

Educate ~ Organize ~ Protest

**LUKASHENKO  
STOP!**

**BELARUS  
CAN'T BLEED  
LONGER!**

Analyse ~ Resist ~ Create New

A7199

ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

issue # 11

bi-monthly newsletter

August 2003

**DOWN WITH**



**ONAVINKI!  
СВОБОДА!**

**LUKASHENKO!**

Anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

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

There is an enduring need to instantly abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, collaboration and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In an attempt to push forward both of these goals with support for development from the anarchist movement above the borders we have created ...

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

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

### An anarchist courier

Bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/anti-authoritarian activities in Eastern Europe.

### Editorial collective

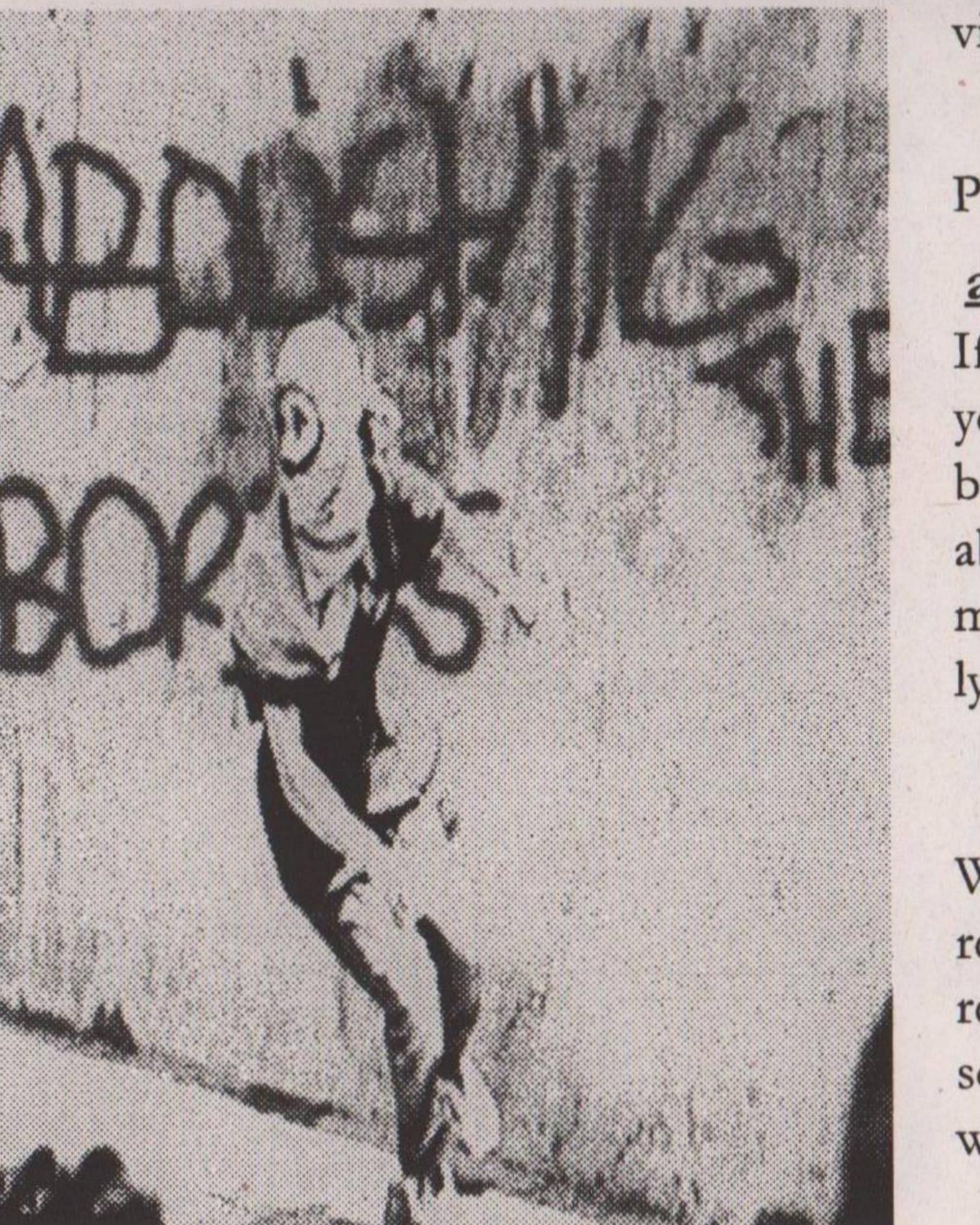
Is a part of an international anarchist collective based around east-european activists living in Berlin. As well as this publication the collective also organises an ABC support group, a libertarian library, organises various solidarity actions and cultural events, and supports local and global struggle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

### Corespondents

Our great idea is to set up a stabil network of corespondents from different regions of East Europe to cover the most current, important and interesting issues. Our corespondent team for today: Pavel (Prague - CS), Mato (Bratislava - Slovakia), Alek-Marija (Macedonia), Saszka-Nastya (Grodno/Minsk - Belarus), Antti (Russia), Ninja (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Riga - Latvia); Andrea & Subwar Collective (Belgrad - Jugoslavia), Maya-Tine (Lubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Mutlu (Ankara - Turkey), Soja-Michu-Laure-Zaczek (Poland), Rebel M. (Serbia) and others. More corespondents needed!

### Other sources of info

These are: "alterEE" east-european-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead"



vities in your region. Please texts send to:

[abolishingBB@hotmail.com](mailto:abolishingBB@hotmail.com)

Please send your graphics/photos only to:

[abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com](mailto:abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com)

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

### Distribution

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

[wielkowitsch@hotmail.com](mailto:wielkowitsch@hotmail.com)

### Free copies/Print-Rin

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe as well as to our corespondents who supply a postal addresses. We print by ourselves 1200-1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

### Sponsored

Money for printing is collected through our breakfest-benefits performed regulary in KÖPI/Berlin as well as through our pizza-circus, and benefits from outside

### Deadlines

Deadlines for next issues:

#12 - 15.09.2003

#13 - 15.11.2003

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### WE ARE STILL LOOKING FOR DISTRIBUTORS !!

If you think that you can help with filling that network up, especialy in north Italy, Belgium, Irland, Bulgaria, Spain (!!!), Switzerland or Portugal ...  
LET US KNOW !

### ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT OUR DISTRIBUTION

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

NEW !!! ABFB; Samariterstr.32; 10247 Berlin; Germany NEW!!!

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

Get in touch with our distribution coordination team under:  
[wielkowitsch@hotmail.com](mailto:wielkowitsch@hotmail.com)

SOME OF THE PAST ISSUES OF ABOLISHINGBB ARE STILL AVAILABLE DIRECTLY IN OUR OWN DISTRIBUTION SECTION. HERE YOU HAVE CONTENTS OF THEM:

issue # 5 - August 2002: "Where are we now with AbolishingBB ?!" (editorial article), "AC Molotov is in big trouble!" - call for solidarity" (Slovenia), Campaign to Combat Global Migration Management - Campaign against IOM (call for campaign), Manifesto of the Autonomous Action (former Soviet Union), Founding Conference of Autonomous Action (report), Anarchist movement in Slovakia (report), ABC reports (Poland, Turkey), The anti-border camp in Wizajny (report from action), "Same World different Realities ..." (article), NoBorder Network (presentation), Polish border police in action (report), "It happened to a lad" movie review (Belarus), 6 pages of short reports, Communities in Struggle.

issue # 6 - October 2002: Anti-NATO mobilization in Prague (report from international meeting), "NATO's first virtual member state" article (Lithuania), "Bela Krajina Won't go to NATO !" (Slovenia), "A kilometer away from NATO, two millions for Freedom" (Slovenia), interview with Czech anarchist NOT ONLY about anti-NATO actions in Prague, "NATO and Slovakia" (article), anti-NATO actions reports (Slovakia, Czechia, Poland), AntiFascist Action - Pula (report - Croatia), Report on criminalization of anarchist and anti-fascist community in Bialystok (Poland), Neo-Nazis attacks on IAS activists in Sabac and Novi Sad (Serbia), ABC reports (Turkey, Belarus, Poland, Slovenia, Russia), Autonomous Action networks conference in Krasnodar (Russia), "Victory of AC Molotov ?" (Slovenia), No Border Camp in Sredisce (Slovenia), AACTIV-IST newsletter august 2002 (report from Romania), Craiova Anarcho Front / Frontul Antifascist Craiova (Romania), Hungarian independent hc/punk scene (report), "Protests in Szczecin shipyards and the workers' situation in Poland (report), Solidarity call from IAS (Serbia), "The Eviction of the KRZYK squat has been blocked" (Poland), Food Not Bombs in Olsztyn (Poland), 3 pages of short reports, Communities in Struggle.

issue # 7 - December 2002: Summary of anti-NATO actions in Prague (by international secretary of CSAF), Eastern European Anarchist Block (N21-statement), N21 around the Eastern Europe (protest reports), Resistance against NATO in Slovenia (backgrounds and resistance documentary), We Dont Want Lies (press release by IAS after presidential elections in Serbia), War in Chechnya (interview with ex-russian soldier), Aactiv-ist Newsletter (October 2002), Repressions against anarchists in Romania (Romanian secret service report about romanian anarchism), Meeting of Polish Anarchist Federation (report), Collective for Libertarian Idea (the first anarchist collective in Macedonia - presentation), KarA ev open the doors (statement of new anarchist project from Istanbul), Between will of Power and Economic Crisis (report from Turkey), Bicycle Caravan to the EU summit in Thessaloniki (project presentation), Violence against animals in Slovenia (report from Ljubljana), DeCentrum and Bialystok (interview with activist from anarchist centre in Poland), ABC reports (Turkey, Poland), few pages of short reports, Communities in Struggle.

issue # 8 - February 2003: International Anarchist Meeting EE in Warsaw / Poland (schedule of details), Anarchist MayDay 2003 in Eastern Europe (contribution into discussion), Can the War take Centre Stage? - article about war in Chechnya, Anarchist Defence Alternative - text about how to consider the defence of anarchist society, Bulgaria in the NATO = NOW - interview with members of new anarchist group in Sofia about the situation in Bulgaria, Interview with the Bolt Throwers Firm - first antifa-stic football hooligans in Russia... and few pages of short reports, and Communities in Struggle.

issue # 9 - April 2003: Eastern Europe Against the War (action reports and statements); "Sudden Death of a Mobster ..." (ASI statement commenting assassination against Serbia prime minister); before EE MayDay 2003; infos from preparations to NoBorder camps in Romania and Poland; Anarchist march against imperialistic policy of the world elite (Zagreb); Antifascist reports from Poland, Russia and Belarus; "Experience from the West" article; "Dont trust anybody, not even us" - brief history of the Czech anarchism; Ukraine report from the Revolutionary Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (February 2003); Institutional and Social Mess of Bosnia nad Hercegovina; First Conference of Autonomous Action (February 2003); Belavetza forest disappearing (Poland); Fight against pipe (Georgia); Anarchist Initiative Rijeka (Croatia); ABC reports (Poland); few pages of short info; Communities in Struggle.

issue # 10 - June 2003: "ANARCHY 2003" meeting in Warsaw, Anti-Border Conference in Warsaw, anti-border camps in Poland and Romania (last calls for the actions); statement from First Annual Balkan Anarchist Bookfair; press release from ASI; Anti-war protests are continuing in EE (reports & statements); MayDay 2003 across Eastern Europe (reports & statements); DIY scene report from Lithuania; First conference on SAF / Social Anarchist Federation in Ljubljana; Croatian police repression against Bicycle Caravan in Zagreb (story); History and present situation of CAF / Craiova Anarcho Front; Antifascist reports from Russia and Czech Rep; IOM - EU's racist politics and its tools; ORA-S - Czech @group about their present politics, about media and about their publication ALARM; About East/West movements cooperation (article by AA/Moscow activist); Exiling from Hungary (border experiences by Serbian anarchist); ABC/ACK Poland; Communities in Struggle (list with about 150 @-projects in EE).

**"Anti-Border CCCC (Camps-Caravans-Conferences Campaign) seems to be one of the best educational works adopted by anarchist movement in east-central Europe in a long time"**

our regular editorial proclamation

Another two hot months have passed so we are back to you with lot of news and reports from East European anarchist world.

Regarding content of this issue, it is definitely dominated by reports from various activities generally targeting **BORDERS and border politics** which so clearly demonstrate today's capitalist democracy nightmare. All together, border camps, caravan and conference reports cover a whole 9 pages! In this way, we are appreciatively observing a process of growing consciousness around problems of migration-control, the situation of refugees, and in general border politics master-minded by warheads of *Fortress Europe GmbH*. Unfortunately, the mentioned problems are reaching a very dramatic level so the great wave of international no-border struggle and solidarity has rather a very symbolic impact on daily reality. However there is very optimistic common reflection comming out from most of these reports. It seems like wherever "anti-border activities" are taking place everywhere, local communities are showing their understanding, solidarity and even giving authentic support. That's why we are not scared to make the statement that the whole "Anti-Border-CCCC" (Camps-Caravans-Conferences Campaign) seems to be one of the best educational works adopted by anarchist movement in East-Central Europe in a long time. It brings a great influance on people's world outlook - such a crucial thing for any future changes. We believe that this campaign should be strongly supported and continued and the aspect of education should as well be enriched with aspects of self-organization among those local communities. This is more or less the process in which we believe, writing on the last page of our newspaper: "Educate - Organize... Create New!". And this is as well a positive example of east-west cooperation. The idea of such a campaign was born among western groups, and its transformation by eastern groups into eastern realities today brings a great effect there (with continued support of western groups).

This issue also coincidentally contains quite a bit about **historical matters**. In a very interesting interview with activists from the Czech group **ORA-S**, they give us unique info about 120 years of anarchist history in their country. Our Russian correspondent presents his reflections from so a called **East-West anarchist meeting** which took place exactly 5 years ago. History was made as well during the "**Anarchy 2003**" meeting in Warsaw a few weeks ago where about 200 anarchists from many East European groups gathered. You will find in this issue a longer report from this first-on-such-a-scale event of its kind.

Info about the creation of several new anarchist projects (AKA in Czechia,

infoshops in Croatia and Macedonia, publication in Romania...) in the region, Autonomous Action Moscow's statement on **war in Chechnya**, **ASI response** to the constant attacks on anarcho-syndicalism in Serbia, and

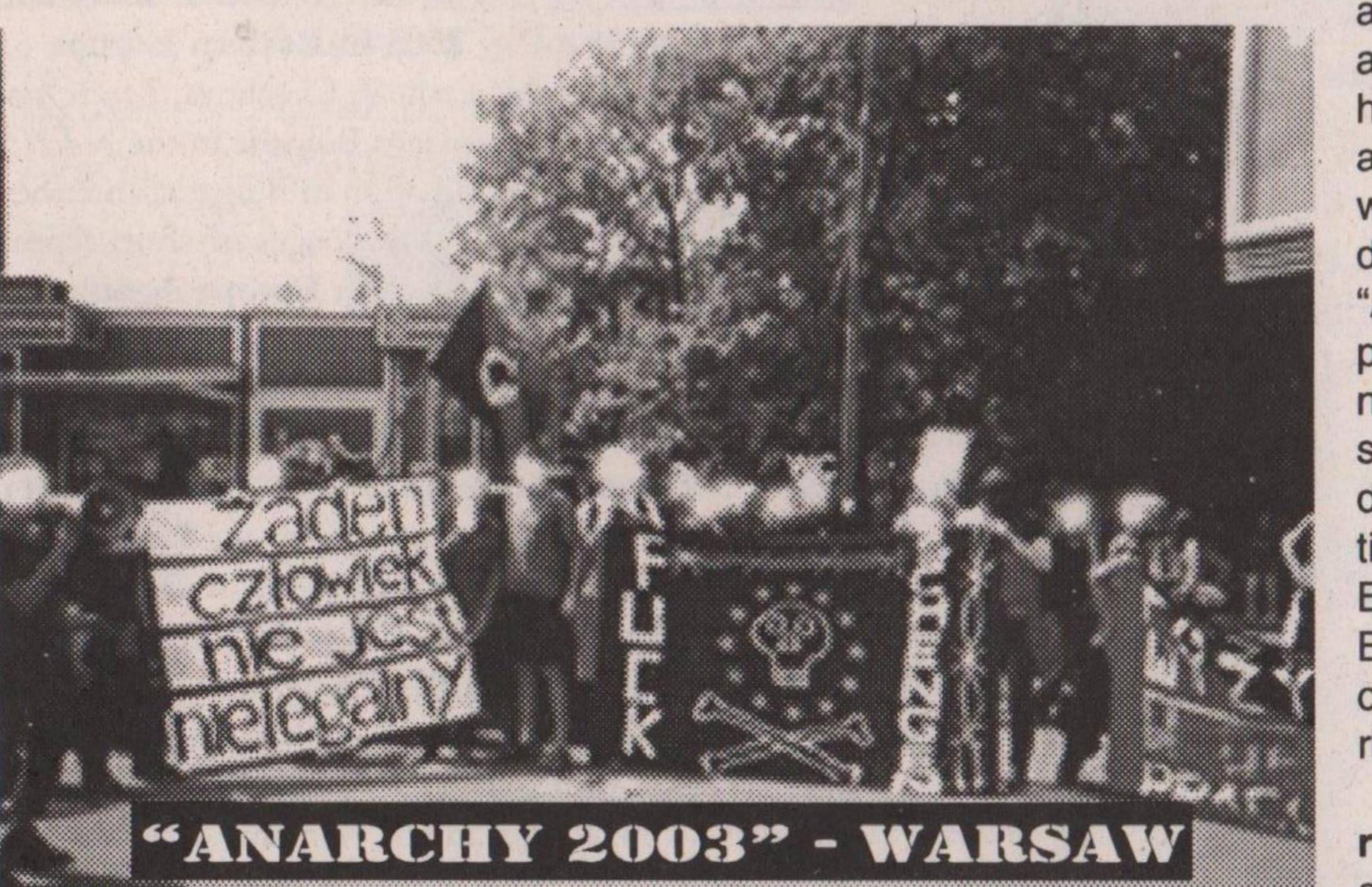
anarchists in Belarus and Serbia. It would be a pity if we - and here WE stands for everyone practicing freedom - could not use "AbolishingBB" to affect international solidarity. So here we appeal to all anti-repression structures in the EE: Please keep the world informed about all kind of state repression by sending us information about each case and suggestions about ways to make our solidarity the most effective.

Well, as you probably realized it is neither "CCC Anti-Border Campaing" nor the "Anarchy 2003" meeting what we have decided to highlight in this issue. It was the **situation in Belarus**. Lukashenko's seemingly endless dictatorship and repression of his regiment has recently led to liquidation of the only anarchist publication in this country. We are far from saying that we wish our Belarusian comrades (and all Belarusian people) a change from Lukashenko to such a great "friend of freedom" like for example Putin or Kwasniewski but what we want to say is this: While all governments have to be abolished, the Lukashenko's regime must be urgently overthrown in order that ANY libertarian ideas may be distributed among Belarusian people. So we are dedicating this issue to our friends from "**NAVINKI**" magazine (for more about the Navinki struggle just read the next page) and appealing to international community to pay more attention to what is going on in Belarus. We should by any means support anarchist communities in Belarus now as well as in the future when **EU-Gmbh** will try to establish there a new "modern European government".

Now it's time to inform you about new developments around our publication. Beginning about September, our website should appear, which will have basically the character of an archive. It means we will try to put there the most interesting texts which have appeared and will appear in "AbolishingBB". We hope that one day this can be an interesting and worthwhile source of information and we hope as well that it will not have a negative impact on popularity and distribution of the newspaper which are slowly but continuously developing. With this issue "AbolishingBB" should finally have a proper distribution in France and a new one for Finland. Meanwhile, we still haven't been successful in finding concrete proposals for distribution in Spain, North Italy, Ireland, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal and Bulgaria. Check it out please if you could help us with establishing the right connections - thank you!

Once again giving our respect to all our correspondents and distributors for their great co-

operation and to all of those people whose activity in the name of true freedom gives us permanent inspiration to do "Abolishing the Borders From Below", an anarchist courier from Eastern Europe.



**"ANARCHY 2003" - WARSAW**

reports, will be more visible in the future. The other kind of info which we definitely missed during formation of this issue are ABC reports. Actually, during normal circumstances this would be a very optimistic sign. Unfortunately, we know from various sources that state repression is these days affecting not only

AbolishingBB

**"Independent position is not what the government wants"**

**Oppression of Freedom of Speech in Belarus**

**The Solidarity Day with the newspaper "Navinki"**

**23 July**  
**The Solidarity Day**  
**with the newspaper**  
**"Navinki" !**

The Belarusian government has begun a purposeful campaign to close the **only independent** youth Belarusian newspaper. Moreover, the newspaper "Navinki", which has been published for 5 years already, is the only newspaper of the political satire in the country and it criticizes both the authoritarian regime and negative tendencies in democratic opposition. But today the independent position isn't what the government wants. At the end of May the Ministry of Information closed the "Navinki" newspaper for three months. The newspaper's editorial staff lodged complaint against the Ministry of Information to the court to declare this decision being groundless and tendentious. The first court hearing of the case about the "Navinki" newspaper's close was appointed on July 23.

**The short story of persecution:**

On the 20th of May 2003 Pauluk Kanavalchyk, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Navinki", was summoned. According to the article 172-1 "Distribution of information known to be unfounded that discredits honour and dignity of the president", the general prosecutor instituted proceedings against him for the article "The Second Belarusian Connotative Revolution" published in the issue 7 (86) of the 20th of March 2003. It was a semiotic article - a satirical research on the attitude of OSCE to Lukashenko before and after taking up the Belarusian parliament to PACE. After a short court session, where the Mass Media and linguistic were refused to attend, Pauluk Kanavalchyk was sentenced to a fine in amount of 700 Euro (that is about 7 average salaries in Belarus). As a result P.Konavalchyk's property was distained and must be redeemed according to the law of Belarus.

On the next day of the 21st of May newspaper got a written caution of the Ministry of Information on the same ground for the offence against the article 5 of "The law about the press and other

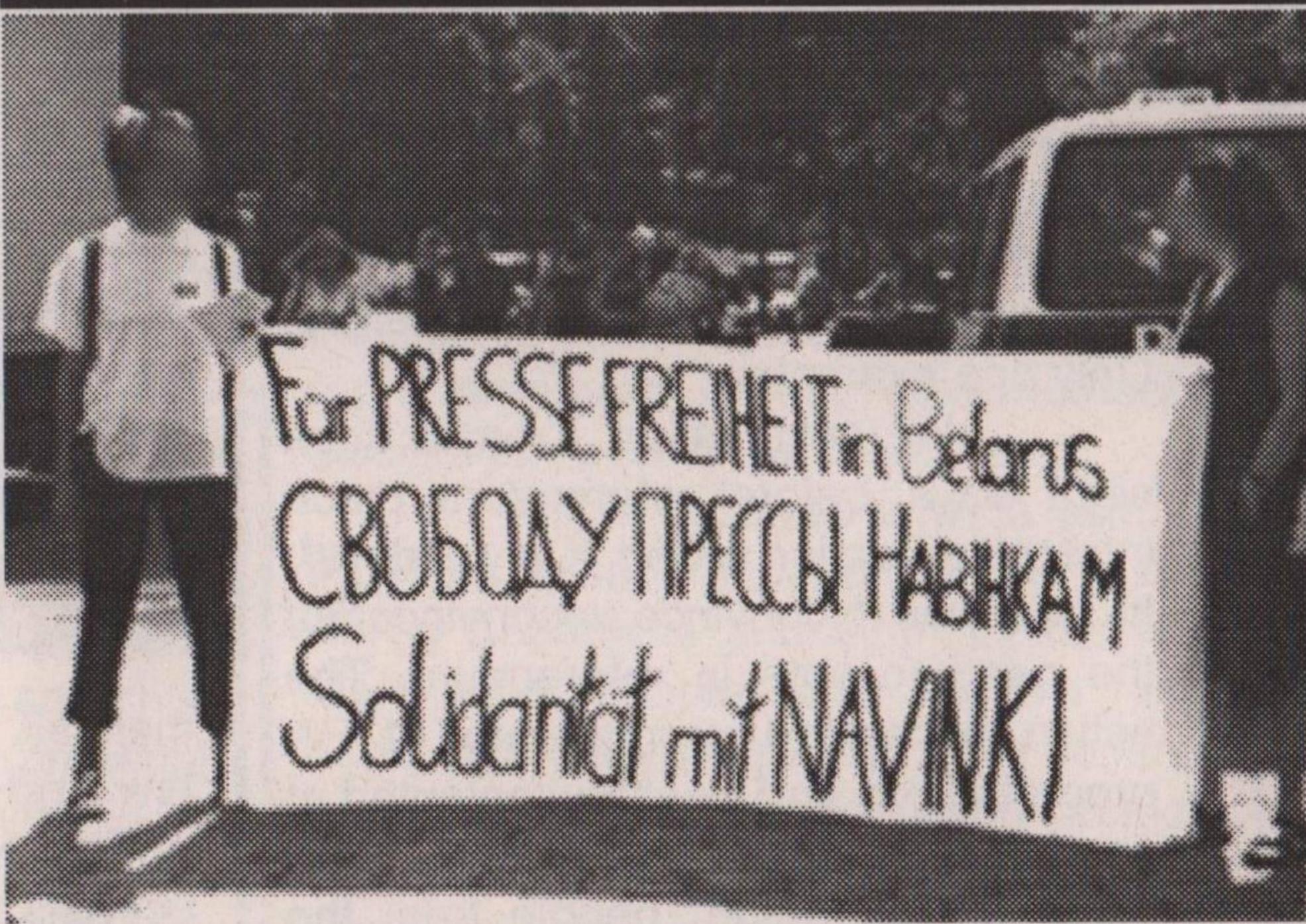
means of Mass Media" committed in the issue 7 (86) of this year "by publication of two photographs of the president of the Republic of Belarus with the comments of an insulting type."

And on the 22nd of May newspaper got one more written caution for the offence against the article 5 of "The law about the press" committed in the issue 11 (90) of this year in materials published under the heading "Opium For People", and in the issue 8 (87) of this year for the heading on the page "Analysis", which "encroach on the people's morality."

Basing on the Belarusian law the Ministry of Information decided to tempo-



July 23 - some activists showing their solidarity with Belarusian anarchists in home-town of "AbolishingBB" collective ...



rarily close the newspaper's publication for 3 months. After it the newspaper can be finally closed, as according to the Belarusian laws, after two cautions have been pronounced, a newspaper can be closed. As the court session and two cautions for articles, which were published one and two months ago correspondingly, go after one another, it can be make a conclusion that it is a planned campaign to close the newspaper "Navinki". This fact is a next crying breach of freedom of speech

in Belarus, where several independent newspapers have been already closed. Today it's our newspaper's turn, but we will not give up and we are going to bring an action for all three cases.

On May 29 2003 there was the first International Solidarity Day with the newspaper "Navinki". Protest actions were conducted right by Belarusian embassies in Moscow, Warsaw, Gdansk, Prague, Berlin and Stockholm.

