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Anarkismo.net: 20 Years of Networking

Miguel G. Gómez

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- 2015–2019 Period. Once again, a period of ebb and flow. Some veteran organizations disbanded, others entered into crisis and stagnation, and others suffered from splits or changed their ideological line. However, the previous inertia continued to produce new organizations.
- Finally, the period from 2020 to the present has given rise to greater international coordination and a climate conducive to the creation of new organizations, aided by the crisis experienced by other currents of anarchism. At this point, the libertarian communist movement is no longer unknown. It is not large, of course, but it appears much more solid than other currents of anarchism.

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zations), FAG (1995), and OSL (1997) in Brazil; OSL (1996), ORA (Rosario), and AUCA (La Plata) in Argentina; CUAC in Chile (1999), among others; various groups in the United States and Canada; ORA (1996, Czech Republic); WSF (1995, South Africa)... Forming an organic relationship, on the one hand, in Latin America through the FAU and FAG, and on the other, in Europe through Alternative Libertaire, OSL, and FdCA, whose union fronts are approaching the CGT-E, and the latter invites them to its meetings. In parallel, the Anarchist Platform mailing list emerged, bringing Anglo-Saxon platformism into contact.

- In the years 1999–2003, the articulation of the movement accelerated through the resistance movement against capitalist globalization. Groups and organizations emerged in many places (too many to list here), creating spaces for interaction, such as ELAOPA, the Jornadas Anarquistas, and CALA in Latin America, and SIL in Europe, although the latter also provided solidarity with initiatives in the South. The entire anarcho-communist movement expanded.
- 2004–2009 period. These were years of ebb and flow in social struggles. Yet, the movement already maintained political relations. This resulted in the creation of anarkismo.net (2005), the signing of solidarity declarations and the first international meetings. The global economic and financial crisis of 2008 erupted.
- In the years 2010–2014, there was again a strong expansion and coordination. Initiatives multiplied: the anarchism network consolidated, new declarations were signed, the Saint Imier meeting was held (2012), and new groups and organizations emerged, and the anarchist movement reached new countries where it had no presence in Asia and Africa.

This May 2025, anarkismo.net celebrates two decades as a global hub for organized anarchism. It was initially proposed as an international journal of the libertarian communist or anarcho-communist movement. From this perspective, the initiative evolved into a multilingual website launched on May 1, 2005. The history of anarkismo.net reflects the trajectory of the movement as a whole.

Today, with more than 15,000 articles in 10 languages, anarkismo.net remains a living archive and a space for those building popular power from below. As Nestor McNab wrote in 2005: “We are not an international, but a tool for struggles to breathe and meet.”

Miguel G. Gómez (@BlackSpartak)

Alternative unionism and the first contact

The first “black thread” in our entire history. In the 1990s, several anarcho-communist organizations existed: Organisation Socialiste Libertaire (OSL, Switzerland), OSL Argentina, Alternative Libertaire (France),¹ Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchistici (FdCA, Italy),² Federación Anarquista Uruguaya (FAU),³ among others. They had been operating since the previous decade and maintained contact with each other.

Of this series of organizations, it is worth highlighting French anarcho-communism, which emerged in the 1950s. At that time, it featured the Libertarian Communist Federation and prominent theorists such as Georges Fontenis and later Daniel Guérin, as well as organizations such as the Moviment Communiste

¹ <https://www.unioncommunistelibertaire.org/>

² <https://alternativailibertaria.fdca.it/wpAL/>

³ <https://federacionanarquistauruguay.uy/>

Libertaire, the Organisation Revolutionnaire Anarchiste and the Organisation Communiste Libertaire (OCL). Organizations and journals of this movement had emerged over time, reaching the 1990s with great prestige in the European anarchist movement. Similarly, we can highlight Swiss and Italian anarcho-communism, which ran parallel, but without the same strength as their French counterpart.

In Latin America, the Uruguayan FAU was the most prominent organization due to its revolutionary trajectory and its resistance to the dictatorship. We again find an organization born in the 1950s, which achieved great importance in the 1960s and 1970s. After a few years of being swept away by repression, it managed to reorganize itself in the mid-1980s. Not only that, but due to its political work, it influenced other Latin American groups, as we will see later.

Returning to the main story, in the early 1990s, European organizations also had militants in the so-called “alternative unionism,” some holding organizational positions. Therefore, some militants had the opportunity to meet each other personally through alternative union meetings. One of those militants in Spain was José María Olaizola. Throughout the 1990s, he served as Secretary of International Relations for the CGT-E and, between 1993 and 2001, as its Secretary General. At that time, the CGT’s goal was to build an international. In his own words:⁴

“This intervention had the purpose of creating both an anarcho-syndicalist and alternative international and a libertarian, anarchist international, and for the two to form an international libertarian movement. In this endeavor, the CGT initiated and participated in many initiatives. There was a lot of travel, a lot of personal contact.”

⁴ Mail communication with José María Olaizola, 05/20/2025

Indonesia, and New Zealand. These groups do not belong to the International Coordination, but maintain contact with one or more of the current’s organizations, which now number several dozens altogether. Of course, they are also an active part of the entire movement, as the Coordination is by no means the entire movement, nor does it claim to be. In any case, these hundreds (or thousands already) of international militants are building a solid libertarian alternative that has already positioned itself within the broader anarchist movement.

Overview

We will conclude by reviewing the current’s periods:

- The anarcho-communist current of anarchism dates back to its very beginnings with the International Alliance for Socialist Democracy. Its tradition can be traced over the decades. After World War II, this current was reduced to very few countries. Of these, France, Italy, and Uruguay had the most prominent movements, surviving into the 1980s despite all kinds of difficulties.
- In the 1980s, several solid organizations were created that would last for many years: OSL (founded in 1982 in Switzerland), WSM (founded in 1984, Ireland), FdCA (1986, Italy), Union des Travailleurs Communistes Libertaires (1986, France), FAG (1985, Brazil), FAU (reorganized in 1986, Uruguay), and Anarchist Federation (1986, Great Britain, which was initially anarcho-communist). These organizations maintained contact with each other, but the synthesist and anarcho-syndicalist currents predominated by far within the anarchist movement.
- In the 1990s, new organizations began to emerge. Alternative Libertaire (1991, France; derived from previous organi-

Europe

- Anarchist Communist Group – Great Britain
- Die Plattform – Germany
- Embat, Organització Llibertària de Catalunya
- Midada, Libertär, Sozialistisch, Organisiert – Switzerland
- Organisation Socialiste Libertaire – Switzerland
- Union Communiste Libertaire – France, Belgium y Switzerland

Middle East

- Tekoşîna Anarşîst – Rojava

Pacific Asia

- Anarchist Worker Solidarity Movement – New Zealand
- Anarchist Solidarity / Anarchist Yondae /       – South Korea
- Anarchist Communist Federation – Australia:
- ACF-Brisbane – Anarchist Communists Meanjin
- ACF-Melbourne – Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group
- ACF-Geelong – Geelong Anarchist Communists

Currently, there are other libertarian communist groups and organizations in the United States, Canada, Brazil (the new OSL is noteworthy due to its size), Italy, Spain, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Finland, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey,

In specific organizations, it is necessary to differentiate between the political and social or union components (often referred to as “fronts”). In the case of trade unionism, specific militants acted through social or union fronts and, because they were strong militants, they often obtained organizational positions in the unions in which they participated.

The first meeting of alternative unionism was organized in Barcelona by the CGT-E in November 1991. From that moment on, contacts developed with the French SUD-Solidaires union,⁵ Unicobas Italy,⁶ the Swedish SAC,⁷ and other grassroots unions, all of them quite small.

“We organized the first meeting of alternative unionism in Barcelona on November 29, 30, and December 1, 1991, with French SUD unions, in which AL militants participated, such as Patrice Spadoni, a well-known platformist militant with whom we had an ongoing relationship, and then Laurent Esquerre of AL as well. I knew French anarchists due to my exile in Paris. Also present were the CGT of Correcteurs, a very powerful French union run by anarchists of different branches, in which Jacky Toublet was a very prominent militant

⁵ This French trade union organization dates back to 1981 as a grouping of 10 autonomous federations and independent national unions. It was significantly influenced by Trotskyist and, in some cases, libertarian currents. In the 1990s, it had around 50,000–60,000 members.

⁶ Known as CIB Unicobas, it is an organization of Italian grassroots trade unionism, part of the “Cobas” (grassroots committees) phenomenon. Unicobas was founded in 1991 and quickly came into contact with alternative trade unionism. It had 5,000 members.

