusive state licensing, accredited degrees, or other forms of state monopoly-enforcement. Privileges, after all, do not come easy, one has to leap the barrier to entry. Sometimes this means knowingly laying aside one’s principles. After all of this work—at least the honest work—is a return not to be supplied?

No well-reasoned mutualist would suggest otherwise. Mutualists, after all, believe in compensation for all socially-valuable costs, for all work with sufficient demand. We support the payment to building construction workers in the form of wages, and, when sold, we support the full compensation to the building’s owners in the form of payment. Mutualists do not support, however, the renting out of property. Instead, mutualists desire a society of user-occupiers and occupier-users, where everyone has personal rights to possess that which they are putting to use, so long as their doing so is satisfactory to the wider community. I often call this approach *geo-mutualism* despite these elements being present in classic mutualism, simply because this element has been

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forgotten down the line through folks like Joshua Ingalls, but also because the concept was more heavily explored by Henry George, who saw himself as a fellow traveler of, and in part inspired by, Proudhon. In this more clarified version, land is held in common, labor is owned individually, and capital improvements range from personal to cooperative and mutual forms of ownership, depending on its scale.

Mutualists would substitute tenants and landlords, both, in favor of common ownership and usufruct possession, as defined by one's indemnity payments. In this model, being a member of the community, one is also owner of the land they use, though with others, and so rights of possession between owners are clarified by payments of ground rent, which, under geo-mutualism at least, would be defined by bids on leases. This being so, one is simultaneously one's landlord and one's tenant, an owner-user. This form of ownership begins collectively, but is dispersed to the individual for use. Once one has rights of occupancy and use, one may personally possess other forms of capital or real property, such as trucks or buildings.

Mutualists would substitute private lenders and debtors for mutual banking. Similar to the land trust operation described, mutual banking makes one one's own lender and one's own debtor in some senses. In this model, everyone owns the bank they use, or at least its policy, similar to a credit union or mutual fund, and so they are their own lender—though collectively so—, and the collective entity lends to the individual, without interest, for the sake of making exchanges. Again, one is one's own lender and debtor. Once a debt is taken up—upon debit— an individual or cooperative unit has credit, and may begin to make exchanges. One is an owner-user of the money.

Similarly, mutualists would substitute cooperation for monopoly and exploitation; natural monopolies under geo-mutualism are owned mutually, with consumers owning the policy and receiving dividends, in the way the community at large does with land. This makes one one's own monopolist, though cooperatively so, and one's own consumer, more personally.

Lastly, mutualism would substitute bosses and workers for owner-operators engaging in various forms of contract. As with those mechanisms described above, this would entail cooperative

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ownership for many businesses, with duties being fulfilled by individuals. One is one's own boss—though, collectively—, and one's own employee—more personally— in this respect. With mutuality comes cooperative self-management. Labor always belongs to the individual.

Mutualism is in part a theory of distributive justice, without ignoring the validity of just process. That is, mutualism aims at distributing wealth more fairly, by actually taking the existing principles of justice to their very extreme, and— when contradictory to one another— balancing or synthesizing them, rather than ignoring them or denouncing them in their entirety. Proudhon's denial of government was a matter of justice. He was not denying justice itself, but extending its reach, and this left no room for government. Justice is the balance of forces; government is disequilibrium. This is what separates mutualists from both communists and capitalists, without fully excluding them.

Capitalism and communism both represent forms of disequilibrium. Capitalism is a producerist or supply-side society, a monopolist society, while communism is a consumerist or demand-side society, a monopsonist society.<sup>i</sup> In communism, freedom exists in regard to consumption, and this consumption is protected—at least in hypothesis—by the state. This monopsonistic state tends toward scarcity, as unlimited consumption drains the society. In capitalism, freedom exists in regard to production, and this production is protected—at least in hypothesis—by the state. This monopolistic state tends toward surplus, as unlimited production causes glut. In theory, communists are proponents of democracy, while capitalists tend toward aristocracy or even monarchy; but in practice the opposite has often been the case: Capitalism and democratic republics developed simultaneously, and communism almost always relies on

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<sup>i</sup> Here I am not referring to consumerism as the kind of “fetishism of commodities” as Marx put it—the attitude that buying things leads to happiness—so much as consumption— “to each according to need”—being the driving force of communism.

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totalitarian authorities. It seems nearly as hard to remain consistently imbalanced as it is to be consistently balanced. However, balance has its rewards, and these command direction, leading even the most passionate communist to give in to totalitarianism, and the democrat to capitalism, the king to the commons, and the proprietor to the vote. Disbalance has been created by narcissists who seek to gain, privately or collectively, and foolish altruists who “pave the road to hell with good intentions,” but the limits to their actions are the gullibility of their prey, and the naivety of their fellows.

Mutuality is the product of the enlightened will, which harmonizes the interests of self with that of the community at large. As capitalism and communism depend on the gullible and the naïve, the clever narcissist and the foolish altruist, mutualism depends on the skeptical (or *zetetic*) and the wise, the honest and the fair. Mutualism entails a society which constantly adjusts to equilibrium, balancing the forces within itself. Mutualism tends neither toward scarcity nor surplus, consumption nor production, monopsony or monopoly, but toward the satisfaction of needs.

Prices act as a signal to producers and consumers relating to the availability of goods and the need to increase or decrease production and consumption. The law of supply and demand says that as prices increase, demand decreases and supply increases; and as prices decrease, demand increases and supply decreases. This is because consumers like low prices, and producers like high prices; buyers like to spend less money, and sellers like to earn more money.

Applied, if we say that consumers will buy five items at the price of \$1 a piece, but that sellers will only produce one item at this price, we can understand that only one item will be exchanged. Likewise, if we say that producers will make five items for the price of \$5 a piece, but that buyers only want one item at this price, that's still only one item will be exchanged. However, if this is so, we may suggest that the price at which the most items are produced and exchanged is \$3, because this is the price most satisfactory to both parties, considering their characteristics.

This is the price at which supply and demand are said to meet, the *equilibrium price*. It is the equilibrium price because it is the price at which supply and demand become balanced. It is also the

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*cost price*, at which cost is met. There is no interest, profit, or rent at the level of this price, but only wages are covered. This is because an equilibrium price can only be determined by the free operation of supply and demand, which implies open competition. Because competing producers engage in price wars, a free market will push the price down as low as it can possibly go, which is the level at which one is compensated for one's work—is paid wages—, but no more. Wages are covered at this price, but profit is not. Thus, a free market (not to be confused with capitalism) eliminates profit. It does the same with interest and rent.

Some may argue that free markets promote profit, by allowing unregulated natural monopolies to develop. However, in an unregulated free market, natural monopolies are countered by monopsonies, and vice-versa. For instance, governments are always the ones to break up strikes and unions, and they do so for the sake of protecting private property. Without the state, the outcome would be very much different. The two entities would come to form an equilibrium between themselves, in a state called bilateral monopoly. Here, again, prices approximate cost.

Capitalism is often associated with the free market, but this is not actually the case (unless, perhaps, we are to bend historical definitions). Capitalism describes an artificial market in which the state has bestowed property rights to a certain class of individuals—in order that it may more easily funnel taxes through these individuals—who then use their privileges to corner markets, as monopolies and oligopolies, giving them the right of increase. That is, they gain the right to collect interest, profit, and rent, which are prices paid above compensation, and which are thus unearned. These could not occur without state-granted privileges, such as externalized property-protection costs (tenants pay property taxes with their rent, which then pays the cops) or exclusive licensing (much employment is due simply to workers lacking access to licenses, and usury is due to exclusive banking licenses). No pure capitalism can be said to exist, as capitalism requires government to function.

One of the characteristics that make capitalism what it is, is the immense amount of surplus that is built up within it. Capitalism, being a producerist society, builds surpluses. Prices are kept artificially high, by government perpetuation of monopoly,

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through the protection of private property and market intervention. Monopolies are single-seller price-makers, and sellers like their prices high. At high prices, they produce a surplus, and push it on the economy. This is how our producerist society can be mistaken for a consumerist society: the monopolies build surpluses and then must create an artificial demand through advertising. However, under welfare capitalism (which approaches socialism), many monopolies are given artificial economies of scale through subsidies and such, and so the government pays them directly. Because they are paid directly, they can lower their prices for the consumer (who instead pays an involuntary tax to pay the subsidy), and beat the competition, thereby cornering the market. These are not true low prices, however, as the price has simply been shifted to a tax. The corporate state prefers a small conglomeration of corporations from which taxes may be collected, though it also collects taxes directly (this can only be done so far). The state issues privileges for duties. At the very top of the corporate capitalist state stand the banksters, but the state is otherwise a union of the rich, whose membership—the governing and corporate class—expands and contracts as needed. It is incorrect to see the state and corporations as separate entities.

Communism, on the other hand, is a society built toward scarcity. Communism is replete with consumption, as prices tend to be pushed artificially downward. However, low prices mean that production becomes scarce, and communist societies often have to compel their members to work with some means other than money, having functioned on involuntary work camps in the past. Some communist societies intend to exist without, or to reduce the need for, money, but nearly all communist societies have either retained the use of money or have issued vouchers, which themselves are a pretty close relative. Prices seem low under communism, but this is because they have been subsidized through taxation—similar to welfare capitalism— or have been produced involuntarily in work camps. Of course— similar to the manner in which welfare capitalism has taken up some of the approaches to socialism, such as subsidies—, few communist societies are truly or purely communist. Most do have elements of the market in place. “Socialism with Chinese Characteristics,” the ideology of the Communist Party of China, stands out quite a bit, having adopted

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capitalism as a necessary stage that must be developed before communism can take place. Welfare capitalism and Socialism with Chinese Characteristics are not entirely different, but mostly in sentiment. Each describes a society in which markets function for the purpose of the state, though the state takes different forms.

The fact is that there is a point of equilibrium that can be found, and both capitalism and communism stray from this point of equilibrium, communism on the side of demand-consumption, and capitalism on the side of supply-production. However, having these characteristics leads to over-production or over-consumption, which must be corrected in some manner. Communists have often set into place work camps or issued vouchers, and capitalists have often offered welfare programs or subsidies from taxes to make up for their inefficiencies. That is, being out of balance, each has taken up elements of the other extreme, in order to find some position of balance. Some imbalance, however, must be retained, or the elite do not make their desired gains.

The entire purpose of retaining economic imbalance is to sustain and reward power. Under communism, political power is gained through the impoverishment (scarcity) of the masses, and under capitalism it is gained from the artificial affluence (surplus) of the rulers. Capitalism has been most successful, due to its abundance of wealth; rulers under capitalism gain from social surplus, while rulers under communism gain from social scarcity. It's much harder for a ruler to claim their affluence from a scarce society than it is to claim from an already-produced surplus. While both are ethically misguided, history favors strength to weakness, and so capitalism moves forward much stronger than socialism, with Russia having abandoned socialism in large for welfare capitalism, and China having added its "Chinese Characteristics" (the market). However, welfare capitalism, while not to the same extent, has also adopted characteristics of socialism, such as welfare and subsidization. Of course, over time, the dichotomy between capitalism and socialism becomes quite diluted.

A mutualist economy is neither capitalist nor communist, but finds itself in the equilibrium-zone, facing neither consumerist scarcity nor producerist surpluses. While capitalism pretends to be based on voluntary exchange, mutualism actually is based on

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voluntary exchange, and while socialism pretends to be better for the whole, it is actually mutualism that can be said to fit this bill. Mutualism harmonizes the interests of the whole with that of each individual, creating a resonance between them that can only uplift.

When I speak of mutualistic resonance, I am speaking about the vibrations between two organisms, be they two individuals, two collective bodies, or one or more of these and the whole. Human organisms resonate in various ways with one another, but harmonious resonance is the longest lasting and the most fulfilling, creating a sort of mutual binding through the benefits given by reciprocity. Reciprocity, the tit-for-tat of giving, is magnetic in nature, having a positive (credit) and negative (debit) charge, bringing individuals together. Social cohesion could not exist without resonance of this sort, unless society is to be mentally herded into obedience, or physically corralled by threat of force, as they are in the liberal and totalitarian states (and even in these cases, there must be an ample amount of resonance amongst the rulers in order for them to impose their rule). While the bindings of mutuality may lose their strength at times, this is usually so due to seemingly external factors, which cause disequilibrium, but which can be eliminated. These factors are those used by the state—taxation, subsidy, compulsion, welfare, etc.—, and which are all grounded in the use of force. Voluntary, consensual, and informed behavior ensures mutual benefit. Reciprocity is neither all-give, as the communist state attempts to be portray itself, nor is it all-take, as private capitalism would have it. Reciprocity is resonance, the mutual giving from one party to another and back. In this, all gain, and none lose to the expense of another.

Communism and capitalism merely switch the scores in a zero-sum game, while mutualism makes use of emergent gains. A game is zero-sum when a gain for one party comes at the expense of an equal loss to another party. That is, if +1 for me is -1 for you, or vice-versa, outside of a mutual framework of reciprocity.<sup>ii</sup> I do

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<sup>ii</sup> If the +1 is understood to be a debt, to be repaid, it is not a unilateral relationship, and so does not represent a zero-sum game in itself, but uses a zero-sum game (credit and debit) as a tool to facilitate

not consider this a true gain, as one must lose in order to have it. Emergent gains are those that result from the emergent properties of beneficial group activity. Emergent properties are those elements that make a whole greater than the sum of its parts. For instance, emergence is the property that makes a table more valuable than the same pieces in a dissembled pile. A table is more valuable than a pile of parts due to its form and associated purpose, and this extra value—which makes the whole greater than the sum of its parts—is the emergent property. There are some emergent properties to group activity, as well. For instance, economies of scale and scope provide benefits in the way of productivity and consumability, and comparative advantage and division of labor allow for the benefits gained by specialization.

However, emergent gains can be utilized for the sake of an external benefactor, in which case elements of zero-sum games come back into play, and the emergent property is taken from its holder, society.<sup>iii</sup> This is described in David Ricardo's Iron Law of Wages, which suggests that the elite in society will only pay its labor force the bare minimum of subsistence (relative to the standards of the society), holding all surpluses for itself. Because the labor force receives bare subsistence, they have nothing to personally gain in unison, but merely thwart the threat of loss. Were they to maintain their emergent product, and were they not forced to labor, their personal gain would be unquestionable. However, because they are often compelled to labor in such a manner, and because their

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relationships in order to reach emergent gains. When I am describing zero-sum games, I am rather describing a situation in which one party unilaterally benefits at another's loss, outside the framework of voluntary exchange. Emergent gains may make use of zero-sum games, such as credits and debits, but only under the premise that a debit is to be repaid.

<sup>iii</sup> Because the laborers do get a return from their labor in the form of wages, the principles of zero-sum game are to be applied to the surplus (interest, rent, profit) or emergent properties, and not total income.

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emergent gains are usurped, it is as if they labored alone, and, at times, even worse, faced a loss, but one less than they otherwise would have if they refused their government.

Proudhon suggests, while not in these words, that economies themselves are emergent, and could not be without their component parts. He acknowledges that the economic elite usurp the emergent gains present to society in *What is Property?* He says,

The sea, without the fisherman and his line, supplies no fish. The forest, without the wood-cutter and his axe, furnishes neither fuel nor timber.

The meadow, without the mower, yields neither hay nor aftermath. Nature is a vast mass of material to be cultivated and converted into products; but Nature produces nothing for herself: in the economical sense, her products, in their relation to man, are not yet products.

Capital, tools, and machinery are likewise unproductive. The hammer and the anvil, without the blacksmith and the iron, do not forge. The mill, without the miller and the grain, does not grind, &c.

[...]

Finally, labor and capital together, when unfortunately combined, produce nothing. Plough a sandy desert, beat the water of the rivers, pass type through a sieve, — you will get neither wheat, nor fish, nor books.

[...]

Tools and capital, land and labor, considered individually and abstractly, are not, literally speaking, productive. The proprietor who asks to be rewarded for the use of a tool, or the productive power of his land, takes for granted, then, that which is radically false; namely, that capital produces by its own effort,

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— and, in taking pay for this imaginary product, he literally receives something for nothing.<sup>2</sup>

Emergent gain-capture for private use accounts for much unearned income. Interest, for instance, is the return to the use of capital, which is nothing but the technological emergence created through the resonance of human ideas throughout the millennia. Without our ancestors having come together, working in groups or sharing ideas, and had they instead remained atomized, technological progress could never have been made.

A society is greater than the sum of its individual parts. However, for a society to exist, its individual parts must be in at least some accord with one another, and for a society to thrive, it must learn to successfully harmonize and fully resonate. This can be done only so far as a societal order is found beneficial for its constituent parts. To the degree it is not, it will not last, outside some external influence, such as that which has put us in our current condition: the varying grades of Earth, which we have yet to readjust and harmonize our societies to, but which we are ever so slowly waking up to realize. This external influence—ground rent—realized, societies may refashion their customs to eliminate its burden, and once again resonate with their members. Socialism and capitalism are both beyond the grounds of harmonized social resonance, because both are out of equilibrium for the sake of their ruling classes. It is unfortunate that our customs allowed for the primitive monopolization of ground rents. This has allowed for power not only to privatize<sup>iv</sup> the common gifts from nature, but to use these private resources in order to extract the personal and collective gains from others, as in a zero-sum game. In doing so, the ruling class has privatized progress itself.

While mutualism can be considered capitalist or socialist by stretching current definitions, it is really neither, as both capitalism and socialism are exclusive of one another's valid

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<sup>iv</sup> Even in communist societies, the wealth is privately controlled by the elite, in the sense that there is a ruling class which excludes others from the decisions.

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principles, while mutualism is inclusive of the principles of each. Lay socialists, in their attempts to care for society, merely wish to switch zero-sum scores from the affluent members of society to those who are less so, as a sort of subsidy. They intend to do this through collective ownership of industry. Lay capitalists, in their attempts to care for themselves, intend to keep the present system of property in place, which empowers their rulers to extract zero-sum scores from the people's board to their own. Proudhon acknowledged that,

Communism is inequality, but not as property [capitalism] is. Property is the exploitation of the weak by the strong. Communism is the exploitation of the strong by the weak. In property, inequality of conditions is the result of force, under whatever name it be disguised: physical and mental force; force of events, chance, *fortune*; force of accumulated property, &c. In communism, inequality springs from placing mediocrity on a level with excellence.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike the others—communism and capitalism—, mutualism is a place of balance, exploitation of none by none, a steady “Pareto efficiency,” wherein gains are always maximal. Unlike socialism—which seeks to enslave the endowed at the expense of the unendowed—, and capitalism—which seeks to enslave the unendowed for the endowed—, mutualism seeks the harmonization of interests, so that emergent gains can be benefitted from proportionally. While capitalism may make use of emergent forces of production—monopoly—, and communism of emergent consumption—monopsony—, mutualism harmonizes these polar forces into bilateral reciprocation, producing neither glut nor want.

Mutuality provides for a society of abundance. When emergent gains can develop from the harmony of social resonance, everyone lives in varying grades of affluence, with none stricken with poverty, or seen as politically inconsequential. Abundance can be separated from surplus by the fact that abundance is gained without extra effort. Capitalism and communism provide

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abundance for their elite, who gain without socially-useful (voluntarily compensated) labor, but this abundance is the result of societal scarcity or surplus. While the elite have abundance, the masses of society are poor, either due to lack of production (communism) or to lack of consumptive power (capitalism). Societal surplus—capitalism— comes at the expense of personal scarcity (poverty); and personal surplus—free consumption— comes at the expense of societal scarcity (communism). Societal abundance, however,—mutualism— comes at no personal expense, but is true abundance. While workers under capitalism produce a surplus of goods they have no access to; and while under communism—lacking pay— they have no incentive to produce, but have vouchers from the state to consume past their means; workers under mutualism are incentivized by the offerings of emergent gains, provided them by nature. As these gains are cooperatively produced and managed under mutualism, they provide society abundance, rather than surplus. Surpluses describe that which took effort, but which is not put to use; while abundance describes a lack of effort, but a cornucopia of enjoyment. When the returns are contrasted with the costs, there is no extra effort in beneficial group activities, and these activities will be taken up voluntarily if left to their own accord. They need no compulsion, but are gifts from nature. They spring forth from the power of solidarity.

Emergent gains are as natural<sup>v</sup> as any other occurrence in the Universe, but they must be understood metaphysically, rather than physically. There is no strictly empirical solution to emergence, as emergence is a property of will. Emergence seems constructed from the desires of its constituents. As our four dimensional presence applies force to build the table from mere

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<sup>v</sup> The term *nature* has many meanings, which at times contradict. Here, I mean nature as something that is readily occurring in the world, but which is not necessarily but may be, restricted by the laws of physics as uncovered through empirical science.

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parts into a finished product, giving it purpose and form, however, so too are we manipulated by the *telos*. The *telos* commands our will, leaving nothing truly free except a sense, gained from the mystery of self and the mystery of our maker, which makes us blind to the strings on which we are strung, strings of emotion and thought, components of consciousness, which stretch from the very beginning of the physical Universe to its very end in pure mind. Lacking a sense of the hands which put us together and which guide our actions, we naively believe we act on our own accord, and yet it is want, desire, which commands us, and which can only be satisfied by reaching some ends. As Aristotle put it long ago, “Every art and every inquiry, and similarly every action and pursuit, is thought to aim at some good; and for this reason the good has rightly been declared to be that at which all things aim.” Good is the final emergence, the *telos*, and it commands us to be. Mutualism, by accidentally recognizing this fact, is destined to come into play.

**REFERENCES**

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<sup>1</sup> Shawn Wilbur

<sup>2</sup> Pierre-Joseph Proudhon<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

# Geo-Mutualist Management of Monopoly

## INTRODUCTION

THERE ARE DIFFERENT SENSES in which we may address the concept of *monopoly*: We may use the natural-artificial paradigm, wherein some monopolies are designated a status of “natural” while others are considered to be “legal” or “artificial” monopolies. We can use the term to describe the concentration of power internal to an institution, rather than as a participant in the market. Monopoly, as a single-seller, can be distinguished from monopsony, a single-buyer, or can be used in a general sense to refer to both of these. I will address each use of the term, before discussing their management and resolution.

## ARTIFICIAL, NATURAL, AND SUPERNATURAL MONOPOLY

ARTIFICIAL MONOPOLIES ARE CREATED through direct interference or manipulation by the state or government in the market, by taxing, subsidizing, zoning, etc. When a government extends licenses, zoning permits, subsidies, or unfair taxation, artificial monopolies are created, because others have a hard time getting licensed, setting up shop, or competing with subsidies or unfair taxation. With these monopolies, considered to be artificial, the state has taken a direct role in their establishment, through subsidies and other privileges, and does not merely protect previously-granted claims through standard property protection.

The state may maintain “natural” monopolies through protection, but it has no fundamental role in granting privileges for their establishment. “Natural” monopolies are those monopolies that do not need help from the state to form, except through the enforcement of already-existing property laws. A “natural” monopoly can exist in any market in which, under existing property laws, a firm can gain economies of scale (or scope, for a “natural” monopsony), to such a degree that it begins to have a disproportionate share in the market. “Natural” monopolies often exist where large scale is needed and few firms are needed to supply the market, thus having strong elements of monopoly,

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without help needed from the state (except for protection of their unilateral claims to property).

It can be suggested that a “natural” monopoly is not truly natural, but an expression of the state, because it depends on the state to defend its property. These subsidiary monopolies to the state are considered “natural” because modes of property under capitalism are also considered “natural,” and so the obvious results of these modes of property (monopolies) will be considered such as well.

Many anarchists like to suggest that natural monopolies do not really exist at all, treating all monopolies as legal monopolies. While this may be true to an extent— in that governments protect the property claims of the monopolies, as discussed—, it is not always the case that monopolies arise in the context of a pre-existing state. Truly natural and “natural” monopolies, then, could be distinguished from one another by the fact that “natural” monopolies require the state or government to be maintained, while natural monopolies do not. However, the word *natural* gives the sense that it is the only way things can be. This is not the case. This being so, I like to refer to the state as a *supernatural monopoly*, though it is more commonly understood to be *natural*. The term is fitting, in my opinion, because the state depends on “the most dangerous superstition,” as Larken Rose puts it (the myth that it is needed).

The state itself, while not the only form of naturally-occurring monopoly, is an example of a natural monopoly, as it did not need a state to bring it into being or to maintain it. The fact that states exist demonstrates that natural monopolies do. Their status as monopoly is reduced, however, when decision-making power is shared. Without protection of their interests by using force, and without internal hierarchy, natural monopolies would simply constitute communities bound by mutual interest. However, they would cease to be monopolies at that point, as our discussion on panopoly will suggest. Natural monopolies are not natural in the sense that they are inevitable, and cannot be resolved, but only in the sense that they were not constructed or maintained by previously-existing human states. They can be superseded.

**MONOPOLY, MONOPSONY,  
AND CONCENTRATED OWNERSHIP**

FURTHER ON OUR LIST of distinctions, the term *monopoly* can refer to the bargaining power of selling parties in an exchange, as distinguished from an organized body of consumers, called a *monopsony*. Monopsonies are similar institutions to monopolies, in that they are unilateral bodies, but they exist on the side of the buyer rather than the seller. Monopolies, in this sense, refer to organized sellers who have the power of price manipulation on behalf of supply, while monopsonies refer to organized consumers, who have the power to manipulate prices on behalf of demand. An example of a monopsony would be a consumer cooperative that dictates prices to its producers, who aren't organized into a monopoly. Were the producers to be organized in a producers' cooperative, and the consumers in a consumers' cooperative, however, this would constitute a *bilateral monopoly*. Bilateral monopolies occur when a monopoly and a monopsony co-exist in the same market. The distinction now being made between monopolies and monopsonies, we must also understand that the word *monopoly* can be used in a more general sense to refer to both monopolies-proper (on behalf of sellers) *and* monopsonies, or any imbalance of power. That is, monopoly has a general use, which can refer to both monopsonies and monopolies, or it can be used in a more specific sense as distinguished from monopsony. This being so, when I refer to the state as a monopoly, it is in the general sense, being both monopolistic and monopsonistic.

Another important distinction of the concept of monopoly includes matters of ownership or control. Monopoly can describe a situation wherein ownership is maintained unfairly, with concentration of power internal to a group, such as concentration of ownership into one or a few users among many. It is this concentration of power that truly distinguishes the state as a monopoly, rather than a common institution of shared benefit. The state is not alone in expressing this trait, as the monopolies it enables oftentimes share in it, becoming particularly obvious when equal labor does not supply an equal share of ownership. A landlord, who receives a rent check above the amount of effort

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used in maintaining the land, or the employer, who receives a hefty profit above the amount of labor put forth in the business, are each instances of this kind of organizational monopoly. These individuals do not work more to gain more and maintain more ownership. While these monopolies are usually enabled by forces external to them, such as the state's enforcement of negative property rights in land, or its granting of positive privileges to provide labor, this is not always the case, particularly in regards to the state itself. The state is a natural monopoly, but unlike subsidiary "natural" monopolies, which are granted by the state, the state has been granted legitimacy by the passivity and ignorance of the people, who refuse to understand their condition, or to labor to change it. In this case alone, the granter of the right of monopoly is the weak will of the people, rather than a separate state. Unlike the other "natural" monopolies granted by the state, the state has been granted by the toleration of its people alone, and can actually be considered natural, but not inevitable.

### **DOING AWAY WITH MONOPOLY**

**I**S IT POSSIBLE to have the absence of monopoly? It certainly is. Geo-mutualists propose to end the monopoly of the state by eliminating the ignorance on which it depends. We would end its subsidiary "natural" monopolies through the enforcement of highly positive, rather than exclusively negative, rights to property. We wish to end artificial monopolies through the end of privilege-granting (such as subsidies, licensing, etc.). We propose to end the monopolization of ownership through cooperative models of shareholding and decision-making. We propose to end the battles between monopolies and monopsonies through combined strategy in joint-interest cooperatives and mutual firms. As such, the only remaining structure is certainly a joint venture, but cannot be considered a monopoly, perhaps a *pan-opoly*. *Mono-poly*, after all, describes one in control among many, while *pan-(o)poly* describes shared control between all of the many involved, with each sharing in power while maintaining their own identity. Monopoly simply cannot exist under conditions of balanced consumer-producer interests, egalitarian firm governance, the elimination of privilege, and property-allocation by contract.

