

platform and organisational principles



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Edition 1.0 May 2026

1.00 Introduction to the UAC Platform.

We organise on the stolen lands of the Wurundjeri Woiwurrung and Bunurong Boon Wurrung peoples of the Eastern Kulin Nation. Land that was never ceded to the colonialist state. We respect and embrace elder's past, present and emerging, the custodians of these lands, their rich culture and traditions of the Kulin Nation and the entire first nations peoples of this continent. We respect the autonomy and self-organisation of first nations people, and we fight in solidarity with the first nations against genocide, racism, displacement, exploitation and oppression for liberation.

Union Anarchist Communist (UAC) was founded in Naarm (Melbourne) on January 1st, 2025. UAC is a revolutionary organisation founded for the following purposes:

- to propagate, disseminate, adapt, further develop and model anarchist communist theory and practice.
- to reassert anarchist communist thinking and practice in popular use by which to ignite an anti-authoritarian revolutionary opposition to capitalist and state power.
- to entrench anarchist practice in working class struggle and mass anti-capitalist grass roots struggles.
- to divorce anarchism from sub-cultures that have expropriated the symbols and language of anarchism in maintenance of incestuous and elitist social circles, isolated from the mass of people and contemptuous of everyday struggles.
- to maintain a comradely accord with other social anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist, social ecology, left communist, radical labour, social and cultural movements.
- to build a regional association of anarchist organisations in Oceania, Pasifika and Southeast Asia as groups in these regions act in isolation.
- to build internationalism and resilience, to breakdown isolation with coordinated acts of solidarity, publicity, financial and material support
- to act in unity with coherent strategies based on the leadership of ideas.
- to build solidarity with and between all anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian struggles and to situate the UAC within those struggles and resistance globally.
- to go beyond anti-capitalism and grow the momentum of liberation struggles and to inspire the mass base of these movements for the ultimate goal of revolutionary struggle, which is freedom.

Freedom can never progress without the dissolution of capitalist social, legal, cultural and economic systems and in tandem the liberation of human society from the domination of the capitalist state.

We fight for world freed from exploitation and authoritarian social relations. We organise with and fight alongside meaningful struggles that originate from the grass roots and advocate for a radical internationalist, democratically horizontal practice. It is a vision of revolutionary class struggle not contained by capitalist property or national borders. It is a vision for nurturing human empathy, to recover mutuality and

diversity that sustains us and gives us strength. It is the vision to turn humanity and rediscover our innate social and cultural nature, that always compels us to fight together for freedom. To recognise our need to belong and to see that no-one can be truly free as long as anyone is not free. It is a vision of life against the capitalist doomsday machine.

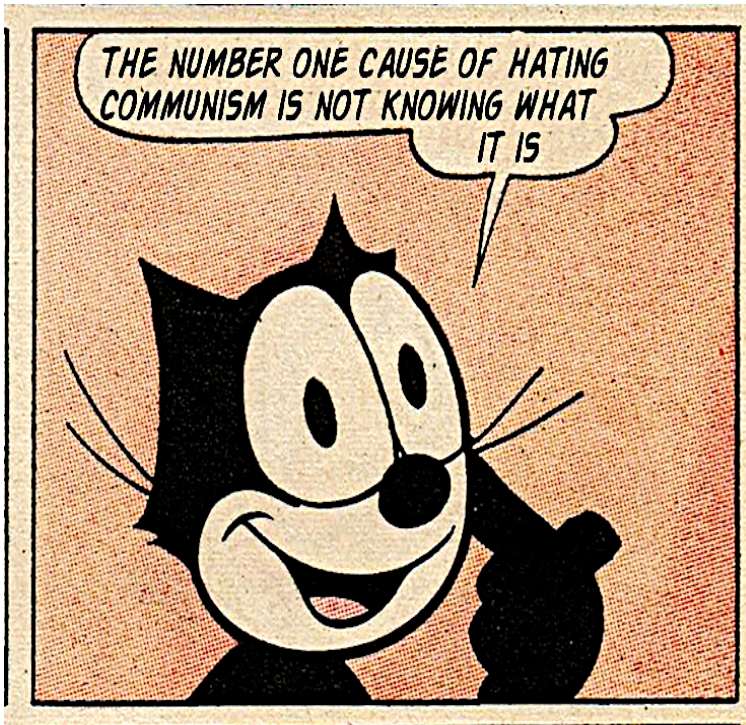
We hope you understand the urgent need for radical transformational change globally in this growing crisis of civilisation. This is a revolutionary project needed to end the destructive and violent nature of capitalist and state power. The UAC is not the sole agent of such a transformation. The change we seek is positive, real and permanent and must arise from a broad, mass grass roots movement that is self-organised, autonomous and democratic and able to fight on the economic, social and cultural fronts. We look forward to cooperating with those active in workplace organising in urban and rural areas, publishing, art and cultural warriors, social ecologists, community organisers and housing/squatters, radical students, radical feminists, worker and agricultural collectives, squatters, anti-colonialists, anti-fascists, anti-racists, radical queers, trans and differently abled, anti-war and radicals in the psychosocial domain. Most importantly you who dislike the capitalist present, and understands that a new, regenerative, free and dignified world is not only desirable, it is a necessity and the birthright of every human.

This first edition of the ‘UAC Platform and Organisational Principles’ (November 2025) is a provisional organising document pending further development from foundational members and ratification by a constituted assembly of a UAC local and international affiliates. Until ratification, this document remains the provisional organising document of the UAC. This document is to be considered a living document that grows, changes and evolves with the growth of a social revolutionary movement.

This statement of principles describes the politics, motivations and goals of the UAC, its social, political and ideological origins and influences that have been built upon, modified or rejected. The document describes the UAC organisational structure and practice and attempts to define terms commonly used on the political left, as well as to introduce from a libertarian communist perspective; economic, social and political struggle and their histories for those that may not be familiar with these.

1.10 Confronting the Historical Disrepute of Communism.

“Men (sic) fight and lose the battle, and the thing they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name”. - William Morris



Amongst the following pages the term 'anarchist communism' is used interchangeably with terms such as 'anarchy/anarchist' or 'communist/communism'. Any reference to revolution means the goal of social revolution. The word alienation is also used frequently. The term refers to a generalised disconnection and isolation. We are alienated from control of our work, our lives, and communities. This generates detachment, separation, or estrangement from key aspects of their lives and our true selves. We come

to see ourselves as powerlessness with a corresponding retreat from the world into passivity and a resigned acceptance of the status quo. We are alienated from nature, we are alienated from each other, with a loss of safety, community, intimacy and trust. We share a sense of being disconnected and not belonging. In such an alienated society, our dignity is denied, we are treated without respect and separated from meaning. We are told what to do, think and speak. We have our value as humans measured as a monetary value, and we are treated as a commodity to be used and disposed of. Alienation opens the way for the spectre of fascism to destroy all hope.

The history of the twentieth century was a history of the betrayal, derailment, co-option and suppression of proletarian revolution from the Russian revolutions (1905 and 1917-1921) to the present. So called 'democratic socialists' aligned with capitalism and in defence of state power early on in the revolutionary process manipulate popular sentiment into the defence of the very power structures the revolution is meant to sweep away.

Marxist-Leninist Maoist 'communist' parties have seized power amidst revolutions and destroyed opposition to their "dictatorship of the proletariat", meaning the dictatorship of the party. In particular opposition from the left defending a free stateless communism. They embark on a process of red washing away the history of



Mikhail Bakunin
1814-1876

the revolutionary working class and the historical influence that anarchism had on them.

Luigi Fabbri (1877-1935), Italian anarchist, writer and agitator said of the Bolsheviks in the Russian revolution that they “had the thinking of bosses”.

The brutal oppression by these state capitalist dictatorships that emerged from Leninism, along with the betrayal of the proletariat by social democrats, has torn apart the fabric of the working class and left an indelible stain on socialist history.

Communism is not a totalitarian ideology, on the contrary it is a concept of society freed from

exploitation, alienation and coercion. It is an egalitarian society built on mutual aid, solidarity and direct democracy that ensures all share in the wealth from the collective ownership of the instruments of production. Production is repurposed to meet human need and for the sake of our relationship with the giver of life, the natural world, it is rebuilt.

A free post capitalist society constituted on solidarity, egalitarianism and free association would discard the methods by which authoritarian systems maintain dominance and control through chaos and division. Sexism, patriarchy, trans/homophobia, racism, militarism, nationalism, colonialism, ageism, ableism and adultism are means by which the working class is divided, weakened, and disorientated.

We workers know that to win anything, we have to fight for it together. This was true of the past and still remains true. The momentous task of shifting our world away from capitalist disaster to a free communist future depends on those sections of society most capable of and with a liberatory desire to be able to do this. That is the working class, this is us! We need unity of our class to proceed. Unity gives a focussed strength and resilience and is founded on a shared consciousness that our class interests are irreconcilable with the capitalist system and that individual needs are best met through collective class action. A free post capitalist society will as its function end coercion into wage slavery. Wage slavery is capitalist monetisation of humans that arises from the necessity to sell our labour to be able to live, the coercive basis of capitalism.

Many of us are misled and believe the state is a means by which we can be protected from capitalist excesses, and it can even be used to ‘free’ us and defend freedoms. History teaches us that this is not only mythology, but also a trap. The state is not a neutral tool, it exists to wage wars and protect the power elites in a class society, be it in the private monopoly capitalist or the state capitalist worlds.

A flag of the Makhnovshchina of Ukraine

**Власть рождает
паразитов.
Да здравствует
Анархия!**

"Power creates parasites. Long live anarchy!"

State capitalism is a term first pioneered by the anarchist revolutionary and contemporary of Marx, Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876). Bakunin's critique of Marxist-inspired socialism is the continuation of exploitation under communist party rule. The corporation or individual capitalist who exploited labour, would be succeeded by the state with the same social economic and social relations continued as they existed under capitalism. State capitalism is state ownership of the implements of production and state-owned

enterprises under bureaucratic and centralised management, with the working class still enslaved in wage labour for the generation of capital accumulation. This designation applies regardless of the state façade. Bakunin deemed Marxist socialism as a movement of the intelligentsia (intellectuals who form an artistic, social, or political vanguard or elite) as a class, which would result in a new type of society he termed "state capitalism".

A free communist society must mean the abolition of the state. The continued existence of the state ensures the maintenance of hierarchies of power and the re-emergence of class society. We advocate for not seeking a change of government or a new system of government. We also do not advocate for dictatorship. We advocate for the working class to liberate themselves and society from imposed coercion and control by capital and the state. We fight to abolish all systems of domination entirely.

"Ultimately, the differences between Bolshevik dictatorship and its many left-wing critics boils down to different ideas about how and why revolutions are made. To the Russian anarchists, Lenin's absolute divorce of theoretical communist ends from immediate, repressive means, was in itself a guarantee of revolutionary failure. The very word communism—which cognates communal, commons and community have an obvious and practical set of political guidelines, a revolutionary democratic ethic.

Nestor Makhno (1888-1934), who organised anarchist forces to fight both the Bolshevik Red and White (monarchist, capitalist and liberal) armies in Ukraine (1918-1921) noted, that at the *"Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR"* only eight years after the Bolsheviks seized power, they agreed that the word "equality should be avoided in anything but abstract discussions of distant social relations; it had no place in the Communist present". From *"Bloodstained - Hundred Years of Leninist Counterrevolution"*. AK Press (2020).

The authoritarian nature of Marxist-Leninist Maoist regimes has aided the self-serving propaganda of the capitalist narrative that labels "communism is oppressive and unworkable". Anti-communist propaganda is relentless, indoctrinating us to not see the historical truth, that what the capitalist narrative describes as communism is not or ever had anything to do with communism. We have been made to fear the word communism by deliberate deceit and cling to capitalist oppression out of fear.

Marxist-Leninist Maoist parties in capturing power and imposing tyranny in the form of state capitalism reveal their ideology as a tragic historical failure. The same conclusion that Abdullah Öcalan (1948 – present), came to in 2002. Öcalan a founder and leading thinker of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), is imprisoned in Türkiye. Having read anarchists texts in prison, he came to the conclusion that Marxist-Leninism is an historical failure and renounced it. Capitalism, whether it is private or state capitalism or a mixture of both, is violent, destructive, and doesn't work for the benefit of humanity.

1.20 Anarchism, Socialism and Communism.

In place of the old bourgeois society with its classes and class conflicts there will be an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all” – Karl Marx ‘The Communist Manifesto’ 1848

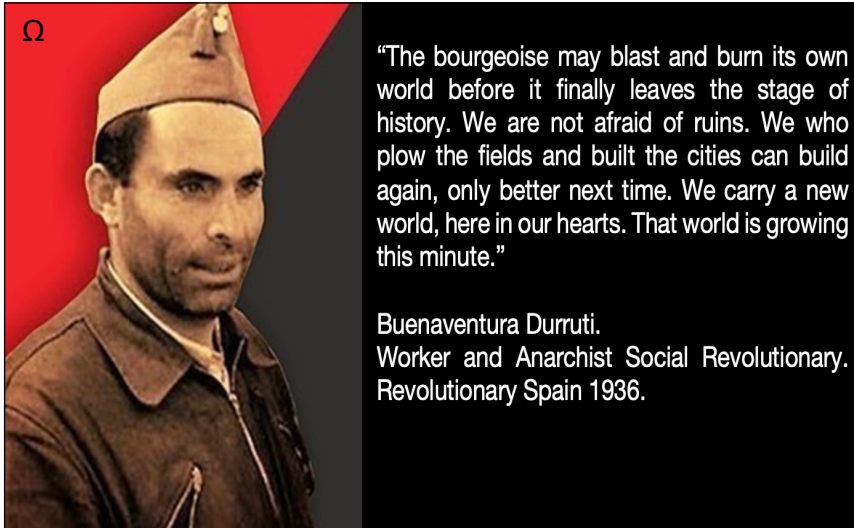


There is so much confusion as to the difference between socialism and communism, how these terms came to be and are applied and how anarchism situates itself in this. Socialism is generic in human culture and its formulised origins as a philosophy emerged in the Enlightenment and its praxis in the 1789 French Revolution.

ANARCHISM is a stream of socialist thinking, as is communism. Anarchism is an ethical-political tradition that does not seek chaos or disorder. Anarchism is an ideology that gives a means of

conceptualising a new world and developing ways to achieve anarchy (libertarian communism). **ANARCHY** - is the dissolution of all social, political, and economic power relations. Hierarchical authority, the basis of capitalist and state coercion, is the manifestation of unequal power relations that exists within the capitalist and statist present. We reject the state and capitalism, not as abstract ideas, but as lived systems of domination. In their place, anarchists advocate a new world built from below. Anarchists seek the end of unequal power relations, a necessary precondition for autonomous self-organisation between free individuals of society.

Anarchist communism is similar to but distinguishable from anarchist collectivism, a broad and diffuse movement. Collectivism calls for the popular ownership of the instruments of production, with production, distribution and consumption to be



“The bourgeoisie may blast and burn its own world before it finally leaves the stage of history. We are not afraid of ruins. We who plow the fields and built the cities can build again, only better next time. We carry a new world, here in our hearts. That world is growing this minute.”

Buenaventura Durruti.
Worker and Anarchist Social Revolutionary.
Revolutionary Spain 1936.

coordinated through federations under direct democratic control. Collectivism maintains economic structures in the form of groups of producers, organised on a territorial basis (communes) or on an enterprise basis (cooperatives) and linked to each other by the circulation of monetary exchange

value. Some streams within collectivism have taken the path of reform and gradualism. This is a flawed methodology that assumes sections of society can exist outside of existing capitalist social relations and are not impacted by them, which even when isolated away from society, and is near impossible.

Collectivism is an exchange economy where the ownership of the instruments of production is by networks of collectives, something like workers companies. The value of production, and distribution, is still expressed, as is the labour of workers through the abstraction of money.

A self-managed exchange economy as advocated by anarchists, is still superior to the chaos of capitalism, and only a small step away from libertarian communism. In contemporary political speak, anarchist collectivists are called libertarian socialists. In reality the strategies and tactics of libertarian socialists and libertarian communists are the same.

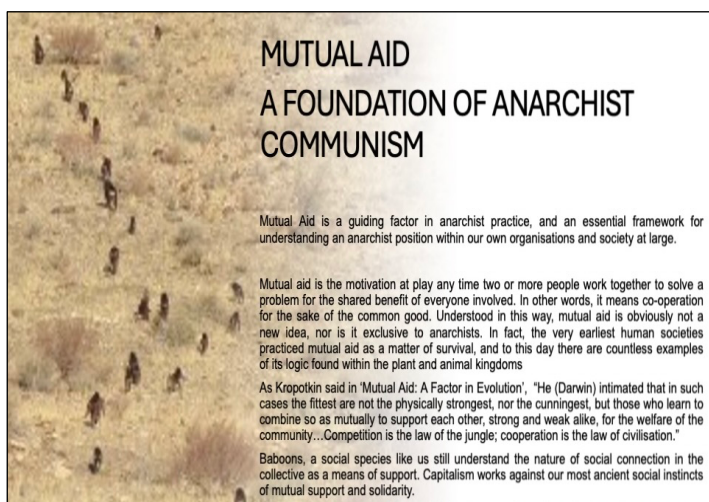
Collectivism is not to be confused with Marxist-Leninist Maoist state ‘collectives’ which is a forcing together of workers or peasants to work the instruments of production, seized by the state, under direction of an authoritarian communist party. The capitalist class in these new authoritarian state capitalist systems is quickly rehabilitated to assist in the management of the new capitalist state by the collusion of party bureaucrats.

The situation of the proletariat remains unchanged from how it was in the previous capitalist system. Production returns to control by individual capitalists and party bureaucrats along with control by state and party institutions. All are supported by state financial institutions and centralised planning. This is a system correctly called state capitalism. It has the same characteristics as the private and corporate capitalist system, but with greater brutality directed towards workers to stop them organising

“The party bureaucracy uses its political power to enrich themselves and use private wealth to access political power. The wealthiest 153 members of China’s central government bodies, the National People’s Congress and the Political Consultative Congress had an estimated combined wealth of AU\$1.3 trillion as of 2018”. – ‘China in Global Capitalism’ March 2025.

in their 'workers state'. The new world that we anarchists inspire you to fight for, with our practice, ideas and models, have come from and are of the people. concepts such as;

MUTUAL AID - Russian anarchist Pyotr Kropotkin (1842-1921) an originator of anarchist communist theory published "Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution" in 1902. In this book Kropotkin demonstrated that species that work together, or who formed symbiotic arrangements with other species based on mutual benefit, were able to better adapt to their environment, and have a competitive edge over those species who didn't, or couldn't. This was a scientific refutation of the wide held belief of the social Darwinist term "survival of the fittest" incorrectly attributed to Charles Darwin (1809-1882) in his proof of evolution "On the Origin of Species" (1859). The phrase "survival of the fittest" was coined by philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) five years after the publication of "On the Origin of Species". Spencer objected to Darwin's use of the term "natural selection" and he insisted the term "survival of the fittest" be used. This was subsequently seized on by capitalists to justify their system of brutal individual competition with only the fittest who survive. It is further used to justify hierarchies of power, control and exploitation of us the inferior "less fit" as natural when in fact it's a fabrication.



Mutual aid is an alternative organisational model to capitalism; it is not charity. Mutual aid is voluntary, collaborative exchanges of resources and services for common benefit amongst communities to meet social, economic, and political needs. Mutual-aid groups are horizontally organised, open to all to participate in. They are militantly anti-hierarchical and anti-bureaucratic with members

in full control of resources. They are egalitarian, with decision making based on the principles of direct-democracy with responsibility for actions delegated. In the capitalist present when resources are owned by elites, those resources needed but denied to mutual aid groups can rightfully be expropriated.

COUNTER POWER / DUALISM – Counter power and its sibling, counter-culture are the nuclei of the new revolutionary culture, systems and structures of the emergent free society. They originate from, are organised and function from the mass base of a social revolutionary movement, engaged in direct and unrelenting confrontation with the all aspects of culture, education, institutions and power structures of the state and capitalist present. The unrelenting confrontation with the capitalist and statist present is "class struggle" - the engine of social revolution. The practice of building counter power is called prefiguration. Prefiguration permits us to grow the new free world in form and organisation. – where possible - and for the old world to be abolished. In tandem, it enables a social revolutionary transition to a new free

society, without false authoritarian notions of the “dictatorship of the proletariat” and “workers states.” It is building “a new world within the shell of the old”.

Anarchist communists model prefiguration in our organisations and practices.



Image by Clifford Harper. Anarchist Illustrator 1949 – present
“Anarchy: A Graphic Guide”. Camden Press (1987)

SOLIDARITY – is a natural human instinct and a revolutionary cultural practice not just a slogan. Solidarity means to act for the collective well-being and care of all people in struggle and conflict with the capitalist and statist present, locally and globally. Importantly a culture of solidarity is what holds us

together when things get tough. It is a culture that enables difficult conversations and changes to be made in difficult circumstances, when splintering or giving up become possibilities. Solidarity expressed with joy motivates the drive for freedom, overcomes hopelessness and alienation, opens up experimentation and sustains activity.

In choosing a culture of solidarity, we go against a misconception that members of revolutionary organisations are alike, to think and act the same, with answers at hand. We are not looking for the model anarchist communist. Solidarity supports difference and diversity. We welcome people into the organization to become articulate, bold, principled, and strategic militants, prepared for risks building the movement and not scared to make mistakes. That simply means we welcome humans.

ANTIAUTHORITARIANISM/LIBERTARIANISM – To start, **authoritarianism** is to use command over cooperation. It is a tendency demanded by the hierarchical system we are forced to endure with social organisation based on obedience, control and imposed order. Authoritarianism is mistrustful, harsh, inefficient, unjust and unethical. Authoritarianism is the negation of the social conditions that foster freedom. How authoritarian a society is the degree to which hierarchical power monopolises social relations. Power inherently replicates itself, with an end to maintain power at the top of the hierarchy to the expense of those over which power is held.

Anarchists are antiauthoritarian. To be antiauthoritarian is to be in opposition to the imposition of authority and to stand for, egalitarianism, ethics, mutual aid, voluntary association and self-organisation. Not all antiauthoritarians would define themselves as anarchist although the two terms are interchangeable. Antiauthoritarians act for full equality in all forms of human relations. Without the destruction of authoritarianism, liberation is unachievable.

Antiauthoritarianism does not mean the rejection of a person’s knowledge (authority on) and/or skills, such as in medicine, science, building, engineering, cloths making, painting, carpentry, farming and so on. It does mean the end of the division of labour into hierarchies of importance, prestige and reward.

Libertarianism is an individual, community and societal commitment to the encouragement of an individual’s uniqueness and autonomy. Libertarianism is a derivative of socialism, in that an individual is only free in the context of egalitarian social relations. We humans as a social and cultural species have the nature to seek freedom in cooperation as part of the collective.

The word libertarian originates in France coined by the anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque (1821-1854). The term was used as the name for Déjacque's paper, "Le Libertaire" as he wanted another word that did not have the misunderstanding associated with the word anarchy. Following the repression of the Paris Commune (1871), anarchists were subjected to harsh government repression. In 1872 the French government criminalized "organizations promoting strikes, the abolition of private property, family, or religion". Bakunin's Antiauthoritarian International, was banned. In 1892-94 the French government introduced a number of anti-anarchist laws "Les lois scélérates" (The villainous laws). The laws banned and criminalised the anarchist press, gave authorities powers for arbitrary raids and arrests without trial. A new offense, of "understanding", so vague it could have applied to anything was used against anarchists and prohibited all anarchist activities. The movement adopted "libertarian" as a synonym for "anarchism". Libertarianism has no place in the right wing of politics. It has been misappropriated to cover for capitalist individualism and unfettered exploitation.

COMMUNISM is also a stream of socialist thinking that holds in common with socialism the abolition of private ownership, especially of the instruments of production, distribution and exchange of goods in society. Both aim to either resolve (communism) or fix (socialism) the problems they see as created by the abstractions of the capitalist system. The natural relations between producers and consumers are distorted by capitalist production for profit instead of need. The contradiction between private ownership and monopoly, and the social nature of production is one of the principal factors in the breakdown of capitalism. Society must own and control production. Society is being impelled to adopt communism as the economic form of the new society as a positive rejection of destructive capitalist autocracy.

Although socialism and communism share common similarities, there are important differences between them. Communism, sometimes referred to as revolutionary socialism, in contemporary theory originates as a consciously defined historical opposition to and subversion of capitalism, defined predominantly by Marxist theory as well as anarchist thinkers such as Bakunin, Kropotkin and Bookchin.

Marxists often refer to socialism as a necessary phase shifting from capitalism to communism, a tragically false premise. They conflate the existence of a state dictatorship with a socialist transition to communism and as history shows over the past century, there has never been even the smallest progress towards communism under their dictatorship. As Bakunin predicted, all they have achieved is a new and more oppressive form of capitalism called state capitalism. Karl Marx nor Friedrich Engels didn't consistently or clearly differentiate communism from socialism, which left a confused legacy for Marxists when choosing to use and distinguish between the two terms.

Communist philosophy can be summarised as "from each according to their ability, to each according to their need." Communism is the logical triumph and most advanced form of socialism.

In contrast, contemporary **SOCIALISM** is reformist of capitalism with people still having their worth based on an elite's estimation of their individual contribution to the economy. Unlike in communism, a socialist economic system rewards individuals with wages. Social democracy, the most common form of modern socialism, focuses

on achieving social reforms and the illusion of redistribution of wealth through neoliberal capitalist 'democratic' processes and is an accommodation with capitalism.

SOCIALISM is an understanding that all instruments of production, land, factories, offices and so on should be held in common by society as a whole. How those instruments of production are used is collectively determined by the producers of society. Anarchism and communism are not an alternative to socialism; they are a more advanced and revolutionary type of socialism. In fact, anarchism is communism in its original theoretical form, now differentiated from the authoritarianism of traditional Marxists and Marxist Leninists as "libertarian communism".

Communism would have wealth distributed according to needs. People can take whatever they need without having their need quantified through money. Socialism would have wealth distributed according to deeds – that is work done. Socialists believed people's labour can be measured and represented by money, used to purchase the things we need. This directly contradicts the ideal of communism.

Both anarchist and a communist society have the following characteristics:

- individual autonomy and democratic collective solidarity not capitalist anti-social individualism. The abolition of the division of labour with the collective and free association of producers.
- the collective ownership and control of the instruments of production, land and resources and all social assets necessary for the well-being of all.
- the elimination of confinement in and being defined by work roles. Introduction of direct democracy across the whole society including production.
- economic and social contribution individually determined on the basis of ability and need.
- a very radical reduction in time spent in 'hands on production' to free the individual to develop their full human capacities.
- The ending of all hierarchical, authoritarian, discriminatory, degrading and denigrating social relations replaced with the ethics of free collective association, egalitarianism, social solidarity and mutual aid.
- A socialised and collectivised economy, premised on community and workplace self-management; beyond the profit motive, market capitalism, and central planning by the state.
- Abolition of nation states, social classes, standing armies and end of war.
- Directly-democratic, non-hierarchical decentralisation of governance into a borderless, voluntary confederations of self-governing communities.

The characteristics of an anarchist and a communist society are the same. Anarchists adhere to anarchism as the means to create a communist society through an advocacy of the consistency between means and ends. The practice of freedom is the only means to learn how to be free. Freedom is not nurtured through centralised downward or outward control. Freedom is engendered through horizontal direct democratic and self-organisation. The only means to build a free communist society.

Capitalist anti-communist propaganda is exposed for the lies it is by what they characterise as communism and which is clearly not communism. The reality of the practise of Marxism-Leninism is that it has destroyed the legitimacy of communist

revolution, rendering Marxism-Leninism-Maoism regressive and with a bizarre twist has further entrenched capitalism.

Alexander Berkman (1870-1936) documented the bloody destruction of the Kronstadt “Democratic Soviet of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors” in Russia by Trotsky’s Red Army in 1921. This is considered as constituting the end of the Russian revolution. He then wrote the conclusions that can be drawn from Bolshevik counterrevolutionary violence. Written in the blood of murdered workers is the inherent incompatibility between the dictatorship of the communist party, the myth of the workers' state and their contradiction of social revolution. Marxist-Leninist suppression of revolutionary struggle are counter revolutionary actions that have had a brutal and bloody history since 1921. This has been further exploited by capitalism, with outrageous hypocrisy, to create an irrational fear and loathing of communism.

The authoritarians who ruled the USSR set up the Comintern in 1919 to control the hierarchical Communist Parties around the world. To identify as a communist in the twentieth century generally meant to identify with or be a member of a Communist Party. Most Communist Parties took direction from the Comintern, until the split between Khrushchev and Mao Tse Tung in 1961, that divided communist party loyalties between an adherence to Moscow or Beijing.

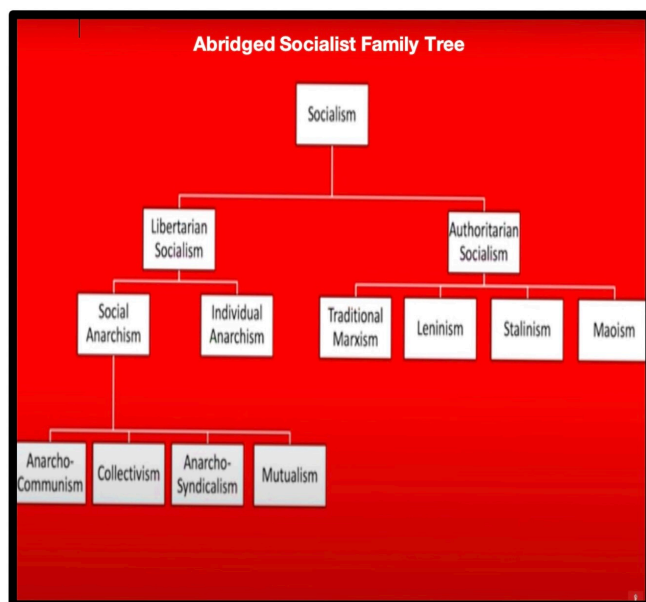
The western capitalist states also had their own political purges and show trials legitimised by the hysteria they generate about the threat of a ‘red menace’. It was a global strategy that emanated from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with its creation in 1947, critical but concealed. Designed to manipulate by spreading fear and terror. It was the secret war within the cold war. Nothing was off bounds, not art, history, cultural and scientific institutions. Nor academic, theatrical, educational, media, community, women’s, youth, sporting or union organisations. Racism, always purposed to divide, emerged more powerfully as the ‘yellow peril’.

The malicious “anti-communist” hysteria created a surveillance society, suspicious of and weeding out ‘difference’. Anyone of the left of politics were persecuted. People were socially sanctioned, imprisoned or deported for even being suspected of being a communist. Socialists and anarchists were treated no differently. Those on the left, whether they believed in communism or not, stopped identifying with the label communist preferring the more popularly palatable term of socialism.

Modern socialism often called ‘democratic socialism’, is an accommodation with capitalism, arising with the advent of the ‘welfare state’, such as the Scandinavian model or the mayor of NYC Zohran Mamdani. The German Social Democrat Party after the First World War collaborated with militarists and the proto-Nazi movement in defence of the status quo in Germany, to defeat the German Revolution of 1918–1919. Their treachery resulted in the deaths of thousands, the continuation of social misery and assisted the rise of Nazism leading to the Second World War. This has defined the history of social democrat collaboration with the right ever since. The use of the word socialism, without acknowledging the misleading use of the word in reference to social democrats adds to confusion and is misleading.

1.30 The Great Schism in the International Socialist Movement.

Early European radicalism had incorporated many aspects of what is now called anarchism. It was from the international socialist movement of the nineteenth century that a consciously independent and distinct form of socialism emerged from the then “First International” (International Workers Association, IWA, 1864–1876). This is an internationalist revolutionary anarchism.



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Early 19th century anarchist ideas influenced German workers, particularly in the émigré communities in France and Switzerland. These ideas spread by meetings, conversations and reading originate from Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809 – 1865) a French socialist, philosopher, and economist who founded mutualist philosophy and was the first person to call himself an anarchist. Marx and Engels’s continuous

polemical attacks against the libertarians, is evidence of their concerns regarding the intellectual ascendancy of anarchist ideas at the time. It did not matter to them whether anarchism was conceived in socialist or individualist terms. Anarchist heresies had to be eradicated by one means or another—a hostile attitude that Marx and Engels carried with them into the First International twenty years later.

The contradiction of Marxist centralist party politics, the “dictatorship of the proletariat” – in fact “the dictatorship of the party” – created tensions with the anarchists that continue to this day. The authoritarian Marxists split with and systematically attempted to discredit the anti-authoritarian social-revolutionary concept of anarchism and the legacy of democratic federalist worker and peasant movements aimed at destroying state power and capitalism to create a free communist society.

The anti-authoritarian tendency opposed to Marxist centralism within the First International, was led by the revolutionary anarchist Mikhail Bakunin. Following the 1871 split the anarchists formed their own International (1872-1877), “The Anarchist or Antiauthoritarian International”, that became the “International Association of Workers” (1922), which continues to this day in a diminished form, but it is now in the ascendancy and is known as “The International Workers' Association – Asociación Internacional de los Trabajadores” (IWA-AIT).

Disregarding the personal animosity that Marx and Engels often displayed towards their perceived ideological rivals, there were a number of theoretical grounds that they put forward in opposition to anarchist ideas. First and foremost was Marx’s theory of historical development, or “historical materialism.” In his polemic against Proudhon,

In “The Poverty of Philosophy”, Marx argued that before the working class would “be able to emancipate itself it is necessary that the productive powers already acquired and the existing social relations should no longer be capable of existing side by side.” The transformation of the workers into a revolutionary class therefore “supposes the existence of all the productive forces which could be engendered in the bosom of the old society.” The history of revolutionary struggle proves this assumption incorrect.

Social revolutions are not “made” by political parties, groups, or cadres; they occur as a result of deep-seated historic forces and contradictions that activate large sections of the population. They occur not merely (as Trotsky argued) because the “masses” find the existing society intolerable, but also because “of the tension between the actual and the possible, between “what is” and “what could be”. Murray Bookchin. “Myth of the Party. Bolshevik Mystification and Counter-Revolution.

The historic lesson of the First International is that we cannot ally the struggle for communism with centralist and authoritarian organisations. The contradictions in so doing would be fatal. Let those authoritarians calling themselves Marxists practice the absurdity of professing that ‘the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves’ and at the same time actively working against this. It would be antithetical to the communist struggle and will fail to deliver communism.

Further reading:

“The First International and the Origins of the Anarchist Movement”. Robert Graham (2015) and

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/roert-graham-we-do-not-fear-anarchy-we-invoke-it>

2.00 For Global Social Revolution in Our Times!



Anarchist communism is also known as anarcho-communism, communist anarchism, libertarian communism/socialism and free communism. Anarchist communism is a social, economic, political theory and practice of opposition to capitalism and statism and struggle against all forms of economic, social, cultural, spiritual, intellectual and political coercion. It is the theory and practise of contemporary revolutionary transformation, bound with the social theory and practice of a free

communist society. The practice of a free communist society is supported by egalitarianism, voluntary cooperation, solidarity and human need. It is a theory that arises from the mass base of humanities struggle for freedom.

In dramatic contrast, coercive control and the destruction of society is the practise that comes with the capitalist system of hierarchy and domination

We advocate for liberation from coercion and to fight for our collective liberation using the practices of a free communist society. Namely self-directed direct action, egalitarianism, horizontally democratic structures, voluntary association, militancy and solidarity.

In the twenty-first century the revolutionary left, including anarchist communists, is on the margins when compared to the international anarchist movement up until the 1930s. Our movement was then the largest and most influential of all international socialist movements.

The marginalisation of the revolutionary left was in part a creation of the left itself, with a reluctance to criticise the flawed authoritarian cults of Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism, Maoism and Social Democracy and the discredit they have stamped on socialist history.

The revolutionary left suffered further marginalisation from the powerful and pervasive disinformation of the dominant capitalist narrative. The capitalist narrative exists for social conditioning to control thinking and expression. It has erased from popular consciousness and in the 'democratic' discourse the possibility of the existence of anything but capitalism or to imagine a different world. All forms of mass communication reinforce the ideology and practice of capitalism. The same unrelenting pattern continues with the additional turbo charging of their propaganda

machine with new technologies of artificial intelligence, social media and streaming platforms.

In addition, the defeat of the left by fascism leading to the Second World War, along with the purges, assassinations and mass murders by Stalinists decimated the left and drove many socialists away from the revolutionary path. The violent and bloody suppression of revolutionary movements of workers, peasants and social movements by imperialist might cloaked in the 'cold war' has, for the moment defeated the left. The new and now emergent left can only sustain itself with having learnt from our tragic history in the 20th century.

The language of the capitalist narrative is self-serving propaganda that sets limits of acceptability in thinking, writing and speaking on the organisation of society. Transgressions of acceptability to capitalism subject people to removal from work, education, and community, gaslighting, ridicule. Surveillance and ostracisation are added for good measure. Capitalism attempts to limit thought. This means few people know or even care about the history of the working class and the revolutionary struggles that have arisen over the past 300 years.

The capitalist class try to obscure, hide and misrepresent the history of revolutionary working-class struggle, but they cannot conceal the inherent contradictions within the capitalist system that drive the working class to overthrow capitalism.

Our society has lost our history of struggle and developed an uncritical easiness with capitalist culture and norms. Dissident movements within this system tend to replicate capitalist hierarchies and social relations when organising. They claim organising with centralised and hierarchical structures can create change and can defeat capitalism. This is fine if you are intent on preserving capitalism, its hierarchies and social norms.

Dissident movements within capitalism are readily co-opted and then absorbed back into the capitalist system to replicate and regenerate capitalist economic and social relations. To use the forms and methods of capitalism to destroy capitalism is naïve and an impossibility. The reality is that capitalism would be reinvented and reconstructed in a new form. Without understanding the replication of capitalist behaviour, its preponderance and negative impact on behaviours and organisational structures, strategy and outcomes, the fight for libertarian communism is doomed.

Capitalist narratives indoctrinate us to believe the world is as capitalists want us to perceive it. Capitalists see the world as immutable, dominated by their power and hierarchies of control. They subordinate and coerce us to engage in a vicious competitiveness, alien to our nature, simply to survive. They force us to perceive the capitalist world as a natural system with hierarchies surrounding us, dominating us and subordinating us in an unavoidable system of power relations. The predators are on top and the prey subject to their power, the great and powerful on top and us preyed on below. It is a system that consigns humanity to a dead zone of imagination and denies our capacity to see beyond capitalism.

Capitalist narratives function to shape and ingrain beliefs and behaviours espoused by capitalism for the purpose of maintaining capitalist hierarchical systems of power. It is an ideological construct to justify and perpetrate the fraud that is capitalism. It is not at all like how the world works or how human societies have existed and

prospered. It is a dangerous fabrication, threatening the basis of civilisation and our future as a species. Capitalist anti-social media challenges our ability to live in a real, connected, social and cultural context. Our ability to think critically in a systematic and engaged manner is being degraded with an associated loss in abstract thinking skills, attention span and comprehension.

Capitalist anti-social media manipulates our psyches for outrage to drive 'eyeballs to screens'. It spreads misinformation faster than other posts and goes viral when laced with stupidity, fear, shame and hate. Simultaneously it creates the illusion that capitalist anti-social media has enabled us to act meaningfully by posting online. The more likes you receive, the more effective the post and the greater is our self-gratification.

Capitalist anti-social media encourages posting a meme or a few lines with pictures, otherwise it is likely be ignored. This is the accepted online discourse. Capitalist anti-social media has hollowed out movements of dissent and revolutionary change, reducing us to an ineffectual powerless and meaningless posturing shadows. What is popular one day isn't the next. People are distracted and peeled off by algorithmic manipulation. Individuals identifying with these movements somehow feel they are connected and taking meaningful action. This couldn't be further from reality. It is a parody of communication, connection and dissent. Capitalist anti-social media algorithms promote regressive. reactionary, patriarchal, militarist, nationalist, racist and fascist-nazi opinion and movements. These right and far right movements are derivative and sit easily within the capitalist narrative. They offer no threat to capitalism and are advanced as they all part of the infrastructure of capitalism.



Capitalist anti-social media banishes the revolutionary opposition, censors and isolates the revolutionary movement in their digital traps. It disorients and alienates real revolutionary activity while social media activists believe the opposite. Struggle is safely contained online and ineffectual. Exactly as the system intends. Capitalist anti-social media has little to associate it with any

form of real human communication. It is a diversion into a tokenistic ineffectual cul-de-sac of nothingness.

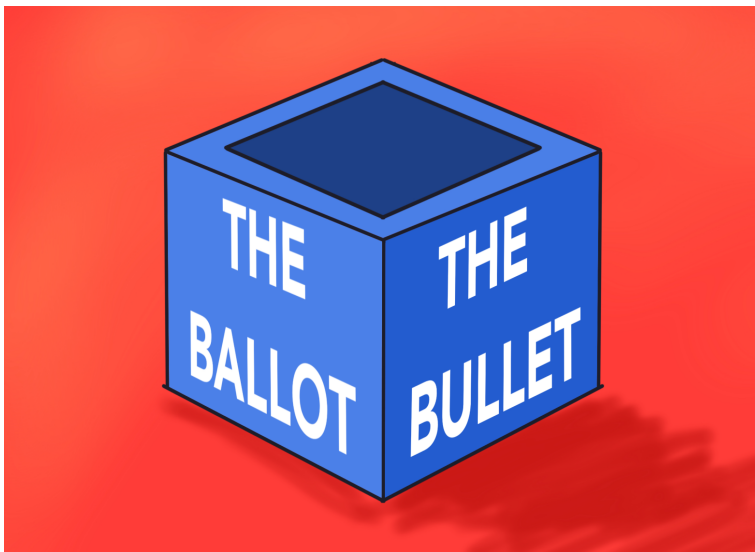
Capitalist anti-social media is corrosive of an individual's function outside of their social isolation. Scrolling on anti-social media is a deliberate conditioning of the brain to want more and more updates on anti-social media. Free time is consumed by such a compulsive need. We lose connection to the immediate world around us and real social interaction. This results in behaviours that deny our human nature as a social and cultural species and sabotages efforts to protect this.

There are other means the capitalist system can use to fragment, demobilise, dead-end and frustrate dissident movements. One is the tired and well-worn path of electoralism. Through electoralism, the system by-passes the messiness and risks of direct repression of dissent against capitalism. It ensures the maintenance of the so-called capitalist 'peace'. Electoralism subjugates us into service to the state. We abandon our autonomy and power with a retreat into passivity, in exchange for an occasional ballot for 'representation' by politicians and political parties. We are banished to the back seat of control and confined there.

Electoralism entrenches hierarchies that coerce, divide, rule and sit above us, is not accountable and is remote from the people. The system generates a self-serving political class that functions as part of state bureaucracy to help manage state affairs.

Dissidents entering an Australian parliament are blocked and chocked by conventions, procedures, parliamentary committees and protocols of conduct. Members of parliament must demonstrate loyalty and respect for state institutions, such as a foreign king, bureaucratic function, the police and military. They all sign pledges of allegiance to the monarchy and state. The system claims its legitimacy and our disenfranchisement through electoralism.

The reality is that state bureaucracy manages the political class through state institutions. There is a consensus between the political class and state bureaucracy for the purpose of preservation and replication of state power in defence of capitalism. The political class are a sorry symptom of the charade of capitalist 'democracy'.



These self-serving creatures sit above and impose on us the process of capitalist 'democracy' and are proof of the sham that is capitalist 'democracy'.

Trade unions are integral to the functioning of the capitalist system, with a role regulating capitalist commodification of workers labour value (wages) alongside containing working class power. Unions founded by revolutionary socialists

and anarcho-syndicalists for the goal of working-class freedom have been captured by a social democratic faction of the political class, their hacks installed in control and unions defanged by this system. Capitalist social relations are replicated within union bureaucracy. Modern unionism is dominated by the political class, is bureaucratic, hierarchical, autocratic and remote from the daily lives of the working class. The replication of capitalist social relations within so called worker's organisations, not only weakens class bonds but also undermines effective worker organisation.



ALP Prime Minister Anthony Peter Dutton

Modern unionism has merged with state institutions to arbitrate on the exchange value of our labour. Trade unionism accepts the legitimacy of capitalism and has reconciled with capitalism. The most fundamental interests of the working class such as wages and conditions are no longer an affair of the working class. It is now the prerogative of the state and union bureaucrats, shadow boxing capitalism in the legal system. You don't find union bureaucrats on the shop floor, instead they cosy up with the courts and other oppressive institutions of the capitalist state.

In 1983 the other party of capital, the Australian Labor Party (ALP), in cahoots with the collaborationist Australian Council of Trade Unions forced the ALP-ACTU Prices and Incomes Accord on the workers in this country.

The Accord ended the advancement of workers' wages in the interests of capitalism with empty promises of reform of social welfare and taxation. The Accord was meant to cease in 1996 but like all things that benefit the bosses, continued in other ways such as enterprise bargaining and individual workplace contracts. This met with little opposition from union bureaucrats who actively sabotaged workers organising against this theft of their wages.

It was a strategic move by capitalism to destroy unions and any remnant legal power workers had over work. With only 13.1% of workers now in trade unions, this capitalist objective, to sever workers from class organising and disperse workers to become further trapped in our exploitation as individualised units of capitalist production and consumption, has succeeded.

Workers are expected to compete against each other, undermining mutual trust and class concepts of solidarity and class counter power. The modern working class is fragmented, disorientated and no longer able to identify with class conflict or little else but individual interest. There still exists, across all workplaces acts of individual resistance and sabotage against capitalism. This is telling in that bosses can try to obscure the nature of class society, but workers can still see and are profoundly impacted by pervasive capitalist control.

It is the law of the capitalist state, managed by state bureaucracy that has usurped workers organising, in collaboration with trade union bureaucrats, to atomise and weaken the working class to be ineffectual. No longer can the rank-and-file worker fight for our rights, it is now the laws of the state that must be complied with.

Even this is too much for sections of the capitalist ruling class who fear and hate workers, and want unions gone, to further replace their role with more state bureaucracies along the lines of the 'Fair Work Commission', 'Work Choices' and 'Work Safe'.

State control of working-class affairs has integrated union bodies into state bureaucracy. Unions submit to capitalist law which has decimated working class organising, rendering the rank and file as inconsequential. Unions are tied up and in fear of capitalist legalism, institutions and power. State intervention has curtailed union activity from recruiting to direct action such as strikes and boycotts.

“I don't know what word in the English language – I can't find one- applies to people who are willing to sacrifice the literal existence of organised human life so they can put a few more dollars into highly stuffed pockets. The word 'evil' doesn't begin to approach it. “– Noam Chomsky.

The deep crises convulsing capitalism are a global threat to our safety, health, and well-being. The capitalist world is collapsing at breakneck speed in a global tsunami of poverty, hunger, lack of medicine, war, food systems and environmental collapse. At some point, and most likely too late, will force a society wide panic, creating more chaos, authoritarianism and state repression. Capitalists are emboldened by the rise of right-wing reaction and now publicly declare there is no point in acting to mitigate climate crises. For them it's business as usual. They feel safe protected by their wealth, state power and by being at the top, the elite.

They see workers as disposable. We are sacked when no longer needed, sent to die in capitalist wars, and now to be deskilled and historically disposed of by capitalism with artificial Intelligence. They treat us to be destined to become collateral damage to their pursuit of power, growth and ever more wealth. But we can stop this!



As our climate collapses spreading death and misery, the capitalist and political class are bluffing us. Consumed by hubris and in the belief of no viable alternative to capitalism, they think the working class has no choice but to cling onto capitalism, no matter the cost to life. They are blind or indifferent to the scenario of a dead planet, because their wealth insulates them from the ever-deteriorating condition of the biosphere, and the economic and social conditions and they believe that capitalism has permanence as a global system.

The working class must reassert ourselves, rebuild our very real power and organise to stop this headlong rush to disaster.

The strength of our argument for a revolutionary alternative to capitalism, and our modelling of a new society in practice, positions us for a renewed social, cultural and political relevance. The power of anarchist communism is disproportionate to our numbers and demonstrates the well-established connection between anarchism the working class and freedom.

The UAC outrightly rejects the capitalist academisation of anarchism. Academics, write what they think is about anarchism. They sanitise, anesthetise and euthanise anarchism in the halls of capitalist academia. For too long our history has been interpreted and rewritten by intellectual dilatants, who want to separate our politics from the working class, nudging us into false strategies and treat us as an historical and intellectual curiosity. In service to state power, they mystify anarchism and hide our struggles in obscure histories. We anarchist communists will create and write a new revolutionary history.

"Power demands sad bodies. Power needs sadness because it can dominate it. Joy, therefore, is resistance, because it does not give up." Bloquons Tout ("Block Everything") France. September 2025

Anarchist communists challenge orthodoxy and conventional thinking. We fight authoritarianism and hierarchies in our discourse, behaviours and organisations and encourage others to do so. We model the free communist society within our organisations and encourage workers to model the same in the class struggle.

In the later years of the twentieth century capitalist concepts of society, considered permanently woven in social concepts, weakened. People started to see the system we live in as losing its assumed legitimacy. People started to look for alternatives, and interest in anarchist communism and socialism has gone from little to significant.

Our movement is growing here and internationally. A function of the UAC is to ensure we scale our actions to match this growth to build revolutionary culture and momentum. Consistent with our internationalism we build 'revolutionary infrastructure' with comrades across regions and borders for everyone to find a role in building an internationalist social revolutionary movement.

The pressing urgency for social revolution is just too great in the twenty first century to ignore. The vision we articulate for a life affirming, free and egalitarian communist world connects with the working class. This is remarkable considering our size but proves the power of fighting for the goal of freedom.

The 'Platform and Principles of the UAC' makes the case for and the reasoning as to why it is worth fighting for the anarchist communist alternative to the capitalist doomsday machine. We argue that society based on free, egalitarian and libertarian communism is innate to humans as a social and cultural species. Our work is to create the social conditions in struggle to resuscitate our innate social and cultural nature. To build popular understanding of anarchist communism and the will to fight for anarchist communism. We work to build a revolutionary movement of workers to fight for a new anarchist communist world by returning anarchism to popular mainstream thinking.

We examine the nature of anarchist organisation and action, and it is transformational. We say this based on almost universal experience. The struggle for freedom brings growth in humans and is transformational of human attitudes and culture. We can rediscover and revive human dignity, happiness and joy, lost in the present, in the class struggle and social revolution!

We articulate and encourage the working class to fight with joy for its emancipation and to see that emancipation only comes with being true to the goal of freedom. Freedom demands organising on the basis of autonomous, democratically horizontal, collective and self-directed action. Organising is for a purpose and that purpose is to build revolutionary counter power to the power of state and capitalist oppression.

Collective working-class counter power gives us the means to destroy capitalism. Counter power encompasses new worker's revolutionary organisations, workplaces, communities and structures for everyday purposes and for social revolutionary struggle. We fight for the overthrow of our class subjugation through class struggle.

We build the structures and form not only of class struggle but simultaneously the structures and form of social revolution and practices of a new free communist society.

CLASS STRUGGLE is the means of building our revolutionary transition. Social stratification (hierarchies) is caused by exploitation of social groupings and the social groups that then arise from this produce self-evident classes. Class struggle is universally present in every hierarchical society, as the exploited class and the exploiters have diametrically opposed interests albeit at varying degrees of intensity and with various forms and levels of awareness.

There are thus two kinds of class struggle. The first from the succession of ruling classes that use their power to impose and maintain their means to direct, exploit and control. The other class struggle is that of the lower classes, the powerless, disenfranchised, slaves, plebeians, peasants, wage-earners, 'gig'-worker's and so on (the proletariat) in our continual search for emancipation or at any rate to lighten the burden of our exploitation. Class struggle begins with workers and other proletarians understanding their particular situational confines, be they historical, political, economic, geographic and social. With understanding, a militant class struggle emerges resulting from strategies proletarians employ.

An example is the need to break through the current working-class impasse with capitalism. How is it that standards of living are being crushed by the capitalist and state elites? Workers understand that to fight this, we need direct control over our class priorities and organisations to struggle, as a united class for higher wages and better conditions. The interests of the working class are also broader than the wages in a particular workplace. Our interests are to dismantle the current economic, political and social system with an immediate objective to defend the welfare, health and safety of our communities.

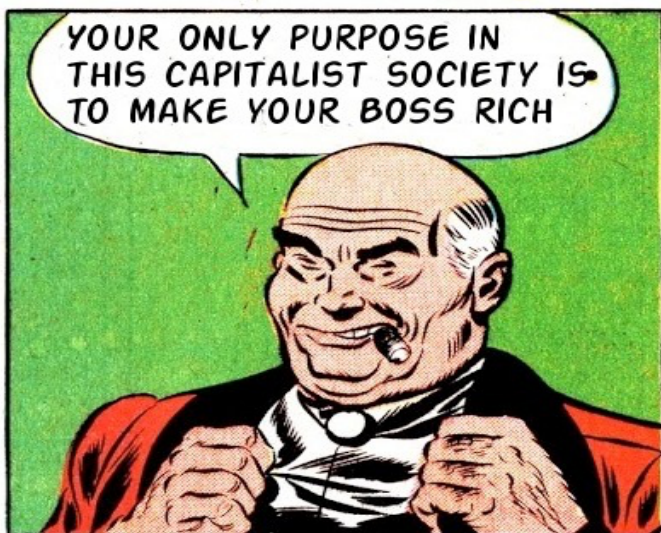
There is an ever-growing threat to our welfare, health and safety and it comes from capitalist induced climate catastrophes (CICC's), so called 'climate change'. It's a real-world issue for the proletariat as it is we that suffer the first, most severe and greatest and ongoing catastrophes. We need to address the unacknowledged need by trade unions, for real support (mutual aid) and solidarity for our communities who are suffering uninsurable housing that is becoming unliveable, the trauma of lost lives and displacement caused by mega-storms, mega-floods, mega-droughts and mega-bushfires and mega-oceanic heatwaves. As an act of class self-organisation we show we care about our communities and each other beyond being defined by job classification, wages or trade union. It is already apparent that only reacting to these disasters is in the longer term ultimately futile as CICC's are becoming unending, grow in ferocity, duration and frequency. A grass roots workers organisation can pivot from reacting to action. Action expressed as workers targeting specific capitalist industries and workplaces, that contribute to the furtherance of disasters to be occupied with production repurposed and/or green bans put on them. Such action would grab the attention of all workers and demand their preparedness to act in solidarity to support such actions of self-defence in the inevitable face of capitalist oppression. In this process we must uphold the principles of a new ethic of democratic self-organisation and practice of militant class struggle. This example is a concrete and positive means of building counterpower to capitalism. We need to

countervail capitalism and render further massive damage being inflicted by capitalism on people and planet as no longer possible - now!

The working class has real power if we act in unison and with militancy. We can bring down the capitalist behemoth wherever and whenever we want to stop global destruction. We can exercise our unique power to the fullest extent by engaging in class struggle. We know that we can eradicate capitalist social relations that are driving us the brink. We show the positivity of social revolutionary action and confidently bring down the whole rotten capitalist edifice and build a new system of libertarian communism to this capitalist cesspool we are dying in. It cannot be overstated as to how critical our work is. This is what is the full breadth of anarchist social revolution.

Social revolution grows from class struggle into a revolutionary transition from capitalism to libertarian communism. Freedom and equality grow in the overthrow of all hierarchical social relations in social revolution. This means the abolition of the capitalist social, cultural and economic system, its superstructure of the state, and the face of the state which is government. It is the state that creates and defends the power of capitalist class to coerce.

The coercive capitalist wage system presents the employer-employee relationship as natural, voluntary and reciprocal. This is illusory and disguises the world from what it really is but see the world as capitalists do. We learn to act accordingly as capitalists do. In the absence of alternative means of subsistence, the worker must work or starve. Wage labour emerges not as a free choice, but as the coercive sale of a worker's life under conditions of economic coercion.



The wage system is a profound source of alienation. When workers are compelled to sell our labour, we lose control not only over what we produce, but over how we produce, when we produce, and under whose direction. Work becomes an external force, dictated by the imperatives of capital, rather than a meaningful, collective and self-directed activity.

The wage system treats workers as a commodity. Hours are monetised, and life reduced to units of productivity. The demand

to abolish the wage system is a demand to reclaim life in its fullness and to restore time, creativity, and sociality to human beings as value in themselves rather than means for profit.

We advocate for the abolition of wage slavery, and the 'value form' in all its modes along with the abstraction of money. The pervasive ideology of capitalism teaches us that wages and conditions are a fair exchange, the worker provides labour, and the employer compensates workers accordingly. This transactional framing of production conceals a deeper reality. Wages are not a neutral or fair payment for labour they are

the mask worn by exploitation. Anarchist communists see that the overthrow of capitalist social and economic hierarchies such as wage labour, patriarchy, racism and industrialism, transforms human social and interpersonal relations, with a new communist ethic of egalitarianism, solidarity and mutual aid.

The struggle for an anarchist communist society must restore the social and ecological relationship with our planet that humanity depends on to sustain life. The climate crises are the result of the destruction by capitalism of humanity's relationship with the ecosystems of the natural world. We are meant to look away and believe there are no consequences in this destruction - to our peril. We are all in peril because humanity cannot exist alienated from and actively destroying the systems of the natural world.

Social revolution is not only for the remaking of human society, but also for the rebuilding of humanity's home. We can only rebuild by resolving the pressing need of integration back into a balanced, sustainable and cherished biosphere, to restore the planet's interlinked ecosystems that sustain all planetary life.

The capitalist system is a global system, characterised by extreme concentrations of wealth and power, extreme poverty, complete control of the instruments of production, alienation, emotional and psychological abuse and exponential growth that defies the laws of the physical universe. There is an irrational belief inherent in capitalist production and consumption that infinite growth can be derived from finite resources. This is not only wrong it is delusional.

Capitalism continues to inflict genocide, police, surveillance, manipulation by social media algorithms, crime, prisons, waste, disease, consumerism, sexism, racism, ageism, ableism, queer/trans phobia, adultism, wage slavery, colonialism, imperialism, chaos, war and violence. This will and must end with social revolution.

The bankruptcy, instability and failure of the capitalist system have never been so evident and so dangerous. The consequences of being dominated by an anti-human system, its raw violence and destructiveness inflicted on our planet and its peoples must lead us all to conclude that the capitalist system has no legitimacy.

Capitalism was founded on the grand theft of land and resources, translated through coercion into private property and individual wealth. It is the theft of our planet's resources, the theft of the global commons, which is the right of every human to reclaim. The historical act of theft is replicated through the imposition of violence and fear. The capitalist system imposes state violence to contain our power. The state dominates and continues through a perversion of culture, indoctrination, conformism and submission and if needed, further state violence.

'The Platform and Organisational Principles' of the UAC is a case as to why we need to not only reject capitalism but to actively work through organising with our fellow workers to end capitalism without delay.

Real and permanent change only happens when driven through social revolution. Social revolution is the uprising by the peoples of the world that in a continuous revolutionary process sweeps away the capitalist, statist and authoritarian structures of the old world. Social revolution is transformative of people, social relations and culture, it is by necessity a militant, continuous and unrelenting struggle to rebuild our world as a free, egalitarian, democratic communist and stateless society. In tandem

with building social revolution, we must also build the prefigurative libertarian communist alternative to capitalism. Without addressing the urgency and enormity of this process, the global future of humanity is looking very bleak.

We assume, because you are reading the “Platform and Organisational Principles”, that you question the legitimacy of the capitalist system. We further assume, like most others, you struggle to understand the horror of the system we live in.

After reading, discussing and questioning the ‘Platform and Organisational Principles’ of the UAC we want you to see the only realistic option for our planet and its people is not the reform of capitalism but its destruction.

2.01 Our Only Imperative is for Social Revolution!



Capitalist power is manifested by autocratic ruling elites, wars, exploitation, and planet killing production and growth at any cost. Class society is the creation of capitalism and dominates all aspects of our lives. Capitalism’s power to do this is guaranteed by the function of the state and the face of that function is government.

Government speaks and acts for then interests of the state,

not always consistently as the capitalist elites have competing agendas, as to do nation states have competing agendas on behalf of their ruling elites.

The inconsistency of government comes from the political class representing the competing interests of the ruling elites, but in its inconsistency, it is consistent in its unity of self interest in your powerlessness on the behalf of capitalism.

For the last 300 years, we have had the state directly intervene in the capitalist system, to perpetrate it, to protect it, to regulate its worst excesses and contradictions. The global financial crisis (the great recession) of 2007-08 was a collapse of the capitalist financial system, rescued through the intervention of the state. The collapse of banks and the capitalist financial institutions, was destabilising to production and consumption and eroded the credibility of the capitalist state. It was saved for the present by state intervention and paid for not by the capitalist class but by the working class.

The global Covid pandemic from 2019, its origin and spread is directly linked to the polycrises of capitalism and revealed our class vulnerability, not only economically but also to our lives. It revealed working class vulnerability in submitting to hierarchy and control that defines our purpose to exist for the convenience of capitalist production and consumption.

The great depression of 1929-41, the most severe of capitalist economic crises and collapse, was solved through severe social deprivation, militarism, capitalist war and the blood of millions of the global working class.

The promise of reforming capitalism is a means by which the political class manages our disgruntled acceptance of the capitalist system and its status quo. Reform of capitalism is something the working class has fought for the last 300 years. We fought for 50 years, suffered and died for a simple and dignified goal as an 8-hour working day.

A commitment to reform by the capitalist classes is non-existent, unless it is to their advantage. The reform of capitalism is for the working class like the horizon that keeps moving away as you move towards it. You will never reach it!

In 1856, in so called Australia, the 8-hour working day was won, but not enacted until 1916. In 2025 it exists as a standard, but the working class is worked to death with longer hours in deteriorating conditions. In the so-called United States, the rollback of reforms commenced on the very day Trump was inaugurated as president. In the state capitalist, so called 'deformed workers states' like China, Vietnam or North Korea, with their 'tankie' ruling classes, that mirror their neoliberal capitalist peers, the hours and conditions of the working class are brutal.

In 2024, the ALP, the so-called reformists again attacked the rights of workers to organise. The ALP has form with their attacks on workers. They destroyed the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) in 1986. The BLF had fought, and won alongside communities' development projects destructive of the built environment, communities, and natural environment known as green ba in Sydney and Melbourne. The BLF had also refused to sign up to the ALP anti-worker 'accord' resulting in their abandonment by the wider union movement and destruction through deregistration in 1986. The CFMEU met the fate of militant unionism with an orchestrated attack by the state, with cover from a capitalist media barrage of propaganda, and seized the workers' union and assets and imposed state control of the union. They continue relentlessly persecuting and prosecuting organisers and past officials of the CFMEU. All of this is done in the loyal service to capital. Social Democratic parties always parallel the agenda of the right and its reactionary policies, despite their protest of them previously. Is this progress through reform?

Reform of capitalism is not possible or permitted in any meaningful way. So, what is to be done? Since the historic schism of the left in the first international in 1872 between the authoritarianism of the then Marxists, the reformism of social democrats and the libertarian anti-authoritarian and anarchist left, there have been two historical streams that have demonstrated their utter failure and betrayal of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist Maoists and social democrats.

Marxist-Leninist Maoists embrace political revolution meaning the mobilisation of class society under party direction for the purpose of the seizure of power. The mobilization is to depose one ruling class to be replaced by another - a Marxist-Leninist Maoist party and to impose 'the dictatorship of the party'. It is as a cruel, cynical, bloody and tragic betrayal of communism and of the global working class.

The history of reformist social democratic parties can only be described as a bad faith joke played on the working class. The membership and leadership of these parties

and their institutionalised trade unions abandoned any idea of emancipation of the working class. They found their self-serving selves a place with the political class as partners managing the function of capitalist rule. They offer an occasional metaphoric crumb from the capitalist table, but their only real purpose is to be elected to manage and speak for the state on behalf of the capitalist classes.



The anti-authoritarian and libertarian left, the left communists, anarchist communists and libertarian Marxists, the so called 'extreme left' still hold to the ideal that there is a pressing necessity for the overthrow of capitalism to find freedom.

Anarchist communism is not a crazy leftist fantasy. It is an ideal, a trust that what does not exist, can exist and is possible when humanity takes control of its own destiny. We anarchists then are idealist, who have made a conscious decision to be alive and to fight for what we choose to be.

Social revolution arises from class struggle. In organising and engaged in class struggle the end goal of libertarian communism cannot be divorced from the methods and means we engage in. We must build, reimagine and transform mass organisations whose function comes from the grass roots. These mass organisations must abandon the norms of the old authoritarian world and within their function transform social, economic and personal relations in struggle and build the form of a free communist society. This is the bridge that social revolution constructs, the means by which to liberate ourselves and replace capitalism and its state with all vestiges of capitalism rooted out.

There is no 'pragmatic' division between means and ends. This is the methods of authoritarians and their treachery. Means and ends are intrinsic to each other. Revolutionary strategy, be it direct action, social revolution, autonomous organising, immediate reforms or trade unionism is maintained by a theoretical framework. This theory maintains that, as people engage in revolutionary activity, they simultaneously change the world and themselves. This theoretical framework is the foundation for the anarchist commitment to the unity of means and ends.

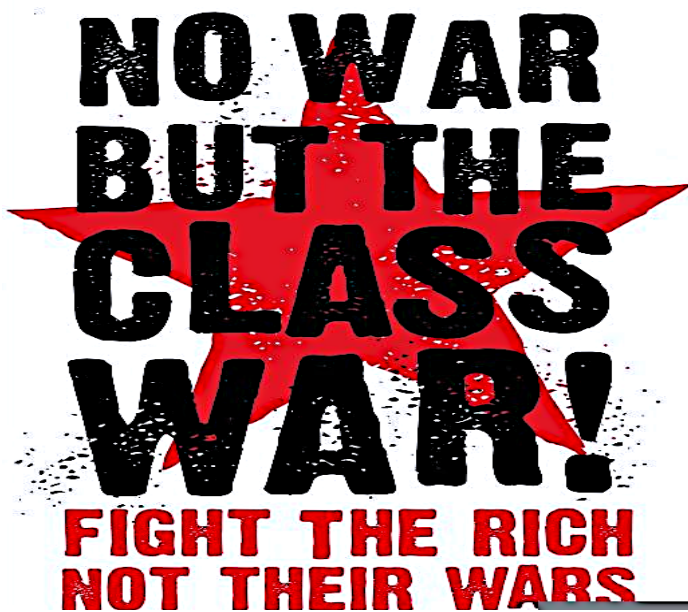
The means by which social revolution creates real radical change comes from forms of activity which transforms people to be capable of and driven to overthrow both capitalism and the state and build a free communist society. This is helpful in marshalling social revolution to end capitalism in the twenty first century. The consistently strong heartbeat of anarchist communism is that anarchist ends can only be achieved through anarchist means. The default position of anarchism is as builders of a new free world, not the tired and deceitful stereotypes that denigrate anarchists, from both the authoritarians of the mythological centre, the left and right.

Social revolution has no obvious start or end date. It is simply a process of continuous struggle from small engagements to the mass. Social revolution creates the

conditions through which anarchist communism grows and emerges. At such a time, we will find ourselves in a society free and in full possession of society's immense resources to further build libertarian communism.

Further reading: <https://classautonomy.info/the-class-strikes-back-self-organised-workers-struggles-in-the-twenty-first-century/>

2.02 Social Revolution Must End State Power.



**NO WAR
BUT THE
CLASS
WAR!**
**FIGHT THE RICH
NOT THEIR WARS**

Conflict has reached a pinnacle in the twenty first century capitalist world. Competition is the ruling value, and as a result we all experience the daily warfare of each against all as a result. This social environment drowns us in distrust, dishonesty, fear and hostility. Those with little or no money are in conflict with those who have more. Each worker is in competition with all others for jobs. Capitalists are in competition with the other capitalists and races and nationalities inside each country are in conflict. Every year thousands of women are beaten or killed in a ferocious expression of patriarchy in a male

war against women. The capitalists of each nation are in conflict with those of all other states. There is now only a very flimsy and unstable skeleton of international cooperation between never ending wars. Nation states call war 'defence' and national defence is meant to prevent wars but always fails.

This is no surprise considering that violence is the basis as to how states enforce their maintenance and perpetration with the threat of waging war for this purpose. Incredibly, despite all of the conflict that exists in the capitalist present, the working class, in a state of division, disorientation, mutual suspicion, and alienation is so undermined it is unable to organise to defend itself from relentless state and capitalist attacks. In a world controlled by capitalist ideology, with competition being a pillar of that ideology, there is a paradox that society acts to crush autonomy, self-activity and independent thinking. We are conditioned to accept others choosing, telling us and deciding for us. Some of us fear freedom and are relieved to have our right to manage our collective destiny denied. This is a control mechanism, that denies our dignity and humanity by gas lighting us all to believe that we need powerful elites to run things.

Anarchism is the means by which to build a stateless, free communist society. Anarchism is a stream of socialist economic and the political thinking originating in the nineteenth century. Like all socialists, anarchists hold that the private ownership of land, capital, and instruments of production has had its time and is condemned to

disappear. All instruments for production must, and will become the common property of society, and be managed in common by the producers.

In common with other streams of anti-authoritarian socialist radicalism, we maintain that the political, social and economic organisation of society based on the principles of anarchist communism is the only superior means for equality and sharing.

To build a free communist world we must not only destroy capitalism but also dismantle the functions of government and the state. Following the abolition of authoritarian control, we are free to exercise our autonomy through collective and popular power expressed as self-managed production harmonised with ecological regeneration. We scale autonomy by organising through local, regional and global federations from a base of direct democratic structures of workers councils and popular assemblies.

There is a popular belief that the abolition of the state and bosses will result in chaos. This is a prejudiced and ill-informed assertion that ignores the current chaos of capitalism. Capital requires the state to prevent it imploding. In a society based on 'dog eat dog' competition, conflict, distrust, oppression and alienation there must be a state to hold everything together through collusion and if need be, by force. The alternative anarchist communist society voluntarily integrates individuals into an egalitarian, collective, cooperative, voluntary and self-governed democratic culture that would not need the coercive power of a state to hold it together. A society where near everyone is directly engaged in social and economic decision-making, would hold together by itself. Such a classless society has no need of the state to manage it or keep it together.

Imperialism is a logical criminal act that follows from state power. Imperialism is not only as Lenin said, (ignoring the history of state conquest and empire), "the function of financial capital in generating profits from the exploitation colonialism inherent to imperialism, as the final stage of capitalism", but is a single-minded commitment to state power. It is the end stage of the accumulation, concentration and projection of state power. The projection of state power is for the benefit of the ruling classes of a particular state in competition with other states. The Japanese anarchist Kōtoku Shūsui (1871 – 1911) said in 1901, that it is national elites using the power of militarism and patriotism that drives imperialism. "...patriotism is the microbe that causes the disease while militarism is the means by which the microbe is transmitted." Kōtoku Shūsui "Monster of the Twentieth Century". (1901)

To end imperialism means to abolish all vestiges of capitalist and state power.

We anarchist communists advocate for peace, safety, and well-being of all. This cannot be reconciled with the continuance of capitalism and its state that are the antithesis of human wellbeing. A communist society free of hierarchies, classes and capitalism, that is eco-regenerative and uses technology by and in the service of the people means well-being, a dignified and comfortable life for everyone. If we are to have change, to build a free communist future, the change needs to be real, revolutionary and radical if change is to mean anything.

Neither Marx nor Engels left a theory as to the nature of the state. A surprise considering their adherence to the defence of the bourgeoisie state. Marx planned to dedicate a volume of Capital to the question of the state but died before he could start. What exists of a Marxist theory of government and the state is patched together



from notes and rewritten by contemporary Marxists. The position of Marxist Leninism and the dominance of its authoritarian state, which originates from the Marxist 'dictatorship of the proletariat' a concept never explained or defined. Throughout Marx's and Engel's collected works, there are contradictions in their thoughts about the state. But Marx had a purpose, which as an authoritarian, especially in his later years served in misrepresenting the anarchist alternative to statism and authoritarian communism.

The state, in whatever form it claims to be and whoever it claims to represent

exists for its own perpetuation of power through the threat of force. Force is used to coerce and through the wielding of coercive force, there is a hierarchy of power. We have the powerful and the powerless, the oppressor and the oppressed, the ruler and ruled. For example, capitalists steal the wealth of our planet. This wealth belongs to all and which generations and generations of workers laboured to create. It is taken from us, forcefully if we resist, and protected for capitalism by the state. The resources and wealth of our planet and the work we do to create this wealth should be used for the benefit of all the worlds peoples. Instead, it is stolen and squandered by capitalist elites.

Libertarian communism is also referred to throughout this document as 'free communism'. Freedom in a communist society is not the delusional existence we currently inhabit called 'freedom'. Nor is freedom the right to interfere with or suppress the freedom of others. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809—1865) in "On the Solution of the Social Problem" (1848) wrote, "The Republic is a positive anarchy [...] it is liberty that is the mother, not the daughter, of order".

Anarchist communist freedom is substantive and relational. Societies built through anarchist social revolution are a positive structural embodiment of the conditions needed to foster liberty and true freedom. A positive structural embodiment is not the imposition of statist law to control and arbitrate on what can and cannot be done. Freedom is not a simple freedom "from", although up to this point, we have used terms like free from coercion and authoritarianism, wage slavery, capitalism and so on. That definition of freedom positions freedom as a shadow of what freedom is.

Our lives are built on relationships; political, ethical, sexual, social, and economic. The freedom to create and re-create these relations with others is what we mean as freedom. It is not a 'freedom' that allows us to find our "selves", but one that is found through and with others, through a lived collective singularity.

Freedom is the concrete capacity to invent and re-make these relations. Creativity is only possible with others; therefore, freedom comes with equality. Freedom and

equality stand or fall together, and both make and are rendered possible by the social relations between us.

We know the dice are loaded!



Leonard Cohen

Freedom is participating directly in the decisions that shape your life, to access the means to contribute and live without being subject to the authority of another. It is inseparable from equality. Freedom is not as an abstract principle; it is a material and social condition. To be free is to stand joyfully in a world where the people are in direct control of their future and no one has the institutionalised power to command, exploit, or subordinate others.

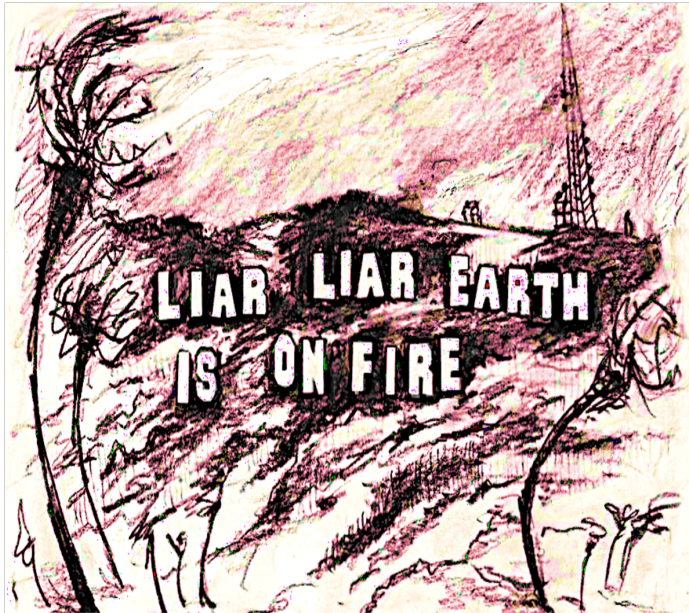
The structures of collective freedom are fabricated and assembled in the class struggle and social revolution. Such structures continue to grow and evolve in the new communist society. The strong foundations for freedom come from egalitarian self-directed mass struggle (cultural, economic and social) to bring on social revolution. Freedom denotes autonomy, egalitarianism, mutual aid and consciousness. Evolution has imbedded in us as a social and cultural species, that to thrive and live freely in harmony, we must organise society in a free democratic and collective form. Our freedom is buried and concealed by the mythologies of State and Capital. In the process of struggle against State and capital, we will periodically unearth unexpected, novel and exciting forms of freedom.

The illusion of freedom in capitalist democracy is readily shattered when you contrast your lived experiences with those in a totalitarian state. If we choose to look, you can see the same patterns of indoctrination, submission, conformism and oppression, little different to the way we live. In reality we are all enslaved globally, subservient to hierarchies of power and privilege and our situation grows worse every day.

Between the authoritarianism of the right and the authoritarianism of the regressive left, there is a competitive cultivation of their version of a mass delusional form of freedom. Freedom is never given or granted by decree or election. Genuine freedom is only won through mass revolutionary struggle. Freedom starts with the collective, autonomous and self-directed action in social revolutionary struggle to create the conditions for real freedom.

Capitalism promises that only they can look after your interests, and that just around the corner, despite the ready excuses such as 'current hardship' or 'despite this and that war', there will be a better world for you. They say "follow us", "listen to what we say and of course, "shut up, don't make trouble work harder and consume ever more" if you want the capitalist nirvana". They manipulate us to replace truth with belief. Their promised nirvana is always 'just around the corner'- three centuries on from when the capitalist era arrived with more and greater damage to us and our planet with time.

We are indoctrinated to believe that it is our personal failing or that of others that are to blame for our situation. We are blamed for failures in productivity, too high wages, too much sick and personal leave, joining unions, driving up inflation or voting for the wrong political party. Capitalism tells us that the only reason we are not rich or powerful or drive the most expensive cars, i.e. 'successful' is because we don't work hard enough. Intuitively we know that everything is stacked against the working



class to keep us down. There are similarities in capitalist mythology with other ideologies such as Christian religious doctrine which promises that belief in their dogma of resurrection brings life in heaven after death. If you don't get to heaven? It's because you are a sinner or not practicing the correct religion.

There are also parallel similarities with what authoritarian leftists promise. "Submission to the party, a belief in dictatorship and a fictitious 'withering away' of the

state will get us to a communist society." The communist party, as the vanguard of the revolution is authoritarian and as history shows acts for the preservation the status quo of power. Communism then becomes distant and unachievable. The party now leads for an undefined time and undefined future.

We will never know the disappointment of those faithful Christians because they are dead and stay dead. We do know that the uncritical acceptance of Marxist-Leninist and Maoist dogma, has unleashed on the international working class a shocking brutality that has sullied social progress and the beautiful idea of communism.

We also know too well, the bitterness of life in the twenty-first century. Life controlled and being destroyed by capitalism. Life in which we are engulfed by debt and being taken to the brink of extinction. Lives not lived but trying to survive in a world of social alienation, anxiety, suicide, impoverishment, consumerism, homelessness and the terror of total annihilation from inter-imperialist nuclear warfare.

In the twenty-first century, violence which is systemic in the capitalist system is everywhere. State violence is used against us fighting for freedom and the end capitalism. Women, children, those differently abled, the elderly, trans and queers who are also mostly marginalised, face systemic capitalist violence. Racist violence is used against a person who doesn't have white skin or doesn't speak enough English. Xenophobic hate and violence are waged against immigrants and refugees, non-Christian religions, cultures and diets. Violence is so widespread and normalised it is beginning to take on the form of fascism, the form that capitalism takes as it fails.

Workers today are surveilled, disorientated and scapegoated. We are trapped and drowning in individual debt, trying to meet capitalist expectations for production, growth and consumption. We are anxious and traumatised by fear, loneliness and insecurity. We face declining living standards and a shorter life expectancy. Addictions, suicide and mental illness are spread by the capitalist system as we try to cope with or escape its horrors.

In the twenty first century we are encountering something we as a species has never encountered in our history. The climate of our planet has never warmed and changed at the pace it is doing at present. When it did change in the past, it was over periods

of tens to hundreds of thousands of years. We face catastrophe with climate collapse.

The biosphere, which supports life, cannot adapt to such rapid change. There has been little attention paid to mitigation or attempts to adapt to this catastrophe. We face ever more and longer wars, poverty, famines, our cities becoming unliveable, increasing disease and mass human deaths. This we call “capitalist induced climate catastrophes” (CICC).



“Man (sic) will never be able to combat nature...conquer or master it... Being the ultimate product of nature on this Earth through individual and social development, continues, so to speak, the work, creation, movement and life of nature. Man’s (sic) relationship to this universal nature cannot be external, cannot be those of slavery or of struggle, carries nature within and is nothing outside of it...It seems quite evident that no revolt is on the part of man (sic) against what I call universal causality, or universal nature; the latter envelopes and pervades man(sic); within and outsider him and constitutes his whole being.”
Mikhail Bakunin 1814-1876

CICCs originate with the capitalist industrial ‘revolution’, in evolutionary terms, a blink of 240 years. In the last few decades, the accumulated damage to the biosphere is to such an extent that we are the verge of a collapse of the biosphere. There is a very real possibility of killing our planet in this final and predictable result of capitalist ideology. Capitalism’s fantastical ideology greedily exploits the Earth with a mythology of unlimited exponential growth. Unlike other species on our planet, humans are forced to live in this system defined by state power that controls and enforces privilege for the capitalist planet killing elites.

The capitalist narrative controls the climate disaster narrative, which encompasses debate on greenhouse gas emissions, fossil fuels, renewables technology, immigration, security, mining, plastics, the hole in the ozone layer, agriculture, land clearing, vanishing fish stocks from our oceans, inflation, and cost of living, are reframed to appear as anomalies and not endemic to capitalism. The reality is that this is an inevitable consequence of the function of capitalism.

Capitalism successfully undermined understanding the climate crises, with the fossil fuel industry adopting techniques developed by the tobacco industry in the 1960’s to protect its selling deadly tobacco products. This technique is based on using doubt, to delay and their wealth to buy and intimidate people. If enough people doubt the cause of a problem, it means business as usual as no changes will result. Doubt clouds issues and makes it difficult to believe in objective fact.

The fossil fuel industry sow doubt, trotting out inhouse ‘science’ they commissioned, confusing climate with weather, questioning if it feels hotter or colder, creating distractions with phoney technologies, and shifting blame onto everyone. They did with the false assertion of carbon footprint. In doing so, the climate crises result not from capitalist production, but from a problem with consumption, the consumer. We



have all been handed an individualised responsibility for the crashing biosphere. The conceptual framework becomes “what can I do” not “what the system will inevitably and systematically do as is the nature of the system”. In the meantime, capital accelerates the use and quantities of fossil fuels used to maximise profits in the confusion. It is a very successful strategy of entrenched capitalism.

Capitalists also embrace the generation of wealth coming from capitalist climate ‘solutions.

They are not real solutions; they will inevitably fail as they conceal the real source of the problem. Most of use still have faith that capitalists will fix the climate crises as they also live on Earth. This may be true for a very small number but if you look at the direction of so-called climate adaption and mitigation polices there are clear signals that capitalism can’t fix the crises and in fact don’t want to fix the climate crises. They only want to maximise profit from it.

The use and expansion of fossil fuels and investment is accelerating. Fracking for gas is an excuse to steal more land from first nations peoples and farmers. It damages the land, destroys and pollutes aquifers and renders prime agricultural land unusable. ‘Renewable’ fossil fuel alternatives are also contributing to the destruction of the natural world through mining, processing and waste. It poisons us, waterways and the land with toxic waste. It is driving imperialist aggression, neocolonialism and war across the globe for control of critical mineral resources.

Farmer’s land is being forcibly acquisitioned by the state for corporate power distribution grids, wind and solar factories. Prime land is being taken and handed to capitalists for profit growth. Sea and landscapes are being damaged and scared, local ecosystems degraded and fire risks added to. Rivers are dammed for hydroelectricity displacing communities, destroying agricultural land and more ecosystems. The continued control of energy by capital is the real agenda for profit. It is the bad faith opportunists of the right that currently occupy this space and we must displace them and make common cause with rural workers and communities.

The centralised bureaucracy of government mirrors that of capitalism. Energy for capitalist profit is centralised for generation and distribution. Local control and distribution of power is not permitted for our communities. Instead, communities have massive wind and solar factories, more mining and fracking imposed under the threat of state violence.

The perpetration of massive power grids, with negative health impacts, is not only a waste of energy as transmission lines consume energy, but also insane. These grids are vulnerable to extreme temperatures, mega storms, floods and fires driven by

CICC 's. They will fail in these events leaving everyone more vulnerable. They are slow to repair and outrageously expensive to build which is why, we the working class pay for them. The government gives our money to these companies as subsidies and is very profitable from them. The centralised renewable energy roll out is a product of capitalist and bureaucratic thinking. It is the same system that created these crises and the story that technology is always developed and deployed to serve the interests of the reigning ideology, the capitalist ideology.

The advent of simple, cheap and efficient energy storage does away with massive, centralised energy generation and distribution. Alternatives such as energy gravity banks, new forms of pumped hydro and liquid/compressed air energy storage are not discussed. These alternatives can give direct control of accessible and cheap power for communities that can benefit from them.

It does not matter who controls the state and how it is used. History clearly demonstrates that state power always guarantees the status quo of hierarchy, power, domination and coercion of the people. The state and its institutions are the negation of freedom, autonomy, egalitarianism and community.

We are now in the midst of an epoch of death and mass extinction, with the collapse of empire and domination. We are also trapped in a dead zone of hope and imagination, a place that is difficult to extricate ourselves from. We are being led down the path of social and ecological disintegration or acting collectively and create a new era of social and ecological regeneration. We must act for revolutionary change to make this needed break or face an inevitable collapse of organised civilisation. It is revolution or death!

2.03 Preparation for Social Revolution.



red dawn...capitalists be warned.

“The spectre of totalitarian technocratic feudalism and state surveillance driven by artificial intelligence is about manipulation and control of our psyches and its power to divide, control and oppress. This phenomenon directly challenges us openly organising for social revolution and needs further serious consideration.” - UAC Statement June 2025

There is no obvious, guaranteed or ‘historic inevitability’ leading to social revolution. Social revolutionary theory at its best gives us a means to understand complex systems and their interaction, but it is fallible. When taken in context with the historical lessons learnt from the defeat of social revolutions of the past, there is an obvious conclusion to draw that continued adaption to a changing social climate is essential. The best guarantees can then come with adaption and preparedness.

The metaphorical winds of change blow from many different directions and take different forms at different times, with variable strengths, or sometimes don't blow at all. A single path, that leads in one direction, subject to unforeseen and not well understood variabilities and dictated to by a vanguard or party ideologists is not a road to social revolution but to oblivion. Social revolution can only be successful when we find our own way out of this dead zone of hope and imagination and prepared for all eventualities.

We must reference the subjugation of working-class emancipation on the principle of Marxist 'historical determinism'. Historical determinism is an abstraction that puts economic factors as the primary driver of historical change. It is overly simplistic and neglects the influence of other factors like culture, technology, ideas, belief and individual will. To follow a determinist path, negates working class autonomy and individual will. Determinism isolates the left from the disaffected and dispossessed of the world, with even further marginalisation of the left as a consequence of failure of social revolution as a result. Historical determinism situates the working class as respondents to events that are predetermined and inevitable. It determines history as linear in direction and meaning.

It categorised the working class as driven by forces that are external and act on us as a class and ignores the development of an individual and cultural consciousness and shared collective experience. Our class, as history shows, can and do act by making conscious and decisive decisions to break with history.

The foment of social revolution only eventuates with class actions that arise from the base, and are self-organised, self-directed and autonomous. The struggle to overthrow capitalist constructs of power, is only achievable when we abandon hierarchical practices by organising with millions of people with a direct democratic practice in building social revolution.

Bob Dylan a North American folk singer-song writer (1941-present) in "Subterranean Homesick Blues" (1965) wrote, "Keep a clean nose, watch the plainclothes. You don't need a weather man (sic) to know which way the wind blows...Don't follow leaders, and watch the parking meters" The lyrics, evidentially anti-authoritarian is a message that we can aptly decide our own future, free from authoritarian vanguard dictates.

By introducing a cultural context into class struggle, we acknowledge the need to embrace a working-class cultural revolution. By this we mean a culture that supports class solidarity and autonomy, the momentum for revolution, resilience, and education on revolutionary theory and practice. The cultural revolution subverts dominant capitalist cultural and social norms and promotes the adaptation of cultural and social norms that match the prefigurative free communist structures and institutions that form in the social revolutionary struggle.

We are not asking you to join the UAC with an expectation that it is a complete project in all its parts, nor we do not expect the past to be the key to understanding the totality of the present. What the UAC expects of comrades is an illumination in thinking before acting based on additions to our strategy of class struggle, that emanates from a comrade's experiences and familiarity with social revolutionary theory.

The capitalist enemy against whom we fight is ahead of us, creating the conditions of exploitation for the future. Their priority to strike the left hard and to render us incapable of understanding or fighting more and new repressive models. The UAC is part of the infrastructure of social revolution, a growing international network. It is with a practice in which we assemble social forces, to fight our class enemies and that can accomplish the maximum possible and consolidate this at a given stage of class struggle.

In the twenty first century we look at how to reconfigure politics in a way more favourable for working-class advancement towards liberation. It is where we seek the means to overthrow capitalism instead of a reliance on European socialist strategies from the nineteenth century.

2.04 Social Revolution and Counter Revolution.

“Capitalism is a system in which the central institutions of society are, in principle, under autocratic control. Thus, a corporation or an industry is, if we were to think of it in political terms, fascist, that is, it has tight control at the top and strict obedience has to be established at every level. Just as I'm opposed to political fascism, I am opposed to economic fascism. I think that until the major institutions of society are under the popular control of participants and communities, it's pointless to talk about democracy.” – Noam Chomsky.

Reaction to social revolution begins with its inception. The project to end the illegitimate, violent, genocidal and autocratic capitalist system faces the wrath of the ruling capitalist class, the bureaucratic and political classes, reactionary political parties as well as from the regressive and authoritarian left. This can be called 'counter revolution'. Counter revolution degenerates into civil war and is a lesson on the constant need for preparedness. Preparedness is to be alert to a small spark that can ignite social revolution, or preparedness for decades of work to create the right conditions for social revolution and a new cultural consensus for social revolution.

For the victory of social revolution there needs to be preparedness in the form of building a consensus amongst all peoples oppressed by capitalism that liberation through social revolution is the only means to overthrow oppression and have incorporated in the consensus consistency between means and ends. For anarchist communists it is our role to build this consensus in cultural revolution, with education, agitation and provocation, to aid in building a solid broadly based movement that is ever alert and acting for social revolution.

Contained within capitalism in any dissent or uprising is the possibility of social revolution and this demands of our movement's attention. We need to be organised, confident, disciplined, and prepared for all eventualities that can sweep away the structural violence of the state and expropriate capital.

The emergence of anarchist communism from within social revolution brings with it the structures of the new federalist society. There are many bad faith actors who for the sake of ideological dogma, will try and destroy or capture these structures, subvert direct worker democracy and create a new embryonic state with a dictatorship of a Marxist Leninist-Maoist party and the crushing of social revolution.

In concert, there is the threat from external attack. There cannot be libertarian communism isolated in one country, and if attempted would end with social revolution crushed both economically and militarily by all existing statist and capitalist power outside the geography of the social revolution.

Internationalism unites worker's struggle locally with workers struggle around the globe. Unity with the global struggle for liberation brings a convergence with others fighting annihilation, oppression, exclusion or discrimination. Class struggle builds counter power and a revolutionary opposition to capitalism. The only way to overthrow state and capitalist power is through direct confrontation of state and capital by the mass working class and for any hope for the revolution, to engage in actions that change the very nature of our society.

Remaking the world cannot be confined within arbitrary state borders. It is with a global struggle of the international working class where we learn to build a common vision of what liberation looks like. International solidarity in struggle, promotes and protects social revolution, when and wherever it erupts. A revolutionary international working class can counter, and delay repression of revolution. The international revolutionary working class can be inspired by revolution elsewhere to also liberate themselves and protect the existence of social revolution by launching their revolution. It may seem absurd to talk about social revolution. But all the alternatives assume the continuation of the present system, which is even more absurd!

3.00 Towards a United and Revolutionary Working Class.

It is unfashionable to talk about class. The problem, though, is that capitalism hasn't gone anywhere. It's only become better at disguising itself. Most people think that we live in an egalitarian society and a term such as working class does not relate to being in a class society, controlled by powerful social and economic hierarchies of the capitalist system. We think working class is a term used to describe people's employment, identity and difference in background. We believe our interests align with our bosses, the 'capitalist elites or ruling classes'. This is a false narrative, built on indoctrination.

Consent to the legitimacy of the system is fabricated and used to conceal the realities of class society. People are led to conclude that the world we see, the social and economic system we are forced to live under must be natural, because we are not aware of other social systems that exist. Accelerating unlimited growth is not natural, hierarchies, domination, wars, genocide and exploitation are not natural. Inequality, poverty, homelessness, discrimination and competition is not natural. None of this is natural or should exist in a society created by the human species that is both a social and cultural species. We have had it pounded into us that the world is constructed in such a complex manner we are incapable of organising ourselves to manage it, that change only originates with great (mostly) men. The logical extension of this doctrine is we need rulers and bosses because everyone else is incapable of doing such 'great' things.

In any workplace you will always find workers ignoring the directions of their bosses, even for such simple end as to simply organise their work, get it done and get out of there! All too often workers need to work around direction for the protection of their own and others safety.

A workplace that submits to autocratic direction is a treacherous place, devoid of solidarity, depressing, slow, rigid and with an undercurrent of rage. Look how capitalist industries fall apart when subject to a 'work to rule' industrial campaign.



The capitalist doctrine of the powerlessness of everyone, but for the capitalist ruling elites, is a social fabrication which at its worst, abuses science to get the designated outcome. The outcome is to legitimise the status quo. The capitalist system creates hierarchies, dividing society between, rulers and ruled, the rich and the poor, leaders and lead, the capitalist classes and the working class. This is the class system, at the top sits the capitalist ruling elites and beneath everyone else.

A relevant definition of who constitutes the working class is anyone through “social and economic coercion is forced to work for a capitalist for a wage, or are tied to an income from the state, and need to spend this wage to buy the necessary things to survive from other capitalists.” In so called Australia for the year 2021, approximately 57.0% of people aged 15 and over rely on employee wages while 23.0% rely on income from government benefits and allowances. A total of over 80.0% of the population is reliant on wages and is by definition are the working class. The working class is an overwhelming majority of the population.

A further definition of the working class explains the inevitability of conflict between the working class and capitalist elites. When a society subjugates over 80% of its people to be controlled, exploited and manipulated by an elite, this creates conditions that clearly delineates the working class from the elites. The unifying force of the working-class is class identity. In unity we find the capacity, strength, resilience and determination to fight not only the elites, but the everyday injustices and violence of those bureaucratic and capitalist elites. The organised working class is a very long way from having a strategic conversation about the present impasse with capitalism. Anarchist communists, our purpose is to spark this conversation.

The working class holds a distinct and powerful position in the capitalist system. We are the producers, manually, intellectually, and creatively of everything. As this system sinks deeper into crises and collapse, we workers know everything about this system of production and distribution along with both how to destroy it and to replace it. The working class within existing capitalist social and economic structures is vulnerable. This is what must drive us to unite and fight capitalism. Workers do this not because our class is educated to create some form of class consciousness but our need to fight back. The priorities that emerge from the subjugation of over 80%

“in an incredible irony of history, Marx failed to anticipate in the dialectic of capitalism. The proletariat, instead of developing into a revolutionary class within the womb of capitalism, turns out to be an organ within the body of bourgeois society.” The Murray Bookchin Reader, Edited by Janet Biehl (1999)

of society by the capitalist economic, political and social structures creates an antithetical conflict between the subjugated and the dominant classes, between the ruled and rulers. To fight capitalism with the goal of its destruction, the working class needs to find its unity and power and bring these into revolutionary class struggle.

Class struggle not only takes place in the workplace. Class conflict reveals itself in all aspects of proletarian life. Affordable and decent housing concerns all working people. However, affordable for us means unprofitable for them. In a capitalist economy, it makes more sense to build luxury apartment blocks that return high profits from their sale. Meanwhile millions are forced into poor housing and held to ransom to pay exorbitant rents or can't afford to buy a home, and robbed blind with mortgage fees and interest rates while tens of thousands go homeless. Homelessness is the logical consequence and unacceptability of the capitalist system. The state promises to build affordable housing. Often remote from where people already live with a cost of connection to their community for those who move.

Those 'affordable' homes are poorly built, need to be heated or cooled at great cost, offer little privacy, are built an unreasonable distance from work, poorly serviced by public transport and makes it very costly just to get to work or send kids to school. There are no hospitals, schools or childcare nearby and shopping centres are dominated by fast food outlets with no consideration for access to cheap fresh food. Workers become further isolated, stranded on the fringes of our cities in ghettos of further deprivation.

The state uses existing social housing as revenue raising, selling the existing social housing stock to capitalist developers. Class struggle is to defend social housing from bureaucratic arrogance and marauding developers, as is occupying empty properties to live in or rent strikes to fight for a dignified home.

Healthcare is class struggle. It is not only a struggle by health workers across the system to defend their rights to a decent and dignified workplace but also of the wider community to fight governments and companies reducing spending on healthcare. By cutting budgets, limiting access and introducing charges for services, they shift the burden of costs onto the working class. It is the responsibility of a society to provide the best healthcare for all.

The fight to save our planet from climate collapse is class struggle. Who do you think will be the most vulnerable and suffer the most but have to stand at the end of the line to get help? Who do you think will have to pay for help if at all available? The working class. The social struggle against racism, fascism and patriarchy is class struggle as we fight the divisive and destructive features of capitalism which are endemic to it. This is the class struggle and in all these forms, and it is a struggle that must be for social revolution!

"No matter what workers are mad about, unhappy about, indignant about, feel abused about, it doesn't matter until they can actually get real leverage over production, the leverage to make their struggle effective. You don't get this leverage just by feelings. You get it by holding the power to cut off the capitalists' revenue. And without that material power your struggle won't get you very far for long."

John Womack "How Can Workers Organize Against Capital Today?" 2023.

3.01 Towards a Revolutionary Worker's Culture.

“The anarchists we prepare minds for revolution, that is all. We throw revolutionary seed into that fertile ground called the populace, convinced that it will germinate there, that it will bear fruit there in full freedom”. ‘Dialogues Between an Anarchist and an Authoritarian.’ Hector Morel 1888.

The world that Marx lived in has changed dramatically as has the working class itself. What has not changed is that there is still a class society. It is within the construct of a class society that social and cultural norms are exercised to reinforce and perpetrate the hierarchical order of society. The working class faces a massive disorientation in the existing world. We are disorientated as to our identity and place in the world. This is a world we did not expect to get nor a world we want. It is in this disorientation and with a lack of an alternative that the ugliness of fascism emerges as people resort to orientating themselves through identifying with race, sex, religion or nationalism.



Whatever our understanding of class politics the evidence shows that in the real world the working class is ambivalent as to its revolutionary history and power. Revolution is not the task of the working class exclusively but as a class seeking its emancipation from capitalist domination it is necessary for it to undertake revolutionary strategies. An important question arises here. Is the working class a revolutionary class?

Marx contradicts himself in his own statements on this with historical determinism. We are asked to believe that the working class is only subject to the economic forms that defines the working class. We are then told that social being determines consciousness, a position with which we would agree. The working class has economic not cultural or political struggle assigned as its function. Worker's struggles are then restricted to working through trade unions and to be subservient to political parties. They working class is then lectured about their being unable to break free of their trade union consciousness. Marx was not accurate or fair in imposing this social role on workers. Revolutionary worker's history reveals Marx as flawed in his thinking, like all humans. The working class is ambivalent, towards capitalism, tolerant of the present but knows enough of history to beware. The working class does not as yet fully appreciate our transformative power. For the moment, the working class is forced to pay for capitalist economic and ecological crises as well as imperialist war and are weary of this, disgruntled and agitated. With electoralism exhausted of all alternative options, workers are unsure where to go.

“It is not the consciousness of men (sic) that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.” - Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy

This is a dangerous conjuncture. An alienated society like ours, with so much flux is open to manipulation or capture by any phoney peddler of hate and blame, namely the right. This is not to say such problems don't exist in 'centrist/social democratic' politics. 'Centrists' with their conscientious voice of conviction, their claim to represent, they go about with an agenda of preserving the status quo. People are kept away from real, radical and lasting solutions to what we have to endure in the capitalist present. Instead, their time is wasted, door knocking, lobbying, fund raising and handing out at polling booths building our disenfranchisement in a system that easily resists their petty reforms.

Racism, patriotism, militarism, misogyny, trans/queer phobia, ludicrous and childish conspiracies, the 'othering' of difference and rejection of reason and science lead on the right to more authoritarian propositions and ultimately fascism.

Workers have not asked for this world nor had we an expectation of living in a such a world. For the present, workers are neither against capitalism or the state nor do they want a dictatorship of the proletariat! It is time to have the voice of anarchist-communism heard, for the propagation of our program to get of this mess and for notice to be taken of our real liberatory alternative.

The authoritarian nature of capitalism and statism destroy initiative, kills the spirit of creation and free activity, and cultivates a servile psychology of submission, of expectation, of the hope of climbing the social ladder, of blind confidence in wealthy leaders, of the illusion of sharing in authority. Our goal in the UAC is to subvert then overthrow this servile culture.

The history of proletarian movements shows that it did not matter from where those that want real permanent change came from. What is important that those who want to change society are connected to the working or peasant class. It is for the sake of the emancipation, that a culture of solidarity grows within the working class. It is in this culture that the moist powerful elements a workers and peasant movement can push revolution forward. We saw this in the Mexican Revolution between 1910-1920, in the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917-1921 and in the Spanish revolution in 1936-1937, all anarchist/socialist revolutions. It was socialists and anarchist workers who took the road to freedom and bought with them the rest of the workers who went beyond their immediate financial or economic demands and fight for freedom.

Since the end of the Second World War the working class has been weakened by incessant capitalist attacks (cultural, legal, political and social) on the left. The working class has been unable to consciously resistance economic and social oppression. This is not a failure of the traditional model of trade unionism. It is its function within capitalism to repress working-class power. It is a futile ambition for the left to try and reform, radicalise or capture these ossified structures. It remains for the working class to not build another union model, but to build organisations of class struggle, that are a counterpower to capitalism and the engine of social revolution.



If you want real change, workers must organise external to the activity of official trade unions.

A revolutionary workers culture is a necessity for the class struggle to confront capitalist power, grow and maintain momentum to social revolution, and foster new social and organisational forms in our prefigurative work.

Working class culture has demonstrated strong, resilient and supportive communities, media, literature and music that reflects the situation of the working class, aspirations, history, victories and losses. It is a culture born of resistance, to oppression and exploitation, of economic and residential segregation. It is also culture of shared creation and invention, and despite the worst effects of capitalist propaganda there is still a

remnant culture of solidarity. It is a culture that encourages exploration and ideas, where sections of the working class have embraced the most radical and transformative ideas. It is these characteristics that anarchist communists need to build on and breath back into life through education, agitation and provocations.

Working class culture is not a set of structural components such as housing, education, labour, conditions and rewards. It is a socially identifiable culture created by our shared daily experience from which distinctive attitudes and behaviours emerge to influence preferences of class members. Our class-specific culture also glaringly exposes the defining features of class society and under this glare exposes the means to end the capitalist system of inequality.

The capitalist elites have imposed their order on our planet with a culture of indoctrination, power, control and submission of people and planet. They claim possession of culture as a civilising influence, as they also possess the instruments of production and the Earth's resources for their benefit. The working class, the creators and builders of society, know that we are the ones who create and build and at the same time we have the power to subvert and discard their culture.

Just as industry, land and society can be is socialised, so too can culture. This is the purpose of a workers' cultural revolution. To subvert all capitalist norms, conventions and culture and to remake societal norms, rituals and thinking, to unlearn capitalist culture and discard capitalist indoctrination as a process of driving social revolutionary transformation to libertarian communism.

The cultural struggle against capitalist and statist norms is important in demystifying, educating and overcoming reaction to social revolution. Our movement needs to anticipate and avoid reaction to social revolution. We must be able to distinguish what is progress in social revolution and what is backsliding.

“We should build organizations of workers aimed at achieving an anarchist society, rather than organizations of anarchists-for-workers or organizations of anarchist-workers. Against this political anarchism we present our concept and our reality of the anarchist social movement, vast mass organizations that do not evade any problems of philosophical anarchism and taking the man (sic) as he is, not just as supporter of an idea, but as a member of an exploited and oppressed human fraction. To create a union movement concordant with our ideas-the anarchist labour movement ... Anarchists must create an instrument of action that allows us to be a belligerent force acting in the struggle for the conquest of the future”.- Lopez Arango, E. & de Santillan, DA. (1925). *El Anarquismo en el Movimiento Obrero (Anarchism in the Workers Movement)*

Errico Malatesta (1852-1932), also a foundational thinker on anarchist communism said, for a communist society to emerge from social revolution; “...before having conquered complete political and economic freedom, would mean establishing the most exorbitant tyranny, such as to make one regret the bourgeois regime, and then return to the capitalist regime.”

The victory of capitalist urbanism, plagues us and our cities, destroying suburbs and communities, and imposing a bureaucratic subjectivity and imagination as to how free cities can really be. Those that resist and survive are oppressed and community groups fragmented. We self-censor ourselves and are censored, overcome being ignored or sniggered about, and are then ridiculed and attacked. Capitalist and state bureaucratic opposition, pushes many to see that as our cities and society are as they should be. The same can be said for health, education and all social services. This is a fabrication to keep us powerless.

Under that impenetrable shell of state and capitalist bureaucracy lies the insurgent society, for us to uncover and build to bring life back to our communities and cities. As class struggle applies across all economic, social, cultural and politics expressions of oppression, coercion and hierarchical power relations, so will social revolution sweep it away.

A revolutionary workers culture is vital in building a social revolutionary movement. It builds class identity, pushes the momentum for revolution, and encompass transformation in every part of society. Along with workers economic and social struggles, the cultural struggle means stronger and a more resilient unity across dissident elements outside of the working class to be a dynamic force for revolution.

3.02 Revolutionary Worker Counterculture. España 1869-1936.

Adapted from “Anarchist Counterculture in Spain” Zoe Baker. 2022

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/zoe-baker-anarchist-counter-culture-in-spain>



People are taught that history is a series of events and dates laid out in chronological order. We study the history of class struggle to better understand the eventuality or not of revolution. To make some generalisations, revolutions rarely arise spontaneously and those that have are always defeated. A revolutionary situation comes with a conjuncture of crises in cultural, social, economic and political control. The transparency revealed in these crises opens up the system to mass scrutiny, its delegitimisation and the necessity to end that system...fast!

A conjuncture is not definitive, but it is a regular cyclical occurrence in capitalism. It can take decades and decades of hard systemic work by revolutionaries to alert the working class and help in building a movement to win our freedom or it can occur unexpectedly. In any case it is up to us to be always alert and build preparedness for the overthrow of capitalism at its weakest and most vulnerable point. Anarchists in the 19th and early 20th century understood the significance of small acts being repeated over and over again. They viewed social change as a process which could be divided into periods of evolution and periods of revolution.

During periods of evolutionary change, it is slow, gradual and partial. Over time this evolutionary change builds up and culminates in a revolutionary period during which change is rapid, large scale, and fundamentally alters society. Evolutionary change and revolutionary change were not viewed as separate distinct entities. They were instead seen as two aspects of a single process which fed off and flowed into one another. In 1875 Bakunin wrote to fellow anarchist Élisée Reclus that, “[w]e are *falling back into a time of evolution – that is to say revolutions that are invisible, subterranean and often imperceptible, drops of water, though they may be invisible may go on to form an ocean.*”

Anarchists assigned evolutionary change to us it means nothing that there is a Soviet Union somewhere in the world, for the sake of whose peace and tranquillity the workers of Germany and China were sacrificed to fascist barbarism by Stalin. We want the revolution here in Spain, right a wide spectrum of behaviours. They referred to direct action which modifies the dominant structures of class society, such as a general strike, and also included transformation driven forward by culture, such as a worker’s understanding of the world, existing hierarchical social relations and their

“We are fighting for the revolution...now, not maybe after the next European war. We are giving Hitler and Mussolini far more worry today with our revolution than the whole of the Red Army of Russia. We are setting an example to the German and Italian working class on how to deal with fascism.” - Buenaventura Durruti 1936



Organ of FIJL (Federation of Libertarian Youth) Spanish Revolution.

conscious subversion inspired by debates, discussions, books, poems, theatre and the visual arts. The anarchists of Spain knew that to make revolution, they need to live revolution and model the new society born of revolution.

This case study looks beyond the strikes, uprisings, organising and debates, as well as the terrible and bloody repressions over seventy years leading up to the 1936 revolution.

The anarchists of Spain knew that to make revolution, they need to live revolution and model the new society born of revolution. This case study looks beyond the strikes, uprisings, organising and debates, as well as the

terrible and bloody repressions over seventy years leading up to the 1936 revolution. It looks at the strong and resilient libertarian communities and culture forged to enable constant revolutionary struggle. Workers and peasants were transformed through introducing a way to see the world through a revolutionary culture. Of central importance was the use of print media. Between 1890 and 1915, there were 298 anarchist periodicals and journals in Spain. They featured articles on anarchist theory, news commentaries, critiques of the capitalist and state socialist press, letters and correspondence from members of the movement, and news of the class struggle both within Spain and the wider world. During this same period over 700 anarchist books and pamphlets were also published. These covered topics as diverse as geography, history, biology, sociology, political theory, birth control, law, as well as concerning, youth, sexual liberation, naturism and literature. They also published poems, plays, songs and short stories as sections of periodicals or self-contained pamphlets. The anarchist press was constituted by a social network in which local correspondents were the 'nodes' through which the anarchist press was channelled into localities, and the thoughts, experiences and money from localities were channelled out to publishers". The various publishing groups were, in turn, interconnected with one another and would support each other in various ways, such as papers announcing the appearance of a new anarchist periodical. Anarchists also spread their ideas through lectures, public debates and speaking tours.

Anarchists in Spain devoted great energy and time to the creation and distribution of print media as anarchist theory places great importance on education. American anarchist Lucy Parsons said that “Anarchists know that a long period of education” which develops “self-thinking individuals” is a necessary condition for “Any great fundamental change in society” and in 1902 similar remarks can be found in the Spanish anarchist press. We the anarchists should “work for the coming revolution with words, with writings and with deeds . . . the press, the book, the private and public meeting are today, as ever, abundant terrain for all initiatives”.

After collectively reading an article, this would be followed by a group discussion about the contents of the article. This practice of collective education occurred at public meetings, smaller private gatherings and even at work. Anarchists in Spain devoted a significant amount of time and energy to organising a wide range of social events. During the late 19th century anarchists established workers’ social centres. The centres hosted meetings, discussions, day schools, reading groups as well as key dates in revolutionary history, evening classes, lectures, plays and musical recitals. These ‘ateneos’ were interconnected with the anarchist trade union movement. An ateneo typically featured a cafe, library, reading rooms, meeting rooms for anarchist and neighbourhood groups, and an auditorium for formal debates, public talks and performances. The ateneos were funded and run by workers in their spare time. The ateneos also maintained networks of action following state oppression of workers organisations.

Through participating in ateneos workers not only developed themselves but also formed social bonds with one another and became members of the anarchist movement. A significant number of anarchist militants, especially women, first encountered anarchist ideas and entered anarchist social networks through their participation in the ateneos when they were children and teenagers.

Anarchist counterculture was underpinned by the expectation that those most committed to anarchism would become what was called a conscious worker. To be a conscious worker was to be an active participant within the trade union and collective activity. Some anarchist workers went further and embraced a cluster of alternative lifestyles known as naturalism, which included vegetarianism, nudism and only eating uncooked foods.

A means by which Spanish anarchists implemented their ideals in daily life outside of economic function was free love. Free love referred to voluntary relationships between equals which occurred outside of church and state mandated marriage. These relationships were free in the sense that if one partner wanted, they could voluntarily disassociate, end the relationship, and see new people. Anarchist parents rejected the religious baptism ceremonies of the Catholic church in favour of simply These included all public transportation services, shipping, electric and power companies, gas and water works, engineering and automobile assembly plants, mines, cement works, textile mills and paper factories, electrical and chemical concerns, glass bottle factories and perfumeries, food processing plants and breweries. This is the power of prefigurative organising and working class counterpower to overthrow capitalism.

Anarchist ideas were well understood and popular throughout Spain by 1936. The circulation of anarchist publications was widespread including two anarchist dailies, one in Barcelona, one in Madrid with an average circulation of between 30 and 50

thousand. At anarchist meetings, the difficulties to overcome in social revolution were continuously planned for and systematically discussed. The revolutionary Spanish working class inspired by the anarcho-syndicalism of the CNT to direct-action class struggle, along with the revolutionary insurrectionist anarchism of the FAI brought mass popular support for anarchism amongst both workers and peasants.

July 19th 2026 marked the 90th anniversary of the start of the most profound revolutions in western history, the Spanish Revolution. Within hours of the first fascist assaults, in July 1936, the workers and peasants launched a social revolution in response. 1.5 million workers of the CNT-FAI seized control of and collectivised over 3000 enterprises. The significance of this revolution is still to be appreciated and the lessons still to be learnt by parts of the anarchist movement. Anarchists today cannot simply replicate what worked in the past and expect similar results. What is important is to note the use of face-to-face communication, engagement in education, building a culture that resists oppression and division but also creates networks of community solidarity and mutual aid to grow revolutionary work.

Further information:

“Industrial Collectivisation in Spain 1936: Workers' self-management during the Spanish Revolution”

<https://libcom.org/.../industrial-collectivisation>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6-tOSrfHMBc>

4.00 These Anarchist Communists.



Anarchist communists, adapt the politics and methods of organised social anarchism as a means to radically transform society by abolishing class, hierarchical power structures, private property, and government/state. The social definition of hierarchy refers to institutionalised domination,

where rulers command and the ruled obey.

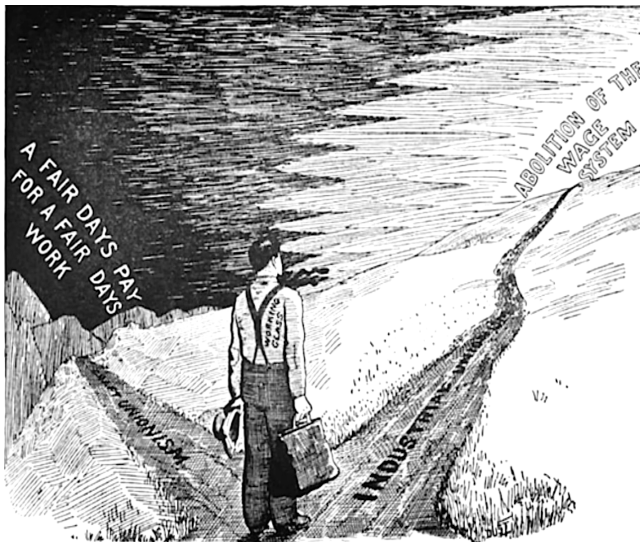
Anarchist communist struggle is class struggle, a revolutionary process of social transformation. Class struggle is the direct imposition of working-class transformational power in all economic, social and cultural spheres of oppression. Class struggle is a militant, unabating and insurrectional fight for the overthrow of the capitalist state and system. Class struggle is the mechanism to start transformation of economic and social relations. The post capitalist era creates the social conditions to utilise the architecture of a free communist society to freely rebuild production so as to satisfy human need and enable the restoration of the biosphere.

A free global communist society means systems of production and distribution that are rationally and collectively managed by their participants, with the rejection of monetary exchange as the means of sharing.

The abolition of wage labour is fundamental to anarchist communism. With the instruments of production in the hands of society, production, distribution and consumption is decentralised and rationally determined. The use of the abstraction of money is unnecessary and if continued, leaves open the way for the reemergence of inequity and the restoration of capitalist class society.

In a free communist society, we can engage in whatever activities we find most fulfilling and will no longer have to engage in work under duress, that is excessive, dangerous and for which we may have neither the temperament nor the aptitude for. Anarchist communists argue that there is no reason or valid way in measuring the value of a person's economic worth as expressed through money. All wealth is the collective product of current and preceding generations of workers.

Anarchist communists argue that any economic system based on wage labour, exchange value expressed through money and with private property is the antithesis of communism. The abolition of private property does not imply the non-existence of personal property. Private property is defined as ownership of the instruments of production, services and resources used by society. The factories, land, offices, energy, transport, raw materials, education, health, arts and culture and other assets used to produce wealth and well-being. This is distinct from personal property, which includes clothes, furniture or a home.



AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS
A cartoon appearing in the May, 1919, *One Big Union* which speaks for itself.

Anarchist communists hold that private property is the source of class division and exploitation. Its continued existence makes society vulnerable to counter revolution and the emergence of a coercive state apparatus to enforce property rights. The reimposition of statist superstructures of power over society is the reimposition of unequal social and economic relationships and a class system.

Anarchist communism is not merely one socialist tendency among many. It is the place where the strongest currents within socialist thought

converge. Whether one accepts that conclusion or not, it is difficult to avoid the path that leads there. Anarchist communism is the only current within socialism which has a clear and explicit strategy to build libertarian communism through prefigurative class struggle in accordance with a consistency between means and ends. This strategy situates our movement within an autonomous and social revolutionary working class.

We align the UAC with the working class, to inspire, advocate, educate and agitate for workers to act using their power with the well-founded strategies and tactics advocated by anarchists to 'build the new world within the shell of the old'.

The UAC seeks a convergence of all anti-capitalist social struggle with internationalist social revolution and anarchist communism. We reject imposed limits on social revolution, including false notions of a 'transitory states that lead to communism'. We act through social revolution for the abolition of the abstraction of private property, monetary exchange value, hierarchical capitalist social and economic relations, authoritarianism and for the restoration of the biosphere in the construction of anarchist communism.

We reject violence as a means to trigger and carry forward social revolution. We do not reject the necessity of the class struggle and social revolution to be defended from state, capitalist and reactionary violence. We are with the working class but do not lead or control the class struggle. We advocate for these movements to defend democratic, autonomous, self-directed mass class organisations. It is the responsibility of revolutionary organisations and movements to consider and develop the means to respond to and defend social revolution when confronted by state and counter revolutionary violence.

Rather than ownership by a collective of producers, state capitalism is managed by a new party and bureaucratic class that parallels neo-liberal capitalism with hierarchical control, exploitation, wage slavery, destruction, and alienation with no rights and protections. Alexandre D ezamy (1808–1850) an early francophone writer on communism, rejected the capitalist division of labour, an individualised specialisation that leads to new hierarchies of control, and which seeks to rigidly

organise production in the name of capitalist 'economic efficiency'. D ezamy also refused to insert between the capitalist mode of production and the new communist society a transitional period of liberal democracy which would have pushed communism into the background. The rejection of any transition period is an historical schism between anarchist communism and Marxist communism.



By establishing a direct link between revolutionary transformation and the construction of communism, the dominant class within capitalism would be economically and socially expropriated with the overthrow of their power structures and the abolition of monetary circulation. D ezamy anticipated what was to be the source of the basic originality of anarchist communism, in particular in the form developed by Russian anarchist Pyotr Kropotkin (1842-1921) and further advanced by American anarchist and anthropologist David Graeber (1961-2020).

4.01 Anarchist Communism Lives!!

“It’s hard to think of another time when there has been such a gulf between intellectuals and activists; between theorists of revolution and its practitioners. Writers who for years have been publishing essays that sound like position papers for vast social movements that do not in fact exist seem seized with confusion or worse, dismissive contempt, now that real ones are everywhere emerging.” -David Graeber. *New Left Review*. 2002.



In the nineteenth century a new revolutionary model of society flashed before the world. It arose as anarchists had advocated from the bottom up by democratically self-organised worker’s revolutionary power. Parisians had risen up, inspired by feats of bravery by the women of Paris, under threat from retreating French forces and an advancing Prussian Army. They had stopped the city being looted of weapons a retreating French National Guard. The communards executed two

French generals, refused to recognise the authority of the Republic and seized the city. A new model social organisation was born, “La Commune de Paris” (the Paris Commune). The French National Guard joined the communards under the influence of working-class radicalism to defend it. The Commune enacted progressive social action building a communalist anti-religious system, self-policing, the remission of rent, the abolition of child labour, and the right of workers to expropriate an enterprise deserted by its owner. The Commune closed all Catholic churches and schools in Paris. Feminist, communist, old-style social democracy (a mix of reformism and revolutionism), and anarchist/Proudhonist currents, among other socialist types, played important roles in the Commune. Although prominent in the functioning of the commune, women were still denied voting and their own agency.

“Government by representation” was “reduced to a minimum,” with “the final right of legislating and administrating” belonging “to the citizens... in the general assemblies of the districts.” For the anarchist communist Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), the creation of the Commune “from the bottom upward,” accustoming the masses “to act without receiving orders from the national representatives,” was an example of “the principles of anarchism” being put into practice. Similar momentous uprisings

occurred across Europe and France. Further great revolutionary models followed within decades.

The Russian Revolutions (1905 and 1917-21), the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the anarchist Autonomous Zone of the Korean People's Association in Manchuria (KPAM) 1929-31 which was crushed by Stalinist and Japanese imperialist aggression are further early twentieth century models.

Contemporary models should include "Free Derry" (Saor Dhoire), a self-declared autonomous Irish nationalist area in Derry, occupied Northern Ireland. Free Derry arose on Jan 5th, 1969, from a revolutionary action by the working class confronting cultural, social, economic and political oppression by the British state, its colonialism and capitalist deprivation. The result was the mass expulsion from their community of the front line of state oppression, the police.

Neighbourhoods took control of their immediate communities, cultural events blossomed in the streets and communalism appeared in the form of sharing of homes, resources, cleaning up the damaged streets and buildings in the community,



child and aged care and food. The "Derry commune" commenced broadcasting with a self-managed free radio, and expropriated from the British state essentials such as gas, water, electricity and transport. The state dared not to refuse these in fear the rest of Ireland would arrive in support of Derry. Communities guarded the 'Derry Commune' vigilantly. Street patrols were unnecessary as crime had disappeared. Free Derry now exists in a nether world of a frozen and unfinished Irish Revolution (1916-1919) and (1969-1972).

In Kanaky (New Caledonia), under French colonialist oppression, the first uprising by Kanaks in 1876 allied with the exiled political prisoners of the French state that survived the bloody repression of the Paris Commune of 1871. Anarchists, exiled to Kanaky, including Louise Michel (1830-1905), anarchist feminist veteran of the Paris Commune rose in solidarity expressing the unity of all peoples against colonialism.

The Zapatista Revolution (2004-present) in Chiappas Mexico and the Rojava Revolution (Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (2016-present) and in association the free and autonomous self-managed cities in Syria, part of the revolution for the overthrow of the militarist, pan-Arab nationalist and protofascist Ba'athist Assad regime in Syria keep the struggle alive in the twenty-first cent

Further reading: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/usufruct-collective-community-self-management-and-commoning-within-6-libertarian-socialist-infl>

4.02 The Syrian Revolution and Local Coordinating Committees.

"We are not less than the workers of the Paris Commune... They lasted 70 days and we are still here since a year and a half." Omar Aziz on the revolution in Syria.
On 17 February 2013, Aziz was martyred in Adra Central Prison Syria.

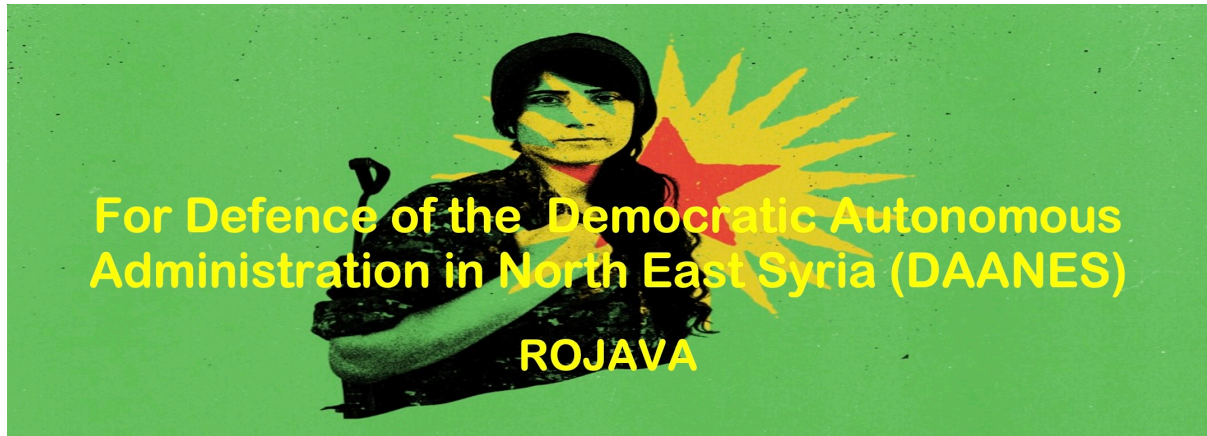


Comrade Omar Aziz

In March 2011 the Syrian revolution entered a new phase with armed civilian uprisings in small and large towns across the country. Syria along with Lebanon and Egypt had historically the largest anarchist movements in the region and had still not been entirely erased by nationalist and Islamist authoritarianism. In November 2011 Omar Aziz published 'The Formation of Local Councils' detailing a vision of self-governance as a route for emancipation from the state. The paper quickly became one of the core theoretical proposals for the Local Coordinating Committees (LCC) that spread across Syria and twelve months later there were 14 active committees.

Anarchist ideas of autonomy, solidarity and mutual aid inspired the committees to develop a vision to take over from state control and were active in both rebel and government held areas. They functioned to ensure local communities received humanitarian aid and also supported the maintenance of civil defence, education, water, power and health. The LCC's declared that they understand the calls for internal armed opposition to the Syrian government and international military intervention but opposes both. Some LCC's had nascent armed self-defence committees, but they opposed militarisation in the fight against Assad as it would reduce popular support for the opposition and reduce its moral superiority and place "the Revolution in an arena where the regime has a distinct advantage". The LCC network said that peaceful demonstrations would make it easier to develop democracy following a revolution, while militarisation would make it "virtually impossible to establish a legitimate foundation for a dignified future Syria. As the situation now being played out by the so called "transitional government"- 2025-2030 – under former acolyte of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda and Islamist now turned president, Ahmed al-Sharaa illustrates.

4.03 Democratic Autonomous Administration of North & East Syria.



Otherwise known by the Kurdish name as Rojava, it is a region in N.E. Syria occupied by Kurdish forces in 2012 in the midst of the Syrian civil war, and then declared autonomy. The territory is situated in the traditional lands claimed by Kurds between Syria, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. For over a century this region experienced numerous struggles and initiatives for self-determination carried out by several Kurdish groups and factions. The current situation in the region is volatile and complex from a juncture of historical and contemporary contradictions namely;

1. the end of the armed struggle by the PKK (Workers' Party of Kurdistan) in Turkey in May 2025 and withdrawal to Rojava
2. The standing of Abdullah Öcalan (1948 – present), a founder and leading theoretician of the PKK
3. The legacy of the invasion of the US-led coalition in Iraq in 2003 that deepened ethnic conflict
4. The continuing impact following the end of the 14-year civil war in Syria in 2025
5. Re-centralisation of the Syrian state following the imposition by former acolyte of Osama bin Laden's "Al-Qaeda" and Islamicist, Ahmed al-Sharaa (1982 – present) as transitional president of Syria until 2030
6. the constant imperialist military interventions by Türkiye
7. The war on Iran and Palestine and their aftermath
8. The revolutionary base in Rojava
9. internationalist solidarity

Syrian president al-Sharaa and the 'interim' government are trying to legitimise itself with their new backers, the EU, UK, France, the United States, Israel, and Türkiye. They began brutal attacks on the DAANES in January 2026 using his jihadist army, "Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham" (HTS). They also attacked Kurdish neighbourhoods in Aleppo and massacred Druze in the south of Syria and Alawites in the west. HTS forces took swaths of land, cities, villages, resources, and freed ISIS prisoners in the Autonomous Administration. The Autonomous Administration is no longer an intact region; it is now broken into separate enclaves of determined resistance. On January 6th 2026, the interim Syrian government met with Israel and Türkiye to form an alliance to liquidate the autonomous region and the revolution.

Abdullah Öcalan, has been imprisoned in solitary confinement on İmralı Island in Türkiye since February 1999. He originally advocated Marxism–Leninism for the specific conditions of struggle in Kurdistan. In prison he read Turkish translations of two books by Murray Bookchin (1921 – 2006), "Towards an Ecological Society" (1980) "The Ecology of Freedom" (1982), which deeply influenced his thinking. Öcalan also re-examined the works of anarchists such as Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin.

He found that modernist political perspectives are derived from mis-conceptualisations of human history. The resulting hierarchies of power and the institution of the state are an aberration not social evolution. He abandoned the paradigm of state-building as the objective of emancipatory processes and critically worked on the implementation of libertarian municipalism in Kurdistan.

Öcalan wrote that anarchism is essentially correct in its critique of capitalism, and that anarchism is a real socialist alternative positioned as the polar opposite to the capitalist system. Anarchism attacks capitalism in both its private and state form and is also a complete critique of the narratives and ideologies of modernity, i.e. the capitalist present.

Öcalan continued that anarchism does not attribute a progressive role to capitalism, as Marxists do, and reject concepts of historical steps of development before socialism can be achieved. Anarchism consequently does not condemn 'under developed' societies to the yolk western imperialism and colonialism because of an abstraction that socialism could not be achieved.

Anarchism differentiates between different influences and forms of societies. Anarchist's advocate for the construction of socialism from the bottom up. We take the social, economic and political legacy of the people's cultures in those societies so that are predominant and encourage strategies to build socialism that address their reality.

Öcalan also saw the depth of woman's enslavement and the intentional masking of this as closely linked to the rise within a society of hierarchical and statist power. He also utilised Bookchin's theory of social ecology to link capitalism, the social and ecological crises, and the subjugation of women in patriarchy, to hierarchical and statist power. In 2002 he renounced Marxism-Leninism and embraced Democratic Confederalism.

Öcalan and Bookchin never personally met. When Bookchin was nearing his death he wrote to Öcalan in May 2004 about his inability, due to his health, to read for long periods, write or have intellectual discussions and his *"hope is that the Kurdish people will one day be able to establish a free, rational society that will allow their brilliance once again to flourish. They are fortunate indeed to have a leader of Mr. Ocalan's talents to guide them"*. Following his death, the PKK hailed the anarchist thinker as "one of the greatest social scientists of the 20th century", and vowed to put his theory into practice."

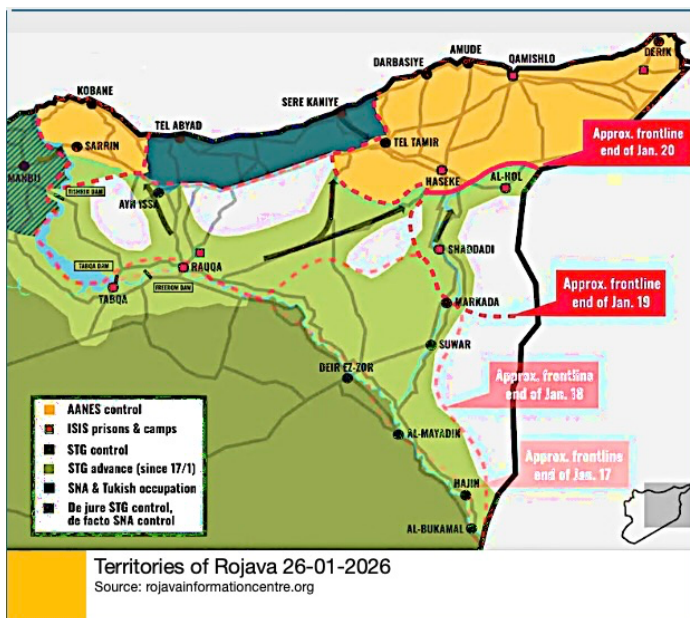
The contradiction in a top-down strategy in changing an ideological allegiance from an authoritarian one to a libertarian one how this is communicated and responded to by the mass of the people. I do not pretend to know how the PKK works and how this gained popular support. I do know that the struggle for autonomy in the DAANES

has come at a huge cost in lives, misery, trauma and displacement. The people of the region will not give up their revolution because of huge sacrifice already made.

In January 2026, in preparation for failed peace talks and a DAANS proposal for peaceful coexistence with the interim Syrian government, the Autonomous Administration and Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) called on society to prepare for a revolutionary people's war, a full mobilization of the society. The same call was made internationally, a call for international solidarity in deed not words and was met with silence from most anarchists in Australia.

The question, in anarchist circles, looking at Rojava from such a distance, 'is the revolution in Rojava, vanguardist directed from the centre outwards by the PKK, with an adaption of anarchist theory to the Kurdish struggle or is it, as anarchists advocate, a revolution driven from the base with an influence from anarchist theory'?

The answer is both. The contradictions in this dualism in the revolution seems to have enabled some anarchists to indulge in ideological posturing, to abandon their



supposed internationalism and attack the revolution with ill-informed criticisms. It may be meant to demonstrate their 'advanced thinking' and build their prestige in our movement, an unfortunate display of itself; it is also a chronically flawed position that leaves anarchism isolated from popular struggle, irrelevant and unable to influence anything. Some anarchists have even denounced the autonomous administration as Stalinist or worse than ISIS!

A striking phenomenon of this revolution, noted by those who support, are sympathetic to or critical of the revolution, is the number of paradoxes and inconsistencies in the way the revolution is evolving. This not surprising as this is a revolution widely reported in real time from many different perspectives and agendas. This phenomenon has not occurred in the past and of course all those things that people want to find wrong will be there and be reported on. It is also in the nature of revolution to throws up contradictions in the revolutionary formation. It is for genuine internationalists to support the tendencies driving revolution from the base. To nurture their libertarian nature and build this into a wider context.

Further information: [Belkî Sibê: A Journey Through the Syrian War and The Rojava Revolution \(2025\)](https://youtu.be/haMGrijOuFM?si=e9Y29jWuZk2cWI5z).
<https://youtu.be/haMGrijOuFM?si=e9Y29jWuZk2cWI5z>

Rojava is unique. It is not a Kurdish state, it has borders open to refugees, it is a confederation of democratic communities, driven by a very strong support from the base especially by women. At popular assemblies the smallest minorities get to speak first. The instruments of production are owned and managed through a mixed system emphasizing social ownership, worker cooperatives, and decentralized management rather than top-down state ownership. The DAANES retains control over strategic sectors (oil, electricity), and many assets are managed by local communes.

Popular support in Rojava is apparent by the resistance these communities show in the face of incessant attacks from Islamists, statist and imperialist forces. Even with such heroic resistance, the revolution is threatened by the new centralist Syrian State, now aligned with American imperialism, Türk imperialism and the use of proxy armies aligned with ethnic and religious sectors in the region is breaking up the autonomous region.



We don't side with just anybody in this struggle, but we must support the revolution as internationalists, build social revolution here, in Syria, across the Middle East and globally and mobilise public opinion and acts of solidarity. We need to speak and disseminate information on this revolution, fund raise and if requested or needed to send anarchist volunteers to the Autonomous

Administration to work for the revolution, before the revolution disappears. It's an existential crisis of land, peoples, and a revolutionary project in N.E. Syria! It is also our crisis.

We anarchist communists must learn from our mistakes, adapt to changing circumstances, and not be afraid to do this. We must always side with the revolution!

Further information:

<https://youtu.be/tqjfqy-2Wv4?si=FN9wN-PRM8cflZ78>

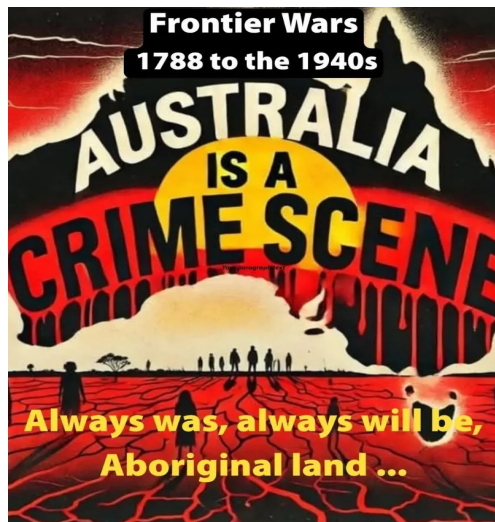
<https://youtu.be/Dte5iCbvoNY?si=xhZmZDfhaS9AZdTq>

<https://youtu.be/cDnenjldnnE?si=Bvi582WeonxTYF24>

<https://youtu.be/ovfw6BJ3OLM?si=PcTA-qpzEBumyWT>

4.04 First Nations Liberation Struggles

In the global struggle against colonialism and imperialism, first nations peoples fight to defend their culture, autonomy, sovereignty and the biosphere. The fight is asserted through direct action, and self-organisation based on whole of community involvement and cultural practice. The fight by indigenous communities in so called



Australia for self-determination, sovereignty and autonomy is an example, as is the struggle by the Māori peoples of Aotearoa and those across the Middle East, Africa and the America's.

Anarchist communism is very close in organisational principles to that practiced in first nations struggles. For example, the "Popular Indigenous Assembly of Oaxaca "Ricardo Flores Magon"-the APO) and the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, the EZLN). The EZLN formed from indigenous groups and urban leftists in Mexico in 1983 to give momentum to social revolution.

The EZLN is a social revolutionary movement that is insurrectionary, anti-capitalist, and anti-authoritarian, composed of indigenous fighters that fight with communities for autonomy and self-determination of indigenous communities taking their lands culture and language back under their community's control. The goal is indigenous liberation from the colonialist Mexican state along with the liberation of Mexico and beyond. The EZLN name originates in the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) in recognition of an uneducated, poor and young peasant, Emiliano Zapata Salazar (1879-1919). He and other revolutionary militia leaders were key in building a revolutionary army to fight for the revolution in the southern regions of Mexico.

The army was known as 'The Liberation Army of the South' and never wavered from the peasant's fight for 'land and liberty'. Not only does Anarchist Communist practice and theory have an affinity with these liberation struggles but also, those struggles have great influence on anarchism. The EZLN are an expression of communities in Chiappas in an organised fight to roll back colonialism, globalization, capitalism, and the corrupt, authoritarian Mexican state which is aligned with the interests of the imperialist states of Canada and the United States. The insurrection in Chiappas was

Further Information:

<https://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/tv-series/the-australian-wars>

[https://www.allenandunwin.com/browse/book/Rachel-Perkins,-Stephen-Gapps,-Mina-Murray-and-Henry-Reynolds-\(eds\)-Australian-Wars-9781761471582](https://www.allenandunwin.com/browse/book/Rachel-Perkins,-Stephen-Gapps,-Mina-Murray-and-Henry-Reynolds-(eds)-Australian-Wars-9781761471582)

<https://www.freedomshopaotearoa.nz/2016/09/wars-without-end-land-wars-in.html>



launched on January 1st, 1994, the same date as the start of the capitalist and imperialist North American Free Trade Agreement.

From 1492 when Spanish colonialism first appeared in the Caribbean, the characteristics of European imperialism that persisted from the fourteenth century to present came with them. Spanish colonialism was always characterized by murder, sexual violence, starvation, Christian missionaries, looting, dispossession and displacement, prison camps, genocide, forced sterilisation, stealing children, forced labor, slavery,

biological and chemical warfare, ruthless repression of culture, ceremony and language along with attempts to extinguish any remains and symbols of culture and communities. This is also the case with unmitigated exploitation of resources and theft of land which has left, in common with colonialism across the globe our planet's ecosystems devastated.

The CIPO-RFM is another organisation of rural Indigenous peoples and communities in Oaxaca, Mexico. The CIPO-RFM promotes, diffuses and defends human, territorial, economic, social, political and cultural rights of indigenous and allied communities through community-based action. They advocate for autonomous communities, the end of private property and collectivisation of their lands. Decisions within the organisation are made through assemblies which work towards reaching a consensus. Their organisational structure and practices are anarchist across the globe like the CIPO-RFM organisationally and in practice. The CIPO-RFM use direct action to stop and remove damaging industrialism on their lands. They support grower cooperatives, such as corn and coffee cooperatives and built schools and hospitals. They created a network of autonomous community radio stations to



educate about dangers to the environment and to the surrounding communities from capitalism and industrialism. In 2001, the CIPO-RFM defeated the construction of a highway across their lands. In 1994 in solidarity with the Zapatista revolution, they shut down transportation to slow the movement of government troops sent to destroy the revolution in Chiapas. The 2006 rebellion of indigenous peoples with allied poor, oppressed and marginalised of Oaxaca Mexico created 'the Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca' in form and practice from traditional culture and the historical influence of social anarchism.

Further reading: <https://classautonomy.info/ezln-agrees-on-collective-care-and-building-autonomy>

4.05 Social Revolution in Sudan 2018 and Now

Abridged and with thanks to Morgan P. Black Rose/Rosa Negra Anarchist Federation.
<https://www.blackrosefed.org/intro-anarchist-group-sudan/>

The Sudanese Revolution is one of the great revolutionary upsurges of the 21st century. Like all too many of our great revolutions it has — for the moment at least — been throttled in blood and dictatorship. But also like all great revolutions, it was a crucible that forged significant new political ideologies and tendencies. Anarchists threw themselves into the social movements that drove the Sudanese Revolution and simultaneously grew formal political organization. Anarchists in Sudan have been able to develop a revolutionary practice that has real meaning for class struggle in Sudan.



In 2017 the Anarchist Group in Sudan (AGS), a small student organization formed and focused on establishing a base in Sudanese colleges. Clandestinity is common practice in Sudan and the AGS organised underground in small peripheral colleges slipping under state surveillance. Activists seeking alternatives to the failed and stale political ideologies of yesterday gravitated to the AGS. The founding and growth of the AGS matched with the explosion of the Sudanese Revolution in

December 2018. The Revolution was led by grassroots social movements such as workers unions, student unions, women’s organizations, and neighbourhood resistance committees.

The resistance committees, similar to the local coordination committees of the 2011 Syrian Revolution, are groups of self-organised neighbours that participate in protest and revolutionary activity. Hundreds of local committees formed the fabric of the movement that overthrew the dictator al-Bashir. They are an expression of popular power in practice to confront state power and take control of their neighbourhoods with the practice of self-management.

The strategies proposed by anarchists in Sudan are unprecedented in addressing the complex social crisis. The principle of rejecting even small, grassroots authorities such as tribal domination and racism based on ethnicity forms the core of dismantling power structures in Sudanese society.

In 2019 the state started massacres of protesters and comrades. Workers responded with a general strike that shut down the country and forced the military to negotiate. In the context of a country on the brink, with resistance committees taking control of territory, the AGS announced themselves to the public during a massive march in Khartoum on June 30th. Youth sceptical of the choices presented by the so-called leaders, including the “national liberation” state communists who had propped up the dictatorship, were drawn to the principled stand for freedom of the anarchists.

The military and ‘Rapid Support Forces’ (RSF) led a counter-revolution in October 2021 with another brutal dictatorship installed. The RSF and Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) fell out in a power struggle and initiated a civil war in April 2023. Tragedies have

spread across the country ever since. The civil war has roots in both the legacies of British colonialism and in local histories of domination. It is also a war for Black survival against attempted genocide. The RSF, are Arab supremacists who seek to dominate and ethnically cleanse dark-skinned Sudanese from their lands. Comrades report that slavery is being perpetrated against Black people in Sudan, making the current struggle as one for liberation from racial authoritarianism.

The revolutionary movement has continued a bitter struggle against the return of military dictatorship. To many have been martyred, including anarchist comrades Omar Habbash, a doctor in Al Fashir and Sara, a leading activist in Khartoum along with unnamed others. As armed conflict spread, anarchists have adopted a dual tactic to fight with independent resistance militias that defend the people from the ravages of the RSF and Sudanese Armed Forces and focus on organizing at the grassroots to grow the movement.

The civil war is also a proxy war of regional imperialist powers like the United Arab Emirates and Egypt for natural resources. AGS members have been scattered and help run communal kitchens, aid refugees to reach safety, provide medical care, support resistance militias, and continue with anarchist propaganda. The political goal of the AGS is the end of the war and the massacres committed by both the RSF and army. They continue the struggle to overcome the tribal and ethnic divisions, exacerbated by racist colonialism with social revolution for a self-managed socialist and feminist society throughout Africa.

Further Reading: <https://libcom.org/article/review-african-anarchism>

4.06 Panarchy, Digital Zomia & Armed Struggle in Myanmar 2025

Analysis of Myanmar Multi-state reality and State-Evasion in Contemporary Context.
Art by Pho Kywal, Artwork Title: The Field



While anarchy implies the absence or rejection of hierarchical government and centralized authority, panarchy represents its conceptual opposite, a plural and overlapping system of governance where multiple political orders coexist within the same geographic area.

The term was popularized by Paul Émile de Puydt (1860) to describe a condition in which individuals could freely choose their preferred form of government without being

constrained by territorial borders. In contrast to anarchy's total decentralization, panarchy envisions a dynamic network of interdependent systems, political, ecological, to adapt and evolve together.

In modern terms, panarchy can describe how state, non-state, and digital authorities (such as global corporations, online communities, and transnational militias) all govern simultaneously, forming an entangled order rather than chaos. But a right to choose is always a privilege, and not many in the world can have such a privilege.

According to James C. Scott's Zomia Theory, state evasion has long been the most effective weapon of the weak, a silent refusal to be ruled. In pre-colonial Burma, power concentrated along the river basins and fertile plains, as the means of production in a feudal agrarian society, where dynasties, landlords, and monastic networks established the mandala system of control. Commoners were taxed, conscripted, or subjected to forced labour. But escape was still possible. Those who fled into the uplands could live off the forest, hunt, gather, and exchange goods through barter among kin communities.

Resistance meant flight beyond the king's reach, avoiding taxation, corvée (forced unpaid work for the nobility), war, and taking back from the feudal lord by raiding tribute caravans and stealing from the lord's villa to redistribute among the needy. (Nga Tapyar: The Legend of The Great Outlaw). The mountains were not only a sacred place to abandon the material way of life but also a geography of freedom; the forest was the shelter of those who refused to be governed. As local Buddhism preached Annata (impermanence of man-made (uncontrollable-ungovernable) and five mortal enemies of humankind and kingship is among one of them.

This form of evasion has become near possible since the end of the Second World War. Since the 2021 military coup, Myanmar has descended into a reality of multi-states, a fractured map of overlapping authorities, rebel administrations, and foreign interests (ICG, 2023). From the north to the east, west, south, and central plains, each region is ruled by competing centres of power of armies, militias, global capitalists, or foreign brokers. For civilians, this does not bring autonomy but multiples of domination. Each “state” taxes, conscripts, and controls, creating an everyday life filled with checkpoints, bribes, and fear. UN OCHA (2024) estimates more than 3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and another 1.5 million refugees in neighbouring countries. Across this broken landscape, state evasion has re-emerged not as a theory but as a daily practice, people surviving by slipping between jurisdictions, migrating, or vanishing into informal networks.

In the north conflict zone, the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) and PDF fighting with the Junta and its ally local militia groups, which have Chinese-linked mining companies, the area where the jade and rare-earth trade, worth billions annually, flows primarily into China through cross-border smuggling and legal concessions, leaving behind deforestation, toxic waste, and displaced villagers (Zhang, 2022; Woods, 2011). The people here are caught between military bombardment, double administration, and corporate extraction, ruled by all, protected by none. The United Wa State Army (UWSA) and its allies have created some of the most stable yet opaque polities in the country. The UWSA, the Kokang MNDAA, and Mong L(NDAA) each maintain their own administrations, currencies, and school systems, effectively operating as de facto states captured by Chinese economic imperialism. (ICG 2023).

Beneath regions of semi-autonomy lies another layer of exploitation. Since 2022, vast rare-earth mining operations in Kachin State and UWSA-adjacent zones have caused deforestation and toxic pollution, enriched Chinese firms and militia elites while local villagers are displaced. (Global Witness 2023). In tandem the region has become a centre of cyber-scam compounds, where trafficked workers from China and Southeast Asia are forced into online fraud. Civilians are trapped between militia taxation, environmental ruin, and trafficking networks. The north’s “peace” is not stability but the rule of armed capitalism under Chinese imperialist influence.

The Ta’ang National Liberation Army (TNLA), operating primarily in northern Shan State, has increasingly contested control over lucrative world-famous Burmese ruby and gold mining areas traditionally dominated by the Tatmadaw and its allied militias. These mineral-rich zones represent critical sources of revenue that fund armed groups and local economies alike.

The competition over these mines intensified armed clashes and exacerbated environmental degradation. Local communities in response deepened the struggle for local autonomy and resource control. Both the TNLA and the junta deploy military force to assert dominance, contributing to civilian displacement and instability in the region (ICG, 2023; Global Witness, 2023).

In neighbouring Karenni (Kayah) State, the conflict has intensified into a near-total war of liberation. The Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) and its armed wing, the Karenni Army (KA), have united with local PDFs under the Karenni Nationalities Defence Force (KNDF), effectively driving out junta forces from most of the



countryside. Only parts of Loikaw, the state capital, remain under contested control. The junta's response is massive airstrikes, artillery bombardments, and village burnings that has devastated the region, forcing over half of the state's population to flee. Across the border,

Thailand has become a crucial yet ambivalent actor in this humanitarian and political crisis. Thousands of displaced civilians from Karen and Karenni States have fled into Thai provinces such as Mae Sot, Mae Hong Son, and Tak, seeking safety in informal settlements and temporary shelters. While Thailand has allowed limited humanitarian operations, it has refrained from granting official refugee status or opening new camps, leaving many asylum seekers in legal limbo. This situation has exposed displaced people and migrant workers to human trafficking, labour exploitation, and cyber-scam recruitment along the Thai Myanmar frontier. Many are deceived by brokers offering jobs in factories or services but end up trafficked into scam compounds, casinos, or brothels along the Thai border Myawaddy–Mae Sot corridor.

Others are exploited as undocumented labour in construction, agriculture, or domestic work, often with no pay or legal protection. The porous border has also become a hub for illicit trade and criminal economies, where corrupt officials, militias, and business networks profit from the chaos. Scam centres, illegal casinos, and trafficking rings operate under weak enforcement and local patronage. Although Thai authorities have conducted occasional raids, the underlying issues of statelessness, poverty, and war-driven migration remain unresolved.

The West of Myanmar reflects another form of statelessness. The Arakan Army (AA) now controls large parts of Rakhine, often clashing with the Tatmadaw. Rohingya are forced to conscript on both sides. Meanwhile, on the border of Bangladesh, Rohingya refugees remain trapped in Bangladesh's Cox's Bazar camps, where they face labour exploitation and restrictions on movement. Children as young as seven have been found in construction and fish-drying industries around the camps (U.S. DOL, 2021). Without legal status, many Rohingya resort to informal work or are trafficked into bonded labour (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2018). Bangladesh benefits indirectly by securing international aid while using cheap refugee labour for its industries (Al Bawaba, 2018). Thus, even beyond the border, Myanmar's stateless continue to live under new forms of control.

In the south, cross-border economies linked with Thailand reveal another dimension of exploitation. Displaced Myanmar nationals in Mae Sot are described by Human Rights Watch as "walking ATMs," subject to constant extortion by brokers and bribery (HRW, 2025). Migrant recruitment agencies impose illegal fees up to US \$800, trapping workers in debt bondage (Bangkok Post, 2018). At the same time, Thai businesses profit from Myanmar's instability by running factories, plantations, and fishery networks that depend on undocumented labour camps along the Thai

Myanmar border (Walk Free, 2025). These dynamics show how neighbouring states exploit Myanmar's collapse to extract cheap labour and political leverage.

In the central Bamar heartland, the plains of Sagaing, Magway, and Mandalay are now burned fields. The NUG shadow opposition government has created autonomous resistance zones; at the same time, the military has responded with scorched-earth tactics like burning villages, using air strikes, and artillery to impose terror. For many, "state evasion" means living underground, switching SIM cards, using VPNs, and creating community-based welfare networks online. Physical escape has become impossible, so evasion moves into the digital sphere. According to UN OCHA's Humanitarian Update No. 35, at the end of 2023 more than 2.6 million people had been displaced nationwide, many from central zones. In these central regions, the official state has largely retreated; civilians now govern themselves through underground networks, local councils, and community militias. They evade the junta by hiding, migrating, or negotiating with local PDFs; they evade rebel taxation by staying mobile or shifting allegiances. The result: the state exists but is contested, resisted, and evaded.

The multi-state structure appears practical on paper, allowing ethnic armed group autonomy, ceasefire governance, and local self-rule, but in reality, it multiplies the burdens on the people. Every authority or foreign investor extract resources and loyalty. The same village may pay "tax" to three different groups in a single year. Under modern global capitalism, neighbouring states are also turning Myanmar's crisis into an opportunity: cheap minerals, cheap labour, and political buffer zones. Even humanitarian aid becomes a contested resource, filtered through armed groups or corrupt bureaucrats (Callahan, 2003). State evasion, once a symbol of freedom, now means constant negotiation among competing rulers. There are no more outside but only layers of power. As a Burmese proverb goes, "Slipping from the overlord's womb, fall into the womb of a young lord."

Along the Thai border, Shwe Kokko and KK Park epitomize the new frontier of militia-capitalism. Officially part of Karen State, they are controlled by the Border Guard Force (KNA), led by Colonel Saw Chit Thu, a former KNU commander who allied with the Tatmadaw in 2010. Backed by Chinese investors from Yatai International Holdings, Shwe Kokko was marketed as a "smart city," but evolved into a hub for illegal casinos, cryptocurrency fraud, and human trafficking (The Diplomat 2024). After the coup, thousands of trafficked workers were held under armed guard; residents describe the enclave as a "state within a state."

The junta tolerates these operations because they generate revenue and ensure loyalty from local militias. Governance, policing, and taxation are fully internal to these autonomous criminal-polity, similar in structure to the UWSA's Wa region but driven by global capital rather than ideology. For ordinary Karen villagers, this means militarized checkpoints, land seizures, and the spread of vice economies that corrode community life. Across these regions, people live between multiple authorities rather than under one. A tea farmer in Shan State may pay taxes to the junta in the morning and to the UWSA at night, a merchant in Myawaddy pays "security fees" to both the BGF and Thai police; a teacher in Rakhine teaches two curricula, one for the AA, one for the Ministry of Education. Survival depends on flexibility and disguise.

For Myanmar's people, this means that evasion has become internal rather than external. Instead of running into the hills, many now hide in plain sight, concealing political identities, masking online communication, or using coded speech on social media. Refugees and migrant workers cannot vanish into anonymity the way upland villagers once could; their passports, fingerprints, and digital traces follow them across borders. Even the informal economies that sustain millions, like online trade, remittances, and digital payments, are gradually drawn into systems of control. This is the paradox of the present: as the state collapses in territory, it tightens its grip through data. To evade the state today means to learn the art of digital camouflage, encrypted solidarity, and selective visibility. The new Zomia is not on the mountain ridge but in the hidden layers of networks, in encrypted chats, VPN routes, and the silent trust between families who send aid through informal channels. And evasion doesn't mean to one particular state or authority, but multiple states or authorities at the same time, in between and constant negotiations and disguises.

The Junta and its allies use surveillance technologies from China and Russia to track dissidents and monitor digital communication (Amnesty International, 2022). Here, resistance takes the form of digital camouflage: using pseudonyms, secret donation routes, and coded language on Facebook and Telegram. Activists, teachers, artists and exiles create a virtual landscape of freedom amid the ruins of physical space. Yet within this digital fragility these platforms that organise resistance are monitored, infiltrated, and weaponized by multiple "states."

In Myanmar today, there is no single state to flee from, only a crowd of them, each demanding obedience, taxes, or silence. This modern "weapon of the weak" takes the form of strategic invisibility. Migration becomes a political act; digital work transforms into a refuge. Many engage in cross-border online jobs, remittance networks, or diaspora crowdfunding to support resistance efforts. These actions are far more than economic survival, they are deliberate tactics of evasion, ways to endure without submitting to any ruler. In this way, Myanmar's people have recreated a vast, dispersed "digital Zomia," where knowledge, communication, and mobility have replaced physical territory as the true instruments of freedom.

The international pressure on the junta, ceasefire talks with the NUG and ethnic armed organizations along with the coming shameful December 2025 election, may provide some relief to the exhausted population. The emergence of a multi-confederation panarchy risks further complicating state evasion, making it even more challenging for people to navigate overlapping authorities and maintain autonomy.

From Comrade Bro-Y.

Bro-Y is a founding member of 44 (For the Hood, For the People), a mutual-aid group based in Yangon, and has been active as an underground hip-hop cultural artist and activist. He is among the first wave of anarchism and decolonization movements in Myanmar and currently works as an independent researcher and

4.07 The Hungarian Revolution 1956

“We are a three-class society — those who have been there, those who are in there and those who are heading there.” – Hungarian saying on the Stalinist regime’s prison society.



Anarchist communism has inspired class struggle against capitalist and colonialist states as well as and less known the states of the old Stalinist state capitalist regimes in Eastern Europe.

Centralised planning precipitated a crisis and collapse of living standards of Hungarian workers between 1949 and 1954. The working

class alienated from their ‘worker’s state’, fed up with unrealistic and imposed production goals, corruption, falsification of production records, unpaid overtime, autocratic and bureaucratic control, arbitrary dismissal of ‘troublemakers’, resorted to stealing to relieve their poverty. Sabotage, absenteeism and ill-disciplined behaviour was the norm to resist the ridiculous Party of Hungarian Workers (MDP) five-year plans. The MDP under the banner of ‘The Glorious and Immortal Stalin’, attacked workers as lazy and wage thieves, as well as having a too high living standard. As one worker said, “The Communists nationalised all the factories and similar enterprises, proclaiming the slogan, ‘The factory is yours — you work for yourself.’ Exactly the opposite of this was true.”

A great resentment was that Hungary was still occupied by the Red Army in 1956 and had to pay for their presence in the country. Intellectuals were also not interested in the exploitation and repression of the working class but only in the reform of Stalinism. They opposed any organising of and precipitous action by the working class against the authoritarian system.

Students acted, demanding the removal of the Red Army and a list of demands beyond the ability or capacity of the MDP to deliver. The situation came to a head on October 23rd, 1956, when over 200,000 people gathered in Budapest demanding to speak to the head of the MDP. When the party leader eventually appeared, the crowd was infuriated by his conduct. They marched on the building of state radio and headquarters of the MPD. A delegation entered the building and were arrested. After a standoff the crowd was fired on by the State Security Police (ÁVH) killing eight. There was an armed response from workers, as some in the crowd had weapons taken from police and soldiers. The revolution was born.

All Power to the Workers' Councils!

The working class was aware that reform instigated by the MDP was not to be trusted and the idea was popularised that not just the Stalinists, the 'oppositionists' were too moderate and must go. The idea of a general strike was widely adopted by workers. The mass, revolutionary character of the Hungarian revolution spread quickly within hours of the shooting and deaths by state security at the party and radio building.

The first workers' council comprising 10,000 workers formed within hours of the revolution starting. Within a day, workers' councils formed in towns across Hungary. There was a general strike in support of the armed uprising and for the deposing of party bosses. The councils retained power at the local level and exerted a collective pressure on the government. The workers' councils united with agreement on the following principles.

1. The factory belongs to the workers. The latter should pay to the state a levy calculated on the basis of the output and a portion of the profits.
2. The supreme controlling body of the factory is the Workers' Council democratically elected by the workers.
3. The Workers' Council elects its own executive committee composed of 3–9 members, which acts as the executive body of the Workers' Council, carrying out the decisions and tasks laid down by it.
4. The director is employed "by the factory. The director and the highest employees are to be elected 'by the Workers' Council.' This election will take place after a public general meeting called "by the executive committee.
5. The director is responsible to the Workers' Council in every matter which concerns the factory.
6. The Workers' Council itself reserves all rights to:
 - approve and ratify all projects concerning the enterprise.
 - decide basic wage levels and the methods by which these are to be assessed
 - decide on all matters concerning foreign contracts
 - decide on the conduct of all operations involving credit
 - The Workers' Council resolves any conflicts concerning all workers in the enterprise.
 - The Workers' Council has the right to examine the balance sheets and to decide on the use of the profit
 - The Workers' Council handles all social questions in the enterprise

All the workers' councils were anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist, some "resolutely condemning the organisation of political parties." Tensions developed between and within some Workers' Councils over their purpose. Were they a bargaining chip to reform the bureaucratic Stalinist system or a revolutionary step to a free communist society?

The revolution spread like a wildfire, police and party officials were arrested and some executed. Calls were made to replace the new government with a 'National

"No one, I believe wants to reestablish the world of the aristocrats and the capitalists. That world is definitely gone. We shall retain the gains and conquests of socialism..." National Peasants Party 1956.

Revolutionary Council' composed of delegates from the workers' councils. The momentum was towards "all power to the councils". The National Council never eventuated because firstly the workers' councils were still to meet to decide on this process to formally dissolve the Hungarian state, and secondly fifteen days after the outbreak of revolution, the Soviet Union launched a massive assault with 250,000 (peaking at 500,000) Soviet and Warsaw Pact soldiers along with a thousand tanks to crush the revolution. The revolution was extinguished by November 12th. The Stalinist's immediately declared martial law and the death penalty for any armed person.

Down with Communism! Long live Communist Revolution!

The Hungarian working class was experienced in class struggle from the early twentieth century to the Nazi installed Hungarian client state pushed workers struggles underground. The revolution of 1918 deposed the Austro-Hungarian empire, and established the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919, later deposed by the capitalist and aristocratic classes. Class struggle went underground and was never strangled by Nazism. The arrival of Stalin's Red Army in November 1944 brought a bloody repression and murder of communist workers and revolutionaries. The revolution of 1956 was an insurrection against the Stalinist bureaucratic elite, for freedom and communism.

4.08 The Prague Spring and Global Revolution - 1968



WHO WILL COME OUT ON TOP?

The Prague Spring, commenced on January 5th, 1968. It was a time of widespread dissent with calls for political reform in the Stalinist Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. With the denouncement of Stalin in 1954, the shift in power between old Stalinists and reformers in the communist party developed slowly with finally the election of a reformer Alexander Dubček in January 1968, as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ). Dubček's election started a revolt by ultra-reactionary

Stalinists in the party. They categorically rejected the vision of 'socialism with a human face', reform of the KSČ or a renewal of the KSČ. The two factions in the KSČ, the Stalinists and the reformers were only a small distance apart on the authoritarian spectrum of the party and not prepared for what was to come.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had been in a deep economic crisis for most of the 1960's leaching into and eroding confidence in the social and political state system. Even though Eastern Europe was isolated from the West, the deep crises of capitalism and its social system in the West in the 1960's was unfolding, and this did not go unnoticed on the other side of the Berlin wall.

The ruling elites in the West were shocked by a new left revolutionary movement that destabilised their rule. The new left was only loosely connected to the traditional unionised working class although younger workers were the bridge between struggle in the community and workers in the capitalist economy.

The revolutionary struggle in the West shook France, Italy, Ireland, Denmark, Greece and Germany to near collapse, spread through North Africa and the Middle East, and across the America's, China, Japan, Oceania and Southeast Asia. It was a social, political, economic and cultural clash between the oppressed and alienated populations of the world and the advanced bureaucratic-corporate capitalist system of the west and the Stalinist regimes bureaucratic-state capitalist systems in the east.

The left communists are a missed player in the history of the Czechoslovak working class, written out by revisionist history and important because it challenges the conventional narrative of 1968 which portrays the Czechoslovak party as united around reformist politics. The return to the pro-Stalinist status quo occurred in part through the elimination of the reformers and the left communists in the party and outside the party. Stalinist 'normalisation' was not simply the result of purges but was also the product of an authoritarian fear of change, the state of inertia and confusion among party members and officials, both before and after the Soviet invasion. It reflected the desire of the party for a bureaucratic life and 'business as usual'. Above

all, the residual belief in the party's 'leading role' in all aspects was never questioned. After the Soviet invasion, the neo-Stalinists rid the party, social and cultural institutions of 'counter-revolutionary elements.' The only priority for Stalinism was a reassertion of control through the restoration of authoritarian order. The Czech party's factional warfare played out in public and destroyed what residual faith remained in the position of the KSČ in the republic. The hubris of KSČ also blinded them to discontent amongst workers and students. They usually labelled all opposition to them as fascists. In 1968 there was a new and unexpected challenge to that of the communist party that originated from the left and independent of the communist party. This was the same challenge to capitalism and authoritarianism around the world in 1968. The Prague Spring lasted until 21 August 1968, when the Soviet Union and three Warsaw Pact member armies invaded the country to suppress the reforms to Stalinism. The winds of revolution blew strongly in 1968, and there existed for a brief time the potential for global revolution.

*Historical Footnote. Comrade Brian Laver and one of the founders of the Meanjin based libertarian socialist, 'Self-Management Group', his partner Janita and children were in the then Czechoslovakia to observe the situation there. He was active in the resistance against the occupying Warsaw Pact tanks. They eventually escaped the Czechoslovak republic after the borders were closed to Germany. On arriving in London, he was detained by MI6 and unwillingly interrogated for 6 hours. Reference from interview with Janita. <https://radicaltimes.info/PDF/PragueSpring.pdf>

4.09 The Spanish Revolutions 1934 and 1936-1939

The scope available in this document is not enough to do justice to the global significance of the Spanish revolution. A social revolution whose time will come again and the world remade.



Further reading:

<https://libcom.org/article/spanish-civil-war-1936-39-reading-guide>

<https://libcom.org/article/self-management-and-spanish-revolution-point-blank>

<https://libcom.org/article/collectives-spanish-revolution-gaston-level>

<https://libcom.org/article/separate-and-equal-mujeres-libres-and-anarchist-strategy-womens-emancipation>

4.10 The Russian Revolutions 1905 and 1917-1921

The scope available in this document is not enough to do justice to the significance of this revolution and global impact that continues 105 years on.

An armed unit of women workers from the Vasileostrovsky district of Petrograd, 1919



Further reading:

<https://libcom.org/article/1905-russian-revolution>

<https://libcom.org/article/top-10-texts-about-1917-russian-revolution>

<https://libcom.org/article/russian-revolution-1917-further-reading-guide>

4.11 Do You Remember Revolution? 'Autonomia Operaia'

The Autonomous Worker's Movement. Italia (1971-1982)



Rome 1977

“Autonomy is the state of independent self-organisation”. 'Worker Autonomy' is a crucial concept for the social revolutionary movement, moving class struggle beyond trade unionism. It refers to workers' independence from all capitalist and state structures and social relations - including the relations of dominance

reproduced by capitalism in the unions, political parties, and the traditional left. “Autonomy” refers not to the autonomy of subjects as such, of workers as workers, women as mothers, the homeless as dispossessed – instead, it was an active refusal, a betrayal of the roles granted to them. Autonomia meant a refusal of the position of the outcast, a weaponisation of exclusion that requires we move outside of our narrowly defined sites of confinement.

It is not an historical co-incidence that the earlier form of “Autonomia Operaia” (AO) in the 1960's is similar to the earlier “Socialisme ou Barbarie” in France. Both abandoned fossilised traditional Marxism and Leninism to become a movement of both intellectuals and workers. AO grew from working class resentment of authoritarianism, interference, sabotage and betrayal of their struggles from Marxist Leninist outsiders in working-class organisations. They had tired of old left collaboration in their oppression with capitalism and being treated as “the shit kickers” of revolution.

The dramatic contrast between an autonomous militant workers' movement and 'official' workers organisations such as parties of the left and trades unions is a consequence of the left parties and unions, not unsurprisingly failing in their professed task of freeing the workers from exploitation.

Autonomous self-organised workers' organisation cannot be imposed on the working class from the outside as it would then be autonomous in name only. There must be a disposition within the working class in a given situation to act in such a way.

The work of the revolutionary minority is therefore not that of trying to form autonomous mass organisms, but rather that of measuring the potential for such to come about and to increase that potential through actions which are relative to the situation.

The problematic themes with class arise, especially for Marxism in limiting the existence of classes to certain historical phases in the development of capitalism.

The irresistible conclusion for Marxists is to jump to “the dictatorship of the proletariat” and the mythology of a transition to the classless communist society.

What interests anarchist communists is the existence of hierarchical power relationships under capitalism and to end these. These powerful hierarchies are marked by the power to control by the ruling classes. They undertake transformations at specific historical times in order to persist with the domination of power. Class emancipation will continue to be defeated if we try to divorce our class from an analysis in that to end class society we must end hierarchies.

The autonomy of the individual is determined by making a conscious decision to act concerning all aspects of life. The realisation of the necessity to do so comes with a recognition of the powerlessness of the individual and the working class trapped in capitalist and state structures and is a real form of class consciousness. It is a consciousness to overturn tradition, to break with orders from above; to build one's own autonomy. It is a social revolutionary consciousness and a discourse on the autonomy of the individual meets the autonomy of the working class.

The necessity of working-class autonomy comes from the current impossibility of breaking the dominance of the capitalist state. This impossibility is supposed to be due to mystifying and obscure historical processes, something which should not concern us. Workers' autonomy is not another philosophical notion it is an objective necessity. Workers must look after their own interests, find a path to freedom and in the execution make our own history.

***Historical Footnote.**

*The Communist Party of Australia (CPA 1920-1992) in the 1980's was paralleling the Italian Communist Party (PCI 1921 – 1991) with a shift from Marxism Leninism to embrace 'Eurocommunism', a face-saving term for becoming a social democratic party on its way to a historical compromise with capitalism. The PCI did this and split and dissolved in 1991 becoming the “Democratic Party of the Left. (PDS). The CPA collapsed in 1992.

Further reading:

<https://libcom.org/article/workers-autonomy-miguel-amoros>

<https://libcom.org/library/workers-autonomy>

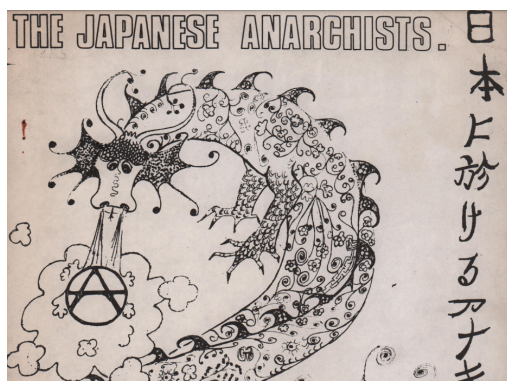
<https://www.angryworkers.org/2025/04/28/a-historical-background-for-the-party-building-debate-workers-autonomy-in-milan/>

5.00 Beyond Western Imperialism - Decolonising Anarchism

The early anarchist movements were not only in Europe but spread quickly to North, Central and South America, Asia and Oceania. Our movement has remained present in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. Our movements across the region remain fragmented with different degrees of organisation but with positive signs of growing co-operation. Following are very short and early histories of some of those movements.

5.01 日本 Anarchism in Japan

“Anarchism” was rooted in the cultural distinctiveness of the society. Some early twentieth-century anarchists pointed to the horizontal features of village communalism in Japan’s Tokugawa era (1600–1867), while others claim Andō Shōeki, an eighteenth-century doctor, as an anarchist forbear. For Andō, all traditional thought in Japan was mere ideology, an excuse to rob the people. Though he was himself a samurai, Andō saw the samurai ruling class as parasites living off the proverbial sweat of peasant labour and felt that all should engage in “direct cultivation,” coupled with what we might call mutual aid. He contested the antimony of high and low in traditional thinking that had informed “unnatural” and oppressive social relations, including hierarchical relationships between the sexes.



In 1908 the socialist paper 日本庶民ニュース (Japan Commoners’ News) described the setting up of a “direct action” faction in the socialist movement following a speech being made to the Commoners’ Society by Kōtoku Shūsui (1871–1911). The speech was concerned with “The Change in Thought” – to anarchist communism. Kōtoku Shūsui also translated some of the works of Kropotkin into Japanese. There is an assumption that anarchism was eclipsed by Marxism-Leninism in the mid-1920’s. The anarchists opposed centralism in both social democratic and Bolshevik organisations and demanded local union autonomy. This culminated in a division in 1925, with the Bolshevik labour council (Hyōgikai) with 32 unions compared to the anarchists’ 29 unions separating. In 1928, there was a split in the anarchist federation and 3,000 anarchosyndicalist’s left, and the new anarchocommunist federation claimed 16,300 members

From 1925 with the rise of militarism laws were passed to combat the “twin evils” of bolshevism and anarchism. Activism became near impossible after the invasion Manchuria in 1931. The Japanese Communist Party (JCP) was severely weakened by a flood of recantations in 1932 and disbanded in 1935. Anarchists continued to resist the rising militarism while syndicalists and anarchist communists reunited and participated in a short-lived “anti-fascist” front in 1933 with social democrats and Marxists. In 1935 at least 700 anarchists were rounded up after a “public order” law against anarchism was enforced. The last group to survive beyond 1938, was the anarcho-syndicalist Tokyo Printers’ Union.

After the war, Japanese Marxists took leadership of the labour and social movements and quickly turned them to their own purposes. The anarchists failed utterly to expand their support. In 1946, an anarchist federation was reestablished but was weakened once again by splits and finally disbanded in 1968. Anarchists were represented in various postwar struggles including the production control movement during the Allied Occupation, vehement opposition in 1960 to the US–Japan Security Treaty, the treaty with South Korea five years later, the militant student movement of the 1960s (Zengakuren), the fight of peasants and supporters to halt the construction of a new airport at Narita (1968), and anti-war agitation during both the Korean and Vietnamese wars. However, the new left in Japan was dominated by the socialist and communist parties and affiliated youth groups, and anarchists never regained the strong foothold they had secured in prewar social movements, especially in the industrial and peasant unions.

Further reading: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/john-crump-the-anarchist-movement-in-japan-1906-1996>

5.02 中国 Anarchism in China

The Chinese anarchist movement was a significant intellectual and revolutionary force in the early 20th century, advocating for a social, rather than just political, revolution. It called for the rejection of traditional Confucian values, including the patriarchal family, and promoted individual autonomy, gender equality, and anti-imperialism



Workers celebrate the victory of a strike in Hunan province in 1922

through education and direct action. Influenced by Russian nihilism and anarchism, the movement established groups in Paris and Tokyo and created experimental work-study programs to radicalize students.

The effects of anarchism on China have not been properly understood. Anarchists stood in the forefront of the radical intelligentsia at the beginning of the twentieth century, a century during which the impact of the radical intelligentsia has been unprecedented.

The history of the Chinese revolution is not solely the history of Chinese Marxism. Anarchists were part of the mainstream of modern Chinese thought. Their concern in the first decade of the twentieth century was with dismantling the old culture and the old society. They contributed to a wider discourse about cultural and social revolution with relentless attacks on the idea of government and nation.

Chinese anarchists helped to introduce Marxism to China. The significance of Marxism began with the anarchists. This is one aspect of the contribution of the anarchists to modern Chinese political discourse. The anarchists were among the first to condemn Confucianism, to discuss feminism, and to promote language reform. Their anti-elitist radical egalitarianism and their critique of traditional justifications for social and sexual hierarchy, their faith in progress, their desire to redefine China and all “nations” in the creation of a cosmopolitan world, their belief in the people, and their exaltation of revolution—all these themes, some of which were to be found only

in the currents of Chinese anarchism, became part of the modern transformation of China. The New Culture Movement (1915) and the May Fourth Movement (1919), understood as turning points in Chinese history, were the products of the preparatory work of the anarchists of the previous decade.

From 1907 onward anarchism was in the Chinese revolutionary vanguard leading to the revolution of 1911. The pressing need in China was mainly related to education and anarchists worked through study groups and propaganda organs. They believed like the Spanish anarchists did that learning was the first step to social improvement and that rational understanding of the world was both possible and necessary.

Anarchists were particularly critical of attempts for China to adopt Western technology without social reform. They supported technological progress, material civilization, and modern science, while absolutely demanding social justice. Their definition of social justice differentiated them from the rest of the intelligentsia, and it drew them together in spite of profound differences of temperament and outlook.

Anarchism in China can be conceived loosely as an ideology, but more accurately a tendency to emphasize freedom and individual rights over other progressions and at the same time as a communitarian vision of sharing. Anarchism existed at least as a latent tendency in traditional China. The truest forms of traditional anarchism in China were thoroughly Daoist.

Further reading: <https://libcom.org/article/china-reading-guide>

5.03 한국 / 조선 Korean Anarchist Movement

Adapted from “The Korean Anarchist Movement”-Alan MacSimoin. 2005

In the 2,000 years of Korean history there existed movements fighting for peasants' rights and for national independence. Within these movements there were tendencies that may be seen as forerunners of modern anarchism, in the same way as we might view the Diggers in the English revolution.

Japan invaded Korea in 1894 the pretext to protect Korea from China. The struggle for national independence became central to all radical political activity. The modern anarchist movement in Korea began to take form among the exiles who fled to China after the 1919 independence struggle, and students & workers who went to Japan.

This struggle, the 3.1 Movement within which anarchists were prominent, involved 2 million people; 1,500 demonstrations were held; 7,500 were killed; 16,000 wounded and more than 700 homes and 47 churches destroyed. In the period up to the close of World War II the Korean Anarchist Federation (KAF) had identified three stages in its development.

First Phase. In the early years of the twentieth century the Japanese ruling class started their imperialist drive into other Asian countries they also ruthlessly cracked down on any opposition at home. Japanese anarchists were to the forefront in anti-imperialist agitation. In 1910 Kōtoku Shusui, a leading Japanese anarchist, was executed for treason. The anarchist Commoners newspaper was a rallying point to opposition to the Russia-Japan war and to the occupation of Korea. With the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, the rice riot of 1918 and the mass uprising in Korea in 1919 had the Japanese ruling class worried.



Korean Anarchists Early 20th

Following the bloody suppression of the 3.1 Movement and the rise of class struggle in Korea and Japan, the Japanese ruling class blamed anarchists and Koreans for every problem including the Tokyo earthquake of 1923! More than 6,000 Korean workers in Japan were hunted down with clubs and bamboo spears. All known Japanese and Korean anarchists were arrested. Park Yeol and Kaneko Fumiko, Korean anarchists, veterans of the independence struggle and organisers of the Tokyo “Black Workers Society”, were sentenced to death then commuted to a life sentence.

The charge of causing an earthquake embarrassed the ruling class and the sentences were commuted to life in prison. Kaneko died in prison and Park was not released until the end of WWII. Many of the Koreans imprisoned in what became known as “the High Treason case” became leading activists in the anarchist movement in both Japan and Korea.

Second Phase. The Korean Anarchist Federation in China formed in April 1924. They published the “Korean Revolution Manifesto”. It was militantly anti-imperialist, and that it is our proper right to overthrow imperialist Japan by a revolutionary means. It went on to stress the need to do more than merely exchange rulers, pointing out the difference between a political revolution and a social revolution. The KAF had no doubts about the role of anarchists and emphasised the role of anarchists in a revolutionary struggle. The KAF also began to produce papers like *Recapture* and *Justice Bulletin*.

In Kihon province in October 1925 a newspaper reported that ten members of the ‘League of Black Flag’ had been jailed for one year each. The following year the same paper reported that five young workers were jailed for putting out a manifesto very similar in style and content to the “Korean Revolution Manifesto”. In 1929 Dong-a Ilbo tells of a secret society of anarchists organised by Lee Eun-Song which had one hundred members in the town of Icheon in Kwangwon province. In the same year it transpired that the entire membership of the Chunju Artists Movement Society were all anarchists, such were the fronts used to throw off the Japanese police. In response to this the death penalty was brought in for organising societies with the aim of “changing the national structure”.

In Taegu, a ‘League of Truth and Fraternity’ formed in 1925 by exiles returned from Japan. ‘The Revolutionists League’ also formed and both were connected with the ‘Tokyo Black Youth Society’. Anarchist groups in Anui, Mesa and also in Changwon the ‘Black Friend League, and the Jeju Island Mutual Aid group formed. The last mentioned used their remoteness from central government to organise co-ops of farmers and artisans and a peasants’ band. All suffered extreme repression from Japanese imperialism. In Kwanso and Kwanbul provinces eight more groups are recorded. Groups were involved in ‘propaganda by the word’, organising trade unions and resistance to Japanese occupation.

The spread of anarchism across the peninsula and the region prompted the formation of the internationalist Eastern Anarchist Federation with comrades from China, Vietnam, Taiwan and Japan. It published a bulletin, Dong-Bang (The East). The manifesto of the KAF was adopted by the Eastern Federation as its formal programme. Between 1925–30 the KAF and Eastern Federation, armed with the theory of anarchist revolution and practical experiences drawn from the 3.1 movement organised workers across Japan and in Seoul, Taegu, Pyongyang and other areas. In November 1929 the Korean Anarchist Communist Federation (KAoF) was formed. Part of the anti-Japanese resistance, it was a totally underground. This should not lead anyone into thinking that it was small or lacking in widespread support.

Third Phase. The KAF aligned with sections of the armed guerilla anti-Japanese resistance organised a revolutionary action, “according to the free federation principle based upon the spontaneous free will of man (sic)”. Voluntary collectives of farmers, free education to age 18 and adult education for those older and arms training followed.

Anarchist organising encountered Stalinists who were attacking and slandering anarchists. Anarchists such as Yu-Rim wanted to fight ideology with ideology and demonstrate the superiority of their ideas. Older anti-Japanese guerillas around Kim Jwa-Jin - the Korean Makhno - thought it was enough to state their support for anarchism but that they could ignore the Stalinists until national independence was won and “only then would real politics come to the forefront”. There is a parallel here to a debate on a ‘stages theory’ within the Irish nationalist party Sinn Féin, a party that actively undermined the Irish revolution. They were reminiscent of the authoritarian communist approach to social-democratic parties during the Popular Front era. There was an inherent contradiction in ostensibly seeking co-operation with organisations which they were ‘in due course pledged to destroy and replace with their own leadership’.

Anarchist communists organising anywhere across the globe encounter Marxist Leninist ‘tankies’ who actively use anarchist jargon to sideline our movement as part of a strategy to undermine and seize control of revolutionary movements.

In August 1929, popular peoples power inspired by anarchist activity precipitated in Shinmin, Manchuria the Korean People’s Association in Manchuria (KAPM) “an independent self-governing cooperative system of the Korean people who assembled their full power to save our nation by struggling against Japan”. The structure was federal going from village meetings to district and area conferences. The general association composed of delegates from the districts and areas dealt with agriculture, education, propaganda, finance, military affairs, social health, youth and general affairs. Organisational and propaganda teams went from village to village to agitate for the creation of village assemblies and committees. Anti-Japanese fighters in Shimin voluntarily dissolved to support to KAPM. As anarchism developed so did the reaction from Stalinists and Japanese imperialists.

A meeting in June 1930 in Peking the KAFC decided to divert all resources outside Korea to Manchuria and KAFC members moved to the anarchist zone in northern Manchuria. In late 1930 the Japanese attacked Shimin from the South and the Stalinists, supported by the USSR, from the North. In early 1931 the Stalinists sent

assassination and kidnapping teams into the anarchist zone to murder leading activists with the intention to wipe out the KAFM and the KAPM. By the summer of 1931 many leading anarchists were dead and the war on two fronts devastated the region. The KAF went underground.

Further Reading: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/ha-ki-rak-a-history-of-the-korean-anarchist-movement>

5.04 မြန်မာ Myanmar / Burmese Anarchist Movement.

Adapted from “Anarchists struggle in Burma”. Hein Htet Kyaw, 2023 and interview with Bro-Y: “This is just the beginning”- Bro-Y and Hein Htet Kyaw. 2023

Myanmar has a long history of totalitarian left traditions such as Stalinism as a resistance to British colonialism. Later, the Stalinist socialist regime led by military dictator General Ne Win ruled the country. The Stalinist socialist regime transformed into a military bureaucracy where the military officers had become the new class oppressing the democratic movements.

Outside of the Communist Party of Burma (CPB), there were other leftist movements that identified themselves as something distinct from the CPB. The socialist party, represented by the social democrats and the military, was one of those factions. There used to be some syndicalist movements under the flag of the Red Socialist Fraction. Despite holding the banner of syndicalism, the faction chose to remain loyal to the Stalinism.

Anarchism in Burma was a slur for the authoritarian leftists to accuse someone who they don't agree with. An example is H.N. Goshal the only member of the politburo who voted against the Maoist guerrilla strategy of the CPB before starting the civil war in the 1940s. Goshal had written a book while he was with the Communist Party of India called “On the Present Political Situation in Burma and Our Task” which basically calls for the orthodox Marxist approach of “mass strike”. He defended his position of the “mass strike” over the Maoist guerrilla policy in the CPB's politburo. Before his murder by the CPB he was accused of being an anarchist

In the 21st century, Burma dominated by the Stalinist military regime and international Maoism, progressive leftists in Burma looked for new alternatives. Some found their alternatives in orthodox Marxist tendencies such as Leninism and Trotskyism. Some described themselves as anarchists. Some leaned towards the social democratic approach of gradual reforms.

The history of anarchist movements in the early 2000s is difficult to find. However, the anarchist movement in Burma has huge influence on its 21st-century atheism movement. One of the founders of “Burmese Atheists”, Thiha JP, is known to be one of the earliest anarchists among the current anarchist stream. He describes himself as a “self-styled punk anarchist. Thiha JP is well known for his insightful writings on ancient Indian materialist philosophies and anarchism.

The counter-culture punk movement is largely interconnected with anarchism in Myanmar. The most popular anarchists in Burma are a punk band “Rebel Riots”. Rebel Riots is well known for its mutual aid projects and its progressive music lyrics is accused of being “NGO punk” by Stalinist leftists who have done nothing effective in the struggle against capitalism and the military junta.

Most self-proclaimed anarchists in Myanmar had no idea about the revolutionary anarchist movements in history. Anarchism in Myanmar is used to fetishise drug addiction, bohemians, and lumpenproletariat who like to do anything they want. A tiny fraction of anarchists in Burma, aware of the historical legacy of anarchism are organised ideologically are forming an anarcho-syndicalist group, to do mutual aid projects, community engagement, and campaigns to produce anarchist texts.

In the western social democratic politics in Myanmar there are self-proclaimed anarchists totally ignorant of the existence of social anarchist theory and organisation. They are influenced by identity politics, and virtue signalling politics of western privileged liberals. They are 'useful idiots', endorsing the right-wing nationalist movements of some ethnic and religious minorities. They have accused ARSA (Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army-"defend, salvage and protect" the Rohingya against state repression "in line with the principle of self-defence") of being a terrorist group and increasing islamophobia in Burma.

Anarchists are no longer controlled by the 'tankie' (authoritarian leftists) the authoritarian left in Burma which has lost patience with the anarchists, and we are expecting to witness attacks against anarchists active in left-wing militia groups such as the People's Liberation Army (PLA). It is hard to digest that social democrats and tankies unite against the libertarian far-left organisations but it's apparent that both Stalinism and reformist social democracy are similar when it comes to their socialism.

Politically educated anarchists in Burma are now united despite belonging to different tendencies of anarchism, it's inevitable that there will be stronger anarchist tendencies in Burma for the next generation.

Further reading: https://sea.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/james-c-scott-the-art-of-not-being-governed-en?fbclid=IwY2xjawN9dhleHRuA2FibQIxMABicmlkETFOZIVQSkRTMTd1S0NENnY3c3J0YwZhcHBfaWQQMjlyMDM5MTc4ODlwMDg5MgABHtAzIBQ4hFQ0xu3HQoBcIYpMzXft-ZoBVvoqucmvRtKvHtGxKjEwt_XN6Ae8_aem_iZT5Ff-yHOHC1j7ZVXYHfA&brid=pn2Ss0BSuQaGStlck1ZGPA

5.05 Việt Nam Vô Trĩ Vietnamese Anarchist Movement

” At this stage the local (Viet Minh) Stalinists, seemed far more concerned at arresting and shooting their left critics and in fact all whom they saw as potential rivals for the leadership of the movement than at prosecuting the struggle against the French”. - Ngô Văn. “1945: The Saigon Commune”.

Adapted from “A Brief Sketch of the Vietnamese Anarchist Movement” an extract of “In the Shadow of a Hurricane: Global Anarchist Ideological and Organisational Lineages”. Michael Schmidt, 2021

Radicalism in Vietnam emerged in 1898 as the anti-colonial Reform Movement, which was inspired by the Chinese reform movement of that year. Reformists were soon challenged by two main anarchist currents, according to Vietnamese historian Hue-Tam Ho Tai: the “collectivist orientation” that was “a component of anarcho-socialism” introduced by students returning from China and Japan; and the “libertarian and individualist strain” introduced from those whose studies had taken them to France.

Only recently has the role of anarchism in the Vietnamese Revolution has attention paid “despite anarchism’s unmistakable influence on the revolution’s early phase”. According to Arif Dirlik, “Anarchist ideas entered Vietnam through the activities of the early Vietnamese nationalist leader Phan Bội Châu. Phan, who led the struggle against French colonial rule during the first two decades of the 20th century, was introduced to anarchism by Chinese intellectuals in Tokyo in 1905-09.”

Scholar-turned-militant, Phan Bội Châu (1867-1940), “engaged in common activities with Chinese and Japanese radicals” in Tokyo, which turned him into Vietnam’s “pioneer of the Revolution”. The “Pan-Asian anti-imperialism of the Chinese anarchists resonated” with his own concerns about the liberation of Vietnam from France. The Russian revolution of 1905 radicalised Phan. He returned to Vietnam and opened Tonkin Free School to teach children of all sexes, presumably inspired by the anarchist educator Francisco Ferrer.



Nhà cách mạng Phan Bội Châu (1867 - 1940)

In 1908, anti-tax riots broke out, followed by peasant riots in Quàng Nam. The French authorities used the excuse to smash the Reform Movement by arresting scores including Phan Chu Trinh and shutting down the free school. The successful 1911 Republican Revolution in China inspired Phan to move to south China in 1912, where he founded the League for the Restoration of Vietnam (Việt Nam Quang Phục Hội) among Vietnamese exiles.

Phan Bội Châu also set up a “League for the Prosperity of China and Asia” to “foster solidarity between China and the colonised countries of Asia, in particular Vietnam, India, Burma and Korea”. On a trip to Shanghai, Phan also joined with fifteen Chinese and one Japanese anarchist in the clandestine League for Humanity (The Gôi Nhân Đạo Hội), immersing himself in the anarchist resistance movement. In 1911 League militants killed two French army officers in Hanoi in Tonkin and the Vietnamese governor of Thai Binh province and encouraged secret societies and religious sects to attack the French police headquarters in Saigon. Seven

League members were executed and Phan Bội Châu was sentenced to death in absentia. In this period, a French language edition of influential Chinese anarchist-communist Li Shifu's Minsheng paper, "The Voice of the People" was available to Vietnamese radicals in the north.

French entry into the First World War saw the French forced thousands into service in the Europe imperialist war, leading to riots throughout Vietnam. The French blamed Phan Bội Châu and 38 League members were executed and 1,000 people jailed. Phan was betrayed in China and spent three years in prison, released in 1917.

In 1917 a revolt by both prisoners and French troops led by Luong Ngoc Quyon, united against a sadistic colonialist, Darles who had tortured a Vietnamese prisoner. Quyon was a member of Phan's Eastern Travel Movement who had moved to Japan in 1905, was jailed in south China in 1915, losing the use of both his legs during two years in a tiny cell. The French killed 500 in suppressing the revolt and merely fined Darles a nominal amount for his inhumanity.

In Phan Bội Châu's absence, the League was kept alive by militants like Dang Tu Man and Dan Thuc Hua, but in 1919, Hua left the League, criticising it for its elitism calling for revolutionaries to, "go barefoot into the streets and byways and live the life of the common people" an echo of the Chinese May 4th movement. In 1923 League members regrouped as the Society of Like Hearts (Tam Tam Xa), also known as the New Vietnam Youth Corps (Tan Viet Thanh Nien Doan), an anarchist organisation.

In 1924, members of the Society of Like Hearts contacted Soviet advisers at the newly formed, nationalist-controlled but communist-influenced Whampoa Military Academy in the anarchist stronghold of Guangzhou, China. Armed with explosives acquired from the academy, Society militant Phan Hong Thai, a factory worker, attempted to kill the French governor-general of Indochina on an official visit to Guangzhou. Thai missed his target but killed three and wounded two in his entourage and drowned in a river while fleeing, giving Vietnam its first revolutionary martyr. Thai was later buried near the graves of the martyrs of the 1911 Wuchang mutiny.

In 1923, Nguyễn An Ninh, the son of a small land-owning Reform Movement scholar, returned to Vietnam from France where he had become an individualist pacifist anarchist and delivered a sensational speech on the aspirations of the youth of Annam (a colonialist name of a Vietnamese region) that inspired a generation. He had written on Vietnam both for Paria (Pariah), the anti-colonial journal of the new French Communist Party (PCF), and for Le Libertaire (The Libertarian). He founded the anarchist bi-weekly newspaper Cloche Fêlée (Broken Bell). Despite the paper's popularity among the Vietnamese, Nguyễn never converted its support into an organisational base. In 1925 the radical journal Indochine Enchaînée (Indochina Enchained), which sold 5,000 copies, was published by earlier supporters of Cloche Fêlée around which the proto-revolutionary Young Annam (Jeune Annam) group formed. Cloche Fêlée was briefly revived with an even more radical tone in 1925.

In 1925 Ho Chi Minh, accompanied by a Comintern agent visited southern China was for the purpose of the creation of an Indochinese Communist Party part of the Russian agenda for the region. Ho Chi Minh, former League member Lam Duc Thu and several members of the anarchist Society of Like Hearts founded the clandestine Communist Youth Corps (Than Nien Cong San Doan). Ho "wished to refute not so much the anarchist vision of post-revolutionary society but the anarchist critique of political parties and authority, which undermined his efforts to build a strong Leninist party".

In 1926 Nguyễn finally embraced organisation, founding with the anarchist Nguyen An Nin the Secret Society which had three guerrilla sections of between 700 and 800

members drawn mostly from among peasants, workers, and criminals in the outskirts of Saigon. In 1927, a Vietnamese section of the East Asian Anarchist Federation (EAAF), founded in China that year, was established, but it is not known which Vietnamese organisations were affiliated.

The formation of the Communist Party of Indochina (PCI) in 1930 weakened local anarchist counter power. In 1933 the anarchist Trinh Hung Ngau was one of the founders of the journal *La Lutte* (The Struggle) but withdrew after the third issue in 1936 to join a group of 25 Chinese anarchist militants who went to fight in the Spanish Revolution but were turned back at Marseilles and organised on their arrival in Vietnam.

Vietnam was occupied by Japan in 1940 which drove all revolutionary factions underground. When the Japanese withdrew in August 1945, the Communist-led Viet Minh – which had launched an unsuccessful insurrection in 1940 against Japanese occupation – took control of Hanoi in the north of the country and proclaimed an independent Vietnam. The departure of the Japanese and arrival of the Allies provoked an armed insurrection in Saigon in the south where 30,000 workers, influenced by Trotskyism and to a lesser extent anarchism, established councils that ran the mines, public services and transport system. The libertarian socialist militant metalworker Ngô Văn Xuyết (1913-2005) in an article written while in exile in France, noted that the Viet Minh, desperate for the approval of the British, tried without success to disarm worker's committees, the "Vanguard Youth Organisation" and self-defence groups based in the factories and plantations who had resisted the Japanese: "These stood on a very radical social programme and were not prepared to accept complete control by the Vietminh."

Groups such as the 400 workers of the Go Vap tramway depot in Saigon although affiliated to the Stalinist controlled "Southern CGT", refused to carry the Viet Minh flag and retained their own militia. But while the British and French had allowed the Japanese occupiers to escape, the Viet Minh displayed its loyalty to the Allies by joining forces with them in liquidating the dissident guerrilla bands including the tramway militia.

In this period, the veteran anarchist guerrilla fighter Trương Thị Sáu raised funds for the revolutionary communards, but when British forces and their Stalinist stooges suppressed the Saigon Commune by the end of 1945, and the French state subsequently reasserted its colonial power, capturing Saigon from the communards who retreated. Trương went with them and organised supplies for the insurgents. When Can Giuoc fell in turn, Trương secretly moved back to Saigon and worked in the anti-colonial underground. In an important article on the response of the French anarchists to the anti-colonial movements for the December 1984 *Le Magazine Libertaire* (The Libertarian Magazine) André Devriendt noted that the anarchists took a firm stance against the French incursions in Indochina and North Africa. Articles on these issues appeared regularly in *Le Libertaire* (The Libertarian) from 1946, with full pages devoted to events in Algeria, Indochina, Madagascar, Morocco and Tunisia.

Disgusted with the Viet Minh's support for Britain and the Allies, but disillusioned with the lack of a real alternative to Stalinism that Trotskyism offered, Ngo joined the International Workers' Union (UOI) in Paris which included in its ranks former Durruti Column militiaman Benjamin Peret, and which had split from the Trotskyist International Communist Party (PCI) because of its defence of the USSR which backed the Viet Minh. Meanwhile, in Vietnam, Trương, despite remaining an anarchist, worked hard to support all elements of the anti-colonial resistance including the Viet Minh on behalf of which she wrote a 1946 report on women in the south. In 1947, she founded the Federation of Civil Servants trade union on anarcho-syndicalist principles, plus the anti-imperialist Saigon United Front, and was also elected to head the Vietnam Women's Union which aimed at uniting all women in resistance. The breadth of her work, her guerrilla experience, the handling of prisoners-of-war, and the reception of new recruits

into the armed resistance is indicative of her prestige in the liberation movement and suggests that at least in the 1940s, she must have had a coterie of anarchist comrades around her. In 1951, wooed for two decades by the communists, she joined the Communist Party. She died in 1983, a national hero.

In 1952, the Francophone Anarchist Federation (FAF) signalled a clear anti-colonial position in an article entitled "Long live the Indochinese proletariat's struggle!" in *Le Libertaire*. This took an internationalist revolutionary approach: "In this war, which is in fact a revolutionary episode ... workers' solidarity must raise French workers and Vietnamese workers against the same enemy: French capitalism. In 1958 the ultra-right terrorist Secret Army Organisation (OAS) attacked leftist organisations like the FAF who were opposed to maintaining France's colonies, Ngo banded together with anarcho-syndicalists around the paper *La Revolution Proletarienne* (The Proletarian Revolution), and the libertarian socialist "Socialisme ou Barbarie" group to counter the threat. Active in the metalworker's union until his retirement in 1978, Ngo continued to write for libertarian Marxist publications until his death in 2005. But he definitively broke with vanguardism, writing "The so-called 'workers' parties (Leninist parties especially) are embryonic state regimes. Once in power, these parties form the nucleus of a new ruling class and can only give rise to a new system of exploitation of man by man."

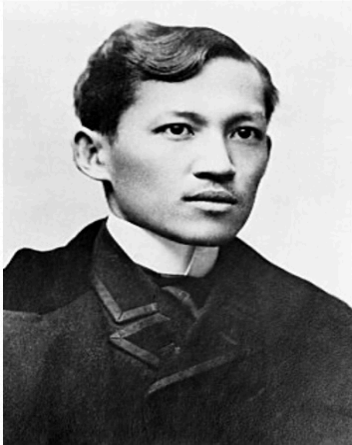
Ngo also published two volumes of Vietnamese history, his work is still read today in Vietnam and wrote an autobiography, "In the Land of the Broken Bell", the title of which echoes that of the influential 1920s Vietnamese anarchist newspaper *Cloche Fêlé* (Broken Bell).

With the French forces largely defeated by 1954, the United States subsequently stepped in, and set up a puppet regime in the South, while the Soviet Union and Mao's China threw support behind a Communist regime in the north. By that time, over 100,000 troops were killed, many of whom were drafted from colonial Indochina and North Africa, and there were hundreds of thousands of victims on the Vietnamese side. Ngo's assessment of the deteriorating situation proved prophetic. "One day the massacres of America will end, the survivors will return to the factories, offices and farms: busted faces, armless and legless, dragging on through the remainder of their decorated existence. Back there, the 'heroes of the resistance' – peasants and workers of Vietnam will return to the rice-fields or will be thrown into the factories of the new industrialisation ...neither the capitalist system American-style nor the state capitalism of Ho Chi Minh will put an end to their situation as the exploited submitted to a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners.

5.06 Pilipinas Anarchist Movement

From “Anarchism in the Pilipinas” Erwin S. Fernandez (2009)

Revolution, and his fellow Filipino anti-colonialist, Isabelo de los Reyes (1864–1938). One of the international contexts that shaped Rizal’s second novel, *El Filibusterismo* (1891), was the growth of anarchist activities in Spain and France, reflected in the novel as the doomed plot to set off a nitro-glycerine lamp at a wedding reception with



Jose Rival (1861 – 1896)
Writer, Intellectual and pioneer of
Anarchist thinking in the Pilipinas.

all of the colonial elite present. Like Rizal, de los Reyes encountered anarchism in Spain: imprisoned in Montjuich after being arrested and jailed at the height of the revolution, de los Reyes met and befriended his cellmate, the anarchist Ramon Sempau. From publications he read while in prison, he understood anarchism as “the abolition of boundaries ... whether geographic or of class distinction” (Scott 1992: 14). Freed through the help of Spanish friends such as Federico Urales, he returned to Manila in 1901, bringing with him books by Proudhon, Marx, Kropotkin, and Malatesta. Shortly after, he organized print workers and successfully held strikes, infusing them with anarcho-syndicalist ideas that led to the creation of the Union Obrera Democrática (UOD) in 1902.

The UOD proved to be a headache for the Americans. After the UOD staged a massive demonstration, the civil governor put them under police surveillance, branding them as “radicals, subversives and anarchists” and ordering de los Reyes’ arrest (Pomeroy 1992: 51). The UOD lingered for a while with Hermenegildo Cruz, its secretary, becoming a prominent labour organizer and publishing his notes on the anarchist geographer Elisée Reclus’ *L’Homme et la terre*.

International connections with anarchism continued into the twentieth century; for instance, Chinese anarchists established a cell in Manila after the May 4th movement of 1919, publishing newsletters to propagate their ideas, and in 1928 a Philippine representative was sent to Nanking as delegate to the establishment of a League of Eastern Anarchists. Nonetheless, the Philippine Left gradually moved toward a markedly Marxist and Leninist socialism and communism: a communist party was established in 1930, and in 1933 a socialist party was founded in feudal Central Luzon.

Contemporary anarchism in the Pilipinas is decentralised networks and affinity groups that emerged from the 1980s punk scene, anti-capitalist, and anti-authoritarian movements. They focus on direct action, mutual aid, and autonomous spaces.

Further reading:

Pangayaw and Decolonizing Resistance: Anarchism in the Philippines

- Bas Umali • Editor: Gabriel Kuhn (2020)

5.07 Indonesian Anarchist Movement



Anarchism in Indonesia has its roots in the anti-colonial struggle against the Dutch Empire. It became an organized movement by the influence of Chinese anarchist immigrants, who played a key part in the development of the workers' movement.

Dutch Christian anarchists conducted propaganda work in the Dutch East Indies in the nineteenth century publishing a periodical which advocated for non-violence, natural living and vegetarianism. Chinese anarchists in the Dutch East Indies formed a branch of the Union of Religious Anarcho-Communists. Chinese anarchists also conducted propaganda work in Java and organised Chinese resistance to Dutch Colonial rule and Chinese imperial rule in 1907.

After the Revolution of 1911 overthrew the Qing dynasty, Chinese anarchists in Indonesia channelled efforts into the labour movement, organizing the country's first workers' organisations in four provinces. Anarchist cells formed across Java and in 1916 anarchist sailors in Surabaya organized a wildcat strike against poor living and working conditions. There was direct conflict with the military police and in the subsequent repression, 5 people were injured, 47 sailors were dismissed and one of the organizers was imprisoned for 8 months. The union leadership criticized the local branch for not opposing the strike and declared it necessary to combat the "anarchist elements" within the union. The military command banned unions in the armed forces. Following the First World War anarchism grew in popularity, groups grew larger, published newspapers and had a reach across the archipelago. A very effective propaganda group, comprising Chinese anarchist Liu Shixin distributed anarchist communist propaganda throughout the archipelago. The activity of the group resulted in the arrest of Liu, the group labelled Bolsheviks and Liu deported to China. The activity of the group resulted in the arrest of Liu, the group labelled "Bushiwei" (Bolsheviks!) and Liu deported to China. In 1919, the Workers' Union was established by anarchists in a number of cities and provinces. The Union published the anarcho-communist publication "Zhenli Bao" edited by Bai Binzhou and Wang Yuting who were arrested and deported to China.

Anarchists organized amongst plantation workers and railway workers as well as conducted attacks on Dutch administrators. In 1920 over 15,000 rail workers went on an unprecedented strike. As usual there were state reprisals, the military was used to break the strike and artillery deployed against a striking workers assembly. The Dutch authorities exiled organizers to New Guinea and Singapore. Although syndicalist unions continued to operate into the late 1920s, the Chinese anarchist movement in Indonesia was largely suppressed by 1929.

With the defeat of Japan ending the Second World War, Sukarno proclaimed Indonesian independence, the start of the Indonesian national revolution. After decades of repression of anarchists by Indonesian, Dutch and Japanese military, the anarchist movement had disappeared. The new flux of the birth of Republic of Indonesia, the Javanese working class expropriated and established workers' control over the country's railways, plantations and factories from 1946 to 1947. The republic, with the murderous dictator Sukarno at its head, set about repressing the nascent anarcho-syndicalist movement. Using the military, they seized the expropriated workers enterprises and put them under state control by the spring of 1947.



The anarchist movement re-emerged in the 1990s from the Indonesian punk subculture, the largest punk movement in Southeast Asia. Young people had created their own underground sub-culture of punk, with a tendency being anti-fascist and anti-authoritarian in opposition to the dictatorship of Suharto. In 1998, anarchist collectives began to form after the fall of Suharto, organizing discussion groups, publishing anarchist texts in the Indonesian language and forming non-hierarchical groups through which to conduct direct action. Food Not Bombs

collectives formed and anti-fascist groups organized solidarity actions with striking workers. In December 1999, anti-fascist collectives and individuals from all around the country converged to establish the nationwide "Antifascist Network of Nusantara".

In the early 2000s, the Indonesian anarchist movement was scattered and disconnected. In 2007 at May Day demonstrations the "Anti-authoritarian Network" appeared, marking the anarchist movement's first large-scale appearance on the public stage and igniting a revival of the anarchist movement. In 2008 following clashes with riot police during May Day demonstrations, there was suppression of the movement with mass arrests of the movement participants and that stalled its momentum. Ongoing struggle saw by 2010 anarchist groups present in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Bali.

An insurrectionist Informal Anarchist Federation (AFI) declared itself in 2011, with attacks against corporate buildings and ATMs in Sulawesi, Java and Sumatra. They condemned peaceful protest, instead inciting direct action against capitalist property. Inspired by these actions, two anarchists attacked an ATM and were incarcerated. Insurrectionary anarchists of the "Long Live Luciano Tortuga" Cell in Sulawesi and other FAI cells in the regions responded to the imprisonments with incendiary attacks on power stations and luxury cars.

Anarcho-Syndicalists formed a bloc at May Day demonstrations in 2019 and 2010 that brought about a growth of interest in anarcho-syndicalism and establishment of the Workers' Power Syndicate in Surabaya. The renewal of trade unionism and syndicalism culminated on 3 October 2012 in the first general strike in 50 years.

PROCLAMATION OF THE INDONESIAN FEDERALIST REVOLUTION 2025

GEPLAATST DOOR: FVA



📍 1285 Message from the anarchist and libertarian socialist left in Indonesia. First appeared August 30th on Instagram.

In 2016, the Persaudaraan Pekerja Anarko Sindikalis, the PPAS (Anarcho-Syndicalist Worker's Fraternity) formed and affiliated to the IWA-AIT supported by the Australian-Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation. It organizes on the principles of decentralization, equality, direct action, internationalism, solidarity, mutual cooperation, independence and the rejection of capitalism and the state. The PPAS is growing with branches in Jakarta and Surabaya. The PPAS also organized the Independent Union of Taxi Drivers

(KUMAN), uniting over 500 drivers around Indonesia and entering into a strike against Uber for higher wages and improved working conditions. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the PPAS organized actions in order to protect workers from the effects of the virus.

In 2020, the Indonesian state tried to suppress anarchist activity, with crashing social media accounts, anarchists were arrested and imprisoned, books seized, and some anarchist detainees subjected to police torture and kept in isolation for a month.

Anarchists actively participated in protests against the passage of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation in 2020, with militants burning police stations, destroyed capitalist property and clashed with police on barricades in cities across Indonesia.

In August and September 2025, anarchists were active in a popular uprising across major centres in Indonesia sparked by anger over austerity, tax increases and increased parliamentary allowances. The uprising started with protests by students, similar to those uprisings across numerous other countries in 2025.

The Indonesian state tried to suppress reporting of the uprising. Students faced down massive state violence with street battles with security forces and police that continued for days. The murder of a worker, Affan Kurniawan, a motorcycle taxi driver run over by Brimob police ignited worker's rage. Moh Umar Amarudin, another worker, a motorcycle taxi driver almost suffered a similar fate from police. He sustained severe injuries from police and was rushed into intensive care. Workers joined the uprising en masse. Workers drove the security forces back, but thousands were arrested and many more injured in brutal police attacks and at least 10 killed. Government buildings were torched as well as police stations occupied or burnt. Homes of the political class were attacked and the wealth inside redistributed.

The rebellion has subsided, but the people's anger has not. Anarchists issued a "Proclamation of the Indonesian Federalist Revolution," calling for the dissolution of the government and its replacement with local people's councils.

In May 2026 a further wave of persecution was launched by the Indonesian state against anarchists. One of the detainees arrested during the May Day 2026 protests in Bandung, RR alias Mpe, previously accused of being the "leader of an anarchist group," has now been charged by the police under terrorism laws. He has been placed in isolation and denied access to legal counsel. Government authorities are

prosecuting those considered to be the driving force behind unrest thinking it can prevent similar incidents from recurring in the future! The persecution parallels the corrupt and authoritarian nature of the Indonesian state. Social anger is framed not as a response to real social suffering, but rather as the product of manipulation by a handful of supposedly “deceitful” actors and justifies state repression without the need to materially prove criminal wrongdoing.

This is the same regime that launched a murderous campaign between October 1965 and March 1966 orchestrating the mass murder of an estimated 1 million members, sympathizers, and affiliates of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). The same regime that systematically unleashed a campaign of state terrorism against the East Timorese people between 1975 and 1999, ‘disappearing’ and murdering over 200,000 people. It still continues with the oppression and persecution of anarchists and state colonialist invasion of West Papua with the murder of an estimated 500,000 people since the 1960’s. and displacement in 2025 of 105,000r lian Jayan’s.

Solidarity and real material support for those in struggle against Indonesian state terror! Solidarity and unconditional support for all anarchist detainees!

Further reading:

<https://forumvooranarchisme.nl/en/post/proclamation-of-the-indonesian-federalist-revolution-2025>

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/palang-hitam-update-on-the-may-day-2026-anarchist-prisoners-indonesia>

6.00 The Anarchist Communist Platform.

“The foundation stone and chief bond of an anarchist organisation should be the program understood and embraced by all”- Errico Malatesta 1890



Anarchism is not an infantile fantasy or abstract philosophical notion, but a social movement of the working masses. Anarchist communists, build our struggle on the lessons from global revolutionary histories of the working class and their struggles. These histories, still being recovered following the systematic burying, erasure, lied about and rewritten to suit the narrative of state control and capitalism.

Our mission is to organise, inspire, anticipate, explain, articulate and participate in building strategies and solutions to defeat capitalism. This activity could fall into the trap of vanguardism without the self-directed, democratic and militant action by the working-class. We can find many ways to social revolution, but those paths must be found by the working class if there is any hope for the future liberation of society from the outrage of global capitalism.

Social revolution is made with a real, radical and consistent analysis of the situation of the working class. Analysis that can be translate into revolutionary educational activity, organisation around specific strategies and provocations that join the working class and all the oppressed of society to the goal of anarchist communism. To achieve our goal of egalitarianism, peace and liberation, social revolutionaries must be alert to events and situations when the façade of the state and capitalist domination weakens as it is challenged and attacked from the base and focus on this.

Social revolution means the sudden and radical sweeping away of authoritarianism and exploitation, the overthrow of state power and capitalism along with the pacifying and alienating political and social conventions of capitalism. Conventions such as our alienated lives, and the destructive relationship with the biosphere, colonialism and imperialism, ageism, adultism, ableism, sexism, racism, queer/transphobia and patriarchy. Anarchist communists need to be situated at the intersection of political, social and economic struggle. To bring clarity and meaning of these struggles and assist in building social revolutionary struggle. We need to bring unity and life to these movements to subvert the conventions of capitalism. Through cultural, social, political and economic contestation with the capitalist system, we can weaken and then shatter the façade of capitalism. To expose the vulnerability of capitalist oppression and the fragility of authoritarian institutions. The class struggle must be consistent with our strategies and goals, as the revolutionary organisations built within the class struggle are the direct transition to libertarian communism.

The UAC is a partisan social revolutionary organisation and specifically an anarchist communist organisation. By partisan we mean being clear eyed, focussed and committed to the propagation of anarchist communism. By specific we mean a

formally constituted anarchist communist organisation that finds unity in revolutionary organisational theory, prefigurative revolutionary practice, strategy and action.



Our purpose is by taking concrete actions to build social revolution and anarchist communism. Our strategy is to engage with and encourage the working class to build counter power to capitalism and state through a radical extra-parliamentary opposition to capitalism. By prefiguration we mean the practice of organising in ways that mirror a future communist society. Prefigurative counter power arises from revolutionary workers organisations of struggle. This is a necessity for social revolutionary transformation into the organisations and institutions of a communist society that can move us

directly to libertarian communism.

We appeal to all workers to stand up as a class, to step away from our long-held position of being on our knees, and in the act of stepping forward, exercise our power to build our strength. Our power is the definition of direct action. This definition comprises a democratic worker's grass roots discarding hierarchy and bureaucracy to take control of our destiny in class struggle. Class struggle is the only effective means available to build class power to fight back against capitalism. Class struggle works powerfully in attacking capitalism and is powerful when defending against capitalist attacks. It is effective in building class unity, winning immediate reformist demands and as a strategy to build a social revolutionary movement.

We are organisationally committed to social revolutionary transformation and communism. The 'never never' of gradualism and the distraction of electoralism is irrelevant to anarchist communist politics, strategy and working-class struggle.

We engage in acts of solidarity with social, cultural, community, youth and student movements, that fight to weaken the façade of capitalism, now or with the potential to do so in the future. We push for direct democracy, collective action and militancy in all anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian struggle. We are in solidarity and in unity with working-class struggle, and to work to build the independence of all struggles, as a sustainable revolutionary ecosystem free from co-opting forces, such as the state, capital, trade unions and the authoritarian, reformist and regressive left.

For this very reason, our movement must find coherency and organisational unity, to be relevant, consistent and passionate with our advocacy for social revolution, demanded by the reality of class struggle.

Nestor Makhno (1888-1934) a cofounder of the Platform said of anarchism, "the outstanding anarchist thinkers, Bakunin, Kropotkin and others, did not invent the idea of anarchism, but having discovered it in the masses, they strengthened anarchism with their thought and knowledge to specify and spread it."

Despite our oppression by capitalist, fascist, militarist, clerical and Marxist Leninist Maoist states our movement survives and grows. But despite the force and unquestionably positive character of anarchist ideas, the clarity and completeness of anarchist positions with regards the social revolution, and despite the heroism and countless sacrifices of anarchists in the struggle for anarchist communism, it is telling that in spite of all this, the historical anarchist movement is marginalised and has most often featured in the history of working-class struggles, not as a determining factor, but as a fringe phenomenon. We are determined to remedy this injustice to our cause and legacy.

For the development of anarchist theory and practise, in part utilising historical precedent, the UAC adopts and adapts the “Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists. (1926).

The Organisational Platform (the platform) describes four principles by which anarchist communists unite around a defined and consistent revolutionary strategy for the building of a broad based, effective, functional, democratic and scalable anarchist communist organisation. The organisation (UAC) only exists for the collective development of revolutionary infrastructure, propagation, dissemination and agitation for social revolution. The platform also enables the UAC to galvanise with a social revolutionary culture and give stability and longevity to this culture for broader dissemination. The platform is the foundation on which to build the number of convinced revolutionary militants entering the anarchist movement, including the UAC, along with facilitating their function and longevity within the UAC and broader social revolutionary movement.

The platform is an organisational strategy by which to develop the influence of anarchist ideas in the broader society and within movements of the working class. The platform is a concept that arose as a response to the disarray of anarchists during the social revolution in Russia of 1917-1921.

The platform finds its organisational principles based on the thinking of Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), in particular his theory of "organisational dualism" which the UAC refers to as “counter power”, to avoid confusion with Leninist use of this term. Bakunin proposed that anarchists form their own revolutionary organisations to encourage workers to rebel against the state and capitalism, and once a social revolution had replaced the state with a federation of voluntary associations, it would then agitate against any attempted reconstitution of the state by political parties.

The Platform's direct predecessor was the “Draft Declaration of the Revolutionary Insurgent Army of Ukraine”, adopted in 1919 by the Military Revolutionary Council of the Makhnovshchina. The Draft Declaration called for a third revolution against the Bolshevik government in order to establish a free society of free democratic soviets. The “Revolutionary Insurgent Army of Ukraine” also known as the “Makhnovshchina” was the nucleus of this revolution, where the organisation's entire membership would carry out the decision-making process. In parallel, the Nabat Confederation of Anarchist Organizations in Ukraine (1918-1920), known simply as the Nabat (in Ukrainian), Alarm (in English), developed into a tightly organised structure with a unified policy and a delegated executive committee, a prototype of platformism.

After the flight of Russian and Ukrainian anarchists into exile from bolshevism, they called for the reorganisation of the anarchist movement, as chronic disorganisation had led to their defeat during the Russian revolution.

On 20 June 1926, the “Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists” was published. With the goal of anarchism being a social revolution that would create a stateless and classless society, the Platform proposed the establishment of a General Union of Anarchists to educate and engage with the working class, to agitate and raise class consciousness through class struggle, a necessity to build social revolution. The General Union was to be organised according to the principles of theoretical unity, tactical unity, federalism and collective responsibility, to be governed by an executive committee of delegates to coordinate collective action and political policy.

“In solidarity with the lost revolutionary Makhnovshchina of Ukraine and to end war we call on soldiers of Ukraine to make common cause with social revolution and the working class and turn your weapons on your generals and ruling classes and make common cause with Russian soldiers to do the same with theirs”
UAC - Statement January 2025

6.01 Platformist Influence on the Revolutionary Working-Class.



During the Spanish Revolution in 1937 a number of anarchists formed the “Friends of Durruti Group” (Spanish: Agrupación de los Amigos de Durruti - AAD) a specific anarchist communist organisation. The group is named after José Buenaventura Durruti (1896-1936), an anarchist revolutionary of the CNT and the FAI (Federation of Iberian Anarchists). Durruti played an influential role leading

to and during the Spanish revolution. He is remembered as a hero of the anarchist movement. He was murdered by a Stalinist assassin whilst at the front in Madrid, defending from a fascist onslaught in November 1936. The group formed in 1937 to resist the republic incorporating the worker’s militias into the republican army, with its hierarchical militarist and non-democratic control. The confederal worker’s militias had not only led the fight against fascism but were also an armed defence of the workers and peasants gains in the social revolution. In May 1937 the social revolution was brutally suppressed by the republican army, under its Stalinist command, an army ostensibly created in the civil war to fight fascism. They attacked the worker’s militias in Barcelona and rural agrarian collectives.

They were met with a week of bloody resistance. Whilst no exact figures are known, an estimated 500-1000 workers were killed and another 1500 wounded defending the reassertion of social revolution.

In the wake of this tragedy, “Towards a Fresh Revolution”, was published by the AAD, calling for a reassertion of the social revolution with a revolutionary council to rebuild the militias and bring the economy back under the control of the ‘Confederación Nacional del Trabajo’ (CNT), the mass revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist organisation of the working class, which at that time had close to 1.5 million members. This would have would have effectively dissolved the centralist republican government of Spain. In the wake of the 1944 Stalinist Bulgarian coup d'état, the Federation of Anarchist Communists of Bulgaria (FAKB) issued its own Platform, which argued for a specifically anarcho-communist federation, coordinated by a secretariat, which would participate in trade unions and prepare for social revolution.

In 1953, a revolutionary grouping of anarchists in France published a “Manifesto of Libertarian Communism”, which attacked the synthesist orientation of the French anarchist movement. Anarchist synthesis is a tendency within the anarchist movement that seeks unity of the diverse currents within anarchism, aiming to bring together these tendencies into a single federation. This had been the practice of anarchists on this continent, up to the end of the twentieth century. It resulted in the disaster of the “Federation of Australian Anarchists” that barely lasted a year in 1975

and delayed the emergence of a social revolutionary anarchist movement for decades.

The French platformists called for anarchist revolutionaries to work within existing organisations of the working class in order to develop a mass movement, with the eventual aim of dissolving itself into the movement with the advent of social revolution. The Fédération Communiste Libertaire (FCL) emerged as a result. The FCL united with the North African Libertarian Movement (MLNA) to establish the Libertarian Communist International (ICL) which participated in the struggle against French colonialism in North Africa, asserting considerable anarchist influence. The ICL was suppressed by the French state and the organisation disbanded in 1957.

Platformism revived in France during the revolutionary upheaval of May 1968. Out of this revolutionary tumult the Revolutionary Anarchist Organization (ORA) formed. The formation of the ORA accelerated the establishment of other anarchist federations throughout Europe, such as the Anarchist Federation (AF) in Britain and the Federation of Anarchist Communists (FdCA) in Italy. The ORA was succeeded by the Libertarian Communist Union (UCL), an organisation that inspired the formation in January 2025 of the Union Anarchist Communist (UAC) in Naarm.



Specificism also called especifismo, using the Spanish word, is an adaption of the platform to the specific conditions of class struggle on the South American continent where especifismo was developed in by the Uruguayan Anarchist Federation (FAU) in 1972, with the publication of its text “Huerta Grande”, (English, “The Great Orchard”), which proposed the creation of a unified political policy directly applicable to the conditions in Uruguay based on an agreed understanding of contemporary social conditions and

the necessary adaptations needed to address these conditions. The collapse of the ruling right-wing dictatorships towards the end of the Cold War in South America resulted in the emergence of many other especifista groups throughout Latin America, spearheaded by the FAU.

7.00 UAC Platform - Adherence to Consistent Theoretical Unity

“We weren’t thinking about the future, about what the world might be like later. We were just doing the things we were already used to doing from all the years of struggle that had come before: burning banks and attacking the police. But you can only burn the same bank so many times. I tell you; all the banks were burned. In December we were not mature enough for planning. We were in a situation in which any plan was possible... But we did not make those plans, and we did not realize how important it would have been for the future.”-Andreas, a participant in the 2008 uprisings in Greece. “Full Spectrum Resistance. Building Movements and Fighting to Win” Vol. 1, Aric McBay. Seven Stories Press 2019

Theoretical unity is a very simple concept on which it should be easy to build. The difficulty with the concept is on what basis do we reach agreement and how to achieve and maintain agreement? Further to this, if you have an irreconcilably deep disagreement with anarchism, UAC policy, member, local or with the broader UAC, don’t be in the UAC. This should be considered well before joining. This doesn’t mean that everyone has to agree all the time on everything, but we need to acknowledge a unity founded on ideologically consistent principles. The foundation of unity is the who, what, when and how that informs our strategy and actions. By uniting around a coherent and consistent application of anarchist communist principles, we can escape the squandering of our meagre revolutionary resources, m revisionism, confusion and ambivalence exhibited by some social movements, leftist organisations and some contemporary forms of anarchism.

Being consistent, coherent and united delivers a shared cultural strength internally and for the work of the UAC means greater respect, trust, recognition and stronger networks of influence. Consistently applying libertarian communist principles is a means for analysing and better understanding the impact of our revolutionary work. This assists with developing the most effective strategies for the propagation of anarchist communism. It is a means to move us from the periphery of the working class to embedding anarchism within working-class struggle. It encourages an informed, enthusiastic, committed and democratic control of strategy and policy by the membership and circumvents frustration and burnout. It alerts us to the traps of electoralism, gradualism, vanguardism, centralism, spontaneism, adventurism, and

dilettantism. An appreciative and unitary understanding of anarchism breaks our movement out of our historical isolation in cliquish and incestuous inner urban subcultures.

With a unitary appreciation of anarchist thought we build confidence in our politics and the more we use anarchist theory, read, debate, write, speak and act on anarchist communism the more articulate and confident we become. If we are not confident in our politics, it discredits us, makes us vulnerable to ideological attacks and becoming defensive with a drift into dogmatism. We lose sight of who we are as an active minority and our purpose in building social revolution. Theoretical unity, when consistently applied, allows for the evolution of contemporary models of struggle and organisation from the base. It is important in prefigurative politics and the creation of working-class counter-power, also known as dualism, to defeat capitalism.



The maintenance of consistent theoretical unity can be demanding, and time consuming. Anarchists do not impose unity, and unity achieved through using shortcuts, submission, intimidation or repression is counterproductive and will fail. Unity must originate from and be driven by the membership. Unity can only come from repeatedly revisiting our role in the class struggle, with open, considered, continual learning, respectful, informed, vigorous

debate and discussion and if change is required, to be initiated by the membership.

An active militant of the UAC not only influences the UAC, the working class and greater society to change it, but also in the process they themselves are transformed. A UAC militant engaged in work on behalf of social revolution, should by the nature of this work, transform themselves and other participants and relations, to discard capitalist indoctrination and internalised repression.

Capitalist psychology characterises revolutionaries as Machiavellians, pathological narcissists, power hungry, intolerant of ambiguity, with illusions of grandeur. Some of this may have some basis, a result of the damage the capitalist social and economic system does to human behaviours. Authoritarian behaviours, sometimes unavoidably inherited from capitalism, are destructive of the anarchist ethic of our organisation. Once perceived in the UAC such behaviours are not to be tolerated.



Unless there is a commitment by the person to managing and modifying those behaviours the member should be expelled. The methodology for the individual to manage their behaviours, would be the decision of the individual.

On joining the UAC, it would be surprising if a new comrade did not have or was unaware of those human characteristics needed by a person that is dedicated to social revolutionary transformation. Characteristics such as an unshakable commitment to and fearless advocacy for social revolutionary transformation, developed

conceptual and strategic thinking and intellect, open to giving and receiving criticism, articulate and inspiring, an aptitude to learn, empathetic and self-aware, passionate and contemptuous of injustice, discrimination and exploitation. A comrade must have perspective, is self-organised and be a good storyteller. A comrade also has initiative along with a realistic view of themselves and responsibilities in the enormity of building social revolutionary transformation.

Revolutionary class struggle is a strategy for transformational change in oneself, society, politics, culture and economics. Change in an individual and interpersonal relations opens opportunities for human attributes, repressed, distorted, misused or destroyed by capitalist society, to reemerge and grow.

Within the collective anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist struggle, we would expect a comrade to also grow with joy, solidarity, passion, fearlessness, confidence, responsibility, curiosity, resilience, compassion, honesty, trust, openness, empathy, clear thinking and articulation as well as respectful, self-disciplined behaviours. Revolutionaries should be happy and joyous in the anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist struggle. The same joy and happiness that will emerge and be shared globally with the new free communist society.

An anarchist organisation that finds unity, solidarity and strength collectively by default would have a strong transformational revolutionary culture and would be cohesive enough to not fear violent, political or didactic attacks, or shy away from debate and controversy, which in the past has resulted in groups dissolving.

7.01 UAC Platform - Adherence to Strategic and Tactical Unity.

“A common tactical line in the movement is of decisive importance for the existence of the organisation and the whole movement: it avoids the disastrous effect of several tactics opposing or contradicting each other; it concentrates the forces of the movement; and gives them a common direction leading to a fixed objective.” - Black Rose/ Rosa Negra Anarchist

Tactical unity means the practice by members and affiliates of a UAC act together as an organised group rather than as individuals. Once a strategy has been agreed by the federated locals and affiliates, members are expected to ensure the success of the strategy. Tactical solidarity saves personal energy, resources and time by concentrating our resources in a common direction. Solidarity between comrades is fundamental in anarchist communism. It is a fundamental expectation for all UAC members, federated locals and affiliates.

We are far from being starry-eyed and naive, as anarchists are sometimes dismissed. The contemporary anarchist communist movement, since the end of the second world war has engaged in theoretical revolutionary development, experimentation, education and social revolutionary struggle across the planet.

7.02 UAC Platform - Collective Responsibility.

Revolutionary tactics are used by anarchists to win both short-term reforms, disrupt and overthrow capitalism. Anarchists can have divergent views but must also be committed to revolutionary strategies such as building working-class counter power and necessary models of organisation and action to do that. Reformist struggles must be won with class struggle. Otherwise, the movement will drift into making demands on capitalism, resorting to lobbying and state legalism. Both the CNT and the FORA lost militants to unionism and state institutions with such mistakes. The result was to undermine the revolutionary strategy to win libertarian communism and the loss of a mass movement that could do that.

Acting on personal responsibility is condemned and rejected by the UAC. All areas of social revolutionary struggle (social, economic, cultural and political) are above all profoundly collective by nature and all transformational change arises from this. Social revolutionary acts in these areas cannot be based on the personal responsibility of individual militants. This would render meaningless our commitment to tactical unity and solidarity.

Collective responsibility means that a UAC local is responsible for the revolutionary activity of the constituent membership of the local. A local can act autonomously consistent with the “Platform and Principles” of the UAC. If not the local is answerable to the general assembly of the UAC membership. As an organisation advocating for the best form of freedom to be found through collective action, it would be a betrayal if each member did not accept responsibility for the political and revolutionary activity of the UAC local. for the political and revolutionary activity of each local where those actions are in keeping with the aims and principles of the UAC. This means that each member should familiarise themselves with the ‘Platform

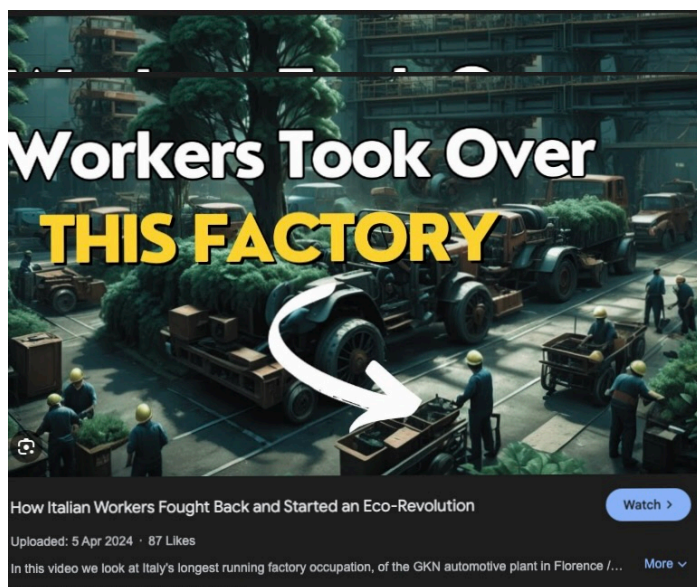
of the UAC' and actively engage in the collective decision-making process and respect the decisions of the collective.

Collective responsibility is not meant for scapegoating, blame or criticism. If the UAC cannot produce a strategy or program, developed by the membership that is understood and adhered to by the members, this will lead to actions that are contradictory of the UAC Platform. It would happen because members cannot reconcile their knowledge, cohesion or agreement with a program or strategy with their actions. This is a very serious flaw that will not be rectified by proclaiming "collective responsibility". It must be recognised as a signal to the organisation to learn and to carry out further and deeper discussion and education within the UAC.

As an organisation advocating for complete freedom, we must recognise that freedom is built through collective militant action. We need a unitary commitment of all members not only for accountability, which is mostly understood to mean in relation to problems and failures but to also to share and celebrate our successes. This must logically be based on the principles of solidarity and mutual aid, of a collective responsibility for the wellbeing of all members and affiliates.

7.03 UAC Platform – Practice of Direct Democracy.

Adapted from "Parliament or democracy? [Workers Solidarity Movement](#). (UK) 2007



Our organisation is theoretically modelled on practices born of worker revolutionary struggle. They are adapted and scaled for the practice of the future libertarian communist society. With all theory there is an evolution, and it is for the membership of the UAC to find in our specific organisation, the most appropriate, creative, inclusive, simple and democratic form of direct democratic practice. The UAC is aware of the problem of adopting a system of simple majority rule in decision

making. Although the system is well understood and that decisions are meant to be adhered to, it means that without proper time and procedure to ensure all voices are heard and had the right of reply when coming to a vote, minority positions are overruled. This can result in a significant portion of the membership feeling disenfranchised which can exacerbate internal division and cause the group to splinter. Informal power can also be used to bully and shutdown others. It undermines our consensus of unity and solidarity and the development of all comrades. It can alienate the trust of the members in the organisation with an inevitable and unaddressed cult like culture emerging. It will destroy us eventually

Direct democracy is about originating ideas as much as it is about verifying them. In parliamentary democracy we are never asked for their own ideas. We are ever only

asked to 'approve' or 'disapprove' of broad and amorphous policies prepared and pre-advocated for. Direct democracy is radically different. Direct democracy is based on the realistic notion that people know best how to collectively manage and look after their own situation. We don't need specialists to tell us how to run our workplaces or communities as within those places resides, amongst all participants the knowledge of how to do this. We are collectively quite capable of doing this together. All we need are the resources and consensus through which to do this. Direct democracy is the method.

Direct democratic decision making is implemented following responsible collective deliberation through delegation not representation. The crucial difference between delegation and representation is that delegates are only elected to implement specific decisions or act in a function for a specified time. Delegates do not have the right to change a decision previously made by an assembly. Delegates, unlike representatives, act for a specified time and/or function and can be immediately recalled and/or dismissed from their mandate if they fail in the execution as a mandated delegate.

Direct democracy is as much about the workplace as it is about the community and the need to blur the lines of an arbitrary distinction and separation between work and community function. In parliamentary democracy workplace democracy is not permitted and in the community what we think of as participation in a democratic process is in name only. In direct democracy, the management of a workplace would be through a general assembly of all workers. This body will decide on conditions of work, define the purpose and means how work is done coordinated with elected delegates. The process is, as it would be in the UAC based on a consensus using the principles of anarchist communism. Delegates would also be elected on a rotating basis to standing committees to coordinate activity with and report on the activity in regional and global federation

7.04 UAC Platform - Internationalist Federalism



The UAC is an internationalist organisation. Federalism is an organisational principle which holds that a free society should be structured from the bottom up. Momentum is driven from the mass assemblies of the people to delegated functional and administrative committees. In a federation, the constituent groups are autonomous and self-determining. This means that they can associate or disassociate as they like, without any

restrictions placed upon them beyond the principles and aims they all agreed to upon federating. There is no central unit that issues orders from above, as with governments, capitalist enterprises and political parties. The direction of the organisation is determined by the constituent locals collaborating with each other freely. There may be delegated committees and councils, but these have no power to direct the organisation. A local cannot be under control of a political party, their activists or bureaucrats. They would be subject to immediate disaffiliation from the federation. Locals and the totality of the UAC are subjugated to the direct will of the membership. The principle of federalism works through delegates with strict, revocable mandates, direct democracy, free association, self-management, mutual aid and solidarity.

Centralism, an authoritarian concept, concentrates power at the centre, alienated and remote from popular democratic power. Decisions are made by a non-mandated central committee for those effected and who are expected to submit to direction by the centre.

Federalism is a counter to and revolutionary opposition to centralism. Centralism relies upon the stunting of the spirit of criticism, initiative and independence of every individual and obedience to the centre. Anarchism has always professed the principle of federalism, which reconciles the individual's or organisation's independence with service to the common cause. It is a principled organisational practice based on the free agreement between individuals and organisations to work democratically and collectively towards a common objective.

Our model of organisation based on free association is fundamental to anarchist communism. The free association of individuals to create a collective solidarity is our prefigurative organisational model to build social revolution, as it is also the organisational, political and economic model to replace capitalist and state control.

Federalism is a reoccurring revolutionary model of organisation that emerges from social revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of hierarchical social relations. This rich legacy from our revolutionary predecessors is to be learnt from and built upon.

8.00 Structure and Organisation of the UAC

The UAC is not a political party. We reject the presumed legitimacy and structure of capitalist 'democracy' to which political parties are integral. Political parties exist to take power which is state power. Anarchist communists do not advocate for the taking of power but to end hierarchical power relationships. This is equality.

“Most of the public affairs and laws, especially those dealing with the well-being and material interests of the local communities and associations are settled in ways beyond the grasp of the people, without their knowledge or concern, and without their intervention. They have neither the experience nor the time to study all these laws and so they leave everything to their elected representatives. These naturally promote the interests of their class rather than the prosperity of the people, and their greatest talent is to sugarcoat their bitter measures, to render them more palatable to the populace. Representative government is a system of hypocrisy and perpetual falsehood. Its success rests on the stupidity of the people and the corruption of the public mind.

Does this mean that revolutionary socialists, do not want universal suffrage – that we prefer limited suffrage, or a single despot? Not at all. What we maintain is that universal suffrage, considered in itself and applied in a society based on economic and social inequality, will be nothing but a swindle and snare for the people; nothing but an odious lie of the bourgeois”. **Mikhail Bakunin 1870 “On Representative Government and Universal Suffrage”.**

A post-state society would replace hierarchies of power by ensuring equal economic, social, political and cultural power spread between all, with direct democracy, practiced through the function of delegation (time stamped and revocable) not representation. We organise on the basis of how a future anarchist communist society functions, using the tools of direct democracy, anti-authoritarian and anti-hierarchical principle with solidarity and mutual aid. We organise for militancy and social revolutionary action that enfranchises the working class.

Union Anarchist Communist is a specific anarchist organisation i.e. anarchist communist organisation. This is the basis on which we progress ideas and create strategies to build effective counter power to capitalism. Coherence of theoretical and strategic outlook is far more important than sheer numbers. This gives a cohesive focus to the UAC with a high level of understanding and adaption of theory and practice.

Union Anarchist Communist is a partisan organisation. Instead of attempting to make change by forming interest groups to pressure politicians, anarchists insist that we learn to think and act collectively for ourselves. People learn how to be free only by exercising freedom. By partisan we mean being clear eyed, focussed and committed to the propagation of anarchist communism.

Union Anarchist Communist is a cellular organisation. Cellular biology is an analogy for an organisation. It refers to the way cells are arranged and interact within an organism, forming tissues, organs, and organ systems. It encompasses the

components that make up a cell and how they are organised internally, as well as the way cells group together to carry out specific functions. From this biological structure that has no central authority, we can mimic its function in a revolutionary organisation.

A non-biological organisation with a cellular organisational structure is set up in a way that it mimics how natural systems work, with individual cells working independently to establish goals and undertake tasks that establishes organisational function and cohesion. Cells act as a network to coordinate and communicate with each other, exchange information and interact in ways which sustain the greater organisation.

Cells are composed of individuals, self-organised and acting with a high degree of autonomy. Cellular organisation is a direct counter to hierarchical leadership. A cell can also be described as an affinity group or a UAC local and is the organisational basis of the UAC.

8.01 Affinity Groups and the UAC.

Cellular structures relate to the theory of 'spontaneous order'. The theory posits that free association and open access to information leads to individuals creating and sustaining social groups to co-operate for mutual benefit. 'Spontaneous order' gives rise to freedom and natural forms of self-organisation as contrasted with disorder such as chains of command.

An affinity group is a small group of 3 or more people who work together autonomously to undertake action or other projects. An affinity group can be formed with your friends, people from your community, workplace, or organisation. Affinity groups reject top-down decision-making and organise and act through a consensus of those involved and would need to be consistent with the "Platform and Principles of the UAC".

Affinity groups by their nature are decentralised and non-hierarchical, two important principles of anarchist organising and action. The affinity group model was first used by anarchists of the "Iberian Anarchist Federation" the FAI in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Iberia is the Iberian Peninsula consisting of Spain and Portugal.

Affinity groups have a long history, owing much to those anarchists and workers of Iberia and the anarchists and radicals today who use affinity groups, non-hierarchical structures, and consensus decision making in direct action and organising.

The Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI), which had 50,000 activists was organised into affinity groups and confederated into local, regional, and national councils. Wherever several FAI affinity groups existed, they formed a local federation. Local federations were coordinated by committees made up of one mandated delegate from each affinity group. Mandated delegates went from local federations to regional committees and finally to the Peninsular Committee. Affinity groups remained autonomous as they carrying out education, organised and supported local struggles. The intimacy of the groups made police infiltration difficult.

8.02 Workers Autonomous Base Nuclei and Direct Unionism

In Argentina the financial crisis of 2001 was met by a popular workers rebellion under the call “!Que se vayan todos! - All of them must go”, Rioting, factory and workplace occupations spread across the country. The term “horizontalism” (horizontalidad) emerged. Horizontalism is a “leaderless,” autonomous, directly democratic movement. Since the Argentine uprising, the term “horizontalism” has established itself as the overarching label for a form of directly democratic organising that has swept the globe. Horizontalism and anarchism overlap in their advocacy of federal, directly democratic, direct action-oriented, autonomous organising.

Autonomous base nuclei. “Base” is the Italian word for grassroots. “Nuclei” is another word for “cells.” Autonomous base nuclei are self-managed grassroot cells independent from any political party or syndicalist/union alliances. They are mass organisations based on workers’ autonomy and self-organisation.

The purpose for such ‘self-managed’ organisations (cells) is to take on characteristics of direct action (attack), permanent conflictuality (critique of representation) and mirrors the strategy and tactics espoused by revolutionary anarchists who have theorised a practice of “direct unionism.”

The UAC works within community, labour and other mass organised struggles for the immediacy of workers to organise autonomously and unite under the banner of libertarian communism. Examples were self-managed leagues created to fight against the construction of a U.S. missile base in Cosimo, Italy and “The Autonomous Movement of the Railway Workers” in Turin, Italy in the 1970’s.

There are deceitful and manipulative front organisations created by Leninist parties using slogans similar to those of anarchists. They do not agree with or organise on libertarian principles.

Further reading

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/direct-unionists-direct-unionism?v=1616400003>

<https://classautonomy.info/an-early-history-of-the-international-confederation-of-labour/>

<https://classautonomy.info/a-culture-of-care-the-secret-to-building-organizations-people-want-to-stay-in/>

9.00 Membership of the Union Anarchist Communist.

9.01 Membership of the UAC is open to any worker no longer invested in the continuance of the capitalist system. No longer invested means not recognising the legitimacy of the system and want it replaced. The alternative system to replace capitalism is based on anti-authoritarian revolutionary socialist thinking consistent with the 'Platform and Principles of the UAC'.

9.02 Membership or affiliation is not open to members of the police, intelligence and security forces. It is also not open to current members of any political party, senior bureaucrats or mid-level and above capitalist managers or the military over the rank of corporal or its equivalent.

9.03 A new membership is conditional on a six-month provisional membership. A new member should come prepared to actively and cooperatively work with others undertaking UAC activity to build the mass social revolutionary movement.

9.04 To be a provisional member you have firstly participated in a seminar on "The Platform and Organisational Principles" of the UAC and to have endorsed this document.

9.05 A provisional member needs to be sponsored by a member of the UAC or affiliate, introduced themselves to membership committee delegates or if not being sponsored, presented their case for membership to the membership committee.

9.06 During provisional membership we encourage comrades to undertake:

- training on the security culture of the UAC
- training as an organiser for the UAC
- training in self-defence
- attended and participated in at least 80% of regularly scheduled local meetings, all congresses and plenums, except for extenuating circumstances.
- engaged or initiated a function, action or project of the UAC on a planned regular basis.
- commitment to self-directed development in understanding social anarchist revolutionary theory as an individual or as part of a group.

9.07 Full membership of the UAC is confirmed by the UAC local by consensus, having taken non-binding advice from the membership committee. Full membership can also be granted by a motion at a congress of the UAC with the six points listed above still needing to be met.

9.08 An individual can join the UAC as an affiliate not connected to a UAC local. An affiliate if they choose, can form a local with support of the UAC Membership Committee or join an existing local if invited to do so. An affiliate needs to have participated in a seminar on "The Platform and Organisational Principles" of the UAC and to have endorsed this document along with the first three points in 10.0.5. An affiliate is subject to a provisional six-month period.

9.09 An affinity group or other collective wanting to federate can do so based on meeting membership requirements.

9.10 To qualify as a UAC local there needs to be a minimum of three active comrades. If membership of a local drops under three, within twelve months they must have returned to the necessary minimum of 5 members, have merged with another local or reverted to affiliation with the UAC until the membership of the local returns three or more.

9.11 We encourage comrades to name their local by the first nation name for where they organise or after significant figures of the anarchist, revolutionary worker and social revolutionary movements.

Within democratic egalitarian organisations there is always the potential for an emergence of informal networks, structures and leadership, whose existence means a negation of anarchist practice. These informal structures exist under the surface and are ignored for expediency. Allowing and participating in such practices arise from a lack of real learning from practice.

People who enable and participate in these structures are probably blind to the consequences. They identify their participation as necessary, but don't see their actions as authoritarian, elitist and cliquish. These 'informal practices' represent an 'informal' return of hierarchy and power and if not stopped, evolve to become permanent. Reasons for doing such things is usually pleaded so "we can get things done", born from impatience with new less experienced members.

There is a degree of self-importance attached to this thinking when more experienced militants, with an established situational power, exercise knowledge adversely to control and manipulate. It is simply stupid not to listen to experienced comrades and to analyse, share and learn from the experience of others but there are also very destructive consequences if we don't acknowledge and call out coercive informal power.

10.00 Membership, Aims, Rights and Responsibilities in the UAC.

10.01 Locals of the UAC should meet weekly on a day and at a time that is best for the attendance of all the membership. The local can determine if other meetings are needed to be held and their frequency.

10.02 All provisional and full members have an equal opportunity to create agenda items and to be respectfully listened to when presenting their ideas at meetings.

10.03 Meeting proceedings must be recorded in minutes by a rotating delegate and securely kept. Minutes are ratified at the next local or congress. Action steps for individuals, delegates or committees need to be circulated after a meeting.

10.04 When a decision is to be made and a consensus can't be reached; the agenda item is carried forward for up to the next two meetings. This gives time for those advocating for the agenda item to further develop their position to move the group towards consensus. Conversely those in opposition to do the same. Further time extensions are the decision of the UAC Local.

10.05 If a consensus is still not achieved after two weeks, an open vote is to be taken, with final speaking rights, including a right to reply for all members with a 75% majority needed to pass, reject or defer the agenda item.

10.06 The Conscious Worker. All members should develop the necessary competencies and skills to engage in a meaningful way with the grass roots of your community, fellow workers, and your community of interest to fight capitalist oppression. This can take differing forms and time for comrades, but the expectation is that the member try to engage.

10.07 Members, UAC locals and affiliates must acknowledge we represent the UAC in our public face with the working class and communities in struggle. As such comrades must work to build UAC influence and not demean the public standing of the UAC through acting in a regressive manner such as authoritarian, sexist, racist, homophobic or transphobic behaviour, intimidatory, threatening, derogatory and dismissive language, behaviours, actions or tone.

10.08 The entire membership of the UAC supports the necessary resources and financials needed by the UAC. Members are encouraged to make a solidarity pledge regularly to the UAC for this purpose based on the capacity of the member, negotiated with the UAC Resources Committee of Delegates.

10.09 Internally organise across function and structures of the UAC on culture, needs, industry, technology, social status, social progress, revolutionary theory, sexuality, gender, race, age, health, ability or other aspects of social oppression to mould an organisational consciousness to make it every comrade's business to incorporate in our work the awareness and means to fight and overcome all forms capitalist social oppression. Members and committees must recognise their advocacy.

Appendix 1. Groups, Figures & Events That Influence the UAC



Influences on the formation of the UAC come from significant figures in struggle locally on the left and contemporary figures writings from the left and far left, as well as significant events in working class history here and globally.

We start way back with the Melbourne Anarchist Club (MAC) not to be confused with the Melbourne Anarchist Centre of the 1980's or the disastrous Melbourne Anarchist Club (MAC) of the early 21st century. This is

the 1886 MAC, an early anarchist synthesis organisation that attempted unsuccessfully bring together diverse streams of anarchist thinking, from anarchist communism to individualism. The Melbourne Anarchist Club, founded on 1 May 1886 was a significant minor current on the Australian left. All regarded themselves as broadly socialist. A dramatic event associated with this early Australian anarchism was perhaps the bombing of the "non-union" ship SS Aramac on 27 July 1893 by Australian anarchist and union organiser Larrie Petrie. This incident occurred in the highly charged atmosphere following the defeat of the 1890 Australian maritime dispute and the 1891 Australian shearers' strike, an atmosphere which went on to produce the Sydney-based direct-action group the "Active Service Brigade", thought to include some members previously in the MAC.

From the late 19th century onwards, it has been a slow tortured journey our movement has had on continent. A movement marked by bitter schisms in groups and fall out between individuals. The outcome has been posturing by small groups or individuals as 'real anarchists', being anything but in their isolation and irrelevancy. These outcomes can broadly be attributed to groups forming on the basis of anarchism being a 'great idea', which it undeniably is. A great idea is meaningless without a unified and coherent understanding of what the idea of anarchism is and an agreed means by which anarchists can engage with the broader communities of struggle. Engagement is the means to influence and to make anarchist revolutionary strategy central to the struggle against capitalism. To paraphrase Buenaventura Durruti (1896-1936), "anarchism without action is not anarchism".

Instead, we saw anarchism trapped in sub-cultural ghettos, alienating to those in the wider society and also to those wanting to engage with anarchists. People had to manage, mostly unsuccessfully, the inherent toxicity of many of these subcultures. The movement has shed comrades unceasingly until recent years. This can be put down to dilettantism and practice to shock while a university student. This leads to misunderstanding and confusion over 'anarchism' and ultimately an exit.

The question is, what is the purpose of an anarchist communist organisation and the work of our comrades in the contemporary capitalist world? Firstly, we must organise fast for the survival and well-being of future generations. Let us start with an affirmation of a strategic goal that capitalism will not outlast the twenty first century.

This pressing question of an anarchist organisation's role and form does not have an entirely complete answer, but we envisage through the formation of the UAC, our platform, principles and organising a confluence in our movement to develop a more comprehensive answer.

There are and have been, some remarkably influential anarchist organisations in so called Australia and it would be amiss to not reference them as sources of inspiration, hope and cohesion. The first was the Meanjin (Brisbane) based 'Self-Management Group', the SMG (1971-1977), a councilist/libertarian socialist group that emerged from the new leftist Revolutionary Socialist Party (1969-70). The SMG still has a lingering influence on anarchists. Some of this may be the stuff of mythology, but the committed self-discipline, self-organisation, democratic cell structure, size and provocative interventions was a practice well in advance of anything else that existed at that time or since on this continent.

'Jura Books' (1977-present) located in Warrane (Sydney/Petersham), despite its internal ruptures has endured, disseminating works on anarchism and parallel thinking, convening conferences and offering a space to utilise for like-minded groups. A remarkable achievement in commitment and longevity.

The 'Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation' (ASF) formed in Sydney on January 27th. 1986, in the original King Street premises of Jura Books. The ASF is now known as the 'Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation – International Workers Association' (ASF – IWA) having affiliated with the international in 1987. There are affiliates of the ASF-IWA in Meanjin (Brisbane), Ngunnawal (Canberra), Dja Dja Wurrung (Central Victoria), Naarm (Melbourne North and Melbourne South), Lutruwita (North West Tasmania) and Boorloo (Perth). The IWA is to be congratulated on holding its first congress in Asia in 2026. The ASF formed from immigrant and anarchist refugees, and local anarchists coming from the split in the Australian Anarchist Federation in 1976

The Naarm based 'Melbourne Anarchist Communist Group' (MACG), (2004-2025) has for a distinct anarchist organisation a longevity unique for anarchist groups on this continent. MACG has federated with 'Meanjin Anarchist Communists', 'Geelong Anarchist Communists' (Djilang /Geelong), and remnants of what was 'Black Flag-Mutiny' to form the 'Anarchist Communist Federation (ACF)' on May 1st 2025.

In 1973 insurrectionary workers at the Broadmeadows Ford factory rebelled against the collusion of capital and trade union bureaucrats. The 'New Left' in the 1970's was a time when anarchism emerged again in its historical ideological form and as a new way, which was also inspired by works of 'post Marxist' communists, French Situationists and Autonomist movements. In the 1960' and 70's oppressed women rebuilt feminist struggle through revolutionary anarchist feminism, and Germaine Greer's seminal work, 'The Female Eunuch' (1970). Outburst movements for gay, lesbian, bi and trans liberation, the social ecology movement, and groups such as the Monash Anarchist Society (Melbourne (1973-1986), Melbourne Anarchist Centre (Collingwood Naarm late 1980's) and later the direct actionist organisation "Aids Coalition to Unleash Power", ACTUP Australia (1990-1994).

First nations people, with 237 years of fighting racism, oppression, violence, genocide, displacement and the colonialist state had their voice heard in non-indigenous communities and some garnered attention from the left. In particular, the

inspiration and dedication of a giant like Uncle Garry Foley (1950-present), aboriginal militant and elder of the Gumbaynggirr people.



The Noonkahbah Protest was significant (1979 to 1980) when indigenous workers in the Kimberley led a heroic resistance against the exploitation of their land. The 'Black Rights Moratorium', a one-day strike and protest, to educate the white leftist anti-war moratoriums and the broader community on the dire situation of first nations people was also uniquely for the time widely supported by rank-and-file workers and students.

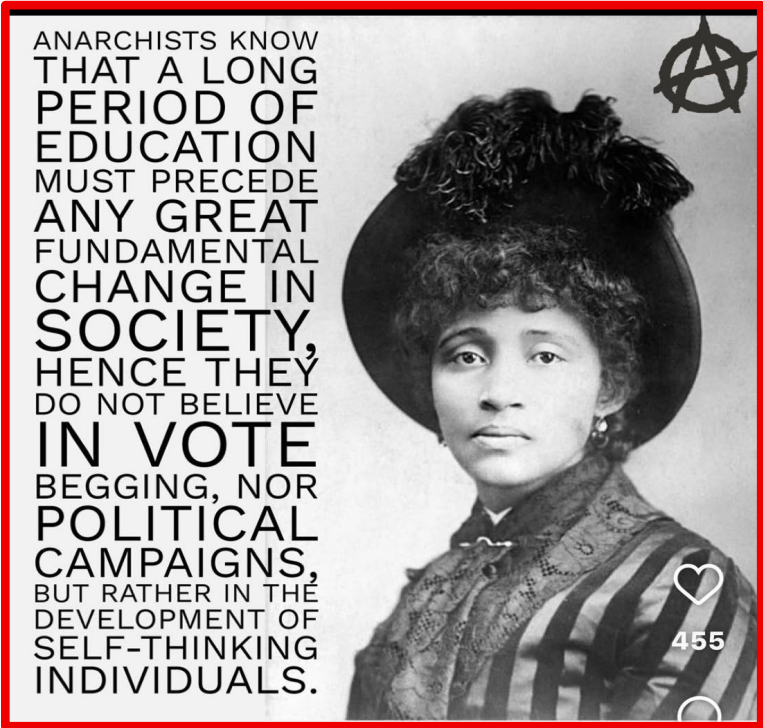
The Builders Labourers Federation (1911-1986) was inspiration for its dedication

to class struggle, 'Libertarian Workers for a Self-Managed Society' (Melbourne 1977-1982) and anarcho-syndicalist groups nationally, showing the possibility of organisation, and Federation of Australian Anarchists (1975-1976) for not what to do.

Class warfare at the Naval Dockyards in Williamstown (Naarm) 1989, and a declaration of class war in Australian ports, by the combined forces of capital and state that was defeated by the workers of the Maritime Union of Australia (1998). The ever-treacherous ALP in 1990 attacked the jobs of Melbourne tram workers who fought back by occupying their depots and taking control of the transport system. ALP treachery lives on with state sponsored suppression of the CFMEU and theft of workers union finances and infrastructure in 2024. The rank and file of the CFMEU fight back creates conditions for anarchists to develop solidarity and influence with the rank and file, with strategy and tactics and inspiring acts of solidarity through deeds and words to broaden the base of class struggle organising.

Autonomia Operaia (Workers' Autonomy) movement. (Italy 1973-1981), inspire as to how to unite broad social and working-class movements for social revolutionary struggle. The Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici (FdCA, Federation of Anarchist Communists (1984-present. Italy), Federation of Italian Anarchists (FAI Federation of Italian Anarchists) 1945-present, Fédération Anarchiste (France, Belgium, Switzerland (1945 - present), show us ways to organise beyond small groups and for longevity. The Fifth Estate, (Detroit USA. 1965-present), has published for decades, provocative and coherent anarchist thought. ANTIFA as an autonomous global self-directed anti-fascist movement as one model to fight fascism.

The uprising and Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (Mexico 2006), a movement for autonomy based on regional cities, agrarianism and indigenous tradition, the Rojava Revolution (The Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (2012-present) & The Internationalist Commune of Rojava (2017-present) as well as the insurrection and Social Revolution (Chiappas Mexico), born



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from struggle by the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN -Ejercitejo Zapatista de Liberation 1994-present) are concrete examples of how to organise in social revolution for the post state communist society.

There is much to be learnt from the disheartening and inadequate response of the broad environment movement to global climate catastrophes. It is, as its Green Party also is, seduced by capitalism and trapped in electoralism, acts that disempower and isolate the struggle.

Trans and Gender Diverse Liberation, and the global Free Palestine movement offer hope and lessons on fighting oppression, the building of mass revolutionary movements and the opportunity offered by these struggles to the fight for libertarian communism.

If you want to know more on anarchism here are some good places to start:

<https://libcom.org>

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org>

www.youtube.com/@Anark



uacnaarmlocal@proton.me
www.unionanarchistcommunist.org

This document was written sourced from contemporary and classic anarchist and anarchist communist texts, a review of anarchist communist organisational practices as well as contemporary contributions from libertarian socialist and libertarian Marxist thinking and practice. With special thanks and solidarity with comrades in the armed struggle in Myanmar.

There are also large sections written from the perspective of a participant and observer of the anarchist movement in so called Australia for the past 50 years. This first draft was written between April 2025 to November 2025. It underwent further editing between January and April 2026. It is a document that will never see completion, only improvements and extensions.

We honour the lives of those comrades who came before with our thanks to all who have thought, written, talked, debated, advocated, disseminated, organised and fought for anarchist communism around the globe. Version 1.0 April 2026.

