

# **VLADIMIR LENIN, ECOSOCIALIST?**

*Life under Lenin's "Green" Thumb*

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—JOHN BELLAMY FOSTER

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unrestrained power and the use of force, not of law.

—VLADIMIR LENIN

”

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# VLADIMIR LENIN, ECOSOCIALIST?

## Life under Lenin's "Green" Thumb

*There's much to learn about ecosocialists from the praise they heap on a tyrant.*

Vladimir Lenin was the first leader—the first dictator—of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). He created its secret police and concentration camps, delivering on his promise that the socialist government would be based on

unrestrained power and the use of force, not of law.<sup>1</sup>

Despite these and many similar facts about him, today's socialists don't distance themselves from Lenin. Instead, they present him as one of their own, a proto "ecosocialist" who

strongly embraced ecological values.<sup>2</sup>

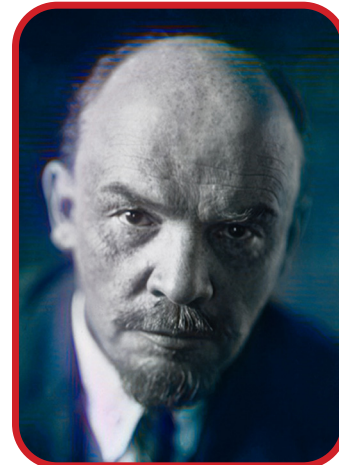
Ecosocialists say socialism is *the* answer to the ecological crisis. Their marketing slogan is "System change, not climate change."<sup>3</sup> But ecosocialism isn't a new version of the socialist product. No, it's based explicitly on the principles that defined socialism when Lenin ruled the USSR a century ago.

In "An Ecosocialist Manifesto," Joel Kovel and "pioneer ecosocialist"<sup>4</sup> Michael Löwy write:

We see ecosocialism not as the denial but as the realization of the "first-epoch" socialisms of the twentieth century, in the context of the ecological crisis.<sup>5</sup>

Among the leaders and thinkers of the early socialist experiments that ecosocialism seeks to be "the realization of," Lenin was the most important.

Like Lenin, today's ecosocialists call for "overthrowing capitalism,"<sup>6</sup> for the elimination of private enterprise,<sup>7</sup> for the suppression of supposedly "useless" jobs<sup>8</sup> and "useless" products,<sup>9</sup> and for a society founded on the dangerous duty of "from each according



to their ability.”<sup>10</sup> Like Lenin, today’s ecosocialists are anti-liberals. Noted ecosocialist Kohei Saito even argues that “Liberals are very dangerous.”<sup>11</sup>

Ecosocialism is, in fact, closer to the “first-epoch” socialisms of the early twentieth century than it is to the so-called “market socialism” that socialists created in response to the collapse of the USSR.<sup>12</sup> It’s a return to the original Marxist-Leninist recipe that calls for our society’s market economy to be abolished, with a “planned” economy taking its place.<sup>13</sup>

If we explore what today’s socialists say about Lenin’s supposed ecological outlook and contrast it with his actual beliefs, we’ll learn two important things about ecosocialism and those who espouse it.

First, ecosocialists are disingenuous when they present Lenin, Marx, and other historical socialists as ecologically minded. The goals of these earlier socialists were unsustainable in the extreme.

Second, ecosocialists demonstrate their own appetite for authoritarianism as they seek to make Lenin and ecology align.

## LENIN “PROMOTED BOTH CONSERVATION AND ECOLOGY”

Socialist author John Bellamy Foster is the number-one salesperson of “ecosocialism.” Over the past two decades, he’s written countless books and articles on the topic. His books include *The Ecological Revolution*, *Ecology Against Capitalism*, and *The Return of Nature: Socialism and Ecology*.

Many of these works cite Lenin as an illustration of what Foster argues is socialism’s long-running green orientation. For example, in *The Ecological Revolution*, Foster writes that Lenin

promoted both conservation and ecology in the Soviet Union.<sup>14</sup>

He also notes that Lenin established the USSR’s first nature reserve and concludes that

under Lenin’s protection, the Soviet conservation movement prospered.<sup>15</sup>

In an essay entitled "Ecology and the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism," Foster argues that

Lenin stressed the importance of recycling soil nutrients and supported both conservation and pioneering experiments in community ecology.<sup>16</sup>

And in "Late Soviet Ecology," Foster declares:

Lenin had strongly embraced ecological values, partly under the influence of Marx and Engels, and was deeply concerned with conservation.<sup>17</sup>

Foster is not alone in proclaiming Lenin's allegedly green record. For example, in *Ecology and Socialism*, Chris Williams praises Lenin multiple times<sup>18</sup> and parrots Foster's claim that Lenin made the USSR an ecological "pioneer":

The Soviet Union under Lenin and through the 1920s was characterized by a *stunning series of pioneering* ecological policies, education, research, and theorizing.<sup>19</sup>

Another ecosocialist, Ben Stahnke, writes in article titled "Lenin, Ecology, and Revolutionary Russia":

Lenin advanced both conservation and ecology more generally.<sup>20</sup>

However, this sort of praise for Lenin is deceptive, and it depends on a twofold strategy. First, ecosocialists shine a bright light on any of Lenin's actions or writings that smack of ecology or conservationism. At the same time, they keep us in the dark about the overarching and utterly anti-green theory to which Lenin, Marx, and other socialists subscribe: the expectation that socialism will create a world of constant overproduction leading to superabundance.

## **"AN ENORMOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE FORCES"**

Socialists have long maintained that their philosophy would, as Lenin puts it,

inevitably result in an enormous development of the productive forces of human society.<sup>21</sup>

They claim that the outcome would be a society of such massive production volumes that all needed goods and services would be available for free worldwide, and not just for a year or a decade but forever.<sup>22</sup>

This world of “superabundance”<sup>23</sup> and “limitless abundance,”<sup>24</sup> as socialists have often termed it, is essential to fulfilling numerous socialist sales promises. Most importantly, it’s required to deliver on what socialists say is their philosophy’s defining promise: creating a society based on the axiom “to each according to their needs.”<sup>25</sup>

Lenin unquestionably endorses this core aspect of socialist philosophy. For example, in his noted work *The State and Revolution*, he writes that socialism would produce a world where there is

no need for society to regulate the quantity of products to be distributed to each; each will take freely “according to his needs.”<sup>26</sup>

How do you create a world in which all needed goods can be taken for free, and without society making any effort to regulate how much you take?

As Karl Marx explains, you must create a world in which there’s an oversupply of every needed good—not simply more than enough to meet current requirements, but also an additional surplus to cope with unanticipated interruptions in production.<sup>27</sup>

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*The constant overproduction of goods is a concept as far removed from ecologically sound as it’s possible to imagine.*

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Moreover, the socialist promise is that all needed goods would be free forever. Thus, the oversupply must last forever as well. There must be a constant oversupply.

