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**G8 MEETING IN RUSSIA**

*July 2006 in St. Petersburg*

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ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW**

Are you living in a small village in the South Pole? Are you tired of waiting for our local distros to send you the new ABB? Or maybe you simply like to write us a little letter in order to ask us for the new number? Whatever reason you might have for it, your ABB crew started finally also to think about those needs.

We realize that in some regions there are still a lot of problems getting hold of copies of AbolishingBB, especially in the small villages and cities around EE, plus in all the regions of the globe where no regional distro. teams exist.

From the beginning, our distro. concept would rely on the regional distributors to cover the request of the newspaper. We have realized that this structure is not 100% working, therefore, believing strongly that everyone should/could have the possibility of access to the information and news contained in ABB, so we have decided to attempt to solve this problem by forming a special subscription team within our collective - all this to break the barriers and the borders around us and spread, as much as possible, the noise of the ongoing struggles in eastern Europe, hoping that the wind of anarchy, solidarity and mutual aid, coming out from these experiences, may blow to you.

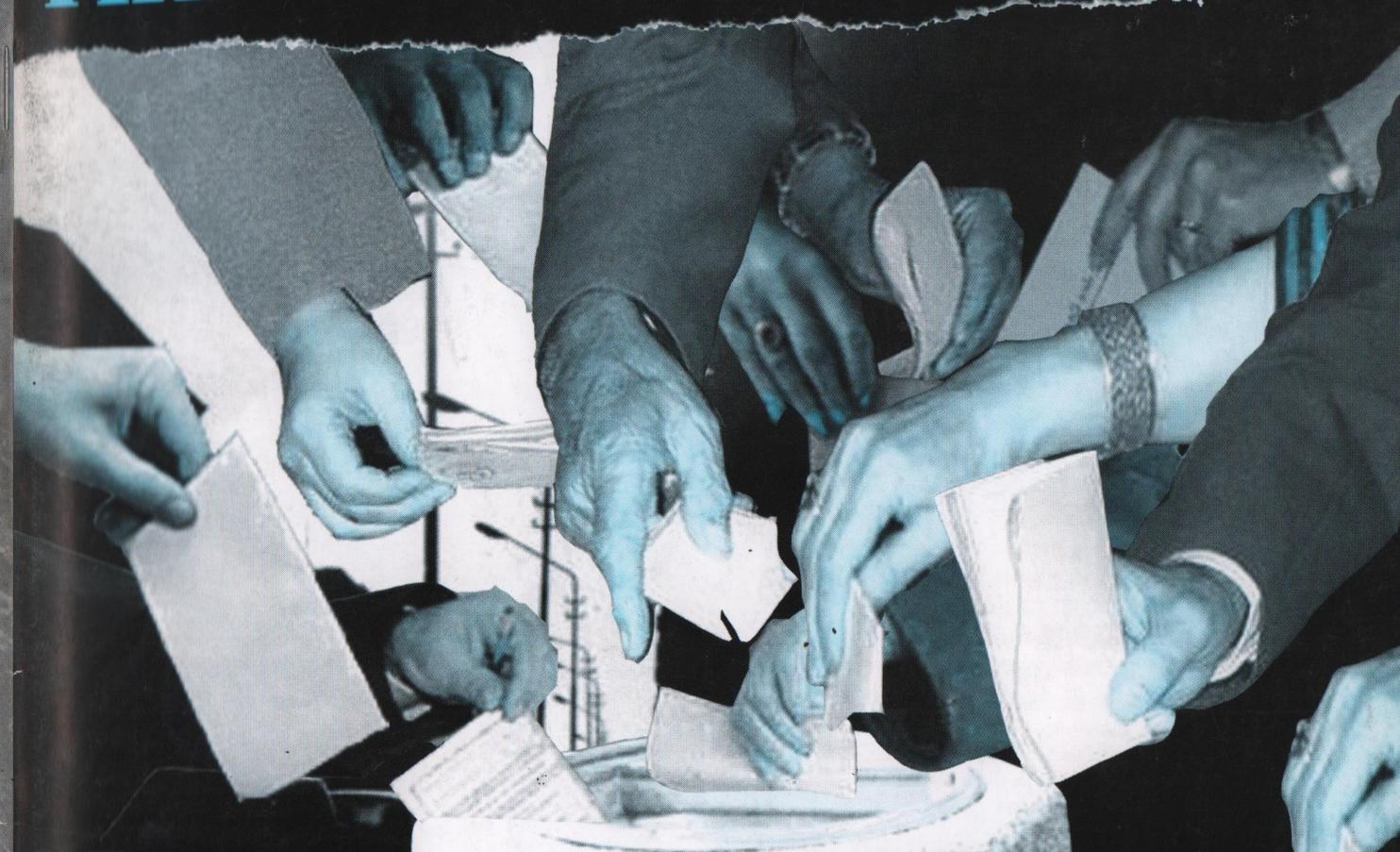
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**ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW**

ISSUE # 21 Bi-Monthly Magazine October 2005

**ABOLISHING  
THE BORDERS FROM BELOW**



**In Elections we Trust?**

**Not Anymore?**

**But What Now? \***

*\* If we organize our lives ourselves horizontally under self-management, we can throw all politicians, governments and the state machinery in the rubbish*

**Anarchist Courier from Eastern Europe**

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

## "ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW" AN ANARCHIST COURIER FROM EASTERN EUROPE

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and it's effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

### An Anarchist Courier

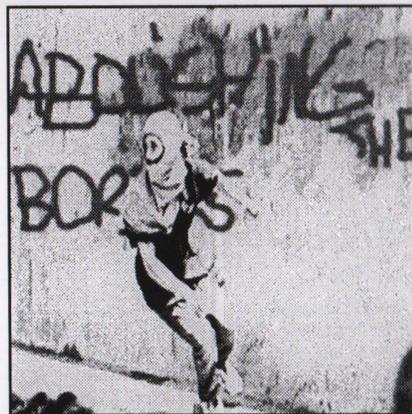
"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysed from an anarchist perspective.

### Editorial Team & Abolishing 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 organizes 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 are covering the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on no-profit bases.



### Executors

Correspondents: Dima (Lwow - Ukraine), Orest (Pristina - Kosovo); Pavel (Prague - CS), Krivash (Bratislava - Slovakia), Marija (Skopje - Macedonia), Saszka (Grodno - Belarus), Nastya (Minsk - Belarus), Igor, Vlad and Utke (Moscow - Russia), Tuuli & Slon (Petersburg - Russia), Domas (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Ryga - Latvia), Maja (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Kleschta (Timisoara - Romania), M. (Ankara - Turkey), Laura, Zaczek, Michu, Zbyszek, Soja (Warszawa, Torun, Bialystok - Poland), Barbara (Belgrad - Serbia), Lajos, Toxic (Budapest - Hungary).

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

Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB + YellowKid

### Other Sources of Info

These are: "alterEE" EE-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC info bulletins, "Avtonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, various EE-IMC's & others.

### Co-operation

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about 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 different 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.

### Deadlines

Deadline for next issue:  
15.11.2005

### Distribution

We are looking for people/collectives ready to distribute this publication on a regular basis in their regions (especially in southern Europe). Previous issues are as well available - contact the distribution team.

### Free Copies / Print-Run

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe (which get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address. At the moment we print by ourselves 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.lt](http://www.abb.hardcore.lt)

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basicly - an archive of all 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) !!!

### Front Cover

Putting the votes where they belong... see editorial text and analysis of the recent elections in Poland.



Unnoticed News \* Radical Eco Camp report \* Anarchists Organizing \* ABC \* Announcements & Appeals \* Counter-Culture & more...

This little anarchist project which just through its existence supports many others anarchist projects ... needs your financial support !

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"WHAT YOU WANT IS WHAT YOU GET ... UNFORTUNATELY"  
CZECHTEKK IT OUT

State repression against free party movement in Czech

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First Action of FNB in the Ukraine

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SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS  
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Interview with St.Petersburg Anarchists

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Comparing prison realities in Serbia & Switzerland

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FREEDOM TO PEOPLE, DEATH TO EMPIRES!  
Different positions of Russian Anarchists on the situation in Chechnya

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REPORT FROM NO BORDER CAMPS ON BULGARIAN-GREEK BORDER

A 7209

# SELF-CRUCIFIXION IS NO FUN

## EDITORIAL

In the last few weeks our attention was attracted by two interesting aspects connected with the ritual mass-self-crucifixion of contemporary societies as we understand the democratic elections. One of these aspects appeared in our direct neighbourhood, another one in one of the regions in Eastern Europe. But no - we are not going to discuss or compare here the results of the parliamentary votes in Germany and Poland as we wont consider the facts of how much support particular political parties in the respective countries have got as interesting for anarchists. We would like to focus on two aspects connected with votes which, to the certain point, may become the challenge for anarchist politics of today. These are, the position of migrants towards the elections, and the momentum of moving from election-boycott to the active creation of free-society. Starting with these topics in the editorial we will introduce you to one of the leading topics in the #21 issue of our magazine which one is welcoming you right now.

During election-fever in Germany on the streets of our city appeared the papers called "thank you Democracy" signed by some frustrated immigrants living here for quite a long time. In the paper the authors were accusing Democracy of not being democratic because it does not allow tens of thousands of immigrants to vote. The flyers were meant as a call for a campaign for the *right to vote* for immigrants in order to give the democracy a real face. No need to explain that our reaction could only be the publishing of a paper with the opposite position of immigrants. In there we presented even more "democratic" face of the democracy, describing the *right to vote* as not one of those rights/freedoms of people for which we believe it is worth fighting for and defend the "dont care if allowed to vote or not" migrants position. Finally we presented our alternative to self-crucifixion ritual. Yet, why we are writing about this in such a prominent place of the magazine is because we realized during this specific migrants-dialogue that (politics of migrants without right to vote) in times when numbers of migrants in almost all countries regularly increases, the number of not-allowed-to-vote people increases proportionally. It means to us that the aspect of what demands towards the democracy the migrants (world-wide) will take can be the main role very soon (not that it is not important now!). But here again, we are less interested in how this fact affects the election results as such. Much we are more interested in necessity to stress the discussion on parliamentarism (etc.) among the migrants' communities, especially in confronting us, the anarchists, with the demand of right to vote. As far as we can observe most of the leftwing movements support all migrants' demands quite uncritically. As the demand of right to vote seems to be one of those with rising importance, the criticism of that demand from the anarchist position should become louder as well, in the best case in form of common discussion with migrants communities.

The fact that the self-crucifixion is no fun seems to be conscious to a large part of polish society. However the explanations of why this September only 40% of those allowed to vote (!) took the chance to incapacitate themselves once again might be different: from the fact that only right wing gentlemen offered their lies (so the social-democrat voters, could take a break), through the peoples disillusion towards political lies, stealing and corruption in general, till famous traditional aversion to the elites (in this option the catholic elites must be seen as the brutal exception). Most possibly all aspects have played their role. This clear rejection of whole political class can definitely be seen as a positive process towards creating the true alternatives to those based on hierarchy and representation-logic social structures. And here again, the similar results can be expected in some other countries in Eastern Europe soon (see e.g. developments in Hungary). While the necessity to move forward from this point of "rejection" is obvious to the anarchists in Poland and to the others, the momentum is quite critical. From the one side all people who decided on an active boycott (according to our info about 10% of all not voting people) and those which just didnt vote are being blamed by all sort of "upright voters" of letting the radical right get into power - what of course is not difficult to replay argument for the anarchists but for sure for all those "just fed

up" people. On the other side, what is connected with the mentioned accusations, this "state of rejection" will most probably not hold for a long time when nothing will fill up its emptiness (pure-rejection is in general quite weak position, even if in this situation is strongly questioning the whole political system). So the challenge of the momentum, as nothing new anyway, is to fill up this emptiness by introducing all those people which, a) Don't-want-to-vote (conscious election boycott); b) Lost-idea-who-to-vote (ex-social-democracy electorate); c) Can-Not-Vote (migrants); the colourful options of horizontal-self-organisation.

By watching the statistics on elections in Poland one could be surprised by how high (in many places over 70%) of participation was among prisoners. There is no time and space here to make a sociological analysis of that aspect but we consider as significant the fact that people kept in isolation from the social life and kept under strict control act in a very subordinate way, while most of their relatives and friends remaining "free" did not vote anymore. Taking into consideration the huge number of imprisoned people in Poland, without this "produced voted" the participation would fall down even under 40%. Prison remains the space where one will continuously lose his/her "humanity" but always remain a citizen. But nowadays not only states but "the most progressive" capitalists seem to discover the profit-potential behind the criminalisation and "democratic" penitentiary system. Privatisation of prisons and this way the exploitation of prisoners is coming to Eastern Europe, together with all others benefits that capitalism brought the people there. Wishing that all prisoners could leave these places as soon as possible we are observing the growing crowd of the anarchist comrades filling up prison cells around Europe. You will find in this issue enough materials about state-repression machinery rolling forward over the people seeking for freedom from both sides of the walls. The walls which by the way are one of the "borders to be abolished from below" included in the title of our magazine.

In this place we would like to take an opportunity to explain one thing: some of you can find it strange that while the anarchist structures in the south of the continent, in Spain, Greece and Italy, finding themselves under the permanent attack of state-repressions, there is nothing to find on that topic in our widely spread magazine. This is the negative side of the decision we took about 4 years ago to dedicate our magazine to east-European anarchism, a decision strengthened by the awareness that it is probably the only publication covering in this way struggles in EE. But you would be wrong in thinking that we are therefore blind to what is going on anywhere else. Fortunately we are definitely NOT only a publishing collective and we practice other forms of action apart of making this magazine. In this sense - even if on our pages you will find no word about developments in Rome, Athens, Barcelona or Aachen, you can be sure that our thoughts and our solidarity are with all those we just mentioned, and with many others.

There are two other topics in this issue we would like to turn your attention to. First, we continue informing about stand of mobilisation for protests against the G8 summit in St. Petersburg 2006, second - the report, straight away in the opening article, about partly successful attempts of Czech government to criminalize and finally control the growth of the massive free-party-movement in that country. To the text about what kind of lessons need to be taken from the last 2 months of developments in Czechia belongs the photo-gallery on the middle pages of the magazine.

At the end we traditionally say "thank you" to all groups and persons who have supported us with donations in the last two months, like *Anti-Wahl Initiative* in Open University from Berlin, *Café Morgenrot* (again!) from Berlin, and some anonymous activists from nowhere. And now ... please check the content of the courier and if you believe that this project is worth your support - spread the message around so that others can get the possibility to check the news from the barricades in the wild east too.

*Abolishing the Borders from Below*  
editorial collective

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## THE PREVIOUS ISSUES ARE STILL AVAILABLE DIRECTLY FROM OUR GROUND-ZERO-OFFICE IN BERLIN

issue # 19 - June 2005: Editorial "What has to die, dies. We rather improve our micro-world and go on, the same as we expect to happen on the global scale"; Just Exactly Which beach has the ABB crew been sitting on for the last 6 months?...; Balkanian Anarcho Bookfairs; Anarchist Mayday Actions in EE; Time to shake nationalist beliefs to the ground: Interview with Radio FM 103 in Pristina, Kosovo; Popular lessons of destabilisation From Kyrgyzstan; Interviews Witches flying over Skopje; "Beyond the Carpathians, the nightmare begins" - Report from Hungary; Polish Workers Organising; Squatters News; The Pope Goes Underground; Warsaw Equality Parade banned also this year!!! (?); Monetization of free social benefits in Russia; Storm of protests across the country against social humiliation; Columns and more...

issue # 20 - August 2005: Editorial: Where did the barbarians put up their tents?; We dont want this Europe; Shut down the Leningrad Cowboys: G8 summit in St. Petersburg; Insurrection in Uzbekistan; Miners of Silesia lost their patience again; Gay Pride experiences in Eastern Europe; Different faces of Nationalism and Fascism in Russia and Poland; Situation of Chechen refugees in Poland; Chernobyl revision; 25 years Solidarnosc; Seasonal workers; Interview with Anarcho-Resistance group from Bulgaria; ABC, FNB; ALF; Columns and more...

Plus all other back issues from November 2001. Write for details.

## FROM HAND TO HAND

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Every Tuesday of the week between 15:00 and 20:00 you can come round to browse our library of books and journals relating to Eastern Europe, get information relating to EE or just chill out with a cup of coffee and discuss the latest news from the barricades with some good comrades.

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If you're coming from out of town, see <http://koepi.squat.net> on the web (under "Lageplan") for details on how to get there

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If you think that you can help with filling that network up ... LET US KNOW



"WHAT YOU WANT IS WHAT YOU GET ... UNFORTUNATELY"

## CZECHTEKK IT OUT



A few weeks ago, the traditional Czech free-tekkno festival (rave party) called "Czechtekk" should have taken place in place that had been kept secret till the last possible moment. And out of good reason: weeks before the action itself police were busy to let everybody publicly know they wouldn't let it happen. The message was clear: "we will hwart it in any cost." This media massage happened even before anybody knew if the action would be legal or not.

At this point let me make it clear that Czech state doesn't have any law against this kind of parties - this will be important later. But back to the story. Tekkno people reacted smartly and rented the field for this action, therefore making it perfectly legal according to Czech law (the same as a private garden party). But police decided differently and early in the morning blocked the public road to field (laying along the motorway) and therefore practically shut down the motorway.

People found their way on the field anyway and the party started, but the police started to gather in full force: more than 1000 police with special anti-riot equipment, water canons and even a real military tank with machine-gun (by the merest chance hidden under the bridge so it couldn't have been seen from the helicopters...)!)

In the afternoon, police got their order: "Guys, step by step and beat them, beat them, beat them" (as was recorded and later used in the mainstream media). And the guys went... but tasted their own medicine and went back, beaten in a waterfall of sticks, bottles and stones. Czech-tekk continued, journalists went back to their offices to write the reports. But under the cover of the night the police took their revenge.

The second attack was brutal. Car windows were broken and teargas grenades

thrown inside, tents with sleeping people (usually girls) were opened and teargas grenades put inside before they were shut again, heads and legs broken, people were kicked in kidneys and heads etc. One guy died; it's still unclear how and where (some rumors say he was run down by a police car during the attack; the police said he was run down by a lorry on the motorway, which if true was just the consequence of the police action anyway).

All of this happened during the weekend. But then on Monday, the story took on its own life. The Media wrote about the police brutality and the fact that the whole police action was illegal becomes clear. Partly because of modern communication technology (especially mobile phones with cameras) - as plenty of real and brutal photos and videos appeared on the internet practically immediately and after a while in mainstream media as well - partly because of political atmosphere (it is already



c23chtek 2005

pre-election time here and the right-wing opposition have used Czech-tekk as a weapon against the Social-democrat government) this action became the issue of the day.

In the same time, partly spontaneous demonstrations started to take place in front of the Ministry of Interior. On the first one, several thousands people attended and protestors attacked the building with eggs, tomatoes and sprays. As you could expect, this action was later hijacked by the group of doubtful organizers, so the next day people were commanded what to do and what not to do and the organisers were busy to distance themselves from any extremists, particularly leftwing... The major point became: we aren't demonstrators, we are just dancers.

Pre-election PR action of law and order became political manifestation of right-wing opposition. The Prime-minister wrote a bombastic explanation of the action ("those people are not dancing kids, they are dangerous, mad, violent anarchists organised internationally...they have jaundice and



AIDS...") but it didn't help. Very funny was that the most right-wing conservatives defended the tekkno people in very buckram way; one of the most notorious conservative bastards famous for his tireless attempts to prohibit marihuana even told the press he himself listened to tekno from time-to-time, another one currently sitting in the chair of Czech president told the press the action was inadequate and the third from the crew, a bastard who attacked the in police previous years for not reacting hardly enough and the guy who would have shot people dead during the anti-NATO actions in Prague, told the press he would rent the state field to tekkno people for free for this kind of parties... (for just one little service - vote for him!)

Well, it would be funny if certain people wouldn't claim to be organizers and spokespersons and wouldn't use this political pressure for the doubtful goal of punishing the "responsible people," particularly the Minister of Interior, while in parliament there already is a law proposed prohibiting rave parties according to the UK example. But this is no the issue of the protesters; they just want to see the Minister go. They talk just about law and order, in fact in the same way as the government.

I'm sure they wouldn't achieve even the withdrawal of the Minister; if anything, two or three policemen would be degraded for a few months (and in the same time, their commander gives them some extra money for that time)... And next year there would be no Czech-tekk anyway; this time thwarted by police by perfectly legal means. And this time there wouldn't be any right-wing politicians inviting organizers to their offices and shaking publicly their hands and no official support to protest... What you want is what you get, unfortunately.

Pavel, apf@seznam.cz



## FOOD NOT BOMBS IN KIEV

The first action of Food Not Bombs in the Ukraine took place in the middle of March in Kiev. FNB Initiative was well known before, but nobody was engaged in real activity and didn't try to initiate it. Once Kostya Kinski instigated people to start making FNB. At the beginning of March (2005) he came to Kiev and all the people who were interested in FNB (zaraz.org crew, girl and boys from Kiev's diy punk/hardcore scene and others) gathered at the meeting to discuss all details of our future first action. We chose the place of action, chipped in money for food, dishes. Unfortunately it's very difficult to get food for free at Kiev's supermarkets, markets, and greengroceries. That's why all funds for buying food, dishes and other stuff we need are usually collected by participants from their pockets. So the place was chosen, banners were drawn, leaflets were printed. Everybody was ready and waiting for the action day.

We started to cook food in the morning of the 13th of March. Unfortunately we had time to prepare only bean ragout and tea. While the food was being prepared 4-5 people took leaflets and went to the area where FNB action had to take place to spread them between people. We had about 200 leaflets but during 1,5 hours we could spread only 20 leaflet. So anxious doubts about success of action started to creep in. But anyway we decided to move forward and we took the food and our banners and went to the area of the action. We were lucky with weather - it wasn't very cold, the sun was shining. We unrolled banners, arranged pots and dishes, put the CD with "Sloppy livin" on and started to invite people to eat. Some of us were busy dispensing food; the others were spreading leaflets, communicating with passing people, drinking tea slowly. When we started serving out our food there were already 10-15 people waiting with leaflets in hands and we fed them first. People kept on coming - in general it was homeless and handicapped people, pensioners, sometimes middle-age people, children. The action was held in atmosphere of very striking positive - people's reaction was very favourable, most of interested people countenanced our arguments and views. We had some problems only with representatives of religious communities who tried to turn our activity in the side of religion and to propagandize their ideas among participants. But they didn't succeed in this. Somebody was interested in what party we consist in and who paid us. They moved away after our explanations.

We gave out all food and tea in an hour - about 54 portions of ragout and 20l of tea. If we had time to prepare one more dish we would also give it out for sure.

In spite of the fact that we gave out not much food and some gaps in organization, everybody was satisfied and had planned next action at the same place in a week.

We can add that music at the action is a very helpful and nice thing - it cheers up very much

and attracts people's attention.

During the second action we took into account our mistakes and had time to prepare all pre-arranged dishes - buckwheat, haricot in tomato sauce with vegetables, tea. When we came to the place there were already 20 people who took food at the first action. This time as musical illustration we had our drums. There were about 40 participants in this action. We started to give food out, to spread leaflets as during the first action. The food was taken gladly, people were interested in what we did - all the time during the action there were about 50-60 people around us. We gave out more than 150 portions that day, took part in discussions with churchgoers who couldn't stay calmly and were disturbed by our activity. In general our action was very successful.

The third FNB we made in the context of protests against World Economic Forum conference in Kyiv, 16-17 of June (so-called mini Davos) on the European square (in the center of the city). The aim was a visual demonstration of poverty levels in Kiev at that time when authorities are making promises to make us richer in the shortest possible time. We gave out 60 portions of rice with spices and karkade (tea), spoke with journalists, people. But we didn't really like our FNB that day as it was just a part of action activities and we had so much to do besides it.

Altogether we've made only 3 Food Not Bombs actions. But impressions of them are very positive and optimistic. We'll go on conducting FNB actions in future, as many as we can.

We haven't had any problems with authorities yet. We sent them notifications about anti-war actions and did our FNB actions in the context of them.

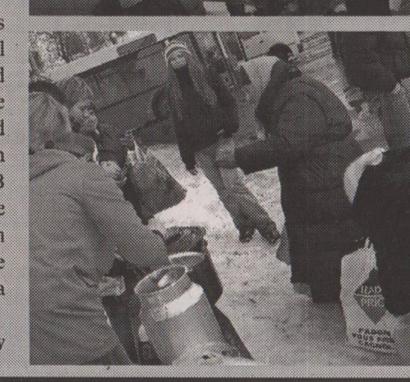
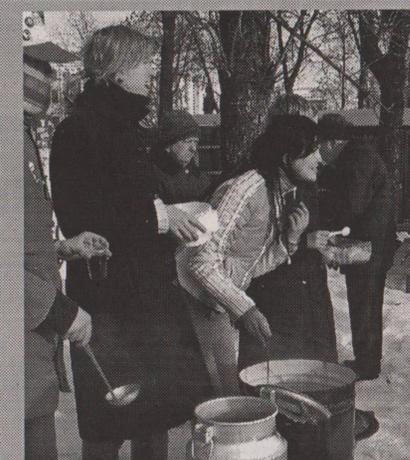
We always cook only vegan food because our vegan-activists threatened to cut everybody's ears off for the "incorrect" food.

Unfortunately it's also a problem to make diy-concerts for FNB support. There's only a few people from alternative and counter cultural youth who are interested in such activity.

But we're hoping that the situation will be soon change- there are many new people appearing who're ready to join FNB activity. Actually the FNB-group is still being formed - there's no precise organisation to do actions regularly. But we plan to finish forming the group as soon as possible.

As long as the world is a battleground, as long as because of insubstantial "geopolitical interests" people are parts of terror and destruction machine, as long as billions are spent on weapons of destruction and oppression, as long as there's state control in this world - we will keep on doing our FNB actions, attracting public attention to the problems of hunger, poverty, total militarization and the threat of state violence. Because we need a society, not control, because food is a right, not a privilege!

FNB crew, Kiev



**ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND**

**"National disaster and rejection of whole political class by a majority of society"**

**or ... "Juz wiecej tym kurwom\* nie dam sie oszukac!"**

by Zbyszek; Warsaw

**BEFORE the ELECTIONS**

An election in Poland is a grateful topic. Each of the parties taking part in it appears as a separate history of the same sickness. Similarly to pensioners of psychiatry-clinics assuring us about their accountability, all parties on the polish political scene declare, one after another, that it is exactly them being honest and just, while the term "normality" declines within these declarations in all cases. I don't know how it is exactly in the other countries but in Poland

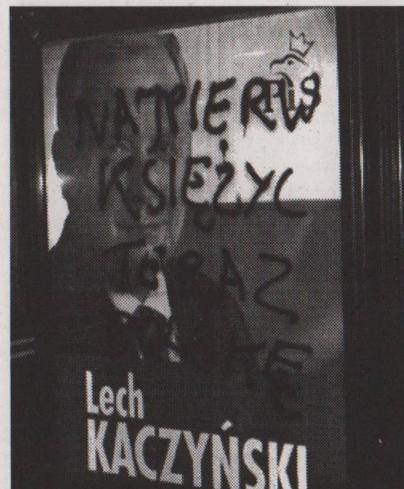


most of the lead politicians have behind them a presence in several different parties. However, this situation is not necessarily a result of any special tendency of changing the political opinions. It is rather a sort of necessity. Here in Poland, each party or the coalition that finishes its governing time leaves the political scene in quite serious disrepute, with heavy baggage of various scandals - with plain hate of the people. And the strongest hate of those who let themselves be cheated again and who have voted for these "spongers and thieves". This could be called already a "polish secular tradition" that those who govern have afterwards to chrysalises (transform) themselves, like an ugly larva into a beautiful butterfly, before the next elections. Otherwise they have no chance. Professional politicians say and do everything to convince people one more time that they actually have to do with something new, honest and credible.

Already at the beginning of the 90's the first Solidarnosc-government had in the eyes of society trampled under foot a myth of the social movement which the Solidarnosc had been at the beginning of its existence. Until now, from all statesmen only one apologized publicly for that fact: Jacek Kuron who died one year ago. The rest of the "association", never mind the records of unemployment and frustration, tries to convince the people from time to time that what they did in the past was after all successful.

