

ISSUE # 34 EXCITINGLY IRREGULAR Magazine March 2009

# ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

**TURNING POINT  
IS HERE**

**LETS TURN CRISIS  
TO SYSTEM COLLAPSE!**

**Anarchist Journal 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 Journal 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 ...

**"Abolishing the Borders  
from Below"  
An Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe**

**AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL**

"AbolishingBB" is an excitingly irregular magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysed from an anarchist perspective.

**EDITORIAL TEAM & ABB COLLECTIVE**

ABB is an international collective of migrant anarchist activists living in Berlin. The collective was formed in Autumn 2001 by a group of east-european migrant activists and was later joined by other migrant activists from other parts of the world. As well as this publication the collective also organized a radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings and cultural events. We also cooperate with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and support local and global struggles against all kinds of oppression and for a free-society.

**CORRESPONDENTS**

Our work would not be possible without the great contributions of our correspondents from around EE. The work is based on a relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which cover the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on a non-profit basis.

**EXECUTORS**

Publishing, editing, text treatment, translation, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, english-proof, distribution to the local distributors, website design ... all done by ABB Collective, Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB

**COOPERATION**

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 up-coming 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 diffe-

rent forms of activities in your region. 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.

**FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN**

Free copies go to prisoners, all info-shops and libertarian librarians in Eastern Europe (who get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents. At the moment we print by ourselves 1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

**FINANCES**

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our costs only through selling the newspaper so we would appreciate, if possible, benefits from outside

**BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION**

As you probably noticed *THE ENGLISH* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its gramatical 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**

[www.abb.hardcore.it](http://www.abb.hardcore.it)

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

**NOT 100%**

We do not necessarily agree 100% with all opinions expressed in the journal, but all here we found worth printing (for various reasons) !!!

Contact Details for AbolishingBB and Distributors you'll find on Page 59

We are looking for correspondents from the regions of Eastland, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania, Turkey, Armenia und Georgia.

THESE SHARDS  
ARE OUR TEARS

WE WONT FORGET  
STAS AND NASTYA!

Pages 6 - 9



Pages 28 - 30



SOLIDARITY WITH  
"GREEK-REVOLT"

IN MANY CITIES OF CZECH,  
POLAND, RUSSIA, BELARUS,  
ARMENIA AND UKRAINE

STUDENTS  
ON THE STREETS  
OF CHISINAU  
AFTER 29 YEARS OLD  
ALEXEI  
WAS SHOT DEAD  
BY MOLDAVIAN POLICE

Page 9



Pages 34 & 35



"RUSSIAN PRISONS  
ARE AMONGST  
THE MOST REBELLIOUS  
IN THE WORLD"

ON PRISON RESISTANCE  
IN RUSSIA

20 YEARS AFTER THE  
ROUND TABLE:

A BRIEF LOOK AT  
CAPITALISM IN POLAND

Pages 12 & 13



Pages 37 - 46



UNKNOWN MOMENTS  
OF EAST EUROPEAN  
ANARCHIST HISTORY

ANARCHIST GROUPS IN  
LÓDZ 1905 - 1939

"CRISES IS  
GOOD NEWS"

ANARCHISTS WRITING  
ON CRISES IN  
EASTERN EUROPE

Pages 16 - 17



Pages 47 & 48



"BATTLE OF JANOV"

NEONAZIS OFFENSIVE  
AGAINST THE RROMA  
PEOPLE IN CZECHIA

INTERVIEW WITH  
"BLACK FLAG  
RECORDS"  
ON ANARCHIST  
MOVEMENT  
IN CITY OF LODZ

Pages 20 - 22



Pages 49 - 50



ANTIFASCIST ACTION  
BUDAPEST:

"DAY OF HONOUR"  
REPORT

"DO NOT GIVE UP,  
KEEP UP THE  
STRIKE!"

WORKERS IN UKRAINE  
SEIZE THEIR PLANT

Pages 26 & 27



Pages 52 & 53



"ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENT  
IN RUSSIA  
IN NEED OF A SERIOUS  
STRATEGICALLY APPROACH"

INTERVIEW WITH RUSSIAN  
ANTI-FASCISTS

ABC \* Squatters Dialogue \* Announcements \* Communities in Struggle

## Here is a turning point. Everybody to the streets. Let's turn the economic crisis into a system collapse!

Just to prove a point ...

We ended the editorial-text of the last number with the words "We ensure to bring one more issue of our journal before the end of the year (2008) ... and at the same time, we are reminding you: Never trust the media!"...

So now is the middle of March 2009 and we are just bringing you the promised issue...

And to give the whole point a bit of an explanation...

You are surely conscious of the fact that we are all living in more and more interesting times. *The crises* of capitalism and the social situation related to it is affecting, of course, members of our modest editorial collective as well. Each of us was busy in the last months with various activities; some had to deal additionally with personal turbulences. These factors made it really impossible to bring the journal earlier than now... But now we are so far, with a hope that this publication is still welcome...

A crisis is good news  
– passivity is our enemy!

"For the first time in years, a small crack in the capitalist facade is beginning to appear. It should be our jobs to force this crack open into a gaping hole", one of our correspondents wrote in her article considering the economical and social motions provoked in Eastern Europe recently. Provoked by what is usually called an "economical crisis". We might not necessarily agree on the assumption that it is the first time in years that the crack appears, but we definitely agree on the challenges which turn up in this context in front of us, anarchists and, in general, people living under permanent exploitation.

As it looks for now, there is much more reaction on *the crisis* from above than from below, from the upper classes than from the working people, from businessmen and politicians than from the workers and unemployed. The measures taken by the upper classes

are as usual very systematic and complex (based on many experts' ideas and concepts).

They started with a flux of disinformation in order to scare, confuse and disorientate us. As well in order to set a ground to justify the application of further measures. Disinformation is also important to hide the real scale of the problem.

They continue with lowering wages and worsening working conditions, black-mailing the workers with the threat of unemployment. These two options, unemployment and worse work conditions, are presented as the supposedly only possible reactions to the crisis.

Further on, they continue to increase the prices for food, fuel, gas, electricity and public transport, as well as a raise of some taxes.

At the same time, massive lay-offs are announced and conducted in the region on a daily basis.



Finally, agreements between the most influential economic institutions, governments and capitalistic companies are being made (in order to avoid an all too quick collapse of the whole system) and more credits granted,

e.g. 20 billion € from the IMF, World Bank and the European Union for Hungarian banks and state reserves - money to be paid back within 3-5 years...

All in all, the reaction from above leads to nothing more than to an even more drastic fall down of living standards of the working people and... turns into extra business-strategy for some very clever capitalists. For some *the crisis* is definitely a great business.

But what is *crisis* for us? We generally agree that "*crises is a good news but we need to deal with it in the right way!*" . And we see three main challenges for

anarchists in current situation.

The first one is to help to turn the crisis into the complete collapse of the capitalistic system... help by all possible means based on anarchist principles.

The second task we see in restraining the following processes: the already observed regeneration of *trust in the state*; an expectable revival of nationalism; and another new season of reformism.

And the challenge is the continuation of creation and popularization of anarchistic structures and relations to propose and implement instead of state and capital as they are burning down.

The revolt in Greece, which evoked a lot of solidarity as well as discussions within Eastern European anarchist movements, was a great example of helping to turn the *crisis* into the collapse of the system; we wish not only our Greek comrades more of these kinds of examples. But we also consider some spontaneous riots on the streets of capital cities of some Baltic countries, riots which took place in the beginning of the year, to be compatible to the situation – we would just wish for more presence of anarchist ideas within them. At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that because of the weakness of anarchist movements/groups in Eastern Europe, awaited social tensions may be still very different from those in Greece. However, it is in the hands of Eastern European anarchists to take the most appropriate strategy according to their own capacities in the times of awaited rebellions.

On the example of Hungary we can see best why we should pay a lot of attention to the revival of nationalistic solutions. There, nationalism is winning more and more supporters when a *mobilization based upon national unity* is taking place in the face of *the crisis*.

At the same time, all over the region trade unions are calling for strikes with a totally defensive character, that is, *without any interruption of production, under full trade union leaderships' control and where the workers can express their discontent only within the frame*

given by democratic rights... so the social peace is confirmed.

Also reformist political organizations are reacting on the crisis calling for useless gatherings under senseless slogans. This reminds a bit of the situation about ten years ago, when the same structures jumped on spontaneous "anti-globalisation" protests turning these, in fact, radical anti-capitalistic confrontations around economic-summits into an integrated part of the system (of state controlled and capitalistic democracy). So this tendency has to be necessarily faced by anarchists these days as well.

Finally, popularizing new structures, concepts and relations is important in order not to play into the hands of the state again, whose regeneration is already very visible now.

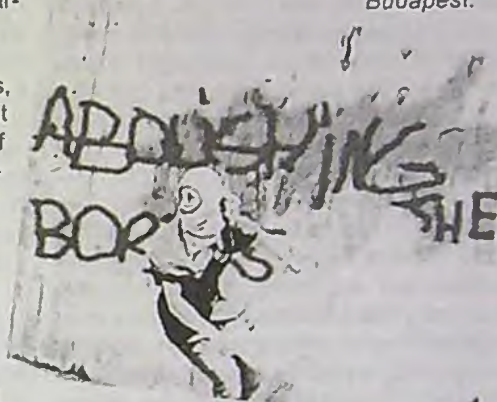
Some first interesting reactions/ideas are already appearing. Czech anarchists started to provide practical and theoretical support for people who wanted to occupy houses and are, that way, dealing in an anarchistic way with the financial crisis under the slogan "reside with quality and for free". At the same time, anarchists from Budapest are trying to help to initiate a debts-strike based on growing desperation and potential of working people to resist, while some workers in the Ukraine started to occupy their workplace in an attempt to practice self-organised and solidarity based production. And some anarchists from Poland decided to present the concepts of auto-reduction of living costs and of the rent-strike at the tenants' conference in Warsaw. This topic will be discussed during anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb in Croatia in the beginning of April, too.

We are looking forward for results of these campaigns. So let's not be scared or confused by the crisis as this is exactly what the enemies of freedom and social justice are expecting from us. In this context, read the image on the cover of our journal in the way you like the most....

The word "crisis" actually derives from ancient Greek and means decision or choice. So we ourselves believe that this is a turning point, and that is the reason why we want to call everybody to the streets... Let's turn the economical crises into the system collapse! *Passivity is our enemy, the worst thing we can do to ourselves.*

**Solidarity and Intervention needed**

We would also like to bring your attention to the materials dealing with problem of anti-Roma people attitudes, which are more and more present in central Eastern Europe. We printed at least a dozen of articles and reports on that topic in the past years, and we are bringing some more now as the situation definitely calls for our intervention. For details, please check the following materials: "The case of Janov neighbourhood", "Instead of proletarian struggles..." and "Antifascist Action Budapest:



Day of Honour report".

The news about another murder of Russian activists made headlines even in mainstream media. For us it is obvious that this situation does not only mean sadness, but calls for action as well. However, the question, how to effectively support our comrades in Russia, remains still open. But still, we believe that information on and an understanding of the situation in this region is necessary to start the discussion and proper solidarity work. In order to help with this process, we present a series of antifascist reports, an interview with Russian activists and some longer material about the live and activities of recently murdered comrades: Nastya and Stas.

**Providing AbolishingBB to the prisoners**

One of the ideas that have been constant part of our AbolishingBB project from the very beginning is to provide this journal to prisoners. But from time to time we have to criticize ourselves for a lack of the consequence. However, it is quite complex and expensive task for our modest capacities.

For today, what we are able to do without any problem is to provide a big amount of our magazines for free so

that they can be passed to the prisoners. At the same time, we realised that is very difficult for us to cover the costs of the postage (especially to the prisoners overseas, but as well in Europe) and to keep contact with many prisoners in order to be always informed about their address changes or moments of release from prison.

So here is another call from our side for anti-repression groups and projects to contact us if you would like to help us with distributing ABB to people on the other side of the wall. Any support, practical, financial or in terms of ideas, is very welcome. We would be glad to provide various anti-repression/ABC groups with our magazines. So please contact us.

And just to let you know: we are regularly receiving letters from prisoners (mostly not-anarchists and mostly from US) asking to send them copies of ABB which they have already seen or heard about somewhere. And you can probably imagine how we feel when we are not always able to provide the journal to these people...

**Correspondents always welcome**

As usually we are looking for correspondents, for anarchists from all regions of Eastern Europe that would like to work for anarchist publication like this journal. If you are missing relevant reports from your region in ABB, it means that probably nobody is covering your region for this journal... So maybe you have an idea how to change it?!

**Anarchist mutual support**

As you probably know, our project is only partly financially covered by selling the magazine (this is due to the minimal price as well as the fact that we won't put too much pressure on the people who distribute ABB around the world and are not always sending us enough money back). So ABB depends on anarchist solidarity donations, too. We would like, traditionally, to give our respect to those anarchist structures which financially supported our project in the last weeks, making, in fact, the print possible again. This time these are: Berlin Autonomous Centre "Köpi" and Café Libertad from Hamburg. Salute companer@s!

*Abolishing the Borders from Below*

## These Shards Are Our Tears

Today I was asked severely, "Why did they smash shop windows?" Honestly, I didn't know how to respond. Usually, I really don't smash windows or lamps in the metro; I don't even disturb trash urns. Then, for fifteen minutes, I listened to two adults anxiously discuss various aspects of street violence and civil society—all because of our shop windows. Honestly, I could not get my head around why they were so obsessed with those windows and bits of plastic, which at most are worth one thousandth of a commercial bank's daily profits, when two very good people had been murdered and these people weren't even strangers to the marchers.

Then, in the blogosphere, I read the opinions of ironic liberals and professional bullshitters. *The general idea was that this is not how the dead are remembered. A pogrom is ugly; it doesn't reflect the tragedy of the situation. We should stay at home, drink memorial shots of vodka, and meekly weep for the innocent martyrs. And then, apparently, we should once again dry our tears and head off to our Moscow burrows and offices. We should earn our little rubles and curse the authorities in our kitchens and on the way to the metro.* In our "free country" it is also permitted to submit "petitions." And, if their majesties the powers that be "approve" our "petitions," we can crowd (after being searched) into a fenced-off kennel in order to tell each other the very same things that we'd long ago talked to death in our kitchens and on our blogs—only a bit louder than usual and in the great outdoors.

*Over the past twenty-four hours [since the murders of Markelov and Baburova] we had drunk and kept silent and brought flowers to Prechistenka. But what use was this to those who knew the victims and were deeply, personally affected by their deaths?! But we also made a "date" downtown and found someone who could quickly make a banner. One thing we didn't do was worry about what political spin doctors and other scum "would think" since we hate all those riffraff for being sell-outs and cynics. We were gripped by another thought: how to go on living in a country like this?*

Two OMON trucks turned up at our meeting point. Then we moved to the second meeting site, next to the Duma,

but the "cosmonauts" almost immediately showed up there as well. Apparently, they were expecting political actions near government buildings that evening. Men in camouflage surrounded fifteen people and put them on the pavement; everyone else successfully pretended they were passersby. At the Okhotny Ryad metro station, there were more arrests: they snatched people because of the way they looked. While there were still only a small number of OMON troops on the scene, we even managed to grab a few of our people from their clutches. We activated "Plan No. 3" and headed for Novokuznetskaya metro station.

Let me make it perfectly clear. The object of our hatred was and remains the authorities—"thanks" to whom there are so many fascists in our country (say thanks to "patriotic education" and discrimination against migrants, which is already taken as a given); "thanks" to whom the people who order political murders are never found; "thanks" to whom the individual is relegated to the role of a mindless extra. It is because of them, finally, that Stas and Nastya perished. Just like tens of thousands of other people—in the Chechen War, in the explosions of the apartment buildings, in destitute hospitals, in dilapidated mines, at the hands of the cops and the bandits they run protection for.

This hatred is also already implanted in the heads of the sixteen-year-olds. For now, what matters most to them is that an action be "fun." They don't know the "right words," but they have an excellent sense of all the humiliation a person endures when he collides with "the system." What alt-culture type hasn't at least once been nabbed and messed with by the cops—just like that, for fun or to pad the statistics? Some people dust themselves off and forget about it. Others ask themselves a question: why?

The unfortunate shop windows are really beside the point. They just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Things happen this way, too. Our actions didn't threaten the health and safety of "civilians" one iota. Unlike the actions of your average OMON officer, who without a second's thought will start going at them with his fists and billy club.

*If we could have found the killer, we would have strangled him without jury or trial. This man killed cold-bloodedly and consciously, and here there's nothing more to discuss. But he didn't come out of "nowhere": there were reasons that brought him to the vicinity of Kropotinskaya metro station, and there were people who taught him how to kill. The certainty in his mind that he had the right to do this came from somewhere, and the root of this certainty was a sense of his own supremacy. This same source feeds the ideology of the Nazis and the authorities. By their own admission, the Nazis do "the dirty work," and this is so convenient for the authorities. For there is nothing more convenient for governance than a society that lives in constant fear.*

But we cannot find the murderer and take revenge on him. We can only scream: People, look around! What use do you have for all this if the best and the brightest are murdered on the streets because they dare to speak their minds? Stas and Nastya were the most honest and smartest of us all. These shards are the tears that we shed for them. The tears of our rage. Tears with sharp edges, tears that will never dry.

This short march that no one understood is our desperate cry. I couldn't care less what other people will think about us. A cry of desperation isn't pleasant. You can plug your ears for comfort, but then be prepared for the fact that your own cry for help won't be heard.

I know that Nastya and Stas will continue to live—at those moments when we march in this "inappropriate," "senseless," confrontational way. Because that is what they were like themselves: inappropriate from the viewpoint of philistines, unwilling to submit, disinclined to fit the mould.

Many times I wanted to say, "Stas, why aren't you afraid?" I said it only once. He shrugged. I think he had long ago made up his mind.

Sleep peacefully, Stas and Nastyas, friends and comrades. We won't forget you.

## More Lost Comrades



Anastasia "Skat" Baburova

Anastasia "Skat"  
Baburova  
30.11.1983 -  
19.01.2009

Our friend and comrade *Skat* was murdered today in Moscow, shot to head by an assassin.

Assassin was not after her - he was after advocate Stanislav Markelov, another good friend and comrade. We do not know who was there to kill Stas - it could be associates of some war criminals he put to prison, it could be connected to some corporate crimes, it could be Nazis, many of whom Stas put to prison as well. List of achievements of Stas is so long, that it will take a couple of days to gather all of them to a necrology - and list of his enemies is even longer. But we know for sure, that Nastya had a bad luck of being in a wrong place in wrong time. Assassin shot her to head as well, either to eliminate a witness, or in order to escape - some witnesses have stated that Nastya attempted to arrest assassin. Stas died in place, Nastya died in hospital few hours afterwards.

Nastya was a graduate of journalist faculty of Moscow State University. She worked a while in "Izvestiya", but left and worked as a freelancer. During last few months she wrote to critical paper "Novaya Gazeta", mostly about far right.

Nastya was an anarchist and was involved in numerous activist projects. She was involved in anti-repression issues, such as solidarity actions in Moscow for repressed French activists Ivan and Bruno, and later last year in solidarity work for *Tarmac 9*. Last year she was actively involved in attempts to defend a dormitory in Yasniy Passage, inhabited by refugees from conflict regions of Caucasus, against violent takeover of the premises by UFSIN (Administration of Federal Service for Execution of Punishment, that is Russian federal prison administration). Nastya was arrested in that action. Nastya also joined protest camp of Rainbow Keepers last summer in Sasovo of Ryazan region, and campaign against police brutality in spring of 2008. She also traveled to European social forum in Malmö in September 2008. She was co-organising alternative media section in Russian conference Anticapitalism-2008. Nastya also helped in work with latest issue #30 of *Autonom-journal*. She joined *Autonomous Action* a day before she got murdered. Inside the movement, Nastya got well along with everyone.

Nastya was into physical sports such as jumping with a parachute and she was also well trained in martial arts. She never went around unarmed, but her knife was not a match against a gun.

Nastya was a positive person of exceptional spirit. She will be missed by parents, friends and comrades from all around Russia and Ukraine. She was from Sevastopol, and is likely to be buried there.

She had a blog in <http://file-028.livejournal.com/>

Stanislav Markelov  
(and anarchists)



Stanislav Markelov

Stanislav Markelov, shot in Moscow by an assassin 19th of January 2009, was not an anarchist. He defined himself as a "Martovian social-democrat", after Yuliy Martov, leader of pre-revolutionary Menshevik fraction of social-democrat movement. In more contemporary terms, he was a left-wing social democrat.

But Stas had friends in about any fraction of Russian socialists and reformists. He had an encyclopaedic knowledge on history of the revolutionary movement of Russia, which was a huge inspiration for him, and he could lecture for hours on groups such as nihilists or narodniks anytime. Stas was interested on history of political red cross (which still today remains as anarchist black cross), and he considered lawyers who defended narodniks and esers in tsarist times his precedents, and eventually he became first lawyer to defend left-wing "terrorists", accused by the new Russian state. In all cases he did during 1990's and early years of this decade, he managed to dismiss terrorist charges and eventually if defendants got sentenced, they got sentenced for lesser charges.

Stas was too young to join underground hippie movement ("Systema") of the Soviet time, but his first ideas (and early hairstyle) came from there. Already when a young student in early 1990's, Stas became activist of social-democratic party (which always was rather marginal in Russian politics), in its left wing. Probably first time anarchists

came to contact with him was time of Yeltsin's coup of 1993 - practically all anarchists and socialists considered Yeltsin's unconstitutional presidential order number 1400 a Pinochetist coup, and were ready to rally against it. Anarchists and social-democrats, Stas among them, drafted a proposition for Supreme Soviet, which included refusal of support from national-patriots, withdrawal from Moscow to regions supporting Supreme Soviet and economical blockade of Moscow. But as we know, history went otherwise - Supreme Soviet rejected the proposal, chose support of national-patriots instead and stayed in Moscow, where it lacked mass support, and eventually defenders of Supreme Soviet got massacred by Yeltsin's gang. Official death toll is 199 (including 12 of police and army), but defenders have also presented up to 10 times bigger estimates on number of victims.

When it became clear for anarchists and socialists that it was no way of picking a conflict, they decided to organise an impartial street medic brigade instead. Brigade was named after Maksimilian Voloshin, famous humanist and poet who during Russian civil war remained impartial and defended organised humanitarian aid for civilians. There are some stories about work of the brigade available in English, for example "Under fire between the Lines" ([http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/eastern/yeltsin\\_93.html](http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/eastern/yeltsin_93.html)) and translation from *Autonom-journal*, "Unhappy anniversary" (<http://www.ainfos.ca/03/oct/ainfos00366.html>). Participation of this street medic brigade was a real "baptism in fire" for its members and also very frustrating, as untrained volunteers had to help people with bullet wounds. But people who were there stucked together ever since.

Stas and many others of them became core of both historical club in Memorial, and anarchist circle of "Muravey's thursdays", named after active anarchist Nikolai Muravey, who died accidentally in 1996. Results of work of Memorial's club you may see on site "Russian socialists and anarchists after October 1917" in <http://socialist.memo.ru/>, which is probably the biggest website on history of repressions against anarchists (and not only), but unfortunately it is only available in Russian.

Stas also participated in work of "Free labor commune of Pryamukhino", which was active in second part of 1990's. It was a common project of anarchists and offspring of Bakunin family to repair garden of the mansion in Pryamukhino of Tver region, where famous revolutionary was born and spent his childhood. Pryamukhino mansion even still has an oak tree planted by 1820's decembrist rebels, thus the place is linked to 200 years of Russian revolutionary history. It was in Pryamukhino camps where Stas became friends with Igor Podshivalov, who in 1982 co-founded in Irkutsk the first anarchist group which survived to Perestroika, and became one of the core groups of the KAS, Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists. KAS became a mass organisation during Perestroika but did not survive crisis of the 90's, except in some Siberian cities where it still lives in form of the SKT, Siberian Confederation of Labor. Podshivalov died tragically in accident in August 2006, and Stas was co-organising memorial events for him.

However Stas joined also camps that were more in the frontline of struggle than peaceful labour in Pryamukhino. He participated in Rainbow Keeper protest camp of 1996 in Volgodonsk, against construction of the Nuclear Power plant of Rostov region. This camp had some heavy confrontation; soldiers from the local army base were ordered to evict camp and shoot tents, making them full of holes. Legal support for victims of the excesses of authorities against Volgodonsk camps of 1996 and 1997 were one of the first times Stas used his profession to support activists.

Stas was also one of the organisers of 1998 anti-nuclear march in Belarus, and he also joined Rainbow Keeper protest camp against harmful local plant in Sasovo of Ryazan region last summer. In photo above Stas is speaking in a mass protest meeting of Sasovo inhabitants, flag behind him is flag of Rainbow Keepers. Stas was also a frequent guest in annual Chernobyl day marches in Minsk, which are currently biggest anti-nuclear demonstrations in Europe (although few years back when there were not yet nuclear construction plans in Belarus, these marches were more social than ecological, defending rights of Chernobyl victims).

Stas gave active legal and other support to Belarusian democratic movement since violent anti-Lukashenko protests of the mid-90's where Russian anarchist joined as well, and he was fluent in half-repressed Belarusian language, a very unusual skill for a Russian. His wife was a Belarusian, and they had two young children.

Stas was involved in wide spectrum of activities, but he became famous as a lawyer. From early on, he took cases which no-one else was willing to take, and always pick up a hard, political and mediatic tactic of defense. Eventually he became Russia's number one celebrity human rights lawyer, a common guest of TV talk shows on most various topics, to argue against Russia's WTO membership for example.

Two perhaps most important cases were both connected with war in Chechnya, but Stas became interested on the problems of Caucasus much before, already in 1994 he travelled to area ravaged by ethnic conflict between Ossetians and Ingushetians with

Memorial activists. One of his companions from that trip, Alexander Cherkasov, also wrote an excellent necrology (obituary) of Stas which is available in English at <http://chtodelat.wordpress.com/2009/01/20/stanislav-markelov-on-the-frontlines/>

There are also other good materials on site <http://chtodelat.wordpress.com/>, also fragment of speech Stas did in demonstration against attacks on political activists 30th of November 2008. Stas was speaking there, because he was defending legal interests of the owner of a local paper in Khimki region of Moscow Region Mikhail Beketov, who was heavily beaten due to his opposition to construction of a local expressway which would destroy a park, defended by a popular movement. Beketov was found in his garden in coma only the next day after a heavy beating in November, he survived but had several of his fingers amputated and still, 2 months after the attack, is in hospital in a bad condition.

Eventually Stas was defending interests of family victims of two most notorious Russian war criminals - Colonel Budanov, who in March 2000 kidnapped and raped a 18-year old Chechen girl (and did many other atrocities, for which he was never punished). Eventually Budanov was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but released recently having done 8.5 years. Stas was appealing against the early release, and the day he was shot he was returning from a press conference, where he announced his intention to question release of Budanov in European courts. Thus it is well possible, that supporters of Budanov, who is considered as a hero by many in Russia, were behind the murder - but Stas had plenty of other enemies as well.



Another important case was case of Sergey "Kadet" Lapin, who together with other officers of Hanty-Mansiysk OMON organised a torture and murder factory in Chechenyan capital Grozny. Eventually "Kadet" was convicted to 9 years of jail "for exceeding official authority and causing grave bodily injury with aggravating circumstances". Although only fraction of

his deeds made it to court and all other suspected went underground or avoided charges altogether, it was still an unprecedented court result.

But this work by Stas is widely published by liberal mainstream media, so we don't go here more into detail. If you want to have a short summary of many high-profile human rights cases Stas picked up, you may read the list he published himself in his website: [http://ruleoflaw.ru/eng/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=26](http://ruleoflaw.ru/eng/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=26)

No matter how famous Stas became, he was always ready to do even smallest cases for anarchists and other radicals, even if cases were not political. He did not work for free, but he always understood if we had problems to pay in time - he never required any guarantees. Work of Stas to defend radicals was such an annoyance for authorities, that during NRA investigation police put him out of the game by giving him a witness status, so he could not be advocate. NRA was an armed group in the 90's, offshoot of Rainbow Keepers and anarchist scene mixed with some young stalinists, they made arson attacks and bombings against military call-up centers, a yellow trade union, police and eventually they bombed FSB (ex-KGB) premises in center of Moscow. 2 former Rainbow Keepers got prison sentences for actions of the group.

He was a vegetarian, and also most important lawyer for Russian animal rights movement - he was a lawyer of people suspected of stealing rats from a breeder during a demonstration in Moscow region in August of 2007. He was also doing some work for animal



rights "inside the system", reviewing the law "On protection of animals". He was also presenting legal interests of local ecologists in Black Sea rim, who got harassed by authorities after some arson attacks against Sochi winter Olympics development.

Stas was also defending Pasha Delidon, anarchist who was sentenced for 4.5 after an attempt to gather wages his former boss owned him. He was also most important lawyer of the anti-fascist movement in Russia, defending anti-fascists both when they were victims and also when they were suspected to be perpetrators. He defended interests of family of Alexander Ryukhin, murdered in Moscow by Nazis in April 2006, and he was also lawyer of Aleksey "Shkobor" Olesinov, who is now in Butyrka prison - officially due to unpolitical charges, but really because he is suspected by authorities of being "a leader" of radical Antifa in Moscow.

All in all, this is just a scratch of the work of Stas. And I did not even touch the topic of his sense of humor and endless jokes. That was his way to cope with many dangers and threats he faced, he laughed to them at their face. Everyone has a story of Stas, many of them. I was not in the *European Social Forum* in Malmö, but I

laughed so much when I was told how Stas travelled.

There was some banquet at city mayor's office for the moderate end of the forum participants. Stas was of course there in his fine suit - VIP guests and free booze was definitely a choice for Russia's number one celebrity human rights advocate. Stas saw that a demonstration passed by the office, and friends of Stas in demonstration could see him waving hand from the mayor's office.

After a while, enough of free booze and Stas decided he would like to see some action. He went to catch the demo, but riot had already started. With some other Russians, Stas tried to exit by a side street closed by riot police. Stas was already piss drunk and did not quite figure out that coppers were not on a talking mood. So Stas went to Sweden to get beaten up by Swedish riot cops, as if there were not any angry riot cops more closer to his home in Moscow!

So many stories of Stas, who could gather all of them?

S2W

## Another Dead Victim from Police Violence

### "Destructive forces are behind this protest"

Students on the streets of Chisinau after Alexei Vlas, 29 years old, was shot dead by a Moldavian police

Saturday night, 14th of March 2009, Alexei Vlas 29 years old was shot dead by a Moldavian policeman, in the capital of Republic of Moldova, Chisinau. Alexei went to celebrate the birthday of a friend. At one moment he left the party together with three other friends. On the stairway they ran into two policemen and one of them started beating up Alexei. While kicking Alexei with the knees on his head, the policeman was shouting: "I will kick you and I will slay you!", afterwards he aimed the gun at the back of Alexei's head and shot him dead.

The policemen claimed that their presence on the stairway of the block was justified by a call from a woman who is living there and asked for them to come and protect her and her mother after they were threatened over the phone by a man who said that he is going to come and kill them. None of the neighbours confirmed such a call for the police intervention. The policemen initially declared that Alexei was attacking a woman on the stairway with a knife, while later on they mentioned in one of

their declarations that Alexei actually stabbed the policeman in the leg thus justifying his shoot. Eyewitnesses (friends as well as neighbours) denied the facts presented by the police and claimed that actually the policeman, who killed Alexei, went a few stairs below and stabbed himself with a knife in order to justify the shoot. The prosecutor who is investigating the crime declared that the policemen might have taken Alexei for somebody else, the aggressor who supposedly threatened the women over the phone.

This argument is again not standing since the eyewitnesses say that in fact Alexei was addressed by name and the policemen actually aggressed him several times before in the same area. Further declarations of the Inner Affairs Ministry are still claiming that the crime was justified and that the policeman acted according to law, that is to say in "legitimate defence". Alexei had no parents, just two younger brothers whom he was taking care of and raising.



On Tuesday a demonstration was organized in Chisinau by students revolting against police brutality and abuse of power. They protested in front of the Minister of Inner Affairs and afterwards headed towards the city prosecutor's office. On the way one young person was arrested by civil cops, brutalised and taken to the precinct. At the moment we know that he was released, but the police confiscated his ID card. There are no info so far about his condition after being released or about what happened to him during the interrogation at the precinct. Fact that needs to be mentioned: during the demonstration, one manager of one college from Chisinau, came in front and asked them to put an end to the protests and go back to classes; between the lines one could understand that those studying at that specific college were threatened to lose their scholarships.

On Thursday March 19, the Ministry of Inner Affairs said that: "destructive forces are behind this protest" and started an "investigation" [among the

organizers]; officials said also that the people do have the right to protest, but this protest was aimed to "destabilize the situation in Chisinau" [Moldova is at the moment in full election campaign] and to defame the Police.

In upcoming days further there demonstrations are planned in Chisinau, while in other cities solidarity actions are being prepared in front of Moldavian embassies.

This text was written shortly after the murder happened, when it was only through mainstream media where information could be found. Since this text was written there has been harassment of eyewitnesses, internet discussions on the topic and a demonstration. Many are under surveillance and being persecuted by the police. Many say that the minister of Inner Affairs is afraid that the reaction will be something similar to Greece, so repression is huge at the moment.

## CZECHOSLOVAK ANARCHIST FEDERATION in 2008

Czechoslovak anarchist federation (CSAF) was founded in 1995. CSAF is a member federation of the International of Anarchist Federations (IAF-IFA). CSAF is formed by groups or individuals, who consider themselves to be as the anarchists. Presently, CSAF is formed by 10 regional groups. We are an organization that unifies working people, students, unemployed people and pensioners, in agreement with the anarchist principles. It means above all federalism, autonomy, grassroots activities and absence of all kinds of hierarchy or inequality. CSAF seeks to build a libertarian and autonomous society based on territorial and production autonomy, federalism, solidarity and social justice.

### ANTI-CAPITALIST ACTIVITIES

CSAF started its activity in the previous year by calling for up days of action against the fee for the health service, which were aimed at the social reform of the health service. There were public manifestations in Prague organized by CSAF, leaflet campaigns in medical attendances, town halls, libraries etc., in more than twenty cities of the Czech Republic. Activities against the government reforms also continued in following months: CSAF published the leaflet: Reform: Growth for a rich, fall for a poor, which explained the anarchist view of the social reforms and stressed the fact that capitalism cannot be reformed. Members of CSAF took part of each of the three demonstration organized by labour unions.

There were distributed thousands of the leaflets distributed, during these demonstrations and CSAF also critically joined the strike advertised by unions on the 27th of June.

Traditional anti-capitalist manifestation, co-organized by CSAF, was an anarchist meeting and parade during May Day in Prague. CSAF also joined the FESTIVAL AGAINST RACISM organized by Antifascist Action (AFA), which took place after parade through Prague.

### ANTI-MILITARIST ACTIVITIES

CSAF has a long tradition of its anti-militarist activities and the year 2008 was not an exception.

On the 12th of March, there was a demonstration against NATO and US

radar base in the city of Hradec Kralove, which was organized by the Eastern Bohemia regional group of CSAF (CSAF – East). As the reaction to the heavy repressions against the anti-NATO activists in Romania, there was a demonstration in front of the Romanian embassy in Prague.

Although CSAF refused to join the initiative NO BASES, because of the presence of the authoritarian leftist groups and political parties, we participated on the demonstrations against the US radar base. Most visible was the black-red block on the demonstration on the 15th of March. Early in July, a group of activists around CSAF welcomed US ministers of foreign affairs in Prague.

On the 28th of October, there was a military parade in Prague, which tried to show the commitment of the Czech government to NATO. The Prague group of CSAF organized a small protest action. Several members of CSAF are involved in the activities of FOOD NOT BOMBS groups.

### ANTI-ELECTION ACTIVITIES

Members of CSAF faced the election actively, they didn't vote and openly expressed in many ways their opinions about elections and politicians. In eastern Bohemia there was a cake-attack at the meeting of the nominee for district commissioner. There was a lot of leaflet, poster, stickers and street art actions in many Czech cities. A very popular and funny way how to express one's opinion on the election was recessing throwing flags with logos of political parties into the dog's excrements lying on the streets. Remakes of election billboards took place also.

### ANTI-FASCIST ACTIVITIES

CSAF fully support and participate on the actions organized by the Antifascist Action (AFA).

CSAF-East organized a pious action in the occasion remembrance of the end of WWII on the 8th of May and also another pious action in July to remind the memory of Oto Absolon – a Roman victim of the murder committed by the neo-nazis.

