

EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST

ISSUE # 31 Excitingly Irregular February 2008

# ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

## OSTROŻNIE

Gender Festival - Equality now!  
Moscow / Russia, March 8-10

Action Day Against US-Missile-Base  
Slupsk / Poland, March 29

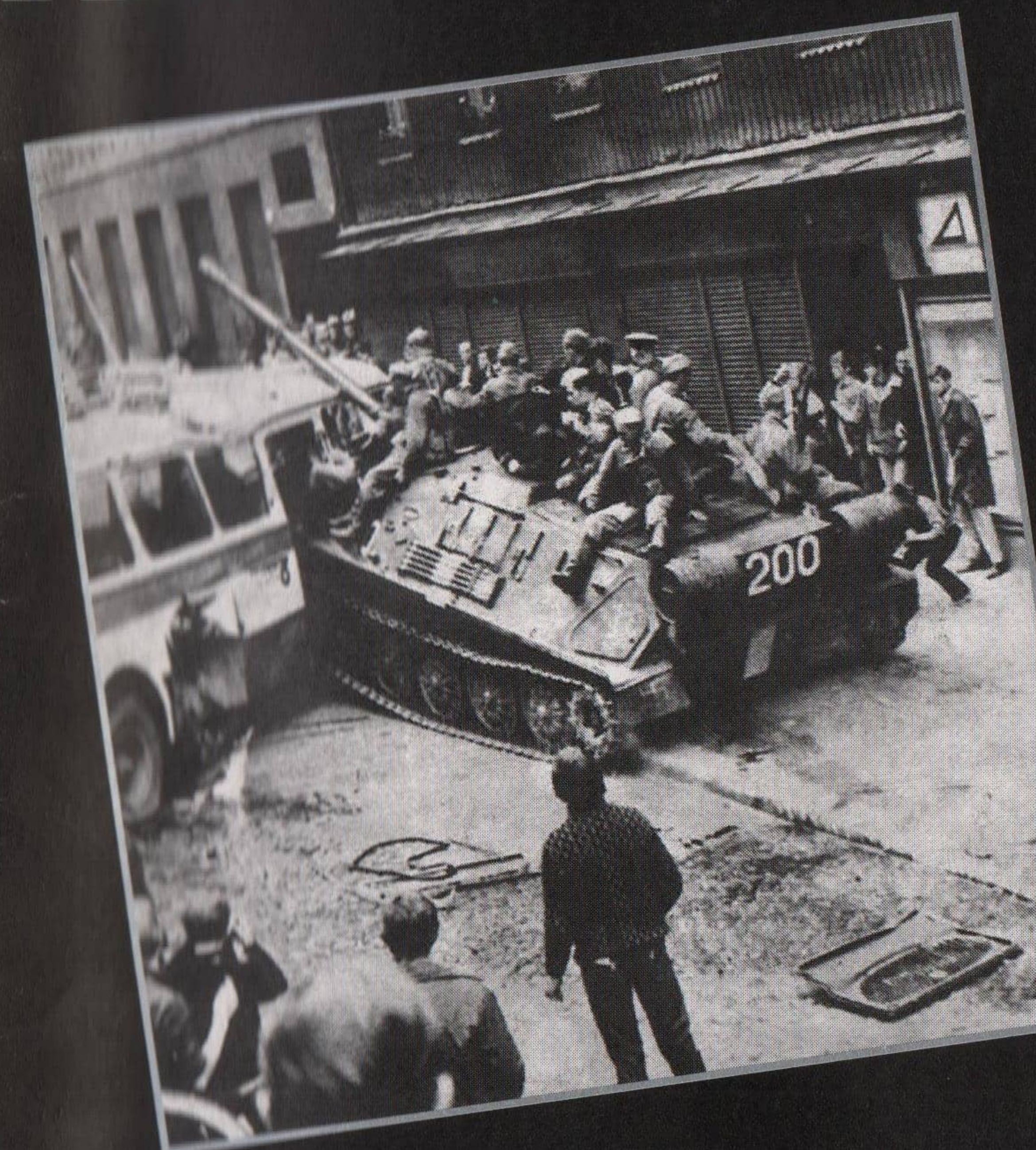
Anti-NATO Protests  
Bukarest / Romania, April 2 - 4

Anarchist Bookfair  
Zagreb / Croatia, April 11-13

Wherever Oppression and Exploitation takes Place  
**MAYDAY**

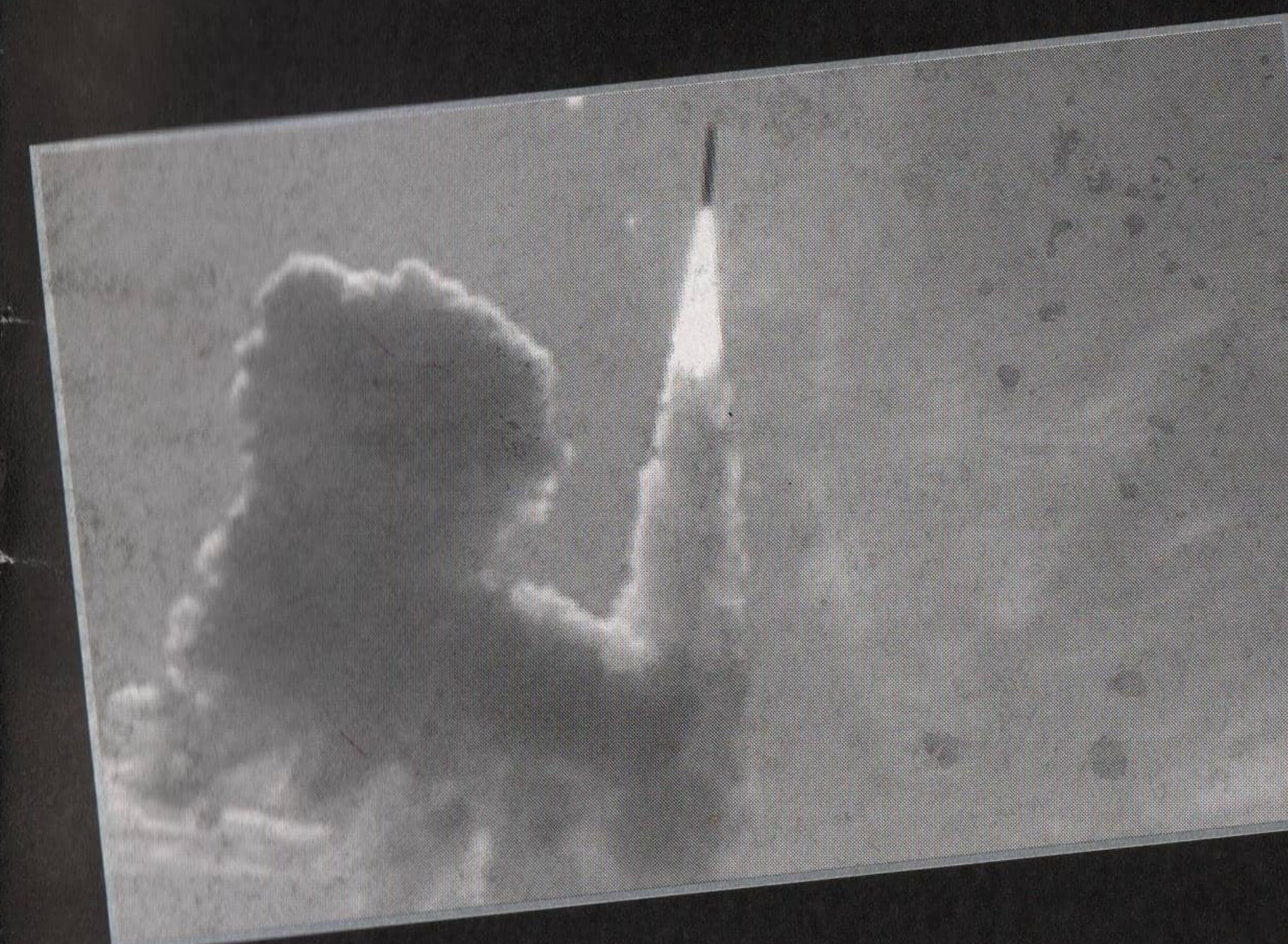
## ANARCHISCI

ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW



*They didn't ask us in '68 and they are  
not asking us again now...*

*...and we will always resist them!*



Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe



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

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

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

## "Abolishing the Borders from Below"

### An Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

#### AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

"AbolishingBB" is 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 & ABB COLLECTIVE

ABB is an international collective of migrant anarchist activists living in Berlin. The collective was formed in Autumn 2001 by a group of east-european migrant activists and was later joined by other migrant activists from other parts of the world. As well as this publication the collective also 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 cover the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on a non-profit basis.

#### EXECUTORS

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

#### COOPERATION

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective

as a correspondent sending regular reports covering 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.

#### FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

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

#### FINANCES

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

#### BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

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

#### ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

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

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

#### NOT 100%

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

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

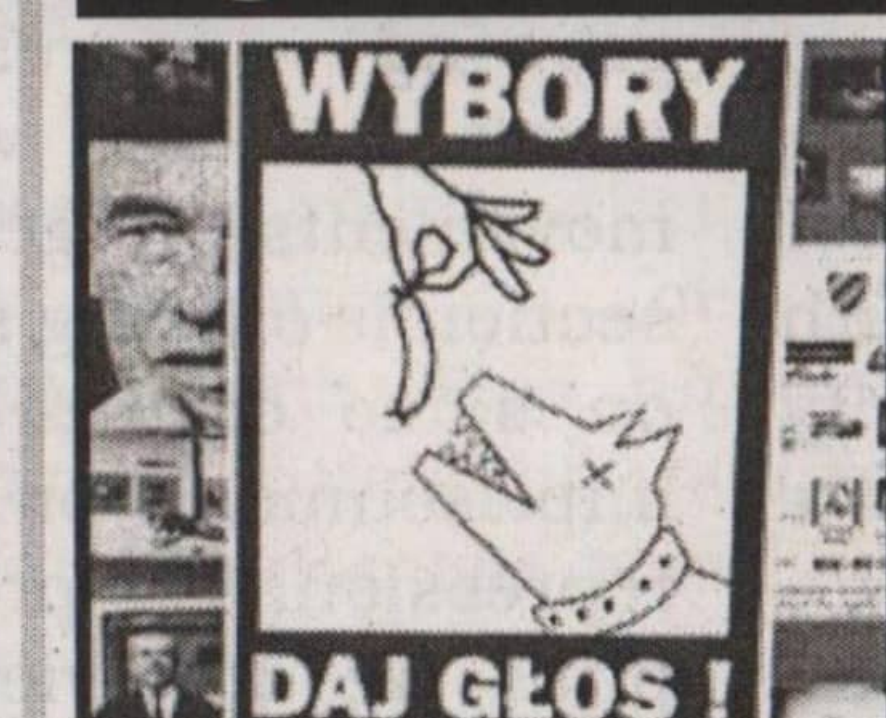
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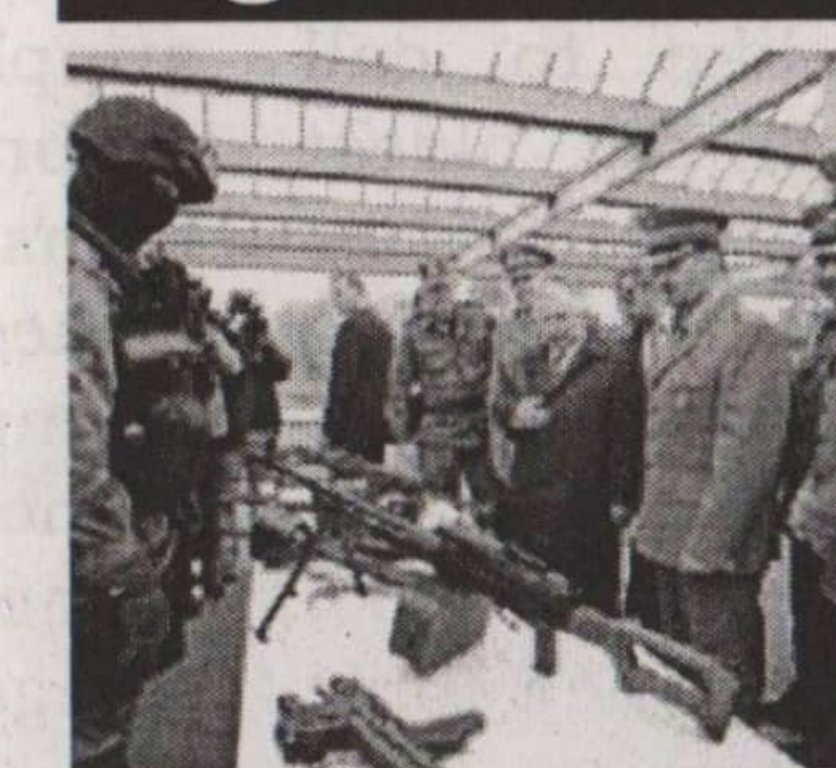
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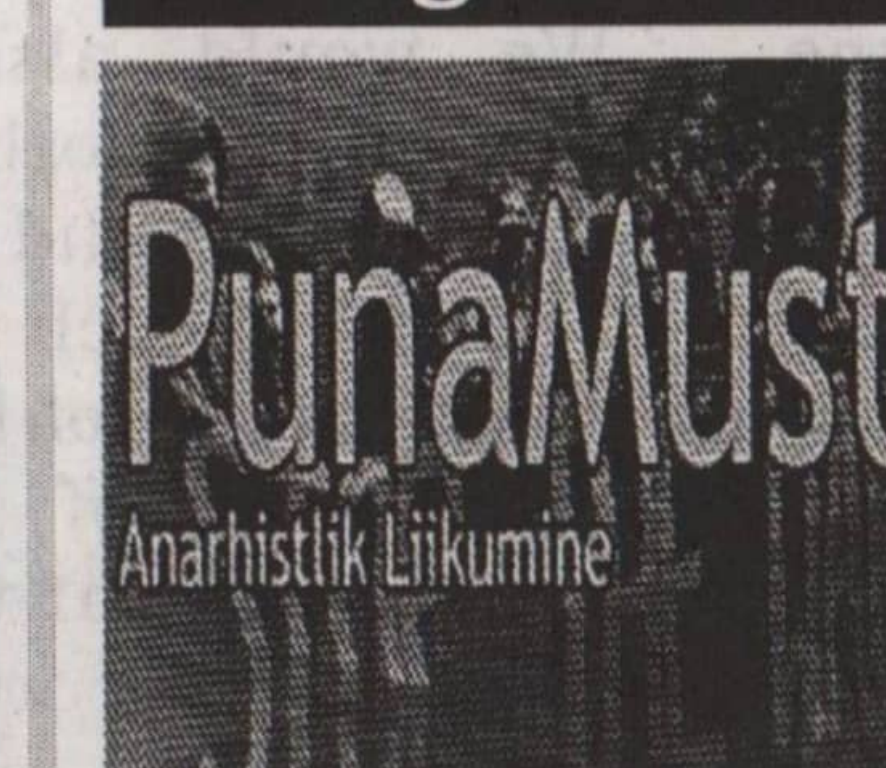
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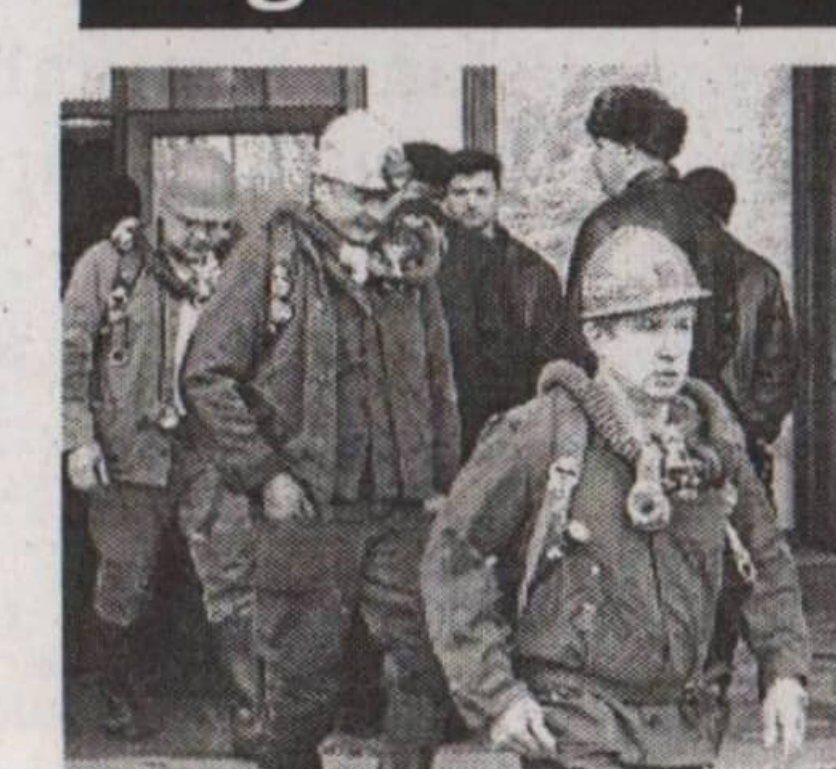
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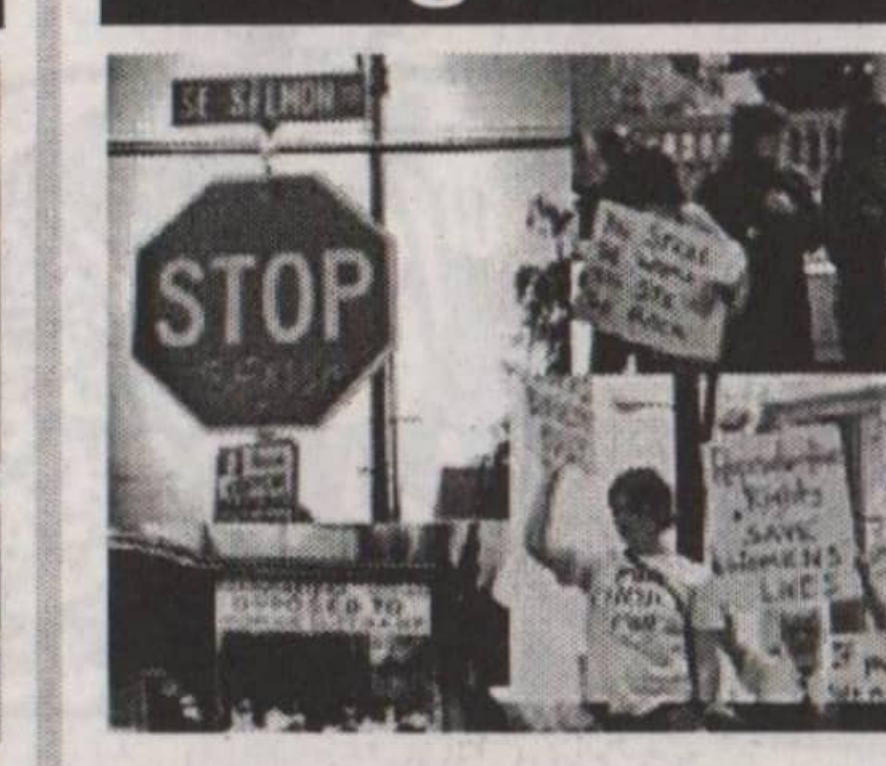
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### EQUALITY NOW !

Invitation Declaration of  
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in Moscow March 8-10

\* Animal Liberation in Ukraine \* Announcements \* Communities in Struggle \*



## EDITORIAL: WILL WE BE ASKED - OR WILL WE ACT?

First of all, we wish to commemorate Jan Kucera, one of the latest victims of nazi terror worldwide or in eastern Europe for that matter. We join in with expressions of grief and solidarity from all around the globe - *no one is forgotten!*

This issue's cover is presenting a flashback one might experience facing the new wave of **MILITARISATION IN EASTERN EUROPE** (as part of a process that can be observed worldwide). Not only another NATO-summit will take place again in the region, this time in Bucharest at the beginning of April; the plans for introduction of a US-Missiles-Defence-System in Poland and Czechia conjure up unpleasant memories, especially in the latter. Memories from a time when the tanks of the Warsaw Pact put a violent end to the springdays of 1968. Let's hope for more success in the resistance against today's expansion of military facilities (from whatever state they may be pursued!). And let's not only hope for it...

Thus, the dubious proceedings around the construction of those bases in both countries and the resistance against those plans are one of our featured topics this time. There are several articles from our correspondents in the areas as well as short interview from the Czech Republic.

Not having a main topic we put a second focus on labour struggles featuring a longer report on **LABOUR STRUGGLES** in the mines of Budryk, Poland, as well as accounts on a row of other workers' struggles around Poland and the Ukraine and on the students' and workers' resistance in Slovenia. In connection with that, we wish to annotate that a comrade of ours, member of Warsaw's Anarchist Federation and one of the oldest ABB-correspondents in Poland, is currently in trouble due to his union activities.

Which brings us to

another topic stressed in this issue: growing repression against anarchist as well as social movements in general. Our ABC section is offering some information on some of the comrades facing imprisonment or other forms of repression. As promised, we also print the interview with the two Russian anarchists who had been suspected of bombing the Nevskij Express train in August last year, which hadn't made it into our last issue. All in all, it looks like in the eye of growing repression, many local ABC-groups are urgently seeking for financial support, also from abroad. Check the **FACING REPRESSION** chapter for more details and see if you can help in any way.

We would also like to call attention to Rozbrat, the oldest existing squat and anarchist center in Poland, which is encountering similar threats of being kicked out as a lot of other squats internationally at the moment. So, we publish a report from the people there along with an interview.

A lot of people cheered over the change of government in Poland, claiming that with the Kaczynski brothers gone everything would inevitably get better. From a libertarian perspective, though, a change of government may change the personage and the mode of oppression, but it will not even touch the foundation of the very structures of oppression; in addition to that general idea, one of our correspondents offers an analysis, why that change in power might actually not change things for the better even within the limited scope of parliamentary democracy and especially in the context of neo-liberal capitalist economy.



You will also find an article on another historical moment in the Polish anarchist and syndicalist movement, which is a continuation of a possible new series of articles on the "unwritten history" of the anarchist movement in Eastern Europe. In it, we don't actually want to repeat all the stories, that were already told so many times, but hope to get some new insights. So, if you are dealing with that topic on a professional level or out of personal interest and think you have an interesting, forgotten story to tell, feel welcome to send it to us - our magazine lives by your engagement!

When we recently did a general calculation of our financial situation, we found out how well supplied we actually are - theoretically. But though the transcendence of theoretically owned money might make believers in capitalist ideology rejoice by the name of mammon, it will not help a - meant to be, amongst other things - anticapitalist project to survive in capitalist realities. Thus, we were very lucky and glad to receive lots of support from a number of local projects and groups here in Berlin, which are not directly involved with ABB, as well as from international projects and from an anonymous donor, what financially enabled us to print this #31. Heartfelt thanks to you all, last, not least also to our printer, Mr Al!

The upcoming weeks are bringing interesting events and confrontations in various places around the region and it looks like anarchists will be in the center of many of them: be they workplaces, military constructions, universities, libertarian centers ... for sure state prisons, too. However pathetic it may sound, and however invisible it actually seems from time to time, we would like to stress on this occasion: **THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!**

AbolishingBB

## Not So Quiet on the Eastern Front: Frontex Assures Xenophobic Europe that it's Doing its Job

In a recent article released by Reuters we read that "Fears that hordes of illegal immigrants would pour into the European Union once border controls for nine mostly Eastern European nations were abolished a month ago appear, at least for now, to have been unfounded." [1] According to the German Interior Ministry, some 6,000 police operate in mobile patrols in a 30-km (18-mile) wide strip at the German frontier, randomly checking one in 2,000 vehicles.

What they mean by "random checking" is nothing more than racial profiling. There is nothing "random" in it; people who are light skinned and "European looking" go through the borders without ID check. It is enough to look at one's face, hair and clothes. If one speaks a strange language, is dark-skinned, or, for women, is dressed in modest clothing typical for practicing Muslims or has a number of children with her, it is a clear signal for the police that a "random check" should be made.

In this way, among the many many people caught trying to freely move through the Schengen zone, there have been hundreds of reported cases of Chechen refugees from Poland being stopped and sent back to this country. According to the German Interior Ministry, 564 people, most from Chechnya, were caught in German border regions or on the border between Dec. 21 and Jan. 13. and sent back to Poland. [2] Refugees are not the only victims of Fortress Europe's immigration policies. Their attempts to move freely have been hindered by state governments for a long time and the expansion of the Schengen zone has led to more policing of the border, especially the Eastern borders which have been increasingly monitored for some years now. Many others have had their lives greatly complicated by the visa regimes imposed on them by the EU countries.

The introduction of visas to countries

like Poland for citizens of many other countries was a precondition for joining the Schengen zone. This hit Poland's eastern, non-EU neighbours especially hard, but the damage was mitigated by special discounts or even cost-free visas offered to citizens of countries in which Poland has a geopolitical interests, or whose citizens make up a large part of the cheap immigrant workforce in this country. The recent introduction of high fees for visas for Ukrainian cities led to numerous protest actions, both in front of the Polish consulate in Lvov, where 700 people turned out, and at different border crossings where people took direct action, blocking roads.



Some protesters demanded that Europarlament discuss the issue and warned that continued protest actions will occur if nothing is done. [3] In what is probably not a coincidence, Polish border guards from Karczowa, one of the border points that was hit by blockades last week, have themselves staged a protest about their poor working conditions. The pressure has been tremendous on them, with not only the blockades, but not enough people working to handle the long queues of cars and trucks travelling through the borders. The situation is so bad, that queues are in some places over 40 kms. long. On Jan. 24, a driver from Radom, who had been waiting in the queue since Jan. 21, died. Other medical problems had been reported earlier. Truck drivers decided to organize a blockade

of Warsaw for Jan. 25th, and only called off the action because the president declared it a day of national mourning after 20 people were killed in an air tragedy. Staging such actions would break a deeply-ingrained Polish tabu.

With growing chaos on the Polish borders, and growing numbers of refugees trying to get out of this place which treats refugees with more resentment than care and understanding, the officials of Frontex, based in Warsaw, are generally happy to provide glowing accounts of their successes in keeping poor and desperate refugees and other foreigners out of the Promised Lands. Among its accomplishments

has been to force migrants into ever more desperate and dangerous attempts to get into the Fortress, leading to more and more immigration related deaths.

Instead of blocking traffic and causing headaches for thousands of commuters trying to get to work, the troubled truck drivers should consider a blockade of Frontex headquarters. Frontex itself may not be responsible for all its problems but it is the

most representative institution of the EU's border regime located in Poland. Other appropriate targets might include any EU representative office in the capital.

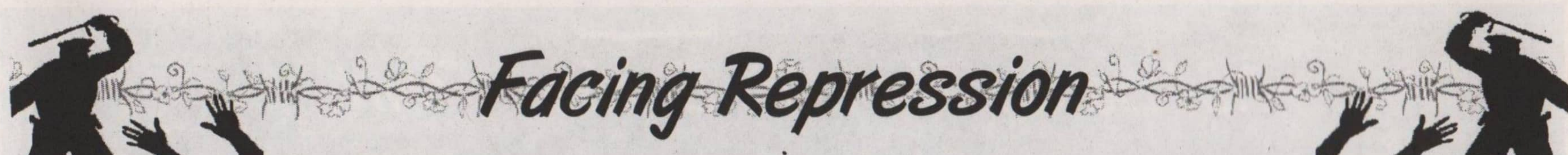
Surely the truck drivers, and perhaps even the border guards themselves, are becoming more and more aware that the border regime is nothing but a needless load of crap that we'd all be better off without.

by Laure Akai

Footnotes:

[1] "All Quiet on EU Front One Month After Schengen". Reuters, Jan. 20, 2008 [2] "Einen Monat offene Grenzen". Magazin.de, Jan. 18, 2008. [3] "Protesters picketing Krakovets border checkpoint demand urgent session of EU parliament". ZIK, Jan. 15, 2008





## Facing Repression

### Late Interview with two Russian comrades about their Detention in Connection with "Nevskiy Express" Case.

Some of you should still remember this case: on August 16, 2007, two Russian anarchists were arrested on their way to Moscow. Officials checked them and apparently considered them too aware of their rights and too impudent - they got nicked and someone came up with the idea of "anarchist version" of the train blast: they got suspected of bombing the Nevskiy Express train on 13th of August. No one died from the explosion of a bomb, that had allegedly been planted to the rails, but 60 people were injured.

Actually quite a number of articles in Russian internet have doubted that there was any explosion in the first place - the train may well have derailed just due to over-exploitation, speeding on already worn out tracks, which has been a general problem in the Russian rail transport system for years. For sure, this had been just speculation, but it would not be surprising if officials would like to cover an accident due to over-exploitation of the tracks.

On September 13 Russian comrades, Andrey Kalyonov and Denis Zelenyuk, were released from remand prison of Novgorod after 29 days of arrest - just one day short of 30 day period of detention without pressing charges, allowed with anti-terrorism cases.

Shortly after their release we asked them to give an interview to AbolishingBB about this case and connected with its issues. The interview was meant to be published in the past issue of the journal, which was issued in October 2007. Unfortunately, we got the answers from Andrey and Denis just a few hours too late and, thus, could not bring it then. So now quite a few months have passed since the case and since the interview was made. Nonetheless, we believe it is still interesting to print this interview. So, check what the comrades from St. Petersburg were telling us in the last days of September 2007 about the case.

AbolishingBB

**Hello Denis, hello Andrey. Thank you for finding time to share some thoughts with the readers of AbolishingBB in this complicated moment in your lives. Could you at the beginning introduce yourselves, please?**

**Denis:** I am from Petersburg. I am 22. I belong to the Petersburg Anarchist League, which is collective participant of the Association of Anarchist Movements. I am a worker at Restoration Molding Works.

**Andrey:** My name is Andrey Kalyonov. My 30<sup>th</sup> birthday was sev-

eral days after we were released. I belong to the Petersburg Anarchist League and the Anarchist agrarian group. They are collective participants of the Association of Anarchist Movements, which in turn belongs to the International of Anarchist Federations. I work as a fitter at restoration works; we restore or manufacture works of art made of non-ferrous metals. Also, as a historian and a specialist in museum studies I am a volunteer at Memorial research and information center which is involved in research of political repressions in the USSR.

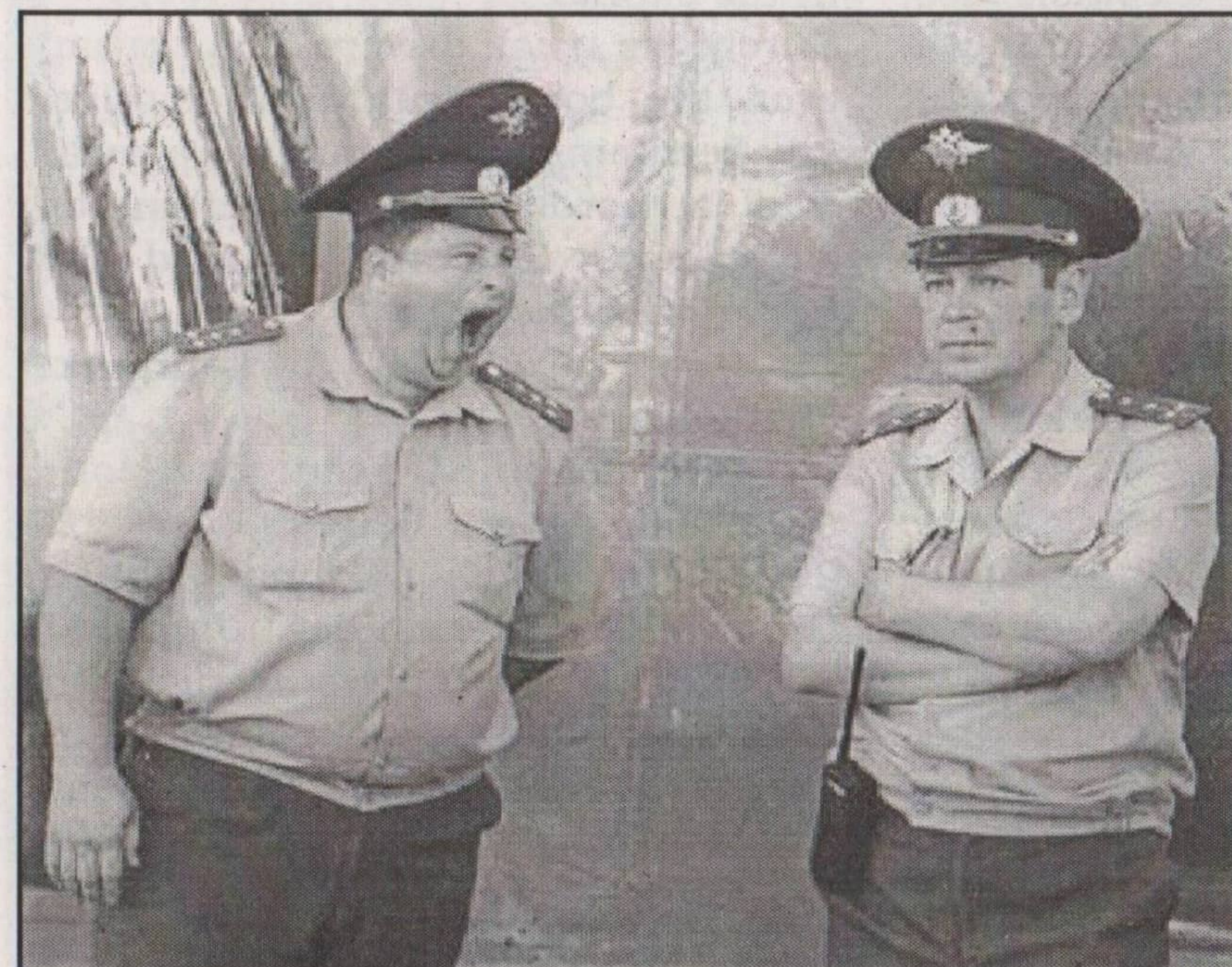
**Sorry for asking the next question similarly to the way a judge uses to do it, but we would like to explain the situation to our readers a little bit. On August 16 you have been on your way to an anarchist congress. What congress was it and what issues have been on the agenda?**

**Denis:** This was a congress of the Association of Anarchist Movements. As before going to the congress I had just returned from a five day hike I did not really know what the agenda was.

**Andrey:** The congress of the Association of Anarchist Movements was held this year in the town of Yaroslavl. The Association of Anarchist Movements used to be a union working in Siberia and East Russia. This congress changed the organization status, now it is a union of anarchists who use Russian language, without territorial links. The congress also took decisions connected with the general social, political and economic situation as well as connected with discrimination and the situation in education. If we had managed to come to the congress the resolutions on discrimination and on education could probably be slightly different.

**Can you explain now when and how exactly it came to your arrestment on August 16?**

**Andrey:** At night on August 16 we left Petersburg by a suburban train. Such trains go as far as Malaya Vishera town (the capital of one of the districts of Novgorod territory). There we were going to change trains and go to



Moscow and then to Yaroslavl. When we arrived at Malaya Vishera we learned that our next train was going only in 7 hours, so we decided to hitch-hike...

**Denis:** We decided to leave the town and go to the motorway. While we were walking along the town street two cars with civil numbers drove up and stood in front of us (in Russia cops have blue numbers) and several men in plain clothes (definitely more than three) got out. One of them showed us a cop's identification card and asked us to show our documents. Having inspected the documents he said that we must go with him to the district police station. We asked about the reason of the detention and got a reply: "Don't you understand yourselves. This is a combat zone". After that we were taken to the police station. This happened at about 7.30 in the morning. Soon we found out that the people who had detained us were not local, they came from Moscow, some of them were operatives from the police and some from the Procurator General Office.

**Andrey:** The formal pretext for our detention was a check of documents. Then they told us that they suspect us of train explosion. Yet, the first attempt to make our arrest look legitimate was made when they took us to court on accusation of cursing in public. I demanded a lawyer and this enabled us to avoid a sentence which would have been difficult to protest. It should be noted that this tactic was already employed by Russian authorities a year ago, during the G8 summit in Petersburg. Then, on the same accusation we were sentenced to 10 days of administrative arrest, some other comrades also got 10 or 15 days.

**Would you expect such a situation to be possible to happen?**

**Andrey:** Yes.

**Denis:** Before going to Moscow via Malaya Vishera I thought there could be such a chance but I did not really think it was likely to happen.

**Under what conditions were you held and how have you been treated during that time?**

**Andrey:** The conditions, especially in Malaya Vishera where we spent a week, would seem very harsh for West Europeans. But I do not have serious complaints. And in Novgorod I had enough food and sleep which I can seldom afford. The police's and guards' treatment was satisfactory but for the rudeness typical for these

people. The investigators sometimes threatened us. There were no problems with fellow prisoners arrested on criminal charges.

**Denis:** As practically no money is spent in our land for renovation of prisons, the cells are in the same condition as they were in tsar's times. For a western person, the conditions in Russian prisons may seem almost medieval and really terrible. But here it is a norm. Other prisons just do not exist, although there are "VIP-cells" for very rich people. I had known it long before and moreover this was not my first arrest. So I was not shocked by the conditions. There are no other. In IVS

(Temporary Detention Isolator) it was very stuffy. The ventilation system did not work. "Sanitary routines" twice a day only - at 6 in the morning and about 6 in the afternoon. No toilet, just a pale. And we were only allowed to take it out during the "sanitary time". They gave us food twice a day. For breakfast half a loaf of bread per person and sweet tea. For dinner - thin soup without meat and pasta. When we were transferred to SIZO (Investigation Isolator) the conditions improved. For breakfast we received jelly and boiled cereals or pasta. For dinner - soup with pasta or cereals and boiled cereals or pasta for the second course. For supper we also got cereals. They also gave us sugar and bread (half a loaf a day). As for the personnel, they treated us as any other prisoners. Neither better, nor worse.

**Did you have any contact with the outside world, could you hear anything about the public reaction on your arrestment and solidarity activities led by the anarchist movement?**

**Denis:** All connections with the world outside were only through lawyers. We knew about the support actions only when we got out.

**Andrey:** In the beginning, as it is the usual case when you are detained, I had an uneasy feeling that the comrades are absolutely unaware of what happened to us. I remember how glad I was when I was told that there was a parcel for us. I was on dry hunger strike and refused to receive the parcel but the fact that they know and

remember about us was very important. When we were transferred to Novgorod we could listen to radio, read newspapers and get some information about the case. Then the lawyers came and they became an information channel between the cell and those at liberty. I only learned the details about solidarity actions when I was set free. I am very grateful to the people who were trying to help me while I was in prison.

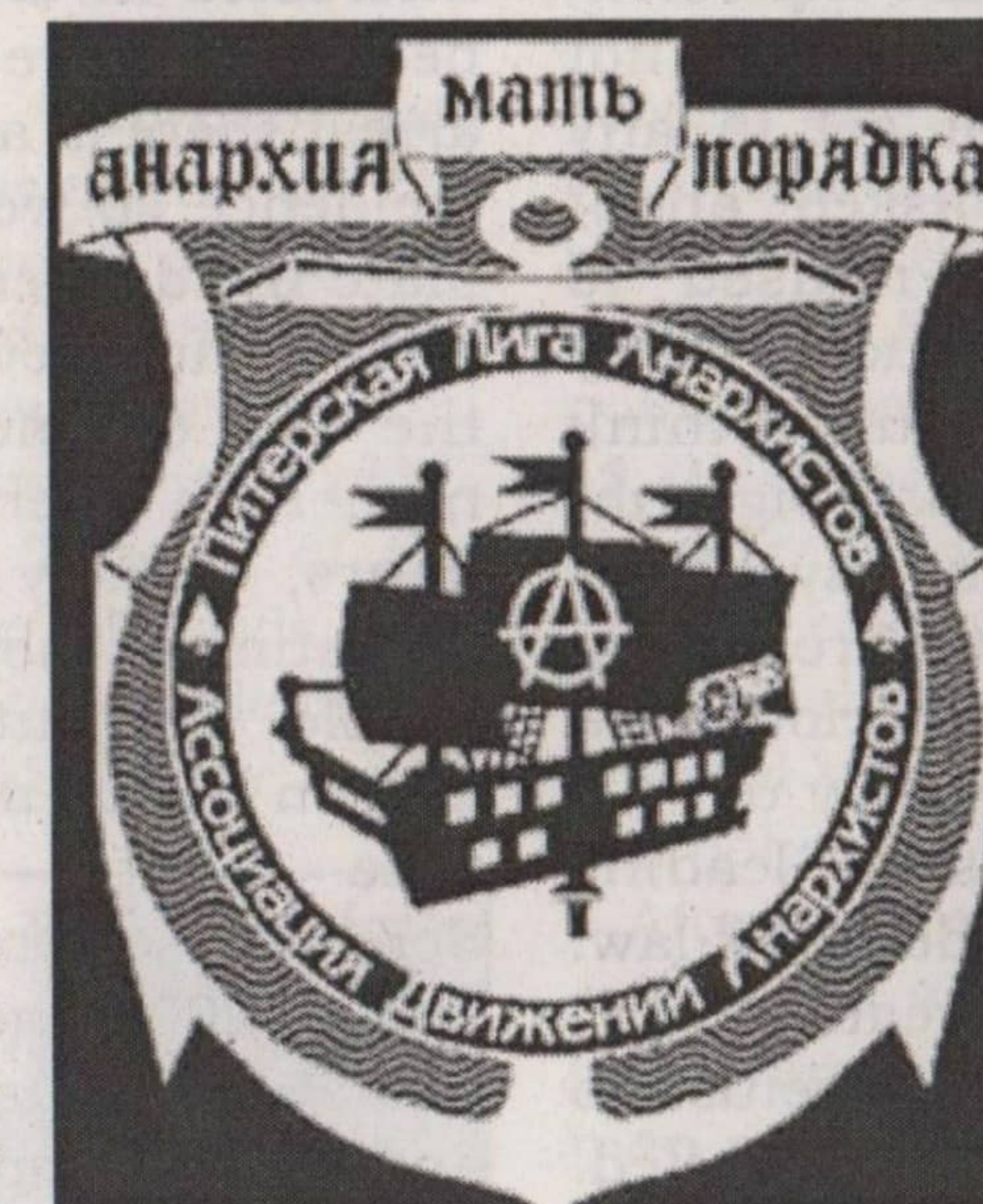
**What do you think, what reasons did the state authorities have to make this try to victimize exactly you two for the Nevskiy Express explosion?**

**Andrey:** No, I do not think so. First, we turned out to be in the wrong place at a wrong time. Then, the train crash was used as a pretext for our arrest while the real reason was our lack of loyalty to power. Of course the investigators, who did not have a plausible version about the train crash, could claim that we were guilty, but this could hardly be presented in court. I think that already a few days after our arrest this version was completely discharged. Partly, this is because this story became widely known and it is much more difficult to fake a case when the attention of lawyers, media and public is drawn to it.

**Denis:** I think anyone could be in our place who looked suspicious to cops or to local people. That's the reality of present day Russia. But the fact that they did not release us after two days, but locked us up for a month, was probably connected with our views.

**How many times you have been questioned by authorities? What kind of questions did they ask you - mostly connected directly to the "Nevskiy Express Case" or some other issues? Does the right to refuse any answering exist in Russia and if yes: did you make use of this right?**

**Denis:** I was questioned six times. But it all happened in the first four days. And with each interrogation there were less and less questions about the train explosion and more about the anarchist movement. Article 51 of Russian Constitution permits you not to give evidence against yourself or your close rela-





tives. But unlike Europe or USA, the so called legal awareness has never been developed in Russia. Nobody respects or obeys the law, neither citizens nor authorities. So to get the evidence they need the authorities use physical violence and even torture. As for me, when they asked what I did before, during and after the explosion, I did not conceal anything as I am not involved in this terrorist act in any way. And when they asked about anarchist movement I refused to answer some questions. Luckily, they did not use physical pressure. I think it was because the case had big publicity. But there was strong psychological pressure. They were threatening us and the threats were serious and real. They were trying to bully us.

**Andrey:** They often asked leading questions which is forbidden by law. At least two times they threatened me. In Russia there is a right to refuse to give evidence, though it is limited. Sometimes I used this right, but in general I was trying to give detailed answers as I wanted them to check my alibi, for example.

**Could this case be understood as sign of a new dimension of state repression against the contemporary anarchist movement in Russia, or is this assumption going too far? What sorts of state repression have been typical against anarchist activists in Russia in the last 2-3 years?**

**Denis:** No, I do not think it is a new kind of repression against anarchists. This was a coincidence. Nevertheless, I can say that repressions against anarchists have become stronger in recent years. Yet, anarchists are not the only ones, it is connected with the general hardening of pressure on independent opposition groups of all shades - from ultra left to ultra right. In particular, some right wing groups, like National Bolshevik party, have been oppressed stronger than anarchists. Most typical for Russia, especially after the Petersburg G8 summit, is the following trick. They used it on anarchists on mass scale then. They detain an anarchist several days before the action just in the street or even at home, or during an action. Then they bring him or her to a police station and charge him/her with article 201 of the Administrative code - "petty hooliganism". Then they take them to court where several witnesses (cops) claim that this activist "was cursing in public and took no notice of the warnings". The court sentences them to a fine (if they were detained during an action) or to arrest up to 15

days (if the person was detained in advance, to prevent him or her from taking part in it or if the "organs" want to have a talk with them). This is a general practice in Russia and is used against all opposition movements.

**Andrey:** The authorities have become interested in anarchists, our work is becoming more difficult. But in our arrest there is a strong element of coincidence so we should not overestimate the danger. I have already mentioned the preventive arrests before the G8 summit. Also there were numerous detentions for less than 24 hours, usually during the actions. Sometimes they beat the arrested people. The authorities collect information about activists and regularly take photos at civil actions. Sometimes there are provocations. In spring 2007 the police searched my home as well as the home of another anarchist Peter Raush. Officially it was done in connection with a Nazi attack on antifascists who were returning from a picket. Non-anarchist antifascists tried to start a criminal case against the attackers but they were refused several times. Moreover, a case was started in defense of a fascist attacker who was wounded with a knife. As according to Russian legislation a witness cannot refuse to give evidence while a suspect can our status in this case is that of witnesses. And yet, they searched our flats and withdrew many things which have nothing to do with the case. Peter Raush chose to leave Russia.

**How do you feel now? Did you come back to your regular activities or do you feel still psychologically or physically disturbed by the oppression you went through?**

**Andrey:** I recovered from the hunger strike already in prison. Before I was set free I caught a cold but I got well rather soon. My nerves that were seriously shattered are not recovering so quickly. I returned to my usual work several days after I was released.

**Denis:** Now I feel well. I do the same things as before prison but I still feel some psychological stress.

**Would you like to share anything else with comrades around the world?**

**Denis:** I would like to wish everybody not to get caught and also to thank everybody for help.

**Andrey:** It seems to me that in countries where there was no bolshevism as a state system, anarchists are too much involved in struggle against the phenomena which are not directly connected with State or anarchism. Anarchists can have different attitude to these phenomena and this attitude can change. There are many people who belong to a church or cannot refuse from private property. In Russia we still remember how revolutionaries killed or repressed those who dared disagree with them, or who had a little more property than average, or the clergy. I do not want this to happen after anarchist revolution. The state power has always been oppressing those who thought differently. Anarchists, who stand for abolishing many forms of discrimination, must not discriminate people just because they stick to their own beliefs and habits. Attitudes of people cannot change immediately after the state power falls and we must understand this. To repress people for having this or that fault may be worse than the fault itself. This is especially so when it concerns attitude to church, Christian church in particular, which first appeared as an opponent to power. To declare the diversity of culture is not enough - we have to learn to appreciate the world, the people and cultures diverse as they are.

**All are different - all are equal!  
Salute and Anarchy!**

**Thank you so much again and we are very sorry that we didn't manage to print this interview in the last issue of our journal. Solidarity greetings go to all anarchists in faraway Russia.**

AbolishingBB



## Day of United Actions in Moscow: Another World is Possible

### Anarchists Arrested

January 26 from 1 to 2 p.m. a rally took place on Slavjanskaja Ploshchad' in Moscow. It was organised by the Council of initiative groups against the overcrowding of living areas, the institute "Collective Action" and the Union of Coordinating Councils within the frame of the international day of united actions "For civil rights and social justice". Representatives of tricked debtors, free trade unions, the movement "Alternatives", the organisation of invalids "Our Right", and, as usual, different trotskyist and stalinist groups and opposition parties - without flags. All in all, about 200 people took part in the rally.

On banners and placards one could read "We don't vote for bears" (the bear is the symbol of the ruling party, United Russia; annotation of transl.), "Houses for those that live in them, not for business", "The harder the repression, the more fiercely will be our revenge. We don't wish for a world without social justice!", "Putin's plan is stealing from us!".

The libertarian and anarchist community of Moscow was represented by the initiative "Food Not Bombs", which supplied the attendants of the meeting with tea and pastry, members of the Interprofessional Trade

Union of Workers, Autonomous Action and the Preservers of the Rainbow - about 40 people altogether. Many of them dressed up as clown-insurgents. The clowns expressed their protest against power and capital by means of the Theatre of the Absurd - they held up placards with labels like: "Give to a poor dalegate of the State Duma!", "I didn't have caviar



for 6 days", "Want to live - be able to pay!", "Free education only in mouse-traps", "Reform of the communal housing association - at the cost of the residents", with the lips of an "official" they explained the protesters the need for notorious unpopular measures; a "bear" pulled a "TV" on a dog's lead. One clown wanted to strip himself of his clothes after all this "propaganda". The clownery diluted the usual protesting procedures. The

protest didn't pass without excesses. One political party violated the agreement with the organisers and partakers of the meeting not to show political symbols. The representatives of that party did not react on the request to roll up their flags. Clowns tried to roll up the flags themselves, a little pushing started and 6 flag-bearers and their comrades were taken by the police.

After the end of the action one of the organisers went to get them out, and they were released. Later on, spokesmen of the organisation declared that "the activists were arrested after a few unidentified alcoholised people tried to organise a provocation and started a fight".

The repressive machinery did not overlook the anarchists either. After the rally, guards tried to get hold on a girl carrying home the "TV". Irrespective of the fact that it was wrapped up, they spotted a "political agitation" in carrying it. The organisers had to put the prop in their machine.

Four more anarchists were arrested on their way to the place of action. They were accused of drunkenness in a public place. After a medical examination they were set free.

## International Protest Day for Civil Rights and Social Justice; Anarchists Arrested

### Report from Kirov

An action unprecedented for Kirov took place on January 26 in that city in the context of the international protesting day "For civil rights and social justice". As the local administration does not allow any rallies in the centre of the city, the organisers simply invited people to a gathering at the central entrance of the region's administration. That way, about 500 people rallied, representatives of the Coordinating Council of protest actions, the Council for social life, people from initiatives against the overcrowding of living areas, from the Russian Communist Workers' Party (RKRP), the Council of Workers and Peasants, anarchists and members of

other opposition forces.

People were standing calmly on the stairs at the entrance, neither giving in to provocations nor to orders of the police to disperse. They were scanning slogans against the destruction of social rights and civil liberties.

Valerij Turulo, coordinator of the event, told the Institute "Collective Action" (IKD), that "the authorities sent about 50 young activists of "Nashi" (a pro-Kremlin youth organisation; annotation of translator) onto the square, which had stood not far off, and thus toughened the situation". Nonetheless, the protesters reacted properly by just proving their right on public protest.

Commentary by one of the activist's witnessing the arrest of the comrades:

"Yet, by the end of the rally the police arrested three anarchists - activists of Autonomous Action (AD). Other protesters stepped in for them, but still they were brought to the police station. They were released after having given explanatories. On the arrested anarchists no protocols were set up, only explanatories were taken. One of the three arrested was under-age (...). After the rally the police were selectively trying to detain only the anarchists, of whom there were about 20-25 people, yet they only managed to get hold of three. During the arrest they were not told





what they were charged with, one of them received a head injury. What's more, a pensioner walking by the police van was told, that they had detained fascists with swastikas. Then, I ran up and started arguing. We tried to organise a blockade of the police van, but we did not get support and were thus carried away by plainclothes police.

After the apprehension of the AD members, people from SKM (Unions of

Communist Youth) and RKSM (Russian Communist Union of Youth) followed up to the station, where the three arrested were brought. Only assistants of a RKRP-delegate and a journalist were allowed inside. Then the lawyer I had called arrived and facilitated the release of the prisoners".

AD-Kirov

## Bloody Valentine in Moscow

Support for Injured Anti-Fascist Urgently Needed

Idea to organise a Valentine's day flash-mob for lesbians and gays was born out spontaneously in one lesbian internet community. Idea was to organise a positive action by showing that lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people feel love just as anyone else, and thus Valentine's day is their celebration as well. Idea was that gay and lesbian pairs would walk hand in hand with small Rainbow flags from Pushkin square to Ohotniy Ryad. Supporters with any sexual orientation were invited to join the action.

As plan was published openly in the internet, both police and Nazis were well aware of it. Already 2 hours before beginning of the action (announced 7 PM) there were Nazi scouts and three busloads of OMON riot police in the Pushkin square, ready to beat the shit out from any

deviation from the heteronormativity. Nazis were gathering with little discipline, but heavily armed with chains and knives - before start of the action the went to verbally abuse liberal anti-war picket which takes place in Pushkin square every Thursday with 10-15 participants.

Anarchists and anti-fascists decided to show support to lgbt people organising the action, and brought in a mob of 50, taking by surprise boneheads who were perhaps not more than 20 and who had expected lgbt to be an easy prey.

March was supposed to start from

pedestrian underpass at Pushkin square 19:00, and already five minutes after police was harrassing anti-fascist supporters, so crowd had to move to the side of Tverskaya opposite from the statue. Five minutes more and coppers were there as well, so march had to be finally launched, probably without much of the lgbt people who were not right on time. Eventually there were no more than 10 lgbt activists walking with rainbow flags, remaining crowd of 50 people were anti-fascists and anarchists, some of which were there to support lgbt and others for a confrontation with Nazis. It is possible that some lgbt people were put down by jokes about "faggots" by least politically correct elements of the Antifa, or scared of the outlooks of Antifa which differed a little from that of Nazis, and they did not joined action in the first place.

During march, some antifascists were eager to go after the Nazis, but they were persuaded not to do so as by doing such they would leave those who joined the action to a vulnerable position. Nazis were so heavily outnumbered that they did not even considered attacking the action, which walked freely from Pushkinskaya to Kamergenskiy Pereulok. There participants dispersed, later day some boneheads had bad luck to meet with the anti-fascists.

This was one of the first attempts to mobilize anti-fascists and anarchists

against homophobia in Moscow. There were plenty of problems and disappointing moments, but altogether it may only be judged as a success.

Only after the action participants learned that one of the anti-fascists, a RASH skinhead, was for unknown reasons in other side of the Tverskaya street and was attacked by 15 Nazis and stabbed several times. Most dangerous wound reached his guts, such wounds are dangerous as they may lead to blood poisoning. He was done an operation and became conscious day after, he is recovering. We do not know currently how much money is needed for his hospital bill, but we already know that it will be a lot.

You may donate money for the costs through Webmoney, <http://www.wmtransfer.com/>, to the following purses of **Anarchist Black Cross Moscow**. Please pass us a note by e-mail about your donation (contact below). Another alternative is to contact us for a transfer through Western Union or another such system.

Webmoney purses:

US dollars: Z260630952047  
Russian roubles: R321197368781  
Euro: E311886845482  
Ukrainian Hryvnias: U237258703810  
Belarussian roubles: B477420859355

E-mail address of ABC Moscow:  
[abc-msk@riseup.net](mailto:abc-msk@riseup.net)



## Prison Break! Foreigners Escape from Detention Center



A group of 11 foreigners escaped from a detention prison for foreigners in Lesznowola, Poland, on Friday. They escaped through a tunnel dug through the ground. Police went after them with dogs but haven't found them. The authorities think that somebody from the outside dug the tunnel into the center rather than the other way around. Among the escaped were 8 Vietnamese people, a Russian, a Ukrainian and a Chinese man.



## Anarchist Black Cross



*"Your hope Strengthens my hope, which sometimes Grows very Dim in my Prison Cell"*

*It happens from time to time that you may find in AbolishingBB texts written by not necessarily an east European anarchist (what is the main idea of the journal). What you will read here below is the very best example of a very important message which however is signed by a person situated thousands of miles away from the EE-region but is related so strongly and addressed so directly to the east European anarchist communities that it definitely had to find its place in here. This letter from state-prisoner Juan, imprisoned by the American state, somehow find its way to us, after it was passed to ABB by some comrades from Poland.*

*We have to add that this letter is also the most vital expression of the words we have taken 6 years ago as the name for our collective and the journal....*

Juan wrote...

"Hallo, my name is Juan Clemente. I am from USA. Can you help me? I am looking for new friends... letters... post... I am a prisoner in Florida prison. I have no family and very few friends beyond the razor-wire fences of this compound. I am in legal battle that challenges the wrongful conviction



and illegal 20 year sentence that brought me here. I received a copy of the August '05 (#20) edition of the ABB magazine from a group that provides free books to prisoners. I had requested any books about the history, cultures and languages of Eastern Europe. It is my hope that

when I am declared innocent of all criminal allegations, I may be returned my passport and allowed to teach English in Eastern Europe. Your inclusion in such magazine impressed upon me that your group shares both the passion and compassion of those in the world who hope and strive for a better world for all people. Your hope

strengthens my hope, which sometimes grows very dim in my prison cell. I know your resources are limited and your time is valuable, but would be so kind as to "scan" or photocopy this letter and my address above and pass it along to as many as who might write to me, post it on

your "notices" board, your website or in your newsletter. I would like very much to communicate with someone from your area and perhaps find some small way to contribute my time, energy and hope to others who share in the struggle for a better world. It would mean very much to a lonely man in an American Gulag. Sadly, I cannot write to other prisoners or access the Internet. I vow to answer all who are so kind as to write to me. Would you please take a few minutes to inform me that you received this letter?

Thank you very much... be careful...

Juan"

address:

Ricardo Juan Clemente  
#128179 F4 211L  
Columbia Correctional Facility  
216 S.E. Corrections Way  
Lake City, Florida 32025  
United States of America



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*"...This is what the Law looks like, the Law Created by the Immaculate Dictators..."*

A Letter from a Polish Prisoner Artur Konowalik

This is a letter of the Polish prisoner, Artur Konowalik, a letter which was originally sent to the address of the Anarchist Black Cross group in Poznan/Poland; however they are wondering how he got their contact address. Before sending the letter printed below, Artur sent a first letter asking to send him some press, etc. ABC did so, but apparently, he didn't get the package. This letter was sent without any censorship; probably someone helped Artur to take it out of the prison illegally. The case of this prisoner is unknown, but the letter describes Polish prison reality perfectly. Artur asked for publishing it all over and he also wrote that any press is very welcome. So the ABC group from Poznan translated and passed the letter to us with a request to publish it in our journal; we do it of course. But do not expect an anarchist manifesto or anything similar. Artur is just describing with his own words the world behind bars, how he sees and feels it day by day. And this is the most authentic, made by, as we consider - not politically organised person - description of the truth about the prison reality (an example of Polish state prison system).

Most probably Artur doesn't speak any other language than Polish but everybody is welcome to send him signs of solidarity and publish this letter everywhere you can.

Artur wrote...

"I am 28 years old, I've been in prison for 9,5 years, this is how the life looks like here. When you come inside the walls, before they put you in a cell, they call your so-called educator, who assures you that not once have they made a kitten out of a tiger, so it'd be much better if you sit quiet. He tells you when you can get a food package, when you can have visits, what rights you have, what you can do and what you cannot! Finally, you get into the cell, for 4 or more people; here they emphasize that the size of 4-person cell is a size of a 2-person cell but because of the fact that the prisons are overcrowded, they put 4 people in a cell like that. 2 or 4 people, they don't give a damn, if they wanted to, they would have put a 5<sup>th</sup> one inside, he would sleep on the mattresses on the floor, so we should be happy, that there are only 4 of us, and when they put

the 5<sup>th</sup> one in, we should be understanding and accept the fact that there are 5 people in a 2-person cell. The letters are censored, even when you're already convicted and the letters are not read by the prosecutor's office or the court, you still cannot glue the envelope, so that the educator and the supervisor could read your letters from the family. You're already convicted so you will not lie in the investigation, so what is this censorship for?! If you rebel, if you break the rules full of bans and orders, you will be punished. The punishments are: taking your tv or radio away, a reprimand, a ban to go to the common room, taking your food package away (you can get one in 3 months) or an isolation cell.

Use of violence by the prison guards is quite common, they have a special sound-proof room, where they carry you. 10-15 people, depending on what you've done, come into your room wearing helmets and protection vests with shields and batons. They drive you to the room kicking you and beating you with batons all over your body. When you're already there, nobody can hear you, because the room is made in a way that no sound can go out. They put a protection helmet on your head so that you can't smash it on the wall yourself (where's that great care coming from?!). And a belt with handcuffs, so that you

can't defend yourself. Those philanthropists, depending on their mood, or how their last night with their wives was, come several times to „cure you from the demons". When you get out of there, after 24 or 48 hours, sometimes longer, you have to promise you'll be quiet. You go to a doctor who looks at your body, then says you won't die from it, or that you'll be fine soon (who in my case said so!). They say those things to the others too! Usually you are put in another cell afterwards.

Here, I will describe only one of the experiences I've had during this punishment. Everything I write about are my personal experiences, but I've chosen one, the one I wasn't quiet about. Everything started as usual that day but turned out a little differently because of some reasons that I want to write about. Because I will always remember that day. I've already described how it looks like. That day, more of them came for me, it was in Przemysl prison. One of them took me to a common room so that they could take the other ones from the cell out, it was a cell for more than 20 people. They wanted to remove witnesses, because they wanted to start the party in that particular cell. When they came for me to the common room and I went out to the corridor I was thrilled with the number of cops that I saw. There were a lot of smashed jars in the corridor, they threw them out of the cell. First, they put me against the wall with my arms upwards and with my legs wide astride. Then they were abusing me with offensive words, then I was hit in the back of my head and I fell down, the party began. My



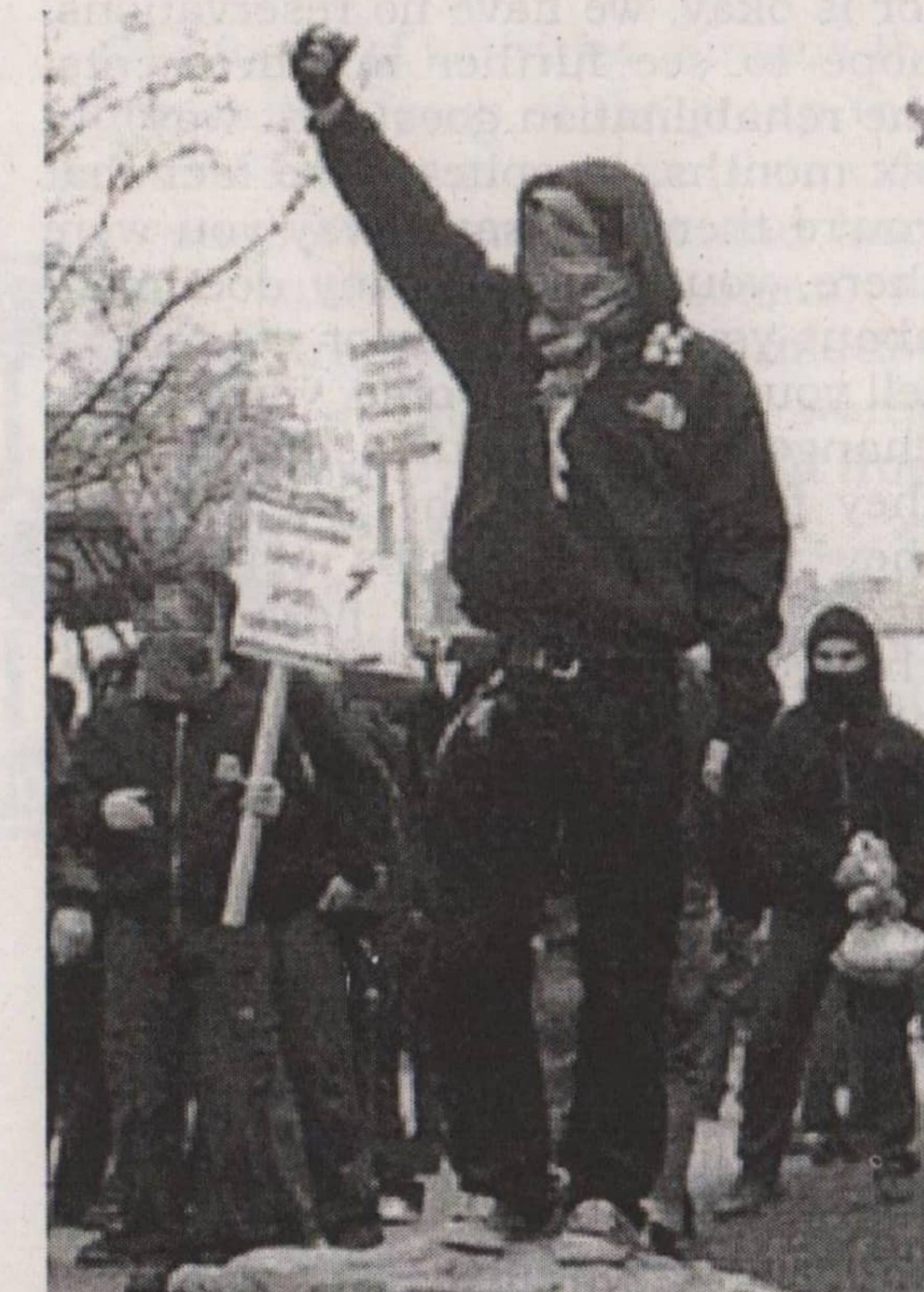
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whole body was kicked, beaten, they didn't look where they hit. When they stopped the fun for a while, they ordered me to stand up and stand against the wall again. I did what they asked for, meanwhile, half of them stood in a line along the cell. My bed was next to the wall in the end of a 20-person cell! Then they asked me to come inside the cell and take my stuff. I had to go through an „obstacle course" [which means all the cops on his way were beating him up heavily - translator's comment]. They gave me one minute to take my stuff, which was impossible to do, so they had another reason to beat me up. That was the third time in 10 (?) minutes. While they were having fun with my stuff, letters, photos etc. I was standing against the wall. There were loads of smashed jars around, that was next to the door of the cell. I didn't notice when I was hit in the head and I fell cutting my hands, there was a jar in front of my eyes, I mean, the leftovers of a jar, it was standing with its bottom down, with a smashed edge. If I hadn't protected myself with my hands, I would have fallen in the glass with my face, in the best case possible, it would cut my face, in the worst case, it'd pierce into my forehead. I turned pale, I looked in the eyes of the person, who hit me, for a while he realized what could have happened. He stopped for a while, he kicked the glass, and continued on beating me up. After all that, they put me in an isolation cell, I put out my stuff and laid down, counting the bruises on my head. There were 16 of them. My body was so bruised and sore that I was really terrified. But the peace didn't last long. They cleaned up the corridor and they took me again. While they were kicking me, I opened my eyes, I saw them leaning over me. I knew I lost consciousness, but I found out about the epilepsy after few weeks. They gave it up and carried me to the cell. They said the doctor had holidays, so I couldn't see him, with a lot of injuries and internal pains, of kidneys, liver and something else, but it's hard to tell, I felt pain everywhere. When the signs of the crime came off... It's hard for me to call it any other way, because I have a long sentence for a battery with a use of a dangerous weapon in self-defense. So I am a criminal according to the law, so who are they according to the law, the law that says I am a criminal? Okay, so, when all the signs went off, they suddenly took me to a hospital, a civil one, to see a neurologist. He asked me about my head injuries, if I had ones in my child-

hood, or of I fell off a bike, shit like that. I never had any head injuries, so I told him the truth, when I had ones and all the circumstances. I knew that was the reason why I was at the neurologist, that I lost consciousness, but he was the first to tell me that I was there because of epilepsy. Oh fuck, post-traumatic epilepsy, concussion. I don't know what he wrote in the files, but since then, I've been taking medicines to decrease the risk of a potential epilepsy.

Okay, so I started to act, I wrote to the prosecutor, to the ombudsman. I have the right to glue the official letters and to take confirmation of receipt of those letters. I did so to avoid the possible loss of those letters. The attitude of prison guards towards me changed, but only for the time of my acting. So the investigation on the case started but I got replies that there are no evidences supporting my version, there are no traces, I didn't file it to the educator (who knew about everything), to the prison's chief, I tried to meet him but I didn't succeed, but he also knew about everything. I had no forensic examination because the doctor was on holiday. And the epilepsy that I have is an alcoholic one. What the fuck, when was I supposed to drink? I've been in jail since my teens, then on my 18<sup>th</sup> birthday I was in prison again, for 18 months, then I was free for 2 months and 4 days, then I was imprisoned for another 2 years. That was my second time in jail. So when was I supposed to drink? But, yeah, they say it's alcoholic and that's it. I wrote dozens of letters, but of course everything was totally groundless, everybody fucked up, nothing hap-



pened, there was no evidence (so I lie for sure), they were covering each other! I couldn't do anything, it all looked as I described. A local newspaper wrote a few shitty lines about that whole show they made in the prison. Not only were the guards fired, also the people from the very top. It all started when the prison was visited by the representatives of the European Commission and they were talking to everyone from the cells, the authorities couldn't take part in this, they didn't allow them. Nobody was scared at that time, because they believed there's a chance for improvement of the conditions in the prison and they wouldn't be repressed because the guards weren't there during the control visit of the Commission. There were also controls made by the commission from the Central Office of the Prison Guards, but everyone knew that it's all the same shit and first of all, complaints wouldn't work and secondly, they would be repressed. So guys were scared.

The next thing is healthcare. You're not gonna believe it, but the nurses here are really incapable of their job. You can go to see them or the doctor, who's there once in two weeks. They would look at you, knock on your back and they have a wonderful cure that will heal you. I'll give you one example of many. One guy had purulent scabies, he went to see the healers, they said "It's nothing, an allergy." The scabies grew stronger, all covered in purulent wounds, he went to see the doctors again, and again they said it's an allergy. After three weeks they finally figured it out that it might be scabies so they took him to an isolation room, but in the meantime he infected several other inmates. The doctor is here once in two weeks, so if you get sick two days after his duty hours, then you have to wait another 12 days to see him. Flu, fuck the flu, you won't die from it, you wait for the doctor, in the meantime you would infect the other guys and then you all wait for him. Medicines, antibiotics... they cannot give you any of them without doctor's advice, so you walk around sick until he shows up again. Usually you get well without any medication. Sure, why not. Why should they give any medication (you won't die from it). Next, I want to write about the dentist. Right now I'm in Rzeszow Zaleze prison. The dentist's here once a week, or, if it really hurts that it makes you go mad, then can have a visit earlier. We had one lady dentist here last year, she infected loads of prisoners

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with serum jaundice. There were loads of cases against her filed to the prosecutor office to start an investigation. I heard myself once when she told one of the guys "be happy that it's not HIV, only jaundice". They fired the lady dentist, now there's mister dentist here, he doesn't remove so many teeth. Lady dentist was pulling teeth like hell. Why do anything, fill it, you can just get rid of it, doesn't matter, 5 or 10, hurts or not, there's a defect, let's pull it!

The methods that they use here and the so called prison rules are ridiculous. Rehabilitation, because I wanna write something about it now, is a word that's totally absurd. There's no rehabilitation here, it's a word made up by politicians and it doesn't meet reality in the Polish prisons. I want to start with the fact that they'd put in one cell a murderer, a gangster who grew up in the street, someone who rode a bike drunken or somebody who didn't pay alimony or for any other small shit. The person comes in, listens to it all, learns, he's vulnerable to many things, and instead of living according to the law, he becomes a potential gangster, murderer, thief or burglar. Secondly, this man sits for 23 hours doing nothing, he has a lot of time for thinking, planning. There are a lot of people who don't have a place to go to when they're out of prison. There's no work where you can earn some money while being in prison. There are some prisons where you can work, but those are exceptions, it's a really small percentage. Everyone can get a parole but it works differently. Even if you're out, it's not the end. You get some 50-100 zlotys (around 15-30 euros), or more when you leave the prison and that's it! As I already wrote, there are people who have no place to go to. The only way out is a den and going back to crime. If someone has a place to go to after being released, then they're also in a lost position. They look for a job, but it's obvious that a potential employer wouldn't hire an ex-prisoner, he/she doesn't want to risk. He/she has 10 other people for this place, so why should he employ a man with criminal record. The guardian pressurizes, threatens with annulling the suspension of the sentence, that was temporarily suspended for the parole. And there's a moment of giving up and coming back to criminal life. The omniscient judge, judges you later and says "to be locked up again" and then you're back there. I will give you few examples of alleged rehabilitation. You can paint paint-

ings, but getting the canvas and paints is almost a miracle, you can draw graphics with ink but they won't give it to you cause it's used for tattoos. You can draw with pencils but there are no pencils at the moment (maybe they'll buy some in few days). There are prisoners that have what they want but those are the administration's minions. Recently, there was sports competition organized by the cultural educator, basketball, long jump, medicine ball throw. There was also a volleyball tournament between the prison units, but only the chosen ones played (rehabilitation?). What is it? Basketball throws etc? This is a fucking isolation from the society, segregation of the prisoners, like in cages, and fanning hatred. It is because of them some go out of prisons and kill. I know some examples of people who were here for one year, they were fanning hatred in them, by repression, it builds inside of them and then it blows up on the other side of the wall.

In the unit where I stay, there's a library, the biggest one in the prison, it has a lot of books, but nobody reads Tolstoy here. Usually they would read some "criminal" stories and they rehabilitate here studying their craft for months. This is what the "rehabilitation" looks like, in short. There's one more ridiculous thing for me here. You're before the commission every six months, they evaluate your behavior, the process of rehabilitation. They can be "good men" and send you to a half-open prison, where it is possible to get out earlier. Men in elegant suits, the best ones, law-abiding, with masks on their faces tell you "it's good, behavior is okay, we have no reservations, hope to see further improvements, the rehabilitation goes right way". In six months, in spite of the fact that you're there the same way you were there, you didn't get any document about your bad behavior etc. they'd tell you "oh, it got worse, you have to change, improve your behavior". Did they forget about the good opinion they made six months before and about the fact that nothing has changed? I don't know, maybe they had a fucked up day and they changed the opinion to a bad one (maybe they wanted to give a chance for improvement). Oh those fucking philanthropists, they're so great! They gave me a chance for improvement! That's a fucking "gift from the heavens".

Recently, I was punished to stay in an isolation cell, I was fighting for my rights so they punished me. Isolation

room means also that you cannot get any packages. For them it's one punishment. It's totally absurd, but they say it's one punishment. During my stay in prison I was making a lot of trouble, as they say (self-mutilations, swallowing things), I've been through three surgical operations. And I hit a jailer, I smashed windows, I made rows and I was fighting for my rights, I was said to be a dangerous prisoner. I was put in a special unit. Cell 3 metres by 1,5 meter, I had two cell searches a day, which meant totally fucking up everything inside. Four appeals a day. In spite of the fact that there was a video camera in the cell and the Big Brother was watching me all the time. They dressed me up in a red uniform, they were undressing me completely every time I had to leave the cell. They were putting my hands and legs in chains that were wound around my legs. I didn't have TV set or radio in my cell. There was a speaker, they were playing radio, very often they were playing "relaxing" music, sea waves, birds' singing etc. I was alone in a cell for three years, the only faces I was seeing were faces of the guards, always serious and arrogant. I had nobody to talk to for those three years. Of course, they were trying to break me mentally and many times I had been provoked to behave in an aggressive way. Then I was punished for violent behavior. Now, I'm in a normal unit, in a normal cell, but all the time they threaten me with coming back to the unit for the dangerous ones. It's hard to stay calm.

This is what the law looks like, the law created by the immaculate dictators. I have to struggle with this dictatorship for at least three more years and I don't think this system is gonna break me.

Artek"

#### address:

Artur Konowalik  
Zaklad Karny  
Zaleska 76  
35-322 Rzeszow  
Poland



## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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## Vlad is Free! Maks Remains in Prison !!!

### News about Belarussian Anti-Fascist Prisoners

Day before yesterday, 11th of February, Belarussian anti-fascist prisoner Vlad Plyashkevich was freed from Novopolocky prison.

Thanks to everyone who supported Vlad in spirit and materially! Also due to our support, Vlad was released on parole after doing mere 1/3 of his prison time.

Vlad was sentenced for a fight with

far-right hooligans from Dynamo Minsk, during which one of the hooligans got his nose broken. When hooligans failed to challenge anti-fascists in the streets, they went to snitch to the police.

Let us not forget comrade of Vlad Maksim Gubskiy, who is still imprisoned! There are chances that Maks will be released on parole next may.

Until then you may write him letters to address

Maksim Gubskiy  
ul. Batova-4 VK-2 otd.21  
213800 Bobruysk  
Belarus



## ABC Moscow Reforms

After almost three years of prisoner support activity by various concerned individuals only, Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow was finally reorganised as a functioning group last summer, as criminal persecutions against anarchists in Russia reached their highest level in years. Previous concepts of collective membership of existing anarchist groups proved itself not capable of encouraging the initiative, thus this new group consists of individuals only, and is completely independent of any existing anarchist groups (although our webpage is still hosted by Autonomous Action).

Our focus of activities remains the same as the focus of the group that existed 3 years ago - we focus on support of anarchist and anti-authoritarian prisoners, we translate information about repression worldwide to Russian and from Russian language, we encourage people to write letters of solidarity, we raise funds for legal costs by various means, we also have an idea to publish our own zine. We have already organised solidarity for anarchist class war prisoner Pavel Delidon, a St. Petersburg anarchists whom the state attempted to frame for bombing "Nevskiy Express" train with other Moscow anarchists.

**Our contact:** (please update, if you published our old contact anywhere!):  
P.O. Box 13  
109028, Moscow, Russia  
(please do not write the name of the group on the envelope!)

**website:** [www.avtonom.org/abc](http://www.avtonom.org/abc)

**myspace:** [www.myspace.com/abcmssc](http://www.myspace.com/abcmssc)

**e-mail:** [abc-msk@riseup.net](mailto:abc-msk@riseup.net)

PGP key available at:  
[www.avtonom.org/index.php?nid=538](http://www.avtonom.org/index.php?nid=538)

**WebMoney:**  
[www.wmtransfer.com/eng/addfunds/](http://www.wmtransfer.com/eng/addfunds/)  
US\$: Z260630952047  
Russian ruble: R321197368781  
Euro: E311886845482  
Ukrainian hryvnias: U237258703810  
Belarussian ruble: B477420859355

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## The Case of Adam Pazuryna - Anarchist from Warsaw

### ADAM Released from Custody!

On February 28 the Warsaw court released Adam Pazuryna, Warsaw anarchist, member of *Anarchist Federation*, from custody. He had been held over one month in arrest for failing to appear at trial. Despite pleas from the attorney and defendant, the court refused to dismiss the case against him.

Adam was in low spirits, visibly tired from his ordeal. A large group of supporters arrived at the court to observe the proceedings. Adam recounted the history of his arrest on May 16, 2005 when, after a demonstration during the Council of Europe Summit he was arrested. He told the court that he had already left the demo when he noticed that the police had surrounded people and were harassing them. He joined the crowd. He was arrested when trying to help another comrade who had been picked up by police. One of the accusations against Adam is that he used "language generally considered to be offensive" (!); when asked what he said, it could be roughly translated to "leave her the fuck alone".

The attorney motioned for the case to be dismissed and called the police testimony "unreliable". The judge's

facial expressions tend to show contempt for the defendants, but this may be misleading. She did not dismiss the case and set another court date, calling witnesses from among the demonstrators and the police. Video evidence was still not viewed by the court and the judge seems to be intent on leaving that until after all testimony has been heard.

#### Facts about Adam's case

On May 16, 2005, a demonstration was held during the Council of Europe Summit in Warsaw. At the end of the Summit, 11 people were arrested on bogus charges by aggressive police. The 11 were held overnight in a garage next to a police station. One was beaten and has his face smashed against a chair, for which he required medical attention upon release. They were charged with, among other things, not following police orders, violating the "untouchability of police" and using bad words. One Indymedia activist was charged with assaulting an officer.

The charges were dropped against the Indymedia activist.

The case has been going on with

many irregularities. The judge decided that two people were falsely arrested, but according to idiotic Polish laws, that doesn't mean their cases are dismissed. One of the arrested filed a claim against the police for unlawful arrest and violating of her rights, but the proceedings were suspended three times. The police refuse to turn over video evidence to the court, despite the fact that video evidence presented by the defendants contradict what the police said and show the police filming the same events. Despite all this nonsense, the case drags on and on. On a few occasions the defendants, who come from different cities in Poland, have shown up in court only to hear that the proceedings would be postponed. On another occasion, the court changed the room of the hearing and before the defendants who were to be heard that day arrived at the new room, they had been tried in absentia. The verdict was appealed.

One of the arrested, Adam, an activist from FA Praga, also a long-time activist for native people's rights and former activist from the *Solidarity* era, decided that the

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parole regime he was under was too inconvenient for him, especially as the charges against him were bogus. It was he who was beaten at the police station and he who showed through video evidence that the police were not telling the truth. A judge decided that he was wrongfully arrested but the charges against him were not dropped. He was required to adhere to a parole regime which included working and reporting to the police station regularly. He decided that he would not tolerate that anymore and decided not to show up for the court circus. A warrant was issued for his arrest. He avoided arrest for months before the New Year he wound up in jail. He has been there ever since.

#### Appeal for further support

Legal fees for Adam Pazuryna are expected to be around 1000 zloties (slightly over 400 dollars US or 280 euro). Adam was one of 11 people

arrested on May 16, 2005 after a protest held during the Council of Europe Summit in Warsaw. All the arrested were taken in during a typical police action at the end of the demo and were charged with offences like refusing to follow police orders and assaulting an officer. Adam was beaten at the police station and later charged with refusing to follow police orders, assaulting an officer and using offensive language. Although a judge later ruled that there was no legal basis to arrest Adam, the charges were not dropped. Adam decided not to report to police supervision or to court and was arrested in late December. He was imprisoned for over one month and was released at the end of January. The charges have not been dropped.

1000 zloties (400 USD, 280 euro) is needed for his defence. Anarchist Solidarity is appealing to comrades to help out in this situation. We

would greatly appreciate all donations made towards these expenses.

If we manage to raise more than 1000 zloties, we will put any excess sums on account in case other Council of Europe defendants need help with legal fees or other court-related expenses.

[anarchistsolidarity@yahoo.com](mailto:anarchistsolidarity@yahoo.com)

#### Bank details:

Jakub Gawlikowski

PL05 1140 2004 0000 3702 4238 2269  
BRE Bank S.A. Retail Banking, al.  
Mickiewicza 10, 90-050 Łódź

BIC/SWIFT: BREXPLPWWUL

SORT CODE: 11402004

Write: COE

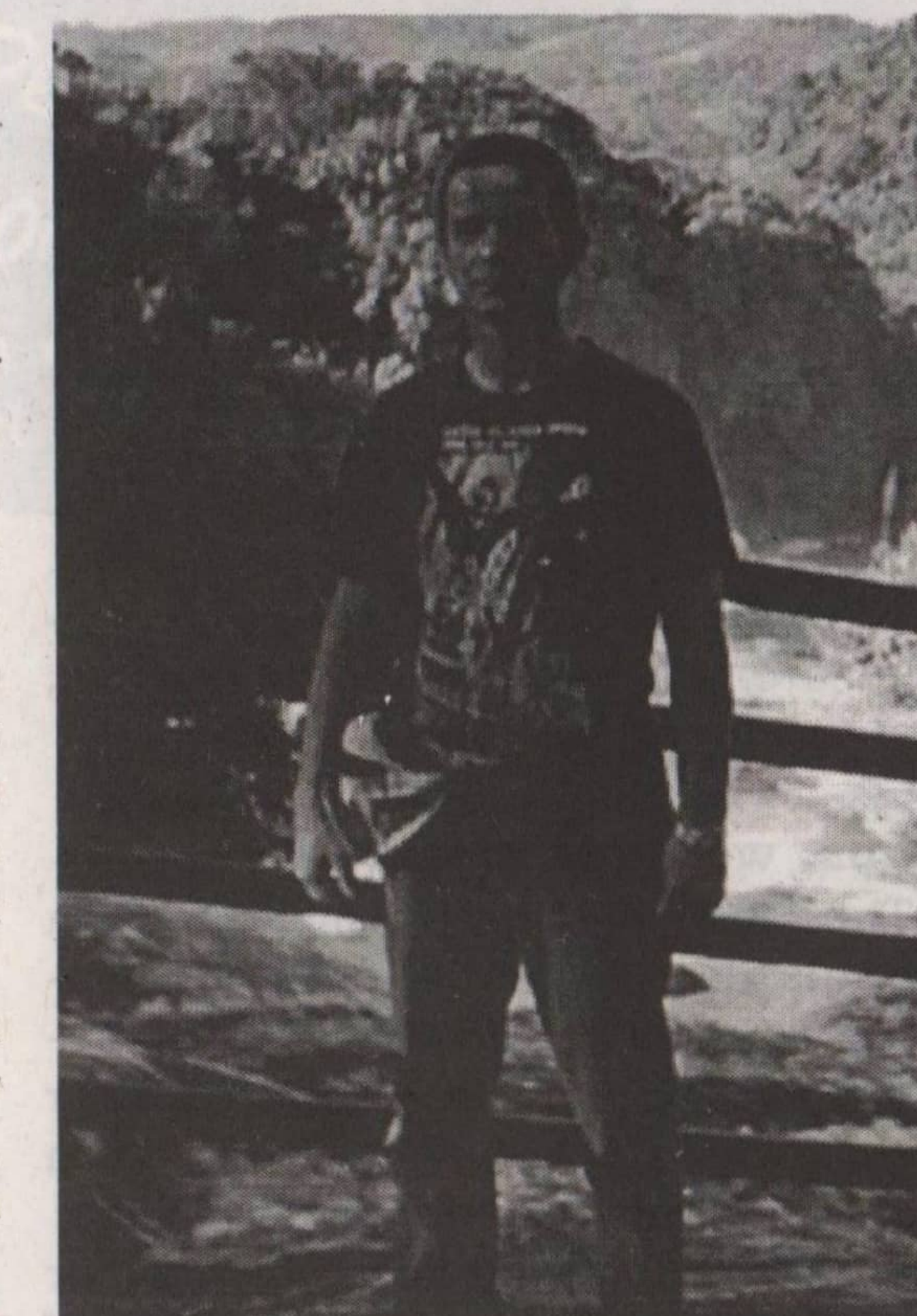
## Solidarity Call for Adam by Warsaw Anarchists

#### We demand the freedom of Adam Pazuryna!

We demand the immediate release of our comrade, Adam Pazuryna, from arrest. Adam has been held in Bialoleka jail in Warsaw since late December. He was arrested on bogus charges during a useless and unprovoked police action on May 16, 2005. Protestors had just finished a demonstration during the Council of Europe Summit in Warsaw and were about to just go home when the clowns in badges decided to arrest people. As usual, nothing at all was going on at the moment of arrest, so cops were just harassing people at the end of the protest and looking to pick up some random people just to score some arrests and to show that protesting is not to be tolerated.

The police drove the arrested to an unusual holding place where they denied that anybody was being held, despite the fact that the police van was seen entering the place. The 11 arrested were kept in detention in a garage overnight and many standard arrest procedures were ignored. Adam was beaten at the police station; a cop smashed his head against a chair. He was given medical treat-

ment afterwards for these injuries. Police claim among other things that they started to arrest Adam because he refused to identify himself. Although initially none of the



activists wanted to identify themselves, Adam is shown on video to be identifying himself to the police.

The police had wildly different accounts of the events. On the video

produced as evidence, police are shown to be videotaping the incident. The court asked the police to provide their videos and substantiate their claims, but they haven't done it. A court then decided that Adam was wrongfully arrested.

Despite the wrongful arrest, in this crazy system, that doesn't get your charges dropped. Adam would have to still go to the trial, despite the fact that the court found he was wrongfully arrested!

Adam had to then "behave himself" - that is, get a job and report to the police station in a supervision regime. In short, an unjust pain in the ass. In addition, it would prevent Adam from looking for better employment in another city. So Adam decided to fuck it. A warrant was issued for his arrest.

We demand his release since the charges are bogus and the whole case should be dropped, not only against Adam, but against all the others arrested on that day!

**Praska Anarchist Group -  
FA Praga**

(one of the Warsaw anarchist groups)



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## Anti-Militarism

### This is What Democracy Looks Like

*They didn't ask us in '68 and they are not asking us again now...*

**The story of the planned US Army radar base in Czechia would be funny, just if it wouldn't be so bloody real. This story shows everything what is bad on the current system (so-called "democracy") and teaches us an important lesson.**

Everything started just after general elections. It is important to mention that the elections finished with a neutral result - 100:100 parliament seats for "right-wing" vs. "left-wing" parties - and therefore it took a lot of difficult political discussions before the government was finally set up.

Only a day after the (right-wing) government had been set-up, the government of the USA officially asked the Czech one for permission to build its radar and missile base (a part of their missile defense system) in the Czech republic.

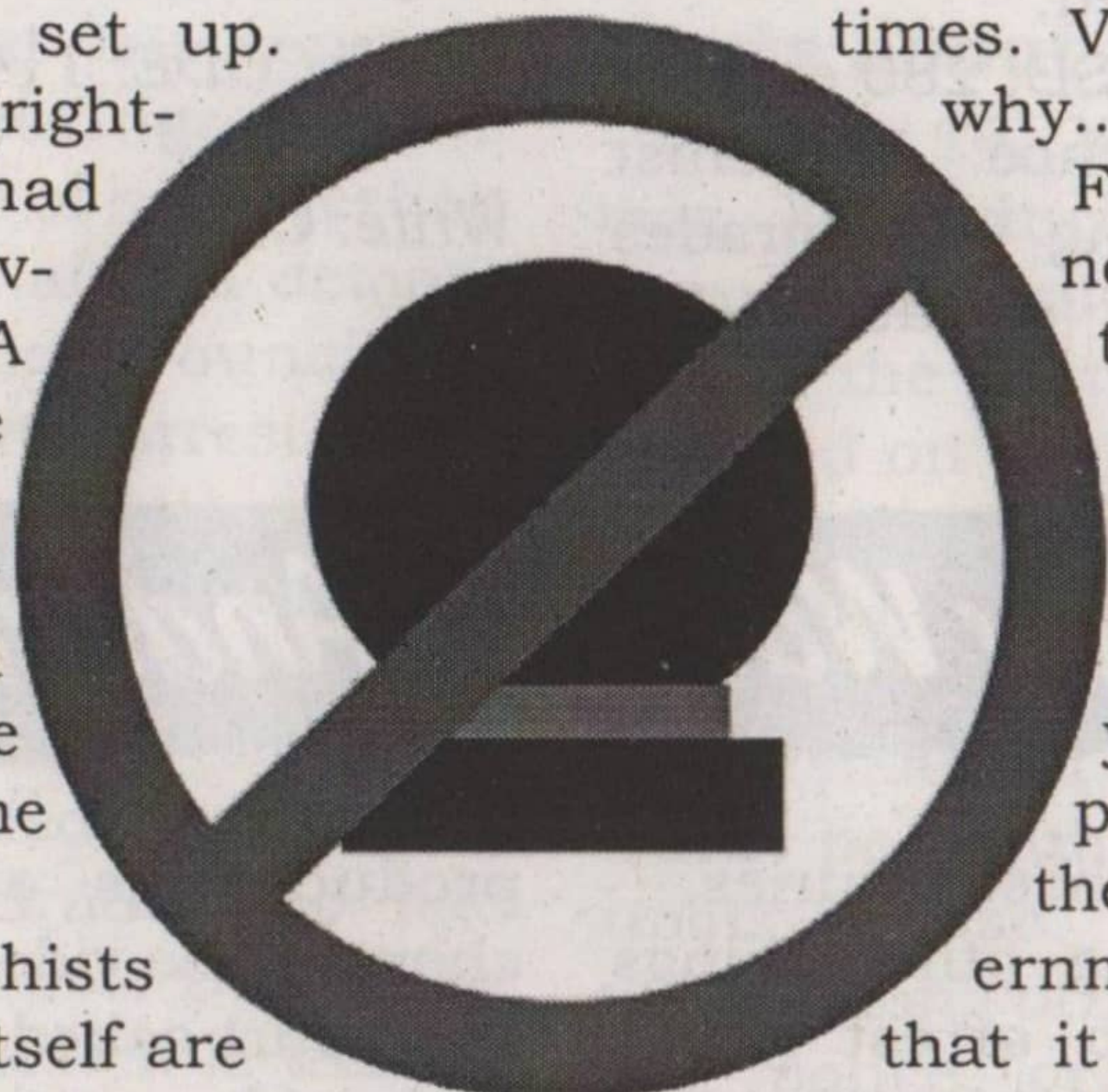
Even if we as anarchists know that elections itself are just illusions of choice, this timing itself is scandalous for one precise reason: the US government simply didn't want their military base to be a public topic. If the information about planning the base would have leaked to public before the election, people might have voted for left-wing parties who declared their opposition (however weak, as we know today) against the base. At the moment when the right-wing government was set up it was clear that the USA had four years to do whatever they want and that the response of Czech officials would be yes.

#### Radar and missiles: two sides of the same coin

Anyway, as soon as the plan had been made public, an opposition raised. An umbrella platform, "No to the Bases" (*Ne Zakladnam!*), was set up composed of various organizations and publicly known individuals (philosophers etc.). No anarchist organization is part of this initiative as it contains various bolshevik groups as well, but no public action of the Initiative passed without the anarchist block.

Soon it became clear that the US

government had asked for the permission months before the election, but everything was kept secret in order to let the right-wing government win the elections... Also, the hygienic norms about radiance were secretly reduced a few months ago by more than 10 times. Very soon we learned why...



Fortunately, to install new missiles in a country, that got rid of other unwanted missiles

(yes, the Red Army missiles) just 17 years ago and with politicians (many of them still sitting in government) that promised that it wouldn't repeat any more, would be too much. The historical parallel with "inviting" Russian forces in 1968 is too strong...

But it wasn't finished and this is not a success story. The project was split in two parts: a radar and a missile base. The missile base is going to be built in Poland, while the radar shall remain in Czechia... This is a clever trick: the politically and emotionally sensitive missiles are away; now the US wants just a tiny radar over here. Really? Of course not. Radar and missiles are two parts of the same coin; one can't work without the other.

#### Oops, we have an issue!

The planned radar base is part of a US missile defense system. It is contains very powerful radar and a missile base. The purpose is to monitor enemy missiles and shoot them down with its own (a friendly one) missiles.

You don't have to be a scientist or politician to see a whole bunch of problems regarding this. Even though the system is said to be defensive (but anyone could imagine how little it would take to change it into an offensive one - you just change the warhead; this was even publicly admitted by US officials - but they ensured the

public they wouldn't do that... Besides, radar itself could be used as offensive weapon that could destroy all electric equipment in a targeted area. It is clearly part of an aggressive US army military strategy. Therefore, it is ultimately an offensive thing, as there can't be a real offensive without a good defensive.

This radar could easily be the starting point of another global arms race. Officially, it was said that this system should protect the USA from attacks from any of the "evil" states such as Iran etc. It was proofed in media by military strategists and physicists that such a base in Central Europe is nonsense. In reality, it is a system against Russia. And Russia takes it like that and publicly threatens with its own military reaction...

It also means USA wants to move war out of their territory at the Czech people's expense. Of course, so far Czechia has been part of the War on terror (as part of the NATO at least), but the base put it into the front line. Let's put it clear: the base is a legitimate military target. If anybody wants to attack the USA with missiles, he has to get rid of its defense system first. So, the first attack would be directed against its eye: the radar base.

People in the surroundings of the planned base are also afraid of health risks. The planned radar is going to be the most powerful in the world (planned output is 4 MW; casual TV broadcasters have about 20 kW). Cancer and other degenerative defects are likely effects of its work. It could also affect airplanes, electric devices in its surroundings etc.

And there are a lot more questions: What would happen if a nuclear missile was really shot down? What kind of status would the radar base have? How the radar would be powered? (it is more than likely that it would have its own small nuclear plant...). No answers were given...

#### This is what democracy looks like

Anyway, corporate media likes to play with the health card. While they write a lot about the health safety of radar (a topic that is ultimately academic as no machinery with output like this ever worked so closely to human settlements), they totally ignore all other arguments, especially political ones. It's not difficult to realize why: while hardly anybody understand details of effects of radiance on living organism, a lot of people would understand what it means to give military support to the US and its freedom fighters... And even more people understand what it means to have a foreign army base in their neighbourhood (a lot of them had more than 40 years of experience with it).

The Czech government rented the most qualified guy as coordinator of its official Radar campaign: Tomas Klvana, PR employee of British Tabaccoo, a man who knows how to sell death. Again, it would be fun if it wouldn't be so real. Official materials informing about radar are just propagandist leaflets full of mistakes, as was proofed many times in the media by radar scientists. Especially independent on-line daily Britske listy did a good job in fighting official lies and mistakes. They found a dissident military physicist, a specialist on radiance, who destroyed the whole government argumentation each time.

But, surprise surprise, to no avail.

The government has one goal: to build the base. It constantly lies, as was proofed many times. In their official material on radar they even have basic mistakes like bad physical units! The list of government lies on this topic would be endless, but to name just one: first it said that the radar would be located somewhere in a military area, far away from any settlements. Later, they promised the radar would be at least 4 km from the closest settlements. Finally it's going to be built less than 1 km from the nearest village.

Villages in the planned radar surroundings formed an alliance to try to stop it. Their mayors are desperate to protest, to be heard, or at least to get any relevant information. But again, to no avail. The authorities don't want to communicate with them, they want to persuade them. They clearly sent this message when they officially delegated Tomas Klavana to lead conversation with them... But this guy is a paid lobbyist, not any kind of official authority and what is worse, each of the mayors knows more about the radar than him.

#### We have to fight...

The campaign against radar clearly shows what democracy looks like. Even though the majority of people in Czechia and all the people in the surroundings of the planned radar base are against it (local plebiscites on radar took place in a lot of villages in this surroundings and each and every one of them finished with 99-100% of the people voting against the radar), the government simply ignores it. It clearly stated they would ignore any voice of dissent.

In spite of that (or precisely because of that) we have to protest. We have millions of reasons to resist the building of this radar. We have to show our opinion. We have to show our resistance...

The *Ne zakladnam* group so far organized a few marches and demonstrations with decent numbers of people attending (taking into account Czech conditions - several thousands of people on a public demonstration is a lot) and a few lectures, but I'm afraid that more radical action would be necessary. They won't listen until it would pain them not to (or cost them money)...



### "It's said it's for Peace... but imagine Russia is building its Radar in Mexico or Canada... how would the USA react?"

**Interview with a Czech anarchist activist about the US-Army-Radar-Base and social response to this project of the elites**

**AbolishingBB:** Let's start with a very general question, without touching the Radar-issue at first: If one would say that Czech society is traditionally and generally pretty much in an anti-militaristic mood (at least compared to the neighbouring countries) would it make any sense?

Well, I don't really know the situation in other countries, but it certainly could be said in general that Czech society is anti-militaristic... The literary character *Svejk* \* (a lot of you probably know Jaroslav Hasek's - known anarchist by the way - book "Good Soldier Svejk") says a lot about the general mood in Czech society. It is believed that Czech society is essentially anti-militaristic since ages, from

the Austrian-Hungarian imperium on. Maybe because of that historically Czech soldiers never won any battle...

Another lesson was taught when in 1968 the Russian Red army invaded Czechia in order to crush ongoing reforms (allowing freedom of speech and press, etc.). As you probably know, the Red Army stayed for some decades and when it finally retreated in 1989-1990, it meant a lot to people here. The presence of a foreign army is generally understood as contradiction to democracy.

**ABB:** According to the information coming from Czechia, there is massive opposition against the installation of the US-army-radar-base in the country. We understand that until now only a law abiding cam-

paign has taken place. How massive is this campaign and what forms of expression it includes so far?

That's true. It is relatively massive for local circumstances. So far a few marches took place, a petition was organized, several public lectures were organized and a bus with materials and people from this initiative went on tour around villages in the surroundings of the planned radar base.

**ABB:** Can you tell us some more details about anarchist participation in this resistance so far? What are basic differences in anarchist positions and positions of the "Ne zakladnam" Initiative. Do anarchists focus only on the Radar



issue itself in their statements or are you trying to come up with more radical anti-militaristic positions (such as total demilitarization of the society, demolition of all weapons, etc)?

As the majority of anarchist groups and organization is inactive at the moment it is really difficult to answer. No anarchists participate in *Ne zakladnam*. Basically because it contains groups that anarchists reject as much as the US army base, such as the Youth section of the communist party, members of the actual communist party, various Bolshevik sects etc. There is long agreement in the Czech anarchist movement that cooperation with these groups is impossible. However, a strong anarchist block was present on all anti-radar demonstrations.

There were some statements/leaflets from anarchists and, of course, it rooted the problem of the base to a wider content and linked it to anti-militarism in general. It has to be said, though, that the anarchist movement is rather inactive on this issue.

**ABB: It seems like the government is not going to give up their plans facing law obeying campaign approaches - is this assumption true?**

That's for sure! In no way. Somehow it's absolute priority for the government regardless of anything. For example, when the Czech government

discovered that the new US president/government might hesitate with actually building the radar, they even fastened their pressure on signing the contract!!

**ABB: So what options are discussed in order to effectively react in such situation?**

Sadly, there is no initiative to move apart from the actual campaign so far, at least what I know about.

**ABB: Is there any direct exchange or common front against the US-Basis between the movement in Czechia and Poland, at least on the level of anarchist movements?**

Once again, no.

**ABB: Anything else to share in these terms with readers worldwide?**

I'm convinced that this planned radar base is a world-wide issue that could be compared somehow with the Cuban crisis. If built it would seriously affect the current balance of power between superpowers and it could easily start a new arms race. It's said it's for peace... But just imagine Russia (or Iran, if it's said that it is against it) building its radar in Mexico or Canada... How would the USA react?

The radar is not going to be built for peace. It's going to be built to strengthen the position of the USA as

the world's only superpower... It's an essentially and even technically offensive weapon.

On the other hand this case clearly shows how it works in democracy if something really important is going on. I know all the theories from books but actually facing something like that is unbelievable. The government lies to people, intentionally, and when facing facts it lies again. It printed lies in its materials and when confronted with specialists who proofed they are lying, they just go on with now obvious lies. When it was discovered that 70% of people in Czechia are against the radar base, they just ordered their own opinion poll that said it's just 49% - so they could go on... War is peace...

**ABB: We have considered, and your words just proofed it, that sooner or later the tactics of the Czech anti-militaristic resistance have to be changed if this resistance attempts to be effective. A sort of common struggle in Poland and Czechia against this project seems to us to be an unavoidable necessity as well. By the way... not only on this issue and not only between these two movements. Keep our readers informed about the developments and thank you for your time.**

*\* Svejik is literal character, a soldier, who follows orders and all regulations so fanatically and absolutely literally that in fact he actually obstructs his duty. He is essentially good, but a reader can't be sure if he is so smart to obstruct intentionally or so silly to obstruct by mistake. It is believed that this is the way how Czech society resists an oppression: by "passive resistance" within the boundaries of law.*



## Poland and U.S. Agree in Principle on Missile Shield and Air Defence

According to the Associated Foreign Press Poland's Foreign Minister Radoslaw Sikorski (Former Neocon American Enterprise Institute employee) has reached a deal in principle regarding hosting the controversial US missile shield after meeting U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. The Tusk government's position all along has been to get a better deal in order to aid modernisation of Polish air defenses with Patriot and THAAD Missiles.

Sikorski, who has been meeting top

warmongers in the U.S. added that "a great deal of work" faced negotiators while Rice talked about "some progress" and "some momentum" on the issue.

"We have an agreement in principle," Sikorski told journalists on Friday when asked if he had received assurances about US aid for Poland's air defenses.

"And, as I mentioned, the prime minister and the president will approve of whatever is done in the meantime, but yes, I'm satisfied that

the principles we have argued for have been accepted," Sikorski said.

So there it is. Faustus has just done the deal and it is unlikely that it will be unravelled. The 3 Republican contenders for the presidency are all pro-shield. Hillary Clinton is also for it while Barack Obama remains sceptical. But if you ask me, I'd say get a good pair of warm socks and boots because this time next year we could be blocking the initial construction work in Northern Poland.

## Action Day against the US-Military Base in Poland March 29 - in Slupsk, and International

Dear Friends,

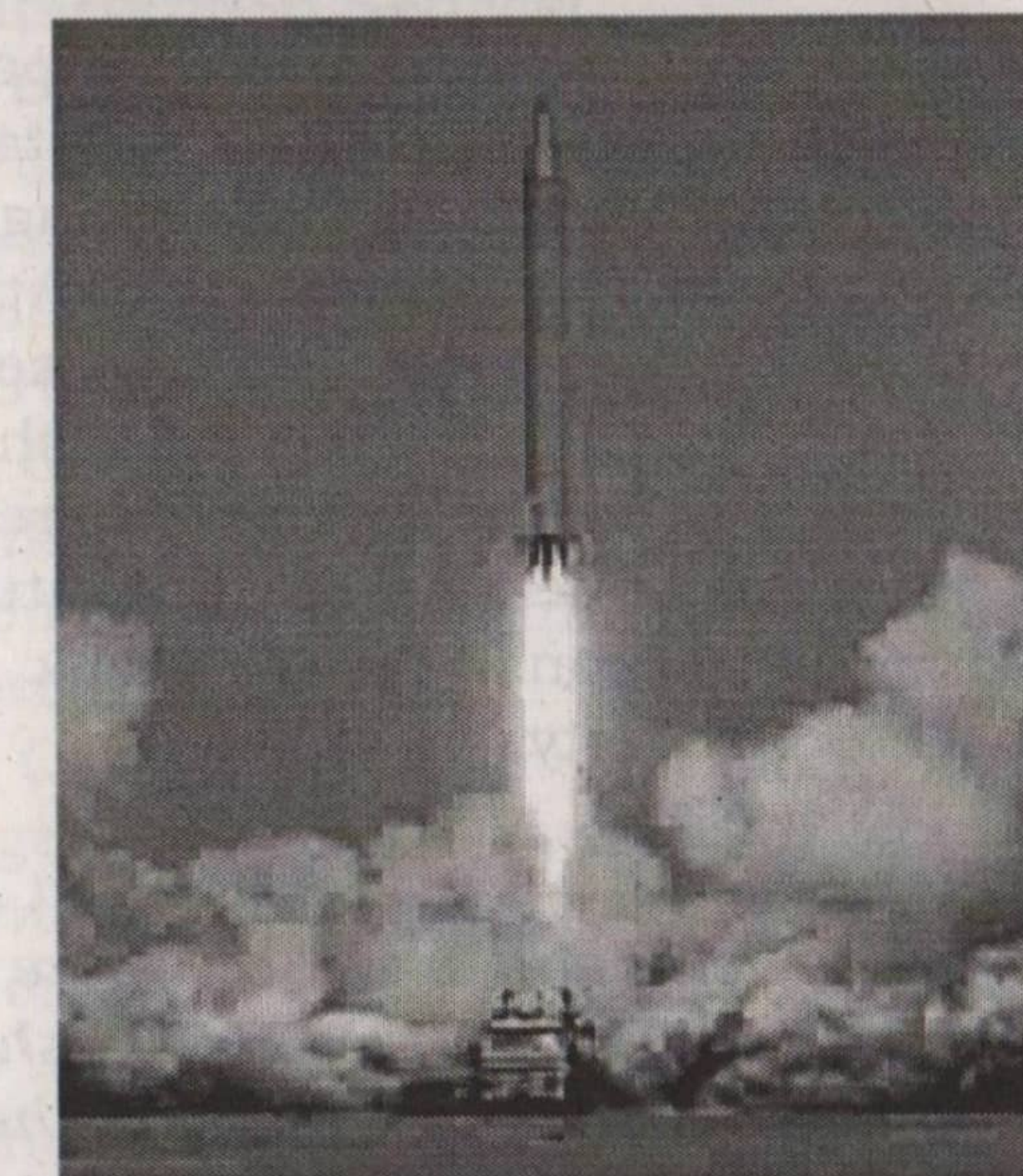
We are making an international appeal to all anti-militarist, human rights activists and concerned citizens to hold solidarity actions at your local U.S. military base, U.S./Polish Embassy or other relevant site on or around March 29th 2008 as we in Poland demonstrate against the proposed U.S. 'Anti-Missile Shield' system in Slupsk, Northern Poland (where it is due to be constructed). Details of our campaign are included below.

If you and/or some friends can stage a vigil, action, demo. on/around this date

against the proposed Anti-Missile Shield and U.S. military bases in Europe, then please contact [dbamoran@yahoo.com](mailto:dbamoran@yahoo.com) with the details as soon as possible so that we can alert local media here.

We would be grateful if you could forward this news and request for solidarity with our March 29th International Mobilisation Against U.S. Missile 'Defence' System and U.S. military bases in Europe to your relevant contacts.

Pozdrawiamy (Greetings) from Warsaw, Poland



## Update on Campaign against the US-Military Base in Poland

On March 29th 2008 Polish peace activists from the **Campaign Against Militarism**, a loose network of libertarian and environmental groups including *Greenpeace* and the *Anarchist Federation*, will stage a demonstration against the planned deployment of 10 US ground based

anti-ballistic missile interceptors on Polish soil. The action will take place in the city of Slupsk, Northern Poland and in the small town of Redzikowo nearby, which is host to the disused ex-Soviet military airbase and increasingly likely future location for US missiles, just 150 kilometres from Russian Federation borders. Street theatre, a samba band, an open mike for discussions in public squares, food not bombs, film screenings on the missiles and on the topic of militarism are amongst the activities being organised. Long-time military resister, Ploughshares activist, peace prisoner and Catholic Worker Ciaran O'Reilly from Australia will also attend



the protest and address those present on global resistance to US militarism and nuclear weaponry. O'Reilly has served over 2 years in US, British, Australian and Irish jails for nonviolent resistance to militarism.

People who are interested in staging direct actions at the proposed US military base will engage in a 4 km peace walk from Slupsk to Redzikowo, risking confrontation with the police and/or military as they hunt for US weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Discussions with local people, delivering leaflets and newspapers to local residents will take place simultaneously as those who walk to the base demand it remain out of the hands of warmongers. The base is completely insecure at the moment and protestors intend to highlight that it can neither:

a) be secured from those who do not accept war profiteers lust for a renewed arms race and desire for WMDs nor

b) is the violent and provocative means of these proposed missiles the appropriate way to secure peace for Polish people or Europeans at large.

Viable alternatives for the site, for instance, include the State using taxpayers money to invest in infrastructure to reopen the base as a local civilian airstrip. This is just one proposal viewed as being more likely to serve the

local public interest. The area has long been neglected by successive governments, similar to the area of *Trokavec* in the Czech Republic, likely site for the related radar component of the system. Investment in quality health, education, industrial employment training and provision is long overdue to meet the socio-economic needs of the local population and to prevent the negative effects of rural and small urban emigration. Therefore, locals remain highly sceptical about how a US base for WMDs built to oppose an alleged threat which their own government even admits doesn't currently exist will serve their needs.

Recent polls in Poland released by State television claim that 50% are against, 36% support while 14% are unsure. When compared to a poll conducted 12 months ago for the daily broadsheet *Rzeczpospolita* (Republic), those who support (moderately or strongly) the proposal has grown by 6%, those against has fallen by 1% while members of the public who remain unsure fell by 5% to 14%. Opinions are being crystallised, the government propaganda machine is on full steam ahead but the voices and arguments of the majority, those opposed, remain marginalised by the mainstream media.

For more info. on the Polish actions against the missile shield system please contact [tarcza@bzzz.net](mailto:tarcza@bzzz.net)  
For updates check our website at [www.m29.bzzz.net](http://www.m29.bzzz.net)





## Anti-NATO Week - Bucharest 2008



The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military alliance, established by the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949. With headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, the organization established a system of collective defense whereby its member states agree to mutual defense in response to an attack by any external party.

*"The Parties of NATO agreed that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all. Consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence will assist the Party or Parties being attacked, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area."*

The initial treaty was signed by Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, United Kingdom, the United States of America, Italy, Norway, Denmark and Iceland which were followed after 3 years by Greece and Turkey. In 1954 Russia wanted to join NATO but was rejected by the NATO countries. In 1955 West Germany was incorporated into NATO, shortly after the Warsaw Pact was signed. The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in 1991 removed the de facto main adversary of NATO. At the moment NATO includes the next countries: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, USA, Greece, Turkey, Germany, Spain, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia. With the re-evaluation of NATO's purpose in post-Cold War we could see a still ongoing expansion of NATO to Eastern Europe, as well as the extension of its activities to areas that had not formerly been NATO concerns. On 28 February 1994, NATO took its first military action, shooting down four Bosnian Serb aircraft violating a U.N.-mandated no-fly zone over central Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the end of 1995 the war in Bosnia resulted in the Dayton Agreement, with the help of air strikes by NATO. On 24 March

1999, NATO saw its first broad-scale military engagement in the Kosovo War, where it waged an 11-week bombing campaign against what was then the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. A formal declaration of war never took place. The conflict ended on 11 June 1999, when Slobodan Milošević agreed to NATO's demands. NATO then helped establish the KFOR, a NATO-led force under a United Nations mandate that operated the military mission in Kosovo. After September 11th NATO confirmed on the 4th of October 2001 that the attacks where an attack against the entire group of members. On 16th of April 2003 NATO agreed to take command of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan, which was the first time in NATO's history to take charge of a mission outside of the north Atlantic area. But most people do not realize that there are approximately 49,000 foreign troops in Afghanistan, about one-third the number in Iraq. Of those troops, 28,000 are from the United States: 15,000 operate under NATO and 13,000 are part of the Pentagon's Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). The U.S.-NATO dichotomy is misleading, however, because the largest contingent of NATO troops is from the United States (the second-largest contingent from the UK is much smaller, only 7,700 soldiers). In addition, the military head of NATO operations, U.S. General Dan K. McNeill, is also the chief of OEF. In other words, America dominates all foreign troop operations in Afghanistan.

In fact, U.S. and NATO troops are doing the same things in Afghanistan and Iraq: bombing civilian areas, invading villages, rounding up people without evidence, torturing detainees, causing deaths in custody, and shooting into crowds. At the 9th of May 2007 the NATO secretary general met with the North Atlantic Council in Brussels and had discussions on the subject of civilian deaths. But the conversation was less about how to reduce casualties, than about how to explain them to European governments. To most officials, the criminality and injustice of the civilian deaths alone are not enough to condemn them. But when they undermine the support base at home or in the host

country, and threaten the crucial "winning hearts and minds" portion of NATO's counterinsurgency campaign, they become a strategic problem.

The facts are also clear, that there were secret prisons, certainly in Poland and Romania; and that people who suspected by the CIA of involvement in terrorism were interrogated and sometimes tortured in these prisons. NATO was also involved in the system of secret prisons and transports. After the US had, in 2001, issued a call for mutual support under Article 5 of the NATO treaty, NATO became a platform where the United States received the go-ahead and protective measures necessary in order to be able to begin the secret operations in the "war against terrorism". But of course NATO refuses to reveal details of the agreements concerning its involvement in the CIA Operation. But well who can be surprised if remembering that NATO also had a long held covert policy of training paramilitary militia as 'Gladio', known as 'stay-behind' armies, for a possible Soviet invasion of Western Europe, whose role would have been to wage guerrilla warfare behind enemy lines.

After September 11th Romania has expressed their willingness to join the USA in the war on terror and offered to help by sending military forces into Afghanistan and Iraq. In 2002 Romania was invited to the summit in Prague and began the accession process. In March 2004 Romania became a NATO member, as a 'gratitude for its loyalty'. Romania now has military troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. There are 4 US military bases in Romania, hosting more than 2,000 American soldiers.

### 20th NATO SUMMIT BUCHAREST

*"We are here to thank the Government of Romania and the Romanian people for the support they have offered to us on several occasions. We are allies in the fight on terror, generally, in Afghanistan and Iraq. We are allies in promoting democracy and we appreciate the support of Romania's President"*

**Stephen Hadley, Bush's National Security Advisor, October 23, 2005**

On 21st of September the Romanian Vice Foreign Minister Victor Micula and North-Atlantic Council Secretary Berndt Götze signed the memorandum for hosting the NATO summit in Bucharest in April next year. This 20th NATO summit will be the largest one in the history of NATO, as all the 23 member states of the NATO Partnership for Peace will attend, besides 26 member states of the alliance. Approximately 3,000 high-ranking officials are expected to participate in the summit, whose security will be guarded by some 9,000 Romanian troops, officers of the Special Guard and Protections Service, police officers and gendarmes. The expenses of the event are estimated at 30-35 million euro.

Where to find a better place to hide than in the Palace of Parliament in Bucharest, the summits venue?

The building known as Casa Poporului (the house of the people) was built during Ceausescu's regime. It is 84 meters tall with 12 floors, being one of the top 5 tallest buildings in Romania. Its area surface (64,800 square meters) makes it second largest after the Pentagon Building; it's underground floors, measuring down to 92 meters below the ground (more that over the ground); it's volume (2,55 billion cubic meters), third largest in the world (after Cape Canaveral and the Quetzalcoatl pyramid in Mexico).

But even if you are not able to catch a guarded or even better 'unguarded' tour through Casa Poporului, or you are not even able to get any closer to the area, cause of suddenly appearing stable or moving fences during your visit in April 2008, don't worry there is much more to explore (still watch out for the local teams, who might be willing to take you on a tour).

Since you are in the capital, with an estimated 1.862.930 (2006) residents, many other institution, worth a visit, are located here. So for example Casa NATO, which promotes Romania as a reliable member of NATO as well as free market institutions and enterprises. Casa NATO is located in Bucharest's Primaverii Palace, headquarters to Romania's Euro-Atlantic Center and activities since 1992.

Since Religion is very dominant in everyday life in Romania, especially orthodox (86,8 %), you can find a church on every corner, which deserves a 'disturbing' visit.

Might it be for their priests and monks spying for the Securitate, their power and money seeking domination, their gender roles..., you will surely find a reason. If you want to

continue your travel a bit further east, you might want to stop by the Mihail Kogalniceanu airbase near Constanta. Not only known for the US troops heading towards Afghanistan and Iraq, but also as a CIA detention center for Iraqis and Afghans.

Surely you will find a worthwhile target, to make the ANTI-NATO-WEEK in Bucharest as disruptive, creative and long-lasting as possible.

### Forces of Freedom

As activists in Romania have never experienced protest against an event of this scale in the country, it is hard to draw from former experiences in regard of state repression.

## ANTI-NATO DAYS

2ND - 4TH APRIL @ BUCHAREST @ 2008

### JOIN US IN WELCOMING NATO THROUGH OUR OWN MEANS

The summit which will be taking place in Romania's capital will be the largest one in NATO history, considering that apart from the 26 the alliance member states the 23 states which make up the Partnership for Peace will also be participating. The organizational costs will be circa 35 million dollars. Some of the summit topics will include: nato extension (the new members might be Croatia, Macedonia and Albania), the anti-missile defense system, information systems security, energy security...



So here will follows an introduction to the different forces you might be confronted with during your visit.

The main forces of repression in Romania are the National Police (Politia Română?), the Romanian Gendarmerie (Jandarmeria Română?) and the Border Police. The Romanian police is divided into two forces, the Politia Română? (the civil branch) and the Jandarmeria Română? (the military branch).

Romania also has a paramilitary structure, beside a police force and a military force. The Jandarmeria is the structure that should really keep the order, as the Police is meant only to investigate crime, while the military is meant only to defend the country from outside threats.

### Politia Română?

The Romanian Police is divided into 41 territorial inspectorates, corresponding to each county (judet), and the General Directorate of the Police in Bucharest. Each county inspectorate has a rapid reaction unit

(Detașamentul de Politie pentru Interventie Rapid?, Police Rapid Intervention Squad). The similar unit attached to the Bucharest Police is called Serviciul de Politie pentru Interventie Rapid? (Police Rapid Intervention Service).

Before 2002, the National Police had military status and a military ranking system. In June 2002 it became a civil police force and its personnel was structured into two corps:

- Corpul ofiterilor de politie (Police Officers Corps) - corresponding to the commissioned ranks of a military force.
- Corpul agentilor de politie (Police Agents Corps) - corresponding to the non-commissioned ranks of a military force.
- Politia Comunitar? is the name for the local police in Romania - on city or commune level. They are subordinated to the mayors and their main duties are to enforce the local ordinances and to assist the National Police and the Gendarmerie.

Also worth mentioning:

- DIAS Detasamentul de Interventii si Actiuni Speciale

[Police rapid intervention (local)] The Special Intervention and Action Detachments are the special units of municipal police in Romania. DIAS are called whenever a Police operation may encounter severe problems.

• SPIR Serviciul Special al Politiei pentru Interventie Rapida [Police rapid intervention (Bucharest)] The Special Rapid Intervention Service is the name of the much-expanded structure in Bucharest.

• SIIAS Serviciul Independent de Interventii si Actiuni Speciale [Police Special Forces]

• The Independent Special Interventions and Actions Service is an elite unit under the command of the Romanian Police.

### Politia de Frontier

Between 2001 and 2005, the Romanian Border Police has undergone four stages of reform of its internal structure, in order to bring it into compliance with similar structures of the European Union.

SASI Serviciul Actiuni Speciale si Interventie [rapid intervention force] SASI was created on October 1st, 2005 and represents the rapid intervention unit of the Border Police.

### Jandarmeria Română?

The Romanian Gendarmerie

(Jandarmeria Română?) is the state's specialized institution, with military status. The Romanian Gendarmerie is divided in 41 territorial inspectorates,



corresponding to each county (judet), and the General Directorate of the Gendarmerie in Bucharest. Additionally, eight Gendarmerie Mobile Groups (Grup?ri Mobile) operate on a territorial basis, with headquarters in Bac?u, Bra?ov, Cluj Napoca, Constanta, Craiova, Ploie?ti, T?rgu Mure? and Timi?oara. The Romanian Gendarmerie was re-established on July 5, 1990. Starting in 2006, the corps abandoned conscription and in 2007 it became an all-professional military force.

The Romanian Gendarmerie is for example tasked to:

- ensure public order during meetings, marches, demonstrations, processions, strikes, and also other similar activities carried out in public areas and involving large crowds;
- re-establish public order when it has been disturbed by any kind of illegal actions;
- maintain public order during official visits or during other activities in which Romanian or foreign high officials take part, on Romanian territory, in the competence area and in the places where the activities are carried out

The Romanian Gendarmerie has two brigades, the 11th Mobile Brigade 'Baneasa' and the Special Brigade 'Vlad Tepes', as well as the Batalionul 1 Interventii Speciale (anti-terrorist force) and the Batalionul 2 Misiuni Speciale (special missions).

The Brigade is divided in three units:

- Brigada Special? de Interventie a Jandarmeriei (Gendarmerie Special Intervention Brigade, BSIJ) is a special operations force belonging to the Romanian Gendarmerie. The unit carries the name "Vlad Tepe?".

- 1st Battalion "Actiuni Specifice ?i Antitero" (Specific Actions and Counter-terrorism)
- 2nd Battalion "Misiuni Speciale" (Special Missions)

### Police Arms

Well the usual stuff: you can find crowd control paddy wagons, water cannons, as well as the use of horses and dogs. Water cannons, tear gas and rubber bullets have been used by the Romanian police before, for example at the Gay Parade in Bucharest.

### Getting to the Actions

People from following countries are able to enter Romania without a visa for up to 90 days: Andorra, Argentina, Austria, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Chile, Cyprus, South Korea, Costa Rica, Croatia (30 days), Denmark, Switzerland, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Hong Kong, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macao, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, United Kingdom, Monaco, Nicaragua, New Zealand, Norway, Holland, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, San Marino, Holly See, El Salvador, Singapore (30 days), Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, United States of America, Sweden, Hungary, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Since January the 1st 2007 people from the Republic of Moldova can travel with a free issued visa. If you come from a country which is not listed above, you need an entry visa (if you are not intending to pass the green border, swim through the Danube river or overrun the border control with a huge crowd of other people protesting against the fortress Europe). The law bans:

- the possession of narcotic substances, even if for personal use
- bearing arms, hunting or sports weaponry must be mentioned in your passport

Bear in mind that the time difference to Central Europe is + 1 hour.

In 2005 the new leu (RON) was introduced, phasing out the old leu (ROL) in 2006. The new Leu (plural: Lei) is 100 Bani (notes in 500, 100, 50, 10, 5 and 1 Lei, coins in 50, 10, 5 and 1 Bani). The exchange rate is something around 3.4 lei for 1 €. Romanian is the official language, with parts in the border regions where also Hungarian, German, Bulgarian and so on, is widely spoken.

Anyway, in good old 'tradition' some useful words and phrases:

please, thanks, sorry = te rog, multumesc, imi pare rau  
where is... = Unde este....  
fuck off = Du-te naibii  
come with me = vino cu mine  
move on = continua  
the cops are coming = vine politia  
cops are attacking = politia ataca  
to piss off = disparti

to attack = atac  
attacking the cops = ataca politia  
I need help = ajutor  
good, bad = bine, rau  
I am not guilty = nusunt vinovat  
I want to call my lawyer = vreau sa sun avocatul

### Be Aware....

Also the nationalists, nazis and neo-legionaires are for sure mobilizing actions against the NATO summit in Bucharest. The main nationalist actor is 'Noua Dreapta' (New Right). You can check them out at [www.nouadreapta.org](http://www.nouadreapta.org) also easy to identify by their T-Shirts with the face of Corneliu Codreanu.

The 'usual' nazis-scum are dressed like neonazi-skinhead, mainly with boots, shaved heads and even using openly signs like swastikas, celtic crosses or hate-bands. Also the football clubs are full with nazis, the most known are Steaua and Dinamo, both from Bucharest. Be aware of that and get informed at the actions in Bucharest, where the nazis might make a march or usually gather.

### Accommodation and Activities

There will be a range of events in Bucharest and others place. Those coming from the north, can for example stop by at the ANTI-NATO info-point in Iasi (at the Ukrainian nd Moldavian border) before continuing their way to Bucharest. The city also held for a week in July the first squat 'Rebil' in Romania (an English report can be found at <http://de.indymedia.org/2007/07/18/8166.shtml>). If you are coming from the south you might be interested in joining the preparation for the ANTI-NATO bike tour and the critical mass, to be contacted over [katarzis@rise-up.net](mailto:katarzis@rise-up.net). In Bucharest are plenty of opportunities to join into the ANTI-NATO week: a legal march, direct actions, probably the NoBorder from Timisoara seeking exile in Bucharest and many more.

Still you should keep in mind, especially if coming from the west, that the 'scene' is not as big and equipped as you might be used to. So try to be as self-organized as possible: bring a sleeping bag, try to organize food (dumpster diving is not so common, but you can still find some stuff) or even join the local FNB group (or bring in your local group for joint actions). Organizing legal sleeping spaces on mass still requires money, so every soli-action is welcome. But also you might want to check out one of the plenty abandoned houses in Bucharest, waiting for a better use.



## Labour Struggles



### Actions against Hypermarket AUCHAN in Poland

Examples of how Hypermarkets in Poland Treat Workers who try to Self-Organize and Stand Against Exploitation - Report from Poznan

On the 15th of December activists of the Workers Initiative (WI) from Poznan, Zielona Gora and Kostrzyn organized a rally in front of the Zielona Gora AUCHAN hypermarket in western Poland. The workers engaged in the protest have described many examples of violation of workers' rights - the list of accusations against Auchan is long, among others the exploitation of the underaged. The WI also demanded a pay rise. Although the rally wasn't big, leaflets and the local media helped to focus some public attention on Auchan's poor labour practices.

Two weeks later, on the 31st December, a worker of Auchan, Piotr Krzyzaniak, the activist of Workers' Initiative who helped to organize the rally, was fired on disciplinary grounds. The management accused him of stealing 5,000 zloty (around 1,500 Euro) on the 18th and the 20th of December, few days after the rally.

The reaction to such absurd accusations against the member of WI and next example of breaking of the Labour Code by Auchan was immediate. A general campaign against Auchan has been started. On the 26th

of January a rally took place in front of Auchan hypermarkets in Poznan, Gdansk and Warsaw. On the 2th of February the next protests took place in Bielsko-Biala and Czesochowa. The Union of Syndicalists joined the campaign by picketing in Wroclaw and Warsaw. Also the French CNT expressed their support for the protest, as Auchan is a company with French capital.

The Workers' Initiative decided to support dismissed worker with legal support. The first case against Auchan in Labour court will take place at the beginning of February 2008.

Few years ago, in the same hypermarket and under similar circumstances, another trade union, OPZZ, was attacked and finally broke down. Piotr Krzyzaniak is already the 9th activist of the Workers' Initiative fired for unionist activity since 2004. There's been one court case going on recently against the Greenkett Company, that illegally dismissed the WI activist Lukasz Sibilak.

The number of cases, when employers overuse the article 52 of the Labour Code, is growing in Poland

last years. The article allows to fire workers when they heavily violate their duties or commit a crime, but instead it is used against inconvenient trade union activists, although Polish Labour Code protects some trade unionists from dismissals in order to protect them against repressions. Employers are consciously breaking the law knowing that trials in Labour Court usually last for months. In the meantime fired workers do not have work and income what makes them give up their struggle or reach agreement with the employer. All that causes, that employers continue their exploitation with impunity. In other cases, even if a court decides to restore the employee to work, the employer in the meantime applies repressions against other members of the trade union. Intimidated people under the threat of the next dismissals give up their activity, a trade union falls apart. So unionists who legally come back to work lose the legal protection and then, without no obstacles, employer fires them.

### Picket and Actions at Auchan - Report from Warsaw

Members of the Union of Syndicalists along with comrades from the Anarchist Federation and some others held an action / solidarity picket in and in front of an Auchan supermarket in Warsaw on Jan. 25. The action was held because of Auchan's poor labour practices which include:

- low pay;
- wide use of contract labour in their supermarkets and incidents of using work agencies which did not sign valid contracts with employees, among other abuses;
- bad social policy;
- bad working hours including the illegal use of underaged workers forcing them to work overnight shifts;
- forcing people to perform physically dangerous work, for example dragging pallets which are too heavy, and work

which causes repetitive strain injury; - repression of people agitating for the creation of unions, including the recent firing in Zielona Gora of one activist from the group Workers' Initiative.

One of the main parts of the action was distributing and putting up stickers which detoured the supermarket's sales circular. For example, statements like "we slash prices" were changed to "we slash wages", etc. The fake circular told the story of the work conditions in the market, the firing in Zielona Gora and encouraged workers to organize themselves. Additionally, fake corporate stickers were added to many products, especially on sales

display saying that Auchan fires unionists and guarantees the exploitation of their workers.

Besides this, some leaflets were given to supermarket employees and to customers.

Earlier in the day, stickers were put on the doors of Auchan corporate headquarters.

The next day another action was held in another Auchan market with members of Left Alternative, Anarchist Federation from another city, some Trotskyists, Bolsheviks and unionists. Some banners were unfurled at this action which was somewhat similar to the one the day before. Similar actions were held in Gdansk and Poznan.





## Ukraine: Wildcat Action Enters its Fourth Day

A group of workers at the Frunze Machinery Plant and Scientific Institute in Sumi have refused to work since Monday. They have not been provided with safety clothes and equipment needed to protect themselves on the job.

The workers have also complained that the management is making all sorts of savings, including on the heat. Temperatures at work are under 10 degrees Celsius. The management had promised to resolve the problem by the beginning of the New Year, but instead gave the workers gloves to keep warm.

The management has threatened to fire the strikers.



## Thousands of Polish Teachers Protest in Warsaw

Over 12,000 Polish teachers from around the country protested in Warsaw yesterday. They demand pay raises, retaining beneficial retirement rights and refraining from introducing education vouchers.

The education ministry has already proposed a 200-zloty or 10% raise. The representatives of the Association of Polish Teachers, however, are demanding a pay rise of 50% or 600 zlotys for teachers in training and 1100 zlotys for fully qualified teachers.

Also, the teachers demand that the government give up their plans to decentralise the system of teachers' salaries.

If the demands are not taken into consideration Polish teachers will stage another protest during high school graduation exams in May - this time without a time limit.

**46 days and 1050 meters deep on strike under increasing attack of a common front made by mine-management, the government, the media and the leaders of unions which were not striking**

## The Story of BUDRYK Miners Strike

In the end of 2007 state-owned mine "BUDRYK" in south Poland, was planned to be merged with a larger state-owned group, JSW, the largest coal producer in Europe. Despite the fact that the BUDRYK workers are extremely efficient, they found out their salaries would be up to 200 euros less a month than their colleagues at JSW. Miners of BUDRYK meanwhile went on long and dramatic strike on December 17th to fight for equal pay. Their struggle raised not only wide social awareness but as well on the one side a common front from above and a wave of country wide and international solidarity from below.

On New Year's Day the Board at Budryk announced that it sent a letter to the state security agency and the prosecutor's office about the strikers. They claim that the strikers are causing financial losses for the state treasury and have committed "crimes" during the strike.

### Strike at the 1050 meter below ground

After the first period of determined but slowly devolving strike in December, news from which were effectively disturbing the "holy class peace" in the country during the Christmas and New Year time, the workers from the Budryk mine have intensified their protest. In January already over 300 miners were occupying the mine at 700 meters below ground, with 40 more at the 1050 meter level. Over the weekend, about 400 miners were underground, but conditions are hard for them to stay many days underground. From time to time some miners had to be evacuated and needed medical attention.

The miners said they will stay underground until their demands to end wage discrimination are fulfilled.

### Strike costs over 1 million US\$ of lost per day

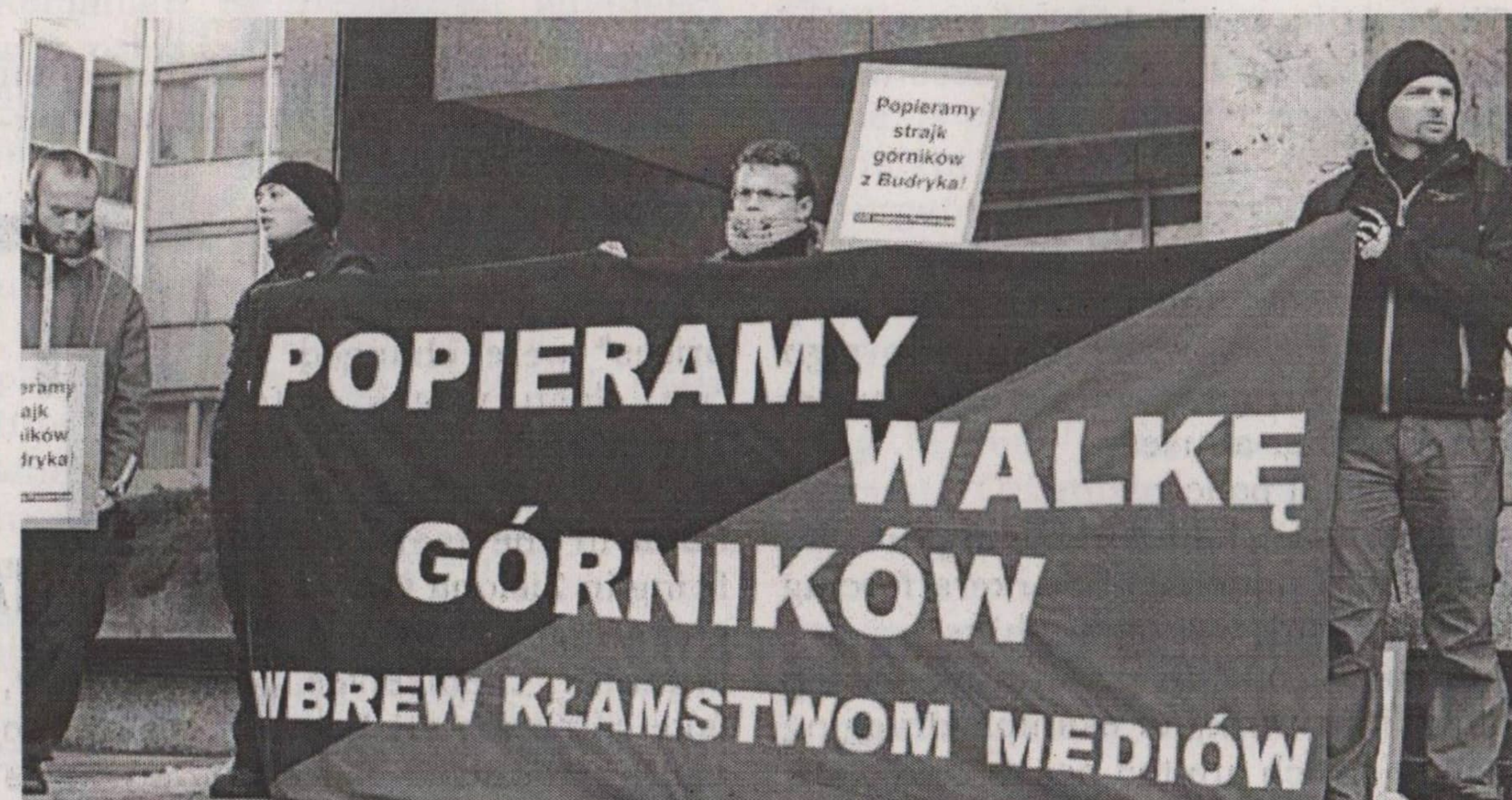
The management of the state-owned mine have claimed that the strike is illegal and have informed the prosecutor and state security agency of this "crime". They claim that the mine is losing over 1 million USD per day because of the strike and that after the action is over, they will sue the organizers of the strike for damages.

Hundreds of supporters, including members of the miners' families, gathered in front of the mine in solidarity with the strikers.

### "Solidarnosc" - the loudest critics of the radical strikers

As the strike was going on in BUDRYK, the workers who have not given in are faced by attacks not only from the media, but by other trade unions.

The "Solidarity" ("Solidarnosc") branch in BUDRYK has been the loudest



critic of the radical strikers who insist on getting equal pay. A number of comments made by their representatives stand out as particularly scummy.

Marek Szolc, a longtime activist from ATTAC, participant in European Social Forums and Polish Workers' Conferences organized by leftists and anarchists has been a member of "Solidarity" for 21 years and works in BUDRYK where he is in the "Solidarity" leadership structure. In a scathing attack of the Budryk strike, which he, like the bosses calls "illegal", Szolc writes of the need for the police to repress the strike.

In supporting his arguments, he parrots the mainstream media which talks about the unprofitability of the mining sector, even though BUDRYK is a profitable mine.

### "Solidarnosc" against the "union pluralism"

Other Solidarity activists have reminded people that many of their leaders are against "union pluralism". They have spoken to the necessity to change the Act on Trade Unions. This is most probably a reference to ideas espoused by some "Solidarity" leaders in the past that any workplace with more than one union in it cannot probably defend workers - what is known as a conflict in trade union pluralism.

People who want to change the Act have argued that unions should be "representative" - in other words, that a union is able to be really representative of the workers, only when one entity represents the majority of unionized employees.

The fact that in many places where there is no trade union pluralism you have extremely corrupt or yellow unions does not seem to play any role in their thinking.

For BUDRYK "Solidarity" members though, there is still light at the end of the tunnel. The union leadership may have agreed to the boss's deal, but they haven't forgotten the needs of the workers.

On Solidarity's webpages we see that "due to the difficult situation at BUDRYK", Solidarity's raffle prize for December will only be awarded in January. The lucky winner gets a bagless vacuum cleaner; just what every miner needs while their co-workers are on occupation strike. Presumably this prize was chosen to encourage the miners to help out with their share of the housework.

"Solidarity's" prizes are even shittier it turns out. Of all the prizes to offer, they decided on a Zelmer "Galaxy" - a model of vacuum cleaner which Zelmer decided to produce in China. Zelmer moved part of their production to China last year and fired over 130 workers from its Rzeszow factory.

### Wives of miners visiting Warsaw to speak with minister, but minister escaped to the church

In the middle of January 50 miners' wives and representatives of the union "August '80" ("Sierpień 80") came to Warsaw to try to speak to Minister Pawlak. Pawlak went to a church event in Lublin instead. He commented that "the wives came for nothing" and "this isn't the PRL". "You can't give raises to those who scream the loudest," he said. The miners' wives wanted to present a petition and letter to Pawlak and speak to him about the situation in the mine. They claim that Pawlak only hears one side of the story.

The women were invited to the Center for Social Dialogue where they spoke to some members of the Ministry. A few were also invited to meet with the president's wife. The Law and Justice Party, and in particular president Lech Kaczynski, a former professor of labour law, are interested in meeting with all sorts of striking workers in order to

present themselves as the opposition to the strict neoliberal politics of Civic Platform and its government.

So far about political games in Warsaw. At the same time in southern Poland, in mine of BUDRYK, 150 miners are occupying the mine 700 meters underground. 10 miners have gone in meanwhile on hunger strike. One miner fainted and had to be evacuated.

### 34 miners on hunger strike - 30 of them 1050 meter below ground

Third week of January. More miners joined a hunger strike being held in the BUDRYK mine. 34 miners are on hunger strike now - 30 are 1050 meters below ground in the occupied mine and 4 more above ground. The hunger strike started six days before with four miners and has spread.

At this point 150 miners were occupying the mine 700 meters below ground with an additional 200 miners occupying it above.

### More miners feeling faint

On Sunday two of the miners occupying the mine underground felt faint and had to be evacuated. An ambulance was called. One of the hunger strikers had to be hospitalized. According to the strike committee, the action is taking its toll on the health of the miners.



### From Russia - with Solidarity

More and more signals and acts of solidarity from abroad are heard. A solidarity picket for the striking miners in BUDRYK Mine was held outside the Polish Consulate in Irkutsk in Russian Siberia. The consular officials refused to take the protest, but the comrades sent it anyway. They send their solidarity greetings to the BUDRYK miners.

This is from the text of their protest letter:

*We are the group Autonomous Action of Irkutsk and we are expressing our solidarity with the striking miners from Budryk Mine. We demand an end to the economic and social injustice with respect to the miners who have less wages than in other mines in this industry. In our viewpoint there are no legal reasons for such discrimination. The mine is the third most profitable one in Poland. Despite this, the Workers are forced to strike in order to support their families. Undoubtedly this does not speak well of the Polish Ministry of the Treasury which owns the mine. We suggest that the Ministry remember the so-called "Railway Wars" - the strikes and blockades of railway lines that took place in Russia at the beginning of 90s. The Ministry should not allow such events to occur because of the persecution of Workers but should fulfill their demands!*

In 1998, Russian miners blocked the railways in Siberia in a protest over unpaid wages. This was one of many miners' protests to occur in Russia over the past ten years. People in Irkutsk still have vivid memories of these events.

### Budryk strike turns into a circus

On January 25 the talks between unionist representing the striking workers of BUDRYK and the Board of JSW mining holding company ended with no agreement.



The unionists said that they have to go back to square one with the negotiations. Miners in BUDRYK earn less than in other JSW controlled mines. Originally, their demands were to get raises so that the workers would receive equal pay to the average salary in JSW. Most recently, they have been negotiating to achieve equal pay levels with the KRUPINSKI mine which, before BUDRYK joined, had the lowest levels of pay in the JSW group. However, the director of JSW has claimed that the information on wages in the KRUPINSKI mine is not true. The management of JSW has been very unclear about wages in other mines. Therefore the unionists went back to demanding that the earnings of workers in BUDRYK be raised to the average in JSW.

Part of the problem seemed to be that there are too many discrepancies in wages throughout JSW. The management admits this and has suggested calling a group to study what the wages actually are and creating a computerized data base of wages. They propose that this work would last at least two months and, naturally, they would expect the strikers to go back to work during this period.

Calculation of average wages presumably would not take into account the large number of contract workers in JSW mines who are in the employ of various outsourcing firms.

During the negotiations 35 miners are still on hunger strike in BUDRYK and 220 people are occupying the mine.

#### Fights between the pro- and anti-strike miners

Workers who are against the strike demonstrated against the strikers. Today there were fights between the pro- and anti-strike miners. Striking miners blocked entrance to non-striking workers, and some violence occurred. Non-striking workers vowed to come back tomorrow.

The management has gone wild. They've hired a public relations firm now because apparently the supporters of

the Budryk strike are "masters of the media" - that have good coverage of the strike on the internet. (The mainstream media is a different matter as it tends to be against working people.)

The management of JSW has filed a complaint with the prosecutor's office again claiming that a crime has been committed. Other unions at the mine (not specified but maybe including "Solidarity") have likewise reported the union "August 80" for apparently keeping a large quantity of vodka in their office, which also may be a "crime".

#### Agreement was reached

After 46 days an agreement was reached ending the strike in the BUDRYK mine. Workers are supposed to receive a pay raise of 490 zloties (135 euro) a month gross plus a one-time payment of 2200 zloties (600 euro) to compensate for low wages last year. This is less than the strikers were demanding as the main demand of the strike was to end wage discrimination by raising the level of wages in BUDRYK to that of other mines controlled by the JSW holding company. A commission will be formed in order to examine how to raise wages in BUDRYK to the level of other JSW mines which the management of JSW promises to do by 2010.

JSW also agreed not to prosecute or take other action against the strikers provided a court rules that the strike was legal. JSW has claimed it was not and has filed complaints with the public prosecutor's office on at least two occasions. The last day when striking workers refused to let non-striking workers into the mine was on January 30.

The situation had grown extremely hard for the strikers who were tired after 46 days of the occupation strike. They had come under increased attack from not only the management of JSW but the government, media and the leaders of unions which were not striking in BUDRYK.

## Appeal from the Strike Committee of the Budryk Mine

A protest has been underway at the Budryk mine since December 13. Budryk belongs to the State Treasury. The protest started with a hunger strike by six mine workers and was meant to force the Board of the mine to start collective bargaining with the workers.

On December 14th the Board's spokesman said in a television interview that the Board will not negotiate about pay increases with the workers unless a strike is started. With this, the Board gave a clear signal to the workers that calling a strike was the right way to start discussions.

At 6AM on December 17th the first shift at Budryk decided unanimously to start a strike.

The reason for the strike are the economic and social issues which make up the workers' collective demands.

In the state strategy for the mining sector from 2007-2015, it was decided to merge Budryk into the structure of Jastrzebska Mining Company (Jastrzebskiej Spółki Węglowej S.A. - (JSW)). The workers were presented with a draft agreement with the Board of JSW which would form the basis of the merger.



The workers of Budryk overwhelmingly rejected this proposal twice in referenda because of the proposed conditions of the agreement. Despite this, the Board of Budryk did not want to bargain, which is not in accordance with the law. This escalated the tension at the mine and led to the strike.

The owner of Budryk - the State Treasury - wants Budryk to be merged with JSW but with conditions which are not acceptable to the Budryk workers. They propose that the wages in Budryk will be the lowest of all the mines in the JSW structure, even lower than at the mines which (through no fault of the workers) are not profitable. The workers of Budryk demand equal treatment for all the workers of JSW and do not understand how they can be denied this.

Thanks to the independent media, the protest of the Budryk workers was presented to the public and it was shown that the miners just wanted to be treated equally.

Budryk made 45 million zloties profit in the first three quarters of this year. (12.5 million euros) This makes it the

third best mine in Poland. However, the miners at Budryk have the lowest wages in the whole sector, despite a 100% increase in work efficiency. In Budryk each worker produces 1400 tons of coal a year, which is twice as much as the average which is 700 tons a year.) Such arguments make no impression on the management of either company which means that the strike goes on and the State Treasury is exposed to enormous losses.

We demand an increase in the average wage to the average level of wages in JSW. The workers deserve these wage increase especially due to health and safety risks of the work.

We appeal to all miners and good-willed people to support our protest. We also ask for financial help for the miners since the management is trying to force the workers to abandon the strike by putting off talks and putting an economic strain on the workers.

Budryk is the first mine that was built in an independent Poland. There is a modern workforce there of 2430 people. Budryk has been profitable for many years. In the first 9 months of 2007, the mine had 45 million zloties profit which makes it one of the best mines in the country. However we are not treated on par with others in our branch.

The Board has been avoiding talks with us for over 3 months. It has been trying to divide the workers and divert public attention from the economic demands of the work-



ers. Every day of the strike is costly for the workers and their families since all strike days are unpaid. This is a big problem for the families of striking miners and may even threaten to force them to end the strike before any agreement is reached. The Strike Committee unanimously decided to appeal to other miners and good-willed people for support. All financial help will not only help the families of the striking workers but will allow them to continue the strike.

The Strike Committee states that all miners should receive the same average pay since they all work in equally dangerous conditions. As workers of a state-owned mine, we shouldn't be paid only by output because output often depends on some natural geological conditions.

In defense of our mine and the decent lives of our families, the workers spent Christmas Eve and Christmas at the mine where we will also spend New Year's Eve and New Years Day. In order that we all live better in the future.

We appeal for support so that we can reach an agreement which will be an agreement for all miners in Poland. Please don't allow our strike to end in defeat.

We won't give up but maybe our families and children, without money to live can. If they break us today, tomorrow they can break you. (...)

**Strike Committee of KWK Budryk  
Ornontowice, December 29 2007**

*"We will not let the Government Crush the Miners strike, and we will not tolerate lies in the media, we will not let them appease rightful demands"*

#### Anarchist Commentary to the Strike in BUDRYK

The strike in BUDRYK was certainly one of the most important occurrences of the beginning of the year 2008, while one has to consider that Poland is generally not a very calm place nowadays. Polish liberal press described, with certain exaggeration, the contemporary wave of strikes and workers demonstrations as the biggest one since 1989, that means since the fall down of communist regime. This is not true. Poland was a place for a massive wave of protests in years 1992-1993, against the privatisation and effects of capitalistic transformation. In the years 2002-2003 another accumulation of protests (with a long struggle in Ozarow in the centre of them) was a reaction to the bankruptcy of many enterprises and on massive unemployment. The current wave of strikes has in the first line claims of character - workers are demanding better wages and better conditions of work. This is very new in the Polish workers movement of the last 20 years. Particular workplaces or whole branches are winning increases of 30% and more of the wages, e.g. the health care workers recently.

Strikes of the miners and health care workers, protests

of the truck drivers, manifestations of the teachers, calls of trade unions to undertake the protests with demands of dignified wages for everybody, are bearing witness that social discontent is growing. Just few months after the parliamentary elections the liberals which were going to elections with slogans of rescuing of the democracy, and which won (PO) against the Right (PiS), started to think now about how to deal with the claims of discontent with many workers environments. Leader of the liberals, and current prime minister, was not hiding his aversion to the trade unions already during the electoral campaign. Now these politicians are not hesitant to consider the use of more radical solutions, like throwing trade unions out of the work places - a fact very widely commented on by Polish press these days. Janusz Palikot, parliamentarian of the PO, a millionaire, chief of one of the most important parliamentary commissions, has said directly that the present government is ... "too civil and too modern" as for today's opposition, which in his eyes is looking for confrontation with the government.

In this context the events in BUDRYK mine should be



examined, which they have not been – in my opinion – separated protest, but sort of general test of the strengths. The miners have been demanding respect of norms of labour law, which in Poland as well as in EU says clearly: the workers working in the same positions under the same employer have to earn the same. Yet, the miners of BUDRYK are supposed to earn, under the new owner (employer), less, much less than workers of other mines in the same holding. They were demanding equalisation of wages what was connected with their concrete increase. Most of the mines in Poland are owned by the state. When an agreement between the striking workers and firm-management was ready (it was about January 10), the government decided to block it. It has forbidden the management of the mine to sign this agreement. From the very beginning there was a tendency to reach confrontation and miners were threatened with use of the violence. The reason for that should be the fact that the mine, because of the strike, is threatened with physical catastrophe. If the true reason was to break, this very widely covered by media, would lead to protest. This again, should be a clear signal for all others groups of workers, that government is going to take a hard-line position against the increasing wave of demands, and signal for employers, that the government controls the situation and will not allow, even at the price of using violence, any further increase of "the social spirit of demands". The new liberal government stays more and more under attack of rightwing publicists accusing it for irresolution and for "vagueness". It could mean that big business can turn back from liberal politicians and start in future to support the "rules of the strong hand" of Kaczynski brothers.

These complex conditions of the BUDRYK-miners struggle make the estimation of the result of this confrontation not easy. Probably, from the perspective of their mine and the main issue they have been fighting for – equalisation of the wages – the success seems not to be so sharp. There were many complaints, that the strike was run till the end by minority of the crew, a maximum of 500 from more than of 2000 employed miners. But even less numbers have been mobilised by strike-breakers supported by two biggest centrals of miner trade unions: *Związek Zawodowy Gornikow* (Trade Union of the Miners) and *NSZZ Solidarnosc*. We can surely state that great majority of the miners crew was silently supporting protest action, what was proved in the referendum in which they amicably rejected the agreement signed by above the mentioned trade unions. However, it is quite normal that such long strikes (46 days) often are not ending in spectacular a way; there always remains a sort of thirst.

But in wider context, despite massive attacks conducted by rightwing media, a campaign of slander, hostility of the politicians, betrayal by some of trade unions, the BUDRYK miners did not allow this to break them down and after 46 days they forced the directors of the mine, means... polish government, to sign an agreement quite beneficial for the miners, even if not to the degree on which would indicate their determination. Not without meaning was the fact that the calculation of the liberals didn't become true and as result of wide solidarity cam-

paigned conducted in January, most of the public opinion supported the strike of the miners. Voices of solidarity with the strikers expressed by Dario Fo, by Ken Loach or e.g. French CNT, found big resonance in polish press.

In solidarity actions participated as well the anarchist movement, among others *Workers Initiative* and some sections of *Anarchist Federation*. In Poznan we managed e.g. to change partly the tone of the local press articles towards the strike through attacking them with accusations of spreading the lies. In Silesia region activists of *Workers Initiative* organised benefit concert for the families of the striking miners. Anarchists have been collecting money for strikers and distributing thousands of flyers with an appeal of the miners for support. Delegate of the national commission of *Workers Initiative*, Bartek Kantorczyk, postman from Gdansk, initiator of the postmen strike in November 2006, has reached the crucial manifestation of the miners which took place on January 10 in front of BUDRYK mine, and in his speech he confirmed solidarity of workers from different branches with the miners. His speech was commented on in some media as an example, on the one side – of trans-branch solidarity of workers, on the other side – of increase of social tension, as Kantorczyk publicly called for general strike. Summarising: anarchist movement supported miners strike, not only as an important struggle in particular workplace, but as well as a confrontation against the government.

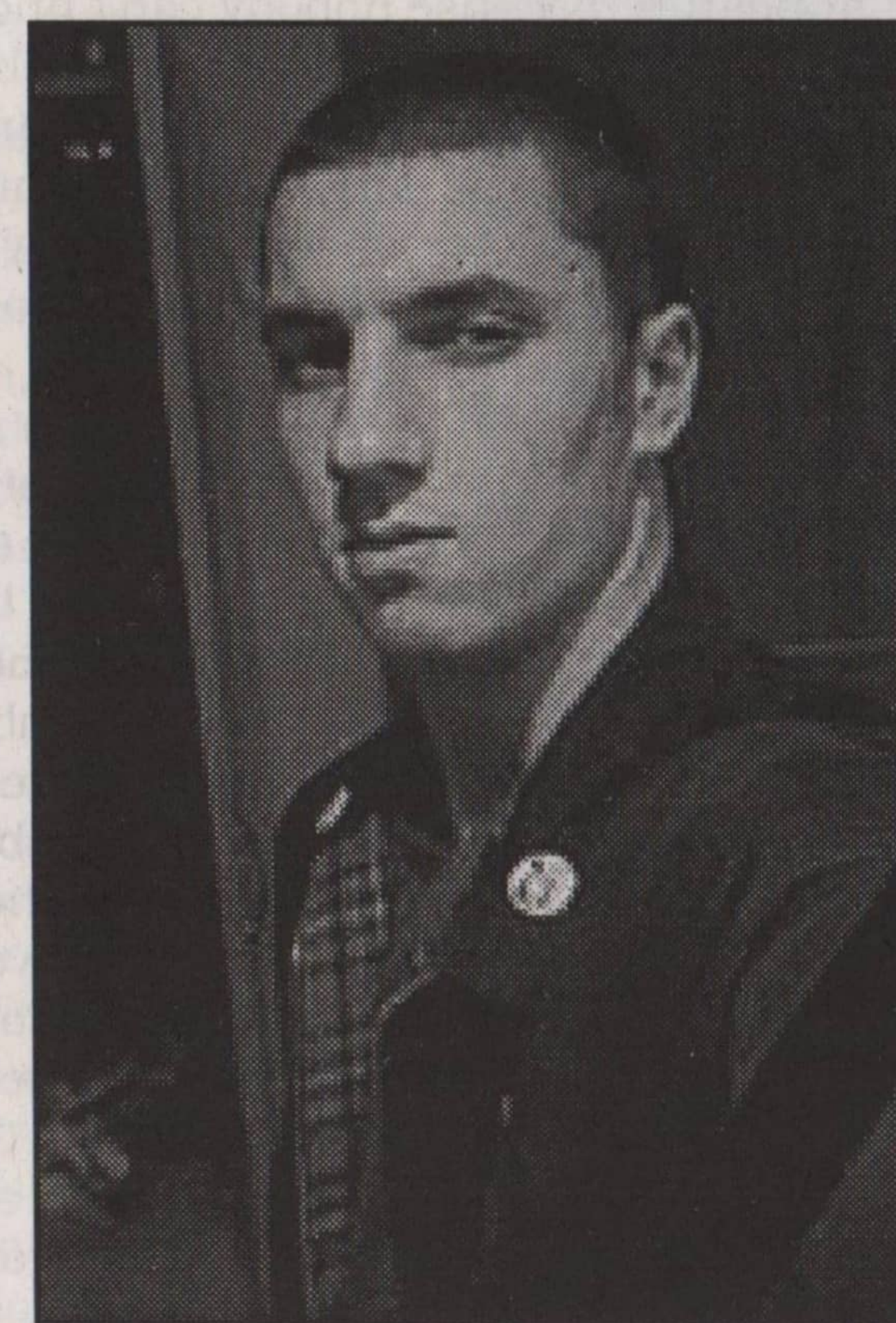
What conclusions can we make here? From today's perspective, the strike in BUDRYK seems to be an important experience. It was as well an attempt of a difficult alliance in which parts of anarchist and anarcho-syndicalists movements have made with activists of "August'80" trade union, which initiated the strike in BUDRYK. An alliance which is an issue of criticism of part of anarchist spectrum. We have to keep in mind that in the beginning of 2006, these have been anarcho-syndicalistic *Workers Initiative* and exactly

*August'80* which were together defending members of August'80 laid off for trade union activities in BUDRYK mine and members of *Workers Initiative* in IMPEL and Uniontex works; both unions organised together then big demonstrations in cities of Poznan, Lodz and in the beginning of 2007 in Wroclaw. In moments of concrete confrontations, like this in BUDRYK mine, although various differences in some issues, as anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists, we are saying with one voice: "We will not let government to crush miners strike, we will not tolerate lies in media, and we will not let to appease rightful demands". Strike in BUDRYK and solidarity actions have shown that anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movement in Poland is finding itself in the very centre of the class struggles, being strongly integrated with them. In my opinion we have made everything that we could do in the issue of BUDRYK, however it was of course just a little drop in the sea of the needs.

**Jaroslav Urbanski,**  
**Workers Initiative and**  
**Anarchist Federation**  
– section Poznan



## Jan Kucera - Another Victim of Neo-Nazis



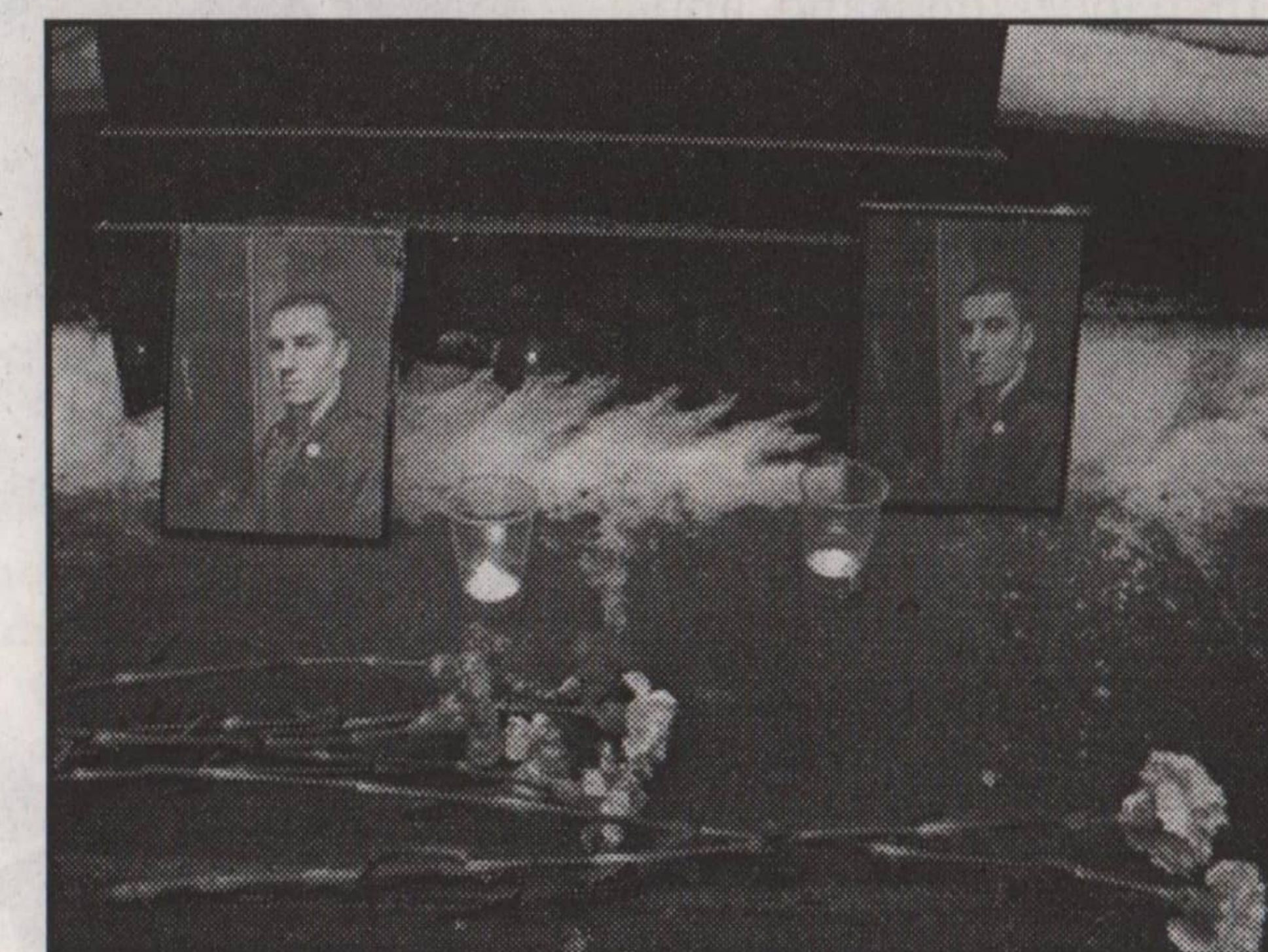
On 18 January in Pribram, a town 50 km south-west of Prague, 20-year-old neo-Nazi Jiri Fous stabbed 18-year-old Jan Kucera in the groin and back about an hour before midnight. Before this attack, young local neo-Nazis were provoking with Nazi salutes and offending a group of young punks and antifascist skinheads, to which Jan belonged. Jan's friends were trying to stop the bleeding from his femoral artery and called for an ambulance.

Neither the paramedics nor Jan's friends realized that Jan had also been stabbed in the back before it was too late. Jan lost massive amounts of blood and fell unconscious. He was rushed to a nearby hospital, but even though he was in the hands of professional doctors, he died on Sunday morning.

The attacker was arrested quickly and is accused of murder. He is in custody. The whole tragedy is even more complex. The attacker Jiri Fous is an active neo-Nazi despite his gypsy origin. Jan Kucera was an antifascist skinhead from the town of Pribram, and he was never afraid to express his opinions. In his internet profile on Czech social networking server he wrote: "I'm a normal boy

and I consider myself a SHARP skinhead. I don't care who my friends are - I don't judge people because of their musical taste, their clothes or the colour of their skin. I judge people by what they do. Anybody can write to me. I hate Nazis, the bourgeoisie, communists and similar scum! Antifascista Oil!" He stood by his opinions until the very end. He will stay forever in the hearts of his family, friends, and all people with an antifascist attitude. Honour to his memory.

Around 300 people, most of them anti-fascist, attended Jan's funeral. Despite the corporate medias cry about "tension" and "expecting conflicts" Jan's funeral was a decent event without any incident. Next day 50-80 aggressive Nazis from Anti-antifa came to Pribram. They attacked a few people that didn't look Aryan enough and later they went to the town of Kladno, where they attacked an anti-fascist punk gig. When police finally came they attacked anti-fascists who regrouped to defend itself in front of club that was closed on police order...





## Commentary by Czech Activist after the November Anti-Fascist Mobilization in Prague

In Europe, there has been a slow, but very dangerous fascist tendency in the last ten years. Russian neo-Nazis are killing strangers and antifascists with silent support of right-wing parties, NPD in Germany lures voters with the sweet mask of modern democratic party and nationalists are settling paramilitary groups in Hungary. Maybe only in Poland the tendency got slowed down, where voters scared of international isolation, have shown their opinion on nationalist-clerical government in last elections.

However, Czech people stood up against Nazis too, especially on the 10th of November. They realized that Adolf Hitler's death was not the end of the nazi threat. It's interesting how quick journalists were to criticize the state and police. Jewish organizations requested support among „physically strong men and soldiers”, politicians promised to create „living chain” against nazis. Even the conservative newspaper MF Dnes was mobilizing people into the streets (for example in the commentary on the 26th of October – „State failed, beat the boneheads”). Sentences speaking about the failing system and effectiveness of public resistance were really very strange in regime-newspapers. Especially when a journalist in the same newspaper (usually saying „red evil” when talking about anything on the left side from right-winged neo-liberalists) suddenly speaking in the same way as anarchist revolutionaries do. However, toothless legislature banned the nazi-march at the end. But it was too late to influence the on-coming events.

More than one thousand antifascists met in the centre of Prague. A small group of neonazis, who infiltrated the Prague center and was willing to demonstrate their rotten ideology, felt very quickly what do people think about them. Police operations were praised in every newspaper and on TV, but let's look at the results. Then we can realize, that police work was absolutely wrong in the antifascist sphere. Almost people 400 busted, six charged. And from them only one person was neonazi. It's a little paradox, isn't it? To guilt people, defending values of liberty... Then, when the streets were calm again, everyone was the best among journalists. Although in TV, they talked carefully about clashes between fascists and antifascists, many journalists used again the old phrase „war between extremists”. The stupidest comment was made by Karel Steigerwald from MF Dnes. Surprisingly, he didn't spit anger, he was lying directly (he is a skilled journalist, so it wasn't his ignorance). In his note he marks off antifascists like „left-wing sprats” and Antifascist action is according him „leninist”. So, everyone, who joined the antifascist demonstration, is a „left-wing sprat”? What would for example, Arnošt Lustig, well-known jewish writer have said? He joined antifascist

demonstration too. If the police would have failed and Lustig would help with confrontation (as he pronounced before the actions), is he a „left-wing sprat” and „extremist”, too?

But idea of „leninist Antifa” is more funny. Mr. Steigerwald isn't probably good at politics, because nobody can't find a parallel between leninism and Antifascist action. Such a parallel doesn't exist. What about protest actions against maoist China or against the stalinist party KSM, in which antifascists take part? By the way, extended reaction you can read here: <http://www.antifa.cz/21-mteorie-idealy-jako-porucha-du-e.html>.

But stop the stupid notes meditations and let's think about results of antifascist demonstration. People are finally starting to open their eyes and stand up against the forces aimed against our freedom, privileges and honor. People have also shown that on the 17th of November when two-thousand-heads protested against an American military base, which government puts apart from public will of majority. Demonstration could, by the way, show that 18 years after November '89 over-

turn there is something wrong with democracy in Czech Republic. Ideas of the „Velvet revolution” are long time ago drowned in the sea of capitalism. Also neonazis prospered from it, they had a meeting at the Palacký square and they were „burying the freedom of a speech”. We have to cry, when we see how society defends fascism to press privileges of the others.

And what is the neo-Nazi reaction, when we remind them of last week's events? They speak about their broken heads like it's a victory, without any ability of self-reflection. The victory over us, „jewish terror engineers”. So with that, let's wish them: „Neonazis, if only you could win every time!”

Svatopluk Procházka



## ANTIFA WILDEAST Rules of Engagement:

- Fighting fascism under any disguise and in every part of life: point that is self-explanatory. Doesn't matter if they are nazi skinheads, „elite” from blood & honor, Polish fascists such as NOP or ONR, pagan shitheads from Niklot or other kind of right wing, homophobic and racist scum they are all our enemy and a target.

- Against any sort of discrimination: while fighting groups representing those ideas, discrimination should be also confronted in our own circles.

- Ideological and physical confrontation: it means fighting on two levels. Fascists can never win control over streets, that's why physical confrontation is inevitable and necessary, but it's a mistake to concentrate only on this, forgetting about ideological struggle. Fascism breeds often where no body gave any better alternatives for the people and that's why they turned towards far right ideology. Countering their propaganda is as important as physical struggle.

- ABSOLUTELY NO CO-OPERATION with the police and

secret services: these institutions are always our enemy and we cannot be fooled when they are arresting Nazis, because next day it can be us. 100% ACAB!

- No co-operation with political parties: for them anti-fascism is only a fashionable slogan, bandwagon on which they can jump to get more influence. When shit hits the fan, they are nowhere around.

- Authoritarian left is not an ally: all sorts of Lenin followers, communists and pro-state socialists never were and never will be on our side. For them anti-fascism is a disguise in struggle for power and from the history we can learn how communist's allies end up when they are no longer needed.

- No activity of fascists can stay without reaction: you will leave them once, they will keep coming...

- Every group acts in full autonomy, without structures from above: there is no central committee, every antifa group acts as it sees fit, following only general rules.

- Defense of our own people from the repression: militant anti-fascism is not a joke. Lots of our activities might break the law and you should bear in mind legal consequences. Every person taking part in actions must know, that they have all sorts of help and unconditional solidarity guaranteed.



## Anti-Fascist Resistance in Poland

### Antifascist demonstration and clashes with Nazis in city of Białystok

On the 12th of January, Antifa organized a demonstration in Białystok, north-east of Poland. Reason for the action was the recent activity of nazi scum (vandalizing Jewish monuments and graveyards etc.) which resulted in much media attention given to them (as well as quite few arrests). As more and more people have joined the antifascist struggle in Białystok within last few months, it was also decided that a demonstration will be a good show of strength.

Around 150 people came to the demo, a vast majority of them masked up and dressed in black. There were banners saying „antifa means attack”, „radical antifascist action” and „gegen nazis”. There were speeches and hundreds of leaflets given to people walking past. Reactions were different ranging from sympathetic to

negative (as usual some people had problems with masked up faces). Before the demonstration about a dozen nazis had been observed nearby and a quick attack by antifascists scattered them in a few seconds, leaving some of them bleeding on the ground. Police seemed to be completely surprised and it took them a bit of time to regain control.

The demonstration passed through the city followed by some more nazis, protected in turn by riot police. After the demo a few more Nazis had been attacked (one of them was spotted trying to hide between hanging clothes in a shop!), including the occupants of a car, that been in turn deprived of windows and lights.

Next day the media was full of reports talking about the demonstration, in general showing anti-fascist as some sort of scary-looking bunch that decide to take matters in their own hands since the police are not doing anything. Some smart arse professor even said that people with masked up faces are a brand of terrorist. In general the picture given was of hardcore hooligans, not afraid to use violence in the fight against nazis which in general suits Białystok's antifascists just fine. Actions like that will be



repeated every few months. In the meantime Antifa is clearly gaining an upper hand on the streets of Bialystok, with more people joining the struggle and nazi scumbags losing fight after fight and being pushed out of public spaces. They admitted defeat on their internet forum, which is almost miracle, since they usually only write about their successes and never admit losing.

### Lodz:

### antifa massacres nazis during a gig

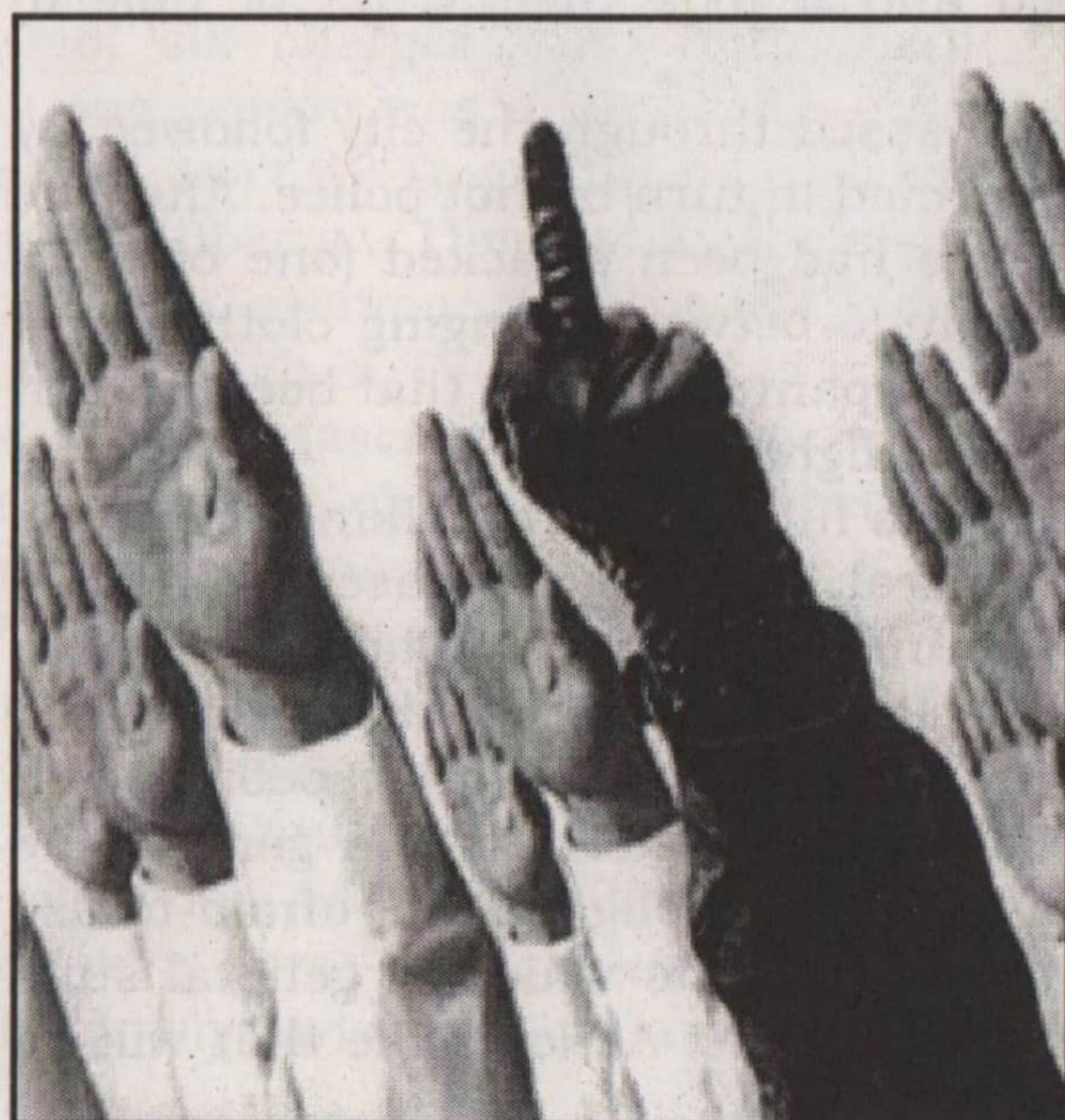
On 30th of November in Lodz there was a gig of "Junkers", "Horror-show" and other bands. From the very beginning it could be noticed that there are lots of dodgy types in the venue and on the walls there were lots of stickers with swastikas. After some time it became clear that there is considerable group of nazi skinheads inside. They started behaving in more and more provocative way, at some point chanting "Auschwitz-Birkenau!" to which group of antifascist skinheads started chanting "anti nazi skinheads" and "1,2 - ANTIFA!" after which they attacked nazi scum. Fight lasted few minutes, after which lots of nazis were laying in pools of their own blood, few of them unconscious and some others were trying to run away outside. Some were forced by antifascist skinheads to leave on their knees. Lots of cops and security guards came outside the venue but luckily nobody had been arrested. Unknown number of nazis ended up in hospital as well as one punk-rocker after being hit in the head with heavy beer glass by some nazi girl (that got trashed just after it). This event is already widely commented on all "apolitical" oi/skinhead forums and even nazi skinheads admitted on their forum to defeat, something which is a miracle on its own. One more victory for antifa!

### Independence Day

On 11th of November there is Independence Day in Poland which of course is an excellent occasion for all sorts of fascist/nazi scumbags to show themselves and try to spread their shit.

In Warsaw about 200 low-lives took part in demonstration organized by ONR (National Radical Offensive). They marched to the monument of Dmowski (far right bastard that died long time ago). At the

monument they found boxes filled with shit and placards saying "nationalism stinks" and "Poland for everybody!". On their way back quite a few unlucky "real patriots" met Antifa teams and got proper beating. Groups of Nazis from Siedlce, town



about 100 km east from Warsaw, were also bombed with eggs and bags filled with shit by group of young anarchists.

In Bialystok 11th of November coincided with weekly Food Not Bombs action so Antifa was on full alert. Around 30 nazis gathered on official celebrations but despite noticing a group of anarchists gathering close to them they didn't dare to confront them.

Around 30 antifascists gathered to provide security for FNB action, in the meantime the Nazis dispersed... so much for their loud promises to "trash all leftist scum" this day. Few of them were absolutely humiliated, spat on etc. and only the presence of few police vans saved them from beatings. Later on two dozen Antifas went through known nazi meeting places and neighborhoods but they were nowhere to be seen. Fucking cowards!



### Troubles with Nazis around the punk concert in Bialystok

5th of November in Bialystok there was a gig of street-punk band The Analogs. Antifa mustered their forces and about 30 militant anti-fascists went to listen to good music and have fun, at the same time remaining vigilant about presence of Nazis in the area. During the concert antifascists spotted few local football supporters known to be hanging around with nazis, but they were saved by security guards from a sure beating. In the middle of concert a group of nazi scum about 30 people strong attacked 4 (!) antifascists outside the venue. Before people realized what's going on and went out to help, 4 antifas stood their ground and defended themselves using pepper sprays. The nazis despite a massive numerical advantage didn't manage to do anything and when they noticed people coming out of the gig, they ran away (not before few of them got some good hits though). Also 2 apolitical skinheads known for their not-very-well hidden racist ideas got trashed after a gig. After a concert there was lot of chasing and cat-and-mouse games with nazi scum who were still unwilling to confront any groups of punks or antifascists bigger than 5 people.

## No Pasaran: Bad Luck for Nazis on Crystal Night Anniversary

**It should have been the biggest action of Czech Nazis so far. They mobilized for weeks and called for unity of all national powers... But they essentially failed. This time they went too far.**

A group of people that named itself Young national democrats (reference to an organization of German Nazi youth) registered a march "against war in Iraq" on Saturday, November 10. Nothing interesting in it except that the main person behind that group was a long-time and well-known Nazi activist and that that day was the anniversary of Crystal night, the biggest pogrom against Jews in Nazi Germany. When you note the fact that the march should have gone through the old Jewish town you already got a picture.

As soon as all of this had been publicly exposed (it was first published on the web pages of Czech Antifascist action, a few days later it was major news in all corporate media), a huge wave of resistance began. Suddenly, out of nothing there were hundreds of people willing to stop Nazis marching through Prague's Jewish old-town with their own body. First, Jews announced they would block the march and called "young people, soldiers and sportsmen" to come and defend their neighborhood. They were publicly supported by various intellectuals, actors, singers and even politicians. Once again, antifascism was hype. Antifascist action called for its own separate counter-demo.

Even though the Young national democrats kept denying till the last moment that they had anything to do with Nazis, Nazis widely mobilized for this demo, even abroad (Germany, Slovakia, Poland).

Just a few days before the action itself, the Nazi's march was prohibited by the authorities. Even though it's impossible to prohibit a demonstration according to Czech law, the authorities found a legal trick how to do it. Anyway, the Nazis publicly announced they would go on and use force if necessary...

On January 10 itself around 300 Nazis gathered near their shop "Hate core" on the periphery of Prague, far away from the actual meeting point announced on their web pages (the same place that had been announced to the authorities and prohibited). As one could expect, they were discovered by police, encircled and detained. Many of them were armed with clubs, knives, knuckle-dusters, even a gas guns and axes were discovered.

Meanwhile around 1200 people gathered on the Antifa demonstration. For a lot of young people it was their first demo and the positive thing is that they rather came to the antifa demo that promised some action than to the static demo of the Jewish society with its mindless speeches... Anyway, the antifas marched towards the announced meeting point of the Nazi demo.

A few Nazis who weren't in touch with neo-Nazi groups didn't know about the alternative plan and came to the original meeting point. They were really unlucky this time. As Antifas came close to this meeting point, police with anti-riot equipment blocked them in an attempt to defend around 20 gathered Nazis. When one of them gave the Antifas the Nazi salute he asked for it... Antifas managed to break through the police line and attacked the Nazis. Some of them saved themselves by running away; those unlucky were beaten and kicked. Pictures of one



unusually fat Nazi with broken nose and blood around his face were on the first pages of all newspapers on Monday...

One of the Nazis, later identified as one of their leader in Czechia, added some tension by pulling out a gun and firing at the Antifas. Fortunately it was just a gas-gun and he was beaten even more badly than the rest...

No Antifas were arrested in this incident. The Antifa black block then went to the city and beat some more Nazis on its way (in one case Nazis were pulled out of a police car and beaten again). It is fair to say that since the first attack the situation was really messy and that the organization wasn't actually good...

In the evening the Nazis released by the police tried to gather in "Prague Hyde park", a place where nobody needs a permission for gathering. When the Antifa black block learnt this (still about 500 strong), it tried to go there. Police blocked its way anyway and first time that day they attacked Antifas, but with full force. 30 people were arrested. Meanwhile, the Nazis were dispersed by police forces regardless of the "Hyde-park" rules.

It was a huge success for Czech antifascist. It certainly was the biggest antifascist demonstration in long years. Fascist were clearly defeated (even though they of course presented it like their victory...) and antifascists ruled the streets of Prague...



## Situation in Slovakia

### and activities of Priama akcia (IWA/AIT Slovakia) in 2005-2006

#### Political Situation

Slovakia was formed in 1993. In the period of 1994-1998 there was a ruling coalition of nationalist, leftist and centrist parties which tried to build strong national state, which means to privatize as much economic property as possible and concentrate it in hands of Slovak capitalists connected to the ruling coalition. This tendency naturally leads to international isolation. In 1998 parliamentary elections right-wing wins and the same in 2002. First, many people had big hopes in new right-wing coalition but soon their hopes disappeared because there was no evident progress in social sphere. However, Slovakia was praised for its economic progress and in fact became a forefront of European neoliberal experiment. In 2006 parliamentary elections in which the social democrats SMER won the participation was around 52 %. Before the elections they made a pact with major union confederation KOZ. Social democrats formed new ruling coalition with nationalists and centrist-right party (both part of the 1994-1998 ruling coalition).

#### Social and Economic Aspects

As for social situation, after 17 years of structural changes social situation changed minimally and for many people not for better. If you look at the unemployment rate, it was over 19 % in 1998 and now it's around 14 or 16 % (depends on the method of counting). Real wages are still lower than in 1989. Present average wage is around 480 Euro which is just statistics that doesn't take into consideration growing gap between worker and management wages and different industrial sectors. For many workers the official average wage was and still is just a dream that they are able to reach only by overtime, nightshifts or weekend work. Usual wage in many sectors is very close to the minimum wage, in many cases not more than 250 Euro, usually in sectors traditionally employed by women. Combined with social cuts,

these factors have led to massive disillusionment and disappointment from the capitalist reality of democracy and election system. New social democratic government is trying to build an image of social feeling with the people and establish several pro-social appearing changes that obviously attract people's attention. Now the social democrats have even bigger support among population than before the elections. Also, Slovakia is seen in good light by the capital. For example, the currency is breaking all the historical records now. Effects of this situation do not seem to be very good for the future of the workers resistance initiatives in Slovakia.

#### Workers Resistance and Union Movement

Response of the working class to social experiments has been almost none till now. Membership of trade unions in Slovakia fell from some 2 millions in 1989 to half a million in 2004 (which is 24 % of working population according to unions). People lose faith because unions are totally inactive in bipartite (workplace) and the "successes" in tripartite (national level) are very little. Also, union officials agree that they are not able to attract young workers to join which is nothing unusual. The union credo is straight - social partnership by any means necessary. This was the culture of union work since the beginning and this culture directly led people not only to leaving unions but also to complete distrust in any union activity. There are various reasons for this fatal approach of unions. Bureaucracy, making carrier in the unions, submissive culture, no real solidarity among different unions, promises instead of direct actions, appeasing of all potential areas of social conflicts and strikes in workplaces, benefits from high union positions, culture of partnership and necessity of good image in front of tripartite partners, no experience with and fear of direct actions, acceptance of the necessity to restructure the economy for future better conditions even if it means lower wages or unemployment and currently also a

pact with social democrats. As mentioned before, unions in Slovakia do not use direct actions to fulfill their demands. There have been only 4 nationwide union strikes from 1993 to 2006. It was four-day railway workers strike, one-day teachers strike and quite ridiculous one-hour general strike, all in 2003, and in 2006 strike in health sector. As for individual workplace strikes, the media report them rather rarely but we can estimate that the number of strikes is higher. However, there is no workers network to inform about these strikes, about their development and about how they end. Usual workers protest are in form of happenings of several tens of workers, mainly union officials in front of government buildings or demonstrations with several hundred or thousand of unionists. Traditionally, the biggest union federation Confederation of Trade Unions (KOZ) organizes central a 1st May demonstration in some Middle Slovakia town with not more than 2000 unionists.

#### Background of Anti-Authoritarian and Anarchist Situation

As for anti-authoritarian movement, it is important to mention the history and development a bit. To be clear about the situation it is important to speak of "scene" instead of "movement" because this is more precise term for our situation. First of all, what is important to tell is that there was no organized (and in fact even unorganized) anti-authoritarian movement until the end of 90's. Anarchist organizations have been formed in a situation of no historical tradition of anarchism in Slovakia (not even in the era of common Czechoslovakia) which puts us in a completely different cultural and social situation compared to other European anarchist movements. First signs of anti-authoritarian ideas could be seen in a DIY punk scene in the beginning of 90's. Thanks to existence of Czechoslovakia, good relationships between people from both countries and free border politics there is

growing impact of more organized, openly political and also anarchist Czech movement. In mid-90's first more or less antiauthoritarian group is formed which is called Slobodná Alternativa (Free alternative). It deals



with issues usually typical for punk subculture - animal rights, vegetarianism, antimilitarism, antiracism, ecology and so. However, the group is rather autonomist and subculture oriented and soon becomes not that radical and finishes its existence. First openly anarchist collective was formed in summer 1999. It was an anarchosyndicalist newspaper collective called Priama akcia (Direct action). Soon after this, in autumn 1999, Slovak regional group of Československá Anarchistická Federácia (CSAF - Czechoslovak anarchist federation, an IAF member) is formed and later, in spring 2000, the Priama akcia newspaper collective transformed into organisation called Priama akcia (PA). At 2000 Congress of IWA/AIT Priama akcia became Slovak member section. As for other attempts that are not openly anarchist but rather anti-authoritarian, in 2002 Antifašistická Akcia Bratislava (AAB - Antifascist action Bratislava) is formed that also stands on principles of self-emancipation but because of its militant activities works in conspiracy. In 2005 Antifascist action group is formed also in Trnava (40 km's from the capital Bratislava). After 1999 there have been several Food Not Bombs projects in different towns. Till now only Bratislava and Trnava group works regularly.

#### Anarchist and Anti-Authoritarian Organising and Priama Akcia

From the beginnings in 1999 till 2006, there can be seen almost no progress. Working in anarchist organizations led to "burn-out" effect in case of many activists. Most of the anarchists from the first years are no longer organized. Furthermore, most of those few people who are today still interested in

anarchism do not feel the need to get organized. At the moment, Slovak group of CSAF is defunct, AAB works in an underground manner without any public info about their real actions and Food not bombs collectives work on the basis of preparing meals for the homeless, so they are unfortunately rather a charity than an openly anti-capitalist or anarchist projects. As for Priama akcia, recent years were critically crucial. There were and still continue discussions about the future of the organization, its effectiveness and activities. In late 2004 we started a process of reconstruction of Priama akcia. Now the situation is much better and Priama akcia is now the only living socially active anarchist force in Slovakia with continual activities. We have three regional groups - Bratislava, West and East.

We have engaged in one way or another in most of the generally known working class actions and struggles in recent years. To mention some of them: four-day railway workers strike, teachers protests, union demonstrations, students protests, doctors protests or struggle of SCP/Mondi Business workers (which was the first major workplace dispute where workers refused politics of major union confederation and organized their own union; however after few months and close relationships with Slovak and Austrian Christian union officials they joined Christian union confederation NKOS). In 2005 we started our ecology campaign against skiers resort in Eastern Slovakia. In 2006 we organized campaign around parliamentary elections with some 25 actions during 50 days. From 2005 we have questioned attempts to pass new anti-extremist law aimed at neo-Nazis but elaborated in a way that may lead to future criminalization of any self-defense direct action social activities. In summer 2006 we engaged in solidarity activities for CNT-E strike against Mercadona. In September 2006 we managed to bring to mass media a neo-Nazi attack in one Eastern Slovakia town that was attempted to be hidden by regional authorities and supported the victims. In August 2006 we have started our monthly online radio program on a student's radio channel. The rest of our activities can be found in the summary in next pages. Still, we are very few and from the beginning we face lack of resources. We continue in our activities only thanks to support from outside Slovakia and in particular from IWA (not only financial support).

#### Anti-Authoritarian Projects and ways to support them

##### Breakpoint Press (NBZ)

(cooperating group of PA) It is a publishing house focused on written materials like pamphlets and books and recently mostly CDs and DVDs. The point is to translate interesting texts or CD/DVD documentaries to Slovak language and distribute them in Slovakia and Czech. We would welcome any interesting materials and documentaries on social struggles.

##### Red and Black Distribution (CCD)

(cooperating group of PA) Distribution of mostly anarchist materials, mainly from Czech and Slovakia.

##### Radio Priama Akcia

(project of PA) From August 2006 we have started monthly radio program on a student radio in Bratislava. We focus on presentation of social struggles and activities around the world and in fact everything connected to anarchism in our everyday lives.

##### Collective of Anarchist Tourists (KATT)

Combines leisure, relax, nature and aims to strengthen our relationships and sense of community. From 2005 we did several winter, spring and summer tours in Slovakia. In summer 2006 also a collective in Czech was formed and we hope to spread the idea to other countries as well (we have contacts to Austria and already did tours in Slovakia and Czech together, and also to Slovenia). Everyone is invited to go trekking with us and/or give us tips in his/her country.

##### Info-@-Shelves (Info-@-Police)

From October 2006 first info shop in Bratislava is opened. It is a place for anti-authoritarian library and distribution of materials. We would welcome anything that one thinks is worth having there and is connected to anarchism and anti-authoritarian ideas. There is also a space available to hold speeches, presentations, film screenings etc. so if you know about some speech tours of anarchists, be sure to let us know! We have a possibility to put our archive of IWA - magazines and info about activities of sections of IWA.



## The "Greater Evil" is the one with the more deceptive smile: Why the election results brought me no relief

Whoever you vote for,  
the government gets in

A member of the Abolishing the Borders from Below collective mentioned that casual observers of events in Poland tended to comment after the election on what a good thing it is that Poland got a new government. Such a comment would imply that any government is better than the old and that some sort of "improvement" in the lives of people could be expected.

If this were only wishful thinking! More likely such comments reflect how people see life through a media filter; when the press has decided to join in the campaign and in fact publish material which cast a government in critical light, people see something is wrong. When they accept the actions of that government somewhat complicitly, finding out how crappy the government is needs a little more effort.

### New Government, New Problems

To start off, a few facts about what has changed and what hasn't changed in the last 4 months since the new elections.

#### 1. The far right and social conservatives in the government

Some of the worst right-wingers are gone, like members of the League of Polish Families (LPR). Of course, nothing can prevent them from changing party, which some did. In many parties there is a strongly conservative wing - although they tend to hide themselves better than the overtly far-right members of LPR. Some of the more awful ones, who did things like attack women activists defending the Women on Waves project (which offers abortion drugs to women in countries where abortion is illegal), went into parties like PSL. Others went into different posts in enterprises or the state including overseeing the organization of Euro 2012. Importantly, some of the worst of them maintained the positions they had like the former editor of a neo-nazi magazine who not only maintained his position of authority at the public TV station, but hired some of his friends. Members of LPR are still in Europarlament.

On the one hand, good that they're gone. On the other, these far-right, together with members of Self-Defense, were the only ones in parliament which did things like oppose Polish involvement in the war in Iraq and mission in Afghanistan, oppose the installation of American bases in Poland, oppose certain anti-social trends.

Members of Law and Justice (PiS) are still in Parliament where they have moved from the subject of constant attack into the role of opposition to the anti-social policies of the current government. The number of PiS parliamentarians is significant.

#### 2. No support for women or LGBT

In terms of "social conservatism" the former government was highly criticized for things like its overtly homophobic views or connections with the church. Many people in the current government have similar views, only they avoiding ranting about these issues publically and do not make efforts to mobilize hate campaigns. A good example would be the Mayor of Warsaw who, during the elections was highly critical of things like banning a gay parade. It is true that probably she wouldn't ban it, but she's also an active member of a certain Catholic organization who had formerly been supported politically by the far right. This may be a "big difference" for some, but besides not violating civil rights by banning marches, no improvements can be expected. If anybody had any illusions, they have already burst. After the election, LGBT groups tried to speak to the new government about issues and were basically told to fuck off.

The same can be said of women's issues. The current government has the same position as the old one on issues such as abortion. In fact, many things will get worse for women as the new government starts their assault in areas like health care.

#### 3. Total war on labour

While some people are sleeping easier that they are not villified as the root of all evil everyday by the government, a much larger group of society has come under attack: unionists and large segments of workers.

The old government was busy fighting moral issues and "perversion"; the new government, which is in essence co-governed by the pro-business lobby, speaks about workers as if they were terrorizing the economy, shirkers looking for privileges and free-riders. The number of strikes is sure to grow under the "yuppie scum government", which is busy finding ways to attack the labour code and the law on trade unions. In short, it is their stated goal to make the country more business-friendly.

Coming back to my idea that concern in casual observers is dictated by the mainstream media, I remember reading lots of horror stories in the foreign press about the gay parade being banned in Warsaw and how conservative the government is. This was deserved criticism. Now you have nowhere near the outcry or attention devoted to the government's assault on labour - because the mainstream media represents the establishment. Human rights in certain areas are already an issue for the establishment since these pose no real threat to business as usual.

Changes to the labour code will effect everyone. The new government would like to cancel the right of people to take

days off without approval from the boss or a medical certificate (currently workers can take off 3 days per year without prior approval), to lower the amount of vacation days allowed for large segments of workers, to shift more social costs onto employers and to allow bosses to fire people who don't come to work, i.e. who participate in sick-ins or other forms of worker protest.

#### 4. Privatize everything

One scandal that took place before the election involved a parliamentarian from Civic Platform (PO - current ruling party) who was caught bragging to potential investors about what a bonanza it would be for them to get in on privatized health care and privatizing hospitals. Although PO distanced themselves from her, that basically represents a fair picture of what's happening in the area of health care in Poland. Besides privatizing health care, PO wants all higher education to be paid, wants to privatize everything. It's part of that classic neoliberal ideology.

What's even worse than their plans for privatization is that they put rather incompetent people in charge of some projects. The government's "White Summit" which gathered representatives of the medical industry together with politicians to discuss the future of health care showed everyone that while the government was just trying to get their heads around the issue, the medical community had a much better knowledge of the system than the Minister of Health. The only thing worse than these plans to privatize everything is that they'll probably screw lots of functional things up in the process.

### Voting for the "Lesser of Two Evils"

The points mentioned above are just some of the problems we are currently facing. One than has to wonder why some people decided that a Civic Platform government would be "the lesser of two evils".

What we are seeing in many places in the world is how the public can be mobilized, scandalized and emotionally swayed by issues which some in the US call "the culture wars" - issues like religion, abortion and gay rights. While all of these are extremely important, many have wondered whether emotion around these issues have obscured concern over some more universal ones. (Although I don't agree with the partisan message of the book, Thomas Frank's "What's the Matter with Kansas?" (also known in Europe as "What's the Matter with America?") makes a good attempt to look at this issue.)

Large segments of the public seem to only superficially follow or care about essential areas of public life such as the economy and tend to either absorb the economic "wisdom" of the mainstream media, or, in the alternative scene, the economic sensibilities of the social democratic soft left. For such people, other issues can take precedence in their voting choices or in their assessment that something is a "lesser evil".

Ironically, economic interests were an important factor in getting the PiS government elected in the first place. Many people could just not bring themselves to vote for a party of heartless yuppies who are so clearly oblivious of public welfare. Once in power, PiS and their coalition partners fell back on these emotional issues which resonated with part

of their electorate - issues like punishing former Russian agents, spreading Christian values and promoting Polish nationalism. As a result, a large negative reaction took place. During the early elections, there was no less support for PiS - as a matter of fact, they got even more votes. What happened though is that a large turnout was encouraged as people sought to vote out PiS. As the "only electable alternative" to PiS, PO took the elections. But this was by a small margin over PiS. Voters were much harder on LPR and Self-Defense who were, in fact, voted out.

The media and political scene strongly promoted the "get out and vote" line. This proved easy to push even in the left or liberal circles, which had no chance of doing anything but losing and getting a more neoliberal government. People were convinced that early elections were needed and that people should cast protest votes.

Within the left one could notice interesting polls on the leftist portal; most people supported the social democratic establishment party, probably figuring that other left parties had no chance.

Initially there was relatively good support for another social democratic party which is more pro-labour and anti-war, but after it started using unethical means to gain voters, support dropped and for the first time, a big segment of the left supported the anarchist call for a boycott.

Ironically, the opposite was happening in the anarchist movement. Despite the fact that there was an anarchist boycott, a certain part of the anarchist movement got stirred up by the philosophy of protest voting. People from those circles held a discussion on whether to boycott or cast a vote where a few people emotionally argued about how they had "had enough".

Sadly, this reflects on some trends in the movement, where some people who have trouble organizing vibrant grassroots movements and alternatives are being sucked up into NGOs and reformist agendas. Although this is perhaps a marginal part of the movement, it's gained some legitimacy as it's obviously easy to mobilize people around a left-liberal agenda of gradual reform through legalistic means.

Unfortunately gradual reforms rarely shake the system that is destroying us - the system of capitalism and state power.

As energy gets channeled into issues that people see as "real changes", more radical movements tend to get ignored. Surely some reforms are beneficial and even worth fighting for, but besides these issues there is the essential issue of control over one's own life. However you look at it, it is not the government which reforms itself and gives people more privileges, but it's the government that takes power away, that bans and illegalizes things, and which "gives back" rights when the broader population demands it. Rather than increasing the government's legitimacy, we need to be organizing ourselves to kick the government out. There's a lot to be done - and if anarchists aren't going to do it, nobody is.

As the old saying goes, if voting changed anything, it would be illegal. The changes voting brings can only postpone the deserved demise of the entire system.

by Laure Akai



## On the Proposed Legislative Clampdown in Estonia: what's all the fuss about?

In autumn 2007, the Ministry of Interior Affairs revived a true legislative zombie.

The bill, patched together from a few abandoned ones and peppered with fresh folly, would change 12 laws, supplying police with new powers and privileges, means of coercion and weapons. It would seriously restrict freedom of demonstration and public speech.

It has met pointy criticism in media, yet is poorly known, and being fast-forwarded through ministries for approval by Parliament. Unless sufficient opposition can be shown, approval may happen in spring 2008, out of MPs blindly following party loyalties.

The "features" of the new bill are impressive. A change of wording in the law on public meetings, formerly banning any demonstration which called for violence, has transformed into a ban on any demonstration which calls for changes in the constitutional order, no matter how peaceful.

Police would receive powers of detaining people "preventatively", before a crime or even a misdemeanour has occurred, merely "to clarify the nature of threat" and "for identification".

Such unwarranted detainment, even for mere identification, lacks well-defined justifying criteria, and could be extended to 48 hours, with searches as a free "bonus".

Dissolving public meetings is made comfortable and easy, by introducing the concept of "prohibition on stay", which can be introduced in a given place for up to 12 hours (or indefinitely, if the Minister of Interior Affairs so deigns). A prohibition on stay could be issued for assorted reasons, naturally including "to clarify the nature of threat", which absent a definition of threat clarifies to whim.

Opportunities for surveillance are to expand: authorities can stop worrying about an inconvenient obligation to

inform people whose privacy has been violated by surveillance procedures. Instead, mobile phone operators get to worry about providing state with real-time location data.

While practise has shown that personnel of security police get away with wholesale photographing of peaceful demonstrators (despite a constitutional prohibition against state officials recording persons' political opinions without permission) demonstrators are to say goodbye to an opportunity of resisting this violation by concealing one's face.

Finally, as if "don't taze me, bro" weren't already a common term in some places, the bill would grant police permission to use electrical weapons, despite the occasionally lethal outcomes and known tendencies of using such weapons instead of pepper spray or words, rather than instead of firearms.

To expose this legislative wonder in its full glory and secure its quashing or widest possible limitation, an ad-hoc coalition of activists has formed, including people from a wide political basis (of whom indeed, some would otherwise tend to disagree). Some groups have done sloganeering, and a campaign is running to collect signatures, both in the web and on paper.

Local anarchists are involved, but despite their fully peaceful history, they aren't seeking a spotlight in this venture, since many people are allergic to this term, and might indeed reject a sensible proposal due to the wrong messenger getting highlighted.

To find factors which brought forth this strange legislative apparition, one probably needs to consider last Spring's political tumult.

April 2007 in Estonia was marked by the government's shortsighted decision and unexpected unilateral removal of a Soviet-era WWII monument from central Tallinn. (Some deemed the so-called "Bronze Soldier" a symbol of former occupation, others considered it a place of mourning the lost, and some

of celebrating victory against invasion, even if that victory became an invasion.)

The nightly and secretive removal of that monument, secured by riot police in last April, indeed sparked rioting among Russian-speaking youths, and their clashes with police. It also provided cover for less principled persons to engage in looting, and generally stands out as a needless and avoidable provocation of ethnic tensions in Estonia's recent years. (check the article "The story of a riot-causing monument in Estonia" in ABB#29 for very detailed description of the events - ABB)

The bill has been "sold" to the public largely as a "tough" response to the April riots. In a climate of superficial coverage and accusing opponents of being unpatriotic, it has so far avoided derailment, despite clearly stripping important rights from anyone who could possibly have a public grievance to voice in future. Lack of opposition has been helped by classic fearmongering, straw-man argumentation and lack of information.

To characterize the sponsor of the bill and speculate of who would approve of such measures, it is the interior minister Jüri Pihl, a former chief of security police and before that, a career militia officer who served at places which required good cooperation with Soviet three-letter agencies.

Surprisingly enough, the bill has recently found some opposition among the ranks of government too, with the Ministry of Justice pointing out severe defects.

The bill is likely unconstitutional in some sections, but in multiple cases, constitution fails and bureaucrats decline to protect the rights which it tries to take, necessitating that people do it, and express their opposition in no uncertain terms.

**Article provided by comrades from "Punamust"**

## Rozbrat Squat Threatened

In the morning on 8th of January 2008 a debt collector was escorted into the Rozbrat squat by cops. They drilled the lock on the front gate and came inside to estimate the price of the part of the ground where Rozbrat sits. They had a legal permission to do so.

Rozbrat squat occupies the land that belongs to three owners. The biggest part, where today you can find two concert halls, gallery, two bars, anarchist library and part of the living area, had belonged to a private company. More than 13 years ago the company took a huge credit bank and disappeared. Probably the moment when the value of the land became higher than the debt the bank had a right to overtake the land. The debt collector's visit means that the land is going to be sale on the auction. We haven't been informed about exact date of the auction, it may happen within one or two months. It may not mean immediate eviction, but taking into consideration that the ground lays almost in the centre of Poznan and remembering about huge property boom nowadays in Poland, we suppose there will be many investors willing to buy it. It means we should prepare for the worst.

We have already started to organize legal help and information campaign in local media. Many positive articles about squat and our activity was published till now. The fact that Rozbrat is a seat of a few "official" organizations may help us, as well as the fact that people are living here (according to Polish law nobody can be kick out from day to day). What we know for sure - we are not going to give up without fight.

Rozbrat is located in Poznan, West Poland. It is the oldest squat in Poland, last autumn we celebrated 13 birthday. But it is not only home for around 20 people now (and was for dozens in last 13 years) but also it is an irreplaceable base for a multitude of social, political/anarchist and cultural activity. It is a place that inspired many of us to become and stay rebel, to run different kind of activities. Here Poznan's Anarchist Library was founded in 1997 to gather documents, posters, books, magazines about anarchist activity in Poland and abroad. Today it seems to

be the biggest anarchist library in Poland, helping other librarian initiatives. Here in 1994 Trojka Publishing house was founded to publish d.i.y. materials propagating anarchism, liberation ideas and creative thinking. Today Trojka seems to be one of the biggest distribution and publisher of books and materials on idea and history of anarchist movement.

Rozbrat is a meeting point of Anarchist Federation from Poznań, The Workers Initiative trade union, Rhythms of Resistance (samba band), Food Not Bombs, local Anarchist Black Cross, Anti-War Coalition, anti-recruitment organization. We run info-shop, we have organize here hundreds of concerts, theatres shows, exhibitions, anarchist bookfairs, conferences. We had plenty guests from all over the world. We squatted Rozbrat, Rozbrat squatted our hearts - we cannot imagine our city without this place, we cannot imagine our lives not living here, not acting here, not widespreading ideas of self-organization from here.

Rozbrat Collective would like to thank everyone who in the last weeks expressed their support and readiness to defend our place. We've received hundreds of e-mails, phone calls, letters, both from individuals and organizations, social movements from Poland and from abroad. We would like to state that we are going to defend Rozbrat with all possible means, including not legal/official if necessary. So far, Rozbrat is still active. We invite all of you for gigs, exhibitions, lectures, film screenings we organize next weeks. We invite to the Anarchist Library and Infoshop, to our website [www.rozbrat.org](http://www.rozbrat.org), to see some pictures from the squat on [www.foto.rozbrat.org](http://www.foto.rozbrat.org) and to contact us: [fa-poznan@rozbrat.org](mailto:fa-poznan@rozbrat.org)

As soon as we know more we will publish statements on the website and for sure will give you a clear sign when we need your help. All for one! - One for all!

Rozbrat Collective, February 2008

## Interview with Activists of Rozbrat

*"Thanks to Rozbrat ideas have had a chance to be spread and for some people living in Poznan anarchism is not only associated with bombs and chaos or utopia anymore, but with real alternatives that can be realized in real life e.g. idea of self-organization, direct democracy, collectivism"*

ROZBRAT is the longest existing anarchist centre in Poland. We are not going to hide that there are existing since years strong comradeship and friendship relations between ABB-collective and Poznan anarchists organised around Rozbrat squat. We have been taking part in many non-commercial cultural events, workers conferences and anarchists assemblies taking place in Rozbrat. Some months ago we conducted presentation of our project during annual anarchist book-fair there. Anarchists and syndicalists organised around Rozbrat are regularly writing for ABB while "Bractwo Trojka", an anarchist

publishing house run in Rozbrat is one of the main distributors of ABB for Poland. Finally, Poznan anarchists, activists and inhabitants of the centre, are always one of the first from abroad rushing to our hometown Berlin when there is international support needed in the struggle against state power. At the same time, Rozbrat is very inspiring space; it is always very interesting to spend at least few hours there on your way from Berlin to any other places in far Eastern Europe, and, as it will be expressed below, in order "to charge your batteries" there.



Radical social, political and cultural activities run in this place have been reported many times in probably all editions of our journal. But we have never undertaken a step to interview Rozbrat activists about their centre itself: about its history, social meaning and influence, present situation and the perspectives of resistance against the attempts of state and capitalistic mechanisms to crush it down. So here is the interview which was waiting to be made for about 6 years long...

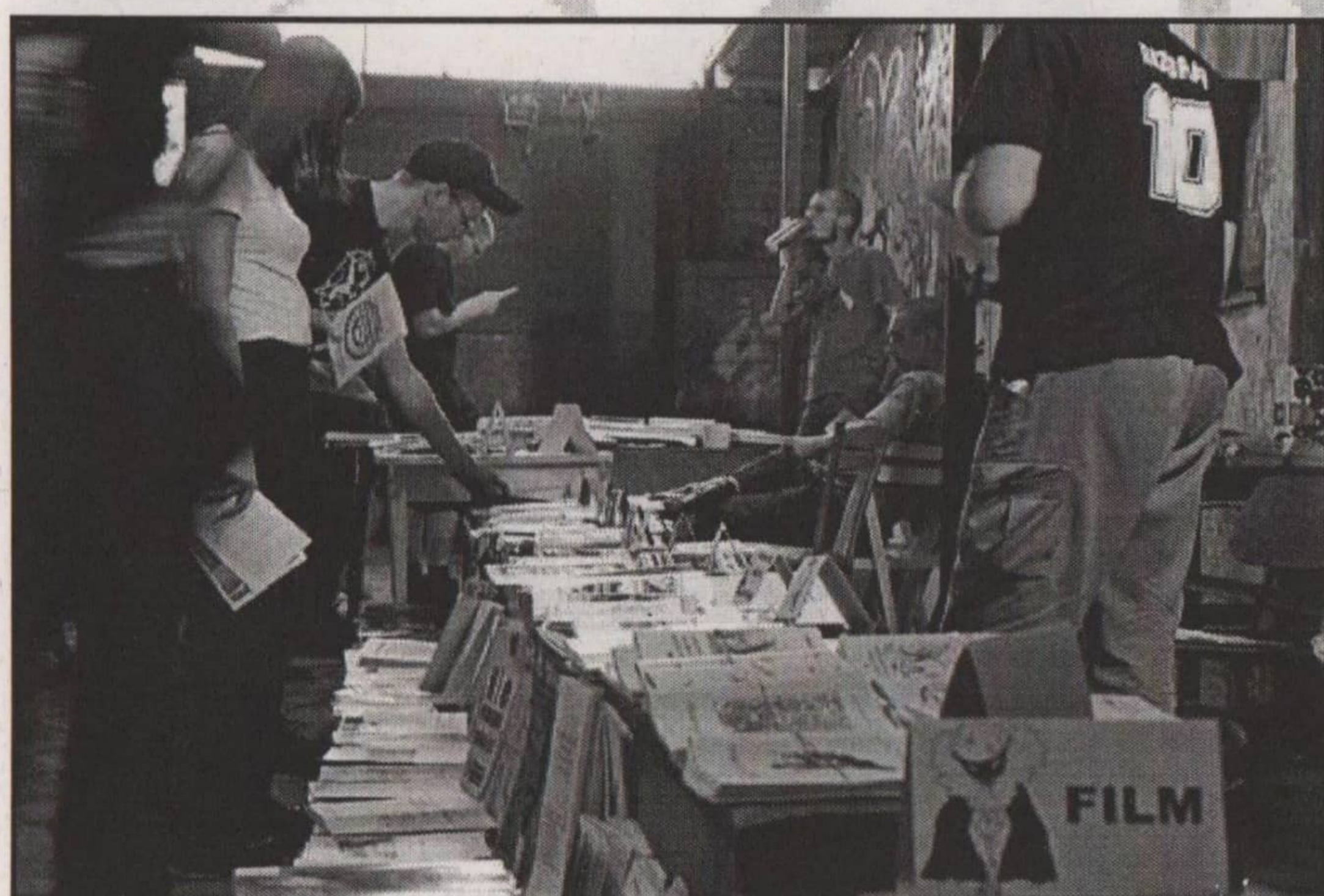
Thanx a lot to Damian, Katarzyna, Ruda and Szoszon, four Rozbrat activists as well as members of Anarchist Federation, for sharing with us all what we always wanted know about the Rozbrat... Thanx to other activist which helped with quick translation of this interview.

**ABB:** What do you think ROZBRAT means for the anarchist movement from Poland and from Poznan?

**Damian:** Actually, when you think about anarchist movement in Poznan, you think exactly about Rozbrat, as a place that gathers free-thinking and anarchist milieus. For now it is quite difficult to imagine Poznan anarchist movement without Rozbrat.

As well, most of the activists from - what you call today - the anarchist movement in Poland became active in the time when Rozbrat already existed. It means that they somehow had to refer to this active centre in Poznan. During those years hundreds of anarchist meetings, discussions and congresses took place here. There are not many anarchists in Poland who haven't had any relation to this place. I think it wouldn't be an exaggeration if I said that the anarchist milieu that is active around Rozbrat is today the oldest continuously active and the most diverse milieu in Poland. For the anarchist movement in Poland, relatively young and undermined by plagues of evanescence, such experience is a value itself.

**Ruda:** Rozbrat is a great starting point for people who haven't had any possibility to meet with the anarchist ideas before. A lot of people come here and first they are inspired by the place itself (the library, community living or just d.i.y. parties) and then they start to ask about ideological reasons why people live that way or are politically active.



What is more, I think that thanks to Rozbrat the members of Anarchist Federation are rooted in this existing place that somehow constitutes us as a group and gives a feeling of support from the community. Thanks to that we feel stronger while dealing with different campaigns outside Rozbrat. As a part of the community we take care of the

place, renovate it, keep it clean, prepare it for all the events, eat together or just have fun - thanks to that we don't become „apparatchiks” of the anarchist movement.

And finally, thanks to Rozbrat and the activity of Anarchist Federation anarchist ideas have had a chance to be spread and we can say that for some people living in Poznan anarchism is not only associated with bombs and chaos or utopia anymore, but with real alternatives that can be realized in real life (e.g. idea of self-organization, direct democracy, collectivism).

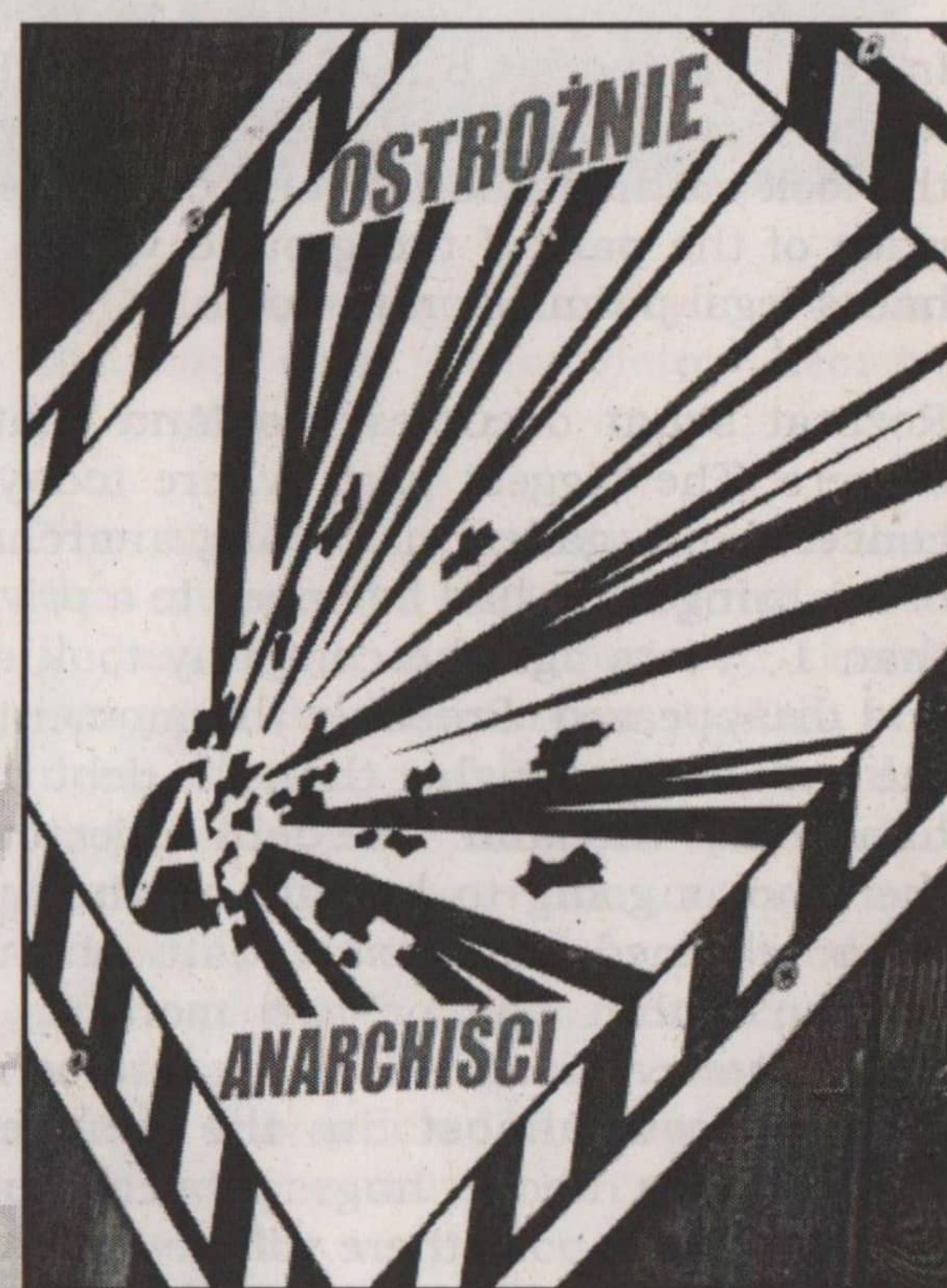
**Szoszon:** But also Rozbrat is still somehow a so-called safety-valve and the space has taken up our energy and a lot of activities which we could have been spent with people outside in the streets. Instead of going outside, we focus on our autonomist oasis, on our own „village”. The movement was strong when Rozbrat was founded, but today, taking into consideration more mature forms of our activity, self-organization, deeper analysis and constructive criticism of reality that surrounds us, we can be sure that the loss of this place is going to be like a catalyst for our activities on different levels. Something like pulling out a safety pin from a grenade of our city.

**ABB:** Without a doubt the end of Rozbrat would be a huge loss. But can you describe more precisely what, apart from some activists losing their home, would be the impact of that loss on social, political or moral grounds if Rozbrat would really disappear?

**Damian:** First we would have to decide what Rozbrat really is. If you think of the few houses and the space itself, they are for sure really important tools, but still just tools. Rozbrat is a base for dozens of initiatives and it would be a big problem for them if Rozbrat one day would disappear. Here you can find the Anarchist Library and archive, the biggest anarchist distribution and publishing house, it is a place for congresses, meetings and conferences of syndicalist and anarchist organizations. In Poland it is not common for local anarchist groups to have their own space (legal or not, even small). And what more, thanks to Rozbrat we are sometimes able to collect funds to support the movement, not only in Poznan.

**Katarzyna:** If you think of Poznan, Rozbrat is one of the few places where a real political debate is continuously ongoing which goes beyond the mainstream: through discussions, lectures, film screenings and so on.

At Rozbrat there is quite a big community living and managing the place using rules of direct democracy. This is an important experience in Polish reality, it doesn't have a lot of equivalents in other Polish cities. It would be very difficult to reconstruct that reality in a different place.



**Damian:** Going back to the question of Rozbrat as a living place, we should mention that although Rozbrat is quite a nice place to live for 20 people, some of those people have no other choice. When Poland have joined the EU the prices of real estate have risen by a few hundred percent. Today a small flat (40m2) costs around 55-70 thousand euros, to rent such a flat you would have to spend 250-300 euro monthly, when an average monthly salary is 270-400 euro. So for many people such costs are beyond their possibilities.

**Katarzyna:** I hope that if it wouldn't be possible for us to stay at Rozbrat, we will be able to keep the dynamics of the activities we run here at the moment. But for sure it would require more effort.

**Ruda:** Well, if Rozbrat disappears, first of all some anarchists from Poland would lose the place that they visit to 'charge their batteries'. But to be serious, although there is a lot of things that Rozbrat Collective has difficulties with, we still learn how to live and act together and this attempt to build a non-hierarchical community is really exceptional in our reality. You still have to remember that we talk about Poland, in Poznan for example, with 700 000 inhabitants, there are no other groups that are based on the idea of horizontal organisation, trying to create collectives, or economical co-operations that print books, run a pub or something else.

**ABB:** We know that the discussion about the strategy of defence of Rozbrat is still going on and that you are not ready to speak out in the name of all the community. But maybe you are able to tell us what options are discussed in Poznan now. What kind of strategy of defence of Rozbrat can you imagine?

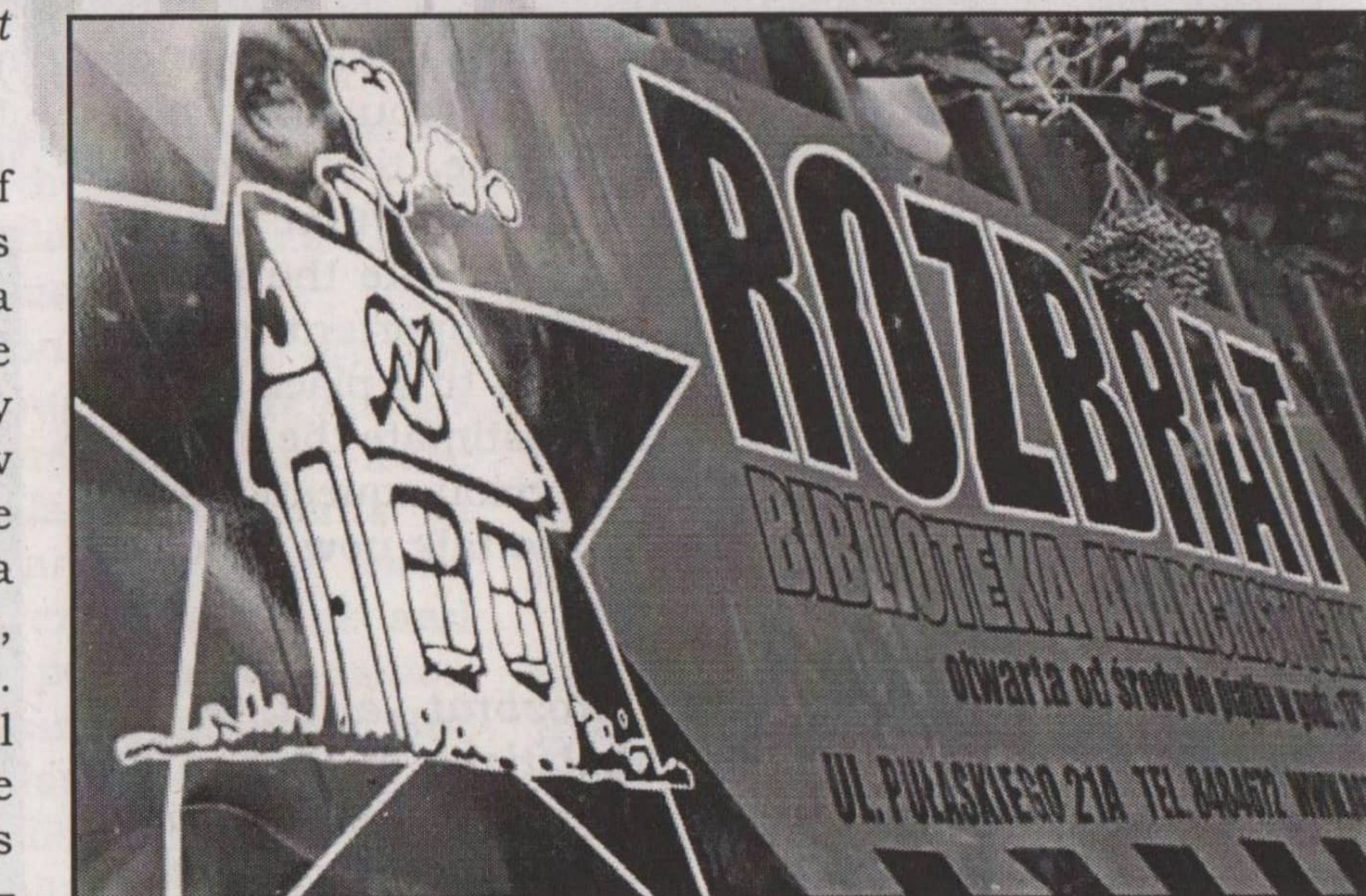
**Damian:** Discussions always bring a wide spectrum of different ideas. We could point out two different attitudes towards Rozbrat - one of them suggests that Rozbrat is a value and a goal in itself, the second one claims to perceive Rozbrat as an instrument. And of course there are many positions in-between. The second point of view understands Rozbrat as one of the tools for a social change we strive for. On the contrary, first attitude leads to a declaration that there is no other alternative to Rozbrat, the struggle must go on regardless of any circumstances. The second option takes into consideration a withdrawal from Rozbrat only if alternatives appear. But for now there is no alternative, so we are decided to fight for Rozbrat as it is now. At the moment we consider all ways of defence - including legal and not legal ones. We also analyse campaigns that were organized in defence of squats in other countries, which helps us a lot.

**Ruda:** Exactly, especially for example the legal situation of „KÖPI” in Berlin is similar. But when you analyse ups and downs of the squatting movement in the last few years you can draw some conclusions - first of all that it is easier to overcome problems when a ground belongs to the city. A lot of squats have survived thanks to different kinds of agreements with the city administration (Christiania in Denmark, Hausmania in Norway, a lot of „house projects” in Berlin or CRK in Wroclaw, Poland). What the movement doesn't have are weapons to save a squat or land when they belong to capital (also violence and direct actions, which were used for example in defence of Ungdomshuset in Copenhagen, don't bring positive results). And Rozbrat is considered to be a private property, although now in fact there is no owner. The court is legally obliged to organize the auction and sell the ground in order to give back the money to the bank for the mortgage, we still don't know who is the potential investor. The struggle against capital is particularly difficult in such semi-periphery country like Poland, where private property is a holy thing, where semi-wild capitalism makes it possible to use for example private security guards against legal workers' strike or to build shopping malls in city parks.

Localization of Rozbrat is very attractive, its almost centre of Poznan and is quite a big land (around 1 hectare). It may cost 5,5M euro. Although one of the economists has said that because of the existence of Rozbrat on this land it may cost five times less, it is very difficult for us to imagine that we would be able to collect such an amount of money. The Polish squat movement is too weak and too poor to create funds that would help to buy empty buildings or give unrepayable credits (or even credits without profits), there are no such possibilities that exist for example in Switzerland or in Germany.

The struggle for Rozbrat has also a symbolic meaning (of course not first and foremost). It creates a good opportunity to speak out about already mentioned problems of the lack of houses in Poland, about evictions, catastrophical policy of developers in the centres of Polish cities, lack of cheap available rooms/offices for groups running social activity and lack of space for alternative artists to show their art, etc. That's also why we are decided to fight for Rozbrat, although the situation of the squat seems to be difficult.

**ABB:** Let's say there is a need for mass actions in defence of Rozbrat like demos, blockades, etc. How many people from Poland would actively take part in such actions?

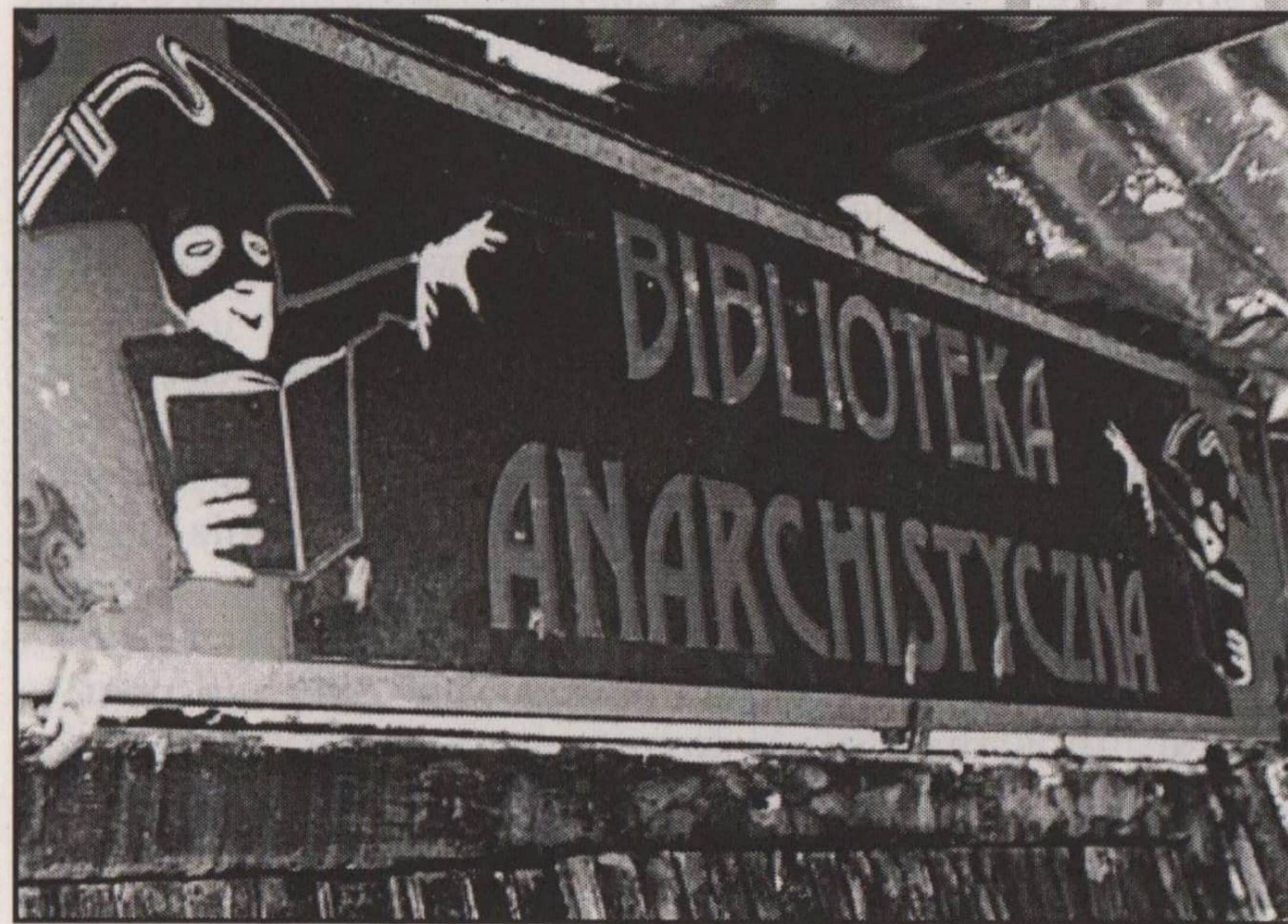


**Ruda:** Some of us took part in the demonstration in defence of Kōpi in Berlin last May. We were impressed by number of people who participated (few thousands). We



still have to remember that we talk about the Polish reality. The biggest protest organized by anarchist movement (but not only) was able to gather 5,000 – it was the anti-summit against European Economic Forum in Warsaw in 2004 – and it was after many months of preparation and with international support.

We believe we could count on squatters from other Polish cities (we have almost always organized solidarity demos when some of them were threatened with eviction, we have also tried to support them financially). Probably also a lot of anarchist activists would come, or people from the so-called scene. I think if we would gather 800 – 1,000 people it would be a big success but also a very important event in Poznan (two years ago our trade union co-organized one demonstration that gathered 1,000 people and it was one of the biggest demonstrations in Poznan since 1989).



**Damian:** This is kind of a difficult question, because at the moment the anarchist movement doesn't exist anymore in the form it used to be in the 90's. That movement was closer related to sub- and countercultural motions, it resembled much of what is called the „autonomous scene” in Western Europe. It was less ideologically grounded and more closed in its own environment, but also much bigger, quantitatively. Rozbrat is one of the offsprings of this movement. But the people who would have been the base of it in the past, now have left their political attitude and the so called „alternative scene” is not as powerful as before and reduces itself mainly to having fun. And the anarchist movement itself is now in a process of change, yet the shift of tactics and of the scope of activity creates a situation in which the new forms are still in their immaturity and the old ones don't work anymore. Mobilisation capabilities of most of the groups in Poland are quite low now, though we still hope, that during all these years Rozbrat has become an important place to such extent, that this situation will activate the recently inactive groups. Such support is very important for us, it would be very difficult for us to defend this place without it. It's quite impossible for us now to estimate the extent of this support and – referring to the previous question – it is one of the reasons why it is difficult to talk now about the tactics of the defence.

**ABB:** To what extent does Rozbrat exist in the consciousness of the common inhabitants of Poznan and what importance can this fact have for the campaign? Which other milieus apart from the anarchist movement and subcultural groups sympathise presently with Rozbrat?

**Katarzyna:** In Poznan there are practically no cultural, political or social events of alternative or underground

character that are not really related to Rozbrat. Things that happen here are often commented in the local media and activists from Rozbrat are asked to comment on different issues in Poznan. I think that Rozbrat has been accepted as a place with a clear political and social profile.

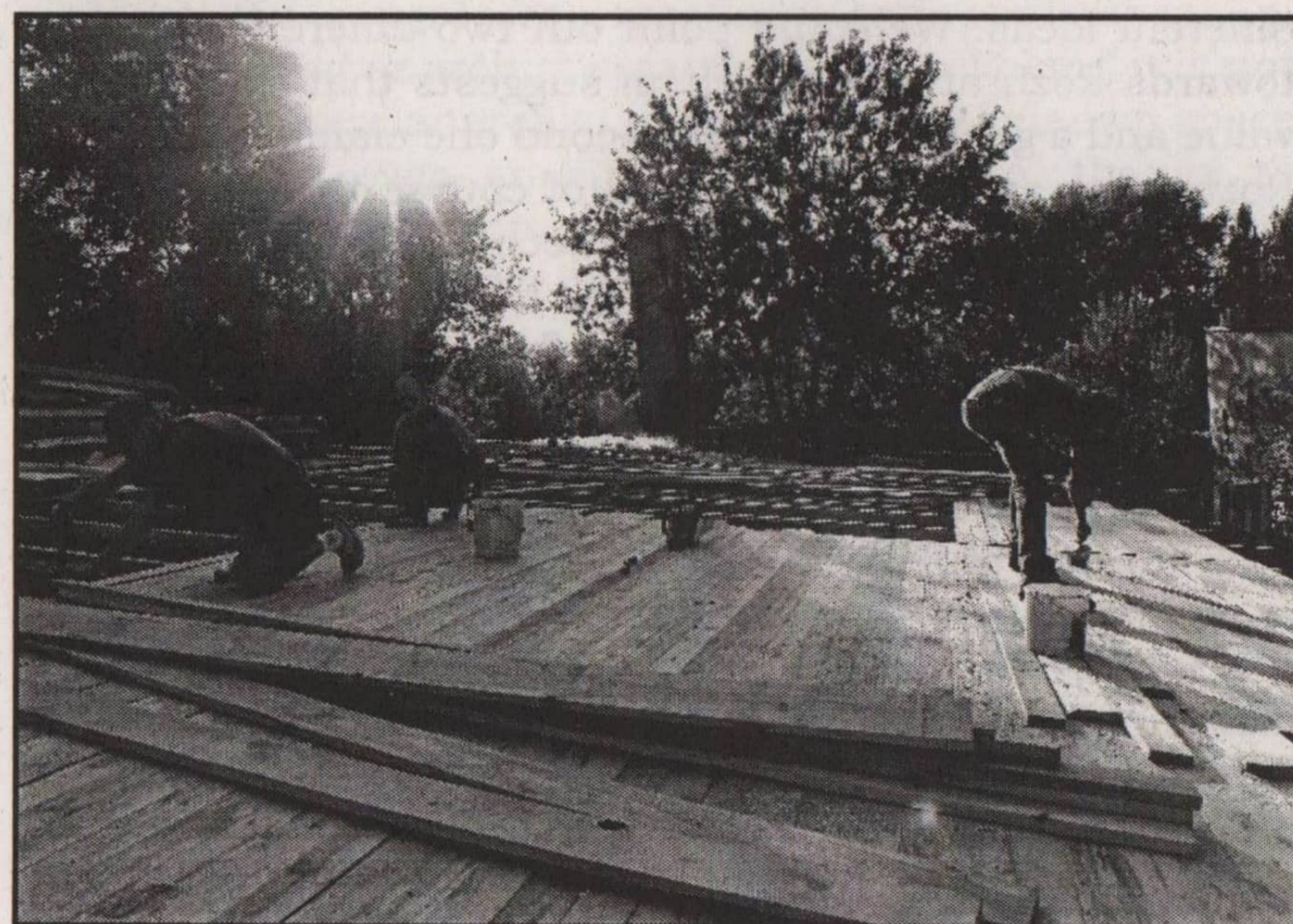
**Damian:** After the announcement of threatening information and the first visit of the bailiff, there were many voices of support. All friendly groups offered help: ecologists, feminists, local neighbourhood organizations, with whom we organized protests together, the activists of the Workers' Union (IP) syndicate from factories in which we are active, the music scene, independent theaters and friendly bars.

**Ruda:** You forgot to mention the hip-hop and graffiti painters' groups, which have also offered their support. I think, we can also expect support from some of the people around the university, who sometimes refer to our publications or are interested in Rozbrat as a sociological phenomenon. Rozbrat is situated in a green area, there are not many houses or tenement houses around, so, although we have good relations with the closest neighbours, we can't count on mass support in the district.

**Szoszon:** It's true that during all these years there have been lots of people who somehow went through Rozbrat and then partially left the movement. Today, in a critical moment, there are people supporting Rozbrat who nobody would have expected to have any relations with this place before. If the struggle would be kept long enough, then the fire will burn with much more power. I'm sure of that.

**Damian:** An interesting situation has emerged in relation to the local media. The journalists themselves began to put pressure on the city council to help Rozbrat. Although we, as the collective, haven't led any talks with the city governors. During some time there has been a weird situation in which the city council, pressed to the wall by the journalists, had to explain why it isn't trying to help us.

Still, as in the answer to the previous question, it is difficult to estimate, to what extent all these signs of sympathy and friendly attitude would change to any kind of activity. Stagnation and lack of belief in the possibility of any kind of change in Poland creates a kind of a particular situation where people don't want to be involved politically. As an example I could mention the protests against the American attack on Iraq. The polls show that the disagreement with the war in Polish society was one of



the highest in Europe (75-80% of the people were against it), though the anti-war protests were only able to gather from a few hundred up to 3,000 participants.



**ABB:** How is the present atmosphere in the movement in Poznan? Have the „dark clouds” over Rozbrat already somehow influenced the activities of the Poznan section of Anarchist Federation and other anarchist, syndicalist and free-thinking groups inside Rozbrat?

**Katarzyna:** Direct activities related to the threats are the organisation of benefit events under the slogan „Rozbrat stays!” in order to gather some money which we need for defence activities – legal support and technical protection of the space.

**Szoszon:** Usually there are many things happening here and many impulses are sent out from this place. It seems that this situation helps to activate the whole movement and to unite it. We are trying to gather our full power and to get the best ideas.

**Damian:** We are trying to reduce the impact of the present

situation of Rozbrat on our usual activities. Presently we are engaged in struggles in a few factories, soon there will be some actions inside the factory H.Cegielski led by the Workers' Union. We spread the flyers in other workplaces, we cooperate all the time with local protest committees demanding participation in political decisions in the city, we publish books and magazines, there is a library, we make lectures and concerts, we are preparing the autumn anarchist conference... As you see there is a lot of work and the defence of Rozbrat is only one of the issues we deal with and as far as it's possible we will try not to let it dominate the other ones.

**ABB:** Support from abroad – do you think it is important in your situation? If yes, what forms of direct or indirect actions would you suggest?

**Damian:** Of course it's important for us. We count on support from other countries. As well as support in the media, demonstrations or petitions, the financial support would be appreciated. When it gets hot here every visit and support here locally will be of great value for us. Mass protests are the biggest chance to win. We are already thankful for all the voices of solidarity, support and help.

**Szoszon:** For now one of the most important elements of support is the active collaboration, to keep Rozbrat always full of culture and free thought. So, just pack your stuff and come here with your performances, exhibitions, lectures, movies or other projects. While the opportunity is still there...

**Ruda:** We swear that in the critical moment we will send a clear message that we need you here in Poznan. Solidarity is our weapon!

**ABB:** We swear to react appropriately. And we promise to „pack our stuff” and come to you with „our performance” when the time will come. Thank you for an interview and thank you ... for Rozbrat.

## Reform - Growth for the Rich, Less for the Poor Capitalism against People - People against Capitalism!

Leaflet of Czech Anarchists against Anti-Social Reforms

The government is of the mind-set that social and money reform is unavoidable. But politicians are forgetting to say, who exactly the selected one is. Of course, it won't be people with low, average or a little above-average wages, as students and pensioners are. Who will profit from the reform? These are people that need it the least – owners, employers, and masters – people who have the closest contacts with the politicians. They meet politicians at banquets and parties – without question – more often, than plain voters and non-voters.

The reform is copying global institutions (IMF, World Bank) exactly, actually decreasing taxes for the rich and trying to destroy social

rights for simple people. Workers are losing the many-years-contested rights all over the world. Such a process means danger for a most vulnerable class, naturally.

And what, among others, are the neo-liberalism ploughboys preparing? Growth of retirement age, sick-leave dissolution, „regulation payments” in health services, cancellation of social supplements, lower subsistence and so on. There is political opposition and unions' resistance, naturally. But something is missing – a will to destroy the capitalist tendency. Union masters are irresolute. On One side is working class rights; at the other side there is a necessity to be a responsible part of the capitalist regime. We, anarchists, are not coming with a

plan to reduce neoliberalist reforms, vice versa – we have to destroy the state and roots of capitalist system. The system is standing on class inequality, miserly individualism and social oppression principles. These principles are foreign to us, we are opposing them with our own ones – principles of solidarity, liberty and political and economical autonomy.

We are not supporting union bosses in the case of Czech and Moravian trade union's demonstration. We have to express resistance against anti-social government reforms and try to defend at least the current social rights of ours. But it is only a small part of bigger battle – a battle against state and capitalism, a battle for liberty and an autonomous society.



## Animal Protection Actions in Ukraine



An animal protecting initiative in Ukraine, directed at animal rights in general, but not only at the problem of animals in the city, has originated recently and is now developing rapidly. There were several protest actions by the "People for the animal rights" initiative in Kiev, which have been made public in mass-media. Despite of the fact that animal defenders are still outlandish marginal people for the mass-media, more and more people join this initiative after each action.

### 17th of November "Commemoration for animals"

Members of the initiative "People for animal rights" organized a real commemoration in front of the Sport Palace, where a fur-exhibition took place, for the animals brutally caged by the fur industry. Activists insist on the fact that the truth about fur production is hidden from society. People don't know what

the real price for fur articles is. Passers-by received information about methods, by which furry animals are slaughtered at numerous animal farms, opposite to advertisements. According to animal defenders' words it is a legalized barbarity. Activists argue that a fur coat today is just an index of prestige, wealth, but not an essential detail of a wardrobe and that in a short time Ukrainians will start to get rid of furs like people do in most west-European countries. Many passers-by expressed their solidarity to the animal defender's position. Some of them even

participated in the action. After laying mourning wreaths to the images of minks, sables, foxes and other furry animals, there was a minute of silence in memory of billions of animals lost in the fur industry.

### 9th - 10th of December "Have a look at your fur coat's eyes"

On the 9th and 10th of December animal protecting actions took place worldwide, accompanied by actions in front of fur stores, and Ukrainians took part in the protest.

People in masks of furry animals, which became victims of the fur industry, have expressed their protest against unwarranted barbarian tradition of making clothes using pelts. Not to be unfounded activists have brought impressive photos - witnesses of tortures to which animals still alive are subjected at animal farms as well as in traps; as well, they demonstrated what happens to furry animals at slaughter using "furry" toys.

Shop assistants were watching the action through the glass doors and threatened with calling police and guards. But there was no conflict with law-enforcement organs and the security service did not see any danger for the building in the animal-fanciers' actions, that's why they smiled and left. One of the shop assistants in an interview with mass-media indicated his support for the animal defenders' position and that he would apply for another job. Many people found out about the action and joined the initiative. Activists are hoping that their explanatory work with the people about the realities of industry exploiting animals can save lots of lives. Actions against animal slaughter in fur industry took place in Moscow and

a row of other cities in Russia, Belorussia and other countries. There were about 30 people at the action in Kiev.

Independent animal defenders in Kharkov (now there are only a few of them) chose a good way of bringing information about realities of the fur industry to the people: they made an exhibition of anti-fur posters in one of the institutes of higher education and local mass-media paid great attention to it. From the interview:



Oleg, activist for animal rights:

*Fur in our country and in our time is not an essential resource, no essential thing which you have to get, but it is an indication of status. The main part of the people who protect animals is now youths, they are not numerous, but animal defenders use the experience and make great plans. Most of us are vegetarians. Dmitry hasn't eaten meat for 10 years and tries not to spoil the life of any living creature.*

Dmitry, activist for animal rights:

*I think that animals as well as people have a right to live. They love, as it seems to me, they feel pain - and that's the main thing. That rejoices. They want to live as much as people do and that's why they have the same rights as people have. And that is why we defend their rights. Except for photos there were dreadful shots of animal slaughter at farms. Reactions from people were different - some took photos, made notes, took cards, some laughed... However, the animal defenders affirm: if only one from a thousand just reflects on this situation - it is a success.*

Rovno: activists dispensed 400 leaflets "have a look at your fur coats' eyes" and arranged a sticker campaign.

Sevastopol: 25 activists picketed a fur store, a guard of the shopping center started shooting (the author of the article doesn't have more detailed information about this affair)

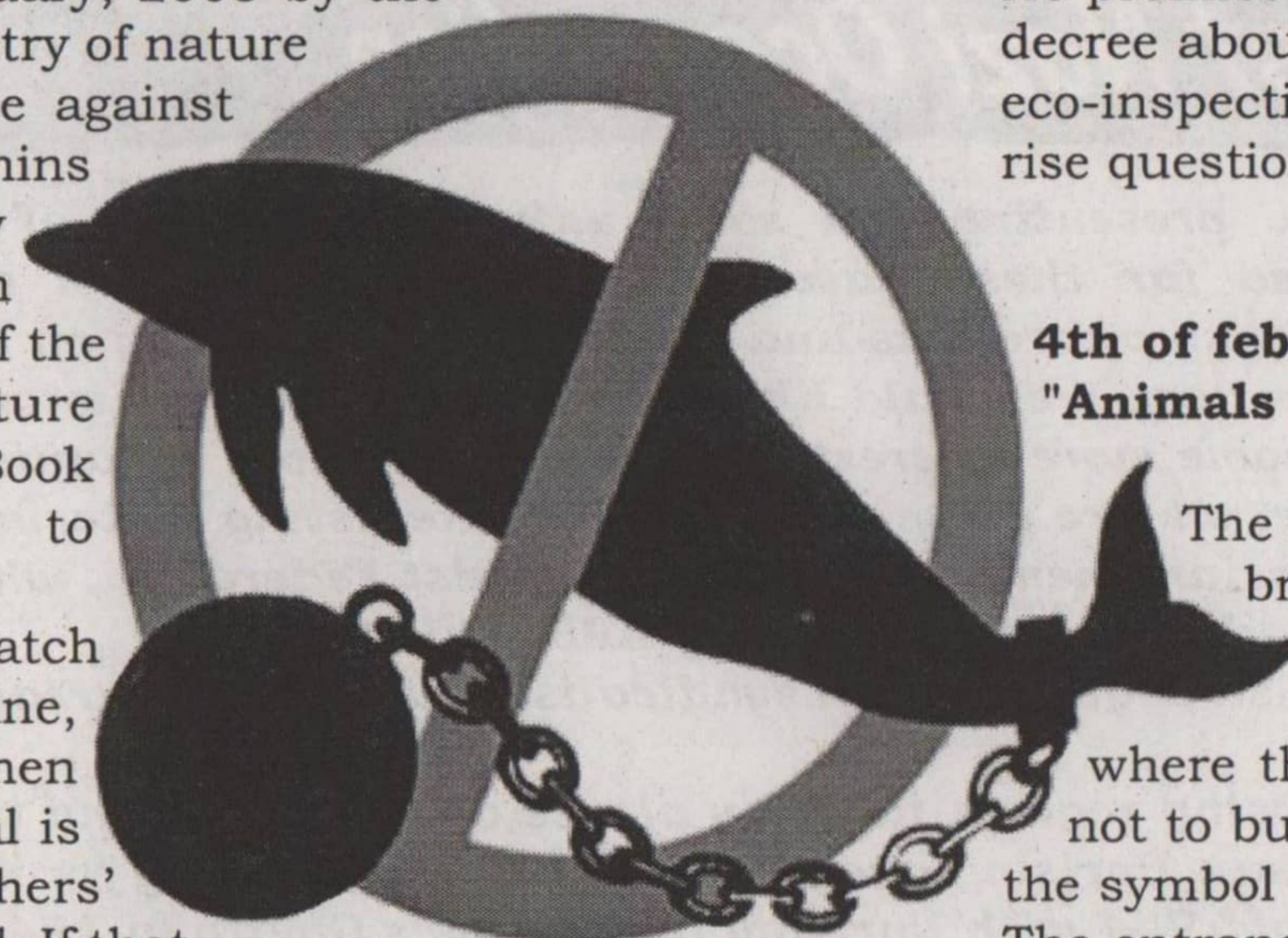
### 16th of January "No" to dirty business on dolphins

On the 16th of January, 2008 by the building of the Ministry of nature an action took place against illegal catch of dolphins ("no to dirty business on dolphins - officials of the Ministry of nature dispense The Red Book dolphins to commercials")

It's prohibited to catch of dolphins in Ukraine, excluding cases when the Red Book animal is trapped to the fishers' nets and was injured. If that happens, special organizations have to render assistance to the dolphin and let it off. This gap in legislation is used by commercial firms, which receive allowances from the Ministry of nature for catching "in advance" and, having such a paper, easily catch healthy dolphins to use them in attraction programs in dolphinariums. Not only commercial firms get money from it, but also officials from the Ministry of nature and scientists who help to give fake allowances.

Taken to bondage most dolphins perish from stress and unsuitable conditions during the first half year. The rest die in 2-6 years (at large, a dolphin lives 25-50 years).

A few eco-organizations and the "People for animal rights" initiative conducted a press-conference and a picket near



### 4th of february "Animals don't wear other's fur-coats"

The initiative "People for animal rights" organized a bright and noisy anti-fur action. Many people joined the action. Children took part in the preparation for the action drawing pictures where they ask adults not to kill animals for fur and not to buy fur-coats. In Ukraine fur is very popular; it's the symbol for riches and fashion.

The entrance of the place where the sale-exhibition of fur took place was besieged with small origami-statuettes of foxes. Passers-by were lingering at posters, pictures and photos of animal-farms. Activists were drumming and making noise with a megaphone and their voices.

Many journalists visited the action (several TV stations). More and more young people join anti-fur and animal protection actions in Kiev.

This action attracted much media attention. The most common question was "do you plan to throw paint at people wearing fur?". Activists were explaining that they want to be heard by people and don't want people to run away from them.

The main aim of such actions is to openly inform how fur-clothes are produced, to show all horrors of fur-industry.

## Protest on Polish-Ukrainian Border

Hundreds of Ukrainians on Thursday pulled down barriers to a border crossing with Poland blocked by protesters over a European Union visa row as Ukraine's parliamentary speaker called for measures to ease travel to Poland for Ukrainian citizens. According to Polish news agency PAP, Arseni Jazenjuk asked his Polish counterpart Bronislav Komorowski in a letter to speed up work on an agreement over border traffic with Poland. The agreement would enable the inhabitants of the border region to travel into the neighbouring country without a visa.



Since Poland joined the European Union's Schengen Zone on December 21, Ukrainians have had to pay 35 euros (51 dollars) for a visa to visit the neighbouring country, while travel had previously been free. Poland now also asks potential travellers for proof of their financial solvency. The

travel restrictions affect in particular residents of the border region.

Meanwhile at the Krakowiec/Korczowa border crossing, where repeated protests have taken place during the past few weeks, hundreds of Ukrainians were pulling down barriers. The Krakovets border checkpoint between Poland and Ukraine had been effectively shut to vehicles and pedestrians for more than a day.

The demonstrators set up bonfires and barricades on the road to the Ukrainian side of the crossing, as a protest against what they called unreasonable waits and difficulties in obtaining visas to visit Poland.

The Polish consulate in the west Ukrainian city Lviv also saw a demonstration of more than 700 protesting against the problem.

### Polish Soldiers keep on Rotating in Iraq

According to Polish Radio 300 Polish soldiers have departed their barracks to participate in the occupation of Iraq with their U.S. overlords. They flew from the airport in Goleniów, north-western Poland. As part of the tenth rotation of the Polish contingent they may very well be the last if the current government holds to their promise to withdraw the Polish military by Autumn 2008. Watch this space and don't hold your breath. Governments in Poland are also full of shit so it wouldn't be surprising if they stage a British type 'withdrawal' (to barracks within Iraq) rather than the Spanish model (to barracks in Spain).



## Black-Red Company in Warsaw Uprising (1944) against Nazi Occupation

Since some issues of our journal we are presenting you some unknown moments of Eastern European anarchist/syndicalists history. However, so far these have been materials based on recently discovered documents about activities of polish and jewish anarchists and syndicalists organising on occupied territories of Poland in 30-ies and 40-ies of the last century. We would like to continue with this historical chapter in the next issues of ABB, and we hope to receive some more interesting, less known pieces of "anarchist history" from other parts of Eastern Europe too. But here, we are presenting another interesting material prepared for ABB by Michal Przyborski, an anarchist and historian, member of polish Anarchist Federation, which historical texts as well as interview with him, you could read in last two issues of ABB. This time Michal have prepared material about tragic struggle of polish syndicalists during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944.

As we are conscious that our magazine is being read in faraway places on the world and as well by people of different generations, we consider that Warsaw Uprising itself can be an unknown story for many of you, or that some of you can mistake Warsaw Uprising of 1944 with Uprising in Warsaw's Ghetto in 1943. Therefore we are suggesting to start reading this material with note (\*1) under the text, where we are bringing some basic information on the both events. Than still, the historical context of that period is so complex that we even suggest those of you which would like to have clearer picture about the context of these struggles, to check more adequate literature. Unfortunately, we have to warn you, most of available historical analyses of those events are written from nationalistic positions. And this is actually one of the reasons why we considered it as very important to give enough space in our journal for materials describing the activities of anarchists and syndicalists at these very special moments of the history. Those of you with strong interest in historical texts, we can inform already now, that Michal, author of the material below, promised us to continue his contribution in the upcoming issues of our journal. We are looking forward to it. AbolishingBB

Participating in Warsaw Uprising (\*1) "Union of Polish Syndicalists" (ZSP - "Związek Syndykalistów Polskich") was a continuation of existing in pre-war years "Union of Trade Unions" (ZZZ), which decided to join in 1938 the IWA (International Workers Association), which can be considered as international association of anarcho-syndicalist unions. In resolved by ZSP program from 1943 one can read that future political system of Popular Poland will be based on association of autonomous and free parishes, the state bureaucracy will be replaced by delegates elected directly by workers assemblies of self-governance workplaces, and defeat of the capitalism will lead to arise of libertarian socialism ensuring welfare for whole society, however ZSP was postulating maintenance of the pre-war-time borders on the east and creation of the new on the west, based on river of Odra and the Baltic see.

Interesting piece of information is a fact, that redactor of the uprising newspaper "Syndykalista" ("The Syndicalist") was activist of polish Anarchist Federation - Pawel Lew Marek (longer biographical material about P.L.Marek you can find in ABB#29). ZSP, except of publishing various newspapers and conducting militant actions, was busy with founding factory committees which were the makeshift of trade unions. These is as well thanks to these committees, directly after the end of

the WW2, workers have been able to take many of the factories in self-management, of course only until the communist bureaucracy take them away back from workers control - even if in September'44 the PPR (Polska Partia Robotnicza - Polish Workers Party) has promised to syndicalists that they could run the economy. ZSP stopped to exist in 1945. What you can read below is a chronological outline of Syndicalists' Company participation in the Warsaw Uprising.

### 104.Company of Syndicalists

At the first night of the Warsaw Uprising lieutenant "Wronski", commandant of 104.Company of Syndicalists, is trying to establish communication with any officers of the AK (\*2), he collects the weapons (which were decentralised hidden during whole period of occupation), and is sending first patrols in different regions of the capitol in order to estimate the situation. First patrols are reporting about the groans of injured people coming out from the school on the Barokowa Street. In the morning one of the neighbouring uprising squads left the Old Town (district in Warsaw) without informing anybody before that (\*3). Because of that a dangerous break appeared on the side of the whole company which could be easy used by Nazis to smash the insurgents at this part of the city. At the same time many groups of the

insurgents which were blindly moving through the Old Town district in search for their squads decided to join the 104.Company of Syndicalists. Its number grows this way into 50 people and its weapons equipment was: two heavy machine-guns, 15 pistols and about 20 hand-grenades (\*4). With such miserable armament, Company, under commend of Lieutenant "Koperski" (Witold Potz) (\*5), starts in the morning their third already storm on school building on Barokowa Street. In this building is located Nazi field hospital. Short before an outbreak of the Uprising, Nazis have managed to evacuate their injured soldiers and now the school was guarded by 50 Nazi soldiers.

### Struggle in Warsaw Old-Town area

At this part of Old Town it was the only stronger military point of the occupants. It was protected with wire-entanglements and complex of the bunkers. But the occupants, in fear of further attacks of insurgents, decided to move into other building next by, leaving their injured soldiers in the school. Most probably they have been hoping on help of tanks and Luftwaffe, which didn't come right at time. Syndicalist-insurgents conducted than their first big battle during which they had broken the resistance of the enemy. Occupants were impressed by numerical supremacy of insurgents, most of the occupants surrendered, and some

officers' have committed suicide. With huge enthusiasms of inhabitants of Old Town district, insurgents transported about 50 captives into their base which was set in "Szlankier-factory", factory of curtains, by Swietojerska Street. But the most important treasures of this battle were weapons: 3 heavy machine-guns, 5 regular machine-guns, some pistols, hand-grenades and ammunition. "Ryszarda" (Maria Onaker), commandant of women squad of 104.Company, organised at the same time another heavy machine-gun, and some other machine-guns and pistols. From now 104.Company of Syndicalists is the best-armed insurgents unit in the area of Old Town. Every day new people were joining their lines. Company structure consists now of 4 sections; soon even of 6 sections; altogether about 360 insurgents. Immediately after the formation all sections undertaken militant offensive. First section took part in storm on Blank's palace and on the prison on Danilowicza Street. Another section headed towards another strategically important point - the buildings of the Court in Leszno neighbourhood. The rest of the Company, together with other insurgent units, attacked buildings of National Currency Factory.

### Organising logistic in the eye of the fire

Realising that the Uprising in Warsaw will take much longer as it was expected beforehand, syndicalists started to organise base and system of supplying. They organised logistics and insurgent-hospital lead by "Dr.Adam" (Adam Krakowski). In house nr.10 on Swietojerska Street sergeant "Winiak" (Hipolit Iwanik) organised production of hand-grenades and Molotov cocktails. German captives got organised into transportation column - under escort of insurgents they were transporting food from various ex-occupants magazines to the syndicalists supply base. One has to admit in this place that in spite of being numerically one of the smallest fractions of the Uprising forces (\*6) syndicalists managed to be the best supplied unit in Old Town area during whole period of insurrection.

### Black-red units raise positive interest by civilians and negative reactions by AK

104.Company organised as well action of feeding civilians of the Old Town (\*7). In order to deal with this

issue, special committee is being set out of civilians and insurgents. This committee supplies civilians with food and medicaments, in the first line children, older and sick people. These effective militant and social activities of specific insurgent company wearing black-red colours of syndicalists (\*8) raised big interests of inhabitants of the Old Town area. One day during the uprising, delegate of main uprising forces - AK, captain "Barry" (Włodzimierz Kozakiewicz), visited the headquarter of syndicalists with demands of changing the name of the Company from "104.Company of Syndicalists" into "104.Company of AK" and of changing the syndicalistic colours on polish national ones. Syndicalists gave him a theoretical workshop on what they understand under the term of democracy. At the end he was told that his demands are out of ground and he was send back

to the AK commendatory with negative answers.

### Beginnings of ZSP and its activities before outbreak of Warsaw Uprising

104.Company of Syndicalists had its roots in Union of Polish Syndicalists (ZSP). This conspiracy organisation was found in the Old Town area of Warsaw, in the house on Brzozowa Street 12, in flat belonging to prof. Kazimierz Zakrzewski - famous historian, killed by fascists in Palmiry (\*9). Organisation started its activities according to the principles published in a declaration called "Lets chase the weapons". They spread their ideas through numbers of conspiracy publications, like "Akcja" ("The Action"), "Sprawa" ("An Issue"), "Czyn" ("The Act"), "Sprawa Chłopska" ("Peasants' Issue"), "Mysl młodych" ("Idea of Youth"), "Dekada" ("The Decade"), and daily informational bulletin "Iskra" ("The

## SYNDYKALISTA

SYNDYKALISTYCZNE POROZUMIENIE POWSTANCZE

Rok I.

Warszawa, dn. 19 września 1944 r.

Nr 11

### Demokracja społeczna

Okres okupacji dobiega końca. W ciężkich mękach rodzi się nasza wolność. W cierpieniach naszych idea nabiera rumieńców życia. Przenikają w umysły ludzi, którzy sprawy publiczne nigdy nie zajmowali.

Zagadnienie, — co będzie jutro? — pojawia się przed każdym obywatелеm w chwilach wolnych od obstrzału i bombardowania.

Gdzie głowę położyć? Czem się odzielić? Jak się wyżywić? Jak będzie z pracą? Jak z wychowaniem dzieci?

W tych pytaniach leży cała problematyka naszej rzeczywistości, a odpowiedź na nie jest zarazem światopoglądem naszego jutra.

W obliczu naszej groźnej rzeczywistości człowiek sam czuje się osamotniony i zgubiony i jedynie we wspólnocie współobywateli widzi jedyną wyjście, aby podjąć ciężkim zadaniom przyszłości i umożliwić sobie dalsze życie.

Z tego pragnienia rodzi się w najmniej nawet społecznie uświadomionych umysłach dążność do sprawliwego rozstrzygnięcia wszystkich zagadnień społecznych.

Nie wystarczy dziś mówić ludzom o demokracji, wolności politycznej, o wyborach i sejmach — słowa te mają pusty dźwięk, jeśli nie są one wyrazem konkretnych interesów szerokiej masy, i nie dają zadowalającej odpowiedzi na wyżej wymienione pytania, dręczące każdego obywatela.

O tym muszą pamiętać przyjaciele ludu, a przede wszystkim organizacje robotnicze i związkowe i nie dopuścić, aby w powodzi zagadnień politycznych, z tak zwanych względów "tactycznych" i psychologicznych, utonęły potrzeby społeczne ludu pracującego.

Dlatego musi sprawa społeczna być rozstrzygnięta jako rezultat tej wojny drogą przelotu, bo taka jest wola ludu.

Na podstawie przeprowadzonego przeobrażenia społecznego nastąpi skryształowanie głosu ludu pracującego miast i wsi.

Przez komitety fabryczne, związkowe i gminy wiejskie ułamy się prawdziwe, czynne przedstawicielstwo całego narodu.

### W przededniu wielkiej ofensywy sowieckiej

Korespondenci wojenni w Moskwie podali wczoraj, że armia czerwona czyni ostatnie przygotowania przed rozpoczęciem wielkiej ofensywy jesiennej na froncie od Białymy aż do Karpai. Skala przygotowań jest ogromna. Niemcy, uprzedzając uderzenie sowieckie, alokują sami szczególnie w rejonie Miławy. Akcja ta wedle komunikatów niemieckich wywołuje już gwałtowną ofensywę sowiecką w pańsłowach białych. Na pozostałej linii frontu ożywienie wykazuje jedynie odcinek Sanok-Krosno i rejon.

### Fortece amerykańskie nad Warszawą

Wczoraj w dzień liczne formacje latających fortel amerykańskich, przelatyjących z baz angielskich do Polski, dokonały zrzutów broni, amunicji i żywności dla Warszawy. Formacje te były eskortowane przez myśliwce dekadystansowe, które powróciły z Warszawy do Anglii, zestrzeliwując po drodze 4 samoloty niemieckie.

### W telegraficznym skrócie

— Na wschód od Luksemburga dokonali amerykańscy ncowo na 6 km. głębokiego wylotu w lini Zygryda.

— 1250 bombowców sojuszników bombardowało wczoraj bez strzel wlasnych bomb w Niemczech.

— W Lublinie odbywa się zjazd Stronnictwa Ludowego. Bierze w nim udział 500 delegatów.

— Lotniskowce brytyjskie wypłynęły na wody morza Egejskiego, a samoloty z nich startujące alokowały ruch ewakuacyjny niemiecki z wysp greckich.

— Dowództwo armii sowieckiej wzięło pod straż, jako mogących odpowiadać za zbrodnie, byłego premiera rumuńskiego Antonescu, b. min. spraw zagr. M. Antonescu, b. min. wojny Pantazi, b. szefa misji wojskowej niemieckiej w Rumunii gen. Hansena i innych.

Jako syndykaliści i stowimy sobie przedwzyskiem jako cel, aby nie pozwolić na ponowne oszukiwanie najszerzego mas ludowych.

Dlatego podkreślamy już dziś, że demokracja bez rozwiązań kwestii społecznej w duchu równości i wolności była, i zawsze pozostanie oszustwem.

Warszawy. W tym ostatnim rejonie obie strony przegrupowały wojska. Armia sowiecka i wojsko polskie ścigają nowe dywizje na odcinek Pragi, a wedle wiadomości PAt'a zaczęły już przeprowadzać oddziały poza Wisłę przez most ponlonowy na Sierkicach. Widoczny jest zamiar manewru oskrzydłującego Niemcy umocniają swe stanowiska obronne na wysokim lewym brzegu Wisły ostrzeliwując swą artylerią Pragę. Oczekiwać należy że z chwilą zdecydowanego sformowania Wisły pod Warszawą ofensywa sowiecka ogarnie szybko wszystkie sąsiednie pozostałe odcinki frontu.

### Z walk w Warszawie

W śródmieściu nie zanolowano poważniejszych akcji zaczepnych po stronie npl. Natomiast na odcinku lewym npl. skierował nekający ogień artylerii, min i granatników. W godzinach popołdn. dn. 17. bm. artyleria sow. ostrzeliwała RGK, Muzeum Narodowe, Sejm al. Szucho, pl. Trzech i rzyty, ul. Kruczą i Okęcia. Zaobserwowano bombardowanie przez lotnictwo sow. rej. Boernerowa, fabr. Gerlach i Lioopa oraz ostrzeliwanie z broni rakietowej Powis'a i przyczółka mostu Poniatrowskiego od strony W-wy. W rej. Okęcia zaobserwowano silne wybuchy w pobliżu wieży l.p. lotniczej i fabr. Skody. Stwierdzono pożary wywołane bombami w szkole pielegniarek wzg. Min. Kamunik. oraz na obszarze Flakaserne. Natarcie niem. podejmowane w dn. 16 bm. na odcinku pln. Zoliborza załamały się mimo użycia do akcji broni panc. Oddziały nasze zniszczyły przyloty 7 czołgów a kilka uszkodziły. Znaczne straty po stronie niem. w zabitych i rannych. Niemcy ewakuują budynek szlabu Brühla i pałac Brühla

### Poszukiwani

Jerzy Szynkler (Michał) 4.9. znajdował się w szpitalu w Świdniecu, chory na chorobę.

«Grzybas» (Zofia Rogdalska) Bulczi (Pakaral), «Ida Kosnowska, Jadzia Janik, Maryna Hanin Knapuńska.

W wiadomości skierować do redakcji «Syndykality» lub «Iskry».



Spark"). Organisation had two structures: civilian and militant one. In April 1940, militant groups of ZSP are starting their actions. They carried on "little sabotage" as a part of wider conspiracy struggle campaign of "Wawer" formation. In 1942 their storm-units started a militant action offensive under the cryptonym "Zew" ("A Call"). Altogether they conducted around 57 militant actions.

#### Relations between syndicalists and AK

Militant groups of ZSP are neither part of ZWZ (\*10) nor of AK; there are existing only some agreements on the higher levels in terms of certain cooperation in resistance against the occupants. In the talks on these agreements, on the side of AK gen. "Grot" (Stefan Rowecki), later gen. "Grzegorz" (Tadeusz Pelczynski) and Kortum (Antoni Sanojca) are taking

part, while on the side of syndicalists (ZSP) – "Gornicki" (Stefan Kapuscinski). After his execution in May 1943, talks are continued by Roman Galicz, which is as well being arrested by GESTAPO and executed in the ruins of Warsaw's Ghetto. The communication with AK is continued by "Poreba" (Jerzy Zlotowski), which will be killed during the Warsaw Uprising fights as a member of Syndicalists Brigade in the Centre district of the city. In spring 1944, the officers pointed by AK are conducting an inspection of syndicalistic units on the regional level. There is a clear distrust from both sides.

This distrust increases when ZSP refuses to join the Front Jednosci Narodowej ("Front of National Unity") – the rightwing arm of anti-german resistance, and joins instead the Front Lewicy Patriotycznej ("Front of Patriotic Left"). The last contact of

syndicalists with leadership of AK takes place on July 31. As a result, syndicalists are being not informed about the moment of Uprising outbreak.

#### Isolated struggles of various syndicalists units

Because of not knowing the exact date of outbreak of the uprising, syndicalists have not possibility to mobilise own forces right on time to fight the occupants what leads to the fact that from beginning till the end of the uprising their forces are fighting separately in different areas of Warsaw. Next to 104. Company of Syndicalists, which is taking part in the struggle in the Old Town district, a Syndicalistic Brigade is struggling in the Centre district of Warsaw under leadership of Edward Wolonciej-Czemier. One more section of syndicalists is struggling in district of Powisle. Important to stress is fact, that in the second day of uprising another group of syndicalists, under "Ostrze" (Franciszek Lotocki), in which lines are some experts of telecommunication, is taking the telephonic central PAST on the Tlomacka Street. German residents of the central are running away into the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto. Insurgents are setting the telephone system by themselves and they are managing to set a communication with another phone central in district of Zoliborz (where another strong front of insurgents is located). They finding out that there as well Germans left already the central and in the whole building only two persons are left, two Polish workers of the phone central. At this moment of uprising it was strategically very important achievement.

At the second part of August 104. Company is still taking part in offensive against important occupants' positions in Old Town as well as defends its own positions on the streets Brzozowa, Swietojanska and Swietojerska. Before the evacuation of the Old Town (\*11), the Company of Syndicalists is loosing its military leadership "Wronski" and "Koperski", which got stuck in the ruins of the house on Długa Street, and before they manage to get out it was too late for evacuation as only Nazi forces were present around. However these two have managed to find some food and stay hidden in ruins till late autumn when the occupants finally left Warsaw.

In meanwhile it came to the confrontation between syndicalist-insurgents and AK-insurgents. AK

## SYNDYKALISTA

SYNDYKALISTYCZNE POROZUMIENIE POWSTAŃCZE

Rok I. Warszawa, dn. 20 września 1944 r. Nr 12

### Droga Syndykalizmu

Czego chcą syndykalisci, zapytaj ludzi, zapoznając się z naszymi poglądami w sprawach aktualnej polityki. Sprawa pomocy dla powstania stała się dla nas pierwszą i najważniejszą. W sprawie tej zajmowaliśmy się stale, poczynając od czasu, gdy w Warszawie i przyszedł Polak.

Sprawa pomocy weszła już w stadium realizacji i dowództwo bojowe walczącej Warszawy posiada obecnie dalsze możliwości obrony. Zadaniem wszystkich sił społecznych jest utrzymywanie silnego ducha w społeczeństwie i dostarczanie walczącej Warszawie nowych sił bojowych i pracy.

Są to bieżące potrzeby Warszawy, lecz w powstaniu wykrywa się również nowa rzeczywistość Polski. I mimo boku bomb i wciąż trwającej wojny nie można sprawy jutra Polski odłożyć do lepszych czasów. Pytając, czego chcą syndykalisci, ludzie oczekują odpowiedzi, w jaki sposób rozwiązuje syndykalizm sprawę jutra Polski.

Syndykalizm jest ruchem wyzwoleńczym mas pracujących przy pomocy ich własnych sił i organizacji. Syndykalizm jest przede wszystkim krytycznym ustunkownym do wszelkiej demokratyczno-parlamentarnej działalności partii politycznych, wiedząc, że doświadczenia nie tylko polskiego, lecz zachodnich krajów demokratycznych, że droga walki stronnictw w parlamencie żadnej żywotnej sprawy ludu pracującego nie można zrealizować.

Od żadnego parlamentu robotnik niczego nie mógł się spodziewać, to też syndykalizm uznawał tylko drogę bezpośredniej walki ekonomicznej t. j. strajk, sabotaż i strajk powszechny, jako jedyną drogę wiodącą do celu. W wyniku tej walki stał się związek zawodowy podstawową formą organizacji syndykalistycznej. Zadaniem było nie tylko jednoczenia sił robotniczych do walki, lecz także wychowywanie mas i przygotowywanie ich do prowadzenia swych własnych spraw bez opieki partii politycznych.

### Punkt kulminacyjny bitwy o Rzeszę zbliża się

Wszystkie oznaki wskazują na to, że ostateczna klęska niemieckiego zbrojstwa w pol. zach. Holandii, gdzie wielka kolumna pancerna angielska po zajęciu Eindhoven posunęła się w ciągu 5-ciu godzin o 40 km i dotarła w pobliżu granicy niemieckiej koło Nimwegen. Ruch ten zagraża obejściem od północy linii Zygrydu, która ciągnie się tylko do miejsca, gdzie Ren przekracza granicę Holandii.

#### Z walk w Warszawie

W ciągu dnia zanotowano ogień artylerii npla skierowany na południe. Śródmieście oraz na prawy brzeg Wisły. Npl uderzył w zedrzeć się piwnicami domu Towarowa 8 do naszych piwnic. Alak odparto. Niemcy ostrzelali i mordowali ciężkiego kalibru rejon Chmielna-Sienka. W mieście słyszano naogół mało pocisków. Pałki ognisk pożarowych zaobserwowano na zbazarach przyfabrycznych, będących w ręku npla. Samoloty sowieckie w dalszym ciągu bombardowały rej. Alai Strucha, pl. Zbawiciela, Polo Makolwskiego i Czerniakowa. Na Makolwie palenie bez zmian.

Słaby ogień nękałcy npla. A tyleria sowiecka ostrzeliwała Powisle, Czerniaków, rej. Dworca Głównego i Zachodniego. Okęcie, ul. Em. Platner, Al. Sikorskiego i Al. 3 Moja. Gcien młotczy min i zw. „organów Stalina” skierowany był na port czerniakowski.

#### W telegraficznym skrócie

Wczoraj późnym wieczorem przemawiał prem. Mikołajczyk, dając wyraz zadowoleniu z powodu dołączenia do składu pomocy wojskowej dla Warszawy, za zgodą wszystkich sprzymierzonych i nadziei, że współpraca ta obejmie i stosunki polityczne.

Przewodniczący PKWN Osóbka-Morawski odwiedził Progc.

W Lublinie odbyło się posiedzenie PKWN, poświęcone sprawom związanym z Warszawą.

Na Brementhaven bombowce angielskie zrzucały 420.000 bomb zapalających w ciągu 20 minut.

was coordinating and organising the evacuation from Old Town to other districts. When evacuation started it came out that AK forces are not allowing injured syndicalists to be evacuated too (they should be left on the spot). As well, AK leadership decided that syndicalists are the ones to leave the Old Town as the last units (while various insurgent units were going to be evacuated). As reaction, in the night from August 31 to September 1, section of syndicalists under "Maly" appears on Krasinski Square, where enter to the canalisation-channels planned for evacuation was set, and treats to use the weapons against the AK forces controlling this enter. After long talks syndicalists are finally deciding to go back on their positions. Later, whole section of "Maly" is being arrested by but are managing to disarm AK soldiers and to get away. 104. Company of Syndicalists is finally being evacuated from the Old Town to district of Powisle (September 1-2) and is taking there part in the struggles with number of 110 people. During these fights syndicalists are getting serious lost and being finally smashed by Nazis on September 6. Part of survivors evacuates themselves into the city Centre, part is joining famous insurgent battalion "Parasol", while second storm section (26 people) under the commands of "Nalecz" (Stanislaw Komornicki) is moving towards area of Czerniakow and participates there in defence struggles until the moment of its completely re-occupation by Nazis. On September 15, three members of this section are managing to cross the river reaching east side of the city (\*12). They are coming back on the west side one day later as a guides of First Polish Army forces, which in spite of joining forces with the rest of insurgents is being smashed by Nazis completely as well. Most of the defenders of Czerniakow area, among them many syndicalists, are falling. On September 22, 1944, last ten members of second section of 104. Company of Syndicalists are managing to cross the river, where they are being merged into the Polish army forces finding itself there as a part of Red Army offensive.

By Michal Przyborowski

#### Footnotes:

(\*1) Some basic information about both uprisings which took place in Warsaw under the occupation:

WARSAW UPRISING was a struggle of the Polish underground which, between August 1, 1944 and October 2, 1944, conducted an armed struggle aimed at liberating Warsaw and its 1,000,000 inhabitants from the German occupation at the time the Soviet army was approaching the city limits from the east. So it was 63-day long undertaken in by the Home Army (Armia Krajowa, AK), the Polish resistance organisation, but some more forces not being part of AK took active part. Altogether the insurgent forces were about 40 000 people strong. In order to bring a view on the scale of the uprising, here some numbers: 15,200 insurgents killed and missing, 5,000 wounded, 15,000 sent to POW camps. Among Warsaw civilians 200,000 were dead, and approximately 700,000 expelled from the city. Approximately 55,000 civilians were sent during and after Uprising to concentration camps, including 13,000 to Auschwitz. Material losses were estimated at 10,455 buildings. Almost a million inhabitants lost all of their possessions. On the side of the occupants: 16,000 killed and missing, 9,000 wounded. Up to 2,000 Germans were captured by insurgents, 1,000 returned after the Uprising. Material losses: three airplanes (two outside the city in Kampinos forest), 310 tanks, self-propelled artillery, armored cars, 4 rocket launchers, 22 artillery pieces (caliber 75mm), and 340 trucks and cars. More than three months after the defeat of Uprising, in January of 1945, the Red Army and Gen. Berling's Polish First Army entered a deserted and ruined city. The WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING was a struggle of the Jewish fighters who, between April 4, 1943 and May 16, 1943, gave armed resistance to the German efforts to liquidate the ghetto's remaining 55,000 inhabitants. The two principal Jewish resistance groups, a 500-strong Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB) and a 200-strong Jewish Fighting Union (ZZW) knowing the Nazi plans for the 'Final Solution' decided to die fighting rather than passively accept their fate. After 27 days of fighting, the Ghetto Uprising ended with the death or capture and consequent extermination of almost all of its inhabitants. It was also the final act in the complete destruction of the 350,000 Warsaw Jews. German losses were 16 dead and 85 wounded. Several dozen of the surviving fighters were able, with the help of the Polish underground, to escape the ghetto area and continue the fight. In 1944, some of them took part in the Warsaw Uprising. In Ghetto uprising, similarly to the Warsaw Uprising, groups of anarchists actively participated in the struggles.

(\*2) AK - Armia Krajowa (Home Army) - The Home Army, 380,000 soldiers at its peak, was the military wing of the Underground State. It consolidated a number of military groups spontaneously formed after the Polish campaign of September-October 1939. These were AK groups which started the uprising.

(\*3) Uprising started so that hundreds of more or less groups of insurrectionists went on the streets and undertake the

militant struggle attacking the Nazi forces wherever they meet them. It was very massive but as well pretty chaotic front during first days as many groups and squads were trying to join their squads and companies by moving sometimes blindly through the city. Some companies were formed successfully according to the plans, some rather randomly and many groups and squads never managed to find their companies; so all Uprising was run by mix of strategically coordinated as well as partly autonomously acting squads;

(\*4) Many squads undertaken the struggle without any weapons in their hands or just one pistol for whole group of people; during the occupation a possession of any kind of weapon was of course the highest crime; so in the first phase of Uprising the main goal was to gain some weapon from the Nazis;

(\*5) All members of underground resistance have been using nicknames; in brackets we publish their real names;

(\*6) Much bigger were forces of AK (Polish nationalists) or Polish communists. Most of them have been supported by Polish and international state structures from abroad while anarchists and syndicalists insurgents have been mostly depended of their own capacities.

(\*7) Food was a big problem during whole 6 years long period of occupation and reached its dramatically pick during the long period of uprising.

(\*8) Huge majority of units taking part in uprising were wearing Polish national white-red colours on their arms.

(\*9) Palmiry is a place not far from Warsaw, were thousands of members of resistance as well as civilians have been executed during the Nazi occupation.

(\*10) ZWZ - Związek Walki Zbrojnej (Association of Armed Struggle) - was a cryptonym of the Polish Army formed in Poland after it was occupied by Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union; In 1942 ZWZ was reformed into AK;

(\*11) The longer Uprising was going on than stronger was occupants counter-offensive. The insurgents were simply running out of everything: food, ammunition, medicaments, people, energy... and hope. Originally the estimations were made that uprising will take just some days, and not some weeks. In the second part of uprising, one district after another have been taken by Nazis and insurgents have to evacuate themselves through city-canalisation-system into the other areas where the struggle was still going on.

(\*12) Warsaw is divided by the river Wisla into two parts. Uprising took place only on the west side of the River while the east side was already under control of Red Army. Passing the river in any direction was almost equal death as the river is quite wide and it was under full fire control of Nazis. The situation of such a close presents of Red Army during massive defeat of the Uprising is being one of the most complex and emotional debates in Polish history, which is not our topic here.



## Documentary on Successively Developing Social Resistance in Slovenia

These of you which follow our publication since some years might remember how many reports from Slovenia have been published in ABB in years 2002-2004. We remember Slovenian movement of this period as the most vital and inspiring in whole the region. These assumptions have been by the way proofed by personal contacts we have possibility to make with some groups and persons from there. Unfortunately, after that period our correspondents from Slovenia, however still sending their reports from time to time, had been mentioning that local movement reached sort of crises, it found itself in about 3 years long defensive. But, what most important, it never surrounded!

What we are presenting below is longer documentary of successively developing structures and activities of Slovenian anarchist and anti-authoritarian movement in the period between summer 2007 and February 2008. This material consists of different sections: description of the Autonomous Block (AB), call for actions, letter of support, short history of Autonomous Tribune (AT) and finally very contemporary activities of the movement. It is a compilation of materials sent to us independently by two Slovenian anarchists, which we put into one chronological documentary. AbolishingBB

### Short insight: formation of the autonomous block (AB) around the workers' protests on 17.11.

#### Autonomous scene

It has been at least a good year since the activist "autonomous scene" in Slovenia has been united in the important struggle on the local level. Last year, it was the squatting and the formation of the temporary autonomous zone ROG (the former bicycle factory) that produced immense energy and desire for the transformation of vacant space into a lively community of different social relations. Even though later the community ROG faced many difficulties, it still remains one of the most important alternative and public spaces. One of the groups created a space and a group Social Centre ROG that works on alternative education (Nomad University: films, discussions...) and on immigrations issues (specifically connected to the Erased). Apart from these political realities, the autonomous scene in Slovenia has been in demise since the end of ANTINATO and antiwar movement in 2003/04.



This year, with the advent of privatization on all societal levels, with the mounting governmental repression, the Autonomous Tribune, autonomous student movement emerged (see further chapter for the short genealogy of the movement). In the autumn, the autonomous scene started to gather around the issue of the "normalization". Normalization-disciplinary techniques are quite evident

in the dominant attitude towards minority groups, in specific case, the homophobic outbursts against lesbian couple in one of the famous clubs in Ljubljana (October). A small protest was organized, where many different political groups showed solidarity. This was a precondition for the formation of Autonomous block.



Workers protests: all trade unions agreed to create a trade-unionist block that will demand for higher wages and criticize neoliberal tendencies. Autonomous block (AB) supported their claims and at the same time wanted to open a space for different questions and demands. Various groups, ranging from Autonomous tribune, social centre Rog, feminists, the revolt of Lesbos, student associations to others debated around issues that want to be presented to the public.

Working-groups started their elaboration on different topics that would finally result in a small paper that could be used as a speech and material for the future activities. Groups were centered around the problematic of student situation, capitalism, repression ... Main conclusions were later on formalized in common slogans, demands that were transmitted via flyers, graffiti, call for action (see number 2).

Mobilisation starts. New logistic groups were formed in order to attract young population. It was through flyers, banners, internet guerilla and small symbolic actions that the message for the formation of autonomous block was spread. Intention of AB was presented in the letter of support (see number 3) and the initiative was greeted with respect and enthusiasm by official trade-unions.

More than 50 thousand people came to flood streets of Ljubljana. There were old, young, workers, students, pensioners who joined the march for the workers' rights. The autonomous block started at the different location as the official event. Symbolically, it started at the Square of the Liberation Front (Anti-FA front in the 2WW). There were not only local groups that joined the AB, but also comrades/compas and groups from Italy, Croatia, Austria and Serbia. The AB presented itself with various materials: from newspapers, flyers to speeches and music that was echoing from the sound-system. The mobile and colored caravan of 500 hundred young people moved and finally joined masses.

The arrival of the autonomous block was emotional – you saw people crying, cheering and shouting "Solidarity". Banners and shouted slogans of the autonomous block radicalized the demands of the workers: "smash capitalism", "In factories and on universities, against the logic of capital", "without resistance there is no existence", "government should resign"... Many small direct actions took place during the march as well. Autonomous block distributed 10.000 copies of "Avtonomna tribuna" paper and many other flyers during the demo.



Trade unions demonstrated that they are one of the only real political forces in Slovenia, what is specific is that they are not subjugated to the government or to political parties, which is quite exceptional regarding the situation in Europe. What remains unknown is the future of the trade-unionist movement and the fate of their demands. If they are not to be heard, in January they call for the general strike.

Apart from that AB showed that alternative politics is possible; that different political groups can participate and will participate. Next time already in December, for the official introduction of Slovenia into the Schengen regime.

#### CALL FOR ACTION - JOIN THE DEMONSTRATIONS!

On 17th November we will massively occupy the streets of Ljubljana because we think, that today's situation and even more importantly, the path for the future is not set right. Workers' demonstrations for higher wages will be supported by both, elderly and young. All of those fed up with humiliation and exploitation! Governmental and capitalistic propaganda and their advocates would like us to be convinced that we are living life of dreams. But since

we are not stupid, we know, that our situation is not improving and that the prospects for the future are uncertain. So very praised economic growth does not only mean successes of Slovenian economy but also indicates larger levels of exploitation and further social differences.



Demonstrations will unite thousands of workers, men and women. Numerous young - workers, schoolkids, students will also participate, as well as numerous deprived workers, who don't have their own labour union's representatives. Not only because of their own status but also to support union's demands. Given the fact, that today's situation is not bright for any of those groups and the fact, that the future perspectives for those groups are very uncertain, we think, that it is a high time for serious and organized incorporation of these subjects into the public debate about current situation and about future. Student movement Autonomous tribune is therefore motivating formation of Autonomous block at the demonstrations, which will join both young and a bit less young from different stories: students, schoolkids, unemployed, deprived and migration workers and many others. In this way, we will be able to clearly express our views, address masses with wider topics and in doing so, will be able to respond to labour unions' call more seriously, support their demands, and enrich the demonstrations with our own content. Letter of support for workers' protests N17 Today situation of workers is not rosy. Although government, capitalistic sounds and their ideological priests would like to convince us otherwise, people are not stupid. People can think and know that their situation is not improving. So very chanted economic growth does not mean solely successes of Slovenian economy.



Back side of this process is reduction of worker's rights. Actually we have to step on the side of student or worker in order to understand the whole phenomena: economic growth means above all larger level of exploitation of



workers and also students. What does that mean concretely? Wages are reducing, there are more and more of unemployed, gained rights are reducing, really, life in this splendid country beneath the Alps is getting better... Labour fight is student's fight. It is not only about act of solidarity, more it is about wider perception of social problems, which demands mental effort of each individual. Students will become workers, some of them work even now during their study. To be more educated does not mean assured job. Therefore students have to deal with eminent working issues very early. But workers and students also have many things in common. Not only that they are their parents. Workers can soon realize that trends of privatization of school system are not separated from privatization of other sectors of social state. Therefore the front for maintaining public sector is in formation and new programme basis which can serve alternative organization of society, are being defined through common fight. Fight for higher wages is of course legitimate union fight. We accompany and welcome this fight and at the same time we announce that we will address the masses with wider themes in the range of autonomous bloc. Our main 'sting' will 'fly' on problem of privatization and capitalistic organization of economy as well on state's repression and other forms of domination. Extra important is of course also difficult situation of students in the light of educational reform, which is being rejected from the very beginning by the Autonomous tribune. Autonomous tribune will work in direction of immobilization of student population and will not only support demonstrations declaratively. Therefore, see you on 17th November in occupied and motley Ljubljana, where drums will resound and where we will exclaim that we are not so easy up for sale. Not today, not tomorrow, never!

WE DO NOT NEGOTIATE ABOUT RIGHTS!  
RIGHTS ARE FIGHT FOR, NOT GIVEN!

Autonomous tribune Ljubljana, 30.10. 2007



**"Autonomous tribune" as an event in the Slovenian student struggle**

A story of autonomous student movement begins in late May in 2007. It definitely did not start very ambitiously, quite on the contrary, it started as yet another discussion about the student conditions in Slovenia, why students are so passive, even though the situation is getting much more difficult with every generation. The attendance of this discussion in Metelkova (autonomous centre in Ljubljana) was surprisingly big – more than 50 people attended. What was even more surprising – something happened. The reflections were suddenly translated into

actions. It was one of those rare moments when words pass from the symbolic to the real dimension: someone suggested "Are we going to squat the Faculty of arts next week?" – and all students willingly embraced this suggestion. It was a political promise, promise of what was to become alternative politics to the governmental program of privatization of the Slovenian high education system (introduction of tuition fees, privileged position of private schools, introduction of governmental control of professors etc.).



The day of the occupation of the Faculty of Arts came and with it the first general and constitutive meeting of Autonomous Tribune (AT). First statement was written (see appendix), couple of hundreds students attended the meeting. The main target of critique was the general process of privatization and exclusive democratic practices. However, Autonomous Tribune was successful in radicalizing "student" demands that depart from the narrow student agenda that just wants to preserve actual rights... so, even the first statement already addressed antimilitaristic issues and the social circumstances in general. AT stressed the fact that all across Europe students are fighting for the same cause, against neoliberal agenda and privatization of all public sectors etc.

After this meeting – the movement arose – it was like a snowball effect. It gained quite a big recognition in media and started spreading to other faculties, where similar meetings and autonomous groups were formed. Autonomous tribune started to hold regular meetings and what is even more important, is a fact that it gained autonomous spaces within faculties. Its form of organization is directly democratic, horizontal and inclusive. It is autonomous of all other student organization and political parties (the intention to influence/discipline AT was not negligible).

It started to intervene into public spaces, with smaller (graffiti etc) direct actions and bigger actions: street theater, performances on the convention of right-wing civil society initiatives (see also <http://avtonomnatribuna.blogspot.com/>). In the beginning it was met with strong repressive measures from police that started to criminalize its actors and its actions. One of the official reports stated that participants of the actions carried "anti-governmental" slogans and would be persecuted due to this fact. The discursive articulation reminded on older Stalinist and also contemporary anti-terrorist measures that we are facing today.

Even the official student organization started radicalizing itself and organizing smaller actions against the official

governmental agenda. Student movement was successful in postponing the privatization agenda – the main actor, the Minister of Higher Education was deposed due to his "incompetence", but largely this can be attributed to the demand of the movement who had already deposed him in one of the first actions in front of the Slovene Government.

Even though it seems that everything is normal today, a new Minister will of course just carry on with business as usual. That means no rest for AT activists! After a long summer, a period of exams, one has to admit that AT has lost its momentum. However, new alternative agenda is being set: AT is at the moment organizing a public forum with trade-unionist groups against privatization. In the middle of November (17.11.) there will be a mass demonstration against neoliberal tendencies and student movement will take part in this initiative.



**Ongoing activities of Autonomous Tribune  
(February 2008)**

AT, Autonomous Tribune (Autonomous Assembly), is organised on anti-authoritarian and libertarian principles as a network/movement without formal membership. It unites mainly students but it is not only a student network and it is declaratively opened for people of all generations and social statuses.

AT holds regular meetings every week where it discuss for activists relevant issues and makes decisions about the statements and activities. Beside the general AT that is opened for all interested, the AT has organised autonomous groups in 3 faculties (Faculty of arts, Faculty for social sciences and Faculty for social work) where this groups organise activities - mainly focused on the faculty level - by themselves. Some groups also organise around specific issues and work as working groups of AT.

The activities of AT are mainly focused on the student issues and especially against the neoliberal agenda in the universities. But as the activists of AT recognise the wider and global picture of the situation and as they connect the student problems with other social problems, the activities of AT are not limited only to student issues.

After acting against the planned privatisation of higher education, AT also worked against the privatisation of health services. It also works on other social issues and co-operate with other anti-authoritarian and «radical-left» groups. During the mobilisation for the workers demonstrations in November 2007, AT opened many important questions. Beside very concrete and radical critique of capitalism that was written as a pamphlet and accepted by the AT as one of its fundamental statements, it also worked on gender, sexual orientation and migration issues.



**Resistance against planned NATO-Basis near the Slovenia-Croatian border**

At the moment it is starting (in co-operation with some other groups) a campaign against the NATO military base that should be constructed in the Cerklje airport, near Croatian border and near the Krško nuclear plant. The plans are in order but the public don't know much about the intentions of Slovene government and there is almost no informations about this project in the media although the construction is in progress. The campaign started with spreading informations and anti-militaristic and anti-NATO propaganda as well as with the self-education about the issue. The next steps should be decided in the near future.

**«Remove all the control cameras from the faculty!»**

Autonomous groups of AT in the Faculty of arts and Faculty for social sciences fights for autonomous student place in the faculties and against the control that is introduced in the faculties through new cameras and «panoptikum» architecture. The groups fight for the autonomous place that will be self-managed by the students and which could bring more autonomy to the students and their educational process as well as more participation of students in managing of the university space. The demands of this groups about the control of students in the faculties are simple and no-compromising: «Remove all the control cameras from the faculty!». At the moment the actions are on declaration level in communication between the faculty administration and the AT groups. As AT activists don't expect to get a positive answer they already plan actions of different kind for the time when the answer will be presented officially. Some ideas includes direct actions against the control cameras, occupation of some places in the faculties as well as some other protest actions.







## Announcements & Appeals



### DIY Space in Slovenia seeks solidarity

We are "Mladina Kina", writing about the situation with our 'rehearsal' place (old abandon cinema), where diy hc bands practise and where we organise diy hc punk shows. We also have an indoor skatepark here, an infoshop and we are building a diy recording studio, but because of the situation we are not able to finish it. The problem is that local authorities kicked us out, but we refused to go and so we locked ourselves in. The main argument of the town authorities is, that the place is not appropriate for band practises, which is a lie and doesn't make any sense since we don't just practise here. We explained to them our activities many times before, but they always ignored us. We are going to fight till the end and show them that we mean it with protest and a protesting concert. We could use and appreciate every help and if you are willing to help and support this alternative place, you can write a support letter for keeping KINO!

Thank you for help! Stay punk!

Please send the same letter on both of the addresses

(local authorities)  
Občina Dravograd Mitja Gostene`nik  
Trg 4. julija 7 Libeliska gora 45  
2370 Dravograd 2372 Libelje  
Slovenia

It would also mean a lot to us if you can send support mail on all the addresses below:  
obcina@dravograd.si mico\_cartman@hotmail.com  
spuhlja@gmail.com  
klemen.pravdic@gmail.com  
rokkupljen@gmail.com



An anarchist group that was involved in different anarchist projects and activities (as well as groups and networks) in the past, opened an anarchist Infoshop in Ljubljana. The place is located in the autonomous cultural centre Metelkova ([www.metelkova.org](http://www.metelkova.org)) and has been running for more than two years now. The infoshop became an important space for anarchists and its activities as it represents the basic infrastructure for the movement in Ljubljana.

[A] Infoshop is a social space dedicated to the research and development of the theory and practice of the anarchist movement. Around the space is organised an anarchist collective that is running the place but which is also active on political and social level as most of the anarchist groups. The collective is working on establishing a library and archive, specially focused on

### Anarchist Infoshop opened and running in Ljubljana

the anarchist literature and materials of past and present anarchist groups and organisations. It also works on establishing an archive of local anarchist activities and of groups with which we are in contact.

[A] Infoshop is also running a distribution of anarchist literature and similar materials.

[A] Infoshop is regularly opened three days a week but also on other occasions as it is organising interesting and diverse programs in the place as well. It has organised film projections that are usually ended with a discussion, many presentations of groups and their projects from abroad as well as international campaigns, lectures, reading circles, exhibitions etc. All the program is focused on topics that are of interest to the anarchists but it is not strictly limited in that sense.

[A] Infoshop also works on the internet project as it has established the first anarchist news service in slovenian language (<http://a-infoshop.blogspot.com>). The website also works as a virtual space for archiving our activities and those of our comrades on the international level.

[A] Infoshop is also used for meetings of anarchist and anti-authoritarian groups as well as for the mobilisation purposes and preparations of actions.

We are very much interested in getting in contact with anarchist groups and organisations from abroad and we would like to co-operate with projects similar to ours. This is why we are inviting you to contact or visit us at any time!

[a.infoshop@gmail.com](mailto:a.infoshop@gmail.com), <http://a-infoshop.blogspot.com>

## Fourth Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb

The Fourth Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb will take place on April 11-13

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

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

The idea for such a bookfair is not new, but is based on the positive experience of other Anarchist Bookfairs. In many different situations, these bookfairs have proven to be important events and meeting places on both local and international levels. This is why we need your help - come and support this event with solidarity and participation!

### Participation

To help us organize the Bookfair and finish the program on time, we need you to confirm your participation soon as possible. Our e-mail address is: [ask-zagreb@net.hr](mailto:ask-zagreb@net.hr).

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

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

Some of the details that we need from you:

**1. Questions for all guests coming from outside Zagreb:**

How you want to participate?

- Would you like to do a presentation, workshop or discussion at the bookfair?
- Do you need help with accommodation? (Free sleeping places are limited)

### 2. If you would like a stall:

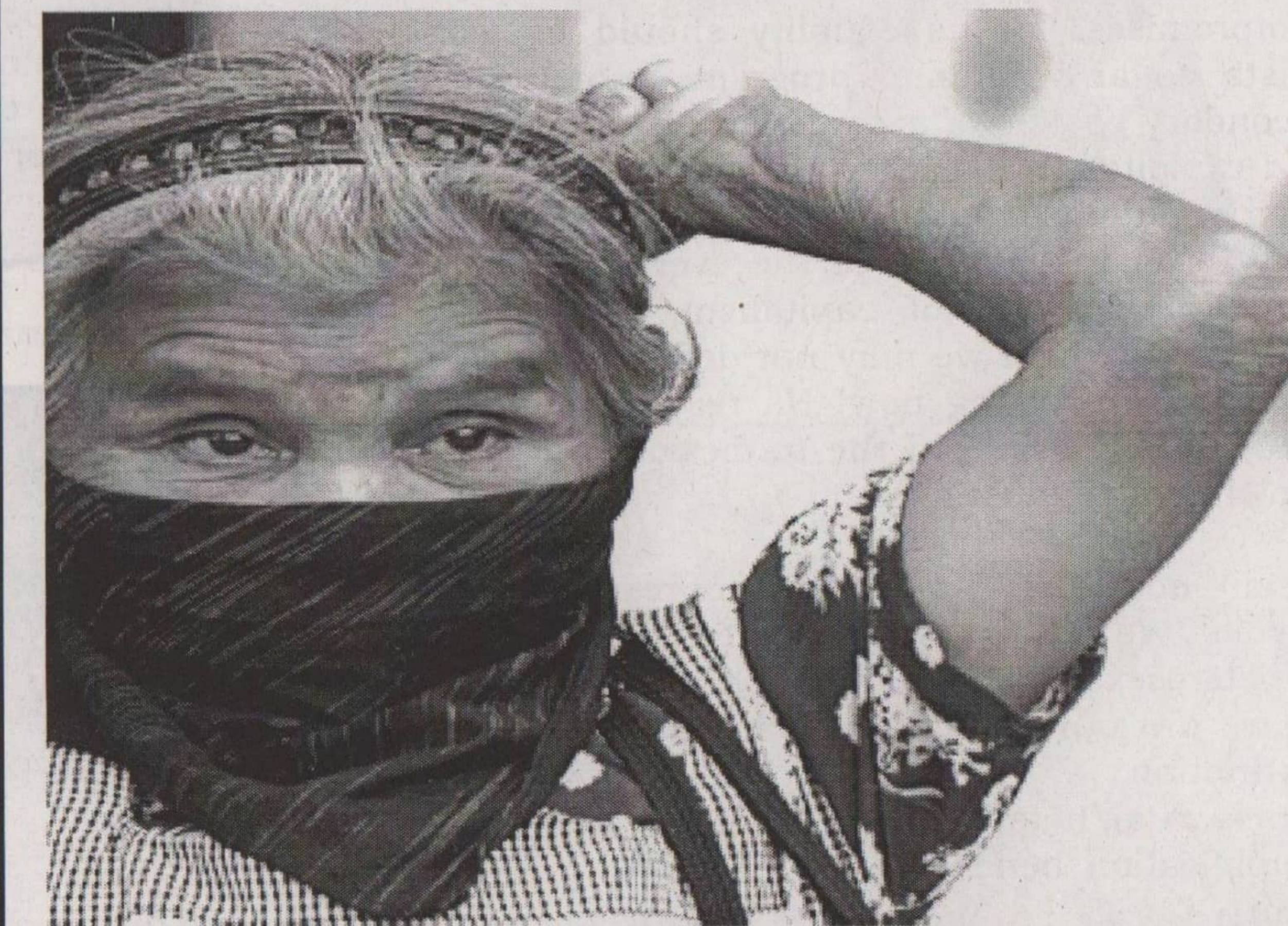
- How big of a stall do you need?
- Do you need help at your stall?
- Can you help with the costs of the Bookfair? (This is not a condition to have a stall, stalls are free.)
- We need some basic information about you (contact, what books/publishers you distribute [not list, just short info for the catalog].)

You can download a bookfair poster from our web page. To download it go to <http://www.ask-zagreb.org/engleski2008.htm> and see instructions on the left or directly to <http://www.ask-zagreb.org/anarchist-bookfair-zagreb-2008.pdf>

The program of the bookfair will be available as soon as we get more info from all the participants and suggestions for presentations/workshops/discussions.

For more information:  
web: [www.ask-zagreb.org](http://www.ask-zagreb.org)  
e-mail: [ask-zagreb@net.hr](mailto:ask-zagreb@net.hr)

## 4<sup>th</sup> Anarchist bookfair



April 11<sup>th</sup> - April 13<sup>th</sup> 2008



## Equality now!

## A gender festival in Moscow 8th-10th of March 2008

Capitalism proposes us alternative consumerism -- image of a successful business woman, bourgeois gay clubs, red ribbon as a sign of solidarity. Authorities propose us alternative of integration to the system by the way of lobbying legal reforms. But our everyday reality is violence, insults and prejudices. Clericalists cut programs of sexual education, Ministry of Health and Social Development radically cut list of

to recognize complexity of the reality. Between every extreme there is a middle ground, territory of inter- and transsexuals and genderblenders, who is waiting for those brave enough to question any stereotypes. Our only fear is the fear in front of the new way of life. The fact, that our opponents are stuck in the discourse "if it is normal to fuck to arse" only show their fear between any forms of sexuality which has other goals than solution of the "Demographic crisis in Russia".

There are no any predefined norms of behavior, which depend on sex or other biological factors. Enforcing stereotypes means limiting freedom of the individual. Stereotypes harm not only women, but for example men are often also changing interesting but little prestigious jobs in order to "feed their families", and also to die and kill in mindless wars between ruling classes. That is called "serving your duty for the motherland". AIDS epidemic in Russia has also reached such scale, that it may touch everyone of us. And still authorities are stubbornly not willing to solve problem of access to drugs for everyone infected with HIV and hepatitis.



medical and social factors which allow abortion during late pregnancy, in city of Volzhkiy everyone illing to do an abortion is forced to have a talk with an Orthodox Christian priest. Most of the job announcements include demands in regards to sex (usually it should be male) and age of the employee, which is in a contradiction with labor codex. And as a compensation for all of this, women are proposed flowers once a year.

"Revolutionaries" propose us to give up our "private interests" to be cared later on, and now work with "our common social problems". But we do not agree with any compromises: for us equality should be global, there exists no any minimal programs, no any primary or secondary goals! We are against all forms of oppression and exploitation -- against racism, sexism, homophobia, discrimination on basis of the sex or physical abilities. We are against misery of the everyday life, against grey everyday life of capitalism, against work purpose of which we may not define ourselves. We want everything now! No recognition, no equality is possible in the framework of the exploiting capitalist system!

We are not a party, we are not representing anyone. We may be women or men, homo- or heterosexual, sick or healthy, but first of all we are ourselves. Any black and white distinction (man/woman, homosexual/heterosexual, healthy/sick) is a simplification beneficial for those, who do not want



Contact:  
ravenstvo.sejchas@gmail.com  
http://equality-now.livejournal.com/

## Abolishing the Borders from Below CONTACTS:

FOR TEXTS AND CONTACT:  
abolishingbb@riseup.net

SEND PICTURES ONLY TO:  
abolishingbbphotos@hotmail.com

PRISONER SUBSCRIPTIONS: abb\_prisonersubs@riseup.net

DISTRIBUTION:  
wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

SUBSCRIPTION:  
abolishingbb\_subs@riseup.net

POST: AbolishingBB  
c/o Schwarze Risse  
Kastanienallee 85  
10435 Berlin  
Germany

## Distribution CONTACTS:

**ARGENTINA**  
Federacion Libertaria  
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fla2@radar.com.ar

**AUSTRALIA**  
ngnm55@gmail.com

**AUSTRIA**  
Infoshop Kaleidoskop  
office@kukuma.info

**BELARUS**  
★ distro@375crew.org  
Minsk  
★ belarus@avtonom.org

**BELGIUM**  
Anarchistische Infotheek  
Annonciadenstraat 16  
9000 Gent

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marceloyokoi@riseup.net

**BRITISH ISLES**  
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www.actedistribution.org  
★ AK Press  
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flabbyvegan@hotmail.com

**ITALY**  
★ Central & South  
138squat@paranoici.org  
www.tmcrow.org/  
laurentinokkupato

★ North  
crash@riseup.net

**JAPAN**  
acclaim@nomasters.com

**LATVIA**  
infokaste@riseup.net

**NORWAY**  
kaosborgen@hotmail.com

**PERU**  
ateneo\_rebelde@yahoo.com

**PHILIPINES**  
buynothingstealsomething@yahoo.com

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

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

**SERBIA**  
distro@inicijativa.org  
www.inicijativa.org

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

**SLOVENIA**  
kultura\_kontra@yahoo.com  
Ljubljana

**SOUTH AFRICA**  
Zabalaza Books  
zababooks@zabalaza.net

**SPAIN**  
★ SQL Distro  
Libreria Rosa de Foc  
Calle: Joaquin Costa, 34  
08001 Barcelona  
winanar@wp.pl  
★ CM Bilbao-

crimentalpunch  
@paginaslibres.com

**SWEDEN**  
boekhandel info  
stockholm  
bokhandeln.info@gmx.net

**SWITZERLAND**  
★ cafe\_kabul@immerda.ch  
★ Infoladen Kasama Zürich  
info@kasama.ch

**TURKEY**  
abcankara@yahoo.com  
Ankara

**UKRAINE**  
Infoshop Kiev  
infoshop@gmail.com  
http://infoshop.zaraz.org

**USA/North America**  
★ Little Black Cart,  
PO Box 3920,  
Berkeley CA, 94703  
http://littleblackcart.com  
info@littleblackcart.com

★ Czolgosz  
jvertigo@juno.com  
★ AK Press  
www.akpress.org  
★ Santa Cruz  
quiver@hush.com  
www.antipolitics.net/distro



All previous issues are still available directly from ABB

**ISSUE # 30, October 2007:** "Autonomous Tribune" - Slovenian Student Struggle; an interview with Belarus activists working in mental hostels in Minsk; Whoever protests is sent to the Crazy House - the Russian law on Psychiatry and its consequences; Indymedia vs. Mental Health in a sick society (Moldavia); Symptoms of an anarchist crises after 30 years (Russia); Mental health - a matter of definition; No Border camp - interview with organisers (Ukraine); Account of experiences in the Detention Camp Pavshino in Transcarpathia; Transcript of an interview with Department of Migration (Ukraine); Go west... labour and transit migration from and via Transcarpathia; Don't Vote - Organize! - number of anti-election texts (Poland, Bulgaria,

Ukraine); Strikes of bus drivers and health care workers (Poland); McPolandisation: I'm sick of it!; Environmental grassroots protests and the position of anarchists in it (Bulgaria); Press-conference on the assault on the anti-nuclear camp in Argansk (Siberia); 4th QueerBeograd Festival "The sexual revolution"; Update on Anarchist Against the Wall initiative; Anti-fascist news (Czechia, Russia, Belarus, Serbia); Interview on ultra-nationalist, fascist and neo-nazi movements (Russia); 3rd Gay Parade in Romania; Anarchist Black Cross updates; CIA and the anarchist movement in Poland - an interview; "Liber" - first anarchist squat in Romania; Are we ready for the NATO-Summit? (Romania); Polish dogs of war to stay in Iraq; US-Missile-Defence-Systems (Poland, Czechia); Report on 3rd Belarus Social Forum; Interview with anarchists from Turkey short after the elections



## 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**

\* **Anarchist Library** - Minsk; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)  
 \* **Autonomous Action** (also for Svoboda ili Smert-journal)

- **Gomel**: [satana@riseup.net](mailto:satana@riseup.net)  
 - **Minsk**: [belarus@avtonom.org](mailto:belarus@avtonom.org)  
 - **Soligorsk (Minsk region)**: [nonexecution@gmail.com](mailto:nonexecution@gmail.com)  
 \* **"Ataka"** - anarchist newspaper; [ataka@tut.by](mailto:ataka@tut.by)  
 \* **Eat yourself** - D.I.Y. punk/ hardcore crew, [www.eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru](http://www.eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru)  
 \* **"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  
 FNBMinik@yandex.ru  
 \* **Free Theatre** - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; [www.svobodny.kontakt.net](http://www.svobodny.kontakt.net), [ksenia\\_izberg@mail.ru](mailto:ksenia_izberg@mail.ru), [s.gaiko@mail.ru](mailto:s.gaiko@mail.ru) and, [aa.veta@gmail.com](mailto:aa.veta@gmail.com)  
 \* **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 weekly newspaper; Minsk; [kampramat@tut.by](mailto:kampramat@tut.by)  
 \* **"Rebellious girls"** - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; [rebelgirls@mail.ru](mailto:rebelgirls@mail.ru)  
 \* **www.anarchistory.boom.ru** - history of anarchy in Belarus  
 \* **www.375crew.org** - d.i.y. political punk / hardcore culture of Belarus  
 \* <http://fossby.wikidot.com/> - website for free technology  
 \* **www.linux.hitech.by** - Belarusian Linux Community  
 \* <http://eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru/> - Eat Yourself crew (Gomel & Mogilev)

**Zines:**

\* **A-party-Ya** - Brest - [sanja\\_amatar@mail.ru](mailto:sanja_amatar@mail.ru)  
 \* **Defect In Industry** - Minsk - [defectindustry@mail.ru](mailto:defectindustry@mail.ru)  
 \* **Morta Tomato** - Minsk - 225215 Belarus, Beloozersk, pr. Mira 22-3, [xjesus@bk.ru](mailto:xjesus@bk.ru)  
 \* **New World** - Minsk - P. O. Box 37, 220053 Minsk Belarus  
 \* **oD.I.Y.syal** - Minsk - P. O. Box 389, 220090 Minsk Belarus, [okpunkrock@mail.ru](mailto:okpunkrock@mail.ru)  
 \* **Rebel Desire** - Minsk - P. O. Box 33, 220123 Minsk Belarus  
[rusel@gmail.com](mailto:rusel@gmail.com)  
 \* **Tryznas-kefir** - Minsk - [yesfuture@gmail.com](mailto:yesfuture@gmail.com)

**BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA**

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

**BULGARIA**

\* **Anarchist Portal** <http://a-bg.net>  
 \* **Anarchist writings**  
<http://savanne.ch/svoboda>

\* **Anarcho-saprotiva autonomous group**  
[aresistance@riseup.net](mailto:aresistance@riseup.net)

**Anarchy in BG**

<http://change.to/anarchy>  
 \* **Animal rights, anarcho-primitivism, feminism** <http://anarchyfuture.a-bg.net/>  
 \* **'Aresistance'** - D.I.Y. anarcho punk hardcore web zine, [diy@aresistance.net](mailto:diy@aresistance.net), [www.diy.aresistance.net](http://www.diy.aresistance.net)  
 \* **'Ecotopia'** - Infocenter Razgrad, [infocenter.ecotopia@gmail.com](mailto:infocenter.ecotopia@gmail.com)  
 \* **Independent media center**  
<http://bulgaria.indymedia.org/>  
 \* **'Katarzis'** - DIY zine, [katarzis@riseup.net](mailto:katarzis@riseup.net), [sfti.diy@gmail.com](mailto:sfti.diy@gmail.com)  
 \* **Subcultures, crust, punk, hardcore**  
<http://music.a-bg.net/>  
 \* **'Svoboda Misl'** - Bulgarian anarchist newsletter, <http://sm.a-bg.net/>  
 \* **'Vasil Ikonov'** - anarchist group, [ikonov.a-bg.net](mailto:ikonov.a-bg.net); [vasilikonov@yahoo.com](mailto:vasilikonov@yahoo.com)

**CROATIA**

\* **Sabota a pokvarenog sistema'** - internet network collective, [aktivizam@yahoo.com](mailto:aktivizam@yahoo.com)  
[www.sabotazapokvarenogsistema.tk](http://www.sabotazapokvarenogsistema.tk)

**CAKOVEC:**

\* **Tabula Rasa** - infoshop, Josipa Kozarca BB, post.: p.p. 18, 40315 M, Sredisce  
 \* **"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)

**PULA:**

\* **Rijecka anarhisticka inicijativa** - [rai2002@net.hr](mailto:rai2002@net.hr), [www.rai.anarhija.org](http://www.rai.anarhija.org)  
 \* **Škatula** - infoshop, Delta 5 (Ivex building, 1st floor), 5100 Rijeka, [infoshopskatula@net.hr](mailto:infoshopskatula@net.hr)

**RIJEKA:**

\* **Direktna akcija** - anarchoindicalist initiative  
[direktnaakcija@gmail.com](mailto:direktnaakcija@gmail.com)  
 \* **Inicijativa queer** - anarchoqueer group, [inicijativa\\_queer@yahoo.com](mailto:inicijativa_queer@yahoo.com)  
 \* **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)  
**ZAGREB:**  
 \* **Anarhisticki sajam knjiga** - anarchist bookfair, [www.ask-zagreb.org](http://www.ask-zagreb.org)  
 \* **AnFema** - anarchofeminist action, [anfema.action@gmail.com](mailto:anfema.action@gmail.com), [www.anfema.tk](http://www.anfema.tk)  
 \* **FNB** - hno-zg@net.hr, [www.hranaaneoruzje.net](http://www.hranaaneoruzje.net)

**CZECH**

\* **Antifascist Action (AFA)** - [afa-praha@anarchismus.org](mailto:afa-praha@anarchismus.org), [www.antifa.cz](http://www.antifa.cz)  
 \* **Anarcho-feminist group** - [anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz](mailto:anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz), [anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz](http://anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz)  
 \* **-1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita)** - [praha@solidarita.org](mailto:praha@solidarita.org), [www.solidarita.org](http://www.solidarita.org), tel: +420 604 247 218  
 - regional group of Brno, [brno@solidarita.org](mailto:brno@solidarita.org), tel: +420 732 616 695

\* **Anarchistické sdružení Uherské Hradiště** - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradiště, [uhas@email.cz](mailto:uhas@email.cz)  
 \* **"A-kontra"** - anarchist magazine, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel.

+420 605 903 098, e-mail: [a-kontra@csaf.cz](mailto:a-kontra@csaf.cz), [www.a-kontra.net](http://www.a-kontra.net)  
 \* **"Bloody Mary"** - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, [bloodymary@bust.com](mailto:bloodymary@bust.com), c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1  
 \* **CSAF - Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation** - P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1, [praha@csaf.cz](mailto:praha@csaf.cz), [www.csaf.cz](http://www.csaf.cz)  
 - **Kladno**, [kladno@csaf.cz](mailto:kladno@csaf.cz)  
 - **Northern Czechia**, [sever@csaf.cz](mailto:sever@csaf.cz)  
 - **Kutnohorsko**, [csaf.kutnohorsko@email.cz](mailto:csaf.kutnohorsko@email.cz), [kutnohorsko@csaf.cz](mailto:kutnohorsko@csaf.cz), tel: +420 721 732 844  
 - **Jihlava**, [csaf.jihlava@email.cz](mailto:csaf.jihlava@email.cz), tel: +420 721 732 844  
 - **Eastern Czechia**, [undertakerdis@seznam.cz](mailto:undertakerdis@seznam.cz)

\* **FSA-MAP** - Federation of anarchist groups, [info@anarchismus.org](mailto:info@anarchismus.org), [www.anarchismus.org](http://www.anarchismus.org), international secretary: [fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org](mailto:fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org)

- **Northern Czechia**, [fas-sever@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-sever@anarchismus.org)  
 - **Zlinsko**, [fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org)  
 - **Prague**, [fas-praha@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-praha@anarchismus.org)  
 - **Brno**, [fas-brno@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-brno@anarchismus.org)  
 - **Jihlava**, [fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org)  
 - **Pardubice**, [fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org](mailto:fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org)

\* **Info Café "Krtkova kolona"** - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubenec, [kk@czechcore.cz](mailto:kk@czechcore.cz), [www.czechcore.cz](http://www.czechcore.cz), Tel: 605 983 191

\* **Hudebni klub "Za vraty"** - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, [international@zavraty.com](mailto:international@zavraty.com), [www.zavraty.com](http://www.zavraty.com), tel. +420 723 555 287  
 \* **Squat "Milada"** - Prague only squat, Na kindlovce (small house next to the student residential halls), Praha, [squat\\_milada@centrum.cz](mailto:squat_milada@centrum.cz)

**ESTONIA**

\* **Be UnderGround** - punk zine, [antiporvari@riseup.net](mailto:antiporvari@riseup.net), [www.myspace.com/bug\\_zine](http://www.myspace.com/bug_zine)  
 \* **Food Not Bombs** - Tallinn - [videomees@hotmail.ee](mailto:videomees@hotmail.ee)  
 \* **www.punamust.org/** - anarchist web-site  
 \* **www.hot.ee/anarhism** - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

**HUNGARY**

\* **AFK** - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); [www.socialdisease.tk](http://www.socialdisease.tk)  
 \* **Barricade Collective** - anarchist group; [www.anarkom.lapja.hu](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 (near metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18  
 \* **Ruganegra** - (street folklore staff); [www.ruganegra.tk](http://www.ruganegra.tk)  
 \* **Social Disease Kollektiva (anarchopunk collective)** - <http://socialdisease.tk>  
 \* **www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo** - anarchist web-site

**KAZAKHSTAN**

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

**LATVIA**

\* **Infokaste** - anarchist D.I.Y. infoshop, cafe & distro, [infokaste@riseup.net](mailto:infokaste@riseup.net), [www.neirothe.net/infokaste](http://www.neirothe.net/infokaste)  
 \* **Pretspars Collective** - zine, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt>;

[pretspars@riseup.net](mailto:pretspars@riseup.net)

\* **"Zabadaaks"** - 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** - LT activists network  
 \* **"Elnias"** - space for various DIY activities; Vilniaus str. 72 (in the yard), Siauliai, [gabrielei@takas.lt](mailto:gabrielei@takas.lt)  
 \* **"Gyvas"** - space for various DIY activities, Kauno str. 1a (in the yard), Vilnius, [xdirtx@hardcore.lt](mailto:xdirtx@hardcore.lt)  
 \* **"Pavasaris Infoshop"** - Mindaugo str. 20-12, Vilnius, [xdirtx@hardcore.lt](mailto:xdirtx@hardcore.lt)  
 \* **"Posedziu Sale"** - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 204 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; [sgausiperemai@yahoo.com](mailto:sgausiperemai@yahoo.com), [fiorfraga@gmail.com](mailto:fiorfraga@gmail.com), tel +37067809606 <http://posedis.mums.lt>  
 \* **booking@hardcore.lt** - booking in Lithuania  
 \* **www.hardcore.lt** - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

**MACEDONIA**

\* **direct action** - anarchist collective [directa@freemail.com.mk](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. [ack-wawa@o2.pl](mailto:ack-wawa@o2.pl), [www.emilka.bzzz.net/porady/porady.html](http://www.emilka.bzzz.net/porady/porady.html)  
 - **Poznan** - po box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, [ack@rozbrat.org](mailto:ack@rozbrat.org), tel. 0618484672 (tue 19-21, We-Thu 17-20), [www.rozbrat.org/ack.htm](http://www.rozbrat.org/ack.htm)  
 - **Bialystok** - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26., [abcbialystok@o2.pl](mailto:abcbialystok@o2.pl), [www.ack-bialystok.prv.pl](http://www.ack-bialystok.prv.pl)  
 - **Lodz** - [riefka@gmail.com](mailto:riefka@gmail.com)  
 - **Warszawa-Praga** - [zaczek@gmail.com](mailto:zaczek@gmail.com)  
 - **Mielec** - [redakcja@innyswiat.most.org.pl](mailto:redakcja@innyswiat.most.org.pl)  
 - **Przasnysz** - [fnb-przasnysz@o2.pl](mailto:fnb-przasnysz@o2.pl)  
 - **Wroclaw** - [tomasso@riseup.net](mailto:tomasso@riseup.net)

\* **Anarchist Library** - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

\* **Anarchist Library** - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.

\* **"A-TAK"** - anarchist magazine from Krakow; [atak@poprostu\(contact\)](mailto:atak@poprostu(contact)); [atak.dystribucja@wp.pl](mailto:atak.dystribucja@wp.pl) (distro); [www.red-rat.winteria.pl/atak.html](http://www.red-rat.winteria.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](mailto:cube@zigzag.pl)

\* **"Bractwo Trojka"** - anarchist publishing house from Poznan; [bractwo\\_trojka@wp.pl](mailto:bractwo_trojka@wp.pl), [www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl](http://www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl)

\* **"Bunkier"** ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun; [stagnation@wp.pl](mailto:stagnation@wp.pl)

\* **Chaos Grrrl** - anarchist-feminist zine from Warsaw; [chaosgrrlz@o2.pl](mailto:chaosgrrlz@o2.pl)

\* **"Czarna Emila"** (**Black Emily**) - local of GWA (Group of Warsaw Anarchists) in the very centre of the city

\* **"Czarny Pajak"** (**"Black Spider"**) - anarchist space with discussion club, movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; [www.czszy.prv.pl](http://www.czszy.prv.pl);

[maciek@riseup.net](mailto:maciek@riseup.net)

\* **Dziewczyny w Akcji (Girls in Action)** - anarchist feminist group in Bialystok; [www.dziewczynnyw akcji.prv.pl/](http://www.dziewczynnyw akcji.prv.pl/); [dziewczynnyw akcji@wp.pl](mailto:dziewczynnyw akcji@wp.pl)  
 \* **"Elblaska"** - squat in Warsaw  
 \* **Emancypunx** - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78; [www.emancypunx.com](http://www.emancypunx.com); [emancypunx@o2.pl](mailto:emancypunx@o2.pl)  
 \* **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.

- **FA- virtual collective secretary** - [biurofa@go2.pl](mailto:biurofa@go2.pl)  
 - **FA-Bialystok** - [fa.bialystok@op.pl](mailto:fa.bialystok@op.pl)  
 - **FA-Czestochowa** - [akielasiak@wp.pl](mailto:akielasiak@wp.pl)  
 - **FA/RSA Gdansk** - [jwal@pg.gda.pl](mailto:jwal@pg.gda.pl)  
 - **FA-Krakow** - [lukasdad@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:lukasdad@poczta.onet.pl)  
 - **FA-Lublin** - [falublin@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:falublin@poczta.onet.pl)  
 - **FA-Lodz** - [falodz@riseup.net](mailto:falodz@riseup.net)  
 - **FA-Opole** - [sobol13@o2.pl](mailto:sobol13@o2.pl)  
 - **FA-Poznan** - [fa-poznan@rozbrat.org](mailto:fa-poznan@rozbrat.org)  
 - **FA-Rzeszow** - [xjedrusx@o2.pl](mailto:xjedrusx@o2.pl)  
 - **FA-Slupsk** - [onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl)  
 - **FA/RSA Sochaczew** - [antinazi@friko6.onet.pl](mailto:antinazi@friko6.onet.pl)  
 - **FA-Szczecin** - [fa\\_szn@interia.pl](mailto:fa_szn@interia.pl); [winanar@wp.pl](mailto:winanar@wp.pl)  
 - **FA-Warszawa** - [natakr@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:natakr@poczta.onet.pl)  
 - **FA-Warszawa/Praga** - [fapraga@o2.pl](mailto:fapraga@o2.pl) & [fapraga@gmail.com](mailto:fapraga@gmail.com)

**Food Not Bombs**

- **Gdansk** - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45  
 - **Lodz** - [falodz@riseup.net](mailto:falodz@riseup.net)  
 - **Olsztyn** - [edelweiss@o2.pl](mailto:edelweiss@o2.pl)  
 - **Poznan** - [fnb@rozbrat.org](mailto:fnb@rozbrat.org)  
 - **Warsaw** - [fnb@op.pl](mailto:fnb@op.pl); [www.fnb.w.pl](http://www.fnb.w.pl) [www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm](http://www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm), we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan  
 - **Rzeszow** - ul.Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.  
 - **Gliwice** - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. [www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl](http://www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl)

\* **Feminist & Anarchist Feminist Calendar** - [feminikalendarz06@interia.pl](mailto:feminikalendarz06@interia.pl)

\* **"Freedom"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. [freedom69@go2.pl](mailto: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>30</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); [fapraga@gmail.com](mailto:fapraga@gmail.com); [www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop](http://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](mailto:inicjatywa_silesia@hoga.pl)

\* **Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers Initiative)** - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; [www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl](http://www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl)

\* **Kolektyw Autonomistów (Collective of Autonomists)** - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; [michoo77@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:michoo77@poczta.onet.pl)

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

\* **LadyFest** - there are few Lady-fests in Poland (in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw); [www.ladyfest.webpark.pl](http://www.ladyfest.webpark.pl); [ladyfestwawa@o2.pl](mailto:ladyfestwawa@o2.pl)

\* **"Lesbians, Gays and Their Friends"** - festival in Wroclaw with conference, workshops, films, street actions [www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/](http://www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/) (co-organized by the anarcho-feminist groups)

**LETS - Local Economy Trade System**

- **Krakow** - [testcyf@kr.edu.pl](mailto:testcyf@kr.edu.pl)

- **Poznan** - [lets@poland.com](mailto:lets@poland.com)

\* **Liberta** - anarchist-feminist group in Wroclaw; [libertagrrrl@o2.pl](mailto:libertagrrrl@o2.pl)

\* **"Little Mary"** - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;

\* **"Mac Pariadka"** - anarchist magazine in polish; [pariadka@polbox.com](mailto:pariadka@polbox.com)

\* **"Marcowanie"** - anarchist-feminist mailing list, bulletin and regular women camp

\* **Obin (Warsaw)** - radical street-art collective organising workshops, internet and silkscreen for free; [www.obin.org](http://www.obin.org)

\* **"Pilon"** - underground bar/cafe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city).

[pilon@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:pilon@poczta.onet.pl); [www.pilon.za.pl](http://www.pilon.za.pl)

\* **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - [www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl](http://www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl); po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. [wildeast@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:wildeast@poczta.onet.pl)

\* **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leader team based in Warszawa; [rchpl@02.pl](mailto:rchpl@02.pl)



spleenpatty@yahoo.com  
 \* **C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front)** - anarchist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 \* **Fight Back** - anarchist collective Bucharest, www.fight-back.tk  
 \* **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g\_a\_rezistenta@yahoo.com  
 \* **Info-Propaganda** - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 \* **URA** - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; www.antifa-antitot.blogspot.com; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 \* **Love Kills** - woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; www.lilith-lovekills.blogspot.com; jolierouge101@yahoo.com  
 \* **"Revolta 1"** - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com  
 \* **Subteran Collective** - anarchist-activists collective in the city of Iasi; subteran\_iasi@yahoo.com  
 \* **www.proiectns.org** - grassroots activist site

#### RUSSIA

\* **A-Distro (Moscow anarchists distro)** - http://a-distro.avtonom.org/, a-distro@yandex.ru  
 \* **Alliance for Animal Rights (Radical non-hierarchical grassroots activism for animal rights)** - http://aar.org.ru/  
 http://animalrights.ru/  
 Contact: news@animalrights.ru  
 Alterkom - network of student resistance in Petrozhavodsk  
 http://altercom.forum24.ru/  
 altercom@bk.ru

\* **Anarchist Black Cross Moscow** - P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia (no name of the group to envelope, please!) www.avtonom.org/abc  
 www.myspace.com/abcmcs  
 abc.msc@gmail.com

\* **Anarchist Black Cross of St. Petersburg** - Alekdandr Vitalyevich Yermakov P.O. Box 194291 St. Petersburg (no name of the group to envelope, please!) sprafa@riseup.net  
 novsvet89@gmail.com

\* **Anarchists of Petrozhavodsk** - www.ptz-anarchist.narod.ru  
 ruinos (A T) mail.ru

\* **Anarcho-communist group "Derzay"** - Derzay-zine P.O. Box 152 420044 Kazan Russia  
 http://derzaj.ru  
 red@derzaj.ru

\* **Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group - Russia** - http://aeliberation.net, aeinfo@aeliberation.net

\* **Antifa Ulan-Ude** - afa.ulanude (A T) gmail.com  
 www.myspace.com/afa\_ulanude

\* **Anti-fascist Association of St. Petersburg** - http://afaspb.mahost.org/  
 tel: +7-812-947 14 76

\* **Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA-IFA)** - member groups and individuals

- **Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists - SKA** - www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru  
 aswindle@gmail.com  
 - **Alliance of Kazan anarchists - AKA** - P.O. Box 132 Kazan 420059 Tatarstan Russia; antimil@narod.ru  
 - **Krasnoyarsk group of ADA** - ada-krk@mail.ru  
 - **St. Petersburg** - maridze@gmail.com  
 - **Yaroslavl (individuals)**

ada-yaroslavl@riseup.net  
 http://anarcho.front.ru  
 - **Zelesnogorodskiy Union of Anarchists** - zhisa@list.ru  
 \* **Alliance of Libertarian Initiatives (of St. Petersburg)** - (Coordinates local activities of Anarchist Black Cross, Autonomous Action, Food Not Bombs, Pyotr Alekseyev Resistance Movement, Punk Revival, St. Petersburg League of Anarchists and others)  
 spbnabat@gmail.com  
 \* **Autonomous Action** - www.avtonom.org, info@avtonom.org,

#### Regional groups of Autonomous Action:

- **Blagoveschensk (Amur region):** ad\_bлага@riseup.net  
 - **Irkutsk, also for Free Siberia-paper:** www.avtonom-irk.mahost.org/  
 a.volokos@gmail.com  
 - **Kirov:** osna@yandex.ru  
 - **Krasnodar:** P.O.Box 3472 350001 Krasnodar Russia  
 krasn@avtonom.org, asmodeys1@gmail.com  
 - **Magadan:** truebadguy@riseup.net  
 - **Moscow, also for Avtonom-journal:** adm@avtonom.org, avtonom@avtonom.org P.O.Box 13, Moscow, 109028 (no name on envelope, please!)  
 - **Nizhniy Novgorod, also for Situation-paper:** P.O.Box 25 603104 Nizhniy Novgorod Russia (no name on envelope, please!) avtonom69@gmail.com, situazion@avtonom.org  
 - **Novosibirsk:** nsk@avtonom.org  
 - **St. Petersburg, also for Petrogradets-paper:** ad-spb@riseup.net  
 - **Saratov:** pkropotkin@yandex.ru  
 - **Tyumen:** streetriot@inventati.org, akbar@riseup.net  
 - **Ufa:** ufa@riseup.net  
 - **Vladivostok, for Udar-paper:** ad\_vl@riseup.net

#### Cities with individual members of Autonomous Action:

- **Ivanovo:** kvazimodo@riseup.net  
 - **Izhevsk:** avtonom.cinema@gmail.com  
 - **Kaliningrad:** ska-konig@mail.ru (parempi osoite?)  
 - **Magnitogorsk:** razer@list.ru  
 - **Petrozhavodsk:** ruinos@mail.ru  
 - **Murmansk:** P.O. Box 4614 183959 Murmansk Russia, tel: 22 89 73 (Aleksandr), vpl@inbox.ru  
 - **Ryazan:** http://ad-62.narod.ru/ad-62@bk.ru  
 - **Chita:** Myrava.trava@gmail.com

#### Individual distributors of press of Autonomous Action:

- **Vologda:** blackflag@list.ru  
 - **Yekaterinburg:** P.O. Box 329 620135 Yekaterinburg Russia, libertarizm@gmail.com  
 - **Perm:** deadsun@rambler.ru, ad-perm@rambler.ru  
 - **Sakhalin:** paha\_keeper@mail.ru  
 - **Samara:** avtonom-samara@yandex.ru  
 - **Sochi:** palma17v@gmail.com, gaura@riseup.net  
 - **Yaroslavl:** anarcho-kommuna@mail.ru, hkos\_68 AT mail.ru

\* **Bakunin Fund** - Kornilov Sergey Gavrilovich Kuvshinovskiy Rayon, s. Pryamukhino 172101 Tverskay aoblast, Russia  
 tel: +7 (48257) 75 160, +7 (495) 918 40 04, +7 (916) 322 33 47  
 www.bakunin-fund.da.ru/  
 bakunin-fund@mail.ru  
 \* **Black Bloc (Voronezh)** - http://blackbloc.anho.org

blackblok0@gmail.com  
 \* **Clandestine Insurrectionary Rebel Clown Army in Moscow** - ka@riseup.net  
 \* **Critical Mass (Moscow)** - http://massa.org.ru/, critical.mass.moscow@gmail.com  
 \* **Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalists (KRAS-AIT)** - **Moscow:** P.O.Box 34, 117485 Moscow Russia (no name of the group to the envelope) http://kras.fatal.ru/, comanar@mail.ru  
 - **Rostov-na-Donu:** P.O.Box 4059, 344103 Rostov-na-Donu Russia socprotest@pochta.ru  
 - **Saransk:** tmunzer@mail.ru  
 - **St. Petersburg:** olga1971 (A T) list.ru  
 - **Tver:** horek.ru@mail.ru

\* **Cultural Center "DUPLIO" & Alternative movie club Diversija in Samara** - www.duplo.narod.ru, duplo@yandex.ru

\* **Food Not Bombs** -

- **General contact:** fnbru@riseup.net  
 - **Barnaul:** iniciativa-barnaul@yandex.ru  
 - **Irkutsk:** makima@yandex.ru  
 - **Kazan:** fnb-kazan@yandex.ru  
 - **Kirov:** punkauskirov@mail.ru  
 - **Krasnodar:** fnb\_krsndr@mail.ru  
 - **Krasnoyarsk:** afa-krk@yandex.ru  
 - **Moskva:** http://edavmestobomb.narod.ru, fnb-msk@riseup.net  
 - **Nizhniy Novgorod:** fnbnnov@rambler.ru  
 - **Novosibirsk:** x316x@mail.ru  
 - **Perm:** fnbperm@mail.ru  
 - **Rostov-na-Donu:** subbacultcha@mail.ru  
 - **Samara:** tipunanija@rambler.ru  
 - **St.Petersburg:** epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru  
 - **Tyumen:** fnb\_tyumen@autistici.org  
 - **Ufa:** fnb@inufa.org  
 - **Vladivostok:** fnb-vladivostok@mail.ru  
 - **Volzhkiy:** fnbvlz@mail.ru  
 - **Voronezh:** fnb-vrn@yandex.ru

\* **For the Abolition of Vivisection!** -

- **Initiative group (SHAC Russia)** - http://zhestokosti.net/, http://stopanimaltests.livejournal.com, skazhi@zhestokosti.net

\* **Free Trade Unions Confederation of Tomsk** - http://kulac.narod.ru

\* **Free University (anarchist lectures in St Petersburg)** - voluni@list.ru

\* **House-museum of Pyotr Alekseyevich Kropotkin** - tel: +7(495)993-92-04 (Jan Lvovich Prusskiy), m448@mail.museum.ru

\* **Indyvideo** - http://indyvideo.ru/, indyvideo@riseup.net

\* **International Gnostic Front of Liberation** - http://gnostic.front.ru, gnostic@front.ru

\* **Network of Working Place Resistance** - http://antijob.tk/, cockney@rambler.ru

\* **Punk Revival - St.Petersburg** - http://pv.mahost.org/, aocats@gmail.com

\* **Punk-Revival Moscow** - http://pv.anho.org/forum/index.php oipunkpv@googlemail.com

\* **Rainbow Keepers:** - **Moscow:** Hranitelisvetlana@gmail.com  
 - **Samara:** duplos@yandex.ru

\* **Red Skins - Anti-fascist skinheads** - www.redskins.ru/, admin@redskins.ru

\* **Siberian Confederation of Labour** - www.skt.org.ru, http://skt.org.ru/wordpress/

\* **Victor Serge library** - www.praxiscenter.ru, praxis2001@mail.ru, praxiscenter@gmail.com

\* **http://404team.org/** - activist tech group, n@404team.org (also Jabber)

\* **www.a-pesni.golosa.info/** - Anarchist songs

\* **http://new-novsvet.narod.ru/** - Anarchists of St. Petersburg

\* **http://antifa.ru** - Website for "patriotic" anti-fascism

\* **www.antifa.p0.ru/** - Anti-Fascist Information & Analysis Portal

\* **www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru** - Anti-yuppie - news of anti-glamorous culture of Kaliningrad and surrounding region, witamin\_w38 (a t) rbcmail.ru  
 \* **http://golosa.info** - Golosa.info - open publishing website from Tumen region, admin@golosa.info  
 \* **http://hippy.ru** - portal of active hippies (also for Vmeste-zine), lubava@hippy.ru  
 \* **http://ru.indymedia.org/** - Indymedia Russia, indyru@nadir.org  
 \* **http://kuban.indymedia.ru** - Indymedia Kuban (Krasnodar region and Adygeya), imckuban@riseup.net  
 \* **http://piter.indymedia.org/** - Indymedia Piter (St.Petersburg), imc-piter@riseup.net  
 \* **http://imc-siberia.org** - Indymedia Siberia, info@imc-siberia.org  
 \* **http://squat.anho.org/** - News about squatting and squatter movement  
 \* **www.makhno.ru** - A website on Nestor Makhno  
 \* **www.diy-zine.com/** - A zine archive

#### Notable blogs

\* **http://anarchism.ru.livejournal.com**  
 \* **http://anarchia.ru.livejournal.com**  
 \* **http://anatrria.livejournal.com** - migration, anti-fascism etc.  
 \* **http://avier38.livejournal.com** - anarchism in St.Petersburg  
 \* **http://copyleft.livejournal.com** - copyright, copyleft, creative commons, filesharing...  
 \* **http://iriele.livejournal.com** - ecology and anarchism in Nizhniy Novgorod  
 \* **http://mikola\_a.livejournal.com** - anarcho-communism in Belarus  
 \* **http://shraibman.livejournal.com** - history of anarchist movement, syndicalism...  
 \* **http://streetsmedia.livejournal.com** - Squatting, prisoner support...  
 \* **http://tupikin.livejournal.com** - Vlad Tupikin  
 \* **http://vivalafora.livejournal.com** - syndicalism, history of anarchist movement...  
 \* **http://syndikalist.ru/** - name says it all

#### Zines:

\* **Girls Are Strong** - St. Petersburg - gas\_zin@mail.ru  
 \* **FakFood** - Irkutsk - ffoodzine@yandex.ru  
 \* **Imhopang** - Moscow - imhopang.punk.ru, imhopang@yandex.ru  
 \* **Insomnia** - Moscow - P.O. Box 64 109147 Moscow Russia, www.myspace.com/insomnia\_zine, endishear@gmail.com, podonokx@gmail.com  
 \* **Interpretation** - Moscow - P.O. Box 16 117437 Moscow Russia, interpretation\_zine@yahoo.com, www.myspace.com/interpretation\_zine  
 \* **Kamardzhoba** - Nizhni Novgorod - crust-nn@mail.ru  
 \* **Knives and forks** - St. Petersburg - zilonis AT newmail.ru  
 \* **Liniya Fronta** - St. Petersburg - frontline@riseup.net  
 \* **Meet with the resistance** - Magnitogorsk - razer@list.ru  
 \* **No Borders** - St. Petersburg - noborders@front.ru  
 \* **Refuse Resist-zine** - www.rfrs-zine.narod.ru, rfrs.info@gmail.com  
 \* **Rod Svart Punk** - Perm - K.S. Pylaev P.O. Box 6594 Perm Russia, rod\_svart@front.ru, ICQ: 354-310-442  
 \* **Vse vmeste** - Petrozavodsk - scandalsp@mail.ru  
 \* **Taynoe Pisanie** - Kaliningrad - www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru, aswindle@gmail.com

#### SERBIA

\* **ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative** - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org  
 \* **Federation of Internationalist Anarchists** - federacija@ml1.net  
 \* **Kontrapunkt** - editorial & newsletter collective  
 http://www.kontra-punkt.info  
 \* **Subwar Collective** - Belgrade; shavedwomen216@yahoo.com  
 \* **www.anarchy-serbia.tk** - www.inventati.org/anarhizam or www.anarhizam.tk  
 \* **www.afanovisad.tk** - Antifa Novi Sad  
 \* **Zluradi paradi** - band/ collective for translating brochures, www.zluradi-paradi.anarhija.org

#### SLOVAKIA

\* **AFA-Bratislava (Antifasisticka Akcia Bratislava)** - bacity\_afa@yahoo.com  
 http://blava.antifa.net  
 \* **Alternative Magazine in slovak language** - biedaduchay@safe-mail.net  
 \* **Antifascist Action from Trnava** - antifa-trnava@hushmail.com  
 \* **Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross)** - ciernykriz@yahoo.com  
 \* **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** - slovensko@csaf.cz  
 - **Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz  
 - **B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz  
 - **Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz  
 - **Vychod** - csaf\_sk\_vychod@yahoo.com  
 \* **FNB Trnava** - jedlott@safe-mail.net  
 \* **INFO@-POLICE** - anarchist Infoshop in Bratislav; info@infoapolicy.sk  
 \* **KATT** - collective of anarchist tourists, kattkolektiv@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 swim-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

\* **International Union of Proletarian Revolutionary-Collectivists (left-communists in Ukraine)** - prometej2003@ukr.net, proletar@ukr.net, http://iuprc.250free.com

#### ARTEMYOVSK:

\* **Rage of the youth zine** - Artemyovsk - fnb\_art@mail.ru, xveggyx@yandex.ru  
**DONETSK:**  
 \* **Anarchist Federation of Donetsk** - samoorg@mail.ru, 83017, Donetsk-17, private box 1819.

#### KHARKOV:

\* **Animal rights alliance** - save-animals@mail.ru, kharkov@animalrights.ru  
 \* **Autonomous Action** - akh@nm.ru, antifa@km.ru  
**KIEV:**  
 \* **Svobodna** - anarcho-feminist web-page (russian language) www.svobodna.org.ua  
 svobodna@riseup.net

\* **Diyhc** - hardcore/punk web zine, http://diyhc.org/, diyhardcore@gmail.com  
 \* **FNB** - die\_young@riseup.net  
 \* **People for animal rights** - glazoo@ya.ru  
 \* **Zaraz** - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives, www.zaraz.org, info@zaraz.org  
 Infoshop, http://infoshop.zaraz.org/, infoshop@gmail.com

#### LVIV:

\* **Antifa** - antifalviv@ua.fm  
**ODESSA:**  
 \* **Diversiya** - infoshop, Knyazheskaya str 30 - 32,  
 \* **FNB** - animal\_rights@riseup.net

#### RIVNE:

\* **Come Alive** - diy punk/hc concerts, tolizban@yandex.ru  
**SEVASTOPOL:**

\* **Autonomous Action** - vlasti\_net@mail.ru  
 \* **Animal liberation group, Antifa, Food Not Bombs and other activity:** klim\_kacha@mail.ru, dzyina@yandex.ru  
 \* **Group active in animal rights, Antifa, Front Aids:** keeponfighting@mail.ru  
 \* **Vlasti net** - zine, vlasti\_net@mail.ru  
**SUMY:**

\* **Anarchist Federation of Sumschina** - http://www.fas-2017.tk/, fas-2017@yandex.ru

#### ZHITOMIR:

\* **FNB** - fnb\_zhytomyr@mail.ru, private box 127, Zhitomir, 10014  
 \* **"Zhyvyl"** - distro, www.truemens.narod.ru/distrotr.htm, truemen@mail.ru  
 \* **"Veselka"** - distro, makefuture@ukr.net, diyzhytomyr@ukr.net  
 \* **"Suck Out"** - zine, www.truemens.narod.ru/suckoutzone.htm, anyom@inbox.ru  
 \* **"Squat UA"** - zine, truemen@mail.ru  
 \* **"Far For"** - zine - makefuture@ukr.net, diyzhytomyr@ukr.net

#### 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"** - www.karakizil.tr.cx-anarcho-communist group  
 \* **http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net** - anarchoprimitivists  
 \* **http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com** - zine from Ankara  
 \* **http://veganarsi.cjb.net** - anarchoprimitivist zine  
 \* **www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari** - anarchist publisher in istanbul  
 \* **www.mecmu-a.org** - magazine from Istanbul