And how would socialist society create this constant oversupply? Except for a handful of things, like air, that are naturally superabundant, the only way to have an oversupply is by overproducing. And the only way to have a constant oversupply is by, as Marx termed it, “constant over-production.”<sup>28</sup>

Socialist thinker Paul Mattick, Jr. provides the punchline:

In socialism overproduction would be indispensable to assure the satisfaction of social needs and would therefore be *considered normal*.<sup>29</sup>

A world in which the constant overproduction of tens of thousands of goods would be “considered normal” is a concept as far removed from ecologically sound as it’s possible to imagine. It would require a radical—and unsustainable in the

extreme—increase in worldwide production volumes. As British socialist and Marxist economist Edgar Hardcastle explains:

To set up conditions of free access will be the greatest problem socialist society will have to face. Karl Marx wrote long ago that the first task of a socialist society, will be to increase production, as much and as quickly as possible, and it is still true .... Now some people have fallen into the elementary error that under capitalism, enough is already produced for socialist society to operate. It's a dangerous illusion.<sup>30</sup>

In other words, as abundant as some goods and services may seem in our capitalist society, the volumes at which they're currently produced don't come anywhere close to what's required to make them available for free for the world's population of over eight billion.

The belief that socialism would dramatically boost production volumes, creating a world of "free access" is the key assumption that underpins socialism's most important promises. Democratic Socialists of America founder Michael Harrington has even written that if this world of abundance cannot be created, then socialism itself is impossible.<sup>31</sup>

The significance of Lenin's few acts that can be construed as green pales by comparison to his support for socialism's completely anti-ecological plan for world-wide constant overproduction. And the same incongruity plagues attempts to characterize Marx and his other disciples as ecologically minded, since they also insist socialism would yield a society of such massive production that everything would be free worldwide forever.

## Socialism's Secret Sauce

Not long ago, claims that socialism would dramatically increase production, thereby creating a world of "superabundance," were the centerpiece of the socialist sales pitch. Socialist theory says that superabundance is essential not only for delivering on socialist sales promises but also for reducing the risk of socialist authoritarianism—a fact recognized by Marx himself.

But now socialism's requirement for abundance has become its secret sauce. Ecosocialists do their best to hide socialism's need for abundance, publishing entire books that don't say a word about it. When that's not possible, they even argue, absurdly, that Marx, Lenin, and others were not serious when they made this claim.

*To learn more about socialism's requirement of "abundance" and, "constant over-production," see the RFP paper "The Secret Sauce of Socialism."*

## “WE SHALL USE GOLD FOR THE PURPOSE OF BUILDING PUBLIC LAVATORIES”

Lenin didn't simply promise socialism would “inevitably result in an enormous development of the productive forces.” He also preached and put into action standard socialist principles intended to produce this result.

One key element in the socialist plan to boost production is the elimination of small-scale enterprises and the concentration of industry and agriculture into the largest, most centralized factories and farms.<sup>32</sup> Lenin writes that the goal is to create a society in which

the whole of society will have become as a single office and single factory.<sup>33</sup>

He states:

I must once again emphasize that the *only possible* economic foundation of socialism is large-scale machine industry.<sup>34</sup>

Going hand in hand with Lenin's calls for the largest-scale industry possible were his negative views of small-scale production and demands for its suppression (which are standard views in socialist theory<sup>35</sup>). For example, regarding small farming, Lenin states that it results in “the fritting away and waste of human labour”<sup>36</sup> (illustrating how socialists see our time as society's time<sup>37</sup>) and that

the solution lies only in socialized farming.<sup>38</sup>

The socialist plan to boost production also calls for identifying the countless “idlers” and other “parasites” that socialist theory says exist in capitalist society and forcing them to work in approved occupations. (In socialist philosophy, “parasites” are not only individuals who shirk work but also those who work at jobs socialism doesn't approve of. Much as socialism says small farming is a “waste” of society's time, it says alleged parasites are “stealing” society's time.<sup>39</sup>) Among the many things Lenin has to say about “idlers” and “parasites” are these:

One out of every ten idlers will be shot on the spot.<sup>40</sup>

We have only one maxim, one slogan: All who work have the right to enjoy the benefits of life. Idlers and parasites who suck the blood of the working people must be deprived of these blessings.<sup>41</sup>

“He who does not work, neither shall he eat”—this is the practical commandment of socialism. This is how things should be organised practically.<sup>42</sup>

Suppressing small-scale production, suppressing “parasites,” and acting on similar principles is what socialists say would lead to their promised society of abundance. Lenin describes a specific aspect of this fantastic world that’s likely to come as a surprise:

When we are victorious on a world scale, I think we shall use gold for the purpose of building public lavatories.<sup>43</sup>

## Hitler and Göring, Eco-Nazis?

Ecosocialists say Lenin deserves kudos for establishing the USSR’s first wildlife reserve. Who deserves that credit in Germany? The Nazis.

The Nazis implemented a conservation law that included provisions for nature preserves. As Frank Uekötter puts it in his 2007 *German Studies Review* article titled “Green Nazis?” this law “stood out internationally as one of the few important advances of conservationism in the 1930s.” Hermann Göring—Hitler’s second in command—was the “crucial figure” behind this law that Hitler approved.

Using the standard socialists employ today, one could argue that Hitler and Göring were “eco-Nazis” who “strongly embraced ecological values.” But such an argument is obviously grotesque, as Hitler and Göring were monsters and proponents of an evil doctrine that took tens of millions lives. Lenin is no different.

*To learn about disturbing similarities between socialist and fascist thought, see the RFP paper “Our ‘So-Called’ Rights.”*

Public restrooms made of gold. Why? Because to Lenin’s thinking, when socialism succeeds in boosting production to such staggering levels that all goods are free, there would be no need for money of any form, gold included. Thus, we may as well take the gold bars from Fort Knox and make toilets out of them.

Lenin’s gold lavatories are a humorous suggestion, but the underlying concept of a world in which money has become meaningless is a standard element of socialist philosophy—one endorsed by Marx and countless other socialist thinkers past and present.<sup>44</sup> It’s another byproduct of the wildly unsustainable premise that underpins socialist thought: the expectation that socialism would create a world of constant overproduction and thus make every needed thing free for all.

What’s hidden behind such exaggerated promises is the human and environmental cost. The truth is that by any measure, a world of such abundance and overproduction is not sustainable. You can’t “strongly embrace ecological values” while seeking to create a world of constant overproduction.

Portraying Lenin, Marx, and other noted socialists as environmentalists is dishonest. It requires hiding their belief that socialism would drive production volumes to absurdly unsustainable heights<sup>45</sup> and making arguments that are contradicted by what Marx, Lenin, and thousands of other socialists say.<sup>46</sup>

## **"WE SHALL CLEANSE RUSSIA"**

It's misleading to present Lenin as eco-minded. But given his authoritarian actions and beliefs, it's astonishing that today's socialists are willing to associate themselves with him at all.