AFA organized a mass demonstration on the 13rd of December named: Against racist pogroms, against social exclusion, for dignified life for all. CSAF

took part of this demonstration with its own speech, banners, leaflets and other materials.

### INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Seeing that anarchist movement has always been internationalistic, CSAF tries to keep in the contact with the anarchists and anti-authoritarians from other countries.

In July, delegation of CSAF took part on the 8th congress of IAF/IFA in Italy.

Members of CSAF also took part in the 4th anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb, where they also participated in a demonstration against escalating prices. Members of CSAF also joined several demonstrations in Slovenia – a protest against the visit of G. Bush, demonstrations to support squats or to support socially excluded people.

A few members of CSAF took part in the No Border camp in Patras, or participated in on several actions in Germany, like anti-fascist demonstration in Berlin-Pankow.

CSAF also joined the global day against state and police terrorism advertised by Greek anti-authoritarians. CSAF joined the international day of actions to support Argentinian Argentinean anarchist Federico Puy, who was fired from his job.

### PUBLICATION ACTIVITIES

During the last year, CSAF published thousands of various leaflets and stickers, which were distributed on the streets. More than thirty booklets came to light, presenting the anarchist history, theory and experience. CSAF also began with publishing of the anarchist monthly "A3" which is wall-newspaper and are also with preparing of a magazine which will be called "called "GRASSROOT".

CSAF also took part in the Prague anarchist Bookfair in November. The most important medium of CSAF is surely the website csaf.cz which is daily updated. After last several years of stagnation of the anarchist movement in the Czech republic, we judged this year as a very successful. It was possible to observe the growth of the anarchist activities, as well as increasing number of people interested in the anarchist ideas. We hope this tendency will continue in the following year!

About two years ago we choose an issue "education and upbringing seen by east European anarchists" as a main topic for our journal. This resulted in series of interesting articles which were sent to us and printed in ABB#27 (December 2006). We are very glad that some of comrades are interesting to continue dealing with this issue on our pages. Following article we got shortly before going to print. Short does not mean not interesting and not inspiring! Check it out... AbolishingBB

## Towards an education for freedom

From the fall of the USSR up to the present times we taste an elusive smell of freedom. But generally we are not able to get over our crusty habits and fears that's why the freedom is so distant. Due to the totalitarian legacy of the Red Empire which is now disguised behind the mask of "democracy" the folk got used to be oppressed and to be ruled by a "strong hand".

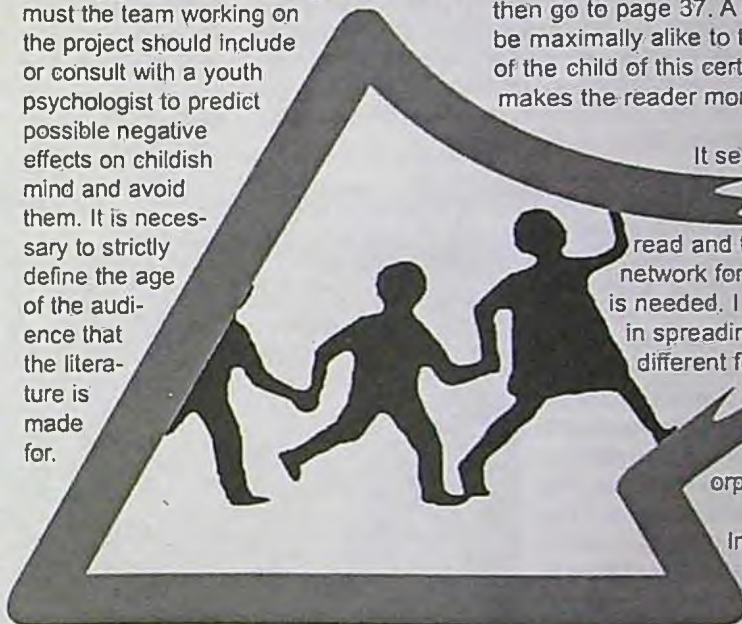
As libertarians we see ourselves to change this status quo in our way. To make these changes come true our comrades all over the world work hard and create many ambitious and interesting projects. Now here comes the first and most important point of the project I'd like you to think about. The main part of libertarian projects affects on the present or upcoming situation and involve mostly teenagers and adults. And what about our precious treasure – our children?

The stereotypes and main features of personality form during the first 6 years of life (as I remember) and in 12 years a person has nearly complete individuality and the basis of life's principles. Now think what are the main factors affecting on the youth of this age? Excluding parents and internet (later) these are school and literature, cartoons. Thus if there is a chance to organize self-consciousness of human-being it is possible in the only period of its foundation – in the childhood.

Here I should say that I have no exact offers to start with. More of that I would like to draw your attention to the fact of extreme danger and possible unpre-

dictable consequences of such a project (or call it experiment?). Here is a draft may I say...

The idea is to work out the conception of youth literature: story books, exercise-books, etc. for pre-school and early school children so it can adequately provide children with libertarian principles in joyful and non-boring way. As a must the team working on the project should include or consult with a youth psychologist to predict possible negative effects on childish mind and avoid them. It is necessary to strictly define the age of the audience that the literature is made for.



Another important moment here is to create a bunch of vital and bright characters to attract children. Just as a crude sample: a little Girl/Boy and their friends travel the world or fairy lands and in each of their quests they face different actual problems of our real life such as racial prejudice, lust for power, PC/drug/alcohol-addiction, etc. Perhaps it'd be useful to give a child an opportu-

nity "to affect" on the fate of a hero and to make a decision what he/she would have done on hero's place. And then adults/teachers will have a chance to explain was it a "good" or "bad" decision and why. It might be fulfilled as a blank page in a book where one could write down a part of a story or as a simply "interactive" book, eg.: if a hero decided to help Maria go to page 29 if he did not then go to page 37. A character should be maximally alike to the self-perception of the child of this certain age – it makes the reader more involved.

It seems obvious that the books are meant to be read and thus a distribution network for such a literature is needed. I see the solution in spreading the literature at different festivals, exhibitions, free schools, charity-schools and orphanages.

In conclusion I'd like to mention that I'm not well known with anarchist theory especially by modern authors so if the idea was already mentioned somewhere I did not intend to be a plagiarist. But anyway I hope my words will draw attention to the problems of children's education and bringing up.

Friend of AbolishingBB from Moscow



## Crisis to System Collapse

### 20 years after the Round Table:

#### A Brief Look at Capitalism in Poland

1989 was a year of transition in Poland. From February 6 to April 4, the Round Table Talks took place in Warsaw between the banned labour union *Solidarity*, the communists and other opposition groups in an attempt to calm social unrest and co-opt opposition movements. The Round Table Talks are thought by many to be the moment of the great sell-out.

In September 1988, a secret meeting was held which included people such as Lech Walesa (often accused of being a secret agent by the most right-wing of *Solidarity*) and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Czeslaw Kiszczak. There they agreed on holding the talks.

Depending on how you look at it, the Round Table Talks either brought down communism and introduced a "free government" or was just an agreement to divide up political power while ensuring that the old elite keep their influence and all the parties involved got to divide up the benefits that were to be reaped from the transition, particularly the transfer or sale of state property.

The old program of *Solidarity* proposed the restitution of market capitalism but with a social, pro-labour element. However, once free elections were held, different factions of *Solidarity* emerged - some being more right-wing than others. Yet the *Solidarity* government and some of the leaders of the New Poland, some of which had been said to be quite left-wing, even close to Trotskyism, not only were unable to introduce their own economic program, but were fast to succumb to the false promises of the neoliberals. Jacek Kuron famously invited Jeffrey Sachs to draw up a quick transition program for the economy. The rest was history.

Poland in the Gierek era was a grand time for the working class - but this was often funded by international loans. By the beginning of the 80s, Poland was under pressure of the Western banks to pay back the loans, leading to a contraction of production and higher prices. This subsequently led to more unrest and pressure to get rid of the so-called communism. What many people didn't realize, was that the country was undergoing a type of capitalist crisis, albeit it one in which the so-called communist state played a leading role.

The people were also unaware that many of the future leaders were debtors of the USA - people who had taken large sums of money, sometimes legally, allocated through Congress, sometimes illegally through the CIA. Not that many of them would have cared. For the anti-communists, Ronald Reagan was the liberator of the people.

Many of the old elites could care less about ideology - as long as they benefited from the system. There is much speculation about whether large parts of the communist elite, from Poland and from Moscow, were in collusion to find a way to transform the system into a market-based capitalist economy. It is clear that there were those just looking for a way to go against the party without really

confronting it, but the extent of this will probably never be known. The old elites were quick to consolidate and strengthen their power. They were usually the only ones with substantial capital and their access to new opportunities was at their fingertips. They would be able to transfer state property to themselves, to privatize lands, villas and factories. They would also be able to set up private businesses for their cronies to get contracts from the newly set-up "free government" and in some fields to operate as virtual monopolists for quite some time. Millionaires were made very quickly.

The early years of transition, a bonanza for a few, an opportunity for some others who were able to embrace the spirit of the market and find a niche, led to the pauperization of large sections of society. Whole industries collapsed when exposed to the global markets, especially as Poland lost some of its main export markets. The first wave of reforms that lasted throughout the 90s led to mass unemployment and the slow disintegration of many smaller urban and rural areas. Even during the so-called communist times, 80 percent of agricultural products came from the private small landholder; with the introduction of food imports and the corporate

food industry, more and more of the food production and distribution market was concentrated in the hands of a few, in the hands of large foreign corporations and the local capitalists who managed to get their paws on large tracts of land and equipment. Entire rural populations were transformed from modest farmers making an average living to farm and food production workers earning poverty wages or to the rural poor.



The second wave of reforms started at the turn of the century and introduced broad changes and market logic into public services and welfare. Pensions were privatised using a model which

threatens many with financial precarity. By 2005, over a third of all jobs in hospitals and the health service were cut, many hospitals were closed or went bankrupt. The introduction of the market into the area of essential services has meant that the healthcare system is a disaster and many people need to pay for private health care on top of their obligatory payments since there is no adequate care available to them. Huge metropolitan areas are forced to deal with deadly inadequate emergency services. In terms of education, poor and rural areas are left behind as wealthy parents pay into primary education and there are fewer and fewer places available in the university for non-paying students.

20 years after the Round Table Talks, the divisions between rich and poor are striking. Huge segments of the working population live below the limit for survival. A few years ago there was a huge investment boom in Poland followed by lower unemployment as large groups of people migrated abroad in search of better-paying work. For a while, wages were going up and a small but growing portion of the population felt they were middle-class. But much of their prosperity was due to live on credit and when the crisis hit, this middle class was hit as well. Hundreds of thousands of people are losing their jobs. Some people are defaulting on their loans.

## Crisis to System Collapse



People who for years thought of themselves as "middle-class" and refused to identify with the idea of "working-class", which they erroneously saw as a class apart, realize that they are in fact not part of an elite, or even a "better-off" class, but are in just as precarious a situation as anybody else.

We can read in reports now that most Polish people working people have less than 250 euros a month to spend on food, housing and other basic needs and that few people are able to put even 5 euros a month away into savings. At the same time, the yuppies are buying their way to oblivion on credit and the rich are jet-setting around the globe. This is the lasting legacy of capitalism which people are starting to see. Those who support this system try to convince everybody that what's wrong with the economy is the people: some people are lazy, some people are not educated,

some people get drunk, etc. etc. A whole generation of people were now brought up on the economic dogmas of the Chicago boys and have always tended to believe these explanations; if there is mass poverty in the countryside, it's because people are uneducated, if there is an underclass, it's their fault. And now the axe is dropping on their heads as firms decide on mass layoffs.

Last week I saw a large advertisement for a firm claiming that the crisis is no excuse not to make a profit. The firms offer consulting services on how to profit from the crisis. They tell companies that now is the best time to negotiate better rates, wages and prices with service providers, contractors, employees and producers since each company is in a much better bargaining position. Many firms already now this, using the crisis and fear to lower wages and provide worse working conditions. Frightened workers are being told that it's better to take wage cuts, work part-time, (unpaid) overtime, or do anything than find up unemployed, lose your home, wind up homeless and on the black list of debtors. The crisis is a tragedy for many, a bonanza for some.

For the first time in years, a small crack in the capitalist facade is beginning to appear. It should be our jobs to force this crack open into a gaping hole.

Akai

## Instead of proletarian struggles

Report about the Hungarian situation

The permanent crisis of capitalism delivers one good turn after another for the working class of the world: right now the money markets have collapsed, the volume of production falls back everywhere in the world, there are continuous lock-outs. The recession is taking its toll also in Hungary. However, the situation here differs from that in Western Europe in the fact that the Hungarian bourgeoisie started its frontal attack against the working class' conditions of existence much earlier than the bourgeoisie of Western Europe. During the summer of 2006, a brutal rise of taxes and prices began, almost everything – from food, gas, electricity and fuel until the public transport – became much more expensive, since the Hungarian bourgeois did everything in order to maintain their competitiveness in front of the other bourgeois groups of the region, and the processes of the world market also pushed them into this direction.

In spite of the continuous attacks against the working class' conditions of existence they still face serious problems: the budget deficit is extremely high and the foreign public debt is constantly rising, while the world-wide recession can be felt more and more in Hungary as well. And financial stability would be very important for them – first of all, in order to pump more and more money into their companies and in order to keep the state up and running since the bourgeoisie still needs police, army and the functioning of public administration. And, of course, they must throw some titbit for the working class, too, which is bawling and which goes as a flock of sheep every four years to vote. Secondly, the economic situation of the

country should be stabilized also in order to stimulate the flow of capital from abroad, to be able to hot up the production (since from now on, one can count on a serious economic recession), and in the long run, to introduce Euro – they expect that this will provide more predictable, more secure conditions for the revelry on their little rubbish-shoot.

So, the capitalists tried to tap the working class already in 2006. As a result of taking its blood, the level of the working class living standards fell considerably during the next year, which was crowned by the bourgeois in power by introducing – within the framework of the so-called "public health reform" – the visit charge, the daily charge in the hospitals and besides, they fired several thousand workers from the state sector. The situation was worsened by the fact that the world-wide price explosion of the foodstuffs caused a considerable rising of prices here as well – during the second half of 2007, the price of flour was higher by 60 per cent than a year before, bread and eggs rose by more than 20 per cent. All this led to a perceptible increase of discontent among the working class, but also this time there was nothing more than the usual reformist practice of stirring up the shit.

Of course, the trade unions used this occasion to call upon the stupefied workers to strike, to order them to the streets and to protest against the "public health reform", the raising of retiring age and the liquidation of some railway lines. On 21st of November 2007, within the framework of the "Day of Social Solidarity", the railway stopped working for six hours, a part of



## Crisis to System Collapse



shitted on them. From a bourgeois point of view, everything worked perfectly: there was no significant interruption of production, the trade union control functioned well, the workers could express their discontent within the frame given by democratic rights. Social peace was confirmed.

The bourgeoisie could therefore calmly continue its shock therapy against the working class. The government even piled it on in 2008. During the year, it raised the price of gas four times, altogether by more than 27 per cent. The foodstuff prices also continued to increase, besides, the effects of the world-wide economic recession reached Hungary in the second half of the year. Many factories were closed or decreased their production, mainly in car industry and among electronic assembly plants. Since autumn 2008, more than 20 thousand workers have been fired and the number of registered unemployed has reached 470 thousand. And we haven't reached the end yet, since further lay-offs are announced almost every day. During this year, further ten thousands of workers can be sacked. In the meantime, there was almost a state bankruptcy in October because of the crack of world's bank system and the considerable weakening of Forint. In order to avoid a total collapse, the government asked a credit limit of 20 billion Euros from the IMF, World Bank and the European Union, which shall be pumped into the banks, fill the state reserves and stop the weakening of Forint. All this, of course, is at the cost of the working class. The money shall be paid back within 3-5 years – by us...

In the midst of the working class' impoverishment and its running into dept, the trade unions conducted some completely defensive strikes also in 2008, which had nothing to do with proletarian struggles – there very no examples of the latter during the last year. The general absence of proletarian self-organization has many reasons. At first, there is the baleful inheritance of the past, the destructive effect of which can be felt even today: during the Kádár-epoch, the Bolshevik power pacified the working class by maintaining a relative security of

the educators also went on strike, the work stopped for two hours at Malév (airline company), at some services of Volán (autobus company) and some other big companies. Throughout the country, several tens of thousands of workers were striking, and in the evening, they marched to the Parliament to beg at least some small concessions from the bourgeois – those, of course,

existence, it liquidated every kind of proletarian self-organization and expropriated even the terminology of the communist movement. On the other hand, after the "transition", the working class has been atomized by the sharpening competition of the workers, the unemployment, the winding up of the former, relatively steady workplaces, the mobility of labour market. Today, the workers act exclusively according to their individual interests, the workplace communities have essentially disappeared, class solidarity is almost non-existent, and many of the stupid Hungarian workers are not even aware of the fact that they are members of a social class. And these egoist, nihilist workers with their false consciousness can be easily manipulated by the various bourgeois media, which dose counter-revolutionary propoganda in bigger and bigger proportions every day, thanks to the achievements of the so-called "information society".

This is the reason why the workers who are anxious for their workplaces, who are discontented because of the continuously falling living standards, who are imbued with various bourgeois ideologies, follow the trade unions as well trained animals. On 7 April 2008, the workers at BKV (Budapest Transport Company) were striking from dawn until 1 p.m. They demanded more state support for the company, in order to prevent future lay-offs. At the end of November, the workers employed in the public sector also went to the streets, they protested against the repeal of the "salary for the 13th month" and the massive lay-offs, and demanded a wage-increase by 4 per cent which had been promised earlier. They held out the prospect of a strike in January if their demands are not fulfilled. Some 10 thousands of firemen, teachers, policemen, public health workers etc. were gathering in front of the Parliament, and after handing the petitions over, all the well-mannered citizens peacefully went home. And the trade unions performed fulfilled their duty, they soon came to an agreement with the government, according to which in 2009, the workers will receive the "salary for the 13th month" through monthly payments. In exchange, the unions won't call a strike until September 2009.

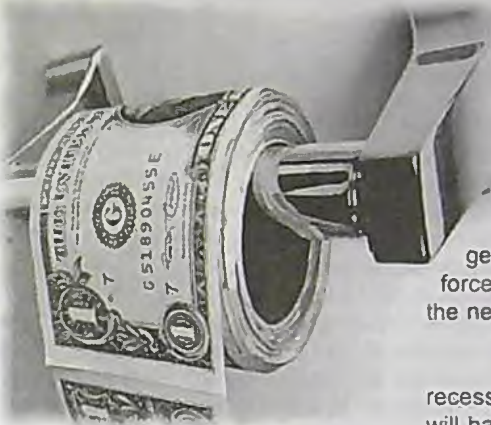


The end of the year was somewhat more eventful. Early in December the workers at Malév once again went on strike. They demanded new collective agreement, the ceasing of outsourcing, and the payment of those wages which the company was behind

with. The bourgeois brought scabs from Greece, therefore the strike ran out of steam till the second half of December, then the trade union suspended it. During the year, the railway workers went on strike several times. The last strike on 14th of December, it was called by VDSZSZ (Free Union of Railway Workers) which is openly flirting with Fidesz, the main force of the opposition. The demand was the same as earlier: a single allowance of 250 thousand Forints for each railway worker and a wage-increase by 10 per cent for the outsourced workers. The strike was finally suspended with respect to Christmas – on this "sacred holiday" class struggle also takes a pause... Later all trade unions except VDSZSZ accepted the wage-increase by 4.1 per cent – the offer of the company – but the continuation of the strike can be expected during this year.

## Crisis to System Collapse

The growing discontent of the working class is continuously exploited – besides the trade unions – by the right wing, which is campaigning with anti-capitalist slogans, bawling against “foreign” capital and promising that the “Hungarian state” under their leadership will take steps against the so-called “wild capitalism”, i.e. it will humanize the capitalist exploitation. In accordance with this, Fidesz managed to continuously mobilize those workers who had fallen under the magic spell of Viktor Orbán and the national idea against the “public health reform” started in 2007. They organized several demonstrations in the countryside against the privatization of the hospitals and then started a campaigning for signatures in order to achieve a referendum. The campaign set a huge mass in motion. At last, as a result of the referendum on 9th of March 2008 – where ca. 4 million people had participated – the government was forced to cancel the visit charge, the daily charge in the hospitals and the tuition fee in the universities. Obviously, this action led to a further growth of Fidesz’s popularity, so it’s almost sure that in 2010 the Christian-national jerks will lay their hands on the steering column once again.



This is all the more probable since a considerable part of the working class in Hungary is ordinarily a nationalist brute, anti-Semitic and strongly anti-Gypsy. Under the circumstances of the continuous fall of the working class’ living standards and the general discontent, the tendency of looking for a scapegoat grows stronger, and some groups of workers organize themselves into fascist lynching brigades. An expressive example of this is the Hungarian Guard which was organized back in 2007. The organization was founded by Jobbik, one of the fascist parties. One of its main aims is “the strengthening of national self-defence”, and in the long run, the setting up of a “National Guard”. Since then, the recruiting of members is permanent, county organizations also have been created, the number of members is now more than 2000. Moreover, lately they initiate children as well, this way looking after the continuation of this noble affair. Their groups which march with fascist symbols organized several demonstrations in the settlements of the countryside against “gypsy crime”, recently they held even target-practices. If necessary, they will obviously go to war against rebellious proletarians and assist the policemen just like their Greek mates did it not long ago...

Apart from the Hungarian Guard, the fascists are active in general. During the last year, there were several attacks with Molotov-cocktails, grenades and arms against the houses of working class members of Gypsy origin. As is their custom, the fascists went to the streets also on 23rd of October. Although there were only several hundreds of them, they tried to organize themselves in a more serious way. They distributed hoods, they brought a lot of Molotov-cocktails which had been prepared before, even a home-made bomb was found in a car by the policemen who this time easily caught the ring-leaders and kept the fascist groups under control.

So, one can feel strongly the effects of the latest developments of capitalism’s world-wide crisis also in Hungary. In spite of the credit limit of 20 billion Euros, further economic recession is to be expected in the country, in addition, Forint is weakening again. Accordingly, the bourgeoisie continues to tighten the screws: the condition of obtaining some sorts of benefits will be the performance of communal work, there’s a prospect of new tax increases, further restrictive measures, massive lay-offs. But because of the increasing unemployment, the restrictions and the weakening of Forint, it will be more difficult to pay off the credits taken up in foreign currency and the import becomes more expensive. This means that the living standards of the working class continue to fall, there will be less new investments, consumption will diminish, thus the recession will deepen. This is a vicious circle, and in the short run it won’t be changed essentially, neither by the change of cabinet expected in 2010 nor by the further expansion of the fascists. The Hungarian bourgeois are in a fluster, they are in such a mess that it even forced them to admit that they didn’t know what to expect in the near future.

Their outlooks are not too good: the world-wide recession will wreck the working class even more – the same will happen in Hungary. In the long run, the workers’ discontent will probably rise further, therefore the government will play the ideological card calling upon national unity and sacrifice for the sake of the country. The trade unions will also try to perform their reformist shows again. Among the nationalist masses and those under trade union control, these maneuvers can be successful for a while. But if the working class all over the world finally understands, as a result of the continuous decline of its conditions of existence, that there’s no place to withdraw to, and it gets rid of the democratic illusions, then the proletariat which organizes itself into a class must sooner or later sweep away the bourgeoisie everywhere – therefore, here, too – and create the world-wide human community: communism.

*Barricade Collective,  
at the end of January 2009*

*The present report is a part of a series of articles which was started in 2005 and in which we analyze the changes of the economic and political situation in Hungary from the Kádár-epoch up to the present. The former pieces of the series in chronological order: Progress Report, The Reality of the Nightmare, Spend Your Blood!, Rouse?!, Connections...*

*We wrote longer about this in the article entitled Spend Your Blood!*

*One can find a more detailed account of the counter-revolutionary activity of the Hungarian trade unions after the “transition” in the report entitled The Reality of the Nightmare.*

*About the roots of Hungarian nationalism and its forms of expression we wrote longer in the article entitled Connections...*

## Crisis to System Collapse

*"By now everybody has heard the word "crisis", but what it is, what caused it, and what it means for us working people is not always clear"*

### *What caused the economic crisis?*

#### Background to the Crisis

The confusion/misunderstanding is because the language of businessmen, economics, the government and much of the media is often deceptive when it comes to issues of the economy. When they say "the economy is booming" or "there has been impressive growth" or "the economy is healthy", they are not always using the same criteria as the average working person. The average working person would tend to say that there is a "good economy" when there are plenty of well-paid jobs, when they can afford to pay for all their basic needs and have some money, left over for pleasure, when they don't have to worry that worry that the slightest misfortune will leave them homeless or that they won't be able to manage in the future. However, using different standards of "health", someone can judge the economy to be "healthy" when the majority of people are up to their eyes in debt, when wages are low but profits high for investors or when lots of profits can be made off speculating in such essential areas such as housing. Just as the idea of a "healthy economy" can be interpreted very differently, the perceptions of an economic crisis can vary and make it more difficult to understand.

The presentation of the crisis has often been quite superficial. We are told that it all started in America when banks started giving too many mortgages and there was too much default. Without a much deeper understanding, we just hear that it somehow creating a domino effect - that people lost money, that this caused less demand, that production has to be cut, that companies have to cut back, that people lose their jobs, which in turn lowers demand for other products, etc. etc..... But behind this view lies some assumptions; we are supposed to believe that the whole problem came down to just some bad mistakes made by bankers and that every-

thing else results from this. This is a very simple formula to sell the public but does not get at the heart of the matter. Worse yet, it provides the ideological framework necessary for justifying mass layoffs, many of which are far from necessary.

Speculation and collapse are common features of the capitalist economy. As everything becomes a saleable commodity, people must earn in order to simply survive. Many people are no longer engaged in producing the basic needs to sustain society or in servicing the benefit of society. In post-industrial and post-agricultural countries, this has become the majority. Efficiencies in industry or agriculture and technology have meant that the labour required to meet all of our basic needs is actually not as much as to warrant a 40-hour working week for all. Yet we are forced to work since most of us do not have free access to farmland, resources and housing. Many of us need to work the whole week just to pay for a roof over our heads, food and transport. Without a full-time job, many of us would fall immediately into precarity. This creates at once a need to create more and more ways of generating money only for the sole purpose of fulfilling these needs. A person with nothing of value to sell

would rather sell something of no value than to go hungry. Thus most such business nowadays relies on finding new things to sell to people and on creating an artificial market for this. Much work also relies on intermediary work, creating

intermediary work, coordinating, selling extra services, new found ways to spin money.

In the most simplistic view on this all, based on the assumption that this all makes sense and that there is no other way, creating money for one's self

becomes the obvious goal of economic activity - not providing for the needs of all of society or creating a just and equitable system. We are force-fed with the dogma that the more the people on the top earn, the more the economy "blossoms" on the bottom, which is clearly contradicted by all scientific evidence which shows a growing income gap, proving that more wealth accumulated the accumulated wealth is the result of sucking those at the bottom of the pyramid dry.

Armed with false claims that they are creating wealth for all, those at the top go about pursuing the options for maximizing their wealth. For them, speculation is attractive as they generate great huge profits for themselves in relatively short time periods. Even though there may be risks, the truth is that these people, on the whole, earn a lot more than they lose - otherwise they wouldn't be doing it. And even if there are some losers, there are many a lot more that benefited on these games.

The banking crisis in the US showed us that the risk can even be shifted and that liabilities will become the burden of taxpayers. Real estate speculators and bankers earned a fortune off of people struggling to put a roof over their heads in a market where housing is not at all affordable for most people and where many are forced into difficult situations because of this. Then, when the ordinary person could no longer afford to hold up this artificially inflated market, they are forced to bail out the banks and see their tax dollars taken away from more essential services to do so.

We read about how the "collapse of the housing market" is a "disaster", but it is more of a disaster for the parasite speculators more than for normal people. Prices were so high that people were in real trouble - and they were high not because of a great demand, but because speculators all put upraised the prices as high as they could. In order for this to work, banks had to agree to offer loans for amounts that people really couldn't afford to be, at least not without the assumption that they could, in case of trouble, still be able to resell their homes. People with capital began to buy homes





## Crisis to System Collapse

only hoping to sell them at a big profit in a few years. The "collapse" of the market would have happened much sooner if the idea of prices being determined by the "market" were a reality instead of an ideology; just like in Poland, there is a huge demand for affordable housing, but nobody interested in supplying it. There is only interest in supplying housing that people earn fortunes off of and the hope that there will be always some of the desperate who can manage to get credit for it.

If the collapse of the American housing market offers new opportunities for millions of people to buy a more affordable house, why are we so scared of the crisis?

Simply put, if investors are not earning in one place, they want to earn in another. If something is not providing them "extraordinary return", it's not what they want. If there is money lost somewhere, they take it from somewhere else. And then this demand/supply factor does play a part. If there are cuts somewhere, demand somewhere else can fall. If money is "taken out" of one place, maybe an element in a complicated chain is weakened. But no matter what happens further down the chain, the root causes lead to a similar syndrome. The sickness is caused by speculative capitalism, by greed, by the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, by the economic injustice inherent in the system which rests on creating misery so a few can profit.

### The Crisis Comes to Poland

In the first months of the fall, one could read quite different and often contradictory stories in the economic and popular press. On the one hand, much of the so-called "business press", kept repeating that Poland was either "untouched" by the crisis or was "not really affected". On the other hand, there were loads of frightening headlines about it.

For the hundreds of thousands who are now losing their jobs, it would seem like the horror scenario is much more real, as people understand "crisis" by what they can feel on their own skin.

However, any deeper look at the situation and one can see that many people are losing their jobs simply to protect profits of those who earn and live off the work of the employees. In some cases, firms with giant profits have let people go just because their profits would not be as

high this year otherwise. People are treated in categories of "financial losses"



or "liabilities". The same people who do the work which creates all the wealth of the company in the first place and are often not allowed the benefits in an equal extent. They cannot expect "job security" during slower periods. When profits go up and there is a boom, they do not necessarily share in the profits and benefits, but when things are down, they certainly share in the losses. In many cases, they must bare the brunt even where there is no loss, but where the profiteers simply do agree to earn too much less themselves. Thus the burden of the crisis is again shifted onto the poor souls who often can hardly afford to miss even one pay-check so as to ensure the comfort of the wealthy, some of which don't even need the money but just want to see their bank accounts still growing.

### What Can be Done?

The crisis is extremely hard to deal with because the majority of people have consented, either actively or through passivity, to the economic system which created it. Confined within its logic, working people are told that, when there is, for whatever reason, any lower income cycle, they should agree to take on this burden. They are convinced that, if the company takes in less money, they should earn less. They are convinced that, they should take these sacrifices personally and that this is for "their own good" since they are convinced that their jobs are dependent on the generosity of the bosses and investors whereas, in reality, the wealth and power of the bosses and investors is totally dependent on the value workers create.

People are convinced that no protest will help, since a strong workforce would only make their investor masters go to places with even more hunger and desperation, and fewer human rights, and employ people who are less able to fight back or who are simply much cheaper.

Only a deeper, long term solution on the international level can really begin to challenge this. Passivity is our enemy, the worst thing we can do to ourselves. Indifference towards others, the atomization of society – it prevents us from supporting workplace struggles, which leads to a worse situation for us all. It is not possible for us to make the changes we need to create an equitable society unless we are able to organize ourselves to take back the wealth we have created and redistribute it, to take back the workplace and transform our work so that it benefits the good of all society, not just a very few.

For more information, see [www.zsp.net.pl](http://www.zsp.net.pl) or write to us at [info@zsp.net.pl](mailto:info@zsp.net.pl)



## Crisis to System Collapse

"Czech squatters are helping to fight the financial crisis..."

### Renaissance of squatting movement in Czechia?

#### Story of CIBULKA squat

After the years of stagnancy it seems that the Czech squatting movement is waking-up. A bunch of people tried to occupy a new house, farmhouse *Cibulka* in the center of a park in a suburb of Prague. They've got an approval from the owner of a building to use it in exchange for cleaning-up the house itself and its surroundings.

After few months police attacked the squat in the middle of the night (under the pretext of searching for a guy who committed assault nearby). Occupiers were arrested, a bunch of people that manage to escape to the roof were threatened by the gun (even the warning shot was fired): "either you come down or I'll shoot you down anyway" cop said to the people on the roof. Squatters managed to get a fast support and within half an hour a crowd of supporters assembled nearby. However,



*Cibulka* was evicted. Probably due to police pressure (and for sure also due to communication mistakes of squatters) an agreement between owners and squatters was cancelled and therefore *Cibulka* stayed empty till today. Next day around 150 people gathered on the demonstration in support of squatters, but to no avail.

#### SITUATION OF MILADA SQUAT

Since then, a new group of people occupying the only remaining squat house in Prague, *Milada*, became recently more active. There are now regular screenings in the house as well as frequent gigs, actions and parties. They also publish free newsletter about squatting, called "*Info Usurpa*". So far 5 issues were published.

The situation with *Milada* is not great anyway. Its owner, public entity *Ustav pro informace ve vzdělávání* (Office for information in education - UIV) started with legal work in order to get rid of the squatters. Their main issue is that the house doesn't legally exist, as it was crossed out of land register but never demolished. Therefore squatters can't be legally evicted as they are not breaking the law, technically. Anyway, UIV started the process of re-writing the house into the registry. This activity is more than likely connected with the fact that the place is becoming lucrative spot as the city circle highway is going

to be built there soon. Hand in hand with this process municipal and state police started to create regular troubles there, most recently attacking and damaging buses of travelers currently staying in the house.

#### SQUATTING ESTATE AGENCY set up

Last but not least, a project of Squatting estate agency was set up. Squatters and their friends did a good job in searching for long-term empty buildings in Prague. During one weekend they hung-up banners saying stuff like "Free to occupy" etc. with the sign of "Squatting estate agency" with web-page address on those buildings.

Simultaneously, web-pages were set up with not only a map of several dozen locations around whole Prague and detailed information with photos about each house (including details about owners), but also with information about how to break into the house and what to do. They are also promising practical and theoretical support for those occupying new houses.

Under the slogan "reside in a quality and for free" Czech squatters are helping to fight the financial crisis...

You could see the web-pages on <http://realitka.squat.net>

### Short report from MILADA Squat in Prague

Hola! After few undisturbed weeks around Christmas, we received a month full of activities. A presentation and a debate with the filmmakers of "69", a documentary on Copenhagen's *Ungdomshuset*, a successful benefit gig in Cross Club and a *Travesti Carnival* at *Milada* squat, they have all been great events, which we will hopefully keep in mind for a long time.

But with such intensity, we'll remember the moment, when we learned the news that UIV, the owner's administrator of our land, was going to catalogue *Milada* in the land register and by doing so, eventually, achieve legal eviction. We don't know when exactly the attempted eviction would take place, maybe in few weeks, and maybe in

few years horizon. But we know why we are here and what we are fighting for and we won't give *Milada* away without consequence.



By all means available, we will defend our last space in Prague.

But if we want to keep the squatters' movement alive, we can't restrain ourselves to a sole space. Our streets are full of empty and neglected houses waiting for that moment, when someone comes and gives them life - by either creating a room for living or by organizing concerts, political discussions or setting up ateliers and galleries for independent artists. We have seen many examples in the past; let's get inspired for the future.

Love, anarchy and pretty much resistance from MILADA CREW



# Crisis to System Collapse

## Debt-strike as one of possible answers to the Crises?

Report on community-building and acts of mutual support in Budapest in eye of the "economic crises"

The following article was made by one of our comrades and came out from an interview he made with anarchist activists in Budapest in the end of February 2009...

...the questions were asked what kind of influences has the "economical crisis" on them and what kind of local projects they are working on recently...

It starts to be practice that people share their flats, rooms and infrastructure to avoid paying a lot of money. The local anarchists and antifascists are when they are young and go to school or university not that much into that "normal life" but after they quit, a lot of them leave the political activity behind. People, who are connected to anarchists, people which have children and are in the age of 30 or 40, also started to share more goods these times to support each other.

But not only the ones who get older but also younger people seem in times of the "economic crisis" to be more interested about how to not work stupid job or be unemployed on your own, and look for collective solutions against these circumstances. So people began not only to share places to sleep but also other things without money to avoid money. They share knowledge, tools, time and others. One example is a direct contact to an old woman, who gets bread for free from a bakery and shares this with activists living collectively in a flat. They help her to get that bread regularly from the bakery to her home and therefore they get a part of this bread. All benefit from that cooperation.