We are appealing to everyone who comes against authoritarianism and breach of human rights. Today we need your support, and we ask you to show your solidarity with the newspaper "Navinki" and conduct actions against breach of freedom of speech in Belarus. We ask you to conduct the International Day of Solidarity with the newspaper "Navinki" near Embassies of the Republic of Belarus in your country on the 23th of July, conduct protest actions in defense of freedom of speech in Belarus and support the only independent youth political newspaper in Belarus.

These appeals were addressed to friends and supporters of "Navainki" in Moscow, Kiev, Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, London, Rome, Paris and other European cities. Please, inform both Mass Media of your country and leading Belarusian newspapers about conducted actions. Send your information to the following e-mails:

baj@unibel.by,  
mail@belapan.com,  
bdg@bdg.unibel.by,  
bg@bg.org.by,  
root@br.minsk.by,  
nn@promedia.by,  
sb@sb.by

Protest faxes (preferably on letterheads of organizations and Mass Media) against the "Navinki" newspaper's close and oppression of Freedom of Speech in Belarus can be sent directly to the Ministry of Information: +375-17-2233435

Please pass this information to all interested people. Thanks for your support!

The solidarity actions on July 23 took place in at least few european towns (pictures from one of this action you can see near by) but the real struggle against Lukashenko regime is just starting and the true solidarity with small belarusian anarchist movement is needed on a daily basis. On the page 26 of our newspaper you can find contact adresses to almost 20 anarchists and anti-authoritarian groups in Belarus ... the Abolishers.

## DEMO AGAINST GOVERNMENT "SOCIAL" REFORMS POLICIES IN PRAGUE / CZECHIA

More than 2 000 people gathered on the demo of Association of Independent Trade Unions (Second biggest Trade union centrale in Czechia) to protest against social policies of social-democratic government (which means longer working life, social cuts, endangering of education and health care etc.). March of railway workers, doctors, nurses, tram drivers and many more came through the city and gathered with workers from eastern part of Czechia, who came by special train. While marching around Government building, people shouted angrily and some wanted defenestration of gov. ministers. Demo finished in the city centre on the meeting where bosses of Trade Unions centrale held their speeches (bla,bla).

Anarchists from different organizations were presented with their leaflets criticising government's reforms, capitalism as a system and trade unions hierarchical structures, instead of what they presented their visions of self-organization of working class and direct action.  
Petr Z.; ŠESAF-Praha; praha@csaf.cz  
www.csaf.cz/english.php; www.csaf.cz

## SOLIDARITY ACTIONS WITH "WOMEN ON WAVES" IN POLAND

As an act of solidarity with abortion clinic on ship from organisation Women on Waves (Dutch organization coming with ship to countries where abortion is illegal and taking women to international waters to perform abortions and give education), which suffered heavy harrassment from fascists and state authorities upon their arrival to Poland, unknown activists painted in Bialystok local office of LPR (extremly conservative party, main organizer of protests against abortion) with slogans supporting abortion rights and against fascism.

As well in centre of Warsaw about 40 persons took part in solidarity action organize by anarcha-feminist activists.

Many anarcha-feminist activist from around the country arrived as well to small town Wladyslawowo (were the Women On Waves ship approche polish coast) and supported dutch activists directly on the place.

## SLOVAKIA - STATE OF MIDDLE AGES ?

Conflict shaking even the stability of rightist-government happened in Slovakia in last weeks. The reasons are mainly two laws created by conservative and Christian party ***Christian and Democratic Movement***, the third strongest party in government. At first, liberal member of government, ANO decided to come with the law allowing the condition for abortion the same as before, whereas conservative fundamentalists tried to attach this right at Constitutional court. Only few days after, the government accepted the Contract with Vatican, which created for example place for religious breeding in the schools since 6 years. Three strongest parties in government are defined as the "catholic parties" and they are nearly connected with church, for example after acceptance the law of abortion, bishops and another priests read the lists of members of parliament excommunicated from church, because they voted for the right of women to choice free.

## EU PROPAGANDA "CABARET" BEFORE EU-JOINING REFERENDUM IN SLOVAKIA

The referendum in Slovakia, which 16.8. confirmed the interest of entry of Slovakia in European Union, was another demonstration of pretty aggressive pressure of political elites and "independent" NGOs on consciousness of people. Although only 2% of votes missed and whole action would be unsuccessful, the propagandist campaign in newspapers and TV showed us the borders of morality of elites. Only one example:

In town called Trencín took eight days before referendum place interesting action called "Only 8 days". Its goal was to convince unconvinced of the need to vote in referendum. The action moderated by moderator of TV-program Rich and Healthy contented of concert of folk and rock groups. Then came on the stage "people from the mass". They had to answer the questions like "Where would you like to travel?" or "How are you going to vote in referendum?" Their answers should have sketched the possibilities of membership in EU. Any problem? Each performer got 500 crowns as a reward for his/her role. Paid before action...

Whole action was organised for 15 participants, whereas the place of action is normally visited by much more people. Maybe disgusted by stupid propaganda?

## TOP-FIVE OF ANTI ANARCHISTS IN SERBIA

Some interesting facts concidering relations between Serbian state and main stream unions and serbian anarcho-syndicalists. Currently there are five "important" persons publicly attacking activists through different media and/or police repression.

First one is **Dusan Mihajlovic, State Minister of the Police** - he was publicly asking why one from activists was released only after 3 days during the martial law and also asked big weeklies who are writing about IAS activities to stop doing that, because they are making "this anarchist a new hero" and "the last thing we need now are anarchists".

Second one is **Dragan Milovanovic, State Minister of Labor** - he signed the search warrant and asked from the minister of police for above mention activist to be arrested during martial law, he also spoke against anarcho-syndicalism on the TV.

Third one is **Aleksandar Vlahovic, State Minister of Privatization** - in his yearly report on privatization, that was televised, he said that privatization is going well but that "there are some subversive groups, anarcho-syndicalists are giving away their newspapers, pushing for the workers to go to strike, chasing away foreign investors, they are going to put us back to the middle ages" he said.

Forth one is **Miljenko Smiljanic, head of the Confederation of the Autonomous Trade Unions of Serbia**, the biggest union central, having roots in the ex-Yugoslavian unions, with more than million workers being members - he is constantly threatening the government with anarcho-syndicalism, claiming that if the government doesn't make a deal with him there is going to be a boom of anarcho-syndicates who are going to break everything around and bring a loads of blood to the streets. He also has problems because lot of their local syndicates are making contacts with us, so he is afraid of losing membership.

The last one is the funniest of them all, **Budimir Poluga, head of "Public law and order" department of Belgrade police**. He has personal pick on one of the activists, and after that one was arrested a week ago, and big Serbian weekly (Time) wrote a text about that case, he started propaganda in newspapers and TV against "hooligans" etc. Clearly marking anarchists as such. He also claimed that this person told him, while arrested, that "I'm going to take measures that will show that this country doesn't need police", "No, I'm not arrested, you are!" and "Wait and see what kind of game I'm playing". Obviously mentioned activist didn't say any of those stupidities. Funny country, isn't it? Anarcho-syndicalist greetings. R.

## SLOVAK TEACHERS STRIKING!

After strike of railway-employers, another important action in Slovakia took place in June 2003. About 85-90% of teachers and another school-employers in public schools took part in the biggest protest action in history of that country, in some regions /mainly in the east of Slovakia/ was the participation even at level of 100%. Many teachers even didn't go to their school, many another came, but didn't work and only discussed about solutions of catastrophic situation in Slovak school-service. The action was also supported by another union-organisations and some private and ecclesiastic schools.

Teachers demand mainly such a financial solution of supporting the school-service, that regular ploy wouldn't be endangered. Very important is also the demand of growth of real salaries. Due to the new laws came the schools in the authority of cities and public administration but these institutions have not enough money to run the schools. State washed its hands and it's possible, that in many regions will be the schools in September closed. After accepting the fees for students of universities it is another hit for school-service and situation, when teachers have wages under the border of average wage leads Slovakia to aggravating the quality of education and defining it as a privilege for privileged. Supporting of the action was realised by organisation Direct Action and another anarchists, mainly by pamphlets for striking workers.

Another restrictions in social situation like an equal tax, employing justice fees in health- and school-service, or reform of pension are leading to necessary and regular social conflicts. It seems, that radicalisation of people would ultimately start the social struggle in situation not able to endure.

## QUEER ANARCHISTS STORM CRAP POETRY IN YAROSLAVL, RUSSIA

In the middle of June anarchists together with other queer leftists presented their collection of queer and revolutionary poetry "Golaya moral" (Naked morality). Revolutionary queer poets shocked the presentation of another collection of kitch poetry of local traditionalists in the hall of Yaroslavl museum of arts. Romances and trash poetry got stucked to mouths of cultural reactionaries, when revolutionaries stormed the stage and organised "a non-govermental reception point of waste paper", where collection of grafomaniacs was exchanged to that of revolutionary queers. Received books of traditionalists were cut to pieces and thrown to waste. Several pieces of revolutionary poetry were successfully recitated before the action had to be finished.

## ANARCHIST ANTI-FASCIST ACTION IN ZHUKOVSKY, RUSSIA

Zhukovsky is a suburb of Moscow with some 100 000 inhabitants. Political party "For Holy Russia" (ZVR) is by far not the strongest fascist movement in Russia, but it has a strong local influence in Zhukovsky, where it claims to have recruited 2000 members.

19th of May ZVR organised a party in a local movie theatre to celebrate birthday of Nikolai II, declared as a saint by Russian Orthodox Church. ZVR is an "old school" fascist party, with monarchist and black hundred ideas - during last decade of "renaissance" of Russian fascist movement this tendency has severely suffered in favour of more modern nationalist, white power or national bolshevik movements. Leader of the party is a teacher in Moscow Institute of Aviation MAI, for him getting party card is enough to have ones history exams passed.

Local anarchists who came to party as uninvited guests soon realized that most of the hundred or so participants were from MAI, apparently there in order to proceed with their studies. After a prayer for deceased mass murderer an anti-semitic lecture began, during which anarchists began distributing leaflets about Nikolai II in the theatre. Soon contents of the speeches became impossible to tolerate, and anarchists decided to leave, attacking the literature stalls around doors selling various schizophrenic religious and black hundred literature.

Some lunatics followed shouting "Long live Tsar!", and a fight began. In the street altogether 6 anti-fascists took a successful stance against the superior enemy, but decided to make a tactical retreat when representatives of the governemental fascism showed up with their cars.

Action received a wide echo in the local press, one paper publishing article by anarchists and other by fascists. Many local people gave positive feedback, especially those who have suffered from illegal church construction projects of the party, which are plenty in the city. For sure some intimidation has followed as well, as many other fascists movements ZVR is also linked to security services business of the capital which is always just a cover for the mafia. So anti-fascists have been warned of serious consequences if they continue their activities. Soon after action three uniformed black hundreds came to hang a placate outside home of one of the local anarchist anti-fascists, but after support showed up and tore down the placate fascists decided to speed away, not risking a physical confrontation. The struggle continues!

## BULGARIA AND CROATIA REFUSE ASYLUM CAMPS

Croatia and Bulgaria have both turned down the controversial UK and Italian idea that they house asylum camps for immigrants trying to get into the EU. The Presidents of both of these future EU member states, Stipe Mesic and Georgi Parvanov, refused the idea after bilateral talks in July. Croatia's Mr Mesic said that he thought those who came up with the idea would be better occupied trying to find solutions to the regional crisis in the Balkans instead. Mr Parvanov said that all EU member states and those waiting to become members should act together - adding that neither Bulgaria nor other states could be expected to take on "strange ghettos" to isolate refugees.

The predominantly British idea for camps in third countries to 'process' those seeking entrance to the EU was rejected by EU leaders at the Thessaloniki Summit in June. (Der Standard)

## PROTEST CAMP IN AZOV, UPDATE

Azov update 21st of July 2003  
(more background on page 14)

Inhabitants of Azov promise to blockade Rostov-Krasnodar highway, and dismantle terminal with their own hands. 17th of July a meeting demanding an immediate stoppage of methanol terminal construction took place. Action began outside city administration building 5 PM, some 2000 people gathered altogether. Protestors shouted "Stop methanol, jail gang of Chuba!" (Chuba is the governor of Rostov oblast), "There won't be any terminal!" and "As long as we are united, no one will beat us!". Soon after beginning of the meeting two participants descended from the roof of the building with ropes writing a graffiti "War against terminal" to wall of the building. Soon participants of meeting recognized how police officers pulled activists back to the roof attempting to arrest them, so they went on blocking all doors of the building shouting "freedom to heroes!" and "today we are here with placards, tomorrow we will come with spades!". Redactor of local journal "Chitayka" Yuri Golubev and Cossack ataman Yuri Kolobrov mediated with officials, and protestors managed to get arrested activists freed. Protest meeting moved to square of the Third International, where people who have participated to daily blockades of the road to terminal gave speech. When people learned how police officials had attacked senior citizens during blockades and one lorry had hit one participant of the blockade (fortunately without serious consequences), meeting made a resolution and decided to organise next blockades (...).

**3rd general meeting  
of Autonomous  
Action  
22-24 of August  
in Rostov-na-Donu;  
South Russia**

Welcome to 3rd general meeting of Autonomous Action to be organised 22-24 of August in Rostov-na-Donu, South of Russia.

Autonomous Action (Avtonomnoe Deystvie, AD) is a federation aim of which is libertarian socialism, based on such principles as direct (unparliamentary) democracy and self-governement.

We call ourselves autonomists and our struggle autonomous, because we act independently, without state bureaucrats' and parliamentary party-leaders' support. We hate them all. Autonomous Action exists since January, 2002 when its first general meeting took place.

Autonomous Action has an official organ of the press - "Autonom"-zine. The official website of the federation is [www.avtonom.org](http://www.avtonom.org). Only members of organisation have vote in general meeting, but everyone is invited to discuss common projects and ideas. Besides revising documents of the movement (manifesto and organisational principles - *to find in AbolishingBB # 5; August 2002*), meeting will also discuss situation in various regions, common projects between groups, strategical and tactical questions, publications, alliance politics and reaction to upcoming duma elections.

Meeting will be organised in a camp somewhere around the city. Exact place will be announced only after arrival to Rostov-na-Donu. No travel compensations are paid, food is provided by the local group of Autonomous Action. Take cutlery, preferably also sleeping bags, matresses and tents with you.

If you are interested to participate, please write at least 4 days in prior to addresses [ankom17@mail.ru](mailto:ankom17@mail.ru) and [neponyatny@pisem.net](mailto:neponyatny@pisem.net). You will get more information from these addresses. Note that common protest camp by Rainbow Keepers and Autonomous Action is currently going on only 45 kilometers South of Rostov, and most likely it will last until the end of August, so you may participate to the both events at once.

**Appeal to help  
by setting up  
a new infoshop  
in Rijeka/Croatia**

In spirit, of developing social and cultural centre in Rijeka (Croatia), **R.A.I., the Anarchist Initiative of Rijeka** are working on setting up an infoshop and a reading room. This would be a place where people could get in touch with the abundance of radical, revolutionary, libertarian and humanitarian thought in the form of books, comics, fanzines and magazines, CDs, videos and audio tapes etc.

We are interested in anything on radical social theory and critique, anarchism, feminism, primitivism, human and animal rights, counterculture, social ecology, antimilitarism, class issues and struggle, lesbian and gay studies, libertarian thought, liberation struggles, third world issues, political propaganda, anti globalization struggles, bioregionalism, direct action, antifascist struggles, engaged art, squatting, political prisoners, civil unrest, situationalism, vegetarianism\ veganism, zero work: on any language.

In the same place (this house in Varos) we're trying to start **pirate radio**, so eventually you can expect your material to be presented there and also in the **anarcho punk zine called SUBVERZIJA (Subversion)**, that we're working on. This infoshop will also serve the purpose of **distributing** your materials, so if you're interested get in touch. Well, this would be our appeal to all individuals, groups, distribution order services and publishers that could send us materials or anything that they think would be valuable and helpful for us. If you require any additional information, or you just want to write, don't hesitate to get in touch. Thank! Please forward this appeal to others. Contact: Goran, Tocila 2, E1 2/6, 7500 Prilep, Macedonia \ [subverzija@mail.com](mailto:subverzija@mail.com)

We would like to provide a forum for the dissemination of diy/independent creativity, to establish an info-point which serve as a real concat resource for people using our library, but also a place where one could get thought provoking, intelligent and hopefully inspiring material of any kind that is often very hard to get in mainstream "established" institutions.

This is therefore our appeal to all individuals, groups, distribution/mail order services and publishers that could send us material, put us on your mailing list, give us subscription, or donate anything else that we could use to raise funds. At the moment our funds are nonexistent, that's why we are relying on your generosity and kidness to start moving. If you require any additional information or would just like to write, don't hesitate to get in touch. Thank you very much in advance! You can write on [rai2002@net.hr](mailto:rai2002@net.hr). We have web address, visit <http://solidarnost.mahost.org> than link rai

**Call for help  
and solidarity  
in organizing social and  
cultural centre  
in Varos/Macedonia**

In Varos, settlement near Prilep, we're trying to organize **social and cultural centre**. We want to make an **infoshop and a reading room** (a library) where people can get in touch with radical, humanitarian and revolutionary thought in a form of books, comics, fanzines, video and audio tapes, CD's etc.

We are interested in anything on radical social theory and critique, anarchism, feminism, primitivism, human and animal rights, counterculture, social ecology, antimilitarism, class issues and struggle, lesbian and gay studies, libertarian thought, liberation struggles, third world issues, political propaganda, anti globalization struggles, bioregionalism, direct action, antifascist struggles, engaged art, squatting, political prisoners, civil unrest, situationalism, vegetarianism\ veganism, zero work: on any language.

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**First anarchist/libertarian  
magazine in Romania  
is starting -  
contribution is welcome!**

We want to start publishing the first magazine of that character in Romania and we are looking for people from different countries who are available to do a little of writings about the things in their countries - eastern european, balkans, but also west european or others. Anyway, it will not be a too complicated thing. Some scene reports for the beginning and from time to time (when you consider) just send some news about important issues/struggles going on in your country. People interested in helping this project to start (first issue planned for the fall) please contact this address: [aactivistcollective@yahoo.com](mailto:aactivistcollective@yahoo.com) Also, if somebody manage to reach the meeting we can present the project, but in an "non-official" environment.

**CLASS CONFLICT AS AN APHRODISIAC FOR SUCCESSFUL COMMUNICATION  
IAS BELGRADE TEXT AS A RESPONSE TO THE CONSTANT ATTACKS  
ON ANARCHO SYNDICALISM IN SERBIA**

doesn't have any perspective in this society.

Our ideal is a society without violence. Our goal is a free society of equal, self-aware individuals, ready for the mutual aid. Anarcho-syndicalists were, during all of the past wars, slandered, locked down, tortured and killed for their antimilitarism. To us violence is, really, no fetish. But that doesn't mean that we are going to sit with our hands in our asses and allow for our lives to be thrown down under the carpet of privatization. We are going to use all effective measures, not in contradiction with our ethical positions and really benefiting to the improvement of the position of the workers and other oppressed people, in order to reach our goals. Anyway, let us turn the story the other way: let us ask the state and the bosses what they think about violence. Who is starting the wars and why? Who is using police to get even with those not thinking the same way? Who is bringing private security and bodyguards when he is letting off workers and taking over the factories by force? Who is propagating and making possible the economical model which is keeping millions of human beings around the world in the position of constant exploitation? That is violence, very obvious and very harsh violence. But, that violence is what politicians and bosses are using to keep their interests untouched.

Union bureaucrats are waving "their" anarcho-syndicalism to the Government to gain government's sympathies and to secure their privileges, offering them dialogues and quieting down the workers. We do not expect that politicians are going to have great opinion on us, neither do we care about what they think (that is, if they think at all), but it is the other reason to why union bureaucrats are trying to forge and twist our methods of the fight for worker's rights which is interesting: disappointed membership of the "big" unions, aware of the fossil likeness of the union bureaucracy and disgusted with mountains of lies, is starting to massively abandon union centrals. By slowly understanding ineffectiveness of the hierarchical, authoritarian unions, several local and regional councils of the SSSS got in contact with our syndicate. To every reasonable, civilized human being it is clear that his/hers voice can best be heard in non-hierarchical, direct-democratic syndicates in which the decisions are made only by the membership and not by the bureaucrats, appointed from above, who therefore don't have the same interests as those who they should supposedly represent.

Unlike mainstream unions, decisions in our syndicate are not made by bribed leadership (SSSS), Serbian Government (ASNS) or foreign funds (Nezavisnost) but only the membership. Our statute doesn't allow any other option. (ASNS is the yellow union of Serbian Government, its head is the minister of Labor, Nezavisnost [Independence] is the union with close ties, to put it nicely, to the AFL-CIO - translators note)

During the protest walk (on 25th of June) Smiljanic and his clique was constantly trying to separate us from the protest, calling the other workers to boycott us, however they were faced with crazed response of the workers who saw through real motives for that call. Enraged gun makers almost physically resolved the matter with one of the SSSS bureaucrats who was yelling for "getting out of these people with red and black

flags and anti-state banners".

We will repeat the basics of our activities. We didn't choose to attack anybody. We are all living in the permanent war of the state against the society and the bosses against the workers. This is transparent in the relation of the State towards the media (Serbian Government recently stated several lawsuits against several magazines and radio/TV stations [including NIN] who were criticizing the work of the Government - translators note) We are responding to their attacks. We are defending ourselves. The society can formulate its resistance in different ways, but the only way to finish with the society of the exploitation, once and for all, power of one human being over another, the suffering, the pain, the poverty and the lies, is to organize, here and now, into the revolutionary syndicates who are not going to stop with the fight until we start living in freedom. This means that we do not need a new Walesa or any other bureaucrat who will climb to a position in the State, over the backs of the workers (Lech Walesa was in 80's hero of the polish working class movement, in 90's already president of Poland and one of the main oppressors of the polish workers - AbolishingBB). Also, if we are aware of the origins and the ways to which we got ourselves in this humiliating situation it will be clear to us why we are not bothering ourselves with the questions such as: which party is in the power, or should we collect signatures for this or that side against those. Can the activities in the process of change of any government bring anything really important to the workers? How many times do we need to experiment with the trust we are placing into the politicians? Politicians and bosses are working together, and in that way are keeping their privileges. Leave them to their fights and let us focus on our goals: a better life here and now. Does that mean protests in the streets? Blockades of the roads? Occupation of the factories until we get what we asked for? Demands for the four hour working time? General strike until fulfillment of all of our goals? Can anybody forbid us such actions?

Anyway, one dictatorial regime was taken down in that way, and the other one climbed up - using the chaos. We should never let the politicians and bosses use our struggle for their goals again. We do not need a cooperation with political parties. We don't need their support. For creation of new social relations, equal, nonhierarchical relations between human beings we do not need shepherds/leaders but, as for all other positive civilization goods that we got against dark forces of obscurantism, only a little bit of self-respect.