After the first Solidarnosc-government we have several governing-crews,

one from the left, one from the right, and it has to be admitted that in some aspects they developed themselves. Both, formerly governing right-wings from AWS as well as right now after 4 years of governing leaving social-democrats from SLD, appreciate that if from them declared improving of existence of the citizens does not work at all, than at least they will improve their own. Keeping it short: during their candidacies both cliques were stealing without any embarrassment. While four years ago it looked like the series of scandals with robbing the national household from the right-wing formation reached the record-level, the recent cadence (of SLD) showed that this record was easy to improve.



Actually, both formations went the similar way - from the support reaching up to 40% they fell down to just a few percent. The right-wing AWS dissolved itself after they gave the power away, but quickly on its ruins a few new parties were born, which is looks like will govern in Poland the next few years.

Both the leading parties at the moment are: supported by big business neo-liberal Citizens' Platform and conservative in sense of custom Law and Justice having a couple of twin-brothers Kaczynski's as the leaders. One of them became famous forbidding for two years the equality-parade as a president of Warsaw. In the line to the TROUGH (polish popular expression for the position in power) are still: populist and govern in dictatorship-manner by a peasant tribune "Self-defence", and nationalistic-ultra-catholic formation League of Polish Families (LPR), subordinated under quite young and very dangerous politician with dictatorship tendencies - Roman Giertych. Since several years he is systematically setting on the most important positions in LPR members of his youth organization All-Polish Youth. In this formation obliges strict hierarchy, absolute discipline and subordination towards the leader. The other formations starting in this election can have problems to get into the parliament at all.

In Poland, the participation in the votes is traditionally lower than in other countries. The exceptions are here the presidential-elections which are widely considered as something between plebiscite and betting the horse races - that's why they attract more people. By the way, the presidential votes will take place just one week after the parliamentary one. The usual absence of 40-60 % is unfortunately not a result of anarchist propaganda. It rather results from the strong conviction expressed so precisely by one of the voters: "I will never let these whores cheat me again!" ("Juz wiecej tym kurwom nie dam sie oszukac!")\*. At this point it should be mentioned that the politicians themselves are doing a big job for anarchists by showing one after another to

**ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND**

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what they are capable of: not much! Unfortunately, it has a demoralising influence on the anarchists themselves - what is the sense to print the leaflets when it is enough to switch the TV on. Polish writer Janusz Glowacki is saying that during "communist time" (popular: "za komuny") everything was so simple. When one was seeing the person puking in the middle of the street, one was coming closer and saying: "Sir, I agree with you completely". I believe that today this kind of approach is possible and fully justified too.

**AFTER the ELECTIONS**

It is one day after the parliamentary elections now. We have witnessed a little surprise: the Law and Justice Party "PiS" (a bit less than 27% votes) won minimally over the Citizens' Platform "PO" (a bit less than 25%). These two right-wing Parties already declared before elections the will to form a Government coalition. The post-communists from SLD have got a bit more than 10% what could be appreciated as their little success considering that about one month ago the surveys had showed just about 5% of support. The populist-leftwing Self-defence got just 1% more than SLD and nationalists from League of Polish Families "LPR" all together 8%, what is their

defeat as they expected for sure more support. What is interesting is the successful finish of Law and Justice is being explained through the stressing in the last days of the campaign of the neo-liberal character of their stronger concurrent, Citizens' Platform. What is not changing is the fact that the next few years the parliamentary right will be in power. However, I am somehow relaxed as I am convinced that after this period both leading parties will be objects of common hate amongst the population.



Considering the participation in elections, it was a record low. About 60% (of legalized citizens) ignored the call to vote. This fact is presented by most politicians and experts as a national disaster and a sign of popular rejection of whole political class by

majority of the society. Media repeats like a mantra the slogan: "those who did not take part in the elections have no right to criticise". In my opinion it's exactly the opposite: those having the least right to criticism are the people who voted in the new governing party.

Leaving this issue on the side, it should be mentioned that according to statistics the elections-participation in Poland is the lowest in the whole region. It could be a fact to be glad about but as I mentioned already before the votes - this is mostly the achievement of the politicians themselves which strongly work on the popular contempt towards themselves.

In about ten days (so already after the print of this issue of ABB) the presidential votes are coming, where the favourite so far is Donald Tusk from Citizens' Platform, but Lech Kaczynski from Law and Justice has a similar chance, especially on the wave of the success of its own Party in the parliamentary elections yesterday. Considering that his twin-brother Jaroslaw Kaczynski will most possibly take the chair of premier minister, however if you throw a stone against the heads of state tribune, it is pretty sure that "the Kaczynski" will be hit. And this is quite optimistic news for the future.

**\* Resisting while mentally imprisoned**

**AbolishingBB apologises and explains the use of the sexist expression in the magazine**

by Veronika (on behalf of ABB)

The subtitle of a text printed above "Juz wiecej tym kurwom nie dam sie oszukac!" means in english no more and no less than: "I will never let those whores cheat me again!" and is actually the original quote of a polish person remarking on the politicians and the parliamentary elections in Poland. As probably many of you know, the polish word "kurwa" means literally "whore" and is for that reason the most popular of polish-language expression of heavy sexist-character. At the same time, and unfortunately with the same (sexist) background, this is exactly the term with which most of the people in Poland (independent of gender) are using to call their worst enemies. There maybe different opinions on that but we (ABB) consider this term as a clearly sexist expression. We do definitely not take position of ignoring the use of sexist expressions in our publication. Yet at the same time both, we (polish speaking people within ABB) and our correspondent from Warsaw who used this quotation in his text, have decided in this case to print this original voice of anger expressed in exactly this way by a Polish person. We, the editors, even took the decision to put this sentence on the top of the story. So you can imagine that we must have reasons for that ...

We (again, the polish speaking part of ABB) consider this sentence as quintessence of what and how polish proletarian person is nowadays EXPRESSING HIS/HER TRUE EMOTIONS towards the political-economic elites. We're speaking of a person who was born,

educated, brain-washed and made crazy in the mental-spirit of the authoritarian systems of Catholicism and Patriarchy which have been trashing the perceptions of polish people for ages (in last centuries under the auspices of Statism and Capitalism). In this place we apologize to those of you who would rather not like to see this sort of expressions in our magazine. Your criticism is fully justified, and still ... the state of mind of common polish proletarian person remains exactly as above: it resists violently against the material abuses and at the same time remains completely mentally-imprisoned by above mentioned authoritarian mind-sets. Just another proof that human emancipation/liberation can not just be limited to the material circumstances ...

This way, we have used this as a chance to not only present you this controversial (from anarchist perspective) but definitely honest manner in which polish workers are verbally expressing their rage against the entire political class, but also to make an issue of the hardcore sexist side of the polish speaking language where the term "kurwa" is just the tip of the iceberg. Here the sexist tradition of the polish language is not an exception - it concerns other east-European languages on the same scale, as far as we have experienced. Finally, we would like to call our comrades around Eastern Europe to take this topic in to their/our consideration. Any polemics or statements on this issue are welcome.



**ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND**

# ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND

## The Crony Leftist will finally be Gone

### - but no reason to celebrate

By Laure Akai; Warsaw



right-wing parties claim to want to fight corruption, the only difference might be that they legislate perks for their business partners instead of doing things under the table.

The leading right-wing politicians we have to face are the legacy of the Solidarity and even Peace and Freedom movements. (This is something which some people outside Poland are slow to understand.) Presidential candidate Lech Kaczyński of the Law and Justice Party, famous homophobe and strong man of Warsaw, was a leading Solidarity activist, as was his main opponent, Donald Tusk from Citizens' Platform. (Kaczyński and his twin brother were also active in the former Solidarity government.) Solidarity decided to back Lech Kaczyński instead of Tusk probably because of one of the main issues that

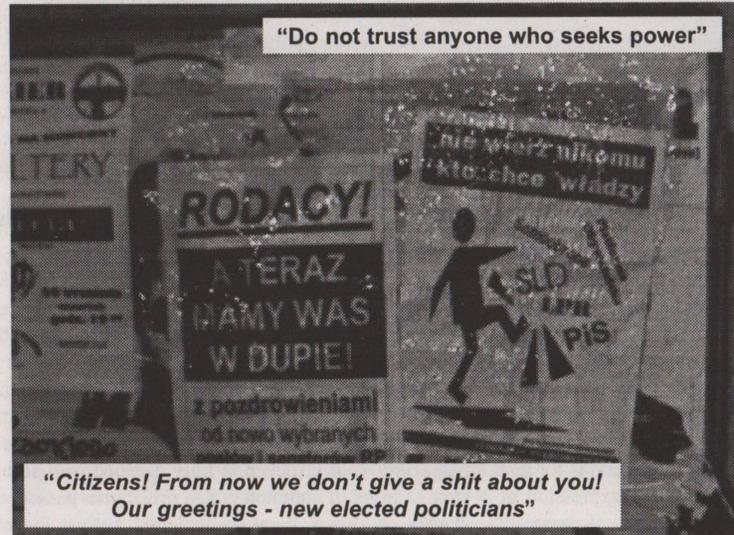
Kaczyńskis or many of the others oppose that; they openly call for the creation of "the Fourth Republic". The Fourth Republic idea should ring in a new era of "decommunization", the main slogan of the Kaczyńskis.

I mention the ties to Solidarity and even Peace and Freedom not to show how much these people fell but to point out that these post-communist social movements actually had quite right-wing, pro-market and socially conservative leadership. (These right-wing tendencies have proven even difficult to shake from the anarchist movement where they were also found.) It is important to understand that the main labor movement in Poland is not a source of left support but just the opposite.

What have proven to be a source of some left support has been social issues, although it

also has been a source of support for the worst liberals of all. The most popular parties are against homosexual marriage and Jarosław Kaczyński has called for a ban of homosexual teachers, which even surpassed his homophobe twin's actions. Another issue is abortion. The Democratic Left Alliance famously promised to legalize abortion and promote women's rights last time they were elected but instead made a deal with the Catholic Church to give up the issue in exchange for support of the European Union. (Not that they were really working on it anyway.) The SLD tried to come back and woo leftists, taking all the

opportunities they could, like supporting the banned gay parade, etc. One of the worst parties on the ballot, the Democratic Party (lead by the



"Citizens! From now we don't give a shit about you! Our greetings - new elected politicians"

divide the two neo-liberal parties: the linear tax. The tax plan, (highly connected to former Peace and Freedom activist Jan Rokita, possibly the next PM) calls for tax cuts in personal, corporate and VAT taxes. Of course even the Kaczyński twins can figure out that these cuts will affect the poor the most: the people with the lowest incomes would receive a 4% tax break (and in some cases even less) while the ultra rich would save 25%. Along with tax cuts, Citizen's Platform naturally calls for all sorts of budget cuts and paid higher education, a change which would require the changing of the Constitution. Not that the



"Food Not Votes"

Although nobody knows what exactly the results of the parliamentary elections may be, one thing is clear: the left will not be on the top any more. Two right-wing parties are fighting for dominance and a half dozen other even further-right parties are on the ballot; it seems the reaction to the crony left has left most people more reactionary than ever.

For the first time in many years, anarchists have had to intensify their arguments against voting, not so much with ordinary people (who are typically sick of it all), but with activists ranging from anarcho-feminists to leftists who have decided that the right wing menace is even worse.

The Polish government has changed from right to left and apparently back again, but two things have remained constant: that power corrupts and the state is a monstrosity. The SLD (Democratic Left Alliance, Poland's former ruling party), was involved in countless corruption scandals and under it, the layer of bureaucracy, the number of bureaucrats, state functionaries and people hired to serve bureaucrats and state functionaries, has grown from unreasonable to sultanesque. (Alexander Kwasniewski had a huge staff of people working in his entourage or as assistants which costs twice as much as the staff of Jacques Chirac. This is really amazing when you take into consideration that the minimum wage is 6 times higher in France and that over 50% more people live there, making the tax base so much higher.) Although various

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# ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND

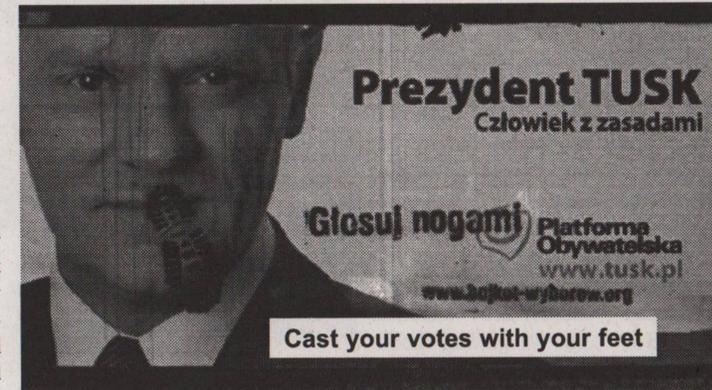
head of the anti-worker association of private employers and the most extreme pro-business liberals) showed up en-masse to protest neo-nazis in Myslenice and we know some so-called leftists who like them because they are tolerant of immigrants, criticized anti-semites and are liberal about homosexual and women's rights. Some of the left, tired of SLD corruption, instead support the Social Democrats who formed a coalition with the Union of Labor and the Greens. The youth branch of Union of Labor and the Greens are common fixtures at so-called "left" events and the Greens were even members of the slightly sick anti-globalist coalition which some anarchists made for summit events. Finally, some of the most hardcore left, like Workers' Democracy or even some feminists came out in support of the Polish Party of Work. Some anarcho-feminists have also declared support for this party and together they try to convince

what they consider the left to vote for it. But most people don't even know it's on the ballot. And we don't think the anarcho-feminists gain anything by voting for it; achieving 0.25 percent of the vote is not going to scare off or stop the right wing. Unfortunately, the Catholic, arch conservative Radio Maria, which supports the Kaczyńskis, has much more power. A while back they turned against the League of Polish

Families and their popularity dropped. Now they've told their listeners that voting for Citizen's Platform is literally "a sin" and their rating dropped a few points.

The mixed left-statist communist and left-statist-anarchist Red Collective-Left Alternative encourages people to go to the ballot but to vote against them all. They try to convince us that voting, like paying taxes, is our civic duty.

In all this mess of left statists trying to find



Cast your votes with your feet

a hopeless party for themselves, the Anarchist Federation calls for an end to this system, an end to representative democracy and political unaccountability, an end to market economics and exploitation, an end to state interference in social life. FA launched a national Boycott campaign which has proven to be one of the best actions it has organized in recent times. The campaign's web page includes lots of texts which explain our alternatives to the state and is

highly visited. A number of bulletins and even a newspaper was printed and even hundreds of billboards were defaced and detoured all around Poland. Lots of people understand why we hate everything but we stress that boycotting is not enough - people have to be active and organize themselves. Our people in Praga (a big district of Warsaw) went around with the newspaper to local shops and bars and we found that most of them took large amounts to give to customers which showed that, even if those people didn't agree with people.

Whoever wins, we lose. We suppose that, as we decided at the FA congress, the next big campaign we'll take part in will be about the abolition of free higher education. Whether it's this proposal, the linear tax, or whatever shit these politicians plan for us, we are sure that the majority in the next government will try to implement reforms which will only heighten class divisions in Poland. And our answer will be, let the class war begin.

You can see some samples of anti-election posters here: <http://www.bojkot-wyborow.org/aktualnosci.php> or on the IMC, if you can look through the Polish titles.

## Extra Greeting for the Catholic Fascist candidates

by Anarchist Anti-Election Action

On September 22 in the city of Białystok (north-east Poland), just 2 days before the parliamentary elections, 12 anarchists from local Anarchist Federation and Anarchist Anti-election Action quite spontaneously turned out to greet the leader of the Polish catholic fascists, Roman Giertych, who was visiting Białystok with his pre-election propaganda shit. As they received news

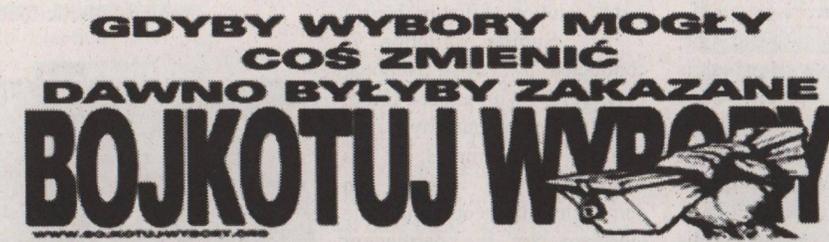
about even 2 days before, there was not much time for a bigger mobilization. Before the meeting some unknown hooligans on bicycles stole billboards advertising the meeting with this fascist pig.

Just before the scheduled time of meeting, activists appeared in the front entrance to Branicki Palace (place of event)

Journalists that were obviously very bored rushed to make pictures and talk with activists. They annoyed the shit out of the youth fascist group

Młodzież Wszechpolska which was supposed to act as the security group for the meeting, but anarchists were abusing them verbally during the event and when one of them taking pictures came too close he was pushed back and hit. Young nationalists didn't do anything and finally

started complaining to police about presence of anarchists but as they basically didn't do anything else and were fewer than 15 people, cops couldn't really do a thing.



"If the elections were to change anything, it would be forbidden; Election-Boycott"

with two banners urging people to boycott elections. A decision was made not to make specific propaganda against Roman Giertych and his party so nobody could think that we consider other parties a better alternative.

# ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND

## ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND

**All colours of racists, nationalists and fascists  
on the march to the polish parliament**

**Report from city of Torun - stronghold of polish conservatives**

**By Michu - Torun;**

The leading topic of the last weeks in our town Torun, the same as in the whole country, was the upcoming elections. The situation seems to be "extraordinarily interesting" as both, parliamentary and presidential elections, coming one after another. Whole Torun is covered by electoral posters and billboards, which are massively "actualized" by local anarchists. You can hardly catch any media without being attacked by one of the candidates telling you to vote him/her and his/her clique. All this gives the great possibility to the nationalistic groups to massively spread their propaganda. They make the best use of it.

First one is League of Polish Families (LRP) which pretends to have quite a crowd in parliament very soon,



which will automatically mean that their youth-organisation All-Poland Youth (MW - organisation with hundreds of active racist skinheads) would be presented there too.

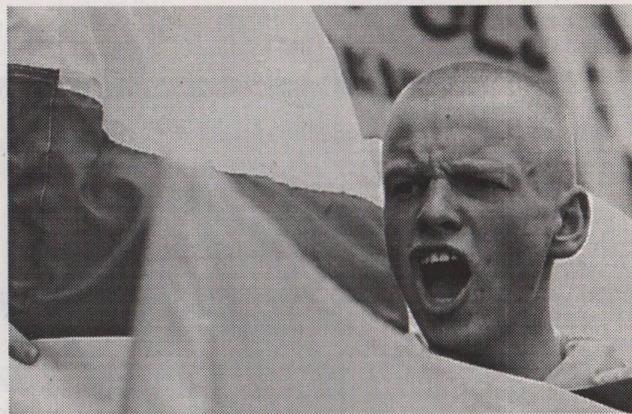
Second is clearly fascistic one, National Revival of Poland (NOP) which is traditionally very strong in our city. They are trying to get into parliament too. While in the previous elections they made it in a safe way (as the members of other, not so obviously fascistic formations, e.g. organisation of nationalistic pensioners) this time, as the climate in Poland seems to be ripe, they candidate officially under their own name - NOP. I managed to establish email and telephone contact with one of their local activists recently, who at the same time appears to have a function of NOP-chief for the whole region. I presented

myself as a very young nationalist boy and I let him to motivate myself to gather the names under NOP lists. In case of difficult questions of people he told me to answer that I am not interested in the politics, I have no idea what is NOP about and that I am collecting the subscribers because one is getting good money for it. During one of the phone calls he even offered me to be their candidate for parliament from their list! Well he was laughing a bit while saying that but at the

same time he seemed to be serious in his offer. It proves a specific sort of humour but at the same time a lack of people in their organisation, so that they make such offers to persons they have never met in person. Their election-campaign is mostly about TV-spots and less about street posters or billboards (guess why). In local Television you can regularly see their spots full of homophobic messages

in which they are presenting gays and paedophiles as the same kind of "deviants" and they are suggesting the gallows as the right "solution of that problem"...

Similar agitation is conducted by Polish National Party (PPN) with Leszek Bubel as a leader, famous from anti-Semitic statements. His campaign is based on convincing the people that "the Germans are the permanent enemies of the Poles". His TV-spots are full of images from concentration camps (camps of extermination). He argues that "the Germans live in permanent will to exterminate the Polish nation".



As far as NOP and PPN belong rather to the political margins, the LRP has a big chance for political success. Even if Maciej Giertych, their candidate for the president, has not much chance so far, his son Roman Giertych - the leader of the LRP can lead his Party to be one of the 3 or 4 strongest clubs in polish parliament. In general the people of radically right-wing ideas are taking over more and more crucial positions in the public and state structures. Already now the MW is one of the strongest youth organisations in the country, but we hope, as they have a lack of experience in sector of so called "big politics" that they will end as political-idiots in eyes of the people. Already now many of the older members of LRP are leaving this Party blaming its leadership for putting on the electoral lists the more young skinheads from MW than them: old-school and proofed catholic fundamentalists.



## ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND

## ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND

# We will not be quiet



**By FA-Praga; Warsaw**

"60% of the society said:  
fuck the authorities."

**60% społeczeństwa  
olewa władzę.**



**Anarchiści cieszą  
się z wygranej  
w wyborach.**

"Anarchists enjoying  
the victory in the elections"

The Anarchist Federation has been conducting a national "Boycott Elections" campaign. The object of the campaign is not only to convince people not to vote (which is actually quite easy), but also to present our alternatives to the current political system.

The Boycott Elections web page ([www.bojkot-wyborow.org](http://www.bojkot-wyborow.org)) includes many articles on the subject. Groups from FA all over Poland have been making actions for weeks, including billboard detournment, bulletins, leaflets and newspapers, posters, street meetings, media campaigns, etc...

As you can imagine, some people decided to agitate today, on election day. According to tradition, there is supposed to be something called "quiet" for 24 hours before and during the election. In reality, since the presidential election is two weeks away, the electoral commission decided that people can campaign for presidential

candidates (just not at voting places) and that trying to encourage people to vote is no problem. Since the text of the law on elections say that one is not allowed to campaign for any parties or at polling stations, and since we wanted to encourage a boycott, we determined that this law does not apply to going around the city and making fun of all the candidates.

Of course the fact that the law bans demos, rallies, etc. "for any parties", does not mean that the police and even the public take that to mean that you cannot say anything in the time. The action "We will not be Quiet" was organized by FA Praga (one of the Warsaw sections of FA) and moved from place to place throughout the city. Activists made some speeches and provocations and even people on the street were free to join in. It was a quite surprising action for many who were shocked that anybody would say anything on election day. Besides trying to present an anarchist point of view on elections, some funny jokes

were made. Outside the zoo, the elephant BUBA was proposed as a presidential write-in candidate and on the old town, some street performer painted and standing like a statue was also presented as an ideal candidate because he stands and does nothing but take money.

At some point we stumbled upon a voting station where some big shot must have been voting (maybe even the President himself) as there was TV etc. there and the police arrested three people. The anarchists, who had taken copies of the law with them argued that their demo could not be counted as breaking "the quiet". This was a challenge to the generally spread word that one cannot speak at all during election day, which is what they tell you in the media. The police admitted they were not sure and called the electoral commission who, when told what the anarchists had exactly said, decided that it did not break the law. In the end, after

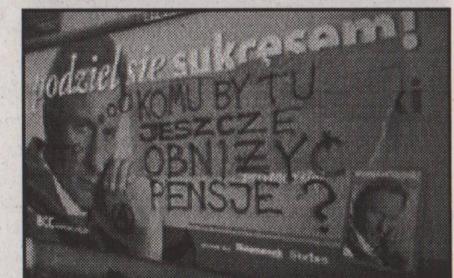
some hours debating with the police on various life topics, everybody was released and not even charged with any of the cops' favourite bullshit charges like blocking traffic or making noise.

### Anti-election actions in Bialystok

In Bialystok local section of Anarchist Federation and other anarchists formed a temporary initiative called Anarchist Anti-election Action. Hundreds of posters were put on the streets as well as a number of stickers and spray-painted slogans. During Food Not Bombs actions anarchists were present with banners "Food not voting" and "Boycott elections" and spreading their propaganda against participation in elections. Apart from that many election billboards and posters were destroyed, damaged or subverted by various means like spray painting, paint bombs etc. There were also banner drops from bridges etc. with anti-election slogans done by local section of Anarchist Federation. Only one person got caught for paint bombing billboards of political parties, but it is not sure if this will result in any court case.



"Food Not Votes" "Election-Boycott"



Who is the next  
to decrease his salary?

## ELECTORAL CIRCUS BACK IN POLAND

**UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS****HUNGARY****CRITICAL MASS IN BUDAPEST ON CAR-FREE-DAY**

On this year's Car Free Day, 22 September, a huge amount of people with bikes and other non-polluting vehicles gathered at Hosök tere, the biggest public square in Budapest. Official report says that there were about 20,000 people in the demonstration, which is twice as much as the previous time on Earth Day (22 of April), when the first demo of this kind took place here. Critical Mass is getting more and more attention in Budapest now, even one of the liberal papers supported it with a front page picture (a few days before the event), and it is very well organized due to the engagement of bike messengers who do it sometimes illegally, too. It seems like this big march will happen 2 times a year (Earth Day and Car Free Day), and if it will be as large as now (we rode around the city and those at the front of the demo even met the last ones departing!), it gives us high hopes to reach a more sustainable traffic structure and spread grassroots/anarchist ideas amongst people who became conscious about at least one issue. For more info, check out [www.criticalmass.hu](http://www.criticalmass.hu)

**ROMANIA****OUR FATHERLAND IS THE WHOLE WORLD! - SUCCESSFUL ACTION IN CRAIOVA**

On the 6th of September in Craiova (South-West Romania) an action took place called "AGAINST ALL BORDERS" in order to sensitize the public opinion about the newest rules regarding the freedom of movement (the new obstacles which Romanians have to face when leaving their country). Participants included

militants and activists. The action consisted of putting up 150 posters and giving some 1000 informative leaflets (and, as usually, it was insufficient), but activists did manage to cover the whole centre of the city. The public opinion's reaction was positive, many people showed their solidarity and absolutely no one was against the action. The most important remark (as far as the activists themselves consider) was of someone who suggested that this action should transform into a bigger and important project. Initially, there was idea to organise a demo, but it failed as activists couldn't obtain the "approval" from the local authorities because they weren't legally organised (into an NGO). Other reactions of the public opinion, which surprised activists in a very pleasant way, but were perfectly normal, were the uncountable swearing at Romanian rulers and authorities, in general. The expecting of the ones who were involved in this action were exceeded by the positive impact of the action on the public opinion, and that makes more regrettable the fact that a bigger and better organised demo couldn't take place. These kinds of actions are the real victories in the war against authorities and all borders between human beings. Our fatherland is the whole world! (by C.A.F. - Craiova Anarcho Front)

**BELARUS****FNB IS OPERATING IN MINSK AND FROM TIME TO TIME IN GOMEL**

FOOD NOT BOMBS actions take place in Minsk every Saturday for more than one month now. Every time the collective succeeds to feed about 60-80 people with delicious and warm vegan food. The staff of the collective is diverse and varies from anarchapunx to krishnait, but they are united by the impulse

to help those who are in need, and what is more important, to demonstrate, that it is possible to change the world by helping each other. The reactions of the commoners are mainly positive, but of course the reproaches are also heard. During one action (June 23) somebody from one of the nearest houses had called the police. The actions of the police patrol were inert and after some explanations ("We only want to help..." and "We all have sanitary permissions") they made a list of surnames of those 4 people who were holding scoops in their hands, and left. The police declared that the participants were law-abiding and that their personal data were necessary only for information...

**POLAND****CASE OF BIEDRON - SENTENCED FOR "INSULT AGAINST ROMAN-CATHOLICS"**

Robert Biedron, one of the most famous activists for gay rights was sentenced by a court in Elblag without the possibility of defence, for "insult against roman-catholics". The reason was the comment he made about an article by Dorota Ekes from "Nasz Dziennik" (a catholic journal). Dorota Ekes wrote that "gays are sick people, and it's only understandable that they should be barred from certain public functions such as teachers, etc..." Biedron tried to take this woman to court but they threw him out. Than he commented: "this opinion reflects well the fascist-nationalist-catholic character of the witch-hunt against gays". Some time later Biedron found out from TV that he would have charges against him. His statement was considered a crime and in spite of his very diplomatic tries to get out from the troubles he was found guilty. Biedron will appeal the case.

**CASE OF MIERZWINSKI - SOLIDARNOSC SHOWS HOW GRATEFUL IT IS TO ITS LONG-TERM SUPPORTERS**

Andrzej Mierzwinski, a member of Solidarnosc since 1990, is suing it for failing to protect his interests. This is the first suit of its kind in Poland. Mierzwinski was not only a dues payer, but a union activist, once deputy in his shop. He worked loading and unloading flour. He got a slipped disk and his doctor told him that he'd have to have rehabilitation for 2 months and then could lift packages weighing only up to 10 Kilo. The flour comes in 10K packages but the bosses claimed that the packages weighed more than 10K. They claimed that the packaging weighed an additional 15 grams so that he would have to lift more than the doctor ordered. So they fired him. He went then to Regional section of Solidarnosc where nobody wanted to help him. Later, a Solidarnosc leader told Gazeta Wyborcza newspaper that "we came to the conclusion that an employer has the right to fire a worker who was on medical leave so long".

**"WE WON'T GIVE UP THE STREETS" - PROTEST AGAINST THE POLICY OF GENTRIFICATION OF WARSAW AUTHORITIES**

The city authorities, in their efforts to gentrify the city and control all areas of economic life, began a massive crackdown on all street peddlers, even those with permission. City police, regular police and tax police were involved with raids last weeks which cleared several areas of street vendors.

Many vendors had their goods confiscated. Many received fines or orders to appear at the tax office.

**UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS**

According to official reports, at least two people were arrested for deportation. We suspect this number may in fact be much higher as three people from our house alone (two from Georgia and one from Ukraine) are unaccounted for.

Some peddlers decided to fight back. On Sept. 8, a group of vendors from Warsaw's Praga district held an illegal rally to the City Hall. There they demanded explanations as to why even legally registered traders (who even pay rent to the city!) were included in these raids and what happened to the confiscated goods. They also demanded permission to continue work in peace, shouting slogans like "We won't give up the streets" and "Let us live". Unemployment is 18% in Poland and pensioners receive very little money. Many of the peddlers are unemployed, rural unemployed and self-employed small-holder farmers, pensioners and migrants.

Anarchists from FA Praga support this protest and are carrying out work with local people to raise awareness of the issues involved (gentrification, the problems of farmers, corporate farmers and supermarkets, the repression of small scale trade in favour of shopping malls, the problem of migrants, structural unemployment and government intervention in people's lives against everybody's interests).

**ANTI-WAR PICKET ATTACKED BY UNDERCOVER COPS IN WROCLAW**

On the 10th of September a group of antiwar activists from Wroclaw held an antiwar picket and happening and was attacked by the police. The picket was held on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the creation of the Silesian Military Region.

An imitation of Camp Iraq was set up on the main town square, an imitation of the camp in which Polish soldiers live in Iraq. One of the banners had a slogan: "We apologized for Jedwabne, we will apologize for Iraq". (This slogan is designed to piss off nationalists. It's about the wartime pogrom on Jews in the city of Jedwabne which was organized by Poles and was denied and attributed to Germans for a long time.)

A person with a loudspeaker talked about all the "glorious" achievements of the Silesian military: intervention in Czechoslovakia (1968), Martial Law (1981) and Iraq (2003). The picket was suddenly attacked by plain-clothes cops who did not show their badges. A fight with the cops followed. 5 people were taken to the police station for questioning. 2 of the activists will be charged with assault on police and additionally for "disturbing public order". The activists have been released and are waiting for calls from the court.

**AGAINST THE LUKASHENKO REGIME OF STATE-KIDNAPPERS!**

Anarchists hold a picket at the General Consulate of Belarus in Bialystok in protest against the Lukashenko regime. They spoke about the journalists who were inconvenient for the authorities and have disappeared as well as members of the opposition. One might ask why anarchists would also mention repressed politicians and the answer is that every person has the right to speak out against the regime, totalitarianism and injustice. Bialystok anarchists' position is that in this kind of situation there is not matter if protestor is a normal person or a politician because everybody has the right to demonstrate, so there is not acceptance for the reaction of the authorities towards the

opposition. (which includes kidnapping and disappearances).

None of the workers at the consulate wanted to come out and answer the questions, nor did anybody answer when protestors rang the bell. The candles were burned for those who paid the highest price for their anti-government activity. Anarchist also promised to burn the same kind of candle on Lukashenko's grave. There was a lot of media there and a very positive reaction.

**AGAINST VISAS FOR NON-EU-CITIZENS**

On the 5th of July there was a picket organized by FA-Bialystok at the Voivodeship office against visas for non-EU citizens. The case of the Byelorussians was mainly highlighted. During the action, a few anarchists went into the building with a letter but they were stopped by police. Too bad - they wanted to talk to the head of the Voivodship. Back to the action they talked about the problems of Fortress Europe and the closing of the eastern border. After that they moved from there to the Belarussian consulate to remind them of what our comrades living there are going through.

**SOLIDARITY ACTIONS IN BIALYSTOK**

Anarchists from FA-Bialystok are showing their regular presence in (and in front of) the regional court during the ongoing cases related to the Warsaw anti-summit last year. Two people had appealed their arrests on the 16th of May. There were some solidarity pickets with the banners that read "Enough Repression for Political Views" and "Stop State Terrorism". Hundred of leaflets were given out.

As well during the G8 summit in Edinburgh, there was an action in Bialystok organized by FA with help from DeCentrum Collective.

There was a picket in front of McDonald's where activists gave out leaflets and free vegan food.

**RUSSIA****PROTESTS AGAINST G8-SUMMIT IN ST. PETERSBURG IN PREPARATION**

As both Moscow and St. Petersburg have local coordination groups against G8 2006, and other cities are likely to follow, it was the right time to have first inter-city organising meeting. This was planned in St. Petersburg for 30.9. - 2.10.2006. On agenda there were at least: 1. adopting a common platform for protest coordination; 2. Setting up practical working groups; 3. Scheduling upcoming inter-city and international coordination meetings.

One or maybe two international coordination meetings are planned in upcoming months as well. The first one will possibly take place already in this December. The exact time and place are still under discussion.

**GAY & LESBIANS BANNED AS WELL IN MOSCOW?**

After hard time the Equality Parades had in Poland, Latvia and Romania this summer (see reports in ABB#20), Russian Gay & Lesbian NGO's want to organise a parade 22th of May next year, and they are already preparing it. Already, some years ago, Moscow mayor Luzhkov bragged that he will never allow such a thing in Moscow, it is little doubt that the parade will be banned. Moscow anarchists will in this case most probably support the idea of an illegal parade. We will keep you inform about the developments on that in the upcoming months.

**UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS****UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS**

## SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS

G8 SUMMIT 2006 IN ST.PETERSBURG

**"PEOPLE INTERESTED TO TAKE PART IN THE PROTESTS  
AND BRAVE ENOUGH ARE WELCOME"**

### INTERVIEW WITH ANARCHISTS FROM ST.PETERSBURG

In the last issue we opened the topic of next years G8-summit planned for St.Petersburg. There we presented the reasons of why we believe it is necessary not only directly to mobilise but also to widely discuss various aspects connected with this, for many western activists "unexpected, extra-unwelcome and awkward", G8 summit. After sort of introduction in form of resumé of "alter-globalist" protests in Eastern Europe 2000-2005 printed in the last issue, now we are giving for the first time a voice to the anarchists from the city of St.Petersburg. One could say that it is too early for such an interview, and in fact - some of the questions we put in the interview were for comrades in Russia too difficult to be answered already today and need to be asked again in a few months when the anti-summit mobilisation in Russia will reach its peak. On the other side we believe that this early interview will open the possibility for all of us to participate in this process from its beginning. Our hope, based on this belief, is that this participation will sooner or later break the limits of passive observation and turn into practical participation. Most possibly this is as well the hope of "Klava" and "Ligovka Zapatista", activists who did the interview. Check following issues of ABB for current info on developments around "Leningrad Cowboys" summit.

**ABB:** Let start with little retrospection ... did the pictures from Prague or Genoa reach Russian public opinion? Was the reaction and commentaries similar to those created by mainstream media and set among populations in western world?

**LZ:** Yes, the pictures reached the mainstream media - e.g. I first saw Swedish police shooting activists in Gothenburg on the biggest Russian national channel. The problem is that most of the commentary on the so-called "anti-globalists" (I don't like this word) movement in the media was totally stupid. The mainstream journalists don't understand anything about this kind of movements and are always looking for some sensation or cool pictures of "violent" kids throwing stones. There was one TV-reporter who tried to somehow understand the motivations behind the movement(s) and did a couple of more or less okay reports - but that's an exception. Some right-wing commentators supported european authorities' repressions against antiglobalists because the latter were "barbarians" trying to destroy beautiful western civilisation. One bastard journalist even approved of the murder of Carlo Giuliani!

**Klava:** The reaction in Russia seemed to be less emotional than in western world. The critics of the protests where addressed mainly towards

western welfare countries leaders and transnational organizations. Even if Russia is a member of some of those, the society is far from the rich welfare societies in western countries. In my opinion, for Russian mainstream media it was easy to skip some of the critics and feel that it has nearly nothing to do with Russia: "it's just some stupid young western protests in the rich western countries". So the point of view here seemed to be was more from outside, than in western countries.

**ABB:** Not many Russian activists have participated in anti-summit protests around Europe over the last years. Have the costs and visa-limitations been the only reasons for that?

**LZ:** Well, there were about 15 anarchists / radical environmentalists from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus in Prague 2000 and about 12 in Gothenburg 2001 (and some people in other big protests as well). Of course costs, passports and visas were a major problem stopping people from going. But also maybe there was not so much understanding why the protests were taking place and what's the reason for participating in them.

**Klava:** I see the main reason for that in the lower number of activists in Russia. If you compare the percent of activists, travelling from Russia to



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western countries for some actions, it's even more, than the percent of western activists coming to Russia. One reason for that is that the anti-summits abroad seem to not be the main topic in the activist movement in Russia. When some activist friends from different cities leave in different directions, in western countries you say "ok, see you at the anti-G8 summit in Scotland, are you coming?", but in Russia you'll rather mention the Otradnyi camp instead (ecological protest camp in this summer we report on in this issue - ABB). Only a few people here consider the lack of people from Russia at the anti-summits abroad as a problem: it seems more meaningful to travel to local actions with permanent lack of participants, than to the west, where there is "anyway enough people to protest".

**ABB:** What were the analyses from the summits in which some people from Russia participated in?

**Klava:** I heard a lot of positive thoughts about the big amount of active and responsible people and well-organized infrastructure. And, as a result of these first two, not so chaotic atmosphere during the protests. On the other hand, much critics towards the senselessness of such kind of protests: people seem to gather in anti-summits just for fun, no matter if the protests have some results or not. I heard the same critics towards the no-border camps: a lot of activists and a nice atmosphere that is even so nice, that it seems that people forget about the aims of the camp.

**LZ:** First of all we should mention that "Artem" from Rainbow Keepers was arrested in Gothenburg in 2001 on false charges of throwing stones (which he did not) and spent

some time in Swedish prison - here is one lesson from one summit. Some good articles from the people who travelled appeared in anarchist press in Russia ("Volja", "Tretiy Put", "Novy Svet" and "Megafon"), also there is one good documentary movie from Prague 2000 made by our Ukrainian comrade. I hope these materials will help educate activists.

**ABB:** Do you know how it happened that the G8 summit has finally been set in Russia?



**Has Putin & Co. any special reasons to have this summit at home exactly this year?**

**LZ:** I think it's just Russia's turn to host this summit. Russia joined the G8 in 1998 and there was no summit here yet.

**ABB:** Just to get a general picture: how much is the G8-summit in St.Petersburg a topic for politically active people in Russia, and for what kind of people?

**LZ:** It is now widely discussed by us, anarchists (of different kinds). To be honest, at the moment I don't know of any other political forces thinking of this kind of things, but we are almost sure that e.g. National-Bolshevik

party (NBP) or communists will do some actions. Also maybe some liberals will campaign for Russia's exclusion from G8 because it is not a "democratic country" (this idea is supported by George Soros).

**ABB:** War in Chechnya, strong nationalism and paramilitary-organizations, huge poverty, organised and individual daily violence, and finally Putin - his person, his regime, his politics ... - this all is just the top of the problems that people like you have to consider in your daily political work and problems of "daily bread" for most people living in Russia. Do you think it is possible to see the links between all these aspects of power and domination on the one side and on the other side your protests against the G8, so that the actions in June 2006 appear not from "out of space" to the ordinary Sasha and popular Tamara? What are the possible links between daily-problems and the summit that you will focus on in next 10 months?

**LZ:** On a local level, let's have in mind that many people in Petersburg still remember the 300th anniversary of the city (2003) with disgust. There were also heads of states coming so the police presence was massive and freedom of movement was much restricted - streets blocked, people could not get home sometimes. Of course we should pay attention to local problems and not just send messages of hatred to Putin or Bush or whoever else. I hope that our propaganda will deal with questions like war, bad environmental situation, housing problems, poverty, rising prices and so on. To be honest, we haven't discussed these topics enough yet.



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### G8 SUMMIT 2006 IN ST.PETERSBURG

**ABB:** *There are some voices that if this protest could be turned into getting more focus on anti-Putin then its scale and power could reach an unexpected size. What do you think about this presumption?*

**LZ:** We cannot answer this question now. Maybe we'll try later.

**ABB:** *How much can the right-wing social movements be a problem during the days of protests?*

**Klava:** Some of them will indeed organize their own actions against the G8-summit. One problem is that in the mainstream media and public opinion we'll be together with them. Another problem, which some activists consider as a paranoia, is that, if our activity will rise to a noticeable level, right-wing football fans hired by the state will cause some problems for the protesters. Clean and easy way to get rid of the protests.

**LZ:** Yes, the right-wing can be dangerous. We should pay much attention to the development of (pro-Kremlin youth organization) Nashi and their activities. It is now proven that Nashi are tied to very violent gangs of football hooligans (see previous issue of ABB) and they organised some attacks on activists of authoritarian left-wing movements, like NBP or AKM (Vanguard Of Red Youth). In Ulianovsk one 17 year old communist died in September after being beaten up.

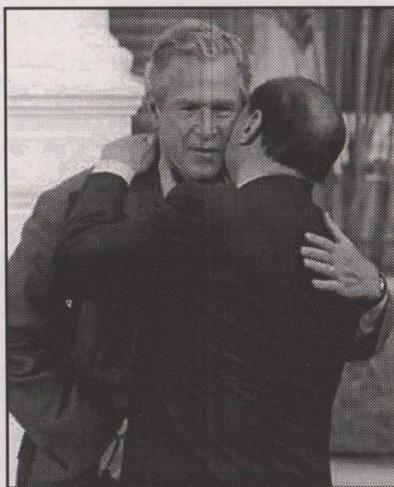
One should also always remember the story of Tsaritsyno pogrom in Moscow in October 2001, during which 3 people from Asia and Caucasus were beaten to death. About 300 nazi-skinheads and football hooligans were mobilised (by people connected to state authorities and pro-Kremlin movement "Idushie vmeste" ("Going Together"), now replaced by Nashi, to crush the proposed protest of "antiglobalists" near the hotel where some big business meeting was taking place. Some press like national daily paper "Izvestia" were full of stories about evil "antiglobalists" who are gonna come to Moscow to destroy everything. Of course, no protests were taking place, so crowd of nazis armed with iron bars went to hunt "non-white" -looking people. We are not afraid but we need to be careful.

**ABB:** *What other positive perspectives except of the one of disturbing the "Leningrad Cowboys Summit" do you see while calling for wide mobilisation against the G8? Do you see this summit more as a challenge you just cannot leave without an answer or rather as a chance for a new*

*dynamic within your young movement and the progressive tendencies within society?*

**LZ:** I would answer yes to both aspects. On a local level there is a hope to create more energetic and united movement, because there are now more young people interested in anarchist ideas. And also maybe the mobilisation against the summit will draw more attention to problems of Russia / ex-USSR from the global anti-capitalist movement.

**Klava:** An Anti-G8 action is an opportunity to gather a record number of anarchists to participate in the protests. Last 10 years the biggest anarchist action in Russia was not more than 150 people, but antiG8 for sure gathers at least three times more from all over the ex-USSR. Another question is, what will these 500-1000 anarchists manage to do in such conditions. Just to give a picture how Putin prepares such meetings, I can remember conditions from the St. Petersburg 300-years-party: already weeks before the birthday there where a few cops standing 24 hours on each street crossing, and during the event the whole city center was closed.



**ABB:** *The problems to mobilize people from abroad seem to be obvious - people in the west are pointing to the endless list of reasons: missing (or too weak) activist infrastructure in Russia, unexpected level of repression, visas, borders, language problems, lack of established and proven contacts with structures in Russia, exotic mentality of people, etc ... . Would you rather confirm these anxieties or put an end to this paranoia? Give you enough time for answering this question ...*

**Klava:** The main problem is evidently the border. It's not so difficult to control the masses, when each individual needs to apply for a visa beforehand. In May 2003, when dozens of presidents gathered in St.Petersburg to celebrate the birthday of the city, this tactic was already used: tourist agencies that sell visas to Russia, recommended not even applying for this period. 2 months before the birthday of St. Petersburg they stopped making 3-month-visas for tourists. One possibility is to apply for a multi-entry-visa for one year right now, but it's more expensive and will also not guarantee that you pass the border just before the summit. (in Helsinki such visa costs 100-150 euros, depending on your passport colour, [www.lahialuematkat.fi](http://www.lahialuematkat.fi)).

The repressions will for sure be stronger than in any western anti-summits. Probably all kinds of gatherings of masses will be stopped already before the beginning, so we need to find fresh ideas how to protest. I suppose for Putin it's more important to show St. Petersburg as a safe and controlled place to gather for the world leaders, than as a democratic place with the right of speech etc. So during the summit of G8 I expect to face a powerful control over all kinds of demonstrations. If you will be caught for one or another reason, for foreigners the most obvious is to get deported from Russia. This means, that your visa will be annulled and you won't get a new one for 5 or even for 12 years.

The other problems maybe also exist, but at least they are solvable. The activist infrastructure is really quite weak, but I suppose we can manage to deal with the most essential logistics/technical questions, such as accommodation or translations. Of course you shouldn't expect too much: forget about organized feeding of activists, indymedia centers with computers etc...

**LZ:** There is nothing so much exotic about Russia, we don't have bears walking the streets or something like this. But yes, there are some dangers if you travel to Russia with activist purposes. Also an example from our previous experience - the environmental campaign in Votkinsk in 2001. There were 3 activists from Finland visiting our camp and all of them got harassed this or that way by state authorities. After that they tried to enter Russia one more time and they were not let in. They will not be able to come here again for at least 5 years or even more.

But that's the worst case, of course. Another danger - if you plan to come to Petersburg, beware of cops - they like to rob foreigners. About lack of contacts in Russia - if you are reading this magazine, you already have enough contacts - check out the "Communities

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in Struggle" section. And I hope there will be more contacts as we are building this new anti-G8 network.

**ABB:** *So who is welcome in Leningrad in July 2006 and why?*

**LZ:** Personally, I'd like to see all of my friends from many countries here (of course including the whole ABB crew). But it would be just irresponsible to say "okay, everyone come here and we'll have great days of party and protest" - having in mind possible repressions and so on (see previous answer). So, I would say that people interested to take part in the protests and brave enough are welcome.

**ABB:** *Anything else to add or to spread among about 2 thousands of anarchists' world wide supposedly reading this magazine?*

**LZ:** Please have in mind that there probably will be some international networking meeting(s) taking place in Ukraine (because this country cancelled visas for EU & US citizens) - if you are interested, follow the discussions in the international e-mail lists (e.g. <http://lists.riseup.net/www/info/g8-2006>) Check out the official website of Russia's presidency in G8 - <http://www.g8russia.ru> - or try to hack it if you have the skills... And also we would be very grateful for all kinds of solidarity actions and donations. If you have

any questions - get in touch with us.

**ABB:** *Thank you a lot for interview and for invitation ...*

Well, we are maybe not the brave people but for sure we are dedicated to what we believe and this stays for our "group ticket" and the only true VISA to enter Leningrad next summer. Our solidarity with you, and we wish you a lot of progress during upcoming meetings on "Cowboys summit".

*Questions answered by Klava and Ligovka Zapatista. Contact address: [epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru](mailto:epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru)*

### SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT RESISTANCE TO THE G8 SUMMIT IN PETERSBURG 2006

Topics discussed in Otradny protest camp and in Petersburg (August-September 2005) Updated on 19th of September 2005. Please note that we are just in the beginning of our discussions so nothing is decided clearly yet!

1. It was proposed to create a Russian-language e-mail list, moderated and not open for just everyone. There already exists an international English-language list - <http://lists.riseup.net/www/info/g8-2006> - but nothing much has happened there yet - as you can see (as of mid-September).

2. There is a proposal to start a campaign against Russia's entry into the WTO (which might happen already in December 2005 in Hong Kong) and then "transform" this campaign into anti-G8 one.

3. We should think of the goal of protests - should we try to disrupt the summit or just express our disagreement with G8 authorities' policies? There is also a proposal to demand Russia's exclusion from G8.

4. We should also think how to mobilise local (Petersburg) people for the actions.

5. Technical question - we will need our own printing facilities. We also suffer from lack of space for our meetings (there is now a new small squat, but it doesn't solve the problem).

6. Most probably some DISSENT-like network will be created in Russia. Most of the people who participated in the discussions are in favor of autonomous antiauthoritarian organising and are against cooperation with political parties like communists of all sorts or National-Bolshevik Party, who are sure to plan some anti-G8 actions by themselves. We need to come up with some name for this network, not necessarily copying something like DISSENT. (Comment from compiler: anyway, most people are not very familiar with practice of DISSENT and PGA due to language barrier etc.) This year we plan to organise again a festival called "Black Petrograd" (on November 11-13th), and not later than this date this "national" network should be created.

7. While we have no plans to cooperate with political parties etc., we should somehow be in contact with them and exchange information on what's going on. E.g. if our actions take place simultaneously, they should be in different locations or we shall somehow discuss

such things with them (communists etc.) in advance.

8. An idea for international networking - as Ukraine cancelled visas for EU and US citizens, there is a proposal to organize some sort of international networking meeting(s) there (Russians need no visas as well).

9. Information for the activists from other countries who need a visa to Russia and would like to come to the protests. Making invitations, visas and registrations through commercial tourist firms is recommended. E.g. personal invitations from Russian citizens are processed NOT LESS than one month, if not done through tourist firm. Invitations from organisations like NGOs etc. could worsen their relationship with Russian authorities if things go wrong.

10. During the summit in Petersburg any street actions most probably WILL NOT be permitted / sanctioned by the city authorities. We shall be ready to make non-sanctioned demonstrations, small-scale (simultaneous) actions in different parts of the city, maybe some conference etc. Being repressed and detained by the police will be very possible for the protesters in most cases.

11. During the summit itself we will probably need the following groups to be active: human rights / legal advice group (this is probably the most difficult task); street medics group (there are already some people ready to deal with this question); public relations group; information work group.

12. Most probably there will be no centralised convergence centre or a camp, because such things are easily controlled and blocked by cops.

Text compiled by Evgueni Oregon (Petersburg; [zilonis@newmail.ru](mailto:zilonis@newmail.ru)), with the much appreciated help of Uliana and Russian Indymedia collective.

Many of the above mentioned questions were discussed in protest camp in Otradny (Samara region) by members of Rainbow Keepers (radical environmentalist network) and other activists from Russia, Belarus and Germany. Further discussions took place in Petersburg in September, more than 30 people from local anarchist scene participated in them.



## SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS

## SHOOT DOWN THE LENINGRAD COWBOYS

# RADICAL ECOLOGICAL PROTEST CAMP IN OTRADNIY, RUSSIA

COMPILED BY FSBK

Since 2002, a workshop for processing aluminium waste has functioned in the industrial region of the city of Otradniy, which is located 75 kilometers from Samara. Since then local inhabitants have struggled against the workshop, which pollutes surrounding environment with a thick dark smoke.

The workshop is located in one of the buildings of an abandoned, ruinous factory, and is dangerously close to apartment blocks - only 500-600 meters to homes. The workshop is operated by company OOO TD "Remetall-C", and the workshop was opened without legal permissions.

At first, the workshop was running during daytime. Due to continuous complaints from workers of the neighbouring enterprises and local inhabitants, workshop hours were changed to evening and night.

Concerned people visited city government, wrote letters to Putin, to prosecutor responsible for protection of environment, to administration of the city, to sanitary center for prevention of epidemic and to prosecutor's office. As a result, officials organized various checks, and discovered several violations. At first, the workshop was ordered to change its practices, later the Director of the workshop, of Remetall-C, was fined twice, with fines of approximately 170 and 130 dollars. Local press gave coverage to problem.

Checks have always had a routine character. Checks took place in daytime, when workshop was not active. Recently, checks have not resulted any sanctions against the company.

Recently the prosecutor wrote no recognition of any surpassing of limits, or concentration of harmful emissions in the air, and thus there is no basis for a criminal case. To every inhabitant of the city it is obvious; Remetall-C is emitting harmful smoke. Workers of the neighbouring companies have developed asthma and strange allergies. Inhabitants of the closest buildings may not even open their windows. Officials do not recognize any smoke.

All local inhabitants are against the company, but officials see no evil. Workshop is running on mazut, a heavy fuel oil with high sulfur content, not gas. The filter, which workshop bought to curb emissions, is broken and is currently not in use - this according to information from former employees of workshop/Remetall-C.

Normal, local, usual means of struggle have been used. Local inhabitants contacted outside radical ecologists to organize a protest campaign.

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE PROTEST CAMP

Camp was launched 4th of July, and the next day was harassed by local police and FSB the next day. Police came to camp in daytime, when only two persons were in camp. The rest doing business in the city. Police illegally searched tents and demanded to close the camp, claiming "local police are about to organize a training here". Eventually a human rights activist from Samara was called for legal support. Police had to retreat, due to illegality of their claims, and stubbornness of

activists. Eventually camp was moved to another place. Soon police established a guard point next to the camp. Many journalists visited the camp. On 6th of July, Security Chief of workshop/Remetall-C began distributing propaganda. The propaganda claimed whole protest camp is paid by Deputy of Samara region, Duma A.I. Rokkel.

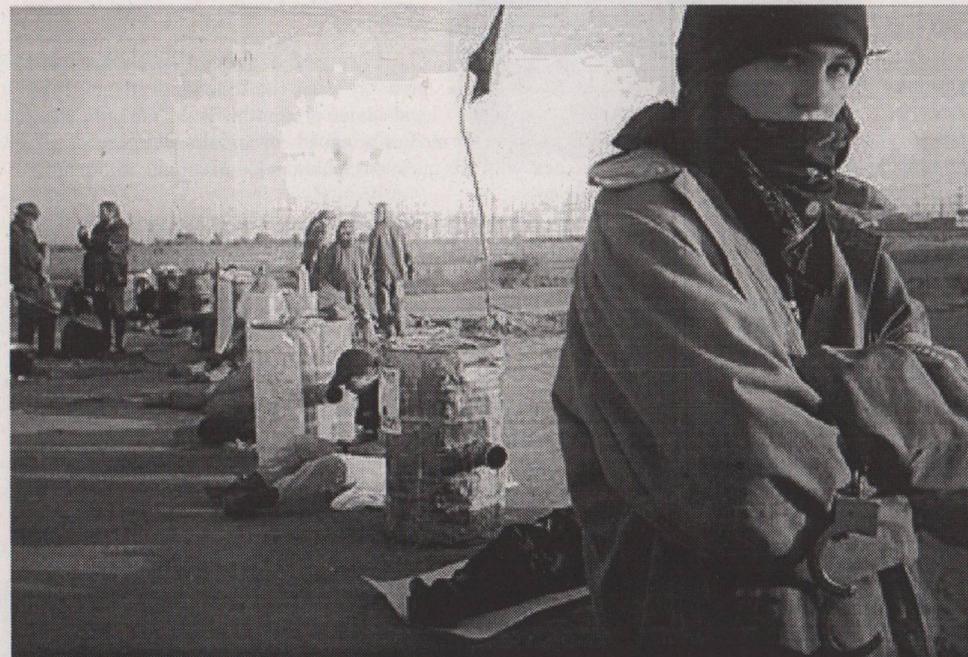
10th of July, participants of the camp organized first protest action in the city with theme "Remetall, let us breathe!". Participants of the action walked around in the city with gas masks, visited shops and parks just as usual. Participants converged at administration of the city of Otradniy, where masks were taken away, and everybody immediately "died". Idea was to demonstrate to inhabitants, that normal life without gas masks will be impossible in case OOO TD Remetall-C goes on with their business. After action, participants distributed leaflets in the city.

12th of July, first informational picket was organized in the center of the city. Activists unrolled banner "We want to breathe", and set up the information stand. Immediately, Administrators of the market place came harassing picketers with their security service, and called police. In time, administration had to admit that picket was legal, and they left activists in peace. Some agent workers of "Remetall-C" came gathering intelligence about protests. When activists asked workers questions, the workers quickly left the place.

16th of July, a general assembly of more than 100 people living in the vicinity of Remetall-C was organized. General assembly agreed that ecological situation in the area is miserable, that Remetall-C must disclose information about materials they are processing, and workshop must be closed down. Assembly also supported idea of founding a people's self-governing organ to handle problems of the area.

When workers of Yukos, who have operations in the same industrial area as Remetall-C, had reported health problems, the workers received threats from Remetall-C. Security of Remetall-C tried to disturb meeting without a success. Some officials from municipal sanitary inspection were there. The officials claimed that operation of Remetall-C workshop is completely safe. The officials were ridiculed and shouted at, by the people during their speech.

18th of July, a two different occasions, a Remetall-C thug,



assaulted 4 participants of the camp on their way to train station. One man from Samara, and two men and one woman from Moscow were hurt.

19th of July, Administration of Otradniy used 'green wash' PR campaign against the protest camp. 7 members of an NGO with a TV camera, came to camp, and proposed activists visit Remetall-C to organize an ecological survey immediately. When activists noted the factory only works at night, and NGO members proposed to invite experienced specialists with laboratory equipment during a few days, some accused them of disinterest to really solve the problem of the workshop, and of "selling out". Visitors also gave activists "open letter" written by 14 members of regional ecological organization "Green planet", which accused camp of "speculation with the health of the people". This is how Officials mobilize NGO's, against radical ecologists, using 'green wash' PR campaigns.

21st of July, Administration Officials made some new efforts in order to harass protest campaign camp. At 0900, Environmental Inspector from MUP Ekologiya Natalya Revina, and Director of the House of the Youth Snezhana Sokolova, and some other people, came to the protest camp. First, the Inspector, Director & friends, crushed two tents with a car, then began a picnic with a garden table, announcing they came to "relax in nature" and "have a look at the camp". The Administration Officials "Inspection Team" announced that they will spend a couple of days at the camp. 1 PM; three women rush to the Protest Camp Campaign Headquarters in the city center, announcing they were from the City Committee for Administration of the Property and that they were going to do an inspection. The three 'Inspectors' began shouting, asking on which basis the protest campaign radical ecologist staff were working with a computer. The activists showed them rent contracts. The 'Inspection' group found no other legal basis to harass the campaign, and they left the protest headquarters.

21st of July, More than 200 people gathered in central square of Otradniy. The first major gathering in city center of the protest campaign. Both camp participants and local people made speeches. Local people expressed distrust against local authorities. Authorities claim Remetall-C does not break any regulations. Local people told about poisonous clouds covering their neighbourhood at night-time. Campers had a small, prepared, guerilla theatre spectacle. The gathering prepared a resolution to be sent to several authorities. From city central square, campers and local people marched to camp site, where party went on!

25th of July; Deadline of meeting on 21st of July. Meeting resulted in demand of legal documents on operation of Remetall-C from administration of Otradniy, prosecutor's office, Rospotrebnadzor (organ which controls fulfilling of various ecological and sanitary

norms in production) and Municipal inspection Ekologiya. None of these organs fulfilled demand of the meeting by deadline. They were asked to bring necessary materials to be presented at picket at Solnechniy market square 3 PM. Nobody came, so city dwellers and campers decided to go for the documents at office of Rospotrebnadzor. People entered cabinet of Government Official Ilyushkina, and refused to leave until necessary documents were given. Soon Ilyushkina lost her nerves, and declared that an official reply will be made during one month. Police was called, and protesters were expelled from the building, but not without a resistance. Arrested were released the same day, after misdemeanor cases about not fulfilling police orders were filed against them. The next day, all, except one, of the arrested were sentenced to a fine of 500 roubles. City administration gave in to demands of meeting of 21st of July, passing some of the documents relating to legal status of operation of Remetall-C.

1st of August, activists organized action in capital of the region, Samara. They blockaded office of TD Alkam, company which owns building in which workshop Remetall-C operates in Otradniy. TD Alkam claims it does not have other links to Remetall-C, but if you phone their office, they answer "Remetall". A huge banner "Otradniy is suffocating, Remetall is getting rich" was hanged outside office of TD Alkam (Remetall-C?). TD Alkam/Remetall was blockaded in the second floor of the building. Police arrived soon, they managed to steal passport of one participant of the action, and kidnap another and lock him to a barber's shop in the same floor. Due to pressure by lawyer Yuri Makeyev, police let kidnapped activist free and gave passports back. After few hours, blockade was violently dispersed by police, nobody was arrested but two persons had to write an "explanation" for police.

3rd of August, a local FSB officer came visiting camp, investigating false claim of director of the factory Kuchayev, that protest campers have come to Otradniy as a vanguard of an upcoming "Orange Revolution".

5th of August, two guards of Solnechniy marketplace, where campers organize daily information pickets, tried to kick picketers out. Activists resisted attempt successfully, and they were supported by some visitors of the marketplace.

8th of August, Another major meeting was organized in city main square of Otradniy. One hour before meeting, activists went hiding to roof of an art school, a building most close to the city administration. More than 300 people joined meeting by 4PM. A banner was dropped from the roof of the art school, and sea torches were burned. Meeting moved to city administration, in order to challenge officials. In order not to allow shortened discussions, another activist climbed to roof of the entrance, dropped a banner and burned two more sea torches. People were applauding and shouting. Campers did not have to blockade entrance to administration, since cops did it

themselves.

Eventually, police managed to make it to roof of the art school, and they arrested one activist. She was successfully de-arrested by 20 locals. Eventually some deputies came out from the city administration, declaring that they have no legal basis to halt operation of Remetall-C. But people were not willing to leave, meeting was finished but crowd remained, without flags and banners. Police demand crowd to disperse, but no-one wanted to leave until having a guarantee, that administration was about to take measures to solve problems with Remetall-C. At this point, police, provocateurs and (supposed) FSB agents began arresting people, pulling them to police vans. Local people and campers blocked road, and did not let police to take arrested people to police station, but eventually police managed to drive through blockade.

Crowd was angry, demanding "Free the arrested people!" One person chained himself to entrance of the administration, to protest police despotism. Soon police came back, this time arresting people arbitrarily - press, freelance photographers, local people - and everybody with an outlook they did not liked.

At this point, not too many people remained in the meeting. They decided to split into two groups. The first remained in the city administration, demanding freeing of the arrested. The second group went to police station. Arrested people were given misdemeanor charges, and freed the same evening. Charges were in court during the following two days; due to appeal of the activists cases were passed to their domiciles. This probably means that charges will expire, since it is unlikely that activists will be served summons in their domiciles during a year.

10th of August, There was another poisonous discharge from Remetall-C, one camper fainted and others were coughing. Discharge was recorded on videotape.

26th of August, Protest Camp was closed. In a press release, campers declared formation of a Group for Public and Ecological Control in Otradniy as their biggest success, group was a result of a round table discussion organized between all parts of the 16th of August Conflict. Only Representatives of Remetall-C refused to sign common resolution of the round table - They could not show any conclusions of State ecological expertise. Because a survey should have been done prior to opening the plant. So Representatives of Remetall-C did not want to state ecological impact of the plant, also did not want a plan to decrease discharges to levels demanded by regulations.

Last action of the camp was also organized 26th of August. Three activists climbed to pipe of the plant, and tried to cover it with a huge condom. Due to strong wind, this did not worked out, so eventually condom was just hanged as a banner. Radical ecologists announced, that "after having closed the factory symbolically, we will close it concretely". After 7 hours up in the pipe,



activists came down and were arrested for two hours. They were given misdemeanor charges by Police.

It is too early to evaluate final impact and results of the Protest Campaign. Some repressions are still going on, for example in Samara officials attempt to frame a known human rights activist, Lyudmila Gavrilovna Kuzminoy, for organizing the blockade of 1st of August, although in reality she was present as a journalist, and has nothing whatsoever to do with the protest campaign.

Participation of local people was a bit less than it has been during some protest camps of the past. This has also to do with, ecological problems created by Remetall-C are quite local, mostly inhabitants of one area of the city are concerned. Otradniy is a small, provincial town the Campaign was the main news of the summer. It was also an unusual situation, although there was a Campaign prior to launching of the camp, organized by local activists who had invited anarchists originally, the protest camp had not been very noisy. Much of the local population was totally unaware of the Remetall-C problem when camp started. Usually, a protest camp happens at the peak of a campaign.

As for number of participants, it was the most successful Protest Camp for years. People came from as far as Irkutsk of Siberia, Belarus and Berlin; from plenty of different groups such as Duplo of Samara, Rainbow Keepers, Association of Anarchist Movements, FrontAIDS (organization to defend HIV patients) and Autonomous Action, also unaligned activists. Most number of people at the camp was 50, and more than 100 people participated altogether.

In parallel with direct actions, a process of negotiations and meetings with countless various officials took place. I have not included these in chronology to keep the interest of you, the reader. There is an ongoing discussion in Russian radical scene on actions should be accomplished between negotiations, (usually) symbolical direct action and legal campaigning. Traditionally, Protest Camps have relied pretty much on legal arguments and negotiations. This tactical choice is how many radical ecologists and local activists tend to see their work.

At least in the past, this approach of multitude of tactics has often proven itself to be a fruitful one. Russian laws and government practices are full of contradictions, and most likely you may always find a statue with which you may close any plant. In the end, it is never a legal, but rather a popular mind and political question. Using laws, regulations and negotiations is convenient, because they give authorities a chance to give up without losing their faces altogether. Often authorities are ready to compromise after just a few months of trouble, because I think Russian Authorities are more afraid of protests than in some other countries. We will see if this will be the case in Otradniy as well.

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## WAR CRIMINALS, OUT OF PRAGUE!

PRESS RELEASE OF CZECH  
ANARCHISTS

### JOIN THE STREET PROTESTS!

On the 18th and 19th of October, a conference will take place entitled "The Days of EU and USA" in Prague, organized by the Teleaxis agency. In its frame there will be main speeches given by people associated with a wide range of crimes against humanity, human rights abuses and aggressive war conflicts.

One of the keynote speakers will be the former US Attorney General John Ashcroft, responsible for annihilation of many human rights and citizen freedoms in the USA under the pretext of the "war against terrorism". For the sake of "defending democracy", Ashcroft didn't hesitate to conceive and enforce measures closely resembling those from the repertoire of the former Bolshevik Statni bezpecnost (StB, "State Security", secret police repressing dissent in Bolshevik Czechoslovakia 1948-1989).

Let's think about just the possibility of judging the ones suspicious of terrorism by military commissions that can pass death sentences without possibility of appeal. Also we are concerned about total state supervision over Internet, almost unlimited possibilities of monitoring of telecommunications, secret domiciliary searches without officially informing its victims, legal placing of spyware into private computers and much more, which even Orwell's Big Brother would be proud of.

Another infamous visitor to the conference is the retired Commander-in-Chief of the US Army that commanded the aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan, General Tommy Franks, a man whose hands are stained by the blood of innumerable thousands of civil victims that have paid the price for US conquest.

The "holy threesome" of US Neo-Conservatism is complemented by former Mayor of New York City, Rudolph Giuliani, whose politics of "zero tolerance" towards breaking the law in the New York City was, by lots of critics, reminiscent more to fascist methods.

Another participant is former British Prime Minister John Major, faithful enforcer of the antisocial policies of his predecessor Margaret Thatcher. He also signed the Criminal Justice Act, a set of "anti-rave" bills, curbing freedom of gathering and artistic activity.

We don't plan to sit and watch how these people try to export their ideas, including the concentration camp in Guantanamo Bay, and totalitarian legislation like US Patriot Act or bloody war in Iraq. That's the reason why there's going to be a series of protests against "Days of EU and USA" in October.

*More information will be subsequently published on web pages:*

<http://fsa.anarchism.org> (Federation of Anarchist Groups - IWA)

<http://www.csaf.cz> (Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation - IFA)

<http://www.antifa.cz> (Czech Antifascist Action)

We consider organizing dinners for a bunch of global capitalism's first league war criminals as absolutely unacceptable - in Prague or anywhere else - and we feel it as our duty to prevent them from enjoying it.

- The initiative's collective



DISCUSSING NEW CAMPAIGNS AND OLD PRINCIPLES  
WITH SMALL BREAKS TO BEAT THE NAZI-SCUM BACK

## THE 30TH CONGRESS OF ANARCHIST FEDERATION IN POLAND

The 30th Congress of the Anarchist Federation took place from 16-18 September in Bialystok.

The Congress decided:

1) That we support anarchists organizing anti-G8 actions in Russia. We will try to organize a group of people to go and set up an information page in Polish. We encourage people who cannot go to organize solidarity events in Poland.

2) That we will start a campaign against the abolition of free university education in Poland. We also want the logic behind the campaign to be different than some statist or leftists who want the state to be the organizer of all social programs. We want to present more radical visions of education without payment and diplomas but, if we talk about the current situation, we'd like people to consider how the state uses people's tax money as an argument that the state does not protect our interests and is responsible, with capitalism, for increasing class divisions.

3) That in 2006 we will organize an anti-border camp again and return to more activity in that area. We received a proposal to work together with people in Belarus in this direction and are open to new proposals and cooperation, to be further discussed in a few months.

4) In 2006, we'd like to organize a big first of May event in Silesia, probably in Katowice.

5) We would like to make a more concerted effort to organize solidarity campaigns for members of FA that have some court cases. In addition, the case of Tomek Wilkoszewski (a topic at most Congresses in fact) was brought

up again. We talked about what to do in the prospect (unfortunately quite realistic) that he

6) As all the points of the new principles were not presented in time for discussion, we simply discussed those already made. It was decided to hold a special Congress in Lodz in December or January to finalize work on the principles.

7) It was also decided that from now on, the group coordinating the next Congress would take on some additional temporary coordinating functions between Congresses (to be handed over after their Congress). This mostly involves calling people and clarifying groups' positions if some minor decisions need to be made between congresses and is meant to correct situations where groups don't respond to questions and it's unclear whether that's consent, disagreement or abstention.

2 new sections of FA were admitted: a new section from Ciechanow (replacing the old) and the Silesian Anarchist Federation. The Silesian Anarchist Federation is a separate federation, but all its member groups will also be in FA.

People from FA Slupsk, Lodz, Bialystok, Ciechanow, Silesia, Warsaw, Warsaw-Praga, Czestochowa and Gorzow attended. A member of FA Poznan attended as an individual. The Congress was boycotted by the Poznan section. We hoped this would not reflect on the attendance but there were slightly fewer people than usual.

The Congress, held in DeCentrum Squat, was also attacked by skinheads and there were a number of interruptions when all participants had to take up fighting positions.

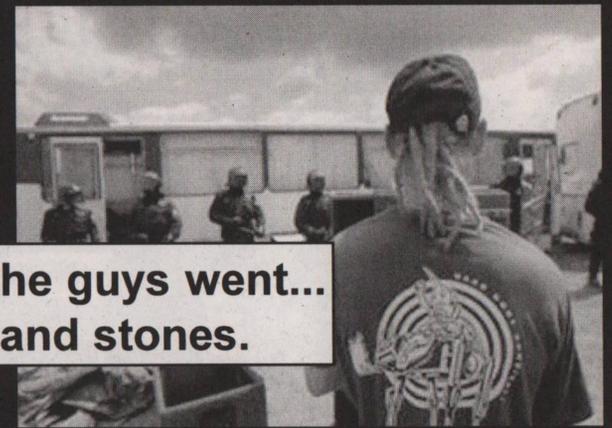
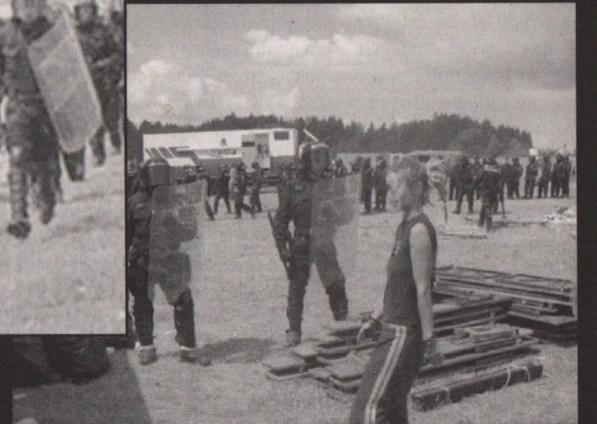
The Congress ended with Food Not Bombs accompanied by a boycott elections action.

will have to serve his full term in jail, especially due to some waning interest in his case. We decided to send a delegation to Sieradz to speak with him and to try to put more effort into his campaign.



Star Wars? No - this is the famous european democracy in progress - to be installed world-wide in the near future.

# THE BATTLE OF CZECH-TEKK



Police got their order: "Guys, step by step and beat them, beat them, beat them". And the guys went... but tasted their own medicine and went back beaten in a waterfall of sticks, bottles and stones.

# 5TH GENERAL MEETING OF AUTONOMOUS ACTION

AUGUST 2005; UFA

19th-22nd of August 2005 members and friends of Autonomous Action gathered in Ufa, capital of the Bashkirian republic of the Russian Federation. This was the 5th general meeting of the federation after its foundation in 2001. The Ufa Autonomous Action group prepared the conference almost faultlessly; it took place in forests surrounding the city. Both the arrival of the delegates and preparation of the camp were made with adequate security measures, so unlike in Plyos last year, special services did not disturb anarchists this time. Only rain was getting to nerves of the participators - there were up to 10 showers a day, so people were running back and forth between camp fire and cover.

The meeting had a great atmosphere - informal, serious and practical at the same time. Constructive with neither drunken nor bureaucratic excesses. There were no any unbridgeable controversies in the meeting. An unusual feeling of mutual understanding, unanimity and solidarity, without unification. One more important, characteristic and delighting factor of this meeting was the at last functioning system of the imperative mandates - the necessity of which was argued for such a long time. Around 30 people from 7 different cities were presented with imperative mandates - invisibly, but completely perceptibly. I think this is a proof of a tangible qualitative growth of our libertarian organization, its development to something real. Some clarity is emerging from the dreams of the founders, and the chaotic conglomeration of most diverge crews and groups.

Most of the topics in the meeting were dealing with internal questions of the organization. More than 20 members of Autonomous Action from groups of Irkutsk, Ufa, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod, Minsk and Ivanovo were present, as individual members from Tyumen, Perm, Yekaterinburg, Izhevsk and Kirov. Imperative mandates were sent

from Krasnodar, Nizhni Novgorod, Moscow, Saratov, Perm, Minsk and Kaliningrad. Besides delegates, there were up to ten guests from Ufa, Yekaterinburg, Gay (Orenburg region), Izhevsk, Moscow (among others, representative of FrontAIDS, organization that fights for the rights of the HIV-infected) and the North-East Federation of Anarchist Communists, that has groups in Canada and USA.

Local organizations of Autonomous Action told about their current projects.

The Irkutsk group has been fighting against mounting of a statue for Kolchak, a white guard butcher, and other phenomena of emerging fascist attitudes, such as anti-Chinese hysteria. The group has participated in demonstrations against monetarisation of free social benefits and in an ecological campaign against Far-East oil pipeline. The Group distributes Avtonom and spreads ideas amongst local counter-culture - there are three anarchist bands in Irkutsk. 60 people joined the anarchist Mayday march in Irkutsk. Group has also organized lectures and a library. Publication of the "Activist"-bulletin has been halted, but there are plans to publish newspaper "Free Siberia" together with anarchist members of Siberian Confederation of Labour (SKT). Recently anarchists of Baikal area organized a common coordination meeting, 13 people were present from Irkutsk, Angarsk and Shelikhov. Meeting made resolutions against Far-Eastern oil pipeline, and against Siberian separatism.

In Tyumen, one may see the emergence of various social movements. Local authorities are engaged in short-sighted politics of destruction of parks and merging local universities to bigger units. The Anarchist movement has good perspectives to develop in a wave of protest movements against these developments.

In Yekaterinburg, activists are busy with graffiti, anti-fascist activities and distribution

of anarchist press. The Ufa group has also engaged in anti-fascism, demonstrations are organized and leaflets published. There was an attempt to organize student protests, but that finished with one member of the group getting dismissed from the university. Group is also doing graffiti, and has plans to form a commune and to publish an anti-fascist paper for students.

In Ivanovo Autonomous Action is under heavy pressure from repressive organs - even two legalized demonstrations have been dispersed by police. But the struggle continues, and in autumn the group plans to get engaged in an ecological protest campaign against Austrian multinational Egger, which wants to build a hazardous plant in the city of Shuya, not far from Ivanovo. The Ivanovo group is also distributing literature and engaged to anti-fascist activity. In both Ufa and Ivanovo members of Autonomous Action are also members of regional anarchist organizations - in Ufa in Ufa Anarchist Federation (UFA) and in Ivanovo in Anarcho-Communist Union of Ivanovo (AKSI). Besides members of Autonomous Action, these organizations unite different anarchists who are outside inter-regional structures.

The Moscow group of Autonomous Action has been busy publishing Avtonom and the anti-militarist paper Dezertir (deserter), Network of Workplace Resistance (www.antijob.tk) attempts to organize workers through the internet, in February of 2005 group co-organised and participated in the "Deserter festival", and during the year there were other public actions: right after the terrorist attack in Beslan, against the monetarisation of free social benefits, to defend Israeli anarchists, victory day 9th of May and others. The group joined the actions of some grassroots initiatives and published leaflets, the anarchist lecture series was continued, members of the group also participated in the ecological protest camp in



Anarchist Courier from Eastern Europe

Otradniy, social forums in Moscow and Siberia and the Bakunin memorial conference in Pryamukhino.

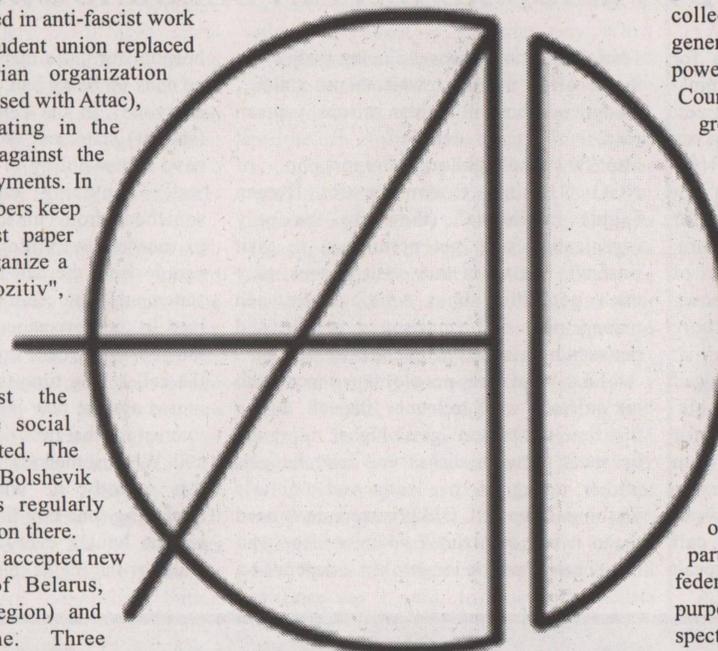
Some 50 people joined the anarchist Mayday action in Kirov, Autonomous Action members are also engaged in anti-fascist work there. In Izhevsk the student union replaced the collapsed libertarian organization "Attack" (not to be confused with Attac), anarchists are participating in the union, and struggling against the reform of communal payments. In Nizhni Novgorod members keep publishing the anarchist paper Situatsiya, they also organize a discussion club "Pozitiv", concerts and graffiti. Nizhni Novgorod anarchists also joined demonstrations against the monetarisation of free social benefits, and got arrested. The local group of National-Bolshevik Party and other Nazis regularly attack Autonomous Action there.

The general meeting accepted new groups from Minsk of Belarus, Angarsk (of Irkutsk region) and Donetsk of Ukraine. Three individual members were accepted from Izhevsk, and one from Perm. The meeting decided not to accept 7 candidate organizations, because too little was known about them, and they did not send delegates to the general meeting. The meeting decided not to accept Autonomous Action of Belarus as a member organization, because the federation has a 3-level structure (individual members, local groups and inter-regional federation), to which regional organizations do not fit. But of course local sections of Autonomous Action in any area are free to form any kind of formal and informal unions between each other, outside formal framework of the federation itself.

The meeting decided to exclude from the federation groups that do not participate in the work of the federation - those who are systematically absent from the general meeting and conferences and who do not pay their dues. If groups of Ryazan, Kaliningrad, Kem (of Karelian Republic) and Yerevan (of Armenia) fail to clarify their status before 1st of October, they will be excluded. Participators of the general meeting agreed that Autonomous Action should not gather "dead souls". It should be a federation of activists which does not attempt to reach big numbers with any price. People decided to prefer common work with people with a period of half year or a year prior to membership, in order to determine their ideas and the seriousness of their intentions during this period of time. It was agreed that this was a better approach than accepting transitory or dubious groups. Such groups are either inactive or have non-libertarian positions, and they create inertia in the organization because they are easy to manipulate and are a barrier to reaching a quorum in general meetings,

because they do not send delegates.

One member from Chelyabinsk was excluded for repeated disrespect of security issues, it remains to be clarified if this means the end of the



Chelyabinsk

group, because he has been the only person from there in a regular contact with the federation.

It was decided that the federal site www.avtonom.org should be put under more proper control of the federation, delegates chose a collective to run site from now on. There was a discussion about the journal "Avtonom", but biggest controversy developed around the federal paper "Situatsiya", which was criticized for low quality of contents and giving platform to some authoritarian ideas. Proposition to withdraw status of federal publication from "Situatsiya" did not gather many enough votes, but general meeting selected 4 new people to editorial collective of Situatsiya from different cities in order to settle problems with paper.

The meeting made a unanimous resolution to fight the practice of certain groups claiming to be Autonomous Action without being accepted to federation. Another, less unanimous resolution was made about procedure of accepting new members. There was a big controversy on the question of increasing powers of Coordinatory Council, a proposal was to give it the right to accept new collective members to Autonomous Action (currently Coordinatory Council may only accept new individual members). Opponents of this proposal argued that the decision would turn Coordinatory Council into an administrative organ, instead of a structure of information exchange and coordination without any real executive powers at its stands now. It was claimed that resolution would create bureaucratization, and divergence between a nucleus of "professional revolutionaries" and a mass of "party

members" inside organization. Eventually the proposal gathered the majority of the votes, but not the necessary 2/3 in order to be passed. As a compromise, it was decided to give to give conference powers to accept new collective members (currently only the general meeting and referenda have such powers), and also powers to Coordinatory Council to exclude members in case 2/3 of groups agree with exclusion.

The general meeting accepted two symbols for the organization - sabocat with a black and red star, and a logo consisting letters A and D, stylized to resemble Anarchy is Order (encircled A) symbol.

There was certain disagreement on the organization of the next general meeting of Autonomous Action. Some delegates wanted a more "high profile meeting" indoors, a spectacular event with an obligatory participation from all groups. Others argued that a meeting in a forest in form of a camp is not any worse, because participation of all member groups of the federation is difficult to reach, and in general purpose of the meeting is not to have a spectacle, but to organize practical activities of Autonomous Action. No decision was made about character of the next general meeting, and question was passed to the next conference of Autonomous Action, which is to be organized in Ivanovo.

After the official closure of the meeting, it was not only a party, but also discussion on some theoretical texts proposed by Krasnodar comrades. Unfortunately, the meeting had no time to discuss new inter-regional concrete projects, theoretical questions or general political situation in the country. But by any measure, meeting was intense and successful, taking into account that it lasted only two and a half days.

Polina Eliseyevna  
(translated and amended  
by S2W)



Anarchist Courier from Eastern Europe

# BACVANSKA FROM INSIDE

## ABOUT CUSTODY/PRISON REALITY IN BELGRADE/SERBIA

Comparatively, right-wing prisons for deportation of foreigners in the EU, criminal custody in Belgrade (named by street: Bacvanska) is much worse. First ones exist for physical torture of foreigners (for successful), second ones exist for combination of both kind of torture. Although, there is a new one built part of custody, named "Hayat" (like the well-known hotel). This part is modern and there are only privileged people (ex-president of Serbia: Milosevic, Legija (the man who organized killing of the prime-minister of Serbia, Zvezdan (the assassin who worked for Legija) because they have support from politicians who try to keep old/ex-system... In Hayat they have warm water everyday, press-button to call watcher/guarder/keeper, etc... But I'll speak here about old custody practices where most people are. I'll try to write generally, based on my experience, without my personal story. I want to make this like info and some my comment about the situation there...

First, what somebody can experience when they come in custody, it is a right-wing way of thinking at a c c c e p t a n c e /receiving ward. Doctors are no better, almost all watchers (they are called "commanders"), and all imprisoned people. Every second sentence of prison is: "everybody who is not Serbian should be killed". Like a race who will be more xenophobic, with the aim to be adapted into prison mentality. The question is who create such a mentality there and who has benefits from it. Prisoners have a hope that they'll succeed in life in the way Arkan did (with help of cooperation of a secret agency, which is xenophobic also). The cell, where I was, it had about 30 square meters with 12 people. I heard from them there are cells with 14 people also. Short about conditions: people must buy everything in prison-shop, walls are old and wet, there is no warm water inside so for (fat) dishes people use cold water from drink-fountain which is in old kind of toilet, door has holes so when somebody uses it the

whole cell stinks, because many people are inside often we must wait to use toilet... About conditions in Serbian prisons, you can read detailed at <http://www.helsinki.org.yu/report.php> of NGO "Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia" (they are the only organization who get permission to visit prisons). But when they visit prisons, they can't get info about relations between management and imprisoned people and between imprisoned people themselves.

First what new people experience is to get orders to wash toilets or the cell, during this time the person "gets" higher rating i.e. he starts to wash dishes and later he gets higher rating so he leads and controls washing in the cell. Old prisoners don't need to do it and sometimes younger also (who have been in prison longer) but it depends on



the will of the chief in each cell. It can happen that a new person meets some friend/acquaintance who has been in prison for a longer time, so he can take him under protection, other respect it. If in a cell somebody comes who is too big and will not wash anything (but they can't beat him), then all people in cell demand that commander transfer this person into another cell. In that way, they make the bed empty for new people. The worst situation is for people who are charged for raping. So, new persons in custody, and those who are physical weaker, while in other cells the same rules are in effect, this can make a conflict with everyone in a cell, it can lead to torture, and they can ask to go in the isolation cell, they can hurt themselves in order to finish prison in the hospital. One boy ate nails from wall, but commanders didn't want to take him to the

hospital for more than two hours. Simply, if he ends up being bad, he ate it with his will; everyone in the cell can make the same (similar) statement (so commander will not have responsibility or imprisoned people as well). Anything could be happen to somebody, from cuts to the face from fighting to murder, everything is clear because all people from the cell make almost the same statements. Therefore I do not believe when I read in the newspaper that somebody killed himself in the cell. Prisoners are together in the cell a long time, so they will always be united against new people and they have an interest for that new person to be clean in the cell. When somebody from abroad finishes in this custody, he will experience money exploiting (one boy finished there from Italy and he bought every week a box of Coca Cola for the mains in the cell, one man who came from Denmark gave them sport-clothes, etc)...

Such a situation is created by acceptance in the ward of custody, because they decide who goes in which cell. They mix knowingly people who are charged for little things with those who are charged for murders and organized crime. Those "bigger" criminals realize unwritten rules

which are obviously in interest of prison management. Managements (police also) have such mentality that they think that custody should make fear in people, they believe that torture will change people. So, they believe that "little" criminals will stop breaking the law because of fear of torture from police, in custody and in prison. Bigger get more privileges (in prison maybe short out of punishment because management of prison give their opinion about prisoners when he applies for it). In "Bacvanska" custody, privileges are commanders who give you warm water every evening, to help you to send "cigarettes" (or newspapers) to other cells (inside are messages), to give you info about other imprisoned people, to let you give orders to weaker persons in front of him, to allow training in cell...etc. Therefore, "bigger" try always to crouch to commanders

in order to make good relations with them.

If a tortured person wants to write something, 'mains' read everything, when he is sent to wash the hallway or bedroom other people go with him. Bigger can give orders in front of commanders, but if bigger starts to flaunt/peacock against commanders, he will be beaten (one or two days: 2-3 beat him). It seems to me like relation between parents and children, they give them privileges and they allow them to torture others, but if they start to fuck commanders then they are beaten.

Mentality about conditions of life is such that it serves management in prison. I heard many times: brother, they can put/push me into the toilet, I'll accept it (it is something like patriarchy: I am a real/strong man). So, if somebody tries to bring conditions of life in question, all people will at once become skeptical and they'll try to convince you that it is not possible to succeed. Radio is allowed from December 2004; in February 2004 people had a shower once per week, in April 2005 two times weekly. All of this was succeeded from outside, through pressure on authorities to make conditions better, imprisoned people don't fight against management. Exceptions are when management or commanders make sanctions for some chief in the cell. Then all other chiefs have solidarity so it can become a protest in all cells (or they stop column at walking and whole column refuses the orders of commanders). It means that protests in custody can start only by the mains in the cells because others follow them without objection. But, mains make very easy agreements with management. It exists mentioned symbiosis "parents-children". Doctor is fine until the moment when somebody starts to strike, then s/he starts to support management. Commanders try also to convince people to stop striking and they refuse to fill out the demands. Others don't participate themselves but the whole time they are skeptical about the success of a strike. As I said, it is not so when somebody who is chief makes a strike.

I can add that younger people don't run only for money but they run to be authority for other people, while older try to somehow get money. Those second can be tolerated, but those first are really bad for any kind of society.

I can conclude that custodies and prisons in Serbia are like colander. It is bigger who later cooperate with cops and they make money together. After all, my conclusion is that the mentality of cops and of bigger criminals is totally the same (from xenophobia to need to torture other and to be authority for others). There is no difference.

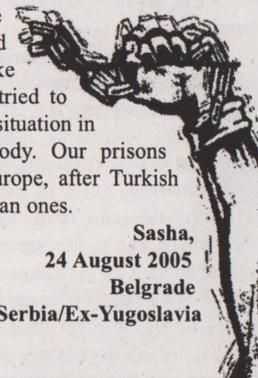
When somebody, who is libertarian activist, finish between four walls, it is very important that he get possibility to stay in contact with similar people outside, so it is important to send at least one letter monthly to imprisoned activist. Prisons for

deportations, as criminal custodies also, are very boring, especially after a longer time (after several months). Boring and an unsure situation produces nervousness, and isolation has the aim to separate people from others who think in a similar way. When people spend a longer time with such kind of people (xenophobic, etc) he can loose the will for some ideas (those believing that people can change something). Therefore it is important that people get letters and other stuff for reading. Of course, all letters for custody are read by a judge of that person (management at prisons for deportation), so first imprisoned person should be asked does he want to get this or that stuff. I didn't want to get anarchistic stuff in Switzerland because I asked for asylum and I didn't want them to get info on what kinds of books I read. Besides, it would be good to find people in town where the person is imprisoned, so they can faster and easier bring newspapers and magazines... In that way, time goes faster. If a person is poor, people should gather some money to send him. Better to send every month less than all at once (as I said, in Bacvanska exists economic exploitation, when people go to prison-shop some people will have to buy things for mains, not only for him and for the cell). Such things don't exist in criminal custody and in prison for deportation in Basel/Swiss, because the prison there gives basic things (for hygiene, etc). In Belgrade, people must buy everything.

That's all for this time. Except mentioning the report of an NGO, I can only guide readers to very good analyze of Kropotkin: "Prisons and Their Moral Influence on Prisoners".

We have here presentation of "Insides" (Building Bloc art collective from San Francisco), we don't have such things here everyday... They'll speak about the prison industry in the USA, about housing... I think it is important to say that we are fighting against causes which bring people to do something criminal (causes are: economic inequality, discrimination, etc) but we should understand that in any kind of society some behavior will not be welcome, and I must say that bigger criminals will use any chance to become authority for other people (so bigger are those who decided to do it their whole life, to build the character of a gangster). So, b e t w e e n prisoners there are good and bad people, like outside also. I tried to explain what is situation in Belgrade's custody. Our prisons are worst in Europe, after Turkish ones and Albanian ones.

Sasha,  
24 August 2005  
Belgrade  
Serbia/Ex-Yugoslavia



# SUPPORT FROM POLAND TO IRAQ TRADE UNIONS

## TO GENERAL UNION OF OIL EMPLOYEES' IRAQ (FROM MAY 2005)

The All-Polish Trade Union "Workers' Initiative" would like to send our support for the struggle for workers & rights of Iraqi trade unions. We are impressed that even in those extreme conditions there are some activists that managed to rebuild the workers movement in Iraq.

We would like to assure you that 70% of Polish society (according to sociologist surveys) does not support the participation of Polish army in the war on Iraq and demands their fastest possible withdrawal. We are also extremely appalled that Iraqi society is told that Poland is the country that made profits on pro-capitalist transformation. Meantime, Poland has the highest unemployment rate (about 20 per cent); the social differences are becoming larger; rates of alcoholism, drug addiction are increasing; political and financial elites are corrupted. Companies are going massively bankrupt, and young people after finishing studies, more and more often are left unemployed. So please do not believe that capitalism is the same thing as welfare for wide masses of employed people. Because it is not. That is why our struggle must go on.

Solidarity,  
On behalf of National Commission  
of All-Polish Trade Union  
"Workers' Initiative"



WHY DON'T WE SHAKE  
THEM OFF?

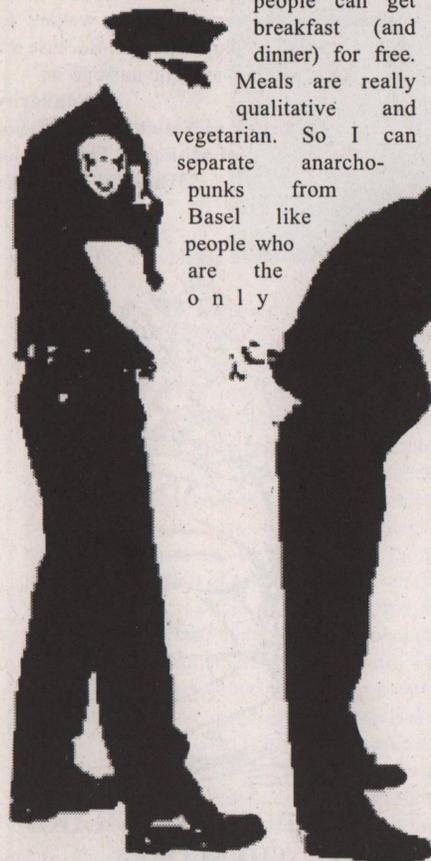
# IS IT BETTER TO BE A CRIMINAL OR AN ILLEGAL PERSON?

## DEPORTATION PRISON IN BASEL

First I would like to say that I didn't meet with any kind of torture from criminal inspectors in Basel. They had correct behavior when they couched/catch me (on the basis of denunciation of their citizen that I threatened to him at my trying to get (my) money from him. The only incorrect thing which they tried there, during keeping me in custody, it was giving to me some paper to sign it (to sign that I am agree that court make decision without my presence). I refused it. During 7 days of custody I enjoyed in loneliness and I took a rest from hard traveling and from crossing of border over fields. Cell was big more than 15 Quadra meters, with radio and 72 TV channels, shaving things I didn't need to buy...in Serbia it would be unbelievable, but about Serbian custody I'll write other time. My peace was disturbed only by prison guards who came to call me to go to walk and by other one who brought us food (he tried to keep/steal cake from me during weekend; Idiot). Swiss people can have big standard but they'll suffer for more money always. They are learnt to think so.

From this cliché, exceptions are people from Hirschenek café-bar. Although I am not sure, I think to them belong little restaurant

beside café-bar in which people can get breakfast (and dinner) for free. Meals are really qualitative and vegetarian. So I can separate anarcho-punks from Basel like people who are the only



ones that I saw to think in that way: people should get help, it is not everything in giving of (mostly theoretical) support, solidarity. People need help; they are not things for use/misuse in personal political fight. Kropotkin wrote about mutual aid even between animals with trying to show that's natural instinct to help each other. My opinion is that human beings lost such instinct because of growing up in egoistic society.

After transferring/displacement to deportation prison, I had what to see there. First they put person in cell from which people go fast to deportation, inside of 5 days. Prison guards/keepers are here worst. They try to make nervous imprisoned people. For example people get cigarettes but without fire, so they ask them 100 times for fire and they give after one or two days. After 5 days I was moved in block of cells ("station") where they put people who wait longer time to be deported or free. There guarders have better behavior. Better for adapted persons but not for those who are not adapted. In all prisons unadapted person will have problem with guarders and with other imprisoned also. For example I refuse to work and other imprisoned will be angry because "I try to be somebody especial". I was in station with Muslims, they don't have tolerance for different (although people from Serbia are not better at this point than Muslim's societies). Management of prison doesn't like such behavior also because they are afraid that other can follow such behavior. It would be already

financial damage for prison. How management succeeds to keep such mentality, except if they have co-operators, I don't understand. I can notice that those who tried to make pressure on me to go to work were those who got freedom i.e. they were not deported. I suppose that their freedom was in question so management (police for foreigners also) misuse it to make pressure on them to cooperate. Many people spent more than 10 000 dollars in order to reach EU, so deportation is big problem for them.

On the other side, management of any prison can't control situation if they don't have their cooperators between prisoners. Because I read in German's newspaper one statement/explanation of one ex-prisoner about unwritten rules in their prisons, I can notice that the same rules exist in Belgrade. If everywhere exists the same rules, it is not accidentally. Every management has interest to let individuals to become the main (chef in cell) and then they take such chefs for cooperators. Cooperators realize wishes of

management in order to get, to keep, some privileges. In Belgrade privilege is to get warm water every evening for douche (washing of body). Will of all managements is to push "little" criminals ("little" are for me those who didn't decide to do it whole life) to stop to break law because they will have fear to finish again in prison (they know that in prison they'll be tortured again). So, first, cops beat people who broke the law, and later "bigger" criminals torture them in custody and in prison. So, "bigger" cooperate with prison guarders and with crimi-inspectors (outside) so together they make money. Therefore I think that even deportation in Sibir/Siberia was better than this today's prisons. In Sibir/Siberia were deported intellectuals, political rebels, surrounded with other deported political rebels, so they could unite themselves, they could refuse to attack each other.

Except cooperants, prison guarders try to make problem to unadapted persons also. From stupidities like: you ask for something for hygiene 100 time inside of two days in order to get it; to more serious thing like: "Mr. Sasha, could we go into your office to make conversation?" and he show with his hand on my cell. For me, it is dirty try to create opinion at other that I cooperate with management or with police. In crimi-prison such try should be very dangerous so I would have to attack guarder in order to proof to the other that it is not so, but this was prison for deportation where mostly people are ordinary ones (mostly they are not crimi).

My opinion is that guarders didn't like me because I didn't adapt myself so I "created problems": I didn't say good day to them anytime, I asked/demanded written two times for my rights in prison (to get cell with one bed because of too little space)-it was refused, two times I wrote to get conversation with social worker-they never invited me because they knew that there I'll speak against them)...

My opinion is that crimi-prisons in Swiss are 100 times better, about living conditions, than this one for deportation. In crimi-prison, after 8 hours of work person has 600 SFR (400 euro) monthly so it is important for poor foreigners, there are sport's activities (sport's fields, body building place, etc). In deportation prison people can work 2,5 hours for 15 SFr (10 euro) daily, 3 days weekly & activities doesn't exist. Person can walk 2 hours daily in place large 20m x 25m. In this walking place exist tables for stoni-tennis and for stoni-football (for basketball also but ball is from sponge(!) so nobody use it). TV exist in every cell, cable-tv with 23 channels (in crimi-prison exist 72 channels), but later

management took from us remote-controls (nobody understood why). Radio could be rented for 10 SFr monthly (in crimi-custody it was for free). Newspaper I could order only one time weekly, only from their listing of newspapers (only European edition of Serbian "News"), while in crimi-prison people can order all newspaper and magazines everyday, which exists in their shops (condition is to have money to buy it). Arabs and Russian didn't have chance to order it because there were no their newspaper on listing created by management. The only channel from Ex-Yu was Slovenian one although people from Slovenia don't finish in prisons for deportation (beside it, Serbo-Croatian can use mostly people from ex-Yu republics/states; Slovenian speaks mostly only people in Slovenia). Prison listing for ordering of food was not better. Some cigarettes, cakes, mineral water, some things for hygiene... while in crimi-prison people can go in shop and buy everything, from shoes to food... I had to order cake with crystal sugar although my stomach don't accept it. Problem is that we are from different cultures so our needs about food are different also. Swiss people eat very little bread, so we got 3 little bread daily, plus every day some spaghetti and such cheapest food, so I was always hungry. Because I couldn't buy anything other, I had to buy cakes with crystal sugar in order to get energy. They kept me there 5 months & they can keep people there 3 months plus one year. Their answer, excuse is always: people don't stay here so long like in criminal prisons so therefore everything is limited. Even medical help. I was sick of breakfast which was the same every day 5 months: micro-butter (fat) with micro-marmalade (with crystal sugar again). Doctor fills out wishes management and not of imprisoned people i.e. he put by saving money of the state. Therefore foreigners can not get adequate medical help, as I said with excuse that "people don't stay long time in prison for deportation". Cells are all with two or four beds, beside it in every station exist one cell with one bed and one with 8 beds. First 5 days I was in cell with 8 beds and rest of time in cell with 2 beds. Cell was 9 Quadra meter plus 2 Quadrate meter toilet (with douche/shower). EU Convention about prisons says that cell should have minimum 8 cubic meters per person, but it can be misused always with building of high instead of widely cells. Therefore I say my cell is for one person but they set up inside two beds. I read in German's newspaper that 2 persons got money from court/state because judge decided that they lived in too small cell in custody (they lived in inhuman conditions). I don't have money to set a charge or to pay alone lawyers, but it would be good because if I would win other could follow my example and it would be big financial damage-it could bring authorities to such situation that they let rather people to be free instead of pushing them in prisons which are not built/constructed for so many people. In any case, I demanded written two times to get cell with one bed but I was always refused.

At this point exists mentality (in Belgrade also) which is good for management of prison: everybody "must" accept (like "real man") conditions of life in prison and to accept way of living in it, like other do it. It means, person shouldn't be rebel and shouldn't demand anything especial for himself. When you try to move other to demand, at once it comes skeptic answers and trying to convince you that you'll not succeed in it.

Therefore rebellions in prisons can be created/produced only from the main criminals (leaders in cells) because everybody follows them. Nobody has courage to be different in prison, everybody fast adapt himself (in unwritten rules), that's so in custody in Belgrade also (12 people live together in 30 Quadra meter cell).

So, toilet had shower with always warm water and with veil instead of the door. While it is only one meter from bed, you can hear everything, so we didn't have intima-life. Ventilation was fortunately strong but who sleep at bed which is up he will feel ventilating and he will hear an alarm. Except no privacy, person fall down in common life with people from other culture: Chechen was hygienic person but patriarchal Muslim (he couldn't accept that I walk in cell without T-Shirt) and we hardly spoke because he can't speak foreign languages; man from India was good person; man from Bosnia was totally "counter", nervous always so I lost my peace beside him, he was always on the side of management and he was always "smartest". Mostly people in prisons for deportation (in custodies also) are nervous because of their unsure situation, they don't know what will be with them and they spent big money to come in EU. As I said, toilet was with warm water so if you don't buy mineral water you must wait till opening of cells in order to take cold water for drinking. We got meals always in cells, after closing of it, although in House Order is written that people eat in common room for it and after washing of dishes they should close cells. In this way we were closed half hour earlier every time, and we could wash dishes after opening of cells (it means whole night cell stinks on food till morning when they open cells). If somebody wants to visit doctor, social worker, etc, he must fill out blue paper. They didn't set up it that we take when we need than we had to ask for it. Later, they limited our time to ask, so we had to ask exactly at 11 a.m. before or later it was not possible to get it. Beside it, at 11 a.m. they give lunch in cells, so it is harder for guarders to bring food and papers in the same time, but management decided so. Books in Serbo-Croatian didn't exist there, except of Bible. At visitation, person can get books, magazines, Discman, money which goes to account in prison...

Of course, even such situation is better than Serbian custody or prison, but it is much worst than crimi-custody or crimi-prison in Swiss. In crimi-prison people can have instruments, PC, etc, and I heard in Denmark DVD can be rented, especial channel on TV

can be rented also, if person don't work he get 30 euro weekly...so question can be: is it better that person in Swiss become criminal instead of illegal? My opinion is that in Swiss is much better to be criminal than illegal. Prisons for deportation are simply worst than criminal ones although people are only without visa or without document.

For the end, I can add that governing-courts (Verwaltungsgericht), who decide about staying in deportation prisons, fill out wishes of police for foreigners. They fabricate, create, any stupidity if they want to keep some person in prison. Mentioned part of police realize right-wing politics about foreigners. Security, who lead person from prison to airport, use violent methods often. In Zurich, they beat person when they didn't succeed to deport him. They tried to deport one man from Algeria 3 times, but he cut his hand before flying of airplane, so they didn't succeed to deport him and therefore they beat him very much (although he didn't attack security). I got info from one organization that this man in the end got freedom & it is very good news (he was good person). Although freedom means that they let you to go out alone from Swiss, if they catch you again they put you in prison again (although they should send such person in common house for asylants/refugees).

Criminal courts realize discrimination of foreigners also, it means these courts break human rights of foreigners much more than ones of domestic citizens. For example, they made for me judgement without my presence, although I was extradited against my will (they said it is readmission-deportation of illegal person, so in that way they didn't give me my rights to make complaint at their federal court, what is obligation at extradition) with Serbian cops in airplane. So, I was stopped against my will to come at court termin. Beside it court sent judgement in German's language (instead in Serbian) at address of my brother, with time-limit for complaint (10 days). But letter-complaint need minimum 7 days to come from Serbia to Swiss. Even assault/threat was not proved because it came over anonymous remailer to email of this person who sent me cops. But they say that I sent it, so court take assumption like proof/truth because I am foreigner and he is domestic citizen...

Beside it people who ask for asylum are under competency of police-military department, so it is proof that discrimination of foreigners is so big that Swiss authorities make assumption that all foreigners are potential terrorists. Military department can spy people (without problem because of it), so they can break human rights very easily and surely they do it.

Sasha  
13. August 2005  
Belgrade

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

## POLAND

### CAMPAIGN FOR THE DEFENCE OF ANDRZEJ SMOSARSKI - ACTIVIST PERSECUTED FOR PARTICIPATION IN A NURSES' PROTEST

On 27th of September 2005 in Warsaw's Regional Court (IX<sup>th</sup> penal department for appellations) the trial of Andrew Smosarski will take place. Andrzej is independent journalist, social activist and member of Red Collective - Leftist Alternative, who is accused of battering a policeman during the November's 2000 nurses protest. This trial is the second - in first instance Andrzej was sentenced to 3700 zlotys fine with a commutation for 100 days of confinement. There is high risk that the verdict will remain in force. Both accusations and the punishment that has been judged in the first instance can be seen only as repression for social and political activity - in fact the so-called "battering" never took place and it is only a fabrication by the police, which was accepted by court. By false accusations and high sentences, the judges and police want obviously to silence the social critique and threaten the other activists.

#### Description of the event and the process

In December 2000 the All-Pollands Trade Union of Midwives and Nurses organised mass rallies and demonstrations that aimed to higher the wages of that group. The protests were reactions to the very bad material and social situation of nurses and midwives - trade unions demanded raising the wages of healthcare workers for 203 zlotys. Finally the postulates of nurses have been accepted by the government but it was preceded by many demonstrations - that were sometimes very radical.

On 18th of December the protesters organised a blockade of Trasa Lazienkowska (one of Warsaw's main routes). The demonstration was dispersed by the police force and demonstrators were divided in to small groups, surrounded by policeman. Andrzej was in one of those groups - he participated in the protest, as did many other activists of radical left and anarchist movements. Suddenly Andrzej noticed that one of the women

required immediate medical treatment. Despite his requests police officers denied to let the woman contact ambulances standing nearby. Seeing that, the group of demonstrators with Andrzej among them started to press forward and finally broke the cordon of police officers trying to help the sick woman. As a result of that Andrzej and the other agitator got accused of battery of policeman by kicking him in his chest though nothing like that had happened. In Andrzej's presence the police officers agreed upon their own false version of the whole accident.

The first trial ended with a sentence of 3700 zlotys fine (that means an equivalent of several months' payment gross recipients) with a commutation to 100 days of confinement. This verdict is much more serious than the one demanded by the public prosecutor. And if it remains in force, Andrzej will be imprisoned for a crime he didn't commit.

The case of Andrzej is another example of repressive measures that are used against independent social activists and critiques of current situation in Poland. The same techniques of false accusations were used for example against the activists involved in April 2004 demonstration against Council of Europe. In Andrzej's case, judge didn't take in to consideration the testimonies of the other participants of the demonstration that confirmed the Andrzej's version of the event. The judge also didn't noticed the inaccuracies in the testimonies of the policeman - who couldn't even precisely define the place of the "battering".

More information about the campaign:  
<http://www.smosarski.pl>

#### POLICE ARE "UNTOUCHABLES" Processes connected with anti-CE- Summit protests in Warsaw

In the last days of September took place another court hearing of Adam P. from Warsaw. (FA Praga). Adam was one of several people arrested during a protest against the Council of Europe Summit in Warsaw, April 25.

Adam was one of two people who filed complaints against the police claiming that they were falsely imprisoned. (Adam was also beaten at the police station.)

Material evidence was submitted to the court - a film taken at the event by an IMC activist. During the film, you see a couple of police filming the same event, but from a different angle. The judge ordered the police to submit their film as evidence.

The police sent, instead of film taken at the sight of the arrests, film of the demonstration in another place where there were some altercations. However, Adam is not on this film. Adam was arrested for an incident in a different place where police surrounded protestors, ordered them to disperse (which they couldn't do since they were surrounded) and arrested some people. It is clear that they sent this other film in an attempt to influence the court. But actually, the fact that they claim they had no film of the actual arrests (!), despite the fact that people have charges stemming from this incident, can only lead one to the conclusion that they are hiding something. (For example, false arrests and charges.)

So the court ruled that Adam was actually falsely arrested based on the evidence it did see. BUT....according to the brilliant logic of the local law, this does not mean that charges are actually dropped against a person! So even though Adam was falsely arrested, he is being charged with a felony, which is some bullshit like the police are holy and you can't touch them. (It's very hard to even translate the notion, but the police are "untouchables" whereas you and I can be brutalized at random by them.)

Even worse in some aspects is the situation of Mateusz H. He isn't organized activist; just a young person interested in human rights so he went on a demo. He was the first person who the court decided was falsely arrested. Unfortunately, after watching the video of events taken by the IMC (and put on the internet of course), he was charged with something else. (You could see someone trying to help one of the arrested.) It is another example of the importance of reviewing video evidence carefully for incrimination material before putting it on the internet or submitting it to the court. (All faces are quite visible in the film.)

Other people involved in the case have yet to have their hearings. Agnieszka W. from Warsaw Anarchist Group filed a complaint against the

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police that they committed a crime when arresting her. Four other comrades have charges against them but did not file complaints against the police.

### PUTIN STILL FREE - HIS OPPONENTS GO TO PRISON "WORLD-WIDE"

#### Repressions against polish anarchists after anti-Putin action in Krakow

In other news from another case, we hear that Marek Kurzyniec from Krakow may have problems related to his last arrest due to repeated arrests. He and 13 others were arrested during Putin's visit to Poland. The most serious charges are against one squatter from Warsaw, G. who has a number of felony charges (7 in all). It is possible that the court may sentence Marek to prison this time but people are trying to organize good legal help. Again, police behaviour in this case was outrageous - they even staged an action at a vegetarian restaurant where people were eating. The only "crime" which was committed was that people decided to express their right to protest the murderous Putin regime even when the cops and secret services turned the city into a police state.