What was this tyrant up to when he wasn't supposedly busy with "pioneering experiments in community ecology"?

Lenin directed the overthrow of Russia's first democratically elected government.<sup>47</sup> Why stage a coup rather than attempt to win power democratically? Because Lenin's party had received less than 25 percent of the vote.<sup>48</sup>

He suppressed Russia's independent press, forcing the closure of over three hundred newspapers.<sup>49</sup> With the aid of his wife, he banned thousands of books.<sup>50</sup> Over half the works in Russia's public libraries were purged.<sup>51</sup>

He ordered grain to be taken from small farmers by force, sending armed "requisition brigades" to thousands of villages.<sup>52</sup> He then exported almost a million tons of it<sup>53</sup> during a period when food shortages in Russia meant that his own citizens were starving, tens of thousands to death<sup>54</sup> (with "cannibalism common"<sup>55</sup>).

He incited the murder of religious leaders, calling explicitly for them to be shot. Over fourteen thousand priests, rabbis, imams, ministers, and lay staff were slain.<sup>56</sup>

He personally directed the suppression of Russia's intellectual class, including professors and artists.<sup>57</sup>

He founded the Soviet secret police, the Cheka, which later became the KGB. The Cheka is infamous for executing tens of thousands without trial. They maximized terror by coming for their victims in the middle of the night—a tactic conceived by Lenin himself.<sup>58</sup>

He created the USSR's system of "concentration camps" (this is Lenin's own term for them), which became known as the Soviet Gulag. These forced-labor camps for political prisoners operated outside of the traditional judicial and prison system.

Within three years of the first Soviet concentration camp, there were over a hundred—all authorized by Lenin.<sup>59</sup>

And if what he did was not enough, listen to what Lenin said:

We shall cleanse Russia for a long time to come.<sup>60</sup>

Unrestrained, lawless power, based on force in the simplest sense of the word, is precisely what the dictatorship is about.<sup>61</sup>

The dictatorship means—take note of this once and for all—unrestrained power and the use of force, not of law.<sup>62</sup>

The dictatorship means nothing other than power totally unlimited by any laws, absolutely unrestrained by any regulations and based directly on the use of force.<sup>63</sup>

Large-scale machine industry—which is the material productive source and foundation of socialism—calls for absolute and strict unity of will ... . How can strict unity of will be ensured? By thousands subordinating their will to the will of one. ... *Unquestioning submission* [Lenin's emphasis] to a single will is absolutely necessary.<sup>64</sup>

The greater the number of reactionary clergy and reactionary bourgeois shot over this issue [the state's seizure of church valuables], the better.<sup>65</sup>

The rich and the rogues are two sides of the same coin, they are the two principal categories of parasites which capitalism fostered; they are the principal enemies of socialism. These enemies must be placed under the special surveillance of the entire people; they must be ruthlessly punished for the slightest violation of the laws and regulations of socialist society.<sup>66</sup>

You need to hang (hang without fail, so that the public sees) at least 100 notorious kulaks [relatively prosperous Russian farmers], the rich, and the bloodsuckers. ... Publish their names. ... Take away all of their grain. ... Designate hostages.<sup>67</sup>

The rich and their hangers-on, and the rogues, the idlers and the rowdies .... No mercy for these enemies of the people, the enemies of socialism.<sup>68</sup>

The summary executions and concentration camps that characterized the USSR weren't aberrations. They were a direct result of the principles on which this socialist society was founded.

If Lenin is eco anything, he's an eco-totalitarian. It's no small matter that today's ecosocialists consider him an intellectual forebearer.

## ANOTHER SUPPOSED PROTO-ECOSOCIALIST: LAURENCE GRONLUND

This [the socialist] conception of the State as an organism thus consigns the "rights of man" to obscurity and puts *Duty* in the foreground.<sup>69</sup>

Vladimir Lenin is only one of many noted historical socialists now disingenuously sold as early environmentalists. Let's briefly consider another, the author of the quote above: American socialist Laurence Gronlund.

Gronlund's most famous work is *The Cooperative Commonwealth: An Exposition of Modern Socialism*. Socialists say this book introduced Marx's ideas to America. (Actually, Gronlund failed to give Marx credit, leaving readers with the impression that, as one socialist put it, "Gronlund was the Christ of the new creed, rather than one of its apostles."<sup>70</sup>)

In his recent (2022) *The Return of Nature*, James Bellamy Foster discusses Gronlund and *The Cooperative Commonwealth*. He writes that Gronlund's work was "an important influence on English-speaking socialists," including such noted socialists as Eugene Debs, Edward Bellamy, Bernard Shaw, and William Morris.<sup>71</sup>

Foster cites Gronlund as an example of historical socialists who focused on what they saw as the ecological failings of capitalism. He quotes *The Cooperative Commonwealth*, where Gronlund attacks private farming under capitalism and argues that it results in a

rift in the reproduction of the soil.<sup>72</sup>

But Gronlund's ideas that can be twisted into seemingly eco-friendly ones are few and far between, especially when compared to the bulk of his thinking. Like Lenin, Gronlund calls for a society in which small enterprises are suppressed and production is carried out by a government monopoly producing at the largest possible scale. Like Lenin, he is an authoritarian through and through.

Yet, as with his treatment of Lenin, Foster overlooks these alarming views while writing about the impact Gronlund's book had on other socialist thinkers and promoting Gronlund's supposed ecological orientation.

Here's a sample of other things Gronlund wrote in *The Cooperative Commonwealth*, none of which see the light of day in Foster's new book:

The State may do anything whatsoever which is shown to be expedient.<sup>73</sup>

Against the State, the organized Society, even Labor does not give us a particle of title to what our hands and brain produce.<sup>74</sup>

Every large factory that arises on the ruins of the shops of the small artisans we consider an advance in civilization.<sup>75</sup>

Is it Utopian to expect that all enterprises will become more and more centralized, until in the fulness of time they all end in one monopoly, that of Society?<sup>76</sup>

[The socialist] commonwealth—whose citizens will, consciously and avowedly be public functionaries—will not know of a particle of distinction between the terms “State” and “Society”; the two ideas will become synonymous.<sup>77</sup>

Do not, however, suppose that there will be no subordination under the new order of things. Subordination is an absolute essential of Cooperation; indeed, Cooperation is Discipline.<sup>78</sup>

The anarchy of opinion of this transitory age is an enormous evil. Unity of belief is the normal condition of the human intellect; it is just as natural for healthy men to think and believe alike, as it is for healthy men to see alike.<sup>79</sup>

In a socialist society, we will all “think and believe alike.” There will be no room or opportunity for dissent.

In a socialist society, “even Labor does not give us a particle of title to what our hands and brain produce.” Why? Because socialism's foundation on compulsory duty to society turns our time—and what we produce with it—into society's property, not our own.

As Foster notes, numerous celebrated socialists, such as democratic socialist icon Eugene Debs, were influenced by *The Cooperative Commonwealth*.<sup>80</sup> Rather than

being turned off by its authoritarianism, they lapped it up. Famed British socialist William Morris (who today's socialists misleadingly portray as a socialist who loved liberty<sup>81</sup>) even recommended *The Cooperative Commonwealth* as a primer for those looking to learn the basics of socialism.<sup>82</sup>

Foster—the top banana among today's ecosocialists—doesn't reject Gronlund or alert readers to Gronlund's dangerous beliefs. Instead, he plugs Gronlund's alleged eco-mindedness.

## "POWER TOTALLY UNLIMITED BY ANY LAWS"

Vladimir Lenin not only called for *but also created* a socialist society based on

power totally unlimited by any laws.<sup>83</sup>

And Laurence Gronlund couldn't wait for a socialist society in which

the State may do anything whatsoever which is shown to be expedient.<sup>84</sup>

As these quotes and the others above vividly illustrate, both Lenin and Gronlund weren't simply anti-liberals; they were authoritarians. So too were the other historical socialists now said to be ecosocialists, Karl Marx included.<sup>85</sup>

Why in the world haven't today's ecosocialists washed their hands of these historical figures? Portraying Lenin and company as ecosocialists means misrepresenting their actual thinking, not to mention condoning Lenin's appalling record as the leader of the USSR. Why go to these lengths?

First, because ecosocialism isn't some softer form of socialism; it's unadulterated Marxism. For ecosocialists, walking away from Marx and Lenin would be the equivalent of Christians turning their backs on Christ and Paul the apostle.

Second, while most will find the ideas Lenin and Gronlund express disturbing and dangerous, ecosocialists are far less likely to. The reality is that this illiberal and authoritarian thinking isn't an outlier in the realm of socialist thought; it's the norm.

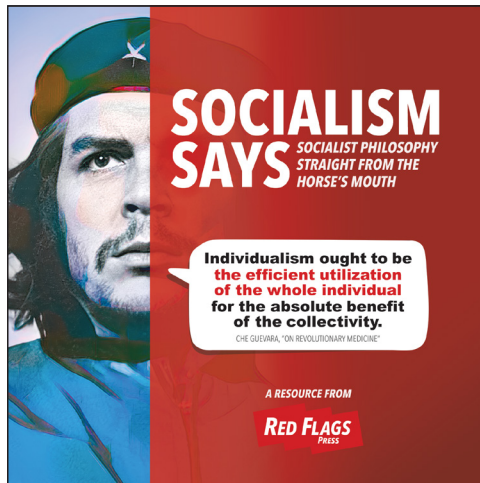
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*Ecosocialism calls for the same compulsory duty that helped turn Lenin's socialist experiment into an authoritarian nightmare.*

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Ecosocialism calls for the same compulsory duty that helped turn Lenin's socialist experiment into an authoritarian nightmare. And it unequivocally seeks a government with the power and the mandate to carry out a massive campaign of suppression like Lenin's: suppression of liberal rights, private enterprise, the market economy, supposedly "useless" jobs and products, and more.

What does the attempt to portray the likes of Lenin as eco-minded ultimately show? That ecosocialists are deadly serious when they say their goal is "the realization of the 'first-epoch' socialisms of the twentieth century."



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**Socialism is back from the dead.** Thus it's critical to ask: What flaws in socialism's design led to the authoritarian disasters of the past? And have those flaws been fixed?

*Socialism Says* uses short, illustrated entries to answer these questions with the words of celebrated socialists.

**OUR RIGHTS, TRASHED**

Karl Marx calls for a society based on the duty of "from each according to their ability" while assailing our rights as "rubbish." He didn't mince words when he talked about his disdain for individual rights.

Marx's attacks on rights aren't simply a result of his belief in socialist duty. To him, the entire concept of rights is just so much bourgeois bunk, an artifact of the liberal philosophy that underpins capitalism. In "On the Jewish Question," he states, "**None of the supposed rights of man, therefore, go beyond ... an individual separated from the community, withdrawn into himself, wholly preoccupied with his private interests.**"

This is deeply flawed thinking. The protections rights afford don't require us to be separated from the community or exclusively consumed with personal interests. They simply mean others can't force us to work on their goals without our consent.

Given Marx's views of rights, it's astonishing – and telling – that he receives the democratic socialist seal of approval from DSA founder Michael Harrington (see p. 14). It turns out you can be a democratic socialist despite considering rights "nonsense."

Karl  
Marx

**rubbish**  
CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHEN PROGRAMME

**nonsense**  
CRITIQUE OF THE GOTHEN PROGRAMME

**supposed rights**  
"ON THE JEWISH QUESTION"

**so-called rights**  
"ON THE JEWISH QUESTION"

**Marx and Engels always wrote disparagingly about the language of rights and justice.**  
STEPHEN LUKES, "CAN A MARXIST BELIEVE IN HUMAN RIGHTS?"

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**THE RIPPLE EFFECTS OF SOCIALIST DUTY**  
*"From Each According to Their Ability"*

Individualism ought to be the efficient use of the whole individual for the absolute benefit of the collectivity.


-Carl Gorenau



**OUR "SO-CALLED" RIGHTS**  
*How Socialist Duty Overrides Human Rights*

We, as Socialists, have nothing to do with liberty. Our message ... is one of discipline, of service, of ruthless refusal to acknowledge any natural right.


-Brennan Shaw



**THE SOCIALIST OBSESSION**  
*The Central Role of "Parasites" in Socialist Thought*

All that Socialism and a Socialist system of distribution can claim to do is to destroy social parasites.

-J. Rawson MacDonnell




**THE SECRET SAUCE OF SOCIALISM**  
*Socialism's Foundation on Vaporware*

If abundance is not possible, then neither is socialism, and there's no reformulation that can avoid that fact.

-Michael Harrington, founder of the Democratic Socialists of America

In socialism overproduction would ... be considered normal.


-Paul Mattick Jr., socialist scholar




**THE "KETO-FRIENDLY" POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY**  
*The Critical Problem with Socialist Marketing*

Our democracy is so pure that we can compare it to the first that existed in the world, such as the Greek democracy.

-Felix Caserio




**KARL MARX**  
*"Democratic Socialist"*



Champion of human freedom and democratic socialist, Karl Marx.


-Michael Harrington, founder of the Democratic Socialists of America



**WHY SOCIALISM SAYS CRAFTWORK IS "IDIOCY"**  
*And What That Says about Socialism*

Every large factory which arises on the ruin of the shops of the small artisans we consider an advance in civilization.


-Lawrence Geyendall, American Socialist Pioneer



**FOUR HOURS EVERY WEEKDAY**  
*Socialism's Meeting Problem*

The trouble with socialism is that it takes up too many evenings.


-Oscar Wozniak



**WHY SOCIALISM SAYS SLACKING IS THEFT**  
*And What That Says about Socialism*

This person is a thief, a thief!


-Felix Caserio



**DOUBLING DOWN ON DUTY**  
*Socialism's Most Famous Saying Has an Evil Twin*

"To each according to their work" is what we are fighting for, and ... "to each according to their needs" is our inspiration and ultimate destination.

-Doris S. Pina




**VLADIMIR LENIN, ECOSOCIALIST?**  
*Life under Lenin's "Green" Thumb*

Lenin had strongly embraced ecological values.

-John William Foster

The dictatorship means—take note of this once and for all—unrestrained power and the use of force, not of law.


-Vladimir Lenin



**KARL MARX'S "EDUCATION OF THE FUTURE"**  
*One of Marx's Favorite Ideas - Disappeared*

The only method of producing fully developed human beings.


-Karl Marx



**SOCIALISM SAYS**  
*SOCIALIST PHILOSOPHY STRAIGHT FROM THE HORSE'S MOUTH*

Individualism ought to be the efficient utilization of the whole individual for the absolute benefit of the collectivity.

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**KARL MARX ON HUMAN RIGHTS:**

<b>Rubbish.</b> <i>Supposed Rights.</i>	<b>Nonsense.</b> <i>So-Called Rights.</i>
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Socialism is back from the dead. This is critical to ask: What have in socialism's design led to the authoritarian disasters of the past? And have those flaws been fixed? Socialism Says uses short, illustrated entries to answer these questions with the words of emboldened socialists.

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# NOTES

1. Vladimir Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* [Full collected writings] (1958), 41:376, quoted in Dmitri Volkogonov, *Lenin: A New Biography*, trans. Harold Shukman (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 345. This line is also quoted in Victor Sebestyen, *Lenin the Dictator* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2017), 468.

2. John Bellamy Foster, “Late Soviet Ecology,” *Monthly Review* 67, no. 2 (2015): <https://monthlyreview.org/2015/06/01/late-soviet-ecology-and-the-planetary-crisis/>.

3. This slogan has even been used as the title of a book authored by ecosocialists: Martin Empson, ed., *System Change Not Climate Change: A Revolutionary Response to Environmental Crisis* (London: Bookmark Publications, 2019). In her chapter entitled “Hopelessly Devoted to Fossil Fuels,” Amy Leather writes, “We need to make real the slogan ‘system change not climate change’” (21).

4. In the preamble to Löwy’s article “Ecosocialism: A Vital Synthesis,” he’s described as a “pioneer ecosocialist.” Michael Löwy, “Ecosocialism: A Vital Synthesis,” *Climate and Capitalism*, December 16, 2020, <https://climateandcapitalism.com/2020/12/16/ecosocialism-a-vital-synthesis/>.

5. Joel Kovel and Michael Löwy, “An Ecosocialist Manifesto,” *The New Socialist* 62 (Fall 2007): 5.

6. Chris Williams, *Ecology and Socialism* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2010), 238–39. Kindle. Several other ecosocialists echo this conviction: “Capitalism needs to be overthrown” (Suzanne Jeffery, “Up Against the Clock: Climate, Social Movements, and Marxism,” in Empson, *System Change Not Climate Change*, 173); “Overthrow capitalism” (Camilla Royle, “Marxism and the Anthropocene,” in Empson, *System Change Not Climate Change*, 50); “The notion of socialism still stands for the supersession of capital. If capital is to be overcome, a task now given the urgency of the survival of civilization itself, the outcome will perforce be ‘socialist,’ for that is the term which signifies the breakthrough into a post-capitalist society” (Kovel and Löwy, “Ecosocialist Manifesto,” 6).

7. For example, Chris Williams writes that socialism means that private property “is abolished” (Williams, *Ecology and Socialism*, 216). A society without private property is, by definition, a society without private enterprise. Williams also describes socialist society as based on “production for use” and not “production for profit” (226). The idea of “production for use” replacing “production for profit” is a concept that has been at the heart of socialism for 150 years. This concept reflects the socialist plan to eliminate private enterprise, which requires profit to function.

Michael Löwy writes that ecosocialism means “the collective appropriation of the means of production.” This phrase has been a stock way to describe the elimination of private enterprise for well over a century. Michael Löwy, “The Ethics of Ecosocialism,” *The New Socialist* 62 (Fall 2007): 8.

8. Socialism has long called for the suppression of allegedly “socially useless” jobs, which hundreds of socialists have also called “parasitic” jobs. Making an untold number of jobs illegal and forcing those who currently hold these jobs to perform work approved as “useful” by society is also a central plank of ecosocialism.

For example, Chris Williams writes: “Utterly pointless industries producing useless things, advertising, marketing, and much of the packaging industry, along with the military, will be abolished.” Williams, *Ecology and Socialism*, 221.

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Fred Magdoff asserts that “socially useless, even harmful, products and programs” consume “as great as *half of the labor force*” and that a democratic socialist society would make these workers perform tasks that have the blessings of socialists instead. Fred Magdoff, “An Ecologically Sound and Socially Just Economy,” *Monthly Review*, September 1, 2014, <https://monthlyreview.org/2014/09/01/an-ecologically-sound-and-socially-just-economy/>. Emphasis added.

To learn more, see the RFP paper “The Socialist Obsession.”

9. A standard element of socialist philosophy has long been the call to suppress the production of allegedly “useless” products. The ecosocialist plan remains the same. For example, in “Ecosocialism: A Vital Synthesis,” Michael Löwy writes, “Many products in contemporary society are socially useless.” He says that an ecosocialist society would determine which needs are “authentic” ones. Socialist society would only produce goods and services required to fulfill needs approved as “authentic.”

Obviously, if some needs are “authentic,” the implication is that there are other needs that socialism considers inauthentic. Löwy labels these “artificial or counterproductive needs.” Production of these many products that socialists deem “socially useless” because they fill “artificial or counterproductive needs” would become illegal.

10. The very starting point of socialism is the imposition of compulsory duty to society, expressed in socialism’s 170-year-old axiom of “from each according to their ability.” Any number of ecosocialist works call for a society based on this duty. For example, Alejandro Pedregal and Juan Bordera describe ecosocialism as a matter of “rescuing the classic socialist aphorism adopted by Karl Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Program* ‘from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!’” Alejandro Pedregal and Juan Bordera, “Toward an Ecosocialist Degrowth: From the Materially Inevitable to the Socially Desirable,” *Monthly Review* 74, no. 2 (2022).

Socialism’s duty of “from each according to their ability” is both anti-liberal and extremely dangerous. This duty overrides our liberal right to use our abilities as we choose and turns our time and talents into society’s property to control.

But that’s not the half of it. By placing duty above individual rights, socialism empowers those running socialist society to control our lives and to use us as the means to their ends. It gives them the power to judge whether we’re performing our new socialist duties to their satisfaction and to punish us if they feel we’re not. These realities played a key role in one socialist society after another ending up a totalitarian state. And they guarantee that any future socialist experiment will be an authoritarian accident waiting to happen.

To learn more about socialism’s duty of “from each according to their ability” and how it overrides our liberal rights, see the RFP papers “The Ripple Effects of Socialist Duty” and “Our ‘So-Called’ Rights.”

11. Kohei Saito, “Karl Marx’s Idea of Ecosocialism in the 21st Century,” in Empson, *System Change Not Climate Change*, 70.

12. Two proponents of market socialism, Saul Estrin and Julian Le Grand, explain in their book *Market Socialism*, “We hope to show that markets can be used to socialist ends. The use of markets in this way is what we mean by market socialism.” Saul Estrin and Julian Le Grand, eds., *Market Socialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Paperbacks, 1989), 1. Estrin and Le Grand explain what drove the creation of the “market socialist” concept: “The experience of central planning in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as a means of attaining socialist ends does not inspire confidence in the ability of such planning to eliminate waste or encourage efficiency” (12). But they also admit that, for a great many socialists, the problem is that “market socialism is not socialist” (22).

Hillel Ticktin describes “market socialism” as an oxymoron, labeling it the equivalent of “fried ice.” He also explains the origin of market socialism: “The situation has changed in the period since the USSR began to disintegrate in that many in the West who looked to the Soviet Union as a model of some kind have been disillusioned in socialism itself. They’ve concluded that socialism as conceived by Marxists cannot work and that the market must be retained.” Hillel Ticktin, “The Problem Is Market Socialism,” in *Market Socialism: The Debate among Socialists*, ed. Bertrand Ollman (New York: Routledge, 1998), 57.

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13. Ecosocialism rejects the market—not only the market economy of capitalism but also so-called “market” socialism (see n. 12). It calls instead for a society based on Marx’s concept of a “planned” economy in which production decisions result from a prearranged plan, not from the independent decisions of individuals and organizations. For example, in “Ecosocialism: A Vital Synthesis,” Michael Löwy writes that “the core of ecosocialism is the concept of democratic ecological planning, wherein the population itself, not ‘the market’ or a Politburo, make the main decisions about the economy.”

Today’s socialists unsurprisingly say that their vision of socialist planning is not the central planning associated with Stalin’s USSR or Mao’s People’s Republic of China. Rather, they call it “democratic” planning. But never do ecosocialists provide more than the vaguest outline of how democratic planning would be carried out—a process that would have to happen worldwide for tens of thousands of products.

In the few instances when socialists have attempted to think through the implications of the democratic planning concept, its absurdity soon becomes clear. For example, noted socialist Ernest Mandel calculates that carrying out democratic planning would require each socialist citizen to work on this task for four hours each workday. Ernest Mandel, *Power and Money: A Marxist Theory of Bureaucracy* (New York: Verso, 1992), 202. (To learn more, see the RFP paper “Four Hours Every Workday.”)

Suzanne Jeffery calls for a socialist system that “replaces the anarchic and destructive market with democratic planning.” Suzanne Jeffery, “Up Against the Clock,” 173. This means doing away with private enterprise. Hundreds of socialist thinkers have used the term “anarchic” or “anarchy of production” as their primary description of the capitalist economy. What makes capitalism “anarchic” in socialist theory is that independent individuals and businesses make separate decisions about what to produce, when to produce it, and so on. The socialist plan is to eliminate this “anarchy” by eliminating private enterprise and replacing it with a “planned” economy. (To learn more about socialism’s focus on the “anarchy” of capitalism, see the RFP paper “Why Socialism Says Craftwork Is ‘Idiocy.’”

14. John Bellamy Foster, *The Ecological Revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2009), 154.

15. Foster, *Ecological Revolution*, 192.

16. John Bellamy Foster, “Ecology and the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism,” *Monthly Review* 60, no. 8 (2008).

17. Foster, “Late Soviet Ecology.”

18. Williams, *Ecology and Socialism*, 182–86.

19. Williams, *Ecology and Socialism*, 186. Emphasis added.

20. Ben Stahnke, “Lenin, Ecology and Revolutionary Russia,” *Peace, Land, and Bread* 1 (Spring 2020): 2.

21. Vladimir Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, 2nd ed. (London: Laurence and Wishart, 1943), 112.

22. For a detailed look at how socialists claim their philosophy would mean worldwide free everything forever, see the RFP paper “The Secret Sauce of Socialism.”

23. One example of the many instances in which socialists have used the term “superabundance” to describe their expectation of what socialism would produce comes from Leo Huberman: “With the discovery of atomic power and its ownership and planned development by a socialist society, the ultimate goal of satisfying the wants of all with a minimum of monotonous and burdensome labor need no longer be relegated to the distant future. Where formerly it was wise to estimate our ability to create a *super-abundance* in terms of centuries, now it is perhaps not over-optimistic to think in terms of years.” Leo Huberman, *The Truth about Socialism* (New York: Lear Publishing, 1950), 198n. Emphasis added. Note that Huberman says socialism will fulfill not only the needs of all worldwide but even the “wants.”

24. Two examples of socialists speaking in terms of “limitless abundance” come from Fidel Castro and noted Marxist theorist G. A. Cohen:

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Castro said, “Anyone can understand that this [increased productivity] is the only way to develop the wealth of our country, its natural resources, to a maximum and that it is the only way to enable our people to benefit from a *limitless abundance* of the necessities of life.” Fidel Castro, “Fidel Castro Speaks to Graduation Tractor Operators [October 2, 1968],” Castro Speech Database, <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1968/19681002.html>. Emphasis added.

Cohen describes Marx’s expectations that socialism would create “limitless conflicts-dissolving abundance”—an abundance so limitless that it would end all human conflict. G. A. Cohen, *Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 131.

25. The expression “from each according to their ability, to each according to their need” came into use by socialists in the 1840s, but what turned it into socialism’s best known saying and defining promise was Marx’s use of the phrase. He wrote that socialist society would eventually “inscribe on its banners, ‘From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.’” Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*, in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1972), 383.

Any number of today’s socialists state that the goal of socialism remains creating a society based on this axiom. For example, Michael Harrington, the founder of the Democratic Socialists of America, writes, “The goal of socialism, clearly, is to overcome greed and act on the basis of ‘to each according to his/her need, from each according to his/her ability.’” Michael Harrington, “What Socialists Would Do in America—If They Could,” *Dissent*, Fall 1978, 445.

26. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, 113.

27. As Karl Marx explains, the fact that there’s a large quantity of a product available (even millions or billions of a given item) does *not* mean it’s “abundant” by socialist standards. By Marx’s definition, a product only becomes “abundant” when the supply available is greater than demand—in other words, when there’s a supply in excess of demand, an oversupply.

Marx writes: “Take a product that is more than scarce, unique of its kind if you will: this unique product will be more than abundant, it will be superfluous, if there is no demand for it. On the other hand, take a product multiplied into millions, it will always be scarce if it does not satisfy the demand, that is, if there is too great a demand.” By Marx’s definition, the only way for a product to be “abundant” is for the quantity available to be greater than demand—that is, for there to be an excess, an oversupply. Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956), 37.

Moreover, Marx explains (see n. 29) that socialist abundance requires a cushion for unforeseen interruptions in production (like those that might be caused by a pandemic). There must be a supply that exceeds current demand plus more to account for the unexpected. There must in fact be an over-oversupply.

28. Karl Marx writes that “considered from the standpoint of the whole society, there must be a constant over-production, i.e., production on a greater scale than is needed for the simple replacement and reproduction of the existing wealth—quite apart from any increase in population—for the society to have at its disposal the means of production needed to make good unusual destruction caused by accidents and natural forces.” Karl Marx, *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes and David Fernbach, 3 vols. (London: Penguin Classics, 1978–1981), 3:256–57.

29. Paul Mattick Jr., *Economic Crisis and Crisis Theory* (London: Merlin Press, 1981), 108.

30. Edgar Hardcastle, “Profits, Riches and Poverty” (lecture, Marchmont Street, London, August 9, 1986), <https://libcom.org/library/marxian-economics-1986-lecture-2>.

31. “If abundance is not possible, then neither is socialism, and there’s no reformulation that can avoid that fact.” Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1970), 347.

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

33. Lenin, *State and Revolution*, 118.

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34. Vladimir Lenin, “Third Congress of the Communist International,” in *Lenin: Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973–78), 32:492. Emphasis added.

35. For details, see the RFP paper “Why Socialism Says Craftwork Is ‘Idiocy.’”

36. Vladimir Lenin, “Petty Production in Agriculture,” *Rabochaya Pravda*, July 18, 1913, trans. George Hanna, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/jul/18b.htm>.

37. To learn how socialism’s duty of “from each according to their ability” morphs our time into what socialism treats as society’s property to control, see the RFP paper “The Ripple Effects of Socialist Duty.”

38. Vladimir Lenin, “Speech at a Meeting of Delegates from the Poor Peasants’ Committees of Central Gubernias,” in *Lenin: Collected Works*, 28:175.

39. For example, Fidel Castro says of “the slacker,” “This person is a thief, a thief!” Fidel Castro, “Castro Addresses Plenum of Basic Industry Workers, Havana Domestic Radio and Television Services in Spanish 8 Dec 1970,” Departamento de Versiones Taquigraficas del Gobierno Revolucionario, accessed December 4, 2020, <http://www.cuba.cu/gobierno/discursos/1970/esp/f071270e.html>. See dozens of socialist thinkers attacking slackers, as well as over two dozen examples of Castro doing so, at [slackingistheft.org](http://slackingistheft.org).

40. Vladimir Lenin, “How to Organize Competition,” in *Lenin: Collected Works*, 26:414.

41. Vladimir Lenin, “On Equality,” in *Voices of Revolt*, vol. 8, *Speeches of V. I. Lenin* (New York: International Publishers, 1928), 62.

42. Lenin, “How to Organize Competition,” 414.

43. Vladimir Lenin, “The Importance of Gold Now and after the Complete Victory of Socialism,” *Pravda*, November 6–7, 1921, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1921/nov/05.htm>.

44. Socialists have long claimed that one result of their philosophy would be “a world without money.” (This phrase is the title of Italian socialist Amadeo Bordiga’s most famous work). As Fidel Castro explains, the socialist view is that “the day will come when a man will produce and turn in his potato crop and get nothing for it. Then he will go and get in return for it coffee, rice, sugar, clothes, shoes, and everything he needs. *Then we shall suppress that vile intermediary which is money*” (Fidel Castro, “Castro Speech to the Third ANAP Congress [May 19, 1967],” <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/castro/db/1967/19670519.html>, emphasis added). When will money be eliminated? When socialism makes it possible for someone to take “everything he needs” for free.

We can find the same assertion in British socialist and Marxist economist Edgar Hardcastle (“Profits, Riches and Poverty”). This lengthy passage (a portion of which has already been quoted in the body of this paper) is worth a read for how it ties various aspects of socialist theory together:

“In Socialist society, there will be no wages, no profits, no rent, no interest, in short, there will be no money income. There will be no people having unearned incomes from rent, interest and profit, because they will not own property. There will be no buying and selling, therefore no money system, and no price system. As nobody will have any money income, it will not be possible for anybody to be richer or poorer than anybody else. And remember the basis of socialist society will be that people will have free access [to all needed goods and services].

“You are entitled to say how can you have free access? Where will the goods and services come from, into existence, so that the population can have free access to them, the food, clothing, shelter and all the rest of their requirements? Well, the whole of the population will get them by taking them out of the communal store.

“And how will they get there? They will get there because members of society will cooperate together to produce them. And as I say, emphasis will be on the basis of free access. People will take what they need and they will not have either pay for them, or give anything else in return for them.

“However, this is not an easy task. Far from it. To set up conditions of free access will be the greatest problem socialist society will have to face.

“Karl Marx wrote long ago, that the first task of a socialist society, will be to increase production, as much, and as quickly as possible, and it is still true as Marx [sic, still as true today], as it was when Marx said it.

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“Now some people have fallen into the elementary error that under capitalism, enough is already produced, for socialist society to operate. It’s a dangerous illusion.”

45. You can read any number of books and articles preaching ecosocialism today without finding one word about socialism’s requirement for a world of abundance, which, as socialists define it, is a world in which all goods are produced in such numbers as to be free for the taking worldwide forever. For example, consider the eleven papers in Empson, *System Change Not Climate Change*. They espouse traditional Marxist plans for the overthrow of capitalism, for the market economy to be replaced by a planned economy, and for the suppression of supposedly “useless” jobs and products, but they don’t say one word about socialism’s requirement for abundance and constant overproduction.

Worse yet, socialists not only duck explaining socialism’s need for worldwide free everything by means of constant overproduction, but they still make sales claims that without question hinge on such a world. For example, ecosocialists claim their philosophy would create a world based on the axiom “to each according to their need.” Socialists have long defined such a world as one in which all goods are freely available—that is, a world of overflowing abundance resulting from constant overproduction.

Moreover, today’s socialists fail to offer the warning that any socialist society not based on abundance is exceedingly like to be an authoritarian one, if not totalitarian (as history has so vividly demonstrated). It is this world of overflowing abundance that Marx and other key socialist thinkers assumed would neuter the threat of authoritarianism present in socialism’s foundation on compulsory duty to society.

46. When it isn’t possible for ecosocialists to avoid discussing socialism’s requirement for abundance, they employ a different strategy. They exploit the fact that a world of overflowing abundance now seems farfetched, and they argue that Marx and company never really expected this in the first place.

In a similar fashion, one might argue that the idea that the Earth is the center of the universe is so ludicrous that early astronomers could not really have believed it. But they did. Despite being intelligent individuals, the erroneous assumptions of these scientists led to a conclusion that we now realize is preposterous.

This is precisely what happened in the case of socialist theory. Despite their clear intellect, Marx and Engels created a system based on a faulty premise. They thought wrongly that socialism would radically boost production, creating an overflowing abundance. This fact can be proven in multiple ways.

First, there’s what Marx and Engels say themselves. For example, Marx envisions socialist overproduction being so easily achieved and so massive in scope that it permits excess overproduction—over-overproduction—as insurance against unexpected disasters (see n. 28).

Second, that Marx and his disciples expected socialism to create an overflowing abundance is demonstrated by the analysis of any number of socialism’s most noted thinkers. There’s obviously the example of Lenin reviewed in this paper, stating that socialism would create a world of such abundance that all could take goods freely, with society making no effort to control how much anyone took. Among the numerous additional examples, celebrated democratic socialist Eugene Debs promises socialism will mean an “abundance to satisfy all human wants” (Eugene V. Debs, “The Issue: Speech at Girard, Kas., May 23, 1908,” in *Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches* [Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1908], 489). And leading Marxist philosopher G. A. Cohen writes that Marx’s thinking is premised on a “limitless conflicts-dissolving abundance” (G. A. Cohen, *Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995], 131).

Third, only an overflowing abundance could deliver a society with the features that socialists have long promised: no human conflict, no crime, no war, government “withered away.” These are promises that hundreds of socialist thinkers have made and still do make. A fake abundance based on rationing would not end human conflict; it would drive it sky-high.

For additional examples of Marx, Engels, and numerous other celebrated socialists promising socialism would mean an overflowing abundance, see the RFP paper “The Secret Sauce of Socialism.”

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47. Richard Pipes, *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 155. See also James Ryan, *Lenin's Terror: The Ideological Origins of Early Soviet State Violence* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 89–90.

48. Pipes, *Concise History*, 160.

49. The Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies summarizes Lenin's moves against the press in this way: "The Bolsheviks curtailed freedom of speech and press in Russia from the very beginning. One of the most important initial decrees passed by the Soviet of People's Commissars and signed by Vladimir Lenin October 27, 1917 was the Decree on the Press. This Decree essentially outlawed newspapers that published views opposed to the October Revolution. Claiming such papers to be tsarist reactionaries, the communists closed 319 newspapers from 1917-1918 .... Additional measures soon followed. A tribunal was established in 1917 to investigate and suppress bourgeois newspapers. Later in 1917, a state monopoly on advertising was instituted, depriving most papers of revenue." "The History of Russian Journalism," Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, <https://miamioh.edu/cas/centers-institutes/havighurst-center/additional-resources/havighurst-special-programming/journalism-under-fire/index.html>.

50. Lenin's wife, Krupskaya, played a direct role in determining what categories of works should be purged from Russian libraries following the socialist revolution. A. Robert Rogers, "Censorship and Libraries in the Soviet Union," *Journal of Library History, Philosophy, and Comparative Librarianship* 8, no. 1 (January 1973): 24.

51. Rogers, "Censorship and Libraries," 24.

52. Victor Sebestyen, *Lenin the Dictator*, 394–95.

53. Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 345.

54. Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 374-375.

55. Sebestyen, *Lenin the Dictator*, 470-471; see Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 374.

56. Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 379; Sebestyen, *Lenin the Dictator*, 475.

57. Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 355–72; Ryan, *Lenin's Terror*, 172–76.

58. Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 238–39.

59. Anne Applebaum, *Gulag* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 59, 61. Kindle. Applebaum quotes Lenin calling for those he deemed to be enemies of the socialist state to be "locked up in a concentration camp outside town" and for their "isolation in concentration camps."

60. Quoted in Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 363; Ryan, *Lenin's Terror*, 159.

61. Vladimir Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 41:380, quoted in Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 237.

62. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 41:236, quoted in Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 236. See also Sebestyen, *Lenin the Dictator*, 468.

63. Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 41:383, quoted in Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 237.

64. Vladimir Lenin, "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," in *V. I. Lenin: Selected Works*, vol. 7, *After the Seizure of Power* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1937), 342.

65. Quoted in Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 379.

66. Vladimir Lenin, "How to Organize Competition," 411.

67. Lenin's so-called "Hanging Order" is available online through US Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/trans-ad2kulak.html>.

68. Lenin, "How to Organize Competition," 411.

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69. Laurence Gronlund, *The Cooperative Commonwealth: An Exposition of Modern Socialism* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1884), 109. The emphasis is Gronlund's own.

70. Karl Marx's son-in-law Edward Aveling wrote a favorable review of Gronlund's *The Cooperative Commonwealth*. His only complaint was that, since Gronlund didn't credit Marx, the book would give readers the impression that "Gronlund was the Christ of the new creed, rather than one of its apostles." Edward Aveling, "Review of *The Co-Operative Commonwealth*," Supplement to the *Commonweal* 1, no. 8 (September 1885): 89.

71. John Bellamy Foster, *The Return of Nature: Socialism and Ecology* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2020), 88.

72. Foster, *Return of Nature*, 141.

73. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 84.

74. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 85.

75. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 109.

76. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 103.

77. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 106.

78. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 152–53.

79. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 232–33.

80. Foster, *Return of Nature*, 89.

81. To learn more, see the RFP paper "Artist, Visionary, Authoritarian: Learning Socialism from William Morris."

82. Morris was a founder of the British Socialist League and editor of the League's paper, *The Commonweal*, in which he recommended Gronlund's work.

83. Volkogonov, *Lenin*, 237.

84. Gronlund, *Cooperative Commonwealth*, 84.

85. Socialist author Kohei Saito has written an entire book that portrays Marx as an ecosocialist: *Karl Marx's Ecosocialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2017). Saito also writes that "Marx was one of the first ecosocialists" (Kohei Saito, "Karl Marx's Idea of Ecosocialism in the 21st First Century," in Empson, *System Change Not Climate Change*, 68).

There are numerous ways to demonstrate that Marx was anti-liberal and an authoritarian. One stark example is found in his views regarding our liberal rights. Marx attacked them as "rubbish," "nonsense," and "so-called rights." Learn more in the RFP paper "Our 'So-Called' Rights."