

ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

ISSUE # 17

BI-MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

SEPTEMBER 2004

There is

NO ESCAPÉ®

Wake Up!

Without

Nestle

ANARCHIST COURIER FROM EASTERN EUROPE

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation 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 order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over 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 EE which 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 cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and it's 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 Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. 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. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

An anarchist courier

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/anti-authoritarian activities in Eastern Europe.

Editorial team

Is a part of an international anarchist collective based around east-european activists living in Berlin. Our work would be not possible without great cooperation of our correspondents around EE.

Abolishing Collective

This collective was created in Autumn 2001 in Berlin by east-european migrant anarchists. As well as this publication the collective also organizes radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings, cultural events. We're cooperating with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and supporting local and global struggle against all kinds of oppression and for free-society.

Correspondents

Our work is based on relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which are covering the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on no-profit bases.



Executors

Correspondents: Dima (Lvov - Ukraine), Orest (Pristina - Kosovo); Pavel (Prague - CS), Krivash (Bratislava - Slovakia), Marija (Skopje - Macedonia), Saszka (Grodno - Belarus), Nastya (Minsk - Belarus), Anri (Moscow - Russia), Tuuli & Slon (Petersburg - Russia), Domas (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Ryga - Latvia), Maja-Tine-Matej (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Tavi (Timisoara - Romania), Mutlu (Ankara - Turkey), Soja, Laura, Zaczek, Michu (Bialystok, Warszawa, Torun - Poland), Rebel Mouse (Belgrad - Serbia), Lajos (Budapest - Hungary).

Publishing, editing, text treatment, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, distribution to the local distributors, web-side mastering ...: ABB Collective

English-proof: JFK and Manuel
Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB + YellowKid

Other sources of info

These are: "alterEE" EE-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC/Poland - info bulletin, "Avtonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, Russian indymedia; KOLOKOL newsletter; Chechnya Newsletter; "AACTIV-ist Newsletter" from Romania & others.

Co-operation

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to 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 upcoming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can 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 texts send to:

abolishingBB@hotmail.com

Please send your graphics/photos only to:

abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. 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

More complex information on page 5.

Free copies / Print-Run

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian librarians in Eastern Europe (which get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address. At the moment we print by ourselves 1200 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

Financial side

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our editorial costs only through selling the newspaper so we are always very open for some benefits from outside.

bad english reputation

As you probably noticed *the english* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its grammatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *english* in which most of our correspondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *english* which is understandable for ourselves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "bad english reputation" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way eliminate probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especially in south and eastern Europe.

AbolishingBB online

You can find us as well online under:

www.abb.hardcore.lt

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of all texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Some of them will never lose of its worth! Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

Deadlines

Deadline for next issue: 15.10.2004

Cover

Expression of our solidarity with "Boycott-Nestle" campaign of Polish workers.

**We are again in financial crises ...
... Support AbolishingBB magazine !**

pages 6-7



THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S THIRD SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE PLACE IN WARSAW

"We are asking people for now to spread the information about the conference and contact us if they might be interested in a protest action"

pages 8-9/20-21



INTERVIEW WITH ANARCHIST FROM BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

"Imagine, we were stucked for few years here, listening only music from 80's and the world was going on everywhere outside of Bosnia..."

pages 10-11



NESTLE BOYCOTT IN POLAND INTERVIEW AND REPORT

"The GOPLANA factory survived two wars, the occupation, 45 years of communism, stalinism, but it didn't survive capitalism. I don't understand the policies of the government, not only the current one but all those before it as well"

pages 12-13



THE FIRST WOMEN CAMP IN BELARUS

"In Belarus the image of the women as mother is the most popular image of women. It is like a counterbalance to Lukashenko as the father of the state"

pages 16-18



INTERVIEW WITH ANFEMA ANARCHA-FEMINIST GROUP FROM CROATIA

"We can say that traditional feminism just made the bigger cage with harder bars"

pages 22-25



REPORT FROM RADICAL ECOLOGICAL PROTEST CAMP IN PERM - RUSSIA

"Goal of the protest camp is a total revoke of criminal program to utilise rocket engines and their fuel in Perm. Protest camp will last until decisive victory ..."

pages 30-31



ANTI-NATO IN ISTANBUL

Personal account from ANTI-NATO counter-summit which took place in Istanbul / Turkey on 28-29 of June

A place under the sun - Moscow Student-Protests in Ukraine* Zero Tolerance in Slovakia* Anniversary of M.Bakunin* Columns*

"As a rare publication focused around news and struggles, many different kinds of anarchists, from the technocratic anarcho-syndicalists to primitivists, from communists to individualists, from riot romantics to pacifists, get excited because of it. ABB has found people who are making similar publications in French and in German (in Austria). Besides

translations, the concept of the publication has also spread geographically. A group in South Africa put out at least a few issues of a similar kind of publication attempting to network anti-authoritarian initiatives in Africa. Also a few people related to PGA Asia have an idea to put out a similar kind of horizontal publication linking Asian grassroots initiatives"

"We realized only when we were back in Berlin that in all this chaos we have actually reached much more than we were expecting. Not only did we get to know our old correspondents better and could discuss with them and ask them about their expectations from ABB, but we established 2 new correspondents from Ukraine and Kosovo"

"There was no clear point of view on what exactly should be the target group, it was agreed that currently ABB reaches first of all anarchist activists. It was mentioned that in an ideal situation it could also network struggles and radical workers in a wider sense. But for this to work one should probably make publications in local languages as well."

"There are reports that ABB is read by some students and even one Professor in the University of Hamburg, which brings us to the conclusion that there is potential interest in reading ABB in other than just anarchist spectrums. We will slowly try to reach those people without changing the character, contents or form of the newspaper."

"It was agreed that the concept of the publication is an unusual success story. One person noted that the publication could be some 60 pages long in order to have room to get deeper into some issues - although gaining popularity in conscious stu-

dent circles is obviously the last thing we want (...) It was also noted that the journal mostly looked the way the correspondents make it, that the contribution of editors to content is minimal"

"The concept was clear from the beginning: we wanted

"Where do we get 25 of black pyjamas now?"

minutes from AbolishingBB meeting in Belgrade

to provide a regular space for EE anarchists to promote their ideas, analyses and struggles in an international forum, and we as the editorial collective will basically try not to interfere with this by bombarding the magazine with our own ideas"

"There was only one new substantial proposition for the contents of the journal - a section of letters was proposed"

"We have so many ideas on how to make this newspaper more fitting to the EE reality, but we are consciously introducing them step by step so that we do not overrun ourselves."

"Increased publication frequency (to 12 issues/year) was discussed more than once. Nobody was strongly against it, but since we currently have no means to raise the publication frequency to monthly, it was agreed that we would discuss this issue next time in 2007"

"It should be mentioned that while the number of correspondents is increasing regularly, the editorial collective getting smaller and smaller. As long as we do not rebuild the editorial team, we will be not be able to run the monthly magazine."

"ABB faces constant financial difficulties, and there is never any certainty about financing to publish next issue after distribution of the previous one. Editors also believe that even raising our prices for readers from developed countries would be of little help. The current system, where ABB is distributed only by regional distributors, was about as much of a headache as the previous situation where people sent money for single issues by mail. There was also doubt about how much effort regional distributors put into promoting the journal locally. So ABB is in a constant need of

more active and orderly distributors. Distribution work is such a hellish job that the person responsible for task has changed most often in the collective. June 2004 issue, "#16", made a good experience of sponsorship. Active Distribution from London just donated money for

printing the issue. Editors had the idea to develop more around this model, since it would save the huge effort of getting money from the distributors for distribution. However, such a model of financing would also be very insecure, since there would never be any certainty of finding a sponsor for the next issue. At least one person was principally against publishing DIY advertisement in ABB."

"If we started doing advertisements, we would have to limit the space given to political texts or print an issue the size of a book every 2 months. Both things are not acceptable. We have a bad financial concept because basically all of us hate to deal with the issue of financing. Probably it would help if someone without such an allergy would join the collective. (Un)fortunately there are not many such people in our community"

"The reasons to print the paper in Berlin had to be explained a couple of times, since no doubt printing in some Eastern-European country would be significantly cheaper. However that would demand some very tricky logistical operations to transfer issues to Berlin for posting. The Current printhouse in Berlin is close to the activist scene, and has always been very friendly and flexible about the fuckups that are so common with projects such as ABB. So in order to change printhouses, there should be something more than purely economic reasons. Currently a group of anarchists in Bosnia is investing to get their own typography, and since printing costs in Bosnia are the cheapest in Europe, there may be the option to print posters and brochures related with the project there. However, this is not yet an option for printing journal"

"The circle of correspondents around EE is almost complete. Only Albania, Moldova, Hungary and Estonia remaining without correspondents. Most of the old ones seem to stay motivated, which makes our cooperation more of a pleasure and more effective. All of them are dedicated activists so the reports we get are often first hand"

"Half East Europe is Russia, so it would be good to have more Russian correspondents. During the last couple of months so much has been happening that it has been impossible to cover everything"

"Many correspondents also said that reminding people about the deadline for submission is a good tradition as well, although it has been on the 15th day of every second month since the first publication. The Editorial collective promised to make all correspondents with amnesia a t-shirt with the number "15" on it"

"Actually we are going to get them pyjamas with number "15" on them, since this is something that can get lost so quickly e.g. during trouble with police, or while dancing pogo. But now - where do we get 25 of black pyjamas?"

These were minutes from the meeting of editors and correspondents of AbolishingBB written by one of our correspondents and one of the editors. The Meeting took place in Belgrade during the PGA conference. It should enough to replace a proper report from this meeting which was the first of its kind since the project has been established. It should also give you an idea of where we are today with our project. Our trip to Belgrade is also a reason why this issue is coming out so late. But it was definitely worth it to miss one issue in order to spend a great time and make deeper personal contacts with people working on this newspaper.

Read AbolishingBB, let the others know about its existence, make use of the information you find here - a bunch of very dedicated persons are behind it. Some of them you will meet ne day. Watch out - they can speak English even worse than they write! AbolishingBB

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GROUND-ZERO-OFFICE IN BERLIN

issue # 11 - August 2003: editorial proclamation; Oppression of freedom of speech in Belarus (call for solidarity with "Navinki"); 3 pages of short info from around EE; Class conflict as an aphrodisiac for successful communication (IAS Serbia); Two weeks of anti-border and anarchists activities in Poland (report); Protest camp in Azov in South Russia (report); Anti-border camp in Dorjan on Greek-Macedonian Border (report); No-Border camp in Romania (report); Chechnya is the dead end of statist logics (statement of Autonomous Action Moscow); the Anarchocommunist Alternative AKA (founding declaration of a new group - Czechia); Platformism without illusions (NEFAC interviews ORAS); Bicycle Caravan through balkans (travel and action report); One more villain on the international scene (article by L.Akai); State's Violence (text by Rebel Mause); East-West Meeting of AnarchoSyndicalists and Revolutionary Anarchists (historical text by Antti Rautiainen); Communities in Struggle.

issue # 12 - October 2003: Workers' Protests in Poland (several texts); Proposal for next year NoBorder Camp; 2 pages of short reports from around EE; "Two houses evicted and no home for squatters in Ljubljana (story); Campaign for community center in Zagreb (report); Squat being created in Belgrade (report); News from Autonomist Collective - Torun (report); "Dealing with war, war makers and apathetic society" (Chechnya); "Reasons of War in Chechnya"; "No War between the people- no peace between the classes" (Chechnya); Half interview - half masquerade with NAVINKI (Belarus); Volja (presentation of Russian magazine); Kolokol Newsletter; Falkor I.C.Y. newsletter; "The EU, anti-EU movement and feminist perspectives" (Poland); Rainbow Keepers conference (report); "City rising against methanol terminal" (Russia - report); ABC-moscow; Repression in Romania; Calendar of workers' protests in Poland 2002; Communities ...

issue # 13 - December 2003: Growing resistance against McDonalds and big business (collection of texts from Russia, Poland, Macedonia, Serbia, Lithuania and Romania); short infos from around EE; Uzbekistan and Western Capitalist interests (part 1); Squatting activities (reports from Petersburg, Skopje, Lithuania and Torun/Poland); Interview with Ratibor T. Trinovac from Serbian ASI; Summary of XVII General Assembly of Polish Anarchist Federation; presentation of various anarchist publications; reports on fascist activities in Romania, Poland and Lithuania; "It's all the same shit" elections in Croatia; workers struggle in Poland, Ukraine and Russia; and much much more !!!

issue # 14 - February 2004: The Alternative Economic Forum, Warsaw Poland April 28-30 2004 (presentation of alternative Summit intentions and topics); Building a critique of the new European Economics; Terrorism: the bogymen of XXI century (public announcement); Peoples Global Action (3rd European Conference and historical perspectives in Europe); Reports from squatting activities; Repressions (Process against Krasnodar anarchist; International solidarity needed for Romanian anarchists; When civil cops are calling - work of secret services); RAZAM! (interview with Belarusian group); Counterculture pages (The case of Nieznalska); Workers Working on their own instead of dismissals (tragic situation of Silesia region in Poland); Campaign against The US Military Base in Poland; CAUCASUS BLOCK: Uzbekistan and Western capitalist interests (part 2); Who needs to take Georgia under control (article); Neighbor war, either peace: Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan); A call for an International Day of Action against War in Chechnya; Columns by Correspondents (Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Russia); and more !

issue # 15 - April 2004: And what happened to the dogs (editorial article); EEF coming to Warsaw (various articles and interview with activist from Warsaw); different info about NoBorder activities; "Vote Putin or Die" - interview with Russian activist after presidential elections in Russia; International Conference "Media and Xenophobia"; "Social explosion in Eastern Slovakia"; (sub)cultural pages; Anarchist Black Cross reports from Russia and Poland; Anti-NATO activities in Hungary and Turkey; Anti-fascist report from Poland; Various shorter texts about situation in Chechnya; Report from Latvia; report from Autonomous Action conference; Columns by our correspondents (this time: Laura and Pavel); and much more stuff !

issue # 16 - June 2004: "so the bull-fist is more visible now" editorial article; interview with activists from Serbia before PGA conference in Belgrade; Workers protests in Poland; East-European Mayday; NATO-summit in Istanbul (interview); Slovak students protests; NoBorder activities reports; (sub)Culture pages; Statement by ASI concerning outburst of violence in Kosovo; New Romanian Indymedia; European Economic Forum in Warsaw - report and sum up; Unnoticed News; Anti-fascist struggles in Russia; ABC-Moscow reports; Situation in Uzbekistan; Columns; Announcements; Communities in Struggle; Upcoming events and more!

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Distributors needed!

If you think that you can help with filling that network up, especially in Ireland, Spain, Switzerland or Portugal ...
LET US KNOW !

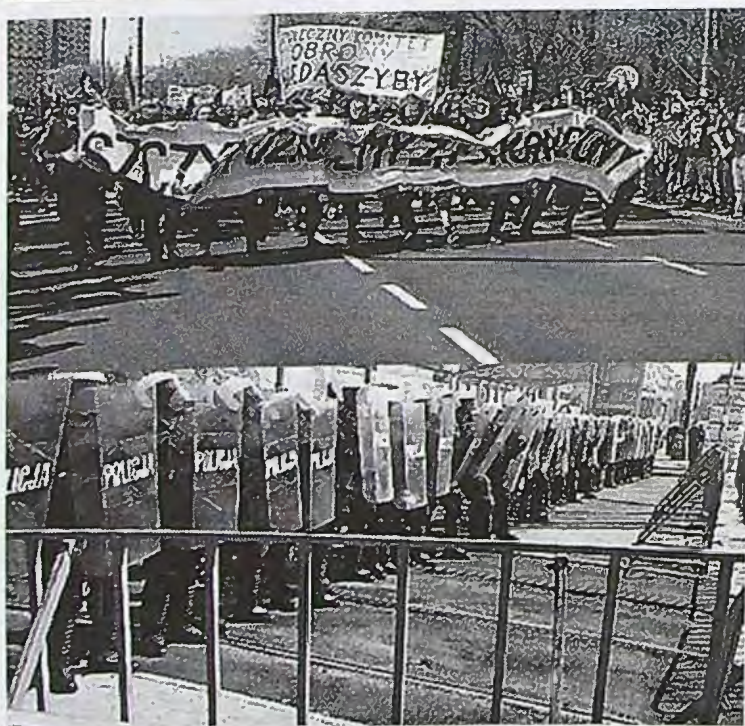
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COUNCIL OF EUROPE SUMMIT

TOWARDS A CITIZENS' CRITIQUE OF THE EU CONFERENCE

May 2005, Warsaw, Poland

"The summit planners have developed a strategy of inviting select NGOs to come and voice their concern about issues, but we reject this strategy; we see such NGOs as playing a part in the machine and not actually encouraging citizen's action against it. We DO think that the questions on the agenda are interesting and relevant - but we want to discuss them with other people with a view towards developing a critique and a strategy to overthrow institutions of power"



The Council of Europe's Third Summit of Heads of State and Government will take place in Warsaw on 16-17 May 2005. This Summit is an extremely important event which takes place very rarely and will be attended by the most important people in European politics. (The last summit took place 8 years ago in Strasbourg.) A conference has been called for the days preceding the event and we are discussing the scale of protest we should plan for it. We are asking people for now to spread the information about the conference and contact us if they might be interested in a protest action.

WHAT IS THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE?

The Council of Europe is NOT the Council of the European Union; it is the oldest European institution with 45 member states. (The US, Canada, Mexico, Japan and Israel have observer status in the COE.) Its self described purpose is to: defend human rights, parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, to develop continent-wide agreements to standardise member countries' social and legal practices, to promote awareness of a European identity based on shared values and cutting across different cultures. The role of the COE has changed since its inception but, since 1989, it describes its own primary functions as: to acting as a political anchor and human rights watchdog for Europe's post-communist democracies, to assisting the countries of central and eastern Europe in carrying out and consolidating political, legal and constitutional reform in parallel with economic reform, or providing know-how in areas such as human rights, local democracy, education, culture and the environment. To do this, it has created a vast bureaucratic machine in Strasbourg with a 626 member Parliamentary Assembly and a budget exceeding 180 million euros in 1994 alone. Its work is often tied to the work of the EU and, in fact, its symbols have been adopted by the EU which has led to much confusion in the public eye. (The COE invented the famous blue flag with the yellow stars and took the Ode to Joy Anthem which makes its symbolic representation indistinguishable from the EU.)

But its scope is much larger. It is an influential body providing economic and political policy recommendations and resolutions for the EU and the larger Europe. (Countries such as Turkey, Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaidzan are included in the COE as well.) It works in close connection with not only the EU but with EBRD, OSCE, NATO, OECD, the IMF, ECB and others.

TOWARDS AN ANARCHIST CRITIQUE OF INSTITUTIONALISED POWER

As anarchists, our critique of the state and international state and monetary institutions is clear. Yet somehow articles and protest actions tend to focus of certain institutions more than others; there is plenty to talk about when it comes to resistance or actions against the WTO, IMF or NATO but we rarely see image pollution campaigns, critical information or actions against other bodies such as the UN or OSCE. In particular, institutions which ostensibly deal with "human rights" often have hidden agendas and are rarely the subject of investigation or criticism. (A notable exception could be the campaign against the IOM.) Yet it is exactly these institutions which appear to be carrying on innocuous or even beneficial work that are often behind the policies of some of the more well-known and exposed organizations and it is them who can take over the helm in developing global capitalist policy in the case where too much exposure has been given to the role of others.

In the process of a critical examination of the mega-machine, we must develop a clearer picture of what different institutions actually do and create a map with which one can analyse the interconnectivity of the work of these organizations. We expect some NGOs to also occupy a place on this map. Only through a more critical analysis and examination of the mechanisms of power can we hope to expose the inner workings of the machine and develop a strategy for destroying it.

We understand capitalism in and of itself to be a form of institutionalised power as most worldwide institutions are in its servi-

ce. We are particularly interested in revealing capitalism's disguises, in showing where capitalism has co-opted areas and terms such as "workers' rights" to forward its agenda. There are no statist solutions to the problems of social inequity, nor can any organizations working as part of the machine do anything but camouflage the real nature of problems and attempt to convince people that the road to change lies through institutions and experts acting within the legal framework allowed by those in power and not through self-organization, direct action, revolutionary measures and non-hierarchy.

WHY WE FEEL THIS SUMMIT IS IMPORTANT

First and foremost, we feel that, in light of the above-mentioned considerations, this summit cannot take place without a critical response. Like at any summit, we feel that these are not the people who should be discussing and deciding on our behalf and in our name. The summit planners have developed a strategy of inviting select NGOs to come and voice their concern about issues, but we reject this strategy; we see such NGOs as playing a part in the machine and not actually encouraging citizen's action against it. We DO think that the questions on the agenda are interesting and relevant - but we want to discuss them with other people with a view towards developing a critique and a strategy to overthrow institutions of power. We don't want to discuss them to giving lip-service to these problems, to make the state seem to work better or find a solution that appeals to our masters.

At this summit, there will actually be a rare chance to protest a meeting where many heads of state will be present; at the last summit, speakers included Chirac, Blair, Prodi, Yeltsin, Stefanopolous, Kohl, Aznar, Persson, Kuchma, Ahern, Brauzauskas, Rasmussen, Constantinescu, Stoyanov, Tudjman, Havel, Kok, Ahtisaari, Ter-Petrosian, Aliiev, Sheverdnadze, Jospin and Kwasniewski, to name a few.

We also feel that it is significant that Warsaw was picked to host this summit. It is not only because of its perceived role in the new Europe but due to the fact that it is difficult to mobilize an anti-summit to this city.

WHAT KIND OF MOBILIZATION CAN WE EXPECT

In our opinion, the scale of the mobilization will have to depend on whether there is an organized international element involved. For this reason, we would like to put the cards on the table now and see if there is any response.

Last year, at the European Economic Forum in Warsaw (part of the WEF), there was also a mobilization. This was not the first international event to take place in Poland but it was the first one of this size. (A few thousand people attended. Of this, probably 200-250 people from abroad came.) Reaction to

these events were mixed in many senses, but people generally agree that given the amount of people locally who organized these events in the face of unprecedented (for us) police pressure, a relatively good job was done. There were, however, some downsides. Money and people power were a constant problem. Quite frankly, we spent more money than we were able to fundraise and the resources (in terms of time and money) spent on the mobilization were considerable. There are different opinions as to whether the fruits of the action were worth channelling so much time and such great resources into this mobilization. The general infrastructure of the anarchist movement in Poland is not extremely strong, but not weak either. We need to spend time and money on everyday projects such as spaces, magazines, books, events - and if we hold a mass mobilization every year, we may be less effective on a day-to-day basis. (This point is arguable however; there is no consensus on strategy.)

Our organizing capabilities will probably not improve significantly over last year. This means that, most likely, we will be able to comfortably and relatively easily launch a national or modest international mobilization but, if we would like an improvement over last year in terms of people power and events, we need to find partners in different locations who will try to: 1) organize groups locally with a view to coming here and will work in conjunction with us 2) fundraise to help support the project.

Now is the time for groups to think of this call and think about whether they can help. If just 5 or 10 organizations in Europe decided to sign a common call with Polish activists and to help a bit with organization, it would make a world of a difference to us in terms of what can be organized. We can also look at this as a challenge to better integrating eastern european and western european activists and projects. We are hoping that some people will respond to the preliminary information quite promptly as this may make all the difference in the scale of mobilization we could hope to achieve.

CONFERENCE

Protest alone does not cut it. Anarchists need to approach the public with a critical analysis, ideas and information and engage people in a way which opens up a dialogue. Conferences can tend to be a bit too academic and theoretical, as well as establishing groups of experts - but they can also be good venues for people to get ideas they wouldn't normally hear about and start a dialogue with us. Although we, as organizers of the Alternative Economic Forum in Warsaw last year, had some criticisms of the how the organization went or some minor criticisms about the event itself, we were quite pleased that many people from outside the political scene came to listen to talks and discuss things, even despite the fact that police helicopters were flying overhead and we had to change the venue at the last minute and

couldn't publicize it. Although this event may have been relatively modest in comparison to many held in Western Europe, for Poland it was a good turnout. It was also majorly important for us to present ideas to people in an atmosphere where the media were presenting us as imbeciles bent on destruction instead of people representing a social philosophy, practice and movement.

On this occasion, our little local team in Warsaw (consisting of some activists from the Anarchist Federation, but, probably with future cooperation from some other individuals and organizations) has decided to hold a conference that we had actually wanted to do a year or two before - on the politics of the European Union. We hope that the call for such a conference preceding the Council of Europe meeting will not lead to confusion between the EU and the COE, but, in fact, much of the politics in the EU is the politics of the COE, so there is great overlap. (Some aspects of COE may even be discussed at the conference.) There are many reasons to do this conference rather than dedicate time to examining the COE more specifically or going the route of a more general social forum. Basically, we feel that the issue of the EU is important but it is rarely addressed from an anti-capitalist or anti-statist perspective, at least in this end of Europe. In other words, we've wanted to make a public conference on this topic for a long time; the timing of the conference, on the weekend immediately preceding the Summit, will hopefully mean more interest and better attendance. This event will be organized separately from any mobilization for the Summit and will take place regardless of whether it will be accompanied by a mass mobilization.

We are inviting people now to help in preparation. The title (unless we have a much better proposal quickly) will be: **TOWARDS A CITIZENS' CRITIQUE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**, May 14-15, Warsaw Poland. We have compiled a list of topics we'd like to see on the agenda but of course we are open to other suggestions. We would really like to stay strictly within the confines of EU politics, European politics or international politics related to the EU. We also will not invite anybody who comes from a patriotic, nationalist or protectionist stance. Of course we expect that a few topics listed here may not make it on the agenda, but these are our preliminary ideas; anybody who feels that they could either speak or lead an open discussion on any of these should please contact us.

The Militarization of the EU • The Power of Decision Making • The Capitalist Agenda as Managed by EU Structures • A Critique of the Concept of European Heritage • NGOs and the EU Agenda • Common European Policing, from SIS to Europol • The COE and the OSCE • Agricultural Policies • The Border Situation and Migration • The Realities of a Two-Tiered Europe • The Impact of Expansion One Year On

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"Imagine, we were stucked for few years here, listening only music from 80's and the world was going on everywhere outside of Bosnia..."

"To be nationalist became so normal that everybody understand it - if you are not, you are treated like crazy. On one hand nobody needs to prove it then, but also people know how escalation can look like..."

"Students are losted, they are probably most stupid and depoliticized part of society. Most radical and conscious are actually the pensioners (...) they know and understand world and local politics more than all this young idiots. Middle generation brought war and nationalism, (...) and the youngest ones have just religious education, christian or muslim"

INTERVIEW WITH ANARCHIST FROM BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA



Bosnia & Herzegovina is country with maybe smallest, yet since few years already active, anarchist community in our region. In ABB#9 we already printed an article written by one of our Bosnian comrades, below we print excerpts (in form of interview) from longer talk with Bosnian anarchist activist, that was made recently in Mostar. It is about past, present and future perspectives, about role which international money plays in that region, about specific relationships between common people and of course about how local anarchist community deal with this reality. We hope it will give all of you more impressions about this country and incomparable difficulties, that activists face there... Respect and solidarity to our comrades in BiH and thanx for all!

Could you shortly describe political and economical situation in Bosnia?

BiH (Bosnia and Hercegovina) consists of 2 entities: Republica Srpska and Federation of BiH. There are some local differences, but generally situation is similar all over the country. Privatisation was started already in Yugoslavia in 1991 after election of first so called "democratic government". They begun to give shares to the workers, so every self-managed company would become share-holders company (workers "own" company but through shares). After war started they declared that everything is state's property, so privatisation was attempted through the wartime also, but after intervention of international community it was forbidden. After war it started all over again. Lot of industry was destroyed during a war, much of the rest later, due to interests of international capitalists. In order to sell these companies for smallest possible price (1 euro deals), people without any management skills chosen by political parties been put deliberately in high position, so to corrupt and rob. For example chemical factory in Tuzla which worked all time during the war even, failed, because management didn't payed to the workers, didn't payed bills but spend huge amounts on presentations, new cars, etc. so now they can sell this company only as a warehouses or other cotton factory near Mostar (only one in this region). bought by austrian company just to eliminate competition and simply closed. Recently it was in Mostar conference on economics, with IMF bosses, local politicians and President (we have 3 of them, of course) said: "Privatisation is going great! There is no single bank here owned by citizen of BiH!" Economical situation is really bad, officially 46% unemployed, actually much more, but like with other things in Bosnia is hard to say, because it was lot of displacements, migration and no statistic been done after war, even how many people live here. Also many people has 2 or 3 citizenships (Croatia, Serbia, BiH), because they can benefit from it some ways. Food prices are like in EU, many survives just on bases: bread, cigarettes and coffee.

How it looks on local level, here in Mostar?

In region of Mostar was always many Croats, mostly they had been also better well off, so here was somehow always more money. For example Croats soldiers been payed 10 times more than soldiers of BiH or of RS, croatian government gave also lot of money for disabled, demobilized soldiers, social care, etc. Mostar is now most expensive town in the country. Socially it is also better, because at least some tourism is going on. Almost no production is going on, jobs available are shopsellers, bar stuff, except of this lot of NGO's and other foreign organisations of different colour, which employs huge amount of people as cleaners, drivers, office-help, etc.

In Europe, probably only BiH and Kosovo are countries under protectorate of international community supported by NATO armed forces. How society perceive them and how much influence they have on politics?

These forces are surely more accepted and tolerated than in any other country in the world, where they had their "missions". They came in '95 when war stopped after terrible bloodshed, impossible to imagine, and they separated the armies. So when the Dayton agreement was signed most of people was celebrating all over the country. People on all sides greet them. Yet they didn't perceived them as "peace bringers" as they knew that they played also big part in this war (financially, politically and in every other aspect), also in starting the war. But they are tolerated, because for most of people everything is better then this war. But the thing is that they never allow any kind of development coming from initiative of local people. It is not possible. First thing they done was to order privatisation. People which came back home after war wanted just to start normal life, come back to their work places, etc. For years now they had been changing the laws, because all process of transition is done strictly according to rules of World Bank, WTO and IMF. Governor of "National Bank of BiH" is englishmen Peter Nicole set by IMF and informal king of the country is Paddy Ashdown from British Liberal Party, his position is called *Office of Higher Representative (OHR)* and his office suppose to be representative of international community. According to Dayton agreement it suppose to be person observing if this agreement is implemented in sense of return of refugees, property claims, etc. but basically it was never clearly defined which is the body to which he is responsible to, as so far he only reads occasionally his reports at UN assemblies. He's insane fucking british neoliberal, which eg. ordered to created in 2 months 40 new laws and 20 new institutions, which was never heard of in history of this country. They also maintain nationalist parties in power, because in the past they had proved to be perfect to be manipulated, these parties steal all they can on local level, selling stuff to foreign companies. BiH is simply perfect, if you are middle-profile british politician to make career in diplomacy. Now they are enforcing privatisation of electricity, and if this country has anything, it is only these natural resources: rivers, forests... All 3 national trade unions (divided as all else ethnically), been totally against this proposal, but businessmen even made Hollywood-like show in Bunja Luka, they came and while presentation at press centre electricity went off, so to "prove" their arguments... Basically OHR has power to impose or change any law and they are not under jurisdiction of anybody only these omnipresent and careless "international community". People

are sceptical towards elections, cause many times they chosen parties, e.g. president of RS (nationalist anyhow) chosen by elections been taken off by OHR (firing politicians by OHR happens very often), so really OHR are the bosses and everybody is conscious of it. OHR has got all instruments of control too: SFOR forces, international police forces, etc. Nothing here happens without their permission.

How function ethnic divisions politically?

Since 1990 it was 3 national parties, which immediately formed coalition and wanted independence and 4th one was postcommunist SDP, which wanted to remain in Yugoslavia. They stay in power since then. Their impotence and failures was incredible, they changed nothing all these years, they only steal as much as they could. Every time before elections, OHR send forces, usually british SAS to arrest or kill some unwanted by them party members. People vote every time just national parties. Usually around 50% votes, many of them are actually living abroad, eg. in Sweden. Actually it's doesn't have to be even any cheating, all is too clear - 3 parties, always in some form of coalition. Basically these parties led people to war, started the war, robbed the people and continue robbing cause they have nothing to fear. Great times and place for mafia, especially that they are easily getting involved in political structures. All last years, those which can provide you employment and money are still people, which was war criminals or war-providers, they live best lives here and profit further. It is normal that government shake hands with them as they work together, but when international community came everybody expected that these murders will be punished or judged, that all armies will be disarmed. Yet they created 3 armies, gave them new weapons, new trainings. Murders been kept free and took control on local scales, most promoted on TV as successful businessmen are guys which took their profit during a war, through smuggling, etc. BiH is only country in the world maybe, which in its constitution don't recognize any right of individual, it's not even mentioned, only rights of Serbs, rights of Croats and rights of Bosniaks (muslim). So every year is like: President Serb, vicepresident Croat and secretary Bosnian, and so on. This ethnic separation goes on every level, including education: children go to separate schools, learn different history, different

geography even, different (few years ago was it one) language... In the official matters you must declare your nationality, but except of these 3 only accepted to declare is "others". Also in the activist scene here and in Croatia too some avoid word "balcan", it is somehow doomed. In Slovenia or Serbia they love it, sounds somehow and nostalgic. But you have to remember, that this what happened here could happen anywhere, it is not any local speciality, everywhere is hate, here was just fertile time for it...

As we know from other EE countries big role in initiating hate, politically and financially have right-wing diaspora. That ironically this most patriotic characters prefer to live abroad is another story... How it looks in Bosnia?



They play big role, but not as much as few years ago. All this nationalist parties been formed by fascist "dissidents", which left country after communists came to power in '45. Usually they went to Vatican, which gave them passports, then to South America, Austria Sweden, Canada, USA and Germany. All these years they had organized groups, carried on attacks on Yugoslav embassies. In 1972 they send group of Croat radical right-wingers, yet they got caught... Basically the money from fascist migration was foundation for all this nationalistic parties formed here in 1990. And as war started these guys took key position, like Croat Minister of Defence, that lived years in Australia. Also these people had been directly supported by governments of USA, Australia, etc. Now they have money and support from local communities, so diaspora is much less meaningful.

What about all young generation in Bosnia?

I think in all eastern european countries is similar: heavy drugs, apathetic feeling, no quality of life, you cannot go out because no money, so people creates their bubbles (video games, drugs, etc.), they live in

them and this bubbles often break... Here it is this post-industrial and post-war aspect, deadly combination, so many consciously chooses to fuck themselves up, lot of heroine of worst quality, and all kinds of DIY drugs. Number of suicides is high, very popular is activating hand-granade in your hands. As punk movement disappeared, only football fans left as some kind of subculture, very primitive and nationalist. Only new thing is hiphop, but only few things are good exceptions like very popular all over ex-Yu, Edo Maajka, which affects lot of people with political straightforward message. Mostly it is here really stupid, real gangsta shit, because there is lot of weapons in the country. First drug controlling gangs are starting. All mentality is migration or self-destruction oriented.

Are there on everyday level individual acts of racist aggression?

No, it happens very rarely. To be nationalist became so normal that everybody understand it - if you are not, you are treated like crazy. On one hand nobody needs to prove it then, but also people know how escalation can look like... The worst is for Roma, they out of all this, yet everybody hates them. Also in communist times they had bad time from society (state rather treat them fairly equal with everybody then) yet since the war they lost any rights, Roma childrens are dying frozen in center of the city...

War in Bosnia was infamous world-wide for systematic mass-rapes. How state and society supports these women now?

Rape happens in every war, because soldiers are mostly crazy fucked up men, especially when on drugs or drunken. And rape happened on all sides, yet the numbers been often blown up for propaganda purpose. Yet in peace time there is also lot of rape. And since war women are mistreated more and more, there is mass trafficking, etc. This society became even more patriarchal now...

What about gay/lesbians?

It is much more undercover than in Croatia, Slovenia or Serbia. For example here some time ago guy made show on local radio in Mostar, just explaining about these issues and after radical islamists waited for him outside, threatened to kill...

Surprisingly I saw many chinese shops around. Is there many immigrants in BiH?

There is many chinese immigrants since few years, mostly selling textiles, they builded up networks to get their families further to Croatia, then EU countries. They are not hated, nobody can say "They steal or work" because is no work anyhow, they sell cheap stuff and people here don't have problems with bad quality stuff unless it functions.. There is also few hundred of these from arab countries, which came voluntary to fight during the war mainly since autumn '92 and stayed. They had own unit in BiH army, very efficient fighters, very fanatic. Only them been crazy enough to ride on top of tank with bazooka hunting for targets. As they came they tried to implement sharia, mainly in Travnik, where I lived or Zenica. They made lot of terror, put curfew, forbid alcohol... Yet people in general never accepted them, never accepted this hard rules, so now they just have few small radical islamic communities, but not much influence. Bosnia & Herzegovina region is only country in Europe where muslims are majority, so there is lot of interest from Turkey, Iran, arab countries, but society never practised radically and they still don't. Already in '60's those which later formed nationalist party made "Islamic Declaration" in which they declared to created Islamic Republic of BiH, abolish all secular institution, but they got jailed, so they developed good connections with Iran, etc. which considered them martyrs. But you have to know, that it doesn't matter-fanaticism was on every side, every side cutting heads and brutal...

Are there existed any anarchist activities in region of BiH before the war and how it started after?

I don't know exactly, but all it was mostly connected to DIY punk scene. When war started, all of these politically conscious ones which been old enough, escaped the country to avoid the draft. New generation was raised in times of extreme violence and extreme nationalism, which are socially

to be continue on page 10/21

Don't buy, don't drink Nescafe coffee !!!

Nescafé Boycott - First people, then profits !

Activists of labour unions of Goplana in Poznan (NSZZ Solidarnosc), Workers' Initiative, Anarchists' Federation and Food Not Bombs were protesting in Poznan, Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Kraków, Sopot and Szczecin on Sunday the 27th of June. They called for a boycott of Nescafe. This is a form of protest against mass dismissal of workers and liquidation of workplaces in Poland.

Nestle is one of the biggest food producers in the world consisting of 452 factories (326 in Gwam network). More than 90% of these are outside Switzerland. A total of corporation's trade (209 billions Swiss franks) is much bigger than Polish budget. Nestle employs about 90.000 people, 2370 in Poland. The company appeared in Poland in 1993. In the first year of its work Nestle's trade reached a total sum of 8 million zloty. In 2003 the trade rose to almost 1 billion 400 million zloty. At the same time, over the past few years, Nestle fired thousands of workers in Poland. For example in Goplana factory in Poznan two thousand people have lost their jobs, as well as in Winiary factory in Koszalin. In Kobylnica two hundred people were fired. There are information that Nestle, before year 2006, wants to withdraw from production in Poland, but it will keep the position of dominant distributor. There are suspicions that Goplana factory in Poznan will be the first one forced to close.

Some time ago Nestle has stopped advertising Goplana's products. According to labour union members, this indicates that the factory in Poznan is going to be closed down. Worried about their employment, workers decided to call for the boycott of Nescafe coffee. During demonstration on the Old Market in Poznan, a few hundred citizens were present, many of whom joined the picket. Goplana workers were distributing leaflets with information about the boycott and free samples of Goplana products. "don't buy, don't drink Nescafe", "First people, than income" - were the paroles on the leaflets. A total amount of the leaflets distributed in Poznan was 4000. Along with sweets from Goplana, passerbys could have some coffee from Zapatists' collective production, imported on fair trade rules,

and some vegan house-made cookies. Similar actions were taken all over Poland.

In Krakow, anarchists' Federation and Workers' Initiative organized a picket in front of Nescafe café in the centre of the city. About 20 people gathered under banners with slogans like : "Nescafe Boycott" and "no more workers' dismissal", they were scanning verses like "don't drink at the thief's place" and "capitalism = cannibalism". During the picket, interested passerbys were informed about the case of the action, about the way coffee grains are gained from big plantations and violations of workers' rights, and treated with zapatists' coffee and cookies. "Do you value your addiction more than workers' rights?", "first people, than income" - these were the paroles of a picket on Nowy Swiat in Warsaw, where 15 people were protesting. Prior to the event, activists from Warsaw were disseminating leaflets in front of supermarkets in the city. In

Bydgoszcz and Sopot.

All kind of media in Poland were interested in the action. Nestle's spokesperson, Agnieszka Wasik, stated in Gazeta Poznanska (local newspaper in Poznan) that "calling for boycott, especially by workers and labour union, is not justified, incomprehensible and illogical". Labour union's members in Poznan are planning to organize further actions. Multinational corporation Nestlé tries to move the production out of Poland by a liquidation of workplaces and so it threatens a closure of Goplana plant - the symbol of city and region - that exist from 1912.

Since Nestlé appeared in Goplana 2000 people lost their jobs there. Employment in our plant decreased from 2700 to 715 workers. The reductions touched also 2000 workers from Winiary in Kalisz. Simultaneously in the same time Nestlé corporation had quite big profits. During last 10 years the sale of company increased from several million zlotys to 1,4 billion!

It is more and more sounded that Nestlé corporation is going to liquidate the production in Poland to 2006 at all, but it will still keep a strong position on polish food market. For example the production of sweets produced in Goplana will be moved to Hungary, Czech Rep., Bulgaria and other countries. During the beginning of negotiating the privatization contracts the corporation's authorities promised to invest in the development of polish food industry and increase the level of employment. Workers-shareholders of the company were fooled. The promises were never kept. A lot of generations of Wielkopolska inhabitants worked for the company's position. Mark Goplana is recognized all over the Poland. Today Goplana is replaced by Nestlé logo, sweets produced in our plant are no longer advertised. Beginning the protest, first we would like to promote the Goplana mark and second call all inhabitants of Wielkopolska and Poland to boycott one of the products of Nestlé - Nescafé.

Don't buy, don't drink Nescafé coffee!!! We demand bigger respect for our work, property and tradition!!! First people, then profits!!! KZ NSZZ "Solidarity" and workers of Poznan's Goplana



Szczecin, stickers with "don't buy" writing appeared on packets of Nescafe coffee in Carrefour and Geant stores. This action was organised, realized and promoted in the media by Workers' Initiative and Anarchists' Federation in

What is the situation of a plant belonging to the a world leading manufacturer of sweets and breakfast cereal?

We don't know what are the plans of the owner. As far as we can tell, there is a constant drop in production, despite the declarations that nobody intends to close down our enterprise.

But since the privatization in 1994 about 2000 people have lost their jobs. At this time, only about 700 people still work in the factory. The "voluntary departure program" has been launched. In the preceding months about

Interview with Dariusz Skrzypczak, the president of the "Solidarity" trade-union in Nestle Poland (ex-Goplana)

109 workers quit, even though the board planned to cut only 79 jobs. Another 50 people are waiting in the line. Our plants in Leszno and Sulechów have been liquidated, and only a plant in Kargowa remains. About 150 people has to commute to Poznan from Leszno (about 70 km).

Why are people quitting? Is it really because of the 30 or 60 thousand zloty that they receive when they quit?

If you take into account the situation on the work market, these are not large sums of

money, especially within the context of current changes in the labor code

which make stable employment more difficult to find. Some people are simply fed up with working here because of the atmosphere of fear which is widespread since Nestle came in. Nobody is allowed to voice their opinion, workers or managers or the local managers. The decisions of the Swiss center are put into effect ruthlessly. On top of that, anyone can see that the production is being phased-out, so the fate of the plant and of the people employed there is less than certain.

What rationale is given behind the decision to cut production?

They keep saying that this type of production is only seasonal and that there is a lot of competition and that the customers are not inter-

ested in our products. It seems strange, given the

fact that the production was going at full speed before the privatisation. The plant worked since 1912 and was founded in a specific political situation of economic struggle against German colonisation. The "Goplana" factory survived two wars, the occupation, 45 years of communism, stalinism, but it didn't survive capitalism. I don't understand the policies of the government, not only the current one but all those before it as well. It is sickening how prosperous Polish companies were sold out.

What was the ownership status of the plant at the time that Nestle came into play?

After the privatisation 47% shares belonged to the state, 47% to Nesile and 6% belonged to the workers. The workers were pressured to sell their shares. They were threatened and told that if they don't sell the shares they might lose their jobs. Some people even filed complaints to the district attorney against illegal threats, but the cases were dropped. The people who kept the shares didn't profit from that either.

Some ex-workers accused Nestle of manipulating share accounting and demanded huge compensations. But the court decided that infringement was on the side of the state and not that of Nestle. That's how it was. It has to be

"The GOPLANA factory survived two wars, the occupation, 45 years of communism, stalinism, but it didn't survive capitalism. I don't understand the policies of the government, not only the current one but all those before it as well"

added that Nestle Poland also owns the Winiary plant in Kalisz and that plant is also being threatened with restructuring.



How did your section of "Solidarity" came to being in such conditions?

In 1997 there was a lot of times the production was stopped. People were sent on mandatory leave. Our real wages fell significantly since

the plant was taken over by the Swiss. Some workers decided to do something

about it and so "Solidarity" was formed. The OPZZ [other branch of trade-unions of post-communist provenience] was already here. The union was met with antagonism from the start until this day. People are pressured not to join the union. We didn't manage to organise a union in Kargowa where 200 people are working. The people kept saying: "what good will it be that I will have legal protection if I join the union if they will not leave me alone here in the plant".

How many members are there in your union commission?

Presently our union has over a hundred members. I admire the unionists for not bowing to the constant pressure. It is said that we are the "bone in the throat of the employer". Our union is not a loved one. The executives from Nestle keep talking about a dialogue, and that the workers are a priority for them, but their policy is clear: if there is revenue they keep the plant, if there aren't, they move somewhere else. It's like a plague of locusts: as long as there is something to eat it feeds, but when the field is entirely devastated, they move on.

Don't buy, don't drink Nescafe coffee !!!

**"Asocials, out from the centre!"
or Zero tolerance reached Slovakia already...**

It seems like the viciously known policy of zero tolerance, that not so far ago started to embed its roots in more cities of Czech republic, slowly finds its way to Slovakia too. Although he didn't admit any connection to some wider policy, the mayor of capital city Bratislava declared hardline war against "asocials" in the centre of the city.

Zero tolerance as political conception has its origins in the 80's in USA and is not very based on some kind of serious social studies, but much more on folkish philosophy of "who lies, is also stealing". It presumes, that the society, which ignores small, even inconsequential, trespasses, is much more inclinable to committing of serious criminal delicts. That's the reason why it insists on strict law-abidingness and beside others defines tolerable and non-acceptable quality of citizen's lives. This policy was put into practice in 1993 by republican mayor of New York City Rudolph Giuliani under cover of rising up the quality of life and dispraising the crime. Whilst after eight year of his operating the supporters enthused on fantastic success of this policy, specialists are warning, that statistics backing up this supposed success are so leaky, that only those ones minded to see "positive" result could really extort it from there. Next to plenty of really significant statistical discrepancies (e.g. heavy ignoring of further factors, that also changed themselves and strongly affected examined situation that time), there is also problem with suspicions on manipulation with statistics with political background. And citizens of New York City are, in relation to formed atmosphere in the streets, are too often using the term "police state"... More about this topic you can find in the article of Ondrej Slacalek called "Zero tolerance in New York: America - our preimage?" (Nulová tolerance v New Yorku: Amerika - náš vzor?) written for the magazine Amaro

Gendalos(7/2003), and which you can find also on pages www.esaf.cz.

So, how is the situation in Bratislava nowadays? This spring, during and before NATO conference here, its mayor Andrej Durkovský made obvious, that in his city he won't tolerate people taking their rights to declare their opinions on serious political issues in public. And latest, in July, he pompously proclaimed, that he started at least two-month campaign in which he will solve the situation with homeless people - by forcing them out of the centre's streets. He even announced, that he's eventually ready to seat them onto the train to the city of their permanent residence. Except that, how this statement demonstrates, how seriously does this regime, after two totalitarian ones executing such a practices here, means the freedom of movement, it meets another problem: homeless people are called "homeless" exactly because of having no permanent residence. This dilemma of him was after all resolved by lawyers that gave him a notice, that he can't afford such a penet ration of constitutional rights of "asocials".

But warriors for qualitative-unharmful life in Bratislava, proclaiming that they are elected to serve the citizen's purposes, couldn't get discouraged by this and have let us know, that they will, word by word, harass the "unwelcome" ones. "No one is delighted when is asked by policemen to show ID card, let's say, three times a day. If policemen will be tireless, it will pall on asocials who will go away themselves then.", said in this context the spokesman of mayor. Among other weapons of police are check fines, local banishment or unnecessary disporting to the police station - of course, everything more or less within the frame of valid law and local bylaws. But the strongest weapon in this case is a weak legal awareness of this group of people (but unfortunately also of the rest of citizens) and their inadequate

respect before uniforms, what makes them much too simple to be manipulated by omental despotism of authorities.

Twelve city-policemen were detached for this campaign; it's said that they should subvert the role of social workers in terrain. One shouldn't forget, that policemen have no special education for this sphere. Moreover, part of police squad uses to have unfavourable inclinations to play-act sheriffs in the streets and cure their complexes by annoying people. Chief officer of city police is even convinced, that this way she can "motivate the asocials to find work, draw their attention that there are also another possibilities." In case that miss or missus chief officer and her colleagues were motivated to their work just by such a chicane, we shouldn't be surprised that the policemen are interpreting Durkovský's (undoubtedly big-hearted) plan - to eliminate people, who "are exceeding the level of good grace, acting improperly, polluting public spaces and in many cases torturing the animals" - their way. After all, exactly according to principles of zero tolerance, "the intolerable" is defined blankly enough and final decisions left for lowest possible hierarchy levels; so that the repression is harder to be monitored and in case of problems with public opinion there can be easily charged some unharmed pawn, and not the originators of policy or policy itself. And so nowadays the passer-bys can be witnesses of police's harassment of e.g. man, who's only guilt is having some longer beard, bigger bag with himself and is sitting on a bench in front of Old Market-Hall enjoying the sun there...

Thus, mayor Durkovský is building his own Potemkin's village out of Bratislava, where no poverty exists - even only because it was forced out to the suburbs. He even forgot his political background, when he,



contrary to strictly free-market conviction of parties he was elected for, started to negotiate with big shops in centre about withdrawing the cheap wines from their assortment. Since for declared reason - i.e. that "the homeless are drinking it and even are giving it to their dogs" - would be far enough using old local bylaw forbidding drinking alcohol on public spaces and animal tyranny law, it is clear that it is more like another of city hall's efforts to show who's boss here.

Displeasing is, that so far this campaign appears as successful. Local Food Not Bombs activists, that used to give food in centre every Saturday, report that from time when campaign began, there was a big decline in number of homeless people, that sooner used to visit food-giving cheerfully and in big counts. It is natural, that after many of them had been unreasonably taken to one of most distant police stations several times, it is natural that most of them is afraid to come into the centre. Part of them solved the situation by settling themselves by Danube, under the overhangs of bank boulevard. Certain slovak newspaper called it a scandal, they say that homeless are inhabiting the most lucrative grounds in capital city - and even for free! Probably it's useless to polemize with that article author's idea of lucrative sleeping on the places with everlasting wind blowing and coldness from big river sneaking. However, at least in this case have the homeless some few "luck in misery": these places are, in spite of location directly under frequented boulevard hidden before eyes of tourists and city officers, for cops on patrol wanting to persecute them even here is the terrain pretty hard accessible, and mainly for the present they are protected by the Water law, that guarantees to all citizens general usage of water streams including swimming, free movement on bank etc.

During September there should be evaluation of two months of city hall's fight against these unbuttery reminders of liberal capitalism consequences. Today, there is almost noone surprised that this problem is just put out of sight instead of being solved. Maybe what remains for us, is to expect for who will be next after demonstrators and "asocials" in turn of zero tolerance policy. Maybe soon will get banned out of city walks the unkempt, hairy, coloured ones, people with unsound past or just those having shame to become unattractive to someone... František Kusý

FIRST WOMEN-CAMP IN BELARUS

REPORT FROM WOMEN-CAMP

by Belarusian activists:

Nastya Nekazakova and Olka

From 15-22 of July, not far from Minsk, a women's camp was held. The women gathered to discuss general problems and ways of changing patriarchal social gender stereotypes. There were women from Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Poland and Germany - about 50 people in all. This was a women-only camp, although we understand that the problem of equality affects men just as well. It was a women's camp for a few reasons: first and foremost because we thought that if it were a mixed camp, more men than women would show up and it would lead to an absurd situation where a group of mostly men were discussing women's equality. Another reason is that some women from a crisis center who had been victims of male violence were attending and, for them, maybe they wouldn't want to be around a lot of men. Another factor related to the general problem is that some discussion is dismissed as "western" or "not relating to our current situation" and some people ridicule it, so I personally wanted to try to discuss these things without any unnecessary ridicule.

The goals of the camp were to examine the situation of women in Belarus and to make contacts, exchange experiences and possibly to create common projects. Like all social and political activities in Belarus, this camp had two parts - anarchists & lesbians, and NGOs and, in the beginning this caused some problems. Part of the camp wanted to speak politically on issues around feminism but part of the camp had no idea of any of the background ideas and terminology. The first 2-3 days were difficult; the lesbians were waiting to take orders and were looking for some leader while the anarchists preferred self-organization. Therefore a lot of time had to be spent to create a non-authoritarian society in the camp. In general, it was a nice camp, in a nice forest with wild strawberries, blackberries and a little river.

Not everything worked out well - for example, because of the need for a lot of logistic preparations, we didn't have time to prepare the theoretical discussions. So most of the discussions took place either at lectures or around the kitchen. I was personally impressed by the constant covert discussions of sexuality, norms, homo-hetero and bi sexual preferences. We

all have so many complexes and conservative values in us...

But what worked well was increasing understanding and making contacts on a personal level. The women from Wiedzma (polish @-feminist group) brought an exhibition about witches and "Women in Action" from Bialystok did a photoexhibition. We made a radio transmitter ourselves and now that we know how to do it, we can teach others. We made a few broadcasts. There was silk screening, drumming and fireshows. We had a lot of problems with the generator so we could only show one film, *Hide and Seek*, about lesbians growing up in the 60s. But now we know how the generator was built so we can take it apart and repair it ourselves.

There were two musical performances in the cultural program: acoustic songs by Claudia Cooper from Bremen and Belarussian folk songs by Tatiana Makhnach.



Theoretical impression

The most important thing was to break many stereotypes about the situation of women in different countries, about the women's movement, feminism, the movement for minority rights, lesbianism and NGOs. This was true not only for the Belarussian women but for visitors.

We were shocked by the real stories of sexual and psychological violence against women, as it turns out, in well-to-do and liberal western countries. The level of this is very high despite the fact that there is a better economic and social situation for women than in Belarus and there are social programs, hotlines, consultations, shelters, consulting and legal help and

despite the fact that the feminist movement has existed for many years.

Activists from Germany and Poland were surprised that lesbians and feminists don't work together in post-Soviet countries and that they don't understand their common interests. The situation in Belarus is such that lesbian organizations avoid participating in feminist politics; mostly they concentrate on legalizing gay marriage and some public feminists are conservative and homophobic and don't want anything to do with lesbians. In Germany and Poland, a lot of women came to feminism through lesbian movements or even to separatism. Some came to feminism as activists in anti-fascist or anti-capitalist scenes where men are dominant and where they constantly ran up against sexism and homophobia.

"In Belarus the image of the women as mother is the most popular image of women. It is like a counterbalance to Lukashenko as the father of the state"

INTERVIEW WITH ANARCHA-FEMINIST FROM BELARUS

Hey, it is a long time since we had some news from Belarus. What is going on there in last period? How is Luka doing? How are Navinki?

Today Belarus is preparing for parliamentary elections which are going to take place on October 17, 2004. It has an effect both on the activities of the democratic opposition that counts on getting representation in the parliament, and on president Lukashenko, who is eager not to let opposition parties into the parliament. Because of elections, the government does everything it can to make the work of democratic forces difficult. First of all, it has strengthened pressure on independent Mass Media. Navinki (anarchist magazine - ABB) has also experienced repressions regularly. On August 27 the Ministry of Information made a decision about one more temporary abeyance of the work of our newspaper because they had minor bureaucratic objections. Actually, the main purpose of the authorities was to deprive Navinki of the possibility to work during the period of the election campaign. For the same reason they stopped the work of the newspaper Novaya Gazeta Smargoni, and other Belarussian independent newspapers have come under the threat of temporary closure.

It has been more than one year since Belarus was cut off from "proper Europe" by even more serious closing of the polish/EU eastern border to Belarus. How does this fact impact the life in your country and how does it impact your contacts with activists from "the other side of Europe"?

Since last October the visa regime was put into force between Belarus and Poland. This was connected with the entry of Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe into the European Union. It brought problems mainly to people who live in the border regions of Belarus and Poland and who made their profit from trade. Recently the procedure for getting a visa has been simplified by an agreement between Belarus and Poland and the situation has been normalized. As for our contacts with "proper Europe", in fact they were not influenced. Poland was the last country with which we had no visa regime. But now even it is still not a big problem to receive a Polish multi-visa. So our contacts with both Poland and the other European countries continue to develop actively.

In the second part of July, you organized the first Women-camp in your country. What was the idea behind it, how it was organized and how did you trick the authorities in order to get no trouble from their side?

The Camp's idea was to make a women's meeting for discussion on topics like if there actually are problems with gender/sexism or not and to discuss what kind of activities we want to do. We never had any women's or feminist camp and the topic was interesting to all of us. We were especially interested in practical things like: serigraphy, screen printing, doing radio transmissions and building relations between different experienced activists. In the USSR women had a more "proactive position" than men because they could be a woman, a wife, a worker and a "political activist". Now women have an even more active life position. Men are often infantile, but men also often rule, even in anarchist move-



ment. For me, I am fed up with drunk anarchists, and the camp was a possibility to make new activities with new unambitious people (more open to dialog). You also asked about the authorities. We did some bureaucratic stuff before camp and arranged things with the police, rescue services, and local authorities about camp. We did this because we had not done a camp before and we could not know we if needed to legalise the next camps or not. We concluded that we did not, because we had a cool place for the camp and the police could not find us.

So the camp gathered feminists of various political orientations. Was it important for you to have this kind of wide spectrum of female activists? How did the discussion on women's liberation from both patriarchy and state oppression look during the camp, and what kind of understanding of this struggle is there in the Belarussian @-feminist spectrum?

We didn't have much choice of what kind of female activists would be in the camp, because the feminist movement in Belarus is absent. In the camp were lesbians, who have potential for activity, anarcho-feminists and just active political girls. In the first few days we had some problems between us, because lesbians never think about organizing society in a feminist or an anarchist context. They didn't understand our rhetoric. Only on after 5 days we found common language. Step by step we tried to move towards a non-hierarchical society in the camp and found our common problems. After the camp we had more questions than answers.

Does the specific political situation in Belarus put the feminist issues in any special context there? How does it influence your activities?

I think in Belarus the image of the women as mother is the most popular image of women. It is like a counterbalance to Lukashenko as the father of the state. Regarding to women's rights activity, for us, a basic problem is a woman-trafficking, because Belarus is a country with a low standard of living, and has a shared border with more economically advantaged countries.

We can smell a little bit of fresh wind coming from your country. There was a camp of radical female politics and soon there will be a big independent festival in Minsk. We remember that even one year ago someone who would propose the organisation of such events would be looked at as a lunatic there. What are the reasons for this progress in your activities? Is it a general tendency in Belarus right now? Is it that you have found ways to break the chains of Lukashenkism or is there another explanation?

The situation in this country could not get any worse. Beginning September there will be new rules for art groups - bands, dance groups and things like that. Under the new rules they must go to the cultural committee and after representing their case they must hope to get a special licence that allows them to play in public. Under these conditions, we can only do cultural projects with veiled meaning. I hope that the authorities will not know about the independent festival, that they will only know about ordinary cultural events. By the way, at the beginning of November, we want to do a Belarussian Social Forum



WIEDZMA

Hello! We are anarcho-feminist group from Poland. Our group was founded in 1996. It was started by few girls from east side of Poland, from few small towns, like: Biala Podlaska, Siedlce, Lukow. From the beginning Wiedzma is informal organization, it is the part of our job and war against oppression. We don't have any board or advisors. We are a co-educational group because we think that the liberation of women is the liberation of men as well. We oppose separatism which is the negation of equality while at the same time we respect women feminist culture which we are part of. Wiedzma it is group of friends, at the beginning we have organized because we want to be together and feel good with the other people who think the same. In

Poland feminism isn't popular idea, even on punk scene. There are still many stereotypes about man and female rolls. But since few years women and feministic culture and projects becoming more stronger. Our activities include informative street actions, awareness raising meetings whose main aim is to inform about the situation of women and the major problems they are subjected to in Poland. We edit zine, called Wiedzma/Witch. We also create all girls band - Fuck Finger, in December 2002 we publish tape "Krolowa bandytow" / the queen of bandits/, which is dedicated to Phoolan Devi. Besides that we have small distribution. So, if you are interested our zine or tape of Fuck Finger or if you want just talk with us, write:

PO BOX 33; 21-500 BIALA PODLASKA POLAND
witchgrrrl@poczta.onet.pl www.wiedzma.most.org.pl

NO CULTURE WITHOUT SUBCULTURE

Festival: 15-21 November 2004 - Minsk, Belarus

In November 15-21 in Minsk, a capital of Belarus, an international festival of independent culture will take place.

Call-out

We would like to invite the collectives, groups and individuals busy in independent art and culture in all parts of Europe to come to Belarus and share their experience and ideas with people from former Soviet Union countries like Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Caucasian Republics in the forms of discussions, exhibitions, talks, debates, videoshows, concerts and fun. Everybody who is interested can participate. If you would like to come and represent your collective and find partners for your cultural projects you are welcome. We are also looking for the artists and musicians who can come



and perform at the festival in Minsk.

We would like to give the possibility to meet each other for people from the Western and Central/Eastern Europe and people from Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova and Georgia;

- to make the contacts and exchange the information;
- to discuss the problems which the independent cultural groups can meet in different countries for their activities;
- to promote the independence, creative attitude and non-profit approach in cultural activities;
- to initiate cultural projects between mentioned CIS countries and European cultural organisations.

Background information

In the CIS countries the independent cultural activities are not so developed as in the Western or even Central European countries. The traditions of citizen activities are fragile. Belarus is good example of the situation. The current dictatorship government tries to control and oppress all independent NGOs as

political sectors. In Belarus the situation with the independent culture is almost the same as it was in the Soviet Union times. There are the same state controlled apparatuses, such as radio, film, television and the press, which offer as in the past the "party line" to the citizens. On another level there are underground independent media, radical art, the covert joke, samizdat publications, which express popular resistance to the non-democratic state. In general, I see artists as playing a positive role and a very special role because art has the capacity of taking ideas which otherwise would be kind of dry and unappealing and infusing ideas with a kind of passion that music, that poetry, that fiction, that the theatre, that painting, that kind of passion that all of these arts can convey. Art therefore, because it has that power, the special power of enhancing the strength of an idea with emotion. Art therefore is an attempt to equalize a situation in which most of the material power, the military power, the economic power rests in the hand of establishment and therefore the people without power, the people on the outside, the people without the money, the people without the guns, the people who are trying to form a social movement, they have a great need of art to mobilize people, to inspire people and to do what mere words on paper, mere pamphlets and books cannot by themselves do.

The organisations involved

EYFA - Amsterdam the Netherlands; political-cultural group from www.375crew.org, **NAVINKI**, *Tretya Zmena*, *New Faces* - Minsk Belarus, **ACU** - political-cultural center, Utrecht the Netherlands, *Metelkova* - Ljubljana; Slovenia, **MORE ZVUKOV** - cultural network, Rotterdam the Netherlands, **SKIF** - St.Petersburg; Russia. The hosting organisations of the meeting are: "Navinki" and "New Faces".

"Navinki" activities are concentrated on cultural projects (independent music recording, newspaper "Navinki" publishing, filmmaking, theater, discussion club, political cabaret etc); it's also a major source of information on relevant issues (big DIY library, mailing lists etc). Besides of cultural activities "Navinki" are also involved in democratic mass media issues, human rights, media campaigns against racism and xenophobia, environmental campaigns.

The "New Faces" is a youth union which is based on the principles of tolerance, openness, equality. Using alternative methods it is hel-

ping to Belarussian youth to form the active civil position and giving the possibilities for its development and realisation.

ACU political-cultural center in Utrecht.

The ACU operates independently of (municipal) authorities, is non-profit and is run by volunteers. The venue has validated its existence in Utrecht's political and cultural life for more than two decades. Currently, the ACU hosts a wide range of activities including: a bar, food, concerts, dance nights, political info nights, poetry events, squatters' advice bureau, a food coop, info shop Schism, kurf [a local anti-fascist organisation], benefits, parties, a venue for meetings and much much more.....

Programme

The programme will be done by YOU!



Make your proposals if you want to participate. For:

- info-workshops about cultural projects you are doing;

- discussions on the ideological questions connected with cultural issues;
- exhibition of cultural organisations (attending the meeting) in Minsk;
- pictures, paintings, collages, etc;
- films and videoart;
- tactical media and counter information;
- video about cultural events in different countries;
- concert (bands, DJs, VJs).

Venue: The meeting will take place in the hosting complex "Stayki" near to Minsk (20 km).

Application: Please fill the application form and return before the 15th of October on natasha@eyfa.org

Contact: If you are interested to take part please write us on:

natasha@eyfa.org



Students on the streets of Sumy & Kijev

Campaign in Ukraine supported by local anarchists

After three months of unsuccessful attempts, students of Sumy higher educational establishments decided to proceed in attack. The Constitution Day of 2004 might be the most sated on record. On June 28 the hundreds of students, their parents, and professors of Sumy State University and Sumy State Pedagogical University as well as other universities of city gathered on the main street initiating 'a tent town' as an action against association of their universities under the direction of Sumy National Agrarian University (SNAU), headed by the MP Alexander TSARENKO. (SNAU be reputed as the most corruptive university in Sumy. Education is not general there, but clean lawns and apartments. Actually, in SNAU very possible to get diploma just for money). 'The chronicle of opposition', as students describe their work themselves, began in March with opening the Web site and distribution of information devoted to this problem. However firstly the idea of association was just a hearing, until on April 20 the President of Ukraine Leonid KUCHMA issued the Decree 453/2004 "About creation of Sumy National University". The students reacted by spending petition to the President, the Premier Minister, the Minister of science and education. Except for all, the petition signed by 1473 students required consultation with students, their parents and public of city before the Order of Ministry is issued. Unfortunately, their petition was rejected.

The next step in the upholding of the rights was organizing "The action of students' protest" held by the students and active workers of local NGOs. A lot was done to prevent carrying out this event like extra classes on that day, etc. Nevertheless on May 12 the meeting took place and gathered about 2,000 people. As a result of the meeting, the new petition addressed to the Ukrainian Parliament was passed. Next day students went to Kyiv to take part in parliamentary hearings on high-school reformation in Ukraine. On this period students were loss.

June 20 were assignment of Alexander TSARENKO as head of new National University. Two days later some high persons from SNAU came to Sumy State University with orders to give 200

students every day for cleaning lawns. June 25 National symbols places on buildings of Sumy State University were break down, some persons from SNAU provide outrageous speech and menaces those were directed to people from personal of Sumy State University. People from SNAU promised to force them "to be serve". Pedagogical and working stuff of Sumy State University and Sumy State Pedagogical University were forced to vote for statutes of new National University (statutes not were demonstrated and discussed) and leave the service. By Ukrainian legislation it's forbidden as well as forbidden to be depute and work on other important place (with right to sign financial documents), but Alexander TSARENKO do it. Pro governmental mass-media become provide lies. State regional TV "Vidikon" told that "students are looser, alcoholics and hooligans". All this time students in tent town were attacked by provocateurs. Inside the movement of resisting become tendency of separation and collaborationism. Authorities try to force students to take away tent town any way. Most of students and pedagogical stuff just want to bring their voices to publicity and ask about democratic decision. On June 2 in tent town were two deputies from National parliament who are solidary with them. Petitions and letter sent to president, prime-minister, local authorities, business structures and NGO's.

We're ask you to SUPPORT students and personal of Universities and to send letter of protest against violation of rights and freedom.

Web site of resistance movement: [sumy-bespredel](http://sumy-bespredel.com). We have to ask you to strengthen the pressure on Ukrainian government. Please note that all of you can send a fax direct to President Kuchma:

President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma 11 Bankovskaya str., Kiev 01220, Ukraine tel/fax - 8-10-380-44-255-61-61, tel. of reception of president's administration - 8-10-380-44-226-20-77 tel. of reference room of president's administration - 8-10-380-44-255-73-33.

IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE TO SEND THE MESSAGE IN UKRAINE EMBASSY IN YOUR COUNTRY

Common Ground meeting

Bulgaria - July 2004

About agriculture, food, alternatives and action.

From the 10th until the 18th of July, an international meeting about food and farming took place in Bulgaria. The aim of this event was to network, inspire, share experiences, to challenged and find a 'common ground' amongst environmentalists, farmers and activists from across Europe. To discuss the struggles, aims and possible solutions and answers.

Food is important in our daily life and the production of food has an important impact on the environment. We like a green countryside and for farmers it is their life and income. But everywhere there are problems connected to agriculture as well. It is becoming clear that the current intensive industrial approach to agriculture is unsustainable. It is time to define common alternatives for agriculture that satisfy the needs of all sectors of society, and not only the interests of corporations. There is also a need of model for agriculture that acknowledges the cycles and limits of nature.

In 2002, during the UN Biodiversity Summit in Den Haag (the Netherlands), A SEED Europe organised the first Common Ground meeting. Farmers and activists from several countries were listening to each other's stories. This was very interesting and an eye-opener for many people. Although we also realised that it isn't that easy to help each other and that there is a long way to go. Last year there was a similar meeting in Lyon, France. In this country there is a lot of experience with farmers protests and idealistic people both in the countryside as in the cities campaigning on food issues. With this knowledge and experience we see as an important to organise a similar event in Eastern Europe. Especially here agriculture is a 'hot' issue and many things changed and will change in the near future.

Besides a SEED Europe, other groups get involved in the project. In Bulgaria *Za Zemjata* and *Agrolink* are helping out. Also in Poland, Belgium, Slovenia and Rumania there are contacts with groups. These are also the countries from which we can probably give some travel-reimbursement to young people.

We are looking for people interested on the issue of food and agriculture who are interested in participating. People from organisations, but also enthusiastic individuals. Progressive farmers, but also people from cities that want to work on food issues.

During the first days there will be many workshops and presentation about several related issues; about the situation of farmers in different regions, about European agricultural policy and the changes in farming after the EU enlargement, about GMOs, about sustainable organic agriculture, about local food distribution and much more. The second part was planned to contain more discussion to reach the common ground and hopefully result in concrete plans together.

The meeting was set up in the Bulgarian countryside. The idea behind this is that we'll be meeting on a place, where we're surrounded by the practise of sustainable agriculture. This would also offer possibilities for people to be active as well.

If you want to know more you can contact: common-ground@seed.antenna.nl



INTERVIEW WITH ANFEMA

ANARCHA-FEMINIST GROUP FROM CROATIA

Not often we have chance to introduce you anarcho-feminist views, because groups like presented below AnFema are still very rare on EE-anarchist scene, which is predominately constituted by males. We know that anarchofeminist initiatives or at least individual voices are existing in many countries of our region and in the future we hope to present them and their activities more regularly. Interview printed below was done by Coska from Croatia, and translated by others, for what we are very thankful.

Can you tell us in short what is Anfema and what kind of topics does it deal with?

Anfema is anarcho-feminist group of affinities. It gathered up the first group of girls in 1999 and since then it worked with few breaks and different groups of girls. We are trying to reason the local community about the problems of women discrimination, and encourage the anarchistic principles among men and women. We don't want only to criticize the repressive capitalistic (patriarchal) society, but we want also to directly resist it through educative work and direct actions.

What is that "anarcho" in front of "feminist" that differentiates you from the traditional, mainstream, feminist movement? In which way do you join anarchism with feminism?

The difference is in organisation and in way of working in the group. We are non-hierarchical group of affinity in which the decisions are made by consensus and in which membership doesn't exist. In difference with other feminist groups, we are self-financed and our self-supporting is very important to us, and also the individuality and contributions of the people involved. We didn't think that the real emancipation of women and liberty in any views can be achieved in range of any state, especially not in the capitalistic system in which we are living today. Anarchism has always been and stayed the only right alternative to the system and acts in hand with the goal "we can't be liberated until everybody are not free". We don't think that emancipation of women should be realized in patriarchal way - that is, that women equality is not achieved by that that women have right to participate in state authority, but fighting against the tyranny

of system and refusing any interaction with capitalistic intensions to sell her the way of fight that will not liberate her, but turn her into a wheel in a system that moves the path of patriarchy.

What did accomplish the traditional feminist fight?

You can't say that traditional feminist fight didn't accomplish anything. It shook the fundamentals, some of them were bad and some of them were good, but that's reasonable concerning that that was the beginning. It reasoned women, and it showed them that they are discriminated, and reasonably brought the wishes for changing that, but the paths of solving this problem with traditional feminism is discussable. The basic idea didn't stay on traditional, it evolved. Now there is so many radical ideas and paths, and even though that they don't have the prefix anarcho- in their name, they hold some basic elements of anarchist organisation, it's value and work (ecofeminism, radical feminism). It's interesting that connection with anarchist way of fight happened spontaneously and unconscious. Considering in that direction that women in today's society got the opportunity of work, authority at work, voting and other things that were before a part of men's job, I always remember the line that was one said by the Red Brigades. The Red Brigades said that women was exploited before in a sense that she slaved to her husband and family (and that idea didn't changed even now), and now she is used by the capitalist system (because the traditional feminism fight that women have the equal position like (exploited) man in unmoral system) so she is in fact - superexploited! The thing that led to that was that women didn't demanded equality that is based on unmasking and crashing the patriarchal system of values and creating a brand new revolutionary and flexible mutual society, based on liberty and recognizing everybody's differences. Instead of that, they demanded the equal participation in a system that is based on inequality, unliberty and slavery. They forced the emancipation of equalisation of man and woman by excepting the model of tyrannous system as only right and possible infiltrating in a patriarchal culture of living, but this time not as repressed, but equal repressors. Getting that right on paper and something little in reality, kept her traditional role in family and house, in society. It should be, however, said that encouraging women to spread their horizons of activities outside the house went hand in hand with the industrial development and economical need for two paychecks in a family, and afterwards through adjusting the working rights. While man does one payed job, woman does two - on

her working place, and at home for which is not payed and which is not recognised as a job, but it's considered by itself and undervalued. And what about children and their education, what is also the traditional women role? Than she is really the 24-hour slave with occasional trips to the hair-dresser and afternoon coffees in house hold, while man, of course, hang out in a pub drinking beer! Superexploited to that point, that she simply has no time to figure the nature of situation in which she is in, and even less to do something about it. We can say that traditional feminism just made the bigger cage with harder bars. They seaked for impossible: equality in the system of institutionalised inequality, which women never were a part of, but object, product, good, means of transaction among men. They got a lie, illusion about their equality in the world created for men. It's superficial and simplified to generalise that world as an mirror of power of all members of mail sex, but as a model of the authoritarian father, allmighty, allwhite, too strong and too beautiful - or infact the too rich capitalist. And all of them who don't satisfy all determind segments of irrefutable superiority of given model, are flauds, deffected merchendice with imposed burden of conscens and unsatisfaction because they didn't fill the image that describes the upholder of system. But still, they are generously given the superiority over other lower beings - women, animals, and plants. The food chain of repression is created, in which every victim is also a repressor of less privileged than himself/herself.

What is by your opinion the situation of woman today in the society?

Were to start? In short: Because of the media - she is turned into a sexual object, a doll, instrument for relaxation and trade, mindless consumer of cosmetic industry....



From the state's side - she is the one that even if she had the equal opportunity, doesn't have the right for it's realisation, then she isn't payed sufficiently but she is a good worker that has time for everything, except to think with her own head. All in all, a beautiful wife, sometimes secretary, sometimes leveled higher just because of political corectness. From the society's side, her environment and family, she is first of all a good mother with a lot of children (most as possible), obedient wife, and a free cleaning-lady, discriminated in everyday things. She is treated as an object, and treating her like that, they clame that she will become a subject, or with which's slavery and accepting of patriarchal norms she will get the right of equality (that is, the same right to pressure and tyrannize).

What do you think, what are the reasons for feminist fight today, and how do you see it and mach it in libertarian fight?

Reasons for the feminist fight did not changed a lot from the reasons in the past. We seek for the equality of genders, but not in the way that differences are not considered and treated an unequalities. When ever there is a mass of women that don't realize the repression committed on them, when ever there are not the same rights and choices for man and women in every part of life, when ever there is everyday man agresion (from rejecting to domestic violence and rape), when ever there is children education based on certain forms, when ever is being different unacceptable... that fight must continue. And the list is very long. The thing is in the most complete, the most liberated path to sufficient realisation of that goal.

If you ask me, the liberation must simultaneously crash the authoritarian system on the political and capitalist system on the economical level, than the common nucleus of man and woman will rise. All other I see as a half way of a struggle. Your observation is correct, but we partially disagree. Your attitude is partially antropocentrical, but we think that together with abolishing hierarchies - authoritarian / capitalist system over humans,

man over woman, goes also humanity over nature. We want to point out that we don't fight only for liberation of human kind, but for the liberation of all who are repressed. By human liberation and antropocentrical (man before everything) way of fight as priorities, in the very beginning we create discriminations and divisions, and fruitful soil for the new colonisations, as well as probability for creating another system of unfreedom. The thing that is very bad, and wich happens very often is valuating of liberation by the next order: 1) man (male), 2) woman, 3) animal, 4) nature, e.g. Earth. There is no priority struggle, priority liberation, everything is equally important and obligated. They are all elements of the same fight - complete liberation of all. It's incoplete, selfish and superficial, and if we want the true change, and impossible to dedicate to only one element of complete liberation, neglecting, underrating and underestimating co-existence with others.

What are your opinions on matriarchy and what do you think how big problem is it in tradicional feminist fight?

On the very beginning we have to clear the concept of matriarchy that has two interpretations: 1) some think that matriarchy is the social form in which women are superior to men because of women ability of giving birth, and 2) the social form that bases on far different principles of male principles of domination. If we consider that problem in first sense, the problem is basely in the rivers discrimination and turning the center of power. The root of the problem lies in aspiration for ruling and power and not on equality, and in fact represents the tyrannus system and promotes ideas of patriarchy in other gender. If we take it in a different sense, it doesn't represent a problem, but positive way of acting trough virtues that brings with them coorporation and mutual respect. By that sense it represents a non-violent culture and way of life in which women are appreciated as "donors of life" and kind of embodiment of nature and it's harmony.

Did you notice any sexism and patriarchy on anarchist scene, which should be by

it's definition liberated of that, and if you did how does it show?

We don't know how the situation beyond Croatia is different, but here we noticed that it's about serious stuff like publishing, writing texts, zines, and the most ordinary stuff like bands and concerts (we again mentioned bands because we think that they are important for promoting ideas) the male population of scene is more engaged in that. Lately in Zagreb in turn of organisation of anarchist events there has been a change in favour of girls, concretely at the organisation of the No-Border-Camp and Food not Bombs. Sexism and patriarchy are very rooted, and between anarchists unrecognisable problem. That is manifested through a point that feminism is just women fight, which is simpatised, but isn't actively taking part of (there are exceptions), and isn't considered that esencial or unapartable for complete liberation of mankind, or in better words the overall liberation. Feminism is treated secondary. Maybe the best example of that is that this is our first interview of this kind in several years, and a good view on how many space is given for this questiones in the anarchist literature. We think that (through the zines, interviews, and through the lyrics of anarchist bands) is not given enough attention on real problems, their solution and education of both sex. The most usual attitude is that concerning these questions is a "female job" and rarely any kind of initiative come from guys/men. There, where any kind of questioning concerning of these problems exist, also exists a dosage of levity and unacceptability between male population. The liberation of women is not considered also as a liberation of men, other words it's a common fight for liberation, liberation from imposed roles, unfreedom and lies. It's not recognised as an oportunnity to get real acquainted and to really explore our own possibilities defined by ourselves, unburdoned by that what sex/gender brings with them. Women

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opression is a part of man's experience and by that also a part of it's own unfreedom. These are two different experiences, but that difference brings the same conclusions and it shouldn't be the obstruction in understanding, because experiences can be exchanged. Because of understanding and exchanging of experiences that intervine, the groundings for our new common experience are created, from line of individual experiences which don't know the division between "man" and "woman". There are no "man" and "women" differences and experiences, these are just two unexisting chathegories which are culturologically influenced. They are bringing us as so low as sex and it's purpose and role, not letting us to experience ourselves as subjects in constant creating.

It seemes to me that I have read in some anarchofeminist materials about the demands of complete feminisation of society (and by that the anarchist movement). What would exactly that feminisation mean?

I think that it's about the principles of cooperaton, understanding, sensibility and communication, that are different from the principles of authority, domination and contest and other stuff characteristic for patriarchy. But precondition for that is demanding for more sensibility for "women questions", which is mostly neglected and ignored.

You did a lot of workshops in which you taught

women some "man" jobs (fixing bikes, DJ-ing, printing T-shirts, patches, etc.) What was the response of the participants?

Yes, the workshops were organised at weekends, nine weekends in a row, and they were mostly conducted by volunteers. The response and the engagement at the workshops was very positive. At some workshops the response was bigger, the average number of participants was from 15 to 20, on some less. On lot of them boys participated also.

In general how do you look on these divisions "man" vs. "woman". In your opinion what are the differences between man and woman?

These divisions are based on learned gender roles that come from education and pressure of society, in short, they are the result of indoctrination. We think that differences come from society (education, way of different encouragement, social norms and other system tools), and because of all these factors man in general seek for domination and authority more, they long to aggression and they use force more than women. On the other hand, women are encouraged to be obedient, tidy and laborious, so defining these stereotypes, that play the big part in integration in society, provokes negligence and unexception. Primarily we are defined by ourselves. "Male" and "female" are simplifying categories of human relationships, with goal of developing a better control over human lives, making the society normed shapes of behavior whose needs and relationships will be institutionalised, developing on that way an addiction for system and given categories. These differences between man and women are basic part of human socialisation. Biological differences between man and women are not a determinantal factor of difference between sexes, as also the anthropological studies of man and women relationships all over the world show (which are from culture to culture so different) that you couldn't create an universal rule about man and women differences, that is, the characters of only one sex. All that roles were dependant on culture, climate and specific conditions that are the every-

day part of their life. For that reason we did these workshops, so we could crash the prejudice that women don't know or can't do the technical stuff, at least not so good as men, so we could move and encourage girls to fight these prejudice.

Did you do some presentation in other places?

There was one presentation in *Bjelovar* for the Women's day 2000. The response was good but there was no time to discuss all the questions that opened. There was another try for the presentation "Women and media" in *Sibenik*, but unfortunately it didn't realised.

Do you know of any initiative to form these kind of group in other parts of Croatia?

Unfortunately as far as we know - there is no. There was a group of girls in *Slavonski Brod*, that had some initiative, like spreading leaflets, but as we know, there is nothing in sense of organisation there so far.

Are there some organisations that influenced you (Mujeres Libres, Crvene Zore) and from which you are inspired?

There is a group that really influenced us with its work, and it's an anarchofeminist group from *Prague* called "*8. Brezna*", but mostly that are the individuals that influenced us with their work, or some of them with their opinions, characters and experience. We also draw a lot of experience from the fact that there are a lot of other individuals and groups like this that exist all around the world, and that they act every day.

What are Anfema's plans for the future?

We are planning to do an english version of our web site (www.anfema.tk), with all our materials, contacts and information so far. After we did presentations and discussions on topics of women and media and trafficking of women, we're planning to translate new material about pornography, and to make a presentation in autumn. Thank for the space for this interview!

Ex-Yugoslavian Anarchist Meeting at Zeelenkovac (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

The ecological village Zelenkovac is the site where more than four years ago the first formal meeting of the anarchists of the former Yugoslavia was held. Bosnia and Herzegovina was selected for that purpose because of its geographical position, as well as for its symbolical significance, Bosnia and Herzegovina being considered as "little Yugoslavia". That first meeting attracted a lot of people - it is recorded that almost a hundred individuals from all around the former Yugoslavia participated in the meeting. However, unfavorable meteorological conditions, as well as the great number of ill-informed attendees prevented deployment of any constructive effort in some meaningful extent. But, excellent ties established then on the personal level enabled more profound fusion and the functioning of our movement.

Four years later, the movement gathered together again in order to summarize, in some way, the results of its work in the period that went by, and to lay foundations of closer collaboration and straighten the relationships of various anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organizations, groups and individuals from the area of the former Yugoslavia. This time the meeting gathered smaller quantum of people - between 35 and 40 comrades from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia were present. Besides the cases of comrades who took part in the event independently, the members of several organizations participated in the meeting: The Social-anarchist Federation (Slovenia), AnFema (Croatia), Anti-static collective (B and H), The Anarcho-syndicalist Initiative (S and M), The Federation of the anarchists internationalists (S and M) and DIY-collective (Macedonia). Contrary to the previous meeting, this time most of the attendees actively participated and gave a thorough contribution to the discussions that were going on. Several comrades from Italy, USA and France were present at meeting in the status of the observers.

Topics elaborated during the meeting were: the attitude of the anarchist movement toward the NGO sector, the privatization on the space of the former Yugoslavia, concrete joint actions, pornography, "personal stuff" (gender, sexuality and links within our communities and respective political activities) and "Why primitivism is not anarchism?". The most attended discussions were first two from the list and they led to the common conclusions. Apart from the mentioned past experiences with the NGO sector and the common conclusion regarding the self-evident necessity of the distancing of our movement from the so called non-governmental sector (in rare circumstances where that division hadn't arisen yet spontaneously), the talk about the privatization also showed almost identical experiences of the comrades from the entire Yugoslavia. In that sense we agreed on producing and issuing of the common pamphlet containing the analysis of the process of the privatization in the former Yugoslavia and representing the anarchist answer to the gruesome mass pillage of the socialist economies. Besides the common pamphlet to be distributed and presented in parallel throughout all former republics of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, we attained the agreement on the concrete collaboration in the course of producing other propaganda material - the common internet archive will be launched thus making accessible drafts of the leaflets and pamphlets to be distributed in the future on the part of the groups/organizations interested for such actions. The selection of the site proper for the next Balkan bookfair of anarchist publications - it is agreed that it is supposed to take place during the march or April of the forthcoming year.

The feeling that the participants went back to their homes with is that the movement made substantial progress in this past four years. The movement undoubtedly reached certain maturity and the laborious task of surmounting the obstacles in the struggle for freedom is yet before us. The gravity of the situation which we as libertarians are confronted is obvious - this type of meetings will help our struggle not to become isolated and will advance the overcoming of the deep wounds afflicted by the numerous war conflagrations, in the insistent march towards the achievement of our goal - Anarchy.

To conclude, we would like to thank the comrades from Slovenia, France and USA for providing the financial sustaining for this meeting by their activities.

CALL FOR PARTICIPATION IN ANARCHY BUS PROJECT

CONCEPT: The bus will be a mobile exhibition, information resource and activist exchange. It will travel through parts of Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Croatia - perhaps in several segments - in late summer/ early fall 2005. The bus will travel through cities where there are small groups of local anarchists and/or radical workers' activists and the idea is to meet people, arrange public meetings and exchange information and experiences. Anarchy Bus can carry: exhibits of activity from many regions; video films; books and magazines which can be displayed, traded or given away at different stops. We are particularly interested in creating a type of international event/exchange in areas where such exchanges have not taken place.

LOGISTICS: Either a caravan of vans (at least 2) or bus. Participants at any time should be at least 4 - upwards to as many interested. People can join in any segment, provided there will be space. We would like an international group of people. Optimally, we would like to see a few people join for 2-3 week segments. A few people have already committed to travel and hosting. Language abilities are not required but on the Russia - Ukraine segment, Russian instruction can be integrated into the project. We expect the Russia-Ukraine segment to be slightly longer than the Romania-Bulgaria-Serbia-Croatia segment although this depends on future declared interest. Participant should be prepared to pay their own expenses for food and travel to the point where they join the bus plus visas (if needed) but other expenses such as gas and materials will be covered by the project. A first meeting will be held in Russia at the end of January to discuss the logistics of the first segment; other meetings are to be announced.

HOW PEOPLE CAN HELP/PARTICIPATE: To join the tour as a travelling comrade, it is enough to volunteer. Please be aware that we would like travellers to be organizers of the project, so ideally we would like people to commit a little time to organizing events. To host the bus in your town, you should be prepared to receive the bus, distribute announcements/posters locally and preferably organize meeting and sleeping places for travellers. We are researching options for vehicles but of course it would be better if persons with vehicles and drivers join. To fulfill this project, we also will need some modest funds, so benefits and donations would be welcome. You can participate in this project from the comfort of your own home / infoshop by donating information about your group, publications, exhibitions, posters, videos and so on. What people decide to share will be the basis for the exchange! People with appropriate language skills can also help to localise certain materials such as videos.

IDEAS ARE WELCOME! JOIN THE TOUR AND SPREAD ANARCHY! MATERIAL COLLECTION WILL TAKE PLACE FROM HERE ON AFTER! SEND US WHATEVER WILL MAKE IT OVER THE BORDER! GUARANTEED TO BE THE HOTTEST BUS EVER! * Meaning we do not guarantee A/C. Get your minds off sex and rioting!

AK KRAAK MEETS EASTERN EUROPE

Anarchist video-collective AK KRAAK from Berlin presents its documentaries related to East-European topics. "Borderline - SouthEast Europe" (english, 59 min, 2004) Roadmovie about EU, border problematics, and social-political situation in various EE countries. "Perspectives beyond the borders" (german/english, 20 min, 2002) The anti-border camp on polish eastern borders - Wyzajny '02. About camp-activities and reality of local community. "Brussels - will not be our capital" (english/german, 30 min, 2002) About squatting, libertarian and anarchist activities of groups and persons in Wroclaw and other polish cities. For more info, contact and distribution: www.akkraak.squat.net; akkraak@riseup.net We are also interested in exchanging video-material, especially with anarchist-video-activists from Eastern Europe.

ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS FROM ROMANIA

Revolta! newsletter has one year of existence.

Revolta! is a bi-monthly newsletter concerned mostly with anarchist and anarcho-punk issues. The language of the zine is only romanian. Still anyone interested in sending reports, articles or suggestions they can get in touch and help (in english or french). Although a lot of the work is done by a single editor, it is important to notice that for the last issues more people have participated with ideas and articles, thing which gives us hope for a better future. The bad points would still be the bad distribution, and lack of funds for publishing. Contact: aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

Other Romanian anarchist publications: URA, Loyal Kills (Craiova) - libertatero@yahoo.com, BUM (Bacau) bun_ro@k.ro

List of discussion for anarchist/ alternative people in romanian

Since 7 months now the mail discussion list Active-Underground is working. The list includes people from many cities in Romania and also from abroad. The list is an attempt to revitalize what one can call the Underground Movement from Romania. Below the presentation.

This list is dedicated to the underground / independent / etc. Scene and to the discussions about concerts, festivals, exhibitions, web sites, actions, protests etc. It is not dedicated to a strict way of

thinking or type of music, and the topics will not be related only to music. The politic of the group will be simple: we won't tolerate fascist, racist, nationalist, sexist or homophobic ideas or remarks.

Gulga Neagra / Black Hood Distro Help needed to publish a book!

Gulga Neagra wants to publish a book! Help needed. The brochure "Anarchism Violence Non-violence" written by Xavier Bekaert from Belgium, we think, is a nice anthology of anarchism in connection with non-violence and violence. Also it presents the life and ideas of many anarchists of the past. Volunteers of Gulga Neagra have translated already the whole book. We think is important to publish the book as there is no real book (even a short one) about anarchism in Romania, except 2-3 crap university studies and 2-3 editions of Bakunin's God&State. We look for people who could help us with printing of this brochure.

Romanian Indymedia

There was recently a big misunderstanding and that was present also in the previous issue of ABB. THE ADDRESS OF INDYMEDIA ROMANIA IS NOT:

www.imc-romania.tk

THE ADDRESS OF
INDYMEDIA ROMANIA IS:

romania.indymedia.org

BELARUSIAN ANARCHISM ONLINE

www.anarchistory.boom.ru

This site is a web-support of the publishing initiative "Padručnik Rewalucyjnera" ("A Revolutionary's Manual") which has been realised by activists of the Belarusian Federation of Anarchists (FAB) since 2000. Here there will be put works on basic principles of anarchism, history of anarchist movement, theorists of modern anarchism and so forth being published within the limits of the project. The aim of the project is an anarchist "campaign against illiteracy" because the information, which is put on this site, has rather basic than propagandist character. For the beginning we present you some works which has been already published in Belarus. The majority of them are going to be distributed in the PDF format free of charge through the Internet for independent printing.

THE SHORT HISTORY OF ANARCHISM. This brochure, printed in 2000, is a distinctive primer on history of origin and development of anarchism as an independent ideological tendency in the international revolutionary movement. It describes the period from the XIXth century till the beginning of the IIIrd millennium. The brochure printed in Belarusian can be ordered

via e-mail: pauluk@tut.by

ANARCHY IS... This is an outline of basic ideas of anarchism, which were drawn up and printed as a booklet of FAB in 2001. The booklet in Belarusian can be downloaded in the PDF format.

ANARCHY IN BY: THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN BELARUS. This work, devoted to the 10th anniversary of the Belarusian Federation of Anarchists, tells about origin and development of the modern anarchist movement in Belarus from 1970s till present days. The brochure in all proposed languages can be downloaded in the PDF format.

THE CONSTITUENT DOCUMENTS OF FAB. These are programme and organisational principles of FAB which were formulated in 1992-93 and became a basis of the anarchist movement development in subsequent years. These documents were published only once before in the newspaper Anarchia No 1 in 1993 but they are not of historical interests only.

COMING SOON! THE HYMN OF FAB. "Black colours..." is also known as a drinking-song of Belarusian anarchists. If you have remarks and propositions or want to contact FAB activists, please connect: anarchy@tut.by.

accepted. Myself I was 15 at the war start, just getting into punk, but not having chance to discover political issues really. So during the war, people like me declared ourselves as communists because it was only thing we knew and remember saying more or less that all people are equal. After the war we started slowly with following bands and fanzines from other countries or other parts of ex-Yugoslavia, discovering anarchism, and then, spontaneously in 2 parts of country: in Banja Luka and in Mostar, groups been created. We started in Banja Luka with street actions, giving flyers, making posters, writing graffiti. First time we was present on the streets in 1st May of '97 distributing flyers, which explained anarchist tradition of this day from 1886 (as in communist times it was pure senseless ritual called "holiday of Work", where you have free for 2 days, go picnic to drink and kill the pig or lamb, etc.), and on other side we showed current situation for workers, which is unbearable, because as WB and IMF started control, first thing they striked at was welfare, then workers rights or way of organizing trade unions. It was our first actions, so we were kind of shy and had totally no idea how will be reaction of the people. Also in this time we didn't had any contacts with similar thinking people in Croatia or Serbia, we just slowly builded these contacts afterwards. Firstly we just managed to order some books or fanzines by mail. Imagine, we were stucked for few years here, listening only music from '80's and the world was going on everywhere outside of Bosnia... Reactions of people then was great as for this tense post-war time. So, we had been encouraged to go on with spraying, posters, flyers. Our high point was when we managed to get 20 people to support strike of all trade unions in Banja Luka in 2001. We knew some of them, so we prepare ourselves well. In their strike they just demanded raising minimum wage from 68KM to 80 KM (ca.40 euro), etc. You must remember that these people, after war are totally scared and don't believe in themselves, so they never threat the bosses and their demands are minimal, just appealing to conscience, but of course bosses never listen. Anyway, we came with our banners ("International Monetary Fascism", against capitalism, etc.), and flags. We had clear radical political message and people been amazed. Most of them are 40-60 years old, employed only on paper as they factories don't function any more, they are considered by system useless and they feel such. They thanked us

from microphone. Protest itself didn't bring nothing, typically unions started negotiations, calmed situation and nothing was changed. But for us it was great experience. In that same time there started another group of people in Mostar, with posters, with great social and ecological approach, eg. they made campaign of borrowing christmas trees in the pots to the people, so after the trees been replanted. Also they had done lot of artistic stuff, paintings, instalations, using recycled materials. We got in touch with them, then



I moved here. Last year we started here in March with protests against war in Iraq. First thing was "Food not Bombs" action on 15th February. We made announcement on the posters, and we was surprised for reaction: 400 people attended, they expected us to take them to American Consulate, but we decided to not take this responsibility, as we didn't knew this kind of situation and we wasn't strong group ourselves. When war in Iraq started anarchists from Banja Luka and Prijedor came here also and for 5 days we protested every day in front of American Consulate hanging banners, shouting slogans. It was around 10 of us. We went all over the city shouting slogans, speaking through megaphone as our idea was to bring this war to the streets and people appreciated us much, as they know here what war means. So I think we succeed, but still from this period we have other consequences, which are still going on now... In this time they started recording us on video, following us, etc. and now before any bigger event is going to be in Mostar, they follow us carefully. On 1st May 2003 we made here demonstration under slogan "Everybody has right for roof over their head". It was first

self-organized demonstration here, first time since decades or maybe ever in Bosnia which is not made by political party, unions or such. It was also very first time when people from both parts of city go together. It was some 100 people, which for our situation is great. We was cheered by people, they waved, some cried moved by our protest. This gave us lot of energy, after we was working for months, planning different things, we was inspired, we thought that we hold world in our hands... During summer 2003 we made another march, now against xenophobia, connected to violent incidents, as usually in the night foreigners are robbed or beaten, as they seem easy target. At this march we got attacked by local football hooligans, which threw stones at us. Few of us went after them, but some other people tried to make demonstration go on, what would cause bigger problem for us. This showed also some unbridgable differences between us and some of people we worked with (mainly connected with NGO's). This time we got big media attention, it was on every news countrywide for days, people started to see some hope even in us, simply in a way "Look what young people can do if they organize!", etc. Yet maybe we took a bit too big bite... Most of people which came to our protests or applauded us, didn't had any clear political idea, they just thought it is somehow cool... So, as we became spoken about, straight away US Embassy contacted NGO'ists which worked with us, they offered...support! Paddy Ashdown offered to come, so they hold secret meeting about which some people like me wasn't even informed, and they accepted cooperation and his visit. Disgusting racist neoliberal! They took him to the place, which we were trying to get, named after revolutionary communist Roma poet from Macedonia: "Abrasevic" (so very symbolic - and this symbolic was recognized by many people who supported us in this project). It was for me personally like total defeat - you believe in something, working for this 24hours a day and then see it falling worst possible way. So after this some of us left this structure and start to do other things.

How you were involved in this structures?

Especially, I think it is best example how NGO's are incorporated in official policy of the country and which role they are actually playing... NGO isn't something what is created from grassroots. Here, they came from the west, after the war. It was money, some funds, so people here realise it is chance, created some phony NGO's for human rights, women rights, interethnic contacts, etc. They have enormous budget, but is mainly one person + one computer in one office, "working" on some never realised projects. Some of us was involved in such a project. As you know in country during a war no opposition is allowed, and especially in our case only thing which wasn't political party, but had some kind of structure was NGO. So these few young people which aren't nationalist think: "Why not! We will work for social change, meet similar progressive people of different nationalities ..." and so on. In fact yet, these NGO's never changed anything. NEVER. In BiH was probably more billions spend for NGO sector then somewhere else. Since 12 years no any result is visible. During a war, you though, that you never see sea again, or never have normal life and then somebody offers you a videoworkshop or you can use the computer, you think "It is great!". It was like chance we didn't had before. So many people, including me got involved, did all this unpaid jobs for "social change". Yet it never turned the way, that you actually learned something, what you can implement into your life - most of people found it as way to have some small salary, quiet office job and relax. Every single whatever humanitarian organisation ended up like this. Now BiH is far from focus of international community, very little money is coming so all these NGO'ists are fighting for their useless survival. This year Soros Foundation gave money for free speech projects, so immediately every organisation in this country makes project on free speech. Next year it will be gender issue... They don't work for change, they don't work with real people, it is only for money.

What were the other actions you have organized last years?

We organized several times together with conscious objectors/antimilitarists "Food not Bombs" during last 3 years. In Banja Luka and Prijedor it was very successful, we made it 4 times in Sarajevo and there was

great, because so many poor people and they are not ashamed to eat and speak with us, otherwise than in much smaller Mostar. Always it was attended by at least 200 people. Here we cannot get food from supermarkets, because they sell also expired or old food, just cheaper. Also on the markets they just sell rotten food, so they didn't wanted to give us. So always we collected money among ourselves or try to take it from some organisation, like eg. these conscious objectors group, which had idea of promoting their stuff so they payed for food, and we made together performance and exhibition, but also we distributed our own materials. People which have clearly defined their views as anarchist and want to act are in our country only around 10. So many times we had to work with others, mostly NGO's. There is nothing else really: students are losted, they are probably most stupid and depoliticized part of society. Most radical and conscious are actually the pensioners, which are oldest too. They had been simply a raised in system which had at least real values -solidarity, support to each other, collectivity and they had marxism at school, so they know and understand world and local politics more than all this young idiots. Middle generation brought war and nationalism, they just wanted to forget all but all communist times and the youngest ones have just religious education, christian or muslim. Now this system has no any positive values of any sort. So this old people was always most sympathetic to us. Also last year pensioners, which are mostly well self-organized almost broke into Parliament in Sarajevo, they clashed with the police... But unfortunately they are simply old and weak... *(in this moment we see on TV some crowds breaking through police lines)*. Yes! Farmers. They blockaded the roads, they do a lot of this actions. On order of IMF contracts was recently made with Croatia to import agriculture products and this will be bigger even disaster, because as industry is completely destroyed, agriculture was last chance for people to survive...

Did except of this activities in Banja Luka and Mostar was nothing somewhere else happening as political alternative since the war?

No. It was only few tries, but only of creating socialist or communist groups, but during war it was such an anticomunist hysteria, that they didn't had chance at all. They all failed.

How came this recent wave of criminalization in Mostar?

Ok, so after this NGO structure accepted visit of Paddy Ashdown and cooperation with OHR in October last year, we immediately made some graffiti around like "OHR - Office of Racism and Hate", etc., so NGOists, which you have to remember has been for longer our friends gave our names to the security organs. So firstly we had been observed and followed by people from US Consulate, their intelligence service; we know their cars, we have numbers, etc. And now in July there was this big prestigious ceremony of opening old bridge, symbolic for Mostar, so they went crazy days before it happened. Millions has been spent only on security, which was absurd as never nothing happened here seriously. So to justify these measures, they declared, that "there are certain information about terrorist attack to be planned". So for few days around 200 (!!!) people was arrested from Mostar and surroundings, nobody knew why these and not others, and nobody dares to complain about it. Some of us felt it and left the city for a while. Of course most of the money that came to BiH for "reconstruction" of the country went to modernize police forces, so they have newest riot cops equipment directly from US. Yet only riot happened was nationalist one in Banja Luka, in 2001 when first mosque after war was builded - they burned buses with which muslims came for opening ceremony, killed one and injured many. Some was arrested but nobody really charged, because I said again, those kind of violence is socially tolerated. You can get killed for nothing on the street and nobody will even turn their head, this how scared people are... Only another thing was also nationalist one, even if it started other way: in March '99 students in Banja Luka (but on smaller scale in other towns too), have gathered in main squares, well organized, put sound systems with alternative music on, etc. So it started quite positive energy, anti-war kind of thing, yet suddenly former president, which was from SRS and had been taken off by OHR, joins the protest together with his bodyguards, so many starts to cheer him "You are our president!", flaming nationalist speeches are starting, crowd goes in direction american consulate, throwing stones, then british consulate gets destroyed, computers are flying out of windows, everything is trashed, but is hard to say that it was spont-

aneous, they have people which know what to do...

How all this social hate was builded, eg. in Mostar?

Mostar was town with highest number of mixed marriages, even in communist times it was called "Crveni Grad" (Red Town). Entire population is just 10.000. When war started media played biggest role, and also through blowing up the bridges it was physically divided, but also because real bloodshed occurred people remember and hate each other, so the borders are in minds. The worst can still come, because you have now youngest generation, which was borned, raised and lives in only one part of town and NEVER went to other part even. This is what they are taught. Local croat TV shows only christian part of town, like half of postcard, you have 2 separate bus stations with buses going in that same directions, till this year 2 municipality buildings... They do not perceive it as their town, but their town and the OTHER one. And all trauma: you grew up together, went to school played, loved and one day you shoot at me... In this situations who comes like hyenas are religious fractions from both sides. You see: higher and higher churches, newer and newer mosques... They are stronger and stronger on both sides organizing lectures, activities: islamic fashion show for women with head-scarves, and on this side something against rock-music and satanism.

What kind of activities are you now involved in?

Near here is refugee camp of people from mixed marriages from Kosovo, some 40 people (where situation is even worse), so they applied here for asylum in '99, but they are basically starving and nobody wants them, they lived in closed camp. One guy was walking from house to house begging for food and clothes, so this how we got in touch with them. Some clothes we helped to collect, sometimes little money for them. Also, in generally we learn to work on land as we all been raised in the cities. We got in touch with people from Zagreb doing

similar things, so we learn about alternative sources of energy, build DIY solar panels, etc. Few kilometers from town we have started permaculture garden and we borrow in another place piece of land and we grow some food and give to this people. Yes, it has not really political character, but through all this years number of people involved rather decreased than increased. So, we had to at least for some time to feel that there are some results, grow food, give it for free for those that need...

So, what you think are perspectives for this few anarchists in Bosnia?

Because we are so few, it is senseless to hold on some collectives. I think it would be good to build one structure for whole country, some good organized group and it is possible as we know each other through years. We are experienced in propaganda and street presence, graffiti, stencils, we can communicate well with people on the street. We could easily organize to coordinate better our actions through country, so this will be next step. As for our situation most we can do is propaganda, as we are so few. I don't know how elsewhere, but here it means nothing if we only bullshit about theory, we have to show something to the people. So like giving food on the streets and explaining people why they don't have it and who's responsible is understood and appreciated and our clear political message is seriously taken and respected. For example recently we supported pensioners protest here in Mostar, we came with fruits and tea. And immediately we had great contact, they distributed our flyers. Just because this little table with fruits became point of communication. So we will go on but in better coordinated way...





Radical Ecological Protest Campaign in Perm of Russia

Chronology of Actions

20th of August protest camp in Perm will close its 7th week, and is still going strong. Although few people may stay in camp more than few days or one week, every day there have been 20-30 participators in the camp. Goal of the protest camp is a total revoke of criminal program to utilise rocket engines and their fuel in Perm. Protest camp will last until decisive victory, or at least until beginning of the September.

Background of the problem

In accordance with international disarmament treaties, Russia has to build certain amount of factories to dismantle old missile engines and their fuel, in practice this is done with American technology and money. Not that we have anything against disarmament, but this must be done taking into account health and welfare of local people, which currently seem to have no any value whatsoever to military-industrial complex. 3 years ago in Votkinsk, they failed in an attempt, to build missile dismantling plant 8 kilometres from a city with 100 000 inhabitants, this time, according to plans, a similar extreme-

ly dangerous object is planned to be located right into 100 000 inhabitant suburb of a city with more than one million inhabitants! Officially, no one admits that project in Perm will replace Votkinsk project, which is currently frozen. In practice, missiles planned to be dismantled in Perm are those, which were planned to be dismantled in Votkinsk. Actually this is already 3rd round of the fight, Votkinsk factory was originally planned to be located to Perm, but in late nineties these plans had to be cancelled due to local protests!

FGUP Perm Factory Mashinostroitel has been given a license to be leading company in Russia in field of dismantling missiles using solid fuel, most importantly SS-22 "Scalpel" missiles which have flight radius of 10 000 kilometres and each of which may carry 20 nuclear warheads of 550 kilotons (46 times Hiroshima bomb). Missiles to be dismantled do not have nuclear warheads anymore, and although missile corpuses are also slightly radioactive main problem is the extremely poisonous fuel they are loaded with. They plan to build a site inside factory of S.M. Kirov, which currently both builds and tests engines of strategic missiles. Mashinostroitel decided to fulfil its task with means of anti-ecological direct action, considering necessary permissions and environmental impact assessments as a waste of time.

American funding, given in the framework of 13-year-old Lugar-Nunn legislation is

very crucial for realisation of the project. Actually regional powers have already wasted lions share of the money given 7 years ago already, and currently social budget has to be shrunken in order to have project finally realised and not to have Americans asking to whose pocket this money ended up back then. Money is channelled through transnational Washington Group International (<http://www.wgint.com/>). They are a huge corporation, operating in more than 30 countries with 26000 employers. American Congressman Richard Lugar himself visited Perm last autumn.

An unofficial environmental impact assessment by NGO's and scientists was done to one of the 7 objects which are included to project, a corpus for heat neutralising of solid waste was examined. Experts from Perm and all over Russia considered this object extremely dangerous and appealed against its construction - however, construction is still going on. Company claims construction has been halted, but local people have reported that everything is following schedule.

Soon after finishing first expertise, officials realised that doing bogus environmental impact assessments would be a better alternative than giving ecologists free hands to do their expertises. So in April, ecologists learned that a more important part of the project, store of missiles waiting to be dismantled was made and environmental impact assessment with conclusions to give green light for the construction. This expertise was done in Moscow, by specialists who were less qualified than those who did the first one. After big difficulties, ecologists managed to receive documentation of the latter "expertise", and countless mistakes make it illegal and invalid. This "assessment" did not even included analyse on possible risks to surrounding environment, for example in case of a missile fuel explosion during time of storage.

Dismantling missiles having solid fuel happens in temperature of 3500 degrees of Celsius, according to Russian and American specialists poisonous dioxins will form in cooling stream of gas during the process. Even smallest doses of dioxins are poisonous; they easily accumulate in food chain, hurt embryos and cause cancer. They are chemically stable, and stay lethally dangerous during several decades. Technology for a completely safe utilisation of missile engines using solid fuels just does not exist.

Perm project was already once halted, in end of the nineties governor of Perm oblast Yuri Trutnev promised not to build facility, fulfilling one of his main election promises. However in spring of 2004 Trutnev got invited to second government of Putin, in exchange he has kept silence about process since then. In Perm, Trutnev was replaced by Oleg Chirkunov, who has powers of governor until next elections.

Research on attitudes of Perm inhabitants to missile dismantling

Already during first two weeks of June anarchists conducted a research on attitudes of Perm inhabitants towards missile dismantling project. This was first ever, somewhat experimental attempt in former Soviet Union to put a radical ecological protest campaign on "scientific foundation". Besides curiosity, purpose of the resc-

arch was also to attract interest of the media. Although anarchists conducted research, it attempted to be as objective as possible and was formally done under cover of Institute of Sociology of Russian Academy of Sciences.

Research was conducted by telephone; altogether 1200 people were called. Those who answered negatively to first question "Have you heard about missile dismantling in Zakamsk", or refused to answer to question, were not further questioned. Only 397 among questioned answered positively, which for sure gave a bias in favour of politically conscious people. Distribution of social status among sample fit pretty well with characteristics of the general population, only students were strongly over-represented (8.1% among questioned, whereas in general population they are only 4.6%). Most of the questions were open, since open questions tend to manipulate respondents less than closed ones.

Research involved questions on awareness of people on missile dismantling, on attitude towards missile dismantling, on prioritising different problems of the city in general, on awareness about activities of organisations and willingness to participate to protest actions. Zakamsk inhabitants, where Kirov factory complex where dismantling is planned to be organised is located, were consciously over-represented in research, but their attitudes on dismantling in general did not differ from main population although they were more aware of the project and their opinions more polarized. This because some of the few, who will benefit financially from the project, are living in Zakamsk themselves. 63.2% of the called Zakamsk inhabitants positively to first question, whereas from rest of the Perm only 24%. Whole Zakamsk suburb was built to serve Kirov and neighbouring factories, and many people have first-hand experience from dismantling, since factory still produces ballistic missiles and those with defects are currently burned inside factory.

78.6% answered that they attitude to missile dismantling is "negative" or "very negative". 13.1% answered that their attitude is neutral and only 5% considered project as "positive" or "very positive". 82.6% of respondents considered dismantling as harmful to environment (4.5% as not harmful), 78.8% considered dismantling as harmful to health (8.1% as not harmful), 37.5% believed that dismantling will create new workplaces (30.0% believed that it won't) and 19.9% believed that financial gains from the project will help to solve social problems of the city (45.8% did not accepted this claim). Inhabitants of Zakamsk suburb were even more sceptical towards claims about positive effects of the project than rest of the inhabitants.

When respondents were asked to choose from four possible answers to question "which among next claims best of all describes your attitude towards dismantling of the missiles", 2.3% answered "it is necessary to dismantle rockets, even if this has negative effects to Perm inhabitants", 37.8% answered that "dismantling should be started only when there are safe technologies to do it", 53.9% answered "dismantling should be moved to a safe distance

from Perm" and 4.6% answered "let them do what they want, I do not care".

According to research, 28% of the respondents considered "bad roads" to be among three most urgent problems of the city, followed by "ecological problems" (25%), "dirt and trash in the streets" (14.9%), "low quality, high costs of municipal services" (13.6%), "unemployment" (13.4%), bad transport system (12.6%), "social-economical problems, low quality of life" (12.1%) and "crime" (11.3%). Altogether people named 98 different. During last 15 years, ecological problems have been among main catalysts of social movements and according to this research, they still have not lost their relevance among minds of the public.

Although 46.9% of Perm inhabitants announced that they have heard about activities of ecological movement, only 4.5% could name



some ecological organisations. Most known was local Anarcho-Ecological Resistance (8 persons, 2%), followed by abstract "greens" (4 persons) and "anarchists" (2 persons), several NGO's were named by individual persons. 52.4% answered that they would like to participate to protest campaign against missile dismantling, but among them 39.9% could not specify their preferred form of action. 33.8% preferred participation to a demonstration, picket or a meeting, 18.3% to subscribing a petition. All respondents were asked if they could subscribe a petition, 79.8% would have agreed and 9.8% would have disagreed. 46.3% could have participated to a meeting, and 17.4% could have participated to a protest camp.

First days of the protest camp

Protest camp launched officially 2nd of July in Kirov district, where Zakamsk suburb is located. Camp was set up by Autonomous Action, Anarcho-Ecological Resistance, Union for Chemical Safety and Yekaterinburg Movement Against Violence. Soon members of Rainbow Keepers who joined the camp decided that Rainbow Keepers should be listed among camp organisers as well. Camp is located next to huge Kirov factory complex, in area where people have public gardens, which are crucial for low-income people to survive. Kirov factory is surrounded with a wall and three rounds of barbed wire, between which armed conscripts are patrolling. Campers have a small picket during 5-6 hours every day in front of movie theatre Ekran in centre of Zakamsk, in order to raise

awareness about the problem and to gather food and money/donations for the camp. Due to donations, there has not yet been need to buy food for the camp. During first two weeks of the camp, activists of Russian indymedia and indyvdeo also visited the camp; perm.indymedia.org is result of their efforts. Hopefully local activists will further maintain it. Indymedia activists also organised movie screenings and training on video activism.

In the beginning, camp faced almost no repression, only few calls by municipal officials (sometimes presenting themselves as outdoor advertisement agencies or anonymous) demanding to clean area from posters inviting inhabitants to meetings of 9th July and 16th of July. 5th of July Vladimir Anatolevich Lukyanenko from municipal administration threatened to halt electricity, water and gas supply of the camp unless posters are removed, not figuring out that camp has not electricity, water or gas supply in the first place. Soldiers also visited camp during first days. 6th of July vice-chief of State Administration of Nature Resources of Perm oblast Dmitry Klein finally agreed to pass to campaigners documents about decision to halt construction of closed burning rack for dismantling missiles, which should be accompanied with stove and storage for hazardous waste. This was after 5 months of struggle and threats to sue Klein to court. According to oral statements of anonymous supporters of protesters who are working inside Kirov factory complex, construction of these objects is still going on, and as a matter of fact burning rack is almost finished already. Since Kirov factory complex is a high-security military object, no participator of campaign has ever been allowed to check if decisions of Administration of Nature Resources are followed, and struggle for access to information is as crucial as the question about missile dismantling in general. These documents have been scanned and uploaded to Perm campaign indymedia, perm.indymedia.org.

Actions in Zakamsk and city centre

9th of July, camp participators and 300 Zakamsk inhabitants gathered in front of movie theatre Ekran in centre of Zakamsk suburb, agreeing to make an ultimatum to powers of all levels. Speakers included ecological experts, inhabitants of Zakamsk suburb and former workers of Mashinostroitel and Scientific Institute of Polymeric Materials, both of whom are located inside Kirov factory complex and are participating to missile dismantling project. Perm mayor Arkadi Kamenev and Oleg Chirkunov, which works as temporary Perm oblast governor now when Putin invited former governor and formerly anti-missile Trutnev to be minister of nature resources in his new cabinet, were invited but they did not appear.

In case of refusal to fulfill ultimatum, that means, if governor of Perm oblast O. Chirkunov, governor of Perm A. Kamenev, directors of NPO Iskra, Mashinostroitel and Scientific Institute of Polymeric Materials do not give documents that prove that project of



deconstruction of solid fuel ballistic missiles in Perm area is halted, participants of the protest camp declared that they will rely on more radical methods. Participants promised to wait reply until 16th of July. Meeting was finished with a non-legalised march by streets of Zakamsk from movie theatre Ekran to dislocation of protest camp in front of walls of Kirov factory. Demonstrators scanned "No to missiles!", "Give us Trutnev to be dismantled!", "Missiles away from Perm!", "Petrovich made a good deal, Zakamsk will turn to a huge morgue!" and "Resistance or death!". Before meeting, Kirov factory walls were sprayed with slogans "No to missiles!", "Dismantle Trutnev!", "Rights are not given, rights are taken!" and others to raise spirits of protesters. During next week, Perm centre got its share of protests, when "No to missiles", "Limousines - to deputies, dioxins - to Perm inhabitants" and other slogans were sprayed around administrative buildings in the centre of the city. A banner "3 days are remaining" (to fulfil our ultimatum) was raised outside parliament of Perm Oblast in Tuesday 13th of July.

14th of July participants of the protest camp organised a performance in front of Perm oblast administration. For a moment, square in front of the administrative building transformed into a scene of epic battle between good and evil, more exactly, between nature and dangerous factory. Dance of flowers, accompanied by smooth pop music, was disturbed by appearance of Bush and Perm oblast governor Chirkunov. Chirkunov was begging money from Bush, and having already received a pile of green dollars, kept demanding more and more. Soon workers brought in a "missile dismantling factory" with sign of chemical hazard, and Chirkunov set a missile on fire in the factory. Square was filled with smoke, and rather symbolic "nature" was coughing and died, while Bush was convincing everybody about safety of the project. Upcoming chair of the current governor, looking to be elected in autumn of 2005, was built on carcass of the nature.

In the evening of 14th of July camp participants and Zakamsk inhabitants got an urgent reminder why project of missile dismantling is so dangerous. A wagon of a train carrying hydrochloric acid dropped from rails only 400 meters from dislocation of the protest camp. Although this particular train was not going to Kirov but to neighbouring factory complex, the very same rails which are in a horrible condition are to be used for carrying dangerous missiles to Kirov factory, in case dismantling project is to be realised.

16th of July Police moves to offensive

16th of July, anarchists and ecologists gathering 5 PM at movie theatre Ekran had only Permission for a picket. Some 200 people, most of whom Zakamsk inhabitants came to listen what powers had to reply to ultimatum given in a meeting a week before. Protest camp participants repeated performance, which had been

organised at oblast administration two days before, and atmosphere was cheerful. Since powers did not come with any answers, activists brought in a loudspeaker, agitating people for more radical action. By legal definition, loudspeaker is the crucial difference between meeting and a picket, and so action turned illegal.

Soon chief of Scientific Research Institute of Polymeric Materials Anatoliy Ponik, fierce supporter of the missile dismayal project, demanded loudspeaker and when that was refused he began to make a speech with his own. This was most likely a planned provocation, since police could now arrest Ponik with little resistance, after which they attempted to grab orator of the protest action. Provocation seems even more likely, when one takes into account that Ponik was supported by a bunch of drunken and violent goons, and unlike other arrested he was not taken to police station.

Grabbing anti-rocket protesters was a harder task for coppers, and eventually anarchists managed to de-arrest orator, with casualties of two arrested and a trashed loudspeaker. Protestors formed a human chain scanning "Burn rockets in your own cabinets!", "Gave us Trutnev to be dismantled!", "Our politics is that we want to live!", "Together we will win!", and eventually coppers had to withdraw without further arrests.

When police tried to drive away with a "Buhanok" with one arrested, road was blocked and activists scanned "Free political prisoners!", "Free our comrades!", "Shame on police!" and "We are not afraid of men in grey!". Coppers turned pretty rude, people lying in the ground were beaten to stomachs, kidneys and stepped on with rather non-sexist and non-ageist manner, giving equally rough treatment to children, girls and elderly. Elderly Zakamsk inhabitants were also taking on coppers, shouting "Free children!". Violent goons helped coppers in cleaning the way. Eventually police managed to get away with arrested.

Third clash with police happened when protestors attempted to begin an illegal march towards administration building of the Kirov factory, but now numbers were already too much in favour of coppers, and altogether police mana-

ged to arrest 15 persons during the action.

Some 90 persons decided to march to Kirov area police station in order to support arrested comrades. On the way, a man drive by and offered eggs to attack police in Kirov police station. Soon it became obvious that guy was a provocateur, and it was decided to cook eggs for dinner (unfortunately a vegan option was not offered). Later on car of this "friend" was seen in yard of the police station.

Colon supporting arrested comrades was met by chain of 40 police guarding the station. Supporters waited until all of the participants were freed half past eight, but released were not given their passports, which is illegal. Adults among arrested will face court 11 AM next Monday (19th of July), charge will be a misdemeanour "violation of regulations concerning public mass actions", police is demanding short jail sentences of few days for arrested. Activists learned from unofficial sources that orders to arrest protest organisers was given personally by police chief of the city Konstantin Strogiiy.

While camp participant Sergei Kryuchkov was returning alone to camp after action with information stand used in daily pickets, he was assaulted by goons, stand was destroyed and he was beaten up. Goons promised to visit camp "soon".

Raising stakes, building pressure

19th of July participants of the protest camp visited a briefing for journalists in administration of the oblast. Since ecologists did not managed to have Chirkunov travelling to Zakamsk, they decided to pay a visit to his office. Three persons were refused entrance to administration, it was announced that briefing is closed, and only accredited journalists will be let in.

Ecologists decided to try backdoor instead. Some 15 anarchists with flags made it to building, security was told that they came for the briefing, and people quickly dispersed to building before security could react. Activists got stopped only at the door of conference room in third floor, 3 activists with press cards were stopped as well, which provoked them to shout "Burn missiles in your cabinets!" and "Chirkunov, people want to talk with you!".

Visiting group made a transformation to spontaneous meeting at stairs of the oblast administration. One of the windows between stairs and corridor of third floor committed revolutionary act of auto-destruction, allowing activists to present their cause to journalists who left conference hall, preferring action instead.



Activists of the protest camp explained that they see ongoing project in Perm as an ecocide against environment and inhabitants. One of the participants was arrested, and activists continued action in a police station nearby, demanding his liberation. Eventually he was sentenced to 5 days in jail for "minor hooliganism".

22nd of July a picket in front of a stock of solid fuel rockets at building of administration of Kirov factory become an illegal meeting. After end of picket, participants did not want to disperse, but they kept demonstrating another half hour. Around 100 people participants, most of them inhabitants of Zakamsk region, threaten by project. Participants of the protest camp spoke about latest action, and reactions of mainstream media to their activities.

Participants of the civil disobedience action scanned "Let us defend our rights!", "Power is afraid of us!", "When we are united, we will not be defeated!" and "All power to the people!". After illegal meeting, 25 people sat down to stairs of the building and took hold on each others, in order to avoid arrests. Police decided not to infer this time. Participants organized an illegal march by streets of Zakamsk to camp location.

In the evening of Sunday 25th, 10 participants of the protest camp decided to visit tennis tournament "Bolshoi Tandem", in order to tell elite of Perm what they think about destruction of their city. Activists spread to tribunes, raised banner and shouted "Deputies are playing - Permians are dying!", soon security moved activists out from tribune. Only Dmitri Ostrovskiy succeeded to stay in stadium. He waited until winners were given prizes, and dressed to a costume of death and headed towards VIP's to remind about dioxin poisoning they are planning for Perm inhabitants. One bodyguard stopped Dmitriy, and out from eyes of spectators and cameras beat him up and trashed his eyeglasses. From police station of Sverdlovsk area he was sent to medical centre number 1. Police and administration of sport complex "Green Duck" refused to give name of bodyguard who had beaten up Dmitri.

28th of July protest camp published free tabloid "For Perm without missiles". Tabloid has articles about participants of the protest camp, short history of the problem, chronicle of actions, opinions of specialists and information about upcoming actions. Tabloid was financed by donations from Perm inhabitants.

Blockade of Perm oblast administration

Blockade of Perm oblast administration, organized by participants of the protest camp and supported by inhabitants of Perm, was launched around 5 PM. Around 20 persons blockaded building, chaining themselves to each others. 250 people participated to meeting, scanning "Burn missiles in your own cabinets!", "When we are united, we are victorious!" and "Let us save future for our children!". Most of the participants came from distant suburb of Zakamsk, where dismantling of rockets is planned. GAI traffic police attempted to block buses carrying demonstrators, but Zakamsk inhabitants in buses threatened to blockade only bridge of the city over river Kama, and police was forced to pass them

through. In 11 PM, when most of the participants of the meeting had left, OMON special forces used brutal force to arrest blockaders of the administration. 18 persons were taken to police station of Lenin district, 3 arrested juvenile offenders were sent to Centre of Social Adaptation. Police and OMON (special forces of ministry of interior) brutalized people already during arrest, and beatings were continued in the police station. 12 of the arrested were beaten to stomach to ribs, arms were bent and electric shocks were given. Vice chief of security department of Perm police, Konstantin Strogii was guarding torture.

11th of August a court was organized against participants of the protest action in district court of Perm. 7 participants of the meeting were sentenced to 3 days in prison, two participants got 5 days in prison and one person got one week. One female arrestee was released, two others got 1000 roubles in fines - they protested strongly against sexism of the court.

Court was closed; journalists and representatives of public were not let to court. Few persons demanded judge to organize medical investigation on torture wounds, but this appeal was ignored. As a protest against ignorance of the judge, Roman Yushkov spoke poems of Brodskiy loudly, after which he was removed from court. He will be judged for disrespect of court later on. 5 of the arrested announced a dry hunger strike as a protest against injustice and police brutality. Two girls who were fined announced that they will pay fines with peppermint. All sentenced did their full sentences, and hunger strikers kept strike. Last of the arrested to be freed was Roman Yushkov 17th of August, he was tired after 6 days in a dry-hunger strike, but in a good morale.

Ecological disasters - a foretaste from future?

At morning 15th of August, a wagon on its way to factory "Galogen", located in Kirov district of Perm, dropped from rails and leaked around 40 tons of 20% hydrochloric acid to environment. Officials claimed that they have managed to localize damage, and neutralize acid.

Workers, who participated to neutralization, however told to participants of the protest camp, that immediate neutralization attempt failed, and camp was saved from poisonous cloud just because wind happened blow to another direction, and rain absorbed part of the cloud. Incident happened some 2-3 kilometres from ongoing radical ecological protest camp.

Last time a train transporting hydrochloric acid dropped from rails exactly one month before, but back then without leaks. Perm officials, in cooperation with American Washington Group International, are committed to transport ballistic missiles for dismantling on very same railroad, disastrous condition of which has already lead to two

serious incidents.

Central Administration of Natural Resources has not prolonged permission of NII Polymeric Materials to make emissions to atmosphere. Previous permission of NII PM got outdated 1st of July. Permission was not prolonged, because NII PM was found violating many technological and environmental norms. However workers of Kirov factory and people working with their gardens confirm that missiles are burned all the time. Protest campers have gathered information about missiles burned in open rack 2nd, 10th and 23rd of July, 19th of July two missiles were burned. Workers of NII PM have been banned, with threat of fines and sackings, from any discussion with ecologists. However workers and specialists keep passing oral testimony and valuable documents to hands of the protesters, risking their workplaces for the sake of Perm inhabitants. Notwithstanding the testimony, 29th of July Chirkunov, who is now working as Perm Oblast governor when Trutnev was called to be Minister of Natural Resources, made a parallel between witnesses of missile burning and those who claim to have seen UFO's.

Campaign headquarters under attack

17th of August protesters were targeted with a new form of pressure. 11 AM, 5 persons (2 of whom muscles) appeared in apartment in the centre of Perm, which has worked as city headquarters for the camp. They demanded to free apartment in 3 minutes, and to take all computers and equipment away. Aleksandr Filippov, leading the group, showed some unclear paper from administration of the oblast in order to justify his demands. Later on activists found out, that Filippov is working in electionary committee of Perm oblast. Activists refused to leave building, and uninvited visitors went on taking lock from the door. One activist of the camp managed to seize stolen lock, and to close the door. Soon electricity from campaign headquarters was cut off.

Protest camp will be going on at least two more weeks, and campaign undoubtedly even longer. This is just beginning!

Contact of the protest camp:

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UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

ANTIFASCIST ALERT IN EE

(Re)search, find and destroy!
Nazi leaders and plain "soldiers" from all over Romania took part in the 4th nationalist summer camp of Noua Dreapta, that took place between 5 - 8 August 2004, in the Carpathian mountains. Delegates of foreign nationalist movements were also present, like Boyan Rasate of Bulgarian National Alliance (BNS), and Jonathan Fain of National Alliance from USA.

The Eastern branch of the European National Front reunited in the Slovak Republic, between 2 - 4 July. Representatives of fascist groups from the Slovak Republic (Slovenska Pospolitost), Romania (Noua Dreapta), Poland (NOP) and the Czech Republic (NSj) spoke about strengthening cooperation.

Also Claudiu Mihutiu, Noua Dreapta's responsible for Foreign Relations, took part in the 3rd edition of NPD (National Party of Germany) summer university, organised in Saarbrücken between 23 - 25 July.

It seems like in whole region fascists starting to internationalize their connections. Antifa goal as it was: (re)search, find and destroy!

EU vs. SERBIA

TheProcess goes on

The Austrian chancellor has said that it could be possible for the South Eastern European countries to join the EU by 2014. Speaking after a meeting with South Eastern leaders, Wolfgang Schüssel said that the "biggest success is that region is out of the headlines", according to Austrian newspapers. Erhard Busek, the special coordinator of the Stability Pact for the region said "the priority of EU enlargement is southeastern Europe, there is no other direction". The meeting was attended by leaders from Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Montenegro and Romania. Both Romania and Bulgaria are set to join the EU in 2007. The region has also been told directly by

Brussels that EU membership is a definite prospect. "The process of European unification will not be completed unless the countries of the Western Balkans become members of the European Union", said European Commission President Romano Prodi last year. Meanwhile the EU has forced Romania and Bulgaria, like Poland, to impose visas on a number of countries. Serbians and Montenegrans need visas to Romania already from July 1 and Bulgarians will impose visas some time in the future. Obviously this has political implications as Serbia becomes a more and more isolated pocket in Europe and as some people consider a pro-EU regime change.

TURKEY

Unfinished case of Usak anarchists!

Usakies' problems with the state could not finish. In the preceding court order, one year penalty of imprisonment with the reason of making graffiti which was given by Usak 2nd Criminal Court of Peace had been converted to a fine of 900 million Turkish liras [about \$ 600-650] and it was postponed for 5 years. Usakies had taken this decision to the appeal court. Yargitay [Upper Court] has overruled the decision. Process of rejudgement will begin first trial will be heard in Usak 2nd Criminal Court of Peace on 09.09.2004.

[Ed. Note: A group of Usak anarchists had been arrested in December 2001 and they were claimed to be members of an 'illegal terrorist organization' although they did nothing except some graffiti and distributing anarchist leaflets. After spending a period of 3 months or so in F-type prisons, all were released and later acquitted.]

CHECHNYA

Enraged women in government house

Territory of government house in Grozny was taken over by a crowd of enraged women. 2nd of June 2004 around 13:00 relatives of disappeared people rushed to the building of Chechen govern-

ment. Soon however building was cleared and crowd was dispersed. 1st of June in local television Heda Saratova, activist of one of the local organisations announced that she knows location of around 1500 disappeared people, whom she claimed to be secretly held in prisons of kraies and republics bordering Chechnya, and that she has corresponding lists of prisoners. 2nd of June relatives of the disappeared people gathered in the center of the city. People disappear in road blocks, during "mop-up operations" in the villages, during night raids and also after legal arrests. Many came from distant villages. More than one thousand people attended - Grozny has not seen such massive gatherings for a long time. This is not surprising - number of disappeared people runs in thousands, more than 1500 criminal cases have been opened against various state structures, but inspection of almost all of these cases was stopped due to "impossibility to find persons to be accused". "Activist" who joined demonstration said aloud a list of names of more than 1200 disappeared persons, but gathered people expected something else - they wanted to know where disappeared people are located. Then "activist" said that she does not know anything about location of the people, and proposed to address this question towards Chechen government. After this, crowd of Women rushed through several roadblocks. Vice-premier, who appeared to calm the crowd down proposed to elect 5 representatives for discussions, but that was late - women began throwing stones at soldiers and army transport vehicles. Soon soldiers and guards began shooting over heads of people and cleaning the area by force. Several people were wounded and some hospitalised. Soon the crowd was dispersed, escaping people were beaten up. Some were arrested. It was a miracle that this miracle did not demand human victims.

CZECHIA

Fingerprint by Motorola

The Czech Republic is taking a critical step forward in its accession to the European Union (EU)

with the purchase of Motorola's enhanced automated fingerprint identification system (AFIS) for its National Police. Motorola Biometrics solutions are designed to save time and increase accuracy in the identification, processing and management of individuals by law enforcement agencies. "The technology enables us to share data on asylum seekers with other agencies on EURODAC, which is a prerequisite for accession to the EU," said Zdenek Smotlacha, Department Chief, Czech Republic. "Our testing of the new system earlier this year went extremely well, and we are on track to begin official fingerprint submissions to EURODAC."

EURODAC, established in December 2000, is a system for the comparison of fingerprints, enabling EU member states to identify asylum-seekers as well as people who have crossed borders in an irregular manner. EURODAC consists of a computerized central database that houses fingerprints of asylum applicants and a system for electronic data transmission between member states and the database. "Motorola's AFIS solutions provide an efficient way to share crucial intelligence between agencies and across national borders," said Darrin Reilly, Motorola Communications and Electronics vice president and general manager, Biometrics Unit. "As the world prepares for expansion of the European Union, this kind of capability becomes a critical component in a nation's entry. Our excellent working relationship with EURODAC's technical team is also of great benefit to our customers as they prepare their fingerprinting identification systems for certification and acceptance by EURODAC."

The US\$1.2 million Czech Republic purchase is for Motorola's Series 2000 system, a legacy system that provides fingerprint matching capabilities, and five additional LiveScan Stations, bringing the total number for the country to 15. These stations will interface seamlessly with EURODAC, eliminating the need for dual entry of data. The Omnitak(TM) AFIS/palmprint

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identification system, which includes many speed and accuracy improvements, is the latest generation of Motorola's AFIS portfolio. A leader in AFIS and biometric solutions worldwide, Motorola is providing electronic interfaces with the EURODAC system for Denmark. Motorola's Commercial, Government and Industrial Solutions Sector Motorola's Commercial, Government and Industrial Solutions Sector (CGISS) is a leading provider of integrated radio communications and information solutions, with more than 65 years of experience in meeting the mission-critical requirements of public safety, government and enterprise customers worldwide. In 2003, CGISS received the inaugural Interpol Outstanding Contribution Award for its services to the international law enforcement community. The sector offers an extensive portfolio of solutions to meet growing public safety and security needs, including: interoperable two-way radio communications solutions; command and control solutions; identification and tracking solutions; information management of criminal justice and civil needs; and physical security and monitoring solutions.

RUSSIA

Attack on squat in St. Petersburg

In night between 3rd and 4th of July squat KLIZMA (former Pekarnia) in Sankt-Petersburg was attacked by local criminal "gopnik" youth, apparently in cooperation (or after request of) police. Gopniks broke through barricades, and cops and gopniks beat up 2 persons with bars and nightsticks, managed to escape. Those through window, but were ambushed in the street and faced an unequal fight. After series of fights during last days, about all windows of the squat are broken and reserves of molotov cocktails are exhausted. One gopnik was sent to reanimation. Two squatters have been forced to go underground after provocation, they ask you to give shelter if you see them in your town!

Human rights activist shot dead in Sankt Petersburg!

A known human rights activist and expert on national and race issues was shot dead in his home. Sankt-Petersburg Anarchist league activist writes that Nikolai Girenko, Worker of museum of anthropology and ethnography was shot through his home door. Underground "Government of the Republic of Russia" has claimed responsibility for execution of 64 year old N. M. Girenko in Sankt-Petersburg 19th of June. This was a vengeance for him giving expert testimony in court cases on "spreading national hatred".

Anarchist graffiti in the wall of US embassy in Moscow

Group of anarchists in Moscow wrote "FREE JEFF LUERS!" with huge letters to the wall of US Embassy in Moscow. Protesting this way against imperial "justice", radical activists gave moral support to their comrade Jeffrey Luers. All participants of the action successfully escaped, so security of one of the tightest guarded buildings in Moscow was put in shame.

June marks the beginning of the fifth year of imprisonment for Jeff "Free" Luers, held captive by the US state. Sentenced to 22 years and 8 months for burning three ecologically harmful Sport Utility Vehicles (SUVs) at Romania Chevrolet in Eugene, USA, Jeff has continued to be active in prison and fight back with his words and inspiration. Jeff decided to burn three such machines to fight against global climate change, made by big oil corporations and their allies who govern states. Vehicles of SUV category release 43% more pollutants causing global climate change than normal cars. SUV's are marketed for individuals seeking luxury, their inflated size has no any practical justification.

Jeffrey's sentence is far greater than that faced by many offenders convicted of violent acts against individuals. For example, in state of Oregon Manslaughter 1 carries a 10 year sentence; Attempted Murder, only 7 and a half years; Rape 1, 8 years

four months. Clearly, Jeffrey's sentence is vastly disproportionate to the crime of burning three vehicles. Russian ABC activists demand immediate release of free, whose act may not be considered as a crime, but as an act against corporate madness!

POLAND

Polish neo-Nazi raid Chechen camp

On 24.08 Polish neo-Nazis have raided a camp housing Chechen refugees near Warsaw. The agency said up to 20 Polish youths burst into the Moshna camp 20 miles from Warsaw and attacked residents with broken bottles and gas pistols. During the attacks, which came in several waves Sunday night, Molotov cocktails were also hurled onto balconies in an attempt to set the camp ablaze. The camp houses more than 100 Chechen refugees including children. Parents say they are now afraid to allow their children to go to school outside the camp fearing their safety cannot be guaranteed. The refugees fled from the Muslim Russian republic of Chechnya where tens of thousands of people have died in a decade of fighting.

The Chinese secret police exercises in Krakow

The Chinese president arrived with a surprise visit in Poland. No word of it was known until it leaked one morning. The Polish president arranged a military parade for the occasion. The Chinese delegation came with their own agents who were busy putting red flags over the Falun Gong and Tibet flags that demonstrators brought in protest. Some of the activists got into fights with Chinese security guards. The Polish police didn't intervene. After Warsaw's appearance of the Chinese delegation took activists for surprise, they managed to inform FA Krakow that they would be in the city the next day. There activists managed to find out where the delegation would eat out and prepared a banner and a few people to welcome them. The Chinese secret police apparently feel just like at home, going

after protestors. After initial attempts to beat the small band of protestors back failed, they managed to get some dogs who were more effective in doing the job. *"People in town were informed about the visit the same day. Police an hour before the dinner just closed part of a main market. Then cowboys from Government Protection Biuro arrived with president of Poland. We almost made falstart - one of anarchist started to shout "fuck off" to Kwasniewski, we of course also wanted, but this day the object was different ... When chinese delegation arrived we put out our banner "Chinese criminals to the tribunal!" and started shouting "Chinese criminals you will be punished by The People" (it rhymes in Polish). Then we were attacked by police and cowboys (twice because at first time they didn't manage), who snatch the banner and started to push us away. I have seen a Chinese secret-service guy who was pointing at us and showing police who should they attack".*

Vietnamese people protesting in Warsaw

Some anarchists from FA-Praga visited a picket organized by people from Amnesty International and the Association for a Democratic Vietnam (Vietnamese refugees living in Poland). The protestors came with pictures of political prisoners in Vietnam and had a banner demanding their immediate release. The Vietnamese protestors were quite scared of the embassy officials, and they tried to give their presence a low profile. Technical difficulties, like lack of leaflets describing details of the repressions can be attributed to the fact that it was one of the first demos organised by this group of people.

LATVIA

Nazi attack

Nazis attacked benefit concert for Alem (Somalian seriously injured by nazis last April) in Riga with arms.

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A PLACE UNDER THE SUN

Movement against urban densification in Moscow

Every year in Moscow much enough squaremetres are built to house a typical Russian city with 200 000 inhabitants. Moscow is spreading further on from MKAD ringroad, which was build to the border of the Soviet capital, and in the city itself builders are eager to use every available piece of land. Yards, children's squares, garages of "common mortals", architectural heritage and any free space are sacrificed from the way of development. This phenomenon is typical for many big cities and was named "densification construction" in Russia.

Current construction boom is far from being initiated by increased demand of housing only. In Russia constructors are operating in a unique market, which allows them to squeeze profit as big as the costs - municipality is financing both construction and maintenance of water, gas, and electricity supply and sidewalks. Operator must only build carcass of the building, and all the rest is given for free. Unless new house is a Condominium where inhabitants are collective owners of land and communication system, house is automatically added to city balance sheet.

Movement of dwellers against urban densification is the biggest truly grassroot movement in Russia of today - initiative is not from any organisation or party, but from casual people. Surrounding environment, in this case not nature but everything which surrounds people in cities - land, trees, fresh air - is considered as something valuable and beloved, which allows a moment of relief in the middle of everyday haste. For sure, people have different opinions on question how their yard or micro-area should be built - some prefer more trees, others garages, some would like to have a kiosk selling beer in the corner. But in any case people understand their yard and area as something their own, a common good which gives them moral right to stand up for their rights against developing interests of the strangers.

These protests are organised under banners of fight against injustice, against profits of companies and against worsening of the conditions of life. Only few, most pragmatic people make calculations on how much value their estate may lose due to mushrooming housing towers hampering sunshine, cutting of a park or increasing stream of cars. This fraction is seldom seen in protests against densification, since they suppose that everything has been paid and decided a long time ago. Most of those protesting just love their yards, trees planted with their own hands, and familiar surroundings.

For elderly, demolition of old houses (usually accompanied with relocation of their inhabitants to new suburbs built to distant borders of the megalopolis) is a most dramatic and tragical event. For them, leaving their old neighbourhood, where they have spent most of their lives, where other familiar elderly live, where every brick is like their own, is almost like death. Usually most staunch and uncompromising activists are found among this group of people. Also those who understand value of architectural heritage of old Moscow, old Sankt-Petersburg and

other cities are organising against demolitions. Usually development projects are of commercial interest only. House of hotel "Moskva" is among those to be demolished soon. All Moscow State University faculties remaining in Ohotniy Ryad will be moved to Vorobevy Gory, they will be replaced by business estates. Well-behaving clerks will replace shady humanists from faculties of Journalistics and Asian and African studies.

Movement against urban densification is spontaneous and decentralised; this is why its scale is difficult to estimate. But one may be certain that this movement has existed for years, it has spread to all major cities and it gains results. City authorities are forced to found committees to solve quarrels between inhabitants and developers, and most controversial projects are halted. Developers hire conflictologists to negotiate with dwellers, and they bury project in case it becomes obvious that costs of courts and regaining their "good reputation" become too big. Usually these conflicts take years to be solved. Developers halt active works and play time, and when inhabitants cool off a bit project is introduced once again. This strategy is based on simple



arithmetics - struggle demands lots of time and efforts of dwellers, and developers hope that people get tired and are not able to unite their efforts and renew the protest campaign. This is why most fruitful campaigns are those which help people to find each other, and during which such a group of activists is formed, which is able to constantly monitor situation and organise other inhabitants of the area to struggle whenever necessary. Due to this collective activity, people gain chance to solve other actual problems of the area: to build up children's square, to build lamp-posts and so on. Often before protest action they never realised that they may influence to such issues on themselves.

One journalist, without much of sympathy on side of the movement, got it right when talking about most effective tactics of the movement - "(in Russia) It is only possible to stop construction with angered inhabitants, who engage with the bulldozers". This is a definite fact - escalation of the conflict is usually only way to influence to situation. Blockades against construction works and cutting down parks, to which mostly pensioners and mothers with minors are participating, and resistance against violent relocation are often organised by desperate inhabitants. Developers and security often turn physical; police also gets involved, threatening with

arrests and prosecution. Resistance at the borderline of physical violence, and at times passing this border, is psychologically very difficult to engage in for many people. Dwellers defend legitimacy of their actions; they only use such methods when all other means to influence the current situation are lost. They began with writing letters to authorities as loyal citizens; they believe in righteousness of existing order and state in defending their interests. And just few months afterwards, they strongly and categorically talk about hypocrisy of the power. Now they see power as main reason of their trouble, as their enemy, and business and state structures as two heads of the same hydra, that THEY always make deals between each other whereas worries of inhabitants are not of interest to anybody.

Appeal to laws is another important condition for a successful campaign. Russian legal system is complex and contradictory, thus no developer may completely follow all demands given to planning and agreeing a project. There is no means to build following every possible sanitary and architectural regulation in most of the urban territory. Having legal cover given by qualified lawyer, protests are not anymore just noise by discontent pensioners ("who are always discontent anyway"), but a campaign to reclaim legality. Inhabitants of one house in Gagarin area of Moscow have already 12 years successfully defended their huge yard, because they have filed a huge file against developers which is pending, and any attempts to bring techniques to yard are immediately interfered.

Participants of the movement against urban densification usually attempt to solve only their own particular problem, they are not politicized and they see the current political system as both legitimate and necessary. But in the process of interaction with the political power, they receive a good dose of critical attitude, and soon they see protests as only method to bring change. Although such grassroot movements do not aim to change the society as a whole, they act as a catalyst of social transformation. They surpass atomization and alienation of modern society through creation of informal social relations; they create new practice of active and direct participation of population to local politics. This way these activists create foundations of massive social and political movements of the future.

Arina Mayhova

Post Scriptum

Current oil boom has made Moscow a city of cranes, which probably may be compared only with Chinese special economic zones or post-unification Berlin. Leave your place for 2 months, and you may see a 25 floor monster built another side of the road when you return. In only country where elite is yet used to live in blocks of flats, Caribbean cruisers are built on dry land. Mother of all Orwellian iron-curtain concrete hells, Moscow is gaining even more height and weight due to tireless efforts of Moldavian and Tadzhik gastarbeiters, whose life is cheap - more than 60 of them might have died in a fire last year, nit-

though building corporation claimed less than 10 victims, all with Russian surnames.

But although a visitor would find little or nothing beautiful in Moscow suburbs (and half of the city centre looks like a suburb as well), many of the inhabitants are determined to stand for the little beauty which is left.

After printing 22nd issue of *Avtonom*, in Tuesday 22th of June 2004 there was another meeting of movement against urban densification in Moscow. This meeting, organised in Pushkin square, gathered no more than 70 people, but they came from at least seven different local initiatives. Day before inhabitants of Krylatskoe, who were main initiators of the meeting in Pushkin square had gathered twice more people in their own area.

Krylatskoe is one of the nicest regions of Moscow, which is threaten by a project to build a 6 line highway through Moscow river and through park of Serebryanyi Bor, one of the most popular places for recreation inside Moscow. Inhabitants of this area are certain that highway is built exclusively in interests of the elite and bureaucrats, many of whom have their dachas in the North West direction. Meeting gathered under banners "Luzhkov (Moscow mayor) does not live in Moscow, so he may spit on us", "Moscow - a place for despotism", "Let us save Krylatskoe from despotism of bureaucrats" and "Cynicism of Moscow powers has no any limits". Many of the orators in the meeting pointed to numerous legal violations committed in their areas, many court processes are pending. It is also positive that appeal to laws was not seen as only saviour from all trouble, grassroot activists also understand necessity of protest actions. Movement against urban densification was and is self-organised, independent and decentralised movement. "Usual suspects" (political parties and fringe groups) were practically absent in meeting of 22nd of June. Besides inhabitants of Krylatskoe, participants included activists fighting against cutting of Park Beryozovaya Roscha from Horosheva region, inhabitants of Pokrovskoe-Streshnevo (also fighting against cutting of a park), Kuzminky anti-development activists and inhabitants from around Hadimskoe field - current Moscow government wants to build a massive suburb there. Last one is the site of a famous catastrophe which took place 110 years ago, when more than 1000 people died when a crowd panicked after a firework accident during coronation celebrities of tsar Nikolai II. In May 2004 in Moscow "A committee for defence of Muscovites" was founded, it has representatives from various local groups but is fulfilling only coordinatory functions.

*Aleksei and Sanya
(Originally published in Avtonom #22)*



190TH ANNIVERSARY OF MIKHAIL BAKUNIN

30th of May'04 was 190th birthday of Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin. Celebrations were organized 29th-30th of May in his birthplace Pryamukhino, located not far from the city of Torzhok in Tversk oblast. These celebrations were of mixed character - partly official, partly scientific and partly informal. Russian state, just as any state, hated and hates Mikhail Bakunin, enemy of any power, significance of whom for human thought and history of mankind is however too big to be ignored. But state made everything in order to vulgarize, castrate and formalize birthday of the great rebel. Official events were organized 29th of May, with all encompassing high weirdness. Inhabitants of Pryamukhino gathered to square surrounded by school and Pryamukhino museum, in which a special exposition about Mikhail Bakunin was opened. Pompous music was played, foodstuffs were sold, gawks were hanging around and bureaucrats gave talks. Orators were officials from administration of area and oblast, even deputies from Russian-Belarusian parliamentary assembly had come. They had nothing to say, since they did not know about anything about object of the celebrations. One of the deputies even called him "our great compatriot Mikhail Ivanovich (sic) Bakunin", obviously confusing him with "all-soviet elder" M. I. Kalinin, after whom city of Tver was named after in Soviet Union. Ideas and heritage of Bakunin are still actual and of little comfort to power, and for sure best possible present in his birthday would be some uprising and not banal formalities. Atmosphere was stifling, stagnated and cheerful in the same time - jubilee of a great son of Russia, although an anarchist, why not to drink! Only one of the orators said something about personality, activities and ideas of Bakunin - head of Bakunin fond Sergei Gavrilovich Kornilov even announced to audience that "our future will be an anarchist state" (sic). No-one seemed to be excited for this revelation. Books about Bakunin family were sold, as well as recently published booklet of materials of annual Pryamukhino readings 2001-2003. New exposition by local museum included many books about and pictures of Mikhail Bakunin, especially worth of mention was a huge map of Europe of 19th century, where manifold places connected to great anarchist were marked - Florence, Sankt-Petersburg, Moscow, Bologna, Paris, Lyon, Prague, Dresden, London, Bern, Locarno... Official



happening was finished with musical-literary composition "Mikhail Bakunin commemorated today" by actors of theatres of Tver. This piece disappointed us - actors read from paper, badly and stumbling, and for example great article of Aleksander Bloch on Bakunin from 1906 was submitted to a ridiculous censorship - for example, conclusion "Let us take fire from Bakunin!" was dropped, obviously considered as an "extremist call". The same morning, with presence of much of offspring of the Bakunin family, there was a prayer in local church to commemorate all Bakunins, after which father Andrei and his followers talked that Mikhail Bakunin and his godless ideas were bad and wrong, and should be forgotten. That was a honest statement of point of view of the church.

Second day of the celebrations was less formal and more lively, since officials and most of the relatives of Bakunin had left. A severely truncated (due to lack of time) scientific conference dedicated to Bakunin

was organized, in which some dozen talks were given. Few dozen researchers and anarchists participated from Barnaul, Tambov, Irkutsk, Minsk, Nizhni Novgorod, Moscow, Tver, Dmitrov and Sankt-Petersburg. There were no more than ten anarchists in the conference. First talk in the conference was on theme "Mikhail Bakunin in world of today" by Petr Ryabov, member of Autonomous Action from Moscow. Most of the talks were about very narrow scientific topics, and some said very exotic opinions - for example Dolzhikov from Barnaul proved that M. Bakunin was not an anarchist, but "a left-wing liberal", and Sapon from Nizhni Novgorod convinced that between views of Bakunin and leader of National-Bolshevik Party Eduard Limonov there is "much in common". These attempts to redefine Bakunin as a Russian nationalist, alien to West, or to usual liberal, not aware of his own liberalism, were met with disagreement from side of most of the participants. No matter abundance of the officials and cops protecting them, which are seldom spoiling beautiful Pryamukhino and haste which disturbed all events, participants of the conference were able to chat also in informal way, change literature and addresses, drink for victory of anarchism and hang around in the beautiful park of Pryamukhino.

*Petr Ryabov
(to be published
in Avtonom #23)*

Personal account from ANTI-NATO counter-summit in Istanbul / Turkey

Almost 2 years after its last official meeting (Prague 2002) and just few months after joining the Alliance by 7 new member countries - Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia; NATO summit took place in Istanbul on 28-29 June 2004. Numerous new initiatives like "Istanbul Cooperation Initiative" (which deals with strengthening control over Middle East and surely will have crucial consequences for this region) had been announced there, several decisions taken. From these, for EE-countries most important are: -after praising of "successful" SFOR mission in Bosnia & Herzegovina, it was cheered approval given by EU to start new and distinct UN-mandated "Chapter 7" mission there - confirming further presence of KFOR in Kosovo, - encouraging Albania, Croatia and Macedonia to continue reforms necessary to achieve NATO membership. To stage this summit in that geographical place had yet mainly symbolical character, as much as symbolical had been pictures taken there of Bush and others accomplices posing proudly with mosques in a background. Resistance against NATO and capitalism expressed in diverse ways on streets of Istanbul may seem and was just directed against symbols, yet it was next step in world-wide struggle, that is as real as hate against the system and its perpetrators. Below we present personal account from counter-summit events. As anarchist movement in Turkey is still very small, in order to avoid obviousness we had to limit use of some interesting and exciting details.



with cactus planting (municipality promised to plant flowers for NATO) in front of the Hilton Hotel

- June 17th: Another street theatre action in front of Sabanci Center (shopping mall)

- June 19th: Second "Food not Bombs/NATO" activity in front of Besiktas McDonalds

NATO Summit was going to be held in area of Harbiye (central part of European side of the city). Main red-zone covered this one and neighbouring areas, but police blocks start already much before, fence in some sensible places has been 8 meters high, certain main roads closed to traffic since 2 days before. Massive police presence on the streets, warships in Bosphorus, and deserted streets awaited Bush coming with 2 500 of private guards only. Many leftist parties, groups, unions, etc. had been also preparing for counter-activities since months, city is filled with anti-NATO posters, slogans and flyers. Libertarian anti-NATO Coordination, which includes ONLY antiauthoritarians of diverse background (anarchist, anti-militarists, gay/lesbian group) was taking part also in coordinatory meetings with some of militant leftist groups to make arrangements for big, legal demo at Sunday and actions in Monday. Generally atmosphere was rather tense, it was completely unclear what to expect. Diverse leftist groups had since longer carried campaigns of bombing NATO-sponsoring banks and offices, some days before in suburbs police station was attacked with molotovs. Thursday morning bomb exploded in Ankara next to hotel where Bush was expected to stay (one cop and 2 people injured), that same afternoon in Istanbul 4 people got killed and 19 injured by accident, as members of marxist-leninist DHKP-C had carried sound-bomb in public bus and it went on unexpected, etc. On 26th Bush arrival to Ankara was welcomed with smaller scale riot there after demo in which some of anarchists also participated. In Istanbul anarchists argued for holding big, Sunday demo near red zone, yet assembly decided to have in Kadiköy, as it is popular neighbourhood and has rich history of struggle, so this event would have more social character and direct confrontation could take place day later, for those which choose it. About 50 000 people participated in the anti-NATO demo which was held in Istanbul-Kadiköy square on 27th of June. Anarchists took part under the name of Libertarian Coordination Against NATO with 300 in total including various anarchist and libertarian groups and individuals forming Black Block and some anarchist-communists who have preferred to march behind this group. On the beginning we had

to push our way to form block between some leftists. We had carried many black-red, black and black-green flags and also about 10 anti-NATO, anti-capitalist, anti-state and anti-army banners. Our block consisted of people coming from cities such as Ankara, Izmir, Izmit, Antalya, Bursa, Bolu, Iskenderun, Canakkale, Corlu, Duzce, Denizli in addition to Istanbul and few foreign comrades from Greece, USA, Italy, Poland, Macedonia and Austria. During the march lots of anarchist graffiti's were made, stickers/posters were stuck on, diverse anarchist groups distributed their materials. Punk also made their own surrealist & funny banner. For a while, a "military forbidden zone" signboard which was dismantled from nearby army barracks and "decorated" took great interest alarming the soldiers. Among the well-known slogans a new enthusiastic march calling "to the Streets, to the Barricades" was also sang. Our block screaming "İsyani!" (Insurrection) and running was surely loudest and most creative in entire demo. Ozgur Hayat group which have been preparing for the protests under the name of Anarsistanbul were also in the demo with some 250 people. Preferring to follow the demo from a distance, for the first time cops have applied a different strategy. There was no police control visible but huge amount of them were present in the back streets. It was seen that they have studied their lesson from their western fellows. The meeting was in a harmless place, kilometres of a distance from the place where summit were to be held and with this strategy there was also no risk of a clash arising from the tension of protestors, which could occur when cops would try to search them while entering the square. This attitude of the police should not be naively seen as any so-called "democratization". This was an "European" way of channelling and integrating social movements according to the idea, that "Streets do not erode away by marches" [a famous epigram of a right-wing politician S. Demirel who is an ex-PM and also an ex-president] as long as they do avoid mess. Anyway some of us and other militants waited for next day... This evening last arrangements and preparations has been made for anarchist Black Block. In 9.30 morning we gathered with 50-60 comrades in area of Mecidiyeköy, which is popular, poor neighbourhood and traditionally leftist stronghold with many safe-houses and activities. We supposed to form block and join other groups, which had gathered nearby in Ökmezdani Park already since previous evening, where leftist camp with speeches, concerts, etc. took place. It was planned to form together strong demo and march into red zone, which started just few hundreds meters away and

Before and during anti-NATO activities, anarchist/anti-authoritarian movement in Turkey created series of fertile and diverse actions at a level which was not seen before. It was one of best examples of well and consciously prepared anarchist campaign, especially concerning not so big experience of most of our Turkish comrades. Texts of LIBERTARIAN COORDINATION AGAINST NATO which was formed for this purpose already in January were publicized in 19 different languages and "Activist Guide" which was prepared for these actions found great interest in the media and also won approval among many other anti-NATO activists. Several activities staged the way till Summit:

- April 4th: Action held in Taksim/Mis Street for NATO day
- April 21st: Panel discussion titled "NATO, Capitalism and Counter Movement" held in Bogazici University
- May 1st: Massive participation to the Mayday march in Saraycane Park with a cortege of 150 people as "Libertarian Coordination Against NATO"
- May 15th: antimilitarist "Militarism Festival" which was successively held in 6 separate points with participation of 3 buses full of activists and reporters
- June 5th: First "Food not Bombs/NATO" in Turkey ever, in front of Taksim's McDonald
- June 11th: Arrest and release of two comrades of ours' on the same day while they were sticking anti NATO posters
- June 14th: Publication of Black Block call signed by 10 anarchist groups and collectives from 5 different cities
- June 16th: Welcoming of NATO with happening

then resist police "free-style" way, according to tactics of each particular group. We had light equipment, as our comrades with other materials supposed to come later directly to protest, avoiding eventual police searches. Right before we had been ready to go, units of riot police appeared in front of us marching from direction of our appointment. As our number was small and most of us completely unexperienced, we retreated into small streets followed by the cops, yet cheered and waved by people in the windows. We managed to



stay together and leave the area in small groups direction center avoiding police blocks. On the way we saw dispersed groups and we learned what happened in Okmeydani. Massive police forces surrounded area much before the protest was planned, people had been dragged out of cafes and bars and pushed into square then gassed heavily. There was around 2000 people there, including 30 Ozgur Hayat persons. Police attack was responded with molotovs and stones, barricades from cars and other stuff been erected. Fighting continued till 11.30. There was several injuries but also many among cops and some arrest been made, but according to participants atmosphere of solidarity and resistance at this riot was great. Unfortunately our "Rezil"(Miserable) Block missed it... We met together in area near Taksim (central square) and several of our people joined march of leftist-liberal ODP. This party belongs to reformist & parliamentary left, so it was quite surprising but their peaceful demonstration got attacked. Some civil cops shot with normal bullets at small group of anarchists after some trouble occurred and only by luck nobody got injured or dead. At this incident one of our comrades was arrested, yet released next day. At 13.00 there was antimilitarist event at Galatasaray Square, where 2 objectors (one of them is an anarchist) made their declaration about total objection. Some 50 people (including us, unlucky blackblockers) supported them, shouted slogans under heavy presence of police. Shortly after we dispersed and some used it as chance to spray the walls. At afternoon there was rally of ODP, which we- hungry for events- intended to join, yet they didn't let us, considering anarchists as provocators and blaming us for this what happened to their march earlier. During rest of day and night some other small things been going on by diverse groups. This day over 40 people in total was arrested, all of them released day later after beating or sexual harassments.

On Tuesday, 29th there was illegal concentration at 11.00 at Galatasaray Sq. Few hundred strong crowd, including some 100 of us, gathered with flags and started to scream slogans in front of riot police lines. Also ca. 50 Ozgur Hayat people was there.



Anti NATO statement has been read. Atmosphere was getting tense minute by minute, so some of us started to pick up stones, to what some trotzkists opposed helplessly. All this went on maybe 15 minutes and cops charged with gas bombs, pepper spray and sticks. All small streets been blocked by them, so we had to move backwards, some using time to trash windows of banks, mobile phone stores, etc. Some 15 of us runned into some street, yet we got blocked from both sides, so went into some garages and hid under the cars holding our breath. Riot police entered this space, yet checked uncarefully and we heard parking guard telling them, that he didn't seen nobody. After some time more we went out suspiciously, yet encountered local neighbours giving us cigarettes and kids checking if streets are already clear. Maybe again it isn't much but such a simple solidarity or at least general social hostility towards cops can give more power than flaming revolutionary slogans... Meanwhile we heard that as we hide, another attempt to gather was undertaken and story went on similiary. Also this day a group of 5 antimilitarists came to the border of red zone and intended to search the participants - who were about to leave NATO summit- to find out whether they have nuclear bombs, tanks or so with them. Answer of a civil "official" who got mad was interesting: "You are not cops, you cannot search anyone!". Again none got arrested during this action. This day summit finished, so less and less was going on, only presence of civil cops didn't decreased. We knew that none of our comrades is jailed, so after was just football and so on...

WOMEN SITUATION IN BELARUS

The main difference between women situation in Poland and in Belarus is that we don't feel such strong influence of church in our lives. Decades of soviet authority had educated devoted atheist - maybe, it is the best result of the Soviet Union existence. Abortion is legal, we have no official pro-life movement, but we have very strong pr-life mentality in the society. A few years ago discussion about prohibition of abortion started, and this tendency is growing. There are powerful homophobic patriarchal stereotypes in Bielarusian society. Men always had better position and played higher social role comprising with women: men should support his family and earn the money and women should keep house and bring up children - our society is obeyed to this stereotype and even if women working - traditionally men don't take part in household duties and upbringing their children because they are too exhausted at work. It is normal if women get less money than men do for the same work. It sounds stupid, but we have no prowomen and no anarchofeminist movement (I hope, soon we will create the first anarchofeminist zine - but its only a projekt now). Of course, there are some pro-establishment women organizations which only waste sponsor's money on their own needs (built a new cottage for chief-feminist, for example...). The only exception is the movement Women against violence - they try to do something to prevent women off violence from their husbands and relatives, from their colleges and chieives and from other rapist; to rehabilitate the victims of rapetures. There is sexual equality: different salaries and opportunities to get education on well-paid job are illegal, but they exist everywhere and women are discriminated in different spheres of their lives. But the main problem is the mentality of our people: we have no freedom to express our feelings and preferences, our thoughts - it is much easier and safer to be like everyone and to have a passive way of life. And of course there are a lot of problems and tabus connected with sexual emancipation. This is immoral here to have sexual contacts without marriage/ and to give birth to a child/ if one girl is raped everybody says that she had provoked a rapist, if one woman is pregnant without a husband everybody says that she is whore. Homosexualists are treated like mentally ill, we have no sexual education at school because it may spoil our pupils. The second problem is bad economical situation of our country - and the consequences are: low standard of living - women have no time to fight for their rights because they have to survive, and high level of prostitution and even slavery. The third problem is political repressive system which stops every kind of initiative social activity, every liberating projects as anti-establishment. But somebody has to tell our women that they have rights and that man and women are equal - this great work is just starting by some enthusiasm, but enthusiasm is fast spreading in the crowds. Women emancipation in Belarus is still a dream which we should make true*

Olga Martynienko

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* This article was written for polish anarchofeminist zine "Wiekama"

Letters, letters, letters, letters, letters, letters, letters, letters ...

A critical look on Polish anarchist movement

As a person taking part in body called "Anarchist Movement" in Poland for pretty long time I was able to make some observations. After all those years I am very far away from being optimistic, but on the other hand I still see pretty good chances for positive developments in this movement. Observations written below are only my point of view, which is however shared to some extent by many of my friends and comrades. I will try to keep those "points of weakness" in points so discussion afterwards can be easier. I am waiting for constructive responses (don't waste your time on "you are stupid" and similar bullshit). Let's start then and sorry for little chaos

Reformism. That's in my opinion major problem of today's movement in Poland. Anarchist end up on "write to authorities" style of action or simply complaining about injustice whenever there is need to do something more. There is almost complete lack of any kind of direct actions, which proved to be best way of achieving our goals through all history. Moreover, any attempt by some comrades to do something more "hard", not belonging to style of peaceful demonstrations or handing our leaflets end up being criticized, ridiculed or sometimes even called provocations. It leads to situation where some people burn out and don't want to continue activity while "pub anarchists" are happy that nobody is spoiling their peaceful situation. Also when finally something is happening in important issues, anarchist more often than not get co-opted in left wing or even government actions (for example anti homophobic or pro-choice actions with participation of SLD parliamentarists on one hand and on the other hand "anarcho" feminists, not noticing anything wrong in such pathetic and hypocritical co-operation). For many anarchists whole activity is becoming kind of public relation thing, where government rhetoric is being accepted and used for long time (how many people would support comrade in jail if not for fact that he is kind of "innocent"? If he would kill a Nazi having this planned in his mind from the beginning? If he would kill two or three Nazis?

Would so many people consider him worthy of support? Or maybe as a "guilty" he would be forgotten and never mentioned again? How long are we going to divide people into "guilty" and "innocent", instead of offering them full support for their acts of rebellion?). How often do we hear during demonstrations "take off masks, it scares people"? How often anarchists are even afraid to call themselves anarchist in public, like during recent protests in Warsaw, using instead dodgy "libertarian" title? Therefore if at the end we still consider ourselves anarchists, then we have to understand that anarchism means being enemy to the state and all kinds of authority. How many people from anarchist movement in Poland really consider themselves such? For how many people its just fashion, based in punk subculture or being some kind of "alternative hippy"? If we finally understand that being anarchist means being enemy of authority and wanting to overthrow it what are we waiting for? There comes another point...

Lack of offensive capabilities. Lets be serious- there are almost no offensive actions against the government and corporations from our side. We shouldn't be sitting and complaining about lack of tension (for those anarchist who consider tension between people and the government as something positive- I am not talking about old bearded academics in sandals for whom anarchism exists only in books)- we should try to bring this tension into existence. Many people talk endlessly about old good times of Machno, Spain 1936 etc. But this is not past, this is just part of our history and its continuation is up to us. Militant struggle didn't end in 1939, it didn't even end in 70s, its still goes on here and there, and maybe you just sit too much time in your books or over your beer to notice it? For most of people in anarchist movement in Poland words like solidarity and direct action in its real meaning had been long time forgotten. It is necessary to come to terms with confrontational approach. We should accept its existence and necessity of sabotage\direct action and start looking on its use as purely tactical choice, not choice of morality or anything else. Do you really recognize state of war between us and state? Or maybe time to take your

toys and go back to kindergarten to play with other kids in safe environment? And if you tell me that time is not right, then I can tell you that you can wait all your fucking life for good time because its us who make struggle and we live only once. Live means living by struggle, not merely surviving and passing away in shadows. And don't tell me that more militant actions will bring repression on us- as I said if you see it as a war, then don't cry about response from your enemy and besides if one wave of repression can kill whole movement it means it was dead body anyway...

False unity. This is perhaps last of most important weaknesses that I see in Polish movement. Problem lays in attempt to create organisations (as if people couldn't be active without those...) that will unify in one body everybody calling him/herself an anarchist. It ends up in situation that we have Anarchist Federation that is unofficially dead for some time, having in its ranks all sorts of people that actually don't feel any affinity with others, there are so many contradicting tendencies in this group that no wonder it is not capable of doing anything successful, even holding national meetings properly. This is not to say there are no good people in FA- its just existence of such big body with such broad ideological line (or maybe even without a line) that makes it ineffective. My proposition is to come back to local affinity groups which are far more successful and can always cooperate with other affinity groups. There is too much of organizations fetishisation and we can clearly see that big groups don't work well and sooner or later get torn apart by internal arguments and bureaucracy.

That's it as for today. Expect more in future. Think about it. Write your impressions. Resist and attack. INTERNAL ENEMY

From this issue we are starting with our new letters-chapter. We will try to present here the most interesting letters regarding to situation in EE which we recived in past two months. Unfortunately we will not be able to give this chapter to much space (max 2 pages in each issue) so please keep it in mind wrtting your essay to us.

Yours Abolishers.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

ABC
BULGARIA

The political elite in Bulgaria, under uncrowned King Simeon II as Prime Minister, is closely allied to Washington and NATO. Specially beholden to the Bush administration and engineering its own new forms of Homeland Security, the political class in Sofia is now engaged in new efforts to suppress and silence dissent, branding anarchists as a threat to "national security", as it happened on police conference, that was held in June in Sofia.

The most flagrant example of this new wave of repression against alternative expression in the country is the arrest of Elitsa, a 20-year-old anarchist in mid-July, in the city of Dobrich in far northeastern Bulgaria. Her "offense": passing out and pasting up leaflets in her hometown over the past two months, calling for more freedom, equality and people's autonomy, and selling back issues of the Bulgarian anarchist journal Svoboden Misl (Free Thought). This magazine, only one existing currently anti-authoritarian publication in Bulgaria, is a legal periodical issued in Sofia by the Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria and distributed across the country. Section 108 of the Bulgarian Criminal Code under which she has been charged speaks of spreading "fascist and anti-democratic propaganda".

Elitsa's ordeal: One morning on 15th July at 6 a.m., the local police descended on her home, confiscating literature, the hard disk of her computer and other "evidence," and dragging her in for six hours of grilling and interrogation, with no lawyer present. Elitsa can be sentenced to up to three years behind bars for her "crime" of speaking out on behalf of freedom and an "alternative future" for Bulgaria. Her email also appears to have under surveillance by the State Security Agency, trying to track her "contacts" in Bulgaria and abroad; her password was altered without her knowledge. El's phone was apparently also tapped by State Security, but she has been unable to determine the nature of other "material" to be used against her in court in this patent bid to intimidate and silence dissent.

She is apparently now released on her own recognizance, but any new acts of repression from the state can happen after summer (so cops and judges holiday) will finish.

In early April of this year, another incident of police harassment and surveillance of anarchists for expressing their views publicly was reported from the village of Kochan in southwestern Bulgaria.

ABC
MOSCOWOleg wants to thank
for your support

Hello! I was very glad when I receive your letters and support! Thank you very much! Now I am in the psychical hospital, and I have some problems with my memory and my English and that's why my answer so late. My name is Serebrennikov Oleg. I was born 8 July 1982 in the country side near Ural mountains. Now I live in the capital of Udmurt Republic - Izhevsk city. Its big city there are more than 700 thousands people populations. The famous automatic guns-AK47 (Kalashnikov) assemble on the ours factories. In the summer 2001 my friends and I decided to organize anarchist federation. Our group was named ATAKA (Association of makers Anticapitalistic Alternatives). Our first big action was happen in the 16 May 2002 (against war in Chechnya), near 25 students & young workers protested against bloody policy our government in Caucasus. The largest our action was May Day 2003 when we met near 100 students and young workers on demonstration. Also ATAKA conduct differ campaigns (anarchist agitation, antimilitarism & antifascism). Some members our group playing in antifa-punk&h/c band Indykator. They are finishing recording first album.

Also I participate in every summer protest camps against some chemical & environmental danger terminals, plants. Summer 2001 - first time I was in protest camp against factory for burning rocket fuel which organized by anarchists ecoradikal (social ecology by M. Bukchin) movement Rainbow Keepers in Votkinsk (Udmurt Republic). Votkinsk is small city near Izhevsk. May be you are listen something about this company, because there were many large actions and blockades which met 3-5 thousands peoples. We can stoped that factory.

Summer-autumn 2002 I participated in company against felling wild forest in National park "Caucasian" and company against ammonal terminal (Tolliati-azot-russian corporation) in the Taman peninsula (Russian coast of black sea). We can stoped felling forest & construction of terminal.

Summer 2003 I participated in company against metanol terminal "Triboldy" (Italian corporation). We can stoped construction of terminal.

About some problems: 23 02 2004 we participated in alleuropean company against war in Chechnya. Naziskinheads attacked my friend Zimbovski Aleksandr & me after antiwar demo. They had knives & iron stricks and bit us very cruelly. I had very serious problems with my head & my brain. I spent more than 1,5 months in different hospitals and now I am in psychiatric hospital. That's all. Salud!!!

Serebrennikov Oleg



Making the movement healthier

Although the summer have just passed and so nothing important happened publicly, one at least in my opinion very important thing happened inside the movement. It was the first anarcho-feminist summer camp, prepared by collective around the Anarcho-feminist alliance.

This event was organised as children-centered event, so (not only) anarchist parents could participate. The most important was that this was the first time children/parents were not only hardly allowed, but in the centre of event. A lot of workshops and games for children were prepared, as well as lectures. In case of events "for adults" (such as lectures on education and anarchist's parenting) child-care was always provided.

It is something really new in Czech anarchist movement. It could be said we don't have any experience with activism and parenting. A few activists who actually had a children usually step back and gave up the work in movement (of course there have been exceptions, but generally it is like that), and at the best cases they came back when their children was big enough. Maybe this is one of the reasons why the anarchist movement in Czechia is so young.

I'm happy to see this thing being challenged. The preparation for camp took enormous resources and energy, but in my opinion as ordinary participant it was certainly worth of it. Not only it helps to encourage anarchists with children to participate in movement, but it also makes the movement healthier.

And a few things beside that... Another AFA camp took place on the beginning of summer, but there wasn't any public output yet, so I unfortunately won't give you any details. But I believe it was successful event as usual.

The FSA published a new issue of their magazine called the Svoboda Prace (Free Labour). New issue of the A-kontra is in progress.

A group of people preparing new big and serious anarchist newspaper is still engaged in discussion, so there aren't any new public outputs. But I believe there will be some progress after holidays.

At least the Slovak section of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation and the Priama Akcia aren't so lazy and they both together published the first issue of the newspaper "Podaj datej," focused mainly on daily life in Slovakia and ordinary people's problems.

Silence and apathy rule neo-nazi movement as well. Even though the biggest and physically most dangerous group Narodni odpor (National resistance) is after more than a year back on-line, nazis weren't able to get more than 30 people to the demo marking Hess death. And the Narodni odpor's website is crap anyway: they aren't even able to identify the most notorious spoke-persons in their "red-watch" gallery.

Pavel, (Czech correspondent)
editor of the A-kontra newspaper
(ap@seznam.cz)

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

There is no simple answer to the subject. Many years ago, I lived in the West and I remember a question we used to ask ourselves: why are there so few people of colour in our groups? Some theoretical people I knew asked why so few women were contributing to the theoretical journals. There were many attempts to explain this and sometimes attempts to rectify this but often they failed because they just weren't to the point. Sometimes women or people of colour found it difficult to get their message across because of a certain disbelief.

I start with this because it may be something that some Western activists have asked themselves recently - although I do believe that the situation has greatly improved recently, so maybe it's not the hottest topic. These days, many internationally minded people ask themselves about how to effectively engage people from other parts of the world. Cooperation sometimes runs smoothly - sometimes not. And sometimes, one side think it's been worthwhile but the other does not agree. This is a very wide topic for discussion, but, for purposes of this publication, I'd like to raise the question of East-West cooperation. This is a question asked many times before but the progress in the matter seems a bit slow. Maybe I'm just impatient or too negative. Certainly projects like ABB represent progress, at least in terms of sending out information, and hopefully that information can bridge some gaps. Because, to be quite honest, I sometimes feel like the information gap is one of the problems.

I don't know how many people from Western Europe have had this experience. You travel somewhere, meet a fellow activist and start to talk about something you're doing and all of a sudden you feel like you're from another planet. Whatever it is, it's just too exotic a reality for your interlocutor to grasp and the conversation just sort of dies. OK - to be fair, it doesn't happen all the time that way, and it could be that I'm just a bore, but there are people who just don't know what's going on in other countries and don't care. If you're reading this, you must not be that sort of person, and maybe you think it's exaggerated. This partially has to do with the imagination. If you come from a place which has perhaps a famous scene, a new acquaintance may start to ask about it with more interest than if you are from a place without a big reputation. The same if you are a member of a more famous group vs. an individual. Again, there is no single experience, but what this all means is that sometimes people from the developing anarchist world arrive in exotic locations like space aliens. And, believe me, if there is a very uncomfortable situation, few people are likely to hear about it - mostly there will just be some grumbling in alien language.

A few of us went to Belgrade PGA. We were looking forward to meeting people like at any such event. Some of us were sort of hoping that there would be a good turnout from Eastern Europe. Well.... One funny joke revolved around what was called "visibility day". (For those of you who don't get the jargon, that's supposed to be

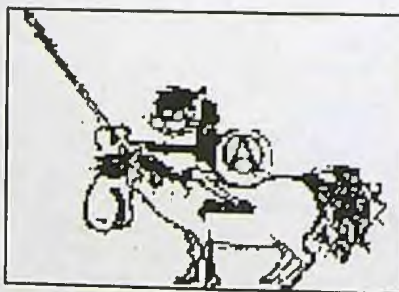
when you talk to the public instead of talking to yourselves.) On that day, somebody sort of complained that there weren't a lot of Eastern Europeans. One guy, who had been there the whole time but didn't remember that many people had been particularly interested in whether or not there was an eastern european presence suggested that an internal visibility day take place and that all easterners paint their faces green. A question for me would be whether or not there needs to be a special focus on the visibility of eastern people to help their integration. I don't think so - BUT something is causing some sort of gap. Curiously, it doesn't really affect everybody. Maybe some individuals just move around better in different environments. I think it has a lot to do with things. I'm pretty sure that in order to make some connection, it helps to have read about the scenes in the West, to have read about or discussed the issues on the agenda over there. Because in fact, the same issues are not on the agenda around the world and this is one of the things that cause this gap. So when an easterner announces a campaign and nobody from the west reacts, it deepens the feeling that there is a gap. Likewise, when a westerner has an issue and an easterner brings a different perspective, particularly if it shows that they don't have the same ideas in the background, westerners sometimes feel like they don't have a common base of ideas with that person.

Some people in the West (and even some in the East) feel that this topic is *tabu*. After all, we're all human beings, we all have a similar set of values, we should be coming from the same perspective. Some people feel this question as I have put it concentrates on division and not what we have in common. Maybe - I think it's a topic that has lingered in the background for the last 10 years but few people want to really talk about.

Finally, there is another issue which is experiences of concrete cooperation. This is very different of course but there is sometimes 'cooperation' which only fits the needs of one of the parties and sometimes people seem clueless that there hasn't been a better reception from the other side. Again, it sometimes even seems taboo to talk openly about these expectations. This is not just an east-west issue.

My hope would be that anybody who is interested in increasing the exchange between east and west really try to have a discussion on their experiences. I suggest alter-ee discussion forum as a place this discussion can go on but if any ABB readers have something more specific to say about the topic, maybe some letters can be published here.

Laure, (Warsaw correspondent)



Macedonia - the last of the multiethnic countries that left from Yugoslavia

After the conflict between the Macedonian army and Albanian liberation army in 2001, ethnic hatred was never on this high level like as it is now this days. It seems that the new laws for decentralization, which were condition for stopping the conflict in 2001, are now raising

hated between Macedonian and Albanian ethnicity. This law brought new territorial changes of the existing municipalities, so for example to the municipality of the capital city, Skopje, some villages were added and now this city became bilingual (if there is more then 23-25 % of other ethnicity in one municipality then they can use their language, symbols etc.). After the decision of the government, which is coalition of social democrats (ex komunisti), leaders of the Albanian liberation army and Liberals, to bring this law of decentralization of the municipalities, riots and protest rose against it. Around 3000 nationalist, 'concerned' people and opposition members gathered in front of social democrats headquarters in Struga (city in southwest of Macedonia which become albanian majority now) to protest against the new territorial changes. This was also kind of provoked by the visit of the minister of defense to the city, attending to explain the people how good is the new territorial dividing. He didn't really liked the people gathered around so he called them not civilized or something, on this people answered with civilized molotovs, then the riot police took the control in their hands with shock and gas bombs, helping the minister to flee away from the rioting mass of people who were shouting: kill him, kill him... (not that he doesn't deserve it like every other minister)... anyway what my point was that this laws are only political decision that European Union is preferring and they are pushed by them. What I see here is another experiment of EU with multiethnic society: finding a political and not natural solution for this problem, the people won't start to like each other by bringing new law...

Yet this laws are still not official, they are waiting for parliament discussion but as the majority are the governmental parties this law probably will be brought and the ethnical tensions will go up and up.

Macedonia the last of the multiethnic countries that left from Yugoslavia is threatened to become the last place where ethnic conflict will take a part.

Marija, (Skopje correspondent)



If PGA itself will grow, then only in form of empty bubble

What about PGA-conference? Yes, it took place, surely many active antiauthoritarians participated there, surely some valuable initiatives will follow, yet...

As I noticed already in Leiden (previous conference, in autumn 2002), european structure of PGA, however sympathetic can seem, is useless. It is basically perfect pool to swim for all these hyped on "networking" and "exchange", just for sake of it. Main positive force of it is to provide every couple of years space to meet for some people, that I could hardly meet other way. As after Leiden, now also I hope these new contacts will flourish and bear political fruits. Yet, all this happens on margins of PGA or is connected with it only through spatial proximity. Yet, increasingly

Muri (Abolishing BB)



As far as the involvement of eastern europeans in PGA, I can say my personal opinion and the reasons I have decided not to participate. Mainly, this is the result of my experiences of co-operation with PGA in 1999 during the so-called "Indian Caravan". At the time, a couple of east european activists, from Slovenia, Czechy and Poland were very actively involved in organizing welcome for the caravan in at least some of east european countries (Poland and Czechy). The idea of having an eastern european branch of the caravan was looked down upon from the beginning, and actively discouraged on PGA mailing lists. PGA activists seemed to want eastern european involvement in actions organized in west europe, but had no interest in helping to make some local actions in east european countries. That was despite the fact that for example in Poland, this same period of '99 was the time of very intensive

Zaczek, (Warsaw correspondent)



Developing alternatives
without a concept of how to introduce
them into existing struggles.
Commenting on Beograd events

Generally, the European PGA remains as it was from the beginning: it works mostly as a tool for networking individuals and small collectives, without transforming, (as happens in the other parts of the world and as some would like to see in Europe) into a network of movements (and individuals). It is difficult to say if this process is wrong or not as that very much depends on what one expects from pga. If the idea is basically there to have an exchange of all factors connected with struggling against global exploitation (ideas, experiences, motivations, resources, solidarity, etc) and to create through this process new solutions (tactics, ideas, targets, etc) which could be introduced both globally and locally, then pga goes the right way. Beograd was another conference from which both movements and persons could learn a lot - even if just through criticism. For instance, how different and authoritarian anarchists can react when an obviously radical, rightwing-thinking person attempts to approach the "ghetto". Some would like to hang him on the tree while the others would prefer to give him an opportunity to see some better alternative to what he believes. I mean this seriously. It is not an achievement to get together if useless and have a workshop where everybody agrees on the same issues. This helps to conduct our actions, but the real deal starts when approaching people who

think differently. Everybody has a ready-made solution, but only for people already in their community. What greater alternative do we wish to offer to a larger community in this situation: integration by execution? Yes, pga remains an interesting field for developing alternatives to social relations: communicating, discussing, reaching solutions, dealing with differences, etc.

Yet, if the pga is attempting to introduce its experiences, analyses and potential into EXISTING struggles and maybe also let their participants present their experiences, then something is going wrong with pga, and it went wrong in Beograd again. The idea of breaking the ghetto failed completely, already before the first "Wake up! Breakfast in half an hour!" was heard.

Pga has wished to extend to Eastern Europe. Nowadays, the eastern part of Europe is full of various communities which, to say it very generally, are using radical means to protect their rights, or just to resist power. Without any special political backgrounds they are turning to fight and organizing themselves in anti-authoritarian ways. This is not one large movement but many little struggles, and this process is increasing. Unfortunately, I would risk saying that I believe not 1% of these communities was reached during the preparation process of PGA-Beograd where people hoped to approach them and bring them in to PGA, and at the same time to give them a good opportunity to get in touch with each other.

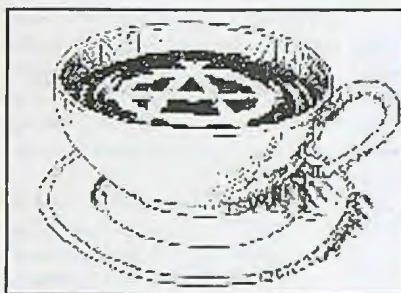
There is not enough space here to argue why things happened like this: but I will say that people who took part in preparations did not give enough importance to this aspect of preparation: western activists had focused too much on providing funds without looking at how the money could be used in the most relevant ways; finally, east Europeans did not realize the huge of opportunity they had, or just decided to focus on additional events which were even more isolated than the conference itself. Everybody knew, nobody took an initiative.

Or maybe there was (or THERE IS) a problem of how to approach these various struggles under pga-hallmarks. Here maybe pga should have learned from "working class oriented anarchist" who gave their support to the protesting electric workers in Belgrade almost, one of the highlights of this event was the celebration of the Serbian national hymn and where women were limited to the role of statistic demonstrator (they were silent numbers). Not that I am just trying to play a sarcastic card. Actually I also gave my support to "a bit nationalistic" and "a bit patriarchal" electro-strikers. I just want to make it the point that wherever we move there is someone fighting, resisting or getting organized who does not necessary fits exactly to our hallmarks (PGA) or our ideological principles (work-class-oriented-anarchists). This is especially true in Eastern Europe where traditions of anti-authoritarianism and anarchism have been exterminated or never existed. But there is a small difference in the Eastern European situation. While in many western or south-American regions, approaching "not-hallmarked" groups means the risk of becoming an instrument of their political agenda (a good example is the Social Forums), in eastern Europe it is nowadays mostly them - struggling communities - which are afraid of being instrumentalized by the others. And even if this fact sometimes causes difficulties and mistrust when these communities are approached, there are more and more examples from the last years where these communities have become open for co-operation with honestly acting anarchist groups and where both sides have learned a lot from each other and big progress was achieved. This leads us to the

conclusion that while introducing pga (or pga-like) efforts in eastern Europe, different steps are not only necessary but also worth the effort. This is of course the old question about who to co-operate with and who not to cooperate with, but it would make sense to at least look around where you are and think about what makes the struggles of the people here different and similar to other struggles. This would help many of us to find an answer to another question: why so few eastern European activists have joined Beograd conference. Anyway, it is clear that this time efforts to approach these various eastern European communities ("hallmarked" or not) were not made.

This is also why I am skeptical about what kind of feedback the newly introduced form of actions, such as Global Estafette of Reappropriation, will have in eastern Europe. Actually it would be interesting to bring this topic to the ABB pages - if not in connection with pga, then just to see what perspectives and specific potentials are connected with the idea of giving reappropriation, a common act in many east European regions, the meaning of political action.

Veronica (AbolishingBB)



Activists - Criminals - Drugs
(State is behind)

When I see how many people use drugs, how many people want to become criminals, I have wish to write about it. Of course, this is just my opinion, written by first hand. I see that Muri made attention about some things in last issue of ABJB. I am totally agreed with him. I would like to add some things, about relations of anarchists/activists about criminals and about drugs. Again, here are not so many anarchists, than activists, so when I use word "activist" it means wider spectrum of leftists.

First what I would like to say, it is the fact that before destroying of Yu i.e. before transformation of society, drugs was used mostly by hippies, all kind of drugs. During years of economic inflations and sanctions, wars, people started to seek some way to survive. They mixed themselves in black market but very soon they understood that it is fulfilled by people "with contacts" i.e. protection, so they took already their positions. In such situation, ordinary people could take just a piece of cake i.e. to be just a last hole on scale/instrument. Everything was in black market: sugar, cigarettes, farina/flour, oil, benzene, and of course, conventionally: drugs. I would like to mention all of this because cops and secret agency think that they will destroy opinion of people about somebody if they publish photo and story in medias of that person but they can succeed in it only at people who still respect rules created by the state. Other people, who accepted black market, who understood that people must survive in some way, such people will not think anything bad. Usually, here respect the state's rules only old communists and some people in villages who think that only honest work is acceptable and they judge always

anything what is against the law. But most of people in "my" village are working abroad, so they can be honest because they come here full of money. But, back to theme. Important is that ordinary people are last hole and if cops want to show that they work something they must catch somebody. It will be always somebody without protection. Therefore it is clear during years that big fishes cooperate with cops and with politicians and they will never finish in prison. So, the state, cops, politicians, criminals, everybody make money from black market, their interest push them to work together. I mentioned this, even I know that everybody know it, because I believe that criminals/big fishes are also enemies of exploited people the same like state and its repressive forces. I think that many activists don't think in that way, even they see criminals like idols so I must mention this (I am sorry to say also that many girls try to "catch" them). Just think, is there any difference between state and criminals, who also try to become authority for other people. Even sociologists say that state and mafia function/act in the same way. Therefore I think that anarchists should be very carefully with whom they will cooperate (when they need something) and in which situation. My opinion is that our contact with criminals should be limited just to buy something, not to be friends with them, and we could work something for them only when we must do it in order to survive. So, for example, I think that I can accept that some activist sell, transfer, or whatever, Cannabis or heroin if that person is really longer time hungry. So, my opinion is that somebody who is really poor have right to do everything what he thinks that he must do in order to survive. But when I see that somebody (activist also) has quite normal life or rich one and he sell any kind of drugs I see that person like society's locust/destroyer. Reason to do it is just adapting in society's values, as I said it started with destroying of Yu, where somebody is "Number One" if he is doing something dangerous or sell so popular thing like Cannabis is. So, I hope that such stupidity will disappear between activists. It should be clear in our heads what is good and what is bad for society, if we want to build new, different world. System of values from this system should be always under question and people should think/nachdenken and decide what is bad and what is good.

I hope that anarchists will stop with using of any kind of drugs because using of it is always good chance for the state to kill with dirty drugs someone who became too much dangerous for politicians, for system. Beside it, it is not logically that somebody, who is fighting for saving of life in our planet, destroy himself/herself. Our cells expect from our brains to take care about them (maybe some people will laugh now but don't forget that we are still products of system about many things, about destroying of ourselves also). I know that many people are not satisfied with their life in present system, so they must take something to get better feeling, but if not other people than anarchists should refuse to become result of present situation, anarchists should be example to the other people. Anarchists should have morality and should show to the people how to change their life without running away in alcohol, drugs, etc. Energy of people should be used in better way, not in creating of self-world in drugs. So, I hope that there will be more and more of us who will refuse using of drugs, who will refuse to cooperate/work with bigger criminals except when it is necessary.

Rebel Mousa, (Serbia correspondent)

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

Welcome to EE anarchism

www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)

www.abb.hardeore.lt (bad english)

Armenia

"Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan;
<http://www.ad-em.narod.ru>
vaga@freenet.am

Belarus

ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o.box 217; intolerant@autonom.zn.com; www.anarchik-tblackcross.by.ru

AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; restless81@mail.com

Anarchist Library - Minsk; antyfa@mail.ru

Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>;
<http://kompaktor.narod.ru>

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.

"Ataka" - anarchist newspaper; ataka@ut.by

BAF/ Belarusian Anarchist Front -; baf@list.ru

Belarusian Linux Community - www.linux.hitech.by

"Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; ecoaction@ut.by

FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist -

* Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134;

* Novopoloc; nuts-1@rambler.ru

"Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; ksenia_izberg@mail.ru

KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; kds-razam@ut.by; www.razam.by.ru

"Navinki" - satirical anarchist weekly newspaper; Minsk; kampramat@ut.by

"Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; rebelgirls@mail.ru

www.anarchistory.boon.ru - history of anarchy in Belarus

www.375crew.org - d.i.y. political punk / hardcore culture of Belarus

Bosnia & Herzegovina

Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; abuseyu@yahoo.co.uk

www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com - anarchist info from BiH

Bulgaria

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

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



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

www.stand.at/struggle - anarchist web-site with lot of interesting historical material

Croatia

AFA - anarchist antifa network; www.vjee-niotpor.vze.com; antifasista@ml1.net

AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - anfema@zaminet.net; www.anfema.tk

"Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; monteparadiso@pu.tel.hr

Rijeka anarchist initiative - rai200@net.hr;

anarhist_ri@yahoo.com

"SKATULA" - infoshop in Rijeka; u Kruznoj 8; open Wed&Thurs.17-21

"Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovci; adress: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia

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

ZAP / Zagrebacki Anarhisticki Pokret -

Zagreb's Anarchist Movement;
www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707; zapzg@zarnir-zg.zn.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

AKA AnarchoCommunist Alternative - AKA-CZ@csaf.cz; phone number: +420777637863

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

Anarchist Group Uherske Hradiste - <http://uhas.wz.cz>; uhas@email.cz; "Bazul", P.O.Box 24; 686 01 Uh.Hradiste

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

Federaci socialnich anarchistu (FSA - IWA) (Federation of Social Anarchists) - PO box 5; 15006 Praha 56; fsa_intersec@anarchismus.org

<http://fsa.anarchismus.org>

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

Info-Shop - Sochanska 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; <http://alarm.solidaria.org>; intersec@solidaria.org

"PAPIRNA" - squat in Prague.

PH - international secretariat of CSAF; intersec@csaf.cz

Estonia

www.hot.ee/anarhism - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

Hungary

"Gondolkodo Barikad" - Logodi uica 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18; www.anfolk.mil.hu; socialdisease.uw.hu

www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo

Latvia

PRETSPARS COLLECTIVE - zine, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardeore.lt>; pretspars@riseup.net

"ZABADAKS" - DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijaļiņu 24; Kuldīga; LV-3300 Latvia; www.nekac.lv; maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

Lithuania

active@hardcore.lt - LT activists network
"BENDRADARBIAI" - autonomous culture centre in Siauliai; Vytauto g.103 A, Siauliai; tel. 370 69909049

booking@hardcore.lt - booking in Lithuania
"GREEN" - diy culture club in Vilnius; Maironio 3 (in the yard); Vilnius; booking@hardcore.lt

www.hardcore.lt - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

Macedonia

KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA - anarchist collectiv in Skopje; slobodarska@yahoo.com; slobodarska@hypocrisy.org

Plotsad Sloboda (Freedom Square) - anarchist publisher; plotsad_sloboda@hotmail.com

Direktna Akcija - directa@freemail.com.mk

Poland

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

ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa

121. biuletyn@ack.wpl

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 - pomierz@fiko2.onet.pl

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

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

ACK Lodz - CIL, Po BOX 203, 90-950, Lodz 1;
falodz@poczta.onet.pl

Anarchist Library - ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

Anarchist Library - ul. Jagielonczyka 10D;
Wroclaw.

"A-TAK" - anarchist magazine from Krakow;
atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dystybucja@wp.pl
(distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html

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

"BUNKIER" ("B 48") - underground
concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Torun;
dr.ozdzu@interia.pl

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

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

"De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Bialystok;
address: ul. Czeszowska 14/2;
www.decentrum.prv.pl

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

FA (Anarchist Federation) - federation of polish
anarchists consisting of many local groups.

FA- virtual collective secretary - biurofa@go2.pl

FA-Biala Podlaska - fabp@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Bialystok - wilcast@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Czestochowa - akielasiak@wp.pl

FA/RSA Gdansk - jwal@pg.gda.pl

FA-Inowroclaw - pychu@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Krakow - lukasab@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Lublin - fahublin@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Lodz - falodz@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Opole - sobol13@o2.pl

FA-Ostrowiec Sw. - marcin@natura.most.org.pl

FA-Poznan - fa-poznan@o2.pl

FA-Rzeszow - xjednux@o2.pl

FA-Slupsk - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl

FA/RSA Sochaczew - antinazi@fiko6.onet.pl

FA-Szczecin - fa_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl

FA-Warszawa - natak@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Warszawa/Praga - hydrozag@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Wroclaw - ahm@o2.pl

FA Zyrardow - sidom@poczta.wp.pl

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 Bombs / Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk";
po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com

"FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation an
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 in Warsaw; ul. Lotewska 11; Saska
Kępa; Warszawa. Open: Monday-Thursday 18°°.

20°°, Saturday 13°°-17°°, Sunday 14°°-17°°;
www.alter.most.org.pl/infoshop; tel. +48 503676482

Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers
Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA
focusing on support for workers;

IP-FA / Szczecin - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53;
70-474 Szczecin 34.

IP-FA / Silesia - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicja-
tywa.silesia@hoga.pl

KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective
of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116
Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.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 Pariadka" - anarchist magazine in polish;
pariadka@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).
pilon@poczta.onet.pl web: http://www.pilon.prv.pl

RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) - www.antifa-
wildcast.prv.pl ; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
pkropotkin@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).

"streFA" - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego
1c, tel. 504935357.

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

"TEKNO COLLECTIVE" - underground tech-
no crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl

WIEDZMA (the WITCH) - anarchy feminist
group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLA-
SKA; POLAND; witchgrrl@poczta.onet.pl ;
www.wiedzma.most.org.pl

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

Romania

AACTIV-IST Collective Timisoara, Antifa
autonome / anarchist punk group - aactivistcolle-
ctive@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@kro; aac@burne-
rang.ro

A Nera - ecological, social and (counter) cultural
center, in the mountains. Cheile Nerei; aactivistcol-
lective@yahoo.com

Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action) - spleen-
patty@yahoo.com

C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist collec-
tive from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com

Gluga Neagra / Black Hood - distribution &
bookings for diy concerts tours;
g_a_rezistent@yahoo.com www.gluganeu-
gra.ro

INFO-PROPAGANDA - anarchist leaflets publis-
hing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, liberta-
tera@yahoo.com

MISCAREA UNDERGROUND TIMISOARA -
(UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT TIMISOARA);
www.ugtm.go.ro

URA - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova;
http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.html

LOVE KILLS - woman anarchopunk zine /
Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com

libertatara@yahoo.com

"Revolta !" - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk
newsletter / Timisoara;

aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

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

www.proiectns.org - grassroots activist site

www.miscareapunk.go.ro - site about punk (and
not only) in Romania

Russia

ABC-Moscow - abc-moscow@avtonom.org; P.O.
Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)

Alliance of Kazan Anarchists - antimil@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: anlibera-
tion@rambler.ru

ANTI-FA Samara - anti_fa@mail.ru

Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) -
see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact address

"Epicenter" - anarchist infoshop in St.Petersburg;
post: Epicenter c/o Vladimir Tarasov, PO Box 103,
190013, St.Petersburg, Russia. e-mail: epicenter-
infoshop@nm.ru

FOOD NOT BOMBS - Moscow -
http://foodnotbombs.net.ru

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

Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language)
http://russia.indymedia.org;

indyru@nadir.org;

indymoskva@pochtam.ru (Moscow);

indymedia_piter@pochtam.ru (Petersburg);

smeshno@niscup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)

IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-
Syndicalist Federation

www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS; sidoroyan@mail.ru

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

KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary
Anarchosyndicalists) - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier;
-Pereulok Aynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow;

comanar@mail.ru; http://aitrus.narod.ru

"MEGAPHON" - magazine of anarchist, antica-
pitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other
kinds of activism; megaphon@mail333.com

"NOVIY SVET" - anarchist newspaper; new-
world@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all
issues since 1989).

"NOZHI i VILKI" - political-punk/hardcore fin-
zine; zilonis@newmail.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

Petersburg Antiwar Committee - see "Noviy

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

Anarchist Courier from Eastern Europe

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

Swet" contact address

Petersburg League of Anarchists - see "Noviy Swet" contact address
PUNK REVIVAL - antifascist and anarchist punks from ST.Petersburg - <http://www.punk-revival.com>

RAINBOW KEEPERS - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:

-Nizhniy Novgorod - klem@dropt.ru
-Mskinsk - voikinskrk@mail.ru
-Kasimov - rk@rkryazan.ru
(this is also the address of Trety Put magazine)
-Perm - puliark@rambler.ru
-Volgograd - maasha@rambler.ru
-Ekaterinburg - vty2@mail.ru, dpn@etel.ru
-Moscow - rkz1@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru
-Samara - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru
<http://duplo.narod.ru>

-Rostov - rkrosov@don.siret.net

-Petersburg - tuuli@mail.ru

S.F. SOUND SYSTEM - label & distro including punk stuff;

<http://vinokop.narod.ru>; diyhc@yahoo.com

Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk; <http://syndikalist.narod.ru/>

"UTOPIA" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopiia@mail333.com

"Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library;

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

<http://volja.nn.ru>

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

AUTONOMOUS ACTION network:

Autonomous Action - network of anarchist & libertarian groups all over Russia. po box 13; 109028 Moscow. fuk-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Krasnodar (also for Avtonom-paper) P.O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia fuk-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Moscow P. O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia dikobrazi@lists.tao.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 Brest 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 sukivse@hotmail.ru - Brynka - P. O. Box 10 94100

Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742 454021 Chelyabinsk; Russia vital@chel.sumet.ru

Irkutsk - Vladimir Skraschuk Poste Restante 664056 Irkutsk; Russia

Izhevsk (Udmurtian republic) antiwar@udm.ru

Kaliningrad - skn-konig@mail.ru

Kasimov - P.O. Box 52 391330

Ryazanskaya oblast Russia - rk@lavrik.ryazan.ru

Kolomna - Yuri Popov Poste Restante 140476

Moscow oblast, glavpochtamtpt

Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614 183050 Murmansk;

Russia

Novgorod - Vitaliya Lapikina Poste Restante 173014 Novgorod; Russia; holosik@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@pisem.net

Saint-Petersburg - Bolshakov A.E. Poste Restante 192281 Saint-Petersburg; Russia

blackguard@mail.ru

Sochi - d_m@pochtamtpt.ru

Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481 625001 Tyumen; Russia; roustam_ff@hotmail.com

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

Voronezh - an-action@rambler.ru Anarh-vn@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.wad-nn.narod.ru> - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists

<http://www.poet5.narod.ru> - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod

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

<http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru> - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

<http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru>

Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan



Serbia

ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org Federation of Internationalist Anarchists - federacijsa@ml1.net

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

RRR (Radical Resource Room) - politic/cultural project in Kraljevo; kontra@ptt.yu; www.kontra-punkt.info

Subwar Collective - Belgrade; shavedwo-men216@yahoo.com

www.anarchy-serbia.tk

new anarcho side from Serbia

Slovakia

AFA-Bratislava (Antifasisticka 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); slovensko@csaf.cz

(international contact); regional contacts:

CSAF Bratislava - bratislava@csaf.cz

CSAF B.Bystrica - bbystrica@csaf.cz

CSAF Trencin - trencin@csaf.cz

CSAF Vychod - csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com;

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

Slovenia

AFA LJ - Antifasisticka Akcija Ljubljana; anarchist AFA group; afalj@volja.net

AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN - autonomous culture centre in squatted swimm-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd_izbruh@yahoo.com

SAF / Social Anarchist Federation - saf.info@email.si

www.ruleless.com - slovenian anarchist portal

Ukraine

"anarh akbar" - @-zine from city of Sumy; P.O.Box 131; 40-030 Sumy, Ukraine (no name on envelope!)

Autonomous Action / Lugansk - com_act@mail.ru

"Nabat" - ukrainian libertarian anarchist newspaper; www.nabat.info; azaroff@hotmail.ru

www.zaraz.org - page of anarchists from Kyiv

TIGRA NIGRA - anarchist group from Kiev; <http://tn.zaraz.org>

Turkey

ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent - abcankra@yahoo.com

"Isimsiz" - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com

"Kara Gazete" - anarchist street newsletter; <http://karagazete.ports.com>

kara tren kolektifi (blacktrain collective) - traveling distribution of anarchist literature, info and material; karatren@softhome.net;

<http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com> - zine from Ankara

<http://veganarsi.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivist zine

www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari - anarchist publisher in Istanbul

www.mecmu-a.org - magazine from Istanbul

THIS LIST CAN BE ENLARGE AND KEEP CURRENT ONLY WITH YOUR HELP.
SO WE ARE CALLING ALL GROUPS AND ACTIVISTS AROUND THE EASTERN EUROPE
FOR HELP THROUGH CONTACTING US EACH TIME WHEN YOU REALIZE
THAT ANYTHING NEED TO BE CHANGE OR ADD ON THESE THREE PAGES.

THE EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES HAVE GOOD EXPERIENCE ...

If you are a reader of AbolishingBB,
we assume you are interested
in what's going on in Eastern Europe.
Another resource you can use is alter-ee.

www.alter.most.org.pl

The newsgroup ALTER-EE has been created
to help to coordinate anarchist activities in
the region of Eastern Europe
and to make communication
between groups of different countries easier,
and to encourage the free movement
of people and ideas
from one community to another.

We are mostly interested in establishing
contact with anarchist activists
from the following countries:

Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bielorussia,
Bulgaria, Bosnia, Croatia, Czechy, Estonia,
Finland, Georgia, Greece, Hungary,
Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania,
Macedonia, Moldavia, Romania, Russia,
Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden,
Turkey, Turkmenia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

... AT ABOLISHING DICTATORSHIPS. NEXT ONE WILL BE CAPITALISM !