Money is, especially in times of a crisis, losing its value. The direct exchange or help without exchange is therefore a better choice to be more independent from the market. One project is now to dumpster (taking food from the garbage) and prepare free food for people. It is possible to ask at markets but also to figure out where they put the garbage. One problem is that the people at the market even sell very bad food still, so there is not much thrown away that is eatable. But it works if they are asked directly for food for social projects. There are also some salad-bars where people get free food after it closes every day.

There are some eco-villages existing in Hungary, but a lot are religious and nearly none are political in an anti-capitalistic direction. But anarchists from

Budapest use one not really used farm close to the city for taking fruit and there is the idea to squat some land there to plant some vegetables or other food. Last summer some people collected a lot of food and hoiled it. There were not even enough people to take what was possible to take there. So if people get more serious they can use such resources in the summer if they do not travel that much or instead of going to festivals. But social life on a farm is also problematic, as especially in the winter there are not many visitors and people who tried to start a countryside-project came back in the winter. Now a lot of them switch between countryside and the city.

The idea to convince people with a political message is the method of a lot of NGO's in Hungary. They make campaigning, press contacts and "professional" political work. But the people working for them are mostly precarious. These people work very hard for little money and the grassroots, DIY (do it yourself) people criticise that. "You do not fuck up other people's life because you think you are doing something good for society but you fuck up your own life because you work for NGOs". So they decided instead of NGO work to build sustainable communities and own structures to make things to happen

One of the issues within the concept of community building is that the "economic crisis" causes more people to organise collectively in daily life, but also rightwing, racists and fascists offer kinds of communities, promises collective answers to the crisis and in fact a lot of people join these groups. Racism against gypsy/Roma people is very common and they are easy to blame in public for a lot of things. People often act passively to street-violence against Roma or even support it. It is said they are not Hungarians and they are lazy. During "economic crises" religious groups might also get some new followers.

Another important thing about the financial crisis is the fact that several



people not only loose their jobs but have debts on their flats or houses. Usually to rent a flat is something that is a period in your life, later "normal people" buy a flat or house for their small family or

for their children. So the debts to buy these are mainly in euro or Swiss Franken. Now these debts are growing fast and there are still a lot of debts existing from the beginning of the 90s, so a lot of people in Hungary are affected. The government wants to raise taxes and pay fewer pensions and privatising what is not already privatised. They say that because of the crisis they have to do this, but on the other side the state is bankrupt. There will be no euro-introducing as soon as they wanted, because the states debts are still very high and are growing.

There are new people from Slovakia who are close to the border buying in Hungary because it is cheaper for them after the euro was introduced this year in their country. A lot of people will loose their flats because they cannot pay their debts anymore. There are new flats built but they are not sold and because so many people have debts with their living-places, one idea of local anarchists from Budapest is to help initiating debts-strike. It is difficult to communicate because the ones who start this would be the first to get problems and kicked out of their flats, but a lot of people will be evicted anyway so the question is if they will struggle about this or not. The debt-strike idea is quite fresh, so how to start it and how it will develop or be extended is unclear now. But there is a potential of people to resist and this can be taken.

Some weeks ago our correspondent from Lodz made a very interesting interview with anarchist from the very specific polish city of Lodz. This activist is a member of political music publisher collective, as well as being involved in anarchist movement in Lodz for many years. So this interview brings not only the information about interesting "Black Flag" project but also some historical and critical reflections on anarchist movement in city of Lodz and in Poland in general. Check it out! AbolishingBB

## Interview with "Black Flag Records" including historical and critical reflections on anarchist movement in city of Lodz and in Poland in general

**Czarny Sztandar Records (Black Flag Records) – what is it? Since when do you exist and what have you done over this time?**

Czarny Sztandar Records is a publishing initiative, created by the people involved in anarchist movement in Lodz, Poland. It was established back in 2000, originally to collect and publish the archival recordings of anarchist and revolutionary songs from different countries and periods. Our mission is to discover and present the musical tradition of different libertarian movements, as well as the historical background and tradition behind them. By now we've issued, let me say, 4 and a half compilation: songs from the Spanish Revolution 1936, historical songs of Italian anarchist movement, Swedish feminist choir performing classic revolutionary songs, and a compilation of the music from post-soviet countries, inspired by a Makhno revolution: „Freedom or death”. The half is our cooperation with Irokez Records with a compilation of polish punk rock bands, back in 2007.

**How do you finance your initiatives? What do you do with the proceedings from this activity?**

Well, at the very beginning we simply collected our own money to pay for the re-mastering, CDs, and print of covers – after the first issue (and the time for the distros to sell the records, and pay us back) we normally manage to cover the cost from the previous projects, so it's not that bad. As the principle, any „extras” are spent on the various anarchist/autonomist projects locally, such as rent for an *Anarchist Federation* „office”, some materials needed, photocopies (and repairing it again and again...). Working on last compilation we established new links with the Belarusian anarchists, and basing on them, as well as a proceedings from the CD, we hope to start the information and support campaign for the Belarusian movement, first in Poland – and then, we will see.

**The label is based in a quite an interesting city – Lodz. How has the situation in the anarchist movement in this place change over all this years? How is it now?**

Yeah, Lodz was always a strange place. Fallen down industrial city, proper shit-hole, poorest of all Polish cities, with all the crazy stories (all real) of paramedics killing the patients to send their bodies to the funeral houses (who claim the insurance money for them) ... parents murdering their kids and keeping the bodies at home in the barrels with sauerkraut... police

shooting the students at University festival with live bullets, loaded by mistake...

The same time a great place to live: with a legendary HC/punk crew, very first squats in the country, and deadly anti-nazi firm. Guess this stuff has shaped the anarchist movement as well, at least at the beginning in mid nineties. I managed to join it at the end of its first period, when it was still „a movement”, pretty much undiversified between different scenes, when most of the punks were to some extent anarchist activists, and all the activists took part in brawls with nazis, and later on all of them together went for the rave at the place squatted by independent artists. I guess the whole generation, growing up in the times of power takeover, was just more aware and more active,

with loads of green or political initiatives flourishing and at least 400-500 people turning up at every demonstration, sometimes ending up with riots.

This first wave lasted for about next 2 – years, later the inevitable diversification came, and first of all, disappointment and frustration about the condition of living in the country and lack of prospects for the changes we wanted, and we believed to be possible. As the result lots of people immigrated, or simply „grew up” from the activism, replaced by the new crew joining the movement at the end of nineties. This new crew, that formed the *Anarchist Federation* in 1998, was the core of the movement for the next five years, and, besides keeping the fire burning, got some successes: we sent a strong detachment to the riots in Prague in 2000, and to the most of the important events in Poland; started the *Food Not Bombs* in Lodz; mobilized around 100 people during the climax of anti-war protests, in cooperation with Iraqi minority in Lodz; and finally and maybe most important, we went of to students and youth circles to create an anarcho-syndicalism workers movement in 2003. Since a strike in the *Uniontex* factory and riots in Ozarow, it has developed into a Lodz branch of *Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers' Initiative)*, independent anarcho-syndicalism trade union.

Once again, after 2004 there was another wave of withdrawal: some comrades decided to dedicate their time solely to the trade union, seeing more chances for radical social change in such an activity, lots of people moved again abroad after EU accession, frustrated with the economical situation in Poland, unemployment and general lack of prospects. I guess around 5-6 people from that crew stay in *Anarchist Federation*, some remaining active for last 10 years, joined by the new people,

mostly students of local University, people sharing the anarchist ideas.

So now the anarchist crew is a bit more than dozen of people, there's also a trade union branch, radical vegan crew closely connected with the anarchists, befriended anti-nazi crew and a HC/punk scene, always somehow interested in the anarchist issues. I guess it's the same everywhere, people are coming and going, our targets are remote and an idealistic approach of young people is being verified by the realms of life in the capitalist society, as well as, go to say that, weakness of the movement. It suffers from the lack of continuity, sometimes of experience or dedication. Some very active people after a year or two got disappointed with it and fed up with constant struggle to get any commitment from others. Anyhow, I believe that the problems might be overcome, the movement with no formal structure always reflects the current situation – it can decline suddenly and then flourish again. Some old activist are back with a new ideas, so we will see...

**Back to your project, then, do you issue the music-CDs only?**

Yes, for the moment it's only the music. We used to have a vast VCD archive with different "anti-globalist", ecological and anarchist movies that were sold. Since the torrent downloads and the online video archives become available, we cease to do that, although, it might be an idea to make them downloadable online.

**What are your plans for the nearest future? Planning a new issue or just trying to recover financially after the last one?**

I would say both – though we want to wait a while before the next compilation, and get some proceedings from the last one, the same time we are preparing digital re-edition of *Mac Pariadka Cabaret*, a compilation of wodeville style songs, written by Czech anarchist poets in the beginning of XX century and performed by the artists from *Music Theatre* in Gdynia, with Russian street clezmer band. The compilation was originally issued on tape some 10 years ago, and has been unavailable for a long time. As far as I know, we got an agreement with the producers of original recordings sorted, so it's just a question of re-mastering and graphic design, and off we go!

There are some ideas for later, personally I'm trying to collect some quite rare recordings of working class songs in Jidish, from the turn of XIX and XX century, the lyrics are great and I think they are worth issuing, as they are a part of anarchist and working class struggle heritage – first anarchist groups on Polish soil, including the first *Czarny Sztandar (Black Flag)* formed in 1903, consisted mostly of Jewish activists. There's also a working class songbook in Jidish, from the same period, in *Mary Sharpney library* in UK, that I'm trying to get access to, and a pamphlet on anarchist groups in Lodz in the beginning of the century issued by *Czarny Sztandar*, so lots of raw material to work on and a chance for an interesting issue, with not only a music but a whole historical context to be explored.

Finally, we are looking for a singer/guitarist to record some Polish working class songs, but this is a plan for the future.

**Beside the anarchist songs from different regions that are, let me say, your main product, you've also contributed to the issue of „Muzyka z Barykad” (“Music from the Barricades”) compilation, by Irokez Records, with a classic tracks of Polish punk rock bands. Was it just an episode or are you planning to hurt our ears with music of different styles in the future?**

As I said, more historical music is our main interest, but why not? The latest CD, „*Freedom or death*” is definitely contemporary as well, with tracks from both mid nineties Russian bands and fresh production of anarchy-chanson musicians and some hc/punk or ska groups. If we come across interesting materials, as with „*Muzyka z Barykad*” and some old, never published before recordings of punk rock bands from Lodz, it would be a pity to keep them on the hard discs at home. Personally, I'm quite interested in oi/street-punk bands from Spain and Italy, performing classic songs of Spanish Revolution, but it will take some time to have it sorted, so again it's a plan for the future.



**Since the last couple of months, there's a new squat open in Lodz. Are you planning to use this space for organizing the gigs and stuff?**

Yeah, greetings to *K50* crew! As I've said, some initiatives decline in Lodz, some others come to being. For last 4 years there was no squatted space in Lodz, and now a really small crew, due to their own determination and efforts, have managed to open an old factory, make it up, and organize a good event there. There was a massive 4 day vegan/social festival at *K50* at the beginning of November, with a gig at the end, maybe the best one for ages.

We are not planning anything there right now, though it would be great to make there another festival, presenting various initiatives within the libertarian movement in Lodz, ending a proper party...

**Do your records sell out of Poland? Are people interested?**

Besides Berlin, we haven't had proper distribution abroad. From the new year, I might bring some CDs with me to London, and make a booklet in English, it all depends on couple of things so I will see. But funny enough – couple of years ago I saw a clone of our first CD, „*Songs of the Spanish Revolution*” issued in Czech Republic. It was really cool at end of the day this music is a part of all anarchist tradition, and as far as I remember it was a benefit.

Also, I've passed all the recordings, texts and files with graphic for Spanish and Italian CDs to the comrades from Belarus; so hopefully, they will make some use of it as well.

*"Czarny Sztandar Records" is formed by people from the same movement, but different organizations: The Anarchist Federation, Workers Initiative trade union, and the czarny-sztandar.pl web portal. Usually in Poland, if you have more than one anarchist organization in one city, they just hate each other. It seems somehow different with you, or am I wrong? But if I'm right, how would you explain this phenomenon?*

Maybe it's because out of 4 people in the collective, one lives in UK and one in Germany :-)

To be serious, I know what you mean and sorry to say that, you are right – and it's not only in Poland. I think it's because the people normally form the dissident groups out of personal conflict and just to mess up with each other. In our case, we all know each other from the times we were all in the *Anarchist Federation*, and the rest of the initiatives are of different character and doing the different things. They were also started naturally, out of the need of activity in different spaces, in which the *Anarchist Federation* as a whole wouldn't be effective. For me, it was always a revolutionary political movement, not a trade union like *Workers Initiative* and not a virtual platform of all the libertarian initiatives in Lodz, as CzSz.pl. Of course, in Lodz itself there are constant discussion between syndicalist- and individual- and eco-anarchist currents, but I find our activity politically neutral to these issues, and somehow parallel to strictly political stuff. As the rule – political activity goes first and editorial later – some of our recordings waited for 60 years to be issued, so if they wait for another month Revolution won't be delayed.

*And to finish off: couple of words on current situation of anarchist movement in Poland?*

Well, I think the Polish movement needs to redefine itself. At the moment, lots of experienced activists move to the syndicalist organization, and since the establishing anarcho-syndicalist trade union working class struggle, which was always a big issue, is no longer a subject of interest for *Anarchist Federation* – it can be pursued much more efficiently by the union – which is a part of the movement itself.

Mainline *Anarchist Federation* must find a new agenda as a political movement and as a part of global struggle against the capitalist state. I think for years it was lacking of serious discussion on ideological matters, caused by the approach: action first – reflection later. Hard to blame anybody for such a situation, with constant lack of activists on loads of topics calling for the action there was never enough time and resources. Still, if we want to gain any support we must address the current problems with a current solution, and to use our small resources effectively. Some reflection on targets and strategy is needed.

Personally, I'd like to see more cooperation with the groups from abroad and use the Polish movement as a base for the cooperation with anarchists east of Poland; more exchange of information and experience and more common actions.

The *Anarchist Federation* is suffering from internal conflicts, there are two centres of countrywide importance fighting for the influence and control over the rest. It seems like a storm in the glass, but it really makes the things more difficult. It seems like the majority of the movement adopt the neither-nor approach, which is sane and it shows, that for most of us the cause is still more important than the personal issues. At the end of the day, we are anarchists and we don't submit to any control, where there's no structure of power there'll be no coup. Common sense and the will for struggle will prevail.

*We have got following material from the activist directly involved in organization of Zine-Fest, kind of independent Fan-Zine Bookfair, which took place in Belarus at the end of last year. Its author criticises ABB in the introduction to the material for presenting too narrow view on the independent publishers' situation in Belarus. Than he brings many additional information on that issue which are in fact not necessarily similar to the estimations presented by another Belarusian activist we have interviewed for the last issue (ABB#33). We are glad that we can publish this additional material ... and sorry for not working professionally enough... AbolishingBB*

## *Minsk Zine-Fest from a slightly other point of view*



It was quite surprising to me that ABB people never tried to contact *Zine-Fest* crew directly but instead made interview with one zine editor (I will refer to him as E). I think that point of view of one those involved in zine-fest organising may be interesting as well for wide public.

First, I want to correct some statement and to make some updates. Current Belarusian political regime is quite dynamic, not as static as E stated. We are having more and

more aggressive capitalism every year and every month, combined with authoritarian political line. In the latest months we saw some pampering for political opposition, non-governmental organisations and independent press, too. In Belarus there are no really independent newspapers, but there are some independent from the state. They are funded mainly by foreign liberal and conservative foundations and supported by oppositional political parties. Their print run is between 5 and 25 thousand copies (not 1000 copies as E said), and now they can be bought openly in every town - situation have changed during autumn. There are some non-state FM radio stations, but they are just making money by broadcasting pop music. Belarusian service of "Radio Freedom" / "Radio Free Europe" (office in Prague) and "European Radio for Belarus" (Warsaw) are funded by US State Department and EU respectively but one can hear something different from official propaganda on their waves, and it is good. There is a satellite channel "Belsat" funded by EU, also with office in Warsaw - but it can be viewed mainly by the wealthy (or those living near the Western border). Websites of all these media institu-

tions are quite informative. One can also try [charter97.org](http://charter97.org) for general political news, but [Indymedia Belarus](http://belarus.indymedia.org/) (<http://belarus.indymedia.org/>) is much more reliable. And, be sure: first subcultural zines emerged in Belarus in the early 1970's (not in the end of the 90's), but really earliest underground political magazines (so called 'samizdat') - in 1960's. First strictly punk zine ("Vygrebnaja jama") appeared in 1994. Its former editor Mitrich now is a well known figure in Belarusian performance art.

During 2001-2003 zine boom people were not trying to find some info about western anarcho-punk culture and copy it. On the contrary, Belarusian zinemakers were creating their own tradition, quite inventive, I must say ("Vredina", "Govoriaschij trollejbus", "Viaskovyja mohilki" - one can download several issues of the last one in pdf - see <http://zinefest.noblogs.org/album/general>). It was a time when most zines were *Cut & Paste*, and low-tech used to be one of the sources for inventiveness. Even Green, an author and editor of famous "Xerotika" zine moved from Kaliningrad region of Russia to Minsk at that time. Now zines are not so numerous, and the amount of art zines is less (still creations of [usplesk.org](http://usplesk.org) collective /Maladechna-Vilnius/ are very impressive). But there are more zines with good articles for discussion, controversial themes, not just reviews and interviews. Less material is borrowed from internet, more articles are written by editors/publishers themselves. Punk zines are more politicised nowadays, as punks themselves participate more actively in political life of the country. One can check list of current Belarusian anarchist and punk zines in the "Communities in struggle" section of ABB.

What concerns Zine-Fest itself, it was not as subcultural and closed to the general public, as E told. We tried to gather zinemakers, zine readers and zine collectors, young subcultural freaks and regular intelligentsia in their forties and fifties. We specially invited to festival librarians from National Library of Belarus (Minsk), State Public Historical Library of Russia (Moscow) and National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), who collect and research 'samizdat' and free (uncensored) press.

Zine-Fest took place at 12-14 September 2008. It was a continuation of Vilnius Zine-Fest which happened earlier - in May 2008.

Main event of the festival was a long 'lecture-and-discussion' day. Librarians were speaking about history of samiz-

dat and history of their collections, zinemakers made their presentations, blogger described why and how to use really independent blog server [noblogs.org](http://noblogs.org) for representing your (radical) ideas in the Internet, and Vlad Tuplkin from Moscow was talking about his first-hand experience of publishing illegal anarchist magazine in Perestroika times. This event was held in an art gallery, and posters were distributed quite wide, so anyone "from the street" was able to come.



On the next day we held really really free market. It was the first attempt in Minsk, and it was not fully successful - not so many people outside the scene appeared, but the weather was fine and food from local FNB team was really tasty, so we just enjoyed the day and played and communicated.

For three days we had half-closed cultural programme for those involved in DIY scene and guests of the festival with poetry readings, rap concert, video screenings, disco and presentations of anarchist political zines.

The festival was brilliant opportunity for librarians to gather zines, for zinemakers to communicate, for wider audience to get into the wonderful world of DIY culture. Festival was attended by people from Russia (Moscow, St. Petersburg), Ukraine (Kyiv, Charkiv), Lithuania (Vilnius) and Hungary (Budapest). People from different Belarusian cities came as well. It is notable that whole festival was alcohol-free: illegal squat and art gallery are not the places to drink. Those who wanted to drink simply left events and went somewhere else.

In December we published a zine with materials from festival, it can be downloaded in pdf from: [http://zinefest.noblogs.org/resource/misc/view/zinefest\\_net.pdf](http://zinefest.noblogs.org/resource/misc/view/zinefest_net.pdf)

As most info about Minsk Zine-Fest, this zine is in Russian and Belarusian.

Some photos from Minsk Zine-Fest are here: <http://zinefest.noblogs.org/album/minsk2008>

We ask people from other Eastern European cities and places: if you want to continue good tradition of Vilnius and Minsk Zine-Fests, we will help you with advice and will support you by involving in organising next fest. Contact us through: [zinefest@riseup.net](mailto:zinefest@riseup.net)

V - Minsk





## Labour Struggles



### Workers' Initiative under attack from employers and state

We report on the repression of anarcho-sindicalist activists in Poland...

In 2002 and 2003 the unemployment rate in Poland soared above 20%. More than 3.5 million workers were jobless. Numerous others "fell out" the labour market, as a method of protecting themselves against unemployment: they either retired or became pensioners i.e. people unable to work permanently or for a long period. The average retirement age in Poland is now 58, one of the lowest in the European Union. High unemployment propagated low wages, a sharp decline in working conditions and weakened trade unions, who lost thousands of members each month.

The situation improved with time. Rapid development and economic growth in Asia has led to increase in the demand for raw materials, steel, ships and other industrial products. This led to an rise in market prices. Despite the transition from Communism in 1989 and de-industrialisation, Poland remains a key player in global industrial production today. Poland has benefited from economic development in China and India, strengthening the Polish labour market.

In April 2004 Poland became a member of the European Union. Overnight the labour markets of countries like Britain and Ireland opened up to Poles. Roughly a million (mostly young) Poles have found work abroad each year, in places such as Britain and Ireland, and also in German agriculture. Unemployment in Poland fell

to 8% in 2008, leading to pressure from workers for higher wages.

Employers – who have access to ever cheaper and humbler labour forces – responded to these demands by launching an attack on trade unionists. There have been numerous illegal dismissals of union activists who had previously organised strikes and protests. The Workers' Initiative (WI) has been hit particularly h a r d

The first Workers Initiative activist to be fired was *Slawek Kaczmarek*. In 2003 he organised a strike to protect 500 jobs in Uniontex (textile industry) in Łódź. The company did not survive, but a new one with the same name has been created in its place, employing 150 people. Kaczmarek was fired in December 2004, just after he had founded the Workers' Initiative trade union and had threatened management with protests again.

In late 2006, a group of women in the Spanish-owned company Greenkett, close to Poznan, organised a wildcat strike. Unfortunately this didn't change anything, so the women decided to ask Workers' Initiative for help and in January 2007 they created a works organisation. In the same year, activists *Jolanta Szypura* and *Aurelia Włodarczyk* were fired, and in October 2007, *Lukasz Sibiak* lost his job too.

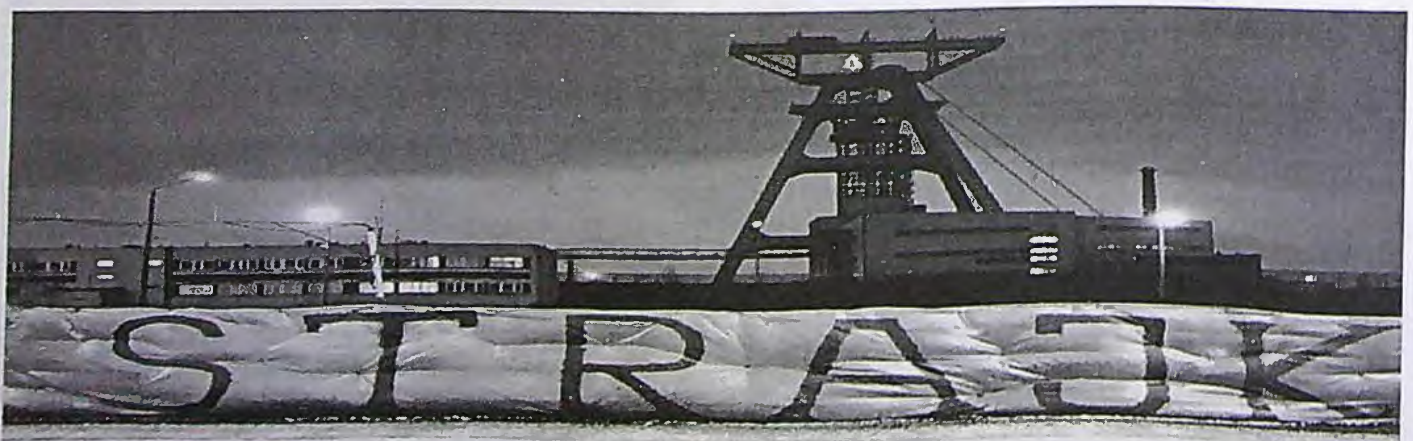
In November 2006 *Bartosz Kantorczyk* was the organiser of a wildcat strike at Polish Post, the national postal company.

It started in Gdansk, then spread all over Poland. Postal workers in Gdansk, who initiated the strike, decided to found a Workers' Initiative. Through 2007 and half of 2008 the Polish Post management tried to get rid of Kantorczyk. Eventually he was given a disciplinary discharge in June 2008.

*Marcel Szary*, a WI member, has been a union activist for many years in the Cegielski factory in Poznan. The factory is well known in Poland because in 1956 it was the starting point of one of the most important workers' protests of the Communist era. Since then Cegielski has been a symbol of workers' struggles and has great political significance. Since 2006, WI has been demanding pay rises in Cegielski. They organised a series of work-stoppages in 2007 and early 2008, which finally led to 30% pay rises.

There have been many attempts to get rid of Marcel Szary. He fell ill with cancer in the middle of 2007, but the protests continued in his absence. After Marcel's return from hospital in November 2007, he resumed union activity in Cegielski. Then the public prosecutor's office accused him of organising illegal strikes. The trial is still in progress.

WI activists have been dismissed for organising strikes and protests, but also for trying to found a trade union, among other reasons. *Jacek Rosolowski* from Kostrzyn was fired twice: in March 2006 he lost his job at cleaning company Impel TOM. Then, in December 2008, he was





fired from building company TRANS. *Piotr Krzyzaniak*, a WI activist working in supermarkets, was illegally fired, both by Auchan (December 2007) and then by ALMA (December 2008). At the start of December 2008, five WI members were fired from the Office of Statistics in Opole, among them union initiator, *Dorota Rosa*. They resisted bullying and they demanded the removal of the office manager. Since WI activity began in September 2004,

WI activists have been dismissed on almost 20 occasions for their syndicalist activity. Usually these dismissals are in serious violation of the law. Of course, WI is not the only trade union persecuted by employers and the state. In December 2005 *Dariusz Skrzypczak*, an activist

with the Solidarity trade union from Poznan, was fired after making a statement to the press in support of WI's call for a strike action in chocolate factory, Goplana (now called Jutrzenka S.A.) In mid-2007 a court ordered that he be given his job back: this followed an intense campaign of many months on his behalf.

*Krzysztof Labdz*, an activist with the Sierpień'80 trade union, was fired twice – once in early 2008 for organising the famous strike at Budryk coal mine. On both occasions he got his job back. But it must be said that WI has been the target of a particularly harsh attack – especially considering its small size. More information about persecution of our activists is available, in English, on our website [www.ozzip.pl](http://www.ozzip.pl)

Because of this repression, several of our factory-based organisations are in crisis and some have had to disband. Meanwhile a wave of redundancies in Poland is likely: up to half a million workers could lose their jobs in the near future. In addition, many Poles abroad are being made redundant, mainly in recession-hit Ireland. Some estimates put the number of Poles returning home at 20,000 a month. Most of these won't find jobs in Poland. Despite the tough situation, WI is planning the development of new factory organisations and protests all over the country.

## Report from March 8 protest in solidarity with Kostadina Kouneva in Sofia



This morning there was a small action in solidarity with Kouneva - the woman migrant syndicalist, who had been brutally attacked by her bosses with sulphur acid, because of her syndicalist activism. About 50 people gathered in front of Sofia University around 11.00 am. We stayed there for about an hour carrying banners and chanting slogans.

At 12:00 we marched to the Greek embassy. We stayed in front of the embassy for about one more hour, where everyone had the chance to share their feelings and thoughts on an open mic. Fifty people are not that few for the Bulgarian context. In this highly conservative, individualistic and patriarchal society, any progressive event like that is actually very promising. The Bulgarian neo-fascists published attack threats on internet against the protest, but in the end they did not attempt any open provocation.

The action was organized by the leftist student group "Priziv" (Call-out for Education). [www.priziv.org](http://www.priziv.org) The slogans and the signs on the banners included ones such as (roughly translated):

"Solidarity with Kostadina" "Solidarity with the working women in their struggle" "Solidarity amongst the people is our weapon against authority" "Down with patriarchy" "No to violence against women" "Every day is 8th of March" "8th of March is not a holiday, but a day for struggle" "Emancipation, not exploitation"

The particular focus of the demo was to express solidarity with Kouneva, but, as it is clear from the slogans, the aim was also to show solidarity with the worker's movement in Greece and the rest of the world, as well as to make a statement against the oppression of women and migrants in the world.

Another main aim of the action is to make a step towards the de-commodification of 8th of March. In Bulgaria during state socialism the day was de-politicized and converted to a celebration of the liberation of women, assuming that it had already happened somehow and somewhere in the past. That is not to completely dismiss certain level of progress that had been achieved, as women were allowed within the public sphere and were given certain rights compared to the previous regime. Nevertheless this was no way near to any real emancipation, as patriarchal relations continued to be normative.

Since 1989 (the fall of state socialism), capitalist society has completely commodified the 8th of March as the already depoliticized empty symbol of women's emancipation and did not pose any constraint whatsoever to capitalist appropriation of the day as a formal occasion for giving women presents for the sole reason of capital accumulation.

The loss of meaning of 8th of March is the natural result of the "emancipation" being given by the elites and not fought for by grassroots society. Therefore, we cannot rely on authority to give us rights because when that happens, those rights are not stable and prone to self-destruction.

This action was part of a whole campaign: we are planning on doing discussions and film screenings on the issue.

In solidarity, anarcho-resistance,

Sofia

Labour Struggles

## Workers in Ukraine seize their plant (March 2009)

*Tired of lies and humiliation from their employers, workers occupy one of Ukraine's biggest and oldest agricultural factories in a bid to keep it open*

Workers at a harvesting machine plant in Kherson, in southern Ukraine, have taken over their factory. The plant seizure is the culmination of a two week protest which began in January when management tried to close the factory.

Besides payment of their wages, the workers are calling for state authorities to nationalise the enterprise and to freeze the bank accounts of its owner. They also want the state to guarantee an order of product from the plant so that they can keep the factory running.



Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the factory has changed hands and gone into arrears on wages many times. Workers have borne the brunt of failure of different owners to keep afloat the 120 year old machinery plant with a rich history.

In 2006 a worker hung himself at the plant after a succession of struggles with management over unpaid wages. It was only after his death and the angry reaction of other workers that management paid wages.

At the end of 2007 a new owner Alexander Oleinik bought the plant. The enterprise in Kherson became a subdivision of the other plant owned by Oleinik in Bila Tserkva (central Ukraine). Despite a promise to pay out arrears in wages the new owner decided to sell off Kherson enterprise piece by piece.

In March 2008 new arrears in wages appeared and in October management put workers onto a three day week and proposed them to sign their letters of resignation.

The IMF-affiliated Automobile and Agricultural Machinery Workers' Union of Ukraine is supporting the workers. However, current Ukrainian legislation limits their abilities.

The Ukrainian Government is discussing the possibility of leasing 50 harvesting machines.

## Statement from Workers Occupation in Ukraine

**"At this difficult crossroads we took decisive action: had a tough administration demonstration, captured and protected the plant against theft of finished products and equipment, and we are fighting for the truth about our struggle"**

*(Translation of a statement issued by the worker's council occupying the Kherson Machinery Plant in Ukraine. First posted on <http://livasprava.livejournal.com> translated and edited on <http://mollymew.blogspot.com>)*

**"Workers of Ukraine!**

The deeper Ukraine plunged into economic crisis, the more obvious it becomes that the authorities and big business have only one recipe for it. They are trying to shift all of its gravity on the shoulders of workers, the elderly and youth. The growing prices of food and essential goods and the rising rates for housing and communal services, the uncontrollably rising prices of public transport, and the fact that medicines and medical care are becoming less and less affordable. Rather than provide effective assistance to laid-off and unemployed people, officials and capitalists think only about how to enumerate them lately. Rather than do everything to preserve existing jobs and create new ones, the officials and owners of businesses behind the crisis, pushed workers into the street.

As a result of these policies the Kherson machinery factory faced a critical situation: the production was stopped, the salaries were not paid, and the company stopped all payments to the budget and the Pension Fund. Neither the owner nor the current government are taking any steps to revive the plant. Under these conditions, the labour collective has decided not to give up and came together to fight for the interests of human labour. At this difficult crossroads we took decisive action: had a tough administration demonstration, captured and protected the plant against theft of finished products and equipment, and we are fighting for the truth about our struggle. We demanded from the Government of Ukraine nationalization under the control of the working staff. We demanded the confiscation of the bank accounts of the owner of the plant, and the repayment of debts on wages, as well as payments to the budget and pension fund. We require the state to ensure the government orders and marketing of the plant products. We demanded repayment of debts on wages for all workers in the city of Kherson and full employment

in the city and region.

We understand that we can achieve our demands only with the support of workers of other enterprises and institutions. Working groups of enterprises throughout Ukraine should join efforts and support each other in the fight. We should not hope for assistance in power of political parties, we depend first and foremost on ourselves and our fellow workers. They have proved that they care deeply about the interests of workers.



The interests of workers can only be defended by the workers themselves! We offer to coordinate our efforts, creating the Coordination Committee of struggling teams in Ukraine. This committee shall nominate a joint claim on behalf of workers in Ukraine and coordinate joint actions to implement these requirements. We propose to put forward the following demands:



- No cuts! Workers should not pay for the mistakes of the owners of factories and the authorities!

- No bankruptcies and closures!
- Nationalization of strategic factories and enterprises under the control of labor! First to be nationalised are those where the owners cut jobs, refuse to pay wages and destroy production.
- The confiscation of the bank accounts of owners of factories, and repayment of debts on wages, as well as payments to the budgets and pension funds.
- Public provision of state orders and sales of products produced by factories. The state has had a multi-bank support; we demand that public funds not be parasitic financial structures, but provide jobs and support real production.
- Repayment of debts on wages for all workers in Ukraine, raising wages to a decent standard, indexing according to inflation!
- Full employment in the country!

We call on workers of all enterprises in Ukraine to jointly fight for the interests of employees, labour veterans and students! Create workers councils and fighting trade unions. Together we will achieve victory.  
Working Kherson engineering factory'

## ZSP finds "Worst employer of year"

ZSP, the Association of Polish Syndicalists, held a contest for the title of "Worst employer of the year 2008". Any person could nominate an employer. Many people wrote and told about breaking workers' rights in their workplace. Last week the ZSP announced the winners... or maybe we should say, the losers.

The next worst was decided to be the Almar2 firm from Krakow. The working conditions there are very bad. People have to work for free during their trial period, which is illegal. They have to work on holidays and bosses cheat with the salaries. Also they make the salaries depend on "bonuses" and make this depend on the incomes of the company. This way, it is possible to earn less than a minimum salary.

The third place went to the firm Redan, which runs clothing stores in Poland and has many chains. This firm is very bad: people have to sometimes work for 12 hours, even 3 days in a row, with the threat to be fired. They make tricks not to give employment contracts - making different agreements with agencies. Also, when customers shoplift from their stores, they take away money from the salaries of workers.

Members of ZSP said that the contest was popular and hope next year it will be even more. They made it because there are always awards for good bosses, but workers should also have the chance to say their boss is bad.

Also, it is a good way for people to signal problems. Some advice and help was given to a couple of people who asked for it.

## Platform minimum of CZECHOSLOVAK ANARCHIST FEDERATION

### What we don't like?

On one hand is it a capitalist system, which creates inequalities - poverty of the majority and wealth of a small number of the privileged, and this way leads to clear social injustice and oppression.

On the other hand is it a state, which coming out of its historical essence that serves the privileged minority to secure its richness and interests above all.

Even so-called representative democracy doesn't represent the will of the common people, but the interests of the elite. This is more and more distinct in a transnational political and financial organizations, whose decision centres are even further removed from the voice of people and much helpful to the lobbyist pressure.

This system has impact not only on the social position of people, but also brings the gradual devastation of the environment and degradation of a human and culture through the ever-present infiltration of consumer habits and egoism.

While the barriers for the movement of capital are being removed, the social and political rights of a common people are

being restricted. The technological system of control and snooping is ever-deepening and ever more sophisticated. The thing is not just the system, which we are passing through here and now, the thing is every system found on the principles of authority, hierarchy and power, which dictates to people how to live.

We disallow the principles of unnatural authority, discrimination and dominance, even in the sense of human relations.

### What we would like to?

We are convinced that the alternative is possible. We are neither social engineers nor dogmatics to claim exactly how it should look like. We want to invoke the discussion about the alternatives. As anarchists we think, if the alternative should be real, not just a variation of well-known authoritarian systems (capitalism, bolshevism etc.), it should be found on these principles: self-organization (everyone can participate on the things, which are related to her/him, either directly or through mandated and anytime revocable delegates), liberty (everyone can reach self-fulfilment, with respect for the others of course) and social justice

(equal organization of the economy, which should meet the needs of everyone, instead of serving the profits of the minority).

Our goal is an emancipated human, living in the society found on these principles, where he/she can fully participate in its functioning and make decisions about own life as much as possible.

### How to reach it?

To stand up to that what we don't like and to try realizing what we would like to, we feel that we need to unite in this effort. That is why CZECHOSLOVAK ANARCHIST FEDERATION (CSAF) was founded in 1995. CSAF is working on the principles, corresponding to our goals - principles of freedom, solidarity and free agreement. CSAF is working on the principles, corresponding to our goals - principles of freedom, solidarity and free agreement.

Activity of CSAF takes the shape of public protests, discussions, further education, realization of various self-organized projects, etc.

## Solidarity with "Greek-Revolt" in Poland

*"The revolt in Greece united anarchist groups from different cities in Poland. It brought us back into the fight against the common enemy – capitalism, the state and police"*

In Poland, as in many other countries, the death of teenage Greek teenager, Alexandros Andreas Grigoropoulos, was answered with demonstrations against the police state, as well as in solidarity with the Greek uprising, that followed the feral shot. Even though the media tried to show riots in Greece as hooligan stupidity and an orgy of looting, most of free media collectives here were doing a really good job with writing about the events in Greece, as well as translating all of the press releases and texts published by groups from there. In the end, the reactions of passers-by were generally positive, and we could see that it's not only a bunch of crazy anarchists, who don't like the cops...

First action to be reported took place in Warsaw, where on the night between 12th and 13th of December several banners were hung on bridges over main streets of the city. The day before, anarchists visited the Greek embassy with a small picket. A leaflet was read aloud, speaking about the reasons for the riots in Greece. Next day in Katowice, a big industrial city in Silesia, there was a demo organized by anarchist groups from the area, which marched through the city after a picket at the city's main cop station. Around 50 people came to the demo – the front line was holding printed pictures of different victims of the police – from Poland, USA, Greece and other countries.

13th of December is an important date in Polish history. On that day, in the year 1981, Emergency State was introduced, starting two years of intensified state terror. Mainstream media and politicians try (with unfortunately big success) to use this date for their anti-communist agenda, however despite all efforts – police is still not being loved.

To end the weekend, on the 14th, Anarchists from Wrocław called for a spontaneous demo, which gathered around 70 people. Next weekend was started early, because on Thursday, a small group of anarchists visited the office of the Commerce Counsellor of Greece. As soon as the reason of their visit was made clear, people working in the office locked themselves inside, so posters, leaflets and a statement written in Polish, English and Greek languages were hung on the door.

The coming Saturday was announced to be the Day of International Solidarity with the Uprising in Greece. Bigger demo's were organized, and mobilizations for them took place. People went on the streets in Katowice, Warsaw, and Wrocław, where the demo gathered over 100 people. All of the actions went calmly and peacefully, except for Wrocław, where the pigs behaved in an openly provocative way, insulting the participants, and took a 15-year-old boy into custody. He was released after several hours. Some nazis also visited the demo, to express their support for the Greek police (!). They also made some stickers based on the same idea.

The last of the demonstrations took place in Białystok in North-East Poland, where around 40 black-block people expressed their solidarity with the Greek uprising.

Those actions are not being continued, but it doesn't change the fact that we are active against state violence and repression. One of the good things that came from those demonstrations is that they united anarchist groups from different cities in Poland, which are sometimes hostile to each other, bringing us back into the fight against the common enemy – capitalism, the state, and police.



## Acts of solidarity with Greek anarchists in the Czech Republic



Czech anarchists decided not to be quiet and tried to make several actions to show their support and solidarity with the struggle of their Greek comrades.

The first action was organized by Antifascist action (AFA) in

front of the residence of the Greek ambassador. Candles and flowers were placed in order to honour Alexandros. On the next day there was a demonstration in front of the Greek embassy organized by Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF). Although the demonstration was peaceful, there was a strong police presence. Around forty people took part in the demonstration.

Other actions took place on the 20th December. Czech anarchists joined the Global action day against state and police terrorism. In several regions there were various actions – hanging out banners summoning support and solidarity with Greek anarchists (in several cities of Eastern Bohemia and city of Jihlava), street art actions, and a spontaneous demonstration of eighty people in the region of Zlín.

Long live international solidarity!! Smash the state!!

CZECHOSLOVAK ANARCHIST FEDERATION



## Solidarity actions for Greek rebellion around Russia, Belarus, Armenia and Ukraine

Leaflets, graffiti, manifestations and smoke-bombs...

Due to time difference, Siberian anarchists were probably the first ones to protest on 20th December...

In Barnaul, cops were already waiting for demonstrators at the starting point at October Square, and they went to follow the demonstration and eventually forced people to roll up their banners and flags. People however kept marching, shouting "ACAB" and "Comrade mayor, go to hell!", and distributing leaflets. This was too much for the coppers, and eventually 10 anarchists and others were arrested. In Irkutsk, Autonomous Action and others organised a picket at local polytechnic university. They had a banner which read "Solidarity is our weapon", but there was a technical fault – the banner was made with duck tape which could not take -30 Celsius (0 F) Siberian breeze, and the letters dropped off - thus people could only distribute flyers.

In Tyumen, anarchists raised a black flag to the roof of an abandoned Machine Construction Technical Institute building and distributed leaflets.

There was also at least one action on the European side of Russia, in St. Petersburg around 8 PM local time one of the biggest offices of Baltic Bank was attacked with paint-bombs. Anarchist attackers left leaflets, which called for protests against state violence.

In Kemerovo the action organiser was immediately detained for 2.5 hours by the authorities. However later on 200 leaflets were handed out.

In Omsk leaflets against police brutality were flyposted around the city, mostly around bus stops, movie theaters and train stations.

In Minsk, Belarus, late in the evening smoke bombs were thrown at the police station in the central administrative area of Minsk. The action was made to show solidarity with Greek comrades and all victims of police brutality.

In Kiev, Ukraine, there was a peaceful picket at the Greek embassy with candles for all victims of police brutality. People



held placards with slogans such as "Power is killing", "Shoot me", "Beat me up" and "With baton to head - twice more respect". Candles formed the word "Gan'ba", which means "Shame" and is often yelled to cops in actions in Ukraine.

have right to rebel!" and "Enough of silence! Time to fight for the dream!" amongst others.

Yerevan, Armenia - a small picket near Greek embassy with 12 participants. Placate state "we are ruled by terrorists".

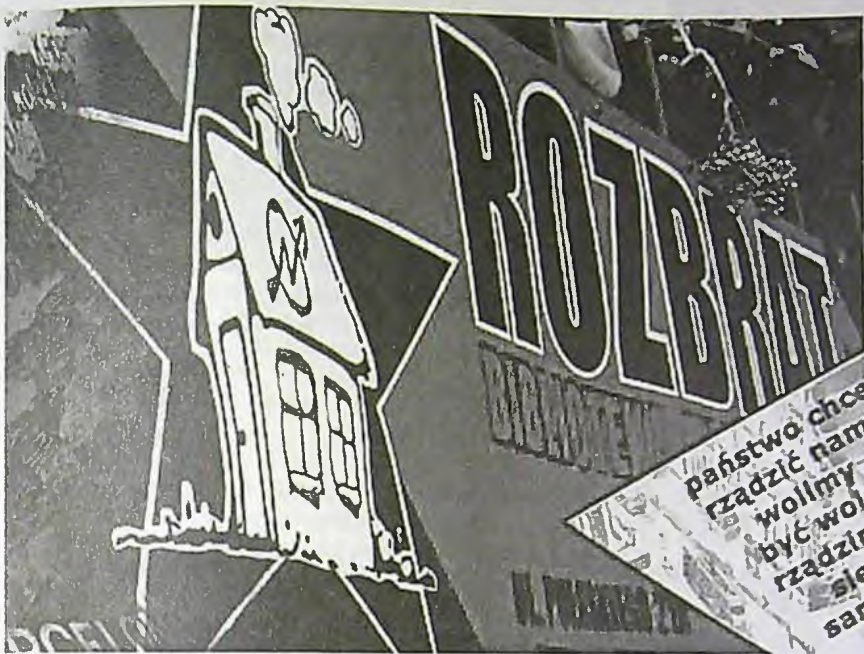
Odessa, Ukraine - a picket near Greek consulate (16th of December); leaflets and graffiti around town.

Saratov, Russia. Early in the morning a banner drop - "Cops murder not only in Greece" anti-cop stencils around town.

Chita, Russia. Banners were hung in the center of the city. First banner was hung on the fence of a shopping mall in Revolution Square with the slogan "People of Greece! We are with you!". The second was hung in Butina street on a fence of the faculty of foreign languages, and it had the slogan "Solidarity is our weapon - down with the police state!". Stickers were put up and posters were fly-posted to shops and universities with the slogans "Anarchists do not stop! People



## Rozbrat - a free space in an unfree world



Rozbrat squat is situated in Western city of Poland - Poznan. The city is one of the richest ones in Poland, it's close to the German borders, the unemployment rate is much lower than in the other parts of Poland, there is an International Trade Center plus a lot of hotels for its guests, there's a football stadium that will be one of the stadlums for Euro 2012, there's one the biggest awarded shopping malls owned by one of the richest people in Poland. And yeah, the richest guy in Poland is from Poznan, him and his wife were given a ground for their shopping mall by the neoliberal president of Poznan on very doubtful grounds, now he's legally sentenced for this. He's also sentenced for banning several demonstrations in the city, at one of them - the infamous gay pride in 2005, 60 people were illegally arrested, finally, no one - apart from the president - was charged. Poznan is also a city where F-16 aircrafts have their base, it's located within the borders of the city, being very dangerous and burdensome for its neighbors and all inhabitants of the city. Poznan is an expensive city, what is troublesome for masses of working class people and for around 100 thousand students living there. In the last years, the costs of living rise rapidly, from the prices of food, rent, tram tickets, almost everything gets more and more expensive every year.

The existence of Rozbrat squat in Poznan is therefore even more surprising. In this purely capitalist surrounding, we've been there for over 14 years now. From a housing project, our squat grew to a social-political-cultural center, organizing dozens of different events every year: gigs, parties, exhibitions, lectures, picnics, debates, sports competitions and what is the most important: loads of demonstrations and protests throughout the years. Having the autonomy behind the fence of our squat, we've always tried to be as open as it's possible and not to stay closed within our autonomy - we'd rather call our space a free space - free to new ideas to live in a better reality, without exploitation, oppression, capitalism, social control, fascism, sexism. We take part in local protests, from workers strikes, to local communities' struggles with the authorities, through taking part in wider protests of other oppressed groups, people discriminated against sexually, racially or economically. For all those years, the eviction

threats were rather minor and didn't cause much mobilization considering eviction.

Peaceful times ended last January, when a debt collector, together with cops, came to our squat with a warrant from the court, drilled the locks and came in to estimate the price of the ground of one of the parts where the squat is. Rozbrat is situated on three parts of ground owned by three different owners. The biggest one was owned by a company which disappeared roughly 15 years ago after taking a big loan from a bank. So, after years, bank came to a moment when they can auction the ground to get their money back - the space has been occupied for 14 years though. We raised red alarm, all our friends, supporters, comrades were informed that the auction can happen any day now. It's been over seven months now and nothing has happened. Probably there are some legal problems in the court but we're not giving up. After the visit of the debt collector in January, we decided to make as

much publicity about Rozbrat as possible. We're happy to see hundreds of people coming to our events, dozens of guests visiting us every now and again, getting a lot of support from other cities and countries. We renovated our bar, small concert hall and we're planning more. We're waiting for the hour zero but it's not waiting for the end. We know that we will not disappear. With this place or another - we will always be here.

Recently, thanks to the international squatting days of action, there's been a wide international debate on the future of squatting in Europe. We also took part in it. The Western squatting movement focused much of its power to create autonomy within the borders of capitalist reality. Did it work out well? Many squatting communities became scene ghettos, they don't have much to offer to the world outside. That's what we were always aware of and tried to fight with the ghettoisation of squatting. More and more free spaces are being repressed and evicted, but on the other hand more spaces are falling into the process of gentrification, people from poorer communities have to pay higher rents, not mentioning other costs of surviving, the working law is being changed by the neoliberal government so that it would make us work more and for less money. Our surrounding is becoming an environment for





rich people only. For money, not for free thought. We, as squatters and anarchists, are under severe attack of the authorities that want to take our free spaces away from us. If we want to keep them, we have to change tactics. We have to show our social face. Because squatting is a purely social issue and it is an alternative for living in this world - an alternative which is dangerous and inconvenient for this system. As people that still have free spaces we should use them as much as possible to be open for everyone who rebels against this reality of wealth and power. Together we're stronger. Let's build a big free space around our squats - a space of free thinking minds that will also be a support for each other at all times.

We, at Rozbrat, are trying hard to get outside, to get people from outside to visit us, to work with us, to have fun with us. Sometimes it works better, sometimes worse, but we don't feel alone. On the final day, we will not be alone. For sure.

Be ready for the news from us, visit us anytime you can, it's less than 300 km from Berlin. We couldn't come to ESF because we're just celebrating our 14th birthday party but we'll surely see you in the streets!

Actually there are a lot of similar situations that in all Europe, where local government with investors are trying to cut down

autonomous spaces, for example in Berlin and still in so many countries there is no possibility to create a free space because of politics and social terms. We are glad that we've took part in "United we stay" demo, we trust that common activity could stop the evictions. For this moment we don't know date of auction, we wait for decision of court. As you know this matter last over year (the first information that the ground will be bided we get in January 2008) and still something new could happened. Our strategy is to keep the place as long as it's possible, and be uncompromising in requesting our statements. We also hope that after the eviction we will still survive as a movement, because squatting by design is just temporary way of reclaiming spaces.  
HELP WANTED

We will know date of auction one month before, then invitation will be send to all activist in Poland and abroad. We need to stay together and show solidarity for our autonomous spaces, for emancipation and non-commercial culture. Let's keep "redevelopment" and reorganize the places in rebellion against their expulsion politics!

The city belongs to everybody.

We count for solidarity actions in the entire country and everywhere. Come to Poznan, organize yourself, stay spontaneous. Help us to fight for free space for everyone!



## Police visit squat in Estonia

On the evening of February 23rd about ten policemen entered an occupied house in Estonian capital. After the first cop climbed over the fence surrounding the house, others used the ladder found in the yard of the squat.

At that moment there were three persons in the house, one of them living there permanently. Police officers claimed that the legal owner of the house had called them. When activist told them that they had a verbal agreement with the owners, police called the owner to ask about it. After the owner had confirmed the agreement, police asked him for permission to enter the house and also asked for documents of the people inside the house. Activists refused at first but after they were threatened to be arrested for disrupting police work they gave their ID's. A primitive "drug test" was carried out - flashlights were forced into the faces of squatters to check their pupils. While inside, policemen took photos of the house, smelled tea bags, asked about different equipment as they thought some things were stolen. Also a water heating system was partly damaged, as it was mistaken for

being used for growing drugs. Nothing illegal was found.

After the incident leaked to mainstream media, the press office of police told that the way the activists acted and looked like may refer to the usage of drugs.

The house near the central Tallinn was occupied in May last year. It has been a meeting place for different activist groups, several people live there permanently. It has also hosted foreign activists from Australia, Finland, Latvia, Poland, USA etc. The electric system of the house has been autonomous so far, using solar panels and DIY wind generators. The squat has always had a "no drugs" policy.





## Protests against NATO summit in Krakow, Poland

"Only police allowed to use 'illegal' pyrotechnics on their protests"



Short report from the protest About 500 people came to protest against the informal NATO summit in Krakow on Feb. 19 organized mainly by the Anarchist Federation Krakow. There was an extremely heavy police presence and some problems with arrests and attempts by the police to block the demo, but in the end people protested across the city. Among

the slogans on demonstration one could see were "The government to the front" "No war but class war" and "NATO - legal terrorists". The situation was very tense since the city was like a police state. The cops were checking people at the borders, even though there weren't more than a handful of people from other countries there. Before the demo, the sound truck was stopped and police were stopping people and checking their bags. One guy who did not answer a call to go to the police in relation to the Nov. 11 demo in Warsaw was arrested as was somebody with a flare. (Ironically, protesting police demonstrated in Krakow and Gdansk that day and they threw firecrackers. So only police are allowed to use "illegal" pyro-

technics.) In addition to local activists, a guest from France and the Czech republic spoke. In the evening a smaller group of people made their way to the location of the ball/banquet of the NATO bastards and had a counter-ball. After the ball, again the police were acting up, surrounding people and searching them. One person was arrested but later released. On 18 of February presentation of anti-militarist films took place already. On February 20 there was a conference. There were talks and presentations by members of FA-Krakow, ZSP (Association of Polish Syndicalists) and from Anarchist Federation from France who invited people to the anti-NATO protests in Strasbourg.

## Announcement of Anarchist Proofreading Agency

The Anarchist Proofreading Agency, a non-profit organization dedicated to bad spelling but good politics, has helped the American Consulate to improve it's warning to American citizens against imaginary hordes of anarchist protestors which were not coming to Krakow... (Look at all the fun you'll be missing!)

Attached is the Consulate message in its "before" and "after" versions:

"Before" version

\*PLANNED DEMONSTRATIONS IN KRAKOW\* February 18 through 20, 2009

"The American Consulate in Krakow would like to advise American citizens living in, or travelling to, Poland that several groups are planning demonstrations in the city of Krakow on February 18, 19 and 20th. Anarchist groups from across Europe are planning to gather in the main market square and in the vicinity of the Sheraton Hotel in protest against the planned NATO conference, which is scheduled to take place in Krakow on those days. Additional demonstrations are also planned in the vicinity of the Cracovia Hotel and Blonia Park. Media sources estimate that several thousand protestors may participate in the demonstrations. According to local police, no violence is expected but the crowds will be loud. We remind American citizens that even demonstrations intended to be peaceful can turn confrontational and possibly escalate into violence. American citizens are therefore urged to avoid these areas of demonstrations, if possible, and to exercise caution if within the vicinity of any demonstrations. Traffic congestion in the surrounding area is to be expected. Please plan your schedule and routes accordingly. Americans planning travel to the city of Krakow should regularly monitor the news and the U.S. Consulate General's website at <http://krakow.usconsulate.gov> for updates on the planned demonstrations. The Consulate requests that American citizens postpone any planned non-emergency visits to the Consulate until after the demonstration period ends. If you decide to visit the Consulate on those days, please check our website prior to your appointment in order to ensure that the Consulate is open to the public"



"After" version

\*PLANNED DEMONSTRATIONS IN KRAKOW\* FEBRUARY 18-20

"Warning! On the starting from the evening of Feb. 17, the largest crime syndicate of mass murderers in the world will be converging in Krakow. Beware! These people may walk among you. They may wear nice suits and ties, expensive clothes and be driven in luxury cars, trying to pass for what is mistaken perceived as "respectable people". Do not be fooled! These are dangerous criminals. Some violence is expected from these dastardly villains and their chain dogs in law enforcement or the military, so please try not to look like a protester, or go near the protesters. If you are mistaken for a protester, you might accidentally get your head bashed in or wind up in a Krakow jail with anarchists. Please be aware that vegetarian meals are not served in Polish jails, nor will information on your whereabouts be given to anybody but your legal family (concubines not allowed) or attorney. Besides the meeting of mass murderers, other dangerous forces will be out in the streets. The police will be marching on Feb. 19. Luckily, they do not have tasers yet. Please be informed that in Poland, the correct slur for police is "dog" (pies) not pig. If you don't speak Polish and intend to make animal noises instead, a bark would be more understandable than a snort. On Feb. 20, the people who make guns and tanks and shit will also be protesting. Apparently they want more orders for weapons of destruction. Do not go near these people. They are angry and some of them work in gun factories. They could be better armed than the police. Finally, since so many terrorists are in town, we're gonna sit in the Consulate and watch videos of Friends and pretend we're working. Don't come knocking at our doors. We deserve a day off. By the way, if you decide that you don't like NATO and want to protest, don't call us if you get busted. We don't give a fuck about your civil liberties at home; we care even less about them abroad. \* Unless you are arrested in a rogue nation, in which case you're worth your weight in propaganda value"

## On prison resistance in Russia

"Russian prisons are amongst the most rebellious in the world"

"Still long way to go for anarchists for a concentrated effort to reach out and support the prison protests"

Until 2001, Russia was world leader on number of prisoners per capita, and since then it has been second only to USA. Prisons reflect the general trends in the society, and as Russia is heading for more control and stricter governance, prisoner population is again growing, after a short period of leniency in terms of probation and amnesties. Currently prison population in Russia is more than 700 000. Economic exploitation of the prisoner population is little developed, in contrary lack of meaningful work is more of a problem - so the current growth in the population is not due to pressure of capital but due to pressure of the state.

Russian prisons are amongst the most rebellious in the world. Resistance is maintained by the "Blatnoy" prisoner subculture, which refuses any cooperation with the authorities. "Blatnoy" culture was formed gradually, some elements date back to times before October revolution, but peak of it was last phase of the Soviet Union from 1960's onwards. Since then, its position has weakened - this partly due to repressive measures by authorities since 1980's onwards, but first of all due to the fact that wild capitalism has also made it to the prisons, and now often money matters more than tradition.

But differently from many former East Block countries, culture with its complicated rules is still alive, just as the complicated prison caste structure, on top of which are "Vory v Zakone", "legalized thieves" - kings of the underworld who still get nominated in a crowning ceremony.

Prison culture also heavily influences the mainstream culture, which is very understandable in a country where such a huge part of male adult population has spent some time in remand or in prison. "Blatnyak", a form of pop music dealing with topics of criminal and prison life is as popular as ever, and many expressions of prison slang have become so commonplace that they have become indispensable parts of Russian language. Even some of the Putin's famous catchphrases contain prison slang - for example when he said that "he will flush Chechens down from the toilet", he used a prison slang word for toilet.

Authorities are doing their best to root out the "blatnoy" norms in prison. Prison population is divided to four castes - "blatnoy" (blacks), "lads" (greys), "goats" (reds or activists) and "roosters" (sky blues). "Lads" are the mainstream prison population, "goats" are snitches and other prisoners who actively cooperate with the authorities and "roosters" are passive homosexuals, and people who have committed serious violations against blatnoy norms (such as failed to pay their card or drug debts).

Prisons are divided to two groups - in "black prisons" blatnoy

are setting the order of the day, whereas "red" prisons are under control of either administration or the "goats". In "black" prisons life is relatively neat, drugs and booze flow freely and administration often does not even dare to visit barracks. In "red" prisons life is quite a hell for everyone except the "reds". Many prison protests may be explained in context of the power struggle between "blacks" and "reds".



Most latest explosion took place in Tuesday 23rd of September, in hard regime prison number 6 of the Samara region, which has a prison population of around two thousands. This was a notorious "red" prison, from which human rights organisations often received complaints - it was known to be ruled by despotism of "goats", who were out of control even for the administration. Finally rest of the prisoner population could not take it anymore, thus around half past eight in the evening more than 100 prisoners

attacked "activists". In half hours riot spread to all of the colony, control points were attacked and sent to fire and "activists" were beaten up; eight towers got destroyed, as well as vegetable stock and building of old prison headquarters, where recently "prisoners self-activity circles" were located. These circles are maintained by "activists", blatnoy culture bans "blacks" from participating to them, just as it bans doing any work inside prison.

When firemen arrived prisoners quit rioting and returned to barracks voluntarily. 31 prisoners and 3 staff were wounded, 25 of them were hospitalized with burns, blunt and stab wounds. Next day it was found out that one prisoner had burned to death during riot. Yet there is no information about amount of prisoners charged for rioting, however 74 prisoners were immediately railroaded to other prisons.

When firemen arrived prisoners quit rioting and returned to barracks voluntarily. 31 prisoners and 3 staff were wounded, 25 of them were hospitalized with burns, blunt and stab wounds. Next day it was found out that one prisoner had burned to death during riot. Yet there is no information about amount of prisoners charged for rioting, however 74 prisoners were immediately railroaded to other prisons.

Even more massive fight between "blacks" and "reds" took place 4 years ago, 29th of August 2004 in Novokuybyshevskaya prison of hard regime number 3 in Samara region, one thousand people participated to fight during which one prisoner was killed and 5 seriously wounded. Rioting stopped when prosecutor's office arrived and promised to gather complaints of the prisoners. Eventually prison administration was given warnings, and organisers of the riot were slapped with an additional sentence between 18 and 23 years.

Some other notable protests during last few years:

- 4th of September 2006 in remand prison Chagino three prisoners took 15 hostages, including chief of the prison. They

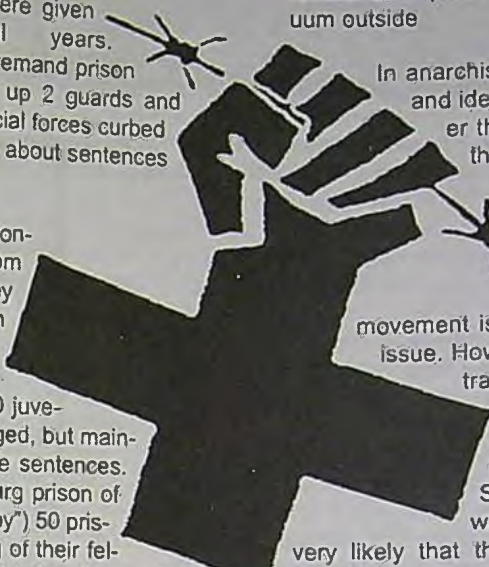
demanding new courts. Special forces stormed prison, and organiser of the action was eventually given a life sentence. -11th of April 2007 50 prisoners rioted in village of Vinzili in Tyumen region. Prison special forces curbed riots, eventually 13 rioters were given from 2 to 10 additional years.

-20th of September 2007 in "Kresty" remand prison of St. Petersburg 17 prisoners beat up 2 guards and burned a signal tower. "Typhoon" special forces curbed riots, mainstream media did not write about sentences given to participators of the riots.

-17th of October 2007 50 juvenile prisoners attempted to escape from Kirovgardskiy colony number 2, they attacked guards and burned down school, trade school and barracks. Guards opened fire and eventually two prisoners and one guard died. 40 juvenile participators of the riot were charged, but mainstream media did not write about the sentences.

-25th of October 2007 in St. Petersburg prison of general regime number 5 ("Metallostroy") 50 prisoners were protesting against beating of their fellow prisoners by attacking staff and burning down a barracks. Guards defended themselves and killed one prisoner. Again mainstream media did not report about sentences of the rioters.

Nazbols were kept was beaten up, "Legalised thieves" ordered Nazbols to stop their protest. Currently Nazbols seem to be only interested to support political prisoners. Thus the militant resistance in prison is contrasted with a total silence and vacuum outside



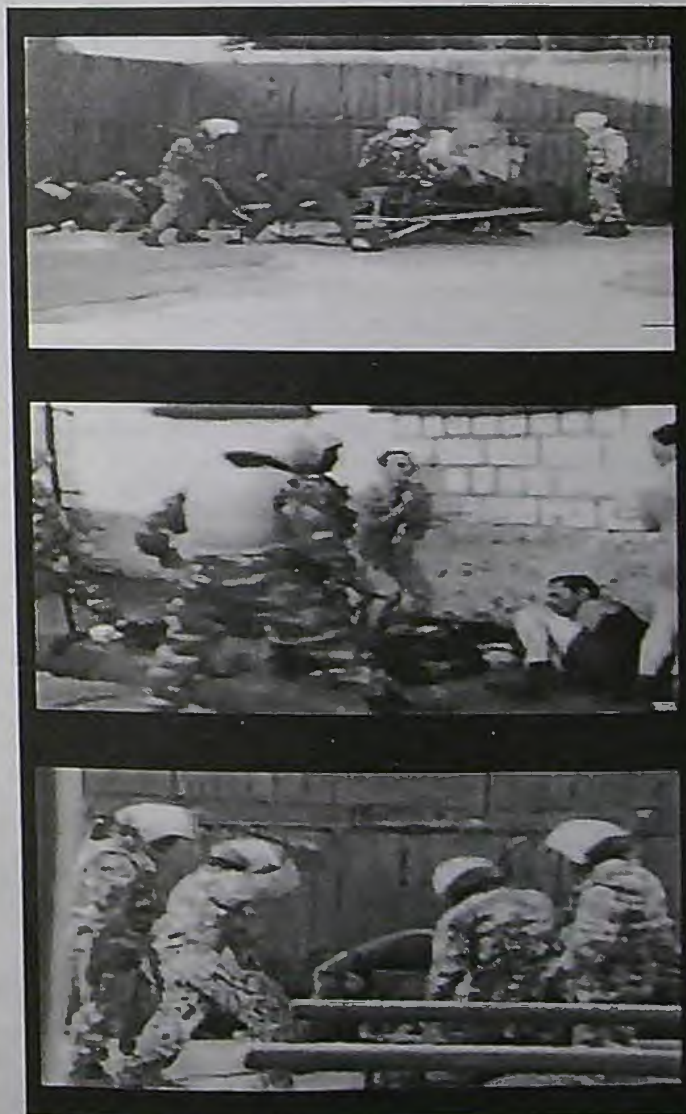
In anarchist circles one may often meet rather naive and idealizing views of the blatnoy culture, however there have been little efforts to reach out to the prison, with exception of one action few years ago in cooperation with FrontAIDS to support prisoners demanding access to medicine against HIV. As more and more anarchists and antifascists are landing to Russian prisons, anarchist movement is getting more concerned about the prison issue. However it is still long way to go for a concentrated effort to reach out and support the prison protests. As for Anarchist Black Cross groups (currently there are two active, one in Moscow and another in St.Petersburg), they are too busy working with prisoners of the movement, and it is not very likely that they will have chance to support prisoner protests in general for now.

However vast majority of the protests in Russian prison are non-violent - either hungerstrikes or self-mutilation (such as eating blades or other sharp things or cutting body parts with them). Reasons why prisoners usually prefer non-violent protests are rather obvious - for non-violent protests you are likely to get heavily beaten up, lose all your privileges, sent to another prison and never to get amnesty or parole before your full time is done, but at least you will not receive 20 additional years. Non-violent protests are often coordinated simultaneously in many prisons, and they may have several thousand participators. But general tendency is towards crushing any protests by a heavy hand, which is most likely the reason why we may hear more and more often about prisoners turning to desperate means.

In <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kOmCdMcZz80> you may see a video of prison special forces humiliating and beating up prisoners after a protest in a prison in Yekaterinburg - footage is from year 2006 and was leaked to "Movement for Human Rights".

Unfortunately, prisoners are almost completely alone in their struggle. There are a number of human rights organisations, such as "Movement for Human Rights" working heavily on problems in the prisons, they have even been accused of covering mafia and being funded by it. But human rights organisations have a special understanding of their role - they understand their mission as "neutral" monitoring of the violations, they never take any stand in regards of the protests. Work of human rights organisation is of great help what comes to spreading information and providing legal support for prisoners, however they may never announce their direct support for any given protest.

Besides of these, no any other movement or organisation is dealing with the prison issues. When many National-Bolsheviks were imprisoned in remand prison in Moscow, they attempted to organise a hunger strike demanding their release, but in order to gain sympathy from rest of the prison population they also added some general demands benefiting all prisoners. However when everyone in cells were striking



## All Governments are the Same Scam! All Authority Interferes with our Lives!

100 years after the first National Women's Day celebration in the USA in February 1909, feminist demonstrations were held all over Poland to commemorate International Women's Day. In Warsaw the demonstration, known as "Manifa", was attended by around 6000 people. The "theme" of this 10th annual Manifa could more or less be translated as "Every government is the same old story" (...)

This year the Manifa concentrated on a number of issues including poor access to health care, lack of support for families, poor working conditions of women and church intervention in daily life. Other slogans for this year's Manifa included "the Bishop is not God" and "we want health care, not prayer". Anarchists from ZSP (Union of Syndicalists) and WRS (Freedom, Equality and Solidarity), along with some individuals from other groups and non-aligned people took part in the radical block with slogans such as "Neither Patriarchy of Capitalism", "No God, No Masters" and "Fuck the Patriarchy".

The demo was, as usual, picketed by right-wing ONR (National-Radical Camp), All-Polish Youth and the Falange, complete with police-like uniforms and red and black flags.

For the first time in 10 years, participants in the March 8 Manifa were detained by the cops. Five members of the radical block had to spend time in jail yesterday due to a ridiculous police action.

Just at the end of the demo, a few members of the radical block wanted to leave the demo through the street before the end point. They went out of the demo and onto the sidewalk to dismantle the banner, which was on plastic broom handles, and collect flags. All of a sudden, a rather deranged cop started yelling at people to get back, get back! Nobody even knew what was happening (...)

A strong argument broke out between some anarchists who arrived on the scene and the police. The police claimed that "nobody was allowed to move", and something to the extent that "their freedom was being suspended". They were bull-shiting people that they should be ID'd because "they're probably on the wanted list" when people refused to comply with the police orders (...)

On the way to the police station activists passed by groups of fascists running after gays to beat them up and some people followed one group. The fascist chasing gays passed right by the police, who didn't blink an eye at this. They apparently already had enough dangerous criminals arrested for the day...

At the police station activists were able to see their friends through the bars giving a long lecture to the police on many topics, such as the criminal justice system, how some crimes were not at all wrong, about the resocialization of anti-social people without prisons... Actually it was rather interesting and

helped pass the hours of time waiting. Leaflet (addressed mostly to liberal feminists and participants of the march): All Governments are the Same Scam! All Authority Interferes with our Lives! The fact that each government acts against the best interests of

ordinary people is evident. Still, despite this, come every election, some call on the people to elect a different set of politicians, hoping that things will get better. And they don't. Proponents of single issues sometimes call on us to vote if they believe that the politicians of their choice will, improve matters in one area or another. However even if they do, those in power give the people only crumbs. The main problems remain - mass poverty-inflicted by greed, made worse by antisocial politics and the lack of any possibility to decide on the issues. Government does not give people rights - government takes them away. Problems that women have with, for example, reproductive rights are the direct result of a bunch of politicians deciding what people should and should not do. The problems we all have with too little money spent on things like health care and education is the problem of not being able to directly control what we as a society spend money on. Instead of being governed, we want to be active participants in social life. Instead of a world divided into better and worse categories of people, we want to all be equal, to all be respected and have rights. Equality for us is not only equality between the sexes, but economic equality. Without it, there is not equality. 8 of March is a day of working women's struggle, its origins commemorating the memory of female workers and activists; we do not accept attempts to water down the meaning of the day, a day which has its roots in the social struggle. The time has come to reject the bankruptcy of a women's movement laden with single-issue solidarity. The changes we want do not come through a ballot box, but through mass organization and action from below. Let's dare to fulfil our dreams and enjoy the sweet taste of freedom without god or master, without exploitation or the state.



## Unknown Moments of Eastern European Anarchist History: Anarchist groups in Lodz (central Poland) 1905-1939

### Social and political situation in Lodz at the beginning of XX century

At the beginning of XX century Lodz was a dynamically developing centre of the cotton and woollen industry. The favourable location of the city and its developing industrial infrastructure caused a rapid migration of the workers in search of the employment in its factories. At the same time, very low salaries and the lack of social security institutions caused the numerous unrests, until the year of 1906 and the general strike with so called "Lodz's lockout" that followed.

The troubles began in November 1906, when the management of Poznanski's cotton factory decided to fire 96 workers that they believed to be the leaders of the conflict and unrest within the factory. Learning the list of workers to be sacked, the rest of the factory crew protested against it and Ignacy Poznanski decided to lockout the factory from 17 of December 1906 until the workers accepted his decision. In an act of solidarity with Poznanski, owners of six further factories decided to close their gates as well. So, from the beginning of the new year, the biggest city's factories got closed, leaving 25000 workers and 75000 of their family members without job and the means to survive. Workers got support from the Polish society and the international workers movement, so in the first phase of the conflict they kept on demanding the reemployment of 96 sacked leaders.

On January 31, 1907 delegation of the workers met Poznanski in his palace to achieve an agreement including employing the sacked again, but he rejected this demand saying "all of you will die of starvation anyhow". When the rest of protesting workers got to know his stance during the mass rally that followed, they promised a vengeance on him, that couldn't be fulfilled as he escaped to Berlin. After three months of strike and lockout, the situation of most families became so difficult that the workers decided to accept the sacking and end the dispute. So the production resumed on 6th of April 1907. The defeat caused a lot of frustration among the

working class, and the working conditions after lockout become much worse, as the employers tried to cover the losses caused by lockout by intensifying the pace of production, and generally were taking advantage over defeated workers. This led to the further conflicts between the workers organizations, accusing each other of contributing to the defeat. The conflict soon turn into armed struggle between workers militias of NZR (National Union of Workers - nationalists), SDKPiL (Social Democracy of Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania - the communists), PPS (Polish Socialist Party) and PPS FR (Revolutionary Fraction of PPS - a split leftist group of main PPS), leaving 130 dead. After the assassination of the officers from Russian infantry units based in Lodz on the city main street, Piotrkowska, armed patrols of Russian soldiers were sent to the streets. In April 1907, interparty conference was held in Lodz to stop the wave of terror. During the conference, it was agreed to establish the factory commissions to oversee the observing the truce between the fractions. Growth of the popularity of workers parties and the lack of reading skills among workers created a need for constant agitation. Workers parties started to employ the agitators from intelligentsia to recruit new members and organize the workers. These duties were carried out semi-legally, so the agitators were heavily watched by a secret police and in case of either fled the city or gave the names of workers that had joined the party to the Tzarist police. This was the cause of distrust towards the intelligentsia, and the open hostility once the members of this class became leaders of the workers parties. On the other hand, joining the illegal party made it impossible to continue the legal way of life.

Party members were facing the choice: either to stay in the party, pay the contributions and follow the instructions of the leaders, risking the arrest and prison, or to leave the party, or even create their own clandestine group of "economical terror" against the intelligentsia. The leaders of the

parties, especially PPS-FR defrauded the party funds. All this led, after the lockout, to the massive withdrawal from the parties, with some workers even tearing their party membership cards. Out of the workers disappointment the first anarchist groups have emerged. When the level of living of the working class had fallen dramatically after the lost strike, the anarchist militant groups, committed to both economical terror and the attacks on the management and factory owners, started to gain popularity among the workers. Their actions soon led to 20 casualties among the higher ranks of society.

### "Internacjonal" ("The Internationalist")

First anarchist group in Lodz was, created back in November 1905, "Lodz Group of Anarchists - Communists Internacjonal", a local branch of Warsaw organization, recruiting its members from among the ranks of PPS and Bund (Jewish socialist party), despite the anti-anarchist propaganda of these parties. In August 1905, anarchist circles of the capital established an anarcho-communist organization, which besides the agitation and propaganda activities was to carry out active terror as a part of its struggle. The organization consisted of four sections:



1. Arms section - aiming at providing the group with firearms and explosives.
2. Technical section - printing an anarchist literature.
3. Literary section - acquiring anarchist literature.
4. Organisational section - propaganda and recruitment.

Both Warsaw and Lodz branches consisted mostly of the Jewish youth, with the Poles as a minority. All the group's pamphlets were printed in Jiddish, Polish and Russian to ensure they were understood among the mul-

ry, starting with the street clashes and the economical and political terror. From the ideological point of view, the group was similar to the Russian organizations from the "chernoznamyency" current.

Malkow Granatsztejn (aged 19), Jankiel Majchelow Bajsbrut (aged 17), Abram Uszerow Najchauz (aged 19) Hersz Majlech Abramow Wajsborg (aged 25) and Wiktor Beniaminow Bunemfeld (aged 22) were detained, and on 25th of December 1906 put at the court martial. They were found guilty of belonging to the anarchist organization and sentenced to between 8 and 15 years of enforced settlement in Siberia. The Warsaw branch of the group suffered from heavy repression as well, with 16 of its members shot without a trial. The organization, virtually destroyed, was re-established a few months later as a Lodz Federational Group of Anarchists Communists, and managed to create a branch in Piotrkow.



*Lodz, Poland. The city from the air.*

tilingual worker's society. In its manifesto, issued at the end of 1905, the group called for a general strike, which was to be carried out without the participation of intelligentsia, deemed as traitors of the working class struggle. The manifesto gave the detailed description of how the strike should have looked like, calling for the act of sabotage on telephone and telegraph lines, blowing up the bridges and setting the police stations and army barracks ablaze. It also encouraged the taking over the shops and distributing the confiscated goods to the poor and hungry. If the anarchists, armed with dynamite, bombs and revolvers had managed to seize a town, they should proclaim there an anarchist commune immediately, to ensure the freedom and wellbeing of its dwellers. Straight after issuing this manifesto, Internacjonal issued another pamphlet, entitled: "The spirit of destruction is a spirit of creation", in which it condemned both the parliamentary democracy and any sort of alliance between a working class and the nationalist bourgeoisie. According to the anarchists, the main reason of the harsh economical situation of lower strata of Polish society was not the conflict between the nations, but the conflict between the classes. In the other pamphlets, the group criticised the PPS for its nationalist and chauvinist views. It also proposes the creation of the anarchist social system, based on free confederation of workers and peasants. To achieve it, the anarchist revolution was necessa-

Straight after establishing the branch in Lodz, on the 2nd of February 1906 the group issued a pamphlet "To the working men and women", and then "To all the working men and women", in which the anarchist informed that they are going to teach the working class about the technical side of the revolution: "As soon as we start the strike, the telephone and telegraph lines must be destroyed, so the police can't communicate. We have to destroy the train bridges so that the army will be unable to move round the country, we should also set the barracks, police stations, offices and other governmental buildings ablaze. Destroy the bourgeoisie cafes and restaurants. We should be divided into hundreds of groups that will carry out the revolutionary manifestations. Blow up prisons, magistrates and the local authority buildings. Every power is to be abolished, prisons arsoned, shops and the warehouses with clothes, food and other goods open to everybody, and all the goods distributed to the poor and naked. Everybody should take as much goods as needed. All the commodities are for a popular use."

The branch in Lodz consisted mainly of shop clerks and poor craftsmen. To get funds, they terrorized the rich shopkeepers in Baluty and city centre, threatening to blow up their shops and houses. In October 1906 nine members of the group: Josek Noehow Skomski (aged 19), Jankiel Iekow Wonkowinski (aged 33), Binem Malkow Godsztejn (aged 18), Szmul

In order to strengthen the Polish organization, in March 1907 Belgian anarchist using the name of Sen-goj came from Brussels, first to Warsaw and then, in the middle of 1907, to Lodz. He was using the fake passport issued in the name of August Waterloo, but his real name was probably Johannes Golcman. He brought a couple of issues of anarchist magazine "Glos rewolucji" ("The Voice of Revolution") and 500 rubels to be shared between Warsaw and Lodz. This sum was not enough to re-establish the propaganda campaign. The group decided to raid a house of merchant Szlomo Gedrich in Lodz to expropriate the much needed funds. Four of its armed members managed to get inside his house and to terrorise its dwellers with revolvers. One of them, together with a merchant, went to the separate room and shot him by accident. The attackers ran away without any money, and during the police chase one of them got arrested.

At the beginning of July anarcho-communists from Lodz sent two delegates to the conference in Kowno, where "Federation of Anarchist Communist Groups of Lithuania and Poland" was established. The program of the new organization was proclaimed, stating that "the anarchist aim at the revolution" which should bring "the anarchist system". Bourgeoisie was to be blamed of the failure of revolution in Russia, as it used the sacrifice of the working class to achieve its own goals. Other proclamations were adopted:

The call to all the anarchist groups to federate, in order to strengthen the movement.

Decisions on financial issues of the federation.

Strategy on the issue of the struggle with other parties' militias.

Critique of the trade unions as a tool of bourgeoisie.

Call for a mass expropriation of food during the strikes and unrests.

In July, the police arrested a number of activists, who were sentenced to deportation or enforced labour in Siberia. On the 17th of July August Waterloo was arrested during the expropriational raid in the town of Ozorkow and subsequently sentenced to 15 years of enforced settlement in Siberia. At the end of the year, Lebus Watman, the leader of the "Internacional" in Lodz got arrested and on 16th of April 1908 the headquarters of the group was discovered. Explosives, seal of the group and the anarchist literature and magazines were seized there. Altogether, 18 people were arrested and put on trial at the court martial in Lodz on 2nd of April 1909.

### *Maksymalisci* *(The Maxymalists)*

At the beginning of 1907, ex-members of the SDKPiL militia have organized the Lodz branch of the group "Zmowa Robotnicza" (Workers Conspiracy), formed in Warsaw at the fall of 1906. The main form of activity of the new group was economic terror. "Zmowa Robotnicza" expropriated and killed the factory owners, engineers, clerks and foremen, sharing the money between its members. The leader of the Lodz branch was a man called "Warszawiak". Together with the other members of the group he committed numerous armed robberies, leaving behind the documents stamped with a forged PPS (Polish Socialist Party) seal. Regional Committee of the PPS ordered the party's military branch to liquidate the Maxymalists as dangerous criminals, tarnishing the reputation of the party. As the result of this action, three members of the Maxymalist group got killed. In response, Maxymalists besieged and wounded two members of PPS in Rogow Dairy. To cope with the anarchist threat, Tzarist police used a provocateur, called "Red Olek," who had helped them before with the liquidation of the Warsaw Maxymalist group. He was transferred to Lodz and put in the Długa St. prison, together with political prisoners. They protested strongly against the presence of the well-known traitor, and tried to lynch him. To prevent the mutiny, "Red Olek" was transported to the dock of 3rd Police Station in Lodz, where he committed a suicide by hanging himself in January 1908.

### *Rewolucyjni Maksymalisci* *(Revolutionary Maxymalists)*

The group was originally named "Centralny Komitet Robotniczy Partii Rewolucjonistów Maksymalistów" (Central Workers Committee of the Revolutionist - Maxymalist Party). The organization existed for two months only, between September and October 1907, as a dissident group of the PPS. After the split, its members committed a series of armed robberies and expropriations, sharing the robbed money between themselves. The group was soon rounded up, and its members put on trial at the court martial in Lodz on 25 of September 1908. Antonii Kubiak (17 years of age), Władysław Zgierski (22) and Walenty Nowicki (21) were all sentenced to death and executed on 29 of September, Hugo Probe (21), Stanisław Szuszaneck (24), Ignacy Kozłowski (22) and Krzysztof Gotlieb (20) were sentenced to the enforced labour for life, Józef Zawadzki (17), Rudolf Fidler (19), Edmund Nowakowski (18), August Adamczewski (20) and Stanisław Jesionek (17) to 20 years of enforced labour, Piotr Lagowski (24), Karol Czewinski (21) and Józef Szaflik (22) to 6 years of enforced labour, Aleksander Kochanowski to 4 years of enforced labour, and Feliks Jedrecki (16) to 12 years in prison.

### *Grupa Syndykalistów -* *Maksymalistów (Group of the* *Syndicalists - Maxymalists)*

In March 1907 PPS - Frakcja Rewolucyjna (PPS - Revolutionary Fraction) organized a meeting in Cracow to discuss a drop in popularity of the party among the workers. Lodz section of PPS - FR sent 14 delegates to the meeting, among them Nikifor Kamer (aka "Wicek" or "Zaleski"), the popular teacher. During the trip to Cracow he met some anarchists and got acquainted with the theories of Machajski, and since then became an enemy of the party type of organization. He used his contacts as a party cashier to organize a secret anarchist group inside the party and to carry out a series of armed robberies. His group was discovered and Kamer, together with two other anarchists, "Jerzy" and "Benc," was put on trial at the party court. All three were subsequently suspended as party members in August 1907. After the trial, the group split from the party under the name of Group of Syndicalists-Maxymalists,

and on 17th of October 1917 carry out an armed robbery on the cashier of Lodz and Factory Railways, named Gawala. They robbed 22045 roubles and wounded the guard. Together with Kamer, Piotr Zybala (nickname: "Golab"), Myslowiec, Kretowicz (nick: "Kuba") and Ignacy Kozłowski took part in the robbery. Soon the other ex-members of PPS-FR joined the group, among them: Jan Czeplinski ("Ignac") - railway storekeeper, Adam Ostrowiec ("Waclaw"), Jan Osmanczyk ("Pietka") - post office worker, Józef Szymanski, Jan Ziolkowski, Konstanty Jakubowski ("Tygrys"), Józef Banaszczyk ("Kuternoga"), Andrzej Jach ("Władysław"), Stefan Ślabosz ("Wulkan") and Piotr Szwertner ("Fryderyk"). Last three of mentioned were to become members of "Revolutionary Avengers" group in the near future. At the end of the year Kamer got arrested, and the group got dissolved - its members established a new organization, Group of Revolutionists-Terrorists.

### *Grupa Rewolucjonistów* *Terrorystów (Group of the* *Revolutionists-Terrorists)*

Very often, after the death or detention of the leader, anarchist groups used to change its name to mislead Tzarist police, that might have been tracing the group. That was the case with Syndicalists-Maxymalists, after the round up of Kamer at the end of 1907 the group changed its name to Group of Revolutionists-Terrorists. The group also wanted to develop own political program and internal rules, both of which documents were adopted by "Revolutionary Avengers" two years later. In its program, the group expressed its criticism towards both the socialist parties, considered as the traitors of the working class, and intelligentsia, traitors to the social class - due the groups views - using the working people to achieve its own goals. The group also declare the economic terror as a main method of fight and the lifestyle based on anarcho-communist ideas.

### *Grupa* *Anarchistyczno-Spiskowa* *(Anarchist Conspiracy Group)*

Once again, the same organization changes its name at the beginning of 1908, probably to point out its anarchist views. The very core of the group consisted of Józef Banaszczyk ("Kuternoga"), Andrzej Jach

("Wladyslaw"), Stanislaw Slabosz ("Wulkan") and Piotr Szwertner ("Fryderyk"). The organization soon became a basis for a "Revolutionary Avengers", supplying the new group with its weapon and staff.

### "Rewolucyjni Mściciele"

#### ("The Revolutionary Avengers")

"Rewolucyjni Mściciele" group, during four years of existence, between 1910 and 1913, committed numerous assaults on Tzarist police, administration and the officials of the regime, as well as the train robberies and



Litzmannstadt

expropriations. Tzarist authorities, as well as the prosecution service of the Warsaw court, described the group as anarchist, trying to destroy the structures of the state by violence. Although in case of "Revolutionary Avengers" it's hard to draw the ultimate distinction between the political violence and common crime, the group itself was always trying to point out the political goals of its actions, mainly by leaving letters explaining its program in the places of its robberies and execution. The group define itself as the economical and political terrorists, struggling to: "free the working class from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and the government." In its program, the group also stated: "One of our goals as a group is to provide our help and support to our members in prisons and the enforced labour camps, as well as their families." Some part of the money expropriated during the raids was distributed among the members of the group, according to their needs. In the political situation of its time, the group considered the terror as well as expropriation of both private and the government wealth as the only possible means of struggle. "Revolutionary Avengers" rejected the

fight for independence of Poland: "We do not carry out the struggle for the independence of Poland, although we demand wide political and cultural autonomy for the country." The actions of the group were carried out against bourgeoisie, landowners, intelligentsia, clergy, lawyers, judges, officers and authorities as well as other "social parasites." Open hostility towards intelligentsia, as well as lack of other defined political views of the group make its political stance similar to the program of Machajski, as well as to some anarcho-communist ideas. It's to be pointed out, though, that various actions of the

up. The other reason for the relatively long existence was deep conspiracy and specific code of conduct of its members. The Avengers couldn't carry any suspicious items on them, take part in any public discussion or criticism of the political system, or possess any propaganda materials. They had to pretend to be completely political indifferent, and in the same time inform the organization of own observations and suspicions. Due to those factors, it took Ochrana, Tzarist secret police, more than three years to arrest the members of the group.

All the political and organizational decisions were taken during the general meetings. The group had no formal leadership, and all its members had equal right of voting at the meetings. Only for carrying out the direct actions was a commander elected, and all the participants were obliged to follow his orders. The penalty for betrayal, fraud of the organization funds or marauding, was death. Due to this draconian restriction, such cases were extremely rare. The unwritten rule was that the besieged member of the group should commit a suicide to avoid interrogation by the police. This rule was usually followed. Newly acquitted members were formed in fives, without any contact with the rest of the group, to reduce the risk of betrayal and being rounded up. Parallel to this structure, there was a Technical Organization, in charge of firearms supply and the intelligence. Every militant was equipped with Mauser gun, for a long range shooting, and a short range Browning pistol, as well as spare cartridges and loose ammunition hidden in the coat. Inside the group the bonds of friendship and responsibility between both the comrades and families of those killed or detained were very strong.





The organization was established by Edward Dłuzewski "Zemsta", born in 1891 as a son of the caretaker from Baluty district in Lodz, ex-member of PPS-FR in Ozorkow, and Józef Piatek "Sep," born 1889, ex-leader of the PPS-FR militia in Lodz. First of the mentioned, after numerous direct action carried out on behalf of PPS-FR, during which he had killed at least five people, was arrested and sentenced to death. Due to his young age (he was only 19 at the time of the trial), his death penalty was reduced to 12 years imprisonment. Dłuzewski was first imprisoned in Lodz, then transferred to prison in Piotrkow and finally to Kalisz. There he simulated a disease and was put in the prison hospital, from where he managed to escape. He acquired civilian clothes and, walking at nights, came back to Lodz. Here he met "Sep", who had just left PPS, disappointed with the party policy. At this time, "Sep" was tending towards anarchism and anti-intelligentsia hostility. Soon he convinced

Dłuzewski about the necessity of establishing new, well-organized and disciplined anarchist group in Lodz. Both of them were critical about the PPS, and together they established "Revolutionary Avengers" group. New organization adopted the program and the statute of the Group

Łódź Fabryka Schablera,  
Hoffendort  
Łódź Fabryka Schablera,  
Hoffendort.



Revolutionists-Terrorists, anarchist organization formed in 1908 by the ex-members of PPS-FR, who joined the new group as well (among them: Andrzej Jacek, Aleksander Jaszke, Stefan Slabosz, Stanisław Niednarkiewicz, Stefan Dembski, Józef Banaszczyk). Piatek supplied the group with the firearms and conducted the essential training. The first direct action of the group took place on 22 of October 1910 in the village of Radogoszcz, and was directed against the much hated community wardens, Wende and Jurczenka. Two of the Avengers, "Sep" and "Zemsta," approached the victims and started shooting, until they made sure they are both dead. The action

was carried out for propaganda reasons, to gain support from village dwellers towards the new group, and this aim was achieved. As the chief commander of police forces in Lodz wrote in his report; "Enquiry against the Revolutionary Avengers in extremely difficult, as they enjoy the great support from the local community." New members started to join the group, recruited mostly from the ex-PPS members. Quite often they were young men from well-off families eg. landlord's sons. The organization started to grow, establishing its branches in Warsaw, Czestochowa, Radom, Kielce, Sosnowiec, Bedzin, Kalisz, Zyrardow and Cracow. The Avengers gained a lot of popularity, there was a 500 roubles reward established by a Tzarist authorities for the head of Dłuzewski. This led to the attempted arrest of him at Lodz Fabryczna railway station on 2nd of December, during which Ochrona agent Kaplan and Russian army officer Gawrylow got shot dead and two

other persons were injured. Avengers managed to run away. Other actions by Avengers were: armed robbery at the Pabianice freight train station on the 7th of December, where 7000 roubles was robbed, and the robbery of the passenger train No. 17, between the stations Lodz Widzew and Noworadomsk. Masked Avengers, armed with Brownings and Mausers, first stopped the train with an emergency brake, and then, threatening the cashier with the guns, stole money for the railways workers pay-offs (11000 roubles). As usual, they left a letter in the place of robbery, stating that the action was carried out by the Group of Revolutionary Avengers, sealed with

two stamps, red and black, with the name of the group. During the raid, Avengers were waving the red and black flag. Police chase only found four coats, left behind by the assailants. The enquiry established that one of them belonged to Stefan Slabosz "Wulkan." During the search carried out in his flat while he was away, police recovered part of the robbed money, it also established that Dłuzewski, Jaszke and Jacha "Siwiek" also belonged to the group, and probably took part in the robbery. The first attempt to arrest them, led by the chief commander of the police in Pabianice, Kronenberg, took place in the Tuszyn forest on 21st of March 1910. During this attempt, Kronenberg got wounded, and the Avengers managed to run away. Knowing that their homes were under police surveillance, Avengers were looking for a new hideout. On 15th of April they met Feliks Pastusiak, who promised to help them and hide them in the flat of Wacław Brzezina, the accountant at the M. Silberstein factory, at 151 Widzewska St. However, the helpers turned out to be police informers, tempted by the 500 roubles reward, and the hideout was soon surrounded by police, army forces and gendarmerie. The siege lasted for two days, from the early morning to the noon of the following day. Later on, Avengers let the traitor's family leave the flat and prepared for a final shoot-out. In the meantime police evacuated the building, and by the order of the local governor, set the house ablaze. Dłuzewski and two other comrades committed a suicide, only Slabosz jumped out of the window and got seriously injured. He was transported to the hospital, where he admitted to participation in the group and all its actions and died soon after. The group avenged the comrades on 3rd of May in Konstancynów, when Drynia, Bednarkiewicz and Siemieniec set the Brzezina's house ablaze. Unable to find a new home in Lodz, Brzezina decided to move away from the city after the statement of the factory workers who declared that

they are not going to work under him again.

Police started the new enquiry against the Avengers, which led to arrest of the important member of the group, Jan Swiatek. He was later hung by the police without a trial.

The death of Dluzewski didn't finish the group's activity, in fact, contrary to that, its action became more frequent and spread over the bigger territory. In June, they carried out a robbery on the cashier Rychlowiski, and in August, the group raided the office of Rzucew, killing two people. They also

executed the prison wardens: Czerny, Sarnota, Polowcew and Kiryluk. Aiming at giving the group more ideological stance, the Avenger issued a manifesto "To all the working men and women", which started with the words: "The Kingdom of God may be conquered only by the means of violence." The manifesto was strongly anti-capitalist, and it announced further struggle against the enemies of the working class. It also justified the armed struggle as a fight for freedom and the dignity of the working people. On 19th of July 1911 Stanislaw Bednarkiewicz "Sergiej", Józef Piotrowski "Franek" and Roman Prawicki "Serwus Młodszy", waiting on the subway tram stop, were approached by pickpockets, who found their guns under the coats. The thieves informed the police immediately, and the armed officers boarded a tram heading towards Zgierz. The Avengers managed to kill them, jump out of the tram and run away. At the beginning of September the police carried out a search in the flat of Cholysz brothers father, the caretaker, on 6 Rzgowska St. During the search, the group of the Avengers turned up, killing two police officers and wounding three others. During the shoot-out, one of the Avengers, Józef Banaszczyk, killed his comrade Skiba, who got an epileptic fit and was unable to run away. The Avengers never let any of their comrades be arrested alive, so the police can't force him to testify against the others by torture.

In September and November two other train robberies were carried out by the group: first the freight train between the stations Widzew and Chojny, when the safe was broken, and later the passenger train between Rogów and Plycwa. At the beginning of the new year, in January 1912, 32 Avengers were arrested by the

Czestochowa, where they tried to kill police commander Pekura. On 2nd of October 1912, after the group came back to Lodz, police was informed about the hide-out of Józef Piatek, at 78 Dzielna (now Narutowicza) St., in the Wladyslaw Gonerski flat. The house was surrounded, during the shoot-out three police officers got killed: Mozel, Podchylko and Kowalew. Seriously wounded, Piatek got arrested and was transported to the hospital, where he died soon after. Even in hospital, he remained a threat to the Ochrana guards - they run away in panic when he pretended he got a bomb with him. The other militant, who was in the flat with Piatek, managed to run away and was killed in the Widzew forest later.

The discovery of Piatek hide-out, that was probably also the group main meeting point, led to numerous further arrests among the Avengers. Józef

Banaszczyk was sentenced to death and executed, and eleven other Avengers were sentenced to enforced settlement in Siberia.

Michal Zakrzewski "Jastrzab" was trying to re-establish the group, calling the conference in Zakopane on 26th of May 1913, attended by 14 persons. The main topic was the revenge for killed and imprisoned comrades, the resolutions adopted spoke about: "gunpowder, bombs, expropriation and the vengeance on the oppressors." The resolution to PPS was also adopted, accusing the party of cooperation with the police against the Avengers and promising the retaliation, if such a situation occurred again.

Zakrzewski went to Lodz, where he got arrested on 19 of November 1913. Tortured by the police, he gave the names of other members of the group and the address of its meeting point to the prosecutors, and the group ceased to exist shortly after.

According to E. Ajnenkiel, over three years 371 people had joined the group, and 51 of them had been later sentenced to death or enforced labour. The biggest trial against the Avengers started in October 1914, with 76 people charged and more than 200 witnesses. After the initial hearing, the case was divided into a few smaller trials. After the beginning of the WWI, detained Avengers were moved first to Warsaw, and then to



LODZ Wokół Dworca  
Miejsca "Wodny Rynek"

Ochрана, 22 of them were later charged and put on trial.

In the new manifesto to the factory workers and peasants, issued in February 1912, the Avengers announced: "Workers! We will conquer the capital by force, we will take the resources from the exploiters, intelligentsia and bourgeoisie, the clergy, the merchants, officers, clerks, the lawyers and judges, journalists and the other social parasites, as well as the police, because all these resources come from our sweat and tears, and only we should use them. Do our poverty and human dignity spur us to live like humans or to die with dignity, to the immediate revenge on the oppressors and to the immediate expropriation of their capital and wealth, and justice will rule the world. Death to the oppressors! Long life to the worldwide commune!"

On the 7th of April the group robbed the cashier of the Geyer factory, and on 14th executed two wardens, Laszczuk and Chwedczak. All that time, the Avengers point out the political character of the actions, sending the letters to the "Kurier Łódzki" newspaper, in which they explained the ideological views and motivation of the group. They also sent a letter to the chief commander of the Police in Lodz, Rieszanow, promising him their revenge. In May the Avengers robbed two cashiers of Huta Bankowa, wounding three wardens: Prokopienka, Bieda and Rosiak. Later on, they moved its main activity to

Moscow, when the trials finally concluded with many of the charged either sentenced to death or enforced labour. Among them was: Michal Doroszewski, Wladyslaw Grobelski, Michal Krzeminski, Józef Cimek, Jan Kryster, Franciszek Tomaszewski, Kuno Reis, Jan and Antonii Slabosz, Julian Szwertner, Leon Banaszczyk, Franciszek Dluzewski, Andrzej and Bronislaw Cholysz.

### **"Anarchia" i "Czarny Kruk" (*"Anarchy" and "The Black Crow"*)**

The lack of the historical documents concerning the anarchism often makes it impossible to reconstruct the program and the history of certain groups, especially the ones that rejected terror and direct action in their activities. Due to their peaceful character, they passed unnoticed by the Tzarist Ochrana, which results in lack of historical documents concerning them. This is the case with "The Black Crow" and the "Anarchy" groups, existing probably between 1907 and 1910. It's only confirmed that the first of the mentioned consisted of 7 members, and the "Anarchy" group was probably a branch of Bialystok organization, bearing the same name and established in 1905 as the result of split in the anarchist movement in this city, after which one part of it adopted non-violent tactic and got involved in propaganda and agitation. They condemned "impersonal terror" and presented their program in the manifesto: "Anarchism and the Political Struggle."

### **Grupa Polskich Anarchistów (*Group of the Polish Anarchists*)**

In 1920, anarchists in Lodz established a group, which main aim was to spread anarchist propaganda and ideas. The group issued a paper in Yiddish, named "Głos Wolności" (The Voice of Freedom), as well as the pamphlet: "Contemporary Science and Anarchism" by Peter Kropotkin. In 1921 a group of young people joined the organization, to spread the propaganda among the students.

They issued the pamphlet: "A letter to the youth," circulated in local schools. The group also tried to reach the workers audience, by participating in the free evening classes organized by the mainstream trade unions. The unions, officially obeying a police order, cancelled these classes soon after that to avoid the spread of anarchist ideas. At the beginning of 1923 the group issued some more pamphlets in Yiddish, among them "Anarchizm i bolszewicki komunizm" ("The Anarchism and the Bolshevik Communism"), explaining the views of the anarchists on the Bolshevik state, and "Prawda o Machno" ("The Truth about Makhno"), distributed during the trial of Nestor Makhno at the Polish court. The group also printed Rudolf Rocker's "Dyktatura i rady"

torship of the proletariat. During it's first national conference, Federation condemned the Pilsudski regime and called for release of all the political prisoners. The Federation rejected the terror as a means of struggle and chose instead to focus on the trade unionism, strike actions and anarchist propaganda. It was regularly issuing various papers, such as "Głos Anarchisty", "Walka klas" ("Class Struggle"), "Młody Rewolucjonista" ("Young Revolutionist"), and "Anarchistyczna Federacja Polski" ("The Anarchist Federation of Poland"), as well as numerous brochures and pamphlets. Young anarchists often joined the communist demonstrations to provoke the discussion and spread the propaganda. The Federation also ran self-edu-



("Dictatorship and the Soviets"), but failed to smuggle it from the UK to Poland. In the fall of 1923, most of the members left to France, and the group ceased to exist.

### **Anarchistyczna Federacja Polski (*Anarchist Federation of Poland*)**

The Federation was established on 24th of July 1926 in Warsaw, during the First National Conference of Polish anarchists, by the delegates from five cities. Lodz wasn't represented, but delegates from the city joined the Federation in 1931 as the Baluty section (name of one of the city's boroughs), which indicates the place they lived.

The national paper of the Federation was named "Głos Anarchisty" ("The Voice of the Anarchist"), and was edited in Warsaw, and the political program of the Federation was based on anarcho-sindicalism, and the rejection of both the state and the dicta-

tion classes and organized lectures. There is no confirmed information about the strikes or demonstrations organized by the Federation in Lodz, except for the strike of bakers and decorators against the low wages in 1931, joined by the members of AFP in Lodz. There's a report on this strike, signed by S. Lowicka, member of the Federation in Lodz.

After the beginning of the WWII the Federation was officially dissolved, and its members joined the underground armed forces.

### **Bibliography:**

1. W. Karwacki: "Łódź w latach rewolucji 1905 - 1907", Łódź 1975
2. A. Rzewski: "Lokaut Łódzki" in "Niepodległość"
3. K. Stefanski: "Współczesne stronnictwa polityczne w Królestwie Polskim" in "Krytyka" vol XXIX
4. "Czerwony Sztandar", paper of PPS, No. 165, 17.03.1909
5. W. Kolodziej: "Anarchizm i anarchiści w Rosji i Królestwie Polskim" Torun 1992

6. H. Rappaport: "Anarchizm i anarchisci na ziemiach polskich do 1914r." Warszawa 1981
7. E. Ajnenkiel: "Rewolucyjni Mściciele" in "Rocznik Łódzki" vol. XXIX, Łódź 1980
8. "Łodzianin" no. 30, Kwiecień 1907r
9. Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi, Akta Gubernatora Piotrkowskiego, sygn. 1827/1912
10. W. Pawlak: "Na łódzkim braku" 11. L. Berenson: "Z celi śmierci"

### Appendix 1

#### Manifesto of the "Internacional":

To the working men and women! Rivers of blood run through the streets of Russia, the soil is soaked with the blood of victims, and yet the new blood is running, and the heads of our brave comrades are falling under the guillotine, the heads of the victims of the capitalist system and its despotic oppressors. Comrades! The bells are ringing, calling us to the new life, to the new struggle for life and death against the capitalist system and the much hated government, for the creation of anarchist commune. Comrade toilers! The time has passed, when you remove the dark cloud, not letting you see the light! Comrade toilers don't let democratic bourgeoisie cheat you with their promise of political revolution. Comrades! The toiler can't take any advantage of the political revolution, as he will only win the freedom to starve, the freedom to die, freedom to shed its blood, and the capitalist, our enemies, will have all the rights, the freedom to exploit the toiler, a freedom to suck his blood and strength. Political revolution will give us nothing, so we have to mobilise all our strength, carry out the pro-aganda and the struggle against the present order, which means against the ruling class. What we need is freedom without the government. Nobody is ruling - nobody is oppressed. Our goal is to spread our anarchist idea. Our goal is to defend the case of the working class, don't allow it to be mixed with the mud of the ruling order. Comrades! The democratic government is the institution by which the bourgeoisie, calling itself the representation of the working class, will cuff your hands again. Comrades! The historical moment has come, the soil is soaked with the blood of our comrades, and yet the new victims have perished, the new martyrs on the altar of freedom, these are some of their heroic names: Blumenfeld, "Jankiel Kamasznik", "Kuba", student Modzelewski,

Abramowicz, Szulc. These names will be remembered and written with fire in the book of revolution. Comrade toilers! We all have a duty to avenge the heroes, our comrades, victims of the capitalist system. Don't let the death of our heroic comrades scare you, fight against the capitalist system. Forge the sabres, clean the guns. Let the anger explode, let the storm come, in the time of the final war, rip the masks from the faces of your enemies!

Down with the capitalist system! Long life to the social revolution!  
Down with the slayers and the defenders of the private property!  
Long life to the anarchist commune!

Signed: Group of the Anarchists - Communists of Lodz "Intenacional"

(Manifesto was issued on 2nd of February 1906 in Yiddish, translation based on Russian police report)

### Appendix 2

#### Political program of Revolutionists-Terrorists group, later adopted by the "Revolutionary Avengers"

Our group is a terrorist organization of the political and economic character, which goal is the struggle for the liberation of the working class from the yoke of bourgeoisie and the government. The organization adopts widespread terror as its means of political and economical struggle, as well as the expropriation of the money, belonging to both the government and the bourgeoisie. We do not carry out the struggle for the independence of Poland, although we demand wide political and cultural autonomy for the country, and the equal distribution of wealth among the working people. One of the goals of our organization is to provide a help and support for our members in prisons and in enforced labour camps, as well as their families, if they are only dependent on the imprisoned member inco-

mes and in need of help. We feel also obliged to help our members, who got deconspirated and are in need. The money gained through our actions



will be distributed among all the comrades, according to their needs, but some agreed amount will be always left as the organizational resource, under the supervision of the directorate. The directorate is responsible for the organizational funds, and will provide the general assembly with the periodical reports on incomes and spending. The members of the organization are electing the directorate, obliged to enforce all the resolutions of the general assembly. Important organizational and political issues are discussed on the general assembly. Anybody who is willing to become a member of "Revolutionary Avengers" and will be accepted as a member of the group is obliged to take part in all the terrorist actions of the group, otherwise he can't be a member. We do not have any leaders, every member of the group has the right to vote, and all the members are equal. For the time of action only, the commander is to be elected, and all the members will have to obey his orders - although during the action only. Members of our group are obliged to observe the rules of strict conspiracy, and to live a decent life to prove we are the freedom fighters, not the casual criminals and thieves.

The original document was stamped

with two seals, red and black, with the symbols of skull and the crossbones.

### Appendix 3 Statute of the Revolutionists-Terrorists and the "Revolutionary Avengers"

Everybody joining the organization is swearing, on his honour, that he will not pass any information about the group and its actions to anybody; otherwise he will be put on trial at the organizational court and might be even sentenced to death. Every member of our group is obliged to strictly follow this statute. Every member of our group is obliged to observe the rules of strict conspiracy, don't possess any suspicious goods, don't have any relationship with suspicious people, don't get involved in political discussions in the factories, but to pretend complete indifference. Every member of the group must pay attention to the other members' behaviour, and if he finds anything suspicious, report it on the meeting immediately. For breaching the rules of conspiracy, showing off the weapon etc anybody will be removed from the organization. Members of our organization are bound with each other with the ties of brotherhood, and will support each other, also the ones who are in prison. They will receive all the possible help, as well as their families, and every possible step will be taken to secure their release. Agreed amount of money, gained through the direct

action, will stay within the group, the rest will be distributed among its members according to their needs. Nobody can refuse taking part in the action; otherwise they will be removed from the organization. If the success of the action requires that a member of the group will lose his life, the volunteers will be called, in case there will be no volunteers - the draw will be held. The penalty for not turning up for the action is death, even without the decision of the organizational court. The penalty for desertion from the place of action is death, and every member of the group can shoot the deserter in the head. If the members of the group carry out an action without the knowledge of the organization, they will be removed. Although, if the action is agreed and there's an opportunity to carry it out, and it's impossible to inform the group about it then members of the group should do it, and report it on the nearest meeting.

The penalty for executing an innocent man is death.

The penalty for a fraud is death.

The penalty for a betrayal is death.

The general assembly is the highest authority in the group.

*The document was stamped with two seals, red and black, with the symbols of skull and the crossbones.*

### Appendix 4 Manifesto of the "Revolutionary Avengers"

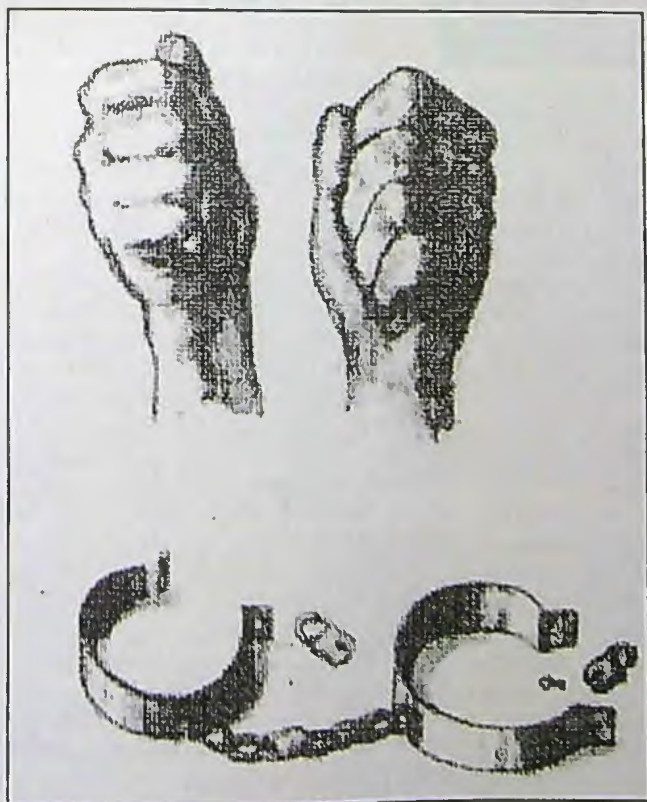
*Only these will see  
the day of freedom  
Who are free by their  
free will.*

*The Kingdom of God  
might be conquered  
Only by the means of  
violence.*

*To the factory workers  
and peasants!  
What is the meaning  
of your life?*

The answer to this question we will find in ourselves. All our life is first of all the struggle for a better piece of bread, for a better place to live, generally, for improving our living. Besides this need, common to all the mankind, every human being got its own targets he's trying to

reach. Achieving those targets on the level that gives us satisfaction is called the happiness. So, to achieve happiness is a main goal of human life. To achieve it, we have to carry out the constant struggle against the numerous obstacles. Everyone of us, toilers, knows the price of happiness, but do we do anything about it, except from complaining? Why is it like this? Why we, all the hungry toilers, knowing well what we need, are still suffering from the poverty and unemployment, or - even worse - fighting each other? It's because we are led by the capitalists and its paid butlers - the intelligentsia - who are poisoning our minds with their propaganda. Every time the oppressed masses were preparing for the bloody battle with them, and for expropriating their wealth, those dogs feed with the leftovers by the capitalists, those policemen in disguise, the intelligentsia, were hanging around the angry masses with their sweet lies and the hearts of the treacherous beasts. They misled the weak minds of divided toilers and then - instead of the final fight with the capital and the just expropriation of the wealth - they got involved in the political parties, discouraging them from achieving the real targets, making them fight each other, and promising the bright future will come once the bad government will be changed for the worse, or after death. We shall remember about the last revolution, when so many working people have perished as victims of intelligentsia, who sent the workers for a fight against the Tzarist government, a fight somehow unsuitable for its allies, the bourgeoisie. The case of the French Revolution shows us how many toilers will benefit from changing the Tzarist government for the democratic one. Agitated by the paid butlers - the intelligentsia - French toilers raised the weapons and, for the price of thousands of victims, defeated the feudal regime of king and the nobles. The bourgeoisie was celebrating the victory over the nobles. The castles and public buildings were full of music and joy, but when the toilers demanded them to fulfil their promises, when they demanded the bread and freedom - they've seen the same weapons that they defeated the monarchy with - pointed against them by the new rulers. Considering this, now we know that no external force will bring us freedom, nor will the speeches of the traitors - like Daszynski, Wronski, Bebel - and other "friends" of the people paid by the capitalists. They will never help us, they will harm our case by poisoning our minds and turning our attention to



the issues of secondary importance. These quasi-socialists are only using the slogans of freedom, fraternity and equality to gain the support from the working class. But the working class will never be allowed to put those slogans to life, or to claim its share in a capital created by its own labour. Gentlemen from intelligentsia will call you a bandit or a spy, and kill you in the name of socialist idea, or denounce you to the Tzarist slayers, openly or by using its papers, "Robotnik" and "Górnik", just as it happens before. Just as well, we can't rely on the education, for the education is in hands of the intelligentsia, and it's used as another means of oppression against the working class. Toilers! We will never come out of the hell of poverty if we keep on believing in the promises of capitalists, if our free will is restrained by their ideas of good and evil. We are not going to lie to ourselves, nor pretend to believe, that the wolves will ever stop eating other animals, or our oppressors will invite us to their magnificent palaces, and move to our miserable lodges instead, that they will exchange their finest meals and drinks for our black bread, their silk for our rugs. As the Christ said, the Kingdom of God (and the communion of wealth) belongs to the strong ones. The improvement of life of the working class can't be achieved by our dreams, or by any means thought up by our enemies, who will make the rich even richer and the poor even poorer. It can be only achieved by our own deeds, by hitting the rotten tree of the capital with the axe. Toilers! We will conquer the capital by force, we will take the resources from the explorers, intelligentsia and bourgeoisie, the clergy, the merchants, officers, clerks, the lawyers and judges, journalists and the other social parasites, as well as the police, because all these resources come from our sweat and tears, and only we should use them. Do our poverty and human dignity spur us to live like a humans or to die with a dignity, to the immediate revenge on the oppressors and to the immediate expropriation of their capital and wealth, and the justice will rule the world.

Death to the oppressors!  
 Long life to the worldwide commune!  
 Long life to the true brotherhood of the suffering people! Long life to the

Group of Revolutionary Avengers!

Circulation: 22 000 copies.

Appendix 5

Minutes from the conference of Revolutionary Avengers in Zakopane, 26th of May 1913

The conference was called by Michal Zakrzewski from Lodz, nickname: "Jastrzab" During the conference, following matters were discussed;

1. The organization of Group of Revolutionary Avengers.
2. Relationship with PPS-FR.
3. Free motions.

The discussion was begun by



Zakrzewski, pointing out that after death of "Sep" - Józef Piątek, the organization ceased to exist, and its remaining member doesn't feel bound with the organizational statute. Nowadays, Russian government is focusing all its attention on investigating and repressing the most militant forces within the labour movement. These repressions have forced the most politically conscious and militant workers to emigrate abroad, mostly to Galicja. The refugees suffer a lot of hardship here, and are starving due to the lack of material resources. So, the time has come to provide help and support to everybody in need. That's why we decided to re-establish a Group of Revolutionary Avengers and we are hoping that its ranks will be soon filled with brave and ready-for-everything militants. Our program and our tactic are simple: "Struggle against the oppression,

death to the oppressors, guns and bombs for the militants, expropriation as a means of struggle. Money gained in action will cover the organizational needs and the needs of repressed comrades." Józef Winiarski "Sowa" has referred to the second point of the conference, stating that PPS-FR has adopted a tactic of oppressing these militants, who don't follow the orders of Central Workers' Committee (the highest authority of the party), and even denouncing the dissidents to the Tzarist police. These repressions are carried out against the members of "Revolutionary Avengers" mostly. As we couldn't bear it any more, we've issued a letter to the Central Worker's Committee, demanding the repressions to be stopped, and threatening to blow up an office of the Committee at the "Trybuna" headquarters during its meeting if the repressions against our comrades will continue. Most of the members of our Group of Revolutionary Avengers come from the ranks of PPS militia. We know the addresses of secret caches of firearms and explosives, belonging to this party, as well as we know about some of the expropriations and robberies planned by the party militia. These weapons and explosives should be taken over by our group, and the planned robberies and expropriations should be carried out by the Avengers as soon as possible, as the Russian police is unprepared to deal with such actions due to the lasting truce in the country. Such actions should be carried out during the summer period, as the fields and forests will provide the hideout for the assailants. PPS-FR itself is hesitating with starting the direct action, as the party leadership don't trust the militants, suspecting that they might keep the robbed money themselves. Considering the third point of the meeting, the decision was taken to rebuild the Group of Revolutionary Avengers, and Michal Zakrzewski "Jastrzab" was elected as its leader, with Józef Winiarski "Sowa" as his deputy. At the end of the conference, three militant squads were formed, consisting of four people each. Two of them were sent to Warsaw and Sosnowiec, the third one was split and two groups were sent to Lublin and Kielce as the organizers. The group were ordered to get a job in these places, even the lowest paid, and carry out a surveillance to establish the routes of the money transports, as well as the security used during these transports.



# Anti-Fascist News



## The case of Janov neighbourhood

The Janov is a kind of suburban town of Litvínov, famous only for high unemployment and big chemical factory. Janov itself is a group of block of flats on the edge of this ugly, gray town. Although nowadays it is probably the most famous suburb in Czechia.

### Background

The story goes like this: really cheap flats in old concrete block of flats in a bad condition were bought by estate agencies. On the other hand, those agencies bought houses in lucrative parts of towns and cities (usually near city centers) around Czechia that were famous for its problematic occupants, usually Roma people.

According to Czech law, you have a right to live in former town flats for really cheap rent (so-called regulated rent that is around 1/10 of usual rent) even when the house is sold to private owner. So estate agencies bought this kind of houses at lucrative spots from municipal authorities (the authorities were quite happy to hand over these problematic localities; a lot of renters didn't pay rent at all anyway) and made more or less threatening offer: you got another flat (yes, the one in Janov) and a little cash and you leave this house.

For real estates, perfect deal: they got the houses really cheap, got the flats really cheap and for little money they now have houses at lucrative spots, ready for re-building for luxury flats. For town authorities, perfect deal: legally they got rid of the "problematic", in most cases Roma people.

However, this set a big problem for Janov. Just imagine a few hundred unemployed people with their color-of-skin stigma (and therefore unemployable by racist employees) in an area of already high unemployment moved in at one place... And so happened that a majority of desperate people started to be exploited by a minority of drug dealers, human traffickers, usurers and mafia-style criminals. The situation wasn't certainly improved by different social habits of most new inhabitants, such as loudness or tolerance to rubbish and dirtiness outside their flats.

The situation became really tense as original inhabitants (mainly white, even though a significant Roma minority belong to them as well) started to have troubles with new ones (mainly Romas). At least from their point of view (from outside, dividing for "old" and "new" could seem to be pointless), drug users and gangs of youngsters from poor families started to steal and assault people etc.

As one could see, the problem is mainly social one. When you take a bunch of socially excluded and desperate people to one place – and deny any help to them due to traditional racism among authorities – organized crime and other forms of social pathology (drugs, gambling...) have a perfect place to root. However, due to the same racism it is easy to see the problem as a racial one.



### Neo-nazis in action

And that's precisely what happened. Czech neo-nazis smelled the great opportunity. D?lnická strana (the Workers Party), basically a political cover for organized neo-nazis with a few new, serious faces in its leadership, send its "safeguarding forces" (composed

exclusively of militant nazis) to Janov to "check the situation" at the end of September.

Their provocation was successful. The small unit of neo-nazis was surrounded by a group of Roma people at the edge of Janov. Manifestly unarmed neo-nazis were really scared and tried to cover themselves behind one of the few neo-nazi girls that were presented. And then, the most significant moment happened; due to presence of TV crews it became a symbol itself, certainly for nazis. Big muscled guy with golf club (famous mafia man and former trainer of martial arts for municipal police, by the way, so certainly not a sympathetic character for anarchists at all) came closer to the nazi girl at the head of the unit and started to

shout to her racist abuses (such as "white Czech bitch") and threatened her to become his whore. The image was strong: big muscled Roma guy racially abusing (white neo-nazi) girl that was about half of his weight and of a head or more smaller. Significantly, what was not presented in the image was a bunch of scared neo-nazis looking away trying to pretend they don't see the incident happen-



ing two meters before them...

Nothing more happened, probably due to the strong police presence. Scared neo-nazis were escorted out of the town by police. Anyway, nazis started to mobilize for a big demonstration as a follow-up. They chose a date with a strong historical reminiscence, November 17 (a day when nazis shut down the universities and executed student leaders in 1939, plus a day when the

state communist regime was confronted with first massive demonstration that led to its fall in 1989) and did massive mobilization.

On the more or less closed internet forums they drummed for violence. Tips for street arms and tactics how to confront police were exchanged, on public invitations they advised wearing tooth protection, helmets, leg-guards etc.

### Battle of Janov

On November 17, a big amount of neo-nazis showed up, supported by a strong number of right-wing football hooligans that smelled a confrontation. Around six hundred people together, maybe even more. Also, significant numbers of local people came to support the demonstration, at least two hundred according to reports.

On the way to demonstration, several neo-nazis were arrested for possessing various arms: knives, axes, baseball bats etc. Anyway, in the end of demonstration, a massive march to the Janov started in a clear attempt for pogrom. When police tried to stop the march at the edge of Janov, a massive street battle began.

One of the biggest street confrontations in the history of Czechia lasted at least for three hours. Molotov cocktails, military and homemade explosives and massive amount of rocks were used by neo-nazis. Several policemen were injured as well as several neo-nazis. One of nazis had his fingers cut away by homemade explosive. One police car was burned.

Neo-nazis had a strong support of local people that not only cheered them, but also actively participated in a fight by supplying drinks and even arms. Some of them also served as guide for them, advising how to by-pass police lines.

Just around two hundred neo-nazis finally reached the edge of Janov and negotiated with police a march through streets of Janov, of course under strong police presence. Strong amount of police also guarded several hundred of local Roma people, assembled and armed with sticks ready to defend their homes. Those two groups didn't meet, however.

### Day after

Neo-nazis presented this action as a victory. And one has to admit that they were right. They saw and felt a strong local support, managed to fight police for more than three hours, made national headlines (therefore got more support) and also managed to influence politics a lot. Since the "battle of Janov", authorities started to solve local problems, police started to confront mafia there etc. Janov became priority number one not only

for local authorities, but also for the government. Last but not least, only few nazis were arrested ("surprisingly", as many of them didn't have any masks) and just twelve of them were accused of minor offences. Majority of them was freed anyway.

Anti-racist NGOs and Roma association later accused police of a silent tolerance of neo-nazi violence. They were probably right – neo-nazis publicly announced that they go there for a pogrom, a lot of them had weapons etc. Even though police know how to prevent this kind of demonstration and have a lot of practice from anarchist gatherings, they didn't do anything and waited until the edge of Janov to start to do anything. And from tactical point of view, that was too late.

On their forums, neo-nazis had ecstasy. Many dreamt about the beginning of RAHOWA (racial holy war), some articles in "sci-fi" style described "battle of Janov" in retrospective as a start of global neo-nazi revolution etc.

For sure the Janov made them stronger. They got a lot of support from "ordinary" people – something new and pretty unusual for them. They felt a real power in a sense they could easily force local authorities and government to follow their demands. Since that, a lot of cities defend their racist actions by something like "we don't want the situation become so tense as in Janov" and just a public mention of a town with a strong Roma minority from Delnicka Strana's leadership usually lead to stronger repression against Roma people there.

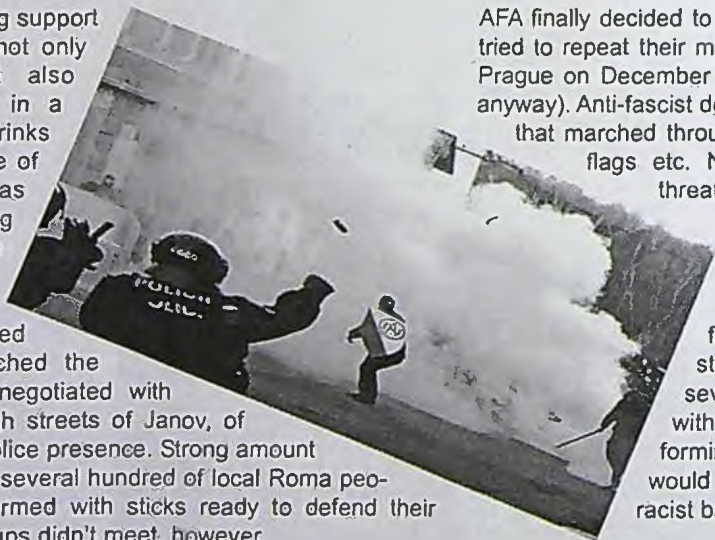
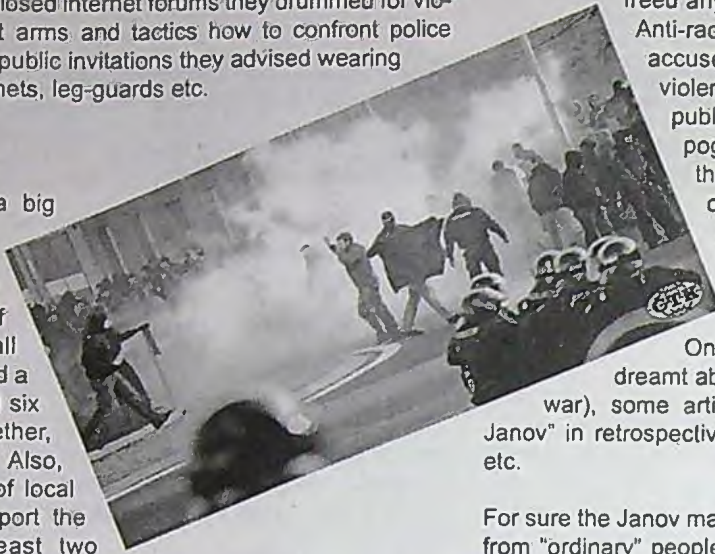
### Antifascist inaction

The sad part is the attitude of organized anti-fascists and anarchists. No counter-action was made on the spot (and in retrospective, it would be one of the cases that it would really have had a sense). After the action, organized anti-fascists remained silent or repeat clichés like "neo-nazis are real criminals".

AFA finally decided to react, but not in the locality. When nazis tried to repeat their march, AFA called for anti-fascist march in Prague on December 13 (nazis finally postponed their march, anyway). Anti-fascist demo attracted around five hundred people that marched through the city center with various banners, flags etc. No incidents happened, although nazis threatened the action publicly.

Later, a group of local anarchists and anti-fascists (more or less around Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation) formed a group focused on Janov and started to be active there. So far they did several leaflets hand-outs and discussions with local people, planning to move towards forming a local group from local people that would act on solving local problems on non-racist basis.

It's probably too early to have solid conclusion. Ministry of Interior made a court appeal to dissolve *Delnicka strana*, so their leadership has its own problems right now. No matter how the court hearing finishes, nazis are for sure stronger thanks to the action in Janov. They could easily form a new cover for their activities or act underground, no matter. What matters is active resistance towards their activities and to say honestly, in this case anti-fascists lost. And what is even sadder, they lost in absentia. Hopefully we managed to learn from the mistakes and work better next time...





# Antifascist Action Budapest: Day of Honour report

"50 antifas against more than 1000 nazis was heroic and hopeless act"

Anti-Fascist News

During the socialist times when the Berlin wall separated East Germany and West Germany, people reunited on holiday trips to the Balaton. Now Hungary is such a free country that fascists from all Europe come here to enjoy themselves. State repression and regulations are much milder than in most other places, which makes our country a favourite destination for fascist get-togethers like the Day of Honour on February 14th. On this day between 1000-2000 fascists gathered, with "official" delegations and buses from at least 5 countries, sporting insignia and flags that would be illegal in their home countries.

The military-style commemoration included a Hero's March through the city park to the prominent Hero's Square, and the Day of Honour proceeded with speeches, music and all that. All this marching and standing in squares and hate speech was enacted to remember and cheer the last pathetic attempt of the classic Nazi troops at military conflict in Hungary. On this day they were already surrounded by the red army, their last stronghold being the Castle Hill in Budapest near the Danube. Around 60, 000 Nazi troops were there, half German SS, half from the Hungarian Arrow Cross Party (Arrow->Arian) army. They tried to break out from here and join the other Nazis outside Budapest. In fact it was such a great failure that we should celebrate it instead, with most Nazi soldiers dying, wounded or captured, but since it is considered "heroic" to die for your country or for your race, they are now role models for some contemporary nazis.



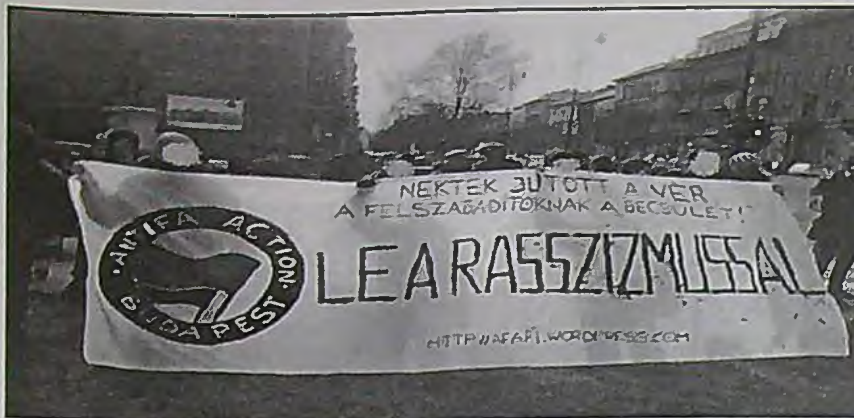
There have been some attempts to raise a voice against this major nazi event before, like the media stunt last year dubbed Mötley Hungarian, where people gathered the garbage left after the nazi demo from the square suggesting that the nazis are also garbage, and one year a Jewish organisation made a counter-demonstration. The Hungarian Socialist Party (the party in power) and some other political forces also organised demonstrations against nazis in general, because of which antifascism was considered by many people as a political current that is supporting the existing government. However, all these things were conciliatory in their tone, and classic Antifascist Action style opposition was missing until now.

The newly formed AA group had some difficulties organising the demo, for example the nazis are still so afraid that they didn't announce the location of the demonstration until only two days before the event, and the location of the afterparty they only announced

right there after the celebration, so it was not clear where to announce the anti-demonstration. Last year some individuals went there to voice their opposition but they were neutralised by the police even before they got close to the nazi demo, so this year AA choose to register the demo. In retrospect it was a good decision because almost all people are intimidated by the recent spread of nazi activities and many people didn't come even to the registered antifa demo because they were afraid — which is totally all right.

After a dodgy but really positive solidarity concert (hardcore punk in the traditional punk industrial neighbourhood) and two weeks of postering/sticker-mailing and blogging, around 50 antifascist people gathered, mostly from Hungary but also many from the surrounding countries, supported by a sound system in a shopping cart. We also went to the location of the demo and flew flags, huge banners and shouted antifascist slogans. It was a little comic because the big square was full of nazis and we were only a tiny group compared to them at the edge of the square howling like angry dogs. The most strange thing about it all is that new Hungarian law of "free gathering" required that all demonstrations take place inside a cage of cordon and a circle of policemen, so we were really like dogs inside a small cage surrounded by policemen, although the nazis also had their own cage and circle of pigs. 50 antifas against more than 1000 nazis was as heroic and hopeless as the break-out attempts these scum were celebrating. In this situation, with some nazi skin-





head groups waiting near the AA demonstration to hunt down people who leave alone, it was a good tactical fact that the authorities were doing their job properly. Finally, everybody got home safe and it was the small beginning of a local AA group. We hope that after this year's demonstration more will join in because they see that it is possible to tell "Fuck nazis" in their eyes and get away with it.

Of course it is not merely possible but absolutely necessary, since xenophobia, homophobia, nationalism and outright fascist and nazist views are really getting popular these days in Hungary, especially gipsy-phobia which by now can be considered mainstream. The structures and activists of rightwing groups are more developed every year: the raging subculture breeds new groups every half a year. Some of these are also fighting between themselves, as is customary, for example the revisionists against the Nazis, etc. Jobbik ("More Right / Better") is their political party which has seats in some local governments, which is of course considered reformist by the more radicals. They have various websites like kuruc.info where they publish news, views and the personal data about their enemies. A web portal mozgalom.org ("Movement") is integrating various online Hungarist currents and doing widespread street propaganda, using imagery reminiscent of the workers' movement with the slogan "Our Socialism is Nationalist". Many associations gather to them like 77 Vármegye ("77 counties" -- revisionist allusion to the territory of Hungary before the Trianon treaty). The first of their paramilitary organisations was Magyar Gárda ("Hungarian Guard"), but now there are more, each with funnier uniforms than the ones before. Vér és Becsület / Blood and Honour is the local chapter of the well-known international

retro-nazist organisation. There are so many groups that the Day of Honour was organised by a coalition called NS (= "National Socialist") Front made by Blood & Honour Hungaria, Pax Hungarica, Véres Kard ("Bloody Sword") and Hungaria Skins, and attended by most aforementioned organisations, not including the (revisionist) Combat 18 which was excluded by the organisers.

Beyond the war of positions these groups like the Hungarian Guard began organised militant activities drifting into low intensity warfare against the Hungarian gipsy population. In the last 16 months they managed to get the idea of "Gipsy Crime" into the mainstream discourse by scandalising crime cases where the perpetrator was Roma. Of course these cases get more frequent as the economic crisis deepens, since gipsy is almost an economic term. The people usually targeted by rightwing extremism typically live in the countryside in misery, without jobs, basic infrastructure and future prospects. And it's not enough to be in such a hopeless situation, now it's also that nazi skinheads organise marches, demonstrations and brawling, coming by the dozens from all around the country to small villages with predominantly gipsy populations. In one case 60 Hungarian Guards gathered in a village to oppose local "Gipsy Crime" but they were scattered

by the 500 local gipsies, but even a small number of nazis can spread fear in a community. Some cases in this campaign of violence against the

minority involves the local Polgárorség ("civil guard") volunteer associations, which are civil society organisations that "help the authorities to maintain law and order": they have cars, uniforms, shortwave radios, sometimes firearms and get public funding. Last week one of these set fire to a house in his village and executed the fleeing 5 year old child with a shotgun along with another family member. The rest of the residents burned inside the house and are in hospital now with serious injuries. Authorities made every effort to cover this bastard's back, announcing that everybody died in a fire accident. Many eyewitness reports from the neighbours proved the contrary, as well as the bullets and shot wounds on the bodies of the dead. Now there is a big ceremony and public mobilisation around the burial but also everybody is talking about "Gipsy Crime" and "Gipsy Question" again. I think they should talk about "Nazi Crime" and "Economic Question" instead!



The struggle continues: on March 22 there is another grassroots antifascist demonstration and the usual "Peace Sign" ritual, and in August the nazis are looking backwards again with the Rudolf Hess memorial day that was moved to Budapest from Germany where it was illegalised. Now that the first steps were made, Antifascist Action shall continue and prevail!

## No Repression for Standing up to Fascism!

Once again, the Polish state protects fascists and anti-semites



On November 11, 2008, the far-right anti-semitic group ONR (Radical National Camp) held a march in Warsaw. The group is known for violent attacks on homosexuals, extreme nationalism and anti-semitism.

ONR organized protests during the "March of the Living", an annual march where Jewish teens (and others) from all over the world go to the Auschwitz death camp. During their protest, some of the people held signs that said "Heil Hitler" or had other nazi and anti-semitic slogans. It also organizes annual commemorations of a pogrom in Myslence. Various formal organizations, including political parties, religious associations and the like have appealed to the authorities on numerous occasions to uphold the laws forbidding the public propagation of fascism and anti-semitism but this is usually to no avail.

Often the marches of ONR lead to counter-demonstrations but these are normally accompanied by strong police measures against the counter-demonstrators. ONR has also adopted the tactic of not disclosing the real location of their marches too far in advance, which makes it difficult for people inclined to register a legal demonstration to do so in time. In addition, the police do not usually allow counter-demonstrations in the same place.

This year a counter-demonstration could not be organized and instead a group of people decided to conduct a civil disobedience by vowing to stand in the street in front of the march and not let them pass. The action was non-violent in nature. Many people not previously involved in any political movement came to the action.

The people were surrounded by police and released much later. Many passerby's who were not part of it got caught in the police cordon. Other pedestrians spontaneously joined the anti-fascists.

Despite the fact that ONR is a hideous criminal organization, it is those who have stood up to the spread of fascism and anti-semitism, who have decided to publicly manifest their disapproval who are likely to be criminalized. Several young people have been summoned to police stations and, after refusing to testify, were threatened with court cases if they did not agree to accept fines.

The fines are quite high - several times higher than usual for such a misdemeanour. It is clear what tactics the police are using and why. Clearly the police are trying to intimidate and come down hard on young protesters, some of whom have never been to a demo before.

We are calling on people to send a letter to the Interior Ministry and the President of Warsaw asking them not to repress the anti-fascists for their action of conscience.

A sample letter is attached below, but please add something from yourself and modify them so that not all the letters are the same!

People who have sent letters by mail or fax are asked to send copies to: [riseupwarsaw@gmail.com](mailto:riseupwarsaw@gmail.com)

This e-mail address is being protected from spambots. You need JavaScript enabled to view it

Anarchist Solidarity group is also preparing help with legal aid. People wishing to make contributions should contact them to obtain bank details: or [anarchistsolidarity@yahoo.com](mailto:anarchistsolidarity@yahoo.com)

This e-mail address is being protected from spambots. You need JavaScript enabled to view it

November 11 Solidarity Group

### SAMPLE LETTER

to: Grzegorz Schetyna  
Minister of Internal Affairs and  
Administration  
Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i  
Administracji  
ul. Stefana Batorego 5, 02-591  
Warszawa  
fax (0-22) 845-00-20  
[minister@mswia.gov.pl](mailto:minister@mswia.gov.pl)  
to: Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz

Urząd m.st. Warszawy  
pl. Bankowy 3/5, 00-950 Warszawa

Fax: 022 595 30 52

e-mail: [biuroprezydenta@warszawa.um.gov.pl](mailto:biuroprezydenta@warszawa.um.gov.pl)

"We are writing to express our concern over the increase in fascist and anti-semitic marches in Poland. We believe it is the duty of citizens to protest against the spread of far-right extremism and hate. On November 11 in Warsaw, people took and stand against fascism and anti-semitism and they may now face heavy fines or have court cases. The state should not help fascism and try to punish those who resist. We ask that there be no punishment for the anti-fascists.

Sincerely, (...)"

## Report from Belarus

### KGB is oppressing youngsters and anti-fascists in Brest

Since the beginning of November, Brest KGB has been called in for questioning teen-agers and antifascists. About 20 people were questioned during 3 weeks. KGB tries to incriminate them as part of the organisation Radical Antifascist Group. Though they haven't any file on it. Furthermore they don't care about Belarusian procedural legislation.

Firstly, nobody has got any summon. KGB servicemen call or visit workplaces of people who refused to go to questioning without receipt of summon in order to oppress their chiefs. They promise to throw young people out of work in case they will not come. They call parents and promise them troubles at work if their children will refuse to tell the truth.

Secondly, they force all to sign the papers which say that you belong to Radical Antifascist Group (They don't tell what is meant by it. They only want that people sign the papers). KGB serviceman Lapitsky Alexey pegs away at this task.

Between this and then they ask about explosion on the 3rd of July.

It is reasonable to suggest:

Authority and nazis are in cahoots. On the 10th of May nazis attacked visitors of one gig with silent connivance of cops. There are some videos where nazis beat people and cops stay without doing any hand's turn.

Explosion on the 3rd of July is a good reason for check, questioning of opposition and subcultural people which can

be dangerous for existing authority. Situation looks like European, American, and Russian war on terror: different social activists are brought to justice for extremism, adequate definition of which is not stated.

There is nothing new concerning my last report. The guys were only called in for questioning. The cops forced them to work for police.

But 14.02 a new story happened ... I think it is connected with the last one because we see that Brest cops work closely with local neo-nazi. On 14.02 people in Brest organized gig of Distemper, the band known for its anti-fascist views. But cops abolished it because they were afraid of fights between antifa and nazi. We decided to organize party in one club. About 15 nazi came to the club. Their leader talked to cops. Some of us heard the police gave him the command to attack us. But nazi were in fear because our company numbered over 30 persons. After party we went home. The cops followed us on the way. In the bus we saw some nazi, attack them and left the bus. Cops managed to catch 7 of us and brought to police station. Next morning they set 6 persons free. The 7th guy was kept in the station. Cops try to incriminate him the damage of the window broken during the fight in the bus. But it is no end to this story.

On 16.02 one of guys caught on Saturday was arrested by cops for 3 days. They want to incriminate him organization of the fight. We don't know what will happen next but now we try to collect money for lawyer.

### "Anti-racist movement in Russia in need of a serious strategically approach"

## Interview with Russian anti-racists

Recently Swedish activist Etranger questioned two Moscow activists, Utka and Igor, on state of anti-racist movement and activities of anti-migrant groups. Swedish version of the interview was published in <http://www.motkraft.net/text/396>. In this interview, Utka and Igor represent themselves and not any particular group.

**Question:** How many anti-migrations groups are involved in the movement against migrants? What is the strategy of these groups?

**Utka:** You can still hardly speak about a common movement against migrants. There are several groups and some of them have started to cooperate.

The main anti-migration organisation is the DPNI (Movement against illegal immigration, founded in 2002). The main purpose was to create a modern right wing movement in the style of Le Pen or Joerg Haider. They have strong groups in some bigger cities and the leader of the DPNI, Aleksandr Belov, is involved in construction business, where the most of the workers are foreigners from the CIS countries. The DNPI is very close with the neo nazi organisation Slavic Union (SS)

from Dmitry Demushkin. Mainly the DPNI works on a strategy to show, that Russian people fight against foreigners, and not only right wing movements. The DPNI inflates conflicts with participation of non-Russians and submits them in absolutely other key, as ethnic conflicts even if they are not.

Only in 2008, when the economical crisis discussions about "illegal" immigration became more important, some pro-kremlin youth organisations raised the item of

"illegal immigrants" supporting the government. One of them is the Young Guard, the youth organisation of the party United Russia.

Some years ago the organisation was not very active - especially if you compare it with other pro-kremlin youth organisations (for example, the movements "Going together" and "Ours"). Feature the Young Guard (MGER) in comparison with "Ours": "Ours" basically are careerists from not exclusive layers, active part of the Young Guard are mainly children of Putins power structure members.

Under the slogan "Our money for our people" members of the Young Guard (the youth organisation of the Kremlin party United Russia) held anti-foreigner demonstrations on 1 November (and again on 8 December) in several big cities.

In particular, they took pages out of



the DPNI's tawdry book, by demanding a halt to the migration of foreign workers to Russia, the deportation of migrants without proven residence status and offered themselves for street patrols to seek out illegal foreigners.

A few days later, the Young Guardists and their fellow pro-Kremlin activists of Mestnye ("Locals") signed an agreement to coordinate their activities in the fight against "illegal migrants." Letting the cat out of the bag, Mestnye leader Sergei Fateyev also announced his readiness to work together with the DPNI.

Away from the courts, Russki Obraz (RO - Russian Kind), one of the fascist outfits that co-organises the so-called "Russian Marches", has been trying to raise its public profile as a rival in xenophobia of front-runners like the Movement against Illegal Immigration and the Kremlin-linked youth organisation, Young Guard.

On 11 December, about 30 RO supporters gathered in the centre of Moscow to demand changes in the law to limit the number of migrant workers during the ongoing economic crisis and to have the term "ethnic crime" written into the penal code. This latter demand is likely to find misguided support amongst many people because hardly a day passes without the Russian media reporting on minor crimes committed by foreign workers hit by the crisis and deprived of basic rights.

The RO has already found ready listeners in the Russian parliament, the State Duma. The day before its Moscow rally, they held a round table on "The Migration of Labour in Times of Crisis: Threats and Challenges." Along side some of the usual suspects from the far-right, Maxim Misshenko also took part.

Misshenko, 31, is not only an MP for the Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's party United Russia but also heads another Kremlin-linked group, Rossia Molodaya (Young Russia), and is frequently present in the media. As well as lending RO his presence, Misshenko added to its credibility by receiving a petition outlining a draft of racist legislative proposals.

And, as if that wasn't enough, three hundred right-wing extremists staged an authorised march on Russia's Constitution Day, 12 December in Moscow where they heard speeches by members of the Nazi Slavic Union, the Russian National Bolshevik Front and the DPNI. The event was used as an opportunity to give Hitler salutes, actions likely to be repeated when the far-right stages its next "Russian March" in March.

Grabbing even more publicity, however, for its xenophobic campaigns has been Young Guard, the youth organisation of Russian premier Vladimir Putin's United Russia, which, on 19 January organised rallies against migrant labour at the railway stations of several Russian cities. In Moscow, about 50 Young Guard members

showed up to dish out their leaflets to passengers newly arrived from Tashkent and to wave placards with the slogans "If you want to work, pay your taxes" and "Illegal = thief".

This performance drew some resistance from anti-fascist anarchists who held up a banner with the slogan "No human being is illegal" and pelted the Young Guard members with eggs. It was the first action against these kind of official meetings. It might become the beginning of a more organised struggle against the anti-migrant groups.



Some efforts were made to organise migrant groups, but they are directed on trade-union activity. Russian NGO's condemn the anti-migrant groups, but they don't have any activities to stop them. The official migration authorities condemned the efforts of the Kremlin youth organisations, saying they are stupid.

The Young Guard has his own security. It is not clear, whether it consists of official police employees or former police employees. But at least the police know them, as far as I understood during the action on 19 January.

**Igor:** One pro-Kremlin youth organisation campaigned against migrants as early as autumn of 2006. "Locals" on dubious legal grounds raided marketplaces in Moscow region, looking for illegal migrants and beating up some of them.

**Utka:** Yes the "Locals" organised campaigns against migrants on a local level, but now it seems, that the campaigns are becoming more organised under direct instructions of the head of the party.

**Question:** Is there any self-organized resistance or other kinds of resistance against these groups?

**Utka:** I think, that actually in Russia there is no anti-racist movement at all. There is a lack of knowledge and resources as well as a lack of understanding as to why it makes sense to fight racism.

**Igor:** In terms of what comes to other groups than small anti-fascist and anarchist groups (such as Autonomous Action), I think these come down to three - "Civic Action" of Svetlana Gannushkina, which does humanitarian work for refugees and also speaks against racist violence in media.

Their website <http://www.refugee.ru/> apparently only has materials in Russian. They help both refugees from outside of Russia and from conflict regions inside of Russia.

There is also "Tadzhikistan Fond", a support structure for migrants from Tadzhikistan, other diasporas have similar structures.

**Utka:** The "Tadzhikistan Fond" is very special. Unlike other structures of Diasporas it somehow may rely on official representatives of the Tadzhikistan embassy in Moscow, which at least makes efforts to avoid deportation of Tadzhik migrants etc.

There is a trade union of legal migrants in Moscow and other regions. It was founded two years ago. In fact it works not really like a real trade union, because it seems to work more as a labour recruitment agency. The organizing of illegal workers is much more difficult. Lately a small initiative started work in Moscow, which should fulfil the function of a trade union, mainly concerning the non-payment of salaries. One of the main problems is how to put pressure upon small firms that exist today, but tomorrow they don't. The point is, that in these cases there is no legal way to demand money from the head of the firm so you need to find more effective ways to deal with it.

**Question:** What do you think is the most important issue for anti racist movement in Europe and how we can help each other in our struggle?

**Igor:** I think this depends a lot of the local situation. For example in many European countries there is a danger of rising populist parties, but that is not the case in Russia as nondemocratic system (which is of course a problem in itself) does not give chance for such parties. As a result, frustration of nationalists creates terrorist violence, and the number of recorded racist murders in Russia has already reached several hundreds. Thus in Russia there must be more focus on extreme violent fringe of the ultra-nationalists, which is only small part of the anti-migrant movement.

But really, there is not yet such a thing as "anti-racist" movement in Russia. There are several actors in the anti-racist area and contacts abroad (for example many Russian radicals have joined anti-border camps in Turkey, Greece, Ukraine, Poland and Finland), but no any common efforts to coordinate work. Counter-demonstrations against racists are rather weak, although occasionally there have been some successes, such as dispersion of racist picket of DPNI in St. Petersburg in September of 2006. In my opinion, anti-racist movement in Russia is in a serious need of strategically approach, currently focus is on tactics only.



## Announcements & Appeals



### Newspaper of Anarchist Black Cross - St.Petersburg

2nd issue of Black Cross, newspaper of Anarchist Black Cross - St.Petersburg (Russia) is out in November 2008. It contains the following materials: a chronicle of anti-cop campaign in Russia (Spring 2008), news on repressions against anarchists, antiauthoritarians and radical environmentalists in France, Greece, Germany, Japan and USA. In the "history of resistance" section we print an article about a hunger strike of anarchist political prisoners

in Soviet Russia in 1922.

There is also letters section and a list of addresses of imprisoned activists all over the world.

You can download the paper here - [http://bakunista.nadir.org/downloads/zines/a4k\\_piter\\_02.pdf](http://bakunista.nadir.org/downloads/zines/a4k_piter_02.pdf)

(720 Kb., 10 pages, in Russian)

Your donations for the paper and just to support our ABC group will be very appreciated.

Anarchist Black Cross - St.Petersburg  
Contacts: P.O. Box 32, St. Petersburg, 194291, Russia

e-mail: [a4kpiter@gmail.com](mailto:a4kpiter@gmail.com), [antifa\\_spb@riseup.net](mailto:antifa_spb@riseup.net)  
webpage - coming soon!

### New zine library and archive open - materials welcome!

Ladies, Gentle-punx and whatever! Welcome to our little update on Emancypunx activities.

At the end of 2008 we released a new CD - SCREAM CLUB "Big Deal". In the last months we organized 4 events, on which played Scream Club, Bela Emerson i Liane Hall, Margaret Thrasher, Lies Feed The Machine, Pizza OD, Ghost Mice, Hank Bobbit, Audre.

On the festival Klir Szyft we opened as a part of Bildwechsel Warsaw a zine library and archive. We'll be more than happy to get a copy of your zine. The library is a flying one - first it visited U.F.A. and later the bicycle cafe Cykloza in Warsaw. More about this project you can read here:

<http://bildwechselwarszawa.wordpress.com/>

If you're interested in ordering from our mailorder

### Emancypunx Records Newsletter - February 2009

please send a e-mail request for the new mailorderlist. to [emancypunx@gmail.com](mailto:emancypunx@gmail.com)

Our website is not often updated so news can be find on our myspace:

[www.myspace.com/emancypunxrecords](http://www.myspace.com/emancypunxrecords)

Very important: for this wonderful new year we wish you and us that we'll finally smash patriarchy!!! And of course all other types of injustice!!!! The feminist, queer, human, animal, earth revolution shall come!!!!

### Another edition of Vilnius Zine Fest

May 15-17,  
2009 - Vilnius,  
Lithuania

We gonna do it again! Vilnius Zine Fest will happen on 15-17 May at several venues and will gather together zine lovers from different places of the world, continuing the tradition of Vilnius and Minsk zine festivals.

This spring particular attention will be given to radical geography, opportunities of contr-mapping of autonomous forces and borders of Europe. Thus, we decided to make a special Maps Day. Other big issue is creating things together, liberating zines from our shelves, distros and infoshops and putting them into a public space. For that a whole Day of Workshops is dedicated. And of course, we cannot go without presentations and discussions, zine exhibition and free fair, tasty veggie food and good music!

Latest news, announcements, program, list of participants and memories about previous festivals could be found here: <http://zinefest.noblogs.org/>

If you would like to share with your ideas, help with organizing, have some questions and suggestions, want to play some music/make a performance/zine reading or to confirm your participation please write to [aggrrrh@riseup.net](mailto:aggrrrh@riseup.net)

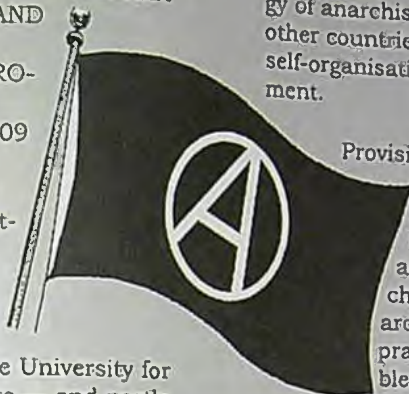
See you in Vilnius!



## ANARCHIST IDEAS IN RUSSIA AND ABROAD AND THE GLOBAL HISTORICAL PROCESS

ANARCHIST IDEAS IN RUSSIA AND ABROAD AND THE GLOBAL HISTORICAL PROCESS  
24-28 JUNE 2009

The conference will be held partly in Sankt Petersburg — 24-26 June in the Sankt Petersburg State University for Culture and Arts — and partly, 27-28 June, in the village Priamukhino, where Mikhail Bakunin was born in 1814. The organisers welcome researchers and all interested in the history, philosophy and socio-



logy of anarchism in Prussia and other countries and in matters of self-organisation and self-management.

Provisional set-up of the conference:

1. Russian classic anarchism and anarchists: theory, research methodology and practice / Present problems of Russian classic anarchism.
2. Post-classic anarchism in Russian history: projects and implementation.
3. Anarchism in other countries

in the context of global history, politics and practice.

The programme will be filled in as projects for participation arrive. Deadline: 24 February 2009. After the days in Sankt Petersburg the participants will be brought to Priamukhino (near the city Twer, North of Moscow) by bus and from there will be brought by bus to Twer after the conference.

For further information and proposals please go to [www.anarchy-conference-2009.org](http://www.anarchy-conference-2009.org)  
E-mail: [anarchy.conference.2009@gmail.com](mailto:anarchy.conference.2009@gmail.com)

## A call out for common actions against the construction of a new nuclear power station in Belarus

26 April - The day of Chernobyl nuclear accident

Present-day Belarus is a post soviet country, on which territory a regime, police state in form and neoliberal in essence, fortified its position. For already 14 years the country is run by one and the same person Alexander Lukashenko, a populist at the beginning of his governing and openly pursuing antisocial reforms now.

The freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly is not about our country. These basic values as well as the political opposition are suppressed. Peaceful gatherings, dispersions, political trials, preventive detentions all this has become a norm of political practice in Belarus.

A few years ago the ruling top started to consider another venturesome project the construction of a nuclear power station (NPS). Lukashenko took a decision

regardless of the public wishes and common sense. The decision was made with the active support of the international nuclear lobby. The construction is to be undertaken by a Russian corporation Rosatom. It is to be held in a seismically active zone, in a dozen kilometres away from Lake Naroch the largest lake in Belarus, which is ecologically unique for our country and is a tourists and holiday-makers attraction. On the construction will be spent \$4 billion, which otherwise could be outlaid for alternative energy means development.

But the above-listed points pale before the fact that Belarus shared 70% of radioactive contamination after Chernobyl nuclear accident. But the government and the president are absolutely not concerned about that. They want to create a delayed-action bomb in the country, where one third of the territory

is unfit for farming and berries/mushrooms gathering.

We, anti-nuclear resistance, an anarchy group, come out against nuclear power engineering on the whole and against the NPS construction specifically in Belarus. A part of political forces in Belarus, including opposition, supported the NPS construction. Unlike them we do not believe in NPS safety irrespective of the political regime, within which it is functioning and being constructed. Our activity is based upon non-authoritarian principles; we do not cooperate with any political parties on a regular base, but with ecological organizations and grassroots initiatives.

On 26 April, the anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear accident, an annual demonstration Charnobylski Shlah (The Chernobyl Path) takes place in commemoration of the accident and the people who feel the immediate and lingering victims of it. Starting with the year of 1996 anarchists take part in the demo with ecological and anti-nuclear slogans. But nowadays the demonstration, instead of just mourning and commemorative event, is gaining a protest mood: in the country, where dozens of thousands people have died as a result of the nuclear accident aftermaths and

hundreds of thousands have acquired accident-caused illnesses or become handicapped, a new NPS is to be constructed! And that is done according to the common regulations of an authoritarian police state not asking the peoples opinion, but just confronting them with the fact.

On 26 April we will again take a most active part in the Charnobylski Shlah (The Chernobyl Path), well try to pass along to everyone our clear antinuclear position, will inform as many people as possible of the approaching danger. But now it is not enough! As an instrument of struggle against the state lawlessness we rely on the international

support. We urge anarchists, environmentalists, antiauthoritarians of the world to carry out solidarity actions on 26 April 2009. We call for a decentralized day of action of any form, which could help people learn something about our problem and stop the impudent authority and their sponsors from IAEA.

If you already take actions on 26 April on your local problems concerning nuclear power engineering, please put on your list the demand for abolition of the NSP construction in Belarus. You are also welcome to participate in The Chernobyl Path in Minsk and other actions in Belarus.

Together we will be able to stand

up for the right for life on a clean and ecologically safe planet! If you have any intention to make solidarity actions with the Belarussian anti-nuclear movement or participate in the demonstration in Belarus please

contact us:

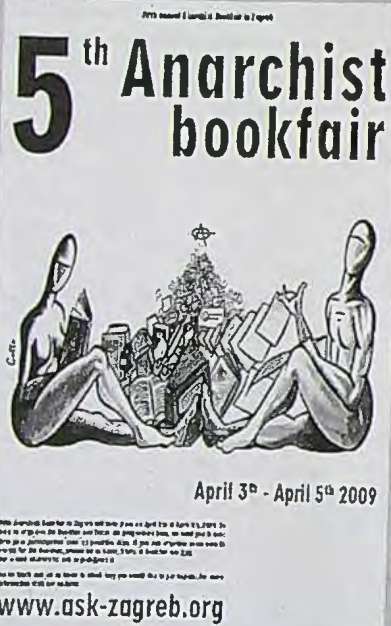
antiatombel@riseup.net

Spread out the call out through any accessible for you information channels.

## Fifth Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb (Croatia)

April 3-5, 2009

participation soon as possible. Our e-mail address is: ask-zagreb@net.hr.



The Fifth Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb will take place on April 3th to April 5th, 2009.

An anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb (ASK - Anarhistički sajam knjiga) is annual anarchist event that aims to become a long-term, developing project. First four bookfairs went well, and we hope to bring in more and more people every year as participants, publishers, groups, projects - whoever is interested in what the bookfair has to offer.

ASK will take place in Zagreb every spring, as a local resource for anarchist and libertarian books and other publications. We also aim to open discussion on subjects that are important for the anarchist movement, or for our local community.

The idea for such a bookfair is not new, but is based on the positive experience of other Anarchist

Bookfairs. In many different situations, these bookfairs have proven to be important events and meeting places on both local and international levels. This is why we need your help - come and support this event with solidarity and participation!

### Participation

To help us organize the Bookfair and finish the program on time, we need you to confirm your

Get in touch and let us know in which way you would like to participate. Here are a few questions, and we welcome any additional information.

Also, let us know if you need accommodation. There are a few alternatives, but we need all the details soon as possible.

Some of the details that we need from you:

1. Questions for all guests coming from outside Zagreb:

- how you want to participate?
- would you like to do presentation, workshop or discussion at bookfair?
- do you need help with accommodation (Free sleeping places are limited)

2. If you would like a stall:

- how big of a stall do you need?
- do you need help at your stall?
- can you help with the costs of the Bookfair? (This is not a condition to have a stall, stalls are free.)
- we need some basic information about you (contact, what books/publishers you distribute [not list, just short info for the catalog]...)

You can download bookfair poster from our web page. To download it go to

<http://www.ask-zagreb.org/engleski.htm>  
and see instructions on the left or directly to  
<http://www.ask-zagreb.org/anarchist-bookfair-zagreb-2009.pdf>

Program of the bookfair is available as well on the site. (and on the next page to this article!)

For more information:

web: [www.ask-zagreb.org](http://www.ask-zagreb.org)

e-mail: [ask-zagreb@net.hr](mailto:ask-zagreb@net.hr)



Bookfair - come and check the books of different publishers, free materials from various groups, newspapers, magazines... See list of participants.

## Zagreb Bookfair program

### FRIDAY, 3TH APRIL 2009

15:00 - 21:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

15:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

LUNCH - Food, not bombs! (Hrana, a ne oružje!) Is serving a free vegan lunch.

16:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Presentation of MASA (Network of anarcho-syndicalists) activities

Network of anarcho-syndicalist (MASA) is anarcho-syndicalist organisation founded in February 2008 by individuals and groups interested in this kind of workers organising. In one year of networks existence MASA participated and organised numerous actions. Activists will present their past work, means and ideas on which this organisation is based and relevance of anarcho-syndicalism in contemporary society. Also, they will present some future plans for action.

17:30 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Grassroot Tenants Organizing

Presentation on grass-root-tenants-organizing, against the house-owners/house-companies and their politics of rising living-costs - on examples from Berlin and Warsaw. Presentation includes four main parts:

a) Short overview of historical examples of tenants rent-strikes in Europe; b) Examples of organizing and ideas developed in last two years by local communities in Warsaw and Berlin; c) Quick report from "Tenants Meeting" in Warsaw which takes place in Warsaw exactly week before Zagreb Bookfair; d) Some words on involvement of anarchist groups in these processes in both cities, as well as, an attempt to make some reflections which could be useful for anarchists- and no anarchists-tenants in other places.

Presentation by anarchist activist from Berlin involved in tenants organising there.

19:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Situationist International, 40 years after 1968 and more than half century since it was founded: why we still find it important?

Situationist International was a group of artists that never went to that direction, theoreticians and pure punks, who from 1952 until 1972 created some of the most lucid arguments against modern forms of domination and alienation. They are remembered and very relevant today because of new meaning that they gave to banal terms like spectacle and everyday life. Spectacle was supposed to point out some of the new qualitative aspects of totality subordinated to imperative of Commodities (as kind of relation, closest to blackmail) and accumulation of Power (as only relation, closest to blackmail) and everyday life "rational" explanation for our living conditions), and everyday life "did point out how ways of spending our days and nights have all political and cosmic relevance. They are also known as inspirational and participants of May 1968 rebellion. Although they were not always right - though, it's hard to find any similar example of going further in spite of all contradictions that would crush anyone else - no others at that time did open so many good questions in so many areas. About Situationist International we talk with Aleksa Golijanin, member of publishing crew anarhija/blok 45, who, among other crazy things, published few situationist titles and edited biggest collection of SI texts in this part of the world so far.

### SATURDAY, 4TH APRIL 2009

10:00-15:00 [Petar Preradovic square/Cvjetni trg (Flower square)]

Bookfair moves to the square, so the books are available

during

rush hour. In case of bad weather fair moves back inside in gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium.

14:00 [Petar Preradovic square/Cvjetni trg (Flower square)]

LUNCH - Food, not bombs! (Hrana, a ne oružje!) Is serving a free vegan lunch.

15:30 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Presentation of Infoshop Mica-Maca

Infoshop Mica-Maca, first alternative library in Pula founded year ago is one of the most active projects in social center Karlo Rojc. Activists of this anarchist project will present their work so far and plans for the future. One of the goals of this project is better cooperation and networking with other anarchist infoshops.

16:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Food Not Bombs Prague - Solidarity in Praxis

"Food Not Bombs Prague - Solidarity in Praxis" is short documentary (22 minutes) that tells a story of Prague Food Not Bombs collective and shows the reality of FNB's work behind the curtain - expectations, plans and reality. It would be a first public screening at all - a world premier. :-)

17:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Presentation of Z magazin for Balkan and Freedom Fight

Activists of Freedom Fight will present Balkan edition of Z magazin and other free publications that they publish. During presentation they will talk about other activities as well, from workers and student struggles to question of refugees...

18:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Insurrection in Greece and presentation of Voices of Resistance from Occupied London

Insurrection in Greece had influence on Europe and rest of the world, and after December 2008 it didn't stop, but continued, which in Greece created situation of constant tension and conflict. Before discussion on insurrection and news on social conflict in Greece and its influence on events in the world, there will be video projection of Potentiality of Storming Heaven, short documentary (28 minutes) put out in January 2009. Video includes main texts distributed on the streets and images of events. Also, discussion will include presentation of magazine Voices of Resistance from Occupied London, that deals with insurrection and social conflict in Greece and elsewhere. It's important to note that their blog is one of the important resources for informations on what is really going on in Greece.

Sunday 5th April 2009

10:00 - 15:00 [gallery Nova, Teslina 7, Atrium]

Bookfair - come and have coffee or tea, look for the book you missed the previous days, and spend your sunday morning in a pleasant company... That would be the closure of the 5th Anarchist bookfair.

All days of bookfair:

Exhibition of two artists living in Italy who will show paintings, installations and a performance in progress interactive with the audience. In Blackbox (basement of gallery).

Tania Lorandi, writes, works on art installation, sculptures and organises exhibitions. She is also involved in PATAPHYSICS on an international level. Marco Terroni, essentially a painter, proposes implicated images or images of fantasy. He also works on art installations using salvaged doors.



## Callout for



## LoveKills

# 4

### Mountains of west Romania - from July 27 till August 2, 2009

LoveKills Collective intends to bring about the fourth edition of LoveKills Festival in the summer of 2009. We will organize again the anarchy-feminist gathering, but this time we would like to organize it as a one week camp. The camp will take place in the mountains (west of Romania, Socolari village) between 27 July - 02 August 2009. Our experience with the previous editions and the impact they had, above all in the local context, conferred us not only with the motivation but also with the strength to keep on organizing such an event. We believe and we feel that organizing such gatherings contributes to a stabilization and activation of the anarchy-feminist community, especially in the eastern-european area. Our passion for freedom and our desire to achieve a society free of the violent patriarchal oppression are stimulating us in taking another step forward in the struggle to abolish patriarchy! This is why we are inviting everyone interested in joining and supporting us (we will need a great deal of support!!) to contact: [lovekills@riseup.net](mailto:lovekills@riseup.net) for further information.

The program of the camp is also up to the participants to shape and organize, meaning that everyone is invited to register (in advance of course) for workshops, presentations, lectures, exhibitions, performances and so on. To find out more

about our collective and our work visit the website: <http://aro.ecobytes.net/lovekills/>

In solidarity, LoveKills Collective

#### LOVE KILLS MANIFESTO

*Heteronormative love kills. Love relationships perceived and lived in terms of heteronormativity require the ultimate restriction of one's freedom of living her/his life without restraints, one's freedom of true loving.*

*Jealousy and possessiveness, emotional pressure and blackmail, dictating one's feelings and the way they should be expressed, are instances met almost all the time in monogamous relationships and they are restraining the individual's sphere of enjoying other kinds of relationships - of friendship, love, mutuality and so on - others than the one and only shared with the other person. Very often this love you are sharing with the opposite gender is nourishing and is brutally imposing beauty standards imprisoning the other one in sexist stereotypes.*

*Your love for animals kills. The fact that you have adopted a dog/cat or any other pet from a shelter does not award you the status of friend of animals, as long as at your dinner there is corpse lying in your plate, a corpse that have been subjected to terrifying ordeals, just so that you may satisfy your gustative papilas; as long as in your wardrobe an Argentinean fox is being hung, a fox*

*that you can delude your alienation and misery of your humankind. Your love for animals kills animals.*

*Love for your GOD kills. Throughout history GODS have planned and ordered the most bloody massacres, the killing of thousands of people just because they were not worshipping and blindly accepting the blatant abuses done by their churches, had burned on stake and tortured women because unjustified fear of women was hunting them in nightmares.*

*Love for your country kills. Nationalism is a stove inside which misery is being yeasted. And love for an abstract notion such as nation is cancelling first of all your affiliation to an international humanity, it is generating xenophobia, it is arousing wars and killing thousands of people.*

*Your love for a superior race kills. "Race" is an imagined entity. "Race" has no biological basis. There has been determined only one race: THE HUMAN RACE!*

*But your love for a certain race, your preference for a certain skin colour is dehumanizing you and through segregation, discrimination and exploitation it is opening the path towards genocide.*

Download Anti-fascist attitude, a Russian documentary on anti-fascist movement as a torrent

#### "Anti-fascist Attitude"

Director, producer, and cinematographer: collective "Children of Bakunin"

Length: 76 min.

Russia, 2008

*Anti-fascist attitude* is first ever document on emerging Russian anti-fascist movement which made by the activist themselves. Movie features both moderate NGO activists and radical grassroots activists and anarchists from three cities - Moscow, St. Petersburg and Irkutsk. It also features Stanislav Markelev, murdered in Moscow 19th of January. Documentary is spread with creative commons-license.

Torrents:

<http://onebigtorrent.org/torrents/4583/Antifascist-Voice>

<http://thepiratebay.org/search/antifascist%20attitude/0/99/0>

Please seed them and pass this message! Unique movie on radical ecological protest in Russia available as a torrent

## Documentary on anti-fascist movement online

#### "No Pasaran!"

Director, producer, researcher and cinematographer: Vadim Likhachyov

Length: 73 min.

Russia, 2006

*"No Pasaran!"* documents environmental protest campaign in city of Azov, Russia in summer of 2003. Inhabitants of Azov, together with activists and anarchists of Autonomous Action and Rainbow Keepers, defend their right to clean environment and fight against construction of a methanol shipping terminal in their home town.

After fall of the Soviet Union, there has been a huge pressure of development for the Black Sea rim, and environmental activists have had hard times attempting to protect what is remaining. Most of the protest campaigns in the area have been failures, but Azov campaign, peak of which was in 2003, was a success - eventually methanol shipping terminal, which was already almost finished by then, was redesigned to be used for export of less dangerous

goods. This was mostly due to mass popular protests, which managed to mount demonstrations of big as 7000 people in a city of 90 000.

This is a documentary of the protests in summer of 2003, which lasted for two months. Radical protests (road blockades and demonstrations), mobilization of people, life in the protest camp and relations between activists and local inhabitants are documented. You may download torrent from <http://onebigtorrent.org/torrents/4584/No-Pasaran>

Please seed it and pass this message! Torrent is 4GB and includes plenty of additional material, such as photos of the protest and MA thesis of Vadim Likhachyov on social anthropology, "Equality in a radical environmental protest: pragmatism or imposed ideology? Two cases of protest campaigns in the South of Russia". Thesis is also separately available from Autonomous Action website:

<http://avtonom.org/files/lib/ligachev.pdf>

## Abolishing the Borders from Below CONTACTS:

FOR TEXTS AND CONTACT:  
abolishingbb@riseup.net

DISTRIBUTION:  
wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

POST:

AbolishingBB  
c/o Schwarze Risse  
Kastanienallee 85  
10435 Berlin  
Germany

## Distribution CONTACTS:

## ARGENTINA

Federacion Libertaria  
Argentine  
fla2@radar.com.ar

## AUSTRALIA

ngnm55@gmail.com

## AUSTRIA

\* Infoshop Kaleidoskop  
office@kukuma.info  
\* Infoshop Treibsand  
Rudolfstrasse 17  
4040 Linz  
treibsand@servus.at

## BELARUS

\* zinefest@riseup.net  
Minsk  
\* belarus@avtonom.org

## BELGIUM

Anarchistische Infotheek  
Annonciadenstraat 16  
9000 Gent

## BRASIL

marceloyokoi@riseup.net

## BRITISH ISLES

\* Active Distro  
www.actedistribution.org  
\* AK Press  
www.akuk.com

## BULGARIA

aresistance@riseup.net

## CROATIA

suncanfema@yahoo.com  
"sto citas?" Zagreb  
Preradoviceva 32  
www.stocitas.org

## CANADA

rhubarbapplepie@  
hotmail.com

## DENMARK

Infolade 69, Christiania,  
Kopenhagen

## ex-SOVIET UNION

ftw@tao.ca

## FINLAND

\* info@muutosvoima.net  
www.muutosvoima.net  
\* Morgue-Distro/Emma-  
Kollektiv

morguedistro@  
yahoo.com

## FRANCE

\* East  
ffabb@no-log.org  
\* West  
stonehenge@libertysurf.fr

## GERMANY

wielkowitsch@  
hotmail.com  
Berlin

## GREECE

Lily Collective  
polbleibt@yahoo.com

## HOLLAND

International Bookshop  
Amsterdam  
sjakoo@xs4all.nl

## HUNGARY

\* goantik@freemail.hu  
\* AK57 - ak57@indymedia.hu

## ICELAND

Arna Ösp Magnúsdóttir  
Fornahvarf 10, "Sygnir",  
203 Kópavogur

## IRELAND

flabbyvegan@  
hotmail.com

## ITALY

\* Central & South  
138squat@paranoici.org  
www.tmcrow.org/  
laurentinokkupato  
\* North  
crash@riseup.net

## JAPAN

acclaim@nomasters.com

## LATVIA

infokaste@riseup.net

## NORWAY

kaosborgen@  
hotmail.com

## PERU

ateneo\_rebelde@  
yahoo.com

## PHILIPINES

buynothingstealsomething  
@yahoo.com

## POLAND

Oficina Wydawnicza  
Bractwo Trojka  
os. Czecha  
17/8 61-287 Poznan  
www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl  
bractwo\_trojka@wp.pl

## ROMANIA

\* Aactiv-ist Distro  
pinkpanthers@k.ro  
Timisoara  
\* www.fight-back.tk

## SERBIA

distro@inicijativa.org  
www.inicijativa.org

## SLOVAKIA

CSAF  
poste Restante 850 07  
Bratislava 57  
csaf-trencin@arachne.cz

## SLOVENIA

kultura\_kontra@  
yahoo.com  
Ljubljana

## SOUTH AFRICA

Zabalaza Books  
zababooks@zabalaza.net

## SPAIN

\* SQL Distro  
Libreria Rosa de Foc  
Calle: Joaquin Costa, 34  
08001 Barcelona  
winanar@wp.pl



All previous issues are still available directly from ABB

**ISSUE # 33, October 2008:** Editorial: War, Media and Labour Struggles; Anarchists towards the new war in the Caucasus; Free/alternative media in capitalist society - polemics, interviews, presentations; Anarchy in Bulgaria - Interview with Bulgarian organizer and zine publisher; Strikes and workers struggles in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Romania; Interview with Bartek Kantorezyk, an initiator of the biggest wildcat strike in Poland in the

last years; Alarm in Rozbrat, report on actual situation of polish anarchist center; Shut down EU migrant hunters! - report from actions against Frontex; War in South Ossetia - Russian anarchists visiting war region in Caucasus; Unknown moments of east European anarchist history - historical materials from Bulgaria and Ukraine; Report from NoBorder camp in Turkey; Anarchist debate about anti-fascism in Russia (continuation); the first Gay Pride Parade in Bulgaria - report;

## Communities in Struggle

The Never Complete List of Anarchist Groups, Projects and Collectives from Eastern Europe

WELCOME TO BE ANARCHISM  
www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)  
www.abd.hardcore.it (bad english)

## ARMENIA

\* "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; vaga@freenet.am

## BELARUS

- \* Antifa football league  
http://www.baf-league.com/
- \* Antinuclear Resistance - No more Chernobyl!  
antiatombel[at]riseup.net  
http://annoblogs.org/
- \* Autonomous Action  
http://belarus.avtonom.org - Minsk  
belarus@avtonom.org
- \* Soligorsk (Minsk region):  
nonexecution@gmail.com
- \* Linux Vacation Eastern Europe  
http://www.lvee.org/
- \* Eat Yourself  
D.I.Y. punk/hardcore crew from Homiel and Mahiliow  
http://eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru/
- \* Food Not Bombs - Minsk  
fnb-minsk[at]riseup.net  
http://fnbminsk.noblogs.org/
- \* Food Not Bombs (and other initiatives) - Brest  
brestunite@riseup.net
- \* Free Theatre - anarchist theatre from city of Brest  
freetheatrebr@yahoo.com  
http://svobodny.kontakt.net/
- \* Squatters' movement of Minsk  
squatthebelarus@riseup.net
- \* Indymedia - Belarus  
https://belarus.indymedia.org/
- \* Kairos - libertarian analytic blog  
http://kairos.noblogs.org/
- \* http://razam.by.ru/ - website of already nonexistent KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active Initiatives "Together"; quite informative what concerns earlier years of social struggles in Belarus
- \* http://anarchistory.boom.ru/ - history of anarchy in Belarus
- \* http://www.375crew.org/ - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus
- \* http://icd-zumado.anho.org/ - DIY distro with anarchist attitude
- \* http://naziscum-by.noblogs.org/ - Nazi Watch Belarus

## Zines:

- \* A-party-Ya (R.I.P.) - Brest  
sanjaamatar@gmail.com
- \* Defect In Industry - Minsk  
defectindustry@mail.ru
- \* New World - Minsk  
P. O. Box 37  
220053 Minsk Belarus  
lydok@riseup.net
- \* oD.I.Y.syal - Minsk  
P. O. Box 389 220090 Minsk Belarus  
okpunkrock@mail.ru
- \* Rebel Desire - Minsk  
P. O. Box 33 220123 Minsk Belarus  
rusel13@gmail.com
- \* Tryznas keliras - Minsk/Vilnius  
tryznas-keliras@riseup.net  
http://tryznas-keliras.noblogs.org
- \* Namerenjeje - Minsk  
tanuysha@riseup.net
- \* Blah-blah-blah - Brest  
uzhasno@bk.ru, lets87@bk.ru
- \* http://svobodna.org.ua/ - international feminist website in Russian; grrrlz from Belarus also make contributions to it

## BOSNIA &amp; HERZEGOVINA

- \* Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; ab\_useyu@yahoo.co.uk
- \* www.osvajanjeislobode.bravehost.com - anarchist info from BiH

## BULGARIA

- \* Anarchist Portal http://a-bg.net
- \* Anarchist writings http://savanne.ch/svoboda
- \* Anarcho-saprotiva autonomous group  
aresistance@riseup.net
- \* Anarchy in BG http://change.to/anarchy
- \* Animal rights, anarcho-primitivism, feminism http://anarchyfuture-a-bg.net/
- \* 'Aresistance' - D.I.Y. anarcho punk hardcore web zine, diy@aresistance.net, www.diy.aresistance.net
- \* 'Ecotopia' - Infocenter Razgrad, infocenter.ecotopia@gmail.com
- \* Independent media center http://bulgaria.indymedia.org/
- \* 'Katarzis' - DIY zine, katarzis@riseup.net  
sfu.diy@gmail.com
- \* Subcultures, crust, punk, hardcore  
http://music.a-bg.net/
- \* 'Svobodna Misl' - Bulgarian anarchist newsletter, http://sm.a-bg.net/

## CROATIA

- \* Sabota'a pokvarenog sistema' - internet network collective,  
aktivizam@yahoo.com  
www.sabotazapokvarenogsistema.tk
- CAKOVEC:**
- \* Tabula Rasa - infoshop, Josipa Kozarca BB, post: p.p. 18, 40315 M, Sremske  
**PULA:**
- \* "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; http://squat.net/monteparadiso; info@monteparadiso.hr
- RIJEKA:**
- \* Rijecka anarhisticka inicijativa - rai2002@net.hr, www.rai.anarhija.org
- \* Škatula - infoshop, Delta 5 (Ivex building, 1st floor), 5100 Rijeka, infoshopskatula@net.hr
- ZADAR:**
- \* Direktna akcija - anarchosindicalist initiative  
direktnaakcija@gmail.com
- \* Inicijativa queer - anarchoqueer group,  
inicijativa\_queer@yahoo.com
- \* Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadorski-anarchisti@yahoo.com; www.solidarnost.mahost.org
- ZAGREB:**
- \* Anarhisticki sajam knjiga - anarchist bookfair, www.ask-zagreb.org
- \* AnFema - anarchofeminist action,  
anfema.action@gmail.com, www.anfema.tk
- \* FNB - hno-zg@net.hr, www.hranaancoruzje.net

## CZECHIA

- \* Antifascisticka Akce (AFA)  
http://www.antifa.cz  
kontakt@antifa.cz  
monitoring@antifa.cz  
media@antifa.cz  
shop@antifa.cz  
international@antifa.cz
- Local anti-fascist groups by towns and regions:
  - Beroun, berounsko@antifa.cz
  - Blansko, blanensko@antifa.cz
  - Brno, brno@antifa.cz
  - Kladno (Antifascisticka odpor)  
kladno@antifa.cz
  - Kralupy n. Vltavou, kralupy@antifa.cz
  - Olomouc, olomoucko@antifa.cz
  - Opava (Autonomna antifa),  
http://opava.antifa.net, opava@antifa.cz
  - Ostrava (Autonomna antifa),  
ostrava@antifa.cz
  - Praha, http://praha.antifa.net,  
praha@antifa.cz
  - Prerov, prerov@antifa.cz
  - Rakovnik, rakovnik@antifa.cz
  - Northern Bohemia, sever@antifa.cz
  - Teplice, http://teplice.antifa.net,  
teplice@antifa.cz
  - Vysocina - Jihlava region,  
vysocina@antifa.cz
  - Zlin region, zlinsko@antifa.cz

- \* Anarcho-feminist group - anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz, anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz
- \* -1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita) - praha@solidarita.org, www.solidarita.org, tel: +420 604 247 218
  - regional group of Brno, brno@solidarita.org, tel: +420 732 616 695
- \* Anarhistické sdružení Uherské Hradiště - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradiště, uhas@email.cz
- \* "A-kontra" - anarchist magazine, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel. +420 605 903 098, e-mail: a-kontra@csaf.cz, www.a-kontra.net
- \* "Bloody Mary" - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, Bloodymary@bust.com, c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1.
- \* Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF)  
www.csaf.cz, csaf@csaf.cz - from there mail forwarded to local group or someone  
Postal contact: CSAF, P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1
- \* Infocafé Krtkova Kolona in Prague  
http://kk.czechcore.cz, kk@czechcore.cz, Sochalska 6, Praha 7, 170 00, +420 604 247 218
- \* Squat Milada in Prague -  
http://milada.s.cz, milada@s.cz, Na Kindlovce 1, Praha 8
- \* FSA-MAP - Federation of anarchist groups, info@anarchismus.org, www.anarchismus.org, international secretary: fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org
  - Northern Czechia, fas-sever@anarchismus.org
  - Zlinsko, fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org
  - Prague, fas-praha@anarchismus.org
  - Brno, fas-brno@anarchismus.org
  - Jihlava, fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org
  - Pardubice, fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org
- \* Info Café "Krtkova kolona" - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubeneč, kk@czechcore.cz, kk.czechcore.cz, Tel: 605 983 191
- \* Hudebni klub "Za vraty" - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, international@zavraty.com, www.zavraty.com, tel. +420 723 555 287
- \* Squat "Milada" - Prague only squat, Na kindlovce (small house next to the student residential halls), Praha, squat\_milada@centrum.cz

## ESTONIA

- \* Be UnderGround - punk zine, antiporvari@riseup.net, www.myspace.com/bug\_zinc
- \* Food Not Bombs - Tallinn - videomees@hotmail.ee
- \* www.punamust.org/ - anarchist web-site
- \* www.hot.ee/anarhism - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

## HUNGARY

- \* AFK - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); www.socialdisease.tk
- \* Barricade Collective - anarchist group; www.anarkom.lapja.hu
- \* "Gondolkodo Antikvarium" - anarchist bookshop; www.ainfok.ini.hu; gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (near metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18
- \* Morze Infoshop - Hegedü utca 3; 1182 Budapest  
www.metatron.sh/infoshop; morze-Infoshop@riseup.net
- \* Ruganegra - (street folklore staff); www.ruganegra.tk
- \* Social Disease Kollektiva (anarcho-punk collective) - http://socialdisease.tk
- \* www.geocities.com/anarchinfo - anarchist web-site

**KAZAKHSTAN**

\* **www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru** - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

**LATVIA**

\* **Infokaste** - anarchist D.I.Y. infoshop, cafe & distro, infokaste@riseup.net, www.neirothe.net/infokaste  
 \* **Protspara Collective** - zine, distro, web, actions - http://pretspara.hardcore.lt; pretspara@riseup.net  
 \* **"Zabadaks"** - DIY culture house, zabada@inbox.lv, www.nekac.lv, tel. +371 3320666. DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc., Vjolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; www.nekac.lv, maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv  
 \* **Autonomous Action** - in Rezekne elbort@rambler.ru

**LITHUANIA**

\* **active@hardcore.lt** - LT activists network  
 \* **"Elnias"** - space for various DIY activities; Vilniaus str. 72 (in the yard), Siauliai, gabriele@takas.lt  
 \* **"Gyvas"** - space for various DIY activities, Kauno str. 1a (in the yard), Vilnius, xdirtx@hardcore.lt  
 \* **"Pavasaris Infoshop"** - Mindaugo str. 20-12, Vilnius, xdirtx@hardcore.lt  
 \* **"Posedziu Sale"** - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 204 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; sgausiperemila@yahoo.com, fiorfraga@gmail.com, tel +37067809606 http://posedis.mums.lt  
 \* **booking@hardcore.lt** - booking in Lithuania  
 \* **www.hardcore.lt** - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

**MACEDONIA**

\* **direct action** - anarchist collective directa@freemail.com.mk  
 \* **fuck yoga** - a distro and label neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com  
 \* **knka** - a distro and label surova@yahoo.com  
 \* **napravi sam** - a collective radexoc2000@yahoo.com  
 \* **teror 13** - a infoshop info@teror13.uk www.teror13.anarhija.org

**MOLDOVA**

**Autonomous Action** - in Kishinev; system\_must\_dead@bk.ru black\_anarh@mail.ru

**POLAND**

\* **ABC/ACK** - www.ack.most.org.pl - Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741  
 \* **Warszawa 121** - ack-wawa@o2.pl, www.emilka.bzzz.net/porady/porady.html - Poznan - po box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, ack@rozbrat.org, tel. 0618484672 (tue 19-21, We-Thu 17-20), www.rozbrat.org/ack.htm  
 \* **Bialystok** - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26, abebialystok@o2.pl, www.ack-bialystok.prv.pl  
 - Lodz - riefka@gmail.com  
 - Warszawa-Praga - zaczek@gmail.com  
 - Mielec - redakcja@innyswiat.most.org.pl  
 - Przasnysz - fnb-przasnysz@o2.pl  
 - Wroclaw - tomasso@riseup.net  
 \* **Anarchist Library** - ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.  
 \* **Anarchist Library** - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.  
 \* **"A-zine"** - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl  
 \* **"Bractwo Trojka"** - anarchist publishing house from Poznan; bractwo\_trojka@wp.pl, www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl,  
 \* **"Bunkier"** ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun; stagnation@wp.pl  
 \* **Chaos Grrrl** - anarchist-feminist zine from Warsaw; chaosgrrrl@o2.pl  
 \* **"Czarna Emilka"** (Black Emily) - local of GWA (Group of Warsaw Anarchists) in the very centre of the city  
 \* **"Czarny Pajak"** ("Black Spider") - anarchist space with discussion club, movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; www.czzs.prv.pl; inaciek@riseup.net  
 \* **Dziewczyny w Akcji** (Girls in Action) -

anarchist feminist group in Bialystok; www.dziewczynyw akcji.prv.pl; dziewczynyw akcji@wp.pl  
 \* **"Elblaska"** - squat in Warsaw  
 \* **Emancypunx** - anarcha-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78; www.emancypunx.com; emancypunx@o2.pl  
 \* **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups. Office of FA - biurofa@riseup.net  
 FA Warszawa / WGA - w.g.a@poczta.fm  
 www.emilka.bzzz.net/spotkania/spotkania.html  
 FA Warszawa Praga - fapraga@gmail.com ; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop/  
 FA Slask - fas@riseup.net  
 FA Torun - fatorun@riseup.net  
 FA Slupsk - feniks33@interia.pl  
 FA Poznan - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org ; www.rozbrat.org  
 Adress: Sklot Rozbrat ul. Pulaskiego 21a 60-966 Poznan; P.O.Box 5 60-966 Poznan 50, fila 8; Tel: Anarchist Library (We-Fr 17-20); +61/8484672 607992069  
 FA Krakow - fakrakow@buziaczek.pl ; www.fakrakow.wordpress.com/  
 FA Lodz - falodz@riseup.net ; maciek@riseup.net ; www.czzs.prv.pl  
 FA Inowroclaw - crustian@tlen.pl  
 FA Czeszochowa - aldelasiak@wp.pl ; yeti1202@tlen.pl ; www.faczestochowa.most.org.pl  
 FA Gorzow Wielkopolski - fagorzow@o2.pl ; www.fa-gorzow.prv.pl/  
 FA Lasin - anarchy@op.pl ; www.zmowa.bzzz.net/  
 FA Dublin (section of polish anarchists in Ireland) - fadublin@gmail.com  
 FA Sieradz - fa.sieradz@gmail.com  
 \* **Food Not Bombs**  
 - Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45  
 - Lodz - falodz@riseup.net  
 - Olsztyn - edelweiss@o2.pl  
 - Poznan - fnb@rozbrat.org  
 - Warsaw - fnb@op.pl; www.fnb.w.pl  
 www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm, we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan  
 - Rzeszow - ul.Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.  
 - Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com  
 www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl  
 \* **Feminist & Anarchist Feminist Calendar** - feminkalendarz06@interia.pl  
 \* **"Freedom"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. crkblabla@gmail.com, http://www.crk-wro.info/  
 \* **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** - Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 1830-2000 or longer, Sun. 1400-1700 plus by appointment and during events ; fapraga@gmail.com; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop.  
 \* **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA** (Workers Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;  
 \* **INNY SWIAT** - anarchist magazine and distro; c/o Janusz Krawczyk, po box 24, 39-300 Mielec 3, innykrawat@wp.pl, www.innyswiat.most.org.pl  
 \* **IP-FA / Szczecin** - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.  
 \* **IP-FA / Sllesia** - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa\_sllesia@hoga.pl  
 \* **Inicjatywa Pracownicza** (Workers Initiative) - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl  
 \* **Kolektyw Autonomistow** (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl  
 j "Kromera" - squat/culture centre; ul.Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.  
 \* **LadyFest** - there are few Lady-fests in Poland (in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw); www.ladyfest.webpark.pl; ladyfestwawa@o2.pl  
 \* **"Lesbians, Gays and Their Friends"** - festival in Wroclaw with conference, workshops, films, street actions

www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/ (co-organized by the anarcha-feminist groups)

\* **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**  
 - Krakow - testcyf@kr.edu.pl  
 - Poznan - lets@poland.com  
 \* **Liberta** - anarchist-feminist group in Wroclaw; libertagrrrl@o2.pl  
 \* **"Little Mary"** - anarchist squat in Czeszochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;  
 \* **"Marcowanie"** - anarchist-feminist mailing list, bulletin and regular women camp  
 \* **Obin** (Warsaw) - radical street-art collective organising workshops, internet and silkscreen for free; www.obin.org  
 \* **"Pilon"** - underground bar/cafe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; adress: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl; www.pilon.za.pl  
 \* **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - www.antifa-wildest.prv.pl ; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. wildeast@poczta.onet.pl  
 \* **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leader team based in Warszawa; rchpl@o2.pl  
 \* **Refuse** - underground label & mailorder (books, zines, music); www.refuserecords.prv.pl  
 \* **Revenge of The Nerds** (Warsaw) - anarchist-feminist zine distribution/editors; www.revengeofthenerds.bzzz.net  
 \* **Revolution Diva** - anarchist-feminist zine (Poznan)  
 \* **"Rozbrat"** - squat/ collective/ anarchist center/ anarchist library - ul. Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan; P.O.Box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, fa-poznan@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org, www.foto.rozbrat.org  
 \* **S.E.K.W. "Krzyk"** - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul.Sienkiewicza 25; tel.+48 504878370).  
 \* **Sister to Sister** - anarchist feminist group/network around Poland, mail-order and anarchist dyke zine "Lechtaczka"; sistersister@o2.pl  
 \* **"streFA"** - infoshop in Szczecin; ul.Domanskiego 1c, tel.504935357.  
 \* **"Szwejk"** - anti-military service and Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul.Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, antywojenna@rozbrat.org  
 \* **"Tekno Collective"** - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl  
 \* **Ugrupowanie Feministyczne Anarchistyczne (UFA)** - anarcha-feminist group in Poznan; ufa@rozbrat.org  
 \* **Valpurgi Night** - regular festival against homophobia and sexism in Warsaw, with workshops, conference, spoken word, concerts, films... www.myspace.com/nocwalpurgii;  
 \* **Wiedzma (The Witch)** - anarcha feminist group; Po Box 3321-500 Biala Podlaska; Poland; witchgrrrl@poczta.onet.pl ; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl  
 \* **"Ya Banda"** - anarchist samba band Milanowek/Warszawa. oiga23@go2.pl

**ROMANIA**

\* **Activ-ist Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome** - anarchist punk group activist-collective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumerang.ro  
 \* **A Nera** - ecological, social and (counter) cultural center, in the mountains Cheile Nerei; activistcollective@yahoo.com  
 \* **Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action)** - spleenpatty@yahoo.com  
 \* **G.A.F. (Craiova Anarh Front)** - anarchist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 \* **Fight Back** - anarchist collective Bucharest, www.fight-back.tk  
 \* **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; ga-resistentia@yahoo.com  
 \* **Info-Propaganda** - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 \* **URA** - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; www.antifa-antidot.blogspot.com; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 \* **Love Kills** - woman anarchopunk zine /

Craiova: www.lilith-lovekills.blogspot.com;  
jolierouge101@yahoo.com  
\* **"Revolta 1"** - bi-monthly anarchist & diy  
hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcol-  
lective@yahoo.com  
\* **Subteran Collective** - anarchist-activists  
collective in the city of Iasi;  
subteran\_iasi@yahoo.com  
\* **www.prolectns.org** - grassroots activist site

**RUSSIA**

\* **Alliance for Animal Rights**  
(Radical non-hierarchical grassroots activism  
for animal rights)  
http://aar.org.ru/  
http://animalrights.ru/  
Contact: news (A T) animalrights.ru  
\* **Alterkom** - network of student resistance in  
Petrozhavodsk  
http://alterkom.forum24.ru/  
alterkom A T bk.ru  
\* **Anarchist Black Cross Moscow**  
P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia  
(no name of the group to envelope, please!)  
http://www.avtonom.org/abc  
http://www.myspace.com/abcmsc  
abc-msk A T riseup.net  
\* **Anarchist Black Cross of St. Petersburg**  
Alekdandr Vitalyevich Yermakov  
P.O. Box 32 194291 St. Petersburg  
(no name of the group to envelope, please!)  
sprafa A T riseup.net  
novsvet89 A T gmail.com  
\* **Anarchists of Petrozhavodsk**  
http://www.ptz-anarchist.narod.ru  
ruinos (A T) mail.ru  
\* **Libertarian Marxist group "Derzay"**,  
Derzay-zine  
P.O. Box 152  
420044 Kazan Russia  
http://derzaj.ru  
red (A T) derzaj.ru  
**Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group -**  
**Russia**  
http://aeliberation.net,  
aeinfo A T aeliberation.net  
\* **Antifa Ulan-Ude**  
afa.ulanude (A T) gmail.com  
http://www.myspace.com/afa\_ulanude  
\* **Anti-fascist Association of St. Petersburg**  
http://afaspb.mahost.org/  
tel: +7-812-947 14 76  
\* **Association of Anarchist Movements**  
(ADA-IFA) - member groups and individuals  
\* **Online community:**  
http://community.livejournal.com/ada\_ifa/  
\* **Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists - SKA**  
(Also for Taynoe Pisanie - zine)  
www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru  
\* **Alliance of Kazan anarchists - AKA**  
P.O. Box 132 Kazan  
420059 Tatarstan Russia  
antimil A T narod.ru  
http://akaada.narod.ru  
\* **Krasnoyarsk group of ADA**  
ada-krk@mail.ru  
St. Petersburg  
maridze@gmail.com  
\* **Yaroslavl (individuals)**  
ada-yaroslavl A T riseup.net  
http://anarcho.front.ru  
Zelebnogoroskiy Union of Anarchists  
zhsa@list.ru  
\* **Alliance of Libertarian Initiatives (of St.**  
**Petersburg)**  
(Coordinates local activities of Anarchist Black  
Cross, Autonomous  
Action, Food Not Bombs, Pyotr Alekseyev  
Resistance Movement, Punk  
Revival, St. Petersburg League of Anarchists  
and others)  
spbnabat@gmail.com  
\* **Autonomous Action**  
http://avtonom.org,  
info A T avtonom.org,  
Regional groups of Autonomous Action:  
\* **Barnaul** ad.barnaul@gmail.com  
\* **Blagoveschensk** (Amur region):  
ad.blaga@riseup.net  
\* **Irkutsk**, also for Free Siberia-paper:  
http://irkutsk.anho.org  
a.volokos@gmail.com  
\* **Kirov**: asssa@diino.com  
\* **Krasnodar**: P.O.Box 4943 350075

Krasnodar Russia  
asmodeys1@gmail.com  
\* **Magadan**: eternity1@yandex.ru  
Magnitogorsk: razer@riseup.net  
Moscow, also for Avtonom-journal:  
adm@avtonom.org  
avtonom@avtonom.org  
P.O.Box 13, Moscow, 109028 (no name on  
envelope, please!)

\* **Nizhniy Novgorod**, also for Situation-  
paper: P.O.Box 25 603104  
Nizhniy Novgorod Russia  
(no name on envelope, please!)  
http://nnov.avtonom.org  
avtonom69@gmail.com,  
situazion@avtonom.org  
\* **Novosibirsk**: nsk@avtonom.org,  
zemfa@riseup.ru  
Saratov: pkropotkin@yandex.ru  
Tyumen: streetriot@inventati.org, akbar  
@riseup.net  
\* **Ufa**: ufa@riseup.net, adufa@mail.ru  
Cities with individual members of  
Autonomous Action:  
\* **Cheboksary**: punkvil@yandex.ru  
\* **Chita**: Myrava.trava@gmail.com  
\* **Ivanovo**: kvazimodo@riseup.net  
\* **Izhevsk**: avtonom.cinema@gmail.com, avto-  
nom18 A T yahoo.com  
http://izhevsk.avtonom.org  
\* **Kaliningrad**: swindle A T riseup.net  
Kemerovo: moreaction.lesstears@gmail.com  
\* **Mikhalevo of Ivanov oblast**: luzippy @  
mail.ru  
\* **Murmansk**: P.O. Box 4614 183959  
Murmansk Russia  
(t): 22 89 73 (Aleksandr), vp1@inbox.ru  
\* **Novorossiysk**: Atari@yandex.ru  
\* **Penza**: komin1987@inbox.ru  
Perm: deadsun'rambler.ru, kisa\_war@mail.ru  
\* **Petrozhavodsk**: sad1st-ptz@mail.ru  
Rostov-na-Donu g.p.v@inbox.ru  
\* **Ryazan**: http://ad-62.narod.ru/ ad-62@  
bk.ru  
\* **Samara**: verogiper@mail.ru  
\* **Shelekhov of Irkutsk oblast**: a.volokos@  
gmail.com  
\* **St. Petersburg**, also for Petrogradets -  
paper: ad-spb@riseup.net  
\* **Tolyatti**: ad-til@mail.ru  
\* **Vladivostok**, also for Udar-paper: a-avto-  
nom.vl@riseup.net,  
cccпка@gmail.com  
\* **Volgograd**: volgauto@inbox.ru  
\* **Yekaterinburg**: P.O. Box 329 620135  
\* **Yekaterinburg Russia**  
libertarizm@gmail.com  
Individual press distributors of Autonomous Action  
\* **Biysk** (Altay region): rastamao@  
404team.org  
\* **Kaluga**: antiglobal@mail.ru  
\* **Kamyshin of Volgograd region**:  
antoha@bscom.ru  
\* **Naberezhnye Chelny** (Tatarstan): granat-  
rzn@mail.ru  
\* **Neftekamsk** (Bashkortan): rocks@list.ru  
\* **Ozersk of Chelyabinsk oblast**: avtonom-  
ozersk@yandex.ru, padlik@bk.ru  
\* **Sakhalin**: paha\_keeper@mail.ru  
\* **Samara**: avtonom-samara@yandex.ru  
\* **Sochi**: palma17v A T gmail.com, gaura@  
riseup.net  
\* **Vologda**: blackflag@list.ru  
\* **Voronezh**: dingir@mail.ru  
\* **Yaroslavl**: anarcho\_kommuna@mail.ru,  
hkos\_68@mail.ru  
\* **Yoshkar Ola**: punk@zyenigovo.ru, pizdecsi-  
stern@mail.ru,  
www.creeples@mail.ru  
\* **Zarechniy** (Sverdlovsk oblast): kontrcultura  
@gmail.com  
\* **Bakunin Fund**  
Kornilov Sergey Gavrilovich  
Kuvshinovskiy Rayon, s. Pryamukhino  
172101 Tverskay aoblast, Russia  
tel: +7 (48257) 75 160, +7 (495) 918.40 04,  
+7 (916) 322 33 47  
http://www.bakunin-fund.da.ru/  
bakunin-fund@mail.ru  
\* **Black Bloc** (Voronezh)  
http://blackbloc.anho.org  
blackblok0@gmail.com  
\* **Clandestine Insurrectionary Rebel Clown**  
**Army in Moscow**

ka@riseup.net  
\* **Critical Mass** (Moscow),  
http://massa.org.ru/,  
critical.mass.moscow@gmail.com  
\* **Confederation of revolutionary Anarcho-**  
**Syndicalists (KRAS-AIT)**  
Moscow  
P.O.Box 34  
117485 Moscow Russia  
(no name of the group to the envelope)  
http://kras.fatal.ru/,  
http://kras-ait.over-blog.com/  
comanar@mail.ru  
\* **Rostov-na-Donu**  
P.O.Box 4059  
344 103 Rostov-na-Donu Russia  
socprotest@pochta.ru  
\* **Saransk**  
tmunzer@mail.ru  
\* **Yaroslavl**  
P.O. Box 733  
150052 Yaroslavl Russia  
liberta2004@inbox.ru  
\* **Cultural Center "DUPL0" & Alternative**  
**movie club Diversija in Samara**  
http://www.duplo.narod.ru/  
duplo@yandex.ru  
\* **Organized Siberian Antifascists**  
siberia@riseup.net  
http://o-s-a.anho.org/  
\* **Food Not Bombs**  
General contact: fnb.ru@riseup.net  
Barnaul: iniciativa-barnaul@yandex.ru  
Irkutsk: irkfnb@gmail.com  
Izhevsk: edavmestobomb@gmail.com  
Kazan: fnb-kazan@yandex.ru,  
http://www.fnb-kazan.narod.ru/  
Kirov: punkauskirov@mail.ru  
Krasnodar: fnb\_krsnrd@mail.ru  
Krasnoyarsk: afa-krk@yandex.ru  
Moskva: http://edavmestobomb.narod.ru/,  
fnb-msk@riseup.net  
Nizhniy Novgorod: fnbnnov@gmail.com  
Novosibirsk: x316x@mail.ru  
Perm: fnbperm@mail.ru  
Rostov-na-Donu: subbaulucha@mail.ru  
Samara: tipunanija@rambler.ru  
St.Petersburg: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru  
Tyumen: fnb\_tyumen@autistici.org  
Ufa: fnb@inufa.org  
Vladivostok: fnb-vladivostok@mail.ru  
Volzhkiy: fnbvlz@mail.ru  
Voronezh: fnb-vrn@yandex.ru  
\* **For the Abolition of Vivisection!** -  
Initiative group (SHAC Russia),  
http://zhestokosti.net/,  
http://stopanimaltests.livejournal.com,  
skazhi@zhestokosti.net  
\* **Free Trade Unions Confederation of**  
**Tomsk**  
http://kulac.narod.ru  
\* **Free University**  
(anarchist lectures in St Petersburg)  
voluni@list.ru  
\* **House-museum of Pyotr Alekseyevich**  
**Kropotkin**  
tel: +7(495)993-92-04 (Jan Lvovich Prusskiy)  
m448@mail.museum.ru  
\* **Indyvideo**,  
http://indyvideo.ru/,  
indyvideo@riseup.net  
\* **MPST (Inter-Professional Union of**  
**Workers)**  
Phone: +7-963-923-39-69  
e-mail: mmagid@mail.ru, wwp61@mail.ru,  
buhrl@yandex.ru,  
aneretik@gmail.com  
http://mpst.anho.org  
\* **Network of Working Place Resistance**  
http://antjob.anho.org/  
\* **Punk Revival** -- St.Petersburg,  
http://pv.mahost.org/,  
aocats@gmail.com  
\* **Punk-Revival Moscow**  
http://pv.anho.org/forum/index.php  
oipunkpv@googlemail.com  
\* **Rainbow Keepers**  
Moscow: Hranitelisvetlana@gmail.com  
Samara: duplos@yandex.ru  
\* **RASH St. Petersburg**  
http://rash-spb.org/  
\* **Red Skins** - Anti-fascist skinheads  
http://www.redskins.ru/,  
admin@redskins.ru

\* **Siberian Confederation of Labour**  
sibokt@gmail.com  
<http://syndikalist.narod.ru/>

\* **Victor Serge library**  
<http://www.praxiscenter.ru, praxis2001@mail.ru, praxiscenter@gmail.com>

\* **Websites:**  
404team.org - activist tech group  
r@404team.org (also Jabber)  
Anarchist songs  
<http://www.a-pesni.golosa.info/>  
Anarchists of St. Petersburg  
<http://new-novsvet.narod.ru/>  
Anti-fascist portal of information and analysis  
<http://www.antifa.p0.ru/>

\* **Anti-yuppie** - news of anti-glamorous culture of Kaliningrad and surrounding region  
[www.anti-yuppi.narod.ru](http://www.anti-yuppi.narod.ru)  
vitamin\_w38 [a t] rbcmail.ru

\* **Bakunistal website** - theory and analysis, anarchist history  
<http://bakunista.nadir.org>  
bakunista@riseup.net

\* **Golosa.info** - open publishing website from Tyumen region  
<http://golosa.info, admin@golosa.info>

\* **Good Night White Pride**  
<http://goodnightwhitepride.com/>

\* **Indymedia Russia**,  
<http://ru.indymedia.org/, indyru@nedir.org>

\* **Indymedia Kuban** (Krasnodar region and Adygeya)  
<http://kuban.indymedia.ru>  
imckuban@riseup.net

\* **Indymedia Piter** (St. Petersburg),  
<http://piter.indymedia.org/, imc-piter@riseup.net>

\* **Indymedia Siberia**,  
<http://imc-siberia.org, info@imc-siberia.org>

\* **Nazi-Watch Russia**  
<http://nazi-watch.noblogs.org/>

\* **News about squatting and squatter movement**  
<http://squat.anho.org/>

\* **A website on Nestor Makhno**  
[www.makhno.ru](http://www.makhno.ru)

\* **A zine archive**  
<http://www.diy-zine.com/>

**Notable blogs:**

\* [http://anarchism\\_ru.livejournal.com](http://anarchism_ru.livejournal.com)

\* [http://anarchia\\_ru.livejournal.com](http://anarchia_ru.livejournal.com)

\* <http://anatura.livejournal.com> - migration, anti-fascism etc.

\* <http://avier38.livejournal.com> - anarchism in St. Petersburg

\* <http://copyleft.livejournal.com> - copyright, copyleft, creative commons, filesharing...

\* <http://ihavexx.livejournal.com> - anarchism and animal rights in St. Petersburg

\* <http://iricle.livejournal.com> - ecology and anarchism in Nizhniy Novgorod

\* [http://mikola\\_a.livejournal.com](http://mikola_a.livejournal.com) - anarcho-communism in Belarus

\* <http://shraibman.livejournal.com> - history of anarchist movement, syndicalism (by MPST member)

\* <http://sindicallisto.livejournal.com> - another syndicalist blog by KRAS member

\* <http://streetsmedia.livejournal.com> - Squatting, prisoner support...

\* <http://tupikin.livejournal.com> - Vlad Tupikin

\* <http://vivalafora.livejournal.com> - syndicalism, history of anarchist movement... by KRAS member

**Zines:**

\* **Girls Are Strong** - St. Petersburg  
gas\_zin@mail.ru

\* **Imhopang** - Moscow  
imhopang.punk.ru  
imhopang@yandex.ru

\* **Insomnia** - Moscow  
P.O. Box 64 109147 Moscow Russia  
[www.myspace.com/insomnia\\_zine](http://www.myspace.com/insomnia_zine)  
endishear@gmail.com  
podonokx@gmail.com

\* **Interpretation** - Moscow  
P.O. Box 16 117437 Moscow Russia  
interpretation\_zine@yahoo.com  
[http://www.myspace.com/interpretation\\_zine](http://www.myspace.com/interpretation_zine)

\* **Kamardzhoba** - Nizhni Novgorod  
crustnn@yahoo.com

\* **Knives and forks** - St. Petersburg  
zilonis@newmail.ru

\* **Liniya Fronta** - St. Petersburg  
frontline@riseup.net

\* **Meet with the resistance** - Magnitogorsk  
razer@ist.ru

\* **My Riot Inward** - Petrozhavodsk  
Alexei Zaikov  
S. Kovalevskoi street, 9-108  
185002 Russia  
scandalsp@mail.ru

\* **No Borders** - St. Petersburg  
noborders@front.ru

\* **Refuse Resist-zine**  
<http://www.rfrs-zine.narod.ru>  
rfrs.info@gmail.com

\* **Rod Svart Punk** - Perm  
K.S. Pylaev P.O. Box 6594 Perm Russia  
rod\_svalt@front.ru  
ICQ: 354-310-442

## SLOVAKIA

\* **Anti-Fascist Groups**

- **Trnava (AFA)** -  
antifa-trnava@safe-mail.net

- **Bratislava (AFA)** -  
<http://blava.antifa.net, bacityafa@yahoo.com>

- **Bratislava (Autonomna Antifa)** -  
bratislava@antifa.cz

- **Bratislava - nazi monitoring** -  
<http://monitor.revolt.org, monitoringba@yahoo.com>

\* **Alternative Magazine in slovak language**  
biedaduchay@safe-mail.net

\* **Antifascist Action from Trnava** - antifa-trnava@hushmail.com

\* **Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross)** -  
ciernykriz@yahoo.com.

\* **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** -  
slovensko@csaf.cz

- **Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz

- **B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz

- **Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz

- **Vychod** - csaf\_sk\_vychod@yahoo.com

\* **FNB Trnava** - jedlott@safe-mail.net

\* **KATT** - collective of anarchist tourists, katt-kolektiv@yahoo.com

\* **Priama Akcia-MAP: www.priamaakcia.sk**

- **Eastern region:** vychod@priamaakcia.sk

- **Bratislava** - ba@priamaakcia.sk

- **Western region** - zapad@priamaakcia.sk

- **International Secretary** -  
intersec@priamaakcia.sk

- **Postal contact** - Priama akcia, P.O. Box 16, 840 08 Bratislava 48, Slovensko  
**mobile phones:**  
- +421 949 387 174 - Priama akcia - VA?chod (east)  
- +421 949 708 508 - Priama akcia - Bratislava

\* **Info@Police** - [www.info@police.sk](http://www.info@police.sk), info@info-apolice.sk (Bratislava)

## SLOVENIA

\* **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - [kultura\\_kontra@yahoo.com](http://kultura_kontra@yahoo.com).

\* **Akd Izbruh Kulturni Bazni** - autonomous culture centre in squatted swimm-pool in Kranj; [www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd-izbruh@yahoo.com](http://www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd-izbruh@yahoo.com)

\* **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345, [anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org](mailto:anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org), [www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv](http://www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv)

\* **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - [saf.info@email.si](mailto:saf.info@email.si)

\* **Union of self-organised workers - SiSD/USW** - [is\\_usw@yahoo.com](mailto:is_usw@yahoo.com) Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

**UKRAINE**

\* **International Union of Proletarian Revolutionary-Collectivists (left-communists in Ukraine)** - [prometej2003@ukr.net](mailto:prometej2003@ukr.net), [proletar@ukr.net](mailto:proletar@ukr.net), <http://iuprc.250free.com>

## ARTEMIOVSK

\* **Rage of the youth zine** - [Artemiovska-fnb\\_art@mail.ru, xveggyx@yandex.ru](mailto:Artemiovska-fnb_art@mail.ru, xveggyx@yandex.ru)

## DONETSK

\* **Anarchist Federation of Donetsk** - [samoorg@mail.ru](mailto:samoorg@mail.ru), 83017, Donetsk-17, private box 1819.

## KHARKOV:

\* **Animal rights alliance** - [save-animals@mail.ru, kharkov@animalrights.ru](mailto:save-animals@mail.ru, kharkov@animalrights.ru)

\* **Autonomous Action** - [akh@nm.ru, anti-fa@km.ru](mailto:akh@nm.ru, anti-fa@km.ru)

\* **Svobodna** - anarcho-feminist web-page (russian language) [www.svobodna.org.ua](http://www.svobodna.org.ua)  
[svobodna@riseup.net](mailto:svobodna@riseup.net)

\* **Diyhc** - hardcore/punk web zine, <http://diyhc.org/>, [diyhardcore@gmail.com](mailto:diyhardcore@gmail.com)

\* **FNB** - [die\\_young@riseup.net](mailto:die_young@riseup.net)

\* **People for animal rights** - [glazoo@ya.ru](mailto:glazoo@ya.ru)

\* **Zaraz** - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives, [www.zaraz.org](http://www.zaraz.org), [info@zaraz.org](mailto:info@zaraz.org)  
Infoshop, <http://infoshop.zaraz.org/>, [infoshop@gmail.com](mailto:infoshop@gmail.com)

## LTV:

\* **Antifa** - [antifalviv@ua.fm](mailto:antifalviv@ua.fm)

## ODESSA:

\* **Diversiya** - infoshop, [Knyazheskaya str 30 - 32,](http://Knyazheskaya str 30 - 32,)

\* **FNB** - [animal\\_rights@riseup.net](mailto:animal_rights@riseup.net)

## RIVNE:

\* **Come Alive** - diy punk/hc concerts, [tolizban@yandex.ru](mailto:tolizban@yandex.ru)

## SEVASTOPOL:

\* **Autonomous Action** - [vlasti\\_net@mail.ru](mailto:vlasti_net@mail.ru)

\* **Animal liberation group, Antifa, Food Not Bombs** and other activity:  
[klim\\_kacha@mail.ru](mailto:klim_kacha@mail.ru), [dzynia@yandex.ru](mailto:dzynia@yandex.ru)

\* **Group active in animal rights, Antifa, Front Aids:** [keeponfighting@mail.ru](mailto:keeponfighting@mail.ru)

\* **Vlasti net** - zine, [vlasti\\_net@mail.ru](mailto:vlasti_net@mail.ru)

## SUMY:

\* **Anarchist Federation of Sumschina** - <http://www.fas-2017.tk/>, [fas-2017@yandex.ru](mailto:fas-2017@yandex.ru)

## ZHITOMIR:

\* **FNB** - [fnb\\_zhytomyr@mail.ru](mailto:fnb_zhytomyr@mail.ru), private box 127, Zhitomir, 10014

\* **'Zhyvyi'** - distro, [www.truemens.narod.ru/distrotr.htm](http://www.truemens.narod.ru/distrotr.htm), [truemen@mail.ru](mailto:truemen@mail.ru)

\* **'Veselka'** - distro, [makefuture@ukr.net](mailto:makefuture@ukr.net), [diyzytomyr@ukr.net](mailto:diyzytomyr@ukr.net)

\* **'Suck Out'** - zine, [www.truemens.narod.ru/suckoutzone.htm](http://www.truemens.narod.ru/suckoutzone.htm), [anyom@inbox.ru](mailto:anyom@inbox.ru)

\* **'Squat UA'** - zine, [truemen@mail.ru](mailto:truemen@mail.ru)

\* **'Far For'** zine - [makefuture@ukr.net](mailto:makefuture@ukr.net), [diyzytomyr@ukr.net](mailto:diyzytomyr@ukr.net)

## TURKEY

\* **"AForum"** - [www.internationala.org](http://www.internationala.org)

\* **Anarsist Bakis** - <http://go.to/anarsistbakis> - archive of anarchist texts

\* **ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - [abcankara@yahoo.com](mailto:abcankara@yahoo.com)

\* **"Imlasiz"** - [www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net](http://www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net) - anarchist magazine

\* **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; [isimsiz\\_dergi@yahoo.com](mailto:isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com)

\* **KaosGL** - [www.kaosgl.com](http://www.kaosgl.com) - anti-authoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine

\* **"Kara Kizil"** - [www.karakizil.tr.cx](http://www.karakizil.tr.cx) - anarcho-communist group

\* <http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net> - anarchist primitivists

\* <http://ankarafanzin-freeservers.com> - zine from Ankara

\* <http://veganarsi.cjb.net> - anarchist primitivist zine

\* [www.geocities.com/kaosyanlari](http://www.geocities.com/kaosyanlari) - anarchist publisher in Istanbul

\* [www.mecmu-a.org](http://www.mecmu-a.org) - magazine from Istanbul

# EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST

FIFTH ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR

Zagreb/Croatia, April 3-5 '09

DAY OF COMMON ACTIONS  
AGAINST THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW NUCLEAR POWER IN BELARUS

April 26 - The day of Chernobyl nuclear accident

VILNIUS ZINE FEST

Vilnius/Lithuania, May 15-17 '09

ANARCHIST IDEAS IN RUSSIA AND ABROAD  
AND THE GLOBAL HISTORICAL PROCESS

St. Petersburg and Priamukhino/Russia,

June 24-28 '09

FOURTH LOVEKILLS FESTIVAL + CAMP

Mountains of west Romania,

July 27 - August 2 '09



# STRAYDY

ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW