Libertarian Socialism
**Libertarian socialism**

Libertarian socialism (sometimes called social anarchism, and sometimes left libertarianism) is a group of political philosophies that promote a non-hierarchical, non-bureaucratic society without private property in the means of production. Libertarian socialists believe in converting present-day private productive property into the commons or public goods, while retaining respect for personal property. Libertarian socialism is opposed to coercive forms of social organization. It promotes free association in place of government and opposes the social relations of capitalism, such as wage labor. The term libertarian socialism is used by some socialists to differentiate their philosophy from state socialism or by some as a synonym for left anarchism.

Adherents of libertarian socialism assert that a society based on freedom and equality can be achieved through abolishing authoritarian institutions that control certain means of production and subordinate the majority to an owning class or political and economic elite. Libertarian socialism also constitutes a tendency of thought that promotes the identification, criticism, and practical dismantling of illegitimate authority in all aspects of life.

Accordingly, libertarian socialists believe that "the exercise of power in any institutionalized form—whether economic, political, religious, or sexual—brutalizes both the wielder of power and the one over whom it is exercised". Libertarian socialists generally place their hopes in decentralized means of direct democracy such as libertarian municipalism, citizens' assemblies, trade unions, and workers' councils.

Political philosophies commonly described as libertarian socialist include most varieties of anarchism (especially anarchist communism, anarchist collectivism, anarcho-syndicalism, mutualism) as well as autonomism, communalism, participism, libertarian Marxist philosophies such as council communism and Luxemburgism, and some versions of "utopian socialism" and individualist anarchism.

**Overview**

Libertarian socialism is a western philosophy with diverse interpretations, though some general commonalities can be found in its many incarnations. Its proponents generally advocate a worker-oriented system of production and organization in the workplace that in some aspects radically departs from neoclassical economics in favor of democratic cooperatives or common ownership of the means of production (socialism). They propose that this economic system be executed in a manner that attempts to maximize the liberty of individuals and minimize concentration of power or authority (libertarianism).

Libertarian socialists are strongly critical of coercive institutions, which often leads them to reject the legitimacy of the state in favor of anarchism. Adherents propose achieving this through decentralization of political and economic power, usually involving the socialization of most large-scale private property and enterprise (while retaining respect for personal property). Libertarian socialism tends to deny the legitimacy of most forms of economically significant private property, viewing capitalist property relations as forms of domination that are antagonistic to individual freedom.

The first anarchist journal to use the term "libertarian" was *La Libertaire, Journal du Mouvement Social* and it was published in New York City between 1858 and 1861 by French anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque. "The next recorded use of the term was in Europe, when "libertarian communism" was used at a French regional anarchist
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Congress at Le Havre (16–22 November 1880). January the following year saw a French manifesto issued on "Libertarian or Anarchist Communism." Finally, 1895 saw leading anarchists Sébastien Faure and Louise Michel publish La Libertaire in France.[24] The word stems from the French word libertaire, and was used to evade the French ban on anarchist publications.[25] In this tradition, the term "libertarianism" in "libertarian socialism" is generally used as a synonym for anarchism, which some say is the original meaning of the term; hence "libertarian socialism" is equivalent to "socialist anarchism" to these scholars.[2][26] In the context of the European socialist movement, libertarian has conventionally been used to describe those who opposed state socialism, such as Mikhail Bakunin.

The association of socialism with libertarianism predates that of capitalism, and many anti-authoritarians still decry what they see as a mistaken association of capitalism with libertarianism in the United States.[27] As Noam Chomsky put it, a consistent libertarian "must oppose private ownership of the means of production and wage slavery, which is a component of this system, as incompatible with the principle that labor must be freely undertaken and under the control of the producer."[28]

In a chapter recounting the history of libertarian socialism, economist Robin Hahnel relates that thus far the period where libertarian socialism has had its greatest impact was at the end of the 19th century through the first four decades of the twentieth century.

Early in the twentieth century, libertarian socialism was as powerful a force as social democracy and communism. The Libertarian International—founded at the Congress of Saint Imier a few days after the split between Marxist and libertarians at the congress of the Socialist International held in The Hague in 1872—competed successfully against social democrats and communists alike for the loyalty of anticapitalist activists, revolutionaries, workers, unions and political parties for over fifty years. Libertarian socialists played a major role in the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. Libertarian socialists played a dominant role in the Mexican Revolution of 1911. Twenty years after World War I was over, libertarian socialists were still strong enough to spearhead the social revolution that swept across Republican Spain in 1936 and 1937.[29]

On the other hand a libertarian trend also developed within marxism which gained visibility around the late 1910s mainly in reaction against Bolshevism and Leninism rising to power and establishing the Soviet Union. Contemporary libertarian Marxist Harry Cleaver describes the situation as follows:

Outside and against this process of turning of Marxism into an ideology of domination, however, were various revolutionary tendencies which still drew on Marx's work to inform their struggles and which rejected both social-democratic and Marxist-Leninist versions of his theory. The most interesting of these, those that are relevant to my current purpose, have been those which insisted on the primacy of the self-activity and creativity of people in struggle against capitalism. Within the space of these tendencies there has developed a coherent critique of "orthodox Marxism" that includes not only a rejection of the concept of "the transition" but a reconceptualization of the process of transcending capitalism that has remarkable similarities to (Peter) Kropotkin's thinking on this subject...Thus one of the earliest political tendencies within which this approach appeared after the Russian revolution of 1917 was that of "Council Communism" which saw the "workers councils" in Germany (see Bavarian Soviet Republic), or the soviets in Russia, as new organizational forms constructed by the people. As with the anarchists, they too saw the Bolshevik take-over of the soviets (like that of the trade unions) as subverting the revolution and beginning the restoration of domination and exploitation...Over the years this emphasis on working class autonomy has resulted in a reinterpretation of Marxist theory that has brought out the two-sided character of the class struggle and shifted the focus from capital (the preoccupation of orthodox Marxism) to the workers...As a result, not only has there been a recognition that capitalism seeks to subordinate everyone's life (from the traditional factory proletariat to peasants, housewives and students) but that all those peoples' struggles involve both the resistance to this
subordination and the effort to construct alternative ways of being. [30]

Anti-capitalism

Libertarian socialists are anti-capitalist, and can thus be distinguished from right-wing libertarians. Whereas capitalist (and right-libertarian) principles concentrate economic power in the hands of those who own the most capital, libertarian socialism aims to distribute power, and thus freedom, more equally amongst members of society. A key difference between libertarian socialism and capitalist libertarianism is that advocates of the former generally believe that one's degree of freedom is affected by one's economic and social status, whereas advocates of the latter focus on freedom of choice. This is sometimes characterized as a desire to maximize "free creativity" in a society in preference to "free enterprise." [31]

Libertarian socialists believe if freedom is valued, then society must work towards a system in which individuals have the power to decide economic issues along with political issues. Libertarian socialists seek to replace unjustified authority with direct democracy, voluntary federation, and popular autonomy in all aspects of life, [32] including physical communities and economic enterprises.

Many libertarian socialists argue that large-scale voluntary associations should manage industrial manufacture, while workers retain rights to the individual products of their labor. [33] As such, they see a distinction between the concepts of "private property" and "personal possession". Whereas "private property" grants an individual exclusive control over a thing whether it is in use or not, and regardless of its productive capacity, "possession" grants no rights to things that are not in use. [34]

Anti-authoritarianism and opposition to the state

Libertarian socialists generally regard concentrations of power as sources of oppression that must be continually challenged and justified. Most libertarian socialists believe that when power is exercised, as exemplified by the economic, social, or physical dominance of one individual over another, the burden of proof is always on the authoritarian to justify their action as legitimate when taken against its effect of narrowing the scope of human freedom. [35] Libertarian socialists typically oppose rigid and stratified structures of authority, be they political, economic, or social. [36]

In lieu of corporations and states, libertarian socialists seek to organize society into voluntary associations (usually collectives, communes, municipalities, cooperatives, commons, or syndicates) that use direct democracy or consensus for their decision-making process. Some libertarian socialists advocate combining these institutions using rotating, recallable delegates to higher-level federations. [37] Spanish anarchism is a major example of such federations in practice.

Contemporary examples of libertarian socialist organizational and decision-making models in practice include a number of anti-capitalist and global justice movements [38] including Zapatista Councils of Good Government and the Global Indymedia network (which covers 45 countries on six continents). There are also many examples of indigenous societies around the world whose political and economic systems can be accurately described as anarchist or libertarian socialist, each of which is unique and uniquely suited to the culture that birthed it. [39] For libertarians, that diversity of practice within a framework of common principles is proof of the vitality of those principles and of their flexibility and strength.

Contrary to popular opinion, libertarian socialism has not traditionally been a utopian movement, tending to avoid dense theoretical analysis or prediction of what a future society would or should look like. The tradition instead has been that such decisions cannot be made now, and must be made through struggle and experimentation, so that the best solution can be arrived at democratically and organically, and to base the direction for struggle on established historical example. Some supporters, such as The Zeitgeist Movement and The Venus Project suggest that this focus on exploration over predetermination is one of their great strengths. They point out that the success of the scientific method comes from its adherence to open rational exploration, not its conclusions, in sharp contrast to dogma and
predetermined predictions. To libertarian socialists, dogmatic approaches to social organization are doomed to failure; and thus they reject Marxist notions of linear and inevitable historical progression. Noted anarchist Rudolf Rocker once stated, "I am an anarchist not because I believe anarchism is the final goal, but because there is no such thing as a final goal". The Zeitgeist Movement and The Venus Project stated they do not believe in utopia but instead they believe in a continuously-evolving, emergent, never-ending process of updating society's notions of economics and politics to align them with society's rapidly advancing scientific ingenuity, technical knowledge and new discoveries: they believe there is no final frontier. [41][42][43]

Because libertarian socialism encourages exploration and embraces a diversity of ideas rather than forming a compact movement, there have arisen inevitable controversies over individuals who describe themselves as libertarian socialists but disagree with some of the core principles of libertarian socialism. For example, Peter Hain interprets libertarian socialism as minarchist rather than anarchist, favoring radical decentralization of power without going as far as the complete abolition of the state[44] and libertarian socialist Noam Chomsky supports dismantling all forms of unjustified social or economic power, while also emphasizing that state intervention should be supported as a temporary protection while oppressive structures remain in existence.

Proponents are known for opposing the existence of states or government and refusing to participate in coercive state institutions. Indeed, in the past many refused to swear oaths in court or to participate in trials, even when they faced imprisonment[45] or deportation.[46]

**Civil liberties and individual freedom**

Libertarian socialists have been strong advocates and activists of civil liberties that provide an individual specific rights such as the freedom in issues of love and sex (free love) (see Anarchism and issues related to love and sex) and of thought and conscience (freethought). In this activism they have clashed with state and religious institutions which have limited such rights (see Anarchism and religion). Anarchism has been an important advocate of free love since its birth. Later a strong tendency of free love appeared alongside anarcha-feminism and advocacy of LGBT rights (see Anarchism and issues related to LGBTI persons). In recent times anarchism has also voiced opinions and taken action around certain sex related subjects such as pornography[47], BDSM[48] and the sex industry[48].

Anarcha-feminism developed as a synthesis of radical feminism and anarchism that views patriarchy (male domination over women) as a fundamental manifestation of compulsory government. It was inspired by the late 19th century writings of early feminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre and Virginia Bolten. Anarcha-feminists, like other radical feminists, criticise and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and gender roles. Also the council communist Sylvia Pankhurst was a feminist activist as well as a libertarian marxist. Anarchists also took a pioneering interest in issues related to LGBTI persons. An important current within anarchism is free love. Free love advocates sometimes traced their roots back to the early anarchist Josiah Warren and to experimental communities, viewed sexual freedom as a clear, direct expression of an individual's self-ownership. Free love particularly stressed women's rights since most sexual laws discriminated against women: for example, marriage laws and anti-birth control measures. [50]
Libertarian socialism have traditionally been skeptical of and opposed to organized religion. Freethought is a philosophical viewpoint that holds opinions should be formed on the basis of science, logic, and reason, and should not be influenced by authority, tradition, or other dogmas. The cognitive application of freethought is known as "freethinking," and practitioners of freethought are known as "freethinkers." In the United States "freethought was a basically anti-Christian, anti-clerical movement, whose purpose was to make the individual politically and spiritually free to decide for himself on religious matters. A number of contributors to Liberty (anarchist publication) were prominent figures in both freethought and anarchism. The individualist anarchist George MacDonald was a co-editor of Freethought and, for a time, The Truth Seeker. E.C. Walker was co-editor of the excellent free-thought / free love journal Lucifer, the Light-Bearer. Free Society (1895–1897 as The Firebrand; 1897–1904 as Free Society) was a major anarchist newspaper in the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

The publication staunchly advocated free love and women's rights, and critiqued "Comstockery" – censorship of sexual information. In 1901, Catalan anarchist and free-thinker Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia established "modern" or progressive schools in Barcelona in defiance of an educational system controlled by the Catholic Church. The schools' stated goal was to "educate the working class in a rational, secular and non-coercive setting". Fiercely anti-clerical, Ferrer believed in "freedom in education", education free from the authority of church and state (see Anarchism and education).

Violent and non-violent means

Some libertarian socialists see violent revolution as necessary in the abolition of capitalist society. Along with many others, Errico Malatesta argued that the use of violence was necessary; as he put it in Umanità Nova (no. 125, September 6, 1921):

It is our aspiration and our aim that everyone should become socially conscious and effective; but to achieve this end, it is necessary to provide all with the means of life and for development, and it is therefore necessary to destroy with violence, since one cannot do otherwise, the violence that denies these means to the workers.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon argued in favor of a non-violent revolution through a process of dual power in which libertarian socialist institutions would be established and form associations enabling the formation of an expanding network within the existing state-capitalist framework with the intention of eventually rendering both the state and the capitalist economy obsolete.

The progression towards violence in anarchism stemmed, in part, from the massacres of some of the communes inspired by the ideas of Proudhon and others. Many anarcho-communists began to see a need for revolutionary violence to counteract the violence inherent in both capitalism and government.

Anarchist-pacifism is a tendency within the anarchist movement which rejects the use of violence in the struggle for social change. The main early influences were the thought of Henry David Thoreau and Leo Tolstoy. It developed "mostly in Holland (sic), Britain, and the United States, before and during the Second World War." Opposition to the use of violence has not prohibited anarchist-pacifists from accepting the principle of resistance or even revolutionary action (see: non-violent revolution) provided it does not result in violence; it was in fact their approval of such forms of opposition to power that lead many anarchist-pacifists to endorse the anarcho-syndicalist concept of the general strike as the great revolutionary weapon. Later anarchist-pacifists have also come to endorse to non-violent strategy of dual power.

Other anarchists have believed that violence (especially self-defense) is justified as a way to provoke social upheaval which could lead to a social revolution.
Political roots

Within early modern socialist thought and "utopian" socialism

Peasant revolts in the post-reformation era

Various libertarian socialist authors have identified the written work of English Protestant social reformer Gerrard Winstanley and the social activism of his group, the Diggers, as anticipating this line of thought. For anarchist historian George Woodcock "Although (Pierre Joseph) Proudhon was the first writer to call himself an anarchist, at least two predecessors outlined systems that contain all the basic elements of anarchism. The first was Gerrard Winstanley (1609-c. 1660), a linen draper who led the small movement of the Diggers during the Commonwealth. Winstanley and his followers protested in the name of a radical Christianity against the economic distress that followed the Civil War and against the inequality that the grandees of the New Model Army seemed intent on preserving. In 1649–1650 the Diggers squatted on stretches of common land in southern England and attempted to set up communities based on work on the land and the sharing of goods. The communities failed, but a series of pamphlets by Winstanley survived, of which *The New Law of Righteousness* (1649) was the most important. Advocating a rational Christianity, Winstanley equated Christ with "the universal liberty" and declared the universally corrupting nature of authority. He saw "an equal privilege to share in the blessing of liberty" and detected an intimate link between the institution of property and the lack of freedom. In the modern world, anarchism first appeared as a movement of the peasantry and yeomanry against declining feudal institutions. In Germany its foremost spokesman during the Peasant Wars was Thomas Muenzer; in England, Gerrard Winstanley, a leading participant in the Digger movement. The concepts held by Muenzer and Winstanley were superbly attuned to the needs of their time — a historical period when the majority of the population lived in the countryside and when the most militant revolutionary forces came from an agrarian world. It would be painfully academic to argue whether Muenzer and Winstanley could have achieved their ideals. What is of real importance is that they spoke to their time; their anarchist concepts followed naturally from the rural society that furnished the bands of the peasant armies in Germany and the New Model in England."
Another often mentioned name is that of English enlightenment thinker William Godwin. For Woodcock a more elaborate sketch of anarchism, although still without the name, was provided by William Godwin in his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793). Godwin was a gradualist anarchist rather than a revolutionary anarchist; he differed from most later anarchists in preferring above revolutionary action the gradual and, as it seemed to him, more natural process of discussion among men of good will, by which he hoped truth would eventually triumph through its own power. Godwin, who was influenced by the English tradition of Dissent and the French philosophy of the Enlightenment, put forward in a developed form the basic anarchist criticisms of the state, of accumulated property, and of the delegation of authority through democratic procedure.\(^{[67]}\)

During the French Revolution, Sylvain Maréchal, in his *Manifesto of the Equals* (1796), demanded "the communal enjoyment of the fruits of the earth" and looked forward to the disappearance of "the revolting distinction of rich and poor, of great and small, of masters and valets, of governors and governed."\(^{[15]}[70]\) The term "anarchist" first entered the English language in 1642, during the English Civil War, as a term of abuse, used by Royalists against their Roundhead opponents.\(^{[71]}\) By the time of the French Revolution some, such as the *Enragés*, began to use the term positively,\(^{[72]}\) in opposition to Jacobin centralisation of power, seeing "revolutionary government" as oxymoronic.\(^{[71]}\) By the turn of the 19th century, the English word "anarchism" had lost its initial negative connotation.\(^{[71]}\)

### The Romantic era and "Utopian Socialism"

Kent Bromley, in his preface to Peter Kropotkin's book *The Conquest of Bread*, considered early French socialist Charles Fourier to be the founder of the libertarian branch of socialist thought, as opposed to the authoritarian socialist ideas of Babeuf and Buonarroti.\(^{[73]}\) Anarchist Hakim Bey describes Fourier's ideas as follows: "In Fourier's system of Harmony all creative activity including industry, craft, agriculture, etc. will arise from liberated passion — this is the famous theory of "attractive labor." Fourier sexualizes work itself — the life of the Phalanstery is a continual orgy of intense feeling, intellection, & activity, a society of lovers & wild enthusiasts." Fourierism manifested itself "in the middle of the 19th century (where) literally hundreds of communes (phalansteries) were founded on fourierist principles in France, N. America, Mexico, S. America, Algeria, Yugoslavia, etc. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Friedrich Engels, and Peter Kropotkin all read him with fascination, as did André Breton & Roland Barthes.\(^{[74]}\)

Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that in the United States "of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's
Libertarian socialism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist.\[75\]

### Anarchism

As Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie stated in their book *The Floodgates of Anarchy*, anarchism has:

...its particular inheritance, part of which it shares with socialism, giving it a family resemblance to certain of its enemies. Another part of its inheritance it shares with liberalism, making it, at birth, kissing-cousins with American-type radical individualism, a large part of which has married out of the family into the Right Wing and is no longer on speaking terms. (*The Floodgates of Anarchy*, 1970, page 39.)

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who is often considered the father of modern anarchism, coined the phrase "Property is theft" to describe part of his view on the complex nature of ownership in relation to freedom. When he said property is theft, he was referring to the capitalist who he believed stole profit from laborers. For Proudhon, the capitalist's employee was "subordinated, exploited: his permanent condition is one of obedience."\[76\]

Seventeen years (1857) after Proudhon first called himself an anarchist (1840), anarchist communist Joseph Déjacque was the first person to describe himself as a libertarian.\[77\] Outside the United States, "libertarian" generally refers to anti-authoritarian anti-capitalist ideologies.\[78\]

Back in the United States, Henry George spearheaded the Single Tax Movement, which sought socialism via progressive taxation, with tax only on natural resources. This might be seen as a predecessor to libertarian socialism trends there.

Libertarian socialism has its roots in both classical liberalism and socialism, though it is often in conflict with liberalism (especially neoliberalism and right-libertarianism) and authoritarian State socialism simultaneously. While libertarian socialism has roots in both socialism and liberalism, different forms have different levels of influence from the two traditions. For instance mutualist anarchism is more influenced by liberalism while communist and syndicalist anarchism are more influenced by socialism. It is interesting to note, however, that mutualist anarchism has its origins in 18th and 19th century European socialism (such as Fourierian socialism)\[79\][80] while communist and syndicalist anarchism has its earliest origins in early 18th century liberalism (such as the French Revolution).\[70\]

Anarchism posed an early challenge to the vanguardism and statism it detected in important sectors of the socialist movement. As such "The consequences of the growth of parliamentary action, ministerialism, and party life, charged the anarchists, would be de-radicalism and embourgeoisement. Further, state politics would subvert both true individuality and true community. In response, many anarchists refused Marxist-type organisation, seeking to dissolve or undermine power and hierarchy by way of loose political-cultural groupings, or by championing organisation by a single, simultaneously economic and political administrative unit (Ruhle, Syndicalism). The power of the intellectual and of science were also rejected by many anarchists: "In conquering the state, in exalting the role of parties, they [intellectuals] reinforce the hierarchical principle embodied in political and administrative institutions."[47] Revolutions could only come through force of circumstances and/or the inherently rebellious instincts of the masses (the “instinct for freedom” (Bakunin, Chomsky)). Thus, in Bakunin’s words: “All that
individuals can do is to clarify, propagate, and work out ideas corresponding to the popular instinct". [81]

**Marxism**

Marxism started to develop a libertarian strand of thought after specific circumstances. "One does find early expressions of such perspectives in (William) Morris and the Socialist Party of Great Britain (the SPGB), then again around the events of 1905, with the growing concern at the bureaucratisation and de-radicalisation of international socialism". [81] Morris established the Socialist League in December 1884, which was encouraged by Friedrich Engels and Eleanor Marx. As the leading figure in the organization Morris embarked on a relentless series of speeches and talks on street corners, in working men's clubs and lecture theatres across England and Scotland. From 1887, anarchists began to outnumber socialists in the Socialist League. [82] The 3rd Annual Conference of the League, held in London on 29 May 1887 marked the change, with a majority of the 24 branch delegates voting in favor of an anarchist-sponsored resolution declaring that "This conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action, hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it." [83] Morris played peacemaker but sided with the anti-Parliamentarians, who won control of the League, which consequently lost the support of Engels and saw the departure of Eleanor Marx and her partner Edward Aveling to form the separate Bloomsbury Socialist Society.

However, "the most important ruptures are to be traced to the insurgency during and after the First World War. Disillusioned with the capitulation of the social democrats, excited by the emergence of workers' councils, and slowly distanced from Leninism, many communists came to reject the claims of socialist parties and to put their faith instead in the masses." For these socialists, "The intuition of the masses in action can have more genius in it than the work of the greatest individual genius". Luxemburg's workerism and spontaneism are exemplary of positions later taken up by the far-left of the period – Pannekoek, Roland Holst, and Gorter in Holland, Sylvia Pankhurst in Britain, Gramsci in Italy, Lukacs in Hungary. In these formulations, the dictatorship of the proletariat was to be the dictatorship of a class, "not of a party or of a clique". [81] However within this line of thought "The tension between anti-vanguardism and vanguardism has frequently resolved itself in two diametrically opposed ways: the first involved a drift towards the party; the second saw a move towards the idea of complete proletarian spontaneity...The first course is exemplified most clearly in Gramsci and Lukacs...The second course is illustrated in the tendency, developing from the Dutch and German far-lefts, which inclined towards the complete eradication of the party form." [81]

In the emerging Soviet state there appeared Left-wing risings against the Bolsheviks which were a series of rebellions and uprisings against the Bolsheviks led or supported by left wing groups including Socialist Revolutionaries [84], Left Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, and anarchists [85]. Some were in support of the White Movement while some tried to be an independent force. The uprisings started in 1918 and continued through the Russian Civil War and after until 1922. In response the Bolsheviks increasingly abandoned attempts to get these groups to join the government and suppressed them with force.

For "many Marxian libertarian socialists, the political bankruptcy of socialist orthodoxy necessitated a theoretical break. This break took a number of forms. The Bordigists and the SPGB championed a super-Marxian intransigence in theoretical matters. Other socialists made a return "behind Marx" to the anti-positivist programme of German
idealism. Libertarian socialism has frequently linked its anti-authoritarian political aspirations with this theoretical differentiation from orthodoxy... Karl Korsch... remained a libertarian socialist for a large part of his life and because of the persistent urge towards theoretical openness in his work. Korsch rejected the eternal and static, and he was obsessed by the essential role of practice in a theory’s truth. For Korsch, no theory could escape history, not even Marxism. In this vein, Korsch even credited the stimulus for Marx’s Capital to the movement of the oppressed classes. «[81]

In rejecting both capitalism and the state, some libertarian socialists align themselves with anarchists in opposition to both capitalist representative democracy and to authoritarian forms of Marxism. Although anarchists and Marxists share an ultimate goal of a stateless society, anarchists criticise most Marxists for advocating a transitional phase under which the state is used to achieve this aim. Nonetheless, libertarian Marxist tendencies such as autonomist Marxism and council communism have historically been intertwined with the anarchist movement.

Anarchist movements have come into conflict with both capitalist and Marxist forces, sometimes at the same time, as in the Spanish Civil War, though as in that war Marxists themselves are often divided in support or opposition to anarchism. Other political persecutions under bureaucratic parties have resulted in a strong historical antagonism between anarchists and libertarian Marxists on the one hand and Leninist Marxists and their derivatives such as Maoists on the other. In recent history, however, libertarian socialists have repeatedly formed temporary alliances with Marxist-Leninist groups for the purposes of protest against institutions they both reject.

Part of this antagonism can be traced to the International Workingmen's Association, the First International, a congress of radical workers, where Mikhail Bakunin, who was fairly representative of anarchist views, and Karl Marx, whom anarchists accused of being an "authoritarian", came into conflict on various issues. Bakunin's viewpoint on the illegitimacy of the state as an institution and the role of electoral politics was starkly counterposed to Marx's views in the First International. Marx and Bakunin's disputes eventually led to Marx taking control of the First International and expelling Bakunin and his followers from the organization. This was the beginning of a long-running feud and schism between libertarian socialists and what they call "authoritarian communists", or alternatively just "authoritarians".

Some Marxists have formulated views that closely resemble syndicalism, and thus express more affinity with anarchist ideas. Several libertarian socialists, notably Noam Chomsky, believe that anarchism shares much in common with certain variants of Marxism such as the council communism of Marxist Anton Pannekoek. In Chomsky's Notes on Anarchism, he suggests the possibility "that some form of council communism is the natural form of revolutionary socialism in an industrial society. It reflects the belief that democracy is severely limited when the industrial system is controlled by any form of autocratic elite, whether of owners, managers, and technocrats, a 'vanguard' party, or a State bureaucracy."

In the People's Republic of China (PRC) since 1967, the terms Ultra-Left and left communist refers to political theory and practice self-defined as further "left" than that of the central Maoist leaders at the height of the GPCR ("Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"). The terms are also used retroactively to describe some early 20th century Chinese anarchist orientations. As a slur, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has used the term "ultra-left" more broadly to denounce any orientation it considers further "left" than the party line. According to the latter usage, in 1978 the CPC Central Committee denounced as "ultra-left" the line of Mao Zedong from 1956 until his death in 1976. "Ultra-Left" refers to those GPCR rebel positions that diverged from the central Maoist line by identifying an antagonistic contradiction between the CPC-PRC party-state itself and the masses of workers and "peasants" conceived as a single proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution. Whereas the central Maoist line maintained that the masses controlled the means of production through the Party's mediation, the Ultra-Left argued that the objective interests of bureaucrats were structurally determined by the centralist state-form in direct opposition to the objective interests of the masses, regardless of however "red" a given bureaucrat's "thought" might be. Whereas the central Maoist leaders encouraged the masses to criticize reactionary "ideas" and "habits" among the alleged 5% of bad cadres, giving them a chance to "turn over a new leaf" after they...
had undergone "thought reform," the Ultra-Left argued that "cultural revolution" had to give way to "political revolution" — "in which one class overthrows another class." [88][89]

In 1969 French platformist anarcho-communist Daniel Guerin published an essay called "Libertarian Marxism?" in which he dealt with the debate between Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin at the First International and afterwards he suggested that "Libertarian marxism rejects determinism and fatalism, giving the greater place to individual will, intuition, imagination, reflex speeds, and to the deep instincts of the masses, which are more far-seeing in hours of crisis than the reasonings of the 'elites'; libertarian marxism thinks of the effects of surprise, provocation and boldness, refuses to be cluttered and paralysed by a heavy 'scientific' apparatus, doesn't equivocate or bluff, and guards itself from adventurism as much as from fear of the unknown." [90]

Autonomist Marxism, Neo-Marxism and Situationist theory are also regarded as being anti-authoritarian variants of Marxism that are firmly within the libertarian socialist tradition.

**Notable libertarian socialist tendencies**

**Classical anarchist tendencies**

In a chronological and theoretical sense, there are classical — those created throughout the 19th century — and post-classical anarchist schools — those created since the mid-20th century and after.

**Mutualism**

Mutualism is a political and economic theory largely associated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon argued that "all capital, whether material or mental, being the result of collective labour, is, in consequence, collective property." [47] This meant that artisans would manage the tools required for their own work while, in large scale enterprises, this meant replacing wage labour by workers' co-operatives. He argued "it is necessary to form an ASSOCIATION among workers... because without that, they would remain related as subordinates and superiors, and there would ensue two... castes of masters and wage-workers, which is repugnant to a free and democratic society." [91] As he put it in 1848:

"Under the law of association, transmission of wealth does not apply to the instruments of labour, so cannot become a cause of inequality.... We are socialists... under universal association, ownership of the land and of the instruments of labour is social ownership... We want the mines, canals, railways handed over to democratically organised workers' associations... We want these associations to be models for agriculture, industry and trade, the pioneering core of that vast federation of companies and societies, joined together in the common bond of the democratic and social Republic." [92]

Mutualists believe that a free labor market would allow for conditions of equal income in proportion to exerted labor. [93][94] As Jonathan Beecher puts it, Proudhon's aim was to, "emancipate labor from the constraints imposed by capital". [95]

Proudhon supported individual possession of land and argued that the "land is indispensable to our existence, consequently a common thing, consequently insusceptible of appropriation." [47] He believed that an individual only had a right to land while he was using or occupying it. If the individual ceases doing so, it reverts to unowned land. [96] Mutualists hold a labor theory of value, arguing that in exchange labor should always be worth "the amount of labor necessary to produce an article of exactly similar and equal utility." [83] and considering anything less to be exploitation, theft of labor, or usury.
Mutualists oppose the institutions by which individuals gain income through loans, investments, and rent, as they believe the income received through these activities is not in direct accord with labor spent. In place of these capitalist institutions they advocate labor-owned cooperative firms and associations. Mutualists advocate mutual banks, owned by the workers, that do not charge interest on secured loans. Most mutualists believe that anarchy should be achieved gradually rather than through revolution.

Worker cooperatives such as the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation follow an economic model similar to that of mutualism. The model followed by the corporation WL Gore and Associates, inventor of Gore-Tex fabrics, is also similar to mutualism as there is no chain of command and salaries are determined collectively by the workers. G.D.H. Cole's guild socialism was similar to mutualism. Today, mutualism's stress on worker association is similar to the more developed modern theory of participatory economics, although participatory economists do not believe in markets.

Mutualist anarchist ideas continue to have influence today, even if indirectly. Many modern day cooperatives are influenced directly or indirectly by economic mutualism that became popular in the late 19th century.

Some individualist anarchists, such as Benjamin Tucker, were influenced by Proudhon's Mutualism, but unlike Proudhon, they did not call for "association" in large enterprises.

**Collectivist anarchism**

Collectivist anarchism (also known as anarcho-collectivism) is a revolutionary doctrine that advocates the abolition of the state and private ownership of the means of production. Instead, it envisions the means of production being owned collectively and controlled and managed by the producers themselves.

For the collectivization of the means of production, it was originally envisaged that workers will revolt and forcibly collectivize the means of production. Once collectivization takes place, workers' salaries would be determined in democratic organizations based on the amount of time they contributed to production. These salaries would be used to purchase goods in a communal market. This contrasts with anarcho-communism where wages would be abolished, and where individuals would take freely from a storehouse of goods "to each according to his need." Thus, Bakunin's "Collectivist Anarchism", notwithstanding the title, is seen as a blend of individualism and collectivism.

Collectivist anarchism is most commonly associated with Mikhail Bakunin, the anti-authoritarian sections of the First International, and the early Spanish anarchist movement.
**Anarchist communism**

Anarchist communism (also known as anarcho-communism and occasionally as free communism) is a theory of anarchism which advocates the abolition of the state, markets, money, capitalism and private property (while retaining respect for personal property), in favor of common ownership of the means of production, direct democracy and a horizontal network of voluntary associations and workers' councils with production and consumption based on the guiding principle: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need".

Some forms of anarchist communism, such as insurrectionary anarchism, are strongly influenced by egoism and radical individualism, believing anarcho-communism is the best social system for the realization of individual freedom. Most anarcho-communists view anarcho-communism as a way of reconciling the opposition between the individual and society.

Anarchist communism developed out of radical socialist currents after the French revolution but was first formulated as such in the Italian section of the First International. The theoretical work of Peter Kropotkin took importance later as it expanded and developed pro-organizationalist and insurrectionary anti-organizationalist sections. To date, the best known examples of an anarchist communist society (ie, established around the ideas as they exist today and achieving worldwide attention and knowledge in the historical canon), are the anarchist territories during the Spanish Revolution and the Free Territory during the Russian Revolution. Through the efforts and influence of the Spanish Anarchists during the Spanish Revolution within the Spanish Civil War, starting in 1936 anarchist communism existed in most of Aragon, parts of the Levante and Andalusia, and in the stronghold of Anarchist Catalonia before being crushed by the combined forces of Francoism, Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, Spanish Communist Party repression (backed by the USSR) as well as economic and armaments blockades from the capitalist countries and the Spanish Republic itself. During the Russian Revolution, anarchists such as Nestor Makhno worked to create and defend—anarchist communism in the Free Territory of the Ukraine from 1919 before being conquered by the Bolsheviks in 1921.

Anarchist-communist currents include platformism and insurrectionary anarchism. The anarchist-communist tradition continues today, for instance in the work of L. Susan Brown. Brown's conception of libertarian socialists is that all social bonds should be developed by individuals who have an equal amount of bargaining power, that an accumulation of economic power in the hands of a few and the centralization of political power both reduce the bargaining power—and thus the liberty of the other individuals in society.

**Within individualist anarchism**

Individualist anarchism refers to several traditions of thought within the anarchist movement that emphasize the individual and his or her will over external determinants such as groups, society, traditions, and ideological systems.

American individualist anarchist Benjamin Tucker "was against both the state and capitalism, against both oppression and exploitation. While not against the market and property he was firmly against capitalism as it was, in his eyes, a state-supported monopoly of social capital (tools, machinery, etc.) which allows owners to exploit their employees, i.e., to avoid paying workers the full value of their labour. He thought that the "labouring classes are deprived of their earnings by usury in its three forms, interest, rent and profit."... Therefore "Liberty will abolish interest; it will abolish profit; it will abolish monopolistic rent; it will abolish taxation; it will abolish the exploitation..."
of labour; it will abolish all means whereby any labourer can be deprived of any of his product."...This stance puts him squarely in the libertarian socialist tradition and, unsurprisingly, Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "Anarchistic socialism.".[126]

French individualist anarchist Emile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)"[127] The spanish individualist anarchist Miguel Gimenez Igualada thought that "capitalism is an effect of government; the disappearance of government means capitalism falls from its pedestal vertiginously...That which we call capitalism is not something else but a product of the State, within which the only thing that is being pushed forward is profit, good or badly acquired. And so to fight against capitalism is a pointless task, since be it State capitalism or Enterprise capitalism, as long as Government exists, exploiting capital will exist. The fight, but of consciousness, is against the State.".[128] His view on class division and technocracy are as follows "Since when no one works for another, the profiteer from wealth disappears, just as government will disappear when no one pays attention to those who learned four things at universities and from that fact they pretend to govern men. Big industrial enterprises will be transformed by men in big associations in which everyone will work and enjoy the product of their work. And from those easy as well as beautiful problems anarchism deals with and he who puts them in practice and lives them are anarchists.... The priority which without rest an anarchist must make is that in which no one has to exploit anyone, no man to no man, since that non-exploitation will lead to the limitation of property to individual needs."[129]

The anarchist[130] writer and bohemian Oscar Wilde wrote in his famous essay *The Soul of Man under Socialism* that "Art is individualism, and individualism is a disturbing and disintegrating force. There lies its immense value. For what it seeks is to disturb monotony of type, slavery of custom, tyranny of habit, and the reduction of man to the level of a machine."[131] For anarchist historian George Woodcock "Wilde's aim in *The Soul of Man under Socialism* is to seek the society most favorable to the artist... for Wilde art is the supreme end, containing within itself enlightenment and regeneration, to which all else in society must be subordinated.... Wilde represents the anarchist as aesthete...[132] In a socialist society, people will have the possibility to realise their talents; "each member of the society will share in the general prosperity and happiness of the society." Wilde added that "upon the other hand, Socialism itself will be of value simply because it will lead to individualism" since individuals will no longer need to fear poverty or starvation. This individualism would, in turn, protect against governments "armed with economic power as they are now with political power" over their citizens. However, Wilde advocated non-capitalist individualism: "of course, it might be said that the Individualism generated under conditions of private property is not always, or even as a rule, of a fine or wonderful type" a critique which is "quite true."[133] In this way socialism, in Wilde's imagination, would free men from manual labour and allow them to devote their time to creative pursuits, thus developing their soul. He ended by declaring "The new individualism is the new hellenism."
Anarcho-syndicalism

Anarcho-syndicalism is a branch of anarchism that focuses on the labor movement. Anarcho-syndicalists view labor unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, replacing capitalism and the state with a new society democratically self-managed by workers.

The basic principles of anarcho-syndicalism are:

1. Workers' solidarity
2. Direct action
3. Workers' self-management

Workers' solidarity means that anarcho-syndicalists believe all workers—no matter their race, gender, or ethnic group—are in a similar situation in regard to their boss (class consciousness). Furthermore, it means that, within capitalism, any gains or losses made by some workers from or to bosses will eventually affect all workers. Therefore, to liberate themselves, all workers must support one another in their class conflict.

Anarcho-syndicalists believe that only direct action—that is, action concentrated on directly attaining a goal, as opposed to indirect action, such as electing a representative to a government position—will allow workers to liberate themselves. Moreover, anarcho-syndicalists believe that workers' organizations (the organizations that struggle against the wage system, which, in anarcho-syndicalist theory, will eventually form the basis of a new society) should be self-managing. They should not have bosses or "business agents"; rather, the workers should be able to make all the decisions that affect them themselves.

Rudolf Rocker was one of the most popular voices in the anarcho-syndicalist movement. He outlined a view of the origins of the movement, what it sought, and why it was important to the future of labor in his 1938 pamphlet Anarcho-Syndicalism.

The International Workers Association is an international anarcho-syndicalist federation of various labor unions from different countries. The Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo played and still plays a major role in the Spanish labor movement. It was also an important force in the Spanish Civil War.

Libertarian Marxist tendencies

Libertarian Marxism refers to a broad scope of economic and political philosophies that emphasize the anti-authoritarian aspects of Marxism. Early currents of libertarian Marxism, known as left communism, emerged in opposition to Marxism–Leninism and its derivatives, such as Stalinism, Maoism, and Trotskyism. Libertarian Marxism is also critical of reformist positions, such as those held by social democrats. Libertarian Marxist currents often draw from Marx and Engels' later works, specifically the Grundrisse and The Civil War in France, emphasizing the Marxist belief in the ability of the working class to forge its own destiny without the need for a revolutionary party or state to mediate or aid its liberation. Along with anarchism, Libertarian Marxism is one of the main currents of libertarian socialism.

Libertarian Marxism includes such currents as Luxemburgism, council communism, left communism, Socialisme ou Barbarie, the Johnson–Forest tendency, world socialism, Lettrism/Situationism and operaismo/autonomism, and New Left. Libertarian Marxism has often had a strong influence on both post-left and social anarchists. Notable theorists of libertarian Marxism have included Anton Pannekoek, Raya Dunayevskaya, CLR James, Antonio Negri, Cornelius Castoriadis, Maurice Brinton, Guy Debord, Daniel Guérin, Ernesto Screpanti and Raoul Vaneigem.
Council communism

Council communism was a radical Left movement originating in Germany and the Netherlands in the 1920s. Its primary organization was the Communist Workers Party of Germany (KAPD). Council communism continues today as a theoretical and activist position within Marxism, and also within libertarian socialism. The central argument of council communism, in contrast to those of Social democracy and Leninist communism, is that workers' councils arising in the factories and municipalities are the natural and legitimate form of working class organisation and government power. This view is opposed to the reformist and Bolshevik stress on vanguard parties, parliaments, or the state.

The core principle of council communism is that the state and the economy should be managed by workers' councils, composed of delegates elected at workplaces and recallable at any moment. As such, council communists oppose state-run "bureaucratic socialism". They also oppose the idea of a "revolutionary party", since council communists believe that a revolution led by a party will necessarily produce a party dictatorship. Council communists support a workers' democracy, which they want to produce through a federation of workers' councils.

The Russian word for council is "soviet", and during the early years of the revolution worker's councils were politically significant in Russia. It was to take advantage of the aura of workplace power that the word became used by Vladimir Lenin for various political organs. Indeed, the name "Supreme Soviet", by which the parliament was called; and that of the Soviet Union itself make use of this terminology, but they do not imply any decentralization.

Furthermore, council communists held a critique of the Soviet Union as a capitalist state, believing that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia became a "bourgeois revolution" when a party bureaucracy replaced the old feudal aristocracy. Although most felt the Russian Revolution was working class in character, they believed that, since capitalist relations still existed (because the workers had no say in running the economy), the Soviet Union ended up as a state capitalist country, with the state replacing the individual capitalist. Thus, council communists support workers' revolutions, but oppose one-party dictatorships.

Council communists also believed in diminishing the role of the party to one of agitation and propaganda, rejected all participation in elections or parliament, and argued that workers should leave the reactionary trade unions and form one big revolutionary union.

Left communism

Left communism' is the range of communist viewpoints held by the communist left, which criticizes the political ideas of the Bolsheviks at certain periods, from a position that is asserted to be more authentically Marxist and proletarian than the views of Leninism held by the Communist International after its first and during its second congress. Left Communists see themselves to the left of Leninists (whom they tend to see as 'left of capital', not socialists). Anarchists (some of whom they consider internationalist socialists) as well as some other revolutionary socialist tendencies (for example De Leonists, who they tend to see as being internationalist socialists only in limited instances).

Although she lived before left communism became a distinct tendency, Rosa Luxemburg has heavily influenced most left communists, both politically and theoretically. Proponents of left communism have included Amadeo Bordiga, Herman Gorter, Anton Pannekoek, Otto Rühle, Karl Korsch, Sylvia Pankhurst and Paul Mattick.
Prominent left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Current and the International Bureau for the Revolutionary Party. Also, different factions from the old Bordigist International Communist Party are considered left communist organizations.

**Johnson–Forest tendency**

The Johnson–Forest tendency, sometimes called the Johnsonites, refers to a radical left tendency in the United States associated with Marxist theorists C.L.R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya, who used the pseudonyms J.R. Johnson and Freddie Forest respectively. They were joined by Grace Lee Boggs, a Chinese-American woman who was considered the third founder.

**Socialisme ou Barbarie**

*Socialisme ou Barbarie* (Socialism or Barbarism) was a French-based radical libertarian socialist group of the post-World War II period (the name comes from a phrase Friedrich Engels used, and was cited by Rosa Luxemburg in a 1916 essay, 'The Junius Pamphlet'). It existed from 1948 until 1965. The animating personality was Cornelius Castoriadis, also known as Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan.

Because he explicitly both rejected Leninist vanguardism and criticised spontaneism... (for) Cornelius Castoriadis the emancipation of the mass of people was the task of those people; however, the socialist thinker could not simply fold his or her arms. Castoriadis argued that the special place accorded to the intellectual should belong to each autonomous citizen. However, he rejected *attenisme*, maintaining that, in the struggle for a new society, intellectuals needed to "place themselves at a distance from the everyday and from the real".

**Situationist International**

The Situationist International was a restricted group of international revolutionaries founded in 1957, and which had its peak in its influence on the unprecedented general wildcat strikes of May 1968 in France.

With their ideas rooted in Marxism and the 20th century European artistic avant-gardes, they advocated experiences of life being alternative to those admitted by the capitalist order, for the fulfillment of human primitive desires and the pursuing of a superior passional quality. For this purpose they suggested and experimented with the *construction of situations*, namely the setting up of environments favorable for the fulfillment of such desires. Using methods drawn from the arts, they developed a series of experimental fields of study for the construction of such situations, like unitary urbanism and psychogeography. They fought against the main obstacle on the fulfillment of such superior passional living, identified by them in advanced capitalism. Their theoretical work peaked on the highly influential book *The Society of the Spectacle* by Guy Debord. Debord argued in 1967 that spectacular features like mass media and advertising have a central role in an advanced capitalist society, which is to show a fake reality in order to mask the real capitalist degradation of human life. To overthrow such a system, the Situationist International supported the May '68 revolts, and asked the workers to occupy the factories and to run them with direct democracy, through workers' councils composed by instantly revocable delegates.
After publishing in the last issue of the magazine an analysis of the May 1968 revolts, and the strategies that will need to be adopted in future revolutions,[146] the SI was dissolved in 1972.[147]

**De Leonism**

De Leonism, occasionally known as Marxism-Deleonism, is a form of syndicalist Marxism developed by Daniel De Leon. De Leon was an early leader of the first United States socialist political party, the Socialist Labor Party of America. De Leon combined the rising theories of syndicalism in his time with orthodox Marxism. According to De Leonist theory, militant industrial unions (specialized trade unions) are the vehicle of class struggle. Industrial Unions serving the interests of the proletariat will bring about the change needed to establish a socialist system. The only way this differs from some currents in anarcho-syndicalism is that, according to De Leonist thinking, a revolutionary political party is also necessary to fight for the proletariat on the political field.

De Leonism lies outside the Leninist tradition of communism. It predates Leninism as De Leon's principles developed in the early 1890s with De Leon's assuming leadership of the Socialist Labor Party; Leninism and its vanguard party idea took shape after the 1902 publication of Lenin's "What Is to Be Done?".

The highly decentralized and democratic nature of the proposed De Leonist government is in contrast to the democratic centralism of Marxism–Leninism and what they see as the dictatorial nature of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other "communist" states. The success of the De Leonist plan depends on achieving majority support among the people both in the workplaces and at the polls, in contrast to the Leninist notion that a small vanguard party should lead the working class to carry out the revolution.

**Autonomism**

Autonomism refers to a set of left-wing political and social movements and theories close to the socialist movement. As an identifiable theoretical system it first emerged in Italy in the 1960s from workerist (operaismo) communism. Later, post-Marxist and anarchist tendencies became significant after influence from the Situationists, the failure of Italian far-left movements in the 1970s, and the emergence of a number of important theorists including Antonio Negri, who had contributed to the 1969 founding of *Potere Operaio*, Mario Tronti, Paolo Virno, etc.

Unlike other forms of Marxism, autonomist Marxism emphasises the ability of the working class to force changes to the organization of the capitalist system independent of the state, trade unions or political parties. Autonomists are less concerned with party political organization than other Marxists, focusing instead on self-organized action outside of traditional organizational structures. Autonomist Marxism is thus a "bottom up" theory: it draws attention to activities that autonomists see as everyday working class resistance to capitalism, for example absenteeism, slow working, and socialization in the workplace.

Through translations made available by Danilo Montaldi and others, the Italian autonomists drew upon previous activist research in the United States by the Johnson–Forest Tendency and in France by the group Socialisme ou Barbarie.

It influenced the German and Dutch Autonomen, the worldwide Social Centre movement, and today is influential in Italy, France, and to a lesser extent the English-speaking countries. Those who describe themselves as autonomists now vary from Marxists to post-structuralists and anarchists. The Autonomist Marxist and *Autonomen* movements provided inspiration to some on the revolutionary left in English speaking countries, particularly among anarchists, many of whom have adopted autonomist tactics. Some English-speaking anarchists even describe themselves as *Autonomists*. 
The Italian *operaismo* movement also influenced Marxist academics such as Harry Cleaver, John Holloway, Steve Wright, and Nick Dyer-Witheford.

**Other tendencies**

This section is dedicated to post-classical anarchist tendencies as well as tendencies which cannot be classified within the anarchist/marxist division presented before.

**Guild socialism**

Guild socialism is a political movement advocating workers' control of industry through the medium of trade-related guilds "in an implied contractual relationship with the public".[148] It originated in the United Kingdom and was at its most influential in the first quarter of the 20th century.[149] It was strongly associated with G. D. H. Cole and influenced by the ideas of William Morris.

Guild socialism was partly inspired by the guilds of craftsmen and other skilled workers which had existed in England during the Middle Ages. In 1906, Arthur Penty published *Restoration of the Gild System* in which he opposed factory production and advocated a return to an earlier period of artisanal production organised through guilds. The following year, the journal *The New Age* became an advocate of guild socialism, although in the context of modern industry rather than the medieval setting favoured by Penty.

The Guild Socialists "stood for state ownership of industry, combined with “workers’ control” through delegation of authority to national guilds organized internally on democratic lines. About the state itself they differed, some believing it would remain more or less in its existing form and others that it would be transformed into a federal body representing the workers’ guilds, consumers’ organizations, local government bodies, and other social structures."[150]

In 1914, S. G. Hobson, a leading contributor to *The New Age*, published *National Guilds: An Inquiry into the Wage System and the Way Out*. In this work, guilds were presented as an alternative to state-control of industry or conventional trade union activity. Guilds, unlike the existing trade unions, would not confine their demands to matters of wages and conditions but would seek to obtain control of industry for the workers whom they represented. Ultimately, industrial guilds would serve as the organs through which industry would be organised in a future socialist society. The theory of guild socialism was developed and popularised by G. D. H. Cole who formed the National Guilds League in 1915 and published several books on guild socialism, including *Self-Government in Industry* (1917) and *Guild Socialism Restated* (1920).

**Revolutionary syndicalism**

Revolutionary syndicalism is a type of economic system proposed as a replacement for capitalism and an alternative to state socialism, which uses federations of collectivised trade unions or industrial unions. It is a form of socialist economic corporatism that advocates interest aggregation of multiple non-competitive categorised units to negotiate and manage an economy.[151] For adherents, labour unions are the potential means of both overcoming economic aristocracy and running society fairly in the interest of the majority, through union democracy. Industry in a syndicalist system would be run through co-operative confederations and mutual aid. Local syndicates would communicate with other syndicates through the Bourse du Travail (labor exchange) which would manage and transfer commodities. Syndicalism is also used to refer to the tactic of bringing about this social arrangement, typically expounded by anarcho-syndicalism and De Leonism, in which a general strike begins and workers seize their means of production and organise in a federation of trade unionism, such as the CNT.[152] Throughout its history, the reformist section of syndicalism has been overshadowed by its revolutionary section, typified by the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) in France, IWW, the Federación Anarquista Ibérica section of the CNT,[153] the Unione Sindacale Italiana and the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden (SAC).
Christian anarchism

Christian anarchism is a movement in political theology that combines anarchism and Christianity.\[154\] It is the belief that there is only one source of authority to which Christians are ultimately answerable, the authority of God as embodied in the teachings of Jesus. More than any other Bible source, the Sermon on the Mount and Jesus' call to not resist evil but turn the other cheek, are used as the basis for Christian anarchism.\[155\]

Christian anarchists are pacifists and oppose the use of violence, such as war.\[156\] The foundation of Christian anarchism is a rejection of violence, with Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* regarded as a key text.\[156\] Christian anarchists denounce the state as they claim it is violent, deceitful and, when glorified, a form of idolatry.\[156\][158]

Gandhism

Gandhism is the collection of inspirations, principles, beliefs and philosophy of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (known as Mahatma Gandhi), who was a major political and spiritual leader of India and the Indian Independence Movement. It is a body of ideas and principles that describes the inspiration, vision and the life work of Gandhi. It is particularly associated with his contributions to the idea and practice of nonviolent resistance, sometimes also called civil resistance. Gandhi's ideas are also influential in anarcho-pacifism. Gandhian economics are the socio-economic principles expounded by Mohandas Gandhi. It is largely characterised by its affinity to the principles and objectives of nonviolent humanistic socialism, but with a rejection of violent class war and promotion of socio-economic harmony. Gandhi's economic ideas also aim to promote spiritual development and harmony with a rejection of materialism. The term “Gandhian economics” was coined by J. C. Kumarappa, a close supporter of Gandhi.\[159\] Gandhian economics places importance to means of achieving the aim of development and this means must be non-violent, ethical and truthful in all economic spheres. In order to achieve this means he advocated trusteeship, decentralization of economic activities, labour intensive technology and priority to weaker sections.

Gandhian activists such as Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan were involved in the *Sarvodaya* movement, which sought to promote self-sufficiency amidst India's rural population by encouraging land redistribution, socio-economic reforms and promoting cottage industries. The movement sought to combat the problems of class conflict, unemployment and poverty while attempting to preserve the lifestyle and values of rural Indians, which were eroding with industrialisation and modernisation. *Sarvodaya* also included *Bhoodan*, or the gifting of land and agricultural resources by the landlords (called *zamindars*) to their tenant farmers in a bid to end the medieval system
of zamindari.

Platformism

Platformism is a tendency within the wider anarchist movement based on the organisational theories in the tradition of Dielo Truda's *Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*.[160] The document was based on the experiences of Russian anarchists in the 1917 October Revolution, which led eventually to the victory of the Bolsheviks over the anarchists and other groups. The Platform attempted to address and explain the anarchist movement's failures during the Russian Revolution. Today there are platformist groups in many countries including:

- the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland,
- North Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists (NEFAC, or *Fédération des Communistes Libéraux du Nord-Est*) in the northeastern USA,
- the *Communiste Libéral* [161] in Quebec,
- Common Cause in Ontario,
- the *Organización Comunista Libertaria* (OCL) in Chile,
- the Federation of Anarchists of Greece (OAE) in Greece,
- *Anarchist Communist Initiative* (AKI) in Turkey,
- *Organizacion Socialista Libertaria* (OSL) in Argentina,
- the *Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici* (FdCA) in Italy,
- the *Coletivo pró Organização Anarquista em Goiás* in Brazil,
- *Gruppo Qhispikay Llaqta* in Peru,
- the Libertarian Communist Organization (France) in France,
- the *Alianza de los Comunistas Libertarios* (ACL) in Mexico,
- Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (MACG) and Sydney Anarchist Communist Trajectory (SACT) in Australia,
- the *Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front* (ZACF) in South Africa, and
- Revolutionary Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists (RKAS) by the name of N.I. Makhno (Революционная конфедерация анархо-синдикалистов им. Н. И. Махно) – an international anarcho-syndicalist, platformist confederation (sections and individual members of RKAS exist in Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Germany, Latvia, Bulgaria and Israel).

Platformist organizations also founded the now defunct International Libertarian Solidarity. The website Anarkismo.net is run collaboratively by Platformist organisations from all over the world.
Within the New Left

Herbert Marcuse, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, was an influential libertarian socialist philosopher of the New Left. The emergence of the New Left in the 1950s and 1960s led to a revival of interest in libertarian socialism. The New Left's critique of the Old Left's authoritarianism was associated with a strong interest in personal liberty, autonomy (see the thinking of Cornelius Castoriadis) and led to a rediscovery of older socialist traditions, such as left communism, council communism, and the Industrial Workers of the World. The New Left also led to a revival of anarchism. Journals like *Radical America* and *Black Mask* in America, *Solidarity*, *Big Flame* and *Democracy & Nature*, succeeded by *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, in the UK, introduced a range of left libertarian ideas to a new generation. Social ecology, autonomism and, more recently, participatory economics (parecon), and Inclusive Democracy emerged from this. The New Left in the United States also included anarchist, countercultural and hippie-related radical groups such as the Yippies who were led by Abbie Hoffman and The Diggers. By late 1966, the Diggers opened free stores which simply gave away their stock, provided free food, distributed free drugs, gave away money, organized free music concerts, and performed works of political art. The Diggers took their name from the original English Diggers led by Gerrard Winstanley and sought to create a mini-society free of money and capitalism.

Social ecology and Communalism

Social ecology is closely related to the work and ideas of Murray Bookchin and influenced by anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Social ecologists assert that the present ecological crisis has its roots in human social problems, and that the domination of human-over-nature stems from the domination of human-over-human.

Bookchin later developed a political philosophy to complement social ecology which he called "Communalism" (spelled with a capital "C" to differentiate it from other forms of communalism). While originally conceived as a form of Social anarchism, he later developed Communalism into a separate ideology which incorporates what he saw as the most beneficial elements of Anarchism, Marxism, syndicalism, and radical ecology.

Politically, Communalists advocate a network of directly democratic citizens’ assemblies in individual communities/cities organized in a confederal fashion. This method used to achieve this is called Libertarian Municipalism which involves the establishment of face-to-face democratic institutions which are to grow and expand confederally with the goal of eventually replacing the nation-state. Unlike anarchists, Communalists are not opposed to taking part in parliamentary politics -especially municipal elections- as long as candidates are libertarian socialist and anti-statist in outlook.
Economically, Communalism favours the abolition of markets and money and the transition to an economy similar to libertarian communism and according to the principle "from each according to ability, to each according to need."

**Participism**

Participism is a twenty-first century form of libertarian socialism. It comprises two related economic and political systems called Participatory economics or "Parecon" and Participatory politics or "Parpolity".

Parecon is an economic system proposed primarily by activist and political theorist Michael Albert and radical economist Robin Hahnel, among others. It uses participatory decision making as an economic mechanism to guide the production, consumption and allocation of resources in a given society. Proposed as an alternative to contemporary capitalist market economies and also an alternative to centrally planned socialism or coordinatorism, it is described as "an anarchistic economic vision", and it could be considered a form of socialism as under Parecon, the means of production are owned by the workers.

The underlying values that Parecon seeks to implement are equity, solidarity, diversity, workers' self-management and efficiency. (Efficiency here means accomplishing goals without wasting valued assets.) It proposes to attain these ends mainly through the following principles and institutions: Workers' and consumers' councils utilizing self-managerial methods for decision making, balanced job complexes, remuneration according to effort and sacrifice, and Participatory Planning.

Under Parecon, the current monetary system would be replaced with a system of non-transferable "credit" which would cease to exist upon purchase of a commodity.

Parpolity is a theoretical political system proposed by Stephen R. Shalom. It was developed as a political vision to accompany Parecon.

The values on which Parpolity is based are: Freedom, self-management, justice, solidarity and tolerance.

The goal, according to Shalom, is to create a political system that will allow people to participate, as much as possible in a face to face manner. Participism as a whole is critical of aspects of modern representative democracies and capitalism arguing that the level of political control by the people isn't sufficient. To address this problem Parpolity suggests a system of "Nested Councils", which would include every adult member of a given society. With five levels of nested councils it is thought, could represent the population of the United States.

Under Participism, the state as such would dissolve into a mere coordinating body made up of delegates which would be recallable at any time by the nested council below them.

**Inclusive Democracy**

Inclusive Democracy is a political theory and political project that aim for direct democracy, economic democracy in a stateless, moneyless and marketless economy, self-management (democracy in the social realm) and ecological democracy. The theoretical project of Inclusive Democracy (ID)), as distinguished from the political project which is part of the democratic and autonomy traditions, emerged from the work of political philosopher, former academic and activist Takis Fotopoulos in *Towards An Inclusive Democracy* and was further developed by him and other writers in the journal *Democracy & Nature* and its successor *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, an electronic journal freely available and published by the International Network for Inclusive Democracy.
According to Arran Gare, *Towards an Inclusive Democracy* "offers a powerful new interpretation of the history and destructive dynamics of the market and provides an inspiring new vision of the future in place of both neo-liberalism and existing forms of socialism*. Also, as David Freeman points out, although Fotopoulos’ approach "is not openly anarchism, yet anarchism seems the formal category within which he works, given his commitment to direct democracy, municipalism and abolition of state, money and market economy".

**Insurrectionary anarchism**

Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice and tendency within the anarchist movement which emphasizes the theme of insurrection within anarchist practice. It is critical of formal organizations such as labor unions and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses. Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organization and small affinity group based organization. Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent class conflict, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.

Contemporary insurrectionary anarchism inherits the views and tactics of anti-organizational anarcho-communism and illegalism.

**Within the labour movement and parliamentary politics**

There was a strong left-libertarian current in the British labour movement and the term *libertarian socialist* has been applied to a number of democratic socialists, including some prominent members of the British Labour Party. The Socialist League was formed in 1885 by William Morris and others critical of the authoritarian socialism of the Social Democratic Federation. It was involved in the New Unionism, the rank and file union militancy of the 1880s–90s, which anticipated syndicalism in some key ways (Tom Mann, a New Unionist leader, was one of the first British syndicalists). The Socialist League was dominated by anarchists by the 1890s.

The Independent Labour Party, formed at that time, drew more on the Non-Conformist religious traditions in the British working class than on Marxist theory, and had a libertarian socialist strain. Others in the tradition of the ILP, and described as libertarian socialists, have been Nye Bevan, Michael Foot and most importantly, G. D. H. Cole. Labour Party minister Peter Hain has written in support of libertarian socialism, identifying an axis involving a "bottom-up vision of socialism, with anarchists at the revolutionary end and democratic socialists [such as himself] at its reformist end", as opposed to the axis of state socialism with Marxist-Leninists at the revolutionary end and social democrats at the reformist end.

Another recent mainstream Labour politician who has been described as a libertarian socialist is Robin Cook.

Defined in this way, libertarian socialism in the contemporary political mainstream is distinguished from modern social democracy and democratic socialism principally by its political decentralism rather than by its economics. The multi-tendency Socialist Party USA also has a strong libertarian socialist current.

Katja Kipping and Julia Bonk in Germany, Femke Halsema in the Netherlands and Ufuk Uras and the Freedom and Solidarity Party in Turkey, are examples of a contemporary libertarian socialist politicians and parties operating within a mainstream government.

**Communization**

Communization mainly refers to a contemporary communist theory in which we find is a "mixing-up of insurrectionist anarchism, the communist ultra-left, postautonomists, anti-political currents, groups like the Invisible Committee, as well as more explicitly ‘communizing’ currents, such as Théorie Communiste and Endnotes. Obviously at the heart of the word is communism and, as the shift to communization suggests, communism as a particular activity and process...."

The association of the term communization with a self-identified "ultra-left" was cemented in France in the 1970s, where it came to describe not a transition to a higher phase of communism but a vision of communist revolution itself. Thus the 1975 Pamphlet *A World Without Money* states: "insurrection and communisation are intimately
Libertarian socialism linked. There would not be first a period of insurrection and then later, thanks to this insurrection, the transformation of social reality. The insurrectional process derives its force from communisation itself.[180]

The term is still used in this sense in France today and has spread into English usage as a result of the translation of texts by Gilles Dauvé and Théorie Comuniste, two key figures in this tendency. But in the late 1990s a close but not identical sense of "communization" was developed by the French post-situationist group Tiqqun. In keeping with their ultra-left predecessors, Tiqqun's predilection for the term seems to be its emphasis on communism as an immediate process rather than a far-off goal, but for Tiqqun it is no longer synonymous with "the revolution" considered as an historical event, but rather becomes identifiable with all sorts of activities — from squatting and setting up communes to simply "sharing" — that would typically be understood as "pre-revolutionary". From an ultra-left perspective such a politics of "dropping-out" or, as Tiqqun put it, "desertion" — setting up spaces and practices that are held to partially autonomous from capitalism — is typically dismissed as either naive or reactionary.[181] Due to the popularity of the Tiqqun-related works Call and The Coming Insurrection in US anarchist circles it tended to be this latter sense of "communization" that was employed in US anarchist and "insurrectionist" communiques, notably within the Californian student movement of 2009–2010.[182]

Contemporary libertarian socialism

A surge of popular interest in libertarian socialism occurred in western nations during the 1960s and 1970s.[184] Anarchism was influential in the Counterculture of the 1960s[185][186][187] and anarchists actively participated in the late sixties students and workers revolts.[188] In 1968 in Carrara, Italy the International of Anarchist Federations was founded during an international anarchist conference held there in 1968 by the three existing European federations of France, the Italian and the Iberian Anarchist Federation as well as the Bulgarian federation in French exile.[189][190] The uprisings of May 1968 also led to a small resurgence of interest in left communist ideas. Various small left communist groups emerged around the world, predominantly in the leading capitalist countries. A series of conferences of the communist left began in 1976, with the aim of promoting international and cross-tendency discussion, but these petered out in the 1980s without having increased the profile of the movement or its unity of ideas.[191] Prominent left communist groups existing today include the International Communist Party, International Communist Current and the Internationalist Communist Tendency.

The housing and employment crisis in most of Western Europe led to the formation of communes and squatter movements like that of Barcelona, Spain. In Denmark, squatters occupied a disused military base and declared the Freetown Christiana, an autonomous haven in central Copenhagen.

Around the turn of the 21st century, libertarian socialism grew in popularity and influence as part of the anti-war, anti-capitalist, and anti-globalisation movements.[192] Anarchists became known for their involvement in protests against the meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO), Group of Eight, and the World Economic Forum. Some anarchist factions at these protests engaged in rioting, property destruction, and violent confrontations with police. These actions were precipitated by ad hoc, leaderless, anonymous cadres known as black blocs; other organisational tactics pioneered in this time include security culture, affinity groups and the use of decentralised technologies such as the internet.[192] A significant event of this period was the confrontations at WTO conference in Seattle in 1999.[192]
International anarchist federations in existence include the International of Anarchist Federations, the International Workers’ Association, and International Libertarian Solidarity. The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) and the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT). CGT membership was estimated to be around 100,000 for 2003. Other active syndicalist movements include in Sweden the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden and the Swedish Anarcho-syndicalist Youth Federation; the CNT-AIT in France; the Union Sindicale Italiana in Italy; in the US Workers Solidarity Alliance and the UK Solidarity Federation. The revolutionary industrial unionist Industrial Workers of the World, claiming 2,000 paying members, and the International Workers Association, an anarcho-syndicalist successor to the First International, also remain active.

Libertarian socialists in the early 21st century have been involved in the alter-globalization movement, squatter movement; social centers; infoshops; anti-poverty groups such as Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and Food Not Bombs; tenants’ unions; housing cooperatives; intentional communities generally and egalitarian communities; anti-sexist organizing; grassroots media initiatives; digital media and computer activism; experiments in participatory economics; anti-racist and anti-fascist groups like Anti-Racist Action and Anti-Fascist Action; activist groups protecting the rights of immigrants and promoting the free movement of people, such as the No Border network; worker co-operatives, countercultural and artist groups; and the peace movement etc.

Libertarian socialism has also more recently played a large part in the global Occupy movement, in particular its focus on direct participatory democracy.

Libertarian socialist periodicals

- Against the Grain: a libertarian socialist newspaper (USA 1976–1978)
- Anarcho-Syndicalist Review (United States)
- Big Flame (UK, 1960s–70s)
- Comment: New Perspectives in Libertarian Thought (US, 1960s, edited by Murray Bookchin)
- Democracy & Nature (US/UK) – succeeded by The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy (belongs to the direct democratic, libertarian socialist and autonomy traditions)
- Contemporary Issues-Dinge der Zeit (English and German language "magazine for a democracy of content, 1947–1997 published by Joseph Weber, Murray Bookchin’s mentor)
- Flash Point: a libertarian socialist newsjournal (Saskatoon, Canada, 1970s)
- Freedom newspaper (United Kingdom)
- Heatwave (UK, 1960s)
- New Internationalist (UK)
- Organized Thoughts (US, 1990s)
- Our Generation (originally Our Generation Against Nuclear War), 1961–1994; a historical and theoretical journal
- Rebelles (Quebec, 1990s)
- Red and Black Notes (Toronto, 1997 2006-, features Cajo Brendel, Cornelius Castoriadis, Martin Glaberman, CLR James, Larry Gambone and others)
- Red & Black Revolution (Publication of The Workers Solidarity Movement, Ireland)
- Root and Branch (Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 1970–, featured work of Paul Mattick and others)
- Social Anarchism (journal), a Baltimore-based journal founded in 1981 and currently publishing.
- Socialisme ou Barbarie (France)
- Socialist Standard (UK, 1904-present)
- Solidarity (UK, 1960s–70s)
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- Der Socialist, (Germany, 1900s, co-edited by Gustav Landauer and Margarethe Hardeger)
- Tegen de Stroom (1990s, Netherlands)
- The Commune (UK, 2008–)
- The Libertarian Communist (UK, 2008–)
- Workers Solidarity (Publication of the Workers Solidarity Movement, Ireland)
- Turnusol (Turkey, 2008)
- Z Magazine

References

[5] "The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people." [[Alexander Berkman (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Alexander_Berkman__What_Is_Communist_Anarchism_.html)]. "What Is Communist Anarchism?"]
[6] As Noam Chomsky put it, a consistent libertarian "must oppose private ownership of the means of production and the wage slavery, which is a component of this system, as incompatible with the principle that labor must be freely undertaken and under the control of the producer". Chomsky (2003) p. 26 (http://books.google.com/books?id=Y75K660UfzsC&pg=PA26)
[8] Guerin, Daniel. Anarchism: A Matter of Words: "Some contemporary anarchists have tried to clear up the misunderstanding by adopting a more explicit term: they align themselves with libertarian socialism or communism." Faatz, Chris, Towards a Libertarian Socialism.
[10] Mendez, Silva. Socialismo Libertário ou Anarquismo Vol. 1 (1896): "Society should be free through mankind's spontaneous federative affiliation to life, based on the community of land and tools of the trade; meaning: Anarchy will be equality by abolition of private property (while retaining respect for personal property) and liberty by abolition of authority".
[17] "(Benjamin) Tucker referred to himself many times as a socialist and considered his philosophy to be "Anarchistic socialism." An Anarchist FAQ by Various Authors
[18] French individualist anarchist Émile Armand shows clearly opposition to capitalism and centralized economies when he said that the individualist anarchist "inwardly he remains refractory – fatally refractory – morally, intellectually, economically (The capitalist economy and the directed economy, the speculators and the fabricators of single are equally repugnant to him.)" "Anarchist Individualism as a Life and Activity" by Émile Armand (http://www.spaz.org/~dan/individualist-anarchist/library/emile-armand/life-activity.html)
[19] Anarchist Peter Sabatini reports that in the United States "of early to mid-19th century, there appeared an array of communal and "utopian" counterculture groups (including the so-called free love movement). William Godwin's anarchism exerted an ideological influence on some of this, but more so the socialism of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. After success of his British venture, Owen himself established a cooperative community within the United States at New Harmony, Indiana during 1825. One member of this commune was Josiah Warren (1798–1874), considered to be the first individualist anarchist" Peter Sabatini. "Libertarianism: Bogus Anarchy" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Peter_Sabatini__Libertarianism__Bogus_Anarchy.html)
[23] However, libertarian socialism retains respect for personal property.
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[34] Ely, Richard et al. Property and Contract in Their Relations to the Distribution of Wealth: The Macmillan Company (1914)
[40] The London Years, 1956
[44] Hain, Peter 'Rediscovering our Libertarian Roots' Charterist (August 2000)
[48] "Interview with an anarchist dominatrix" by Organise (http://info.interactivist.net/node/1530)
[54] http://www.iheu.org/glossary/12letterf
[56] [(Wendy McElroy (http://mises.org/journals/jls/5_3/5_3_4.pdf)]. "The culture of individualist anarchist in Late-nineteenth century America”]
[61] Goldman, Emma. 'Anarchism and Other Essays' Mother Earth (1910) p.113.
[62] Woodcock
[64] Woodcock, p. 21: "Finally, somewhat aside from the curve that runs from anarchist individualism to anarcho-syndicalism, we come to Tolstoyanism and to pacifist anarchism that appeared, mostly in Holland (sic), Britain, and the United states, before and after the Second World War and which has continued since then in the deep in the anarchist involvement in the protests against nuclear armament."
"It was in these conditions of class struggle that, among a whole cluster of radical groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men, the Levellers and the Ranters, there emerged perhaps the first real proto-anarchists, the Diggers, who like the classical 19th century anarchists identified political and economic power and who believed that a social, rather than political revolution was necessary for the establishment of justice. Gerrard Winstanley, the Diggers' leader, made an identification with the word of God and the principle of reason, an equivalent philosophy to that found in Tolstoy's The Kingdom of God is Within You. In fact, it seems likely Tolstoy took much of his own inspiration from Winstanley’s Marlow. "Anarchism and Christianity" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Marlow__Anarchism_and_Christianity.html)

"While the ideal commonwealth conceived by James Harrington tried to combine the existence of a powerful state with respect for the political rights of the citizens, Thomas Hobbes and Gerrard Winstanley, for opposite reasons, denied the possibility of power being shared between the state and the people...Before defining the government of a true Commonwealth Winstanley denounces the kingly government based on property and like Proudhon he believes that "property is theft". Marie Louise Berneri " "Utopias of the English Revolution" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Marie_Louise_Berneri__Utopias_of_the_English_Revolution.html#toc10)

George Woodcock "Anarchism" (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/George_Woodcock__Anarchism.html). The Encyclopedia of Philosophy


Graham, Robert. Anarchism - A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas – Volume One: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE to 1939), Black Rose Books, 2005


De l'être-humain mâle et femelle—Lettre à P.J. Proudhon par Joseph Déjacque (http://joseph.dejacque.free.fr/ecrits/lettreapp.htm) (in French)


Swartz, Clarence Lee. What is Mutualism?

"Ricardian Socialism". The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought. 1987. p. 441


Noam Chomsky Notes on Anarchism (http://www.chomsky.info/articles/1970----.htm)

"Peasant (農民)" was the official term for workers on people's communes. According to the Ultra-Left, both peasants and (urban) workers together composed a proletarian class divorced from any meaningful control over production or distribution.

See, for instance, "Whither China?" (http://www.marxists.de/china/sheng/whither.htm) by Yang Xiguang.


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Tandy, Francis D., 1896, Voluntary Socialism, chapter 6, paragraphs 9, 10, 15, 19 & 22.


Swartz, Clarence Lee. What is Mutualism? VI. Land and Rent (http://www.panarchy.org/swartz/mutualism.6.html)


Hymans, E., Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, pp. 190–1

Woodcock, pp. 110, 112

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[103] Woodcock, p. 20


[107] "The revolution abolishes private ownership of the means of production and distribution, and with it goes capitalistic business. Personal possession remains only in the things you use. Thus, your watch is your own, but the watch factory belongs to the people." [[Alexander Berkman (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Alexander_Berkman__What_Is_Communist_Anarchism_.html)]]. "What Is Communist Anarchism?"


[112] Christopher Gray, Leaving the Twentieth Century, p. 88.

[113] "Towards the creative Nothing" by [[Renzo Novatore (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Renzo_Novatore__Towards_the_Creative_Nothing.html)])

[114] Post-left anarcho-communist Bob Black after analysing insurrectionary anarcho-communist Luigi Galleani's view on anarcho-communism went as far as saying that "communism is the final fulfillment of individualism... The apparent contradiction between individualism and communism rests on a misunderstanding of both... Subjectivity is also objective: the individual really is subjective. It is nonsense to speak of "emphatically prioritizing the social over the individual,... You may as well speak of prioritizing the chicken over the egg. Anarchy is a "method of individualization." It aims to combine the greatest individual development with the greatest communal unity." Bob Black. Nightmares of Reason. (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Bob_Black__Nightmares_of_Reason.html#toc22)

[115] "Modern Communists are more individualistic than Stirner. To them, not merely religion, morality, family and State are spooks, but property also is no more than a spook, in whose name the individual is enslaved – and how enslaved!...Communism thus creates a basis for the liberty and Eigenheit of the individual. I am a Communist because I am an Individualist. Fully as heartily the Communists concur with Stirner when he puts the word take in place of demand – that leads to the dissolution of property, to expropriation. Individualism and Communism go hand in hand." [[Max Baginski (http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/anarchist_archives/goldman/ME/nev2n3.html#142)].

"Stirner: The Ego and His Own" on Mother Earth. Vol. 2. No. 3 MAY, 1907

[116] "Communism is the one which guarantees the greatest amount of individual liberty — provided that the idea that begets the community be Liberty, Anarchy...Communism guarantees economic freedom better than any other form of association, because it can guarantee wellbeing, even luxury, in return for a few hours of work instead of a day's work." "Communism and Anarchy" by [[Peter Kropotkin (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Petr_Kropotkin__Communism_and_Anarchy.html)]]

[117] This other society will be libertarian communism, in which social solidarity and free individuality find their full expression, and in which these two ideas develop in perfect harmony. Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists by Dielo Truda (Workers' Cause) (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Dielo_Truda__Workers_Cause__Organisational_Platform_of_the_Libertarian_Communists.html)

[118] "I see the dichotomies made between individualism and communism, individual revolt and class struggle, the struggle against human exploitation and the exploitation of nature as false dichotomies and feel that those who accept them are impoverishing their own critique and struggle." "MY PERSPECTIVES" by Willful Disobedience Vol. 2, No. 12 (http://www.reocities.com/kk_abacus/vb/wdl2persp.html)


[121] "This process of education and class organization, more than any single factor in Spain, produced the collectives. And to the degree that the CNT-FAI (for the two organizations became fatally coupled after July 1936) exercised the major influence in an area, the collectives proved to be generally more durable, communist and resistant to Stalinist counterrevolution than other republican-held areas of Spain." [[Murray Bookchin (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Murray_Bookchin__To_Remember_Spain__The_Anarchist_and_Syndicalist_Revolution_of_1936.html)]. To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936]

[122] [[Murray Bookchin (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Murray_Bookchin__To_Remember_Spain__The_Anarchist_and_Syndicalist_Revolution_of_1936.html)]. To Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936]

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174. "Some insurrectionists see precedents in the propaganda of the deed carried out by Nineteenth-century assassins and the illegality associated with Jules Bonnot and his fellow bank robbers. We can trace the lineage of current insurrectionist theory from Enrico Malatesta and Luigi Galleani" "Say you want an insurrection" by [http://www.crimethinc.com/texts/recentfeatures/insurrection.php]]


178. "Following Isaiah Berlin, Halsema distinguishes between positive and negative freedom. Negative freedom is according to Halsema the freedom citizens from government influence; she applies this concept especially to the multicultural society and the rechtsstaat, where the government should protect the rights of citizens and not limit them. Positive freedom is the emancipation of citizens from poverty and discrimination. Halsema wants to apply this concept to welfare state and the environment where government should take more action. According to Halsema, GreenLeft is undogmatic party, that has anarchist tendencies."Halsema, Femke (2004), "Vrijzinnig Links" (http://www.dehelling.net/artikel/280/), De Helling 15 (2).


181. [Chris Smith, Baron Smith of FinsburyChris Smith said in 2005 that in recent years Cook had been setting out a vision of "libertarian, democratic socialism that was beginning to break the sometimes sterile boundaries of 'old' and 'New' Labour labels." "Chris Smith: The House of Commons was Robin Cook's true home – Commentators, Opinion – Independent.co.uk" (http://comment.independent.co.uk/commentators/article304442.ece). London: Comment.independent.co.uk. 2005-08-08. . Retrieved 2009-06-24.

182. "Following Isaiah Berlin, Halsema distinguishes between positive and negative freedom. Negative freedom is according to Halsema the freedom citizens from government influence; she applies this concept especially to the multicultural society and the rechtsstaat, where the government should protect the rights of citizens and not limit them. Positive freedom is the emancipation of citizens from poverty and discrimination. Halsema wants to apply this concept to welfare state and the environment where government should take more action. According to Halsema, GreenLeft is undogmatic party, that has anarchist tendencies."Halsema, Femke (2004), "Vrijzinnig Links" (http://www.dehelling.net/artikel/280/), De Helling 15 (2).


185. [Chris Smith, Baron Smith of FinsburyChris Smith said in 2005 that in recent years Cook had been setting out a vision of "libertarian, democratic socialism that was beginning to break the sometimes sterile boundaries of 'old' and 'New' Labour labels." "Chris Smith: The House of Commons was Robin Cook's true home – Commentators, Opinion – Independent.co.uk" (http://comment.independent.co.uk/commentators/article304442.ece). London: Comment.independent.co.uk. 2005-08-08. . Retrieved 2009-06-24.

186. "Following Isaiah Berlin, Halsema distinguishes between positive and negative freedom. Negative freedom is according to Halsema the freedom citizens from government influence; she applies this concept especially to the multicultural society and the rechtsstaat, where the government should protect the rights of citizens and not limit them. Positive freedom is the emancipation of citizens from poverty and discrimination. Halsema wants to apply this concept to welfare state and the environment where government should take more action. According to Halsema, GreenLeft is undogmatic party, that has anarchist tendencies."Halsema, Femke (2004), "Vrijzinnig Links" (http://www.dehelling.net/artikel/280/), De Helling 15 (2).

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[180] "A World Without Money" (http://libcom.org/library/world-without-money-les-amis-de-4-millions-de-jeunes-travailleurs) by Les amis de 4 millions de jeunes travailleurs. (quoted passage not included in this English extract)

[181] "As we apprehend it, the process of instituting communism can only take the form of a collection of acts of communisation, of making common such-and-such space, such-and-such machine, such-and-such knowledge. That is to say, the elaboration of the mode of sharing that attaches to them. Insurrection itself is just an accelerator, a decisive moment in this process." Anonymous, Call (http://www.blooom0101.org/call.pdf)

[182] For a critique of Tiqun from an ultra-left perspective, as well as a description of the opposition between the two sense of "communization" see " Reflexions Around Call (http://libcom.org/library/reflexions-around-call)" Letters Journal #3. See also Dauvé and Nesci, "Un Appel et une Invité" (http://tropilois0.free.fr/ii/index.php/textes/19-communisation-un-appel-et-une-invite).

[183] See e.g. "After the Fall: Communiqués from Occupied California" (http://afterthefallcommuniques.info/)

[184] Thomas 1985, p. 4

[185] "These groups had their roots in the anarchist resurgence of the nineteen sixties. Young militants finding their way to anarchism, often from the anti-bomb and anti-Vietnam war movements, linked up with an earlier generation of activists, largely outside the ossified structures of 'official' anarchism. Anarchist tactics embraced demonstrations, direct action such as industrial militancy and squatting, protest bombings like those of the First of May Group and Angry Brigade – and a spree of publishing activity." "Islands of Anarchy: Simian, Cienfuegos, Refract and their support network" by John Patten (http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/dnckhs)

[186] "Farrell provides a detailed history of the Catholic Workers and their founders Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin. He explains that their pacifism, anarchism, and commitment to the downtrodden were one of the important models and inspirations for the 60s. As Farrell puts it, "Catholic Workers identified the issues of the sixties before the Sixties began, and they offered models of protest long before the protest decade." "The Spirit of the Sixties: The Making of Postwar Radicalism" by James J. Farrell (http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SA/en/display/268)

[187] "While not always formally recognized, much of the protest of the sixties was anarchist. Within the nascent women's movement, anarchist principles became so widespread that a political science professor denounced what she saw as "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." Several groups have called themselves "Amazon Anarchists." After the Stonewall Rebellion, the New York Gay Liberation Front based their organization in part on a reading of Murray Bookchin's anarchist writings." "Anarchism" by Charley Shively in Encyclopedia of Homosexuality (http://www.williamapercy.com/wiki/images/Anarchism.pdf), pg. 52

[188] "Within the movements of the sixties there was much more receptivity to anarchism-in-fact than had existed in the movements of the thirties... But the movements of the sixties were driven by concerns that were more compatible with an expressive style of politics, with hostility to authority in general and state power in particular... By the late sixties, political protest was intertwined with cultural radicalism based on a critique of all authority and all hierarchies of power. Anarchism circulated within the movement along with other radical ideologies. The influence of anarchism was strongest among radical feminists, in the commune movement, and probably in the Weather Underground and elsewhere in the violent fringe of the anti-war movement." "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement" by Barbara Epstein (http://www.monthlyreview.org/0901epstein.htm)


[191] (http://en.internationalism.org/art/122_conferences)


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- Otsuka, Michael. Libertarianism without Inequality, by (Oxford University Press 2003)
- The International Communist Current, itself a Left Communist grouping, has produced a series of studies of what it views as its own antecedents. The book on the German-Dutch current, which is by Philippe Bourrinet (who later left the ICC), in particular contains an exhaustive bibliography.
  - The Italian Communist Left 1926–1945 (ISBN 1897980132)
  - The Dutch-German Communist Left (ISBN 1899438378)
  - The Russian Communist Left, 1918–1930 (ISBN 1897980108)
External links

Libertarian socialist general resources

- Le Monde Libertaire (http://joseph.dejacque.free.fr/libertaire/libertaire.htm) Transcription of the first known publication to declare itself 'Libertarian' and socialist, in 1858.
- libcom.org the home of Libertarian Communism in Britain (http://www.libcom.org/)
  - A libertarian Marxist tendency map (http://libcom.org/library/libertarian-marxist-tendency-map)
- Libertarian Socialist Alliance – International (http://www.libertyandsocialism.org/) Global Network of Libertarian Socialist Organizations
- A People's Libertarian Index (http://flag.blackened.net/liberty/)
- Libertarian socialism (http://flag.blackened.net/liberty/libsoc.html)
- Collective Action Notes (http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2379/) is a libertarian socialist publication whose website hosts an extensive collection of online anti-authoritarian texts. (link dead) Archived version (http://web.archive.org/web/*/http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/2379/) is at The Internet Archive.
- Anarchism and the left (http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/anarchism/left.html)
- Infoshop's libertarian Marxism and libertarian socialism portal (http://infoshop.org/iportal/lib_marxism.php)
- Left Communism collection on the [[Marxists Internet Archive (http://www.marxists.org/subject/left-wing/index.htm)]]
- The Anarchist Library (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/) large online library with texts from anarchist authors
- For Communism – John Gray WebSite: large online library of libertarian communist texts (http://www.geocities.com/~johngray/)

Introductory articles

- "Libertarian Socialism" by spunk.org (http://www.spunk.org/texts/intro/sp001631.html)
- "Libertarian Marxism's Relation to Anarchism" by Wayne Price (http://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Wayne_Price__Libertarian_Marxism_s_Relation_to_Anarchism.html)
- "Franz Kafka and Libertarian Socialism" (http://www.wpunj.edu/~newpol/issue23/lowy23.htm) by Michael Löwy
- "Prospects for Libertarian Socialism” By David Baake (http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?ItemID=8200)
Libertarian socialist websites

- Workers Solidarity Movement (http://www.wsm.ie/)
- Industrial Workers of the World (http://www.iww.org.uk/)
- Professor Roger McCain's libertarian socialist economics page (http://william-king.www.drexel.edu/top/personal/cs/coopsocialism.html)
- Social Ecology London, English libertarian socialist study/action group (http://socialecologylondon.wordpress.com/)
- TURNUSOL, A Libertarian Socialist Internet Periodical, Turkey (http://www.turnusol.biz/
- Liberty & Solidarity (http://www.libertyandsolidarity.org/)
- "An Anarchist FAQ Webpage" (http://www.infoshop.org/page/AnAnarchistFAQ) – An Anarchist FAQ
- Anarchism (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p0038x9t) on In Our Time at the BBC. (listen now (http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/console/p0038x9t/In_Our_Time_Anarchism))
- Anarchism: A Bibliography (http://www.ditext.com/anarchism/)
- Anarchy Archives (http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/) – information relating to famous anarchists including their writings (see Anarchy Archives).
- Daily Bleed's Anarchist Encyclopedia (http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/gallery/galleryindex.htm) ~700+ entries, with short biographies, links and dedicated pages
- KateSharpleyLibrary.net (http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/) – website of the Kate Sharpley Library, containing many historical documents pertaining to anarcho-
ism

Libertarian socialist history

- "Socialism from below" (http://www.zabalaza.net/theory/socialism_from_below/contents.htm) by George Woodcock
- Anarchism and the Russian revolution (http://struggle.ws/wsm/russia.html)
- The Bolshevik Counter-Revolution against the workers and popular soviet/council power was done with party dictatorship and massacre on the Kronstadt soviet in March 1921. (http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http://www.geocities.com/youcreatedcosmos/news.html&date=2009-10-26+00:30:03)
- Anarchist timeline (http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/indexTimeline.htm) includes libertarian socialists
- Anarchist Encyclopedia (http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/gallery/galleryindex.htm) (from the Daily Bleed) includes libertarian socialists

Film

See List of films dealing with Anarchism for a list of nonfiction and fiction films dealing with anarchist movements both historical and contemporary.

- Noam Chomsky Discussion with Libertarian Socialists (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fwr2x3TiQ5E), Ireland 2006.
The Venus Project

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The Venus Project is an organization started by self-educated structural engineer, industrial designer, and futurist Jacque Fresco. Fresco's project aims to restructure society through worldwide utilization of a theoretical design that he calls a *resource-based economy*. Those ideas use a version of sustainable cities, energy efficiency, natural resource management and advanced automation with a global socio-economic system based on social cooperation and scientific methodology.

**History**

The Venus Project was started around 1975 by Jacque Fresco[^2] and by former portrait artist Roxanne Meadows in Venus, Florida, United States.

**Zeitgeist movies**

The Venus Project is featured prominently in the documentary film *Zeitgeist: Addendum*, in relation to global problems explained in the film.[^3] The film premiered at the 5th Annual Artivist Film Festival in Los Angeles, California on October 2, 2008, winning their highest award. It was released online for free on YouTube[^4]. Following the movie, an organization called the Zeitgeist Movement was established to promote the aims of the Venus Project. In 2011, an additional film, *Zeitgeist: Moving Forward*, was also released. At that time Zeitgeist was a promoter-advocate of the Venus Project, however, in April 2011, the Venus Project formally disassociated itself from Zeitgeist as it no longer felt represented by Zeitgeist.[^5]
**Resource-based economy**

The term *resource-based economy* is applied by the Venus Project to a hypothetical economy in which goods, services and information are free. This use of the term is found in information from Jacque Fresco.[6]

**References**


**External links**

- The Venus Project (http://www.thevenusproject.com)
- *The Pangea — Greece Activism* (http://www.thepangea.org/)
- *FUTURAGORA — Portugal Activism* (http://www.futuragora.pt/)
- *Civilisation 2.0 — France Activism* (http://www.civilisation2.org/)
The Zeitgeist Movement is a global nonprofit organization founded in 2008. It advocates the abolition of money and private property, and promotes a global socioeconomic system in which all resources would be equitably and commonly shared. According to the movement, such a system would increase social equality and sustainability. Zeitgeist also believes resource allocation can be managed by computerized systems and most manual labor can be fully automated.

Philosophy and history

The Zeitgeist Movement describes itself as an educational group based on the belief that the "monetary-market" economy must be replaced with a system in which the Earth's resources are equally shared by its inhabitants in a moneless and stateless system where debt, credit, exchange, barter, wage labor, private property and the profit motive would be eliminated.\cite{1}\cite{2}\cite{3}\cite{4}\cite{5}\cite{6}\cite{7}

Zeitgeist movement members say the current socioeconomic system is structurally corrupt and needs to be replaced with a system based on efficient and careful resource use through the technological potential of sustainable development.\cite{1}\cite{2}\cite{8}\cite{3}\cite{9}\cite{10}

The movement believes humanity can employ renewable energy and computerized automatic systems on a global scale to provide free food and other necessities. It believes machines would perform almost all of the resource allocation and labor, and humans will oversee the computers and supervise the machines.\cite{9}\cite{10}\cite{11}\cite{3}

The movement was originally inspired by Peter Joseph's films Zeitgeist: Addendum (2008).\cite{11} Zeitgeist used to be the activist arm of The Venus Project (TVP), which featured in the films Zeitgeist: Addendum and Zeitgeist: Moving Forward (Jan. 2011) as a possible solution to Earth's cultural and ecological problems,\cite{9} but in Aug. 2011 the groups split and currently are not associated with each other.\cite{7}

Zeitgeist Day (Z-Day)

The movement holds an annual event, Z-Day, in March.\cite{1}\cite{9} It was first held in 2009 in New York City.\cite{8} The 2010 event also took place in New York, with "337 sympathetic events occurring in over 70 countries worldwide.\"\cite{1} London and Vancouver hosted the 2011 and 2012 main events respectively.\cite{12}\cite{13}

"A Zeitgeist Day Event can take many forms, ranging from a simple showing of DVD media like Zeitgeist: Addendum to prerecorded lectures; to interactive question-and-answer events with Chapter Organizers in various regions, giving their own unique presentations."\cite{14}
Criticism of the Zeitgeist movement

The Huffington Post,[1] The New York Times,[8] The Palm Beach Post,[3] Globes,[10] TheMarker,[9] VC Reporter,[4] RT TV,[5][5] and Reason magazine[15] criticized various aspects of the Zeitgeist movement, specifically: (a) utopianism, (b) reduced work incentives in their proposed economy, (c) practical difficulties in a transition to that economy, and (d) subscribing to 9/11 conspiracy theories in Zeitgeist: The Movie, the original 2007 film that helped inspire the movement. The movement responded to the criticism by saying that (a) it does not believe in utopia because there is no final frontier, and that, instead, it believes in a non-finite process of updating society's notions of economics and politics to continuously re-align them with new scientific and technical discoveries, (b) workers will be intrinsically motivated, (c) the difficulties, while very serious, are not impossible to overcome, and (d) there is no direct association between the conspiracy theories in the first Zeitgeist documentary and the movement.[9][6][1][8][3][10][4][5][5][7][16]

An article in the Journal of Contemporary Religion described the movement as an example of a "conspiruality", a synthesis of New Age spirituality and conspiracy theory, asserting that Zeitgeist: The Movie claims that "organised religion is about social control and that 9/11 was an inside job."[17] The movement said that the article paints an "incorrect, misleading, offensive and defaming picture of the movement," and that the conspiracy narratives in the first movie are unrelated to the movement.[16]

In Tablet magazine, Journalist Michelle Goldberg criticized Zeitgeist: The Movie as being "steeped in far-right, isolationist, and covertly anti-Semitic conspiracy theories", and called the Zeitgeist movement "the world's first Internet-based cult, with members who parrot the party line with cheerful, rote fidelity."[18] Zeitgeist said the accusations were "erroneous, pejorative, derogatory and intended to silence the movement's message", and that the movement does not blame international bankers, corporate leaders or politicians as individuals, but rather the global socioeconomic system that supports their values.[9][6][7]

In 2009 a German social networking site, studiVZ, banned Zeitgeist groups from their site for promoting antisemitism. Zeitgeist's Australian website commented on the ban thusly: 'The decision made by studiVZ was without basis, the accusation devoid of evidence'.[19][16]

References

[10] Quotations and citations in this Wikipedia article are based on the translation from Hebrew to English of Imagine, original Hebrew article by Asher Schechter, TheMarker, January 2012.


External links

- The Zeitgeist Movement Official Website (http://www.thezeitgeistmovement.com)
- The Venus Project (http://www.thevenusproject.com)
- The Zeitgeist Film Series official Website (http://www.zeitgeistmovie.com)
- The Zeitgeist Movement official YouTube channel (http://www.youtube.com/TZMOfficialChannel)
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