

# A "DEFECT" OF LIBERALISM

*It Treats Your Life as Your Own*

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In a socialist society, the labor-power of individuals  
is placed under the management of society.

—SAMEZŌ KURUMA

————— ” —————



# A "DEFECT" OF LIBERALISM

## It Treats Your Life as Your Own

*The democratic socialist plan to suppress our private labor rights demonstrates socialism's anti-liberal nature.*

In our liberal society, your abilities—your time and talents—belong to you. And mine belong to me. We take this as a given. It's fundamental to how we think about ourselves and how we relate to one another.

Socialism has an entirely different perspective. It sees our individual ownership of our time and talents as a mistake—a "defect."

In his recent book *The Socialist Imperative*, Michael Lebowitz writes that socialism must overcome our current society's

defect of private ownership of labor-power.<sup>1</sup>

"Labor-power" is the term socialists use to describe our abilities applied to work. Lebowitz calls the fact that our liberal society treats our time and talents as our private property a "defect." He then goes even further, describing liberalism's private ownership of labor power as

more than just a defect: it is also an *infection*.<sup>2</sup>

Our individual ownership of our time and talents? It's an "infection" that socialism intends to cure.

Lebowitz (like every other individual quoted in this paper) is a socialist philosopher. Moreover, he's a democratic socialist<sup>3</sup>—a democratic socialist calling for the end of our individual control of our lives.

Lebowitz's thinking demonstrates that socialism is founded on the principle that our abilities should be treated not as our individual property, but rather as society's. *This is the single most important thing there is to know about socialism.* It's a reality reflected in socialism's compulsory duty of "from each according to their ability," a duty that transfers the ultimate control of our time and talents to those running socialist society.<sup>4</sup>

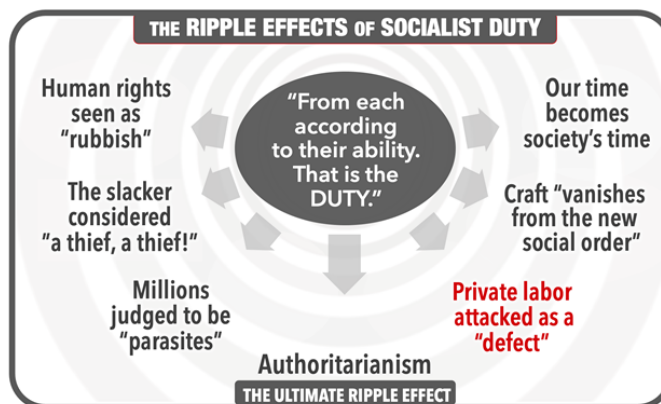
That socialism sees our time and talents as *society's time and talents* is also the crucial distinction between socialism and liberalism. Liberal philosophy considers

our abilities our private property to use as we wish. It allows us to define our lives as we want to. It says that we're free to give our time and talents to anyone we choose, and so no one should be permitted to control them without our express consent.<sup>5</sup>

Liberalism rejects the compulsory duty to give our abilities to others, be they king, queen, fascists calling themselves "the community,"<sup>6</sup> or socialists calling themselves "society." It rejects such duty as both immoral and incredibly dangerous.

As Michael Lebowitz's thinking illustrates, however, socialism explicitly repudiates the liberal view. To socialism, our private ownership of our time and talents is an "infection" that must be cured. This belief gives new meaning to the expression *the cure is worse than the disease*.

Lebowitz's thinking is no outlier. His democratic socialist vision is straight out of the socialist gospel—the gospel according to Marx.



## "PRIVATE LABOUR" AND "ITS OPPOSITE, DIRECTLY SOCIAL LABOUR"

Karl Marx is the central and unparalleled figure among socialist philosophers. Marx's thinking has defined socialism for the past 150 years and still does today.<sup>7</sup> It was Marx who first articulated the concept of "private labor," distinguishing it from what he calls "directly social labor."

Marx says private labor characterizes our present, liberal society, whereas socialism requires directly social labor. He tells us:

Private labour cannot be treated as its opposite, directly social labour.<sup>8</sup>

Private labor is what Lebowitz describes as "the private ownership of labor power," labor power being our abilities applied to work. The "private" in "private labor" has the same meaning it does in "private property": something under our personal, individual control.

Treating our labor as something we own privately is precisely how we're used to thinking of it—as our own. In our liberal society, we're each considered the exclusive owners of our abilities. One result of this fact is that we're free to pursue any type of work we wish. Another is that we have ultimate control over how many hours a week we're willing to work. If we want to work a limited schedule and live frugally to accommodate this choice, we're free to do so. Our work choices are under our private control.

When you work for an employer, you have duties assigned by them. But unless you've volunteered for the military, you retain your private labor rights and can quit your employment and its duties at any point and for any reason.

Let's say you're working for a large company but decide you want to start your own gig making craft furniture. There's nothing to keep you from quitting your current job and being underway on your new craft venture in a matter of days.

This is the way we're used to the world working. But it's also a prime example of our private labor rights in action—rights socialism intends to eliminate.

Again, socialists since Marx have described our liberal society as being based on private labor—the individual control of our work time. In contrast, socialism is based on what Marx calls “directly social labor,” which, he explains, is the opposite of private labor.

Just as “private labor” is shorthand for our private ownership of our time and talents applied to work, so too “directly social labor” is shorthand for society's ownership of the same. It represents a reality in which our labor time and talents are directly controlled by society, not by us individually.

### **The Craft Revival: Defective**

Over the past few decades, our society has seen a revival of handcraft production. The rebirth of craft is a manifestation of what socialism regards as “the defect of private ownership of labor-power.”

Hundreds of thousands of individuals have used the private labor rights we enjoy in liberal society to start their own craft businesses. They've used the fact we privately control the time in our lives to open craft workshops without having to justify this decision to those running society. The directly social labor of socialism is designed to eliminate this kind of “spontaneous decision.”

From the socialist perspective, the question is not whether you consider your work a good use of your time. Instead, the question is whether that work is a good use of what socialism considers to be society's time. Craftwork fails this test.

*To learn why, see the RFP paper “Why Socialism Says Craftwork Is ‘Idiocy.’”*

Celebrated modern-day socialist Ernest Mandel explains that, under socialism, decisions about work would be made by society overall and

not by spontaneous decisions of individuals, production units or firms.<sup>9</sup>

The hypothetical scenario in which you quit work at a large company to start your own craft business? It's one example of what Mandel describes as the "spontaneous decisions of individuals" that socialism would *not* permit.

The plan to do away with our private labor rights is central to the thinking of Karl Marx, who, even among today's democratic socialists, remains socialism's greatest expounder and its defining philosopher. Socialists say Marx considered directly social labor to be a required element of socialism: a truly socialist society cannot exist until private labor is eliminated and replaced by directly social labor.<sup>10</sup>

## "THE ABOLITION OF 'PRIVATE LABOR'"

Socialism plans to fix the supposed defect of our private ownership of the time in our lives. Its cure for this alleged infection is to do away with our private labor rights and replace them with directly social labor.

Karl Marx explains that in socialist society,

the labour of the individual is posited from the outset as social labor.<sup>11</sup>

In a socialist society, your labor would be "posited" (considered) to be "social labor" (society's labor, not your individual labor). In a socialist society, your work would be treated as society's property "from the outset." You would never own it. (Note that even though Marx refers to "social labor" in this statement, today's socialists say he's speaking about the same concept he calls "directly social labor" elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>)

Friedrich Engels was Marx's colleague and is the second most important socialist philosopher of all time. He too reports that, come socialism, our work would be considered society's labor—labor immediately and directly under society's control:

The labour of each individual, however varied its specifically useful character may be, is immediately and directly social labour.<sup>13</sup>

Samezō Kuruma likewise states that socialism would bring the demise of our private labor rights. He affirms that, in socialist society,

labor-power is directly social labor, having a social character from the outset.<sup>14</sup>

The plan to suppress the private control of our time and talents remains a fixture of today's socialism. Michael Lebowitz's declaration that private ownership of labor power is an infection socialism must cure isn't from the socialist past; it's from 2015.

Similarly, in 2018, Paul Cockshott wrote that socialism means

there is no private labor, but only social labor.<sup>15</sup>

And, in *Marx's Ecosocialism*, published in 2017, Kohei Saito wrote that socialism

must be based on the abolition of "private labor."<sup>16</sup>

"The abolition of 'private labor'"—that is, the suppression of our liberal right to privately control our time and talents—is what socialists say is the critical path to achieving socialism. It's a non-optional step that socialists from Marx to the present say is required to realize socialism.

## **ANOTHER BYPRODUCT OF SOCIALIST COMPULSORY DUTY**

This could easily be the first time you've heard of the socialist concepts of "private labor" and "directly social labor." Given the scary and flat-out anti-liberal implications of the plan to eliminate our private labor rights, it's rarely mentioned in the socialist sales pitch.

It's no surprise, however, that liberal society is founded on private labor while socialism intends society to be based on directly social labor. These facts are simply the inevitable results of the key principles that define and distinguish these conflicting philosophies.

Why is liberal society based on private labor? Because the very starting point of liberalism is the principle that our time and talents are our private property to use as we wish.

In a society based on liberal philosophy, private labor is simply a given. Private labor is liberalism applied to work.

## **"PRIVATE LABOR" – THE AUTOMATIC RESULT OF LIBERALISM**

**LIBERALISM REJECTS  
COMPULSORY DUTY  
TO OTHERS**

**YOUR TIME  
IS TREATED AS  
YOUR PRIVATE PROPERTY**

**"PRIVATE LABOR":  
YOUR WORK TIME UNDER  
YOUR PRIVATE CONTROL**

**The "directly social labor" of socialism is impossible  
in a liberal society based on individual rights.**

Moreover, in liberal society, it's impossible to implement the directly social labor that socialism seeks. Because liberalism rejects the compulsory duty to give our abilities to society, those running liberal society don't have the means to make us do what they want rather than what we wish. Directly social labor requires a society with the power to control what we do with our lives—perfect for socialism.

Much as private labor is the automatic byproduct of liberalism, so too socialism's basis on directly social labor is the natural result of a philosophy that starts with the rejection of liberalism and a call for all to be made to "return to duty."<sup>17</sup> For over 170 years, socialism has demanded the duty of "from each according to their ability."<sup>18</sup> It still does today.<sup>19</sup>

## **SOCIALIST DUTY MAKES "DIRECTLY SOCIAL LABOR" POSSIBLE**

**SOCIALISM  
STARTS WITH A  
"RETURN TO DUTY"**

**"FROM EACH  
ACCORDING TO  
THEIR ABILITY"**

**YOUR TIME  
TREATED AS  
SOCIETY'S TIME**

**"DIRECTLY  
SOCIAL LABOR":  
YOUR WORK UNDER  
SOCIETY'S CONTROL**

**It's socialism's foundation on compulsory duty to society that  
allows socialism to "abolish" our private labor rights and replace them  
with the "directly social labor" that Karl Marx says socialism requires.**

The socialist plan for our work to be treated as directly social labor demonstrates that socialist duty is intended to produce dramatic and dangerous changes in the basis of society. It's also an example of how this duty turns the time in our lives into what socialism treats as *society's time*.

Socialism's foundation on the compulsory duty of "from each according to their ability" has shaped all of socialist philosophy. The plan to suppress private labor and replace it with directly social labor is but one of the many ripple effects of socialist duty.

## **"SOCIETY WILL HAVE BECOME ... A SINGLE FACTORY"**

What would a world of directly social labor be like?

For starters, any socialist claim that this change would be nothing to worry about can't possibly be true. Apart from the desire to control what we do with our lives, there's no reason for socialism to seek a society based on the duty of "from each according to their ability" and in which our private labor rights are replaced by directly social labor. The very reason socialism demands compulsory duty to society, and the very reason socialists want to eliminate our liberal private labor rights, is so that those running socialist society can keep us from doing what we wish and make us do what they want instead.

Socialists have long desired the power to eradicate millions of what they deem to be "socially useless" jobs held by those they label "parasites."<sup>20</sup> Hundreds of socialist thinkers attack the parasites they believe infest our liberal society. Socialist theory says that the suppression of alleged parasites is morally correct. Moreover, it says the elimination of parasites is required, as they are the source of the labor needed to reconstruct society according to the socialist vision.

How is it, according to socialist thinking, that our liberal society ended up filled to the brim with parasites? Socialist theory blames liberalism's lack of compulsory duty and our right to do any work we want—even work socialists deem to be useless. Socialism's foundation on duty and directly social labor are the supposed cures to these supposed problems.

Socialist superstar Friedrich Engels provides an example of the socialist remedy at work. He says that socialism's reorganization of society would save large quantities of labor power that our capitalist society allegedly wastes.

How would socialism achieve its greatest savings of labor power? Engels explains:

The greatest saving of labour power lies in the fusing of the individual powers into social collective power and in the kind of organization which is based on this concentration of powers hitherto opposed to one another.<sup>21</sup>

Engels' wording is tricky. But with a bit of decoding, his meaning is clear.

Say you're a craft artisan who makes leather goods by hand. Liberal society, with its private labor rights, lets you get away with working as an "individual power." Engels

says that such individual operations represent a waste—in fact, the greatest waste—of what socialism sees as society’s labor power.

Socialism is going to take control of your craft operation. And it’s going to do likewise with the other small producers with whom you’ve been competing (operations “hitherto opposed to one another”). Your operation is going to be “fused” and “concentrated” with those of your former competitors to create a large operation based on “social collective power.”

The result of eliminating all these “individual powers”? What socialism says would be its “greatest savings of labor power.”

What gives socialism the power to suppress small operations to its heart’s content? The control over our lives that compulsory duty and directly social labor vest in the socialist state.

As Samezō Kuruma explains:

In a socialist society, the labor-power of individuals is placed under the management of society.<sup>22</sup>

Come socialism, we would no longer manage our labor-power (our time and talents applied to work) individually. Instead, it would be placed under the management of those running socialist society.

Karl Marx doesn’t mince words either. He says that the “first economic law” of socialist society would be

the planned distribution of labour time among the various branches of production.<sup>23</sup>

And he similarly says that socialism means that

society distributes labour power and means of production between the various branches of industry.<sup>24</sup>

Come socialism, what we all do workwise would not be the sum of our individual decisions. Instead, those running socialist society would use the power of socialist duty and directly social labor to distribute the labor power our lives represent.

This is why socialist thinker Agnes Heller, in her noted *The Theory of Need in Marx*, writes that Marx expected that a socialist society would be one in which

the whole of social production will function as a single factory.<sup>25</sup>

Socialist great Vladimir Lenin similarly reports that socialism would mean

the whole of society will have become a single office and a single factory.<sup>26</sup>

## DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS FOR ENDING YOUR PRIVATE CONTROL OF YOUR LIFE

Who are these socialists calling for the suppression of our liberal right to individually control the time in our lives?

They're democratic socialists.

Karl Marx, whose socialism requires eliminating our private labor rights and who envisions a society in which "the whole of social production will function as a single factory"<sup>27</sup> He's a democratic socialist.

So says Michael Harrington, the founder of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Even though Harrington is well aware of Marx's plan to do away with our private labor rights, he calls Marx a "champion of human freedom and democratic socialist."<sup>28</sup> To socialists, one can be a democratic socialist and even a "champion of human freedom" despite calling for the end of our right to control our own lives.

Consider Friedrich Engels. He says socialism would mean "the labor of each individual ... is immediately and directly social labor." And he's excited about using the power of compulsory duty and directly social labor to eliminate the small enterprises that our liberal private labor rights make possible.<sup>29</sup>

Despite this utterly anti-liberal thinking, Engels is said to be a democratic socialist. DSA founder Harrington gives Engels the democratic socialist stamp of approval.<sup>30</sup>

### A Misleading Marketing Slogan

"Democratic" socialism is a marketing slogan, not a new version of socialism.

Socialists have been selling their philosophy as the last word in democracy for well over a century. They tell us the world has already seen a democratic socialist society—more than one, in fact. American democratic socialist Eugene Debs wrote that one of these societies "laid the foundation of the first real democracy that ever drew the breath of life in this world."

Which country was Eugene Debs speaking about? None other than the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the USSR), the nation recognized today as the archetype of authoritarian socialism.

To learn more, see the RFP paper "The 'Keto-Friendly' Political Philosophy."

Ernest Mandel? He not only promises socialism would be based on directly social labor but also looks forward to socialism doing away with our right to make “spontaneous decisions” about how to lead our own lives. He’s a democratic socialist too.<sup>31</sup>

Paul “There Is No Private Labor, Only Social Labor” Cockshott? Yes, a democratic socialist.<sup>32</sup>

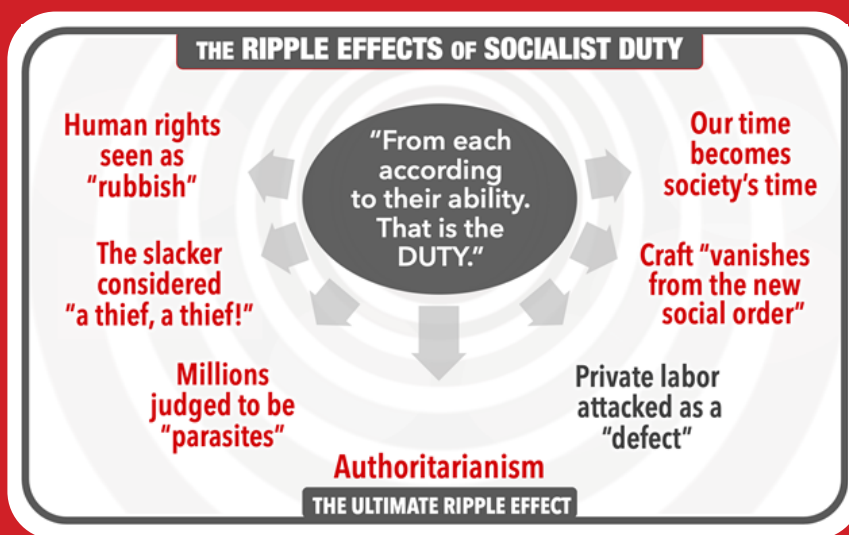
And that returns us to Michael Lebowitz, who labels our liberal right to privately control the time in our lives a “defect” and an “infection.” He’s another democratic socialist.<sup>33</sup>

Many people today are under the impression that “democratic socialism” is a new and improved version. Some are even fooled into thinking democratic socialism is a type of socialism that doesn’t demand the duty of “from each according to their ability.” These are entirely mistaken beliefs.

As we’ve seen, socialists see no conflict between considering themselves democratic socialists and supporting socialism’s anti-liberal compulsory duty and its plan to abolish our liberal private labor rights.

The punch line to what is no joke: Socialism is not left-wing liberalism. It’s left-wing *anti*-liberalism.

Socialism is a philosophy founded on principles that run directly counter to those of liberal society. The democratic socialist plan for directly social labor to replace our private labor rights is but one example of this reality.



To learn more about the ripple effects of socialist duty, visit [redflagspress.org/ripple](http://redflagspress.org/ripple)

# NOTES

1. Michael Lebowitz, *The Socialist Imperative: From Gotha to Now* (New York: Monthly Review, 2015), 67.

2. Lebowitz, *Socialist Imperative*, 67.

3. Lebowitz, *Socialist Imperative*, 154–55. As is the socialist norm, Lebowitz sees “socialism” and “democracy” as synonyms. See also Lebowitz, *The Socialist Alternative: Real Human Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2010), 132, where Lebowitz outlines the “battle of democracy,” which could just as well be called “the battle of socialism.”

4. For a detailed exploration of socialism’s foundation on mandatory duty, see the RFP paper “The Ripple Effects of Socialist Duty.”

5. While liberal philosophy is based on the premise that our time and talents are our private property that others cannot take without our consent, liberal democracies like those in the U.S., Canada, France, and elsewhere have not always been true to these liberal principles. The primary recent exception is found in the case of the military draft such as was used in the U.S. during the Vietnam War. This is a clear and sad exception to the principles of liberalism—an exception that, thankfully, has long since come to an end with the all-volunteer military replacing the draft.

6. Adolph Hitler spoke of “the community” as frequently as socialist thinkers speak of “society.” In his notorious work *Mein Kampf*, Hitler refers to “the community” dozens of times. One example could appear in a piece of socialist writing without a single change: “The evaluation of the man must be based on the manner in which he fulfills the task entrusted him by the community.” Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 434.

7. That today’s socialism remains defined by Marx and his thinking is demonstrated by the fact Michael Harrington, the founder of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), declares Marx to be a democratic socialist, and also by the fact that the DSA identifies as a Marxist organization. For details and sources for these facts, see the RFP paper “The ‘Keto-Friendly’ Political Philosophy.”

8. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Ben Fowkes and David Fernbach, 3 vols. (London: Penguin Classics, 1976–1981), 1:188n.

9. Ernest Mandel, *Power and Money: A Marxist Theory of Bureaucracy* (New York: Verso, 1992), 18. Emphasis added.

10. See Ernest Mandel’s introduction to Marx, *Capital*, 39. See also Peter Hudis, *Marx’s Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 111, 160; Adam Buick, “The Myth of the Transitional Society,” *Critique* 5 (1975): 59–70.

11. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Martin Nicolaus (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 172.

12. For example, when Peter Hudis quotes this passage in his work *Marx’s Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism*, he presents it this way: “The labour of the individual is posited from the outset as [directly] social labor.” Peter Hudis, *Marx’s Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 111.

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13. Friedrich Engels, *Anti-Dühring* (New York: International Publishers, 1947), 345.

14. Samezō Kuruma, quoted in Tadayuki Tsushima, “Understanding ‘Labor Certificates’ on the Basis of the Theory of Value,” in *Myths of the Kremlin*, trans. Michael Schauerte (Marxists.org, 2006; orig. 1956), <https://www.marxists.org/subject/japan/tsushima/labor-certificates.htm>.

15. Paul Cockshott, “Abstract Labour and Socialism,” Paul Cockshott’s Blog, June 14, 2018, <https://paulcockshott.wordpress.com/2018/06/14/abstract-labour-and-socialism/>.

16. Kohei Saito, *Karl Marx’s Ecosocialism: Capitalism, Nature, and the Unfinished Critique of Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review, 2017), conclusion. Kindle.

17. When socialist great Charles Fourier attacks the “parasites” he believes inhabit society, he says the new society will return them to duty: “It [socialism] will return to duty and return to productive work those legions of parasites, called merchants, which create a domain of piracy within each empire” (“Elle fera rentrer dans le devoir et retourner au travail productif ces légions de parasites appelés marchands, qui se créent un domaine de piraterie au sein de chaque empire”). Charles Fourier, *Crime du commerce* (Paris: Aux Bureaux de la Phalange, 1845), 19.

Liberal society’s lack of mandatory duty is what Fourier and socialism generally see as permitting the existence of “parasites”; socialist duty is the path to their suppression. Similarly, in *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon*, one of the foundational works of socialism, Prosper Enfantin and his Saint-Simonian coauthors call for us to “return with love to OBEDIENCE” (their choice of all cap to for emphasis). Socialist true believers will no doubt “return with love” to obedience. The rest of us will be made to return to duty whether we like it or not.

The Saint-Simonians see a return to duty as the means to achieve social goals: “We will return with joy to this high virtue, so misunderstood, we can even say so despised today, to this virtue so easy and so sweet, between beings who have a common goal which they all desire to achieve ... we will return with love to OBEDIENCE” (“Nous reviendrons avec joie à cette haute vertu, si méconnue, nous pouvons même dire si méprisée aujourd’hui, à cette vertu si facile et si douce, entre des êtres qui ont un but commun qu’ils désirent tous atteindre ... nous reviendrons avec amour à L’OBEISSANCE”). Prosper Enfantin, et. al., *Doctrine de Saint-Simon, Exposition Premier Année*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Au Bureau de l’Organisateur, 1831), 330.

18. Louis Blanc is typically credited with developing the expression “from each according to his ability, to each according to his need” in the 1840s (though another French socialist, Étienne Cabet, also started using it at roughly the same time). Blanc wrote in 1848: “Chacun produise selon son aptitude et ses forces, que chacun consomme selon ses besoins.” *Louis Blanc, Nouveau discours de M. Louis Blanc sur l’organisation du travail devant l’assemblée générale des délégués des travailleurs* (Paris: Commission du Gouvernement Pour Travailleurs, 1848), 10.

19. The axiom “from each according to their ability” without question remains the socialist standard, appearing time and again today, as three examples illustrate.

First, the Democratic Socialists of America’s 2017 annual convention used signage with sayings of Karl Marx, including “from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs.” David Weigel, “The Socialist Movement is Turning Younger and Turning into a Left-Wing Force,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 2017, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/nation-world/ct-socialist-movement-bernie-sanders-20170806-story.html>.

Second, the Socialist Students Society of Cardiff University proclaims in its organizational overview: “As socialists we believe that a different kind of society is possible in which the principle of ‘from each according to their ability, to each according to their need’ (Karl Marx) is realized.” “Socialist Students Society,” Cardiff University Students Union, accessed February 15, 2021, <https://www.cardiffstudents.com/activities/society/socialiststudents/>.

Third, Binay Sakar, in his article “Road-Map to Socialism—Democracy Is the Road to Socialism,” cites “from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs” as the goal of democratic socialism. Binay

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Sakar, “Road-Map to Socialism—Democracy Is the Road to Socialism,” July 6, 2019, <https://countercurrents.org/2019/07/road-map-to-socialism-democracy-is-the-road-to-socialism/>.

20. See the RFP paper “The Socialist Obsession.”

21. Friedrich Engels, “Speeches in Elberfeld,” in *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, vol 4. (Chadwell Heath: Lawrence and Wishart, 2010), 252.

22. Samezō Kuruma quoted in Tsushima, “Understanding ‘Labor Certificates.’”

23. Marx, *Capital*, 2:434.

24. Marx, *Capital*, 2:434.

25. Agnes Heller, *The Theory of Needs in Marx* (London: Allison and Busby, 1974), 108.

26. Vladimir Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, 2nd ed. (London: Laurence and Wishart, 1943), 118.

27. Heller, *Theory of Needs*, 108.

28. Michael Harrington, *The Twilight of Capitalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976), v.

29. Engels, “Speeches in Elberfeld,” 252.

30. Michael Harrington, *Socialism, Past and Future* (New York: Mentor, 1992), 47.

31. Like so many socialists, Mandel saw socialism as the only true form of democracy and without question considered himself a democratic socialist. For example, see Ernest Mandel, “Marxism and Democracy,” *Fourth International* 10, no. 4 (April 1949): 104–9, [https://www.ernestmandel.org/en/works/txt/1948/marxism\\_and\\_democracy.htm](https://www.ernestmandel.org/en/works/txt/1948/marxism_and_democracy.htm).

32. That Cockshott considers himself a democratic socialist is demonstrated by the discussion in chapter 13, “On Democracy,” in Paul Cockshott and Allin Cottrell, *Towards a New Socialism* (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1993).

33. Lebowitz, *Socialist Imperative*, 154–55. Like so many socialists, Lebowitz sees socialism and democracy as essentially equivalent (one of the facts that demonstrates “democratic socialism” is a marketing slogan, not a new version of socialism; see the RFP paper “Democratic Socialism? Déjà Vu All Over Again). For additional evidence that Lebowitz’s sees himself as a democratic socialist, see Lebowitz’s *The Socialist Alternative: Real Human Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2010), 132. Here, Lebowitz outlines the “battle of democracy,” which is essentially the same as “the battle of socialism”—to socialist thinking, it is only when socialism arrives that democracy arrives. Again, we should focus on the fact that Lebowitz sees socialism as synonymous with democracy at the same time that he calls for the suppression of private labor rights—that is, our right to individually control how we use the time in our lives.