⁷ An anarcho-syndicalist organization founded in Sweden in 1910 under the name Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation. In the 1950s it was excluded from the IWA, entering into conflict with the exiled Spanish CNT. A rivalry existed ever since. When the Spanish CNT split in the 1980s, giving rise to the CGT, this new organization resumed contact with the Swedish union.

member of the FA; the CRT of Switzerland⁸, where Arístides Pedraza of the Swiss OSL was present; Italian and Basque unions, one English and one Russian, both very small; and the Swedish SAC, which was always reluctant to let anyone want to create a new international; and among the Italians was Unicobas (Stefano D'Errico, its general secretary). Incidentally, both Emili Cortavitarte and Chema Berro played an important role in this meeting, acting as coordinators of the meeting, representing the CGT.”⁹

In 1995, an **international libertarian meeting was held in Ruesta**, a town in Aragon ceded to the CGT-E. French, Italian, Swiss, Polish, and other anarchist militants attended. Ruesta was important for establishing personal ties internationally.

Ruesta saw significant participation from members of Alternative Libertaire and OSL (Switzerland), perhaps because they viewed it as the French organization's summer camp. In smaller numbers also attended a few members from the FdCA, the Workers Solidarity Movement (Ireland), Al-Badil al-Tahriri (Lebanon; its name in Arabic means Libertarian Alternative), and the Polish Anarchist Federation.¹⁰ Regarding trade unionism, the majority of participants were from the CGT and SUD, although there were also people from Solidaridad Obrera (Spain) and SAC (Sweden).

⁸ The Confédération Romande du Travail (CRT) was founded in the early 1970s by Christian syndicalism. Several years later, due to the influence of militant trade unionists, it changed direction and became part of the sector of unions and tendencies of that time that sought to develop an alternative unionism. It dissolved in 1996. Its legacy of militant unionism would later be taken up by the SUD of the canton of Vaud.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ In English, see “International Libertarian Meeting.” <https://web.archive.org/web/20080223130405/http://flag.blackened.net/rev...>

In French, see *Alternative Libertaire*, no. 36, October 1995, pp. 14–15: <https://www.archivesautonomies.org/IMG/pdf/communismelib/alternative-lib...>

- Roja y Negra, Organización Política Anarquista — Buenos Aires, Argentina
- Federación Anarquista Uruguaya (CALA)
- Coordenação Anarquista Brasileira (CALA):
- Federação Anarquista Gaúcha — Rio Grande do Sul
- Federação Anarquista Cabana — Belem do Pará
- Organização Resistência Libertária — Ceará
- Federação Anarquista Quilombo de Resistência — Bahia
- Federação Anarquista dos Palmares — Alagoas
- Coletivo Anarquista Luta de Classe — Paraná
- Coletivo Anarquista Bandeira Negra — Santa Catarina
- Organização Anarquista Maria Iêda — Pernambuco
- También hay una construcción anarquista en la Argentina formada por:
- Federación Anarquista de Rosario (CALA)
- Organización Anarquista de Tucumán
- Organización Anarquista de Córdoba
- Organización Anarquista de Santa Cruz
- Organización Revolucionaria Anarquista — Buenos Aires

The International Coordination of Organized Anarchism

The result of the above has been the **formal construction of the Coordination at the end of 2024**. This Coordination does not have the form of an International, but rather a network. It has continental sections in Europe and the Americas, and perhaps something similar will be done in the Asia-Pacific in the medium term, but it is primarily articulated at a global level.

One of its projects is the website *anarkismo.net*, which now acts as a speaker for the entire movement internationally.

Since the time of the communiqués, a South Korean organization and the Black Rose Federation of the United States have joined. Several more have appeared throughout, creating an increasingly complex and difficult-to-follow map.

What is worth highlighting is CALA's insistence on the theoretical and strategic unity of all the Coordination's organizations. This has allowed almost all organizations to self-evaluate and conduct their ideological, theoretical, and strategic debates, leading to current situation analyses, programs, and political lines. At that time, several non-Latin American organizations also began to call themselves "especifist," and new ones emerged elsewhere with that definition, ignoring more traditional constructs in their regions.

Regarding the currently coordinated organizations, they are:

America

- Black Rose Anarchist Federation / Federación Anarquista Rosa Negra – United States
- Grupo Libertario Vía Libre – Colombia
- Federación Anarquista Santiago – Chile

From then on, these organisations and their delegates met at other international events such as the European marches against unemployment, counter-summits and alter-globalisation protests, such as those in Nice (2000), Barcelona (2001) or Genoa (2001), as well as at other meetings promoted by alternative trade unionism – that is, CGT-E, SUD-Solidaires, Unicobas, SAC, Solidaridad Obrera... – where they formed libertarian blocks. Olaizola continues:

“From here, a group emerged in practice, not just on paper, and we worked together because we had a common strategic vision, moving away from sectarianism. Jacky, Aristides, Stefano, then Gerard Mélinand (French CNT from OCL...) joined, and later Juan Carlos Mechoso (FAU): all of them great friends and mentors for me. [...]”

“We had an excellent relationship with the Italian platformist FdCA: Saberio Craparo, Donato Romito, Adriana Dadá, and Gianni Cimbalo, all great friends. I was involved in all this turmoil, and we met periodically.”

The Uruguayans add that these contacts were not at all casual. Many of the trips abroad were organic: they were decided by the organization. “If personal trips were appropriate, connections were sought more organically rather than spontaneously.”¹¹ Some of these trips could last months, turning into long stays for political exchange.

On May 1, 2000, the French CNT (also known as “Vignoles”) organized the “**Un Autre Futur**” days. The events were supported by Alternative Libertaire and the Federation Anarchiste and served to unite French anarchism. Some 6,000 people attended the demonstration behind the CNT banner, a near-historical milestone.

But those events also served as a meeting point for libertarian syndicalist organizations: CNT-F, SAC, Unicobas, Industrial Work-

¹¹ Conversation with Nathaniel Clavijo, 05/23/2025.

ers of the World, FAU (Germany), RKAS (Ukraine), Democratic Confederation of Labor (Morocco) and SKT (Siberia)¹² and other countries.¹³ And again, they were also a place of socialization for French, Italian, and Irish anarcho-communist militants.

In all these cases, when we talk about making contact at the political level, it's not just a matter of coincidentally meeting at an event or exchanging messages online. In many cases, it was about traveling to a place, living together, and establishing personal connections, absorbing what was happening there and debating—especially debating—and learning to transfer it back to one's place of origin... and then debating again. Personal connections were central to this entire process.

Platformism on the Internet

The second “black thread” is related to the greater connectivity provided by technology. At the dawn of the internet, several anarchist-leaning websites emerged: A-infos, Infoshop, Spunk, and a few others, which emerged in the 1990s. One of those websites was that of the Irish platformist organization Workers Solidarity Movement (WSM)¹⁴. In just a few years, hundreds of classic texts on the history of anarchism and the anarcho-communist or platformist movement and theory were uploaded to the internet. This movement gained a significant following around the world. Later, they redesigned the website and put it online under the domain

¹² [Sibersakaya Konfederatsia Truda] The Siberian Confederation of Labor (SKT) was founded in March 1995 by Siberian anarcho-syndicalists, who until then had been grouped in a “Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists” that operated from 1989 to 2000. It grew to around 5,000 members, according to its own source.

¹³ Lucien Van der Walt, “Report on Le Autre Futur” (Report on the Other Future), Paris summit, August 26, 2015

<https://lucienvanderwalt.com/2015/08/26/lucien-van-der-walt-2000-report-...>

¹⁴ <https://www.wsm.ie/>

- Roja y Negra – Organización Política Anarquista (Buenos Aires) – Argentina
- Organisation Socialiste Libertaire (OSL) – Switzerland
- Tekoşina Anarşist (TA) – Rojava
- Union Communiste Libertaire (UCL) – France, Belgium y Switzerland
- Grupo Libertario Vía Libre – Colombia

Some organizations from Turkey, such as DAF⁸⁸ and Karala, which have since dissolved, also participated. In these cases, these organizations did not define themselves as libertarian communists or anarcho-communists, but simply anarchists, but there was always mutual understanding. Similarly, relations have always been maintained with Tekoşina Anarşist,⁸⁹ an organization composed of international anarchist militants in Rojava.

In some of the early meetings, contacts were also made with organizations from Iran and the Philippines, although it was clear that they did not share the basic foundations of the movement, and their paths diverged. Nevertheless, starting in 2020, a growth in the number of groups and militants worldwide was noted. In some countries, this growth has led to the establishment of national organizations with several local groups, such as in Australia, Germany, and Argentina.

Most organizations during this period focused on approving and working on their own programs, moving beyond the model of those anarchist groups that had only a vague understanding of reality and whose militancy was united only by principles, the distant goal of libertarian communism and little else.

⁸⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/DAFederasyon/>

⁸⁹ <https://tekosinaanarsist.noblogs.org/>

met without a mandate from their organizations. Then came the level of formal meetings of the organizations, represented by delegates. The third level would be joint working groups between activists from different countries that carry out specific projects. It is necessary to know how to read the process and understand the rhythms, which are sometimes fast and other times slow. The fact is that, starting in 2020, the dynamic accelerated.

In short, the Coordination towards 2022 was composed of the following organizations:

- Alternativa Libertaria (AL/FdCA) – Italy
- Anarchist Communist Group (ACG) – Great Britain
- Federación Anarquista – Greece
- Aotearoa Workers Solidarity Movement (AWSM) – Aotearoa/New Zealand
- Coordenação Anarquista Brasileira (CAB) – Brazil
- Federación Anarquista de Rosario (FAR) – Argentina
- Federación Anarquista Uruguay (FAU) – Uruguay
- Embat, Organització Llibertària de Catalunya
- Libertäre Aktion (LA) – Switzerland
- Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (MACG) – Australia
- Organización Anarquista de Córdoba (OAC) – Argentina
- Organización Anarquista de Santa Cruz (OASC) – Argentina
- Organización Anarquista de Tucumán (OAT) – Argentina

struggle.ws, leaving the WSM website for texts related to the organization itself. This dissemination and training work would soon bear fruit with the creation of a South African organization, the Workers Solidarity Front (WSF), inspired by its Irish sister organization.

Shortly before 2000, both organizations (or members of both) created the “**Anarchist Platform**” mailing list. In their presentation, they clearly identified the type of members they were addressing:¹⁵

We identify as anarchists and with the “Platformist” tradition within anarchism, which includes groups and publications such as “The Organizational Platform of Libertarian Communists,” the “Friends of Durruti,” and the “Manifesto of Libertarian Communism.” We broadly identify with the organizational practices defended by this tradition, though not necessarily with everything they did or said. In other words, it is a starting point for our politics, not an end point.

The mailing list’s opening document bears a strong resemblance to the one that would later be published by anarkismo.net. It is typical for political organizations to issue a “points of unity” document or a “mission statement” that explains the organization’s basic policies.

We can also see that they considered their references to be the 1926 Platform of the Delo Truda group; the Friends of Durruti of the Spanish Revolution; and the Manifesto written by Georges Fontenis in 1953. These three texts emphasize the need for a powerful, specific anarchist organization that will articulate the anarchist militancy that intervenes in mass organizations. Ultimately, these

¹⁵ Announcing Anarchist Platform Email List
<https://www.struggle.ws/exwsm/c/announcing-anarchist-platform-email-list..>

social organizations are the ones that will bring the Social Revolution. These are the same texts that FdCA claimed on its 30th anniversary, celebrated in 2016.¹⁶

The South African ZACF (also known as Zabalaza)¹⁷ (created shortly after the dissolution of the WSF) was also inspired by the same texts, which it considered its fundamental references. Years later, it would add to the list the text “Social Anarchism and Organization,” published by the Brazilian organization FARJ after its first congress in 2008.¹⁸

The mailing list, as we can see, brought together activists from all over the world, although predominantly from the English-speaking world. The list was used to convene an in-person meeting of platformist organizations held in Genoa in 2001, during the alterglobalization counter-summit, at the initiative of the Italian organization.¹⁹

We should add that in April 2001, the summit of heads of state of the countries of the American continent was held in Quebec, Canada. For the occasion, an “International Declaration of Libertarian Communists” was published, which attacked capitalist globalization and concluded its statement by calling for the construction of a libertarian socialist society. Among the signatories were several platformist organizations (NEFAC, WSM, ORA-S Czech Republic, OCL-France, OSL Argentina, Alternative Libertaire of France and its Lebanese counterpart) along with anarcho-syndicalist organizations from the IWA and specific synthesis organizations. This

¹⁶ Thirty Years of Life... 11/01/2016
[https://alternativoliberalaria.fdca.it/wpAL/blog/2016/11/01/1986-2016-30-](https://alternativoliberalaria.fdca.it/wpAL/blog/2016/11/01/1986-2016-30-...)

¹⁷ <https://zabalaza.net/>

¹⁸ The text can be read in its original language here:
[https://www.cabn.libertar.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/FARJ_-](https://www.cabn.libertar.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/FARJ_-_ANARQUIS...)
[_ANARQUIS...](https://www.cabn.libertar.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/FARJ_-_ANARQUIS...)

¹⁹ Interview with the FdCA by NEFAC, 2003
[https://anarchistplatform.wordpress.com/2010/06/14/the-global-](https://anarchistplatform.wordpress.com/2010/06/14/the-global-influence-...)
[influence-...](https://anarchistplatform.wordpress.com/2010/06/14/the-global-influence-...)

Chilean uprising and demand the freedom of those arrested during the December 2019 protests.⁸⁶ Later, it was signed jointly on May Day, then on June 28th, Stonewall Day, then to support the American people after the police murder of George Floyd, also on July 19th, against the repression in Turkey, on March 8th, to commemorate the anniversary of Krondstadt, the Paris Commune, on the pandemic, against the war in Ukraine, the genocide in Gaza, and many others. On each occasion, between 12 and 25 organizations from around the world signed.

Another project was to support anarchist comrades in Sudan,⁸⁷ who needed financial assistance to leave the country. These days, some of those people are returning. Other coordinating initiatives have been the summer camps and schools, organized by each organization independently, such as those organized by Embat and UCL since 2018 and 2020, respectively. In the case of the former, in 2024 it helped organize the first especifist meeting in Spain, together with the organizations Liza (Madrid) and Batzac — Joven-tuts Llibertàries (Catalonia), which was attended by people from other places and other organizations. Similarly, the French camps are attended by British, German, Swiss, Spanish, or Italian activists, depending on the occasion. Die Plattform has also organized such camps, while an Anarchist Political School was held in Australia, which has helped articulate the tendency until an anarchist federation has been formed there. Finally, this summer the first camp of the British ACG will be held.

To an outside audience, the development of organized anarchism might seem quite informal. However, it has been an organic process. There was a prior praxis dating back to the 1990s. Initially, there was a personal level, comprised of activists who sometimes

⁸⁶ Joint Internationalist Declaration for the Freedom of the Political Prisoners of the Social Uprising in the Chilean Region, December 12, 2019
<https://www.anarkismo.net/article/32109>

⁸⁷ Update on the Campaign for the Sudanese Anarchists. April 18, 2024
https://www.anarkismo.net/article/32877?search_text=Sudan

(Uruguay). These organizations served as a focal point for the entire movement and took over from the European organizations, which had been leading the way until then.

“...We are convinced that Anarchism must be operational, agile, and in tune with new social realities in order to confront the harshness that this ruthless system imposes on those at the bottom. But to do so, we reiterate, Anarchism must be politically organized. It is Political Organization that allows militants to process the necessary discussions and debates, make pertinent analyses of the conjuncture, define action and development plans, fine-tune tactics, and also design a final strategy and adapt that strategy to each period of action, to each conjuncture...”⁸⁵

With CALA, the entire international libertarian communist movement was extraordinarily energized, starting with the notable efforts of Nathaniel Clavijo (Uruguay), who enlisted the help of Dimitris Troaditis (now based in Melbourne, Australia), Jonathan Payn (now in Istanbul), Johnny Rumpf (Bern, Switzerland), and Gio (France) to reorganize the movement. As always, the veterans pull the younger ones until they understand how it works.

In 2020, the year of the global pandemic, the foundations were laid for a more articulated international coordination than before. From then on, meetings became much more stable, as they could be held online. Meetings were held every month or two, and a fairly natural coordination took shape.

The reason for so many meetings was the movement’s need to publish international statements. The first was to support the

<https://federacionanarquistauruguay.uy/comunicado-de-lanzamiento-de-la-...>

⁸⁵ CALA Launch Statement. December 15, 2019

<https://federacionanarquistauruguay.uy/comunicado-de-lanzamiento-de-la-...>

was an exception, as these currents would rarely come together again.²⁰

International Libertarian Solidarity

As we have seen previously, some activists had in mind the creation of an alternative syndicalist international and a libertarian international. The definitive and stable connection between Europe and Latin America occurred around 1994, although contacts had existed before then. The Spanish-Swiss Aristides Pedraza was one of those links and put Juan Carlos Mechoso in touch with the Barcelona militants.²¹ From then on, a very good relationship was established. The Spanish, French, and Swiss activists paid for their Latin American comrades’ travels, organized talks, press conferences, and meetings. In this way, within the CGT-E, they met “Juan Carlos and Juan Pilo from the FAU, the Brazilians Eduardo, “el Bocha,” “el Gaucho,” and Verónica from the Argentine OSL. At that time, we helped cover the costs of three ‘ateneos’ in Uruguay, Cerro, Colón, and Acacias.” (Olaizola)²²

The formalization of this network of contacts and organizations would give rise to **International Libertarian Solidarity (SIL)**. This may be our third thread. It was driven by diverse organizations with libertarian communist and anarcho-syndicalist tendencies, while other groups had a less politically defined social anar-

²⁰ Against Capitalist Globalization! Alternative Libertaire #96, May 2001, p. 11

<https://www.archivesautonomies.org/IMG/pdf/communismelib/alternative-lib...>

²¹ A written reference can be found on the back page of the newspaper of the XVII CGT Congress in A Coruña, October 20, 2013. Juan Pilo indicates that Mechoso’s trip to Europe accelerated contacts. Among others, they contacted Olaizola, then Secretary General of the CGT.

https://cgt.org.es/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/diario3.qxd_.pdf

²² Olaizola, 05/20/2025

chism.²³ Its first meeting was held in Madrid on April 1, 2001, at the initiative of the CGT-E.²⁴ The founding text was written by Juan Carlos Mechoso (Montevideo), Pepe García Rey, alias “Ramón Germinal” (Granada), and Paco Marcellán (Madrid):²⁵

Today, as a first step, we support the establishment of a global libertarian network in which all affinity groups that so wish can find their space, open to libertarian organizations, associations, athenaeums, unions, and other libertarian collectives. This network will serve to spread mutual support and solidarity in the struggles, it will function as a source of information and debate for the libertarian world, it will organize international meetings, it will create training schools, it will use videoconferences, the Internet and all kinds of available tools to articulate strategies that allow the introduction and guidance of the libertarian idea in the various social struggles.²⁶

Regarding the list of organizations, we have the OSL (Switzerland), Alternative Libertaire (France), Al-Badil al-Tahriri (Lebanon), FAU (Uruguay), the Gaucha Anarchist Federation (FAG, Brazil),²⁷ the ORA-Solidarita of the Czech Republic,²⁸ all of them anarcho-communist tendencies, and also the French anti-fascist

²³ See some RL statements on the Radio Klara website:

<https://www.radioklara.org/radioklara/?tag=red-libertaria-apoyo-mutuo>

²⁴ Naissance d’un réseau international libertaire. Extrait de mai number from Alternative Libertaire (France):

<https://www.ainfos.ca/01/jun/ainfos00171.html>

²⁵ Consultation with José María Olaizola. 05/18/2025

²⁶ Declaration of the International Libertarian Meeting. March 31, 2001

https://www.fdca.it/fdcaen/ILS/ils_madrid.htm

²⁷ <https://www.instagram.com/fag.cab/>

²⁸ Interview with ORA by NEFAC, 2003:

<https://anarchistplatform.wordpress.com/2010/06/14/the-global-influence-...>

They emphasized the internal political work of each organization to avoid confusion and dead ends.

Our lives depend on [our social] insertions, but the Political Organization, that small engine that drives the popular movement, is necessary alongside it. The Anarchist Political Organization, in the especifist conception, is not avant-garde, but rather one of militant self-denial, with the aim of incentivizing and guiding a process of revolutionary rupture with broad participation of the organized people. We deeply respect the specific nature of that level. We have called this process Popular Power, a process of building the organizations of popular power that will replace the bourgeois power structures. Thus, social insertion and political organization go hand in hand and are articulated horizontally in a very different way than that proposed and developed by all the vanguardist movements of the left to date, which have done nothing more than limit the development of popular organizations and instrumentalize them as “apparatuses” useful to their parties. For this reason, Especifist Anarchism speaks of a Strong People [Pueblo Fuerte] and not a “strong party,” as all currents of Marxism have proposed. We advocate a Strong People, a people who construct their destiny and their own opportunities and degrees of freedom according to their experience of struggle, development, and progress in the process of rupture.

As a result of this initiative, the foundations for new international work began to be laid. In December 2019, the **Latin American Anarchist Coordination (CALA)** was re-established, formed by the CAB (Brazil),⁸³ the FAR (Argentina),⁸⁴ and the FAU

⁸³ https://www.instagram.com/far_rosario/

⁸⁴ CALA Launch Statement. December 15, 2019

such as Solidaridad FCL,⁸⁰ some of which in turn followed the parliamentary path, resulting in further splits.

At the Latin American level, the especifist movement distanced itself from all these Chilean groups until the Santiago Anarchist Federation (FAS)⁸¹ emerged in 2019, once again aligned with the rest of the international movement. This FAS, therefore, emerges as a break with the imprint taken by Chilean libertarian communism, returning to Latin American especifism.

From Network to Coordination

Between 2015 and 2019, the movement experienced a setback caused by issues we have already seen, causing divisions in some organizations within the movement, hindering understanding, fostering disorientation, or directly leading to the dissolution of some organizations and the destruction of entire movements, as we have seen.

Not everything was disappointing, of course. While a national British organization (the ACG) had emerged in 2018, in 2019 Die Plattform was founded in Germany, the largest European state that until then had lacked organizations of the movement.

At the 2019 Jornadas Anarquistas, Latin American organizations spoke of the need to relaunch the movement.⁸² At this time, they championed especifism, or, in other words, **politically organized anarchism**, and sought to consolidate it in all regions. Their communiqué defined the role of the anarchist political organization, which should be responsible for developing the theory and analytical tools to understand reality and better operate within it.

⁸⁰ <https://solidaridadfcl.org>

⁸¹ <https://fasanarquista7.wordpress.com/>

⁸² Anarchist Conference 2019, 03/20/2019.
<https://www.anarkismo.net/article/31339>

network No Pasarán, the Magonista²⁹ organization, CIPO-RFM (Mexico)³⁰, and the anarcho-syndicalist organizations CGT-E, SAC (Sweden), Unicobas (Italy) and CNT-F (Vignoles, France). The latter participated just in the first meeting, but withdrew from the SIL network. Meanwhile, FdCA (Italy), ZACF (South Africa)³¹, AUCA (Argentina)³², NEFAC (North America)³³, and the newly created Red Libertaria Apoyo Mutuo (Spain) soon joined the network. This attempt at a specific organization in Spain didn't achieve much success.

A couple more international meetings were held in the following years. Their context was that of the resistance movement against capitalist globalization, which in Europe was characterized by counter-summits against meetings of the big Capital (such as those of the World Bank, the G8, or the European Union), which were accompanied by mass protests.

Thanks to their existence, several projects were funded, such as the "Aragón" printing press and an athenaeum in Uruguay, a community center, a cooperative, and a printing press in Brazil, a local office in Cuba, and support for the newspaper of the Argentine NGO. The most important thing is that the SIL brought together

²⁹ "Magonism" is considered a type of libertarian communism native to Mexico. It takes into account the influence of indigenous peoples and draws on their traditional customs and forms of community organization. These ideas became popular in the 1990s. The concept of "Magonism" comes from Ricardo Flores Magón, one of the driving forces of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, who was an anarchist.

³⁰ The Ricardo Flores Magón Popular Indigenous Council of Oaxaca (CIPO-RFM) was active between approximately 1997 and 2006. It coordinated various local indigenous organizations in the state of Oaxaca. It moved internationally within libertarian circles. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consejo_Ind%C3%ADgena_Popular_de_Oaxaca_%2...

³¹ The acronym stands for Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Federation.

³² <https://www.nodo50.org/auca/menu%20que%20es%20auca.html>

³³ NEFAC stands for North Eastern Anarchist Federation. It united groups from New England and Quebec. Their texts can be found here:
<https://libcom.org/tags/nefac>

various European and Latin American activists, funded trips, published books, published newspapers, funded public events for the organizations, and much more.

As we can imagine, these contacts led to many joint workshops, conferences, debates, and interviews between several of these particular activists that continued well into the 2010s.³⁴

However, this initiative of internationalist solidarity didn't last long either. The SIL was created during the period of decline in the alterglobalization movement. Furthermore, the CGT (Spain) changed its secretariat, and these contacts were no longer developed.

ELAOPA, the Porto Alegre Anarchist Conference, and the first CALA

On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, we find the fourth thread of international construction. Meetings between the FAU, the Brazilian FAG, and Argentine groups had been common in the 1990s. This work had borne fruit, as by the beginning of the new century, other groups of this movement already existed in other countries. Now it was time to articulate them.

On the national level, on the one hand, Brazilian groups and organizations created the Forum of Organized Anarchism (FAO), established in 2002. It was a space for ideological, theoretical, and strategic debate, taking the scale of the event to a new level in Brazil. On the other hand, similar processes had taken place in Chile (1999), with the Anarcho-Communist Unification Congress (CUAC). Not exactly from the CUAC, but certainly influenced by

³⁴ For example, the 2008 conference organized by the CGT in Madrid, "A Libertarian Critique of the Current Situation"
<https://info.nodo50.org/Jornadas-Una-critica-libertaria-de.html>

regarding the implications of this wager, which we will try to clarify to some extent with this article.⁷⁶

Chilean libertarian communist sectors began supporting leftist electoral options in 2013. At first, they did so tactically, without intervening in the campaigns, but calling for a vote for a democratic rupture to overthrow the reactionary democratic regime that ruled the country. Later, in the 2018 electoral process, the Izquierda Libertaria the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), which was running in the parliamentary elections. Due to its participation, libertarian activist Gael Yeomans was elected as a deputy.⁷⁷ Since then, the Izquierda Libertaria has had more regional and national deputies, as well as senators. These efforts culminated in a progressive government in the country led by Gabriel Boric, a former autonomist student leader from the same era as the FEL. However, this has not produced the expected radicalization of society to build revolutionary alternatives in a socialist sense through popular power and constituent power. Chile continues to be a capitalist state—of a progressive nature, admittedly—without the slightest hint of socializing policies.

As can be seen, the Izquierda Libertaria⁷⁸ had abandoned traditional libertarian communist postulates and was pointed out by rivals and opponents of the anarchist communist current within anarchism as a logical derivation of all especificist anarchism. For this reason, and for other reasons as well, it suffered some splits,⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Felipe Ramírez, A Bet Revolutionary movement of the Libertarian Left. 03/11/2013

<https://periodico-solidaridad.blogspot.com/2013/11/declaracion-nacional-...>

⁷⁷ See https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Izquierda_Libertaria

⁷⁸ <https://www.instagram.com/izqlibertaria/?hl=es>

⁷⁹ Regarding the breakup of the Libertarian Left, some activists issued this statement:

<https://www.tercerainformacion.es/articulo/internacional/30/03/2017/chil...>

lowing year, a Libertarian Student Front (FEL) was launched, and in 2006, following the so-called “Penguin Revolt” (high school students), the FEL grew exponentially. It managed to attract numerous activists, and when that generation of students went to university, they came to lead the student movement, usually controlled by communists and autonomists. Activists such as Felipe Ramírez, Fabián Araneda, and Melissa Sepúlveda held important elected positions in the Chilean Student Federation (FECH, which is unitary and semi-institutional), which at the time was one of the most powerful popular movements in Chile. Among their most notable initiatives was their highly colorful and recognizable graphic style, which was copied and adapted by many collectives elsewhere. They filled Chile with murals through their Ernesto Miranda muralist units.⁷⁵

Some time later, this entire political space merged into the Izquierda Libertaria (Libertarian Left). This new organization adopted strategic lines different from the libertarian communist magma that had driven the movement up to that point, shifting toward a much less defined libertarian socialism, more in line with libertarian Marxism. At the same time, they achieved a scale never seen before for a libertarian organization in recent decades, rivaling other political parties and organizations much more established in the Chilean scene.

In this context, a sector of libertarians—which I would venture to say is the majority—has made a series of reflections that have shaped the political approach known as “Democratic Rupture” in various articles and public documents, as well as in internal discussion processes. Despite this, there is still some confusion

⁷⁵ Interview with UMLEM, 04/03/2008:
<https://www.alasbarricadas.org/noticias/node/7092>

that process, the Chilean Libertarian Communist Organization (OCL) was created in 2002.³⁵

Within the framework of the World Social Forum (WSF), held in Porto Alegre in 2003, the so-called **Latin American Meeting of Autonomous Popular Organizations (ELAOPA)** emerged.³⁶ The meeting proposed a space separate from the WSF, which was comprised of NGOs, political parties, and even business initiatives. The radical sector of popular movements called for class autonomy and the creation of an alliance of social movements outside of institutions. ELAOPA had the following principles:

1. The Construction of Popular Power.
2. An Anti-patriarchal and Anti-colonial Perspective.
3. Popular Protagonism and Direct Action.
4. Class Solidarity, Mutual Aid, and Internationalism.

In subsequent events, ELAOPA disassociated itself from the WSF and moved to another city, holding meetings approximately every two years. In 2025, the 15th meeting was held in Santiago, Chile, with more than 400 people representing numerous grassroots organizations.³⁷

ELAOPA is a meeting of social and popular organizations, and rarely do any of them claim to be libertarian; at most, they claim to be “autonomous,” “classist,” “popular,” or claim to have “libertarian influences.” However, the militancy of so-called “**anarquismo especificista**” was present in many of those organizations. We are

³⁵ For more information, read José Antonio Gutiérrez, “Reflections on Twenty Years of Anarcho-Communism in Chile,” February 24, 2020.

<https://www.anarkismo.net/article/31737>

³⁶ To see photos of the first meeting:

<https://www.nodo50.org/rprj/elaopa/fotos.htm>

To see some initial ELAOPA documents:

<https://www.nodo50.org/rprj/elaopa/forum.htm>

³⁷ Latin American Meeting of Autonomous Popular Organizations (ELAOPA) in Santiago, Chile. Rojo y Negro No. 397, February 2025.

<https://rojoynegro.info/articulo/encuentro-latinoamericano-de-organizaci...>

talking about the unionist, social and neighborhood militancy of the aforementioned FAU, FAG, and others, who were active in these popular movements and took advantage of the ELAOPA meetings to meet as well.

With ELAOPA, an opportunity arose for face-to-face encounters among libertarian militancy. Therefore, a separate event was created, typically held the day after the Popular Meeting ended: the **Jornadas Anarquistas** (Anarchist Days). They were (and are) a space not only for propaganda or libertarian culture, but also for strategic debate focused on intervention in social struggles and the promotion of the movement.³⁸

The efforts were very successful. By the 2007–2008 period, several new libertarian communist organizations had been created, some with the aim of being national in scope:

The situation of “platformist” specificism is considerably more varied and complex. We already saw at the appropriate time that the Organización Comunista Libertaria, Rojo y Negro, Comunismo Libertario, the Organización Revolucionaria Anarquista, and the Colectivo Comunista Libertario in Argentina should be considered as such; the Organización Poder Popular Libertario in Bolivia; to the groups that revolve around the Forum of Organized Anarchism and the União Popular Anarquista [Unipa] in Brazil; to the Organización Comunista Libertaria, the Agitación Libertaria Collective, and the Movimiento Libertario Joaquín Murieta in Chile; to the Alianza Comunista Libertaria in Mexico; to Qhispikay Llaqta in Peru; and finally, to the Uruguayan Anarchist Federation, the Cimarrón Lib-

³⁸ Final Declaration of the 2003 Anarchist Conference:

<https://federacionanarquista.uy/declaracion-final-de-las-jornada...>

as an anarcho-communist, had long been a synthetist federation. In 2018, there was an internal conflict in AF, and a sector emerged from it that would form the Anarchist Communist Group (ACG),⁷³ already with a marked libertarian communist tendency. The ACG succeeded British platformist organizations that never managed to take root, such as L&S or the LSF. Even so, several anarcho-communist groups remained that have not yet considered joining the ACG.

The causes of these crises are diverse. For example, various social and political situations arose in several states that made it impossible to cultivate international relations. These relations were also interrupted in the event of internal crises and ruptures within the organizations. Another problem for maintaining stable international relations was the rapid change of delegates, with several organizations having delegates who did not speak English, while other comrades who had managed these relations moved on to other functions within their organizations. FdCA fared worse, as in just four months of 2018, they lost Donato Romito and Monia Andreani to pass away. In other cases, a more internal approach was prioritized, improving integration at the social and territorial levels, but relegating the international arena to a secondary level. Finally, the case of Michael Schmidt and his expulsion from anarkismo.net and ITHA was not without damage.⁷⁴

The Chilean Case

At this point, we should talk about the movement in Chile. Its origins date back to 1999, with the celebration of the CUAC, initiating a process that would later give rise to the OCL in 2002. The fol-

⁷³ <https://www.anarchistcommunism.org/>

⁷⁴ 2017 Statement on Michael Schmidt Case / Declaração sobre o caso Michael Schmidt

<https://ithanarquista.wordpress.com/2017/03/23/2017-statement-on-michael...>

By 2020, the Union Communiste Libertaire of France was doing an extensive mapping of the movement.⁶⁹

<https://www.unioncommunistelibertaire.org/?reseau-international-8794>

Over the years, a tradition developed of sending greetings to each organization of the current that held a congress. This helped to forge an international movement and made all activists aware that they belonged to a movement much larger than their own organization or local context.⁷⁰

Time Ebb

It wasn't all good news for the movement. In addition to the thorny Chilean issue, which we will soon discuss, between 2018 and 2021, WSM⁷¹ and Zabalaza dissolved, as did other local and regional groups in North America, due to a failure to achieve generational change. Furthermore, other organizations also entered into crisis, without dissolving, such as Motmakt (Norway),⁷² with whom contact was lost. Several European organizations disappeared (in Denmark, Portugal, the Czech Republic, and Turkey) or their movements were unable to achieve stability (Great Britain or Russia). In the Americas, organizations in Bolivia and Peru were lost, and there were splits in Argentina, Chile, and the United States.

Another split during this period was that suffered by the Anarchist Federation (Great Britain). This organization, created in 1986

⁶⁹ The map has not been updated, so it serves to show the state of the libertarian communist movement that year.

⁷⁰ Consider, for example, these messages received by UCL in 2015:

<https://www.unioncommunistelibertaire.org/?Messages-internationaux>

⁷¹ WSM Closing Statement

<https://libcom.org/article/workers-solidarity-movement-closing-statement>

⁷² <https://www.motmakt.no/>

ertarian Organization, the Libertarian Federation, and Bandera Negra in Uruguay.³⁹

Along with this array of groups, naturally, larger-scale initiatives for coordination also emerged. The largest attempt of the era was the **Latin American Anarchist Coordination (CALA)**, created in 2004 by the FAU (Uruguay), the FAG (Brazil), AUCA (Argentina), Lucha Libertaria, and UNIPA (Brazil).⁴⁰ However, this UNIPA broke with the current to create its own political space, “Bakuninism,” prioritizing alliances with the Libertarian Communist Alliance (ALC) of Mexico and the Anarchist Revolutionary Organization (ORA) of Argentina. Later, the Forum of Organized Anarchism (FOR) of Brazil was added to CALA. This first CALA lasted only a few years.

CALA adhered to especificist anarchism. They defended a strategy of democratic and disruptive popular power, but they never attempted to define the characteristics of a post-revolutionary society. They understood especificism as **anarchist political organization**. Therefore, they differed from platformism only in their particular Latin American anarchist tradition and the time in which both proposals emerged. Consequently, their vocation is identical, despite some distinctive developments.

The Creation of the anarkismo.net Website

As we have seen before, the SIL had already managed to connect some 11 anarcho-communist organizations, with another 3 that did not define themselves as such, but, with a little political work, could have adopted it without much difficulty. The disappearance of the SIL network left an organizational void that anarkismo.net would fill.

³⁹ List published by Daniel Barret, *The Seditious Awakenings of Anarchy*. Buenos Aires: Libros de Anarres, 2011. pp. 153–154

⁴⁰ <https://uniaoanarquista.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/el-anar...>

In the words of José Antonio Gutiérrez:⁴¹

The idea for Anarkismo.net was initially born as the idea of creating an international magazine. Around 1999, we began talking with a comrade from Alternative Libertaire and myself, who was then in charge of international relations at CUAC [Chile], to discuss the need to get to know each other better as libertarian organizations that were on the platformist wing. There was then an email list where we exchanged discussions and experiences, but we felt we needed more in-depth articles to better understand our politics from our contexts and practices. Our idea was to create an annual international almanac of anarcho-communism, with information on the countries where we were present and their organizations, a highly reflective and critical annual review.

So we began to discuss this idea, and in February 2002, we met Nestor McNabb of the FdCA [Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici] in Dublin, along with Andrew Flood of the WSM. The three of us met at a pub in downtown Dublin, on South William Street. The pub is called Grogan's. There we discussed the idea of an annual almanac, and the idea grew. We took it to our organizations, and with the growth of the internet, we decided that, for reasons of budget, ease of distribution, etc., it was much better to have an international site on anarcho-communism.

Thus, the idea of Anarkismo was born, an anarcho-communist and multilingual site, **hence the name**,

⁴¹ Anarkismo.net. Interview with one of the founders
<https://ithanarquista.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/jose-anto...>

and progress had been made toward establishing a common program... we would be able to reflect and we would have real elements to evaluate, that the fruit of this work in St. Imier or elsewhere would have culminated, and the logic of this culmination would not be a meeting but the creation of an anarchist international.⁶⁵

In 2014, a joint May Day communiqué was signed by several organizations:⁶⁶ ZACF (South Africa), WSM (Ireland), OSL (Switzerland), Collectif Communiste Libertaire (Bienne, Switzerland), FdCA (Italy), WSA (United States), Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (Australia), and Prairie Struggle (United States). Months later, 14 organizations from the movement signed another communiqué in support of the Kurdish resistance.⁶⁷ This was the last joint communiqué of this era.

On November 18 and 19, 2017, several European organizations met in Genoa to exchange analyses and establish a European action plan. The Alternativa Libertaria/FdCA (the new name of the veteran Italian organization), Alternative Libertaire (France), CGA (France), the Libertarian Socialist Federation (Wales, Great Britain), OSL (Switzerland), and WSM (Ireland) met.⁶⁸ Embat (Catalonia) sent his greetings to the meeting, and from then on, he became much more closely involved with this movement.

⁶⁵ José María Olaizola Albéniz. The Need for Anarchists to Organize (II). Hernani, January 27, 2013

<https://www.anarquica.cat/la-necesidad-de-organizarse-los-anarquistas-ii/>

⁶⁶ May Day. Building a New Workers' Movement. <https://www.struggle.ws/exwsm/sites/default/files/MaydayAnarchistStateme...>

⁶⁷ International Libertarian Declaration of Solidarity with the Kurdish Resistance, 10/22/2014

<https://www.anarkismo.net/article/27505>

⁶⁸ We Anarchist/Liberal Communists in the Classroom, in the Europe of Capital, 12/11/2017

<https://www.anarkismo.net/article/30713>

From the perspective of the WSM delegation, the various Anarkismo meetings held during the week were a valuable opportunity to meet comrades we might never have crossed paths with and to revitalize our involvement in the Anarkismo network. The network itself continues to expand since its very modest beginnings in 2005, both in terms of the number of organizations involved, the geographical dispersion of these organizations, and, most importantly, increased cooperation between them. When each organization presented its work during the morning of the global meeting, it was striking to see the common political and organizational approach we share, despite operating in very different contexts. It also became clear that South American organizations in particular have experienced significant growth in number and influence in recent years.⁶⁴

As a positive measure: Swiss and French synthesist and platformist organizations, which did not always enjoy good relations, collaborated in the preparation of the Meeting. But not everyone was under the same illusions. The organizational problems were numerous, and what the Meeting lacked most was precisely programmatic clarity:

It would have been a very different matter if, for three or two years in advance, a debate had been prepared and carried out around a common analysis of the situation, a real coordination and federation of organizations and struggles had been promoted,

⁶⁴ Delegation returns from International Anarchist Gathering at St. Imier. August 21, 2012
<https://www.struggle.ws/exwsm/sites/default/files/MaydayAnarchist-Stateme...>

which is “anarchism” in Esperanto. The site, after much work, was launched on May 1, 2005, a very symbolic date. The idea began as a website, but the goal from the outset was to facilitate exchanges between organizations and better understand each other, with the aim of bringing us closer together politically and generating a trend. We didn’t want to propose an international organization in name only; rather, we wanted international work and the exchange of experiences to develop gradually and organically, giving way to greater cohesion as a trend, as a movement, with a view to creating an international federation with solid foundations. That was the intention from the beginning.

Militants such as Nestor McNab (Irishman living in Rome), Paul Bowman, Andrew Flood, and Ian McKay (Ireland), Jonathan Payn (South Africa), Dimitris Troaditis (first in Athens and later in Melbourne), Adam Weaver (Miami), Nicolas Phoebeus (Quebec), Wayne Price (New York) and the Chilean José Antonio Gutierrez, among others, were key figures in the political, technical, and editorial development of the new portal. They had met through the “Anarchist Platform” mailing list and other in-person meetings. They had read each other’s articles and disseminated or translated them in their respective territories and languages.

Among the founding organizations of anarkismo.net were the aforementioned FAU, FAG, FdCA, and Alternative Libertaire (France). Not all of them joined at the same time, but some had been in contact from the beginning but took some time to decide (for example, FAU and OSL). Together with the organizations to which the aforementioned comrades belonged, the foundations were laid for a project that made possible the international

articulation of the entire anarcho-communist or platformist movement.⁴²

By then, in the first half of the 2000s, several new organizations already existed with some relevance to the libertarian communist movement. To name a few: NEFAC (Northwestern United States and Eastern Canada), CUAC and OCL (Chile), OSL and FACA (Argentina), in addition to the already well-known ZACF (South Africa), Alternative Libertaire (France), FdCA (Italy), and WSM (Ireland).

As we can see, the anarchist groups were predominantly male, and therefore, practically all the international delegates were men. Women attended the meetings most often when the delegations from their organizations were composed of several people.

It is equally important to mention that the roles played by the organizations' militancy in the international meetings were made possible thanks to the work of numerous comrades who, in one way or another, influenced the development and dynamism of their organizations. This occurred in multiple ways: creating theoretical, strategic, or debate contributions; meeting in different settings; disseminating experiences; or contributing to strengthening ties. Each person contributed their own grain of sand.

The movement framed within anarcho-communism understood that anarchism, if it wanted to have any relevance, should be well organized and, of course, take seriously its participation in collective struggles, seeking to empower them, and politically and strategically coordinating all the libertarian people within it.

We define ourselves as Communist Anarchists because we belong to the anarchist tradition that recognizes

⁴² When an anarcho-communist network was formed, anarcho-syndicalist organizations, such as the CGT, the SAC, or the CNT-Vignoles, and grassroots trade unionists, such as Unicobas or the SUD, joined together in new networks, such as FESAL, the International Trade Union Network of Solidarity and Struggle, or the Coordinadora Rojinegra.

of Brazil (FAO)⁶² to develop especificist anarchism on the continent. On that occasion, they approved strategic documents around the concepts of popular power and federalism.

To speak of “popular” means to imbue the project of power with an eminently classist character, although we must emphasize that we speak of power from a libertarian perspective. A project of the oppressed that arises from popular movements and that accumulates the social force necessary for a long-term confrontation, with firm, strong, and well-defined steps, which we believe are necessary from an ideological point of view.⁶³

It was from then on that the anarchist movement would more decisively adopt this theoretical conception, more typical of the development of the class struggle in Latin America, and it would soon also reach Europe through Embat (Catalonia) and Libertäre Aktion (Bern).

In August 2012, the largest in-person meeting of the movement took place: in Saint Imier (Switzerland). Taking advantage of the **International Anarchist Meeting**, a tent called “Anarkismo” was set up as a meeting point for the movement’s international militants and sympathizers. Approximately half of the 30 organizations that were in contact with anarkismo.net at the time sent delegates to the International Meeting, and a conference of delegates was held. The enormous growth of this movement in Latin America was evident, and a significant development was seen since the beginning of the website.

⁶² The FAO forum was a precursor to the CAB. It was the space where Brazilian organizations met for debate.

⁶³ Anarchist Conference January 2011. Sao Paulo. April 27, 2011
<https://federacionanarquistauruguayay/jornadas-anarquistas-enero-janei...>

had only existed for a short time, as well as new attempts in Iran, Lebanon, and Jordan.

That year, a statement of solidarity was issued with 46 activists detained in Zimbabwe. It was signed by 11 libertarian communist organizations.⁵⁸ That same year, the declaration of solidarity with the popular struggle in Egypt, whose people had just overthrown the Mubarak regime, was signed.⁵⁹ This time, 23 organizations signed. New initiatives included organizations from Egypt (MSL), Colombia (Vía Libre and CELIP), Chile (Libertarian Communist Federation and the magazine “Política y Sociedad”), and the United States (Autonomy and Solidarity of Miami). A number of anarcho-syndicalist groups, such as the CGT-E, Solidaridad Obrera, WSA (United States), and the ICEA (Spain), also signed the agreement.⁶⁰

Once again, the Anarkismo network declined to formalize itself as a more solid structure—as an international federation—to avoid falling into rivalries and competition with the other libertarian internationals, the IWA and IFA at the time. However, it is undeniable that it was functioning in a fairly coordinated manner.

In 2012, eight European organizations met again in London.⁶¹ In addition to talking about improving coordination, they launched a campaign against sovereign debt. That same year, Jornadas Anarquistas were held in Sao Paulo, convened by the Uruguayan Anarchist Federation (FAU) and the Forum of Organized Anarchism

⁵⁸ Declaration of international solidarity with the 46 activists detained in Zimbabwe. 02/28/2011

https://www.anarkismo.net/article/18895?search_text=declaraci%F3n+intern...

⁵⁹ International Libertarian Declaration in solidarity with the popular struggle in Egypt, 11/25/2011

<https://www.anarkismo.net/article/21228>

⁶⁰ <http://www.iceautogestion.org/index.php/es/>

⁶¹ WSM takes part in Conference of European Anarchist Organizations in London. March 31, 2011 <https://www.struggle.ws/exwsm/c/wsm-conference-european-anarkismo-london...>

the need for a **dual organization**: a “specific” anarchist organization that works within and alongside the mass organizations of the working class.⁴³

Each organization had its own website and journals from which they projected their strategy. The most widely distributed were the monthly magazines *Alternative Libertaire* and *Courant Alternatif*⁴⁴ in France, and *Alternativa Libertaria* in Italy, which dated back to the 1970s and already had a readership.

On the internet, in addition to *anarkismo.net*, the most prolific anarcho-communist sites were the British website *libcom.org*, which published dozens of biographies related to Makhnovism, usually written by Nick Heath⁴⁵; Nestor McNab’s website *nestor-makhno.info*; *makhno.ru*, in Russian; the Anarchist and the Platformist Tradition website⁴⁶; and A-Infos itself, whose editorial team included the Israeli anarchist Ilan Shalif, a staunch anarcho-communist.⁴⁷ These websites contributed to spreading the movement, as *struggle.ws* and *zabalaza.net* had done before them.

A Coordination, Not an International

Anarkismo.net did not aspire to be an international, but rather a tool for sharing information about local struggles, theory, and

⁴³ Excerpt from the interview Autonomous Action of Russia conducted with the ZACF in 2010. The interview can be read at:

<https://zabalaza.net/2010/12/07/autonomous-action-russia-interviews-the-...>

⁴⁴ <http://oclibertaire.free.fr/>

⁴⁵ Nick Heath is currently a member of the Anarchist Communist Group. He publishes under the pseudonym BattleScarred.

⁴⁶ <https://anarchistplatform.wordpress.com/>

⁴⁷ Ilan was interviewed extensively in 2025:

<https://alabarricadas.org/noticias/node/57055>

strategies. It operated through a Collective of Delegates and an Editorial Collective, with the former taking on a political role and the latter a technical one.

Some preferred a more defined structure—moving towards an International—like *Alternative Libertaire*, while others preferred to maintain it as an open space. Despite this difference, some solidarity campaigns were carried out, such as the one in support of the Oaxaca uprising (2005–06).

Over the years, this movement grew stronger in Latin America, especially in Chile (OCL, FEL), Argentina (Joaquín Penina *Libertarian Column*⁴⁸, *Red Libertaria*, and Brazil (FARJ)), where numerous groups, websites, and blogs emerged. And its way of interpreting anarcho-communism, called “specificism,” became consolidated. Several Brazilian authors, such as Bruno Lima, Rafael Viana, and Felipe Correa, who founded the **Institute of Anarchist Theory and History (ITHA)** along with South Africans Lucien van der Walt, Michael Schmidt and Jonathan Payn, contributed to this. Other activists, such as the aforementioned Dimitris Troaditis and the Argentine Emilio Crisi, among others, also contributed to this. The ITHA has almost served as a think tank for academic texts within the movement.

Correa defined *especifismo* as:⁴⁹

It is a movement that upholds a set of positions regarding the major strategic debates of anarchism. First, in relation to the organizational debate, *Especifistas* maintain the need for an organizational dualism, based on which anarchists articulate themselves within a political organization, as anarchists, and within social organizations (unions and social movements), as workers. Second, regarding the de-

⁴⁸ <https://columnlibertaria.blogspot.com/>

⁴⁹ Felipe Corrêa. Interview with Mya Walmsey. *Elements of Anarchist Theory and Strategy*. An interview with Felipe Corrêa. March 2022.

UCL). Eventually, in 2014, the US groups created a federation, *Black Rose*.⁵⁶ We can also see the founding, in 2012, of the *Coordenação Anarquista Brasileira* (Brazilian Anarchist Coordination), based on pre-existing groups (such as FAG, FARJ, OASL, CAZP, and others)⁵⁷ that were organized around the FAO forum and already belonged to the *Anarkismo* network.

The remaining organizations continued the libertarian communist or anarcho-communist tradition dating back to the 1970s and 1980s, such as *Alternative Libertaire* (France), *FdCA* (Italy), *OSL* (Switzerland, joined *Anarkismo* in 2010), the *FAU* (Uruguay) and *WSM* (Ireland).

The French CGA was a split from the Francophone Anarchist Federation following its call to support Jacques Chirac in the presidential elections to prevent Le Pen from winning. Over time, the CGA shifted towards anarcho-communism and eventually merged with *Alternative Libertaire* in 2019, creating the *Union Communiste Libertaire* (UCL), which is currently the largest organization of its kind in the world.

Each organization has its own history, and it would take too long to describe them all here. What is obvious is that this movement was articulated on a global scale and was able to take advantage of the rise of radicalism that swept the planet in 2011, in the same way that the SIL developed during the alterglobalization movement.

2011 saw the Arab Spring, the *Indignados* movement, and the square occupations. It was also the moment when a new generation entered activism. The *Rojava Revolution* emerged with force. Anarcho-communist organizations emerged in Egypt (the *Libertarian Socialist Movement*, MSL), Israel (*Unity*), and Tunisia, which

⁵⁶ <https://www.blackrosefed.org/about/>

⁵⁷ The CAB would not dissolve the international secretariats of each regional or local organization of the Coordinator until 2016, with each participating independently in international coordination until then.

Workers Solidarity Movement (Ireland)
Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (South Africa)

2015

Alternativa Libertaria/FdCA (Italy)
Alternative Libertaire (France)
Black Rose Anarchist Federation / Federación Anarquista Rosa Negra (USA)
Common Cause (Canada)
Coordination des Groupes Anarchistes (France)
Federação Anarquista do Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
Federação Anarquista Gaúcha / Coordenação Anarquista Brasileira (Brazil)
Federación Anarquista Uruguay (Uruguay)
Grupo Anarquista Bifurcación (Colombia)
Grupo Libertario Vía Libre (Colombia)
Humboldt Grassroots (USA)
Libertäre Aktion Winterthur (Switzerland)
Libertarian Communist Group / Grwp Gomiwnyddol Libertaraidd (Wales/Cymru)
Libertære Socialister (Denmark)
Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (Australia)
Motmakt (Norway)
Organisation Socialiste Libertaire (Switzerland)
Organização Anarquista Socialismo Libertário (Brazil)
Organización Socialista Libertaria (Uruguay)
Prairie Struggle Organization (Canada)
Workers Solidarity Movement (Ireland)
Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (South Africa)

In this list, we can already see the disappearance of NEFAC from North America, which was reduced to a few groups in New England (Buffalo and New York) and Canada (e.g., Common Cause and

bate on the role of reforms, Especifistas believe that, depending on how they are sought and achieved, they can contribute to a revolutionary process. Third, regarding the debate on violence, Especifistas believe that it must always be carried out in the context of and concomitant with the construction of mass movements. On the social level, of mass movements, Especifismo promotes a program that has numerous affinities with revolutionary syndicalism.

In Latin America, this movement launched initiatives and trends within labor unions, as well as within the student and neighborhood movements, such as the FEL (libertarian student fronts, present in several countries, although initially emerged in Chile), Resistência Popular in Brazil, and the Federation of Base Organizations (FOB) in Argentina, among others.

To avoid referring to specificism or platformism, which are difficult for the general public to understand, the movement preferred to use the concept of **organized anarchism**. Elsewhere, the term “social and organized anarchism” was used to further narrow its target audience.

Anarcho-communist groups also emerged elsewhere in the world, most notably in Russia (Autonomous Action⁵⁰ – and also in its sphere of influence: Armenia, Georgia, Bulgaria, and Israel), Ukraine (RKAS-Makhno), Turkey (AKI, KaraKizil, Liberter), Australia (MAGC)⁵¹, Greece (Western Greece Anarchist Federation), and with influence in other territories. In the former cases, anarcho-communism was mixed with insurrectionalism, while in the latter, their paths were distinct.

In November 2008, the first G20 summit was held in Washington. For this occasion, the “Anarcho-Communist Declaration on the Global Economic Crisis and the G20 Meeting” was issued. It

⁵⁰ <https://avtonom.org/en>

⁵¹ <https://melbacg.au/>

was the beginning of the crisis. The real estate and financial bubbles had burst a few months earlier, and there was talk of collapse. States had to bail out banks to avoid further damage. Eleven organizations signed the declaration. Several organizations already mentioned on other occasions signed the agreement. The new ones were Common Cause (Ontario, Canada), Union Communiste Libertaire (Quebec, Canada), Unión Socialista Libertaria (Peru), Liberty & Solidarity (L&S, Great Britain)⁵² and two synthesis organizations: the Asociación Obrera Canaria and the Anarchist Federation of Berlin.⁵³

Sometime later, in February 2010, six organizations from the current met in Paris: the FdCA (Italy), L&S (Great Britain)⁵⁴, WSM (Ireland), OSL (Switzerland), Motmakt (“Counterpower”, Norway), and Alternative libertaire (France). Their objective was to assess the state of the libertarian communist movement in Europe and promote continental coordination. They created working groups to maintain relations and advance coordination.⁵⁵

The Maturity of the Network

Around the period 2010–2013, the various groups and organizations that claimed to be anarcho-communists and that were already in mutual contact, as we have seen, consolidated the network. It was then that the Anarkismo Editorial Collective was stabilized, which, as we have already seen, was composed of a delegate from

⁵² <https://libcom.org/tags/liberty-solidarity>

⁵³ Anarcho-Communist Declaration on the Global Economic Crisis and the G20 Meeting, 11/17/2008. <https://www.anarkismo.net/article/10681>

⁵⁴ <https://libcom.org/tags/liberty-solidarity>

⁵⁵ Europe: Libertarian Communists Resist Liaisons. 02/03/2010 <https://www.unioncommunistelibertaire.org/?Europe-Les-communistes-libert...>

The agreements can be read here: <https://www.unioncommunistelibertaire.org/?Rencontre-europeenne-de-group...>

each of the organizations. Here is a table showing the organizations that comprised Anarkismo in 2010 and 2015:

2010

Alternative Libertaire (France)
 Buffalo Class Action (USA)
 Chasqui Anarquista (Ecuador)
 Colectivo Socialista Libertaria (Uruguay)
 Common Action (USA)
 Common Cause (Canada)
 Convergencia Juvenil Clasista “Hijos del Pueblo” (Ecuador)
 Estrategia Libertaria (Chile)
 Federação Anarquista de São Paulo (Brazil)
 Federação Anarquista do Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
 Federação Anarquista Gaúcha / Foro del Anarquismo Organizado (Brazil)
 Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici (Italy)
 Four Star Anarchist Organization (USA)
 “Hombre y Sociedad” (Chile)
 Humboldt Grassroots (USA)
 Liberty & Solidarity (UK)
 Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group (Australia)
 Miami Autonomy & Solidarity (USA)
 Motmakt (Norway)
 North-Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists (USA)
 Organización Revolucionaria Anarquista — Voz Negra (Chile)
 Organisation Socialiste Libertaire (Switzerland)
 Red Libertaria de Buenos Aires (Argentina)
 Red Libertaria Popular Mateo Kramer (Colombia)
 Solidarity & Defense (USA)
 Union Communiste Libertaire (Canada)
 Unión Socialista Libertaria (Peru)