#### PEDDLARS AND ANARCHISTS FIGHT BACK AGAINST GENTRIFICATION

The city authorities, in their efforts to gentrify the city and control all areas of economic life, began a massive crackdown on all street peddlars, even those with permission. City police, regular police and tax police were involved with raids last week which cleared several areas of street vendors.

Many vendors had their goods confiscated. Many received fines or orders to appear at the tax office. According to official reports, at least two people were arrested for deportation. We suspect this number may in fact be much higher as three people from our house alone (two from Georgia and one from Ukraine) are unaccounted for.

Some peddlars decided to fight back. On Sept. 8, a group of vendors from Warsaw's Praga district held an illegal rally to the city Rathaus. There they demanded explanations as to why even legally registered traders (who

ven pay rent to the city!) were included in these raids and what happened to confiscated goods. They also demanded permission to continue work in peace, shouting slogans like "We won't give up the streets" and "Let us live". Unemployment is 18% in Poland and pensioners receive very little money. Many of the peddlars are unemployed, rural unemployed and self-employed small-holder farmers, pensioners and migrants.

Anarchists from FA Praga support this protest and are carrying out work with local people to raise awareness of the issues involved (gentrification, the problems of farmers, corporate farmers and supermarkets, the repression of small scale trade in favour of shopping malls, the problem of migrants, structural unemployment and government intervention in people's lives against everybody's interests).

Laure

## TURKEY

### CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR MEHMET TARHAN ON TRIAL 4th August 2005

Today, another session of Mehmet Tarhan's trial took place in Sivas.

As reported from Sivas by telephone (rough translation from German text below):

The sentencing of Turkish conscientious objector Mehmet Tarhan, who stood trial today at the military court in Sivas on two charges of insubordination, has been adjourned to 10 or 11 August 2005.

Tarhan declared in front of the judges: "Even without armed conflict the military spreads structures which create violence. I decided for a life without any violence. Here I again declare: I will not follow any orders! I demand an immediate end to the limitations of my freedom!" Rudi Friedrich and Karin Fleischmann attended the trial as observers from the German based organisation Connection e.V. After the trial, they declared: "With an extreme cold-bloodedness the military is trying a committed conscientious objector, knowing very well that Mehmet Tarhan has made a decision based on his conscience not to perform any military service. We therefore demand his

immediate release.

In total, about 15 supporters attended the trial in Sivas.

**REPRESSION AFTER HOPA FEST**  
while turning back from hopa festivals to sivas; we were simultaneously moving, distributing some leaflets, making graffiti. after getting arrested as 3 persons by gendarmes connected to giresun center gendarme commandership in giresun's dereli county; 'with the suspect of travelling with fake IDs' we were allowed to remain free 10 hours later while the investigation were to go on. as a result of the ongoing investigation; 'according to the 172-173 articles of cmk [code of criminal procedure] leaving the way of appeal open, it was decided that as there were no unlawful publication, there were no warrant out against the related people and there were no chargeable offences.'

with anarchy.... sivas anarchy

### 53 ARRESTED IN DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST FASCIST COUP ANNIVERSARY

On the 25th anniversary of the 12th of September 1980 fascist military coup, demonstrations were organized in Ankara, Izmir and Mersin with the demand of trying those who took power by the coup. In Ankara meeting, there were (leftist) parties, organizations and trade unions except coward DISK which had decided not to come to the square in the last minute, pleading Kurdish movement's policies not state's. 16 anarchists marched with circle A banner in the meeting, among about 3 thousand demonstrators. Comparing with previous marches it was not a brilliant one for anarchists.

Some slogans that were chanted by generally silent group were: "Killer State Will be Smashed", "Killer State Killer Army", "Rebel Revolt Anarchy". About the end we have met with 2 French comrades who had attended "No Border" activities in Greece. The meeting finished without any event at 15:00, right after the speeches were made in the square following a march from Ankara Main Railway Station to the Sihhiye Square On the other hand, as it's known, the demo in Istanbul was banned and postponed for 1 month by the governorship.

Arresting 53 people, cops have brutally attacked to the press release in

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Kadiköy which was held to protest this fascist obstruction remaining from 12th of September.

[Ed. Note: The actual date of the coup is 12th of September but the meetings were organized on 11th of Sunday to have more people in the demonstrations.]

## RUSSIA

### HUNGER STRIKE IN COLONY #3 OF DIMITROVGRAD, RUSSIA

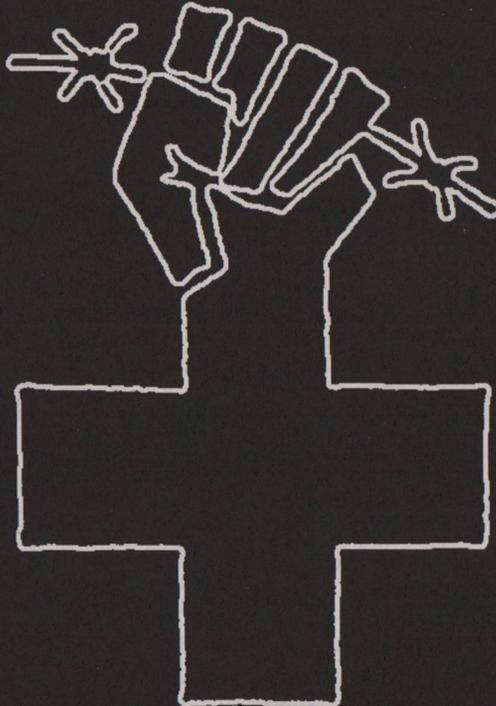
According to mainstream press, Monday 12th of September 2005, 140 prisoners of colony #3 of Dimitrovgrad in the Ulyanovskiy region declared a hungerstrike. Tuesday, 180 prisoners were on strike. The strike finished at midday on Wednesday, at which point 142 prisoners were striking. Apparently the prison administration did not fulfil the demands of the strikers, but there is no information available about likely repression following the protest. Altogether the colony has 1100 prisoners, 100 of whom in a "tough regime", that is higher security detention and less rights.

Strikers demanded that prisoners should be freed from certain work, such as cleaning up toilets, and that prisoners of fourth "suit" (caste), that of "sky blues" or "roosters", should be kept separate from other prisoners. The context of this strike is impossible to understand without grasping the prison culture that is common in the whole former Soviet Union.

Life in prisons is regulated by "vorovskye zakony", "thief law", oral collection of traditions, some of which go back to the times of the tsars. This "law" is interpreted by the highest of the four "suits" (castes), "blacks" or "thieves", the elite inside this elite being "established" or "legalized thieves" (vory v zakone), mighty top of the criminal underworld, who are a few hundred in the whole former Soviet Union.

The majority of the prisoners is in the second caste, that is "greys" or "lads" (muzhiky). The hird caste includes those who cooperate with administration, it is called "reds" or "rams". The fourth caste includes

mostly those who have committed serious violations against "thiefs law", but also passive homosexuals. Castes are also divided to subgroups. Detailed materials about Russian prison culture are available in [www.prison.org](http://www.prison.org) in Russian language (check prison vocabulary). For sure, the prison administration is never very happy about "thieves" having a final word to say about life inside the prison. In practice, in every colony there is a more or less open war going on between administration and "blacks". Prisons are divided to "red" ones, where the administration has an upper hand, and has managed to establish a network of informers among the prison



population - thus the ruling caste are the rams (reds), not thieves. Prisons where thieves have the upper hand are called "black". Usually, the higher the level a prison has, the more solidarity between prisoners, and more "thieves" have a more established position - thus higher security prisons are more likely to be black ones. Colony #3 of Dimitrovgrad is a "red" colony. Recently a number of higher security prisoners were moved there from other colonies, and they are organising attempting to turn it black. The first step is to fight the most obvious violations of the thieves laws. Doing work inside prison is banned in general

in thieves law,

And in particularly cleaning up a toilet may mean an immediate demoting to red caste. Thus enforcing such a work on prisoners is a convenient way of blackmailing a prisoner - either one is forced to join the ram caste, or go to hole. Also

Sharing food or even being detained with "roosters" may mean demoting of oneself to rooster caste - any "thief" or "lad" should rather go to hole and take any beating from screws. Thus taking such means of blackmailing away from prison

Administration is a first step in turning a prison from "red" to a "black" one.

Anarchists are obviously against any caste system. But in on the other hand, prisons in the former Soviet Union were extremely brutal, so loyalty and solidarity were matters of life and death - and they still are. There is no way those breaking solidarity could be let go without sanction. In some sense, "thiefs law" is extremely hierarchical. But on the other hand, it guarantees certain rights to every prisoner who respects it, even some minimal rights to those in the lowest ladder of the caste system ("rooster" has no right to refuse from sex, but has to receive a material compensation for it). As any system of traditional, oral law, "thiefs law" has aspects that seem to be ritualistic or arbitrary. But in essence, it has formed itself during generations of the resistance in the darkest dungeons of one of the mightiest

police states that has ever existed. Thiefs law gives the 700 000 prisoners of Russia, and many more prisoners in other countries of the former Soviet Union, a strong tradition of resistance and self-governance. Without any idealization, or justification of its homophobic aspects, I would choose it anytime over the backstabbing, informing and despotism encouraged by the prison administration.

By Igor

# ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS

## "AK57" IN BUDAPEST REORGANIZED

### - EVERY KIND OF CONTRIBUTION WELCOME !

The basement club that served as a basis for Budapest squatters now gets a new swing in autumn. New programs, new people and new structures wait for your cooperation. We need every kind of help to do a good job and learn new things, so if you think you can contribute with ideas and/or activity to the following projects, just

get in touch. Long term projects in the AK57: textile workshop (not ready yet - help needed), free-shop, bar/café, library, info-shop, Food Not Bombs (in preparation to restart). Write us at [ak57@indymedia.hu](mailto:ak57@indymedia.hu) or find our contacts at the 'Communities in Struggle' section of ABB.



## SUPPORT THE WORKERS OF THE YOUTH CLUB FREGAT IN THE SIBERIAN CITY OF TOMSK!

In the Siberian city of Tomsk the local government authorities are currently trying to close down the Youth club "FREGAT" with illegal methods, apparently in order to sell the building to a commercial casino business. The collective of teaching and training staff, who are organized in a trade union belonging to the

Siberian Confederation of Labour

(SKT) has until

now resisted all attacks from

the corrupt members of

the local administration to

close the club and

destroy its work among

the underprivileged

children of the working-

class suburb where it is

located. This conflict

between the staff and the

administration has been going

on for a long time, wages were

not paid and necessary repairs to

the building that should have been

done and paid for by the

administration and thus the

taxpayers of the city was constantly

put off by the responsible part of the

local government. As a result of the

direct actions and a hunger strike that

took place this spring the club managed to

survive until the summer. Nevertheless a

decision was made by the local

administration to reorganize the club and

change it into a commercial entertainment

centre for young people while the teaching staff

and the headmaster lost their jobs. Because they

did not agree with these decisions the staff

decided to protest with another hunger strike. On

the 4th of August, the local government sent a

paramilitary force to the club to occupy the building

To the Mayor of the city of Tomsk  
Alexander Sergeevich Makarov

Mr. Mayor,

Our organization has received troubling information about the Youth Club Fregat. We are deeply disturbed by what has happened to the club and its staff, which is the reason why we now turn to you personally. We are alarmed by the fact that the local city council decided to reorganize the club and turn it into a commercial enterprise, a decision which does not show any consideration for the best of the children and young people concerned or the pedagogical staff of the club, who were put out of work in the process.

The staff objected to this decision with a hunger strike as the only measure of protest but instead of starting honest negotiations, a private armed force was sent to the club to take over the building and to throw out the people on hunger strike gathered on the premises. In the course of this illegal action, one of the teachers set fire to himself. Luckily he did not suffer any damage to his life.

We hold you, Mr. Mayor, responsible for the above described situation that is disrupting the civil rights of the workers at the club. We also want to remind you that, according to international law, conflicts in working places cannot be subject to forceful implementations of any decision by administrative governmental authorities. This is against the conventions of the International Labour Organization (ILO), signed and acknowledged by the Russian Federation.

Mr. Mayor, we ask you to act in order to guarantee the lawfulness of decisions and action in your city! We on our part will, as an act of solidarity with the staff at the club, spread everything we know about what is happening in the City of Tomsk among international organizations and trade unions as well as in the media, within Russia and outside.

and throw out the people gathered in the building. One teacher set himself on fire as an action of protest. The fire was immediately extinguished but instead of taking him to the hospital, the teacher was imprisoned on the charges of resisting the police and slandering the authorities. The SKT (Siberian Confederation of Labour) asks for international support in the direct actions for the defence of their members involved in this conflict. One form of direct action is an international campaign sending letters of protest and support for the staff at the Youth club "Fregat" to the Mayor of the City of Tomsk. Please use the following address when sending these letters:

Mayor Alexander S. Makarov  
Prospekt Lenina 73  
634050 Tomsk  
Russia

fax +7-3822-526 860

e-mail: [mail@admin.tomsk.ru](mailto:mail@admin.tomsk.ru)

We also ask you to send letters of support to the staff at "Fregat" (e-mail address: [fregat@syndikalist.ru](mailto:fregat@syndikalist.ru)) and at the same time telling them that you sent your letter of protest to the mayor. We hope that our international solidarity campaign will seriously disturb the local authorities and prevent them from further actions.

Vasilij Starostin  
General Secretary SKT

# @ = SQUATTERS DIALOGUE



## "WORKS OF COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH OF HOOLANARCHISM

SQUAT KLIZMA (St. Petersburg 2003-2004), Vol. 3."

"Commission on International Research of Hoolanarchism", which resides in Tyumen of Siberia and internet, recently announced publication of yet another illustrated collection of scientific materials under title "Trudy

Kommissii Po Mezhdunarodnomu Issledovaniyu Huli-Anarkhizma SKVOT "KLIZMA" (Piter, 2003-2004). Vyp. 3", that is, "Works of Commission on International Research of Hoolanarchism SQUAT KLIZMA (St. Petersburg 2003-2004), Vol. 3." Materials are online at <http://a-pesni.narod.ru/novrev/klizma.htm>

Collection includes plan of the living (3rd) floor of the squat, post-klizmical folklore, Klizma dictionary, continuation of gallery of portraits of St. Petersburg squatters, program documents and a collection of articles on Klizma from St. Petersburg anarchist paper "Noviy Svet" and from archive of squat!net (latter in English).

Volume 1 and volume 2 (planned to be published in end of October) will include first part of the gallery of portraits, more Klizma songs ("Gogiya", "Once upon a time there was a bald bonehead around the corner", "Raush and his beard", "8th grader", "Apple"), more Klizma folklore, materials from paper "Zeleniy Shnur" (Green shoelaces, paper Klizma squatters were publishing), more articles on Klizma from anarchist press, more program documents and cocktail recipes.

Volume 4 will include protests, reclamations,

alternative versions of stories, and accusations of hoolanarchism, sexism, pyromania and homophobia against authors of previous volumes.

Volume 5 will be published in several parts, it will include materials from Klizma poetry circle.

This way commission restores knowledge on this heroically fallen squat, to whom credit is due for renaissance of anarchist movement in Saint Petersburg in 2004.

## SQUATTING CONTINUES IN BUDAPEST

On the 1st September, a group of people who were partly involved in the short lived squat of last November occupied an old cinema for an evening to show some movies including activist documentaries, and to make the public more familiar with the idea of squatting, in order to make more contacts. As a further result to this one-time squatting, the enlarged group took another house that they want to keep for a longer time. Since this other occupation is happening while the report is being written, more about this issue you can read in the next ABB or if you want to join/cooperate, write to [centrum@riseup.net](mailto:centrum@riseup.net) or come to ak57 diy club.

## SITUATION OF DECENTRUM SQUAT IN BIALYSTOK (WILD-EAST POLAND)

The Europe-wide famous DeCentrum squat still exists although scenery around is changing constantly. Now on the one side of squat are already very posh flats for yuppies, although so far the squatters didn't have any problems with their new neighbors, apart from seeing one who was running to his expensive car to take it away when nazis were attacking. In terms of status - the old owner of the house lost ownership and probably one rich businessman bought the building. There was recently an interview with him in a local newspaper, where he said that in one year he would like to start renovation of DeCentrum building. So far nobody bothers the activists, but they know that this situation can change any time. Anyway, in first days of October there will be celebrations of 5th birthday of DeCentrum squat.

SOME ST. PETERSBURG SQUATTERS HAVE MADE AN EVALUATION OF SHORT-LIVED VEDRO-SQUAT TO DRAW SOME LESSONS AND TO SHARE THEM WITH OTHERS.

## BETTER LATE THAN NEVER

THE STORY OF VEDRO (FUCK "UNITED RUSSIA"! SQUAT\*

To begin positively note, first was a bucket ("vedro") that was found in the squat. (Squat Klizma was also named after a klizma that was found in the squat - pure coincidence, or an emerging pattern? - trans.). The squat was also located in a good place, in the center of the city. Squatters managed to quickly gain trust of some local kids, who were hanging around in the 3rd and 4th floors of the building - they showed them all the exits and also helped with the squat, brought water, tools and other such stuff. The building was also almost completely empty, there had been a kindergarten, a school and a movie theatre in the building, two wings, 4 floors, attic, garret, plenty of cellars, a big

yard with brick walls and an iron gate. In next wing there was an abandoned museum or something like that, which was guarded by a single guard at night and by a lone elderly woman with dogs in the daytime. We just said hello to her, and kept entering squat through holes in the fence, the guards did not care about us as long as we did not enter their area. We entered to building through windows, through which Nazis and gopniks occasionally threw stones, running away heroically. There were plenty of stray dogs in the building, but we had not time to make friends with them. In first floor there was an abandoned movie theatre with everything - armchairs, portraits,

soundproof walls.... the canal of Griboyedova was right next to the building, we could have fished there (some comrades went swimming there, shocking dwellers walking around the canal). The squat served as a headquarters for a campaign of Solidarity with protests against the G8 in Gleneagles, Scotland, more than five graffiti groups were organized to do graffiti all around the city during two nights. The squat also helped to make contact with new people, but not to the same extent as the fallen Klizma squat.

As for negative sides, the squat was located close to "Prosrochka"-marketplace (market of products with an old best before-

date - trans.). The collective was also not functioning that well, there were no people who considered the squat as their own home. Many of the people did not figure out what to do with the squat, except to hang around and to occasionally fix something. The squat was also located in an area with many Nazis, and people did not attempted to get into contact with the older neighbors of the building.

Squatters also made a number of concrete mistakes. Some consider that protest camp in Otradniy should have been a bigger priority. The electricity supply did not last for a long time - right next morning after setting it up, a cursing electrician came tore it down. Little surprise, taking into account that the wires were visible to the whole region. When setting up electricity, the indicator of the screwdriver was not working (apparently someone had tried to open a port bottle with it), so a water boiler filled with water was used as an indicator instead. But that was not functioning either, because someone had boiled pelmeni in it... Doors were not barricaded accordingly - people had forgotten the golden squatter order rule: "security - water - electricity - food". People either could not, or did not wanted to make peace with the local people, who did not wanted to have punks hanging around their yard (one of the gopniks was also member of "Nevskiy Front" hooligan firm). In the first day, gopniks came around aggressively because during cleaning up some stuff was thrown out from the window, and it almost hit one gopnik girl. When gopniks figured out that they were outnumbered, they became friendlier, asking what we were up to. The gopniks were told that we were from children's homes, talents from distant cities, free artists, misunderstood musicians and poor students that cannot afford even a dormitory... and that local people should be nothing but happy because of our presence in the area (this explanation by us may have something to do with the fact, that later on police was spreading information that we had founded a hotel for criminal punks).

Gopniks were promised that we won't be making noise or throwing anything from the window, so they promised to bring building materials and beer. One gopnik girl promised to "dress up all the girls", but they still had some precautions, especially the tattooed guy.

The situation seemed to be ideal, inspectors had visited the place more than a year ago, cops and security guards did not cared, there was peace with the gopniks, access to water and a laundry washer at a of local kids place, access to electricity, plenty of building materials and even unscratched glass just lying around in the building, people were enthusiastic to both live in the squat and to use it for creative projects. But the behavior of the squatters did not help efforts to keep it.

After a tough "working day", squatters often did not control their noise level (during first days, the window in the side of living quarters was not fixed). One squatter also made the mistake of doing graffiti on a building nearby, where gopniks were living...

contrary to a prior agreement between squatters not to do any "palevo". Locals pretty soon figured out, who was messing with "their walls" in "their city". This might have been another reason for the negative reaction of the gopniks against our presence. When they came with beer another time, they gave a warning that we should not paint "their walls" another time. Later on one comrade learned, that these gopniks were nazis as well, one drunken guy even announced that "you antifa don't have any chances with me". Once one squatter left a digital video camera without attention, and it happened that gopniks came to have beer. When gopniks left, camera was not there anymore. They did not came to drink beer another time. Once a punk was jumped and stomped on by five unknown "courageous" guys in the neighborhood. After this case, squatters took security measures (screwdrivers, knives, hammers and other govno) even when leaving to a shop... sometimes carrying them openly.

Once when squatters were going shopping and walking through a gopnik yard, gopniks hanging around there saw punks going around with govno and they ran away. This was yet another proof, that it was gopniks who had inherited the camera. And on the other hand, gopniks felt angry of their own cowardly behavior during this episode, so it gave them

another reason to get revenge on the squatters. It is ridiculous, that actually there were some preparations to defend the squat. And it was even more ridiculous, that it was only a few people making preparations, although everybody knew about the first attack that had already taken place. When attackers began breaking windows, only three persons of the 9 people in the squat could participate in the defence. They were not much of a challenge for attackers, who had the guts to openly discuss who were they going to rape first. Only one person of those called came to support. Of course anybody may have legitimate other business to do, but if we had only three more people, we could have made a decent defence, and abandoned the squat proudly. Punitive expedition afterwards gave no results, because a few days afterwards scum were not seen in the region anymore. We would like to say to those people who came but saw no enemies that better not to make quick conclusions and to loose vigilance - Klizma got burned much because many of those called considered the alarm as false, and those who came were late as usual.

But whatever, punks are planning something new already!

\* (EdRo is shorthand of Putin's United Russia party - trans.)



# FREEDOM TO PEOPLE - DEATH TO EMPIRES!

This recent piece, "Freedom to People - Death to Empires!", by the Association of Movements of Anarchists (AMA) raised quite a debate amongst us on the question of the "nation" and how far we should actually go in support of people's struggles when expressed as struggles for national liberation. Although we would tend to agree that under some circumstances we would take part in these struggles, as long as their goal is the liberation of the people, we feel that this text tends to glorify the role of the construct of "nation" while we feel that there can be no common interests held between the working class and the native ruling class in the face of foreign domination. Within these struggles we would argue for an internationalist perspective, or even a perspective of de-nationalising peoples' identities, against that of any new national ruling elite.

As our role in publishing this magazine is NOT to speak in the name of anarchists from Eastern Europe but to let them speak in their own words, instead of giving our position in its full complexity, we would just add these few words of comment and re-print an article from ABB #12 "No War Between the People - No Peace Between the Classes!", written 2-3 years ago by anarcho-syndicalists from Moscow, to give another side to the argument.

Your ABB Crew

August, 19-21, 2005, in Yaroslavl has passed XVIII Congress of Association of Movements of Anarchists of Russia (AMA-HELL in translation). In the edition of "Caucasus-center" the resolution of the congress of the AMA has arrived. The latest edition of "Caucasus-center" publishes the full text of the resolution for informing the readers of the purposes and problems of one of Putins opposites despite the categorical unacceptability of some key positions of anarchist ideas, including in relation to the Chechen State.

## THE RESOLUTION OF XVIII CONGRESS OF THE AMA

### About WAR ON CAUCASUS

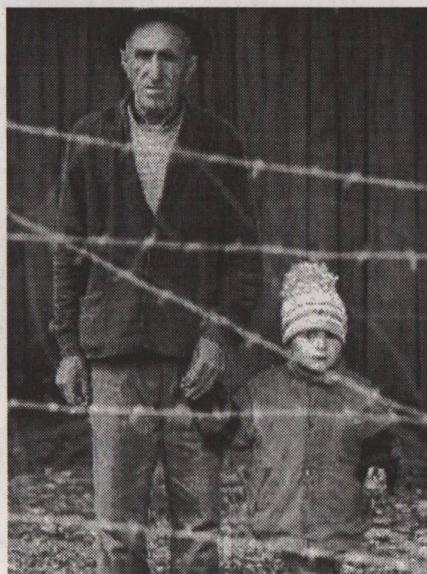
The terrorist actions of the authorities of the Russian Federation in the Northern Caucasus is a display of an imperial and colonial policy of which it is necessary to end. The government of Russia: Yeltsin and Putin; all employees of devices of presidential administrations, the governments and Security Council of the Russian Federation since 1994; all management of power and economic departments of the Russian Federation; all members of political parties involved in voting for the Constitution of 1993 on which peoples without their consent are recognized as the part of Russian Federation; everyone, voting the budget of war and supporting militaristic and "anti-terroristic" legislation; everyone involved with imperial propagation, unwrapped by fascist and official MASS-MEDIA of the Russian Federation; all direct executors and active helpers of this policy - should feel the full weight of the personal responsibility for the murders of hundreds thousands of people.

The moral part of this responsibility also lies on all capable population of Russia, which share the responsibility for shameful passivity and the compelled collaboration. At the same time for peoples of Caucasus and Russia the BASIC ENEMY IS the KREMLIN which HAS ORGANIZED WAR. For this reason we do not recognize and may not recognize those means which the part of fighters of the Chechen Resistance use. Any, even the most fair, on purpose acts of the terror directed against the peaceful population may not be justified. Xenophobia as anti-Caucasian and anti-Russian character is unacceptable.

Each nation has the right to self-

determination and independence. However independence of peoples of the Chechen Republic does not mean for us a recognition of the state sovereignty of Republic Ichkerija. The right of the population of the Chechen Republic to self-determination and self-management may be provided only by its self-organization, excluding any occupational imperial mode, and national-separatist statehood. Today's leaders of Ichkerii lean on the broad support of the Chechen people in struggle against the external enemy. However their real policy may not express interests of people. FOR CENTURIES THE PEOPLES OF THE CAUCASUS DID FINE WITHOUT ANY STATE, THEY CAN DO WITHOUT IT FURTHER.

The decision of a question of war, no less than the question of the responsibility of its organizers, is impossible to preserve in Russia of a mode of the state dictatorship. Any negotiations with the state of the Russian Federation cannot provide even a time suspension of operations and will not determine any of the reasons of occurring massacre.



The problem of the termination of colonial wars and the state sharing of territories really may be decided only by the destruction of statehood. The opposition to war is inseparable for us from counter-action to all state systems which, plundering people of Russia, uses the stolen means for suppression of resistance - both in the Caucasus, and behind its limits. The exit-

only through the rise of a mass national movement in Russia and the Caucasus which liquidates the dictatorship of the Kremlin - will destroy the state and administrative borders and will establish NATIONAL SELF-MANAGEMENT in the forms appropriate to the will and desire of each group of people to what it belonged to the nation.

Today, when the anti-war movement is weak and small and people continue to perish, we are ready to participate in joint actions with all opponents of imperial politics. We are categorically opposed to those "anarchists", "leftists" and "liberals" which reproduce the propaganda of the authorities of the Russian Federation concerning the Chechen resistance, focusing attention on the negative components of national-liberation struggles - both real and invented - and by that actually promoting continuation of a colonial policy. Their anti-Islamic declarations play into the hands of the state and fascist propagation.

Is completely inadmissible to put a mark of identity between those that manage the Russian Federation and leaders of the Chechen movement, equally opposing both those, and others to the peaceful population. The number of victims in federal armies and gangs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation in the Northern Caucasus does not in any way compare with the amount of victims as a result of inadequate reciprocal acts of terrorism.

The ethnic question for us has no basic value. Any group of people has the right to self-organize and to voluntarily generate their own system of self-management at their own expense and without dictatorship in relation to their associates. Every such group may show resistance to aggression, without requiring any justifications. Such image of actions is IRRESPECTIVE OF THE NATIONALITY, and it is impossible to demand of participants of these groups obligatory refusal of their national self-identification.

The task of assimilation of national minorities by "title nations" is the purpose of compulsory imperial politics. Anarchists do not support such actions.

Thus, national-liberation movements, are in many respects unacceptable for us, basically are justified, as is the resistance to national oppression. Ambiguous of their recognition of anarchists, our negative attitude to their national-separative tendencies at the same time should not give any chances to chauvinism, including its

latent forms.

Proceeding from this, concerning war proceeding on Caucasus we put forward the main following slogans:

FREEDOM TO THE CHECHEN REPUBLIC! And FOR THE RIGHT OF EACH PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION! Not in a sense of maintenance of territorial state sovereignty of CHRI, and as a task of clearing imperial national oppression;

AGAINST POLICIES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON NORTHERN CAUCASUS! As the definition of the basic direction of struggle;

PEACE WITHOUT ANNEXATIONS AND

MANDATORY CONTRIBUTIONS! - understanding under "annexation" any violent inclusion of territories in structure of the states, and under "contribution" compulsory collection from the population of payments on maintenance of a mode of occupation.

### Practical tasks facing to us remain:

★ Education on places of anti-war committees and groups with an active participation of anarchists;

★ Realization of anti-war pickets and meetings, release and distribution of anti-war propagation and propaganda;

★ Anti-draft campaign;  
★ As far as it is possible - the appropriate work in military units and divisions;  
★ Influence on the infrastructures providing realization of army operations.

Irrespective of the nearest results of these actions our participation in them is necessary.

**FREEDOM TO PEOPLE,  
DEATH TO EMPIRES!**

XVIII Congress of Association of Movements of Anarchists, Yaroslavl, August, 19-21 2005

# NO WAR BETWEEN THE PEOPLE - NO PEACE BETWEEN THE CLASSES !

BY MOSCOW ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS

The nightmare in Moscow as a continuation of the tragedy in North Caucasus is deeply symbolical. Almost 200 completely uninvolved ones and exactly "civilians" been calmly put to death by both sides which wage war between themselves - by the Russian imperialism and the Chechen nationalism. It is obvious again and again: there are no just sides in the struggle between the States or wanna-be States (such as all the «National liberation movements»); there are only victims and butchers. And the butchers are the rulers and the commanders from both sides! The human life is nothing - only the power and the profit are interesting for them. Putin (1) needs «rating of popularity», Russian politicians need «united and undividable» Empire, the generals need polygon, the oil kings need North Caucasian oil-pipelines, Maskhadov (2) needs a republic submissive to him (little but own), Basayev (3) needs Islamic Imamate, the Muslim fundamentalists need the «holy war»... But why these things must be in yours interests - in the interests of habitants of asphalt jungles of Moscow, shums of Grosniy or camps for the refugees in Ingushetia; in the interests of the victims of barbaric bombings and military «cleanings» in Chechnya and of fascist act in the «house of culture» in Moscow?

The workers in Russia and Chechnya have nothing to divide themselves, they have no reasons to fight each other. You have a common enemy: the rulers of Russia and Chechnya, the politicians and the bosses, the generals and the bankers. There are they which organized this war. They must pay for it. And there are us, common people, which must intervene. In the name of the Perished Ones and those still Living Ones.

We refuse the demand for negotiations between the Russian and Chechen «legal» authorities. (4) These authorities are criminal. Not only because every authority is criminal basing on commands, fear and shit obedience, ignoring the human life. But also because there are they which blew this fire. They are guilty! They don't must negotiate - they must go away!

We say unconditional and categorical NO to the Russian Empire, to all rumours about the «united and undividable Russia». But we

consider in same time every talk about the «rights of nations» and about the national (and all the others) States for harmful delirium. (5) This delirium is only in advantage for the rich elites of «oppressed nations», which want to liberate their "own" people from the dictate of another bosses in order to be the single and inseparable rulers over their «own» population. And these potential rulers utilize for this goal their future «subjects» as a cannonfodder calling it the «national interests» or the «national liberation movement». The «upper» classes of different «nations» keep the wars killing the slaves of each other. It remain for the exploited people of all the countries and ethnic groups to throw away every demagogy about the «national liberation», to realize that the enemy is not an neighbour but the one above and to turn on the struggle for an authentic liberation, i.e. social one.

It is the time for cease to seek the solutions in the sense of habitual logic of «Nations» and «States». It is the time to remember the reality: TO ABOLISH THE WARS, IT IS NECESSARY TO ABOLISH THE DOMINATION OF SOME HUMAN BEINGS OVER ANOTHER, TO ABOLISH THE AUTHORITY! You must not make a choice between the pest and the cholera, between the insolent imperialism of «great power» and the rapacious authoritarianism of a aborigine little king, between the multinational corporation and the grasp «national» bourgeois. It is only one way to stop the wars: to subvert its organizers, its leaders and its users from both sides.

It is amoral nonsense to beseech the ruling criminals for peace. It can be a step forward to obtain the simple evacuation of Russian military troupes from Chechnya, although it can't eliminate the grounds of conflicts and the inevitability of a new war. But the authorities shall not «grant» even this without pressure and the opponents of the war don't have enough power to force them to act in contradiction to their interests. So, we must keep quiet and bear it further?

Of course not! Our slogan is the direct resistance of the worker classes against the economical and political system of the State and

Capital! And everybody of us can make many things in this sense: don't go to the Army and to exhort the others to don't do it; to hinder with all the forces and possibilities the normal work of the military machine, of the industry and of the institutions working for war; to agitate against militarism, nationalism and authority; to unite with other people which think and act in same way. It is necessarily to seek such people on the «chechen» side too, to organize the cooperation with them. It is necessarily to call the Russian soldiers, the Chechen fighters and habitants for make fraternization and to disobey the commands of own crazy superiors. And when a movement from below develop from these «little acts» - so the time can come for think about the further step -- a general strike against the war up to fall of the system which breed the wars!

RESISTANCE  
SELF-ORGANIZATION  
AUTO-ADMINISTRATION

Moscow anarcho-syndicalists

### NOTES

(1) V. Putin is Russian president which won the elections on the wave of Chechen war.

(2) President of Chechen Republic which led the movement for independence from Russia.

(3) Chechen warlord and leader of «Islamist» fraction of Chechen independency movement.

(4) The negotiations between Putin and Maskhadov are the principal slogan of Russian movement against the Chechen war. The coalition-style organization of this movement is «Committee of anti-war actions» (CAWA), which is dominated by bourgeois liberal groups and parties. The leftist «Campaign against Chechen war» collaborate also with the CAWA and support the demand of negotiations. This «Campaign» coincides more or less with the «Praxis» group around the «Victor Serge Library» in Moscow which edits the newspaper «Chelovechnost» («Humanity») and consists from former or actual Leninists and also some Libertarians.

(5) The «self-determination» of Chechnya through a referendum under a «international control» is an another demand of «Praxis» / «Humanity».

## EXPLOITATION IN SUPERMARKETS IN POLAND

The Portuguese company, Jeronimo Martins, owns the supermarket chain Biedronka, which is the largest chain in Poland. (JM is owned in turn 49% by Royal Ahold.) In Brazil and Portugal, its markets are called Pingo Doce, Feira Nova, Madeira, and Recheio (also Hipers, Mini-Hipers). Over the past 2 years, Biedronka has been the focus of numerous labour conflicts, lawsuits, a modest anarchist protest campaign and most recently, the first large class-action lawsuit taken against an employer in Poland. (only the second class action that has ever been filed in Poland.) Biedronka's treatment of labour is well known in this country and has been the subject of numerous articles and TV reports. (Biedronka workers have a web page for victims of Biedronka, in Polish. <http://www.stowarzyszenie-biedronka.pl/index1.html>)

100 ex-employees of the supermarket chain have filed a class action suit against Biedronka for 2 million zł. (\$666,000) in compensation for thousands of hours of unpaid overtime work. Last year, Bożena Lopacka, a store manager from Elbląg, filed suit against Biedronka for unpaid overtime and won her case. However, Martins appealed the case and the award was overturned. Lopacka, who has proved to be a real fighter, took the case back to court; it started again in summer 2005).

In British press she was called the "new Lech Walesa". Unfortunately, like Walesa, she decided to go into politics.

Biedronka owns more than 700 supermarkets in Poland and employs about 10,000 people. In May 2004, labour inspectors monitored 229 supermarkets and found numerous violations of the labour code. They found that Biedronka employees worked 12 hours or more per day with no overtime pay, that they had pay deductions taken out by various irregular and illegal means, and that female employees were forced to lift weights which exceeded the health and safety norms. A number of cases were referred to the public prosecutor after this inspection. Solidarity unions were organized in some of the supermarkets.

In one case, 21 year old Aneta Glinska of Ustka died after lifting heavy weights. Biedronka does not employ people especially to unload trucks and lift packages and only recently got some special equipment. Cashiers, mostly women, are forced to move the packages. They have to push things on carts weighing up to one ton.

Katarzyna Wiktorzak, who did this kind of work while pregnant, had a miscarriage. For this work, Wiktorzak earned from 700 to 820 zł. gross. (Up to 200€ a month before taxes.)

The State Labour Inspectorate continued to make controls at Biedronka. A total of 678 were made last year. They noted 3,813 violations and 112 people were fined a total of 48,920 zł. (This included fines against middle managers.) One person was charged with a criminal offence. The Inspectorate filed 14 requests with prosecutors' offices where they suspect other criminal felonies were committed and asked them to investigate. 5,789 workers were paid 763,339 zł (almost 200,000€) in overtime payments.

Among the labour abuses found, in addition to the above mentioned, were that they falsified records of people's working hours and falsified an account of an accident which took place during working hours. 47% of all shops inspected had improper evidence of working hours, 28% falsified records on overtime, 39% did not ensure workers the statutory rest time between days worked (which also means that they were obliged to pay overtime), 68% did not organize people's working hours in accordance with regulations, 32% improperly lowered the workers' pay, 54% did not meet hygienic standards, etc., etc. In the overwhelming majority of stores, work regulations which contradicted the labour code were also enforced.

Amazingly, the firm Jeronimo Martins seems to be passing the buck and mostly blaming middle managers on the whole fiasco. Pedro Da Silva, the CEO claims, "We never forced anyone to act contrary to the law". (Now the bosses and work inspectors say that the middle managers have been specially trained to make proper work schedules, a hotline was set up so that workers could report abuse to the board, etc., etc.) But looking at Jeronimo Martin's economic performance, one notes that

restructuring and labour exploitation in Poland greatly improved its profitability.

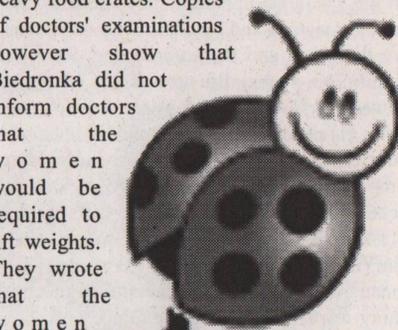
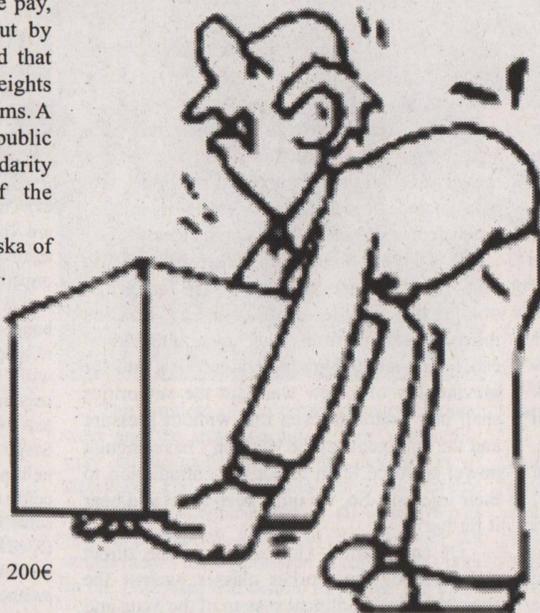
In 2000, JM claimed that Poland was draining it and causing it to have stark losses. Its yearly report spoke of "the Polish nightmare". However, something changed in the profitability in Poland. (And if we are to believe the capitalists, which we don't, it has nothing to do with all those poorly trained middle managers falsifying overtime records.) In Poland, sales in 2003 were over 925,000,000€ and in 2004, over 1,059,000,000€, accounting for 30% of JM sales. In 2004, they announced a 78% increase in half-yearly profits and admitted that their high profit was driven by Biedronka.

Further, it is not clear whether or not the State Inspectorate or Solidarity is really following up with implementing changes required at Biedronka. Workers keep reporting irregularities. The JM Company for example has taken out ads in the major press claiming that cashiers get physicals which show if they are capable of carrying out their work, which includes lifting and pushing heavy food crates. Copies of doctors' examinations however show that Biedronka did not inform doctors that the women would be required to lift weights. They wrote that the women

would have to work as cashiers and, under the "risk" department, they write that the women will have to expend up to 1000 calories at work.

A number of workers from Biedronka claim that some of the areas which Biedronka alleges to have fixed, have not at all been fixed and that people are still forced to work overtime. Again, Biedronka knows nothing about this. The decision of the appeal court in Gdansk in favour of JM really sent a message to workers about the poor condition of their rights in Poland and about the miserable state of the justice system. Despite overwhelming evidence of abuse by JM, it seems that workers still have problems getting justice.

Laure

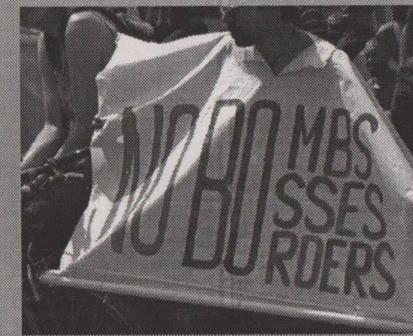


## REPORT FROM NO BORDER CAMPS ON BULGARIAN-GREEK BORDER

The NoBorder camps at the end of July on Bulgarian-Greek were organized by the Anarcho-Resistance Group, the Anti-Authoritarian Movement, the Group of Refugees and Immigrants (Greece) and the Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative. People came from many different places and some 40-50 people took part in the Bulgarian actions and about 150-200 in Greece. The purpose of the camps was to publicize issues related to borders, migration, deportation and immigrant rights and, as most of the people at these camps were anarchist, this was done from an anti-statist point of view.

The Bulgarian camp squatted an abandoned former Border Guard station in Kluch, near the borders with Greece and Macedonia. The atmosphere was nice and people from the village (and even nearby villages) constantly came to the camp. Unfortunately the weather was bad. There was not much formally planned to happen there which we found very unfortunate

because the general conditions for discussion, planning things, etc., turned out to be better than in Greece where there were too many people and too many cafes. In Bulgaria there were a couple of film screenings and discussions with local people. In Greece, we saw some local people at concerts, but we don't know if they came for other events and the other events such as films or discussions barely happened. Most



activities focused on demonstrations and parties.

The first demonstration took place at the Bulgarian-Greek border when the group coming from the Bulgarian side crossed carrying banners, flags and chanting slogans. There were some tensions with the police as Bulgarian police tried to confiscate and photograph and two vehicles passed too slowly.

There were also demonstrations in Xanthi and Komotini. The mood of these demonstrations was very good and defiant. In addition to these demos, there was an action at a deportation center in Venna. Participants clashed with the police in order to gain entrance to the center and find out the names of the people inside. People from Xanthi intend to help the people to get legal aid with the aim of getting them out of the center.

## AGAINST WAR AND ARMAMENT

### REPORT FROM PROTEST-FEST 2005 IN BRNO

Just as last year, in 2005 there also took place an activist festival ProtestFest in Brno. But compared to last year, when it all happened in the frame of one day (and night), now the project was much more ambitious and the organizers decided to spread it through one whole week - from 29th of April to 5th of May. This time the action was against the specialized almost international military fair IDET, which took place in the beginning of May in Brno (and this year was the biggest one in Europe). That's the reason why the antimilitarist slogan "against war and armament" was chosen for the subtitle for the action.

The festival was launched by a short happening on the main Brno's square, Namesti Svobody. Here, watched by several tens of spectators, group of activists played a performance called "Military hypermarket". It's possible, that they not only humorously parodied an international trade with weapons, but also attracted many ordinary passers-by. Of course, the happening wasn't missed by several police cars and a "discreet" group of secret cops from the anti-extremist department, which filmed the street-theatre and spectators. Also two well-known neo-nazi types, who bluntly took pictures of the action's participators. However in the group of spectators, there were mostly random passers-by, so for them the photos will be absolutely useless. The same night, a free tekno party

started in Pisarecky Park, that continued also the next night.

The biggest action of Protest-Fest was next day's Street Fest on the square Moravske Namesti. Several sound-systems, bands and musical formations played here - from ska & reggae through beat box to hardcore. Street Fest gave a space to the street-art and also the presentation of a wide range of non-government, ecological, human-rights, autonomous and anarchist organisations, that placed their info-stalls here. The total number of visitors is hard to be judged as the action took a whole afternoon, but it's very probable that more than two thousand people came to see it, which is more than it was last year. Everyone could enjoy performed music, taste non-alcoholic drinks and vegan foods or participate in a graffiti session. The general impression was disturbed only by hundreds of police robocops surrounding the square and filling nearby streets. But the weather was really beautiful and sun was pretty hot for this season, so let's hope that our "guys in blue" enjoyed it a lot. Naturally, lots of civy cops were also present. Although I don't know whether it could be really called "civy" (=civil, plain-clothed) - for a long time I try to solve the mystery whether they're equipped with those nancy costumes by their employers or not. Around 7 in the evening, there formed a parade in one corner of square and visitors of Street Fest, escorted by sound-systems, took

their walk to the Pisarecky Park for the after-party, where, as well as the mentioned free-tekno a set of live ska/HC/punk bands also played.

Further days of Protest-Fest carried on in a much more temperate mood; on Monday of 2nd of May, there took place an antimilitaristic happening with Brno's artist school students and another creative souls, in the motto "disarmed students about arms, nay defenceless...". Next day, there was an info-stall in the centre of the city, provided by organisation NESEhnuti (independent socio-ecological movement), that informed about trade with arms and its consequences. In the last day, Thursday, activist group Food Not Bombs "celebrated" its 25th anniversary, where people could have food for free and see the street theatre "Jezek a Cizek" of homeless people connected on street-paper Novy Prostor. The closing farewell party was the same evening in the club Faval, with HC.punk.ska and psychobilly bands.

You can visit the web of festival on [www.protestfest.cz](http://www.protestfest.cz), where you can find photos and more info or contact the organising team.

Taken from Akce!, the magazine of czech Antifascist action, Translated and supplemented by Frantisek Kusy

# COUNTER-CULTURE

## FILM ABOUT LEFT SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY SAVINKOV

(A MOVIE REVIEW FROM THE BOSTON GLOBE)

### ANARCHISTS' EMOTIONS PROPEL 'RIDER' (BY TY BURR, GLOBE STAFF - JULY 29, 2005)

We live in a time when it's easy -- too easy -- to dismiss thinking about terrorists and their motives because they're not "like us." In that sense, "The Rider Named Death," set among a small band of anarchists in 1906 Moscow, is welcome. If only the movie did more with it.

Directed by Russian filmmaker Karen Shakhnazarov, "Rider" is based on Boris Savinkov's 1909 autobiographical novel "The Pale Horse," and Georges (Andrei Panin), its cool, cruel anti-hero, is apparently modelled closely on the author. Savinkov was part of the scattered anti-tsarist revolutionary forces coalescing in pre-World War I Russia; he threw bombs at ministers and noblemen, lived to fight against the Bolsheviks in 1917, and

"jumped" from a window to his death during a 1925 interrogation.

Shakhnazarov's film effortlessly captures the times and the author's conflicted yet unyielding attitude, yet it never draws any conclusions -- the film remains under glass. It's watchable, nevertheless, and in many ways a triumph of production design. The recreation of 1906 Moscow is uncanny, from the bustling streets and crowded nightclubs to the quiet apartments where revolutionaries plot their attacks.

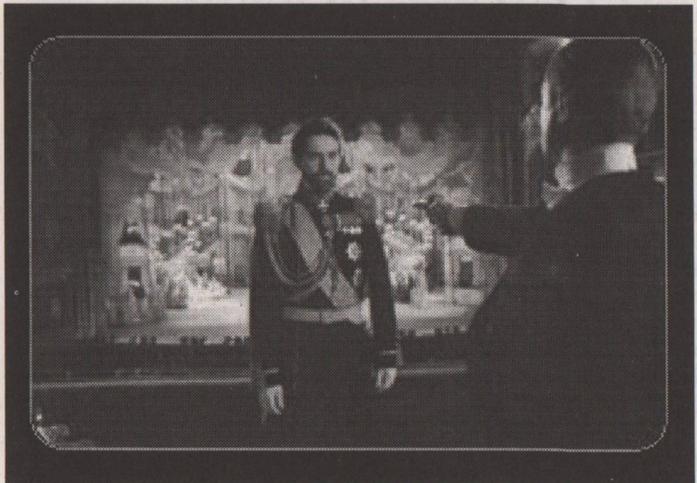
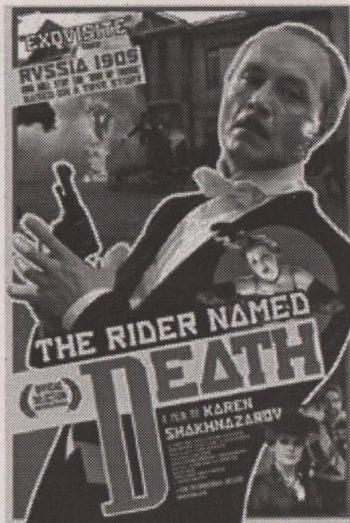
They're a varied crew with strands of Dostoyevskian DNA: Vanya (Artyom Semakin) is a mousy religious intellectual in despair over God's disappearance from the world, while Fyodor (Rostislav Bershauer) is a scruffy, impatient working-class nihilist. Henrich (Alexey Kazakov) is a bourgeois student wavering in his commitment. Erna (Kseniya Rappoport) is the demolitions expert; she smuggles dynamite over the border, assembles the bombs, and

pines hopelessly for Georges, her on-again off-again lover.

Georges doesn't love anything but death, and in Panin's sleekly charismatic performance -- the actor resembles a harder Jon Voigt -- the useless allure of violence is allowed to simmer and dispel. He supposedly carries a torch for Elena (Anastasia Makeeva), a fragile upper-class beauty married to a military man, but even she understands who Georges' real mistress is.

Does Georges obsess over assassinating Grand Duke Sergei Aleksandrovich (Vasiliy Zotov, wearing an unfortunate fake beard) because he looks like Elena's husband, or does he hate the husband for his resemblance to the duke? The tension is never resolved, and while "The Rider Named Death" looks as though it might dig deeper into the psychology of terrorism, it ultimately stalls out in empty metaphor. Quotations from the Book of Revelation are all well and good, but they seem oddly beside the point.

The point -- the movie's dramatic climax -- comes when the band finally sets out to bomb the Grand Duke's carriage and sees that it carries his wife and children as well. Each of the film's finely etched characters reacts differently and according to his principles (or lack thereof) and thus gives the lie to the line of dialogue "Terrorism is the triumph of the individual over the state." It's a powerful scene, but "The Rider Named Death" still has 30 minutes to go and nothing to do with them but sigh in defeat.



### AND ONE MORE MOVIE TO SEE ...

Here is a movie made by Indymedia PL about the polish miners protests in Warsaw on July 26, 2005 :

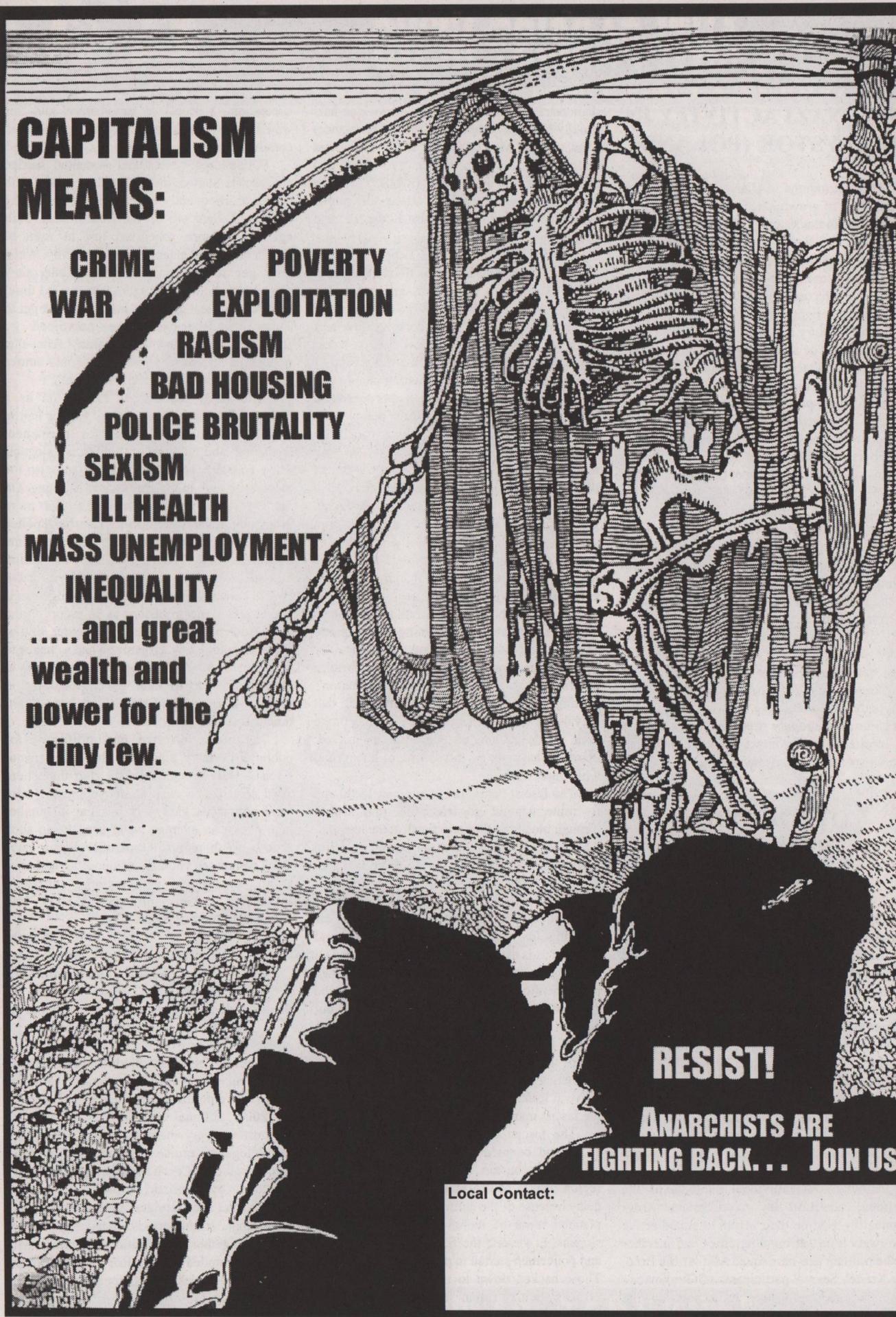
<http://www.obin.org/video/wawa/26-07-05-gornicy.mpg>

The nice part of it is when the radical minded miners realise that they are being manipulated by the trade-union sell outs. You can see what happens next... There supposed to be a translation into English, which is attached as txt.



## CAPITALISM MEANS:

- CRIME
- WAR
- POVERTY
- EXPLOITATION
- RACISM
- BAD HOUSING
- POLICE BRUTALITY
- SEXISM
- ILL HEALTH
- MASS UNEMPLOYMENT
- INEQUALITY
- .... and great wealth and power for the tiny few.



Local Contact:

# ANTI-FASCIST NEWS



## NEO-NAZI ACTIVITY IN BIALYSTOK (POLAND)

The last months in Bialystok passed in an atmosphere of growing neo-nazi activity. It was mainly due to the fact that there is a completely new crew of those shit-heads (plus a few leftovers from another gang that ANTIFA wiped out almost completely during 3 years of fighting). Nazis used the fact that many activists who normally fight with them were on holidays or the left country for economic reasons. There was a number of attacks on DeCentrum squat, including 2 attacks with Molotov-Cocktails (although they didn't cause any harm to the building) and 2 people connected with the squat were badly beaten during a nazi-ambush. Fortunately now some missing ANTIFA members are back and regular antifascist patrols, and trainings of street fighting re-started in DeCentrum, as well as some street propaganda. In September already all nazi attacks on squat were repelled and nazi scum were forced to run for their lives (in one attack they also sustained a number of injuries from flying bricks and stones). On several occasions in the centre of the city nazis were also chased or beaten up by anarchists.

Positive thing is also that there is a few more young activists in ANTIFA now and "alternative" people are regaining their own confidence and nazis get confronted more often. Anybody who would like to travel to Bialystok for some revolutionary street action is asked not to hesitate and contact local antifascist-anarchists at: wildeast@poczta.onet.pl

## OTROKOVICE REMAINED ANTIFASCISTIC!

On 18th of June 2005, fascistic ultra-nationalists from political party Narodni sjednoceni (NSJ, National unification) scheduled a demonstration in Zlinsko, the very eastern region of Czech rep. After the debacle of the national coalition in the north-eastern city Bohumin (a few weeks before this one they tried to attract citizenship there; their tiny group finished after a short while, when they were laughed out not only by local gypsies...), they came to claim their populist crap to Otrokovice. The action was a clear provocation, as it had to take place in this region's fort of revolutionary antifascism and was supposed to be straight against "anarchy and drugs".

Although all individual subjects of the National coalition try to dissociate from neonazism, NSJ on their action tolerated active neo-nazis from surrounding cities and member of the militant neo-nazi squad Abti-Antifa Brno, Jan Kristel. Several participants of Otrokovice's NSJ demonstration also took part on the

demonstration of czech's best known neo-nazi group - Narodni odpor(NO, National resistance) - on 1st of May 2005 in Brno. Here was cooperation between active neo-nazis and members of NSJ absolutely obvious. That's the reason why we appeal to attack the public actions not only of NSJ, but also all the National coalition!

Antifascists from the region got the knowledge about the action relatively late, since the NSJ tried to dissemble and mask the demonstration by all means. The invitation for the action appeared on the internet just few days before it. Nevertheless, in less than a week, antifascists organized their strengths and spread leaflets all over the region, inviting people to a contra-action. The contra action was scheduled one hour before the start of fascist demo in the park of Otrokovice.

More than 100 local antifascists got together here and together arranged the run of the contra-action. The fascists' arrival to Otrokovice was greeted by lots of antifascist graffiti, posters and stickers on the local train station. The whole route of the march was decked out with antifascist posters and on the road in the direction of the march there were antifascist slogans sprayed. On the neighbourhood houses, some antifascist banners appeared. Fascist got the warning about coming to the antifa zone in writing, instantly after getting off train (station's underbridge, platform pillars), and also in spoken word in the station's waiting room. Although they promised that they'll go away and cancel the action, they broke their words and called police on us instead, heroes. That's the manly word of the proud white man, huh.

The fascist demo had to begin at 15:00 and its route would go from the train station through blocks of flats and finish at the hospital. At 14:50 already, antifascists started to build barricades near the flats on the place that was supposed to be passed by NSJ demonstration. Police came and started to look for organiser and leader of antifascist contra-action. After realizing that we don't have any leader and every of us is here by him/herself, they ended all the negotiations. We were appealed to by policemen to leave the street in 5 minutes - the street where lots of us live. And we did so - but we did it by running around cops and through blocks of flats runned just to the train station where the fascists gathered. There were more policemen on the station who stopped us, so we've at least blocked the road that had to serve the fascist march.

The fascist demo should have started at 15:00 and counted some 30-40 fascists from NSJ and neonazis from various corners of region. But it had to make some half an hour delay because of the antifascists standing on the planned route of march and shouting antifa slogans. In the end the fascist scum moved off and policemen started to push antifascists away. Those backed down to the park and attacked fascists with rotten tomatoes, potatoes,

cucumbers, broccoli or strawberries and this way let the fashos taste the local vegetarian conviviality.

Police used horses and assaulted harder, antifascists started to protect themselves with stones. Consequently everyone retreated to the blocks of flats where barricades were built again. Policemen processed just in front of fascist demo and cleaned them their way. When they got to the antifascist barricade, they appealed to antifascists again (for the 3rd time) to clear the street and/or ... but they didn't get to finish that, because were outvoiced by squeaking and yelling "No pasaran"! After that policemen started to throw petards and smoke grenades and a smaller battle happened.

Afterwards the actions carried on as a successful antifascist happening. Fashos had to skip over petards, listened to permanent squishing and yelling of antifascist slogans. Their speeches wasn't heard at all and also the passers-by took in the antifascists' shouting. On the way back fashos asked police for more protection, several attempts to run around police and get to them occurred, but everytime unsuccessfully. After the end of action individual fascists shivered and investigated how to get home from Antifa city. Younger nazis had to take police robocops as an escort on the way from Otrokovice to Zlin, older and/or richer ones took taxi. Organizers had a chance to find out that they're not safe not only in Otrokovice, but all over the region, also in Prerov. Automobiled nazis also had a hard time this day...

The police arrested one antifascist for public displeasure, since he'd shown his arse to fascists. He was released right after the action. We'd also like to mention active support from local antifascist girls, which came in number high above an average we're used to on such actions. With motto "Otrokovice is our city! Don't wanna see you here anymore!" big thanks to all coming and viva regional antifascist solidarity! (local Antifascist Action and Anarchocommunist Alternative)

Ondrej Sekula  
translated by Frantisek Kusy  
from fsa.anarchismus.org

Photos and videos from action can be found on [http://www.antifa.cz/oe/foto\\_oe/](http://www.antifa.cz/oe/foto_oe/).

What is Narodni Sjednoceni? Narodni sjednoceni is ultra-rightwing, catholic-conservative political party, that has chosen for its 2006 national elections' campaign to demonstrate everywhere and against everything. Its delegates cruise (fortunately, without success) all over Czech republic, where they try to attract by poulistic, rasistic, homofobic, chauvinistic, anti-immigratory and nationalistic propaganda. In this pre-electional competition, they got together in the National Coalition with other like-minded groups, like the Republicans of Miroslav Sladek, the National party and the Czech movement for national unity.

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

## WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM

[www.alter.most.org.pl](http://www.alter.most.org.pl) (good english)  
[www.abb.hardcore.lt](http://www.abb.hardcore.lt) (bad english)

### ARMENIA

- \* "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; [vaga@freenet.am](mailto:vaga@freenet.am)
- \* Armenia Indymedia - [vahagn@bem.am](mailto:vahagn@bem.am)

### BELARUS

- \* ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o.box 217; [intolerant@autonom.zzn.com](mailto:intolerant@autonom.zzn.com); [www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru](http://www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru)
- \* AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; [restless81@mail.com](mailto:restless81@mail.com)
- \* Anarchist Library - Minsk; [antifa@mail.ru](mailto:antifa@mail.ru)
- \* Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>; <http://kompaktor.narod.ru>
- \* ANTYFA - antifascist group; [antifa@mail.ru](mailto:antifa@mail.ru)
- \* Autonomous Action / Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno
- \* Autonomous Action / Minsk (Belarus) [belarus@avtonom.org](mailto:belarus@avtonom.org); [www.belarus.avtonom.org](http://www.belarus.avtonom.org).
- \* BAF / Belarusian Anarchy Front - [baf@list.ru](mailto:baf@list.ru)
- \* Belarusian Linux Community - [www.linux.hitech.by](http://www.linux.hitech.by)
- \* "Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; [ecoaction@tut.by](mailto:ecoaction@tut.by)
- \* FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarhist - Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134; - Novopoloc; [nuts-1@rambler.ru](mailto:nuts-1@rambler.ru)
- \* Food Not Bombs - Minsk - [fnbminsk@narod.ru](mailto:fnbminsk@narod.ru)
- \* "Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; [ksenia\\_izberg@mail.ru](mailto:ksenia_izberg@mail.ru)
- \* KDS "Razam" / Condefederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; [kds-razam@tut.by](mailto:kds-razam@tut.by); [www.razam.by.ru](http://www.razam.by.ru)
- \* "Navinki" - satirical anarchist quarterly newspaper; Minsk; [pauluk@tut.by](mailto:pauluk@tut.by); [www.navinki.net](http://www.navinki.net)
- \* "Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; [rebelgirls@mail.ru](mailto:rebelgirls@mail.ru)
- \* [www.anarchistory.boom.ru](http://www.anarchistory.boom.ru) - history of anarchy in Belarus
- \* [www.375crew.org](http://www.375crew.org) - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus

### BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

- \* Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; [ab\\_useyu@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk)
- \* [www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com](http://www.osvajanje.slobode.bravehost.com) - anarchist info from BiH

### BULGARIA

- \* "Anarho Saprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>
- \* "Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; [svoboda@bulgaria.com](mailto:svoboda@bulgaria.com)
- \* "Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>
- \* [www.stand.at/struggle](http://www.stand.at/struggle) - anarchist web-site with lot of interesting historical material

### CROATIA

- \* [www.kontra-punkt.info](http://www.kontra-punkt.info) - anarchist information&discussion web-site
- \* AnFema (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - [anfema@zamir.net](mailto:anfema@zamir.net); [www.anfema.tk](http://www.anfema.tk)
- \* "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva

5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; [info@monteparadiso.hr](mailto:info@monteparadiso.hr)

- \* Rijeka anarchist initiative - [www.rai.anarhija.org](http://www.rai.anarhija.org); [rai200@net.hr](mailto:rai200@net.hr); [anarhist\\_ri@yahoo.com](mailto:anarhist_ri@yahoo.com)
- \* "SKATULA" - infoshop in Rijeka; u Kruznoj 8; open Wed&Thurs. 17-21
- \* "Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovec; address: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia
- \* Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; [zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com](mailto:zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com); [www.solidarnost.mahost.org](http://www.solidarnost.mahost.org)
- \* [www.stocitas.org](http://www.stocitas.org) - Antiauthoritarian publisher

### CZECHIA

- \* ABC-CSAF - c/o P.H., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen. [abc@csaf.cz](mailto:abc@csaf.cz)
- \* AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100 81 Praha 105; [afa\\_praha@volny.cz](mailto:afa_praha@volny.cz)
- \* AKA AnarchoCommunist Alternative - AKA-CZ@email.cz; phone number:+420777637863
- \* "A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective. po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; [a-kontra@csaf.cz](mailto:a-kontra@csaf.cz)
- \* Anarchist Group Uherske Hradiste - <http://uhas.wz.cz>; [uhas@email.cz](mailto:uhas@email.cz); "Bazar", P.O.Box 24; 686 01 Uh.Hradiste
- \* [www.antifa.cz](http://www.antifa.cz) - Czech Antifa
- \* CSAF / Czechia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation) - po box 223, 111 21 Prague 1.intersec@csaf.cz [www.csaf.cz/english](http://www.csaf.cz/english)
- \* Federaci sociálních anarchistu (FSA - IWA) (Federation of Social Anarchists) - PO box 5; 15006 Praha 56; [fsa\\_intersec@anarchismus.org](mailto:fsa_intersec@anarchismus.org) <http://fsa.anarchismus.org>
- \* Feminist Alliance of March 8 - @-feminist group; [fs8.brezna@centrum.cz](mailto:fs8.brezna@centrum.cz)
- \* Info-Shop - Socharska 6; Prague.
- \* "MILADA" - squat in Prague; [milada.sq@volny.cz](mailto:milada.sq@volny.cz)
- \* "Collectively Against Capitalism" - [alarm@solidarita.org](mailto:alarm@solidarita.org) - [praha@solidarita.org](mailto:praha@solidarita.org) - [brno@solidarita.org](mailto:brno@solidarita.org) - 1155@solidarita.org
- \* PH - international secretariat of CSAF [intersec@csaf.cz](mailto:intersec@csaf.cz)
- \* Protest-Fest Team - non-hierarchical group organizing annual "thematic" festival in the city of Brno; <http://protestfest.cz/en/who.php>; [info@protestfest.cz](mailto:info@protestfest.cz); <http://protestfest.cz/>

### ESTONIA

- \* [www.hot.ee/anarhism](http://www.hot.ee/anarhism) - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

### HUNGARY

- \* AK57 DIY CLUB (half squat) - 1074 Budapest, dohány u. 57. ring 128 at the doorbell; [ak57@indymedia.hu](mailto:ak57@indymedia.hu); <http://ak57.freeblog.hu>; sms +36 20 488 8629
- \* AFK - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); [www.socialdisease.tk](http://www.socialdisease.tk)
- \* BARRICADE COLLECTIVE - anarchist group; <http://www.anarkom.lapja.hu>
- \* "GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM" -

anarchist bookshop; [www.ainfok.ini.hu](http://www.ainfok.ini.hu); [gondolkodo@citromail.hu](mailto:gondolkodo@citromail.hu) Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18

- \* RUGANEGRA - (street folklore staff); [www.ruganegra.tk](http://www.ruganegra.tk)
- \* Social Disease Kollektiva (anarhopunk collective) - <http://socialdisease.tk>
- \* [www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo](http://www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo) - anarchist web-site

### KAZAKHSTAN

- \* [www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru](http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru) - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

### LATVIA

- \* Pretspars Collective - zine, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt>; [pretspars@riseup.net](mailto:pretspars@riseup.net)
- \* "ZABADAKS" - DIY culture house, [zabba@inbox.lv](mailto:zabba@inbox.lv); [www.nekac.lv](http://www.nekac.lv); tel. +371 3320666.

DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; [www.nekac.lv](http://www.nekac.lv); [maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv](mailto:maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv)

### LITHUANIA

- \* [active@hardcore.lt](mailto:active@hardcore.lt) - LT activists network
- \* "BENDRADARBIAI" - autonomous culture centre in Siauliai; Vytauto g.103 A, Siauliai; tel. 370 69909049
- \* [booking@hardcore.lt](mailto:booking@hardcore.lt) - booking in Lithuania
- \* "GREEN" - diy culture club in Vilnius; Maironio 3 (in the yard), Vilnius; [booking@hardcore.lt](mailto:booking@hardcore.lt)
- \* [www.hardcore.lt](http://www.hardcore.lt) - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

### MACEDONIA

- \* direct action - anarchist collective [directa@freemail.com.mk](mailto:directa@freemail.com.mk)
- \* fuck yoga - a distro and label [neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com](mailto:neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com)
- \* kaka - a distro and label [surovo@yahoo.com](mailto:surovo@yahoo.com)
- \* napravi sam - a collective [radexxx2000@yahoo.com](mailto:radexxx2000@yahoo.com)
- \* teror 13 - a infoshop [info@teror13.tk](mailto:info@teror13.tk) [www.teror13.anarhija.org](http://www.teror13.anarhija.org)

### POLAND

- \* ABC/ACK - [www.ack.most.org.pl](http://www.ack.most.org.pl)
- Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. [biuletyn@ack.w.pl](mailto:biuletyn@ack.w.pl)
- Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31. [sanch@poczta.wp.pl](mailto:sanch@poczta.wp.pl)
- Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
- Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12. [bifa@polbox.com](mailto:bifa@polbox.com)
- Trojmiasto - [pomierz@friko2.onet.pl](mailto:pomierz@friko2.onet.pl)
- Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; 50-240 Wroclaw, [pbn@poprostu.pl](mailto:pbn@poprostu.pl)
- Lublin - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30; 20-067 Lublin. [cqkier@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:cqkier@poczta.onet.pl)
- Lodz - CIL, Po BOX 203, 90-950, Lodz 1; [falodz@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:falodz@poczta.onet.pl)
- \* Anarchist Library - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.
- \* Anarchist Library - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.
- \* "A-TAK" - anarchist magazine from Krakow; [atak@poprostu](mailto:atak@poprostu) (contact); [atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl](mailto:atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl)

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

(distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html  
 \* "A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl  
 \* "BUNKIER" ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Torun; dr.ozdzu@interia.pl  
 \* "C-4" - alternative culture centre in Lodz (ul. Weglowa 4).  
 \* "Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc") - anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.  
 \* "De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Bialystok, address: ul. Czestochowska 14/2; www.decentrum.prv.pl  
 \* EMANCYPUNX - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.  
 \* FA (Anarchist Federation) - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.  
 - FA- virtual collective secretary - biurofa@go2.pl  
 - FA-Biala Podlaska - fabp@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Bialystok - wildeast@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Czestochowa - akielasiak@wp.pl  
 - FA-RSA Gdansk - jwal@pg.gda.pl  
 - FA-Inowroclaw - pychu@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Krakow - lukasdad@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Lublin - falublin@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Lodz - falodz@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Opole - sobol13@o2.pl  
 - FA-Ostrowiec Sw. - marcin@natura.most.org.pl  
 - FA-Poznan - fa-poznan@o2.pl  
 - FA-Rzeszow - xjedrusx@o2.pl  
 - FA-Slupsk - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-RSA Sochaczew - antinazi@friko6.onet.pl  
 - FA-Szczecin - fa\_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl  
 - FA-Warszawa - natak@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Warszawa/Praga - hydrozag@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Wroclaw - ahm@o2.pl  
 - FA Zyrardow - sidtom@poczta.wp.pl  
 \* Food Not Bombs  
 - Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45.  
 - Olsztyn - edelweiss@o2.pl  
 - 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  
 \* "FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.

freedom69@go2.pl  
 \* Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc" (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.  
 \* Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath" Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.)  
 Open: Mon.-Fri. 18<sup>00</sup>-20<sup>00</sup> or longer, Sun. 14<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup> plus by appointment and during events (summer 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); 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;  
 \* IP-FA / Szczecin - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.  
 \* IP-FA / Silesia - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa\_silesia@hoga.pl  
 \* KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl  
 \* "KROMERA" - squat/culture centre; ul. Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.  
 \* LETS - Local Economy Trade System  
 - Krakow - testcyf@kr.edu.pl  
 - Poznan - lets@poland.com  
 \* "LITTLE MARY" - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul. Warszawska 249/25;  
 \* "Mac Pariadka" - anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com  
 \* "PILON" - underground bar/caffe open Mo-Sa from 6pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl  
 web: http://www.pilon.prv.pl  
 \* RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) - www.anti-fa-wildeast.prv.pl ; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl  
 \* "Radical Cheer Leaders" - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through Emancypunx.  
 \* "ROZBRAT" - squat / anarchist centre, ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.  
 \* S.E.K.W. "KRZYK" - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25; tel. +48 504878370).  
 \* "streFA" - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1c, tel. 504935357.  
 \* "SZWEJK" - anti-military service; ul. Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31  
 \* "TEKNO COLLECTIVE" - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl  
 \* WIEDZMA (the WITCH) - anarcho feminist group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND; witchgrrr1@poczta.onet.pl ; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl

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

## ROMANIA

\* AACTIV-IST Collective  
 Timisoara, Antifa autonome - anarchist punk group  
 activistcollective@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  
 \* C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 \* Gluga Neagra / Black Hood - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g\_a\_rezidenta@yahoo.com  
 www.gluganagra.go.ro  
 \* INFO-PROPAGANDA - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com  
 \* MISCAREA UNDERGROUND TIMISOARA - (UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT TIMISOARA); www.ugtm.go.ro  
 \* URA - anarcho-punk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.html  
 \* LOVE KILLS - woman anarcho-punk zine / Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com  
 \* "Revolta 1" - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com  
 \* "Revolutionshop" - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com  
 \* www.proiectns.org - grassroots activist site  
 \* www.miscareapunk.go.ro - site about punk (and not only) in Romania

## RUSSIA

\* ABC-Moscow - spt2003@email.com; P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)  
 \* Alliance of Kazan Anarchists - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru  
 \* Anarchist League of Kamchatka - 4tankista@mail.ru  
 \* Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia - PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. anliberation@rambler.ru  
 \* ANTI-FA Samara - anti\_fa@mail.ru  
 \* Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) - see "Noviy Swet" newspaper contact address  
 \* "Epicenter Infoshop" - Evgeni Fayzullin, PO Box 103, St. Petersburg, 190013  
 e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru  
 http://www.infoshop.spb.ru  
 \* FOOD NOT BOMBS  
 - Moscow - http://foodnotbombs.net.ru  
 - Petersburg - see Epicenter contact address  
 - Kirov - punkauskirov@mail.ru  
 \* Free Trade Unions Confederation - Tomsk; http://kulac.narod.ru  
 \* Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com  
 \* indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru (Moscow);  
 \* indymedia\_piter@pochtamt.ru (Petersburg);  
 \* smeshno@riseup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)  
 \* IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation - www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru  
 \* JERRY RUBIN CLUB - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jrc@nm.ru; http://jarryclub.narod.ru  
 \* KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-syndicalists) - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; - Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; http://aitrus.narod.ru  
 \* "MEGAPHON" - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail333.com  
 \* Network of Working-place Resistance - cockney@rambler.ru, http://antijob.nm.ru  
 \* "NOVIY SVET" - anarchist newspaper; newworld@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989).  
 \* "NOZHI i VILKI" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@newmail.ru; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia  
 \* OLD SKOOL KIDS - punk/hardcore label and distro; oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru  
 \* Petersburg Antiwar CommitteeE - see "Noviy Swet" contact address  
 \* Petersburg League of Anarchists - see "Noviy Swet" contact address  
 \* PUNK REVIVAL - antifascist and anarchist punks from ST.Petersburg - http://www.punk-revival.com  
 \* RAINBOW KEEPERS - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:  
 - Nizhny Novgorod - klem@dront.ru  
 - Votkinsk - votkinskrk@mail.ru  
 - Kasimov - rk@rk.ryazan.ru (this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)  
 - Perm - puliark@rambler.ru  
 - Volgograd - maasha@rambler.ru

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

- Ekaterinburg - vty2@mail.ru, dpn@etel.ru  
 - Moscow - rkrzl@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru  
 - Samara - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru  
 http://duplo.narod.ru  
 - Rostov - rkrostov@don.sitek.net  
 - Petersburg - tuuli@mail.ru  
 \* S.H. SOUND SYSTEM - label & distro including political punk stuff; http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com  
 \* Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk; http://syndikalist.narod.ru/  
 \* "UTOPIA" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopia@mail333.com  
 \* "Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library - City Library no.10, ulitsa Verkhnyaya Khokhlovka 39/47, metro "Marksistskaya" Telephone/fax: +7 095 278 8156. http://www.sergelibrary.org/  
 \* "VOLYA" - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); obschtschina@pisem.net; http://volja.nm.ru  
 \* "ZHEST" - anarcho-feminist magazine; zhest@pisem.net

\* www.squatting.ru - portal, dedicated to squatter movement!

\* Contacts of Autonomous Action  
 Do not write names of the groups to envelopes!  
 Never republish parts of this contact list without this note! Contacts are from Russia, unless specified otherwise.

\* Federal site is http://www.avtonom.org

\* Collective members of Autonomous Action.  
 Name of the group is Autonomous Action - <name of city or region>, unless specified otherwise.  
 - Moscow - P. O. Box 13, 109028 Moscow Russia, taom@seu.ru  
 - Far East (has members in Vladivostok and Nahodka) - ad\_primorye@front.ru,  
 - Ivanovo - P. O. Box 1842, 153000 Ivanovo Russia, ad\_ivanovo@front.ru  
 - Irkutsk - P. O. Box 166, 664058 Irkutsk Russia, klown@rambler.ru  
 - Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists - skakonig@mail.ru, http://www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru  
 - Kem (Republic of Karelia, Russia) - katousha@onego.ru  
 - Krasnodar - P. O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia  
 - Nizhni Novgorod, P. O. Box 25, 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia, ad\_nn@mail.ru, www.nnov.avtonom.org  
 - Ryazan - 137@mail.ru, http://ad-62.narod.ru  
 - Saratov - koluchka@pochtamt.ru  
 - Ufa - ADUfa@mail.ru, http://u-f-a.org.ru  
 - Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742, 454021 Chelyabinsk Russia, naumov2@mail.ru  
 - Http://commune.narod.ru  
 - Yerevan (Armenia) - m\_eduard@freenet.am

\* Contacts of individual members of Autonomous Action

- Astrakhan - podero@list.ru  
 - Vsevolzhk (Leningrad Region, Russia) - darkpunk@list.ru  
 - Kirov - redskin@ptlan.com

- Perm - P. O. Box 3095, Perm Russia ad-perm@rambler.ru; deadsun@rambler.ru  
 - Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481, 625001 Tyumen Russia, roustam\_f@hotmail.com  
 - Yaroslavl - ad-yaroslavl@mail.ru

\* Correspondents of Autonomous Action (distributors of press of the organisation without a formal membership)

- Voronezh - dingir@mail.ru, http://anarhvrn.narod.ru/ad  
 - Izhveik - projectfreedom@mail.ru; timmad@udm.ru; antiwar@udm.ru  
 - Yoshkar - Ola - punk@zvenigovo.ru  
 - Kolonna (Moscow Region, Russia) - matherfacker2017@mail.ru  
 - Naberezhnye Chelny (Tatarstan, Russia) - anarchist@chelny.com  
 - Ozersk (Chelyabinsk Region, Russia) - padlik@bk.ru  
 - Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614, 183050 Murmansk Russia.  
 - Saint Petersburg - blackguard@mail.ru  
 - Minsk (Belarus) - belarus@avtonom.org; www.belarus.avtonom.org  
 - Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno Oblast, Belarus  
 - Donetsk (Ukraine) - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru  
 - Sumy (Ukraine) - P. O. Box 131, Glavpochtamt 40030 Sumy Ukraine, ivangrob@mail.ru

\* Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:

- http://ad-direct.newmail.ru - federal site maintained from Novorossisk  
 - http://redskin.newmail.ru - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk  
 - http://antijob.nm.ru - site against work, maintained from Moscow  
 - http://anti-fa.da.ru - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara  
 - http://potok.hotmail.ru - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk  
 - http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists  
 - http://www.poets5.narod.ru - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod  
 - http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union

## SERBIA

\* ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org  
 \* Federation of Internationalist Anarchists - federacija@ml1.net  
 \* Subwar Collective - Belgrade; shavedwomen216@yahoo.com  
 \* www.anarchy-serbia.tk - anarcho site from Serbia  
 \* www.afanovisad.tk - Antifa Novi Sad

## SLOVAKIA

\* AFA-Bratislava (Antifascisticka Akcia Bratislava) - bacity\_afa@yahoo.com  
 http://blava.antifa.net  
 \* AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west

Slovakia) - afa\_sk1@hotmail.com  
 \* CIRNY KRIZ (CK, Black Cross) - ciernykriz@yahoo.com.  
 \* CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation) - slovensko@csaf.cz {international contact}; regional contacts:  
 \* CSAF Bratislava - bratislava@csaf.cz  
 \* CSAF B.Bystrica - bbystrica@csaf.cz  
 \* CSAF Trencin - trencin@csaf.cz  
 \* CSAF Vychod - csaf\_sk\_vychod@yahoo.com;  
 \* PRIAMA AKCIA (Direct Action) - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; priamaakcia@yahoo.com

## SLOVENIA

\* A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija" - kultura\_kontra@yahoo.com.  
 \* AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN - autonomous culture centre in squated swimm-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd\_izbruh@yahoo.com  
 \* Anarhiv Resource Center - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345, anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org, www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv  
 \* SAF / Social Anarchist Federation - saf.info@email.si  
 \* Union of self-organised workers - SiSD/USW - is\_usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

## UKRAINE

\* Autonomous Action / Donetsk - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru  
 \* Autonomous Action / Sumy - P. O. Box 131, Glavpochtamt 40030 Sumy Ukraine (no name of the group to envelope!); ivangrob@mail.ru  
 \* INFOSHOP - infoshop in Kiev. http://infoshop.zaraz.org; infoshop@gmail.com  
 \* www.zaraz.org - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives. Web-site of anarchist group in Kiev. info@zaraz.org  
 \* TIGRA NIGRA - anarchist group from Kiev, http://tn.zaraz.org

## TURKEY

\* Anarsist Bakis - http://go.to/anarsistbakis - archive of anarchist texts  
 \* ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent - abcankara@yahoo.com  
 \* "Imlasiz" - www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net-anarchist magazine  
 \* "Isimsiz" - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz\_dergi@yahoo.com  
 \* KaosGL - www.kaosgl.com - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine  
 \* "Kara Kizil" - http://www.karakizil.tr.cx-anarcho-communist group up  
 \* http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net - anarcho-primitivists  
 \* http://ankarafanzin.freeservers.com - zine from Ankara  
 \* http://veganarsi.cjb.net - anarcho-primitivist zine  
 \* www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari - anarchist publisher in istanbul  
 \* www.mecmu-a.org - magazine from Istanbul