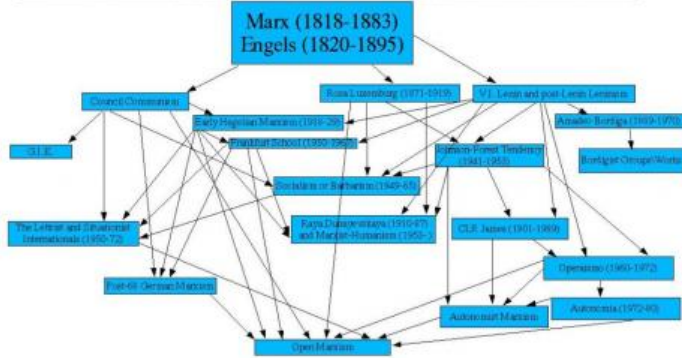


Home

A libertarian Marxist tendency map

This is a rough "family tree" of the different tendencies within libertarian Marxism which we hope will help people navigate the texts of the site. These are not perfect matches and the relations are in fact much more complex, but it may help people to move through the site. Due to his influence on several tendencies within libertarian Marxism, we include V.I. Lenin in the diagram (but not Social Democracy as a whole, even though it influenced Luxemburg, Lenin and the original Council Communists.) The idea here is not to mention every group, but to track unique contributions in theory and practice.



This tendency map was produced by Chris Wright for endpage.com, now part of the libcom.org library - it is designed to trace some of the important tendencies in libertarian Marxism. Contains a brief written history with links to key individuals, groups and publications, and a graphic map.

To help navigate the site, this is a rough, textual "family tree" of libertarian Marxism. Please refer to the [Companion Map](#) for a graphical guide to these currents

[Karl Marx](#) and [Frederick Engels](#), especially Marx's work. Of interest, though little read, are the minutes from the [International Working Men's Association](#).

Out of Social Democracy (1880-1918) arise [Rosa Luxemburg](#) and the Council Communists, especially [Anton Pannekoek](#), [Otto Ruhle](#), [Herman Gorter](#), and [Sylvia Pankhurst](#). There seems to have been little cross fertilisation between Luxemburg and the Councilists and Luxemburg's ideas are only really picked up and built upon thirty years after her death in 1919. The early councilists are followed later by the [G.I.K.](#) (trans: [Group of Internationalist Communists](#)), [Henk Canne Meijer](#), [Cajo Brendel](#) and [Paul Mattick, Sr.](#) Council Communism formed a distinct tendency beginning in WWI and continuing through the current period, though the original councilists had no significant organisational presence after the dissolution of the [KAPD \(German Communist Workers' Party\)](#). There would be a resurgence of councilist groups and ideas in the 1960's, however, through the [Situationist International](#), [Root and Branch](#) in the United States and the [ICL/ICO](#) split from [Socialisme ou Barbarie](#) and their various offshoots.

Alongside and sometimes connected to the councilists were the early Hegelian Marxists, [Gyorgy Lukacs](#) (a council communist himself from 1918-21 or 22), [Karl Korsch](#) (who turned to council communism in the '30's), [Evgeny Pashukanis](#) and [I.I. Rubin](#), whose most important work happened largely from 1918-1928. They were not, however, the first Marxists to return to a serious study of [Hegel](#), as Lenin had begun that process in 1914, but his notebooks were unknown to all but him and had little impact on Bolshevism's practice or certain, critical aspects of Lenin's own theoretical work. Some current Hegelian Marxists of note include [Christopher J. Arthur](#), [Cyril Smith](#) and [Paresh Chattopadhyay](#), the latter two also influenced by [Raya Dunayevskaya](#) and [Marxist-Humanism](#) (see below.)

During the 1920's, the next major development came from the

Posted By

libcom

Oct 27 2005 17:54

Tags

Chris Wright, autonomism, autonomist Marxism, council communism, left communism, libertarian communism, Marxism

Share

Tweet

Related

[Genesis of Zerowork #1](#)

[Silences on the suppression of workers self-emancipation: historical problems with CLR James's interpretation of V.I. Lenin](#)

[On C.L.R. James' Notes on Dialectics Glaberman, Martin: 1918- 2001- Obituary by Red and Black Notes](#)

Attached files

Featured



New US Prison Strike Takes us to the Dark Heart of Capitalism

Prison labour is a billion-dollar industry, and the corporate beneficiaries of this slave labour include some of the largest corporations and most widely known brands. There are literally...

Comments (1)



Review: Dishwasher Pete wanders, entertains, rebels

A review by Scott Satterwhite of Dishwasher, a book based on a zine about a man attempting to have a dishwashing job in all 50 states of the U.S.

Comments (1)



Viva Miuccia! Cursory notes on the political t-shirt

What do political t-shirts as a form — and their content — say about current attitudes to LGBT issues in parliamentary parties?

Follow

Info

The libcom library contains nearly 20,000 articles. If it's your first time on the site, or you're looking for something specific, it can be difficult to know where to start. Luckily, there's a range of ways you can filter the library content to suit your needs, from casual browsing to researching a particular topic. [Click here](#) for the guide.

If you have an ebook reader or a Kindle, check out our [guide to using ebook readers with libcom.org](#).

critique of Leninism and Stalinism by [Amadeo Bordiga](#), who wrote the most cogent analysis of Russia as a capitalist society (until the 1940's) in 1926. Bordiga remained theoretically active, more or less, until his death and his works gave rise to a handful of groups in France and Italy. The most well known of Bordiga-influenced theorists include [Jacques Camatte](#) and [Jean Barrot](#) ([Gilles Dauve](#)).

In the 1930's, a new strain of more or less Hegelian Marxism developed in the Frankfurt School, with Marcuse, [Theodor Adorno](#), Horkheimer, [Walter Benjamin](#) and [Bloch](#), influenced not only by Marx, but also by early Hegelian Marxism in theory, but sometimes Leninism in practice. Though not a member of the Frankfurt School, Henri Lefebvre deserves mention in this second wave of Hegelian Marxism, and unlike the Frankfurt School, whose most important works were written in the 1930's and '40's, Lefebvre continued his pioneering work into the 1960's (for an interesting discussion of Lefebvre, see [Lenin, Hegel and Western Marxism](#), by Kevin Anderson.)

A major change took place in the 1940's, with the development of the Johnson-Forest Tendency within U.S. Trotskyism. Though within Trotskyism until 1950, the JFT, led by [CLR James \(Johnson\)](#), [Raya Dunayevskaya \(Forest\)](#) and Grace Lee. They laid out the most significant critique of the Soviet Union as a capitalist society since Bordiga, though unlike Bordiga they referred to it as state-capitalist. Initially influenced mostly by Hegel, Marx and Lenin (having mostly broken with Trotskyism by 1948), they conducted ground-breaking work in reviving Marx's ideas and grappling concretely with the post-WWII world, and opening up a new practice for revolutionaries. The 1956 preface to their 1950 text *State Capitalism and World Revolution* was signed by [Cornelius Castoriadas](#) and Cajo Brendel, indicating some links with both the new ideas abroad and the older Council Communist tradition, though no direct influence of Council Communism ever seemed apparent in the offshoots of the JFT, maybe due to their critical espousal of Lenin as one of the greatest revolutionary theorists.

In 1953, Dunayevskaya split with Lee and James, leading to the formation of Marxist-Humanism by Dunayevskaya (later solidified into the group News and Letters), while James and Lee would go on to form a new group, Facing Reality, which would eventually see the split between James and now Grace Lee-Boggs. James' work would continue to influence other people through the journal started by longtime co-revolutionary [Martin Glaberman](#) called "Radical America", whose writers are a virtual "Who's Who" of the Marxist critique of racism and white supremacy, including George Rawick and David Roediger. The group Sojourner Truth was influenced by James' work and took up the name of autonomist Marxism, but independent of James' practical organisational efforts. The work of Noel Ignatiev and Race Traitor would form the other well known tendency within the Marxist critique of white supremacy through the theory of 'white skin privilege.'

Dunayevskaya and News and Letters have been influenced by the early Hegelians and the Frankfurt School and themselves represent one of the more vocal defenders of a Hegelian Marxism which they refer to as Marxist-Humanism, having made theoretical contributions to the study of Marx and Hegel and the post-Marx Marxist world, as well as innovative readings of Lenin and issues of race, gender and sexuality. The group is also influenced by Rosa Luxemburg and did much to resurrect her in the English-speaking world as a major theorist.

At around the same time as the JFT split from Trotskyism, a group of French Trotskyists around Claude LeFort and Cornelius Castoriadas broke with Trotskyism and came to similar conclusions as the JFT. They formed Socialism or Barbarism, and were influenced by the JFT's work on the miners' strikes in the U.S. and by the pamphlet "The American Worker" written by Paul Romano and Grace Lee-Boggs of the JFT. The group had two main tendencies, one more councilist (around LeFort and [Henri Simon](#)) and another more Leninist and connected for a while to CLR James (around Castoriadas.) In 1958, LeFort, Simon and their tendency were kicked out, leading to the formation of several different groups, like the ICL, the ICO and [Echanges et Mouvement](#), in which Simon is still active, and which have a heavily councilist orientation.

Socialism or Barbarism also had a large influence on a British group,

If you'd like to upload content to the library which is in line with the [aims of the site](#) or will otherwise be of interest to libcom users, please check out our guides to [submitting library/history articles](#) and [tagging articles](#). If you're not sure if something is appropriate for the library, please ask in the [feedback and content forum](#). If you don't have permissions to post content yet, just [request it here](#).

Log in for more features

Click [here](#) to register now. Logged in users:

- ▶ Can comment on articles and discussions
- ▶ Get 'recent posts' refreshed more regularly
- ▶ Bookmark articles to your own reading list
- ▶ Use the site private messaging system
- ▶ Start forum discussions, submit articles, and more...

[Solidarity](#), which would publish a number of good works on the Russian Revolution, the May-June revolt in Paris in 1968 and other materials. Solidarity would also later be influenced by the Situationist International.

The Situationists came out of an art-based group known as the Lettrist International in the late 1950's, whose most well-known members are [Guy Debord](#) and [Raoul Vaneigem](#). The Situationists took up both the Hegelian Marxism of the early Hegelians and the Frankfurt School, the work of Henri Lefebvre, with whom they had briefly good relations (something which is par for the course for the Situationist International internally and externally), councilist ideas and were influenced by Socialism or Barbarism. Debord and Vaneigem wrote some of the most important and unique Marxist works of the second half of the 20th century. Both Solidarity and a group called OJTR ([Organisation des Jeunes Travailleurs Revolutionnaires](#)), as well as the Open Marxism tendency, were influenced by the SI.

In the 1950's and 1960's in Italy, a new tendency began to develop, eventually known as Operaismo or Workerism, which launched a trenchant critique of technological determinist readings of Marx's work, especially in the work of [Raniero Panzieri](#), [Mario Tronti](#), [Antonio Negri](#), [Sergio Bologna](#) and [Romano Alquati](#). Their work was influenced as well by the JFT, especially "The American Worker". Over the course of many struggles, operaismo, through Negri and Bologna and new thinkers like [Marianosa dalla Costa](#) (who worked with [Selma James](#), CLR James' partner), would become, in the mid-1970's, transformed into Autonomia. Operaismo and autonomia not only critiqued technicist readings of Marx, but also notions of periodisation and the relation of labour to capital, seeing in labour's resistance the fundamental dynamic of capitalist society (hence the new periodisations of professional worker, mass worker, and social worker.)

Operaismo and Autonomia influenced many different tendencies since and has given rise to a new body of work sometimes referred to as 'autonomist Marxism', including the work of Negri, Bologna, Dalla Costa, [Sylvia Federici](#), [Harry Cleaver](#), [Christian Marrazzi](#), [Massimo de Angelis](#), [Nick Dyer-Witheford](#), [Steve Wright](#), the [ZeroWork](#) journal and the [Midnight Notes Collective](#), among others.

Autonomist Marxism has been particularly influenced of late by [Deleuze and Guattari](#), French anarcho-communist philosophers who produced works between the early 1960's and the 1990's. This has helped give Autonomist Marxism a decidedly anti-Hegelian cast, looking rather towards a Nietzschean/Spinozist Marxism also influenced by Foucault. This is the first seriously non/anti-Hegelian tendency in libertarian Marxism since the 1920's.

Also formed in the late 1960's were groups of German Marxists, sometimes referred to as the "post-'68ers", around people like Helmut Reichelt, Hans Jurgen Krahl, Johannes Agnoli, and others. Their influences include Council Communism, the early Hegelians, and the Frankfurt School.

Almost all of these tendencies have influenced the recent theoretical work of a network of theorists originally grouped around the now-defunct journal [Common Sense](#) and three volumes titled "[Open Marxism](#)", among other works. The main proponents of this tendency include or have included [Werner Bonefeld](#), [John Holloway](#), Simon Clarke, Richard Gunn, Kosmas Psychopedis, Adrian Wilding, Peter Burnham, Mike Rooke and Johannes Agnoli. The close affinity of autonomists and the Open Marxism folks has helped to give rise to the journal [The Commoner](#) and much cross-fertilisation in publications and discussions. Depending on who one talks to, Open Marxism includes autonomist Marxism or autonomist Marxism includes Open Marxism, though the separation over the importance of Hegel and the question of dialectic seems to provide a basic grounds for differentiating the two tendencies.

In the 1980's and 90's, a series of other groups developed, influenced also by much of the above work. The most notable are [Kolinko](#), [Kurasje](#) and [Wildcat](#) in Germany, [Aufheben](#) in England, [Theorie Communiste](#) in France, [TPTG](#) in Greece and [Kamunist Kranti](#) in India. They are also connected to other groups in other countries, merging autonomia, operaismo, Hegelian Marxism, the work of the JFT, Open

Marxism, the ICO, the Situationist International, anarchism and post-68 German Marxism.

Obviously other libertarian Marxist persons and groups exist and existed, some of whose work is brought together in the Libertarian Communist Library* as well. This includes [Collective Action Notes](#), [Loren Goldner](#), and [Antagonism Press](#), among others (such as the aborted journal [Autonomy](#) in the U.S.)

* Was the endpage.com Subversive Texts Archive

[login](#) or [register](#) to post comments

Comments

David in Atlanta
Oct 2 2009 01:51

Martin Glaberman did not start Radical America. The publication was a collective project of Students for a Democratic Society, which outlasted SDS by several years. The masthead of Vol. 1, Issue 2 shows Paul Buhle, Tom Cleaver, Henry Haslach, Jr., J.M. Mewsahw and Don Slaughter as the editorial group.

<http://dl.lib.brown.edu/pdfs/1124108641437108.pdf>

[login](#) or [register](#) to post comments

Glaberman and the Johnson/Forest Tendency were influences on the faction of SDS that supported and edited the journal and Glaberman was at least for a time an associate editor but it is inaccurate to say he was the founder.

 fnbrill
Oct 2 2009 04:34

Also this ignores the Socialist Party of Great Britain/Socialist Party of Canada


[login](#) or [register](#) to post comments

S2W
Oct 3 2009 11:43

Quote:
| *Deleuze and Guattari, French anarcho-communist philosophers*

[login](#) or [register](#) to post comments




 husunzi
Oct 4 2009 06:24

Most of these links to the libcom library take me to blank pages. Seems to be most but not all the links starting with <http://libcom.org/library/>, such as <http://libcom.org/library/paresh-chattopadhyay>, but if you change it to <http://libcom.org/tags/paresh-chattopadhyay> it works.

[login](#) or [register](#) to post comments

Also, <http://libcom.org/library/autonomy> is not an archive of the journal *Autonomy*, as implied by linking it here - it has one issue of the journal, but several other things that just relate to the topic of *autonomy*.

Anyway, thanks for reposting this here and archiving endpage.com, along with all the stuff from Geocities.

 Steven.
Oct 4 2009 16:01

Right, thanks for that, I guess I need to go through and update it. The links must have broken in the big site upgrade a year or two ago.

[login](#) or [register](#) to post comments



Red Marriott
Oct 6 2009 00:27

Quote:

Also this ignores the Socialist Party of great Britain/Socialist Party of Canada

[login or register](#) to post comments

This is presumably because "libertarian Marxist tendency" is partly defined by those who reject parliamentarism. It is also concerned with theoretical developments in this tendency, which would preclude the SPGB, as they've basically been saying the same thing for over 100 years now;

<http://libcom.org/library/spgb-paul-petard>



Khawaga
Dec 14 2009 04:35

The links in this article are still broken.

[login or register](#) to post comments



888
Dec 16 2010 20:22

This ignores the hidden influence of anarchism or at least that anarchists reached similar positions years before these groups without needing loads of theoretical guff to justify it

[login or register](#) to post comments

blog

Reddebek - Nike and the Sweatshop problem

Internationalist Communist Tendency - The Working Class Holds the Key to a New World

AngryWorkersWorld - The Limits of 'Intersectionality': AngryWorkers book review of 'Striking Women'

news

'It's time to stop running away': Wetherspoons workers ballot for strike action

Prison Strike Updates, week four

Protests against the arrests of activists in India

library

Class Rules Everything Around Me / WOT, NO DEMANDS?

On Trump, fascism, and stale social science - Matthew Lyons

Get rich or lie trying: Why ANC millionaire Julius Malema posed as a radical

history

A short history of May Day

Japan's 1968: a collective reaction to rapid economic growth in an age of turmoil

The squatters of 1946 - Paul Burnham

libcom.org

[about](#) | [donate](#) | [help out](#) | [submitting content](#) | [other languages](#) | [a-z](#) | [contact us](#) | [site notes](#)

<http://libcom.org/library/libertarian-marxist-tendency-map>