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The goal of the geo-mutualist should be to educate people (especially local) on the matters of geo-mutualism and to work with those who are like-minded to establish geo-mutual institutions, most important being the geo-mutual bank (but which may not be the best step for a group of, say, three people, among whom a small agorist business may be more appropriate). This, of course, must be kept under the radar until such a point that the bank has the potential to start enforcing its core values through defensive action. Once it gains power, however, as I have described in “The Civic Bank” and in “A Geo-Mutual Panacea,” it has the potential to enforce the interests of workers, through various programs. One such program can include the balancing of monopoly interests. This would entail the lending of capital to markets in need of monopsonies or monopolies to balance their countervailing forces. This entails the willingness of the bank to loan to consumers who are facing the oppression of producer monopolies, or producers facing vice versa.

### **BILATERALIZATION AND MUTUALIZATION**

**A** GEO-MUTUAL BANK is the best means of managing natural monopolies. This is best done through lending programs centered on balancing consumer and producer interests. While traditional banks lend primarily to producers, geo-mutual banks have much potential to lend also to consumers in need of monopsonies as well. Rather than deciding the viability of such an institution around income, it can be decided around the savings that loans can provide for their consumers.

It is well known that associations for professionals provide those professionals with a great deal of benefits. Many of these benefits include keeping salaries artificially high for the professionals, either by way of lobbying or through price-collusion, leading to much profits. This being the case, consumers have much potential for savings by creating similarly-powerful consumer organizations, which may act in concert in their consumptive habits, for the purpose of price-negotiation.

Just as producer monopolies, such as professional associations, have the means to influence prices on the side of production and selling, leading to higher rates of profit, consumer

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monopsonies, such as buyers' clubs, have the means to influence prices on the side of consumption and buying, leading to higher rates of savings. These savings, which can equal the firm's otherwise profits, can be used to pay back loans for capital, either real or mental, that has been used on behalf of the consumer organization, in the same manner that income used by a producer's firm pays back loans used to generate their business. Imagine a bank that would lend in favor of a labor union (which is a monopoly on labor; employers are monopsonies/oligopsonies on labor) strike support, based on calculated probabilities of victory and returns. If, say, workers were to gain \$1/hr. after a strike, it may be worth a mutual bank to lend toward a few days' worth of strike support, enough to win the battle. After the victory, the workers would pay the loan back, interest-free, from their new wages.

The only matter of concern is whether or not there are savings to be had in such concerted activity as consumer price collusion. If there are profits made in monopoly, there are savings to be had in monopsony. It is also possible to lose, rather than gain, from group activities, however. Consumer and producer organizations alike are expected to be governed by rules related to ideal firm size, and can suffer from diseconomies of scale or scope.

The most likely outcome of a situation of bilateral monopoly, created purposefully by a geo-mutual bank, is the combination of consumer and producer interests in a mutual firm or a joint cooperative of some fashion, whereby consumers and producers share control. They may share control by way of a decision-making partition (wherein certain decisions are allocated to certain parties, such as methods of production to the producers, and the amount to be produced by the consumers) or by way of group decisions. Some mixture of both is most likely, with decisions relating to prices being of joint concern, while quantity is probably best left a matter of demand, and method a matter of supply.

COOPERATION AND COMPETITION

THE BANK PREVENTS the monopolization of ownership and decision-making power in subsidiary institutions by not providing privileges, not protecting disputed claims to property, and ensuring that all have credit with which to buy into organizations in which they share a stake, such as cooperatives. However, the participants in the organizations must also do their part to ensure that they remain internally egalitarian. If power is allowed to rise, unchecked, and to establish itself as an authority, and if members are not to take the action to prevent it, even the bank cannot prevent the internal monopoly of its subsidiary units. Luckily, most internal monopolization in today's firms is actually due to unaccounted for external forces— such as property laws and privilege, which is granted to one among many, and thereby selects the leader for the firm— and not to the lack of virtue on behalf of the firm's participants. Still, it is plausible that lack of virtue can allow for the rise of charismatic leaders, even if it is not very probable. For this reason alone it should be addressed, not because it is of near as much concern as macroeconomic forces of property and privilege.

“Natural” monopolies are granted by an artificial amount of negative protection of property rights, but more traditional legal monopolies are creations of positive privilege-granting. For artificial monopolies to be eliminated, positively-granted privileges— such as patents, zoning, charters, licensing, etc.— must cease to be required for operation. For those monopolies considered to be “natural” to disappear, those privileges inherent in our current system of perpetual land tenure must be removed, and economic rent, as well as its spurious returns, must be shared in by the community. Under geo-mutualism, artificial property claims will give way to property by contract (bid and rentshare), and economies of scale or scope will be matched by equal funding on the other side. Artificial monopolies will not be created by way of mandatory regulations or unfair privileges. Competition will be ensured.

Traditionally, banks have gained by supporting monopolies, and have been able to claim some of the monopoly's profits for themselves, but such banks are also internally

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monopolistic, having strong hierarchies. The geo-mutual bank must be made accountable to its membership through participatory decision-making processes, which give it no incentive to enable profiteering, as there is no class of executives to capture the profits for themselves in the form of interest. Instead, a geo-mutual bank, owned and operated by the community of its users, is incentivized to promote balance in the economy. This entails promoting competition and lending to countervailing economic institutions, rather than favoring one side at the expense of another, and claiming some of the loot. Capitalist banks gain in the creation of monopoly, as they can claim some of the profits in the form of interest; but mutual banks lack the hierarchical class of executives to benefit from extortion and privilege-granting.

### PANOPOLY

**T**HE DUTY OF THE GEO-MUTUAL BANK is to challenge the power of the state as the source of subsidiary monopolies. This is best achieved by educating people through direct-action. In so doing, it will challenge the grantor of those monopolies, the state. By providing better means of relation than that of the state, and by providing more material efficiency than the state, the geo-mutual bank also challenges the very principle of the state.

The primary tool against the state must be education, but education must be followed by direct-action for it to be of any value. Revolutionary change must naturally be preceded by education, which will inform action contrary to the desires of the state, thereby calling into question its legitimacy. Direct-action is education by the deed, but before deeds can educate people, ideas themselves must be spread. Then they can be put into action by a particularly daring, capable, or enabled group or individual. Education-pure leads to demonstration leads to duplication.

The first step of establishing the bank is likely the most important. This involves creating a new social contract that does not enable the internal monopolization of the bank, but keeps it “panopolistic.” So long as the central institution of an economy, be it a state or a bank, remains internally monopolized, those who have monopolized the institution will promote subsidiary

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monopolies, from which they may draw some profit. This being the case, the geo-mutual bank must be a voluntary membership-based institution that maintains a model of participatory decision-making and provides real services to its members. The bank has no incentive to protect artificial and disputed property rights with force, will no longer have reason to provide some with privileges that others do not share in (unless they are already privileged by the state), and will issue credit in a way that more properly distributes the wealth and power in society, thereby confronting the state with a dispute of title allocation. Being more materially efficient, fair, and emotionally satisfying, without promoting monopolies, “natural” or artificial, the geo-mutual bank has many competitive advantages over the state.

# Geo-Mutualism and Ecology, or Sustainability and Internalizing Costs

## INTRODUCTION

**G**EOANARCHISTS AND MUTUALISTS often face the claim that their preferred system would fail in matters of conservation and sustainability. “Without government,” many suggest, “there is no way to protect the environment.” Well, how *would* a geo-mutualist society prevent ecological catastrophe? In order to answer this question, we will take a look at what geo-mutualism is, getting a basic flavor for the geo-mutualist position, before taking a look at what sustainability is, and what it entails. Finally, we will look at the manner in which a geo-mutualist political economy would promote sustainability.

## GEO-MUTUALISM

**G**EO-MUTUALISM IS A STRAIN of p/anarchist thought that exists at the mean of left-right thinking. Rather than viciously promoting positive rights, as in communism, or negative rights, as in capitalism, geo-mutualism promotes the synthesis and proper application of these worldviews. Communism treats the products of land, labor, and capital all the same, suggesting that they are all matters of collective concern, best treated by positive rights. Capitalism similarly treats them the same, suggesting they are all matters of private property, best treated by negative rights. Geo-mutualism treats labor as a matter of personal possession, and land as a matter of common concern. Geo-mutualism treats land in terms of positive rights, believing rights to land to originate in the community. It treats labor, however, in terms of negative rights, believing rights to labor to originate in the individual. Capital, of the three classical factors of production—land, labor, and capital—is the mixture of the other two, and requires treatment by both positive and negative rights.

Geo-mutualists promote a panarchic confederation that has an affiliated mutual bank and community land trust. The

institution would charter subsidiary units, to whom it would issue a line of credit without interest, and to whom it would lease land. These subsidiary units would likely have many subsidiary units below them, to whom they'd perform the same function. Each unit would have a service area or coverage range, but membership in them would be voluntary.<sup>i</sup> Jurisdictions would overlap in a panarchic system of polycentric law. The community would be part of a larger network, which would lease the land in a similar manner to them. The network as a whole would be leased the land by the confederation. Credit would be issued without interest in a similarly-arranged system of credit-clearing networks, but would be lent according to departments of industry, and finally to firms. Firms themselves would be democratic, taking the form of guilds, cooperatives, or mutual associations. Land would be a matter of common law, and anything that does not impede on another's right of non-aggression and fair-regard would be considered one's right, according to conditions of equal liberty. The resulting prices in such a society would approximate cost. When prices adjust to cost, surpluses and shortages no longer occur.

## SUSTAINABILITY

**W**HEN WE THINK OF SUSTAINABILITY, we are quick to think of lush green gardens and conservation of endangered species, but— while it is true that we should work to conserve the ecology of deserts as well— we are less quick to think of the Sahara sand dunes, or the plateaus of the Atacama. Being concerned with biology and ecology, sustainability is better occupied with syntropic, living systems, than entropic, dead systems. Sustainability is about life.

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<sup>i</sup> As a simple example, coming from out of private property conditions, one can imagine voluntarily joining a community, whose agents would appraise their land and offer a rate (to be set at economic rent) in exchange for community protection of their property.

In ways many, sustainability can be understood as the project of dismantling entropy. Living systems, which we wish to restore and support, move toward an experience of pure being. As flowers are drawn by the light of the sun, as tree branches extend themselves towards its rays, biological systems flow forward to the Omega Point. We want to preserve the process of growth, emergence, and transcendence that is inherent in life, the systems that lead to pure being. While we ultimately may not preserve the individuals involved, we can work to promote the synergistic systems that support their longevity, and in which they experience life.

In more practical terms, we can understand sustainability as a practice relating to the good stewardship of the land, using polycultural systems of horticulture, conserving natural capital, appropriately using technology, existing in local webs of interdependence, surviving on renewable resources in our area, and more. These practices may be guided by principles or motives, such as the desire or the felt necessity to reduce, reuse, and recycle, or to live according the tenets of permaculture— Care for the Earth, Care for People, and Return of Surplus—, or to apply its twelve principles. Sustainability is tied to the ability to last. If something will not work for long, or leads to the detriment of surroundings on which it depends, that thing is not sustainable. People who care about sustainability generally have a strong interest in alternative sources of power, want to source their food locally and organically, recycle and compost, have an interest in voluntary simplicity, and other similar interests. These are all ultimately meant to reduce energy needs, reuse energy in the system, and to recycle it back into nature, and to promote healthy ecology, as well as to provide people an increase in their freedom and well-being. It all adds up to lasting.

Sustainability—when seen as staying power, or the ability to last— seems to contradict the rules of nature. After all, “change is the only thing that is constant” in nature, isn’t it? Change and sustainability seem to be at odds. Yet, the lead proponents of sustainable programs, such as permaculture, promote working *with* nature. If nature always presents us with change, how can working with nature be sustainable? While nature is not completely fixed, and is always changing, it does provide certain patterns and

systems. Those patterns and systems which are conducive to our longevity are the ones we want to keep. While looking to preserve individuals as well, sustainability is much more concerned with the longevity of systems on which the organisms depend. This is much more in line with modern biology, which works to preserve the species.

Sustainability is a wonderful idea. It's basically a no-brainer. Still, there is something that keeps sustainability from coming into fruition. All of these wonderful ideas, like geothermal and passive solar heating and cooling, local power sourcing, community garden programs, village-scale economies, etc. are kept, somehow, from setting the standard. Many attribute the problems to mismanagement or inefficiency. Indeed, this can be the case at times, but I believe there is something more to it. I think the problem has to do with our system of money and land distribution, which is further a product of poor decision-making structures in government.

## CAPITALISM

SUSTAINABILITY FACES a great challenge today. It faces the surpluses of capitalism. "Surpluses!?" A worker might not know whether to ask such a question or to exclaim it sardonically. "I feel no sense of surplus under capitalism," they may fairly continue, "nor would I consider having a little extra a problem." Yes, but let's not be too hasty. The surplus of capitalism is not a *social* surplus—an abundance—from which all may draw, but a *private*<sup>ii</sup> surplus, from which only the ruling elite may gain satisfaction. Surplus is not abundance.

Capitalism is characterized as a supply-side economy. Supply-side economies create surpluses. At an equilibrium price, supply and demand meet, and the most exchanges are possible,

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<sup>ii</sup> It's important to note the distinction here between *private* and *personal*. Personal describes direct use or possession of rightful individual claims, while private describes individual control of something which is more properly social.

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leaving no scarcity or surplus. If prices are too low, and demand controls the price, scarcity will ensue, but if prices are too high, and supply controls the price, surpluses will develop. These surpluses, by their very nature, are not passed down to the worker. Indeed, Ricardo's Iron Law of Wages suggests that they never will be.

Surpluses are unsustainable, leading to waste, pollution, and overproduction. Indeed, this is why one of the core concerns of sustainability deals with a reduction of needs, both material and energy. Surpluses have the potential to drain systems, to boost desertification, and to pollute ecosystems with waste. They are driven by overly-materialistic values that ultimately bring society down. There is nothing sustainable about this.

Capitalism is characterized by state-regulation of otherwise freely-operating markets, federal control of all banking, and strong corporate and private hierarchies in industry. The economic struggle under capitalism has largely been between employers and employees, between government and small business, and between private landlords and tenants. These problems all exist by the fact that the state creates a tiered-hierarchy, wherein banks hand privilege down to landlords, landlords to capitalists, and capitalists to management. This is very similar to the system of feudalism, which it replaced. Workers, under capitalism, are left surviving on property that they do not legally hold title to, which is used to extract profits from them greatly exceeding its cost. Tenants are left to live under the roofs of houses that they have no legal claim to, but which they have more than paid for in their time paying rent. Decisions under capitalism, while having some democratic elements—such as the power of purchase, and the right to elect politicians and vote on certain referendums—, is not democratic enough. The majority of decisions under capitalism are made by politicians, private creditors, landlords, employers, licensed professionals, and the managerial classes. For this reason, the project of geo-mutualism is to make everyone their own politician, their own banker, their own landlord, their own employer, and their own manager.

Green politics are not enough to solve the problem. There have been people all through time trying to form community gardens, trying to appeal to the state to make changes in zoning ordinances, trying to create new legislation. This has all been, with

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few exceptions, to little or no avail. Others do not understand the benefit, and, sadly, this is because they cannot materially feel one. They do not feel an increase in their satisfaction when they spend time on community projects, though they are *meant* to be enriching. Why is this so? Costs, under capitalism, are not internalized.

When people try to start community gardens, they fail to beat the costs and prices of the monoculturalists. Those who garden long-term generally do so as a hobby. Those who garden for economic benefit soon learn that they cannot beat the prices of subsidized monoculture. Some will suggest this shows that community-scale gardening is inefficient. Well, if we are measuring efficiency by costs and prices under the reign of the U.S. dollar, this is certainly so. The fact of this is obvious to the situation just sketched. However, it cannot be reasonably suggested that polycultural growing is less efficient in providing actual nutrition to people, or that it actually takes more labor. Monocultural systems are grown far distances from their locations, and must be shipped across the Earth. Labor used in these systems is typically under-compensated. Corporations like Monsanto benefit from state-protection of their interests and from subsidies to continue their projects. Local polycultural systems of growing are, hands-down, more efficient in terms of actual labor and energy exhausted, but the dollar distorts this fact, by the nature of its flow, which creates and sustains hierarchical interests. Subsidies, loans, licensing, underpaid labor, and state-protectionism (and many other factors), which externalize costs, keep communities in the United States from being able to beat the costs or prices of the megacorporations. Similarly, with gas subsidized like it is, the costs of transportation are not felt by those creating the need for transportation and wasting the fuel. They are socialized. When costs are socialized, or externalized, people are quick to waste, and to claim an unfair share for themselves.

Another issue is that landlords keep tenants from starting gardens. They see it as bringing down property values, or creating a nuisance. Even if landlords allowed gardening, tenants—who are constantly moving, and chasing work as laborers—have no incentive to partake in anything more than simple vegetable gardening; with a focus on annuals, which are much less sustainable than perennials. Nor do tenants have any real concern for good

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stewardship, or the longevity of the land. They are divorced from their relationship from the land, receiving the majority of their produce from the monoculturalists, even when they have the gumption to keep up with their own gardens. Surely, few worker-tenants have the time and money to subsist exclusively on community-produced food. Subsidies, zoning, other state regulations, and the fatigue laborers face in their daily lives ensure this fact.

### HOW GEO-MUTUALISM PROMOTES SUSTAINABILITY

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM, by upholding the cost-principle, indirectly promotes sustainability. Geo-mutualism *internalizes the costs of land-holding*, by disallowing absentee-landlords, and by removing the externalization of surplus land's protection by the state. As it is now, land is often inherited, or gained by some other form of privilege given under capitalism. The state protects landlord's interests, supplying them with the means of force. Should squatters build a shantytown on the vacant property of the landlord, they would be evicted by the police. It is not the landed who pay for this service, but society itself, and more particularly, workers, by way of taxes (all taxes are paid by workers). A geo-mutualist society would distribute land more equitably— suggesting everyone has a right to the use of the Earth—, and would actually use up less land because of this.<sup>iii</sup>

“Workers pay little in taxes,” it may be suggested. Ah, yes, so it may seem. That is, until one understands the manner in which capitalists price their goods: Every cost that comes up is tacked onto the price. If taxes go up, it will generally follow that prices follow suit. Business taxes are paid by the consumer, when they make their purchase. Landlords do the same when it comes to their rent. Workers pay all of the taxes, interest, rent, and profit in the economy, though indirectly so.

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<sup>iii</sup> When people have to pay for good land, they use less of it, and use what they do have at its full potential.

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A geo-mutual panarchist society is one without private claims to rent, interest, or profit, and which lacks in involuntary taxation. Instead of allowing people to go homeless, allowing the fields to go unnecessarily fallow, geo-mutualism provides land to all to work and to live. It provides credit to any and all willing to labor, or with something to use as collateral. A geo-mutualist society is truly based on the equality of economic opportunity. All costs are internalized.

Geo-mutualism *internalizes the costs of labor*. By providing interest-free loans to all willing to work, and access to land (as well as a share in its surplus), geo-mutualism perpetuates self-employment. People who employ their own labor are much freer to make ethical, humanitarian, and sustainable choices. They can no longer say, "I am just doing my job," or "what I am told." They have responsibility in what they do, and cannot "pass the buck." It's easy to command others to commit atrocities, and to reap the profits, but when the costs are internalized it's another story. In a geo-mutualist society just about everyone is self- or co-employed, so the costs of every decision are internalized. When costs are internalized, people waste less.

When the costs of labor are internalized, society allocates it to more productive uses. If Americans had to pay the actual cost of labor involved in all of our fancy packaging, which we just throw away, we'd be quicker to find better ways of doing things. Much less would be wasted if workers the world over could demand better wages. Production would be allocated to necessities, not privileges that exist at the expense of others. We are so quick to waste because we do not feel its true cost.

Geo-mutualism's approach to land, which suggests that society has positive rights to the control of the Earth, *internalizes the costs of extraction*. There are many possibilities for land-trusts to be arranged, which could replace state-mismanaged parks. A geo-mutual panarchist confederation, or a trust established within it, could demand approval for extraction of scarce and nonrenewable resources, and charge for that extraction, and could demand standards and practices of conservation.

A geo-mutualist society would *internalize the costs of distribution*. Fossil fuel would be held as a common asset, to be dipped into only when necessary. This would promote village-scale

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living, transportation by foot or bicycle, and common means of transportation. Large, wasteful, and monocultural factories would find themselves obsolete, and cottage-industries would run rampant with culture. Technology in a geo-mutualist society would likely be human-scaled, appropriate technology, which would ensure full-time, and much more sustainable and free, self-employment. Geo-mutualism would localize decisions to native bioregions, who better know how to manage their resources. Land would be sustainably worked, and would be respected for its limitations, while being put to its most productive use.

Geo-mutualism would *internalize the costs of disposal*. With land treated as a common trust, or a personal leasehold, any form of pollution, dumping, or any other sort of waste, would be treated as property-infringement, which would be a suable offense (today, trash is subsidized by taxes). This being so, trades would arise for the sake of managing waste on their own leaseholds, and would charge for dumping. With this being so, demand for readily-recycled and easily-maintained technologies, which would decrease the need for disposal, would rise. Supply would start to meet this demand by providing technologies that are simple to understand, easy to fix, and which can be disassembled for easy recycling. Rather than paying to throw things away, consumers would seek products that would maintain sellable scrap-value. Recycling and composting would become the norm, as the idea of “trash” slowly fades from public thought.

In a geo-mutualist society, nobody would be working in third-world nations for American pocket change. There would be no landlords, sitting on wasted land, or working the lands to death, spraying them with chemicals, and diminishing their soils with monoculture cropping. There would be no mountain-top mining or clear-cut forestry. Communities would be local, technologies would be sustainable and liberating. Everything would be created to last, to be fixed, or to be easily disassembled and sold as scrap. In other words, needs would be reduced, and things would be reused and recycled. All of the costs of land-holding, labor, extraction, distribution, and disposal would be internalized. Materialistic, quantitative values of production would be challenged, and complementary, qualitative ones affirmed. Humanity would once

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again have a reverence for nature, coupled with a profound desire  
to cooperate with it.

# The Principle of Fair Regard

## INTRODUCTION

THE NON-AGGRESSION PRINCIPLE is a long-standing staple among libertarians of many varieties, especially among the right, such as voluntarists, but also among some in the center, such as mutualists and libertarian Georgists. In this short little essay, we will look at the nature of the non-aggression principle, some of its interpretations, and some of its shortcomings. Short of condemning it altogether, I will suggest a complementary principle to non-aggression, which should act as a caveat or a proviso. This will be understood as the *principle of fair regard*.<sup>i</sup>

## THE NON-AGGRESSION PRINCIPLE

THE NON-AGGRESSION PRINCIPLE simply suggests that the initiation of force, on a person or their rightfully-owned property, is unjust. The principle allows for force in the case that it is used in defense, but not when it is used to attack. It also limits the amount of defense to that which is necessary to thwart a threat or attack. Escalation of unnecessary force is itself an act of aggression.

There are many debates centered on the principle of non-aggression, especially when it comes to rightful ownership of property. What really constitutes *rightful* ownership of property? Upon this, our definition of *aggression* rests. Libertarians may point to first acquisition as the rightful claim to property, while communists may point to physical possession and use. Lacking some sort of agreement, rightful ownership of property is under dispute. I see no reason some sort of agreement can't be reached, so long as care is taken to get there. In the model of geo-mutualism

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<sup>i</sup> Fair regard is a popular term which I have been unable to find the original source for, or another formulation of, but which I believe suits quite well.

I put forward, rightful ownership is explicitly agreed upon before property hits the market, leaving no cause for confusion.

Some, especially voluntaryists and anarchists of the right, feel as though the principle of non-aggression is fair, because it protects person and property from unjust invasion, while others, especially the anarchists of the left, feel it is used to protect the property of the rich, and to justify oppressing the poor.

Some libertarians, known by Kevin Carson as “vulgar libertarians,” use the non-aggression principle to defend property-owners against things like standards of fairness, rent control, unions, and more. These are your chain-store libertarians. They fail to understand that, with a more consistent application of the principle, the property of large corporations is not protected, because the state has allotted them stolen property.<sup>ii</sup> Stolen property is not legitimate property, except in the most egoistic senses; legality wants nothing of it. A particular form of vulgar libertarian, that Dan Sullivan refers to as “royal libertarians,” also forgets that property is not a matter of natural right or decree, so much as it is a matter of agreement or due claim.

The non-aggression principle has not only been used by vulgar libertarians, it has also been used by voluntaryists, mutualists, and geonarchists, who are decidedly anti-state and are willing to address the issue of state-granted property rights. These users of the principle naturally clash less with the communist-leaning anarchists. Still, many communists, communalists, collectivists, and others argue that the most prominent use of the non-aggression principle is in the defense of property. Some will say that, if aggression is defined as an offense against property, they are not against aggression at all, but promote it. This argument stems from a conflict over legitimate ownership.

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<sup>ii</sup> A thief, such as the state, never justly earned the title to give the stolen property away. A thief is an aggressor, and their “property” is not protected by the non-aggression principle, nor is a third-party recipient.

## THE NEED FOR A CAVEAT

I WILL NOT BE GOING into further detail on the conflict over anarcho-capitalists and communists over the non-aggression principle, because it is unnecessary for understanding my point in this essay. For now, what is important to understand is that, whether the non-aggression principle is used to defend the possession of the mutualist, the property of the voluntarist, or the land-claim of the Georgist, the non-aggression principle is a principle which is defensive in nature. Knowing this, we may provide a caveat, which settles the concerns of even the communist to some degree.

The defensive nature of the non-aggression principle is founded on a philosophy of negative rights. Negative rights are those rights to maintain, to defend, or to keep. They include those rights not to be affected by others. The non-aggression principle generally prevents against assault, theft, fraud, or vandalism of various sorts. These are considered the acts of aggression. On the contrary, positive rights are those rights to claim, to assert, and to take. They include the ability to affect others. The foundation of the principle upon negative rights explains why people on the right and some in the center— such as voluntarists, mutualists, and Georgists— are attracted to the non-aggression principle, while people on the left (but also some in the center)— like Marxists, anarcho-communists, and more— are in opposition to it. Negative rights philosophies are necessarily individualist in nature. Naturally, individualists, like voluntarists, and compatibilists, such as Georgists and mutualists, will be attracted to it to varying degrees, while collectivists will not be.

While I am a supporter of the non-aggression principle, I believe it is important to understand its limits, and not to become polarized on the issue, lest we end up like Benjamin Tucker, defending the mistreatment of children in the name of the parents' egoism (leaving out the egoism of the disgruntled spectator). Non-aggression plays a wonderful role in defining those kinds of behaviors that should be avoided in regard to others' claims, but it does little to suggest what is fair to claim in the first place. That is, it does not properly treat the matter of property rights. Most

arguments which utilize the non-aggression principle do so to defend already-existing property rights which are assumed. These often depend on natural rights arguments, which ignore Locke's proviso,<sup>iii</sup> or are otherwise non-contractual (and thus non-libertarian, non-egoist) and utilitarian.

Instead of holding on to a polarized view, it is my intention to see the non-aggression principle as part of a larger dialectic. Before we find the synthesis, it is necessary to name the antithesis. Like all things in nature, ethics of property are governed by the laws of equilibrium. As the market is determined by supply and demand, and as capitalism is a production-oriented economy and communism a consumption-oriented one—whereby the monopolist controls supply or the monopsonist controls demand—, the principle of non-aggression, which necessary protects the claims of the propertied, must be balanced by a principle which equally protects the claims of those without.

The claim of those without must be made *de facto* property by adverse possession, which is taken or protected by force. The claim of those with property must be defended as *de jure* property—private property—, which is granted by decree. As can be seen, *de jure* and *de facto* match quite nicely with Max Weber's *authority* and *power*. *De jure* rights are a matter of authority and law, and *de facto* possession is a matter relating to fact of power.<sup>iv</sup> I

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<sup>iii</sup> Many capitalists use John Locke's homestead principle, in which he makes the famous claim that working on the land is mixing one's labor with it, and so property represents an extension of labor. Little known to the negative rights interpreters is Locke's proviso to this statement, in which he suggests that claiming land is only fair so long as others may do so themselves. Locke's proviso is a statement of the principle of fair regard, while his homestead principle is a statement of non-aggression.

<sup>iv</sup> Authority refers to an official, and *de jure* refers to something happening by law.

believe these tendencies both to be vices, when left unbalanced. “Authority and Power,” by a man named David Heywood— a theologian, the rest of his work I am unfamiliar with—, suggests that the synthesis of power and authority is “leadership.” He explains that authority is the ability to influence others by way of one’s thought, like a Guru, but never actually getting anything done themselves. Power, on the other hand, is the ability to influence others by way of force or skill. Leadership is the harnessing of the complimentary nature of the two.

I believe a similar relationship of complementarity is to be found in equal property rights, positive and negative. Because this is so, and because of the non-aggression principle’s right-wingedness, I felt it necessary to propose a principle antimonious in some respects to the non-aggression principle, but, in other ways, strangely complementary to it, in hopes of emergent effects. I am reaching for a principle which will not disprove, cast aside, or otherwise derail the non-aggression principle, but one which will set limitations to it, in the manner that demand and supply limit one another in an efficient market, or a healthy ego is balanced by the struggle of mutual efficiency between the id and superego. From balance comes health.

Where the non-aggression principle is the negative application of property rights, the *principle of fair regard* shall be its positive counterpart.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF FAIR REGARD

IT’S IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER that property rights are subject to the individual ego, and to society, and are only “natural” insofar as they are accepted to be by their beholders. They are not absolute. Property rights are a social thing. Even the non-

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These are related in their sense of “officialdom,” in that law is usually administered by an official. Power describes control, sometimes at the expense of official authority; *de facto* describes things that happen, sometimes contrary to the law.

## *The Principle of Fair Regard*

aggression principle ultimately depends on its enforcement by a large percentage of, or the complete good will towards it by, society. So long as a majority of society's members don't care to respect property rights, they don't really, in effect, exist. They are unstable.

*Fair regard is the concern for others.* This is important, because property rights themselves are a form of fair regard, concern for others. That is, in fact, their basis. This being so, my concept of fair regard should not seem so outlandish.

*Fair regard may otherwise be understood as non-indifference.* Had I not wanted to find a positive counterpart to non-aggression, I would have kept this as the moniker for the principle instead of fair regard. Indifference is here defined as neglect of the well-being of another person, and so non-indifference—or fair regard—is the lack of such neglect, the concern for another person.

*Fair regard precedes property; property should not infringe on fair regard.* Concern for one's fellows must necessarily precede any stable system of property, for property rests upon it. One cannot legitimately neglect the well-being of one's fellows in the name of property, for such an act is to forget the legitimate basis of property, fair regard.

*Fair regard is a lien on property.* Where the non-aggression principle supports one's claim to previously claimed property, the principle of fair regard formalizes ethical claims to property which one does not yet have, and which may even belong to someone else. The principle of fair regard is a lien on property, which says that it must be held in a social manner consistently used with reasonable concern toward one's fellows, but it does not take away the right of property. It also suggests that property that does not belong to oneself should be cared for similarly to the way it would be if it did.

*Fair regard demands obligate respect for the person and property of others.* The principle of fair regard complements the principle of non-aggression by holding that one cannot legitimately neglect the property of one's fellows without good cause (as decided in a court of law). One cannot use it without good reason and fair compensation, nor can one witness another's person or property being damaged or stolen, without acting. Witnesses to crimes are

## *The Principle of Fair Regard*

held accountable and they have the obligation to prevent damages, but the right to compensation for help (when possible, explicit consent is best provided for help that may demand compensation). Fair regard entails peer-enforcement of non-aggression.

*Fair regard has to be reasonably demanded, and only in emergency conditions.* The principle of fair regard is not an excuse for abuse. One cannot go to the store or someone's home and demand credit (such as food), except in the most dire of conditions (such as starvation), able to be defended in court. One can much more reasonably demand a loan from a banking institution than a loan from a store, as this is their line of service. Only emergencies constitute a reasonable demand for fair regard from individuals.

*Fair regard demands that help be repaid.* Just as non-aggression limits force to reciprocal amounts (one cannot react more violently than acted upon), the principle of fair regard limits altruism to reciprocal amounts (thereby neutralizing it, as it's not truly altruism if the person must pay back the losses). While the non-aggression principle suggests that force can only be applied to that degree it protects, preserves, or restores person or rightfully-owned property, the principle of fair regard suggests that *help can only be demanded to that degree it can be repaid (but that it can be demanded to this extent, even as a levy against property)*. Any act performed according to the principle of fair regard would be subject to reimbursement. Those losses which are not reimbursable are not subject to the principle of fair regard. Help can be demanded to the degree it is absolutely necessary, and can be, and will be, paid back, but no more.

*Fair regard does not discriminate.* Institutions are always expected to provide their services fairly and without discrimination. Individuals may not discriminate against one another in times of emergency based on race, sex, gender, etc. Institutions may never do so.

*Fair regard demands a hand up, but not a handout.* Fair regard entails having equal access to natural resources of the Earth, and exclusive control to products of labor. Institutions following the principle of fair regard are expected to ensure everyone's access to resources, and to provide emergency help only when absolutely necessary.

## *The Principle of Fair Regard*

*Fair regard removes undue pressures.* Where non-aggression protects one from fraud, theft, assault, and vandalism, fair regard demands that people be defended from contracting under duress, being exploited, being victimized by manslaughter, and from the negligence of onlookers.

*Fair regard goes both ways, and does not impose costs.* The fair regard principle does not impose life-threatening situations, or situations in which the person from which help is being demanded would face a greater loss than those whom they are helping, or in which they can never be repaid. To take a morbid example, if someone is in a pool of sharks, and there are onlookers, the onlookers are held accountable only so far as they have not tried all known methods alternative to jumping in themselves, such as extending poles and ropes to the victims. If there are poles or ropes, and they are acknowledged, but are not used, this is an infringement according to the non-indifference principle. They can be sued by the family, or worse.

*Fair regard gives way to non-aggression, until referenced during emergencies.* Once granted upon the basis of fair regard, non-aggression becomes the dominant principle of property, and fair regard is used as a caveat only during emergencies (which must be proved as such in court). Fair regard demands everyone have equal access to resources and full control of their labor, what one does with their share of resources and with their labor is protected by non-aggression, except where fair regard otherwise contradicts it.

*Fair regard forgives accidents* (not to be confused with negligence). While demanding compensation for accidents is absolutely fine, compensation must be productive in nature, and should not simply be the imposition of a loss. For instance, in the case an accident incurs the loss of an eye, the offender should not have their eyes gouged out, no matter how otherwise unable they are to produce a new eye for the offended. Compensation should be directed toward lessening the effects of the damaged eye, but not at the demand of the offender's eye. Non-accidents are not protected by fair regard.

The principle of fair regard would protect people from such things as not having any access to resources, being passed by while needing help, starving on another's porch, or having one's

things stolen while the neighbor watches. These are all acts of disregard and indifference, which have measurable effects. The principle also protects from non-aggressive, yet excessive, behavior, like acts of revenge (not to be confused with compensation) on accidents (“eye for an eye”), passivity in another’s loss, and non-aggressive hate crimes (like denying emergency help). The principle of fair regard is the counterweight to the non-aggression principle, and keeps it in check.

### FAIR REGARD AND THE LAND

THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION are *land*, *labor*, and *capital*. Land includes natural resources, labor is human work, and capital is the mixture of the two. As I have argued in many of my essays, land properly belongs in the commons, having cost nothing for anyone to create, leaving positive claims to resources quite strong. Unlike land, which has been given by Nature, labor, which is exhausting, boring, and generally undesirable, requires a human for its creation. For this reason, appeals to negative claims settle more clearly in regard to labor. The labor, except in cases of emergencies, should belong exclusively to the laborer. Capital, naturally, is a middle ground, or gray area, of sorts. This being so, outside of emergencies or accidents, labor and competitive capital will be left alone, and the non-aggression principle will be largely unrestrained by the principle of fair regard, while land and natural monopolies will be heavily determined by fair regard.

It makes little sense to make a person hand over their freshly-baked pie to the man on the street. It is right that they should want to enjoy the fruits of their efforts, and, for this reason, the principle of non-aggression applies. Instead, the solution to poverty resides in turning over land— firstly that which is unused and speculated on— for public claim, so that people may be productive and gain the means to their own pie, sharing the rent of the land more generally.

While land is best owned in common, it must be used more personally, and so while the principle of fair regard puts the Earth into the hands of the collective, the non-aggression principle defends the fair shares of each. While labor is best owned by the

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individual, it is often best used more collectively, and so while the non-aggression principle puts labor into the hands of the worker, the principle of fair regard may be worked into their contracts.

Although land is to be determined primarily by the principle of fair regard, and labor by non-aggression, these are only starting positions. These starting positions only ensure that the individual is due a piece of the Earth for their personal use, and that their labor cannot be conscribed; once granted such a slice of the Earth, and once they find employment, they will find security in non-aggression toward their land, and will find benefit in social obligations relating to their labor. Land starts in the hands of the collective, and under the principle of fair regard everyone is due access to equal value. Labor starts in the hands of the individual, and under the non-aggression principle the individual maintains exclusive control to their labor. Once everyone has their equal allotment of the Earth's value, each is to generally be treated with non-aggression; and once everyone is free to labor as they please, each will likely find benefit in collaboration and co-direction with others.

So long as land is made available, labor can remain untouched, and its fruits can be enjoyed with loved ones (or alone). Except in times of emergency or dire need, land is protected primarily by the principle of fair regard, labor is protected by the principle of non-aggression, and capital is subject to both, to that degree to which it owes its existence to them.

# Decision and Method: For Consensus

## INTRODUCTION

**M**ANY CONFLICTS arise among those who attach themselves to the term *anarchist* in regard to the manner by which decisions should be made. On the right, those who identify as anarcho-capitalists, or even as national anarchists, may suggest that decisions should be made by a mandated authority of some sort, either by a boss, or some sort of tribal leader. On the left, however, those who identify as collectivist anarchists or anarcho-communists will often suggest that decisions should be made by the group as a whole, by some process of participatory or direct-democracy. There are others who find themselves in the libertarian center, such as mutualists and distributists, and who may support alternate forms of decision or organization, such as by consensus and subsidiarity. This essay will analyze the basic forms of decisions, and will propose their proper use. It will suggest consensus as the proper foundation for decisions in group activities.

## MINORITY-RULE AND MANDATED AUTHORITY

**M**INORITY-RULE is often promoted by those who tend toward individualism. Those who tend toward such a leaning are often concerned with issues relating to effort, ability, or merit. Believers in autocratic decision-making often suggest that the decision-maker has been given the power of decisions because he or she is more capable of doing the job, and has thus risen to the top. They suggest that, if one doesn't like the decision being made, one has the option to simply leave the group. "Get another job if you don't like the one you have," or "If you don't like it here, leave."

Free association does have a lot of value to it. If everyone were to leave a workplace because they had a particularly sinister boss this would certainly encourage more fair and decent treatment on his or her behalf, and would certainly challenge their merit to the position in the first place. So far, so good; but if one doesn't

like the system of capitalism or nationalism as a whole, one cannot simply opt out of that in the same way. If one has a particularly decent boss, but does not like having a boss in general, switching jobs in a capitalist dynasty does nothing to rid one of that problem, and may even make matters worse. “Go somewhere else,” they’ll say, but there is nowhere else to go.

Those who are serious about minority-rule positions, such as Heathians or the new “anarcho-monarchists,” for instance, may suggest that it is necessary to create a political class that is outside of the interests of both workers and capitalists (such as private community owners or monarchs), and anyone else for that matter. They may suggest that a member from such a class is the most capable of regulating conflicts between competing classes below them, as they are not involved in the interests of either side, but of the nation or community as a whole. While the reasoning here is valid to a certain extent, it suggests a manner in which fighting may be regulated, but it does little to offer a means by which conflict can be decentivized. While it is true that a monarchical or capitalistic society—so long as membership is voluntary and uncoerced—may be anarchistic (that is, lacking a state), this can only be so in the softest of senses. It offers little in the hard sense, beyond free association.<sup>1</sup>

The virtue of mandated decision-making lies in its expediency. A decision that can be made without deliberation is a quickly made decision. However, decisions that are made quickly, and with the perspective of a single person, can be detrimental to the well-being of others, especially when they pertain to large or important issues that affect multiple people.

Mandated authorities, having both virtuous and vicious traits of character, should be relegated to their proper sphere of influence. That is, one should be an authority over oneself, and over small roles that the group at large condescends to them (and under important restriction), but none other. Any healthy organization will use mandated authority where it is necessary, but will not extend it too much power.

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<sup>1</sup> See “Complete Anarchy” for more on this topic.

**MAJORITY-RULE AND DEMOCRACY**

**M**AJORITY-RULE IS OFTEN PROMOTED by those who tend toward collectivism. Those who tend toward such a leaning are often concerned with issues relating to fairness, equality, and developmental support. Believers in majoritarian decision-making often suggest that majority decision-making is necessary to keep power from developing. They suggest that anyone involved in a process should have a say approximately equal to the process's effects on them.

Majority-rule decision-making does have a lot to offer in particular circumstances. There may be times when an expedient decision needs to be made, but a minority preference may be detrimental to the group. Significant spending in large freely associating organizations is best handled by the group. It is not uncommon for authorities to make decisions benefitting their own pocket books, and majority-rule decision-making puts a cap on such a behavior. Majority-rule, while expedient in many ways, also encourages deliberation. The deliberation allows for an increase in consensus, but it also allows the majority to establish itself as a body against the minority.

While majority-rule may decrease negative effects of a mandated authority, it shifts the problem to a new dilemma, the domination of majority-interests over those of the minority. Majority-rule lacks in complete consensus, and this means that the majority is free to reign vehemently over the minority. While the "in" group has been increased, from a single individual to a larger body, this "in" group is now much less responsible to the "out" group, which has become the minority. In the case of a monarchy, or employment, there may be a single individual making the choices, but they must be sure not to anger the other participants to a point of unity against them. The majority has less of a concern for this. After all, the minority may already present themselves as an organized unity. This does little to keep the majority from having its way.

The majority, in order to maintain itself as such, must continually appeal to, and contend for, the highest number of members. In this sense, the majority is accountable to its clientele, future members, and here the majoritarian position can be seen as

having some virtue. Where majority-rule is particularly vicious, however, is when it applies force upon those who disagree, or fall outside the norm, or when secession is outlawed. It is vicious when appeals can be made to cultural differences, pitting a larger cultural unit against another. If intrinsic differences, such as cultural and genetic identity, can be rallied around, as they were in fascist Europe, this can be very dangerous indeed, especially if a consensus can be built within the majority unit. Majority-rule may have its role to play in less significant matters and in day-to-day organizing, but it has little to offer in the way of justice and solidarity at the crux of human affairs.

## REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY AND REPUBLICS

**I**N MANY WAYS, a republic presents itself as the most virtuous form of government (but government it still is). Republican forms of government attempt to balance the interests of the majority with those of their mandated authorities (either individuals or councils). They offer a bottom-up empowerment of the mandated authority by way of elections, but also apply a top-down application of decisions, as effected from the authority to the majority that elected them. This leaves the authority accountable to some extent to the majority, and the majority accountable to the authority. If the authority is not liked by the majority, the majority may impeach them or elect someone else for the next term. If the authority who is elected does not like a specific behavior or demand of the majority, they may legislate against it.<sup>ii</sup>

Republics have found themselves to be a lasting form of social governance because of their attempts toward balancing interests. Nonetheless, they still come with many problems. For starters, republican forms of government may be stable, but they are stable in regard to maintaining power. Power is displayed by the

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<sup>ii</sup> In the system in use in the United States, there is also the Electoral College. Most people believe that they are electing the president directly during elections, but this isn't so. During elections, one simply elects electors to do their electing for them.

majority as it selects representatives, and by mandated authorities as they legislate, but there are many who are still left outside of the equation. These are those for whom the very nature of government was created; in order to crush their interests.<sup>iii</sup> Government, after all, is the forcing of an opinion (whether majority or minority) onto others. This is its sole role and purpose, a purpose which relies on the belief that the thoughts and feelings of others are something to be stamped out. While republics are the most virtuous form of government, government itself is vicious, lacking in virtue. While it is true that we can appreciate the cunning of a burglar, it no less makes burglary an act of wrong. The same applies to government. Republics, while cunning attempts to maintain power, nonetheless maintain power at the expense, and not the inclusion, of others. Government is the heads, and crime the tails, on the very same coin.

### CONSENSUS AND SUBSIDIARITY

**C**ONSENSUS-BASED DECISION-MAKING— and especially when coupled with an understanding of, and appreciation for, subsidiarity— can also be understood to be a synthesis of majoritarian and minoritarian interests, but while avoiding the

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<sup>iii</sup> It must also be recognized that just about everyone finds themselves in the minority position on some issues, and in the majority position on others. This leaves just about everyone, to some degree at least, being restricted. The only ones who fall outside of such restriction are those who have state-given privilege, given from the bottom-up in the case of mandate elections, and from the top-down in the case of appointment by public officials, in the way of subsidies, exclusive licenses, and the list goes on. The majority is the power behind the state, but it is rare to find oneself in the majority on every issue.

pitfalls of government. This is because consensus works toward agreement and the binding and solidarity of groups, but not at the expense of dissident voices or alternative views. Decisions in consensus are never forced onto others, although they may be enforced once they are agreed upon (but hardly ever, if at all, with violence). Minority-rule is private rule and majority-rule is mob rule, but consensus is autonomy and rule by agreement. Consensus is neither majoritarian nor minoritarian. It is better regarded as contractarian.

While majority-rule is coupled with the vote, and mandated authorities with the decree, consensus is understood through the power to block. If an individual does not like the outcome of a decision, they don't have to agree to it or be bound by the decisions of others. If the decision involves common resources—such as a treasury or possessions of the group of which one is a member—the decision cannot go forward. Some organizations require that blocks be made as principled objections, in which case it can be argued by the blocker that an agreed upon principle of the group would be compromised if the blocked motion were to be passed. Others require that modifications to blocked proposals be made by the individual doing the blocking. Ultimately, the nature of the organization should determine the necessary procedures, and this may entail that different decisions are made by different manners, which may find themselves built into the original agreement.

It is important to understand—as many don't seem to—that lack of consensus on one scale does not keep a decision from occurring on another. For instance, I may suggest a plan of action—say, for instance, spending for libraries—to be taken on the confederal level, but if this plan gets blocked on such a level, this does not mean that lower levels cannot put the plan into action. It simply means that spending does not occur on the scale on which consensus is lacking. This protects minorities, while allowing majorities to function as they would wish.<sup>iv</sup> Neither party

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<sup>iv</sup> Some would like to claim that consensus is stifling of majorities, because a block by a single individual can keep a motion from moving forward, but this does not

may take advantage of the other, and each operates at its own expense.

It's important to note that consensus precedes, but does not preclude, other forms of decision-making. Majority-rule decision-making can very well take place in a consensus-based institution, and mandated authorities may still be elected to boards to carry out day-to-day decisions that the general membership would rather not be burdened with. Nothing stops a member from putting forward a motion, say, that decisions of a certain nature should be decided by a mandated authority or committee, or by a majority-rule vote. Whether or not the membership does accept this motion or blocks it is up to the membership, but nothing about consensus precludes people from making such a motion, or from accepting it.

Of course, if no decision at all can be made, the group cannot move forward. This being a cost to the members of the group, all members are incentivized by material conditions of the environment to allow the group to move forward. That is, if one spends time in a group (and in a society without economic surplus) it is because they are deriving some value from the direction the group is heading. To spend time in a group from which little or no value is derived is to face a consequence, opportunity cost, wasted time. This coupled with the fact that a group relies on the approval of others for their decisions to go forward, suggests that people will not take blocking lightly, and especially when an immediate course of action is needed from which the group (which they participate in due to some perceived benefit) would face consequences from delaying decisions. Still, a procedure of due process for removal is necessary in the case a member is found to be particularly detrimental to the group.

Consensus assures that everyone may be involved in decisions to the degree that they are affected and no further.

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consider the fact that the majority are not restricted from creating all new bodies, and creating new pools of shared resources, to represent their interests. They are simply kept from using resources of the minority to suit their interests.

## *Decision and Method: For Consensus*

Because those making the decisions are facing the consequences and/or rewards of making or not making the decision, consensus is as expedient as it needs to be. Decisions that are considered good are those decisions that satisfy their participants. Wholly good decisions satisfy all participants. Wholly “good” decisions will pass consensus with the enthusiasm of the group, while those that may not be agreeable to a minority may be blocked, or may be allowed to operate as a separate program associated with the group. If a decision is seen to be absolutely necessary, no one can stop another person from acting on such a decision, nor can that individual force their decision onto others. An individual whose motion does not pass consensus has all the right to pursue their proposed course of action with their own resources, or to establish another group. They have no right to force another person into their group, or to use resources that do not belong to them.

Consensus is best coupled with an understanding of subsidiarity and sphere-sovereignty. The proposed method is a sort of “nested consensus” or “cellular consensus” in which smaller units form a confederation together, which in turn may even join a larger confederation. Decisions would be made in a similar manner to direct-democracy, having initiatives and referendums, but would allow for blocks. In order for a motion to be passed on the highest level, it should already have agreement on the smaller scales. That is, initiatives (amount of people needed to sponsor a motion) should be based on consensus in the smaller units. Once consensus is gained on the level of a member or a member-organization, a motion can be put forward to the larger group. In other words, if a person joins a group and the group joins a confederation, the individual should agree with their own idea before they propose it to the group, and the group should have consensus in itself before it proposes a course of action to the other groups in the confederation. If consensus cannot be gained on the smaller scale, there is even less chance for it to succeed on the larger one. Decisions that don’t have consensus in smaller units should not be allowed to bog down discussion on the level of the confederacy.

One would experience such a society as having periodical referendums, in which an organizational bulletin would be posted to the individual including decisions to be made on the most immediate level. This would work by the confederation posting

bulletins which include all initiatives on the confederal scale to all of its member organizations, its member organizations collecting those and including them in their own bulletins (which are a collection of initiatives from the organization's members), and committees doing the same, finally serving them down to the individual. The frequency of referendums (whether confederal decisions will make it on daily, monthly, quarterly, etc. referendums or not) is up for deliberation.

Consensus is very dynamic. Not all good proposals will be accepted right off the bat for their theoretical material alone. At times, a great plan may be blocked because someone doesn't fully understand it, or feels challenged by it for some reason other than logic, perhaps a personal vendetta against the one proposing the decision. Still, if a good decision is blocked, this does not keep it from ever coming into fruition, it merely keeps shared resources from being used in the proposed manner until a stronger case can be made. Say, for instance, that an individual proposes a health plan that would satisfy needs collective and individual, and which should work according to sheer logic alone. The plan is blocked. The individual who made the motion tries to explain to the blocking individual, who appears to be blocking out of reasons of pride or spite (an issue that may be resolved by a number of methods). The block remains in place. The owner of the motion takes it upon themselves to apply their principles in a smaller way, by starting a mutual health company. As this mutual health company does not rely on the resources of the blocking individual, it is the right of anyone else to create such a company. The company's principles, which the blocking individual originally found distasteful, are now found to be a great material success. Everyone wants to participate in the new system. This leaves the blocking individual, who was blocking for reasons of pride or spite, hardly any other option but to let go of their pride or their vendetta, and to join the organization. Upon doing so, it must be remembered, the individual must agree to the contract which governs the organization, thereby consenting to it. Consensus has just shifted

(and the two organizations can now unify). Tacit demonstration was all that was needed to change an explicit agreement.<sup>v</sup>

## CONCLUSION

**M**AJORITY- AND MINORITY-RULE each have their applications and their limitations. This is resolved to a great extent in representative democracy, which attempts to balance the interests of the individual with that of the collective. Representative democracy, while having a great deal of virtue among those who are included in its power dynamic, retains a vicious element in its coercive properties. Consensus resolves the issue of coercion, while protecting majority and minority interests, through mutual agreement. Consensus is dynamic, including all other forms of decisions which do not rely on coercion. If practiced alongside free association and sphere-sovereignty it can work on all scales, allowing a maximum level of freedom.

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<sup>v</sup> Consensus shares with the scientific method a desire to be fairly objective, or nonpartisan, about decisions.

# The Application of Democracy in Geo-Mutual Panarchy

## ORIGINS AND GROUNDS FOR GROUP DECISION-MAKING

**E**VOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGISTS and anthropologists often suggest that the best way to understand human impulses is to understand their behavior as it existed before technological development. The argument goes something like this: People develop quickly in culture, but slowly biologically. That is, we can develop our ideas much quicker than our bodies evolve. Humans developed physically—which includes our mental capacity—in the context of an environment very different from the one we live in today. This being so, people have the same genetic heritage as they did before they developed technology. Therefore, people’s most “natural” motivations and behaviors can best be understood in the context of life as a hunter-gatherer. We’d do best to acknowledge this in social contexts today.

Hunting and gathering people generally have no understanding of land-ownership. They operate on a sense of usufruct, wherein the land is shared. They do, however, have a sense of possession. While land cannot be owned, and while possessions are often pooled to be drawn from in common, the hunter-gatherer often retains the right to personal possessions as it relates to tools and clothing, which often take some skill and effort to manufacture, and which are often wielded as status symbols.

While hunter-gatherers have a strong sense of community and common welfare, there is still a sense of fairness. Hunter-gatherers will often seem to gift one another, but gifting can be a form of tacit contract, which transfers indebtedness. That is, the gift—such as it occurs in “moka exchange”—is often an unspoken system of credit. The community may demand a certain input as a whole at times, and may suggest that a certain amount of effort be spent toward communal ends, and its members may, likewise, demand favors from others as individuals. If someone is discovered to be a “free-rider,” taking much more than the amount they put in, they will be ridiculed. Robin Dunbar suggests, in his *Grooming, Gossip, and the Evolution of Human Language*, that gossip

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provides an important role in early human societies, and may largely be the reason that language was found to be evolutionarily successful. Before people had money, they kept track of debts more loosely, and regulated exchanges by way of gossip, agreement, and status.

When horticulture began, and people started to really cultivate gardens, private possession of land began to make more sense. At this point, land was no longer separated, in a hard sense, from one's skill and labor. Like tools and clothing, and unlike the immediately-available harvests of hunting and gathering societies, harvests from the new delayed-return societies took skill and labor. As one's tools and clothing were considered personal possessions, this ethic was now extended to the land. For a long time, this created a sense of peace and prosperity, and allowed people to have their own sphere of influence. The long-term effects of privatizing the economic rent of the land—the surplus that some land offered over others—, however, was unconsidered. This, among other factors, allowed for the establishment of the first governments, and, later, of capitalism.

Before the establishment of governments, people in band and early tribal societies had a sense of autonomy coupled by a sense of necessary collaboration. Group decisions in these societies generally followed some loose form of consensus. The group existed as the harmony of individual interests. With the establishment of city-states, following the privatization of economic rent, however, class stratification began. This allowed decisions to be enforced onto others who did not agree. Group decision-making was no longer a matter of common consent, but a matter of domination.

Here we can culturally understand a movement in history that can be described as “The Fall” of humanity. Early societies made decisions together, had a sense of autonomy, and had a concern for the common good. This was distorted by some having a claim to economic rent, while others did not have such a claim. Gradually, decision-making drifted away from voluntary personal and group-decision making, to coercive decision-making on behalf of the elite. This shift involved egalitarian society gaining access to economic rent, and extracting slaves from other egalitarian societies. This established various families as majoritarian political

classes over others in the minority. Later horticultural societies developed oligopoly, wherein the ratio of slaves to free families grew, and there became a graduated difference in class relations between those considered to be free. Lastly, in agricultural societies, monarchy was set into place, with a single family holding a claim of inheritance over the rest of the population.

Interestingly, we have shifted out of “The Fall,” and we are now beginning “The Rise.” Whereas “The Fall” can be characterized as the separation of decisions from actors, “The Rise” can be considered a return to our natural, instinctual, behaviors, and a reacceptance of autonomy and group responsibility. We are now beginning to step away from the dictatorship of monarchs, and have stepped out, firstly into constitutional monarchy and then into republican states. We will be studying some of these for our plans for the next step in progress.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF GROUP SOVEREIGNTY AND DECISION-MAKING

WE HAVE DISCUSSED “The Fall,” but now it is time to analyze “The Rise.” “The Fall” was characterized by a loss in social power, accorded by the limited access, and private control, of economic rent. Economic rent is the wealth produced by the Earth, rather than by human hands. Societies with access to economic rent slowly acquired slaves and established themselves as a decision-making class. Power was lost firstly from all to the majority, and then from the majority to the minority. “The Rise,” likewise, has occurred gradually, and since it is more immediate, we may analyze the group decision-making processes in it more specifically. It will occur in a manner almost exactly opposite to that of “The Fall.” Rather than social power being lost from all to many to few to one, it will be won from one to few to many and then to all.<sup>i</sup> For this reason, and starting with the

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<sup>i</sup> It's important to note that these terms, “The Rise” and “Fall,” are not to be taken as strictly linear progressions. As the old phrase goes, “For every step forward, there is one step backward.” This is the nature of

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pinnacle of “The Fall,” we recognize the simple monarchy, wherein a single individual is entrusted as a mandate, on society’s behalf.

Property’s relationship to the state is most highly understood when one looks at the nature of the simple monarchy of the agricultural era, wherein a patriarchal king claimed sovereignty over all people and possessions, seeing them all as his property. In simple monarchies— while it is true that the king’s power is reliant on common and tacitly accepted consent— what the king says goes. The king often maintains the power to tax, demand a corvée, or to seize persons or property. Under a true monarchy, the king may listen to some of his subjects, especially those of more noble classes, but the decisions remains in his hands. He holds all of the power, and commands the economy.

Simple monarchies, because of their grounding in totalitarianism, were not very stable, and were prone to rebellion and transferal of kingship to victors in war. The Roman Empire learned this quite well toward the end of its days. It was at the end of the dominate period of the Roman Empire that feudalism began to show. Feudalism was characterized with economic manorialism. Feudal monarchies, unlike simple monarchies, extended a great amount of power to vassals, or lords, by way of fiefdoms. This practice was undertaken by kings in order that their power could be

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progress in a general sense. “The Rise” does not discount the appearance of fascism and state-socialism during its time. While “The Fall” was a general tendency toward the centralization of power, this does not discount the fact that there were positive experiments in social power, as was in practice in some eras of the Roman Republic, which existed between eras of kingship and empire, or the shared decisions that existed in many medieval communes. These constitute the corollary, “Two steps backward, for every one step forward.” These terms, “Rise” and “Fall” refer to a general, and not a specific, trend in history. They are not meant to be read in a manner unconditional, but in a broad sense.

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preserved. In order for someone to become a vassal, or a lord of a manner, they had to become indebted to the king for military service, and to defend the king against his enemies. In so doing, the vassal would gain the right of fiefdom, a title to land for his own management and possession, complete with serfs to work it. This decentralization of power allowed kings to preserve their power in a more general sense, though they greatly lost the right of micromanagement.

Feudal monarchies eventually empowered a powerful class of nobles, who eventually came to understand their common interests. Upon deciding that the King was infringing on their liberties, for instance, a group of nobles banded together, serving King John a document called the *Magna Carta*. This paved the way for constitutional monarchies, which later paved the way for parliamentary republics, especially characterized by times after The Glorious Revolution. Along with this transition, the shift in political power, and the black plague—which left property of the ruling class to be claimed by peasants—led to a society dominated by artisans and merchants, and a system that eventually developed into economic mercantilism.

Mercantile and constitutional monarchies eventually fell way to modern republics and to industrial capitalism. Monarchies are associated with feudalism and command economies, but republics are associated with capitalism and regulated markets. Many in capitalist republics are smallholders, having their own homes or businesses. Most, however, have changed from serfs to workers, though they have gained citizenship. The lords have become creditors, landlords, and capitalists, and compose the representative class. Modern republics are accompanied by constitutions and bills of rights, as was inspired by the *Magna Carta*, and by decentralization of power— as taken from feudalism—, which is referred to as *federalism*. Modern republics add into the mix the election of presidents and term-limitations. Power in a modern democratic republic is given to the majority, by way of electoral power. These are our historical tools of liberation, which must be retained and surpassed.

We have now come to our current stage in history. While many of the systems I will be proposing from here on out have been put into practice on a smaller scale (as in intentional

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communities, cooperatives, and mutuals), or as elements of an otherwise contradictory system (as in some Scandinavian countries having elements of participatory or direct-democracy, but otherwise working as a republic), they have not yet set the pace necessary to be considered an era in themselves. The democratic era is yet to be established. We are in the age of republics. Nonetheless, we may trace the development of democratic thought and practice, and get a glimmer of its growing momentum.

### CONTINUING THE PROJECT

**W**E HAVE SEEN a general trend in the past since the era of simple monarchy, which can be characterized in many ways as “The Rise” of humanity. This general tendency is characterized with distribution of wealth and social power, the shifting from monarchy to republics, from command economies to state-regulated capitalism, from few to many. Likewise, the shift of capitalist republics to something new will transfer social power, economic and political, to all.

The first project I would like to bring attention to is called *deliberative democracy*. Deliberative democracy is characterized by public discussion related to political matters. In a deliberative democracy there is an emphasis on the free flow of information and the need for public forums. While there may still be a representative, or a decision may be left up to a majority, the emphasis on the matter is placed on the ability to make all major positions known. In this way, the representative or majority is at least informed of positions that hold a good deal of social weight, and must make decisions with these in mind.

Participatory democracy is the next form of democracy I would like to address. Participatory democracy, as the name suggests, strives to increase involvement in politics. Participatory democracy is a form of deliberative democracy that is often accompanied by a sense of localism, and bottom-up decision-making. In a participatory democracy, there will often be representatives— oftentimes organized into councils—, who are recallable according to public initiative. Units on the smaller scale will often be understood to empower the units on the larger scale, a sort of “bubbling up” of power. Participatory democracy is often

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accompanied by elements of direct-democracy, especially when it relates to constitutional or bylaw matters. A good example of participatory democracy can be found in the political economy of ParEcon (Participatory Economics), wherein a system of “nested councils” is present. In this system of nested councils, one elects council members locally, who may elect council members on a district level, who may elect council members on a more regional basis. Each level does its own electing, with electors electing electors, creating a hierarchy of public selection.

Direct-democracy, another specific form of participatory democracy, is accompanied by popular vote on all major issues, by way of initiative and referendum. In a direct-democracy, initiatives are set, which are limitations on the amount of support a motion must have before it can be put forward to the group. For instance—rather than allowing anyone to say whatever they want to during a meeting of 150 people—direct-democracy sets an initiative, which suggests that a motion must have popular support before it is presented to the group as a whole. This limitation of popular support will often take the form of a specific number, such as 10 members in good-standing, or a percentage, such as 5% of the membership, who have signed and support the initiative. This way, if an idea is not very good, it does not waste the time of the group. Once an initiative is met, a referendum (a formal ballot on the issue) is established and a vote is cast by the rest of the group. Direct-democracies may run according to supermajority or simple majority, or by some other method of voting. By and large, direct-democracies have general assemblies, wherein the group deliberates in person and casts its vote in person, though they are often accompanied by referendums sent by a board or secretary, and by a means of deliberation between meetings, such as an organizational bulletin. This is, for instance, how the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World, operates.

Delegative democracy is a specific form of direct-democracy wherein one places trust in a delegate to carry out decisions. Delegates differ from “representatives” in that they are not allowed to vote against the will of their group. Rather than being a decision-maker, delegates are decision-takers, who must listen to those who are empowering them, and who are recallable. They often act as simple spokespeople, who may formally state a

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motion of the group, and deliberate with other delegates, usually staying in contact with their local group if deliberation may change one of their decisions (unless the group has empowered them to act according to their best judgment). Delegate democracy allows individuals to entrust their vote to an agent in the case they will be absent. It is often used on a regional scale as a method of making votes in assemblies more proportional, particularly when assemblies tend to be overloaded with the votes of locals, whose transportation costs are lower, and who have an easier time getting to a meeting. Delegation allows for lower transportation costs, and for proportional voting.

This brings us lastly to consensus-based decision-making. Consensus-based decisions are characterized by “general agreement.” Some suggest that this is different from unanimity in that differences in enthusiasm are allowed. The most fundamental aspect of consensus is the right to “block.” If someone doesn’t like an idea, and they have a principled objection to it, they are allowed to hinder the progress of the group. However, if their objection is non-principled, or they feel they should not hinder the group, they have the right to “stand aside,” meaning they will not block the progress of the group, but neither do they have interest in participating. It is important to remember that consensus generally is not used to restrict the actions of individuals, and so a block does not keep an individual from pursuing their proposed ends on their own scale. It just ensures that money from common accounts, the resources of a common organization, or the name of an organization to which they are associated, will not be used against the favor of any member in good-standing. Consensus protects the minority without restricting the majority.

We have now traversed the major forms of democracy. Other forms of democracy include demarchy, wherein representatives are selected according to lottery, similar to a jury; dotmocracy, wherein one can vote with levels of enthusiasm (or block, if consensus is used); opinion points, wherein one is given a select number of points that can be used positively or negatively (as the rules dictate) in favor or against a number of options; sociocracy, which I understand to be a nested council system largely promoting consent; and wise democracy, wherein decisions

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are made apparent through dialogue. These will not be explored, though I do encourage research into these.

I believe it is important to mention that all forms of democracy work best according to principles of subsidiarity and sphere-sovereignty. In other words, they work best if decisions work from the bottom upward, by institutions capable of efficiently and effectively acting on the most immediate scale, and if the rights of smaller units are respected. In other words, democracy works best when personal and concurrent property is respected and not infringed upon, and when decisions are made from the bottom, upward, according to the level of those most immediately affected.

To conclude this section, I'd like to point out that as republics accompanied the rise of capitalism, widespread democracy will be accompanied by economic freedom and will be housed under an umbrella of panarchy. The tendency of history has been that when economic decisions are decentralized political decisions are decentralized. This has been true from shifting of command-economy monarchism, to feudalist manorialism, to constitutional-monarchist mercantilism, to democratic-republican capitalism. It will also be true of the shift from representative and majoritarian democracy to consensus-democracy. The next phase in history will be one toward geo-mutualist panarchism, a free market of competing and freely associating confederal democracies. Such a society will lease land at the price of economic rent, will establish trusts for ecological preservation, and will issue credit at cost.

### ORGANIZING THE TOOLBOX

**I**T IS NOW TIME to pick out the tools of the approaches mentioned above. The tools are 11 in number:

1. First, we have **subsidiarity**. The first step toward subsidiarity was in the development of feudalism, wherein the king assigned vassals (or lords) fiefdoms (or land-titles at lien). Subsidiarity will be kept as a growing principle as we continue. Like those tools to follow, it will be retained in our model at the end.

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2. Second, we have **constitutions** and **bills of rights**, which protect the interests of constituents. This is derived from the *Magna Carta*, as was served to King John. At that time it was used to protect the rights of nobles, but today constitutions protect (to the degree they are acknowledged by the state) the rights of common citizens.
3. Third, we have **elections**. Elections accompanied the development of parliamentary monarchies, and ended the royal right of inheritance for the head of government (but not the head of state, the monarch).
4. Fourth, we have **limited-terms of office**, which accompanied the establishment of democratic-republics. This keeps a certain family, for the most part, from gaining too much political power, and socializes, to some degree, political power.
5. Fifth, we have **deliberation**. Deliberation, as promoted in deliberative democracy, establishes a widespread knowledge of important positions to be taken into account, increasing the level of informed consent backing one's vote.
6. Sixth, we have **participation**. Participation, as promoted by participatory democracy, promotes decision-making from the bottom upward.
7. Seventh, we have the **recall**, which is also promoted by participatory democracy. The recall allows for the ease of impeaching mandates, ensuring that they are responsive to those who elected them.
8. Eighth, we have the **initiative**, as promoted in direct-democracy, which ensures the quality of motions put forward to constituents to vote on.
9. Ninth, we have the **referendum**. The referendum, as used in direct-democracy, allows all constituents to vote directly, without representation, on large issues relating to the organizations in which they participate.
10. Tenth, there is **delegation**, as promoted by delegative democracy, in which may empower others to vote on their behalf, with absolute right of recall.
11. Eleventh, and lastly, we have the **block**, which is a tool promoted in consensus-democracy. The block allows one

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to hinder the group from using collective resources, such as a commonly-used organization name, one's share or claim to the treasury, or possessions/property of the group.

These are some of the most important tools in building and sustaining the democratic element of organizations.

### **PERSONAL, COMMON, AND COLLECTIVE PROPERTY AND EXCHANGE**

**W**HEN APPLYING OUR TOOLS, it's important to consider the origins of group decision-making and its relationship to property, so we will nail down some of the basics of contract and possessory agreements. This will highlight the areas applicable to our tools. *In a geo-mutualist panarchy, democracy only occurs within the contractual property arrangements of voluntary associations.*

Social contracts can be tacitly or expressly accepted. A tacitly accepted social contract speaks to the sort we are used to under political states today. A tacitly accepted social contract does not exist due to wordy agreements, but because they are enforced by norms of the day. For instance, you never signed an agreement to abide by the United States Constitution, but, if you don't do so, you will be detained, or possibly shot. This is so not because others signed the paper, but because their actions make it so. If you break a law, someone will turn you in, even though neither of you had a hand in its creation. An expressed social contract is more apparent when one signs up for a class and agrees to the syllabus, when one agrees to the bylaws of their church when they become a member, or when one agrees to join any organization with working rules of order. The more participatory and democratic an organization is, the more expressed the consent within it. If you sign something, or vocally agree to something, it is a form of expressed consent, an explicit contract.

People in hunter-gatherer societies had much less need for explicit contracts, because they lived in smaller numbers, had face-to-face exchanges, and could regulate conflict largely by way of gossip. They did, however, have a great use for agreements when it came to hunting and defense tactics, and in other areas where

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combined efforts translated to small economies of scale. Nevertheless, people in agricultural and industrial societies have much more need for contracts, since people in these societies regularly interact as strangers, and fight over rights to the land. Contracts are a manner of distributing duties and responsibilities, and sorting out rights of possession and property.

If starting from a place of personal possession, as we have had with hunter-gatherers and early horticulturalists, contracts exist as a matter of collaboration. If one enters a contract, from a basis of autonomy, it is for the goal of common pursuit. This can be seen as individuals, all entitled to their own spear, getting together for a group hunt, and sharing in the spoils. However, in the case that personal property in land comes into the picture, contracts become a matter of compromise. Hunter-gatherers have no sense of personal property in land, because they do not practice horticulture, but horticultural societies have methods of divvying up rights to land. The right to the use of the Earth is socially granted by terms of usufruct in many of these groups. Upon a foundation of individual possession, society forms, and out of society develops the practice of personal property. Free individuals form free societies, and free societies produce freer individuals, in a feedback loop.

Money, too, is a contract. Money, a form of title-deed to one's labor or products, has largely replaced the need for gossip in regulating exchanges, and has allowed for economic exchanges between strangers. Money can take many forms, as a widely accepted IOU, a privately-issued gold-certificate, or it can be a matter of group-process and agreement. Matters of efficiency make money a social affair.

Title to land is also a matter of contract. There are many manners in which this title can be expressed. Society may issue land permanently, according to principles of freehold, or it may issue rights to land more temporarily, according to principles of leasehold. Freehold generally gives the owner absolute, unhindered, and perpetual control of land, without continual recompense. Leaseholds provide land to tenants on a basis of occupancy and use, often asking for continual payment of fees. Society may also manage common land according to social norms, with all sharing rights of access, or may entrust an agent to act on its behalf, as a

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trust. For instance, a social unit may establish a park, which is to be tended to by rangers on behalf of society as a whole. Any of these systems of contract may include clauses, such as easements, which protect the rights of those who do not hold title to, or are not in immediate possession of, the land, or liens which entitle previous owners to a return on land that is outside of their use. Leases and freeholds must be issued to a claimant. This claimant can take the form of an individual, a group, or an agent of an individual or group.

We now have a basis in which to suggest applications for group decision-making: When it comes to the allocation of land, and in shared projects, groups must find common grounds for understanding. However, when it comes to one's own labor or products, decisions should be left to the individual, and their autonomy should be respected. However, it can also be expected that free individuals will unite for purposes of productive and distributive collaboration.

Rights to the use of land are granted by society, and societies are established for matters of efficiency. This leaves various layers of decisions to be made, from the level of society as a whole, in the case of land; to smaller units of society, as matters of industrial collaboration; to the personal decisions of the individual.

In the following section, we will designate the areas in which our 11 tools of democracy can be wielded, so as to continue humanity's "Rise" and satisfy the needs of individuals and social groups.

### **ENVISIONING PROPER SPHERES OF SOVEREIGNTY**

**H**ORTICULTURAL PEOPLE, upon giving perpetual rights to property in an inter-societal system of freehold, created a great disservice to societies to come. They created a monster which continued to grow until the agricultural period and the foundation of monarchical command-economies, a trend empowered by the private collection of economic rent. This has been curtailed only in industrial societies, largely due to the use of fossil fuels and the division of labor needed for technological innovation and management of the means of production and

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distribution, and in movements toward post-industrialism, such as in the availability of digital space, which is rent-free, and the networks of distribution which make shipping relatively cheap.

Political and economic change goes hand-in-hand. As demonstrated before, monarchist command economies developed into parliamentary mercantilism, which developed into republican capitalism. Likewise, if we are envisioning a new political system, or a new way of making decisions, we must also understand a new property arrangement and system of economy. The trend thus far has been that nobles demanded rights by way of the *Magna Carta*, that aristocrats demanded rights in parliament, that capitalists demanded rights in constitutional republics. So it will be that workers will demand rights in industry, that tenants will demand land, that participants will demand influence in decisions and their own spheres of sovereignty in the society to come.

The best representation of a free and democratic society can be found in geo-mutualist panarchism. Geo-mutualist panarchism assumes that rights to land are positive, and that no one has the right to restrict others from using land that is on the margin of production, or to claim rent-bearing land privately. Land is to be leased and protected by, and for the benefit of, society. Rights to labor, however, are negative, and no one has a right to dictate to another person the value or direction of their labor. A system such as geo-mutualism harkens back to the idea that possession (products of skill and effort) begins with the individual and that society forms out of free and voluntary combination for common ends, but that property (right to land) is a right granted and protected by society for the sake of the individual (and, thus, itself, in a feedback loop). Rather than a system of private freehold, as has created the problem, geo-mutualism is a system of personal leasehold. Rather than a system of serfdom and corvée, geo-mutualism is a system of free labor markets and equal access to land.

Geo-mutualist panarchism establishes proper spheres of sovereignty by ensuring that everyone has land to work, and shares in its surplus value; and by ensuring that workers are free to command their labor as they see fit. This allows people to work as independent artisans or as free contractors, or to combine their interests into democratic organizations for mutual benefit as co-

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workers in a cooperative or mutual association (interest free loans from the mutual bank will prevent them from establishing themselves as full time employers, as others will have access to capital with which to employ themselves), or in confederations and networks of associations. Likewise, leaseholds can be held concurrently, personally, or in common trust.

Geo-mutualist panarchism is the realization that a) conflict over land creates a natural monopoly in relation to its distribution, b) exclusive legal tender is necessary for common-law dispute-resolution (courts cannot order restitution for harm done to person, possession, or property if a commonly accepted currency is not established), and c) that there has to be an expressed contract of non-aggression and fair regard toward the sovereignty of others' spheres of concern.

A geo-mutualist panarchist confederation would function in the following way: Firstly, a treatise of non-aggression and fair-regard would be signed by all constituents. Secondly, decisions within the confederation would be made according to the 11 aforementioned tools. Thirdly, land would be allocated according to leasehold, with the total economic rent being equal to a perpetual lien on the land, and to be distributed equally to society, with right of necessary easements. Fourthly, conflicts would be sorted out according to common-law principles, without consideration of crime,<sup>ii</sup> but instead in consideration of infringement on persons or rightfully-earned possessions or property. In other words, behaviors of individuals or between consenting adults will not be restricted, unless they infringe on another person's rights.

A geo-mutualist confederation would find unanimity as consensus rose to the top, practicing and mutually enforcing monocentric law (which takes the form of a simple agreement of non-aggression and fair-regard at first) on the highest of scales, but would allow for a great amount of diversity, and the practice of

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<sup>ii</sup> See the work of Bruce Benson, who points out that criminal law was a development of state oppression on behalf of Norman conquerors, and a terrible departure from the common law of the Anglo-Saxons.

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polycentric law on the lower scales. The smaller units of the confederation will find a great deal of autonomy, the ability to practice their cultural traditions, will make their own economic decisions, and will create their own contracts. The right of property (by way of leasehold) will protect the claim to sphere sovereignty and the practice of subsidiarity. By providing interest-free loans, and charging indemnity equal to the rent of land, a geo-mutual bank prevents industrial projects from becoming strongly hierarchical, and thus keeps them democratic in nature.

Projects within the geo-mutualist panarchist confederation will bubble from the ground up. Smaller units will gain consensus in their sphere of sovereignty, which will pass for an initiative to be put as a motion in a referendum toward larger units in the confederation, and so on and so forth. Committees may be established for the sake of deliberation of interested parties who decide not to stand aside, or to manage an ongoing project. Upon the passing of a motion, decisions are to be carried out directly by those who made them, or delegated to executives who volunteer or are paid out of a common fund to carry them out. The smaller units of the confederation will interact as relevant departments of the confederation, or more loosely in market scenarios, involving prices and voluntary exchanges, or developing various forms of cooperation among them. The mutual bank will issue credit according to industry (perhaps allowing for many sub-models of decision-making within one industry), which will issue it according to department, and department according to firm (with many possible sub-entities between them), in a system of nested credit-clearing networks. In emergency scenarios, the bank may be empowered to issue fiat currency, and to charge a demurrage equal to the deflation of everyone's account (due to the inflation of the money supply). This would be particularly necessary in times of war or natural disaster. In such a case, society is demanded, according to the principle of fair regard, to provide the means of safety. It may, however, be demanded back from the recipient, in part or in full, by those who paid the original demurrage, depending on the scenario.

Imagine for a moment that you are a member of this society. One can have the capital needed to form a successful business or profession by joining a professional guild, as an

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individual, or a business association, as a member-organization, and receiving an interest-free loan from its credit union. Your professional or business association will be confederated with all of the other associations for the sake of sharing a common access to a system of credit, land-title, and jurisprudence through the geo-mutual anarchist confederation. You have a right to bid on any piece of land currently up for lease, and an interest-free loan equal to your credit worthiness to entitle you to this land. Should you decide to dedicate your life to labor, perhaps you can build your credit worthiness to shake the competition and to maintain the best land, keeping much yield for yourself, and creating much rent for society to share in. Should you decide to live more relaxed, laboring enough just to get by comfortably, without concern of luxury or status, you may decide to live on land with little or no rent to pay, perhaps receiving a large dividend representing the rent from the forfeited land (but losing out in the high yields from extra effort). More than likely, as a young person, you will tend to live toward marginal land, using your dividends to invest in productive property and possessions of worth. You may take out a loan for physical and/or mental capital (a degree), to gain experience or certification. This loan can be taken out on behalf of oneself, as a personal loan, or it can be taken out as a cooperative or mutual, as a concurrent loan. As you gain more wealth you will invest more in your future, by way of buying bonds, investing in insurance, and the like. In each sphere of your life, you will be sovereign. You will be sovereign over your geo-mutualist bank, your home, your school, your guild or cooperative, and your mutual associations, and you will be sovereign of yourself, able to make whatever exchanges you wish.

Geo-mutualism allows for the sphere sovereignty that must accompany decentralized decisions, and for the sharing of power and common circles of influence that are necessary to a healthy democracy. As regulated markets accompanied representative democracies, free markets will accompany direct-democracies. Organizations will base decisions internally on consensus, sponsoring other forms of decisions as they are found to be necessary, and will trade between one another according to voluntary exchange. Property will be granted by society in leasehold, and possession will be granted to society in the

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establishment of industry and programs for mutual assurance of well-being, which naturally arise from deliberation and the development of consensus.

# Whose Consent?

## GIVING CONSENT

A GREAT DEAL of my work centers around the concept of consent. While ideological monikers such as “dualist pantheism” and “geo-mutualist panarchism” have been found to be of great use, I have tied these together under the umbrella, *The Evolution of Consent*, for a reason. Consent is universally desirable.

Consent is an intrinsic mechanism of human evaluation. That which has one’s consent is exciting at best, and is at least tolerable. If an individual truly consents to something— they are informed, and they are not under duress— they are making the decision they value the most, considering the overall context. This being the case, any ideology which establishes itself under the umbrella of consent must operate in a manner that is in accord with the will of all who participate. This is no small task! Such a project must account for differences of value-perspectives, and must reconcile those perspectives. It must be flexible and capable of withstanding and nurturing diverse viewpoints. Dualist pantheism and geo-mutualist panarchism are attempts to do just that.

Rather than simply addressing the ideologies which are based in it, in this essay I’d like to pay attention to consent itself. Particularly, I’d like to address the issue of where consent originates. Who owns the consent? That is, for a particular action to be taken, who must be addressed for permission to be granted?

Consent is directly connected to what one wants, what one wants is connected to outcomes, and outcomes affect one’s happiness or flourishing. In the end, as individuals are the best judge of their own taste, consensual and voluntary means are the best way to get what one wants, which is a future outcome that makes one happy. Rarely, if ever, does something forced onto an individual, without their consent, have positive or desirable outcomes for the individual, as they see it. That is, rarely, if ever, does one get to future outcomes that they find satisfying, without first consenting to those outcomes to some degree. My goal is to create a happy society, wherein people are allowed to approach the

ends they desire. This entails a mass increase in the amount of consent given.

What does it mean to give consent, and who must give the consent? Consent is given when something meets one's approval. Most situations involve many people, however. Whose approval must be sought? Ideally, everyone's approval is sought. However, this cannot always be the case, at least not in every specific moment. Is there a way to have consent without full collaboration? If not everyone, in worldwide collaboration, how can we allocate matters of consent? How do we decide whose consent matters?<sup>1</sup>

I believe the best way to decide whose consent matters is to take a look at who is most affected by the decision, and rather than seeking full agreement, compromising and allocating liberties equally. Ultimate consent is enthusiastic group consent, but it takes time to build. This being the case, we must compromise for the time being, while always moving toward the end goal. This means, instead of looking to the group for consent in every matter, allocating decisions to the parties most affected. While we are moving toward a larger group agreement, we must find an organic means of compromise. This compromise allows people's actions to be pre-accepted, so long as they fall within the guidelines.

### COMPROMISE AND COLLABORATION

**T**HERE IS POTENTIALLY a place wherein everyone shares in the same desired outcome with enthusiastic consent and full collaborative effort, and compromise is not at all needed. Such a unitary singularity would, indeed, be heaven, but it is hard to come by. While I do believe that there is an ultimate reconciliation to be had, I do not believe it intelligent for us to treat situations as

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<sup>1</sup> It can be the case as far as it relates to the rules, however, such that every situation which occurs is pre-approved so long as it occurs under the proper guidelines. We will address this in a bit.

if such a moment has already been reached. In other words, I do believe it possible to reach an agreement that ultimately satisfies all to the fullest extent, but I do not believe we have yet made it. Such an ideal future simply does not describe the material reality of the present. This being the case, we are best occupied by concerning ourselves with the manner by which we can start bringing such an end to into being. We may only concern ourselves with its approach, lest we be content to wallow in the misery of our present condition as defeatists and fatalists. This entails a soft transition, the bridging of the reality of conflict and the ideal of collaboration. Indeed, time would have it no other way; gradual change is in her nature.

Still, the reality is that enthusiastic collaboration is difficult to approximate; a product of our material separation as individuals, and the differences of perspective this entails, both objective and subjective (but especially subjective). Where such enthusiastic collaboration can be found, it should be celebrated, studied, and its methods mimicked. Where it cannot be found, one should not be contented to be defeated by the present, and accept conflict as a given, or a "brute fact," but instead should ask, "What are the conditions fertile for enthusiastic collaboration?" and, relatedly, "What conditions do not yet meet the description of enthusiastic collaboration, but serve as a middle ground between that and continued conflict?"

Is the middle ground to be found between conflict and collaboration not also the transitional fertile ground for further development into collaboration? That is, if we are to approach this in terms of natural cycles of succession, would it not follow that the middle ground between conflict (death) and collaboration (life) follows the same rules of generation and succession as that between the desert (death) and the jungle (life)? Does it not follow that as the savannah both succeeds the desert, and lays fertile grounds for the jungle, that the middle ground between conflict and collaboration will follow a similar order of succession, and will be not only a transition from the old, but fertile grounds for the new? We have then only to find this middle ground! What will it be? As the prairie grass and the clover take over the desert, it covers and nitrifies the soil, making it easier for shrubs and trees to

be established. Likewise, it will be compromise that succeeds conflict, and which will provide the fertile grounds for collaboration.

An individual cannot feel safe in a compact in which they are forced by anything other than natural conditions, which themselves are not induced by a human. As soon as a human institution forces one's membership, or otherwise forces its dictations on an individual, the grounds are set for much concern. One immediately begins to question the motives of an institution which gains influence by compulsion rather than by attraction alone. If it has to be forced, it probably isn't wanted, and if it isn't wanted, it is not valued, nor does it lead to happiness. However, as it regards voluntary consensual behavior, individuals who are given the space to play out their own values—that is, individuals who have compromised among one another—are free to experiment, and to share their results with others. This induces collaboration by demonstrating the benefits of learning from others, and putting different ideas together. It removes the threat of forced collaboration with those who would otherwise do harm. Compromise provides a safe space from which collaboration may develop, and benefits may be felt incrementally. One may, as it were, dip one's toes into the water of collaboration, before leaping head first into its depths.

Compromise is probably best understood as agreeing to disagree. This is different from collaboration, which is built on more full agreement. While collaboration entails the sharing of goals and space, compromise entails the fair division of space, wherein one can meet one's own goals with the least interference of the other. While collaboration is the ideal we ultimately seek, compromise is the foundation it must be built upon. In those circumstances that individuals gain in combination, they will combine their efforts voluntarily.

Sometimes that which is wanted by individuals contradict. In such a case, the freedom, or consent, of one individual, may infringe on that of another. This is a case of not having reached unity with the Absolute, wherein all perspectives are aligned in ultimate reconciliation. Indeed, we are approaching it, but we are not yet there. Still, there is no need to be contented with continued

conflict; compromise provides some reconciliation, and a greater degree of consent, even if it does not amount to enthusiastic collaboration. It does provide the grounds from which such collaboration may be safely and confidently approached, however.

While it may not be possible, or socially desirable, to live a life of complete freedom in the present moment, one may begin to understand the conditions which begin to allow for the maximum amount of freedom that can exist without contradiction. In other words, because one's desires conflict with others, and because freedom is connected to the ability to do what one wants, complete freedom for one may negate freedom for others. This being the case, the pursuit should not be a matter of complete freedom, but the maximum amount of freedom that can be had in the present moment, in compromise.

### **EQUAL LIBERTY, NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE, PROTECTED BY CONTRACT**

**T**HE MAXIMUM AMOUNT of freedom available to the greatest number can be determined by the amount of freedom that can exist without contradiction. This is best described in the principle of equal liberty, which suggests that liberty should exist only to that degree that it is available to everyone in equal quantity. In other words, everyone should have an equal amount of freedom, which means that the freedom of one should stop at taking freedom from another. According to the principle of equal liberty, everyone should have the very same liberties, and no one should have privileges that others do not enjoy. This is not a doctrine of complete liberty, or complete equality, but one of equity, or equality of opportunity. The principle describes a condition under which all have an equal right to express their natural endowments.

It is not enough, still, to allocate liberties equally, but they must be allocated equally in the most appropriate fashion. Equal meddling in one another's affairs, equal intrusion into the privacy of others, these are not the conditions conducive to enthusiastic collaboration, as they forsake the necessarily preceding principle of compromise, or the space for each to be their own. Equal abstinence from solidarity, equal neglect for one another's well-

being (even if not a direct offense or attack), neither are these conditions of the soulless what I am after. I am neither after neglect nor forced combination, but compromise and voluntary collaboration. The fertile grounds of fair compromise and voluntary collaboration are found, instead, in the proper treatment of human liberty.

Human liberty takes two fundamental forms, positive and negative. There is the liberty of action, and the liberty of abstinence; to act, or not to act. This can also be understood as the liberty to act upon, which is positive, and the liberty not to be acted upon, which is negative. Like supply and demand, these fundamental and polar forces are opposed to and contradict one another, but, also like supply and demand, this contradiction is ultimately reconciled; in this case, in the equality of liberty. Individuals best have the liberty to act without being acted on by others, and are best restricted from acting on others. Such a condition of equal liberty is conducive to the maximum freedom for the maximum number. In other words, such conditions provide fertile grounds for the maximum amount of consent, and, it follows therefor, happiness.

Society exists by compact, with jurisprudence as its foundation. Societies are bound by laws, which designate appropriate and inappropriate behaviors. These laws may take many forms, and may enforce a plethora of different systems. The duty of a just social contract is to allocate freedoms in such a manner that they are equal and appropriate. As we have determined that compromise is the most appropriate transition from our present conflict, and also the most fertile grounds for future collaboration, the most appropriate equal allocation of the two forms of liberty— negative and positive— will allow for the maximum amount of compromise, but will not force it, instead setting the conditions for further development into voluntary collaboration.

Contracts develop firstly to protect negative liberties, and then to ensure positive influence. The most highly developed contracts accompany the highest degrees of collaboration and shared vision. This can be seen in the fact that property rights preceded democratic process in modern societies, that animals

develop claws, fangs, spines, and more, before they develop cooperation and ethics. The natural process of life stretches toward a higher degree of satisfaction, the highest level of which is found in voluntary collaboration for mutual benefit, the lower levels of which being found in personal autonomy and reciprocal exchange.

Because contracts entail rules, or deontologies, it is necessary to analyze the application of such deontologies. As these deontologies relate to human behavior, if they are to be desirable, they naturally and necessarily must describe the proper conditions and limitations of human liberty.

An individual entering into a contract will naturally assess the value of the contract in relation to meeting their own ends. That is, an egoist—which all naturally tend to be— will unsurprisingly assess the utility (both qualitative and quantitative) of any contract that they enter. Because contracts naturally lay out rules and procedures, this utility is made in regard to deontologies. These deontologies are evaluated consequentially according to their perceived ability to provide desired outcomes. Those deontologies which are found universally acceptable—that is, those which meet the grounds for the categorical imperative—are found the most utilitarian by the egoist. Equal liberty fits such a standard.

If equal liberty is to be our standard, it must be applied as it plays out in human action. This being the case, we must allocate liberties to certain parties involved in situations, and we must allocate these liberties fairly and in a way that allows for the greatest amount of compromise. Further, this entails deciding who gives consent, and therefor under what conditions they are the most affected, earning them exclusive or primary say.

### **THE PRINCIPLE OF MOST AFFECTED**

**C**LEARLY, ANYTHING RELATING to bodily experiences most affects the individual undergoing the experience. There are two forms of bodily experiences. There is thought, a noumenal experience (or “inperience,” if you will); and then there is sensation of external phenomena. These two forms of experience lead to two forms of truth, subjective preferences and objective facts. Subjective preferences are truths held internal to the

individual. Individuals differ greatly in their subjective preferences. Objective facts, however, can often be seen from the outside, and referenced by all who have the means. Objective facts are most associated to inanimate objects, while subjective preferences are matters of consciousness. This being so, we must treat conscious beings with a different regard than we do inanimate objects. We must seek their approval on matters of quality. Consent can only be given by living beings, which have preferences. Objective affairs are simple realities best approached through empiricism, but subjective matters, such as those relating to value systems and preferences, are not so easily determined.

Rarely do individuals see exactly eye to eye on matters of preference or value, without a considerable amount of communication. This being the case, the subjective satisfaction of the individual, and all that is entailed by it, must be sourced from within the will of the individual, and can be demonstrably accessed from without only by way of consent. The reality of separation gets in the way of ideal outcomes.

Humans exist as individuals within groups. It is crucial to separate individual and communal decisions. What decisions are necessarily personal decisions, and which are up for common approval? Again, it is necessary to look into matters of who is affected by the decision. Because we have already drawn a line of demarcation between external and internal experiences, we will approach the question from this angle.

Who is most affected by internal noumena, such as a thought? Certainly, so long as it remains a simple thought, the individual alone is affected by it. What of external phenomena, such as physical sensations? Physical sensations, which are external to the individual, have the potential to be sensed by anyone in the proper vicinity, even if only indirectly so, as by eyesight or smell. In other words, physical experiences are more often a matter of common concern than individual preferences. This being so, matters of internal preference belong most properly to the individual, while matters of external sensation most properly belong to society at large. In other words, society has the most proper say in the area of the non-human environment, while

individuals have the most proper say in matters relating to their preference of action.

The human experience includes our subjective preferences, which we are always acting in favor of to the best of our abilities, but these always rest atop objective realities, which can enable or hinder our preferences, depending on the reality itself. In other words, we have our desires (many of which are instinctual, such as the desire for food or sex), and then we have the environment in which those desires are placed. We have the human being, and their surroundings. Direct effort can only be experienced from the inside, but our surroundings are easily accessed from without. Economically, and in terms of justice, this entails the ability for people to make all decisions regarding their efforts as individuals, and all decisions regarding the management of environments to properly-scaled groups, who share those environments.

In order for the conditions of compromise to be met, individuals must be allowed to play out their own goals, and must have the space with which to play those goals out without unnecessary interference. This means that individuals need to have access to land, and must be free to do what they wish with their own labor. Individuals who are forced to share space, or who are forced to share goals, will do what they can to end such forced collaboration; while individuals who voluntarily join in combination for the gains perceived will enthusiastically do what they can to further collaboration. Still, a degree of association is completely necessary, for the settlement of disputes, and the allocation of freedoms, especially as it regards natural resources.

### **COMMON LAND, PERSONAL LABOR**

**A**NY PROPER SOCIAL CONTRACT will be established upon consent, and will be maintained through consent. Its establishment should be determined by collaborative effort and complete consensus, but this social contract should describe how subsidiary decisions may be made in the absence of the whole, but with its pre-approval. The consensual establishment of the contract is best done through voluntary memberships with probationary periods, wherein one has time to be fully informed

before membership becomes solidified. After the establishment of the contract, subsidiary decisions should be allocated to individuals or groups, as found appropriate. We have determined that equal liberty should be our standard, and should be applied in both negative and positive forms, with positive liberty given primarily to groups in the area of land, and negative liberty to individuals in the way of their labor. This being the case, land is best regulated by common consent, and allocated by way of common bids, with common collection and dispersal of its rents; while labor is best left completely unregulated (except by common law and the principle of fair regard).

Who should give consent? In matters relating to resources, groups have a positive right to its management, and so consent begins with groups that utilize those resources. That is, in matters of natural resources, it is collectivities that have a right to make decisions; while in matters of human effort, the individual alone has a negative say in its direction. However, this only establishes who best gives *primary* consent. That is, groups have the initial say in the management of land, and individuals have an initial say in the direction of their labor. This does *not* suggest that land is best managed by groups, or that labor is best managed on an individual basis. It merely suggests that any individual use of land is best consented to by the whole, and that any collective demand for labor is best consented to by the individual. For this reason, property rights should be allocated according to contract to individuals from the whole; while collaborative activities should be consented to by the laborer, thereby relegating the activities to conditions of utility.

There is a kind of spiral effect created in this model. The materiality of land is grounded in the whole, but becomes dispersed; and the ideality of labor exists in separation, but comes together for mutual benefit. This reflects the natural cycles in our own cosmos; the entropy of materiality, and the syntropy of living systems governed by ideality. Living things must naturally start from their material conditions of separation, only to find joy in the benefits of willful collaboration and coming together in a higher unity; while land must naturally begin under the unity of the whole, only to be dispersed about. Purely material things must always tend

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toward dispersal, while spiritual beings always strive for unity in some form. Both movements are necessary for the composition of the whole.

# On Truth and Economy

## INTRODUCTION

**T**RUTH IS THAT information which corresponds to the way things are. One can believe something which is not so, and which is false, or one can believe something which is so. Those beliefs which are so are true, and come in three forms: objective, subjective, and absolute. These forms of truth have strong economic and behavioral implications. Those beliefs which are not so are false.

## OBJECTIVITY

**P**ERSPECTIVES THAT ARE UNDERSTOOD to be objective are often those which lack emotional or preferential content, and which can be referenced in some manner from the outside.

For instance, in the field of journalism, journalists are supposed to be objective. This does not necessarily imply that actors do not have emotions—or at least statements of those emotions—that can be reported on, but that the journalist does not mix their own emotions into the scenario. The emotions of others are reported on objectively, but should not be understood to be objective in themselves. That is, emotions and preferences are not objective phenomena, but subjective noumena.

While statements about emotions may be reported on, and repeated in an objective fashion, the emotions themselves must always be seen as subjective. This is because they lack objective content. In the fields of the natural sciences, for instance, something is understood to be objective when it can be referenced from the outside. In other words, a perspective is seen to be objective when it references an object. Feelings, qualia, cannot be referenced in such a manner.

Objectivity describes material phenomena quite well: It describes statements, even if not the emotions behind them; and it describes objects quite well, and in a way that is relatable to others. Anyone who wants to see something which has been referenced by

others may do so, and so proof may be established. Objective statements are true statements, and are true outside of preference or bias.

	<b>Subjective feeling</b>	<b>Lack of Subjective Feeling</b>
<b>Objective data</b>	Absoluteness	<u>Objectivity</u>
<b>Lack of objective data</b>	Subjectivity	Falsity

### SUBJECTIVITY

**P**ERSPECTIVES THAT ARE UNDERSTOOD to be subjective are those which are composed of value-content, such as preferences, and emotions regarding specific conditions.

People have their own priorities. While we may be able to describe conditions in an objective sense, this tells us nothing about human emotions, which are independent of, but which interact with, objective phenomena. We may be able to objectively describe a selection on a shirt rack: “There are red ones, yellow ones, blue ones, and green ones of all sizes,” we may say. This does nothing to tell us about choices, or to describe why we have racks from which to pick in the first place. Yes, objectively there are different styles, but this is so because, subjectively, people have different priorities, and there is not one objectively “best” color. Each actor feels they are deciding upon the “best” color when they make a selection.

Preferences are unpredictable and unable to be proven. We can’t calculate for another person what will be best for them, nor can we calculate our own future. None of us live according to a strict path. What will we be eating on April the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020? Until that date comes—if it does at all for us—we cannot tell, unless we make a plan, and live strictly according to such a plan. Such a plan can do nothing but lead to restriction of spontaneity and the impoverishment of the human spirit, which flourishes on new experiences and engagement with new opportunities. Such new experiences and opportunities, however, approach us according to

conditions that are outside of our control. We cannot anticipate them. If we are unable to predict our own desires, how can we expect to predict the desires of others, except in the most general sense (they will want to eat, sleep, have sex, etc. [but eat what, sleep when, have sex with whom? We will never know.])? We cannot.

	<b>Subjective feeling</b>	<b>Lack of Subjective Feeling</b>
<b>Objective data</b>	Absoluteness	Objectivity
<b>Lack of objective data</b>	<u>Subjectivity</u>	Falsity

### **ABSOLUTENESS**

**S**UBJECTIVE PERSPECTIVES are those that originate in emotions and preferences, while objective perspectives have their origins in reference to things, which can easily be referenced by others. An absolute perspective is not one which is objective or subjective, but one which incorporates and understands both, and the interplay between them. While we are incapable of understanding, or having access to, everyone's emotions in the specific, we can approximate to the best of our ability the general wants of humanity, especially by communicating with them.

Absoluteness strives to understand how subjectivity (preference) interacts with the world of objectivity (fact). That is, it seeks to know how subjectivity can affect the external reality of objects, and how the external world of objects restricts subjectivity from always having its priorities met. In other words, we may not always like (subjective) the way things are (objective), and we may not always see the potential (subjective) in them (objective) either. We may limit our goals (subjectivity) to the way things have been in the past (objectivity), or we may fail to understand how our goals (subjectivity) are limited by the world around us (objectivity).

Absoluteness reconciles the clash between objectivity and subjectivity. According to subjective perspective, things should stay as they are, or should change. Objectivity describes the way things

are, regardless of priority or preference. Absoluteness describes the conflict between the two. Subjective preferences may not like things the way they are, or may not want them to change. This does not mean that things will be as subjective experience dictates, however. Unless subjectivity can find a means to make its preferences objective fact, subjectivity will remain subjective, and will not be absolute. Absoluteness is what is, and what is appears to be manifest contradictory forces.

Absoluteness includes objective phenomena and subjective noumena. An objective perspective may suggest that a shirt is yellow and a subjective perspective may dictate that yellow is an ugly color, but an absolute perspective suggests that there is a yellow shirt that isn't very well liked. The subjective perspective does nothing to change things in itself, or to keep them as they are, but neither does an objective description always satisfy the wants of subjectivity. Absoluteness describes the interactions: when subjectivity becomes powerful enough, it may affect the objective reality, and when the objective reality is too influential, it matters not how subjectivity feels about it. If someone hates the shirt enough, they can destroy it, but the hatred without action does nothing to change the fact. The subjective preference must motivate objective action, or things stay as they were. Likewise, we may like the way things are, and may be able to objectively describe the workings of a system, but this does nothing to determine the priorities of others, who may not have an objective example of their preference in action, but who have a subjective preference nonetheless.

	<b>Subjective feeling</b>	<b>Lack of Subjective Feeling</b>
<b>Objective data</b>	<u>Absoluteness</u>	Objectivity
<b>Lack of objective data</b>	Subjectivity	Falsity

**FALSITY**

**F**ALSITY IS THE OPPOSITE of absoluteness. While absoluteness describes the existence and interaction of both subjectivity and objectivity, falsity describes the lack of truth content in a statement. That is, when something is neither objectively, nor subjectively, true, it is false.

If someone points to a red apple, and calls it green, we do not suggest that the statement is subjective, but that the statement is false. We can disagree with subjective statements without them being false, but we cannot disagree with objective statements without them, or our own interpretation, being false. A statement about an object, which we do not feel is true, is not subjective, it is false. Likewise, when someone tells us a lie about their feelings, in order to manipulate or take advantage of an objective situation, this is not a reflection of their true feelings, but is a lie. A lie is not subjective, a lie is false. The difficulty lies in the fact that we cannot tell when someone is sharing subjective truth (their real emotions or priorities), or they are telling us a lie. Someone we have known for a short time may suggest that they would never steal from us, because they have already developed amorous affection towards us, but this statement can be motivated by recognition of true feelings within the individual, which they honestly wish to express, or it can be motivated by attempts of trickery, so that they may take advantage of us. While one is a subjective truth, the other is a lie, a non-truth. Lies are not subjective, they are not objective, and they are not absolute (while they must be described in some sense by absoluteness), they simply are not. That which they reference does not exist, but leads to the detriment of those things that do. Lies are the essence of a thing which does not exist, but which purports to do so. While the truth content does not exist, the statement objectively does exist (that is, it is undeniable that when I tell a lie, words come out of my mouth). None the less, the essence of the lie, not the words that represent the content, is absence of truth value, and the absence of being. To tell a lie is to say something which is not so.

	<b>Subjective feeling</b>	<b>Lack of Subjective Feeling</b>
<b>Objective data</b>	Absoluteness	Objectivity
<b>Lack of objective data</b>	Subjectivity	<u>Falsity</u>

**EPISTEMOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS  
FOR ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION**

**T**HE EPISTEMOLOGY OUTLINED ABOVE has many implications for social organization. On one hand, it suggests that there are truth factors that can be proven, and which cannot be reasonably denied. These truths are objective. On another hand, the epistemology suggests that there are truth factors that cannot be proven, but which may be just as much a factor of existence as objective phenomena. These truths are subjective. Absoluteness describes the play between the two, the conditions under which subjective perspective may affect the objective world, and the conditions by which the objective reality restricts subjective desires from coming to fruition. Falsity, however—exemplified especially by lies and by misrepresentation—, demonstrates the inability to prove or to reasonably rely on people’s projections of their feelings. While a false statement itself may objectively exist, we cannot tell if the truth-value behind it is subjective or entirely nonexistent.

As it relates to the three classical factors of economy—land, labor, and capital—, we can understand that land value is rather objectively definable, or at least approximated—we can see the fertility of land by comparing the life which springs from it, for instance—, that labor (or cost) is more subjective, as it relies on the preferences of the laborer—no one can feel the repugnance or satisfaction lost or gained in another’s performance of their task—, and that capital, in some senses, is absolute (while it also exists within absoluteness larger than itself), as it necessarily relies on the objectivity of the natural resources from which it was fashioned, as well as the subjectivity related to the effort involved in giving the capital its form. This is not to suggest that the value of land is

entirely non-subjective, or that the effort of labor cannot be objectively sensed to some degree (we can oftentimes tell if someone is struggling, even if we cannot tell the exact amount of stress they are feeling), but that the referent—land or labor—is rooted in an objective nature (like land, which is an object) or a subjective one (like labor, or effort, which exists within the subject, and cannot be objectively witnessed from without, even if its effects can be). With this all understood, we can see that it is false to treat land as if it is rooted in subjectivity (though our subjectivity references it), or to treat labor as if it is anchored in objectivity (although its affects may have objective results), or to treat capital as either extreme (having no effort or resources involved in its creation), rather than being subject to elements of both.

The costs of labor are very subjective (though the outcome may be objective). What may be enjoyable, or empowering, to one, may be dissatisfying, or disempowering, to others. This being so, labor markets are best left free, allowing each individual to dictate for themselves what efforts and what prices motivate their behavior. In a labor market, buyers and sellers take their own subjectivity into account, and, because a market—its undistorted essence, anyway—involves voluntary exchange, they have no option but to limit their actions to those that are subjectively acceptable to others in the exchange. The state, however, does not act in the labor market, but through force. The state treats its subjectivity as objective fact, ignoring the subjectivity of others, while actors in a market treat each other's preferences as being equally valid, with each having truth content. Where labor must occur under the conditions of concerted effort, hierarchical arrangements should be avoided (this is also true as it relates to institutions government land interests), and, instead, consensus should be gathered. Decisions should affect people to the degree they are affected by their outcomes.

The content of land is rather objective (though we evaluate it subjectively). We can see the land has much to offer without human exhaustion, and so without cost to anyone. We can also see the value that land gains indirectly through a relative increase in the utility of location, as influenced by public use (roads, while a form of capital, may increase land values, for instance; plots of land

closer to roads are easier to traverse, and thereby have more value). It is for this reason that land is best approached in a social manner, and is allocated in ways that seem to be objectively and quantitatively equal. It is true that a large part of the value of the land can be found in the population which sits atop it, but this population itself— while housing subjective content—, as well as the fruits of its efforts (such as roads and other constructions), is rather objective, and can be given quantitative, and not just subjective, value. A road, for instance, may increase sales to a particular inhabitant. So long as it can be separated from other factors (better capital, more demand in the market, increase in skill, for instance) which may have led to the increase in sales, this increase in sales due to the road—which adds to the value of the land— can be measured. The same can be said of gains in population or in placement of other forms of capital.

Capital may have elements of the land, and at times this may entail a degree of social ownership over capital, particularly when the resources used are scarce; but the efforts involved in the creation of capital are subjective, and should remain free for bargaining. Natural monopolies, which naturally gain spurious returns, are best owned on a social scale, combining consumer and worker interests. Capital which is highly competitive, and which earns no rent due to the scarcity of resources, or to economies of scope or scale (which are not due to labor, but to nature, and thereby must be considered a part of land-, or nature-, value), should be left to those who manage it, without need to conflate the interests of producers and consumers.

## CONCLUSION

**I**N THE TREATMENT of political economy, we must consider epistemology. Subjective perspectives, which are unable to be proven, must not be forced onto others. Objective perspectives, which are provable, typically do not require force to be acknowledged, and rely on the rejection of facts to be disputed. Absoluteness of perspective describes things as they are, objective and subjective perspectives included. Falsity— the treating of subjective or objective phenomena as each other, or as absolute—

must be rejected. Geo-mutualism is the political and economic philosophy which best keeps these factors in mind, treating the concerns of land as objective, labor as subjective, capital as absolute (in the sense that it must be treated subjectively and objectively, but not in the sense that capital includes all land or all labor, that would be silly), and lies (the making up of false information; the treatment of subjective perspective as objective truth, or vice versa; or the treating of either as being absolute) as false. To treat one's emotional perspective or preferences (subjectivity) as absolute truth (objectivity), or to treat current conditions (objectivity) as absolutely desirable (subjectivity), is false. To take both objectivity and subjectivity into account, to understand labor as subjective, and land as objective, to understand how they interact, to the best of our ability, is to best approximate the perspective of the absolute.

# The Intersection of Dualist Pantheism and Geo-Mutualist Panarchism

## INTRODUCTION

THE TWO PHILOSOPHIES explored in my work most include dualist pantheism and geo-mutualist panarchism. Dualist pantheism, of course, is a metaphysical position, while geo-mutual panarchism is a position relating to political economy. This essay will explore the relationship of the two.

## DUALIST PANTHEISM

DUALIST PANTHEISTS believe that God, Nature, and the Universe are all synonyms, and that the Universe expresses itself through dualities. These dualities can be as basic as white and black or as complicated as the differences between atheism and religion, or fascism and communism.

The value in dualist pantheism can be found in its explanatory power and its ability to reconcile otherwise opposing belief systems.

Pantheism, for instance, is a reconciliation of theism and atheism: In recognizing the self-determination of the Universe, pantheism is in agreement with the atheist; the Universe needs nothing outside of itself to be brought into being. However, in recognizing the inherence of consciousness in the Universe, as a principle, the pantheist ascribes this Universe traditionally theistic elements, such as omniscience, omnipotence, omnibenevolence, omnipresence, and the like; the Universe is self-determined, but this is because it contains in itself a will.

In dualistic varieties of pantheism, such as that I am promoting, the two ontological extremes of idealism and realism are also reconciled. Positive reality—the reality that we see, touch, and measure—is an expression of an underlying substance, which also expresses normative ideality, the ideals that we imagine, dream, and conjure.

In the model of dualist pantheism I am promoting, which I am calling simply *dualist pantheism*, these ontological positions have

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relative positions in spacetime. Substance can be understood to be at the very basis of spacetime, and the two attributes of reality and ideality are oriented within it; ideality in the future and time more generally, and reality in the past and especially oriented in space. That is, we feel things, and see things, move from the past to the present, but we do not feel and see things moving from the future to the present, we think them, idealize the future coming into being.

The human future is created from ideas. It is ideas about the future—the human spirit—that construct the past reality into a better present. This is a matter of spiritual change (retrodeterminism). Physical change (classical determinism), however, moves from the past to the present. If left to physical changes alone, without mental constructs to guide them, dissipation (entropy) is most likely to occur. The Universe, under such a rule, becomes fated to heat death. It takes ideas, a guiding field of retrodeterminism (syntropy), to fight such a fate, and to bring the Universe back to singularity (thereby establishing a destiny worth fighting for, worth bringing into being). This is not a choice, though we understand it as such; we are compelled by the future to bring it into fruition. Living beings are agents of such a future.

Dualist pantheism has great explanatory potential, not so much because it is something new unto itself, fighting in the world to preserve itself at the expense of others; but because it embraces and reconciles opposing views, relegating them to their proper spheres. Dualist pantheists embrace science, and all that is explained thoroughly by science, but also recognize the limitations of science, particularly in regard to matters of free will and the agency of living beings, which, directed at least in part by “random” (retro-caused) mutations, cannot be predicted. Because dualist pantheists recognize the limitations of science, we recognize the virtues of spirituality. Spirituality—recognizing itself as the attempt to understand or have relation with the unknowable—is a more general knowledge-base than science, which strives for rigidity. Spirituality, for the dualist pantheist, is best approached personally, as each person’s spirit is unique. Because dualist pantheists embrace science in objective matters, and spirituality in subjective ones, dualist pantheism has much more consistent

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explanatory power than strictly scientific or spiritual positions, which, in ignoring the truths of one another, fall short in describing the totality of things (in the most general sense).

Dualist pantheists accept the views of the realist and atheist when describing material conditions as they move from the past to the present, particularly in regard to the laws of motion. However, dualist pantheists also accept the views of the idealist and the spiritualist when describing ideas as they are delivered from the *telos* (future) to us in the present. Living beings are not determined strictly by the classical laws of physics, because living beings have a will that determines their behavior. This will is oriented in the future, goals relating to matters understood to be good. Because spirituality involves the experiences and revelations of individuals, it is necessarily subjective, and specifics regarding one's ends should not be pressed onto others.

### **GEO-MUTUAL PANARCHISM**

**G**EO-MUTUAL PANARCHISTS resolve the conflicts between anarchists and statist, and leftists and rightists, in a manner similar to the dualist pantheist resolution of realism-atheism and idealism-theism. Statists and anarchists, leftists and rightists, have long bickered; geo-mutualism, by “transcending and including” (to use the term of Ken Wilber) these worldviews, offers a means of resolve.

Panarchism is the recognition that many of the things that anarchists understand to be states are completely voluntary for many of their participants. Indeed, upon having disputes with a statist, an anarchist—if they are sharp—will realize that “statists gonna state:” such a cat has often lost all interest in outside freedom; it has come to quite like it indoors, despite the protest of many others! If freedom is what the anarchist is after, it cannot be gained by forcing those who are happy out of their contentment (except when such contentment hinders others from like contentment). If not for the statist pressing their preferred situation onto the anarchist, and if dissenters were allowed to leave, the state of the Republican or Democrat, monarchist or oligarch, would itself constitute an anarchy (as anarchists see it, or “good government” as statist do). Interestingly enough, the forcing of

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anarchy (in the strong sense) onto those who do not want it for themselves, would constitute to the statist an act of imperialism on behalf of the anarchist, something the anarchists are supposed to oppose! Panarchy suggests that anarchists should be free to live in anarchy, and statist should be free to choose that “good government” they most desire. Panarchy, rather than concerning itself with micromanagement of the polity, is concerned with creating the necessary space for a plethora of views to be voluntarily (on whatever level one desires) practiced.

Panarchism, being a positive vision of existence, understands the progression from monarchical governments to democratic ones to be a matter of progress, but also understand that progress is a matter of opportunism utilized under the proper conditions, not just by good ideas. Progress cannot be forced. This being so, governments of the many varieties of statist, and non-governments of the many varieties of anarchists, will relate to one another panarchistically, but will not be physically compelled to practice panarchy internal to their own organizations. Panarchist sub-entities, however, will be welcomed, and—as I see it—will have a strong competitive advantage.

Geo-mutualist panarchism could easily have been called *dualist panarchism*, because Georgism and mutualism alike share the virtue of reconciling individualist and collectivist worldviews. Both of these ideologies treat labor as a possession of the individual, and land as a matter of the commons. They differ in regard to the management of capital (I tend to agree with the mutualists more here, favoring cooperative companies to employers, which George was soft on). This is in contrast to the communists, who treat land and labor alike as possessions of the commons; and capitalists, who treat land and labor alike as private property of individuals. The communist would leave the individual at the whim of the community, forced to do its bidding. The capitalist would take up the opposite vice, believing land to be privately appropriable, leaving individuals without claim to their own birthright (the commons). Georgists and mutualists, instead, would both prefer individuals to maintain sovereignty over their own efforts, and to have the means to access the wealth afforded us by nature. Land, after all, is not a human creation, but is instead a gift from God.

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Geo-mutualism is a form of libertarian socialism. That is, geo-mutualism expresses both libertarianism (usually associated with individualism, freedom of association, free markets) and socialism (in the “small-s” sense, worker ownership of their own labor, access to resources) within its bounds, to the extreme of each. That is, a geo-mutualist economy is not only partially socialist and partially libertarian, but is thoroughly so. A libertarian would be hard-pressed to make an argument that such a society infringed on liberty, and a socialist would become enamored by the worker self-management and equitable distribution of wealth and social power it would create.

Just as no entity will be forced to practice panarchy within its own bounds, but will instead be expected to relate to others panarchistically, the same must be said of geo-mutualism. No government or non-government should be physically forced to practice geo-mutualism within its own bounds, but those who do—as I see it—will have a strong competitive advantage, and a higher success rate, which will direct others to behave accordingly voluntarily, either by leaving their old governments/non-governments or by changing them.

Geo-mutualist panarchism reconciles the differences between statist and collectivist worldviews and those held by anarchists and individualists. It does this by allowing statist and anarchists to practice their own system, allowing each to have access to land, and to control and manage their own efforts. Different folks will make very different choices regarding their own labor, and that land (or land-value) that is presented them by the community. Some, no doubt, will form communes, others will try privately-owned tenant communities; still more will be thoroughly geo-mutualist.

### **THE INTERSECTION**

**D**UALIST PANTHEISM lays the foundation upon which geo-mutualism may be built. As Marxists have their dialectical materialism, and as libertarians have the (God’s) invisible hand of the market, geo-mutualism sets atop dualist pantheism. The case is such that the left, while economic idealists, tend metaphysically toward materialism; and the right, while economic

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realists, tend metaphysically toward idealism: The communists of the left tend toward dialectical materialism, as expressed by Dietzgen, Engels, and Marx. However, the fascists of the right tend toward metaphysical idealism and the occult. Hinduism, for instance, is admired by many fascist types for its caste system. Heinrich Himmler was a neo-pagan. Rudolf Hess was an astrologist. Hitler and Mussolini were likely materialists in their personal views, but they used idealism and occult imagery (such as Aryans, Atlantis, etc.) in their projections, and faked positive relation to the Catholic Church, to appeal to the German and Italian people (idealism has a strong home in Germany, one must remember). Even if Hitler and Mussolini were not themselves idealists, they used idealism to appeal to the mass of fascists below them, who did tend toward idealism. Less radically different, now, we can see also that conservatives tend toward Christianity and liberals tend toward secularism. Geo-mutualist panarchism, unlike the polarized left and right, is a radically centrist ideology; naturally, it will rest upon an equally centrist metaphysic. Indeed, such is the case with dualist pantheism.

As mentioned previously, geo-mutualist panarchism could easily have been called *dualist panarchism*. Geo-mutualism, after all, is a matter of balancing socialism and markets, left and right, and other political-economic dualities. Likewise, dualist pantheism could be rendered, not geo-, but *cosmo-mutualist pantheism*. Dualist pantheism reconciles all into cosmic compatibility.

Cosmo-mutuality is best understood in terms of attribute dualism. Attribute dualism, unlike Cartesian substance dualism, understands duality to be an expression of an underlying unity, rather than a true divide. Implied in the worldview is the understanding that seeking to better understand this unity, rather than getting exclusively caught up in one's own subjectivity, leads to bliss, or blessedness (in terms of Spinoza). The real and the ideal, extension and thought, are not truly at odds with one another, but are the expression of an underlying substance.

Within the attributes of the real and the ideal can be oriented the political and economic orientations of anarchist and statist, left and right. It is panarchy and pantheism that steps beyond the duality, and reaches toward substance.

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Anarchists and leftists, alike, are idealists. Both are inclined to express normative ethics that are rarely practiced in reality. Likewise, statist and rightists both base their arguments on positive reality; statist suggest that government must be used to make change, because “it’s just the way things are.” Capitalists, on the right, argue that private property rights over land must exist because “people are lazy,” not recognizing the fact that capitalism fails to properly reward, and thereby incentivize, labor, seeing things only under the conditions we are currently under, and have been under in the past. Interestingly, as previously pointed out, each is generally inclined to place their political-economic vice atop the opposing metaphysical vice, as if to compensate: The politically idealist left is inclined toward materialist atheism; the politically realist right is inclined toward idealist theism.

A society that best meets the conditions of peace, freedom, and equity—rather than being polarized— can only be found by reconciling the differences found among the ideologies of the world. This does not necessarily have to take place as complete consensus, and everyone acting with absolute permission from the whole of society at all times (that’s ridiculous!). Instead, it means motion *toward* consensus, all while allowing experimentation, and space for each individual and group (capable of maintaining itself) to practice whatever system, arbitrary or not, behooves their subjective preferences, and fulfills them spiritually. Those experiments generating fruitful outcomes will be duplicated.

A truly free, peaceful, and equitable society must first learn to get along, must find ways to resolve disputes, and methods of distributing wealth fairly. This means creating an organization that affirms and promotes oftentimes contradictory ideologies, so long as they can be maintained at their own costs, and are not actively aggressing on others. Ideology of such a new society must be handled two-fold: The disputes in human societies are not only political and economic, but also metaphysical. A new society must offer resolutions to political economy and religion alike. It must have a boundary-set that is such that Christians and atheists, realists and idealists, Marxists and Evolians, statist and anarchists, can be contained within it, peacefully, fairly, and freely.

All worldviews, which are not outright lies, but which have conviction behind them, are compelled by some very true aspect of

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existence, even if understanding of the applications of that aspect has been inflated and projected to an unhealthy and untrue degree, and particularly when this means ignoring the truths of others, and sticking to a rigid outlook. Idealists are right to afford consciousness a unique attribute, but are not right to treat it as substance; likewise with realists and the material. Marxists are correct to believe that workers deserve more claim to sustenance, but are not right to include claims to others' labor (unless under voluntary contract, as in a panarchy). Likewise, Rothbardians are correct to believe that personal control is the most efficient means of allocating labor; they are incorrect to apply personal control to land, to such a point it becomes monopolized under capitalism. The trick of the panarchy is to allow these false premises to play out as voluntary experiments on behalf of the members, in order to establish margins associated with vice, from which others will know to stray in order to maintain a position of virtue. There is no need to restrict such defunct and over-inflated worldviews as hard collectivism or hard individualism; they will simply be unable to compete with those systems which have more virtuous pursuits and methods of management. Natural selection will continue its work.

As society evolves, each era comes with new pairs of political and religious institutions. Hunter-gatherers, who practiced primitive anarchy, were animists; horticulturalists, under the rule of a few families within a clan (primitive aristocracy), were polytheists; agricultural people, under monarchy, were monarchists; democratic nations tend toward secularism. Likewise, geo-mutualist panarchism and dualist pantheism, paired with a convivial post-industrial society, will provide the grounds of future political and religious expression.

### CONCLUSION

**D**UALIST PANTHEISM and geo-mutualist panarchism are similar approaches to differing, but related, areas of philosophy. Both reconcile the positive and negative into the neutral. Panarchy reconciles government and anarchy; pantheism God and atheism. Attribute duality reconciles the real and ideal; geo-mutualism the more modal left and right. This is

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necessary as a foundation to a new convivial society, wherein all can seek whatever fulfills them in their own way.

# Why Panarchists Should Embrace Dualist Pantheism (With Seven Key Reasons)

## Introduction

### FROM ANARCHISM TO PANARCHISM

**P**ANARCHISM IS an interesting topic, as it is a sort of middle ground between statism and anti-statism. While panarchists do not support the traditional state, or necessarily even a sovereign representative of the populace, panarchists do support an umbrella institution which allocates subsidiary rights to smaller units. This is not a position which necessarily opposes anarchism, but one which recognizes the subjectivity involved in defining anarchism itself. Government to one may be voluntary to another. Still more, government, by definition, is held by the anarchists to be an involuntary association, but to the liberal, such as followers of Rousseau and Locke, government is an institution which relies on the consent of the governed. For those who consent, government is liberation, but for those it oppresses, it is domination. Panarchism sorts out the mess, by allowing each to live in the government, or non-government, of their choosing; anarchists to live in anarchy, liberals to live in liberaltopia, communists in their communes, capitalists in their privatized communities, etc. In so doing, and recognizing the subjectivity of freedom, panarchism promotes a sort of meta-anarchism; if each person lives in the “government” of their choosing, and if we lay semantic arguments aside, each person lives in a differing version of anarchy. This, of course, is as seen through the lens of the anarchist. The statist would suggest that each lives according to their preferred government. At the end of the day, this semantic debate is less important than the actual realization of contentment for both sides.

One of the most limiting aspects of anarchism is the negative orientation of the philosophy. This is not to say that there are not anarchists who promote a positive model of anarchism, but

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that the general populace understands anarchism to be a lack of organization and an act of dismantling. Anti-organizationalist anarchists, and many individualist anarchists, suggest this also to be the truth, at least at the larger scales of reality. That is, many individualist anarchists—such as anarcho-capitalists— promote a model of “mere anti-statism,” in which monopolistic capital is supported, while unrecognized as a form of statism in itself. Many anti-organizational anarchists see it as their duty to keep organizations from establishing rules of order and social contracts, even when established by way of consensus. In many senses, anarchism is truly reduced to chaos in these applications. In rejecting the positive historical role of the state and religion altogether—the power of monarchies and monotheism to unite warring tribes, for instance—, many of these anarchists fall short in their vision of a society free of such conflicts, which, in the past, were resolved by way of the state and organized religion.

If anarchism is seen as a constant negation, an unrelenting “anti-” to everything, anarchism really has nothing to offer the populace at large in terms of something better. If that something better were to arrive, these atheistic, nihilistic, and anti-organizationalist anarchists would surely oppose it on principle alone. If they had it their way—and they would never admit it— everything would fall apart. However, if anarchism is seen as affirmation of people and their already-existent values—even those with which we have disagreements— it begins to have more of a “pull;” it brings more people in. If anarchism can promote a model which embraces and compartmentalizes differences, and allows them to coexist at their own expense, it begins to move from the world of ideas to the world of actualization. Does it really matter if others understand what anarchism is? Can anarchism be lived without being understood? Well, we see it all over the place: the cooperative movement, democratic churches, participatory labor unions, free schools, etc. all carry antiauthoritarian weight without their participants having to ascribe philosophically to the ideals behind their creation. Does it matter if some call anarchy *government*, so long as we, as anarchists, would not? Well then, allow others to bask in their blunders, for our truths are seen as blunders to them as well! So long as our blunders do not impede on one another, they are inconsequential.

## ANARCHIST REJECTION OF SPIRITUALITY

IT IS COMMON in anarchist circles to reject spirituality altogether. From phrases such as “No gods, no masters!” and written works like Bakunin’s “God and the State,” to more contemporary heretics such as Chaz Bufe, anarchists have often been hostile to metaphysical beliefs. This has not always, nor has it ever exclusively, been the case. Proudhon, the father of modern anarchism, for instance, was highly influenced by Christian scripture, even if he was not a conventional Christian by any stretch of the imagination. Groups such as the Catholic Worker have long provided a Christian expression of anarchist values. The literary great, Leo Tolstoy, also expressed a strong embrace of Christian anarchism. Even still, the overarching belief set of anarchists, as it relates to such things as cosmology, has been atheistic and materialistic. At any rate, those anarchists who hold to one side or the other often have a hard time getting along or sharing common goals.

Anarchist criticism of religion has often been well-warranted. The church, for the longest time, was synonymous with the state. After all, the first states were theocratic in nature, holding religious dogmas as absolute commands. The Catholic Church itself was the coopting power of grassroots traditions, such as Gnosticism and pagan religions, into a state-mandated religion. Anarchist criticism often arises due to the fact that church and state have long been conflated. The church, as state, no longer an organization dependent on the voluntary ascription of its members, was no longer subject to accountability. Whereas, before becoming states (and even after, to be fair, but less so), churches performed acts of social cohesion— such as enforcing standards of morality, fostering communal activities, etc.— in order to maintain membership, upon becoming states they were able to unilaterally dictate norms of behavior, membership became involuntary, and society, while still existing, lost a great deal of cohesion and internally-shared values. Those shared values which remained were largely externally enforced, and lacked dedicated exponents. People “got along” in fear of punishment, rather than for sake of shared identity, agreed upon values, and mutual assurance.

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The anarchists are correct to reject statism in all of its arrangements, but it is necessary to also understand that statism takes many forms. The state can be the church, the holder of capital, the commune, etc. Any individual or organization which maintains aggressive control and coercive behavior is the state. The state expresses its domination according to its orientation. In capitalism, capitalists are the state, in communism the majority is the state, and in theocracy the church is the state. None of this dictates that capital is bad, that communes are bad, or that churches are bad. These are merely forms in which statism may be manifested and expressed. If the church becomes the state, morality will become domination. If the capitalist becomes the state, exchange becomes domination. If the commune becomes the state, the vote becomes domination. The state can be expressed in a number of manners, consistent with its origins, but this does not entail that exchange, direct-democracy, or religion are inconsistent with liberty in themselves and for everyone, but that these dimensions should be relegated to their proper sphere of influence, and should not step outside the bounds of free association and member-influence.

That anarchists should not reject spirituality on principle is not to suggest that they should embrace Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Taoism, Judaism, etc. as individuals, but rather that these views should be seen as being consistent with anarchism, and tolerated, so long as they do not breach the free consent of the individual. Any belief system, atheist or religious, is a threat to liberty when it is enforced onto other parties. It is right for anarchists to reject authoritarian religion and scientific dogmas alike, but to support their use by their own adherents, so long as these uses are not to the detriment to others. Just as anarchists should support “governments” for their adherents (but no one else), they should also support religions for those who believe in them. Doing so is recognizing the subjectivity involved in defining freedom. Freedom is the right to self-determination and application of one’s own beliefs and values.

## THE ROLE OF SPIRITUALITY IN SOCIAL COHESION

SPIRITUALITY HAS LONG PLAYED a role of social cohesion. Religious communities were the first to develop into large societies and, yes, states. This is not due to the inherent authoritarianism of spirituality so much as historical chance and consequence. If the bank, or the secular community, for instance, was around when agriculture began, the first state would have been capitalistic or communistic. It just so happens that morality is a precursor for interpersonal exchanges, civic and economic. Without some form of morality—such as respect for property rights or due process—economies and politics alike have a hard time existing. For this reason, early institutions were highly morally-oriented, and, because ethics and morality are directly tied to cause and effect, and thus first and final causation, religious traditions were adopted in order to explain why people should treat each other with consideration, even despite a lack of empirical evidence (before ethics are put into practice, they cannot be tested, and so early societies established ethics firstly as an untested hypothesis). These early institutions allowed for social cohesion, and, when placed atop the geographic and ecological advantages of the Fertile Crescent, the societies which benefitted from these advantages grew at a quicker rate, and became more powerful. They enslaved other societies, and established themselves as states and, later, empires. The benefits to one society, which allowed them leisure for innovation and self-expression, became the cause by which the others lost their freedom. Freedom for one becomes another's slavery. Does this mean that freedom is to be rejected? Certainly not. It is to be self-limited; freedom should never go so far for one as to reduce freedom for another. This is the principle of equal liberty, long expressed by anarchists.

Shared morality and a common faith tradition allows for social cohesion and common understanding. That this cohesion and understanding has played a role detrimental to others is no reason to suggest that it should be avoided altogether, but that its benefits should be more justly, or fairly, shared. The fact remains that social cohesion and common understanding rely on institutions which facilitate moral behavior. If any society is

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dependent on the moral behavior and self-regulation of its members, it is an anarchist society.

### **FROM ATHEISM TO PANTHEISM**

**A**NARCHISTIC EMBRACE of atheism and materialism does much to support individualism, a necessary component of anarchism, but atheism and materialism has little support for collectivities, which rely on shared values and common spheres of sovereignty. Materialist ideologies support hedonistic ethics, but lack in transcendental ideals. With the focus on the individual, the collectivity diminishes. Individualism, in its strong sense, is necessarily reductionist, and ignores the emergent properties of society, seeing it as a collection of individuals alone. The value of society is greater than the sum of its parts, however. Society is not an accidental conglomeration of individuals who gain nothing, grow no more in contentment, by concerted effort, but an organism to itself, which provides new value to its component parts upon its construction.

One of the limiting properties of atheism is that it very well describes the material world, which is governed by entropy and tends toward dissipation, but has little to say in regard to creative potential. This is a limiting property especially for atheist anarchists, who hold an anarchist society as being ideal, without having any empirical evidence (three years in Spain, medieval Iceland, etc., but nothing recent or lasting) to back up their position. This being so, having a materialistic ontology, combined naturally with an objectivist and empirical epistemology, the beliefs behind atheism are antagonistic to those of anarchism. Anarchism is a form of political idealism, but atheism is considered a form of metaphysical realism. The two are not mutually reinforcing, but contradictory.

### **RETAINING REALISM WHILE EMBRACING IDEAS**

**A**TRULY LIBERATORY BELIEF SYSTEM will embrace those ideas that are pragmatically relevant, be they scientific or religious in nature. In accepting spirituality, one does not have to reject science, nor vice-versa. A pragmatic approach would

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best entail compartmentalizing these perspectives to their relevant spheres. We should not reject science on the whole, just because we realize that ideas are non-material, and that we may never be able to reduce emotional states to an exact science. Neither should we reject spirituality on the whole, simply because it fails to describe the laws of physics. Rather, we must understand that science and empiricism are wonderful tools for describing objective phenomena, and that spirituality and rationalism provide a means by which we may approximate a closer understanding of subjective noumena. If we want to know what someone thinks, or how taking a certain action affects another person's emotional state, we have to ask them. We can't just put their brain under a microscope. Neither can we ask a desk how it feels about being moved, or to move itself. We cannot just wish a boulder to remove itself from our path. If we wish to move the boulder, it helps to understand its properties of mass, and the laws of friction. Still, each has an application.

One can retain a realistic outlook while embracing a degree of idealism. We can understand how things worked in the past and continue to work without believing that this is the end of evolution. Yes, we should recognize scientific discoveries and apply them to our daily lives. However, we must also recognize that science tells us about known-knowns, while there also exist unknown-knowns. That is, science can tell us what we know we know (empiricism), but it cannot tell us what we don't know that we know (hypothesis that proves to be correct), or what we don't know we don't know (a possibility which hasn't even been considered). Spirituality can often be seen as the attempt to take part in a living hypothesis, in hopes that it will prove to be correct. In other words, spirituality is often the attempt to uncover an unknown-known, and to make it doubly known. It is the acceptance of intuition, an act of faith. Spirituality, in other words, provides the hypothesis, while science analyzes the data. Life is a constant hypothesis, which science has a hard time describing, but matter is easily ratified under its microscope.

## A Quick Introduction to Dualist Pantheism

### PANTHEISM

**W**HAT EXACTLY IS PANTHEISM? In short, pantheism is the belief that the Universe is God, or that God is the Universe. In other words, pantheism is the view that the Universe is self-determined, and does not rely on anything outside of itself for existence. Pantheists do not believe there is a God which is larger than the Universe. If there was something larger than the Universe as we know it, pantheists would expand their definition of God and the Universe to include this entity. A good example of this can be found in pantheist acceptance of multiverse theory; if there are many universes, God is the collection of all of those universes (many universes, one Universe).

Pantheism is different from atheism in that it ascribes the Universe a divine personality, or will, of sorts. Atheists often believe the Universe to be lacking in meaning and value, or take an existentialist position in which meaning and value are entirely human creations, but pantheists are much more likely to take the position that meaning and value are inherent in the Universe, but are accessed by way of human realization. In other words, meaning and value are a part of the Universe, but we are the mechanism through which this is expressed and manifested. We are understood to be a process of the Universe, and our individual will is understood to be a portion of the cumulative will of the Universe itself. Our individual will is respected as a part of the divine will.

### DUALISM

**D**UALIST PANTHEISM is not a form of substance dualism, but attribute dualism. In other words, dualist pantheists do not believe that mind (or idealism) and matter (or realism) are completely different from one another, or are irreconcilably separate. Instead, dualist pantheists believe that mind and matter are two expressions of, or ways of understanding, an underlying reality. In other words, dualist pantheism is a form of substance-monism.

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Dualist pantheists believe everything to be a part of an underlying eternalism and necessity. Dualist pantheists believe that, ultimately, all coordinates in space-time exist, even when they are inaccessible to us. This means that dualist pantheists suggest that the past and future exist, even if they are not currently accessible as part of the present. This belief is called *eternalism*. While space-time itself, the spectrum including all physical and temporal positions—all places in space and time—is understood to be a single substance, this substance expresses itself in dualities. These dualities are recognized by us as space and time, past and present, forward and backward, etc. Thermodynamics and relativity dictate that space and time share a relationship. This is largely because aging is understood as a system's rate of entropy; as entropy increases, the system ages. This entails that the material past is more highly ordered, denser, and more concentrated, while the material future is more chaotic, more fragmented, and more scattered about. Biology, however, throws a wrench into the gears of this understanding. While young, living systems increase in order, grow in complexity, and accumulate mass.

The duality of dualist pantheism is recognition of these two, and their associated, forces, however they are categorized: living and non-living, organic and mechanical, quality and quantity, subjective and objective, etc. These forces result from the two tendencies of aging: maturation, as one grows young to middle-aged, and degeneration, as one begins the process from middle-age until death. Materialist and objectivist ideologies result from the recognition of entropy, but idealist and subjectivist ideologies result from the recognition of syntropy, which is entropy's opposite. They are wrong so far as they reject the other, but are correct under their own terms. Syntropy and entropy both exist, and to recognize one without the other is shortsighted.

The duality of entropy and syntropy is synthesized in the absoluteness of God, the stillness of the Monad, the infinitude of the divine. Although we humans recognize difference, the passing of time, and change, these are merely illusions. They are necessary illusions, which we must treat as reality on most occasions, as they allow us to navigate our experiences, but they are illusions nonetheless. What we understand as independent phenomena/noumena are nothing but portions of a reality which

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we are incapable of perceiving in its entirety (can you imagine the whole Universe, past, present, and future, all at once, and in detail?). While duality speaks to our perspective, in the end, we are all one, connected through the patterns of causality and retrocausality.

### ETHICS

**D**UALIST PANTHEISM has many implications for ethics. The underlying ethic is, of course, necessity. That is, the dualist pantheist believes that everything that is, has been, and will be is part of a chain of events which could happen in no other order other than the way in which they occur. Everything is considered to be absolutely perfect. It is in our lack of understanding, and in our fragmented perspectives, that we lose sight of this perfection, and start ascribing values such as “good” and “bad,” which are little more than egoistic preferences. Interestingly enough, because these preferences exist, and play a role in cause and effect as we understand it, they too compose a portion of the ultimate perfection. Everything is perfect, past, present, and future, but past, present, and future vary in assorted manners; everything is perfect in its own time, and each time is perfect as it physically is. Change, too, is perfect. While one may exist as part of the perfection of the present, that present perfection may include feelings of discontent, which allow the next phase of perfection (the future) to come into being, and to express its uniqueness. We are exploring the various coordinates of perfection. Perfection includes its present state and its potential for change, simultaneously.

In this way, necessity includes events of the past and present and events of the future within its scope. It affirms the materialism of the past, while also affirming the ideals of the future, as being equally real and equally relevant within their own time. This being so, necessity needs not reject past institutions as being opposed to progress, but as part of the chain of progress which must continue onward. Rather than having us reinvent the wheel, necessity allows us to build upon its efforts. The pantheist, then, can see religion as a progressive entity which must continue its momentum forward, and keep from remaining stagnant, while the

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panarchist can see republics as positive outgrowths from monarchy, while falling short of the final solution. The necessitarianism of dualist pantheism allows it to explain contradictory occurrences without true contradiction or paradox. Where an idealist has a hard time explaining the origins of the non-ideal, and the realist cannot explain their optimism for the future, the necessitarian explains the seeming unfolding of one from the other as the accessing of coordinates on an underlying whole, which supersedes them both.

While the dualist pantheist holds beliefs grounded in the absoluteness of necessity, they also recognize that a part of that necessity lies in their individual experience and perspective. Though we may understand that this necessity exists, we must also understand that we cannot know the complete details of this necessity, which is a perspective reserved for God—the whole, the absolute, the infinite, the unknowable, the all, etc.—alone. We may understand our actions as being a part, but not composing the whole, of necessity. This being so, we must hold true to our own perspectives, while simultaneously respecting the perspectives of others.

Success demonstrates necessity. That which is necessary is that which is successful. The biological arrow of time demonstrates that what is necessary for life is what enriches it; this includes morals, shared values, communication, compassion, etc. Evolution dictates “the survival of the fittest,” and “fitness” is determined by one’s ability to succeed (especially in passing on genes and memes). If we fail, this, too, is necessary, but our goals and intentions which led to our failure were not (lest they come into being). We were wrong. Wrongness is the same as non-existence. Wrong is an assertion of something which is not, and what is not does not exist. What is right continues on, has fecundity, and determines the future. If we do that which is wrong, we cease to exist, or we lose some degree of control, freedom, or being. If we do that which is right, however, we continue to exist, or we gain in existence, control, freedom, or being.

Because of dualist pantheism’s necessitarian outlook, it is easily related to pragmatism, which is an ethic dominated by practical application. Pragmatists, like William James, for instance, embrace the use of any idea which can be considered to be “live.”

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In other words, any idea or ideology which is not disproven, and which gives its proponents a sense of direction or well-being, and which does not lead to the detriment of the holder, can be considered within the range of pragmatism. This includes ideologies which are not necessarily scientific, but not ideologies which reject science.

Eudaemonia provides another complement to necessitarianism. Because, in necessitarianism, everyone is considered to have a portion of the truth (their experience), but not the whole truth (the experience of all), that which is considered true, and that which is considered good, can be related to varying degrees of truth and goodness. Goodness, for instance, is a measure of desirability. That which is desirable is that which is good. However, that which is desirable to one may contradict the desires of another. This is a lesser good. A higher good is that good which best satisfies its participants. The highest good is that which satisfies all. Virtue is acting in accordance with that which is good and that which is true.

## Seven Reasons Dualist Pantheism Should be Embraced by Panarchists

### 1. **Dualist pantheism is non-dogmatic**

Dualist pantheism relies on empirical evidence, rationality, and/or logic for its conclusions. The compatibilism of dualist pantheism creates a lens by which science and religion can be seen to hold competing truths, rather than being necessarily at odds. While embracing science and spirituality, and recognizing objective and subjective truths, simultaneously, dualist pantheism suggests that these must be applied properly in order to be applicable.

### 2. **Dualist pantheism is all-inclusive**

Dualist pantheism understands that all beliefs—whether ideal or real, subjective or objective, spiritual or material, etc.—are inclined toward some sort of truth. Dualist pantheism embraces the

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objectivistic creeds of atheists, agnostics, deists, and others as an ideological expression of the real or material attribute of the Universe. Simultaneously, dualist pantheism embraces the subjectivistic beliefs of theists, gnostics, interventionists, and more as an ideological expression of the ideal or spiritual attribute of the Universe. It suggests that these objectivist and subjectivist belief-sets each share a portion of the absolute truth, which supercedes and includes them both in necessity.

#### **3. Dualist pantheism is an anarchistic approach to cosmology**

Dualist pantheism promotes the self-determination of the individual as part of the unfolding of the creative process of the Universe. When we create, we are expressing God's creative potential as well as our own, as we are a part of God, and all that we do is included as a part of God's behavior. As a part of the unfolding process of God's (formal) creation, dualist pantheism promotes the existential creation of meaning and value. Dualist pantheism recognizes the divinity and importance in all things. God is understood to be the collective will of the Universe.

#### **4. Dualist pantheism promotes an ontology of freedom**

Dualist pantheism embraces the struggle for freedom and self-determination as part of a teleological process of syntropy and becoming. Dualist pantheists suggest that biological evolution demonstrates a tendency toward growing amounts of complexity, order, morality, and freedom. Those organisms and species which are capable of making more decisions, treating each other fairly, acting in an orderly fashion, etc. are those that are most likely to pass on their genes and memes, which means a future which is more free, fair, orderly, etc.

#### **5. Dualist pantheism supports an epistemology of consensus and subsidiarity**

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Dualist pantheism suggests that no individual has the whole truth on their own, but that each individual holds a portion of the truth (dualist pantheists also suggest that human emotions are an important component of truth). This being so, dualist pantheism recognizes and honors both individual and collectively held truths, and suggests that individuals should be free to express their own truths at their own costs and to their own benefit, and that collectivities should have the same right. Individuals and collectivities alike must be understood to be sacred and sovereign. While dualist pantheism suggests that the absolute truth is found in shared understanding, it suggests also that shared understanding may only be accessed by way of consent, and cannot be forced.

### **6. Dualist pantheism supports non-empirical arguments as used by anarchists**

While dualist pantheists embrace those empirical truths which can be found, they also embrace hypotheses based in logic, intuition, and rationality in the absence of empirical evidence to the contrary. Even when information is missing, one must still make decisions, and doing so is thereby carrying out a test of one's hypothesis in the process. Modern anarchists and panarchists, having no recent or lasting empirical evidence of their ideology's potential, is based largely in the proponent's faith that society can exist under conditions of shared power. Dualist pantheism suggests that such use of faith is a necessary component of progress.

### **7. Dualist pantheism creates a cohesive platform for anarchist morals and tradition**

Like all societies, an anarchist society, if it is to be successful, will depend on a shared set of moral guidelines. In order for a society to be anarchistic, it must not force any specific creed or dogma onto any portion of the populace, and, therefore, must include, or at least respect, all creeds and dogmas. Dualist pantheism, by uniting real and ideal, objective and subjective, etc. into the absolute and necessary, creates a means by which all ideologies can be understood as holding a portion of the truth. Dualist pantheism, in supporting an ontology of freedom and an

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epistemology of consensus and subsidiarity, supports a naturalistic and humanistic theology capable of unifying society according to principles which are in accordance with anarchist values.

# The Eternally Perfect and Absolutely Necessary ALL

## INTRODUCTION

**M**Y BELIEFS ARE OFTEN FOUND to be controversial. Not the least controversial of my ideas, are my beliefs that the Universe— The All— is eternal, necessary, perfect, and absolute.

Being eternal, the Universe spans all of time, from the past to the distant future, without ever ceasing to exist there. Being necessary, it also spans the entire spectrum of reality and ideas. The perfection of the Universe, contrary to popular belief, is beyond both bad and good, and, in fact, encompasses them both. Being absolute, the Universe harnesses both subjective preference, and objective facts.

These are important concepts to my philosophy, because they allow for a dynamic that explains both how bad things happen in a Universe composed of meaningful and purposeful events, and how we can promote those things that we consider to be good within such a Universe. Such an ideology can explain why and how the Universe has allowed for atrocities, while allowing, or even commanding, progress.

## ETERNALISM

**P**ARMENIDES OF ELEA taught a very important doctrine, which many of the Eleatics, and those who would come after them, would retain. This was the doctrine of eternalism. Parmenides, in his doctrine of eternalism, suggested that the Universe— which he referred to as a monad, a sphere with nothing outside of itself— was always constant and forever unchanging, and that our recognition of change, and of time, is an illusion. The Universe, he suggested, is eternal; it never ceases to exist in any place in time or in space. We may think the past ceases to exist, and that the future is yet to be, but Parmenides refers to such an outlook as the world of *doxa*, or popular opinion. He does

not believe it to be the fact. Recognition of an eternal and unchanging existence he refers to as recognition of the world of *aletheia*, or the world of fact.

How can one readily understand the position of Parmenides, who suggests that the past and the future currently, though not presently, exist? Take a good look at the words on this page. Now, look away from the page, into the room you are in. Does the page, the contents within, cease to exist, simply because you are unaware of it as you look away? Certainly not! So it is with time. We may not be aware of its entirety, but this is no reason to suggest it isn't always there, that it isn't eternal. In fact, it is much more illogical to suggest that the future is our creation (though it is fun to see it, in terms of *doxa*, unfolding from our choices); travel always entails the prior existence of one's destination, even if unknown. The future is no exception.

In today's physics, we are coming to find more and more that Parmenides was correct in his fundamental assertions. Indeed, the correct model of time, according to many theoretical physicists, is the B-model of time, as proposed by John McTaggart. The B-model of time treats past, present, and future as always currently existing, though not readily available.

Time is often determined thermodynamically in terms of entropy; as entropy is increased, time is said to move forward. As we move into the future, everything is materially likely to fall apart; nails will rust, statues will corrode, cars will break down. This happens without—and likely in spite of—direction from humanity. We cannot expect the opposite to be true; cars do not repair themselves, statues do not patch their decay, nails do not polish themselves and generate lost material. All of this requires human effort, direction of material things by consciousness.

For this reason, there appears to be two arrows of time. While most of the world is non-living and inanimate, the general tendency, and the most dominant arrow of time, is that of entropy. However, entropy leads to dissipation, chaos, disorder, destruction. This is not the full description of the reality in which we live! There is also accumulation, structure, order, and production. These are the characteristics of reality expressed in the weaving of a sorrow's nest, the building of the beaver's dam, the copulation of two lovers. These are the expressions of life, and its struggle for preservation!

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While life is not the rule, and is in fact quite exceptional, this demonstrates a second arrow of thermodynamic time. This being so, as life evolves toward complexity and order, it is teleologically determined by an already-existent future; the non-living is determined exclusively by the undisputedly-having-existed (but also still existing!) past. The past, present, and future are simply coordinates in spacetime. They are all equally “there.” Living things move toward a future of order and production, and dying things move toward a future of disorder and destruction. The material future is fatalistic, dissipating. The spiritual future is destined with hope. The spiritual future is the material past, and the material future the spiritual past. Both currently exist, as both are eternal. Our subjective experience in *doxa*— wherein time shifts from the past to the future— is a matter of accessing what is already there, and leaving behind, but never eliminating, what has already been experienced.

While there are two main directions to time, there are many deviations from the path; the directions are tendencies and are not rigid. Similarly, one may move northward no matter the coordinate moved to from the South Pole. If one moves from the South Pole toward Argentina, one moves northward; from the South Pole to Japan, northward still, and, aside from trips over mountains, to the same general extent. Indeed, if one were to travel through the core of the Earth, this would be a different matter. So it is with time. Living things, struggling to get back to the Source, the singularity before the Big Bang, take many ways to get there. Some, those that deviate most from balance, take longer routes to get there. Those who focus on balance travel the core by force of virtue. The composite of our choices—each choice a (small-u) universe unto itself— is the multiverse; together one, the Universe. The Universe, God, is Eternally One. It appears to change, but such is an illusion.

### PERFECTION

**M**ANY EMANATIONISTS, such as the Gnostics— inspired by teachings of surrounding neo-Platonists—, found a strong resolution for the problem of evil. As Plotinus had taught that everything comes from a single Source, and further

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proximity from the Source is distance also from the Good, the True, and the Beautiful; the Gnostics taught that distance from God, the One, was also distance from perfection. In some interpretations of the Gnostic myths—those I feel most successful—the implication seems to be that perfection is a matter of completeness: To be a portion, a fraction, of the whole, is to lose sight of, and to cease participation in, this completeness. Good and bad, then, becomes a false perception; what is good to one is bad to another, and vice versa. Both are incomplete. Perfection exists beyond, and contains, this duality.

The Gnostics suggested that the existence of evil—which was simply a good misunderstood, or incomplete—is inherent to the material world, a construct of the Demiurge. The world of spirit, as it were, contains the existing good in the world. The problem is that portions of spirit (or Sophia) are trapped by the Demiurge in the fractioned bits of matter—the body—, struggling to be freed. Often, Sophia does not recognize herself in others, due to the fractured parts she is stuck within, which causes conflicting perspectives. This is why matter is associated with relativity, and thus conflicting desires and perspectives on good and bad.

Taking after the neo-Platonists, the Demiurge is not only meant to be understood as evil, but is merely incapable of perfection. In some ways, the Demiurge may be understood to be limited from a perfect rendition of Platonic form—the Good, the True, the Beautiful—in the same way a painter is limited from capturing a perfect image of a brook on his or her canvass; a striking, yet futile, attempt. That which is intrinsic can never be duplicated from outside.

The human spirit (which is good), Sophia, sees itself in the material conditions set into place by the Demiurge, and loses sight of its own value, seeing fractured portions of itself—though a portion of perfect—as bad. Each portion of Sophia finds itself in the same conflict, seeing other portions of itself in competition for resources; a carryover effect of separation and materialism.

Everyone, amidst conflict, sees their own will as good, and that of others as bad.<sup>i</sup> Conflict is a matter of scarcity, a condition of

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<sup>i</sup> Two people, neither of whom know the other, enter a busy coffee house,

book in hand, ready to take a seat and read for a few hours. There is one seat open. The first one in sees the seat, but assuming the first in line will also be the first to sit, she moves forward to the line. The second person, knowing if they stand in line they will lose the seat, anxiously skips the line to set their book in its location, preserving it for post-acquisition of their drink. They then stand behind the first. The first person is understandably annoyed; they wanted the seat, but didn't think of the necessity of saving it, possibly even having a preconceived notion of fairness which has been infringed upon. The second is happy to have thought ahead; they get exactly what they came for. Fairness may come into dispute, but even if the second customer stood in line, one of the customers (themselves) would have lost out on a place to sit, and felt the situation to be a bad one. What we have come to is a matter of dispute, and the origins of this dispute have to do with the playing out of preferences. Even if the employees of the coffee house step in, and say that the second customer was acting unfairly, this is not so much a matter of fact, but a preference for behavior on behalf of the employees (and one which may previously not have existed at all). This preference, which the first customer and the employees would agree is good, would be understood to be bad to the second customer. After all, there was no sign posted regulating the order in which one orders drinks and claims a seat. As far as they are concerned, such a dictate is unfair, and lacks in even-handedness. Surely, they think, they cannot be the first to have chosen a seat before ordering a drink (they may have, in fact,

material existence. For this reason, the Gnostics associate matter with the origins of evil. If left purely to spirit, mind over matter, abundance would be the rule, and conflict would cease to be. Everything would be understood to be good. Spirit and matter, as it were—one good, and the other bad, in a sense—, compose the perfect whole. Spirit is the origin of good, and matter is the origin of bad. Because all beings are composed of spirit and matter, and we only experience our own spirit, all beings see themselves as good, and others as bad. That is, they experience their spirit, and others' bodies; they experience the good (satisfaction of spirit) from within, and the bad (limitation of spirit) from without. They are ignorant of perfection. Its acknowledgement is *gnosis*, the goal of the Gnostic.

Though I see the value in it, I understand that mythology should in no way take the place of facts. Regardless of what one makes of Sophia and the Demiurge, the Gnostics touch on something rationally important: Perfection is a trait of the whole, and good and bad are matters of fraction. The whole contains both good and bad, but this is perfect in that they complement and define one another. The more we stray from an understanding of

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found themselves in the position of the first customer in a prior scenario, having lost out on a seat in the past in the same way, feeling such an act then to be “fair game”). The dispute, claims of good and bad, stems from the reality of the situation, not the ideality of it. That is, the customers would probably agree that the ideal situation is for everyone to have a seat and to feel satisfied; the conditions of reality are such that these ideals are unfeasible, and so material existence leads to conflict. In this way, good and bad are both relative and absolute. Unity is absolutely good, and separation is absolutely bad; but within the separation are notions of good and bad. The existence of good and bad is absolutely perfect. Such is the fractal Universe in which we exist.

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the whole, the more we get caught up in our own subjectivity, which entails conflicts of perspective. The best approximation of perfection can be found by way of compassion. In compassion one sets aside their iron will, and takes one up more malleable, in order that the will of others may be accommodated, along with one's own.

In modern physics, we have come to understand that the material Universe is currently governed by a tendency toward dissipation, understood to be entropy. This tendency is an increase in separation. Biology, on the other hand, demonstrates that, while not breaking the law of entropy, living organisms are systems of local entropy-reduction. This is demonstrated by living systems' collection and use of free energy. In this way—though living beings are the exception in the Universe rather than the rule, and therefore do not constitute a general tendency—, living beings express the opposite tendency of entropy, though on a smaller scale. If living beings were to become the rule, rather than the exception, and if the Universe were to awaken, this local reduction in entropy would become a general reduction in entropy; the law of entropy would cease to be a general law of cosmology, and would instead be relegated to a law of inanimate matter alone, in the same way the laws of economics, while still laws, apply to economy, but not to literature. One must only remember that life seemingly sprang from a dead Universe, and continues to spread exponentially, to understand that this is not so implausible or outlandish of a view. While entropy is a tendency toward dissipation, exemplified in the material world of physical processes, syntropy, its opposite, is a tendency toward unification, exemplified in the ideal world of mental constructs.

In our ideal world, everyone gets along and has everything they need; in the real world, this is not the case. Living beings have both a material existence, and give us a glimpse into the world of spirit; while we may know of things more material than spiritual, we do not know much of those that are more spiritual than material. We may be sure about the past in the same way as we are of matter, and we must leave the future open for interpretation in a manner similar with spirit.

The Universe, past, present, and future is eternally perfect. The materiality of the Universe tends toward separation, and

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increased regard for existence as being bad. The spirituality of the Universe tends toward unification, and increased regard for existence as being good. Both of these are elements of perfection.

In many ways, the resolution to the problem of good and evil, of conflicting goods, is a matter of working for the good of the whole, working toward the balance of interests. The greatest good, if one may take from Aristotle, is a matter of consensus; a good that none other sees as bad. Even still, the greatest good is merely a portion of perfection. The greatest good requires the greatest bad for recognition. Without contrast, good and bad don't exist at all. The contrast, itself, which allows for experience, is perfect. The greatest good is the temporary recognition of perfection, but perfection always is. The Universe is Eternally Perfect.

Perfection is the synthesis of good and bad, but how are we to perceive it as such? There are a number of ways.

Everything is perfect within itself. No one else can fit the perfect description of you. You are unique, and uniqueness is perfection. As an individual, in every moment in time within that moment, you are perfectly you. It is in comparison to others, when one is regarded not as an individual unto themselves, but a member of a species, that this perfection is lost sight of. You are perfectly you, but you are not perfectly human. No one is. When the fractured portions are set into contrast amongst one another, their deficiencies and imbalances are made apparent.

Unlike fractured portions of the whole, the monad contains everything within itself. Nothing exists outside of its bounds. It is, in fact, the thing in itself. There is nothing outside of it to challenge its perfection, nothing with which to contrast it. It is a fraction of nothing, and the totality of everything. All notions of good and bad exist within its perfection. The Universe is perfect. "I just don't like it," one might retort. "How can something I don't like be perfect?" Like pain, it is necessary.

Is pain good or bad? On the surface, if we answer purely emotionally and subjectively, pain is bad! Everyone knows pain is to be avoided. Objectively, however, we can see that pain performs an important service to the body. We do not feel pain until our barriers have been broken. This can be by way of forceful tearing or puncturing, by burn, or another invasion of one's physical

perimeter. If we are feeling pain, we know to get away from the source of the pain, the thing that is causing us physical harm. A burn tells us that we are too close to a fire or a hot surface. As we feel the sharp edge of a metal surface we are cleaning slice into our palm, we know to discontinue the pursuit, so as not to encourage unnecessary entropy. Pain is subjectively bad and objectively good; a relationship of higher perfection. Can you think of an act that is subjectively good and objectively bad? If you were to pursue such an act, would you last long? This is why it is rare to find such things.

### NECESSITY

**R**EALITY AND IDEALITY— often counterparts of bad and good— do not always match. Oftentimes those things we feel are ideal are never realized; reality hardly ever seems to fit the model of ideality. However, there are those rare times that reality seems to shift to approximate ideality, as if part of a continuum. Indeed, the continuum of real and ideal is the necessary.

There are many beautiful and highly ideal situations that can come to mind. We can envision all of our friends having everything they want, a world without war, a society without poverty. These wonderfully pleasant ideas, though grand and sweet, are not always the reality. In fact, reality seems to step in the way of this every chance it gets: Entropy is not one to produce our friends' wants, to bring warring nations to peace, or to produce wealth for the needy. These things take effort, but effort is less than ideal.

In contrast, few things in reality are ideal. Our friends have unending needs, the world is at war, and society is poverty-stricken. These terrible situations are not always the outcomes of the agency of those who suffer their costs. One may make reasonable choices, only to face a bout of bad luck. Bad luck, as it were, has proper designation: Murphy's Law. It is a well-known corollary of entropy. Reality of this sort, governed by loss, is seldom wanted.

The synthesis of the real and the ideal is the necessary. The necessary includes all that exists. All that exists in the present is the ideal of the past and the reality of the future. That is, the present reality is composed of the choices directed by preferences from

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those long past and still living; the future reality will be composed likewise. The present contains the outcomes of prior ideals, and the seed from which will spring future reality.

As pain is perfect for the individual, and as it is composed of subjective bads and objective goods, struggle is necessary, and exists between reality and ideality. Failure— due to unrealistic ideals or exhaustive practice of a less than ideal reality— plays the same role in the struggle between the real and ideal as between good and bad. Less than ideal realities do not persist, and less than realistic ideals do not come into fruition. Goods that see each other as bads do not better approximate perfection. All that exists was seen by the past as ideal, and all that will exist will be seen in the future as a constraint of reality. Together, this relationship composes necessity.

We may hold wonderfully grand visions, golden ideals, but they mean nothing if they do not come into fruition. Bringing them into fruition is an act requiring effort, action in the world of reality, which, again, is less than ideal. In contrast, we may master the world of reality and positive application, but as a new idea, a normative model, comes into play, and finds success, reality will change around us, forcing us to adapt or to perish. Ideals take effort to set into action, and notions of reality become obsolete if they do not adapt to new ideas.

Those ideas that are not materially successful, or are not materially set into action by way of effort; and that reality which is not fit for ideality, or is not dreamt of; are not found to be necessary. Everything that existed in the past, but does not exist in the present, was necessary in the past and not in the present; all that will exist in the future, but does not exist in the present, will be necessary in the future, but is not for the present. Thus it was with horticulture, which many see as progress from hunting and gathering, but which was set underway only after climatic changes that left humanity with no other option than to labor for their food. Before this, we took freely from nature as we needed it, with no need to concern ourselves of future conditions. The change marked the transition from immediate-return to delayed-return societies. This was a necessary transition— a relation between our ideal outcomes and the conditions of reality—, and one which has given us our current conditions. Those ideas that can be had, but

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which do not come into fruition, likely have a material coordinate somewhere, though they are not readily accessed from our position. They are necessary in the Universe, and for some universe in its multiversal modality, but not for our own experience (universe).

In terms of modern physics, necessity is probably best understood through the interaction of quantum and classical physics. Because a complete Theory of Everything is yet to be established, at least in the rigidly mathematical sense, this means that necessity is difficult to understand! What we know, however, is that classical and relativity physics as well as quantum physics play a role in the governing of our Universe. A complete Theory of Everything will reconcile these two approaches in some way, likely through some understanding of quantum gravity. In the meantime, it may be reasonably conjectured that reality, the world of matter and physical processes, as we understand them on the macro scale, can be described quite well using classical and relativity physics; however, matters of life and psychology, and micro-processes are best described through quantum methods. In the quantum world, strange things happen; things that are hard to wrap one's head around, such as retro-causality, states of superposition, quantum entanglement. Classical physics, and especially relativity physics, can also be accompanied by strange effects, but, for the most part, classical physics seem a lot more common-sense oriented. For this reason, ideality—the world of ideas and mind over matter—can be attributed to quantum processes, and reality—the world of objects and matter—to more classical physics. Necessity is the outcome of these processes.

The necessitarian outlook, long before quantum dynamics, was perhaps best championed by the Dutch philosopher, Baruch Spinoza. Spinoza's pantheism was a strict understanding of necessity, partially influenced by the Gnostics and the Eleatics (such as Parmenides). Spinoza saw no room for truly free will on behalf of the individual, believing all to be determined by God. God, Substance, or Nature, alone, is free, as God is the thing in itself, unhindered by none. Spinoza understood God, Substance, to express itself to us through two attributes (of which we are aware, among infinity), which are further expressed in a series of tiered modes. The two attributes are extension and thought, or body and

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mind, and their associated modalities are width and height, happiness and sorrow, etc. Each attribute is ascribed a place in existence, as an expression of Substance. Spinoza suggested that whatever God wills, is, and that all that is, like Substance from which it is expressed, is necessarily so. There is no other way for it to be.

The Great Chain of Progress is nothing more than the Great Chain of Necessity, the struggle between, and reconciliation of, reality and ideal existence.

The necessitarian outlook has much to offer. In reconciling the needs of practicality and good intentions, necessity explains the challenges faced both by realists and idealists. It encourages the realist to take up change, and the idealist to slow down and settle a bit for reality, and to enjoy the present, at least a little bit! It encourages the realist to concern themselves with ethics, and the idealist to take practicality into thought. Grand ideas, if impractical, never come to be; they are unnecessary (for our universe). Old practices, if no longer ideal, cease to exist, and will not extend into the future. While eternally necessary for their moment in time, this moment of necessity has ceased to be. Only God is beyond this, as God extends the full span of eternity, and has no restriction to a momentary existence, but is all moments in one.

### **THE ABSOLUTE**

**T**HE ABSOLUTE, as Hegel suggested, contains within itself both the objective and the subjective. That is, the absolute contains all qualitative and quantitative data, all constructs of truth. In epistemology, debate centers around matters of empirical fact and rational insight; the absolute resolves each into itself.

Scientists, or empiricists— and those of their ideology, scientism, or empiricism—, are of the belief that truth can only be derived through the empirical method of analyzing the objective world of matter. They only accept quantitative data as facts available for consideration, lacking all, or at least most, concern for *a priori* prediction.

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Alternatively, spiritualists, or rationalists— and those of their ideology, spiritualisty, or rationalism— are of the belief that truth can only be derived through the rational, subjective, world of mind. They accept qualitative data as facts available for consideration, feeling unrestricted to purely *a posteriori* outcomes.

Objective, empirical, understanding applies well in regard to the material world. However, spirit is a matter of subjectivity, rationality. We can determine quite well with the laws of physics where a material object will fly when we hit it. However, we cannot tell quite so quickly the flight path of the bird who has been disturbed into action. The path of the object is a mere matter of calculation, while the path of the bird is a matter of rationally-constructed goals on its behalf. When a mind enters the picture, complications follow, but the laws of physics describe quite well the conditions of, and truths associated with, inanimacy.

If left to empirical data alone, we retain many possibilities. Building upon itself, empirical data can provide all of the necessities intrinsic to mechanization and engineering. Upon studying the “accidents” of nature, it may even duplicate “new” forms. Empirical data, however, is incapable of telling us about the exact subjective experiences of those around us. It can hint to actions which will be taken in response to stimuli, usually due to bodily limitations, but it cannot determine them exactly. Empiricism can suggest likely outcomes of a situation in which a number of emotive states may be experienced, but not of the emotive states themselves; not to any extent noteworthy in terms of hard science.

If left to rational constructs alone, we still retain many possibilities. Building upon itself, rational data can provide all of the necessities intrinsic to social binding and cultural expression. Rational constructs, however, are incapable of telling us about the objective conditions of the environment around us. It can hint toward hypotheses, but left untested, hypotheses regarding the future-outside-of-our-control find great limitation. Rationalism can make general predictions, and can make useful assumptions, but it is incapable of specifics and actual outcomes.

Regardless of how one feels about it, both objective reality and subjective ideality must be factored into existence, and truth derived from each. One cannot ignore the rational and ideal for the

sake of the empirical and the real, or vice versa. In so doing, one submits themselves to a grave mistake. Existence is a matter of each. Existence is absolute.

The absolute is only understood through metaphorically stepping outside of oneself. That is, the absolute is only comprehended by detaching oneself from their own ideals, and physical conditions, and taking a more “objective” (in the sense of unbiased, not regarding objects) look at their role in living. Is one’s condition less than ideal? Are one’s ideals unrealistic? How do the failures and successes of one’s ideology play into their prosperity? Those subjective ideals that cannot be reconciled with objective reality, and that objective reality which cannot be reconciled with subjective ideals, are not absolute. The Absolute describes that combination of rational and empirical occurrences that feed into the same event. We may try to explain a classroom setting in terms of empiricism, or we may rationalize an occurrence before it happens, but organic systems are matters of both past existence and future possibility.

Empiricism is used in the hard sciences, especially physics. In purely physical processes— when placed in a controlled setting without unknown determinants entering the picture, and when the matter regards an object rather than a subject—, one can predict, beyond reasonable doubt, what will occur before it happens. Of course, this is not a true prediction, except for possibly in the case of the first experiment, in which a hypothesis may have been predicted before having occurred. A hypothesis, alone, does not constitute empirical fact, but is instead a rational construct. Predictions, then, are rational and not empirical. The “predictions” one makes when using empirical data— regarding the speed and direction a ball will fly when it is struck, for instance— have already been demonstrated in the past, have already been predicted by rational constructs. Nevertheless, when it comes to non-living objects, they have few choices to make! The same prediction can be used over and over, again and again, with little error. This is the empirical, or scientific, method. It suggests one constructs a rational hypothesis, and rigidly tests it over and over again, perpetually. While change does not occur, after enough tests, it is considered a theory or a fact. The soft sciences make use of quite a bit of rationalism. The soft sciences include those dealing with

living organisms and those which regard matters immeasurable, qualitative, or seemingly indetermined. Mathematics, while not a science, are also considered to be a form of rationalism.

Clearly, there exist forces relating to the world of the subject, matters relating to choice. Living beings express—by way of the hydrogen bridge,<sup>ii</sup> which bridges quantum and classical scales—degrees of seeming indeterminism, more properly accorded to the retrocausality of the quantum scale. We refer to these properties as freedom of will. Still, the world is highly classically determined, not by ideas, but by force. Existence is composed of both living and dead, spiritual and material, forces. The truths behind these forces can be derived empirically or rationally, depending on the nature of the truth in question. To ignore the importance of the objective, or that of the subjective, is to ignore the fundamental workings of reality. The absolute—the ground of all being—contains the interactions of these forces. Any ideology which fails to understand this—that scientism which ignores the truth of the subjective, and that spirituality which ignores the truth of the objective—will fail to grasp the ground of all being.

## CONCLUSION

**T**HE UNIVERSE— God, Nature, the One, the Source, the Monad, the All, the Alpha and Omega, the Thing in Itself, and its many renderings— is eternally perfect, necessary, and absolute. It is eternal, ceasing to exist in no place or time. Our own past, present, and future is contained within its eternal presence. It is perfect, having nothing outside of its bounds. Entirely whole, lacking nothing, there is not a thing which compares. It is necessary; being the sole cause for all events, it spans and includes all that can be had, real and ideal. The Universe is absolute, and contains all perspectives within itself. Within is catalogued all reason, rational and empirical.

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<sup>ii</sup> This is pointed out in an essay by Ulisse Di Corpo and Antonella Vannini, named “Syntopy and Water.”

# Ideological Progressions in the Monad

## INTRODUCTION

IT IS IMPORTANT to understand the manner in which ideologies develop and relate to one another and the Universe in which they exist. In order to establish such an understanding, we will be looking into meta-ideology. We will first take a basic look at dualist pantheism, which provides the underlying approach of my metaphysics, before describing ideologies as they exist within such a Universe, the constituents of those ideologies, and their willingness to transcend the current cultural paradigms in which they are placed. We will conclude with why geo-mutualist panarchism is the most capable of leading such political and economic transcendence.

## DUALIST PANTHEISM AS FOUNDATION

DUALIST PANTHEISM IS the belief that God and the Universe are the same thing, and that this ultimate unity is expressed through polarities. It can be understood in ontological terms of neutral monism and eternalism. Neutral monism suggests that everything consists of a single substance, which is expressed to and understood by humans through two attributes, or properties. This view of neutral monism is further connected to a neutral form of necessitarianism, which suggests that everything can only happen in one way, as determined by the interplay of polar forces, which act in differing manners. The view is also connected with eternalism, which suggests that time is an illusion, and that all points in time exist forever. The position of dualist pantheism is important in understanding the alchemy of how change, from the real to the ideal, occurs in our Universe.

Dualist pantheism, like all forms of pantheism, suggests that God and the Universe are one and the same thing. Under these terms, God may be also understood as “the All” or “Absolute,” “the thing in itself,” “the Source,” “the One,” or “Monad.” The idea behind pantheism is that God is forever present, always exists, and contains everything—good and bad—

that happens. A common theme throughout mystical pantheist traditions suggests that the nature of our suffering is disunity with the whole, or the All, and that the cessation of suffering, or happiness, can be gained through unity with the whole. This must be done on various levels.

Neutral monism, the ontological counterpart to dualist pantheism, is the position that everything is united into one substance, but that this substance is understood through human experience by way of two properties or attributes, which represent the real, material, sensory-oriented phenomena, and the ideal, spiritual, and intuition-oriented noumena, that we deal with on a daily basis. In the version I use, the real and ideal are reconciled in the necessary, or the absolute. Everything that has happened, is happening, and will happen is perfect.

The view further suggests necessitarianism, the belief that everything that occurs does so within a chain of necessary occurrences. In other words, there is no way for things to progress, aside from the way they *have* progressed and *will* progress. In dualist pantheism, this is associated with the will of God, or the All, which is Supreme. Necessity is beyond, but includes, good and evil, and allows us to see good and evil existing as part of a single, but polarized, spectrum.

While progression is acknowledged as part of our experience, this progression, and our experiences, alike, are understood to be useful illusions relating to a false perception of time. According to the view of eternalism, all moments in space and time exist permanently, regardless of our ability to access them or not. Our perception of time is an illusion, which is due to our being a portion of, rather than the complete, whole.

Existing within the whole, we have the potential for choice and movement. Though our choices seem complex, as they exist within varying layers, one does not have to look far to see that these choices are all grounded in the dual properties of substance. All choices relate to mental or physical states, and their variations. These states are further oriented along the lines of time, with the mental-ideal oriented toward the future, and the physical-real toward the past. All points in time, however, exist simultaneously, though we don't perceive them at once.

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These positions are a way of reconciling one's ideology with the world around them, understanding how the two intermingle. Though we may have grand ideas that please us, others are not always so quick to understand, or even to agree. If we are to better understand how to change society, to have ideological success, we must understand how our ideology fits into the world of ideologies and interacts with them. This entails, further, understanding the orientation of ideologies. Further still, it entails understanding changes throughout history as being perfect, and, rather than accepting them as they were, utilizing their principles in new ways to, as Ken Wilber says, "transcend and include" them. At times, it means we were wrong to believe what we did.

Understanding progressions in terms of dualist pantheism allows us to approach ideologies and their holders with more compassion, and to include them and accept them, without rejecting the beliefs of others. Dualist pantheists, as perennialists, believe that all ideologies hold an element of truth, while finding the most interest in the balance of these truths. But balance does not mean stagnation; when it comes to time and progression, balance means gradual change, the synthesis of stagnation and urgent movement. This means rejecting elements of the past (while keeping others) and claiming elements from the future. Those pieces left behind are not to be understood as perishing from the chain of perfect necessity, but only from that piece of perfection we have accessed. Again, not all that is perfectly necessary, in the ways of the Absolute, are currently ideal, though living systems are oriented toward, and we sense perfection through the attainment of, the ideal. The goal of the dualist pantheist is the slow recognition of upcoming truths and the soft rejection of those that are obsolete, which is made possible by understanding their place in perfection. Once ideal, older systems begin to represent the real (already attained), and are to be transcended.

Dualist pantheism, and its associated neutral monism, necessitarianism, and eternalism, explain how change seemingly occurs, by unchanging and eternal laws, through the transition from one pole (be it good or bad, ideal or real, past or future) to another. In this way, we can see the experience of change as existing within an eternal spectrum, within which we may orient ideologies.

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(For more on this topic, please see “The Eternally Perfect and Absolutely Necessary ALL.”)

Before continuing, it is necessary to understand the analysis of ideology, as mapped within the conditions put forth by dualist pantheism. After our descriptivist approach is solidified, we will continue forward with prescription, and will discuss the opponents of the future, and their overcoming.

### **LEFT AND RIGHT ORIENTATIONS**

**R**IGHT WING IDEOLOGIES are connected to a sort of nostalgia for the past. For this reason, such ideologies are associated with cultural conservatism and traditionalism. American Republicans, for instance, wish to uphold values relating to negative rights, protecting property rights as the aristocracy of the Romans and Greeks had had, while their more extreme counterpart, the fascists, wished to return to the sort of monarchical and authoritarian approach of the rulers.

Left wing ideologies are connected to a sort of faith in a brighter future. Such ideologies are associated with cultural liberalism and progressivism. American Democrats, for instance, wish to uphold the values relating to positive rights, giving the poor new rights to have their needs met, as has been done in no society to ever exist before, while their more extreme counterpart, the progressive, wished to further democratize society through popular initiative and referendum.

Right wing ideologies are typically connected to a religious or idealist metaphysical view, with Republicans drawn to the exoteric religions, such as Christianity in the United States; and fascists drawn much more to the esoteric traditions, such as those relating to mystical traditions of Hermeticism and Hinduism.

Left wing ideologies are typically connected to an atheistic or materialist worldview, with Democrats drawn to various forms secularism, such as agnosticism and humanism in the United States; and communists, having been historically strict regarding their position on atheism.

It seems that leftists and rightists, typically but not always, hold some kind of balance between idealism and realism.

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The rightists appear to approach politics more realistically, looking to the past for their views, but in so doing are also quick to accept traditional worldviews. That is, the right looks into the material past for their political views, but those societies they uphold as strong were highly religious. In accepting the material past as their model for society's structure, they also accept their metaphysical positions and traditions to a great degree.

Leftists, on the other hand, appear to approach politics in a much more idealistic fashion, looking to the potential of the future, but do so on the basis that the Universe does not have a purpose, so we must somehow create one, and look after one another. That is, leftists believe the Universe to be void of objective morality, and see political idealism as a means of temporary, even if fleeting, happiness.

The leftists believe in cosmic fate and temporary happiness, while the rightists support eternal happiness at the cost of temporary hardship.

Conservative and traditionalist ideologies promote the integrity and responsibility of the individual. They expect individuals to look after their own interests and to take care of themselves, manage their lives in a responsible manner, and to be strong. Fascist economics take this so far as to "weed out" those they feel to be undesirable, firstly in the area of decision-making by taking away power from the citizens by a harsh supply-oriented economy, and finally in the area of existence, by way of violence. They believe this will result in happiness by way of purification.

Liberal and progressive ideologies tend to promote social welfare and the provision of the individual's needs on behalf of society. They believe people to be limited by their surroundings, and to need help from a benevolent state. Communist economics takes this so far as to enforce the provision of societal needs, firstly through the forceful distribution of property, and finally through work camps. They believe this will result in happiness by way of societal provision.

Right wing politics typically reflect the concerns of people from higher class origins, such as aristocrats and the bourgeoisie. The right wing politics of fascism, for instance, are associated with traditionalism and monarchism. These reactionary views typically arise in societies which are manically-depressed, and in which the

upper and middle classes have been dispossessed in some way. Manically-depressed societies are conducive to religiosity and hero-worship and are much more easily driven by mythology and charismatic leadership. They also feel themselves to be victimized by an external threat. In the case of fascism and some forms of conservatism, the case has been made for a socio-religious conspiracy on behalf of the Jews, particularly the Jewish bankers. In order to make the case, traditionalist thinkers have looked back into history and the anthropology of religion. The case is made for an external enemy (of the Germans, for instance) reaching from affairs of the past, who must be dealt with through strong and heroic leadership.

Left wing politics typically reflect the concerns of people from lower class origins, such as workers and tenants. The left wing politics of communism, for instance, are associated with social progress and industrial democracy. These views typically arise in societies which are depressive,<sup>i</sup> and in which cooperative self-help is sought out by those who are suffering. These depressive movements are attributed to some degree of philosophical self-help, though they are most usually coopted by a leader with a program, though they are privately critical of the program (as understood by the work of Margaret Mead on Soviet society, wherein support was publicly and forcefully demonstrated, and criticism was commonly found in private). These societies often

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<sup>i</sup> Societal change in general is due to facing hardships. Hardships are naturally depressing, but there are three ways to react to them. Hardships can result in a more critical and sticking form of depression, attributed to fatalism and the externalization of a society's own value onto others; they can result in a more maniacal expression of the depression, attributed to societal solipsism and the pressing of its values onto others; but a society can also get through hardships in a more balanced manner, which does not result in such critical forms of critical societal mania and depression.

feel themselves to be victimized by an internal threat. In the case of communism and some forms of liberalism, the case has been made for a conspiracy on behalf of the corporations. In order to make the case, progressive thinkers have looked to the possibility for society to be arranged in manners that have yet to be done. The case is made for an internal enemy (of the people) which holds them back from their yet reached potential, who must be dealt with through mass action.

I speak of communism and fascism in absolutely dichotomous terms, but this is not sufficiently true. While the societies display the depressive and maniacal elements I speak of—fascism arising from mania and communism from depression—, the ends they seek are the opposite, with fascist politics looking to the past for resolutions, and communists to the future. I associate looking to a newly constructed the future with idealism and mania, and romanticizing the past with realism and depression. Thus, they may also be said to be oriented in opposite directions to their originating positions, naturally seeking cosmic balance.<sup>ii</sup>

There are also considered to be centrist ideologies, as represented by liberal Republicans, conservative Democrats, democratic socialists, and social libertarians. These are economically centrist, but are not politically so. In terms of political authority, there are two poles which can be imagined. The first is the side of dictatorial statism, wherein leadership is concentrated into one individual. The second is the side of chaotic anarchism, wherein leadership is entirely lacking, and though a state is not established, it is because the widespread expression of force keeps it this way. In other words, there is classical government and there is chaos. Between these can be found more populist ideologies relating to civil government (such as Georgism) as well as classical forms of anarchism, which are not chaotic, and which do not hold

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<sup>ii</sup> It should also be remembered that each is the cause of the other's sorrows and hardships. Fascism, after all, is largely a reaction to the threat of communism, and communism is a revolt against monarchy (fascism) and liberalism.

as their goal the abolition of law, but social participation in its creation and acceptance. Geo-mutualist panarchism, for this reason, provides a positive model for both an economically and politically centrist ideology, which balances the economic forces of left and right, and the political forces of crime and government.

## TOWARD THE COSMIC CENTER

**A**S HUMANS, we perceive time as constantly moving forward. This being the case, we can anticipate that leftist and anarchist ideologies, which are oriented in the future, are teleologically pre-determined. However, we must also recognize that, if this is so, they have been pre-determined throughout the entirety of history, and still there are events leading up to this climax. This being realized, we must recognize further that the proper steps must be taken if we are to bring our ideal reality into being. We cannot just jump into anarchist communism. The proper steps must be taken, which reconciles such an ideal future with the statist capitalism of existing reality. The future, as Ken Wilber suggests, always “transcends and includes” the past. This being so, if anarchists wish to be successful, they must find ways of evolving into the future society, as if societies exist on a gradient, rather than being black and white. This entails “grandfathering in” some of the previous ways of life. By retaining values of individualism, and making socialism meet its terms, as well as by allowing societies to practice whatever system they wish— capitalist, communist, statist, anarchist, etc.—, internal to their boundaries, geo-mutualism does just this.

Geo-mutualism does not only synthesize values and relegate them to their proper spheres of importance in the general sense, it allows these values to play out separately and to their fullest extent in the more specific sense. This effectively “grandfathers in” the behaviors of previous societies. This is beneficial because it makes the new society much less of a threat, and because it provides a common purpose for a wide range of ideologies which are not homogenous, but who would all benefit from being allowed to play out their own value systems to the fullest extent (at their own expense). In other words, because monocentric law naturally means that ideologies must compromise,

not only on the general but also on the specifics, all ideologies have a stake in uniting for the sake of expressing their differences in the area of the specifics. Republicans and Democrats, communists and fascists, today have to compromise under the terms of monocultural centralism. Though they are different, they have a combined interest in dissolving this monocultural centrism, if uniting for the general means freeing the specifics. If, by uniting, both Democrats and Republicans could have their own countries, they may be willing to establish a federal body for this purpose.

In my essay, "Spiraling Into Our Future," I describe my philosophy of change, which I refer to as "neutral dialectics," representing its grounding in neutral monism. In it, I describe the ideal as always existing outside of the present. As an ideal is approached, it loses its value as ideal and becomes circumstance, with a new ideal being generated. In the case of our society, we exist in the realm of republican capitalism, with our transcendent ideal being stateless communism. In order for stateless communism to be reached, we must establish an ideal beyond it, but in order to establish an ideal beyond stateless communism, we must reach an ideal that reaches toward, but stops short, of stateless communism, such as libertarian socialism, which is most realistically exemplified in geo-mutual panarchism.

Those who would hold too nostalgically to the past, or too confidently to the future, would find themselves the enemies of geo-mutualism. While communism may be the goal, for such a goal to meet the terms of the individualist past, as it naturally must for the two to be bridged, all would have to share in an equivalent amount of virtue. This is simply not the case, and to treat it as otherwise is dangerous. While fascism may touch on some important aspects of human purification, its attempts to cleanse humanity have resulted in horrible atrocities. Where communism treats the unworthy as equals, fascism ignores their limitations and treats them unfairly. Instead, geo-mutualism suggests that those of equal stature should act communistically amongst one another, but inequality is best dealt with by the market. Differences play out in the market, while common affairs are managed in the commune. Not all are equally skilled in baking, building, or writing, but we all share a common human essence. This being so, geo-mutualists

support a henocentric confederacy built on principles of solidarity and subsidiarity.

Conservative and traditionalist thought, under geo-mutualism, will be maintained as far as some of the values upheld, which are conducive to unity and flourishing, but will be moved far past in terms of harsh social organization, as elements such as democracy creep into the present from our communist future. Family values will be upheld through economic and political equilibrium, without need for a dictator, having participatory structures in its stead.

Geo-mutualist panarchism resolves the need for violence between different ideologies, by properly managing political economy. Those ideologies which are incapable of existing alongside others, and infringe on them, will naturally be eliminated, not offensively, but defensively. Conditions of defensive action will include the fair access of the offending party to resources, and equal treatment under the principle of fair regard. It is only if an offense is made after access to resources and fair treatment is extended, that an individual or group will be considered the offending party. This being the case, it is the hopes of geo-mutualist panarchism that fair treatment and economic equilibrium will end the utility for intersocietal aggression.

### **DENIERS OF TRUTH**

**W**HILE IT IS UNFORTUNATE, there are those who will deny the need for societal change and further transcendence to ends of justice. These individuals are the deniers of truth, believers and promoters of lies. Some of them seem ignorant and closed off, willingly stupefied. Others have been tricked by those, still more, who have purposefully constructed falsities in order to seize power, and to satisfy their subjective opinion of that which is good at the expense of others. Being that those who are ignorant and closed off, and those who are tricked, depend firstly on the existence of those spreading lies, it is this latter which shall be considered the enemy of gradualism. In what manner do these express themselves?

The extremes already spoken of, communism and liberalism, fascism and conservatism, these are the ideologies of

they who are tricked and who accept, willingly closed off from alternatives, reality as it is given to them by others. These others? Well, they are the spreaders of lies, the perpetuators of faction. In one sense, they are the most enlightened, and yet, in another, they are the least. They are the most enlightened in that they have gotten to information before anyone else, but they are less enlightened because of what they have decided to do with it. The Freemasons, for instance, have ushered in republicanism and capitalism, both favorable to the prior feudalism and monarchy, but have stopped short of the Kingdom of God. It is this that will be their unraveling. Rather than sharing its findings with all of humanity, Freemasonry has kept secret the deepest wanderings of the mind, and has used this knowledge to separate others and to dominate them.

The Freemasons have come to understand the nature of the Universe, but are unwilling to share it with humanity. This does not keep our common existence from being unraveled by others. It is clear from the work of those more than willing to share, if one is willing to put the effort forward to find it, that we live in a Universe of neutral monism. That is, we live in a Universe which is composed of a single substance that is expressed as two properties, mental and physical. Freemasonry is quite aware of this fact, but the elite who have inherited its knowledge does not promote it. Instead, they have used the properties of the Universe in efforts of confusion, suggesting one property to govern another, or to compose the nature of substance, that which properties are naturally expressions of, and not vice versa.

The tactics of the elite include “divide and conquer,” Trojan horse and “package-deal” strategies, and scapegoating.

“Divide and conquer” is quite a prominent tool, as they divide the population into left and rights of various degrees, according to the properties of the Universe, without ever touching on its substance in public. In order to divide the population, the illuminists point to very real distinctions that exist around us, but magnify their importance. They have, for instance, pointed to the problems of capitalism and employers, helping to spread ideologies such as Marxism, funding Lenin and Trotsky. They have also pointed to the problem of bureaucracy, helping along vulgar libertarians, such as Ayn Rand, Murray Rothbard, and Milton

Friedman. They have ensured that these two very valid interpretations of the problem never meet eye to eye, and always appear to be irreconcilable. In doing so, they conquer. When an individual or group at the top can divide a population, they can turn them against one another, using one side at a time as a scapegoat. After conflicts are manufactured, they can be resolved by the authority, demonstrating their “necessity.”

Trojan horse strategies, such as the “freedom to elect our leaders” are also used quite a bit. What a deliciously poisoned apple! After all, it is always an agent of the elite that gets elected. They’d be in control anyway, but, with the magic of elections, they gain the esteemed support of those they administer their authority to, where it would otherwise be lacking. Many like to believe that we live in a truly democratic republic, where the people, by way of their agents, really do run the show; but this couldn’t be further from the truth.

If we look back into history, we see that the United States was founded by Freemasons. It was the masonic lodge led by Joseph Warren, the American leader who would die on bunker hill, that carried out the Boston Tea Party, after being planned at the Green Dragon. A large portion of the founding fathers are known to have been Freemasons. With others, they rallied a small portion of the population, and overthrew the British. This was carried out under the Articles of Confederation, which preceded our current constitution. The Articles allowed every white, protestant, land-owning, male (the same aristocratic class allowed in the Freemasonry of the time) to vote, but none other. Eventually, farmers, such as Daniel Shays, became tired of the conditions under the Articles, and started to revolt. This scared aristocratic landlords, such as James Madison, who rallied with the federalists to create a new constitution to prevent threats foreign and, especially, domestic. The new constitution further centralized the federal government, allowing for more taxation and control, and extended a vote to the population. This was a Trojan horse strategy that gave a new air of freedom, while taking it further away.

Those who are elected are always illuminists of some sort. They appear to be on differing sides, Democrats and Republicans, but this is only their exoteric public presence. If you remember, Bush and Kerry were both members of Skull and Bones, a secret

society, behind the scenes. It was here that the real deals were being made. Teammates such as these take upon themselves to project polarized personalities to the public, representing two extremes from which to choose. This is a strategy that has likely been passed down through the ages, in cults such as the Roman Cult of Mithras. If one takes a look at Raphael's famous painting, *The School of Athens*, for instance, one will find that the political polarities of today are represented dead center, expressed in Aristotle's materialism and Plato's idealism. These two aspects, both very existent properties of our Universe, have been used throughout time to polarize and divide people.

"Package-deals" are commonly presented by these elected illuminists; that is, legislation that sounds good on the outside, promising to resolve a common concern, while coming attached with the problems of the future. With such a bill, the popular portions are made public by the media, while those less acceptable are simply ignored. These extra provisions are often known as "riders."

When problems do arise, and become potentially unmanageable for the ruling class, they scapegoat one of their previously polarized subsidiaries, such as the communists or the fascists. While governments of the world appear to be states, they are merely cantons in comparison to the established statehood of the elite. These illuminists stay one top by "playing both sides." They keep both sides of opposition bound by terms of loyalty, and create spite between them, by playing them one against the other. When things escalate to a point that one side comes close to figuring it out, the illuminist steps in as the Great Mediator Sent by God, without which things would surely be terrible (or would they?).

### OVERCOMING LIES

**G**EO-MUTUALIST PANARCHISM and the elite share a similar understanding of polarity, but we are working toward differing ends. The elite wish to privatize and hold secret the laws of the Universe, while geo-mutualist panarchists wish to share the truth to the masses by way of dualist pantheism. In effect, the illuminists use their knowledge of polarity to divide, and to

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increase entropy; while the panists—pantheist panarchists— use their knowledge to unite, and to increase syntropy.

All living things tend toward goals of happiness, which increase their syntropy. The illuminists are not acting outside of the confines of human nature, but are expressing its id in its most enabled form. They too want good to occur; for themselves. Solipsists, they believe the Universe to be theirs for the taking. They too are products of their conditions, and they too will fight to maintain those conditions. They are, however, working against the flow of time, wishing to hold, or even push, it back. They are keen to promoting authoritarian movements associated with traditionalism, and coopting progressive movements of workers and tenant-farmers. They'll fund communists and fascists alike, creating loyalty and dependence, and will gladly pit them one against the other, keeping the focus off of themselves. In so doing, the illuminists are fighting uphill, and will ultimately lose in the struggle upstream, as they are moving against the currents of life. Living things move in a general trend toward syntropy, and not the other way around, except in an exceptional sense. This being the case (but also having created further unity and justice in the transition from feudal monarchy to capitalist republics) the elite's attempt to stifle progress beyond their own control, through current attempts of division, is destined to fail.

Instead, geo-mutualism, informed by dualist pantheism, works with the Tao, following the path of virtue, toward higher unity. That which is left behind is the obsolete, half-truths taken for the full report. Every change is driven by a truth surrounded in lies, layers of which must be shed as new truths enter and combine. Geo-mutualism “transcends and includes” the truths of the past, shedding those false assumptions taken for truth, the kind often promoted by the illuminists for the sake of maintaining power (as the Pharaoh convinced his subjects, through prediction, that he caused the eclipse, and therefor controlled the Sun itself; empowering knowledge has always been used by the elite to maintain control). In other words, in moving toward higher being, or toward being itself, geo-mutualism sheds only lies, the element of which never existed in the first place, leaving behind fresh green growth. The essence of a lie is the absence of truth, and the absence of truth is the absence of being (for more on onto-

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epistemology, see “On Truth and Economy”). Where the illuminists have spread lies, and have used already-existing confusion to their advantage, geo-mutualist panarchism, informed by dualist pantheism, will enlighten the masses to compatibilism, showing how their pieces of the truth fit together, rather than compete, with the others. This transition will take place as an illusion within the great chain of perfect and eternal necessity.

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