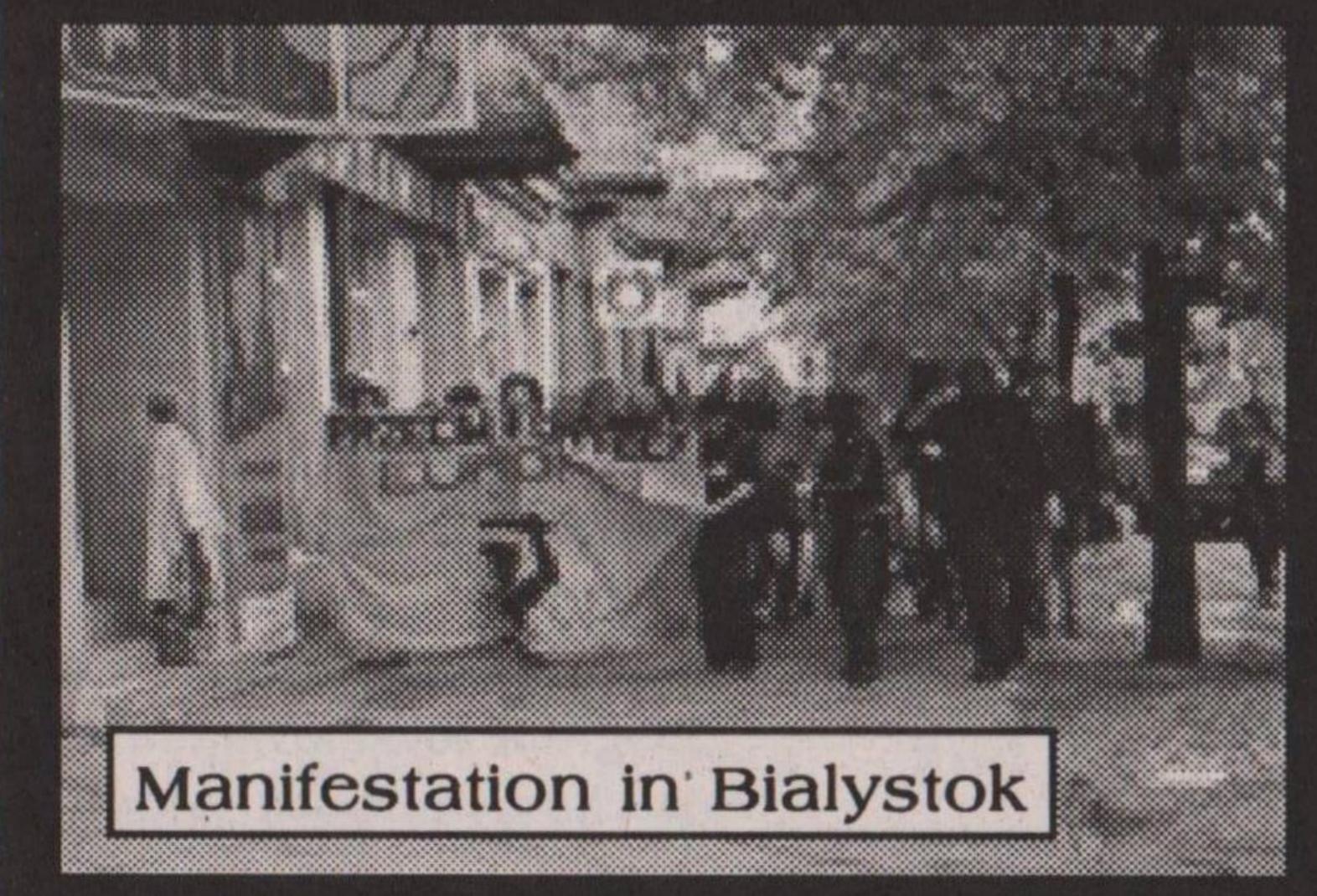
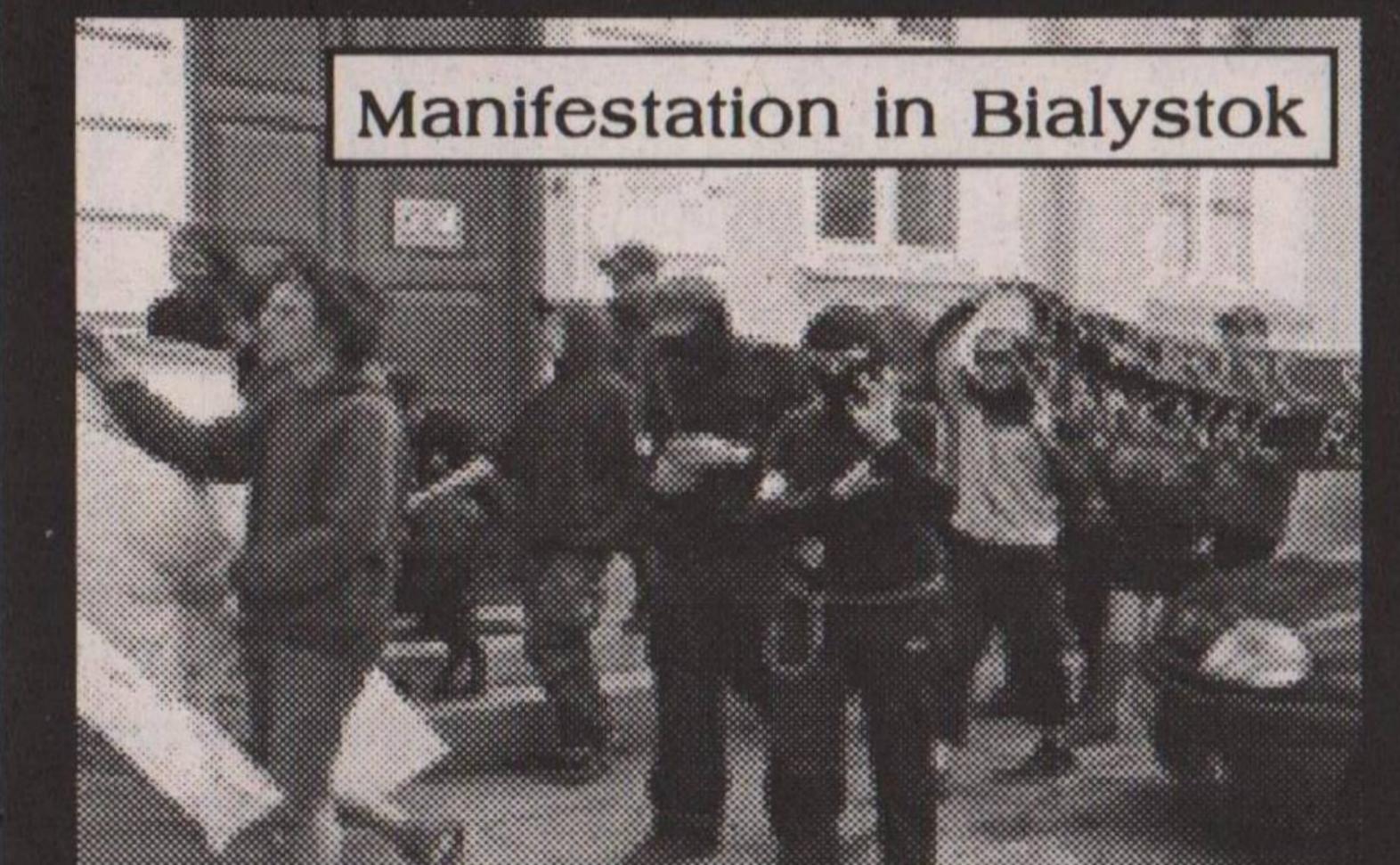
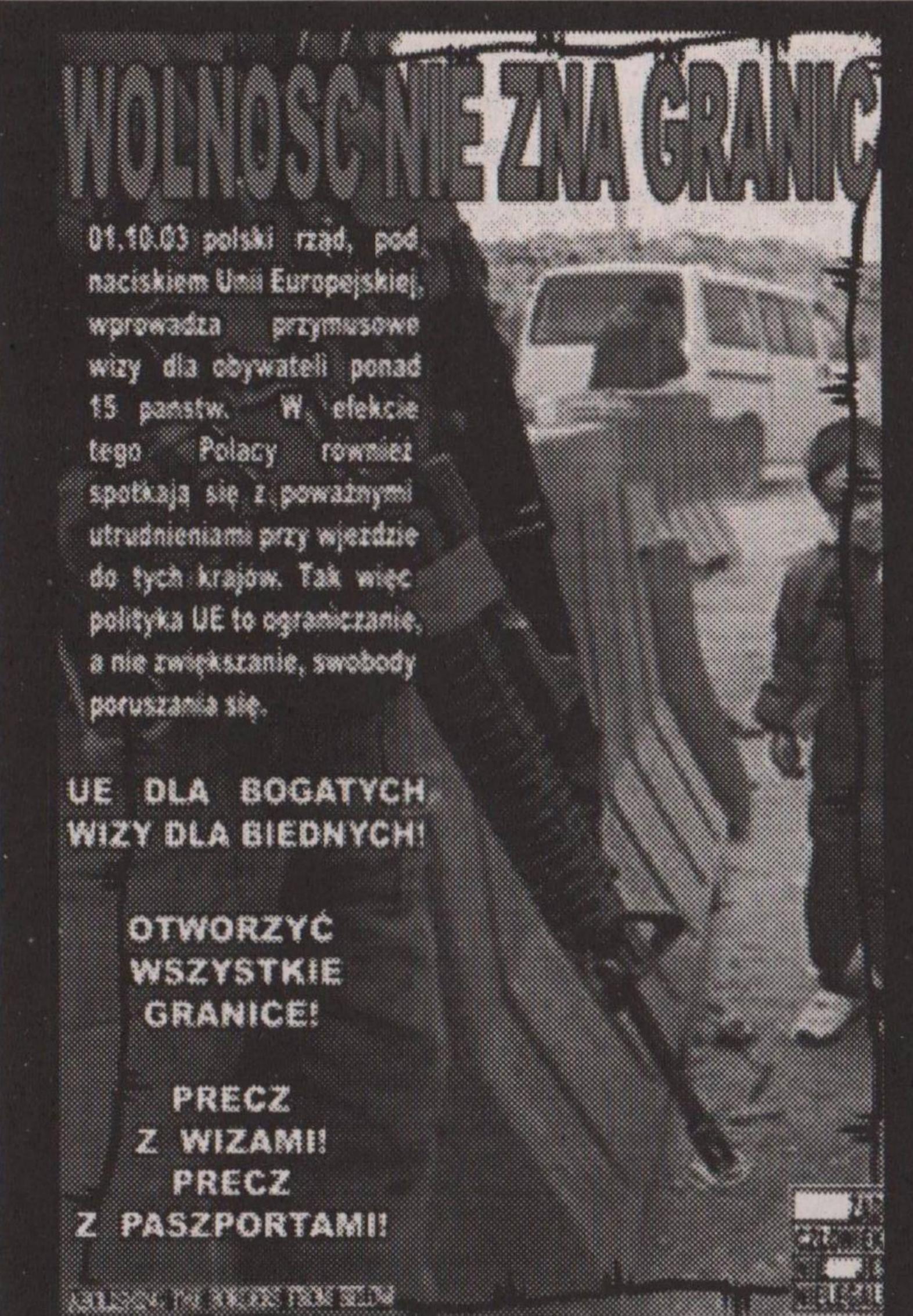
Postmodern "thinkers" are trying to convince us that we are living in the time in which ideals do not mean anything. We do not embrace that, because by accepting those positions human kind would also accept the idea that, through history, those spineless creatures only after their petty, egoist goals were right. Before everything else, we are fighting for human dignity.

Belgrade local group of ASI  
Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative

Contact for the ASI (Serbia):  
International Secretary: [is@inicijativa.org](mailto:is@inicijativa.org)  
Information E-mail: [info@inicijativa.org](mailto:info@inicijativa.org)

# ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

## TWO WEEKS OF INTERNATIONAL ANTI BORDER AND ANARCHISTS ACTIVITIES IN POLAND REPORT FROM DOUBLE CONFERENCE IN WARSAW AND ANTI BORDER CAMP ON POLISH BELARUS BORDER



# ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

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relationships developed), the meetings have lost impetus in recent years. There was a need not only to revive the tradition of an international event but many felt a need to focus on eastern european activists. There were a number of reasons for this:

- it was felt that eastern europeans have a weaker networking structure, particularly due to restricted mobility

- many eastern activists tended to network more with the well-developed western countries, despite the fact that, in terms of experience and capabilities, they may have more in common with other countries in their region.

- there are some concrete experiences of cooperation in eastern european countries which have proved very promising and there is a wish to explore more ideas for cooperation and solidarity

A Few days after the conference, during an anti-border camp there took place a meeting with attempt to check the feedback on that event. It was generally positive. The most common criticism was that little concrete came out of the meetings. This, as a couple of people pointed out during the feedback session, is often the case at such large meetings, particularly when there are so many people who don't know each other. So it was mentioned that if there are any subsequent, smaller meetings, they may well be on a concrete project with a smaller group of people. And all people very much hoped that in the future, this first big meeting will help people be in contact and facilitate better regional activity.

Actually, it is already seen happening in practice. After every event like border camps, more and more people make contact. This year a group of Polish people, learning about some events in Russia and Ukraine, have decided to participate in these actions. So there are seen some concrete results of these activities. There was as well very big differences in expectations or in many cases a lack of any expectations before the conference (for most of activists it was first time they participated in such a complex event). Thus, it always took a long time until the meetings could transform into any constructive discussions.

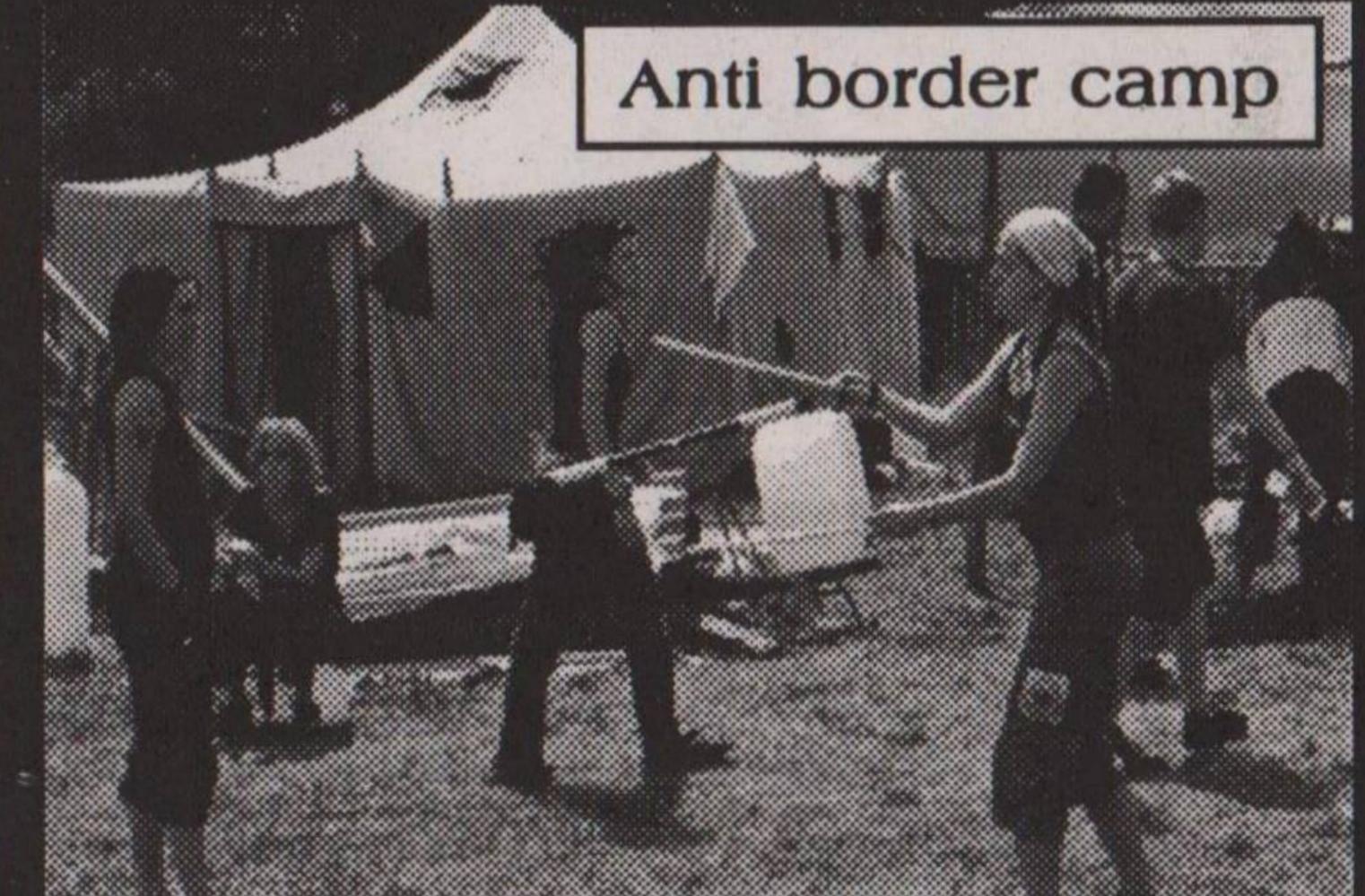
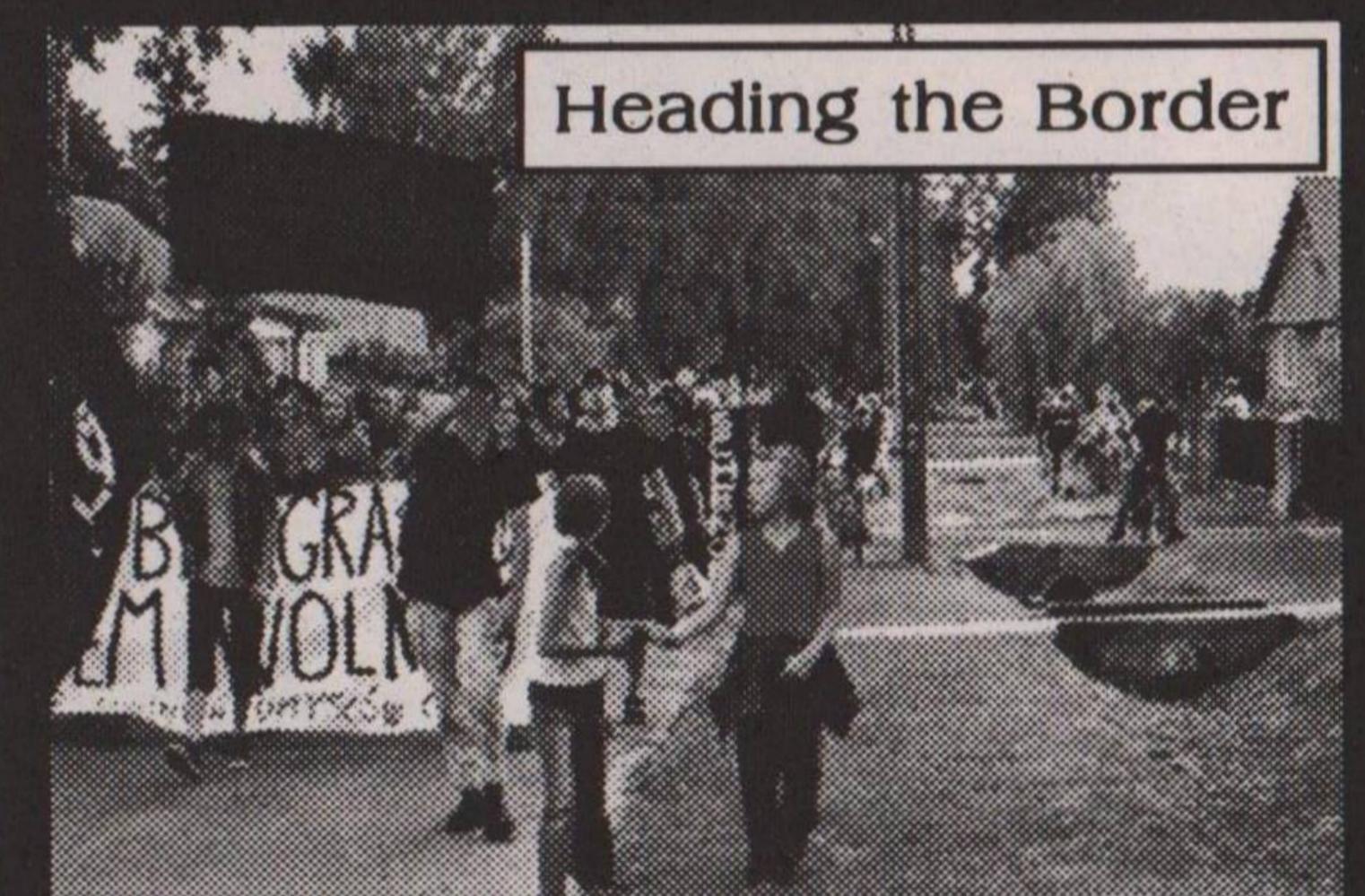
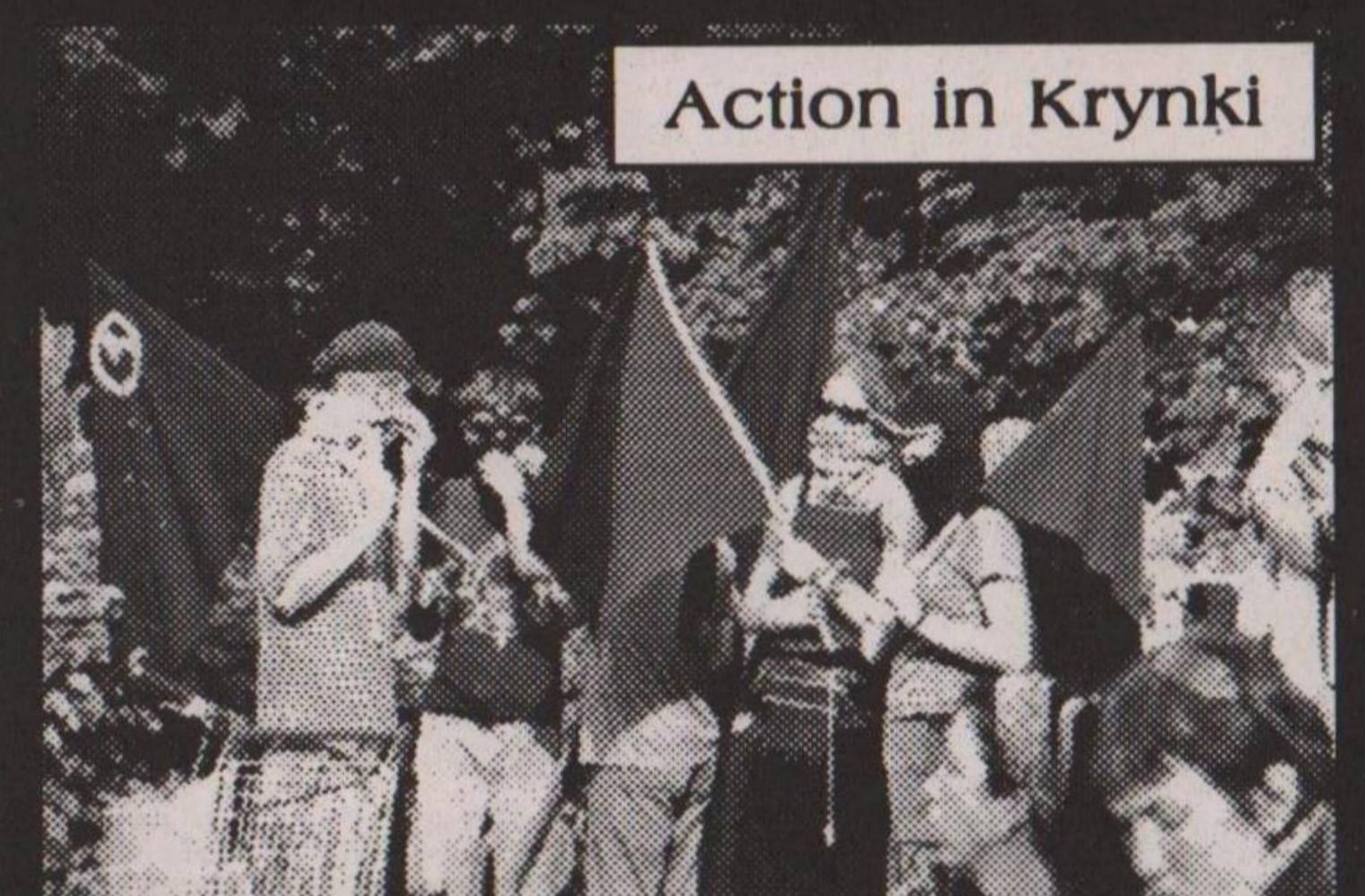
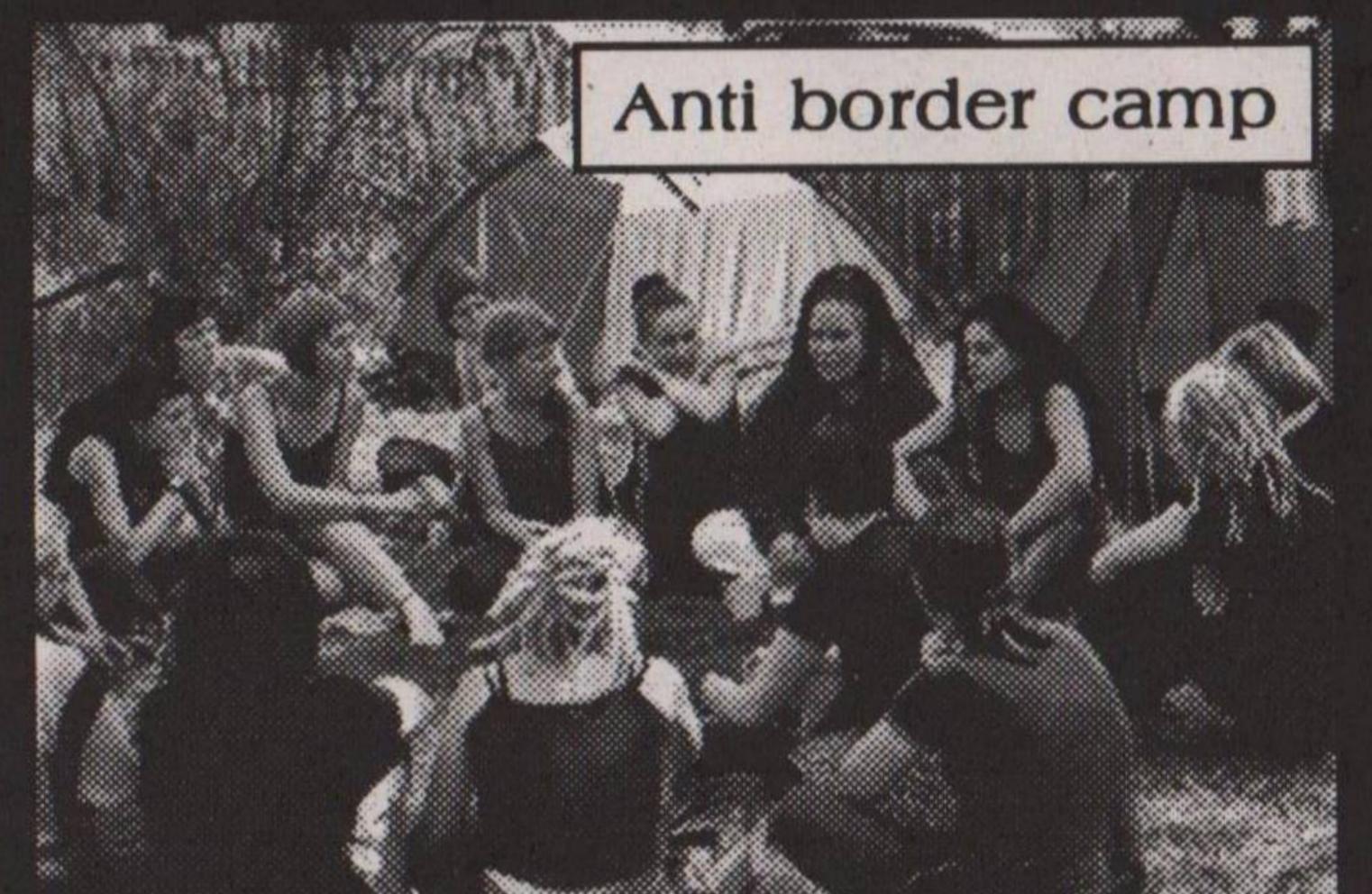
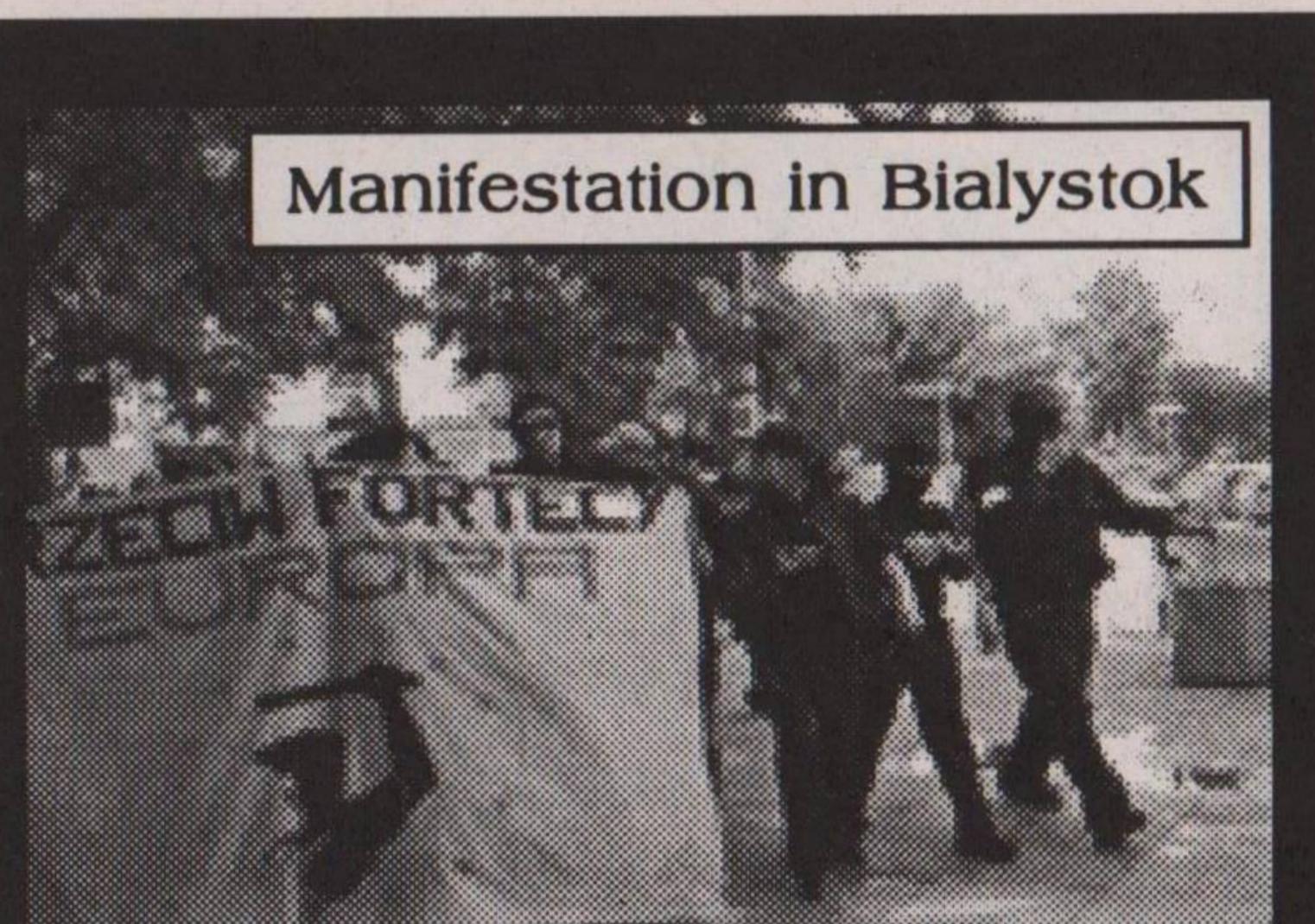
As was already men-

### International Demonstration Against Border Politics

After 4 days of theory, participants of events moved into the streets of Warsaw. On Monday, 30 of June, members of Anarchist Federation called to International Manifestation Against Border Politics. Actually the action began about an hour before the manifestation with posterizing and leafleting an area around the biggest "illegal" market in Europe, a place called "Stadion" were thousands of ex-Soviet Union citizens sell their goods. Actually the Warsaw authorities are trying to shut down this place for many years. This is a very specific location which permanently witnesses rides and monitoring by border police and other controls who not only harass foreigners, but also constantly do anti-piracy controls and bust people for illegal trading. This area is very dangerous for all immigrants, who are forced by polish autho-

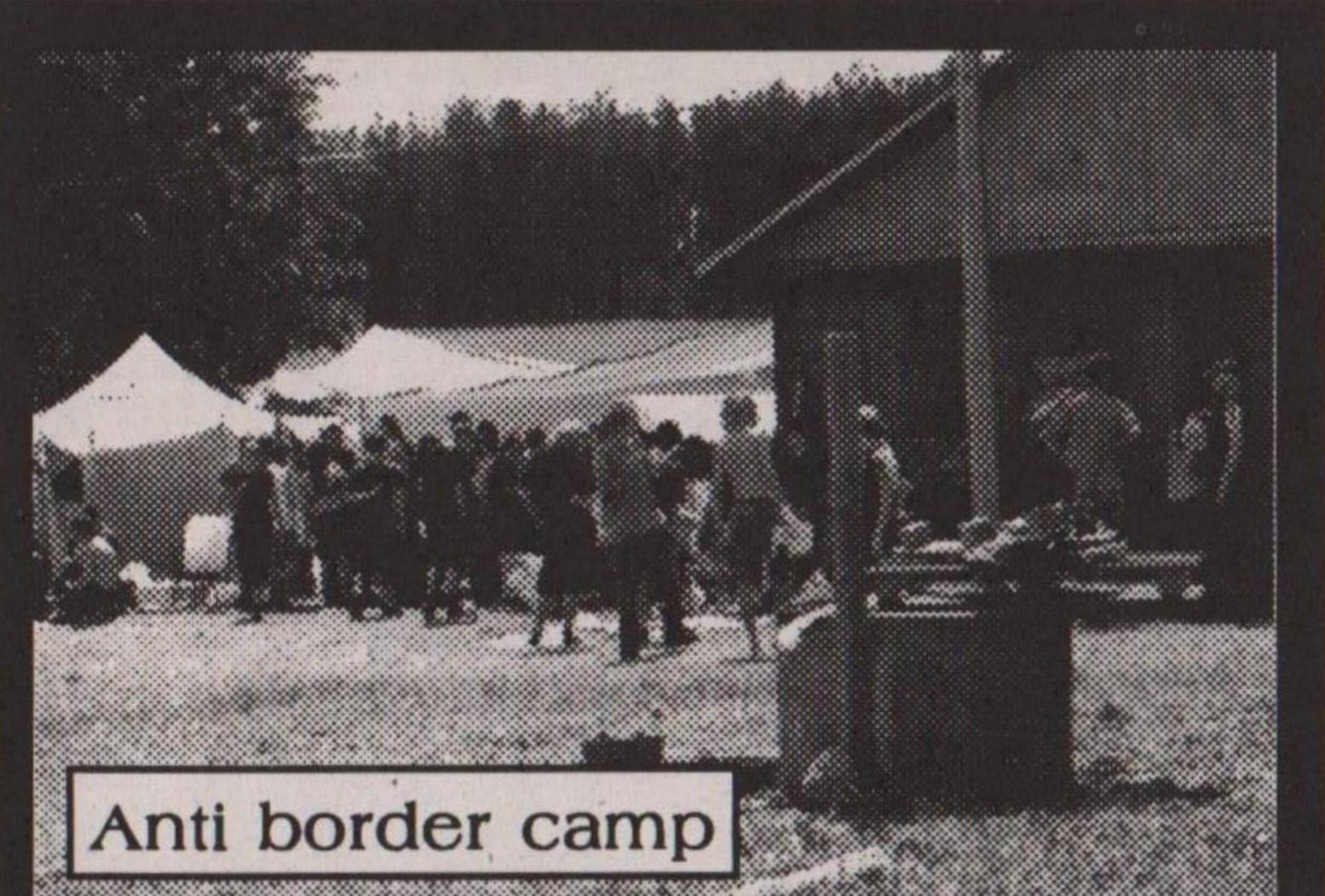
### Some reflections after the "Anarchy 2003" meeting

Considering an anarchist meeting "Anarchy 2003" - it was the first such large anarchist conference held in Eastern Europe in recent history. In the past, there were such things as "east-west" conferences; although people from the east did meet each other at these events (and indeed a number of truly fruitful

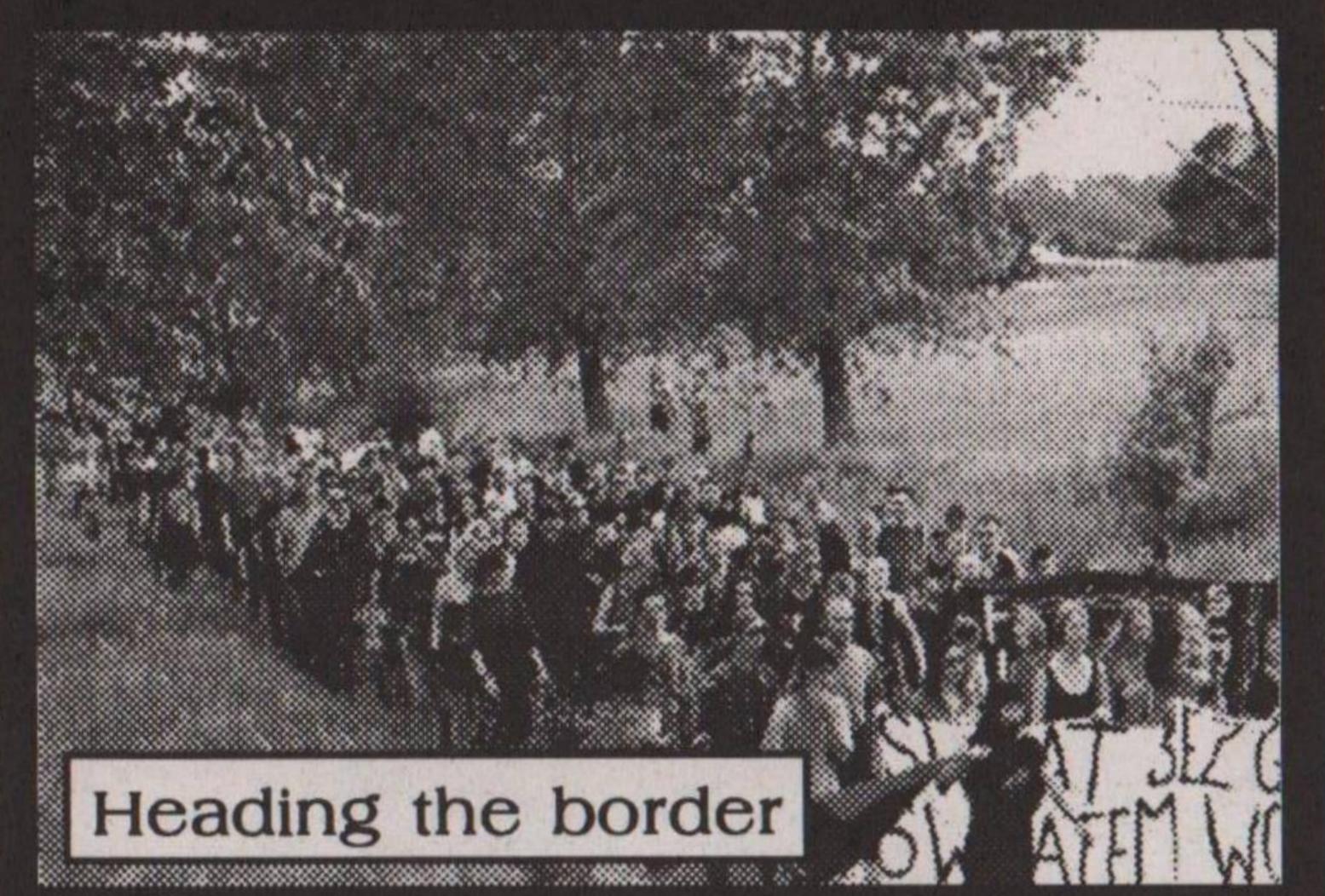


# ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

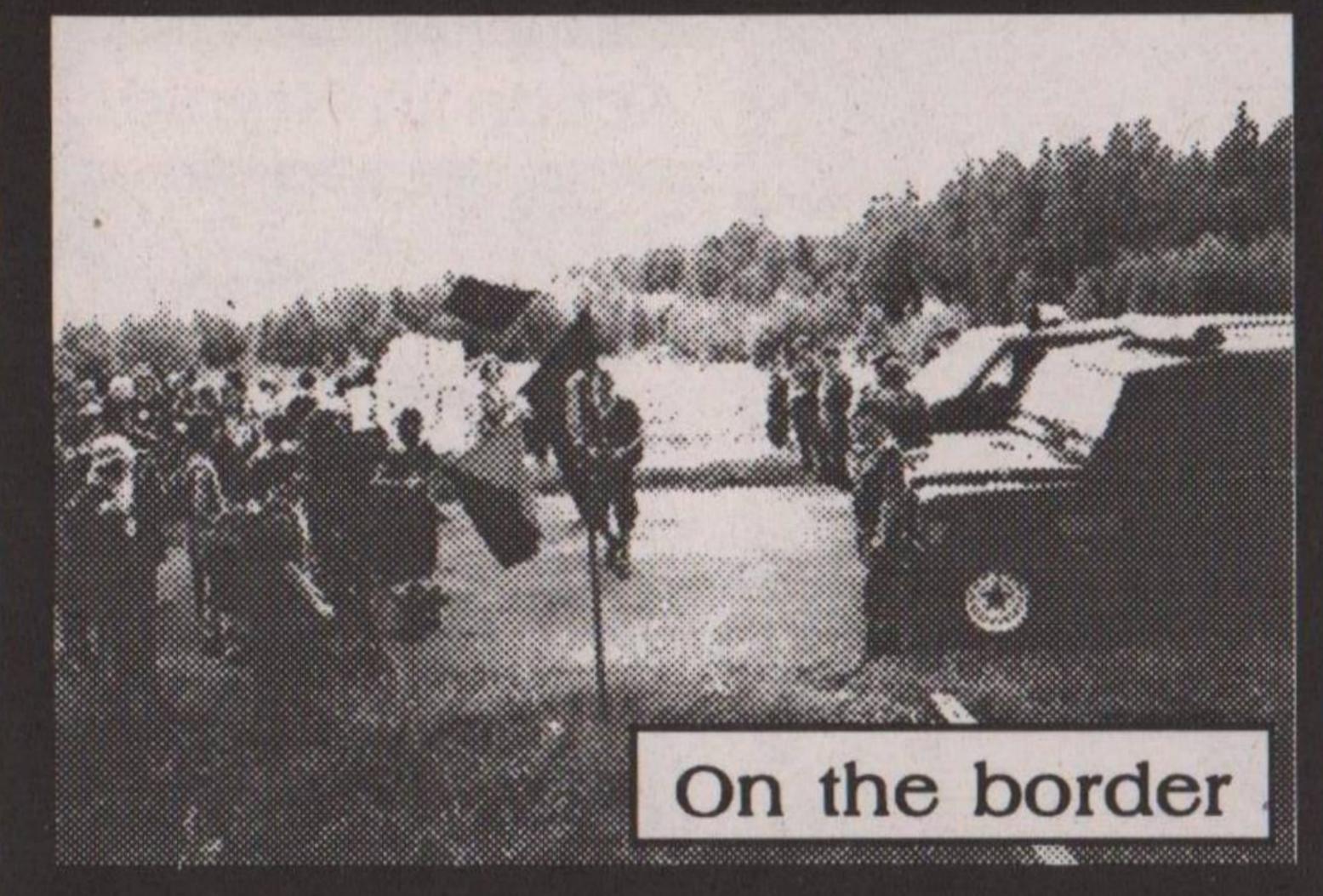
## ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE



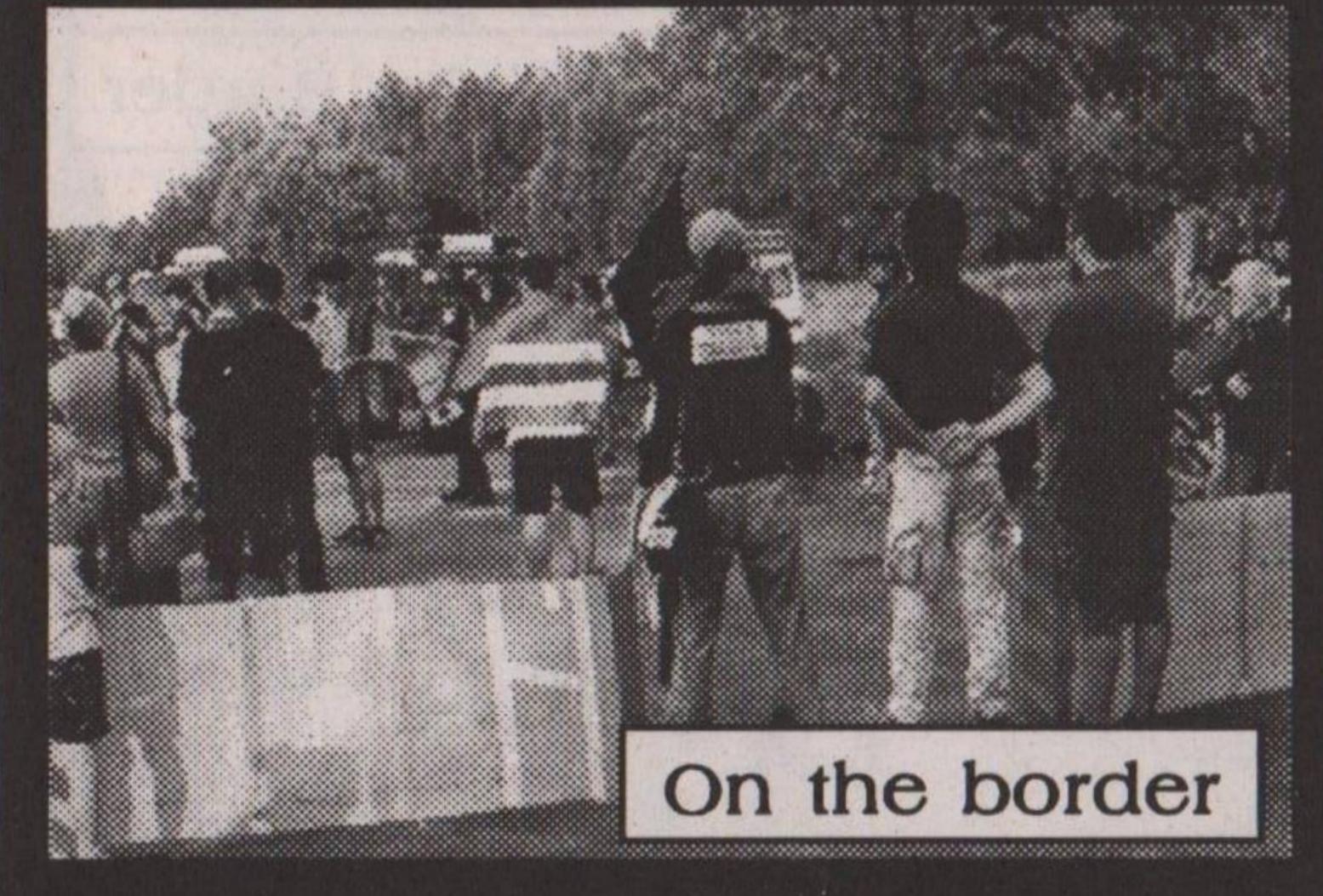
Anti border camp



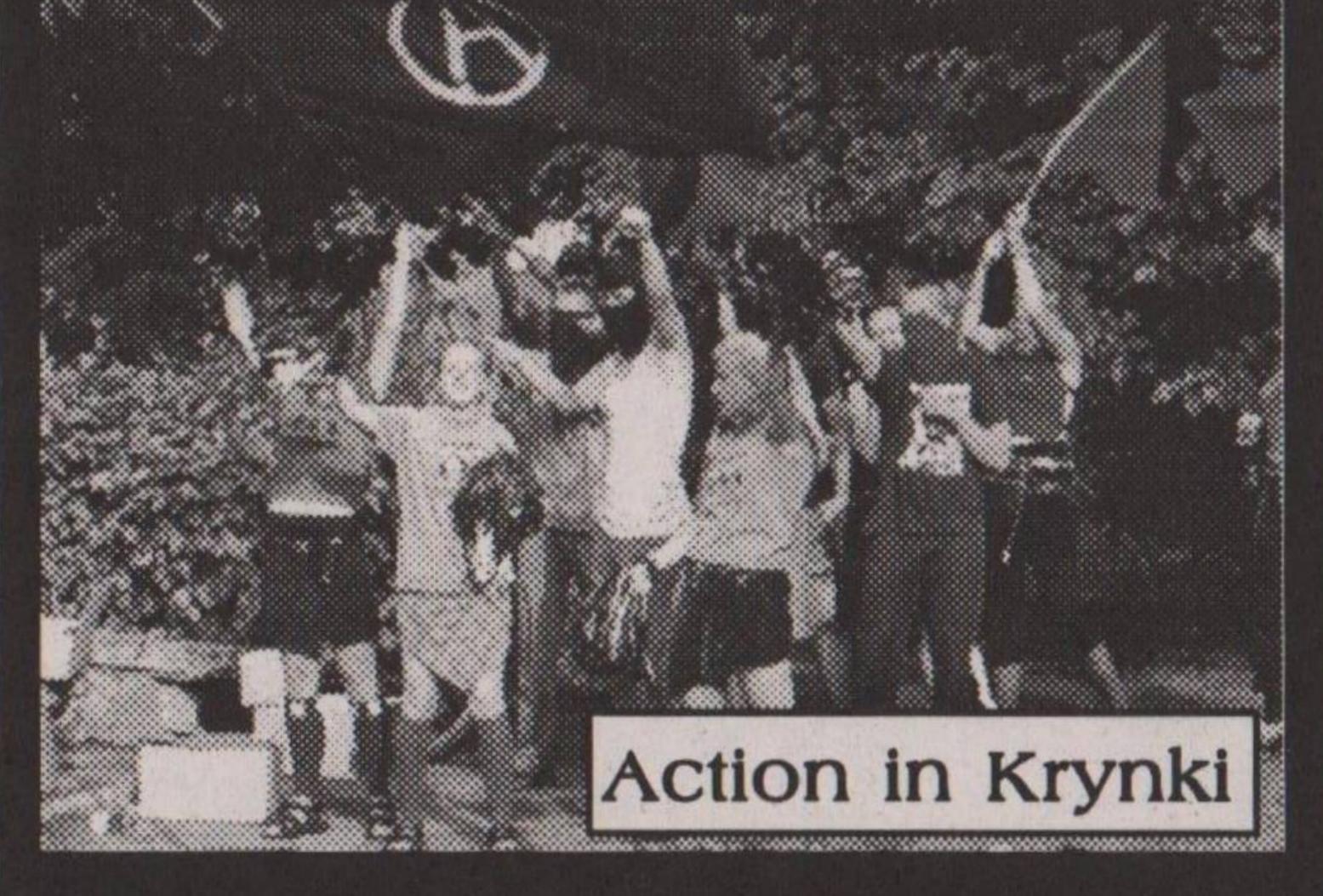
Heading the border



On the border



On the border



Action in Krynski

## ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

## ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

tioned, one main idea of this event was to develop a process of networking an anarchist structures in the EE. As it came out during the conference, some issues seem to be pretty far developed. For example aspect of information network is already well functioning thank to such a projects like Alter-EE or the "AbolishingBB" publication. There appeared the voices that the next step should be creating networks connected to some concrete projects. Such a one could be for example a creation of network of anti-repression structures in EE. There was an attempt during the conference to start this project but unfortunately no people with experience or ideas on anti-repression or Black Cross activities from Poland (where there are many very active Black Cross groups) or from elsewhere came to this discussion. However, it seems like there is a will for pushing this idea forward especially from the side of some Russian activists (which on contrary don't have much experience with that work).

Another idea for future networking which appeared in some after discussions was focusing more on building a kind of common identity among the anarchist movement in the EE. Such a development could be followed by increasing solidarity in the whole region. This would automatically support the idea of networking against the repression.

Another common criticism was that the parallel conferences, the anti-border one and the anarchist one, were confusing. Either there was too much going on or there were often contradictions in information, etc. etc. Of course not to be overlooked was a pretty deep conflict between two crews organizing the respective events. The conflict itself has a very deep background and it would take a whole other article to present it but in terms of the conferences it appeared mainly as a problem of a separation or of putting together both events. Even if both groups seemed to agree that a fusion would be much better for the participants, the other differences kept them apart. This was followed by much confusion caused by different information coming out of

both "camps", especially shortly before the events started (even about setting up a common infrastructure for both conferences, like for example a kitchen or accommodation, which were made in the same location but still became a problem). Unfortunately, relations between the organisers of the anarchist meeting and (also anarchist) organisers of the Anti-Border conference developed from hostility to open warfare during the events. But as it turns out, the double conference became a worse problem for the organizers than for the participants. Fortunately, a lot of people have focused enough on the positive aspects of networking and those conflicts did not interrupt this process in general, maybe except at the moment of organizing a demonstration which could be much more effective if Warsaw activists would work together.

Both events helped a lot to tighten the contacts in various configuration: between anarchists from different EE countries, between Polish activists and Vietnam refugees living in Warsaw, between anarcha-feminist groups around Eastern Europe, between anti-repression structures around the EE, between anarcho-syndicalist groups, etc. For many western activists which appeared in Warsaw, it was great possibility not only to make new contacts and friendships but as well to witness a specific way of organization of anarchists/anti-authoritarian structures in Eastern Europe which are sometimes very different from the ones they know from their own countries. In any case, if this experience was rather positive or painful it can be useful in future contacts or in common activities.

The Polish movement was the only one in East Europe which had both necessary material resources and connections to organise such an event, but it is unclear how much the "two conferences conflict" has weakened this movement. It may take a longer time until anything similar will get organised in Poland again. On the other hand many people in the evaluation discussion called for a similar kind of big international meetings as often as pos-

sible while others were warning about repeat failure of anarchist East-West meetings of the middle-nineties, which partially collapsed because they were organised annually: way too often. So the alternative idea was to organise a more specific and concrete meeting next year for a smaller audience, for example around anti-repression issues, or around structural adjustment in Eastern Europe, or no-border organising in East Europe, or maybe EU enlargement (in the last case Russian activists would rather not appear).

### Anti-Border Camp in Kundzicze

The fourth anti-border camp in Poland took part in Kundzicze near Krynski, just 1 km from the Polish-Belarusian border in days 2-7 of July, directly after the end of the Warsaw events. About 200 people took part in the camp in all days. There were once again activists from Poland, Russia, Belarus, Romania, Finland, Czech and Germany but as well from Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Sweden, USA, Canada, Brasil, Israel and some other countries.

An introduction to the camp was made through an anti-border concert in the "DeCentrum" squat in city of Bialystok on the first of July with a slogan "Music against borders". The second of July began with a demonstration against Fortress Europe in the centre of the town. About 150 people took part in that one. Police brought big forces (12 vans of riot police, some smaller cars, a few plainclothes, and a unit with dogs) and closely followed the demonstration, which this time was legalised, all the way. People stopped in front of the Regional Council where we shouted "Deport bureaucrats" and other anti-EU and anti-racist slogans. Then the demo moved to the Belarusian consulate where a letter demanding freedom of speech for opposition was read and to inform the public about the fates of missing journalists and oppositionists. The action finished without any complications and had a good reaction in media. After a short rest, people went by hired buses and cars to Kundzicze, the place

of the camp, closely followed by cops. All cars and buses had been stopped on the way by Border Guards and the identity of everyone was checked with details. But the camp started as planned with many meetings, workshops, discussions, action preparation and more and more contacts between anti-border activists were established. The program was completed with self-defence trainings, vegan meals served by an excellent kitchen team made up mainly by people from Warsaw and Bialystok, and evening parties. Already on the second day, activists visited a little town, Krynski, (6km from the camp), hung banners there, spread posters, leaflets, covered the town in stickers and anti-border messages. It needs to be said that most local people showed a very friendly and open attitude. Support of local people has been characteristic to all Polish border camps. They even support activities in various ways but participation is inadequate less (with some exceptions such as local children joining actions this year). Actually this is not so surprising, as many local people have relatives, friends or neighbours working as border guards to whom they have to maintain loyalty, and although campers might be sympathetic and interesting, they are for sure also crazy, look strange and little bit scary. This time local people for sure got lots of information, but maybe there would still be some undiscovered ways to increase involvement in some suitable way. At the next day apart from a street performance in Krynski there was for example the idea to organise a general meeting (assembly) about tactics of Saturday's demo in the center of Krynski and to invite all local people so that they could see how our camp makes decisions. For some reasons this idea did not get realized. Some people say is maybe good, since some would have discovered that direct democracy and anarchy will never work . . .

On the third day of the camp, a small team of anti-border activists also travelled to a village situated 160km to the north (on the polish-lithuania-russian border). This village, Wizajny, was the location of a previous no border camp, and the purpose was to maintain the contacts with local population and spread propaganda there. And again, they found out most of inhabitants of Wizajny sympathise with anti-border activists and some even share with them same opinions considering local and global problems. A film documentary from last year's anti-border activities was presented and local people repeated many times their wish to receive another no-border

camp in their village! During the one day trip to Wizajny the group was harassed a few times with endless id checks by Border Guards. Meanwhile, another group of activists from the camp went to Bialystok to make an action during the visit of the US ambassador there which was a part of a celebration of the US-Polish success in Iraq !!! The group of activists managed to get into building which hosted the event and put a banner against occupation of Iraq shouting adequate slogans. Very shortly after this, 6 people were detained by secret service cops but no charges were issued against them.

The next day in Krynski brought even more activities: for example a guerilla theatre with the idea to explain everything a conscious person has to know in a compact manner, for example the European Union, border regimes, consumer culture, the dangers of genetically modified organisms and events of the Genoa G8 Summit in 2001. After this, about 300 people, some of them local inhabitants and kids, went to the border to protest against the planned isolation of eastern societies, against the new visa regime, generally against borders, but as well against Russian war in Chechnya and Lukashenko's regime in Belarus (what could be heard by Belarusian border guards). Some border signs were damaged, truck tires were thrown against the border guards' cordon, some local kids covered a road with funny anti-border drawings in front of the border guards, while others children held one of the anti-border banners. The whole time people made border police out to be fools by playing so called "border games" with them. The action finished with another performance. Spirit during the whole action was very good and from beginning was clear that it should not become too radical in character. Actually two days before part of the people wanted to do something more radical than just symbolic performances, such as illegal border crossings. There was a long discussion, but in the end Polish activists managed to clarify the background of their tactical choices for the main action. Civil disobedience just does not really make sense since border guards have live ammunition, and most likely they will prefer using it to if their orders and warnings are ignored. Guards are not trained to handle this kinds of situations. And the consequences if someone got caught in the Belarusian side of the border could be unfortunate. The other reason to keep an action in more or less peaceful character was the participation of local kids. However situation

became more tense shortly after the action was brought to the end, when some demonstrators showed policemen a banner with "HWDP" spelled out and shouted anti-police slogans.

(

*HWDP is a Polish equivalent of ACAB slogan which always makes cops crazy.*

)

At one point a group of people had already started to put barricades in front of police but it did not come to confrontation.

During a camp some activists received fines from cops for different reasons which were a part of the repression against the whole camp. On the last day of camp while activists were playing a very equal football match against a local team and most of the local population was supporting both teams, all of Krynski was full of riot cops in full gear from Bialystok with absolutely no reason. Most likely, it was simply a presentation of power as no further actions happened. In this way authorities are just deepening a gap between themselves and society.

Besides this several people in the noborder camp were very much willing to organise a next camp on the other side (eventually on both sides) of the Polish east border (!!!), unfortunately no one from Ukraine or Belarus was present, so we will see what comes out of that. There has been 2-3 years of talk about a border camp in Ukraine and Belarus and people outside these countries are more and more eager to move protest there. But the problem is that in Western Ukraine (were such a camp supposed to happen) anarchist movement practically does not exist. About Belarus, it is true that Belarusian movement is much weaker than that of Poland, but much of the organising work could be done outside Belarus. Some of the people who have been involved in organising the Polish border camps from the beginning were involved in organising the anti-nuclear march in Belarus in summer 1998, although they were not living there then either. The problem here is more the scepticism of the Belarusian activists itself. This is connected with being afraid of big responsibility and afraid of repression. However some of the Belarusian activists are very supportive for the idea . . . but still sceptical. In Krynski it was said that we will still scan the situation, and if possible make some preliminary decisions in the next conference of the Noborder network.

*This complex report is a fusion of reports and analyses written down parallel by following persons:*

*Laure A.*

*(Anarchist Federation / Warsaw)*

*Antti R.*

*(Autonomous Action / Moscow)*

*Veronika S.*

*(AbolishingBB / Berlin)*

*Tomasz S.*

*(Anarchist Federation / Bialystok)*

## ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

# ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

## PROTEST CAMP IN AZOV SOUTH RUSSIA

Welcome to protest camp of **Rainbow Keepers** and **Autonomous Action** in cooperation with local inhabitants, to be organised from 20th of July onwards in the city of Azov, South of Russia.

**Background:** Azov is a city of 90 000 inhabitants, located 45 kilometres southwards from Rostov-na-Donu, which is the biggest city in South of Russia. Azov is planned site of liquid chemicals terminal project, which dates back to 1996 but was halted until April of this year due to legal obstacles. Terminal, mainly meant for methanol export, is being built by Azovprodukt, joint venture by DECAL (51% of shares, a member of Italian multinational Triboldi) and Roshleboprodukt (Russian corporation which has 49% of shares). Triboldi already controls methanol trade in Mediterranean sea, owning 6 other terminals. The terminal would consist of six chemical storage tanks with common capacity of more than 20 000 cubic meters, a railway connection, a jetty for tanker loading and related infrastructure. According to plans methanol tanks are to be located only 400 meters, and high-pressure methanol pipeline less than 90 meters from the municipal dwelling zone. According to Russian regulation safety zone around methanol storage should be at least 1000 meters, in Italy a 7 kilometre safety zone is required. Azov sea, which is connected to larger Black Sea only by a narrow channel has an average depth of 4.2 meters only, and only 280 cube kilometres of water - thus a single accident with a tanker carrying poisonous methanol load would destroy the sea ecosystem completely. Shallow water means also dangerous short waves during storms, which have sunk ships with much less dangerous loads in the past. Listing numerous legal violations committed during the project here would mean few people would ever make it to the end of this action call ...

**Happened so far:** Since 1996 local inhabitants have organised countless pickets and rallies against terminal project, 15 000 people have subscribed the petition with their full personal details. Initiator group for binding municipal referendum has been founded seven times, city council has once decided in favour of the referendum and twice it has made a resolution against the project. However city mayor Evgeni Lesnyak has submitted under the pressure of regional government, although he took the post over from his pro-terminal predecessor in last elections by promising not to build the terminal. Soon after court gave green light to construction in April 8th 2003, local inhabitants began organising protests. First **Rainbow Keepers** arrived to city 10th of June, organising a continuous information point in the centre of the town. On June 26th, July 3rd, July 4th and July 7th demonstrations and blockades of the road to construction hours were organised. From 700 to 9000 people participated in demonstrations, almost one tenth of the local population participated to the biggest demonstration organised 3rd of July. The campaign is supported by one local newspaper, and events got attention of national mass-media. The symbolical protest camp has now been set up near the construction place. From 7th of July onwards local people, Rainbow Keepers and Autonomous Action made a continuous blockade on the road leading to the site of the project during working hours, this has lead to halt of the construction. 10th of July a lorry driver tried to ride over blockade, injuring one Rainbow Keeper.

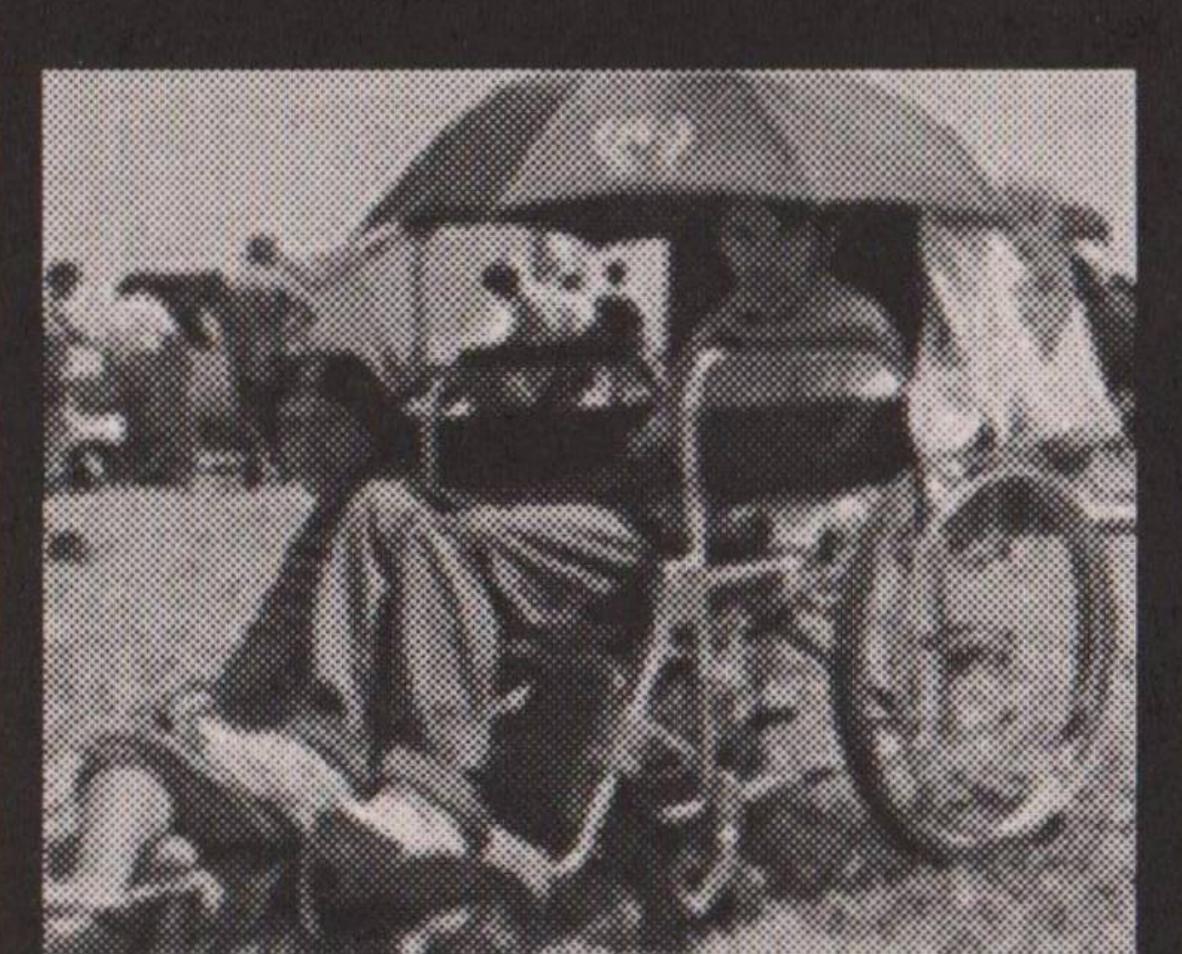
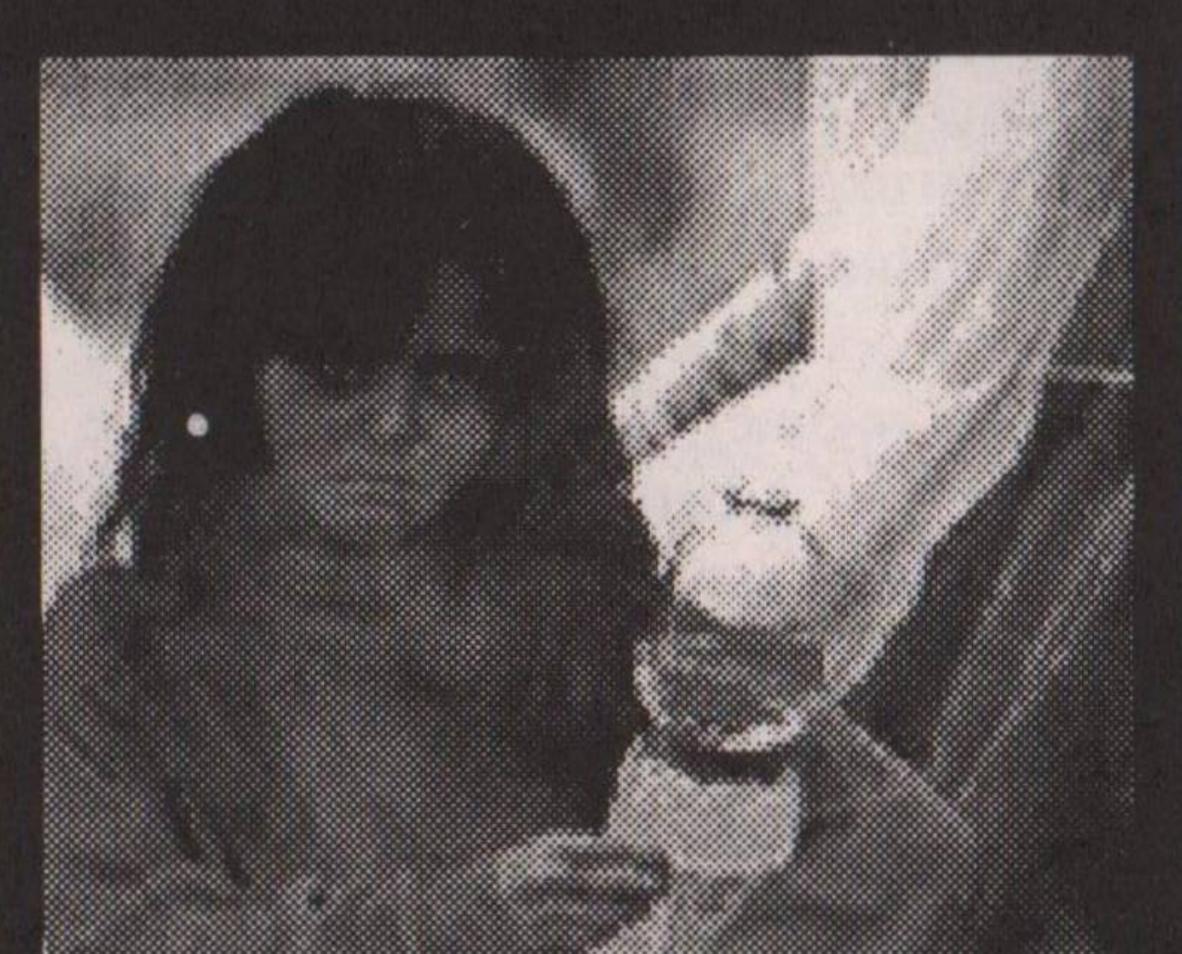
**Heat is on:** This is just the beginning. Most of the activists started gathering to the site around 20th of July, and **protest camp will last until the ultimate victory, or at least weeks.** You may reach Azov by travelling to Rostov, and taking a mini-bus which costs 19 roubles, some 60 cents to Azov. If you do not find camp in Azov, call the local contact phone. Take cutlery, sleeping bags, matrasses and lots of good fighting spirit with you!

**Update from Azov protest actions (21.07.03):** From the resolution of one of the protest meetings: "... participants of the meeting have also decided, that in case our demands are not fulfilled, we will begin civil disobedience campaign. We will close Rostov-Azov-Starominskaya-Krasnodar highway. Besides this, inhabitants of Azov will maintain their constitutional right and freedom to organise a new protest outside the administration of the city. A strike committee is about to begin organisation of a city-wide general strike..." Organisers of the meeting, having noticed high activity of the citizens, point out that vast majority of Azov inhabitants who have participated to meeting have declared that they are committed to eliminate the ecological danger by dismantling the terminal and blockading a federal highway, as well as by boycotting duma and presidential elections.

**Contacts:** Camp site: +7-(8)-86342 409-92 Yuri Golubev, golubev@rambler.ru Support in Moscow: +7-8-916-732-78-96 Olga Miryasova, kuzja@ecoline.ru +7-095-124-79-34 (press service of Socio-Ecological Union) seupress@seu.ru (only until beginning of the August) For continuous updates in Russian language, hook to Russian indymedia <http://russia.indymedia.org> Or Autonomous Action website <http://www.avtonom.org>

# ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

## ANTIBORDER CAMP IN DOJRAN ON GREEK-MACEDONIAN BORDER



From 13th to 15th of June an anti-border camp was organized in Dojran, a lake-town on greek-macedonian border. The camp had two main points:

\***Ecological** - the first day of the camp was planned for cleaning the beaches. Dojran lake has a tourist and medical value. Some years back it was turned to swamp because many people used the water for irrigation purposes. This year they are trying to revitalise the lake and the beaches are full either with grass or with garbage and shells.

\*\***Anti-border** - the second day and, in fact, the main event was the anti-border protest planned to be held on Medijitija border cross point, near Bitola. For 2 months already about 700 roma refugees from Kosovo are protesting on the border to enter Greece (European Union). These refugees are being held in Macedonia for 4 years, giving them a status of humanitarian assisted person, under pure human living conditions, moving them from camp to camp. The last two months they were cut off from water, food, electricity, schooling. They had no choice but to demand for "impossible" - enter the iron gate - Europe. The same people were good excuse for NATO and EU to attack and support the attack on Yugoslavia. The conditions in the border camp are totally inhuman, nylon tents to protect from rain, above 40 degrees, 1 liter of water each, pour medicine, bread and cheese. This is all being controlled by the discriminating and racist UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees).

The protest, which was supposed to happen (also sleeping over the night in the camp), was stopped by the police. The protest involved the people from the bike caravan Ljubljana-Thessaloniki, heading to the EU-summit in Thessalonica and the people from the anti-border camp from Macedonia. So, all we did was some cooking action, making some food (which was appreciated a lot because of all the dry food that they were given), talking, singing. The police blocked our truck, so we couldn't reach our protest material. Then they threatened that they will smash all our cooking stuff if we don't leave immediately after we finish cooking. After some arguing we left the place. We had a police "companion" until we left the next city, Bitola.

The protest continued on the other side of the border, when was organized a protest parallel to the one in Patras. Solidarity greetings ...

# ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

## NOBORDER CAMP IN ROMANIA 9 - 15 JUNE 2003

Let's start with the beginning ...

### ROMANIA

A country with 22 million people on a surface of 230.000 km<sup>2</sup>. 10 millions people are living outside of Romania in the rest of the world (although reality seems to outnumber the official information by much). Located in the Central-East Europe, Romania was also one of the countries behind the Iron Curtain. 1989 brought the "Revolution" and the change of the system... a contribution to this thing had the revolt and the riots that took place in 16-17 December 1989 in Timisoara and left behind lots of injured and dead persons. Visas were needed for Romanians to enter the Schengen Europe until January 2001 when they were taken out. 27th of November 2002 brought the invitation for Romania to join NATO, in Prague-Czech Rep. After the invitation for Hungary, Czech Rep. and Poland to join EU, Romania will receive a different role in the European border politics, "buffer zone" between the "unwanted" and the "promise land". The disappearance of visas for Romanian citizens brought new conditions: the 500 euro to show at the border, 2 way tickets, health insurance; and also harder border control for other nationalities. Citizens from the Republic of Moldova who had in the past the possibility of getting Romanian citizenship just with a moldavian passport are now forced through a harder process and much more complicated, or they are forced into using mafia networks to get it. Once the borders open people who worked in (now privatised) factories, who were fired, paid shit or having bad working conditions and no rights decided to go "outside" and steal a better life for them and their families. This leads to racist attitudes in Romanian communities, and not only there, towards gipsy/roma community - which are so many times blamed for all the trouble Romanians do in the western countries and also from here for delaying the process of Romania joining EU (which we all want to go well!?). This attacks on Roma people were most of the times lead by the media and the government and also international institutions (or other foreign/western governments...). Human traffic also developed after the disappearance of the visas, mainly prostitution being one of the branches that shows a huge growth (in Romania prostitution is illegal - this results in a lot of hassle from the police on the women who do this, almost nothing to the pimps, and a very high percent of ill women) - and many times women who get jobs from strange ads in the newspapers and end up being forced into prostitution either in western countries (Italy, Spain...)



either in other parts (Greece, Albania, Bulgaria...).

Still official date shows that more or less 80-90% of the Romanian population is for Romania joining EU. This is because of the government and media lies about a better life, bigger wages, more working places, more wealth, blahblahblah. Instead more and more people are seeing everyday poverty, unemployment, misery, bad working conditions and bad salaries, so they go by themselves in Europe to take what they were promised to have in "a while". This is why western European and Romanian governments started agreements on seasonal working places. Romanian government would have what to throw in the eyes of the people in the next elections and also for lobbying the pro-European agenda. EU countries will have cheap and disorganized working force to exploit and another reason to throw out the undesirable "sans-papiers" from Romania. And a few Romanian people will get a bigger salary then back home and also having the chance to discover the REAL FACE of Europe.

### TIMISOARA

A city with more or less 400.000 inhabitants somewhere in the west of Romania. Placed at 50 km from the border with Serbia and 100 km from the border with Hungary, Timisoara is the biggest city in the west of the country and one of the most developed economically/industrially in Romania. Also once part of the Austrian Empire, Timisoara has an ethnic-cultural diversity which not even 45 years of communism managed to destroy. Hungarians, Romanians, Serbs, Germans and even Bulgarians living together in rural and urban communities. Timisoara is also a very important city for the border economy, it's the leaving point for many smugglers going to Serbia. The Serbo-Romanian "collaboration" is going on for quite a few years now... during Ceausescu regime, Serbian smugglers were coming to Timisoara with many things not to be found in the Romanian shops/markets. After the "Revolution" it was the time for Romanian people to return the favour.

### DUMBRAVITA

A small village 2 km out of Timisoara. Having a lot of Hungarian ethnicity the village was a good place for the camp. In the forest next to the village there is only one more event happening there the whole year: the Bikers Festival. The local community had nothing against us being there and even helped some lost people to get to the camp. Also local authorities village hall, forest administration, police were pretty ok and some of them helped with some things (of course not the police...!). Exactly on the day of our demo also the village had a demo, organised by themselves in the village. They were protesting against the construction of a garbage dump for the city next to their village. We also helped them with a banner. A regret was that we didn't interconnected more with the people in the village, but that should be a lesson also.

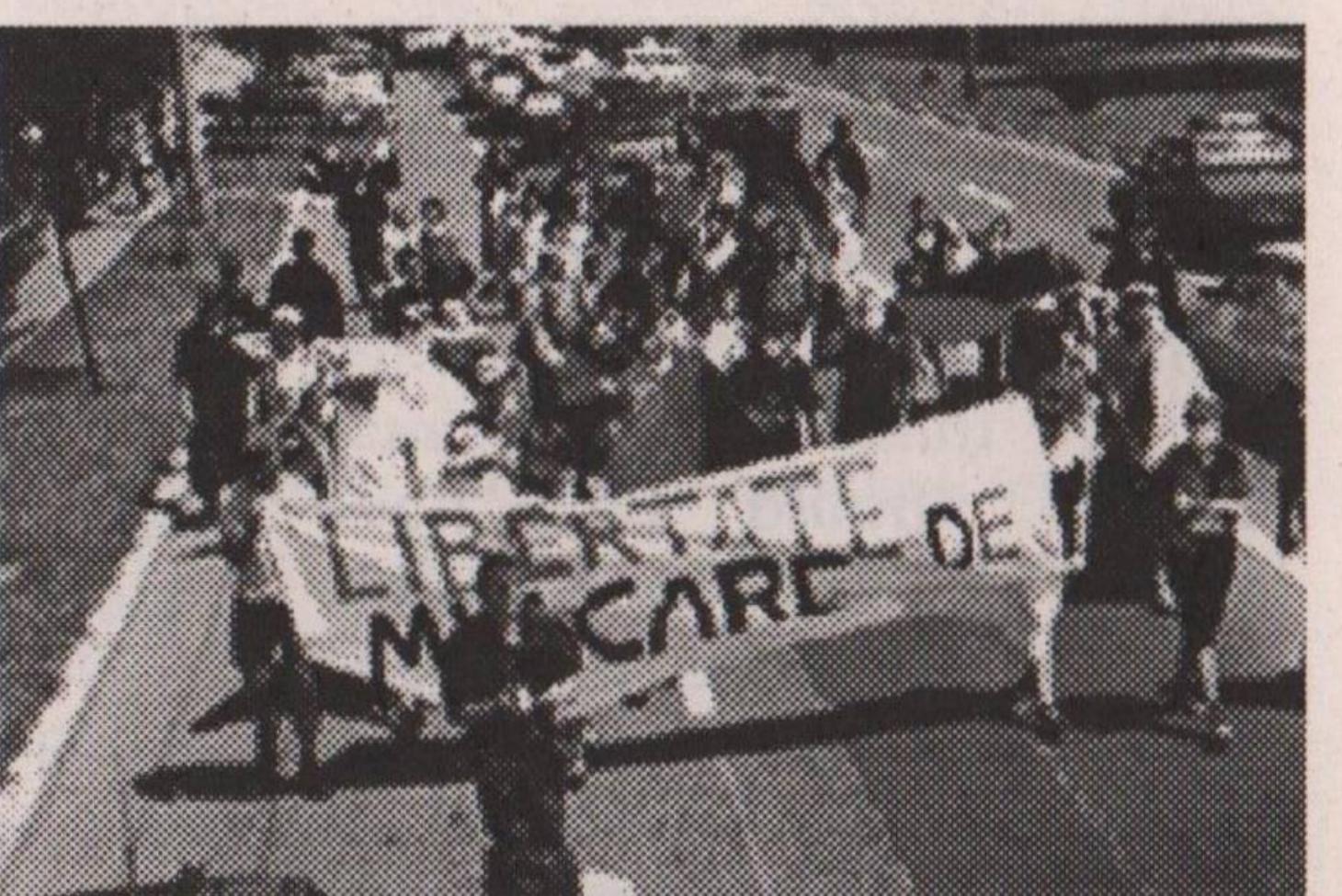
### THE CAMP

The NoBorder camp was the first big action in Timisoara organised by the collective of local anarchist activists and not only. Between 9-15 June there were around 100-150 people during all week, but

some people from the city didn't camp there, and some people didn't stand there for the whole period of the camp. Workshops and discussions were on: migration regime, IOM, bordersituation in Romania, freedom of movement, freedom of information, new world order, empire, imperialism, capital, Romania, (reality or utopia), Work on sweatshops, Presentations of future events in Greece and Poland, Migration and work ... There were also movies shown during the evenings about: IOM, G8 - Geneva, Woomera ... and also in the Publix Theatre Caravan bus from Austria there were all night films about different things. 2 concerts were planned to take place in a cultural center in the center of the city but only one happened and bands from USA, Hungary and Romania played there. A party was also planned there on Friday to advertise the action on Saturday but the people there refused to let us do it because of paranoia of police problems. Also thanks to the Publix Theatre Caravan bus from Austria and Everyone is an Expert van from Germany we had there non-stop internet and there was satellite connection, at the end of the camp some problems appeared with the electricity power. On Saturday a demo took place through the center of the city. There were more or less 100 people, we had music, some great cheerleading from the Publix Theatre Caravan (who were dressed in plastic bags with EU & USA flags). There was also a big garbage monster made by some of the people coming from G8 together in collaboration with kids from the village. There was also leafleting on the streets of the city and shouting of slogans. After the demo people went to the (hopefully) future place of squat infoshop and spend some time there talking and singing together with Roma people from the surroundings. There was also in the last days cleaning action in the forest which is the victim of weekend tourists which leave loads of garbage behind. For one week, an autonomous zone was open, a free space for exchanging ideas and experiences developed. All in all, the biggest action organised by us went great and we invite you all next year when hopefully our UTOPIA will happen again. We urge the participants to the camp to send their impressions about the camp to us and around the world and spread the word in their web sites and publications.

FARA GRANITE! FARA NATIUNI!

A collective of anarchist activists  
from Timisoara



# ANTI BORDER AND ACTION CAMPS AROUND EASTERN EUROPE

**"CHECHNYA IS THE DEAD END OF STATIST LOGICS"  
"WE SEE THIS (NEUTRAL AND NON-VIOLENT) THIRD FORCE IN THE  
CHECHEN CIVIL SOCIETY, WHICH IS FIGHTING  
AGAINST VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHECHNYA"**

**POSITION OF AUTONOMOUS ACTION / MOSCOW**

Here comes a rough translation of Autonomous Action / Moscow (in text as AD-M) position in regards to work in Committee of Anti-War Actions (KAD) in Moscow, which coordinates activities against the war in Chechnya.

**On conditions  
of work  
in the committee**

Autonomous Action of Moscow (AD-M) rejoined to Anti-War committee in autumn 2002. Besides all the political differences with the majority of the participants in the committee (which one may put first of all as liberal human rights organisations), we think that such a cooperation is necessary in order to organise mass street actions, since creation of a separate, relevant anarchist anti-war movement is not a realistic goal right now. But we think that cooperation is possible only with some conditions. Approaching duma elections are a danger to the whole anti-war movement. Everything we have reached during the last 4 years may be lost if some political opportunists take over the movement to use it in their electionary campaigns. Anti-war movement will lose its all credibility, if the public will see it only as some election advertisement.

Political independence of the anti-war committee is a necessary condition both to its successfull work, and continuation of participation of AD-M to its work as an organisation. Political independence means absence of political parties among organisers and sponsors of any actions, and also withdrawal of all potential candidates from the work of the committee. We think that all mass actions should be "non party", without banners of any political parties or groups (we are not against distribution of leaflets and sale of journals). There should be no way for speakers to advertise any political parties on podium, or to even notice them during the speeches.

**On regulation  
of the conflict**

Anti-war committee made a resolution about necessity of bringing peace-keeping force of UN to Chechnya. Autonomous Action of Moscow will not support campaign for peace-keeping force and will not participate as an organisation to those meetings, where bringing peace-keeping force is among the main demands.

We, anarchists think that Chechnya is the dead end of statist logics. War proves that both concepts of "a right of a nation to self-determination" and "indivisibility of a sovereign state" bring only endless suffering to people. But when we talk about leaving the statist discourse behind and necessity of creation of an equal society, based on principles of direct democracy and local, non-governmental self-governance in Chechnya, Russia and whole world, we are seen as crazy idealists. But for some reason no more realistic demand about bringing the peace-keeping force to Chechnya seems to be more likely scenario for many, just because it fits that dead-end statist discourse which we should leave.

At first, since Russia is a permanent member in the UN security council, there will never be any peacekeeping force in Chechnya without approval of the Russian Federation. This fact alone turns down the idea about peacekeeping force in Chechnya.

There is a purely theoretical possibility of a violent intervention in the spirit of Kosovo or Iraq, for use of some of the participants of the war (although neither Kosovo nor Iraq had UN authorization), but since we,

anarchists, wish success neither to resistance, nor to federals, we think this scenario is unacceptable.

step towards solution of his problem, but one must have something with which to buy it first.

All in all, proposition to bring peace-keeping force of UN seems like an absurd and utopian propaganda for the ideal of realization the international law through creation of new world order, something that will never happen. This is clear not only to extreme Russian patriots, but to every citizen with a healthy dose of realism. UN was created in order to guarantee global rule of the countries which won the Second world war. These superpowers followed UN norms when it was in their interests, but never hesitated a second when it was more advantageous to break them. Every member of the security council fought wars without council approval, breaking against international law - USSR in Afghanistan, Great Britain in Iraq, France in Suez, USA and China against Vietnam. Interests of these superpowers were never interests of humanity. Their geopolitical games, and structures created for their playgrounds (such as NATO and UN) have nothing to offer to us !

**Warsaw 1944 ? No - Grozny nowadays !  
Forgotten war - forgotten people.**



**THE ANARCHOCOMMUNIST ALTERNATIVE AKA  
A FOUNDING DECLARATION OF A NEW GROUP FROM CZECHIA**

We are a small, newly established group of revolutionary anarchists, who feel the need of further active cooperation after our resignation from the Organization of Revolutionary Anarchists - Solidarity ORA-S.

Our ascending discontent with the current trends in this organization and interpersonal disagreements prompted our resignation. It is over a year that the issue of revolutionary theory and practice have been discussed in Solidarity and nowadays ORA-S is finally leaving the positions of anarcho-communism, which was entirely confirmed at the last ORA-S conference in Prague. There several members of ORA-S clearly expressed that they no more consider themselves to be anarchists and that they believe the anarchist movement to be antirevolutionary. Such movements as the left communism and the communism rad nowadays inspire ORA-S. For that reason a fraction of members from Brno, Uh. Hradiste and Prerovsko left ORA-S in protest and founded the AnarchoCommunist Alternative. We did so for several reasons:

Although the ideas of the left communism or the council communism can be inspiring in many cases, we object to the refu-

sal of the platform tradition in anarchist movement as of the directions to form the tactics of a revolutionary organization, which is being rejected by a number of left communists and said to be contrarevolutionary. Furthermore we disagree with the refusal of political activism and the syndical elements in the worker's struggle. We still believe the anarchist organization to be an ideological "vanguard" that associates the most libertarian-conscious part of the working class and also to be the helper and the mastermind of the organization of workers in the struggle against capitalism. With our unionization we can contribute to the limitation of the authoritarian ideologies such as bolshevism and its scions, fascism and nationalist socialism.

We don't reject activism, according to us it has still been one of the best ways to spread revolutionary ideas among workers, but at the same time we don't think it to be the only way. We will continue to support the trade union struggle, as though with emphasis put on its independence and the promotion of solidarity and autonomy principles. That is because we don't think the organizing at work places has outlived its usefulness. There are still many possibilities of radical trade union

activities in both our country and the world. It is true, that these are reformist, but only thanks to the struggle for partial elements the work class can gain revolutionary consciousness and learn self-unionizing.

We don't feel ourselves to be anarcho-syndicalists, autonoms, ecoprimitivists, or anarcho-individualists. We are anarcho-communists and that is why we consider the revolutionary anarchist organization important. Temporarily, we plan this new project as a propagandist collective of the people, who want to spread the ideas of the class struggle with all their forces (by means of brochures, leaflets, magazines and public activities) and to develop theoretical discuss that can later lead to a more profiled anarchist organization based on platformist principles.

We want to continue in everything that we consider positive, which was started in the times of still "anarchist" Solidarity and in which we participated actively.

**The 12 of April 2003  
The Founder members  
of AKA**

**PLATFORMISM WITHOUT ILLUSIONS  
NEFAC INTERVIEWS ORAS ... LONG BEFORE SPLIT IN CZECH GROUP**

In the past we were printing quite a few texts and reports from ORA-S, one from the most influential anarchist groups in Czechia in the last few years. But honestly, we have missed until now any possibility for a wider presentation of their politics, for example in a form such as this interview made by NEFAC activists. Now recently the ORA-S has split (some of these activists have founded the AKA - see declaration above), so this material should be understand mostly as a summary of its activity. Nevertheless, the contents remain very interesting, especially regarding the development and current situation in Czechia (plus ORA-S activities of course), and also regarding the lesser known history of anarchism in the Czech territories. Thanx a lot to NEFAC activists for making this material accessible. *AbolishingBB*

**PLATFORMISM  
WITHOUT ILLUSIONS:  
CZECH REPUBLIC**

NEFAC's (Kevin Doyle "WSM-Cork" & MaRK "Class Against Class" - NEFAC-Boston) interviews Organizace Revolučních Anarchistů - Solidarita (ORAS)

With the collapse of Soviet Communism and growing dissatisfaction with capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe, a new generation of revolutionaries from former Soviet-Bloc countries has come to embrace anarchism. NEFAC has maintained fairly close relations with Organizace Revolučních Anarchistů - Solidarita, a relatively young organization with a similar political orientation to ourselves from the Czech Republic. This is an interview with Vadim Barák and Jindřich Lukas, two active militants from ORAS. Part of this interview was originally conducted in 1998, and printed in Red & Black Revolution #4 (theoretical magazine of the Workers Solidarity Movement). Additional questions appear here for the first time.

NEFAC: What sort of history do anarchist

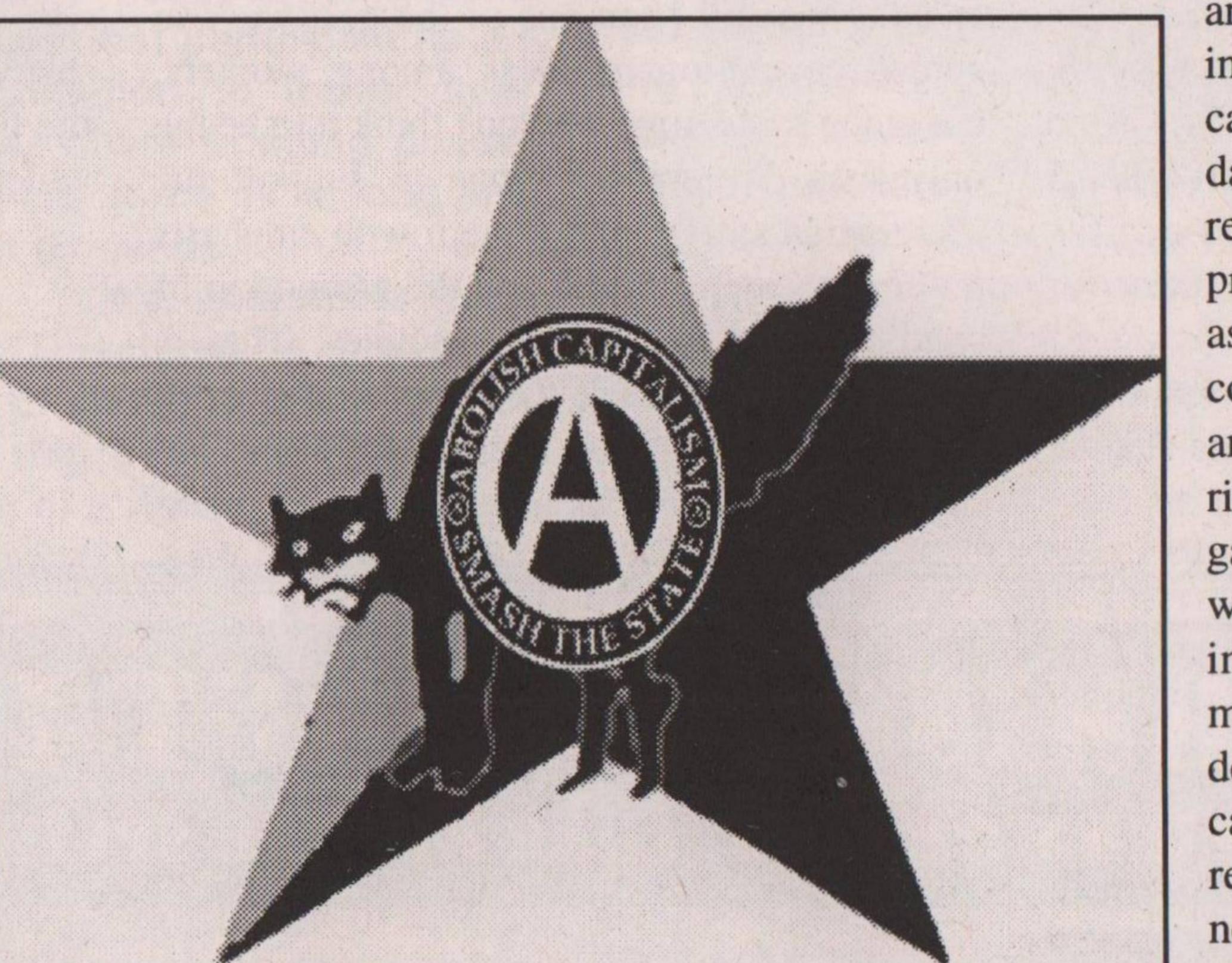
ideas have in the Czech Republic?

ORAS: Anarchism started here in the 1880s as a youth section of a patriotic and liberal movement against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. When the Social Democratic Party was established, its left wing was represented by libertarian socialists, but after several years they were forced to break away. Until WWI the most powerful libertarian current was anarcho-syndicalism. A stronghold of Czech anarcho-syndicalism was in the Northern Bohemian mining regions. Anarcho-syndicalists were soon organizing their own union federation, the Czech General Union Federation (the CGUF). Repression by the state strangled the CGUF in 1908, but could not destroy the syndicalist spirit among workers and new syndicalist unions like the Regional Miners Unity were formed. By 1914, the Federation of Czech Anarcho-Communists (the FCAC) was also well established among Czech workers. Syndicalists and anarchists published a lot of papers such as 'The Proletarian'. Anarchists established some consumers' co-ops. During WWI there was a general clampdown on the Czech libertarian movement - a lot of militants were either jailed or marched to the front; many were killed. Unlike syndicalism, the FCAC survived the

war. In 1918, on 14th October, the FCAC's militants, together with left Social Democrats, organized a 24-hour general strike that in fact marked the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's domination of our nation. This event made Czech nationalist politicians, who did not want to break away from the empire until that moment, start negotiations with the empire about our independence. Strikers were demanding our right to national independence and a creation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. After a day the strike was called off by the Social Democratic leadership. On October 28th, ordinary people - mainly in Prague - rose up again to finish off the decaying Austro-Hungarian authorities. At that time the leading anarcho-communist intellectuals were already moving towards Leninism. One of them became an MP in the parliament of the new republic and another was a minister of the first government. On the other hand it tells a lot about anarcho-communist influence at the time. In 1918 the anarcho-communists became the left wing of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (the CSSP). In 1923, anarcho-communists were expelled from the CSSP and their leaders maneuvered them into a last step before an open unification with the Communist Party (CP), which had already been established in 1921 by left Social Democrats and left anarcho-communists, who openly converted to Bolshevism (in fact they were the first here to translate Lenin's works.) This last step led to the formation of the Independent Socialist Party (the ISP). In 1925 the ISP, despite resistance from the last remnants of syndicalism - the Association of Czechoslovak Miners, which was tied to the anarcho-communists - abandoned federalism and other anarchist principles and joined the CP.

#### NEFAC: Was there anarchist activity in Czechoslovakia in the lead up to the Velvet Revolution (1989)?

ORAS: Yes, there was an anarchist minority in an illegal party called the Left Alternative (LA). This party was very small and composed mainly of intellectuals and students who belonged to various currents of democratic and revolutionary socialism. They opposed the Communist regime and pursued a program of socialism based on workers' self-management and direct democracy. As freedom of speech and association did not exist, the LA remained confined to being a more or less discussion group, not an organization active among working class people. During the Velvet Revolution the LA gained some credibility among ordinary people, and in Prague - the center of the revolution - it made significant steps to becoming a real working class alternative. In the first local elections, 10,000 people voted for the LA in Prague. But by then the revolution had been usurped by careerist dissident intellectuals and former Communist bure-



aucrats. They took over a movement of Citizens' Forums and the state apparatus, and by means of a massive propaganda campaign succeeded in persuading people that we could not have socialism with democracy - that the only way was the western 'market economy' idea. This new situation saw the LA once more in a position of isolated discussion circles. This time it was fatal. Some of its leading figures were moving towards a pro-market position, sectarianism occurred and in the end its internal conflicts destroyed it.

#### NEFAC: Tell us a little about your formation. Is *Solidarita* a completely new organization or did you develop from another organization?

ORAS: Solidarita developed from the *Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation (ASF)*, whose roots reach to the LA. After 1990, in a time of the greatest illusions about the market economy and consequently the greatest isolat-

#### NEFAC: How has 'platformism' influenced ORA-S and informed your group's activity?

ORAS: In the second half of the 1990s we accepted the platformist tradition of anarcho-communism as the best one offered by anarchism: for both its emphasis on class struggle and pro-organizational direction, as well as for its orientation towards the working class rather than the activists' ghetto. However, the self-reflection of our functioning has reminded us that our group lacks deeper, critical discussions which would allow us to look for the most coherent theory/praxis; this self-reflection has influenced further functioning of ORA-S. The discussions, which we have tried to develop since then, concern the fundamental questions such as "What is Capital?", "What precisely is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism?", "Are unions possible weapons of the working class for communication of society?", "What are the possibilities and limits of revolutionary minority in non-revolutionary times?", "How can we involve ourselves in day-to-day class struggles and still keep our revolutionary attitudes?". These are practical questions for us, which we - as proletarians within the (libertarian) communist tendency - ask ourselves and which spring from certain experiences of ours - experiences that we gain from the class struggles and workplaces and from the "activist" involvement with the anarchist movement. We believe that not burdening ourselves with difficult critical debate for the benefit of "political realism" and "action in the here and now" does not pay off. However, we also think that becoming "revolutionary" academics would not be the right path to take. The Platform indeed was not the Bible for us, it meant the beginning and not the end of revolutionary theory (also, we take into account that it is concerned with building mass organization in revolutionary times). We started to search also for another sources of inspiration: we have returned to Marx and have absorbed influences of left communism, Situationism, council communism and autonomist Marxism. We understand them not as some petrified sets of doctrine, one of which we could accept separately or mix them all mechanically, but we regard them as the historical expressions of proletarian movement to which we can relate. And we think that this process has to be continuous. That means that while some of us are inclined rather towards the "pure platformism" and others would rather call themselves simply "communists". We refuse to blindly adhere to any ideology. On this level we strive for the theoretical reflection of a real movement of the proletariat.

#### NEFAC: What is the relationship between *Solidarita* and other anarchist groups active in the Czech Republic and Slovakia? Is there much collaboration? Are there any

#### formal anarchist networks between the various former Eastern Bloc countries?

ORAS: Our relationship with other anarchist groups seems to be relatively good. On some actions we co-operate with the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF), March 8th Feminist Group (FS8B), Anti-Fascist Action (AFA), Federation of Social Anarchists (FSA), and Reclaim the Streets! (UL!). Also, to various extents, some of our members and supporters collaborate with AFA, and we distribute some of materials of all these groups.

As for the formal anarchist networks between Eastern European countries, there does not seem to be any. Rather it is more of an informal, though organized, exchange of information through mailing lists (*alter-EE* mailing list, for instance) and occasional visits. Also an international anarchist magazine '*Abolishing the Borders from Below*' should be meant as a tool for an exchange of information.

#### NEFAC: What is *Solidarita*'s position relative to the unions? Do you favor the formation of new syndicalist unions?

ORAS: Despite all the problems with the present unions, we believe in working inside them. We believe they are real working class organizations. Within them we argue for a syndicalist alternative of combative and democratic unions run 'by workers for workers', where all delegates would be immediately recallable so that workers would control their own struggles. Unions should be active not only in a workplace, but also in communities. They should take part in struggle against racism and fascism, in environmental campaigns. Their final goal should be transformation of this society of market dictatorship into a libertarian socialist society of social justice, workers' self-management and grassroots democracy. That kind of union can come into existence only through our active participation in present day unions and through a rank and file movement in these unions for control over their organizations and fights.

#### NEFAC: How is *Solidarita* involved in workplace struggles? I have read reports about the 'Workers Actions Groups' you have formed in various factories. What is the strategy behind these groups? How effective have they been in advancing militancy and self-organization among workers?

ORAS: Now we are involved in workplace

struggles mainly as individuals, who work on a particular job. Thus some of our members practice absenteeism, sabotage, slow work, or occasionally participate in some collective attempts at resistance (for example, an attempt of cleaning workers to fight for shorter hours and higher pay). As ORA-S we have occasionally tried to intervene in factories, where mass layoffs have occurred. Examples of an older forms of this kind of intervention are

"Workers Action Groups" (WAG). Actually, we took this idea from striking Czech miners from the Koh-i-noor mine, who spontaneously developed a practice where the most radical workers acted as an informal group, which in some kind started and/or prolonged the struggle. As this was in the time of relatively widespread industrial unrest, in which unions proved to play fully on the side of the capitalists, we tried to voice this particular mine's tactic (independent of unions, and to some extent even an anti-unionist position) to other workers, who felt that under the leadership of unions they were losing. In two cases we were to some extent successful, because a kind of WAGs was established and they tried to put up resistance. In the Zetor tractor factory three workers of the 8-member WAG handed out leaflets calling for a general workers assembly to be held at a particular hour. This assembly in front of company headquarters was attended by about 1,000 of their workmates. However, as this idea of the resistance outside and against unions had not organically originated from their previous struggle (as in the case of miners), but had come as a mediated experience from an outside group, they were not able to develop this situation any further. WAG was intimidated by joint efforts of unions and management, and gathered workers were not prepared to do anything themselves. An important factor in this definitely also was that workers themselves sensed that under objective conditions than they have no chance of accomplishing any significant victory. Even the miners were able only to put off the closure of their pit. To some extent (and with the same outcome) WAGs also contributed in the case of Zetor, and an aircraft factory LET Kunovice, where workers self-organization finished after a spontaneous demo. After these experiences we concluded that although under some conditions a revolutionary group can inspire workers self-organization, it cannot move the particular struggle of workers any further if the workers do not do this themselves, on the basis of their own experience and perception of their own conditions. Thus in a next case of mass layoffs (Flextronics Brno moving its operations to China), we just made a leaflet describing individual forms of a passive resistance against layoffs, explaining them as a latent form of class struggle. We knew that workers themselves realistically do not believe in a possibility to prevent the relocation of the plant and do not even strive for preserving those shit-jobs. That is why we just tried to contribute to their self-awareness and express our own conclusions derived from their experience with multi-national capital.

#### NEFAC: What is some of the current activity of *Solidarita*? Future plans?

ORAS: We have been able to launch discussions and reading groups (most recently around Dauvè's 'Eclipse and Re-Emergence of Communist Movement') with relative success. These have aroused the interest of new people, who take part in them along with us and that is

positive. One of our most important contemporary projects is '*Alarm: The Internet Magazine of Libertarian Communism*'. As we note in the mission statement, its aim "is not to make a counterweight to official newspapers; we just want to express our everyday experience of life in the capitalist society, its reflections and the anarchist-communist tendency, which is an expression of this experience tendency, which rejects present private capitalism in the same way as state capitalism, which ruled the Eastern bloc before 1989, as arbitrary forms taken by the dictatorship of capital." '*Alarm*' contains news from class struggles all over the world and from struggles of the anarchist movement and other anti-capitalist minorities, as well as important contributions to the development of revolutionary theory. Besides this we irregularly publish a paper called '*Solidarity*' aimed primarily at proletarians, and some pamphlets. Our Prague collective is also involved with running an info-café called "*Mole's Column*", which costs us a lot of energy, time and money. In this way we would like to express our gratitude to all foreign comrades, who have sent contributions for this project, as well as to those who send their press materials to reading room/library, which will be the part of the info-café (Troploin, Loren Goldner, Alternative Libertaire, WSM, NEFAC, ICG, Internationalist Perspectives, etc.). And again I have to mention our comrades, who work with AFA and try to develop a communist critique of anti-fascism and search for communist ways of struggle against fascism. Recently we were involved in a campaign and protests against NATO summit, which took place in Prague in November 2002. As ORAS, we have not been involved with the organizers' collective for the whole time, but in accordance with our capacities we helped out with some specific activities. In the Moravian region we made a speaking tour explaining our position towards NATO, refusing capitalist wars and peace and arguing for '*No War But The Class War*' and in the same spirit we co-organized a smaller anti-NATO gathering in Brno. We also participated in the protests themselves, in the Medical Group and in the self-organization of demonstrators against police provocateurs and capitalist media. We were also bringing topical news from the streets in '*Alarm*'.

As for the future plans, we are determined to further develop revolutionary theory and search for new modes of intervention in class struggles, although we have no illusions that this will be anything other than a very challenging process.

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(Just to remind, ORA-s group have split recently so we are not sure how much current are all contact addresses above - AbolishingBB)

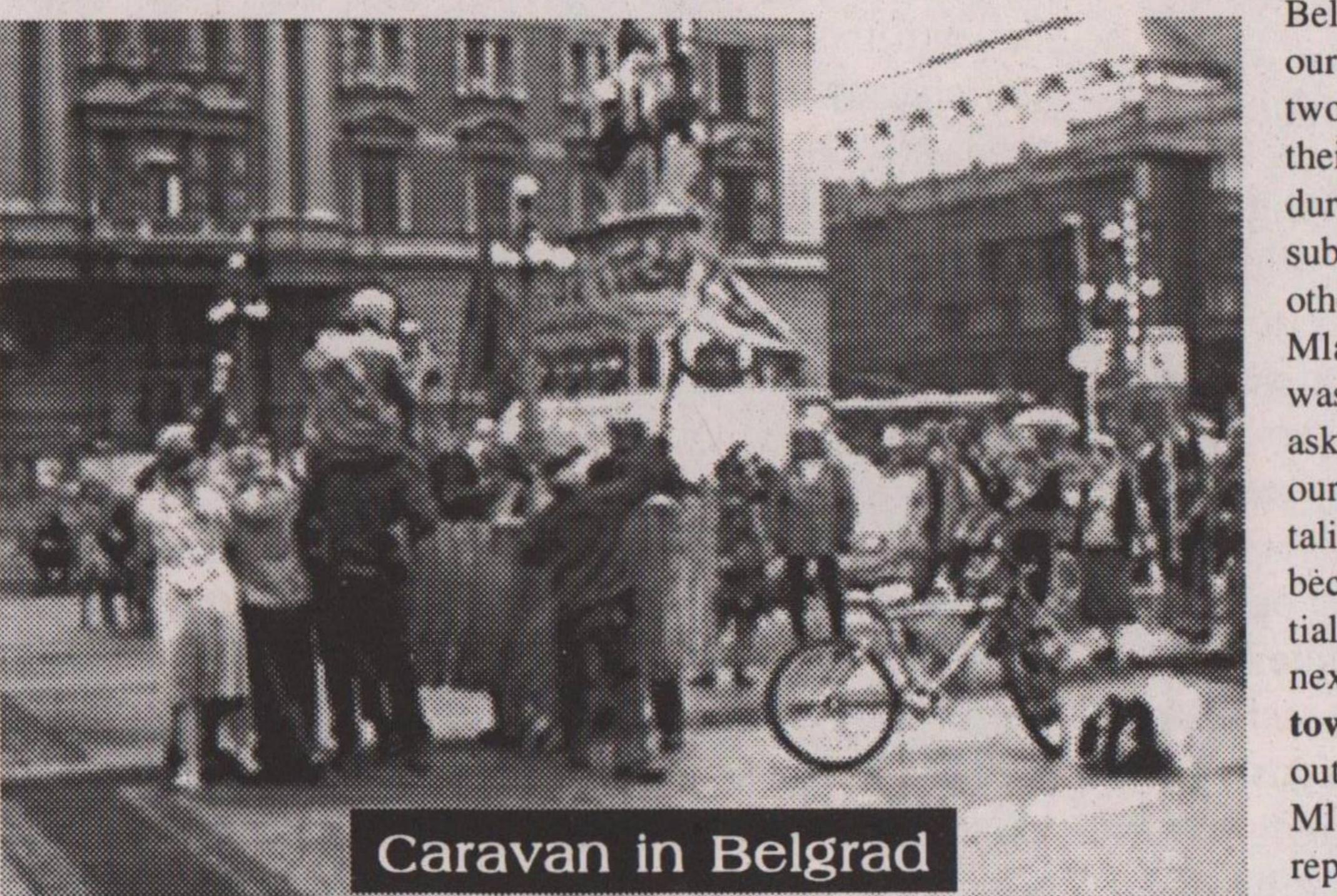
## TREVEL REPORTS FROM BICYCLE CARAVAN THROUGH BALKANS

In the past issues we were reporting from the preparations and first steps of Bicycle Caravan through the Balkan. Now we received a full report of this event from which the most impresive parts we are publishing below .....

**30.4 LJUBLJANA** - From the beginning: The caravan grows and grows. Now we are about 20 people, who had the first meeting in AC Molotov in Ljubljana and we want to start the caravan on Thursday, 2 May to Rijeka. Now we fix the rest of our bikes, select food and other needful stuff. On Saturday it was planed to get up 6 o' clock in the morning, but of course it was a little bit later, and starting time was highnoon.

**5.5 RIJEKA** - Yesterday we arrived after a ride through a very beautiful landscape and a 3-hour border-stop in Rijeka, in local center SPIRIT. Today there was a demonstration organized from RAI, Rijeka local anarchists, food not bombs and the caravan in the city of Rijeka. In the afternoon the caravan used the last possibility, of taking a sunbath in the mediterranian before entering Thessaloniki

**8.5 ZAGREB** - After three days riding through first very wonderful landscape in the mountains and very helpful people along the route, (they are very kind in offering possibilities for resting and so on) yesterday we reached Zagreb. Today at 12 clock there was a critical mass with more than 100 people. Slowly the critical



Caravan in Belgrad

mass go along main inner roads in the city and gives them, for a small time in the hands of bicyclists and people, going by feet. A few car driver were nervous, but the most people beside the route are friendly and interested in the flyers about EU critisizm, we spread out. The critical mass passes the IOM office, one of the biggest refugee hunter. Signs remarks after that stop the real politic of IOM in Zagreb. It was less time, to give parols and speeches by our soundsystem. When the demo arrived at the place in front of ministry of european integration protestors goes with the caravan banner in front of the stage and tried to use the official microphone for a little time to say something about bad EU/IOM politics. Private police stopped it. Then a man, who called himself "minister of european integration" said this banner holding is illegal and he called for robocops to push the demonstrators away from the stage area. Even if the people are leaving this area, about 20 real aggressive cops arrested 4 members of the caravan and one local activist. It was brute. The people were still in jail. The police said, the arrested people will be accused by disturbance of public order. After the clash people go to the police station to wait to be present there, but the police send us away in the park nearby, because the garden in front should not be damaged ... and gatherings with more than 10 people are forbidden.

**10.5.03** - Today early in the morning the 5 prisoners were released. The 12 hour-show at the court was incredible. Always the door to the hall was open, so the only witness can hear all the things which happens in the courtshow. The judge first told something about democracy and legal system in Croatia. So, lawyers are not necessary, he said because when the judge will watch the law, all things become well. All the time the translators talked with the judge in croatian language. The only thing, the prisoners are accused, was disturbing the pro-EU-fiesta from EU ministry by shouting parols like "Aaaa!" and "Uuuu!". This vocals are reported in the police report. (original kroatian: Iskazao je, bila je to velika galama, zvonjava, zvisdane, uzvikivanje: "uuuuuu.....aaaa.... non pasaran....") Even if one prisoner explained, one time he has shouted "stop the EU" the judge was not to convince that people have the right, to shout out there meaning. So the judge says, his grandmam has told him, not to disturb other people by own actions and because of this "basic-law" the prisoners are guilty. They dont have to shout "Aaaa" and "Uuuu". And because of the fact that this grandmam-law dont convince the prisoners (they dont feel guilty) they are

twice guilty and have to pay 500 kunas each to the croatian state. But because they have been one and an half day in prison, this is punishment enough the judge let them free without paying money. In the public meaning the police action was called brute and anti-democratic.

### 14.5. - Ossiek to Nasice

After an very impressive tour from Zagreb in direction to Ossiek we arrived today in Nasice. There we met some very kind people, who offered us, to stay in their local youth/cultural cente. Tomorrow we leave to Ossiek. The impressive part was a route along small villages from Kutina to Pozega, which are totally destroyed in Ex-Yugoslavian civil war. Noone of us has seen such massive destruction, due to expulsion of nearly all serb people in this region. May be 10 % of the destroyed houses are reconstructed. Nearly all by organised by the german "Arbeiter Samariterbund" who organised the "help" distribution from EU. Interesting was, that only a few houses are really ready, the most are under construction. Even if these reconstructions are good for the inhabitants the EU organises with this help the halluzination of a positive organisation. The division of the people under ethnic principles in serbs and croations are still working and therefore only a few of the expulsed people come back. We felt really suspicious, while we are traveling through this country. Along the route are a lot of fields on which are still deposited some mines. On the other hand we saw claims with mine-warnings, on which agricultural working still goes on. For the poor farmers it must be daily a big risk.

a performance and had a very large party at our camp, we built up at the university park. Before we had a meeting with anarchist people in the art/club, which was very interesting. Often we noticed that the people have the fear that we will forget them after passing their region. Maybe they had bad experiences in the past. We hope that there will be a network of anarchist people between western and eastern Europe. Now we stay in Belgrade, on an island at the Dunaj, today we did two actions, one at the IOM office, were we held some speeches about the lies of this organisation, which in the truth deport migrants. Thereby people sprayed on the entrance sign of the office "capitalism is kannibalism, IOM = office of modern slavery" the police wasnt there. After that we gathered in center of Belgrad, did our performance and squatted a park, to put a viewmark on the situation of Roma people, who always were put away from parts of the city. The Police noticed it, but didnt do anything. The day before on critical mass in Novi Sad the police controlled the passports of two people. In Belgrad are some buildings, which made the bombardement visible, like the defence ministry of Serbia. In discussions with the people it seems to be that a lot are frustrated. They hoped for better circumstances after a lot of wars in the past and the dictatorship of Milosevic. May be subculture is not as supressed as in former times, but the desolute economy let the frustration increase.

**26.5.03 Belgrade, Kragujevac** - Today we reached Kragujevac, the biggest metropole in Serbia between Belgrad and Nisch. Before three days after our actions in Belgrad the caravan splits into two groups because someone liked, to deep their contacts esp. to roma people, we get during the actions before. They ride into the suburbs of Belgrad where they live. The other part of the caravan goes ahead to Mladenovic, where an information evening was prepared. In the discussion the people asked - totally in difference to Novi Sad - for our personaly stuff and reminded, that capitalistic structure is impossible to change, because it dues to the born agressive potential of humans. Very strange people. The next day we started propaganda in the town, hanging around in the park, spread out our flyers give some speeches. Mladenovic was also a place for resting, repairing tractor and visiting nightlife of the city. Therefore we are mostly unable to leave Mladenovic early in the next day. We only did 25 km and arrived in Sm Palanka. There was nothing prepared, but during our trip in Mladenovic we get contact to local people, and in the night with rain, we planned a demonstration the next day to make pressure for a self-determinated youth-club the local supporter group "alternative Paleinka" applied for. So we started today early in the morning with an open breakfast in the central park and after 12 o'clock we went to the cityhall and highschool to give speeches and flyers to the people there. It seems to be an succesful step in this local struggle against abolishing sozial structures. Even the mayor comes out and had to say bla bla bla (he promised, that the council works on the problem) to the press and an agreement to the issues we demanded. The behaviour of the state and the press especially seems to us very strange. The police comes sometimes and act not agressive, they want to escort us along our way. It seems to us more, that we are "state guests" than unwished people. Of course we dislike it too, but it is strange. Strange is too, that newspapers often write about our issues, like our viewpoint, what we expect, when Serbia enters EU, and why we expect exploitation of the inhabitants. One time a big newspaper wrote one flyer of us without changing sentences. In Croatia, there is a rumor, that after the clashes in Zagreb, there has been a discussion in the newspapers about our goals. What TV shows, we didnt know. Today we arrived in Kragujevac, the town with the famous left wing scene in Serbia. Today we had a discussion with people from workers party and from workers which are involved in the big strike from 15 000 people against privitisation of

the most importand weapon and car factory.

**27.5** - The planned actions with members of the workers association, who was in big strikes, we had to cancel, because the behaviour of police changed and we had trouble with them. Twice time in the night they bothered us, they asked us for passports, and go away with them in their office. In the morning they demanded us, to leave the place at the border of the city, where we are camping. Then they came once more and take the third time our passports away even if they have caught them the night before - just senseless. Of course they dont want to speak english with us only "passports" and "leave". First when we go to council and put out there a banner there changed their behaviour a little bit in front of medias. Now some hours after their demand we will leave the city

**4.06 Kragujevac / Nis border** - We went to Krusevac and looked after the city for a sleeping place near Kaonic. Next day we decided to take the more hilly way to Nis. People of course warned us, it should be impossible for us but very often we heard these warnings and always the roads are much more easier

than local people described them. But now this one was really hilly and a bit difficult and more it was very long with a lot of curves. So we reached Nis at the evening. The local contact which was given to us, was not a person from any political scene. It was only a sportsman, who at first tried to get a camping place for us beside the home of the police president of Nis !!! There we got "protection" all over the night. Next day we have to leave, because the army wanted to use this place for a manifestation. The police offered us a camping place in the refugee camp. It seems to us more than acceptable, but when we arrived there, the camp chief told us, we are not allowed to stay there even if the serbian police allowed this. This was because of the fact, that the houses of the camp - which was in former times an old camping place - are rented by italien government in command by UNHCR. The refugees themselves invited us to stay in the camp. But after some discussions between UNHCR and the police we had to went to another place. This one was directly at the road, very ugly, but fortunately direct in the opposite of the refugee camp so that our contact are able to increase. Then we had one day in this city without police control. unfortunately, some internal crises break out, because members of our group are so different, and the time was so long, we were used to this differences, that some people want to split the group. So we did. And only fifteen stayed furthermore at this place. Other people went in front direction to Dimitrovgrad. Due to that the next day we spent in bouriing hanging around. But then in the evening we went into city center and give two performances - one of them new - quite difficult which combines exploitation of balcan economies after EU entry and strengthening the border regime after EU integration. And it works really good. People understood and discussed a lot about the function of EU and IOM. About 50 people stayed long time and are very interested in caravan issues. Some are in the mood to join spontaneously, but the problem that have no passports let them cancel. One very interesting fact was that some people, we got contact to, are members or are involved in acitivities of the group 17+, which force the government to enter much more faster the EU. Of course this is direct the opposite of our will, but they helped us wit with copying anti-EU flyers. They are very interested in our EU critics, which they mostly knew but they said, they want to believe in anything which seems to be make the economical situation better than now. After this succesfull evening in Nis we went through a hilly route by Babusnica. After Svonice we ride through a very beautiful canyon, so it was the best part of the route till now.

### 4.06 BULGARIAN BORDER

- We arrived on 3 of June at 7 pm at the border and left the serbian line of the

border. We drive with lorry and tractor and 19 cyclists to the controlpoint of the bulgarian border. The bulgarian police wants to know how many we are and then they did until 9 pm nothing. Every time when we tried to get in contact to the police they dont listen to us. Then they said, we should leave the border and built a line of 20 armed cops with sticks. We tried to discuss and then we believed in the words of one officer who said, all is all right, we can enter, we only have to give our passports. So, we did. Then they wanted us to show our cash



Belgrad

money. Of course we have not very much with us and then we showed them our creditcards. The police officer refused and answered, the next possibility where we can use this is in Sofia and we need money for the way to Sofia. He wants to see about 1000 Euro per each person, otherwise he dont wants to let us in. Then suddenly we get back our passport with a mark within, which says that we entered Bulgaria and get deported! We asked for what, but they only said, we have to leave immediately. They dont give us the answer about the law, which says that we need to show 1000 Euro each. The officer only said, we disturbed the bulgarian law and therefore we have to leave the border back to Serbia. Then some other policeman formed a line behind us and refused some of us, who wants go back. So we are surrounded. About 10 pm a woman translated something but she only said, we have to go because we disturb the traffic, while we are at the border, and for this disturbance we are not allowed to enter. And she said this is because a bulgarian law, but she said, that the police is not able to explain the law. The situation becomes strange. Some policeman are playing with their sticks others take a chair and sit down beside a parol "no border, no nation", written on a wall. After some time the law of entry refu-

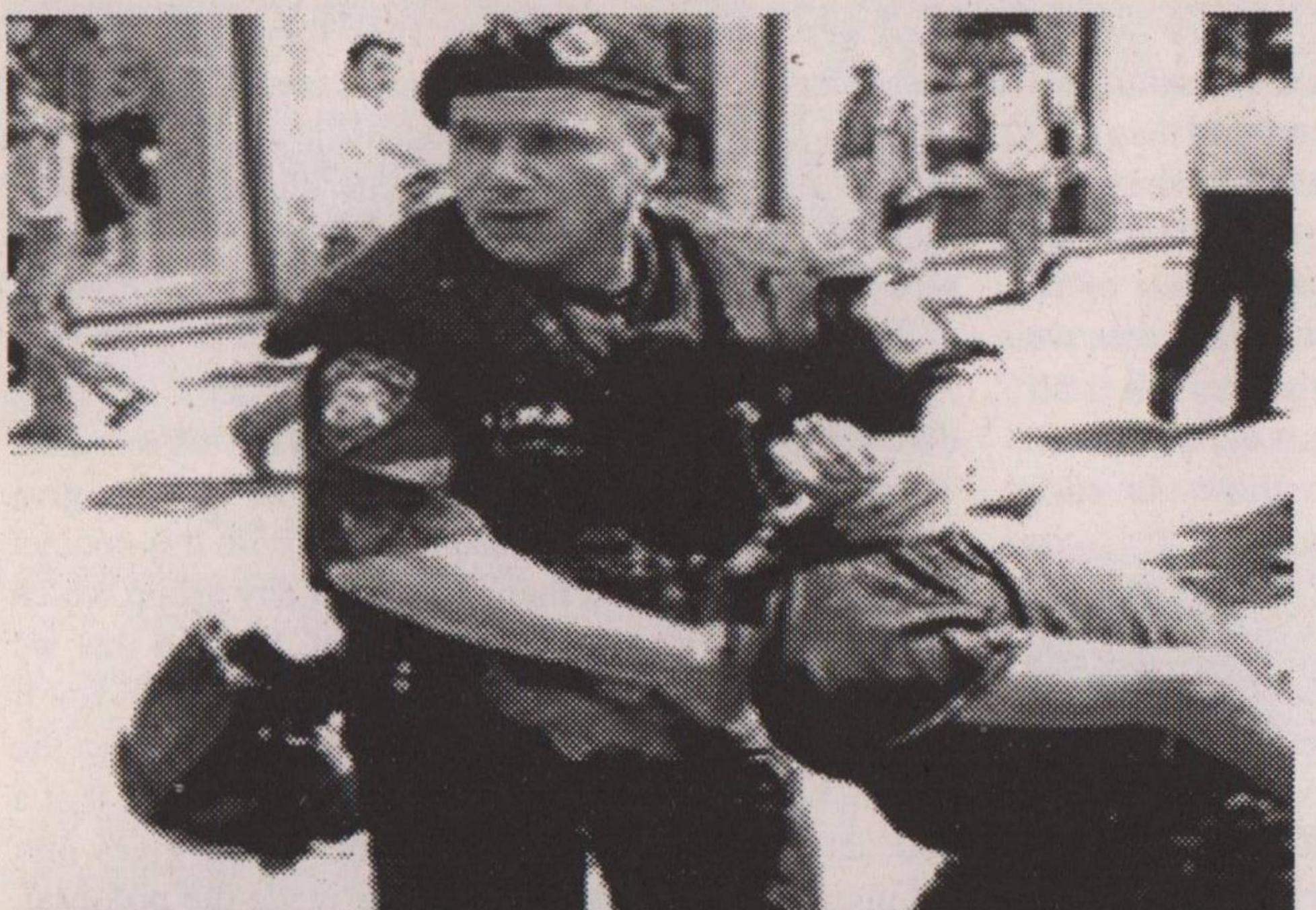


sing changes. At about 11 pm we have to show 300 Euro each and per day, so the amount of money increased. We told them that they break international law, but they said, we disturb the traffic now. After some time they found an additional reason for refusing our entry. It was because we have no medicine for our trip in Bulgaria with us. Which kind of medicine it was, they didn't said. Then we told them that we are invited by group in Sofia. Then they said, may be it works with this invitation. Then suddenly the chief of the border

cops arrived. It was Mr. Borislav Sokolov. After few seconds he became very angry went to one of us, who touched a piece of a borderstick with his feet and spit him in the face. He says some shit, which seems to be that he is proud to be a bulgarian and we are only pigs, who dont respect Bulgaria, while his face colour change to red. Then he went back and told a while with his mobile, came back and said he has checked, that there dont exist a bulgarian group which invites us to come. Then we phoned to our contact in Sofia and tried to give him the mobile but he refused to speak with this contact because in his opinion there dont exist any group which invites us. But then he becomes great. He said that we can enter the next day when we get an invitation. But it only works, when the group send this invitation to the serbian border. Then it is necessary for our entry, that a policemen of the serbian part of the border gives him the invitation fax personally. So we made the proposal, to give him directly the invitation or that he get this directly by the group in Sofia. He refused, because the border police has no fax machine and he wants to get this invitation fax from a serbian border policeman. Then he put policemen with dogs to us and said if we dont go they will force us. **First the policemen will beat us then they will shoot at us.** While this the fighting dogs are barking. The number of policemen increased to 40 people. Then we left the border region. While this withdraw bulgarian policemen entered serbian territory. We camp 1 km in front of the serbian part of the border on a parking place nearby servis stations. We have the invitations and try to crosse the border at 1 clock pm next day.

**5.06 BULGARIAN BORDER** - We tried to cross the border second time. First we informed some embassies. They really worked at the problems and in noon we got the information, that the minister of interior and the minister of exterior of Bulgaria seems to be involved in our case. There was an advice directly from the government, which refuses our entry. The embassies told us, that the reason was, that our behaviour at the border was not ok and we did not have enough money to survive in Bulgaria. It was very difficult for the embassies to get in contact to people we are responsible for the case at the border. There was an additional information, that the Bulgarian government think, that we are all criminals and therefore we are not allowed to enter Bulgaria. At three o'clock we arrived at the border. It was easily to cross the serbian part, but at the Bulgarian side, **there were 30 cops with sticks**, who expected us. The chief Mr. Sukolov said, we have to show the insurances of Tractor and dogs. So we give it to him and they took all to the animaldoctor. He promised us, that we can enter if all the papers are ok, but he

he took the invitation from the supporting group in Sofia. After the animaldoctor checked the paper, he came back with the papers and said the papers are ok. Only the invitation is not valid, he said, because he did not know the given address of the supporting group in the invitation. Then he suddenly said, that we have to go. We tried now to explain him the location of the adress, it is a cultural center in Sofia. But he refused to discuss with us the issue any more. He said, if we dont leave this 3 meters, we entered in Bulgaria, within 10 minutes, the police will beat us. Then the cops played with their sticks. Therefore we left this place. The night we spent at the same parking place as today. First we wanted try it today once more at 4 pm, but we canceled because the lawyer didnt come and we get information that the minister of foreign affairs from Bulgaria promised to the German ambassador, that we can enter if we have all papers for tractor, dogs and health insurances, if we have these not we should buy them at the border. So, according to this promise one of us tried to buy an insurance for our truck, because the border police dont accept a copy from our green card. Therefore he



**Already very well known picture from Caravan experience in Zagreb (Croatia) ... hey copper, you became an international star - so you better change your face !**

has to cross the border, because this car insurance is only available at the bulgarian side after the border. The bulgarian border police refused his entry. After this we phoned to the german ambassador to protest against breaking the promise from the bulgarian minister of foreign affairs. At the evening we went into town and spread some flyer to protest against the border regime. Also we did our performances

**6.06 BULGARIAN BORDER** - Today we wanted to try once more to cross the border at 1 pm serbian time. Then we decided to prove the promise of the bulgarian border police. So one of us went with all her necessary papers (passport, credit card and health-insurance) towards the border. After one hour discussion police chief Mr. Sokolov refused her entry totally, because she belongs to our group and he accused us, that we painted anti national parols at the walls. This should be a break of bulgarian law. Therefore she cant enter. After that we called the german embassy and he was surprised about this refusal, because the promise was still valid. Then the embassador got the information, that the refusal not dues to the parol painting. Instead of this, they said now that the health insurance would only be valid in Yugoslavia and not in Bulgaria. **This was a lie.** The health insurance is valid all over the world. So we said this to the embassador and he tried to force the bulgarian border police to open the border for people with all the necessary papers. Then suddenly the bulgarian police said, now it is weekend and new decision will be given in 3 days after the weekend. We are angry about this bla bla, canceled our plans to enter Bulgaria and started in the evening in the direction to Macedonian border.

**10.06 Bulgarian border to Jiliane (Kosovo)** - After our departure from the bulgarian border we go through the beautiful valley south of pirot in direction to macedonian border. We got lot of contacts through our journey mostly to farmers. One time we were invited to an one year birthday party before Babusnica. The whole village was celebrating, and really they know how to do. Drinking, eating and dancing on the tables and all this before noon. After celebrating some hours an almost drunk caravan continues its way through the beautiful countryside westwards. Then we took the autoput in direction of Vladicin Han. There local people invited us to sleep at the school. A lot of people from the village came there and celebrated with us. As the day before in Babusnica, this evening two policemen came and wanted to control our passports. After our refusal an sometime talking, together with local people we managed to get out of this controlling. But it was really understandable for us. Local people warned us always about the aggressive behaviour of the serbian policemen. But even if they wanted to control us all the time the behaviour was not aggressive or brute. Maybe this difference of impression dues to the lack of experience we got about the time after Djindjic death, while policemen in serbia could do to the inhabitants what they want, esp. brute behaviour. After this we started to Vranje. There we decided to go one day to the Kosovo, because we are nearly in time, and we are interested in the situation of the Kosovo, we want to see the situation with our own eyes to compare it with the description,

serbian people gave to us (the description sometimes are really bad, like this "the inhabitants of Kosovo have less culture development and act aggressive"). Even if serbian people seems to be progressive, the view about albanian people was very bad. **So we entered Kosovo** at the evening. We are worried about the situation, because we heard about armed conflicts they are still going on, **we put our banners of the tractor and avoid to speak serbian language and spread out flyers to albanian people.** We got contact to two guides, who are connected to the Roma minority in Jiliane, which we want to pass. While we passed the pass to this city we stopped at a restaurant, where albanian people invited us to stay there this night. First it seems to be ok. But then suddenly we are in the middle of a conflict between members of roma group and albanian people. So the roma accused the albanians to organise a brotel. On the other side the albanians said, these roma people can't guarantee our safety, because they are a minority. So we decided to go with the roma people to Jiliane, And it was quite good. We slept nearby a school of a suburb of Jiliane, where only serbian people live. Next day we went to the city. Some people guided us through the roma quarter, which is mostly destroyed and burned during and after the war 1999. Most roma and serbian people left their houses. Their is an official announcement of the government, that they should come back, but they refused, because noone wants to guarantee their safety. After some aggressive acts from albanian violators, which decreases, but still going on, normally the police come then, when the violators has left the struggle area. So a lot of houses are empty. Some are squatted by albanian (mostly albanian assimilated roma). But these people has no contacts to the original roma, who lived there. During our visit it was visible, that there are no real effective efforts from the government and the UN to develop the quarter. In contra to this the city itself and its economy grows very much. It must be an own economy due to the existence of members of UN. There were a lot of UN people and cars in the city. The entrance way to the city has much armed stations beside the way. Tanks are patrolling along the streets. Everywhere you see signs of UN. It is interesting, that during our entrance to the Kosovo, the "border"control gives us the impression, that they control an independent state. They dont accept the yugo green card for example, we have to buy a special one for Kosovo. This is not according to the UN-decision that Kosovo is still a part of the yugoslavian state.

**11.06 SKOPJE** - Except that we have to buy a very expensive green card for our tractor and that 2 hungarian members had to organize an entry visa for Makedonia, we had **no stress at the border**. In the evening yesterday we passed the border. Today in the morning we visited the **roma camp in Skopje, give breakfast, spread flyer and discussed with them.** They lived in poor condition and with less shadow this meeting was very exhausting. After this we go to the park fontana and there we wanted to make a food not bombs action. But immediately the **police was there and forbid us to stay there** with a tractor and give food, because this park is not for agricultural use. But of course they are not able to show us a law, which is according to this refusal. **So we made little performance with the police**, cleaned the stairs, where they stood and after some discussions we left

**16.06 DOJRAN** - On the 12 of June we left Skopje and ride through the main route along the river in direction to Gevgelia. After two days we reached the border camp in Dojran. The first day was exhausting, The temper-

rature increases to much more than 35 degrees. The next day we act more intelligent, made a long siesta-break before Dojran at the river swum a lot. The caravan now was only a small one, some of us were in Belgrade to catch visas for Macedonia, and a green card for the truck. Some others who went ahead to Sofia came now to Dojran, where we meet together. At the 14 of June we rested there and had **discussions with our local supporters from Skopje** who build up the no border camp. The main action of the camp took part yesterday, when 20 of us went with the truck to the refugee camp from Roma southwards from Bitola at the greek border. This refugees originally came from Kosovo during the civil war to Macedonia. First the macedonian government settled them together with international organisation in Shukra, the biggest Roma society nearby Skopje. But since March the international aid was gone and the government of Macedonia closed this camp. But of course the Roma can't enter Kosovo, so they tried to cross the border to Greece, because the European Union promised during Kosovo war, that they wanted to help the refugees. But the border is still closed for this refugees. Now about 700 Roma live in tents as camp nearby the border under bad conditions. The place is very small, they get only one liter drinking water each person a day and one piece of bread. There is no shadowplace there, and the people are only allowed to leave the camp in direction to the next village, if they took permission of the border regime. Many people seem to be sick, and they need medical help, but there is only one Italian NGO which brings this small amount of 1 liter water. It is real a scandal, that the government and European Union closed the refugee camp, because of inhuman living conditions and now they create a situation at the border cause of the entry refusal to Greece, which is more worse than in Shutra. The European monitoring just look at the situation, but except of a report to Brussels nothing happens. The situation for the Roma seems to get more worse. And the macedonian police support this bad conditions. When we arrived to made food not bombs, they first wanted to control our passports, but then they stopped our cooking action, before the meal was ready. When the amount of policemen increase to 30 they forced us to go. Some of the policemen were aggressive. But we were in this short time able to have some impressive discussions with the Roma. We wish them all luck with their efforts to enter Greece, and hope that people, who read this, will support their efforts. Abolish the borders! While we were going together we shout some parols against police and borders.

**17.06 THESSALONIKI** - Yesterday we crossed the border to Greece without problems. There were only few policemen, who are not controlling our stuff. They checked passports and ID cards with computers. Due to the fact, that 2 members of the caravan were not allowed to enter Italy during Genua summit 2001 it is very suspicious, that now all caravan members could enter Greece. In the evening we reached Thessaloniki. We build up our public kitchen (...)

*The rest of this report is about Caravan's experience during the anti-EU / anti-capitalist protest in Thessaloniki, what is another very interesting but as well a long story. There are for sure other publications were you can check it out as we are unfortunately running out of space here ... AbolishingBB.*



## "IT LOOKS LIKE THE WORLD WILL HAVE ONE MORE VILLIAN ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE" POLAND'S BIG IMPERIAL ASPIRATIONS: A COVERUP FOR GROWING ECONOMIC ANXIETY BY L.AKAI (FA-WARSZAWA PRAGA)

There is no doubt about it; Poland, a country of almost 40 million people, is looking to increase its role on the international stage. While it is failing miserably to create jobs and ensure social prosperity at home, its politicians are looking more and more to geopolitical manoeuvres to ensure more power, prestige and cash for its elite. And it probably is exactly its failure to create a shining example of consumer wealth and bliss which has been one of the driving forces behind Poland's moves to recreate itself as an international gendarme (of Christian values of course!) and a country with regional leadership over its areas of interest.

The clearest example of Poland's new ambitions was its participation in the war in Iraq and its policing and economic involvement in its reconstruction. Although most Poles were against the war, it was a successful geopolitical game for the politicians. First, Poland has developed some messianic view of itself lately in regards of being a beacon of Christian values. (It has lobbied actively to include Christian values into the EU constitution for

example.) The Polish politicians who engaged in the war betrayed a deeply seated belief that what was really at stake was a whole complicated value system. Second, Poland has been linking US as for quite some time now, hoping for some kickbacks in foreign investment. The war actually paid off for them as some Polish elites were able to reap some reconstruction deals; the press's crass assessment of the war tended to be that "it was a good investment"; we spent a little money, sent just a few people, no real bloodshed, big rewards. Only a place so blinded by the desire for material progress, so sold into the myths and lies of knights on white horses carrying job-creating investment packages could possibly assess a war as "good" and "profitable" because some local firms might win some contracts. Even the Americans were deeply embarrassed by accusations that they were fighting a war for oil. The politicians also see this potential voting power as a newly gained weapon in their geopolitical plans.

It is clear that all these moves are praised in the press as

potential salvation for Poland because of the bankruptcy of years of neoliberal lies which has utterly failed to produce widespread wealth for the average person. It's the same syndrome where the poor folks with nothing to be proud of place all their pride in the national football team. Except when the best players on your team are Africans and it otherwise sucks, apparently the best ego booster is getting into the same war as the Americans. Nothing to eat? At least you don't have Saddam Hussein to lock you up and torture you. Your company need a bailout? At least you can be proud that some peasant boys can help save democracy and bumbling recruits from New Jersey. Why be a nation looking for a handout when you can shut down a few dozen hospitals, buy some F-16s and play war games in Iraq with the rich boys?

An ugly assessment of ugly foreign policies. From now on, it looks like the world will have one more villian on the international scene.

Akai 47

## STATE'S VIOLENCE TEXT BY REBEL MAUSE (SERBIAN ANARCHIST)

### STATE'S VIOLENCE

#### Introduction

First, I would like to say that we were born in State and in that way we become its citizens, in fact members, but nobody asked us, do we really want it. In that way, State ensures its existence - I just read The Law of Citizenship in Yugoslavia & there is written that abolishing of Yugoslav citizenship will be allowed to some person only if that person is in procedure to get citizenship of some other State. So in that way I don't have right to become person without citizenship, eupatrid (apatrid). Horrible. Therefore I believe that theorists of law are not in right when they say that people are united themselves willing in organization called State & that people willing renounce of one part of their freedom in order to create common life, i.e. in order to create freedom of all people who live in it. With regard to freedom, we never had it 'cause past and especially from creating of first authorities (oligarchs) i.e. States, privileged people rob from poor fair people who are still trying through work to produce enough goods for themselves and their families. Of course, we never succeeded in it & therefore we must boycott to work for privileged people 'cause they throw us or into indebted slavery either they take profit from our work for themselves, i.e. they rob us. Therefore we have right to take back all what riches took from us. State is created (based) by tribal aristocracy i.e. thieves & today State is serving that through its law (that is face of injustice) their robbery is legalized. The fact is that politicians and businessmen cannot survive each other without other & they are helping each other in greed of privileges and of robbing of poor. Until the State exists, WE WILL HAS NO FREEDOM & WELFARE.

States, its law and its departments of repression are serving to protect riches from us - therefore we must destroy it. We must fight to abolish the State, to take back goods that are result of our work but riches stole it from us and usurped for themselves. We must abolish robbed i.e. capitalistic relations between people. In consideration of the fact that we are all born equal on this planet Earth, it means we are born like human beings, it is absolutely unnatural and injustice, that during life some individuals enjoy while other people suffer, die hungry, they don't have time to devote either to themselves neither to their families... even worst, many people who are not satisfied with their life and who are loaded with problems, maltreat as their families also and other people. Almost all problems between people are result of existing of State, from nationalism to maltreating in houses. I call it 'products of State and its repressive society that is created by State'. Therefore instead of fighting with results of existing of State, it is more important to find out in the sense of our problems, it means to show the face of the State & to abolish that organization that torture us so much & which is destroying millions of life.

**ABOLISH SLAVERY, STATE  
AND ALL FORMS OF DOMINATION  
OF MAN BY MAN!**

*'If I succeed, sometimes, to instigate inventiveness of spirit at readers, I'll be satisfied. That's what worth much more than stupid approval of people who repeat rules by heart and guide themselves in thinking toward school's debate' - Georges Sorel*

The violence that is described on these pages, it's violence that is done by the State over people, i.e. by clerks and officials of this criminal organization, as and other persons with instigate and agreement of them. That violence isn't happening somewhere far away from us but every day beside us & it is just a question of moment when we will be victims too. About this theme doesn't exist full settled information 'cause State try to hide it, beginning with lying medias and ending with criminal police; so information that are using here are got from families which members survived torture or information from rare books about it. For this moment, data will include Yugoslavia, especial period of Milosevic authority & anarchistic cases from whole world.

One more time, don't forget that here are only partially data's & that every moment, even while (during) you read this text, somebody is meeting with torture that is guided (realized) by the State.

**Short view on history of state's violence**

History of the State's violence is so old like history of the State. Always all authorities were based on power i.e. on violence. Beside State's, church's authority limit freedom of people also & in the middle Ages it was clearest visible and sensible what maniacs can do, maniacs who persecuted and killed free opinion & everything with aim to keep AUTHORITY! In consideration that the State and its law guide and legalize the violence and robbery, there is nothing for people to do but to make rebellions and revolutions in order to liberate themselves from mentioned maniacs. Of course, and after such authoritative revolutions, in which existed leaders, people are met with new tortures from new authorities. In Serbia people are conscious that every authority is bad but they don't see other solution. Therefore these texts exist to explain the idea of anarchism, one idea where it doesn't exist authority of man over man. Anarchistic revolution, so anarchism also, can be realized only with conscious people. It will be still slavery, exploitation and poverty until the revolution is not based on anarchistic principles, it means - without leaders, started from (below) ordinary people, who are conscious and solidary, who will aspire to realize anarchistic freedom i.e. society.

Only anarchistic revolution leads to true freedom and welfare.

That is what I want, to ABOLISH THE CAUSE of people's suffering and problems & not to spend my time in fight against all negative products i.e. results of existing of the State. The cause of all our problems is the State, domination of man by man and exploiter's relations in society & therefore we must remove it.

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**Definition and characteristic of the torture**

The torture can be defined like any act with which is made purposely pain and corporally or mentally suffering (any intensity) to somebody, from official persons or other ones who acts with support or agreement of them. Reasons for making of suffering are getting of information, confession, punishing for some act, frightening, acting of pressure, etc. It could be add that torture is any act that is made against corporal and psychic integrity of person, independent of it is at that moment (acting) made indeed the corporal pain or psychic suffering or that kind of results omitted. In that way, the torture is any violation of human dignity. Shortly, the definition of the torture contain 3 elements:

- Purposely making of pain or corporal or mental suffering
- Motive that is made in order of getting information or confession, frightening, acting of pressure, etc.
- Characteristic of executor which is faced in its official or facted acting on the side of criminal organization - State (it means that here belong Para-military and Para-police forces also)

**Instruments and methods with which is realizing the State's violence**

There are many ways and instruments for torturing of people, and that are changing during time, so it is hard to create written document that contain all methods and instruments which belong to torture. In Serbian language, the verb 'torture' has many synonyms, and through it we can see what people in this region experienced - *moriti, kinjiti, tlaciiti, zlostavljati, daviti, pridavljavati, muštrati, mrevariti, šikanirati, tiranisati, terorisati, napastovati, silovati, prisiljavati, sibati, ugnjetavati, uzemimiravati, gnjaviti, gaziti, gnejeciti, kidati, guliti kozu, cediti, vredjati, ponizavati, seckati, jahati, metnuti na muke...* Method for realizing of violence which is the most present - registered in 150 States - is BEATING. Consequences of this violence is not naive, and many instruments are using: sticks, metal sticks, plastic and tube of rubber, electrical cable, baseball sticks, handle of gun, belt, chain, wet rope... Slapping, kicking with fists and legs are so usual in police stations that kind of acting many people accept like routine acting of police and not like torture.

In order to make bigger pain to victim and in order to hide proofs of torturing, state's maniacs use many techniques, in fact THEY COMBINE BEATING WITH OTHER METHODS OF TORTURING: they put victims in especially hard position (hang his/her head down, make bridge, kneeling, beating on soles...). After beating, they use many other methods and instruments of torturing, as: exposing of face to extreme warmth or cold, binding of hands and legs with protraction, binding and keeping in unnatural position, refusing of water, food and sleeping, obstructing of breathing, exposing to electric-shocks, making of burn, giving of drugs, raping and sexual maltreatment are using in more than 50 States & everywhere are happening death cases because of torture in police stations and prisons. These methods are often using in proceeding of investigation of suspected persons, then on persons who are in prisons, like and massively on all people; for example at demonstrations. During this proce-

dings, State additional to torture people through unceasing investigation, keeping in unsafe situation, closing in totally dark rooms, isolation, humiliating, frightening, taking off to false execution...

It should especially convert attention on methods that are created in **praxis of secret polices** that are created to protect authorities. Such methods are: disturbance of some person and his/her family, arresting and keeping in without reason, spying and eavesdropping, secret photos and generally disturbance of private life, destroying of reputation, blackmailing, setting of proceeding and guilt, limitation of free movement, turning out from place of living, abductions and lastingly disappearance and also political murders i.e. liquidations.

Prisoners are persons also, on whom the State execute **military and medical experiments**. They are executed by castrations, interventions on brain & everything with faith that should either correct them or disable them for crimes in the future. New praxis follow such logic, the only difference is now that State look them like some kind of 'State's property' and 'society's pest' so they taste on them new medicaments, methods for medical treatment, instruments for biological wars, etc.

**Technological development** is widening of new methods and instruments for **realizing of state's violence** & depraved minds of state's employees and profiteers, everyday surprise us with their 'inventions' of new instruments and methods for torture of people. Like proof for this, that the State not only use this violence but it finance the existing of industry for producing of instruments for torture also, I could mention rarely news of Associated Press from 1996 year: "Government of USA, in last year, allowed export of check (astringent) for cracking of fingers, shackles, mad shirts, different devices for electro-shocks & other devices that are designed especially for torture". The same year, French, Britain and companies from South Africa, were produced for market the device that is function to control of mass demonstration. This device through away very sharp wire that ram in meat of people very easily.

Besides 5 members of Council for Security of OUN (USA, UK, Fr, Russia, China - my flesh creeps when I'm mentioning so many criminal organizations), on the top of the list of exporters of instruments for torture are Germany, Israel, Bulgaria, Rumania, Ukraine and South Africa.

As we can see it, the arsenal of instruments for torture contain as devices from Middle Ages so and modern technological ones. Although the training and fitting out of torturers is mirror of misery, all States i.e. governments and privileged companies, see in it only good profit and keeping of state's authority. Of course, WE will be victims and therefore we must disable them, through regaining of consciousness, through training for fight & finally through revolution. We must abolish their domination above/over our life.

Don't allow those, who see us like sheep's, to manipulate with our life! I call you that we organize ourselves in international level & to destroy those who psychically and corporally rape us and take our salaries for themselves.

LET'S MAKE FREEDOM FOR US!

**REPORT ON 7TH ANNUAL  
"EAST-WEST" MEETING  
OF ANARCHO SYNDICALISTS  
AND REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISTS  
Held in Czech republic 27.-31.8.1998**

Below the original report from 1998 ...

I attended conference as an delegate of Finnish Anarchist Federation (SAL). I'm also member of Finnish syndicalist organisation Solidaritus. Organiser of the conference was local AIT-branch FSA, which is operating in both parts of former Czech Republic. Among other participants were delegates from CRAS-AIT (Russia), CNT-AIT (France), FIJL (Spain), WSA-AIT (USA), Brousse collective (Belgium), FAB (Byelorussia), FAK (Russia, Cuban area), Lipetsk free student union (Russia) and some other organisations and individuals which I unfortunately forgot, for example from Ukraine, Germany and Latvia. I arrived conference thursday 27th, thus I missed discussions of day before. On thursday, program was decided to have four parts: 1) Reports on social and political situation of countries of delegates present; 2) Situation of anarchist movements of delegates present; 3) Reports on fascist/ultra right activities in Eastern Europe; 4) Concrete proposals of common activities

(...) I think it is important to study failure of the previous East-West meeting(s) if we want to develop further the East-European "real-life" networking, since goals of the East-West meetings were almost similar to those of the Warsaw meeting, with the slight difference that Warsaw meeting became to be more like "from East to East" than as something networking East with West, as was goal of the previous East West meetings. In Warsaw I saw no person besides me who participated to previous East-West meeting. It must be said that Warsaw meeting was a great success compared to the previous meeting, both what comes to spirit and numbers (with 250 participants some 6-7 times more than 1998).

**SITUATION OF ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS**

Russia - During last 10 years Russian movement has suffered many splits. Main actors now are CRAS-AIT and KAS, Rainbow Keepers and ADA. Russians thought right now these 4 organisations haven't got serious conflicts between each other. Another story is organisations claiming to be anarchist but have nothing to do with it. Difference of CRAS-AIT and KAS is that CRAS-AIT follows AIT's guidelines but KAS is also influenced by IWW and Swedish SAC. Nowadays KAS has only groups in Siberia, two organizations are active in different geographic areas and have fairly good relations. Rainbow Keepers have recently splitted. Movement is difficult to categorize, every people ever attended actions is considered as member and only a few of activists has a theoretical approach. Social ecologists would be fairly good label for them. RK wasn't invited to conference. ADA works as an all-anarchist federation, the only official structure is annual conference. All the kinds of anarchists, some strange such as anarcho-capitalists. CRAS-members present were participating demonstrations and distributing their magazine. KAS is more able to work as an union in their areas, providing legal aid to their members and so on. Kubanians are active in anti-fascism, feminism, ecology and counter-culture. The city of Lipetsk and all Kuban is in so-called "red belt", where both Bolsheviks and Nazis have big popular support. FAK is participating to actions of RK.

Belarus - Byelorussians present were active in ecology, anti-fascism and counterculture. Their group is a local group of FAB, but they criticized FAB and considered it too passive organisation. Group had contacts and actives in different trade unions and student activists. Unlike many parts of ex-USSR, fascism is not very popular in Byelorussia. Official propaganda hasn't (yet) focused a lot in fighting against anarchists.

Ukraine - Ukrainian anarchist groups are highly autonomous - not because ideological reasons but because they have serious financial problems in achieving means of communication. Ukrainians present (I forgot the group - guess it was AFEU of ARG) had bad relations with RKAS, although RKAS has decent relations with RK in general. Ukrainians have been active in work against Lukashenko and EBRD (European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, big player in Ukrainian economy along with IMF and World Bank).

Slovakia - Interesting organisations in Slovakia are FSA and anti-fascist organisation Free Alternative, which is relatively weak. A separate Slovakian Anarchist Federation was founded some years ago, but it hasn't been very successful in organising, and nowadays it works together with FSA. Czech Republic - Recent history of Czech anarchist movement highly influenced the climate of conference and the way it was organised, but I'll save those views to end of this report. Right now there is 3 anarchist/syndicalist organisations in Czech republic. I understood FSA, Federation of Social Anarchists, organization hosting the conference was founded 1992, was a part of Czechoslovakian Anarchist Federation CSAF until 1996 and splitted then. FSA is AIT affiliate. FSA describes it's way of organising as "FORA-model", not as pure anarchist/syndicalist organisation, views of Friends of Durruti were also popular in FSA. Organisation is publishing two papers, more theoretical "Free labour" and free "Voice of direct action", which have been distributed to workplaces through a network of workers around the country. Books have been published as well, such as later Bookchin, mostly to Czech language but also something to Slovakian. During the seminar there was one political prisoner at Czech Republic, Vaclav Jez jailed for self-defence against Nazis. Split of CSAF was mentioned as a great success, because organisation was practically incapable to any activity due to interior schisms which resulted splitting. Critique against CSAF is a version of lifestyle vs. social anarchism debate with flavor of personal and strategical disagreements. CSAF was accused for concentrating on non-creative, countercultural activity, opposing necessary radical means of anti-fascist work and cooperating with officials in anti-fascist activity. Main activities of CSAF include squatting houses in Prague and organising Street parties, "Counterstream", eco-anarchist group inside CSAF has worked f.e. for closing Czech and Slovakian NPP's. Counterstream is also a part of Rainbow Keepers network. CSAF has connections to Swedish SAC and CNT-Vignolles. Solidaritas is a small group which left CSAF few years ago. According to FSA, it is inspired from SAC, Spanish CGT and French OCL.

**RESOLUTIONS**

Role of existing East-West network structure was put in question, 6 former meetings have resulted almost nothing. Comrades from East analyzed this was due to looseness of the network. Comrades of the East laid their hopes on bringing international solidarity more tighter to IWA agenda and practice. This discussion was tightly around IWA business, only few representatives were anymore around from non-IWA sections. I warned about making East-West Network just inside IWA-business, I was replied that non-IWA sections are warmly welcomed if they share some common ideological points. I guess it's up to organisers to decide who to invite and who not, not a problem to me. The resolution of conference was just a draft when I left, I never received it for to add my name. Guess it was mainly aimed to IWA bureau, asking for more help to Eastern comrades in difficult economic situation. Some personal notes on conference and situation of Czech Republic. Almost all delegates from other Eastern groups than FSA or CRAS left the conference one by one. Prague has become some kind of center of revolutionary tourism from X-USSR countries, cheap enough and not too big language barrier. Thus conference was not their main ambition for visiting Prague, and if they felt themselves not welcomed after minor disputes about cooperation with communists or promoting legalization of marijuana, they had a small threshold for walking out from the conference. I think it should have been avoided, but everyone has a chance to choose with whom to cooperate. One reason was that these people had good relations with CSAF, and were impressed for their way of their organizing such as squatting - thus they didn't like the way FSA's were talking about CSAF. Some of their criticism against CSAF made sense, such as criticizing cooperation with officials in anti-fascist activities, some comments on environmental activities as "neolithism" sounded like a wise use crap. I think the very background of FSA's splitting from CSAF was an attempt to get out from the subculture, which I think is the main task for anarchist movement nowadays. FSA selected quite radical way to do this, I wish them luck in their path. I met CSAF activists during one evening after the conference, and I hear their counterarguments against some FSA claims.

Antti Rautainen

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

### Armenia

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

### Belarus

**ABC Belarus** - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o.box 217; [intolerant@autonom.zzn.com](mailto:intolerant@autonom.zzn.com); [www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru](http://www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru)

**AFA (Antifascist Action)** - Minsk; [restless81@mail.ru](mailto:restless81@mail.ru)

Anarchist Library - Minsk; [antifa@mail.ru](mailto:antifa@mail.ru)

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

ANTYFA - antifascist group; [antifa@mail.ru](mailto:antifa@mail.ru)

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

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

"Ataka" - anarchist newspaper; [ataka@tut.by](mailto:ataka@tut.by)

BAF / Belarusian Anarchy Front - [baf@list.ru](mailto:baf@list.ru)

Belarusian Linux Community - [www.linux.hitech.by](http://www.linux.hitech.by)

"Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; [ecoaction@tut.by](mailto:ecoaction@tut.by)

FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist -

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

\* Novopoloc; [nuts-1@rambler.ru](mailto:nuts-1@rambler.ru)

"Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; [ksenia\\_izberg@mail.ru](mailto:ksenia_izberg@mail.ru)

KDS "Razam" / Condefederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; [kds-razam@tut.by](mailto:kds-razam@tut.by); [www.razam.by.ru](http://www.razam.by.ru)

"Navinki" - satirical anarchist 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](http://www.anarchistory.boom.ru) - history of anarchism in Belarus

[www.375crew.org](http://www.375crew.org) - d.i.y. political punk\ hardcore culture of Belarus

### Bulgaria

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

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

"Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>; [anarchy@bulgaria.com](mailto:anarchy@bulgaria.com)

### Croatia

AFA - anarchist antifa network; [www.vjechniopor.vze.com](http://www.vjechniopor.vze.com)

AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - [anfema@zamir.net](mailto:anfema@zamir.net)

"Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojama K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; [monteparadiso@p.u.tel.hr](mailto:monteparadiso@p.u.tel.hr)

R.A.I. - Anarchist Initiative of Rijeka; [rai200@net.hr](mailto:rai200@net.hr)

Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; [zadar.ski.anarchisti@yahoo.com](mailto:zadar.ski.anarchisti@yahoo.com); [solidarnost.mahost.org](mailto:solidarnost.mahost.org)

ZAP / Zagrebacki Anarhisticki Pokret (Zagreb's Anarchist Movement); [www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707](http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707); [zap\\_zg@zamir-zg.ztn.apc.org](mailto:zap_zg@zamir-zg.ztn.apc.org)

### Czechia

ABC-CSAF - c/o P.H., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen; [abc@csaf.cz](mailto:abc@csaf.cz)

AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100 81 Praha 105; [afa\\_praha@volny.cz](mailto:afa_praha@volny.cz)

### AKA - AnarchoComunist Alternative - (???)

"A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective; po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; [a-kontra@csaf.cz](mailto:a-kontra@csaf.cz)

**CSAF / Czechia** - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation), po box 223, 111 21 Prague 1; [intersec@csaf.cz](mailto:intersec@csaf.cz) [www.csaf.cz/english](http://www.csaf.cz/english)

**Federaci sociálních anarchistu (FSA - IWA)** (Federation of Social Anarchists) - PO box 5; 15006 Praha 5; [fsa\\_intersec@anarchismus.org](mailto:fsa_intersec@anarchismus.org) <http://fsa.anarchismus.org/>

**Feminist Alliance of March 8'** - @-feminist group; [fs8.brezna@centrum.cz](mailto:fs8.brezna@centrum.cz)

**Info-Shop** - Socharska 6; Prague.

"MILADA" - squat in Prague; [milada.sq@volny.cz](mailto:milada.sq@volny.cz)

**ORA "Solidarity"** - organization of revolutionary anarchists; L.K. po box 223; 111 21 Praha 1; <http://alarm.solidarita.org>; [intersec@solidarita.org](mailto:intersec@solidarita.org)

"PAPIRNA" - squat in Prague.

PH - international secretariat of CSAF intersec@csaf.cz

### Hungaria

**GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM** - book-shop run by anarchists; 1066 Budapest O.u.40; <http://shmin-taka.mahost.org>

### Latvia

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

### Lithuania

"BENDRADARBIAI" - autonomous culture centre in Siauliai; Vytauto g.103 A, Siauliai; tel. 370 69909049

"KABLYS" - anarchist squat in Vilnius; po box 790; Vilnius 2050; [nindze@hardcore.lt](mailto:nindze@hardcore.lt)

### Macedonia

**KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA** - anarchist collectiv in Skopje; [kolektiv\\_za\\_slobodarska\\_ideja@hotmail.com](mailto:kolektiv_za_slobodarska_ideja@hotmail.com); [slobodarska@ziplip.com](mailto:slobodarska@ziplip.com); [slobodarska@yahoo.com](mailto:slobodarska@yahoo.com); [slobodarska@hypocrisy.org](mailto:slobodarska@hypocrisy.org)

### Poland

**ABC/ACK** - [www.ack.most.org.pl](http://www.ack.most.org.pl)

ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warsaw 121; [biuletyn@ack.w.pl](mailto:biuletyn@ack.w.pl)

ACK Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31; [sanch@poczta.wp.pl](mailto:sanch@poczta.wp.pl)

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

ACK Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12; [bifa@polbox.com](mailto:bifa@polbox.com)

ACK Trojmiasto - Bartek Pomierski, ul.Wiewiorza 72; 80-126 Gdańsk. [pomierz@friko2.onet.pl](mailto:pomierz@friko2.onet.pl)

ACK Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; 50-240 Wroclaw. [pbn@poprostu.pl](mailto:pbn@poprostu.pl)

ACK Lublin - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30; 20-067 Lublin. [cqkier@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:cqkier@poczta.onet.pl)

ACK Lodz - Lukasz Pieczara, ul.Switezianki 23/7; 91-496 Lodz 88. [lukaszpieczara@box43.pl](mailto:lukaszpieczara@box43.pl)

Anarchist Library - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

Anarchist Library - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.

"A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warsaw 4. [cube@zigzag.pl](mailto:cube@zigzag.pl)

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

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

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

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

"EMANCYPUNK" - anarcha-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warsaw 78.

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

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

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

**FA-Szczecin** - po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin34; fa\_szn@interia.pl

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

**Food Not Bombs / Olsztyn** - edelweiss@o2.pl.

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

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

**jedzeniezamiaspoltyki@poczta.onet.pl**

**"FREEDOM"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. [freedom69@go2.pl](mailto:freedom69@go2.pl)

**Alliance of Kazan Anarchists** - [antimil@narod.ru](mailto:antimil@narod.ru); <http://antimil.narod.ru>

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

**Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod** P. O. Box 25 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia ad\_nn@mail.ru

**Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia** - PO Box 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. e-mail: [anliberation@rambler.ru](mailto:anliberation@rambler.ru)

**ANTI-FA Samara** - [anti\\_fa@mail.ru](mailto:anti_fa@mail.ru)

**ASSOCIATION OF ANARCHIST MOVEMENTS (ADA)** - see "Noviy Swet" newspaper

contact adress

**Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Sindicalists** - lack of contact adress.

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

**Indymedia Russia** - (in Russian language) <http://russia.indymedia.org>; e-mails: [indyru@mail.ru](mailto:indyru@mail.ru); [indymoskwa@pochta.mru](mailto:indymoskwa@pochta.mru) (Moscow); [indy-media\\_piter@pochta.mru](mailto:indy-media_piter@pochta.mru) (Petersburg); [smeshno@riseup.net](mailto:smeshno@riseup.net) (Kiev, Ukraine)

**IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation** - [www.angelfire.com/la/OKAS](http://www.angelfire.com/la/OKAS); [sidorovan@mail.ru](mailto:sidorovan@mail.ru)

**JERRY RUBIN CLUB** - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; [jrc@nmu.ru](mailto:jrc@nmu.ru); <http://jarryclub.narod.ru>

**KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-syndicalists)** - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; [comanar@mail.ru](mailto:comanar@mail.ru); Saint Petersburg : MPST; [mpst@mail.ru](mailto:mpst@mail.ru); <http://www.geocities.com/libcornu>; <http://mpst.tsx.org>; Saint-Petersburg

**"MEGAPHON"** - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; [megaphon@mail.ru](mailto:megaphon@mail.ru)

**"NOVIY SVET"** - anarchist newspaper [newworld@mail.admiral.ru](http://newworld@mail.admiral.ru); <http://novsvet.narod.ru> (all issues since 1989).

**"NOZHI I VILKI"** - political punk/hardcore fanzine; [zonios@mail.ru](mailto:zonios@mail.ru); Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia