

ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

issue # 8

bi-monthly newsletter

February 2003

EastEuropean Mayday 2003

Workers protests in Poland

"Can the War take Centre Stage ?"
war in Chechnya

Anarchist
Defence
Alternative



Albania - post anarchy impressions

"Prisons, state violence and anarchism"
view from Serbian perspective

Antimilitarist Solidarity Network
Turkey

International Anarchist Meeting EE

Interviews with activists from
Bulgaria, Romania,
Poland and Russia



Anarchist courier from Eastern Europe



An anarchist courier: a bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/autonomous activities in Eastern Europe.

Editorial collective: is a part of an international anarchist collective based around east-european activists living in Berlin. As well as this publication the collective also organises an ABC support group, a libertarian library, organises various solidarity actions and cultural events, and supports local and global struggle against all kinds of oppression.

Correspondents: our great idea is to set up a network of correspondents from different regions of East Europe to cover the most current, important and interesting issues. Our correspondent team for today: Pavel (Prague - CS), Mato (Bratislava - Slovakia), Alek (Skopje - Macedonia), Saszka (Grodno - Belarus), Antti (Russia), Ninja (Vilnius - Lithuania), Andrea & Subwar Collective (Belgrad - Yugoslavia), Maya & Tine (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena & Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Mutlu (Ankara - Turkey), Soja (Bialystok - Poland), Michu (Torun - Poland) and others. More correspondents needed!

Other sources of info: "alter ee" east-european-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of 8-activities in Poland, ABC-Poland - info bulletin, "Autonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, "AACTIV Newsletter" from Romania.

Co-operation: if you operate in Eastern Europe you can send us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that the process of their abolition does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation it has to be done from below, by the people not by elitist institutions such as The European Union, NATO or United Nations.

There is an enduring need to instantly abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, collaboration and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values.

In an attempt to push forward both of these goals with support for development from the anarchist movement above the borders we have created ...

"Abolishing the Borders from Below" an anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in Eastern Europe who could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the collaboration between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and its effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genua. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. The process of creating an editorial team for "AbolishingBB" was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible."

express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region. Please all texts send to:

abolishingBB@hotmail.com

Please send your graphics & photos send only to:

abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution (see below). You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

Distribution: we are looking for people/collectives ready to distribute this publication on a regular basis in their regions (especially in southern Europe). Previous issues are as well available. Contact for distribution:

wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

Free copies: will go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address.

Print-Rin: 1500 copies.

Sponsored: by Breakfast-Benefits presented in KÖPI/Berlin, our pizza-circus, and benefits from outside.

Deadlines: for #9 - 15.03.2003; for #10 - 15.05.2003

D I S T R I B U T I O N

AUSTRIA

Info Laden 10; postfach 173; A -1100
Wien

CROATIA

Suncana; suncanfema@yahoo.com
Zagreb

DANMARK

MAXIMUM O.D. DIY; kvalme@ofir.dk
Kopenhagen

ENGLAND

Jon@activedistribution.org
London

FINLAND + ex-SOVIET UNION

CIS; Itasitihki@tao.ca

GERMANY

wielkowitsch@hotmail.com
Berlin

GREECE

madd_punk@yahoo.gr
Athens

HOLLAND

Gryczman; gryczman1@wp.pl
Amsterdam

IBERIAN PENINSULA

New distribution needed !

ISRAEL

Abbiy; aabbiyy48@yahoo.co.uk

ITALY

riotclone@autistici.org
(Central & South Italy)

NORWAY

Pobel Rec; kaosborgen@hotmail.com
Moss

POLAND

F.A.G ; soja2@poczta.onet.pl
Bialystok

ROMANIA

aactiv-ist disto; pinkpanthers@k.ro
Timisoara

SLOVAKIA

CSAF poste Restante 850 07
Bratislava 57

SLOVENIA

Tine; frece@volja.net
Ljubljana

SWEDEN

bokhandel.info@motkraft.net
SWITZERLAND

New distribution needed !

TURKEY

Mutlu; abcankara@yahoo.com
Ankara

USA

gluehoeffer@graffiti.net

If you think that you can help with filling that network up, especially if you are living in north Italy, Belgium, France, Ireland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Spain, Switzerland or Portugal ...
LET US KNOW !

WATCH OUT - NEW POSTAL PRICES!!!

If you wish to distribute AbolishingBB in your region here're NEW wholesale prices including postage, for Europe and overseas. We accept well concealed cash or international postal money orders payable to:

ABFB: Liebigstr.16; 10247 Berlin; Germany

till 7 copies Europe - 6 euro; World - 6 USD; airmail - 12 USD
till 10 cop. Europe - 8 euro; World - 9 USD; airmail - 17 USD
till 14 cop. Europe - 11 euro; World - 12 USD; airmail - 21 USD
till 21 cop. Europe - 17 euro; World - 18 USD; airmail - 31 USD
till 28 cop. Europe - 22 euro; World - 23 USD; airmail - 40 USD

Get in touch with our distribution coordination team under:

wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

Some of the past issues of AbolishingBB are still available directly in our own distribution section. Here you have contents of them:

issue # 4 - June 2002

"All you need to know about our distribution ... mess" (editorial article), *Anarchist MayDay 2002 in Eastern Europe* (Czechia, Slovakia, Poland, Slovenia, Croatia), *Situation in Polish prisons* (report), *ABC reports* (Slovenia, Belarus, Czechia, Croatia, Poland, Russia), *Yearly report on anarchism in Turkey* (2001), *The anti-border camp near polish border with Kaliningrad* (call for action), *Collective of Autonomists in Torun* (Poland), *Anarchist Activities Update* (Slovenia), *"Rumble in the Edge of the Europe"* - the struggle against the KURDIT rocket engine- and fuel reprocessing plant Votkinsk (Russia), *East European anarchist Coordination* (call for network), 6 pages of short reports, *Communities in Struggle*.

issue # 5 - August 2002

"Where are we now with AbolishingBB ?!" (editorial article), *"AC Molotov is in big trouble!" - call for solidarity* (Slovenia), *Campaign to Combat Global Migration Management - Campaign against IOM* (call for campaign), *Manifesto of the Autonomist Action* (former Soviet Union), *Founding Conference of Autonomist Action* (report), *Anarchist movement in Slovakia* (report), *ABC reports* (Poland, Turkey), *The anti-border camp in Wiazajny* (report from action), *"Same World different Realities ..."* (article), *NoBorder Network* (presentation), *Polish border police in action* (report), *"It happened to a lad"* movie review ((Belarus), 6 pages of short reports, *Communities in Struggle*.

issue # 6 - October 2002

Anti-NATO mobilization in Prague (report from international meeting), *"NATO's first virtual member state" article* (Lithuania), *"Bela Krajina Won't go to NATO!"* (Slovenia), *"A kilometer away from NATO, two millions for Freedom"* (Slovenia), *interview with Czech anarchist NOT ONLY about anti-NATO actions in Prague, "NATO and Slovakia"* (article), *anti-NATO actions reports* (Slovakia, Czechia, Poland), *AntiFascist Action - Pula* (report - Croatia), *Report on criminalization of anarchist and anti-fascist community in Bialystok* (Poland), *Neo-Nazis attacks on IAS activists in Sabac and Novi Sad* (Serbia), *ABC reports* (Turkey, Belarus, Poland, Slovenia, Russia), *Autonomous Action networks conference in Krasnodar* (Russia), *"Victory of AC Molotov 2"* (Slovenia), *No Border Camp in Sredice* (Slovenia), *AACTIV-IST newsletter august 2002* (report from Romania), *Craiova Anarho Front / Frontul Antifascist Craiova* (Romania), *Hungarian independent h/punk scene* (report), *"Protests in Szczecin shipyards and the workers' situation in Poland"* (report), *Solidarity call from IAS* (Serbia), *"The Eviction of the KRZYK squat has been blocked"* (Poland), *Food Not Bombs in Olszyn* (Poland), 3 pages of short reports, *Communities in Struggle*.

issue # 7 - December 2002

Summary of anti-NATO actions in Prague (by international secretary of CSAF), *Eastern European Anarchist Block* (N21-statement), *N21 around the Eastern Europe* (protest reports), *Resistance against NATO in Slovenia* (backgrounds and resistance documentary), *We Don't Want Lies* (press release by IAS after presidential elections in Serbia), *War in Chechnya* (interview with ex-russian soldier), *Activ-ist Newsletter* (October 2002), *Repressions against anarchists in Romania* (Romanian secret service report about romanian anarchism), *Meeting of Polish Anarchist Federation* (report), *Collective for Libertarian Idea* (the first anarchist collective in Macedonia - presentation), *KARA ev open the doors* (statement of new anarchist project from Istanbul), *Between will of Power and Economic Crisis* (report from Turkey), *Bicycle Caravan to the EU summit in Thessaloniki* (project presentation), *Violence against animals in Slovenia* (report from Ljubljana), *DeCentrum and Bialystok* (interview with activist from anarchist centre in Poland), *ABC reports* (Turkey, Poland), few pages of short reports, *Communities in Struggle*.

You are lucky - there is again almost no space for any boring editorial speeches in this issue. So we just would like to thank a lot to all our regular correspondents and distributors for keeping great cooperation. Particularly we would like to thank Laura, Rebel Mause, Lynda, Zbyszek and Derwisz for providing materials for this issue and comrades from Endland for donation. Unfortunately we didn't find in this issue any space for pictures too ... Thank to that you will find here a lot of interesting text. At the end we appeal to you for a bit more patience with dealing with us in the next 2-3 months. Part of our collective will take a short break (travelling around) what can (but don't necessary have to!) bring a bit chaos into our activities. But without an anxious - we will go forward! Love, anarchy and solidarity! *Abolishing the Borders from Below* collective.

The East European MayDay 2003

Abolishing the Borders from Below
 contribution into discussion around
 East European MayDay 2003

"No to the EU, no to the CoMeCon

(Council for Mutual Economic Assistance),

Yes to the free anarchist society!"

Proposal of CSAF
 (Czech and Slovak Anarchist Federation)

During the campaign against the NATO summit held in Prague in November 2002, we witnessed a new, pleasant phenomenon. There were many more Central and East European anarchist groups and organizations involved in these actions than any time before in such action. Also we have seen that the strengthening anarchist movement in our region has the potential to establish a closer inner cooperation. That it has a lot to say not only to the anarchists in Western Europe, but also to the movement in the rest of the world and to the public as such.

Activists from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe became a supporting part undividable from the antiNATO campaign, and their activities were symbolically accomplished by the formation of so called "East European Anarchist Bloc". This "Bloc" finally became one of the most visible parts of the protests, pronouncing its own message.

The message sounds clearly: "NATO and EU - Get out of Eastern Europe!". This message is the sound of the anarchist voice shared across the borders of national states. It speaks about our collective rejection of capitalism, militarism, patriarchy, and the state. We have a strong will and feel the need to work for our future cooperation. It has been a great experience for us to work together on the preparation of the antiNATO campaign with our comrades from different places of Central and Eastern Europe, and we would like to continue in this work in the future. We don't want to stop communicating with our new friends, and we also want to deepen mutual help, especially during the coordination of different future activities.

We have a proposal towards these aims: Let's organize a collective East European MayDay! Let's celebrate the day of struggle for rights of common people together! Even though we will be celebrating in different cities, we will still do it together! We also suggest a motto all of us could share: "No to the EU, no to the CoMeCon, yes to the free anarchist society!" (But of course, we would like to lead a discussion over this motto and over this plan as such...)

There are two objectives of this collective action: To develop a deeper cooperation between different groups while preparing this MayDay, and to let our strong anticapitalist voice sound over the whole region we live in. We hope that this could be a start of a fruitful cooperation for the future.

This proposal should not be understood as some attempt to separate ourselves from our comrades from the west or elsewhere in the world - rather the opposite - if any group or organization from Western Europe would like to join us, it will be warmly welcome! Our call to East Europeans has several reasons. First, the anarchist movement is not as interconnected here as it is in the rest of the world yet. Second, there is a strong connection among us due to the common history of state Bolshevik regimes, therefore we face similar specific problems in capitalism at present. So, these are some of the reasons, why we want to deepen our cooperation further.

Please let us know, what you think about our proposal. Join the collective anarchist MayDay 2003! Send this appeal forward to your friends, and other organizations that you think might be interested in this project!

MayDay 2003 - Shake the continent!

Czech and Slovak Anarchist Federation

paha@csaf.cz, intersec@csaf.cz

www.csaf.cz, www.csaf.cz/english.php

P.O.Box 223

Praha 1 111 21

Czech Republic

As we fully support idea of accenting 1st May in our region as "East European MayDay 2003" proposed recently by CSAF, discussion process in our group concerning this topic started. Specific of our group as being basically anarchist migrant group living in Germany, doesn't allow us to have a full impact on preparation of events right there. Yet, we could offer our help to organize, coordinate and mobilise for it. Also to develop, together with interested groups and individuals from all over EE, through discussion process, concept of collective EE-MayDay. Following ideas, which we divided in two blocks, are then our first input into, hopefully speeding up, discussion concerning CSAF's proposal and, of course, realising it!

What do we want to achieve with "East-European MayDay"?

Despite of many anarchist efforts in recent years to reclaim 1st May as "an anarchist event" all demonstration in this day are perceived by most of east-european population as being remnants of forceful Bolshevik holiday with its parades organized by state in "communist times". We see EE Anarchist MayDay as a next important step in re-establishing it as anti-authoritarian, class war event. The elements mostly ignored in a past, like issues of sexism, homophobia, racism or nationalism, should be implemented into protest. All this underlined with an international anarchist character of an event, could help especially comrades from smaller communities, to not "drawn in a sea" of red flags trotzkist slogans, with their anarchist message.

According to mentioned above, this day would be great possibility to show growing solidary connections among anarchist in our region especially providing support to smaller anarchist communities. Then when few people decide somewhere to make whatever anarchist action on 1st May, could not be as usually discredited as "few local crazies" but hopefully could be perceived as a big part of international network against the system.

As we are for revolt and against conformism and apathy, EE-MayDay would be for us also good moment to remind western viewers, that people in eastern Europe are not only, as usually believed "two kinds" - those, which "want Stalin back" and those happily and blindly welcoming rule of capitalism. Simply we know, that most of the people rather tends to scepticism and they are just looking how to arrange themselves with new face of the system. Those ones are usually fastest getting angry and taking initiative in their own hands.

As anti-authoritarians we reject idea of representing anybody (creating elites). We are also not going on the street in order to merely present ourselves. One of our aims is to support all those, who raise their hands against the state, wherever they do it. Common EE-MayDay could help to put all these local demands/struggles into regional and global context.

Collective EE MayDay can be as well very helpful with loud presentation of our position concerning politics of EU. "Yes, we are all for unification of Europe but on completely different basis!". These basis should be named and develop, but we all know that this process has to raise from below. Also, actual closing (and NOT opening) the borders, visa obligations and migration control - all aspects of real border regime, such visible in our region, could be effectively aimed during collective EE-MayDay events.

We're conscious, that political situation in particular countries are different, especially concerning issue of EU membership. Respectively, there would be various interests in different countries to underline topics like ComeCon, EU or NATO. Yet, we believe, that are still many issues that concern all of us, and this fact we can stress very well through EE-MayDay. Exemplary here are issues of expansion of multies from the west, re-militarisation of whole region, growing unemployment, increasing of repressions against all kind of opponents, or creation of local elites whose growing arrogance leads whole region into general poverty.

The upcoming war will be for sure one of the mainly issues for actions on MayDay 2003. For the "East European MayDay" it could be important to show, that we as anarchists are not only against a war in Irak, but also against all wars in the name of ruling elites, economical interests, remilitarisation and power struggle etc, no matter if this is an armed one or not. This war has started already before and is continuing systematically everywhere and in our daily lives. In this respect, EE Anarchists could keep an eye at this issue in reference to the common statement.

How to practically put a traditional MayDay into context of "collective EE-MayDay"?

As there are so many reasons for organizing EE-MayDay the next important issue would be - how to do it practically? We think that it would be possible and sensefull to work out some common statement. Such one, translated into local languages, could be read and spread in form of flyer in many places among local speeches. Also one common slogan could appear all over, additionally to other ones. Maybe even common logo or so would be possible. Surely, compiling reports, statements and pictures from all over EE in a paper and video form could be possible to organize and widely distributed afterwards.

Instigating some alarm even long before 1st May wouldn't be bad idea. Some "scandal & sensation" are sometimes usefull to escalate situation, they usually give whole thing this element of something unexpected... It is maybe sad to say but we believe that if the mainstream media will miss the new aspect of Mayday in our region, we will loose a lot from our message to the east european societies.

At the end we would like to invite all groups/individuals to have the use from a next issue of our publication (April 2003) in order to present your contribution into collective East European MayDay 2003. In solidarity...

Abolishing the Borders from Below (editorial collective).

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MEETING EASTERN EUROPE 27.06 - 30.06. 2003

In Warsaw (Poland) ... just 1576 km. north of Thessaloniki !

The purpose of the meeting is to strengthen ties between anarchists and anti-authoritarians in Eastern Europe and even beyond ! We want to exchange information and experiences, make contacts, better develop existing projects and investigate areas of cooperation and resistance for the future ! In addition to networking meetings and discussions, we will include some activities open to general participation; these will include (but are not limited to) exhibits, a demonstration against the visa regime, video showings, a lecture on anarchist history in Poland and whatever else people are inclined to organize!

At some point, special attention will be paid to the fact that our comrades to the east of Poland will now have to face a more restrictive regime and we would like to dedicate some time to evolving practical strategies to overcoming these new barriers. The dates of the meeting have been called to coincide with the start of the new visa regime in Poland. This meeting is meant to be an act of resistance; international solidarity is the best way to fight the borders that the state is trying to make between us!

As we favour a decentralized process of organization, we highly encourage people to join in and put on a workshop, propose their topics or items for the agenda, bring something to present and to think about social events, contact with the public. Anybody can organize what they want and are interested in - we only ask for notice so we can spread information and organize some logistical matters such as space. So if you're interested in taking a more active part in the process, let us know!

WHAT ME ??? - ORGANIZE SOMETHING ???

I WANNA KNOW WHAT WILL BE READY FOR ME WHEN I COME !

Well, it's gotta start somewhere, and somebody's gotta put on the ideas - you don't expect just to listen to some boring folks from Warsaw, do you ? The more ideas people from different places have, the more interesting it will be. So far we have a just a few volunteers but we expect that after this mailing we'll get and few more and that the list of events will grow. (Please note that the scheduled dates of workshops may change.)

Daily:

* Exhibit of No-Border Actions. Video, exhibits from European and worldwide action. * Exhibit of anarchist groups participating in the conference. * Exhibit: 100 years of anarchism in Poland. * Literature tables.

Friday, 27.06.03

v Opening

v **Anarcha-feminist meeting** The anarcha-feminist meeting is rather open in character. Anybody who wants can organize an agenda point, discussion point, workshop, etc., within this meeting. They just need to say what they want to do and how much time and space they need to do it!

v **Anti-sexist work.** In addition to the above, guys would also like to say something about their experiences. Of course it's not run for guys only...

v We suppose that there should be an alternative event on Friday, so we are waiting for proposals. In addition, we suspect that different presentations, videos and time for getting acquainted will be incorporated in the first day.

Saturday, 28.06.03

v **Using computers for sabotage and resistance.** Examples of ways computers can be used to network, subvert, sabotage and conduct campaigns. Some projects which will be mentioned include hacktivism actions, No-Borders computer campaigns, Russian Antijob website, various mailing lists, etc.,

v **Meeting of anarcho-syndicalists and people involved with workers' movements.** Like the anarcha-feminist session, we ask that people propose agenda points.

v **Eastern European Networking.** The name says it all. Organized by alter-ec.

v **100 years of Anarchism in Poland.** Exhibit and talk. Additional meetings to be announced.

Sunday 29.06.03

Look! A whole day free! Lots of space for your ideas!

Monday 30.06.03

v The campaign against the European Union and against border politics. Developing a common critique and common strategies ... and:

INTERNATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST BORDER POLITICS

v **Open meeting.** Criticism of the European Union. Speakers to be announced. Followed by discussion.

NOBORDER CAMP AND OTHER EVENTS

At this time, we cannot say 100% if there will be a NO BORDER CAMP or not. We hope this information will become clearer soon. Please note that there are some people who prepare other events in Warsaw at that time to run parallel to or around the time of these above-mentioned events. We have no concrete information about any of these events yet but we will be glad to inform people as soon as we know anything. We are sure that some of them will also be of interest.

ORGANIZATIONAL NOTES

Dates of mass mailing: February 15, April 15, June 1. Of course you may request info at any time. We ask for proposals and feedback by April 10 (e-mail - slightly earlier by post), so that we may include items in the April mailing. Please note that as most people will choose to attend or not based on the April mailing, we ask that submissions and proposals be made before then. The June mailing should already be final information. So if you would like to propose something, the more info the better. More details on the existing proposals will go out at the time of the mailings. We will try to have some space available for small ad-hoc meetings but this may be limited. We, being veteran anarchists, know damned well that many people will show up at the last minute without warning and expect food, housing, space, translators, equipment etc. and probably be pissed off if they don't find it. So we'd like to stress that we're not professional party organizers or some NGO with a professional budget and the organizational aspects depend on all of the participants - not some mythical "organizers". The culture of the meeting should hopefully be one of engagement, cooperation and mutual aid. So please do help out and cooperate in this aspect; questionnaires will be available via mail and internet later on but also an e-mail to let us know how many people are coming would be helpful. Enough of the lecture.

DONATIONS/FEE

We reserve the right to set a small fee for the meeting. Nobody will be turned away if they cannot pay this fee, hence we can rather call it a 'strongly suggested donation'. Accounting of money collected and expenses will be available to each participant of the conference upon request. If there are no outstanding debts or money needed at the time of conference, participants may choose to reassign excess funds to another project or cause. Any person wishing to help with finances is encouraged to join in the decision-making process.

LANGUAGE

The three official languages of correspondence are English, Polish and Russian. That doesn't mean that information in other languages may not appear or be posted on our web pages - by all means send info in different languages! We will try to be as accommodating as possible to people who speak different languages but the fact is that people need to help out and help themselves in this area as much as possible. If you would like to receive information in Polish or Russian instead of or in addition to English, please let us know.

FOR MORE INFORMATION WRITE TO

hydrozag@poczta.onet.pl, cube@zigzag.pl, gratisworld@mail.ru or check the web page at www.altermost.org.pl/iam

MORE INFO INCLUDING MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF
EVENTS COMING SOON !

CHECK OUR WEB PAGES FOR UPDATES !

CAN THE WAR TAKE CENTER STAGE ?

CAN THE WAR TAKE CENTER STAGE ?

Finally after the dramatic and tragic events in a Moscow theater, has the war in Chechnya come back into attention. How is it that such a long-standing campaign can slip into obscurity and how can we explain the absence of a large-scale international response to the war ? The facts speak for themselves: tens of thousands of people killed, tortured and disabled, hundreds of thousands displaced. Cities completely destroyed with no hope of being rebuilt any time soon. Hundreds, even thousands of documented atrocities, yet the international community seems mostly to be keeping quiet about Chechnya.

While hundreds of thousands protest against US plans to take military action against Iraq, actions against the war in Chechnya have been few and far between. There's no reason for it, no acceptable reason to say that this potential US aggression is any worse than the Russian aggression in Chechnya. It's as if the world has forgotten that Russia is and was an imperial power. The silence on Chechnya has been essentially tacit permission to continue military operations there with impunity. If we ignore Chechnya, if it's not a top story in the news, if they are a small, not well-known country, it's as if the world doesn't have to care. If it's Russia committing atrocities, it's not as important as the US committing atrocities. Worse yet are the voices who aren't sure whether or not there isn't a reason to really attack Chechnya - for example, those who figure they're many Muslims there, so they're not going to protest against the war because that can be perceived as supporting Islam. The fact of the matter is that there were practically no radical Muslims in the republic until well after the war started and if there has been any growth in that area, it is probably due in large part to the fact that the war carried on and there was little or no response from any quarters except other Muslims.

8 years on into the conflict with Russia, it is perhaps far too late to start an anti-war campaign - but it should be done anyway, if only to attack racism and acknowledge the plight of the hundreds of thousands of Chechen refugees who are harassed on a daily basis in Russia, chased out of refugee camps and deported from Western countries who refuse to take the hardships of war seriously anymore.

RACISM

"No Caucasians need apply." Such warning were and are common in Moscow. Don't try to get an apartment or job. We don't want "blacks". This is the least of the problems for Chechen refugees in Moscow. Legally, residency permits are still required to live in Moscow. No permit, no work. No legal flat. No school for your kids, no health care. Life becomes a series of bribes and payments. Random ID checks on the street. Apartment searches. Chechens in Russia find themselves in very different categories. Some have lived there all their lives - others are part Russian or have close Russian friends. But for new arrivals, leaving Chechnya can mean different things. Some people have family to help out - some people are able to find work in family businesses. Others, perhaps not a majority but a group that is more commonly known, have to rely on an underground network to

work and otherwise get by. Sometimes they fall in with mafia-controlled businesses. Sometimes they fall in with something that isn't exactly the same as a mafia but what people might mistake for one. In any case, many people become quite reliant on certain small bosses to help them out and to protect them - mostly from the Moscow police. Some eventually turn to crime. And so, racist Russian society (ironically upset over their image as mafiosi abroad), has decided that Chechens are all involved in crime and the mafia.

The racism has already passed sickening levels. There is no hiding the fact that dark-skinned people are regularly harassed by the police and that the police are legally empowered to do so. Pogroms of different scale happen frequently. Politicians spit hateful diatribes, sometimes trying to hide their racism, sometimes not even bothering. Nowadays, there are many situations when it's hard to talk of racism in and of itself as a factor for hatred. Concepts of "civilization" are strongly tied to racism. How people live, organize their economy, decide to develop, globalize or not, organize on a spiritual or material basis - European and American cultural biases, linked strongly to capitalist development and its cultural and social implications - play just as important a role and probably supercede race in many cases as a basis for prejudice and hatred.

The anti-war movement in Russia was also the beginning of an anti-racist movement in fact; it was equally significant to protest against racist ideas, policies and practices.

Many people in the movement in Russia looked forward to the disintegration of the Soviet Empire, but this doesn't mean that anyone was looking forward to seeing nationalism grow as a mechanism to inspire national liberation movements. For our anarchist position, we were never in favour of Chechen statehood or nationalism - but we were even more critical of Soviet/Russian imposition of Russian hegemony and economic exploitation in the area.

As for the connection between nationalism and racism, we see a clear difference in how Baltic, Ukrainian and Kazakh national liberation movements were perceived abroad and how the Chechen independence movement has been perceived. In general, with the exception of Kazakhstan (which is a relatively wealthy country which had a 50% Russian population), independence movements in the Caucasus and Central Asia are mostly reviled and feared and worst, looked on in apprehension at best. We could see no compelling moral reason why Latvians should be recognized as independent from Russia and Chechens not - except for the "great culture" (great power) and European chauvinism dominant in much of the world and in public perception.

THE WAR

Despite the occasional protest letter or campaign, (and excluding support by Muslim communities and activists) the anti-war movement really only exists in several countries, for example, in Russia, Poland, Ukraine, Georgia. Many involved in the anti-war movement were not activists before; people like the soldiers' mothers are just normal people who needed to organize themselves to save concrete lives. In general, there are few grassroots social movements making public appearances on the streets in these places, so there haven't been many large protests (and the couple that have been have

been rather exceptional). But work against the war has been carried on for years. Organizations like Memorial have been ardently collecting info and documentation for years. Trying to organize humanitarian aid and help refugees and victims.

The anarchist response to the war, although relatively small, has also been significant for a number of reasons, mostly because it has been the main public anti-war protest in the largest Russian cities. For years, anarchists in different Russian cities have held weekly pickets (although in some cities there were breaks after long periods of this ritual). In Poland, dozens of protests were made throughout the country; 6 demos were held this year (2002) on the anniversary of the beginning of the first war and aid collected. Anarchists were also active in collecting and delivering humanitarian aid; several years ago, two anarchists were in a group of people kidnapped in Chechnya. They were eventually released. They still actively support the anti-war effort.

PROBLEMS IN CHECHNYA

Many people point to certain problems in Chechnya as a reason not to support an anti-war movement or even to support Russian occupation of this land. A good example is when something like those kidnappings take place. Obviously few people have any sympathy for people taking aid workers or volunteers hostage. Yet the people who have been victimized are often the first to point out that they don't blame the entire Chechen populace for what a few people do. Obviously, few normal Chechen people are left in that country and those who are have been hardened by war and seeing atrocities carried out with no public outcry. We don't imagine that such things would happen if the normal civilian population and normal life in that country wasn't so totally

destroyed. We understand that it is a problematic place, but it's been made especially so by its recent history, not by any so-called barbaric nature of the people. It seems that problems in Chechnya are usually magnified as a pretext for tacitly supporting the war and maintaining a eurocentric worldview.

CONCLUSION

It is a terrible shame that the world did not react earlier to denounce this war. Now, in a context where a "war against terror" has been called - a war which largely is meant to shift blame for various geopolitical problems, racist policies and problems arising from unwanted development and encroachment of western civilization and capital - Russia claims that it's racist and imperialist wars has been at the forefront of this war against terror. To let such claims go unchallenged will have tremendous repercussions. The antiwar movement must realize this and start to react. We call on people to spread information as much as possible on the history of this war and to start protests at Embassies in your cities. We hope that one day the pretexts for this war will be exposed, making them harder to use the next time.

* Laure Akal's (FA-Warsaw) article written for the "Arbetearen" - Swedish journal of the anarchist-syndicalist SAC. I.S.

Anarchist Defence Alternative

While criticizing militarism we remain realists, and hence, although one of the foundation blocks of the anarchist ideas is removing violence from relations within society, we are forced by external circumstances to consider the defence of anarchist society and consequently the way of organizing the possible armed units. This is a result of historical experience gained throughout centuries of social struggle. The wealthy and privileged classes are willing to allow only those challenges that do not, by their essence, radically limit the classes' own influence.

Whenever this should happen, they are capable to join forces even with former enemies in order to thwart any emancipation effort threatening their position. In the event of having to face threat they are ready to abandon all humanist ideals in order to retain their profits they are leading their liberal-parliamentary democratic positions to allow harsh dictatorial regimes, such as Fascism in Germany of 1930s or Pinochet's regime in Chile take over 1973. As anarchists we strive to achieve far-reaching changes, depriving of power and economic advantages practically all who now live at others' expense; hence it is more than obvious that the reaction to our striving for free and classless society is going to be unusually strong. If we are to survive this struggle and contest successfully, it is necessary to face the reactionary armies with our own defensive initiative, capable of protecting the society we are setting up. The idea of a traditional army is unacceptable to us. Whether conscriptional or professional, its structure is always rather authoritarian. The way and principle of any organisation is a manifold reflection of trends within the particular society the army belongs to. The more authoritarian society, the more totalitarian and inhumane the army. If we apply this principle in the search of defence organisation, we shall conclude that the defence units must be structured strictly according to fundamental anarchist principles of organisation. By these principles we mean, first and foremost, public control, inspection, free agreement and federalism. If these principles are applied to the issue in question, they render several fundamental blocks on which the anarchist defence initiative rests. These are: militia system, defensive territorial character of the armed forces and a strong stress on the moral aspect of the revolutionary upheaval as well as society itself.

What is meant by militia system and how does this concept differ from a classical authoritarian army set up? The alpha and omega of militias is democracy and equalitarianism. Commanders at all levels are elected directly and are subject to rules of assignment and may be removed from office. The right of removal office, however, may be limited within the framework of combat action. Nevertheless, although in the case of militia system we speak of electing leaders, higher

decisive levels etc., all key and strategic decisions are made collectively in such a way, that all those who are eventually to be affected by them have a say in the final resolution. Classifies decisions are made by an elected council, controlled by a peoples' body. Commanders as such are viewed within concept of militias, rather as delegates to higher coordinating bodies and as militiamen responsible for operational control and coordination. They take over whenever it becomes impossible to make collective decisions, e.g. in above mentioned combat operations or coordination of defence in case of an enemy attack. The elected commander also propose military solutions, where the final resulting plan of an actual operation, situation allowing, in subject to approval by a general assembly of militia units are to take part the operation.

The democratic character of militias is closely related to another important aspect, and that is equality. All militiamen are equal, there are no privileges or ranks for those entrusted with position of leader. No officers' clubs, better rations or even using rank titles are acceptable from the point of view of maintaining a libertarian character of militias. Another typical characteristic of the militia system is voluntary participation. But who would voluntarily suffer war hardships or risk his own life - might by the most frequently raised objection. In our opinion it will be more people, whose resistance will be much stronger, than could be found in classical authoritarian army. People fighting out of their own conviction, for their ideals, or defending their homes before tyrannical aggression are capable of enormous sacrifices. They do not need to be forced to fight through mobilisation or under the threat of harsh punishment for disobedience. Only the ruling class has to force people to fight for its interests and gains by threats of repression and imprisonment.

Authoritarian objection is that the militia model is not effective or capable of fight. Nothing could be further from the truth. Militiamen, who participate in appointing their own commanders as the best in their ranks, have as consequence full trust in them and readily accept their decisions. There is no need to force people into submission, because they themselves have taken parting the decision making, and hence view it as their own and are prepared to sacrifice far more than if they were merely to obey orders of some anonymous staff somewhere in the rear. Such phenomenon may be observed after all even in classical armies. The troops that went through turmoil of wars were led by experienced veterans, possibly no military rank, who were nevertheless held in high esteem for their abilities and bravery and followed by others. It can be reasonably concluded that militia democracy is, as a result, far more effective than classical authoritarian hierarchical structure of armed forces. Our concept stresses

mainly its defensive nature. It is not our aim to form an aggressive army in order to annex further and further regions. We are concerned, first and foremost, about defending our homes and freedom and, as we have mentioned, that is the only reason why we are willing to consider military organisation at all. The armed units would be attacked to a village/town or a region, within which they would function as a kind of civil defence.

All the military technical equipment would be, according to need, kept by specialised units, most likely around large factories. It would be maintained by specially trained people and controlled by a local council. However, defence - as well as many other activities - cannot be split and atomised into individual municipalities or regions. It is not the anarchist goal, either - quite on the contrary it is cooperation and togetherness. Hence regional units would be bound into territorial federations. In this way the coordination of defence overall national territory will be provided, whilst keeping full autonomy of regional militia. Such national federations would naturally form further federations and thus international defence libertarian structure. Furthermore, some sophisticated equipment or apparatus would have to be maintained in such a way; it would be a step back and also rather expensive if each regional militia should be equipped with it. By such e.g. we mean e.g. radiolocators, anti-aircraft defence or electronic combat units.

As has been already said, the armed troops would be under direct control of local councils. Within these councils should be incorporated also a military council dealing with coordination, control and logistic support of militia units. This control and its delegates would - like the other controlling bodies - follow fundamental libertarian principles of organisation: it would be effective, responsible for assigned tasks, and may be removed from office. There would be representatives of all professions (metal industry, food industry, etc.) consumers' bodies, public administration, not forgetting military experts. Thus the highest possible public control of militias and their cooperation with manufacturing and consumer sectors would be secured.

These local councils then federalize into national and international councils. Every important issue related to armed troops would be subject to national referendum. Its result would decide all fundamental social issues, such as the degree of country's "militarisation", its long-term strategy concept etc.

The safeguard of armed forces not becoming decisive and ruling power of the society is the peoples' democracy character contained in the militia concept. The very fact the "army service" will be absolutely voluntary and available to all, and the people who decide to fight for the ideal of libertarian society will do so of their own free will and

identifying with this ideal, and also the fact, that all key decisions will be taken collectively, should ensure that these units will not be misused by potential power interests of minority. Refusal of a membership in the militias would be considered as a punishment for those, who wrong the society, although this is rather disputable and would have to be subject to a decision of a particular collective regional or federal body. In any case militia members should have the option to keep their weapons at home, and this right would be denied to anyone else. Weapon ownership would be no longer the privilege of the powerful and wealthy classes and their repressive organs, but could be claimed by every eligible individual. People are not viewed as incapable individual, ready to shoot at anything that moves as soon as they lay their hands on a weapon. To be prevented from weapon ownership would be viewed again as a punishment and would be extended to those hindering the smooth running of anarchist society or those not eligible to it (mentally or physically).

Although it is a sad fact of life, and may appear on superficial inspection contradictory, it has to be admitted that military career is a kind of craft and requires certain specific knowledge. Merely use and maintenance of even the simplest firearms or mastering the basics of tactics require at least a short course. Moreover, military art moves forward with the help of scientific and technological inventions faster than any other resort, and the use of much of army equipment requires special training, be it anti-aircraft defence system, pyrotechnical equipment, vehicles etc. Solution to this problem is seen in a mechanism of "voluntary conscription". In practise this would mean that every man or woman, after reaching certain age limit, e. g. 18 years, would be approached and given opportunity to undergo voluntarily elementary military training. This would consist of basic martial and combat arts and the use of hand weapons. After completion they would be made part of militia reserves and then could decide whether they wish to further specialize within the reserve service. Gaining further military expertise would be done through short-term courses and the reserves would also have the opportunity to participate in monthly combat training. Certain position in the armed troops would have to be filled by long-serving experts. Such positions would be subject to strict public control in order to prevent, to the highest degree possible, potential misuse of the expert status. These positions would be again elective subject to all rules applicable to elective delegates. The very status of an expert would be accompanied by clear boundaries of rights and responsibilities of this post. At the same time and accordingly to the democratic spirit and in order to prevent possible authoritarian trends emerging, it is suggested to incorporate these positions into rota system, together with time limit and repeated applications for these posts.

Another important aspect of our concept is also the moral dimension of the anarchist defence initiative. We aim to free human absolutely from all oppression and the means through which we intend to reach it must be necessarily subject to the goal. The transition to a new society and its ensuing defence must be, to the greatest

possible extent, filled with anarchist spirit of ideas. Freedom, free initiative, refusal of the principle of collective guilt, limitation of violence to absolute necessity, humanity and preference of education to the use of firearms are moral credos, that must be, in our opinion, observed at all costs, otherwise the attempt to establish a more just society might turn into a much harsher regime than the previous one had been. Therefore we reject the Marxist-Leninist theory of dictatorship of proletariat as well as its practical consequence of red terror during the Russian Revolution and Civil War in 1917-1921. "The unbeatable power of social revolution rests in its justice and humanity." (Alexander Berkman), and in the same way the survival of anarchist society is subject to keeping anarchist moral principles.

Weapons of mass destruction, i. e. nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, represent a serious problem, that has to be taken into consideration while contemplating the anarchist alternative defence. These weapons are the result of, and a warning against, the perversity of the ruling elite of authoritarian societies, that are capable of producing weapons of such destructive, devastating and by definition antisocial nature, merely to protect their power and economic interests. This inhumanity in extreme is in direct conflict with our perception of the world, and weapons of mass destruction would be once and for all disposed of in an anarchist society. Unfortunately, the disposal of many such weapons will present problems and even the residual material will represent potential high risk. It will have to be stored in special safe places, maintained directly by a military council of the region in question. Rather a significant risk is the keeping of the weapons of mass destruction by the ruling class. As has been already pointed out, it is not possible to rely on the ruling elite's executive organs having any conscience, and hence it is necessary to be ready even for dreadful possibility to use of weapons of mass destruction against revolutionary transition, but also move probably, against established libertarian society. Alongside or within the militia units, if would be desirable to keep organs, that are in charge of civil defence. That is building of bunkers, equipping individuals with protective materials and means, educating and training civilians etc.

This is our proposal of a scheme providing the protection of society in accordance with principles of libertarian organisation contained in anarchist ideas. That means in such a way that the defence and all armed troops be free and humane in the highest possible degree. Although we tried to cover all important aspects of this problem, it is clear that many other issues will surface whilst actually putting these ideas to practise, and also some solutions may prove to be wrong. We, the anarchists, are fully aware that life, society and, after all, even revolutionary rebirth toward more just and freer society cannot be planned at drawing board, and that much of what people striving for realisation of this ideal will have to solve will occur only during the process itself. However, considerable percentage of these complications can be anticipated now and it is our responsibility to seek answers to the questions these potential problems present us with. (A-kontra)

TERRITORIAL DEFENCE AND THE MILITARY

The argument about the necessity to defend the country against an invading army is often used to justify the existence of state army. The occupation government of a foreign power can be the most brutal tyranny. But the rule of a national government is nothing else but the same tyranny based on overt or hidden violence.

Compulsory draft to the state army is a clear violation of personal freedom and the source of social pathology among soldiers. On the other hand, the professional army and the defence industry are a threat in themselves. In countries such as USA, the industrial-military complex is a strong center of power, which is beyond any social control and is a serious threat to peace in the world.

The currently existing type of army, armed according to NATO standards is adapted to cooperation in aggressive operations conducted by the "world policeman": the United States. The money of the citizens of the country [Poland] is spent to insure a world power has access to energy sources. This money is not being used to insure security on the territory of the country [Poland].

The development of military structures and new systems of weapons does not insure a greater defence capability. As the examples of Chechnya and Palestine can show, even the most advanced technology and great military superiority cannot break the spirit of resistance of a society defending its right to self-determination. The defence of factual freedom, and not of abstract ideas such as "nation" is what gives motivation to volunteers fighting in defence of the country [purely geographical notion - not related to state].

However the indispensable element needed to overcome military aggression is the existence of an international mass peace movement. The strong anti-war movement in the sixties in the USA was one of the main reasons of the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam.

The best investment in the security of the country is the participation in a grassroots international peace movement aimed at overcoming adversity and lack of trust between the nations.

(Preliminary version of Polish Anarchist Federation's statement about defence)

Antimilitarist Solidarity Network / Turkey

"And since we also believe that the elimination of the causes of war is a guiding path that leads to the foundation of a free world, we won't be anyone's soldiers!"

Anti-militarist press release in Istanbul

More than 60 people attended on 24 January 2003 anti-militarist press release in Istanbul-IHD (Human Rights Association). Reporters from a number of papers and news agencies were also present although it is suspected that military itself prevents Turkish mainstream media. A group of uniformed policemen were waiting outside but inside no civil cop was noticed. First of all, statement of Antimilitarist Solidarity Network on Mehmet Bal's re-arrestment was declared. Then, common declaration of all objectors was stated. Support statement of Antimilitarist Solidarity Network to the objectors was read. New objectors Mustafa Peyhoğlu, Erkan Ersöz, Sertaç Girgin and Emir Ünür reading their own manifests declared that they reject military service. The former objectors Yavuz Atan, Uğur Yorulmaz, Erdem Yalçınkaya, Mehmet Tarhan, Tımuçin Kızılay, Hasan Çimen and Erkan Çaldır 'reminded' their declarations stating their position against the army and the state.

Here is the declaration of Antimilitarist Solidarity Network about army objector Mehmet Bal's re-arrestment:

FREEDOM TO MEHMET BAL!

Mehmet Bal who was arrested on 24th of October after declaring his conscientious objection on military and any other alternative (service) which will be opposed to him had been released on 27th of November 2002. During this process, Bal had faced various kinds of violence and pressure. Bal was released after the court decided that there was no need for any inquiry according to TCK 155 (military law). Two days ago, in the evening of 21 January 2003 he was taken by JITEM (Gendarme Agents) from the house he was living in Izmir. We had learned that Mehmet Bal was taken to the military office and his lawyers did see him. But later, when his lawyers wanted to see him again their demands were rejected with the claim that yet there is no inquiry on him and this is why he does not need any lawyer. Mehmet Bal is sent to Izmir-Konak Province Gendarme Commandership to be transferred to his troop.

We -as antimilitarists- are declaring that we will carry on being supporters and followers of Mehmet and his action as we had stated before.

ANTIMILITARIST
SOLIDARITY
NETWORK

Call for solidarity by Antimilitarist Solidarity Network / Turkey

WE SHALL NOT BE ANYONE'S SOLDIERS!

We, who swear to never to join nor cooperate with any armed forces that undertake the defense mission of organized domination and exploitation, refuse to participate in an army, in any preparation of war, and in war-itself! Therefore, we consider opposition to the preparations of war that currently occupy the agenda to be totally legitimate, and proclaim that we will resist these preparations and will work to foster an anti-war attitude. We shall struggle for a free world without discrimination, boundaries and classes, and against domination and plunder over mankind and nature. We believe in the necessity of a state of continuous action until the last epaulet on a uniform and the last landmine on earth are removed. And since we also believe that the elimination of the causes of war is a guiding path that leads to the foundation of a free world, we won't be anyone's soldiers!

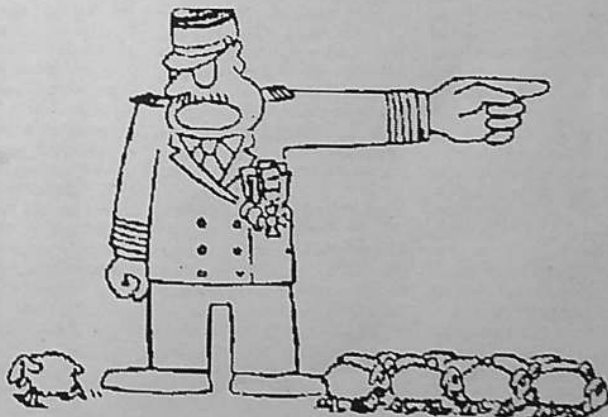
Proclamation of the Antimilitarist Solidarity Network

To anyone who has received this proclamation!

Are you not fed up too? Didn't you also wake up this morning with a crippling rage at a world which keeps getting organized against your will? In these days, when we are overwhelmed with cries for war, we are informed about decisions that control our lives, the lives of our beloved ones, and the lives of many others unknown to us through television and newspapers.

We didn't make these decisions and we don't want them! We don't want to be in nor under a bomber plane. We don't want to kill and have no intentions of dying yet. And we don't want anyone else to carry on such deeds in our names with money stolen from our pockets. But we do know that as the result of various bargains, governments will declare WAR again and they will not bother themselves with our opinions. And yet we shall be affected by these resolutions for the rest of all our lives, as the aftermath of bombs will last decades, even centuries. Remember Hiroshima. Don't forget Halepce. The south-eastern part of this country is still covered with landmines! There is another possibility; To claim your own conscience and say "NO!" Let's refuse to provide "human resources" for war! WE REFUSE TO SERVE THE ARMY. WE REFUSE to serve in any field of militarism. We SAY NO to war! Within the last ten years, more than thirty people in Turkey have chosen this path, and now many are preparing to do the same in the very near future. They will declare their CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION and TOTAL OBJECTION. We will be in solidarity with those who refuse to be a cog in the machinery. We call everyone to claim their own conscience. It's in our hands to tuck in the tails of a handful of barkers, the profiteers of war.

REFUSE! RESIST! SAY NO! DON'T BE A SOLDIER!



"BULGARIA IN THE NATO = NOW"

Interview with members of new anarchist group in Sofia

Following interview with members of a quite new anarchist group from Sofia was done by Lydia from anti-fascist group OAP from Leipzig, Germany to which we would like say thanx for providing this material. We hope that this text will help Bulgarian anarchists to get out from isolation in which they found themselves, in order to develop their very fresh projects with even bigger determination as they present today. For many of you it will be a first touch with Bulgarian reality so many things will surprise you. One could see activities of young Sofia's anarchists as a parody of what he/she use to call as a "real-resistance" but probably only until he/she would find him/herself in the middle of that all. Well, just check it out ...

"Oh no, please switch off this horrible video. I know it's interesting, to watch the video film after a protest-action, but this group of protesting people with the Anti-NATO transparent can not reduce, den bitter taste, that remains from hundreds of, mostly young people, waving enthusiastically small flags. One side of this small flags is with the Bulgarian and the other side with the NATO-flag. Hard to believe, but this seems to be really no kind of fun-action and they also not looking like getting payed for this. Is there so small choice of entertainment in Sofia, that people have to freak-out on listening awkward Pro-NATO Songs of an indifferent Hip-Hop Band? After the last disappointing years of post-socialist corruption- and mismanagement, people, especially this ones who want to live like in a western country as soon as possible, seem to lose also their last critical thinking and urge on independence: "No more experiments; adaptation as soon as possible. As quick as possible in the EU.", or as you can see sometimes on big advertisings: BULGARIA IN THE NATO = NOW !!!

The Anarchist Group in Sofia came together here for "sit pleasantly together" and give an interview. Normally, there is not information from this people in Bulgaria, because here is not so much happening, compared to other countries. At least the first thing we will change now.

Lydia: We heard about your group here in Sofia and want to know more about you and the things you are doing here. How did it start, since how long does the group exist etc. ?

m: The first contacts we had, when we met, looking for contacts with other anarchists, in the office of the old anarchists from F.A.B. (Anarchist Federation of Bulgaria). We started with pure theoretically work and the publishing of anarchist and anticapitalist ideas on the website "Anarchy In Bulgaria". Later we started the webmagazine "Chilab I Svoboda" (Bread & Freedom), and the newspaper "Anarcho Sprotiva" (*1) (Anarcho Resistance).

About our old anarchists from F.A.B. - many of them spent most of their life in camps like Belene (*2) and in prison. Now they are publishing a little bit classical anarchist literature and the newspaper "Svobodna Misa" (Free Thought), which comes out together with our newspaper "Anarcho Sprotiva". One of them Georgi Konstantinov blew a Stalin-memorial, I think in 1956. He was sentenced to death and the only thing that saved him was the soon following death of Stalin, so that they changed into 20 years prison. After 10 years he got released and he managed to escape to France short after this. After the Change in 1989 he came back to Bulgaria.

There is also a group of old Anarcho-Syndicalists (Ex Bulgarian Confederation of Labour). One of them - Nikola Mladenov - is now about 94 years old and took part on the Spanish Revolution in the 1930s.

Meanwhile there is not so much happening with them anymore, because they are all more than 80 years old now. But the office of F.A.B. was always and still is a good point to get in touch with other people and because of the big collection of material, it's a good theoretical base.

Yeah, and sometime we were enough people to think about our own actions.

What kind of actions was that ?

T: The very first one was maybe not so interesting. We gave leaflets about the situation in Bulgaria and the history of First of May, on the official May Day celebration of communists (*3) and socialists. The funny thing was, that they didn't realize, that we were not there

to celebrate with them and some old women even walked around with our leaflets with the big circle-A.

After that, there was this protest-action in July 2001, because of the murder of Carlo Giuliani during the riots in Genua. Accidentally we met one day before, again through F.A.B., some people from the Antifa in Germany. Together with them we spontaneously decided to do our first open action on a Global Action Day. It was so spontaneous, that most people of our group could not manage to be there in the right time. That's why we were just 8 people, who went to the Italian-embassy with transparents and flags. On this action also people from the communist-group "Che Guevara" took part. One of us then layed down in front of the entrance ketchup-bleeding with a mask, as the dead Carlo Giuliani. The whole situation was very funny. Imagine that, in the center of Sofia ... Many people was very unsure and asked what happened and if we need help. From this point it was not so important, with how many people we did this action, with this massive publicity, we got from people passing by, it was a big success. The security guard of the embassy was really relaxed and just confined himself on his basic duties. When the police came finally (old school Lada-eastbloc-Style - comment of interviewer) just one unenthusiastic guy with open shirt (cliché-breast-toupee, conventional picture of Bulgarian blacksea coast-bus driver - comment of the interviewer) came out of the car, asked what's happening here and disappeared. This action was very important for us, because it was first time that we showed up like this in public. Before we always made just this poster- and leaflet-actions. The next day there was an article in the local newspaper, which was mainly O.K. But about 6 weeks later one of the most popular newspapers in Bulgaria used this action as the topic on their frontpage and asked what will happen if all the anti-globalists will come to Sofia, with its police that is not prepared for situations like this. They well-directed raised peoples fear. The good thing was: through this article also new people came to us, because they first time heard about our group. Maybe b. can tell more about this...

b: Yes, through this article I realized, that there is people in Sofia, who are interested in globalisation, so that there was also positive

results from this bullshit. Some weeks later I got first time the newspapers "Anarcho Sprotiva" and "Svobodna Misa" and during the protest in front of the US-embassy against the afghanistan-war plans, I came to this group.

t: This protest was accidentally 2 hours before the bombing started. Actually we went there, because of the self engaging of the Bulgarian government, to support this war active if required, although Bulgaria is not in the NATO until now. The cops at first didn't know what to do and called around for new orders. After half an hour they took hour personal details and gave us to understand that the things like democracy and peace-full protest are something nice, but we better disappear now, otherwise...

That sounds like you have been the only group that made any kind of protest against this here. Don't you have at least some kind of peace-demonstrators?

m: No, nothing. Here we have just some NGO's, but from this side nothing happened. When the NATO bombed Serbia in 1999 just a handful of communists made protest. In this time "Che Guevara" group was founded. At the time of the Afghanistan War-protest this group didn't exist anymore. Bulgaria opened its air-corridor for NATO-bombers in this time, although many people was against it. One of the bombs they unfortunately lost here in Sofia. Luckily just the roof of a house was blown away...

t: Another good action was our First of May demonstration 2002. We demonstrated with about 25 people for 6-hour-working-day, in the center of Sofia. There was really people who said: "Eh, look at this young guys! They want 6-hours-working-day! People here in Bulgaria work more than 16 hours per day! You lazy young people want just 6 hours..." and bullshit like this. We just said: "If you really want 16 hours - you should do that...!". Later we tried to explain them the main idea, that came from the fight for 8 hour working day in the past, when there was also people who worked more than 10 hours a day and a lot of unemployment. It's just, to share the work among the people - more people for the same work. But they said: "...and then they cut our payment!"

...and do not realize, that they

wouldn't have to work longer with fair payment.

t: They just think about themselves. m: It was very paradox, because most of this people have been socialists. Later the cops started to ask for a permission for our black flag and stuff like this.

What kind of other subjects do you have? Do you also work for other themes like feminism, ecology, animal rights etc., or are you just busy with fighting for work?

m: No no, we are not just fixed on that. For example we worked together with an ecologic group "Za Zemjata" (for the earth). They are NGO's, but we did also some actions, from which we think that's O.K., with them. Normal, legal things like mountain-cleaning and actions for bicycle-ways (4). But with them we made also an Antiglobalisation-Action. At the meeting for the Balcan Stability Pact we criticised, that all this things are just for the use of this countries with the better economy again.

On many subjects like feminism and homosexuality we have worked just theoretically until now. We have a lively exchange with people from other countries, when they come here. Another important theme is of course Antifa.

Perfect change. My next question is the obligate - about the nazi-problem. How does it look like, here in Bulgaria and Sofia?

In WWII Bulgaria was an ally of Nazi-Germany and of course we have people who are proud about this and they say everything was better in this time. Also now after the Change everybody hates communists, and communists are anti-fascists ... For them the Nazi-Years was a great time: we occupied our neighbours, that - of course - belong to us and Great-Bulgaria was united. It helps the people to bear the complex, that lasts on them today. There is also people who say that bulgarians are Arians; Bulg-Arians, not Slavs.

Most of the young people are nationalists. Also on football-fans nationalist and racist-attitude is very common and people like Gypsies, Jews, and Turks (5) are always welcome to blame them for the misery of the people. All the classical nazi-shit is free and without comments available. One year ago they posted Hitler-posters in public. We have laws against the spreading of fascist ideologies, but in fact nobody cares about. There is also a lot of legal support-actions and money

behind them.

m: An interesting story connected with this: about 2 years ago, at the celebration of the birthday of Hristo Botev, one of our national heroes, some of this "Che Guevara"-people showed a transparent with the NATO-Symbol looking like a swastika. They got arrested and sentenced because of showing a swastika. On every big football-game you can see flags with swastikas and nobody cares. That's a good example how they use the Anti-Nazi-Laws against antifascists.

What about parties and organizations?

t: One of the most famous is the nationalist-party VMRO - Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (6), another is BNRP - Bulgarian National-Radical Party and since maybe one year BNS - Bulgarian National Union (7), the most radical of them. We attack each others websites regularly ...

Do you fight in direct-action against nazis or do you have to defend yourself on the streets?

m: Some people from our group and from Ex - "Che Guevara" go regularly looking for nazis...

What do they say about Bulgarians joining to the EU?

m: They are against it. Sometimes they make comments on our guestbook, like that it's good, that we do something against NATO. But we cleared our position, that no matter if we have the same or similar subjects sometimes, we don't cooperate with nationalists or nazis.

I don't know if you heard about this - in Germany the nazis demonstrate for the rights of the palestinians. They say they are their allies against the jews and even wear the so called palestinian-scarf sometimes. How is it here?

b: Very interesting (general merri-ment), and in the same time they may be beat them ... They don't have a common position about this here. Of course they also say, that these bad jews kill the poor palestinians, but it doesn't go that far, that they start to fight for the rights of some muslims. Because of our 500 years turkish history and the resulting turkish-muslim population here, they have a strong aversion against muslims.

How is the situation in general here in Bulgaria - the mood among the people?

b: The most people are of course not satisfied with the situation, but they are to passive and don't have a courage to change anything. It's a difficult and hard live for many people here and there is many things that have to change. But if you are always busy to get just the basic needs for life, there is mostly not much time left, to do something else.

Bulgaria is on the way in the NATO now ...

m: Yes, this intensive campaign for that started short after the war in Yugoslavia. Not many people criticize the NATO-joining and the promotion is a big success, as you could see on the video before. Once again about the article about the "Impending Anti-Globalists" in Sofia ... Of course that was not without reason. There was plans for a NATO-meeting one month later (27. 09. 01) here and with things like this they brought the people in the right mood and the police could put themself in the limelight as the guards of law & order. Sofia was blocked with 6000 policemen, what is very much in this country. We remained quiet in this time and the "Che Guevara" group had to sign something, that they do not take part on protests (!!!!! - AbolishingBB).

Is there a ban of wearing masks here in Bulgaria?

m: I don't think that there is something like this existing in our laws, but for us this question is not relevant anyway. With this unfortunately small number of people we are moving until now, it's not very clever to show us aggressive; the most people still associate masks with terrorists. And it also makes it more easy to criminalize the people.

What contacts in foreign countries do you have - how far do you work together?

t: We have contacts with people, mostly anarchists, from countries like Greece, Serbia, USA, Switzerland and Germany. But this is mostly limited on the exchange of articles for the respective newspapers. Otherwise, we are most time busy with our own problems here - trying to "catch" new, young people for instance. If people come to visit us, they of course take part on our actions. In opposite case it's more difficult for us to take part on actions outside Bulgaria, because of the high costs.

What plans for the future do you have?

t: We urgently need something

where we can meet; what we can use as a infoshop, for publishing, for media-exchange and things like this. Right now we are always meeting in pubs and that is not very comfortable for discussions. There is also no place to go, for people who want to meet us and that's really necessary to connect each other. We have a lot of sympathisers, many people read our newspaper and say: "Oh, that's good, you're making here - when is the next edition coming?". But if the next action is happening ...

lydia: Thanx for the interview and all the best.

(*1) <http://change.to/anarchy>, <http://www.savanne.ch/svoboda>, <http://resistance.hit.bg/>, <http://www.radicalreader.net/ZBG>

(*2) Tenthousands of bulgarians were kept as "enemies of the peoples republic" in work-camps during the stalinist regime. Some of them came here just because of things like joking about the regime or being interested in western lifestyle. These camps, similar to the sowjet gulags, were mostly closed down in the end of the 1970s. Thousands died there, because of beating and bad treatment. The worst was the one in Lovech, where about 150 died between 1957 and 1961. In Belene-Camp people was kept on an island of the river Danube. Many of the camps have been secret, but about 60 were well known in Bulgaria.

(*3) the main opposition-Partei BSP (Bulgarian Socialist ("changed" ex-Communist) Party), headed by Georgi Purvanov (pragmatic - in May 2000 he made his party support a request for membership of NATO!). It participates, together with Ecologism and Stamboliski's Agrarian Party, in a coalition, the New Democratic Left, which had 22.1% in 1997 (a heavy defeat due to the economic collapse, after the 43.5% gained in 1994).

(*4) In Sofia there is no bicycle-ways, driving on the streets is dangerous because of the many kamikaze-drivers and on the pedestrian-ways it's not allowed.

(*5) Bulgarians represent 85.7% of the population, 9.4% of Turkish ethnic origin are the largest ethnic minority, with whom, despite the burden of history, there exists harmonious relations. More problematic are relations with the third ethnic group, the Roma (gypsies), who are 3.7% of the population, and are thought by a majority to be responsible for crime and a lack of desire for integration into society. 86.6% of the population are said to be Orthodox Christians and 13.1% Muslims.

(*6) A "little sister" of a macedonian party, which wants to reunify Bulgaria and Macedonia. They already took part on an government coalition.

(*7) also english and german: <http://www.bgn.net>

1st Balkan Anarchist Bookfair 27- 30 March; Ljubljana/Slovenia

1st Balkan Anarchist Bookfair, will take place from 27. march - 30. march in Ljubljana/Slovenia. The event will not be just the fair and this is very important for connecting anarchist groups from the Balkans. There will be also meetings, workshops and similar things, which will try to deepen and strengthen the cooperation and contacts for the movement in this part of the world. So far anarchists from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece are expected to join the organisation of this event. We need contacts for Turkey.

We will inform you later about this fair, but if you want or need more informations now, you can contact us on addresses below. anarchist greetings,

Social Anarchist Federation *slovenia*
saf.info@email.si

Anarchist Morava new anarchist group in Czechia

Salut !!! We are couple of individuals who are participating in international anarchist, anticapitalist ... actions, and recently we started to represent our ideas under name **Anarchist Morava**, and started to organize 1st May demonstration in our city **Roznov** (east czech-morava). So far these demos where taking place usually in big Czech cities like Prague or Brno ... that's why we want to be more active on local level, as we think it make a sense. We don't want to all the time follow the others, and we would like to destroy a lethargy which is very common in this area. So far our activists in most cases crashed on noninterested men and it is a big issue to change this mentality, provoke people to think in more critical way. So the way we decided to go is to make a lot of adequate materials. Our 1st may demo will be based on antiEU and antiNATO political background.

Some of us were taking part in EE anarchist block during Prague demos in November. We maintain a connection with our comrades and we hope that EE anarchist block will continue, and still new groups/organizations/individuals will join us. Our aim is to get interest amount of "normal" public, as well as "sub-culturals" in order to introduce them with our ideas, to continue with anarchist campaigns more and more in this area. There is very small amount of anarchists or people which at least understand a bit anarchist principles. In fact most of people know just an anarchism in form presented by mainstream media. In order to change it wider we plan to distribute a lot of materials. That's why, in spite of we know that many of you are busy with your own organizations, we ask you for support our plans through some benefits. It would help us to start with making posters, stickers, flyers, leaflets and other materials. As we want to spread our materials in many cities of wider area we need to make a lot of them, what is very limited because of our financial situation. If you or any of you comrades is able to make these benefits for Anarchist Morava (as soon as possible) please let us know, we would be very thankful. Also everyone who would like to cooperate with us, is very welcome!

Our various activities are:

- * AntiNATO campaigning
- benefits in our and some other cities
- propaganda with posters, flyers, leaflets, stickers
- lecture about NATO with member of Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation
- 3,5x7,5m antiEU and antiNATO banner
- * Starting with own website
- * Organizing the 1st May events

Our advance plan of 1st May is to organize an event in the city centre hopefully with live music and soundsystem (we will have problem with organizing good equipment and agregat but maybe we or you will find some surprising solution), theatre with political background, samba-band, junglers, speeches. After we plan a march through the city and a gig in the evening.

Lets Stop Globalizing Capitalism!
Lets Increase Globalizing Our Resistance!

(Unfortunately we did not receive any contact adress from Anarchist Morava group. We suggest to ask so far by other Czech groups - AbolishingBB)

New infoshop in Craiova looking for materials

Hello, we are a group of anarchist activists from Craiova, Romania and we will open an infoshop in short time. It is a space with two floors but we can only use the upper room and there gonna be library and infoshop and we will use it also for meetings, workshop, video projections ... The place is situated in the center of the town so it is gonna be very practical and we hope that the impact of our activities there will be very big.

So, what we need from you, if you can support our projects: issues, zines, books, video tapes, audios and everything printed on xerox with/for anarcho purposes. Also contacts, distros, individuals who can put our contacts visuable let everybody informed about our project, send stuff, everything you think it is important ...

You can contact us at this adress- revolutionshop@hotmail.com and you can help us sending any kind of materials on this adress:

POPESCU ADI ; ALEA TEATRULUI
BL.T2 APT.21; CRAIOVA, DOLJ, COD 1100
ROMANIA

"ANARCHY
IS ORDER -
GOVERNMENT
IS CHAOS."

Statement of Armenian group - PRORYV

About half an year ago we have published a short message about the free public concert for friendship of people of Caucasus on the "square of Freedom" in Yerevan with a hope to hear in the future more about libertarian activities in that region. Now there is so far. Following text is a statement of anarcho-communist group "Proryv" from Yerevan, capital of Armenia. Except of their own web-page, they are writing monthly reports about politics in Armenia, which are to find on ukrainian leftist web-site: <http://ua-left.narod.ru>

We are people for which freedom of thought and action is a basic condition of dignified, fulfilled human life. We're having direct contact with Russian movement "Autonomous Action", which we fully support. In this moment we are only group existing in Armenia, that represents interests of the people striving for self-realisation and those scared and worrying about everyday hopelessness of present way of life. Our web-site was constructed to give all kind of support for free and constructive thinking and harmonic creativity in Armenia.

We are ready to cooperate with all individuals and organizations seeing themselves as free-thinkers or independent, such as antifascists, "greens", etc. Our web-site will present any dignified (from our point of view) ideas and products of free creativity. Our first experiences of discussion with different sorts of people has proved, that people often understand anarchist ideas uncorrect and crooked way. Then, these ideas are scaring many of them out, make them horrified. Please, try to be objective. We are not utopists, we are people of action !!! We are realistic, so we're able to distinguish between near and long distance goals and tasks. Write to us, send us statements, articles, etc.

Join us ! Anarchy is mother of order !
<http://anar.h1.ru> ; e-mail: vaga@freenet.am
m.eduard@freenet.am

ZABADAKS DIY Culture Centre fully operational

ZABADAKS is one of the most important projects of NEKAC (Development Centre of Non-Commercial Culture) a registered non-governmental organization in Kuldiga. ZABADAKS aims to establish a permanent Centre, where people could meet, learn about noncommercial/DIY culture, participate and make interest groups and enjoy the non-commercial culture activities - concerts, exhibitions, video projections, participate in discussion workgroups, join ZABADAKS commune by living at the place and collaborating and making joint projects.

The cultural life in Kuldiga is rather poor, and there are very few grassroots activities. This fact has certain impact on the ways how people (especially youth) spend their free time - violence and legal/illegal drug abuse is very common among them. So, it's not a surprise when with a cultural expression one understands the pop surrogate market production or the activities at institutionalized art/music schools. The strong commercialization of culture in the recent years have also had a great impact on our lives - the consequence is that there's no such a place where a person, that doesn't want to make money with culture, can express himself and be freely judged by an audience.

So, we have decided to make a DIY Culture Centre, a place that could give the opportunities for such artists and musicians to play or exhibit their work. Besides we think that ZABADAKS could contribute to development of a larger DIY culture network / community that would not depend on culture industries' colonization. So - activists, musicians, artists - if you want to have collaboration partners in Latvia or a place for a gig in Latvia, you can contact us. We'll see what we can do. At ZABADAKS a general hall for concerts, rehearsals, exhibitions, conferences etc. is made, also the NEKAC office, the little hall. Besides, we are thinking about a little reading room with informative booklets, zines, books on DIY / underground culture and social activities. The second floor is ment for NEKAC and guest artists, lecturers, musicians, for people who live at the Centre when making joint projects. Now ZABADAKS is fully operational and ready to be a place where DIY / non-commercial cultural, educational activities can take place.

"ZABADAKS"
DIY Culture Centre
Vijolisu street - 24
Kuldiga, Latvia

Invitation to the first conference of Autonomous Action from 14th to 16th of February 2003 Moscow, Russia

Dear comrades! Autonomous Action invites you to its first conference to be organised in Moscow from 14th to 16th of February 2003. The goal of Autonomous Action is to form a common libertarian communist organisation in the area of former Soviet Union. Autonomous Action was organised in its first general meeting in January 2002, until then it had existed two years as a project. Currently Autonomous Action has local groups in dozen or so cities of Russia and Armenia, and supporters in Belarus, Lithuania, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Read more about us from our website at www.avtonom.net (or in the past issues of *AbolishingBB* - red.)

In our conference we will discuss political situation in the countries of former Soviet Union, chances to resist authoritarianism and capitalism, strategy of libertarian movement in our countries as well as common projects of Autonomous Action. Conference is not for discussing organisational documents and principles of Autonomous Action, they are dealt in general meetings which is a superior decision making mechanism of Autonomous Action. Next general meeting will be organised in the summer of 2003 in South of Russia.

Joining Autonomous Action is not a condition to participate to conference. Instead, everyone who agrees with general line of our manifesto (*to find in #5 of AbolishingBB* - red.), and who does not claim that the current Autonomous Action is a harmful project for the libertarian movement is welcome to participate. Harsh criticism against separate points of our activities and program is not a barrier either.

It is first of all up to those willing to come as guests to define if these conditions are fulfilled in their case, but conference may exclude any guests if there is a special need for that. If you are not sure if the conditions are fulfilled in your case, you may contact the Moscow group of Autonomous Action, who is organising the conference, and ask their opinion. However Moscow group has no right to do final decision.

Guests and members of Autonomous Action have equal rights to participate any parts of the program, but guests have no right to vote where at least one member of Autonomous Action so demands.

It is possible that Moscow group of Autonomous Action organises an open seminar or street action in the dates around the conference. Unfortunately yet no decision has been made about this, you may get more current information about plans from our contact addresses. We are also still searching places for conference and party of solidarity. If you are willing to participate, please contact us as early as possible, especially if you need a nightplace.

One should take with oneself dishes, sleeping bag and mattress, food or money for that and something for taking notes. Most likely participants of the conference will have to pay a fee of about 25/euros to cover costs of rent.

First general meeting of Autonomous Action made a resolution against intoxication during conferences and general meetings. Organisational group of the conference has a consensus, that this time following this resolution is a special necessity. Organisational group is responsible about the space, and has no material means to compensate possible damages. In sleeping places, issue of intoxication is to be decided with hosts, but in the space of the conference ban of alcohol and narcotics will remain force also during nights and evenings. Organisational group

has decided, that opened bottles and drugs will be confiscated, and destroyed if there is no other way around. Of course we hope that participants are conscious enough to avoid using such means, and first of all take care themselves about the order in the conference. What is said above about intoxication does not concern the party of solidarity to be organised in the end of the conference.

Contacts of the organisational group of the conference:

e-mail: kuzja@ecoline.ru
u10740@dialog.podolsk.ru
P. O. Box 13

109028 Moscow Russia

(do not write name of the group to envelope. Do not republish address without this note!)

Preliminary program of the conference

Friday 14th of February, 19.00-22.00

1. Organisational questions (discussion about program, selection of note-takers and facilitators, prohibition, food, guests etc.)
2. Reports of delegates about situation and activities in their locations

Saturday 15th of February, 11.00-19.00

1. Discussion about situation in former Soviet Union, strategy and tactics of the anarchist movement today
2. Working groups. This far the following working groups have been proposed:
 - a) Anti-fascism
 - b) Ecological protests
 - c) Labour conflicts (including discussion about development of www.antijob.nn.ru website and its paper version, Radical lazybones)
 - d) Anti-war movement and anti-militarism
 - e) Anti-patriarchalism/anti-sexism/feminism
- 3) Movement against global capitalism and Peoples Global Action-network
- 3) Reports from the working groups

Sunday 16th of February, 11.00-19.00

1. Discussion about journal "Avtonom", redaction, website of Autonomous Action and other publications.
2. Discussion about integration of new members to organisation, symbols of the movement, buttons, t-shirts.
3. Discussion about functions and activities of coordinatory council of the Autonomous Action
4. Propositions for next referendum of the Autonomous Action
5. Summer general meeting of Autonomous Action
6. Party of solidarity (circa 20.00)

Program might be changed in the first day of the conference. If person who proposed a theme may not be present and did not defined theme clearly enough beforehand in written form or explaining it to another delegate, conference may refuse theme due to unclarity.

Propositions from Chelyabinsk group to be added to program:

- 1) Discussion about relations to other anarchist organisations
- 2) Monitoring of revolutionary situation in the regions
- 3) Discussion about founding of a communitarian fraction inside Autonomous Action

Send your propositions to address of the organisational group above.

The Victor Serge Library re-opening

We are pleased to announce that the Victor Serge Library, Moscow's library of alternative socialist and radical thought, is re-opening in spring 2003 in new premises, within the framework of the Moscow city public library system.

The Victor Serge library, named after the socialist writer and fighter against totalitarianism, Victor Serge, aims to acquaint the public with the great wealth of radical and alternative ideas that were forbidden in Soviet times and are hardly heard in present-day Russia, including the many strands of democratic and libertarian socialism which opposed totalitarianism.

The Library was set up in May 1997 by a group of Moscow scholars, journalists and political activists with the support of International Victor Serge Foundation.

Today its unique collection has grown to 4000 books, pamphlets and journals in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish and Italian. It is the only place in Russia where readers can find works written from critical perspectives on social science, Marxism, anarchism, trade-unionism, human rights, environmentalism, and the history of workers and liberation movements in various countries. The Library is thus a unique and invaluable resource for Russian students, academics, activists and young readers who are trying to develop a critical view of the world and thinking about how to change it. The Library is also used as a sort of club where discussions, lectures, seminars and gathering of various left-wing organisations take place. Praxis, the political and publishing group that run the Victor Serge Library, has recently made an agreement with the Moscow public library authority under which its collection of literature (the Victor Serge Memorial Fund) moves from its previous damp, overcrowded premises to the new one, much bigger and with better facilities. We hope that this will provide a new stimulus for the development both of the Library and of Praxis activities.

If you visit Moscow, make sure you go to see the library! Address: City Library no.10, ulitsa Verkhnyaya Khokhlovka 39/47. Telephone: (7)095 278 8156. Note: Verkhnyaya Khokhlovka is a small housing estate and the buildings are not in number order. Number 39/47 is behind number 83. Directions: take the metro to Marksistskaya station (on line no.8, the yellow line, interchange with Taganskaya station on the circle line). Get any bus or taxi/minibus along ulitsa Taganskaya, a main road going south-east, which soon changes its name to ulitsa Nizhegorodskaya. Ask for Khokhlovka, the last stop before the road changes its name again, to Ryazansky prospekt. It is 15 minutes by bus and less than 5 minutes by foot from the bus stop.

Protests ... Actions ... Infos ... Autonomous Activities ...

Belarus

There are some rumours going around that Lukashenko wants refugees in Belarus to head to Poland. There could be many reasons for this: first, it would solve the refugee problem for Belarus a little. But also, probably there are some geopolitical reasons behind this. Lukashenko said something like if we let them all go, then all of Europe would be knocking at our doors asking for our help in the war against illegal immigration. Lukashenko is obviously still sure that he didn't manage to gate-crash at the recent NATO summit in Prague.

According to most estimates, there are at least 150,000 refugees in Belarus - some say the figure can be as high as 200,000. Many are from the former Soviet republics, especially Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan and Turkmenia but also many are from Afghanistan, many are Kurds, many are from Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Laos, Burma, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia.

There are 8 major refugee centers in Belarus: in Minsk, Mogilev, Drybin, Voronovo, Lida, Kleck, Sluck and Pinsk. Apparently, word has gotten out that somehow the Belarussians have decided not to guard their borders after Dec. 15, rather to let them go. In addition, many police, border guards and others are acting as people smugglers, taking money to shelter people now and get them somehow across the border. This service costs between 1000-2000 USD. Apparently, as many as 40,000 people have been observed moving towards camps and houses closer to the border, from where they will be smuggled or will attempt to cross, most likely during X-Mas time when a lot of the Polish border guards will be on holiday. There have been reports of journalists going to one such place in Volkovysk - others are in Swisloz Porozow, Pruzana and Kobryn. Many are expected to try to pass through the Bialowieza primeval forest. How much of this is true is hard to tell but it is quite likely. With the Polish borders being as they are, lots of people are in Belarus looking for any occasion to get to Poland. How the Polish Border Guard is going to react now that these rumours are around we can only guess.

Czechia

Prague: Anarchists against war. Czech parliament has been negotiating about joining the war on the side of United States. Czech politicians have been so pleased by US proposal (request) to reinforce Czech chemical troops in Kuwait and fight against Iraq with US Army. Czech Minister of Defence Tvrdik told to soldiers in public speech: "To die for a good thing is a nice death". Most of Czech people are against the war. Three representatives of Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation came to parliament today with pickets that were saying "Tvrdik, go die for the nice thing in first line!" and "Czech chemists and american petrochemists - hooray against Baghdad". They also distributed leaflets with both political message against the war and capitalism and paradoxical reasons why to fight the war. Corporative medias wanted their sensations so they had announced anarchist representatives as demonstration, so on the place waited lot of police, in the backyard was prepared over 150 cops. By latest news Czech Minister of Defence Tvrdik is not willing to go die in Iraq, but he told to medias that in the case of war he and his family will be in danger of death. Hmm, that's the war, Tvrdik, people are dying there.

Prague's Jewish quarter: nazis didn't come through. Neonazis had planned their march through the old Jewish quarter in Prague. Demo was legal, in application for it was written, that the

demo is for remembering of Holocaust victims (!). In fact nazis had been planning march with torches around synagogues like in thirties. Anarchists and antifascists through all organisations called for blockade of the Nazi march. Our press releases were quoted also in some corporate newspapers. The plan was to block the street in the middle of Jewish quarter near Staronova Synagogue and not let nazis go beyond this point. When Nazi demo started there were slightly over 30 boneheads, in near street were waiting for them about 80 antifas and same number of some Jewish organizations members and common people. Authorities stopped Nazi demo at last minute, what was told by police officer to the antifascist demo. What he hadn't told was the fact that nazis are marching probably after negotiations with police on the opposite side around the city centre. Police instead of stopping their demo - as they act against illegal anarchist demos - gave protection to the nazis including few mounted policemen. So result of the day was that nazis didn't come through Jewish quarter, but police allowed them illegal march through the streets of Prague. Positive fact was that lot of common people joined anti-fa demo, what is quite uncommon here. Only problem was propaganda of Israeli state from few participants on the anti-fa demo.

Poland

About 80 people participated in a demonstration which took place 14.12.2002 in Szczecin. The demo was against government policies, which are anti-social and harmful for workers and poor people. People were shouting some slogans, for example: "Don't tighten your belt - tighten your fist!", "Enough abuse of workers' rights!", "The government should work for 600 zli.", "Starving? Eat the Premier!" A few people made some speeches. The new issue of the "Workers' Initiative" newsletter made by anarchists was distributed. This action aimed at express our solidarity with everybody who strikes and protests, especially with the workers in Ozarow, the nurses from "Rydygier" hospital in Wroclaw and the miners. After half an hour, people marched to the monument to Victims of Martial Law and lit vigil lights. Obviously, although the demo was legalised, the police disturbed us and ID-checked everyone several times, but nobody was arrested. Greetings - Anarchist Federation section Szczecin

News from "DeCentrum" an anarchist squat in Bialystok. Recently the electricity company came and cut energy just before Christmas, so now squatters are forced to pay for it in a legal way. Company also charged owner of the building with abstract amount of money for illegal use of energy, so he is quite angry on squatters now. But there are as well positive developments in a house such as a renovation of another part of building which is opening a new perspective for activities of local community.

Nazis stopped again in Bialystok. During big charity event in Bialystok, there was a festival organized in a centre of city and nazis as usual decided to go there and "clean their city". Of course anti-fascists moved to area to stop nazis. Most of nazis run away, few of them stayed though. After initial confrontation lots of plainclothes cops appeared around so both groups stopped fighting. Then anti-fa patrol moved back, not wanting to get arrested. Despite of fact that they didn't manage to smash nazis this year, they stopped them from causing more trouble and show them again that they are not going to be left alone. Struggle continues !!!

"Autonomist collective" has conducted II Festival of Independent Movies in Torun. The event was organised in "SHELTER B 48" club on December 7. During the show one could see many

local film productions including documentaries, comedies, anarchist etc. all on the big screen. While showing pictures, collection of goods for Tomek Wilkoszewski took place. Tomek is behind the bars since many years, sentenced for incident during which a neonazi died (on the location). One can get information about Tomek's situation as well

As you can see there is not much reports of anarchist activities from Poland here. In fact many anarchist groups from that country were recently strongly involved in supporting the protests of Polish workers from which we are reporting on pages 16 and 17 - Abolishing BB

Romania

N21 anti-NATO actions and its repercussions in Timisoara - fragments of report from Activist-Collective. (...) We produced a poster saying: "Another world is possible! Say NO to wars! Say NO to militarism! Say NO to N.A.T.O." and also we made two diy banners with the messages: "NATO = Mistake" and "Stop NATO!" and a NATO sign thrown in a garbage can. In the evening of 20 November we put the posters around the town of Timisoara in places like: the university campus, center, the cannons in front of the army house, and other places. At the end of the action we decided that in 21 we will put more posters around the town. (...) In the early morning of 21 we put the banners on two major roads. (...) At the next day we hear on all radios talking on news about our posters and banners. After that, in the evening the TV stations started to talk about it and second day in the morning all local and national newspapers had articles about our "anti-NATO" posters. Almost all of these articles had pictures of our posters in it. So, we can say that this gave a real national dimension to our action, because this way people from the rest of the country had the chance to see that posters. Too bad that the banners went down too early and the journalists didn't had the chance to make photos or film it. Another weird thing is it was also a kind of a teaching, that sometimes only when it's the moment a poster action can be successful. For example, we as an Activist-Collective produced these posters for MayDay, and they were put in Timisoara and from what we know comrades in Craiova also stuck some around the town and the impact wasn't the same nobody bothered to look at them, or it wasn't the case yet to be worried by such "narrow minded Eastern" views... The last episode from this Romanian anarchist anti-NATO Shogun, was the investigation. Let's not hurry and see which people we bothered most. Our main enemies for N21 weren't the pigs, they never mattered, cause they never think for themselves, they are the oppressive arm of someone which is somewhere higher in the state hierarchy. The government party PSD (Socialist Democratic Party) also organised some street thing and they looked very pathetic in the eyes of the media, normal people and everyone else. They sent their youth section on the street with Romanian and party flags and some flyers saying "PSD has taken Romania in NATO!". They thought that they solved all the problem by doing this, they will gain some political capital. Oh well, it wasn't at all how they expected. Their youth section were so scary to the people that people (even I) thought they were some street kids who stole that flags somehow, and want to impress us to give them some spare change. So after this pathetic street masquerade they saw that media gives more attention to the people who put the posters they wanted a little revenge. So they put police to start an investigation (which it's a complete crap and has no real reasons to be started) to find the people who put the posters. It was a clear case of

Protests ... Actions ... Infos ...

Autonomous Activities ...

political persecution, because not only that they ripped the posters of the walls (only our posters, commercial posters put next to ours are even today in the same place and they didn't get any fine for illegal posting) but it was a common police-party action, just like in the "old days". It is no secret that the investigation was started at the directions of local PSD leaders (probably friends with the police leaders). Another proof was the civil cops, or PSD people who got from a car, in the evening of 21, and ripped anti-NATO posters from the walls. The glorious final of the tremendous investigation was the catch of 2 suspects, that in the end proved, as the police said, the guilty ones. (...)

We would like to continue the whole thing but, unlike our comrades from Slovenia, we are not prepared for such a big campaign. And the Romanian media and state did a real good job with brainwashing the people, so now it's very hard to bring in a topic like anti-NATO, or anti-EU because you're already marked as a extremist / communist / terrorist ... who wants only the bad of this country and blahblah. They made the people think like in the years of the Cold War, while living in the years 2000. You'll be amazed and scared to see how many people think that this world is about the competition between Russia and USA. They have the "old" people think like in the 60's about this "cold war" and the "young" ones preoccupied only by parties and capitalist/consumerist/ignorant way of life and the rest are a few "in love with" capitalists busy with their shitty office jobs and happy that they finally are a part of the freedom capitalist system.

(...) At this day, kids were let out of school, workers starting spontan pro-NATO protests (!!!?), people dancing national dances in national costumes (you know, the whole tragedy...), all politicians launching pro-NATO communiques (even right-wing ones), etc. In the end it was a sad day. Why should we be happy that 22 millions people accepted happy that Romania will enter sometime NATO, or didn't express their point of view if they were against this. This report is more like a personal/inside revelation of the things here (...). This is not a political statement! Activist Collective

Russia

Moscow anti-war demo 12th of December.

Some 400 persons marched in Moscow 12th of December from Noviy Arbat to Pushkin square, among them 40-50 anarchists from all anarchist collectives of Moscow. This was second mostbiggest anti-war demonstration in Moscow since the beginning of the Second Chechen campaign, and first one with any significance since the autumn of 2000. Liberals picked up the day because it is the day of constitution, and also marks the beginning of the first Chechen campaign 1994 (in order to bring "constitutional order to Chechnya", so liberals are not too consistent here). Anarchists don't care about the constitution, they were celebrating 160th birthday of Kropotkin instead (it was actually 9th of December, but having less than 4 days of partying makes no sense for someone with such a beard).

After hostage crisis in Moscow. The hostage crisis in Moscow has put the war back to frame and more and more people are discontent with the government policy, however there are also streams in society pushing for more harder line in Chechnya, so opposition to present kind of war (situation of "no-war", where political power mostly lies to claim that there is no any war and situation in Chechnya is under control) is growing from both directions, and it is unclear to which direction the society in general will be moving. But at least

the slight activation and growing legitimacy crisis of power has already had positive impact to activity and numbers of anarchist movement in Moscow.

Subversion through education. Printhouse Avanta+ in Moscow published part 1 of "Society" series of "Encyclopedy for children and youth". First printout is 60 000, and in few years distribution may reach 500 000. More than half of the book, including parts dealing with birth of the state and political ideologies is written by anarchists Petya Ryabov, Vadim Damer and Misha Magid. In Moscow only some 400 schools use the book.

Antifascist activist brutally beaten in Moscow. In the end of November one of the main antifascists of Moscow was brutally beaten in the stairs of his home building. He succeeded hitting one nazi to face with a knife, but since that he lost 3 teeth and got his head seriously hurt, and it is not clear when he will finally leave hospital. What is interesting is how nazis picked the guy up, since Moscow is a very big city, and the guy does not visit his place regularly. It may be just a bad luck, but also in middle of November there was a rumour in anti-fascist circles that "Angry youth" nazi group, which is close to OB 88 which is the most notorious nazi gang in Moscow, had got a list of anti-fascist addresses from the police or FSB. There may not be another source, since some people in this list have conspired addresses, and the assaulted was in this list. In Krasnodar it is 100% sure that nazis were given such a list about local membership of Autonomous Action.

"Situation with nazis has become intolerable". Militants of Autonomous Action from Krasnodar wrote 17th of November that situation with nazis has become intolerable - last drop was declared "cleaning the city from faggots and reds" - action 17th of November when 30 nazis targeted meeting place of anarchists (not getting there on time). There was also a bomb attack against Armenian church in Krasnodar earlier in November. Anarchists declare to make the record straight. Some of local hippies, Adygians and Armenians are expected to join.

Slovenia

The end of court process between AC molotov and its owner ! This new year we celebrate the anniversary of Autonomia Contra Molotov (squat in Ljubljana), but unfortunately the last one. We sign the contract with the owner Slovenian Railway Company we will leave the house till 7.11.03. We had no other chance but to sign the contract, because the NGO, which is paying for the lawyer and court expenses is giving money until new year. If we would defend ourselves alone on the court, we will not only loose, but would have to pay enormous court expenses. And not to mention that the lawyer is looking just for money and doesn't even answer the phone for us. We made a big mistake when we took the legal way of defense. We did this because the house is one-floor and it's very hard to physically defend it. And it was first real eviction for us. Now, we will take care that the house could be defended without messing up with legal process - giving out our names, money etc. We hope we will leave AC Molotov after winter. We made a deal they instalate water on their own expenses 28.2.03. We are hoping to get something new from the city (the new mayor was now voted), if not we will do it on illegal way as we did for now. We have lots of inner problems and pressure from outside in ACM. The place itself is very hard to control and because it's popularity and winter, more and more people come everyday wanting to move in. We still have some empty rooms, so it's very hard to explain to some of them, we don't want more people, because we have enough problems. Most of these people are junkies or alcoholics. In

general, the people in the house are divided on two parts: the ones who want the squat to be organized, active and collective to be working, and the ones who use squat as a place to party in and don't care about community- and activities. Then, there is pressure from the media and public. Journalists are using the name Molotov on every step: as a name for alternative movement, punk image, antiglobalist organizations etc. State named AC Molotov as a terrorist organization - it was on the list, which was made for protests in Firenze, Italy. Some activists protested in front of Italian embassy, explaining that Molotov is nothing else but a squatted place, location, which some groups use for their activities, but has nothing to do with organization, especially not terrorist! After big "bum" in media in the summer, Molotov now lost its popularity. Lots of people of course still support it, but lots of them also found out that Molotov is a bunch of young punk kids, who are bagging money, drinking and stealing. Unfortunately, these people are living in a squat, but there are also lots of people who really want squat to be a place of alternative culture, not drinking culture. After long conflicts between us, we decided to separate and to squat more houses. We can still be friends, but can't live all together. We hope to move in another house after winter (march/april), if not, we still have possibility not to move out at 7.11.03, using the court again - writing complaints etc. Or we see us again on the next eviction next summer! More info: www.acmolotov.org

Turkey

Anti-War demonstration in Istanbul. There were two "black" groups in the anti-war demo organized in Istanbul at 1st of December: one heterogeneous group which was a coalition of anarchists from Istanbul and elsewhere; and in addition current **Ozgur Hayat** (former AGF) group which is isolated by anarchist & anti-militarist groups because of their violent acts against anarchists. OH group was carrying black-red, black-green flags and 4-5 banners. They did not seem so much different from the leftist groups with their style of walking which showed them to look more crowded in definite rows and in "order" remaining some space among; only difference was their color-black. **Bogazici Autonom** group was also walking with them. The anarchist cortege which was formed by anarchists not only from Istanbul also with participation from **Ankara, Bolu, Usak, Sakarya, Kocaeli and Antalya** carried two banners (on one of them: "We'll not be soldiers of anyone") and black, black-red, black-purple flags. Although it was not so cheerful as it was expected, in number the crowd looked better than the previous demos. According to some of the leftists' comments anarchists seemed more "massive" in relation to the past. As comrades from Greece told there were about 300 people in total (150 for both) in two separate groups.

Anti-war demo in Ankara. Political parties/groups and students have participated in anti-war demo on 22 December in Ankara-Abdi pekci Park. Most of the crowd - which was less than 5000 - were young people. 40 anarchists were carrying black, black-red flags and a banner "WE WON'T BE APART OF IT!" (meaning the war). We had distributed 750 leaflets of our own anti-war manifest (titled "Perfect World") and some slogans were "Anarchist Rebel Against the War", "Land Commun Freedom Love Liberty" and in addition "to support" the other groups which were shouting their slogan of "We won't be soldier of US", we shouted "We won't be soldier of anyone". The demo which was fully under the control of the cops finished without any "event".

WORKERS PROTESTS HAVE RISEN IN POLAND

What is going on in Ozarów?

Ozarów is a small city near Warsaw, known for its factory of cables and in last months also for continuous riots. Factory had worked without any problems (a lot of orders, good financial position, work on three shifts) as long as Tele-Fonika bought it. The new owner - B. Ciupal, from day to day dismissed all crew and stopped the production. The official reason why the factory should be closed was that marketplace of the telephonic cables broke down. The owner made nothing of the workers who could produce every kind of cables (not only telephonic), had a new technology, good machines and had fulfilled every order. No negotiation with the workers had been made. That's shows how owner of Tele-Fonika who has monopoly in the polish marketplace treats people working for him. All industrial machines are going to be carried out, a ground belonging to Tele-Fonika is for sell. Nobody cares that the factory gave cost of life for the great majority of the families from Ozarów and from a neighbourhood. Workmen have only one postulate (demand) - the factory should work again. From the very beginning the workers took into consideration every possible solution: selling the factory to different owner who would open it, taking over the plant by the workers. All possible legal ways of showing their helplessness were used - demonstrations, marches etc. It's not a secret that the owner of Tele-Fonika, who became rich during policy transformation in 1989, has support of the local financial and political elite. That's why all activities going to opening the factory are finished with debacle. A great number of members of this elite and plant's administration wanted to close the factory as quickly as possible. Factory was closed by ruthless capitalist scum Bogusław Ciupal (owner of two similar factories in Poland). Ciupal bought factory in Ozarów not a long time ago and according to the rules of "free market" he closed this one, despite of his promises that he will not do it. By this way his other factories can increase profits. Workers of the Ozarów-factory starts strike, occupying their factory. Ciupal and the local elites had believed that the protest would have weakened very quickly. But people from factory had other plans. They didn't want to surrender and accept few alternative jobs proposed by Tele-Fonika (company of Ciupal). The very long period of occupation of factory starts.

Authorities strike back with whole brutality!

After 219 days of occupation and talks with company and government, on 26th of November few buses full of security guards from IMPEL SECURITY came during a night and attacked protesting workers, and after few minutes of intense resistance throw them out of factory. At least few people were injured and taken to hospital. Security guards were drunk and extremely brutal, spraying CS gas on old women and beating up everyone around. Cops just stood and watched and when some workers started attacking security guards, police entered action and arrested some workers. Under <http://www.fko.pwpl/> you can check photos on a right side of the web site on link "galeria". Protest entered its first militant phase - workers were blocking highway and some skirmishes with police erupted. Company started taking cables and equipment out of factory with TIR trucks and workers each time tried to block it, but were stopped from that by presence of 600-700 riot cops with watercannon who pushed workers from the road and attacked and arrested most aggressive ones.

Anarchists joining workers.

In next days protesters were joined by small groups of anarchists coming from all over country. We brought new quality into action. First of all, workers were moved by our solidarity and we received all their hospitality and help we could imagine in such a serious situation. Soon we started harassing security guards in more organized way and they started living in state of permanent siege, hiding inside factory behind barricades they built to be protected from us. All day and night they were attacked by black bloc, workers and small group of local hoodlums (who at the end became almost anarchists) with heavy firecrackers, rockets, smoke bombs, molotovs, stones, metal projectiles shot from slingshots. Crew of security guards operating water cannon from one of the windows was teargassed when they stopped shooting water for a moment and had to withdraw to upper level. Especially guards with cameras were continuously harassed and had to hide all the time. Also cops faced more resistance than usual with firecrackers and molotovs being thrown on them. Press officer of Tele-Fonika, lying bastard Jurczyski said, that they were faced with "professional group of rioters". Lots of workers were amazed by our way of fighting. Anarchist also participated in ambushes on TIR trucks leaving factory, which were attacked by water through the city. Together about 40 trucks were damaged, with broken windshields, mirrors, punctured tyres and other damages. New negotiations with workers started, but government is willing to talk only after over a week of heavy riots. Class war is still raging and direct action proves to be working. People from Ozarów are very determined, although at the same time quite desperate and all signs of solidarity are important for them. Anarchists are still present on blockades and on next weekend more of us are heading to Ozarów to express our solidarity with striking workers.

Struggle continues More anarchists arriving in Ozarów.

In the middle of December Anarchists from Workers' Initiative arrived in Ozarów from cities of Łódź, Warsaw, Poznań and Szczecin trying to lend some support to the camp at the factory. The weather was freezing - at least 20 below zero but workers found a nice way to take advantage of it; they keep pouring water on the roads to make too much ice near the factory so that trucks can't get near it. The factory didn't manage to get out all its equipment and send it elsewhere since the trucks sent last week were met with molotov

cocktails and the like. Of course, after beating the crap out of workers, they did manage to take some of the equipment away.

Unions and the workers in direct action

One thing that is a little funny (or maybe sad) about some of the workers in Ozarów (and this may be typical of some non-politicized workers) is that some of them don't believe that the authorities could possibly charge them with anything, because "it's the cops and the security guards who beat us and will get punished". We are usually under the assumption that after such clashes, people at least get big fines. So really it turns out that the unions are not good at making people aware of how to behave when at a protest or even aware of what the consequences of direct actions

OZAROW CITY IN REVOLT!

could be. There are plenty of video tapes of workers throwing molotovs without their faces covered or anything but somehow there are people who think nothing will come of it. We're not so sure. The unions are always interested in behaving like sheep and negotiating with the government - it doesn't give advice on actions or how to organize yourself. A woman from Poznań who has been very active in this protest pointed out a few ways that we've helped or can help that the unions wouldn't think of. For example, organizing a press conference for the rank and file. The union people normally talk for the workers and the rank and file protesters it turned out had no idea how to contact the media.

Dreaming of a general strike.

Some of workers have talked about how they were dreaming of a general strike, how it would be the only thing to help... but that there's no chance of it happening. Well, there are plenty of strikes going on all around the country... the biggest problems are the capitalist propaganda and lack of imagination www.workers-initiative-poland.pwpl

ABC groups assistance needed

About 50 people were arrested so far. All of them are free now but they may face fines or other prison sentences. At least 40 people are charged with various offences, among them 3 anarchists. These are mostly misdemeanour charges of public disorder, destruction of property etc. 3 anarchists were also forbidden by police from the area, but breached that and managed to sneak into camp of strikers. Seems that workers will need assistance of ABC groups very soon. The protest has been going on for months while these workers have no income. Most of them cannot afford attorneys. So we are calling on comrades to help financially. Now, in this hard and decisive moments workers of Ozarów really need a strong support from all of us from outside. Every help is important - it will show that their struggle is not isolated.

We are collecting money through the Anarchist Black Cross. Funds, with a note "for Ozarów" can be sent to PEKAO BP XX oddział poznański ul. Rynek 44 61722 poznań poland

swift code: bpkplwpwao

for USD: 10204085-5999100-270-44787; owner: marek piekarski

The middle of January - not very much has changed in Ozarów.

Anarchists supported workers with buying coal. The situation on the 28th day of the protest (all this time the workers were blocking the entrance to the factory - lowest temperature during this time was minus 26 degrees) is that another gate has been opened by the security guards and trucks with fuel were able to get inside with supplies of fuel for the lifters used to disassemble machines in the factory. This means that another blockade had to be established there, which is difficult given the small number of people who still have energy to protest. However no new trucks with equipment have left the factory since early December. But the new owner of the factory has achieved what he wanted: the factory stopped manufacturing cable, and his corporation has got rid of competition.

A special economic zone in Ozarów?

The protesters are now trying to establish a workers' company for which they demand financial guarantees from the city Ozarów. If this succeeds they want to demand that the minister of industry gives them back part of the factory so that they can resume production. So far the only thing the government has promised is to create a special economic zone in Ozarów (this is forbidden under regulations imposed by EU, so they have to find some tricky way creating a sub-zone of an already existing one). In the opinion of workers this will be worthless because there is no talk of any production of cable in this future zone.

No new job for one who can fight for his/her right!!

Ex-workers find it impossible to find other jobs. Most of them are over 40 years old, which means nobody wants to employ them. Usually when they say "I'm from Ozarów" the interview is over. The employers don't want someone who can fight for their rights. The material situation of ex-workers is getting desperate. During the last weeks, miner trade unions have signed agreements to close more coal mines in Silesia. Ozarów people counted on solidarity campaign together with miners but nothing much came out of it. At the moment workers in Ozarów express disbelief how it's possible that the government is creating the conditions for a total collapse of the entire country's economy. The situation is becoming very depressive, because even though the struggle in Ozarów has a big significance as a symbol and example for future struggles, it is rather unlikely that the cable workers will gain anything for themselves from this. It might work as a threat forcing other employers for more respect for workers, maybe in the way that the threat of communism forced better social standards in western europe. But those living under communism hardly profited from that...

date the facility. According to clerks, the hospital, employing a few hundred people, is out of date and not profitable. Despite the fact that this decision was revoked by Main

Review Court (NSA), the workers haven't got salaries since September 2002. (only recently they've got

money for September and October.) Actually until now nobody has criticised the quality of "Rydygier's" hospital work and it seems to be clear that problems are caused by the activities of the authorities and by the bad system of Medical Care. From the beginning, the protest has arisen without any formal workers organisation, instead coopera-

HOSPITAL PROTEST IN WROCLAW

In the past few months, workers protests have risen in Poland. They mainly concern the negative effects of privatization and the worsening economic conditions in Poland.

Last year, the threat of the liquidation of the Shipyard in Szczecin forced workers to take to the streets in Szczecin and Poznań.

Miners from Upper Silesia are on strike alert. Recently, loud workers protests appeared in Ozarów near Warsaw. In Wrocław you can observe a dramatic struggle for the survival of one of the main hospitals in the city. The protest of the workers of the "Rydygier" Hospital has lasted since October 2001, when the local authorities decided to liqui-

ting with local anarchist and squatters' groups. People established the Komitet Obrony Szpitala (Committee to Defend the Hospital), which was made up of mainly women - doctors and nurses. Thanks to that (i.e. informal structure) the workers expressed their protest in various interesting forms, among others:

- * since the beginning of November there is a hunger strike;
- * 20 workers have given up the Polish citizenship (they gave away their passports);
- * "Rydygier" asked for asylum in Holland and in Germany (by the way - this funny symbolic action has been taken very seriously by the German consul, who offered Rydygier workers jobs in Germany);
- * workers walk down the streets in the center as beggars, collecting "money for life" from the pedestrians;
- * "Rydygier" organised a "funeral march for Medical Care".

15th of November, during the visit of the Polish and German presidents in Wrocław, the workers made a blockade of one of the main streets in the city. Police took brutal action, beating and detaining people irrespective of age and sex. Many people, who just passed by, joined the demonstration and many of them were also beaten. The demands for payment of the money and for retaining their jobs were transformed into more radical ones. The workers have begun to demand the maintenance of the hospital and general changes in the system of its management. Committee K.O.S. made their own project of restructuring of the facility. It assumed - among others - liquidation of the institution of director (which is in fact delegated by the authorities) and establishing a council of representatives of sections. Such demands can't be really realised in the present system of Medical Care and it requires more general changes (which would require the next ones, etc.). The authorities are unrelenting in negotiations with "Rydygier". Now they are using some kind of blackmail: either "Rydygier" will allow the liquidation and a part of workers will get jobs somewhere else or authorities will lead the facility to bankruptcy. The members of K.O.S. were told that they will have problems finding jobs. K.O.S. is also hard and doesn't want even to listen about the liquidation. But - they have less and less power and they definitely need a trump card in negotiations. Such a trump card would be the solidarity of other facilities. Unfortunately the authorities have a good

strategy in this case: they told the workers from other hospitals (many of whom also have problems) that eg. "either we will pay salaries for Rydygier or some usual additional salary (the 13th for you)", "Rydygier" is presented as a "living corpse", as ballast for the Medical Care in Wrocław. The other workers (from factories etc.) - despite a big campaign for solidarity with Rydygier - don't want to be really engaged in the case and even to publicly express some support. The only support, which Rydygier got, comes from the hospital's neighbourhood, which is a poor and neglected district. Its inhabitants - among others - actively supported "Rydygier" during the brutal police action on 15th of November; children from the nearby school collected money for the striking people, neighbours took part in every demonstration by Rydygier. As we mentioned above, since the middle of November local anarchist and squatters groups, actively participate in the protests and are helping K.O.S. in technical matters (eg. in an organisation of demonstrations) and also giving other support. Police tried to accuse anarchists of bringing out riots during blockade on 15th to excuse their brutal action. K.O.S. definitely interceded for the anarchists and their cooperation has developed since that time. Now the protesting workers strongly need all the support they can get - also from foreign groups, organisations and trade unions. If you can organise some small demo near a Polish embassy or something like this (you can join this case with the case of Ozarów) - it would be great. But it is enough just to send a protest letter to the local authorities and Polish Prime Minister and - what is also important - a few warm words to the brave women from K.O.S. Below you can find the proper addresses and some links.

Photos from the protests: <http://galena.porostu.pl/szpitalna/>; <http://www1.gazeta.pl/wroclaw/5,35767,1130015.html>; <http://www.rmf.fm/wiadomosci/foto.html>

ADDRESSES, WHERE YOU CAN SEND YOUR PROTESTS:

Chancellery of the Prime Minister; fax: 022/ 628 68 46; email: leszek.miller@miller.pl; tel: (+48-22) 841-38-32; (+48-22) 694-69-83 Local authorities: Urząd Marszałkowski Woj. Dolnośląskiego; malgorzata.skorka@umwd.pl; tel: (+48-71) 374-90-00 THE ADDRESS OF K.O.S.: tel: (+48-71) 329-91-77; fax: 380 1420; fax: (+48-71) 328-88-67; address: K.O.S. Komitet Obrony Szpitala im. L. Rydygiera; ul. L. Rydygiera 22/28; 50-248 Wrocław; POLAND; e-mail: kos-rydygier@go2.pl

What was the first reaction of workers and whole local community after the decision to close the factory? What form of protest did they choose at beginning and how it was developing during next months?

Telefonic didn't even try to communicate with the workers, they just closed the factory and announced that the equipment would be taken out. In such situation people decided about the blockade of the main entrance gate. Most of the protesters are the inhabitants of Ozarów so they have a full local support, even local police promised not to inter-

ference against them (but they did...). The non-stop occupation started. Living in the 2 army tents, people believed they would save their place of work. The next months without an agreement caused that the protesters marched into the capital. People counted specially on the support of the NZSS "Solidarność" - one of the two biggest polish trade unions. Unfortunately their help appeared to be insufficient so the protesters decided to create their own organization. With the crew from the other falling plants (for example: shipyard from Szczecin or Cegielski's factory from Poznań) they put on Polish Protest Committee (OKP) - the new and important branch in the country trade movement. The chair of OKP became the leader of the protesters from Ozarów.

How all this what is happening in Ozarów was commented among polish society and by the media. From where did workers got most support?

Initially, media commented the whole protest in a reliable and factual way. It wasn't a case to ignore as an Ozarów is not the only place where polish industrie has such problems. Later, with the radicalization of moods, reporters started to present events as a hooliganism led to riot, and people as a dreamers without any realism.

Much more help protesters got from the local community, which brought them food and essentials. I don't know exactly how the help from the trade unions, before creating OKP, looked like but I would like to say that we - as an anarchists - appeared there already in the first weeks of the protest. At these days during a long talks we propose them a very wide (as for our possibilities) offer of cooperation but our offer was turned down after few hours of discussion. We are still not sure if the reason was that our movement

seems to them still too radical in this time, or they were just forced to refuse contacts with us by the "Solidarność" union (which at the beginning was still signing the protest). It is very possible that any important person from "Solidarność" said them: "It is your choice - or you deal with us or with these anarchists..." So, as we think that there is non-sense to support someone which don't want it, we stay for a while on the side of the events. But not for long...

INTERVIEW WITH MEMEBER OF ANARCHIST FEDERATION (FA-WARSAW) ABOUT SITUATION IN OZAROW

How it is happen that you finally join the protest and played there a very important role. What was a reaction of people in Ozarów seeing anarchist from all around the country coming to join them?

So the situation have changed when anarchists from Poznań and Szczecin started to work in OKP structures. First of all we could appoint on them. But to first real closer contact came after the pacification made by private security firm on November '02. About 4:30 am this firm attacked in very aggressive way people which were blocking the entry of factory. Security went there and took with the force the factory building. Police was supporting the security during a fight against the workers. Their protest was legal! After this actions workers from Ozarów call everyone to come and support them and immediately more anarchists (from Poznań, Szczecin, Białystok, Łódź, Warsaw) arrived in Ozarów. People were fighting to stop truck transport with stones, firecrackers, Molotov cocktails etc. But there was too much of police, so the workers enthusiasm was falling down from day to day. So at the third day of almost non-stop confrontation most of those which still were throwing the stones were anarchists.

What came out as a result of mixture of local workers world outlook, their anger and anarchist ideas?

It's hard to say, because many anarchists decided to focus on helping people with direct actions and not to tell them about their point of view. They were talking with them of course, but they were also politics from catholic-national front with their rhetoric, there were trockists with their newspapers. So maybe at the end, I would risk a statement, that among all these groups anarchists the least obtrude workers with their views. But on the other side, when we first went to Ozarów,

one of the person want us not to tell people that we are anarchists 'cause he couldn't be sure how people will react on it. Now I saw a scene when someone from us gave protesters few packs of tea and coffee and someone ask: "From who it comes from?", "It's from an anarchists" the answer was, "Oh God, let all the people would be like these anarchists!" the woman said.

How do you see this what is happening in Ozarów in perspective of general changes in Poland?

In Poland there is a bigger crisis now - it's even more of the incapacity of the system, more people are living in really bad

situation and this has to be verificate by this people. Maybe one day we will see the riot acts like in 1980 when the solidarity movement was born. I see on every step more dissatisfaction for the capitalism, politic structures and official propaganda of media. The question is if we could take this dissatisfaction to rebel level against politic and economic authority or people like f.e. Lepper (harismatic leader of polish farmers known from his radical criticism of EU politics from extremely right position) will allowed to use this frustration for his aims.

Could we risk a statement that resistance against capitalistic regime is growing and becoming more radical among polish communities?

Such a statement is not a big risk. It is enough to have a look on any TV news. On the contrary, not always people which protest take as an aim capitalism itself. It is changing, that's true, but still often government gives people just "a cake" and the resistance is breaking. But we are witnessing now an interesting moment in which the government often don't have any more "cakes" to give away...

What kind of repression are using the authorities to suppress such a protests?

Usually this is a police stick, but the fact is that when they are in a bigger demos with 10.000 workers on the street, police is fighting to use violence, 'cause they know that this game is not about another 200 zł per month. People are going on the streets more determinate and they know why they are in this place, even when they use violence they understand why they are doing this. It's not a blind aggression - what usually the media says. This people know why they are fighting with the police - it's a really big change. Another form of repression is an economic pressure. It's about conditions of existence in country. Why not so many

people arrived to join their comrades from Ozarow? Because or they are working on conditions were they are not allowed to take 2-3 free from work, or they don't have a job so they are too poor could move from their home! The subsidy is in Poland minimal and fear of losing a job is incredible strong. It's a very stressful situation typical for many Polish institutions. It seems that it can not go this way much longer and something must happen. It has to fuck up someday, I think!

Do you see any chances for influence such a communities like this one in Ozarow with more libertarian ... well ... maybe even anarchist ideas?

I think that they have changed their mentality. When someone is disappointed with state authority (prime minister, president), private businesses and police, well ... this person is on a good way to negate the whole system. The question is if does he/she will continue go on this way. I can't answer on this now.

How the situation looks like today and what are the plans of the protesters? How do you (anarchist groups) see your participation in this process in the next future? At these days it should get more clear what will happen with the workers from Ozarow factory. If they will they get a consent for creation of their own company, which could be on preference conditions with local authorities. Company could take back the whole factory with the buildings. The problem is that Ciupal prefer to keep the machines not-working (and getting spoilt) than give it to the concurrent firm (which would be a workers company). He announced, that he agree to sell the place back to the government but there is no way to create brand new cable fabric. But the workers don't want to hear about another solution. They are very high-qualified workers in their profession and now it could be the situation that their factory will be changed into, let's say "Cheaps factory" and what then: they have to peel the potatoes for rest of their lives? From economic point of view this factory could exist very well on market and that's why Mr. Ciupal don't want to say "yes" for a new opening.

At the moment our role, as an anarchists from Warsaw and around, is based on financial help and irregular meetings with people from Ozarow. We are planning to realize new ideas f.e. to cut together, from many hours of interviews, about one-hour long movie about history of a struggle in Ozarow and translated into different languages. We managed to give them fuel to keep their tents warm, now we try to get some more. Well, basically very prozaic sort of support ... We've got as well some more far-reaching plans but it's too early to speak about it. Do you believe that Ozarow-events have changed anything in "Polish reality"? Ozarow for sure become a kind of a symbol of a resistance in that country. Maybe there are now just a few people left staying at the factory gates but they are still there - in a deepest frozen weather. They are changing themselves and what is most important - they are good effective in what they are doing. Their legend went so far that when any bosses are hearing that the candidate for a job was working in cable factory in Ozarow they don't want to speak with him/her because they are afraid of people which can fight for their employment and which are so consciousness about their rights. That's what told me people from Ozarow personally. And what is interesting, they didn't said that with sadness, but with kind of a proud in their voices ...

A B C ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

ABC BELARUS

Solidarity campaign with Stas

In the night 7/8 September 2002 anarchist journalist and singer of punk-band Stas Pochobut was attacked and severely injured by the police in Grodno (town in Belarus very close to Polish border). Despite of an ambiguous facts, which could be confirmed by witnesses of this attack, state persecutor of responsible district in Grodno refused to open a case against policemen Valeriy Shpakevitch which was main "actor" of this event. Yet, state persecutor contacted local Ministry of Interior with request to prove ability of named cop to follow his duties. Police headquarters declared "maintenance of order" for their top priority, so - Shpakevitch got simply reprimended. Stas filled an complaint at local Administration of Internal Affairs, which suppose to deal with that in next days. Group "Razam!" and internet news-portal "Pagonia" started fax campaign to support Stas. Anybody can help through sending following text at number: 00375-152-79 73 72. Original text can be found at: <http://razam.by.ru>

"To Chief of Ministry of Interior in Grodno Belashevskiy A.A.
In the night 7/8 September 2002 in Grodno, musician and journalist Stas Pochobut been severely injured by Valeriy

Shpakevitch, member of militia. Stas got brain concussion, his cheekbone been broken and several other injuries occurred. Facial operation was necessary. Despite of a fact, that state persecutor of Lenin district in Grodno requested for proving ability of Shpakevitch to follow his duties, only reprimend was given to him.

I demand from you to take appropriately hard measures against your staff member Valeriy Shpakevitch considering his deeds from 7/8 September 2002.

Date, signature
Questions to:
A. Siewier
00375-152-33 46 46
Grodno
e-mail: kds-razam@tut.by

ABC ACK POLAND

While struggle against fascist militants continues in the city of Bialystok, authorities are responding with repression against anarchists and anti-fascists. Recently three trials against anarchist and anti-fascist militants here were finished:

Rufik sentenced to 2 years

Rufik, young anti-fascist charged for alleged assault with dangerous item (although he participated in many actions against nazis, in this particular one he wasn't even present, but still he had to spend 4 months in jail) was sentenced to 2 years with 4 years probation period. Despite of proofs of his "crime" being almost non existent and

all witnesses not recognizing him, he got sentenced. This is continuation of harassment Rufik received from authorities due to his involvement in militant actions.

Ciamajda sentenced

In another case Ciamajda, anarchist and anti-fascist was charged for assault and robbery after he took part in attack on group of nazi skinheads in the centre of city. He admitted his guilt (he was caught almost "red handed") and received sentence of 10 months in 3 years probation time.

Lapa is facing another prison sentence!

Lapa's case is the most serious one from all cases related currently to anarchist spectrum in Bialystok. Lapa is anarchist skinhead from Bialystok. After 4 trials and lots of money being spend in his defence, Lapa was finally sentenced to one year in prison for his involvement in heavy street fight with nazis, which resulted in one nazi having seriously damaged eye. Lapa was charged for grievous body harm. Due to good defence (and very expensive one as well!) he received smallest sentence from ones possible, because he could end up with 10 years. He still has one sentence in probation for another case of assault on nazis. He has another trial together with 4 other anti-fascist for alleged assault on a singer of nazi band. He appealed his sentence and he is still free although he can end up in prison any time ...

A N A R C H I S T B L A C K C R O S S

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSSES

Prisons, state violence and anarchism

text based on situation in Serbian prisons ... but not only - by Rebel Mouse

"Prison is a weapon used by the state to crash individuals who step out of line"

Michael Collins,
former Mayday 2000 prisoner.

Prisons are existing from past (a long while ago), just like authority of man over man. Prisons are created by individuals who robbed ordinary people i.e. took money from work of other people & then the same money lent to those people from whom they grabbed it. As the honest people, cause of little wages they were getting for their work it is obviously that they must one day borrow it. Working and working for a piece of bread, workers never got enough good wage in order to have possibility to give a debt back. So they were falling in indebted slavery and whole life work for some bosses (same procedure is still working today). Many finished in private prisons locked by the richies who believe that they'll get money in that way. Later, state made laws which protect these robbing of property by idiots, punished and send in prisons all who took money from richies. All the time, state was protecting rich thieves 'cause thieves always represented this criminal organisation. Instead of many of thieves, now bigger thief - state, is finishing dirty job i.e. exploitation is institutionalised, transformed into impersonality, so people harder understand where to guide their anger. From slavery, then feudalism and capitalism, to communism, the state i.e. richies are exploiting poor people. Through history we are seeing that state is, whatever kind of it, always exploited ordinary people (richies use us to depose rivals - so every revolution was authoritarian i.e. cheat & therefore nothing is changed for poor). If any person was rebellious, that person always finished in the prison. Authorities always believed that they'll remove their problem if they isolate such kind of people. Of course, they never succeeded in it, 'cause the problem is not in individuals but in the state that with its repressive system and with injustice distribution of goods, surely create new fighters for freedom. From Spartak till today's anarchists.

I would like to mention that with abolishing of prison, the same case is with state and its services also, we can make big savings of money that could be spent for food for poor. Only in USA, it's spending \$ 600 million for building of one prison. It is intelligible that with abolishing of the state and with anarchistic distribution of goods, crimes will disappear based on self-interest, or it will be very rare, so society will be able to solve that (without prisons machinery). In order to come to this moment, we must at first to explain as more as it's possible about anarchism, and it is for example the fact that prisons will exist so long as there will exist economic inequality and domination of privileged people. I'm calling all people who have interest, and they are first of all poor, to take back everything what richies grabbed from us & to destroy their creations - PRISONS!

Beside it, the state is exploiting prisoners with help of capitalists i.e.

they make together contracts about economic exploitation of prisoners. Privileged firms are getting privileges, through corruption, that prison's administration push prisoners to produce products, which are ordered by capitalists, who give fewer wages for their work than others, have to pay workers outside of prisons. So system of prisoners, with the others, instigate corruption, widen privileges of these privileged class of exploiters, extend possibility of exploitation which corporally and psychic kill prisoners, etc. So, people who didn't accept to be exploited & decided to attack states and richies, again through repression finish in the prison where idiots imposed them, against their wish, discipline, exploitation, etc. So capitalists are seeing in prisons cheap workers who will give them possibility to turn money easily and fast, as always - with help by state. I think that logic consequence of this situation is that richies appeal at political elites to raise the punishments in order to make bigger number of prisoners i.e. number of cheap workers.

That's done now in Serbia: Ministry of justice gave proposal in parliament, to enlarge punishments in Serbia, so now if somebody is killed punishment is up to 40 years (OF SERBIAN PRISON!) and before it was 20. From this I can conclude that nothing should stop poor to take back what richies stole from us - PROFIT OF OUR WORK. Destroy richies!

On my sorry, until the anarchistic revolution will happen, in which all richies will disappear (not corporally), we must satisfy us with individual attacks (fights) against them. Everybody must understand: EITHER THEY OR WE! Class of exploiters and class of exploited cannot or to negotiate nor to make peace! There is no middle solution. Richies are using police forces, secret agency, jurisdiction, prisons, etc. but nothing will help them. Injustice's system itself 'produces' always new and new rebels (revolutionaries) and it is just a question of moment, when it will be born new fight for justice. JUSTICE in which all people will live normally and not only individuals. These are some of reasons why anarchists are fighting against existence of prisons. No reforms but ABOLISHING OF PRISONS.

With regard to situation in Serbia, prisons are here the worst after Turkish, Bulgarian and Albanian ones. Here are about 5200 prisoners in 28 prisons. From it, 3 are for prisoners who were sentenced for more than 1 year (Sremska Mitrovica, Pozarevac, Nis), one prison's hospital, one women's prison, one for minors (children), 4 opened sites (Sombor, Padinska Skela, Sabac, Cuprija) and others are regional ones, for people who get punishment less than 1 year. Administration i.e. State, is exploiting them on prison's land and workshops, offering them wage which about 20-60% from wages which are usual for the same job outside. In fact, prisoners get 30% of it, as 70% stay like deposit, which they get when they go out from prison. It means, if somebody work like metal planer in the prison, the administration pay him/her 20% from 70 Euro (that's how much is average wage out of the prison), it means 15 Euro & when we add the fact that

they get 30% but not 100%, it means that person get 4 Euro for whole month of work. Horrible. I don't need to speak about work's protection ...

System of discipline, which is ruling inside is killing human's personality. Privileged get more power inside 'cause they turn money with help of prison's guard, i.e. they sell drugs. Kristijan Golubovic (serbian well-known gangster) boasted that he turns 15000 Euro monthly from prison in Greece & director takes care that he get hotel's luxury in prison (of course, for money). Others experience all kind of humiliations, that are serve from AUTHORITY, which rule between these walls (formal and informal). There are other factors also, like walls, grates, discipline, separation from women (that's not natural), overcrowd, exploited position of people, etc. They experience often torture from prison's guard and personnel (so-called 'stick's bigades' - gathered guards who beat some prisoner so he is finishing in prison's hospital), from other organized privileged prisoners, if someone didn't adapt himself/herself in prison's behaviour (codex). Codex order next rules of behaviour: it is forbidden cooperation with personnel, giving of any information, pleading for at job, admission of guilt, remorse ... and especially it is respected person who is brave, pitiless and who 'persist under torture'. In any case, this system is created 'cause prisoners have many problems inside of isolation (don't forget that's clean men's community) i.e. in this way prisoner's social system is controlling behaviour of individuals. Of course, I'm not agreeing that's good but it is the fact that's reality. It is proof that we should develop anarchistic consciousness inside of prisoners also. So, on this system of values it is creating mutual relations between those unhappy people, so relations with prison's personnel also, so and distribution of goods and privileges. Horrible but true. With regard to informal authorities i.e. groups, it is creating on following basis: between countrymen, friends and on interest's basis; these groups are creating 'cause prisoners in isolation, are feeling thrown out, humiliated, strong discipline kill them also, etc. So informal system gives them possibility to oppose to the rest of the world and to create of self-esteem, i.e. the sensation of frustration is decrease.

Like in other States, conditions of living in Serbian prisons can be short described like living in sick and dangerous life conditions. Prisons are full of people, inside are bad hygienic and sanitary conditions, medical help is insufficient and without quality. Prisoners are under psychic and corporal violence from prison's guard and other personnel, personnel forbid them to contact with families, right to send letters, etc. It's existing discrimination in threat of prisoners (privileged pigs), like I said: richies and poor, loyal to director and others, political fitted and unfitted, members of some national or religious community, etc. Warning hardly exists, food is horrible, medicaments doesn't exist worst than in towns ... It's obviously that all these problems are intentionally imposition to prisoners 'cause the State is convinced that prisoner's life should be as hard as it is possible (it is all in harmonize with state's repres-

sive system). Therefore it is important to mention that situation in prisons is not bad only because of bad economic situation in the State, than 'cause of political motives, prejudices of society about prisoners (i.e. of those who put it in heads of people) and many others uneconomic causes. Political influence is showing when State realize influence on prison's personnel to torture political prisoners and arrested people. Those prisoners are the most often victims of torture. I can mention that in Serbian prisons are about 230 Albanians and 120 of them are punished on political basis (although all are punished on this basis, those are special prisoners) at article 125 - for terrorism and at article 136 - gathering in order to make hostile activities. The biggest part of society is often indifferent about and they see them like sinners who ought expiate 'cause of their acts, i.e. 'cause they didn't accept, like others, to suffer and to be silent.

About people who don't accept differences it should be especially written. So the state convinced people that prisoners ought give back 'debt' to society 'cause of having the courage to step out of line, through their pain and hard work between 4 walls. In this way, the state succeeded to add, to its judgment, the moral judgment of society to those people, so the state justifies itself and its brutal behaviour about prisoners. This moral sentence affect longer than one from the court & it's big trouble for prisoners when they go out from prisons. Therefore anarchists ought always explain that prisoners are human beings who are just victims of the state (system) and its injustice, repressive society. Consequences of the fact that people believe in justifiability of prisons and are indifferent about the torture inside of it, will be that this torture one day will go out from prison's walls. When state get enough power, torture experience also people on the street. It should be mentioned that doctors and other hospital's personnel are participants in torture, 'cause they don't give help to prisoners, and even when they do it, medical documentation disappear in some secret way - proofs about scars, wounds, photos of broken bones, etc. Therefore it is so hard to prove torture inside of prisons. In that way doctors participate i.e. instigate prison's personnel in violence over prisoners, use their knowledge to help in investigation against prisoners and over people in custody, and it could make psychic and corporal damages on prisoners.

With regard to prison's cell, prisoners can be kept in it 6 months yearly, on the basis of unjustified law of criminal state of Serbia. That's horribly long time and cells are very little, without light and very wet, so organism of individuals, who are inside, is destroying fast, and it is plan of politicians, to make shorter life inside of it, so it will be less rebellious people who are against authority and richies.

More about prisons, state violence, anarchism, etc. you'll be able to read at website (if I succeed anytime to learn to build it): anarchy-serbia.mahost.org

Rebel Mouse 30.9.02

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSSES

In last issue of AbolishingBB we printed already handful informations about some special interest, which our romanian comrades are recently "enjoying" from secret services. This interview should help to clarify situation in which they found themselves recently, as well as present a bit more the roots and the backgrounds of contemporary anarchist activities in post-Ceausescu reality...

Actually, we don't know anything about present political situation in Romania. Could you shortly describe how political and social situation changed since fall of Ceausescu? What is the situation of "average Romanian" now?

The party of Ion Iliescu ruled Romania for 8 from the 12 years after Ceausescu. There was National Salvation Front, then the Romanian Socialist Democratic Party and now is the Socialist Democratic Party. For the first years after revolution there was not a too big difference, in my opinion, but then people said hey, we have a country what the fuck should we do with it... and then institutions like IMF and WB said, no problem we'll help you. I think things changed a lot in the past 2-3 years with after the implementation of agreements with the above institutions. Most politicians were involved in the Ceausescu regime and now they don't have only the power of the state, but they also own a lot of the "privatised" factories or their own big business. Noone can touch them they built their own "capitalist" system... let me give some examples: romanian government goes outside Romania and says "Oh, we changed that law now there is a new one in conformity with the european standards", but they come home and they say a totally different thing, while the law it's exactly the same with 2-3 minor changes... for example not even now there is access to the "Security" (secret police on Ceausescu time) files... Anyway, getting back to the "average" romanian I think the situation is really bad, I live in Timisoara where there is always a small chance to get a job somehow, but there are other cities which are completely paralyzed by the "privatization" like the town Resita and lots others. The idea that the politicians want to put forward is: you can steal a duck and get 2 years of prison, while we can bankrupt a bank and/or play with workers life and go to USA to live a nice life there.

Through some personal friendships we've heard about recent wave of repression or campaign launched to criminalise still small but growing Romanian anarchist movement. Supposedly, they've been some articles in a press presenting particular anarchists as a drug-dealers, etc. What exactly and which newspapers wrote?

By now I think you already got the

"This government is maybe the worse that we ever had. They know what they need to fool the people. They realised that the stories with EU and NATO aren't enough now, so they start blame small groups for different things, so that they distract people's attention from the real problems..."

interview with romanian anarchist

translated and edited raport of SRI (romanian secret police). Well, you really don't know what to do after reading that thing: to laugh or to cry. All started when the newspaper Gardianul (the Guardian) wrote about 3-4 articles on anti-globalisation and anarchism. So, there was first 2 articles written by 2 different journalists, and for one of the articles they called the SRI to ask about information about anarchist groups in Romania. The SRI didn't had anything ready so they said they are investigating. And after that a guy Claudiu Tarziu wrote another article... but somebody told me that this guy is from SRI and also has fascist sympathies. And after that, the SRI study appeared and all of a sudden local and national newspapers took parts of it and published it. In Timisoara there were 3 newspapers who published articles on this subject. In Craiova the local newspaper said that the secret police should be careful because the anarchists are still active there and now they are infiltrated in the syndicates! Also in July/August 2002 a couple of anarcho-pacifists from Timisoara got visit from a policeman saying that their NGO is investigated for connections with french anarchists that want to infiltrate in Timisoara (!!!!!)... also an anarchist from Craiova had to go to police stations to have a talk with the policeman in charge with the anarchists. I won't talk about the raport or about the articles because I already send them... it's not only drug dealers that they called us, I think they took the dictionary of bad thing and made sentences with them. Once again they proved their stupidity, as you can see in the study, not only that they don't know shit about anarchist history but they also have no clue about the general history... oh, well.

Do you think cops or some secret services are behind you or it just any fucking journalist looking for "sensational" materials?

It's both, I think. If that information about that journalist being also agent then it makes even more sense. But what made them start now, why exactly now? I think that shithead Adrian Nastase - the prime fucker minister knows good what he wants. This government is maybe the worse that we ever had. They know what they need to fool the people. They realised that the stories with EU and NATO aren't enough now, so they start blame small groups for different things, so that they distract people's attention from the real problems. I think another thing that contributed a lot to the start of this campaign is the 2 or 3 international secret agencies con-

ferences that took place this summer in Romania... I really doubt that US or european agents didn't trained romanian agents how to deal with anarchist-activist groups.

What kinds of methods "agents of the system" (however they're called) are using to get informations about the people?

I don't know for sure. Sometimes we have common friends (hehe - I'm serious!) so they can get some informations from this people. I think also going in bars where we hang out and staying at the next table and listening, actually so many times recently I saw this kind of strange people around us. Than in the past there were the visits home to some people, then also getting informations from the people who were caught with small crimes (usually young people) in exchange for their "freedom". Or as we saw visiting people that can get scared very easy, like the couple from Timisoara. They disappeared all of a sudden after the police visit... I don't want to say big words, but still, nobody knows what they said to the police... There was also a case when they went to University and got personal information about some student because they wanted this guy to tell them more about somebody - blackmail is one of their best weapons, I guess. What I said is mostly about Timisoara. In Craiova there is a different situation, I suppose. They have some history with punk troubles (punks fights with the police) so then I think the police has a different way of attacking them. But, the methods to get informations I doubt that are very different.

There been already some arrests or interrogations? What are anarchists accused of and what could be consequences?

Until now there were only some questions from the police to some people, but nothing official. As it can be seen in the report, there are a lot of things... selling porno tapes, drugs, and a lot of other things that jumped into their mind at that moment. I don't know for sure about Craiova, but from what I heard from the people who talked to the couple who got the police visit, there were informations from the Europol that french anarchists intend to infiltrate in Timisoara... if this is real we would like to know also, maybe we can give them a hand - hehe! I think the policemen was lying, but it might be also real (not the fact that french @ want to infiltrate, but the fact that Europol informed them about that groups coming here). There were 2 caravans in the summer coming from France to Romania (from Montpellier and from

Marseille).

In your experiences till now, how the (secret) police behaved during the actions prepared by anarchists? Been they there observing or controlling ID's, etc.?

Well, I don't think you could say that there were too many anarchist actions in Romania. My opinion is that this year has been the best regarding direct actions. In January, at the food not bombs action some people said that from the building across the street there was somebody making photos. At the concert with Peklatatatak (anarchofunk from Basque Country - France part) there were 2 weird guys, one of which started to ask people about the projections (anti-globalisation demos films), what they understand, what are about this projections, what we expect to happen after people will see this, do we think that people understand what's happening there? etc. In Craiova, when the group of anarchists attended the syndicalist demo, police tried to arrest them but the ordinary people, kind of, defended them. But, at the end of the demo they were taken most of them and asked for ID and also taken to the station and taken their photos. But for MayDay in Craiova they've got some authorisation, and for the actions in 31 August and 16th of October, in Timisoara (without authorisation) there were no problems with the police. But, then again, last year in the summer the punk festival planned in Craiova, was repressed with full force by the police and secret police.

Are there any non-anarchist groups or organization, with which you are working together or from which you could expect support in a case of growing repression against you? We could say that this things exists, at least in Timisoara we could say that we worked for different things with NGOs, not too many tough, they are usefull for some authorisations, rooms/spaces, or other things... I think we could never rely on them in case of big repression, but I might be wrong and maybe if we'll be in trouble they will surprise me/us. I still think that they don't think too serious in repressing us, I think it's a case of yearly reports and sometimes changings of officers, or other stupid things. Bothering a mair or politician also can lead to an investigation, and so on.

We've heard, that till recently anarchist activity been forbidden by the state. How it is exactly now, are there for example still some laws prohibiting certain propaganda etc., or cops simply are trying to pre-fabricate some ridiculous lies to get

you down ?

I think I'll have to look a bit deeper for that one. From what I know to be anarchist it was always illegal. I mean we didn't had a direct contact with the laws yet, that's good I think, there are no people sent to prison and so on... But from what I know, in the latest constitution anarchist propaganda is prohibited, as well as communist, or fascist. Still, their best way to do things is to make up this scary lies and so on... this way the cops are directly in charge of dealing with the situation, and people in power this is better than put the whole machine to work. Strange, isn't it? Or maybe it's just more practical and cheaper.

It seems, that entire anarchist scene in Romania grew from punk roots. Is it true? Say something about the beginnings?

I could say that this thing is real. The most part of the scene in our days grew from punk rock. Well, the bands were Haos in Timisoara, and after some years Terror Art in Craiova. There were other bands also at the beginning, but they disappeared and most of the people considered these bands as representative... So, people from this bands and a few others had the first attempt to organise something. This is how **Miscarea Underground** (Underground Movement) appeared in early-mid 90's. M.U. had 2 branches - Craiova and Timisoara and also I think there was a small group in Resita. Bands involved in these collectives were not only punk but also dark/wave bands. There were good times then, because there was an legislative chaos, and you could do a lot of things, even if police was much more brutal. Too bad that the people had no idea what to do exactly, there was no model, there were little connections with the people from outside Romania... and so on. I think the most direct action was joining the protests in the center of Timisoara in 99 when USA was bombing Serbia for the first time. And also there was the Underground Timisoara Festival, which I personally think that will very soon become just crap.

I think that the only problem is that our movement grew from punk rock and not anarchopunk, so many people dropped out because they didn't know what to do after their highschool/university rebellion... then again, it's just a personal opinion. In late 90's we discovered one comrade in Bucharest doing a site and a newsletter, and he had little connection with punk rock. Early 2000 brought Craiova Anarho Front / Frontul Antifascist Craiova. And also in Timisoara a green NGO - brought more the idea of direct action, but rather because of different things - like foreign volunteers, involved in reclaim the streets/earth first/fnb actions - than of an evolution/radicalisation of the people. So, in the end the thing you said it's almost true that punk rock brought anarchism into existence, although

there are people that are not into punk rock, and are/were active.

What about glorious, but unfortunately unknown to us history of anarchism in Romania?

Well, unfortunately is as glorious and as unknown for us as it is for you. Ceausescu regime wiped out a lot of people and evidence of existence of these people or groups. We heard of antifascist groups and people but they are more related to communism than to anarchism. We have little or no clue about existence of anarchism in Romania, in "the early days". I guess there are bigger chances to find some more info in foreign archives than in romanian ones, sadly. Maybe we can make a call for a mobilisation through "AbolishingBB" and if people know, have or can get their hands on anything related to anarchism in Romania, before '89 can give us a sign.

We've heard about (GREAT!!!) idea of organising no-border camp next year also in Romania, just before EU-summit in Thessaloniki. What's main idea behind this project? What kind of support you need to prepare this event? What kind of problems are you facing concerning that project?

Yes, there is the idea of this no-border camp next year just before the EUsummit in Greece. We talked and we decided that it's better to do it in Timisoara. We said that there are so many people going to Greece, probably, and it would be a shame not to use this chance for organising something... Of course that there are so many other reasons, which counted more in making this decision. There is the detention center in Otopeni - Bucharest which is an horrible place and an offence to human rights. There is **Tarom company** from Romania who does deportation flights. There is the EU border who will reach Romania, so this country will become a transit territory for refugees in their way to western countries. Romania is somewhere on the top of the list of the countries which are bothering the EU countries with asylum seekers and their "unpleasant" stuff. There is the gipsy problems that involves international (a lot of EU blaming romanian gipsies for making problems) and national racism (too many romanians think that problems "outside" are done only by gipsies and that the gipsy community is the worse thing that happened to Romania, and the gipsies are a shame for this country). There is this mad desire of romanian people who blindly accepted the lies of politicians and think in a huge percent that once Romania has joined EU years of wealth and happiness will follow for the people here. Also, there is the need for learning more together, so this would be a good opportunity for the scene here to get together and organise, and in the end we can all learn something from this experience - this because it's the first major event organised by us here. There would be so

many reasons for doing it...

About the support in organising this event would have 2 parts. One it's related to the aterial part and the other one, which will provide us with more experience and positive energy for future actions, is the logistic/practical stuff help. I mean, in my opinion skill sharring and practical tips (and tops) would be more than appreciated. The financial part is also not to be ignored as we don't have any possibility to raise money with our activities.

The problems in making this project happening would be: the stupid autorisations for different thing, that will force us to work with some NGO's, the low degree of predisposition in involvement of these NGO's (which can also be a good thing), still I think that we need to work more on collaboration, organisation and solidarity issues, the nonexistence of NGO's working in migration issues, and let's not forget the pigs who will be always there to ruin our fun, and a few others. In the end I guess the police and the autorisation problem will be the main ones. I really see it hard to happen in Timisoara or elsewhere without an autorisation.

Which kind of solidarity and support for anarchists in Romania you wish from comrades from abroad? That's always hard to say, because everybody has problems in their country. I guess helping groups with materials written/audio/video would be a way. Or in case of a bigger repression doing solidarity actions in your countries or writing letters. But the most important thing that I think will lead to a better development of the movement/scene here would be making all the possible to get people from here to participate in activities in other parts of Europe (bigger or smaller that's not too relevant). This way people will see that the things the zines/newsletters talk about really exist and even more important will learn a lot of skills that will help them in organizing things back home. By a "restriction" of the access of people from EE in actions from Western Europe will give the people the image that they are not wanted there, and that all this blablabla about being comrades is just bullshit and when they will get the first chance to go in the "west" they will be preoccupied by other things like "assuring their future", "making money" and others... Also a better connections with active groups from EE would be a more realistic thing to ask. Because this people are closer and it's easier to get there and the problems they're facing are more similar to ours. Sometimes, the groups in EE are more interested in getting themselves more contacts and help from western europe and so they would prefer to work more with westerners. But, the good thing that I feel is that, at least, from N21 in Prague a more tighter collaboration between groups from EE and that's great. A saying goes around here "When your house is on fire it's not

your mother/relatives from the other part of the town who help you, but your neighbors". Or something like this... Anyway, getting back to the western part I think that sometimes people are bored with visits and stuff, for example people in squats, and might think of people from EE as visitors rather than "one of theirs" but I can say that meeting different people and talking to them, making friends, visiting places, taking part in actions (and organising actions) it can give a lot of inspirations and energy to people who come from smaller scenes - like Romania.

A think that helped a lot the scene in Craiova, for example, was the tours of the band Terror Art in Europe and especially Germany. On their tours they gathered some experiences, contacts and materials to help starting things back home. The punk scene is having pretty bad moments in Romania and I think a good impulse would be a giving a hand with organising tours for Romanian bands, which this way will have the chance to meet other bands with a well defined political message, get inspired and be a better example for people here. I hope you're getting my point here. In Timisoara was more the case of a "mobilisation" in bringing bands from outside here so that this "exchange" will go both ways, and people from other countries will have the chance to meet people from here and see the reality with other eyes, not the ones of cnn or euronews. And also we tried to connect more with the scenes in EE. It's cheaper and possible to bring a band from an EE country than one from the states and this way we give a hand to people in surrounding countries. Because our group mainly focuses on @punk bands this way we realise a sort of communication also between anarchists...

If I started now, I might just continue with another thing. There are a lot of @ going to/through Romania in their holidays. Some of them stop for a while in our cities or contact us for directions, but most of them go to Bucharest because because it's a name that they heard more often. I guess that talking all stuff with a romanian @ or whatever is not that much fun as getting ripped off in a crap hotel in Bucharest, but... it's more usefull for everybody if they would just stop and ask for some directions or I don't know. Sometimes is very hard for people to get out of the country even if only in EE, but with this opportunity they meet people from outside Romania and have a great chance to talk and exchange ideas and contacts with people abroad. Used equipment can also prove usefull here, and it's not so difficult to carry it if you're on tour... There will be so many ways, but I guess, you can also find them.

Thanx a lot for interesting answers.

"... Understand, that football is a field of opportunities where you may realize many positive projects ..."

Interview with the *Bolt Throwers Firm*

first antifascist football hooligans group in Russia

The heroes of following interview, the **BOLT THROWERS FIRM**, are maybe not presenting through their activities too much of anarchist ideas but they are definitely on the good way to influence Russian youth with such values like tolerance, anti-fascism or self-initiative. This material comes from *Kind Fists* - bulletin, appendix of *Avtonom* #19 for (RASH) red and anarchist skinheads.

In this issue of "*Kind Fists*" we decided to publish an interview with the leader of *Bolt Throwers Firm*. BTW is a hooligan group associated with second league team *FC MosEnergO*. *FC MosEnergO* is now one of the most popular Moscowite teams of the second league (which is third in order after premier league and first league), some 40 persons are regularly travelling to guest games, and for sure much more people come to home games. *BTF* is about first firm of football hooligans in Russia, which has strictly declared its antifascist positions.

One should note that by far not all anti-fascist hooligans of Moscow support *MosEnergO*. *BTF* is not associated to *RASH*, but we have good relations. This group could be an excellent example for others to follow.

Kind Fists: Could you tell us a little bit about *Bolt Throwers Firm*?

BTF: *Bolt Throwers Firm* appeared some two years ago as hardcore of the fans of *FC MosEnergO* fans, since older generation of the fans was just booing that time and passive. About one year ago some people in *BTF* simultaneously approached anti-fascism and a decision was made that whole firm should adopt such a position. In the middle of this year we began to gather people ready to stand by their coincidence. Our activity is not limited to football, we cooperate with *SHARP* (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudices), *RASH* (Red and Anarchist Skinheads) and other positive initiatives. We already successfully made ourselves known - we are already joined by new people attracted to rumours about an antifascist football brigade.

Fight which took place in Vladimir this September reached a

large resonance among football clubs of the second league. In a guest game of *MosEnergO* with local *Torpedo*, we just kicked the asses of fascist supporters of our club right on the terrace. Thanks to *BTF*, *MosEnergO* is already developing a reputation of "antifa-club" in the same spirit as German *St. Pauli* (Hamburg) or Polish *Polonia* (Warsaw).

Right now *BTF* is something like ten persons. For sure in comparison with the premier league such a number may seem like a small one, many people might say that with such a scale we will not reach anything. That is not what we think.

Kind Fists: You were many years supporting a premier league team, why are you now interested about second league?

BTF: Talking about why second league and why *MosEnergO*, important point is that I happen to live in the area of the *MosEnergO*. Many fans of *MosEnergO* live in *Tekstilschiki*, where our stadion is located. Every skinhead has a certain kind of "regional patriotism". For me that is important, it is a part of myself. It is a completely different feeling than when you are travelling from some *Medvedkovo* to *Luzhniki* to support your team (it is about different districts of Moscow). One reason is also that majority of the players of the *MosEnergO* are immigrants from the Caucasus area. I think you may support such a team just to piss off some fascist! Talking about pure hooligan interests, more and more people from higher leagues are floating to second league due to very serious police repressions against hooligans of famous clubs. Bosses of popular clubs are also running a very unjust policy in regards to simple fans, pumping the prices up. For someone studying in a trade school, it is just not real to pay 150 roubles (5\$/euro) for a ticket.

Kind Fists: Let us talk a little bit about fascism among Russian hools of today.

BTF: Right now degree of fascistization is very high among Russian hooligans. I would say 9 of ten supports ultra-right. I think that this is mainly due to fashion. In the middle 90's, football hooliganism was climbing up from the decline resulting from the collapse

of the USSR, a crisis where only a few thousand people came to games of *Spartak* and travel of 38 fans from *Spartak* to *Samara* was just about a record. In those times, main people of football-related activities of *Spartak*, *Dynamo* and *TsSKA* became influenced by fascism. It was those days when Celtic crosses and other such shit appeared. An important factor in the success of the fascism was just an elementary lack of information about Western football hooligans. Because after all, even among fans of *Chelsea* or *Lazio*, which Russian nazis declare as being "theirs", there are not really that much fascists. For example (music group) *Brigada Flores Magon*, in a record with same name published by *Insurgency Records*, thanks football hooligans from *Fossa dei Leoni*. Need I say more? Right now the situation with fascism in Russian football is getting a little bit better. Right now almost all known football clubs have groups of hooligans who do not like presence of fascists in the movement. Even when most are not yet in a position to show their positions.

Kind Fists: Is *BTF* doing any propaganda?

BTF: There is no any special need for that. Actually in there are already quite enough propaganda for us to use printed by other initiatives. One concrete idea is to open a website for football hooligans against fascism. But this would not be site of *BTF*, nor site of *MosEnergO*, but a general site where it is no matter will you support *TsSKA*, *Lokomotiv* or whatever.

Kind Fists: Your greetings to readers of the *Avtonom*?

BTF: For all those who have no relation to football: Understand, that football is a field of opportunities where you may realize many positive projects. For those who have relation to football: try to fight against fascism there. The beginning is not easy, but one should not give up. The main thing is to accurately make oneself known, and then things will already get more easier.

RADICAL ANTI FASCIST ACTION RAAF

BIALYSTOK POLAND WINTER 2002 / 2003

Poland is a country, where like in other places danger of nazism and fascism still exists. Far right organizations and parties are gaining upper hand and have significant presence in local and national governments. But not everyone is happy with that situation and some people decided to resist. Organized Anti-Fascist movement started in Poland in 1992 with formation of **Anti Nazi Front in Wroclaw**, at this time one of most nazi-infested cities. Movement quickly grew and till 1994 there were Anti-Fascist groups in majority of bigger Polish cities. Some of these groups were just street orientated self-defense groups, some were more politically orientated, although all of them had militant character.

Bialystok was always city full of nazi scum. Before first Anti-Fascist groups were organized here, fascists almost totally controlled streets and cultural life of the area. This changed when more and more people started resisting them. On the beginning these were only small groups, but they quickly grew. Spring of 1994 turned out very badly for nazis as there was first Anti-Fascist demonstration and also first and till now biggest street confrontation between nazis and Anti-Fascists. Despite of having about three times more people, fascists were taken by surprise and suffered many injuries that day. Since then antifa demos in March became a tradition continued till present time. There were confrontations almost every year but most of the time Anti-Fascists won. Apart from that widespread tactic of targeting most active nazis in their homes, work places and schools was employed and it quickly gave positive results. Also there was more and more propaganda on streets, schools and other public places. Leaflets were distributed, posters placed on walls, lot of graffiti made and in general nazis could feel our presence almost everywhere. Shop, which was distributing nazi propaganda and music got firebombed and quickly withdrew from this practice. There were more and more militant actions as Anti-Fascists understood that there can be only one approach towards nazi scum- confront them physically wherever they appear.

By the end of 90s Anti-Fascist movement suffered serious split as many activists turned towards legal methods of fighting, obviously not understanding that police and state will never be on our side. Because of that militant movement in Poland was reduced to just 2 or 3 groups, as many people became disillusioned and lost hope for things to be better. Meanwhile nazis were not sleeping and after brief period of apathy they started attacking again. Bialystok was no exception. People active in anarchist and alternative movement were shocked, but resistance quickly started again. In 2000 Radical Anti-Fascist

Action was reformed and started regular activity again. Our rule is "Wherever they go, we go as well". It means that we try to stop nazis in any place they may appear. Anti-Fascist patrols are being formed and they manage after few months of hard fighting to make area around our squat safe and also to stop or limit nazi activity in many places. This doesn't go without a price though. Apart from injuries as a result of nazi attacks and during street fights, we are becoming a target of widespread criminalisation by police. Anti-Fascist are being charged and persecuted, many times cases are clear frame-ups. Till now various activists had been charged with following crimes: assault, assault with robbery, grievous body harm, violent resistance, insulting a police officer, possession of a weapon, burglary, aggravated threats to a person. Few people are also investigated for criminal damage. We had to spend big amount of our energy and funds on defending repressed activists. During this time two people received sentences on probation and there is one prison sentence, which we hope to overturn in appeal. This wave of repression is a result of our uncompromising stand against nazis. We are also against co-operation with any political parties and groups, which try to use Anti-Fascist struggle for their own means. This made us a visible threat to some people and because many fascists are in city council, activities of police and courts are hardly surprising.

Our current area of activity is opposition to growth of Fortress Europe, combating state racism (we take very active part in anti-border camps in Poland, directed at racist government policy against immigrants) and of course permanent opposition to any nazi activity we discover in area. We also support and use tactic of permanent pressure on right wing groups, what forces them to limit and in many cases stop their activity and be concerned about their own safety. We continue to be only street orientated, militant Anti-Fascist group in the area and we can claim many successes in combating nazis.

What you can do to help us? First of all start your own Anti-Fascist group. This struggle is international and we must know that there are comrades around the world fighting for the same cause. International solidarity is a must! Distribute information about our struggle, support Anti-Fascist prisoners, fight back! We wait for any news about your activity. We are also in continuous need of funds, not only for legal help, but also for present activity. Organize benefit shows for us and raise funds. We will use them in best possible way! We wait for a contact with all militant anarchist and Anti-Fascist groups

PO BOX 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26; Poland; wildeast@poczta.onet.pl

European nationalist camp 'sword & cross' in Poland

Between 31 August and 2 September 2002, a team of the **Noua Dreapta** (ND - New Right) led by the president **Tudor Ionescu** took part in the European nationalist camp 'sword & cross', organised by the most important nationalist movement in Poland, **NOP** (**Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski**). The camp, who reached the 3rd edition, had the role to strengthen the connections between the Polish nationalists and the representatives of other similar movements from Europe. **Noua Dreapta** it was warmly received, the Polish part expressing her desire for starting an active collaboration. To be mentioned that **Noua Dreapta** and **NOP** are similar in 2 points: the attachment to the church (orthodox for ND and catholic for NOP) and the respect for the legionnaire doctrine. The legionnaires are a fascist movement who started around the years 1900 in Romania. In #5 of the magazine **Noua Dreapta** you will be able to read a detailed presentation of the NOP and an interview with the leader of this group. **Aactiv-ist Collective**

Romanian and Czech nationalists form a regional alliance

During the period 2-4 november 2002, **Tudor Ionescu**, leader of **Noua Dreapta** was in Prague on the invitation of **Patriotic Front** (**Vlastenecka Fronta**). During these days there were deep discussions for the identification of a common platform for action. There was underlined the importance of the preservation of the ethno-cultural identity of the European countries and there was an agreement on the necessity of the resistance to globalisation. Also, both **Noua Dreapta** and **Vlastenecka Fronta** engaged themselves to promote the idea of social justice and to give a more increased attention to the ecological struggle.

This info was taken from the site of this Romanian fascist group... www.nouadreapta.org
aactiv-ist collective

We are publishing these two info for practical reason ... we wanted to show the need for a closer collaboration between antifascist groups in eastern-europe.
Afa & Aactiv-ist Collective (Romania)

ALBANIA - POSTANARCHY IMPRESSIONS

As in March '97 people's revolt broke up in Albania, mainstream media journalists got completely confused trying to define this situation-for these events no usually known pattern of conflicts seemed to fit. "Civil war", "religious tensions" or "ethnic conflict"? None of that. Not even term "communist revolt" used by president Berisha to describe rebels, which basically overthrewed not only him but much more, would seem adequate. After long years of Enver Hodxa rule, which marked Albania as heaviest and surely most stalinistic regime in Europe, dictatorship of democracy, understood western way, so vehemently anti-communist, been introduced. Known from whole Eastblock countries witch-hunting, scapegoat finding, persecution and elimination practices didn't stopped here with pulling down communist system, but seemed preserved. Atmosphere of cold war, of seeing anybody, anywhere as almost-could-be enemy is a best social control mechanism known and used with enthusiasm by every kind of state. Yet, people are people, so they explode sometimes. In recent years it didn't happened anywhere else in Europe on such a scale...

When in the beginning of March '97 people started to loot military barracks and police stations in the south of the country, everybody expected army to intervene. Yet, Minister of Defence as well as most of government flew from the country, many of officers joined the rebels, soldiers simply went to their homes and anarchy spread over capital Tirana where masses went rampaging through the streets shouting slogans against government, then further north. Over 500 000 Kalashnikovs and lot of other weapons got looted. In some towns from the first days people organized structures on local level (assembly meetings, delegates councils, etc.), somewhere else thousands tried to get on boats to leave for Italy or armed groups of men hunted one another. Some 2000 people died around this time. Surely, in some places Albanian revolt shows traces of classical anarchism, but it's not the point now for us to analyse it. Yet, is important to remember events in Albania as spontaneous mass rebellion, as something what should be warning for every state, warning that should be kept alive in order to repeat...

Some of our comrades from USA spent recently few months in Albania. Here we print some of loose impressions from one of them (let's call him Clabber) and hope in a future get some articles from "Albanian" point of view....

"In the center of Tirana stand the two largest buildings in Albania, a pair of looming office towers. Office workers sift through the doors of one, covered with shining glass panels, while its skeletal twin hosts only birds. Was it burnt out in the conflicts five years ago? I ask my host. No, no, the construction was halted after September 11 last year, he clarifies, nominally because they were built without a permit. But the real reason was that the government no longer wanted to accept money from the funder of the buildings' construction, Osama Bin Laden.

As we sit in an outdoor bar between the Twin Towers of Tirana and a huge glass pyramid, our hosts tell us of Osama's visits to Tirana. One time, a waiter at the bar we're sitting in - Bar Cafe America - begged the passing entrepreneur to take a picture with him. The photo, waiter and investor arm in arm, in front of Bar Cafe America, sold to a western paper for \$50,000.

On my second visit to Tirana, Ibrahim asked me how the city seemed now. "How do you mean?" I asked. "I mean, has it changed much?" He said. "But it's only been three months!" I said. "Remember those?" As he pointed to a massive line of rubble along the river, ten feet high and twice as wide. "Remember the restaurant we went to when we met, and the night we went to the different bars? That was them. They were built with no permits. Probably the builders knew that they would soon be torn down, and built them so they'd be repaid for them."

"This park, said Ibrahim, used to be covered in office buildings a few years ago. For a long time it was a park, then in 94 they covered it with large office buildings. But in 96 they tore them all down, so now it's a park again."

Albania got it's first cinema 2 years ago. Yet, 750 000 bunkers emerged like mushrooms from the ground. Many, buried in the sides of omnipresent mountains, could fill entire mountain, to judge by their entrances. "One person, one soldier" was a staple motto of Hodxism; what's a

soldier without a kalashnikov and a bunker to fire it from?

In 1987, a survey was conducted across Albania, and the population was asked, Which is the richest country on earth? Around 95% responded, Albania, of course. Poor America, they must have thought, they don't even have cows there, or jobs. At least I work in the concrete factory, at least I have a cow.

Hodxa's policy of national self-defense extended through every sphere of life. No chances could be taken with the world's envy for Albania's wealth and glory. Every neighborhood had professional Neighborhood Watch, with eyes on every street. If, according to Ibrahim, you were seen walking anywhere but work, or school, the Chaparone or an assistant would appear at your door the next evening and ask for an account of your activities. "What about cafes or bars?" I asked him across the table of the posh, and shiny new bar, in which we sat. He laughed. "No cafes, and especially no bars! It was during Hodxa!"

During the 9 hour drive from Shkodra to Kukes, tar covered about 1/3 of the road surface, and dirt the rest. Not a single stretch of road was remotely straight, even in the few areas where the earth wasn't wrenched into mountains. "Hodxa, a friend told me, built the roads like that for our protection. The envious Russians, or Americans, could have used a straight stretch as a runway for invasion."

Ibrahim's father was a comically severe man; wide, short, with a strong polio limp. But he was kind to us, glad for the chance to show Albania's charms to outsiders. He would shower us with little presents - an Albanian flag cigarette lighter, a video detailing the glorious life of Enver Hodxa, a drink of local soda. He didn't seem to approve when we bought plastic bottles of beer from his store in bulk, but had enough business sense not to chastise us. Before long, he invited us into the courtyard behind the store, onto which opened his home's door. He proudly showed us a sweet little fountain sprouting from the outside wall, water trickling from a little spout, and the let-

ters "E.H." in mosaic. The letters stood not only for the man who'd given meaning to his life, but also, we found out later, his two children's initials.

One time, as I walked past the father's counter on my way to see Ibrahim, he shouted with aggressive cheer, "Communism! Enver Hodxa! Vladimir Lenin! Joseph Stalin!" giving a sporty thumbs-up. Stalin was too much, I couldn't agree this time with a cheery shrug. Bunkers? I stopped and asked him. Bunkers good? He gazed straight back at me from his chair behind the counter. Bunkers, he said, gesturing to his left. Then, gesturing to his right, Korea, Vietnam, Indonesia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile, Panama, Grenada, Libya, Afghanistan, Iraq. Bunkers! Bunkers good! I said, with a smile and a thumbs-up. Effort and money wasted on excuse of self-defense with bunkers, all added up, is less than wasted on one nuclear missile, one of the many thousands, so my condescension shrunk.

Now, said son (while in front of dad - later he said he hated Hodxa) father works from 6am - 11pm, 7 days a week. During Hodxa he only worked 6-8 hours a day, and even got a day off once a week. Immigration to Italy is now easier for Albanians, because of demand for cheap labor.

Ismael's mother sticking a candy in her mouth (not swallowing) during Ramadan, during communism, when visiting someone, so they wouldn't think she was fasting - since if you were suspected of being religious, you'd get locked up. On the black market, \$12,000 for U.S. passport, \$7,000 for French student visa, \$2,500 to get out of military service. Ismael often driving on left side, around cars coming in on right, the usually opposite, bikes weaving diagonally through cars, people walking everywhere, yet all calm and functional enough. Ismael says I am Albanian and it's hard for me to say, but many people here have no culture.

Soldiers with kalashnikovs guarding every bank and government building.

One said income in Albania is now \$150-\$200 per month. Cops drive around in vans

with the doors open. People driving around with baby goat tied to bicycle handlebars. Old man, with teenage boy, walking slowly down the main street, beating monotonous beat on large animal skin drum. Bombed out buildings from 97.

Albania seems to be an intense collection of knickknacks, a miscellany of singularities. The more I see, the less connection things have to each other. Is this what Ismael meant when he guiltily said that they have no culture? Have such total pressures in so many opposing directions shattered the cultural unity of people's actions here? Tirana makes me doubt that anywhere really has cultural integrity - that cultural consistency, a bland predictability, is only a lack of imagination, bland accumulated habit that people finally surrender to with pride. I can't see any signs of habit here. Certainly, everyone must have hidden in habit during Hodka, itself a set of totally new habits of cultural revolution, and perhaps with Hodkaism's fall some kind of antithetical "democratic" habit may have tried to establish itself. But after 1997, then 1998, when all financial ties to any past, near or distant, were severed, when everyone turned on each other in fear and with 750,000 looted kalashnikovs, when the north and south hid from each other in defensive fear that disproved its basis, what of even the newest habits could survive? The oldest habits have endured, as the blood feud law, "the law of the people" that no government has dared to discourage in Ismael's words, has, yet unlike other parts of the Balkans, actions cannot mask themselves as tradition. Are the police in front of this cafe leering at people and randomly stopping cars, searching even under the hood, out of a tradition of authoritarianism? They seem as if they have just awoken to find themselves in police clothes, with police guns, in a police van, and have no idea what they are supposed to be doing to be police-like. Like if I suddenly was surrounded by police, myself in a police uniform, in this very foreign country, and was trying to convince them I belonged, with no idea what they expected - and everyone else with me was secretly in the same situation. But like this limping street dog beside me whose trust I am trying to win, with a bright yellow plastic "A12" tag clamped through his ear, everyone here is an expert in making a home in incomprehensible chaos, in threats barreling towards you from any direction, in guessing the intent behind randomness with a confidence equal to certainty, that an empty pretense of order takes the place of any pattern,

in chaos, comfortably with a smile. Here, nothing but a well practiced skill in confidence in absolutely spontaneous response has found a place to survive.

Has this miraculously hardy yet vulnerable people survived conquest after conquest by its very anonymity, its inflexible perfection of adaption? Yet its very strangeness is disproof of assimilation, of an absolute past. These cops, searching cars in the middle of the street, aren't cops but gun-wielding thugs. These Europeans, as they pretend to see the lights of Italy across the Adriatic, live far too immediately to fit into Europe. And these muslims, 70% of the population, are far too familiar with intoning "Inshallah" between every other word to ever belong to the idolatry of "tradition" [neotradition?] that is unifying the middle east. They embody and live modernism as no [existentialist] modernist could have ever wished upon anyone, unless perhaps Trotsky sadistically envisioned the cops stopping every car on the street, the absurd abundance of bombed-out homes, the street-sweeping Roma woman, the bad traffic, the proliferation of kalashnikovs and wheelbarrows, that is the real proof of Permanent Revolution.

Posters everywhere encouraging people to hand over their weapons. Ismael says 30% of people here don't have essentials (food, etc.). Ismael says that women in Albania are much less free than in south Italy. Many conservative families have a 6pm curfew for daughters, but Tirana streets at 8 is hectic with single women dressed to the T. Three women to one man in Albania! Abortion legal, but if boyfriend doesn't marry pregnant girlfriend 99.8% of those boyfriends are killed by her family. Ibrahim says that couples must get engaged after 3 months, if they meet each other's families. Divorce is easy, but shared kids, remarriage very hard because of intense family values. Ibrahim and Ismael are both muslims, who drink a lot. Ibrahim explained, his father is a communist, but without something like God one has no connection.

Big (3 or 4 feet tall) bell over bridge in the main square. Bridge and bell built from kalashnikovs reclaimed and melted.

Everybody in Macedonia said - Why are you going to Albania? Nothing to do in Albania.

Massive, massive abandoned factories, burnt out power plants. Signs in English and Albanian all over Shkoder - "Stop trafficking women and children." Crazy ride. Driver laughed with his friend the whole way. He slapped my leg and

translated the lyrics of discordant driving Albanian tape into Italian for me, not that I understand Italian any more than Albanian. But then, in effectually lawless, mafiotic Kukes, he changed price from 5 euros each to 15 euros each, indignantly accusing us of thievery, as a crowd gathered around eyeing us. One four wheel drive pulled up, three big guys, dressed in neat black pants and button-up shirts with rolled up sleeves and dark sunglasses got out to suss us out. Since we didn't really have the money, we had no choice but to argue, then yell just as indignantly and walk away throwing the 15 euros at the guy so he had to run after them long enough for us to get away. As we walked into town center, car after minivan after pedestrian came up and tried to force us to come with them. They all knew which town we wanted to get to. One kid who spoke good English walked up and said sincerely, *Hello, where do you need to go? I have a car, I can take you.* I paused. *Look, I want to help. I'm not a bad guy,* he pleaded. I looked at his car. On top was a small boat. Under the boat, in the car, were three big guys staring like sharks. We walked until we found a cafe, with a nice local guy who spoke German and clearly knew nothing about our situation. He brought us to the minivan station, for Kukes had neither buses nor trains nor taxis, but before he could ask a price, he was accosted by a group of 10 or so men, who had been around us earlier, and given a stern reprimand. He shrugged his shoulders and translated, *Must pay 50 euros to border.* No one cared that we didn't have it, that the town had no bank. We slipped into a cafe and sat away from the windows. Police, people from the first stop, strangers walk up and down the street looking around, assumably for the foreigner Thieves. We order a morbid round of coffees. This is a very bad situation, we agree. We order a second round and try to ask our waiter if he has a car, but he doesn't understand. A man approaches to translate, though he seems to know less English than our waiter. I suspect that he has been watching us for the driver, but I realize that I suspect everyone in this town of the same. *Watch out, there are many bad people here,* he tells us. He lives now in Milan with his family, he says, and is back here only to visit relatives. He offers to help. *I have a friend here with a car, he will drive you to Kosovo, please, as I friend, I want to help you.* He pays our coffee bill, and we walk out on the street. The first passing car on the street honks its horn, pulls over, and summons our new friend. They talk for five minutes,

This is my friend! He will take you to Kosovo, replies our new friend. We shrug. If he kills us, it's no worse than being here when night falls. We get in. He circles around town, and I expect him to pull over at any minute into an alley with the driver and his extended family. *Do you trust me? You are not scared?* our friend eagerly asks us repeatedly, and we force smiles. We stop at his house so he can grab his passport. *I show you my passport, so you can trust me. No problem!* We smile back. We are almost out of town, and still haven't met the driver and his extended family. Out of town, on the freeway, and still haven't pulled off the road to be killed. We cross the border, our passports checked by a Bangla Deshi UN soldier. Stretching our backs and grabbing out bags from the bus, we thank our heroic driver heartily for getting us there alive. Warmly we shake each others' hands. We pull out the 5 euros we'd agreed on as payment for the three of us, for the hour drive. *What is this?* he asks mystified. *This is nothing!* We call him a traitor, scoundrel, throw 5 more euros into the deal, and leave without shaking hands. I forget my "Alternative Tentacles" sweatshirt in his car, so I assume someone in Kukes is touting the height of punk fashion this very day.

Crossing back into Albania, just after the border, many small impromptu cemeteries with death dates in 1999, graves marked with white stones - assumably from people who carried bodies out of Kosovo.

On Tirana TV "Flash Dures": The Italian citizen owned a rented bar. The Italian had 7 different identities. Police arrest him with 1.3 KG heroin. *Albanian news leaves you with less information than what you started with!* somebody says

Much of Tirana was underwater a month ago because of some problem with control of dam - millions of dollars of damage - locals say that dam controller went down into bar, wanted a free drink, and bar wouldn't give it to him, so he opened the gates - other rumor (in Kosovo) is that guy was drunk - when opposition criticized mayor about dam, mayor told them *Fuck you!* on TV. Albania, for so many years like an entire country locked in prison, now confused and jobless on the outside.

People in west now uninterested in Albania, since current trend is to only notice places after you bomb them."

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

THE NEVER COMPLETE LIST OF ANARCHIST GROUPS,
PROJECTS AND COLLECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE.

Armenia

"Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; <http://anarx.h1.ru>; vaga@freenet.am

Belarus

ANTYFA - antifascist group; antyfa@mail.ru

Autonomous Action / Grodno - Grodno P. O. Box 38 230015 Grodno; Belarus.

Autonomous Action / Minsk - Minsk P. O. Box 34 220030 Minsk; Belarus.

"Navinki" - anarchist newspaper; navinki@user.unibel.by

Bulgaria

"Anarho Sprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>

"Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; svoboda@bulgaria.com

"Anarchy in BG" - web-site; <http://change.to/anarchy>; anarchy@bulgaria.com

Croatia

AFA - anarchist antifa network; www.vjecniotpor.vze.com

AnFema (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - anfema@zamilir.net

"Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; K.Rojc@monteparadiso.hr

Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com

ZAP / Zagrebacki Anarhisticki Pokret (Zagreb's Anarchist Movement); www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707; zapzg@zamilir-zg.ztn.apc.org

Czechia

ABC-CSAF - c/o P.H., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen. abc@csaf.cz

AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100 81 Praha 105; afa-praha@volny.cz

"A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective. po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; a-kontra@csaf.cz

CSAF / Czechia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation), po box 223, 111 21 Prague 1. intersec@csaf.cz www.csaf.cz/english

"Feminist Alliance of March 8" - @feminist group; fs8.brezn@centrum.cz

Info-Shop - Socharska 6; Prague.

"MILADA" - squat in Prague; milada.sq@volny.cz

ORA "Solidarity" - organization of revolutionary anarchists; L.K. po box 223; 111 21 Praha 1; oras_intsec@another.com www.solidarita.org

"PAPIRNA" - squat in Prague.

PH - international secretariat of CSAF intersec@csaf.cz

Hungary

GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM - bookshop run by anarchists; 1066 Budapest

O.u. 40; www.a1nfok.in1.hu; shmintaka@yahoo.com

Latvia

"ZABADAKS" - DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; www.nekak.lv; maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

Lithuania

"KABLYS" - anarchist squat in Vilnius; po box 790; Vilnius 2050; nindze@hardcore.lt

Macedonia

KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA - anarchist collective in Skopje; kolektiv_za_slobodarska_ideja@hotmail.com; slobodarska@zipplp.com; slobodarska@yahoo.com; slobodarska@hypocrisy.org

Poland

ABC/ACK - www.ack.most.org.pl

ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. biuletyn@ack.w.pl

ACK Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31. sanch@poczta.wp.pl

ACK Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.

ACK Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12. bifa@polbox.com

ACK Trojmiasto - Bartek Pomierski, ul.Wiewiorka 72; 80-126 Gdansk. pomierz@fiko2.onet.pl

ACK Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; 50-240 Wroclaw. pb@poprostu.pl

ACK Lublin - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30; 20-067 Lublin. cokier@poczta.onet.pl

ACK Lodz - Lukasz Pieczara, ul.Switzezianki 23/7; 91-496 Lodz 88. lukaszpieczara@box43.pl

Anarchist Library - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

Anarchist Library - ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw (burned out !!!).

"A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl

"BUNKIER" ("B 65", "NAGAKAKA") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 65; Torun.

"C-4" - alternative culture centre in Lodz (ul.Weglowa 4).

"Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc") - anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.

"De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Bialystok, address: ul.Czestochowska 14/2; tel.+48 608082442

EMANCYPUNX - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.

FA (Anarchist Federation) - some of FA-sections you can contact by local ABC/ACK groups.

FA-Praga (Warsaw) - J.Gawlikowski; po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4.

FA-Rzeszow - ul.Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel. 602517195

Food Not Bombs / Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45.

Food Not Bombs / Olsztyn - edelweiss@o2.pl

Food Not Bombs / Rzeszow - ul.Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.

Food Not Politics / Gliwice "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice.

Jedzenie i amiastr polityki / pocztanet.pl

"FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation and Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl

Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc" (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.

"INFOSZOP" - infoshop / anarchist & feminist library / info cafe; ul.Lotewska 11; saska kepa; Warszawa. Open: Monday-Thursday 18:00-20:00, Saturday 13:00-17:00, Sunday 14:00-17:00; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoshop (tel.+48 503676482).

inicjatywa Pracownicza FA (Workers Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers; Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.

KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl

K.U.R.W.A. - Anarchist Revolutionary Coeducative Feminist Group; www.alter.most.org.pl/kurwa; ptite@go2.pl; cube@zigzag.pl

"KROMERA" - squat/culture centre; ul.Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.

LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Krakow. testcyf@kr.edu.pl

LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Poznan. lets@poland.com

"LITTLE MARY" - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;

"Mac Paradiadka" - monthly anarchist magazine in polish; paradiadka@polbox.com

"PILON" - underground bar/cafe open Mo-Sa from 6pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city).

RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkpoptkin@wp.pl

"Radical Cheer Leaders" - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through Emancypunx.

"ROZBRAT" - squat / anarchist centre, ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

S.E.K.W. "KRZYK" - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul.Sienkiewicza 25; tel.+48 504878370).

SZWEJK - anti-military service; ul.Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31

"TEKNO COLLECTIVE" - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl

WIEDZMA (the WITCH) - anarcho feminist group; www.wiedzma.w.pl

"YA BANDA" - anarchist samba band Milanowek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl

Romania

Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action) - spleenpati@yahoo.co.uk

AACTIVIST Collective - Timisoara; pinkpanther@k.ro

C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist collective from city of Craiova. libertat-era@yahoo.com

"Revolutionshop" - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com

Russia

A-Distro - distribution of anarchist publications; po box 13; 109028 Moscow; dikobrazi@lists.taoo.ca; http://www.taoo.ca/~dikobraz/distro

Alliance of Kazan Anarchists - anti-mil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru

"ANARCHIVE" - russian language electronic library and archive of anarchist theory and practice; http://anarchive.da.ru

Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod P.O. Box 25 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia ad_nn@mail.ru

Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia - PO Box 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. e-mail: anliberation@rambler.ru

ANTI-FA Samara - anti_fa@mail.ru

Association of Anarchist Movements ADA - lack of contact address.

Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Sindicalists - lack of contact address.

Free Trade Unions Confederation - Tomsk; http://kulac.narod.ru

Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; e-mails: indyru@mail.ru; indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru (Moscow); indymedia_piter@pochtamt.ru (Petersburg); smeshno@riseup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)

IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation; www.angelfire.com/la/IOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru

JERRY RUBIN CLUB - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jrc@nm.ru; http://jerry-club.narod.ru

"MEGAPHON" - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail.ru

MPST (section of IWA) - mpst@mail.ru; http://www.geocities.com/llbcmru; http://mpst.tx.org; Saint-Petersburg

"NOVI SVET" - anarchist newspaper newworld@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989). This is also the contact for **Petersburg Antiwar Committee, Petersburg League of Anarchists (PLA) and Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA)**.

"NOZHI I VILKI" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zlonis@mail.ru; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia

OLD SKOOL KIDS - punk/hardcore label and distro oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru

RAINBOW KEEPERS - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses: Nizhniy Novgorod - yulika@dront.ru, klem@dront.ru

Votkinsk - votkinskr@mail.ru
Kasimov - rk@rk.ryazan.ru
(this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)

Perm - pullark@rambler.ru
Volgograd - maasha@rambler.ru
Ekaterinburg - vy2@mail.ru, dpon@etel.ru
Moscow - pupara@chat.ru, rkzd@seu.ru
Samara - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru
Rostov - rkrostov@don.sitel.net
Petersburg - tuull@mail.ru

S.H. SOUND SYSTEM - label & distro including political punk stuff; http://svino-

kop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com
Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk; http://www.skt.omsktown.ru

"UTOPIA" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopia@mail.ru

"Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library; Balaklavskij Prospekt, d.6 k.4, room 365; subway station "Tchertanovskaya"; Moscow; open: Tu 18-20, Sa 12-17.

"VOLYA" - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); obschtschina@plsem.net

"ZHEST" - anarcho-feminist magazine; zhest@plsem.net

AUTONOMOUS ACTION network:
Autonomous Action - network of anarchist & libertarian groups all over Russia.

po box 13; 109028 Moscow. fak-kr@mail.ru
Autonomous Action of Krasnodar (also for Avtonom-paper) P.O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia fak-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Moscow P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia dikobrazi@lists.taoo.ca

Autonomous Action (antiglobalist initiative project) - po box 3472; Krasnodar 350001. anti_bs@mail.ru

"Avtonom" - regular publication of Autonomous Action.

Cities with individual members connected to Autonomous Action: (for Best of Belarus, Kirov and Perm write to Krasnodar contact address)

Alma Ata - P.O. Box 149 480 000 Alma Ata Kazakhstan ad_eldar@hotmail.com

Belorechensk - P.O. Box 5 352630 Belorechensk; Russia suktivse@hotmail.ru

Brynka - P.O. Box 10 94100 Chelyabinsk - P.O. Box 18742 454021 Chelyabinsk; Russia vital@chel.surnet.ru

Irkutsk - Vladimir Skraschuk Poste Restante 664056 Irkutsk; Russia

Izhevsk (Udmurtian republic) antiwar@udm.ru

Kaliningrad - ska-konig@mail.ru
Kasimov - P.O. Box 52 391330 Ryazanskaya oblast Russia - rk@lavrik.ryazan.ru

Kolomna - Yuri Popov Poste Restante 140476 Moscow oblast, glavpochtamt.

Murmansk - P.O. Box 4614 183050 Murmansk; Russia.

Novgorod - Vitaliya Lapikina Poste Restante 173014 Novgorod; Russia; holo-sik@yandex.ru

Novorossisk - P.O. Box 144 353907 Novorossisk; Russia; ger2@mail.ru

Rostov-na-Donu - P.O. Box 4059 344103 Rostov-na-Donu; Russia; neponyatny@plsem.net

Saint-Petersburg - Bolshakov A.E. Poste Restante 192281 Saint-Petersburg; Russia blackguard@mail.ru

Sochi - d_m@pochtamt.ru
Tyumen - P.O. Box 4481 625001 Tyumen; Russia; roustam_f@hotmail.com

Volgograd - Vyacheslav Yashchenko ul. Novorossiskaya 16-56 400087; Volgograd; Russia

Voronezh - an-action@rambler.ru Anarh-vrn@yandex.ru

Yaroslavl - yar_anarchy@mail.ru
Yekaterinburg - kreator@mail.ru

Yoshkar - Ola P.O. Box 76 424028 Mari Republic Russia

Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:

http://ad-direct.newmail.ru - federal site maintained from Novorossisk

http://redskin.newmail.ru - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk

http://antjob.nm.ru - site against work, maintained from Moscow

http://anti-fa-da.ru - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara

http://potok.hotmail.ru - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk

http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists

http://www.poe5.narod.ru - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod

http://www.taoo.ca/~dikobraz/distro - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union

http://www.almaty-liberty.boom.ru - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan, a group which has individual members in AD although is not affiliated itself.

Serbia

IAS / Initiative for Anarcho-Syndicate - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org

IAS-ADA - anarchist library of local group of IAS; c/o Slobodan Gajin, Vojvodjanskih Brigada 15b/8, 24430 Ada.

RRR (Radical Resource Room) - polit/cultural project in Kraljevo, kontra@ptt.yu

Slovakia

AFA-Bratislava (Antifascistická Akcia Bratislava) - bacity_afa@yahoo.com

AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia) - afa_sk1@hotmail.com

CIRNY KRIZ (CK, Black Cross) - cierny-kriz@yahoo.com.

CSAF / Slovakia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation); csaf_sk@hotmail.com; csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com

Nakladatelstvo Bod Zlom (NBZ, Point of Fault) - publisher of anarchist literature; lack of contact address.

PRIAMA AKCIA (Direct Action) - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; priamaakcia@yahoo.com

Slovenia

AC MOLOTOV - cultural-political social centre (squat) in Ljubljana; Kurilniska 3; 1000 Ljubljana; events@acmolotov.org; www.acmolotov.org

AFA LJ - Antifascistna Akcija Ljubljana; anarchist AFA group; afa.lj@volja.net

Ukraine

Autonomous Action / Lugansk - com_act@mail.ru

"Nabat" - ukrainian libertarian anarchist newspaper, www.nabat.info; azarov@hot-box.ru

Turkey

ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent - abcankara@yahoo.com

kARA ev kolektifi (collective of black house) - anarchist project in Istanbul; karaev@excite.com

Educate ~ Organize ~ Protest

The first Conference of Autonomous Action

Moscow - Russia; 14-16 February 2003

@ @ @

First Balkan Anarchist Bookfair

Ljubljana-Slovenia; 27-30 March 2003

@ @ @

East European MayDay 2003

Shake the Continent !

@ @ @

Bicycle Caravan to the EU-Summit in Thessaloniki

Slovenia - Croatia - Serbia - Bulgaria

From April till June 2003

@ @ @

No Border Camp

Romania; 9-15 June 2003

@ @ @

International Anarchist Meeting - EE

Warsaw-Poland; 27-30 June 2003

connected with ...

INTERNATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST BORDER POLITICS and ...

NoBorder Activities

on the eye of removing the eastern borders of EU

Analyse ~ Resist ~ Create New