

# ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

## ANTI-NATO PROTESTS IN BULGARIA



## SUBSCRIBE TO ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

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

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

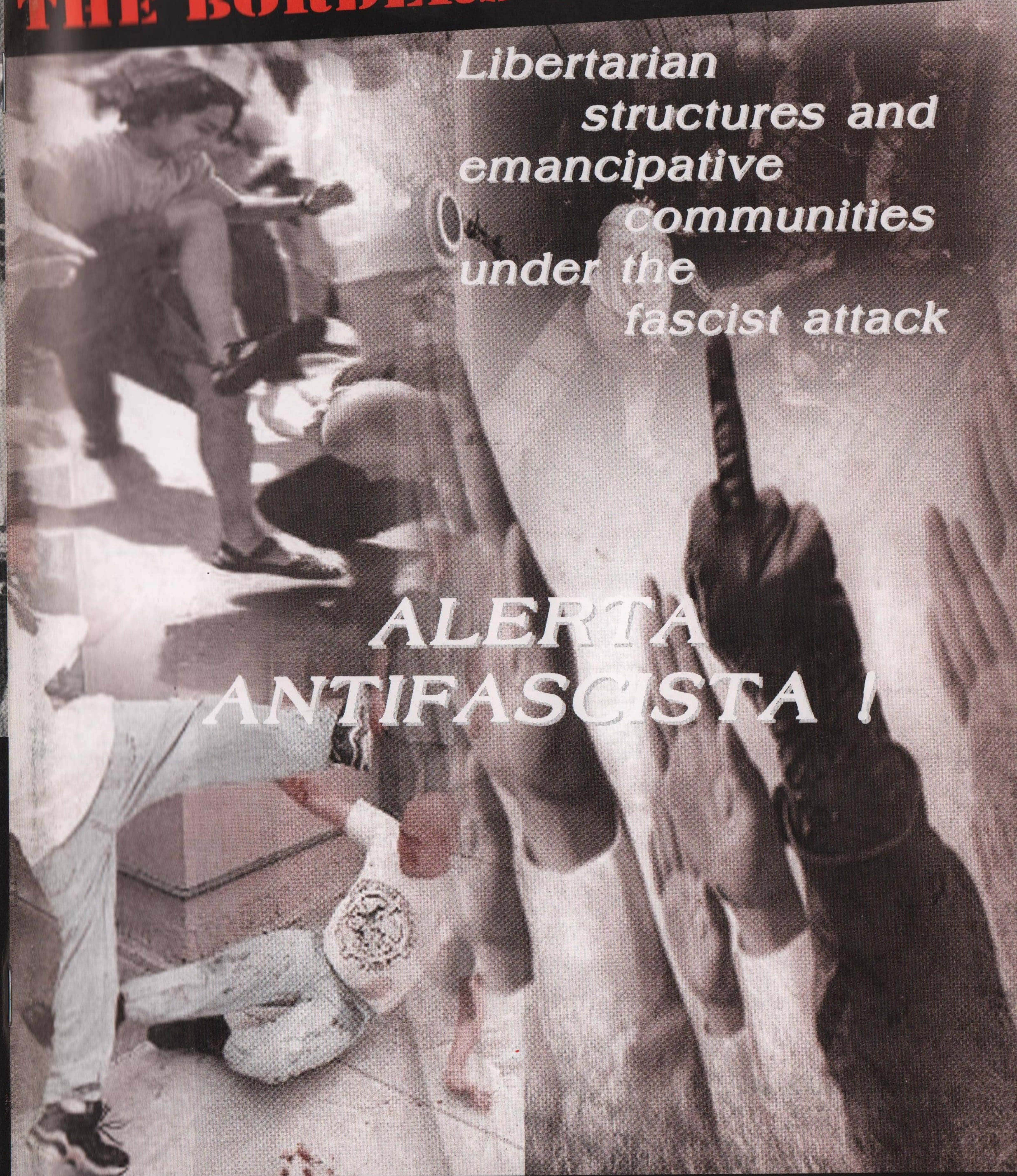
From the beginning, our distro. concept would rely on the regional distributors to cover the request of the newspaper. We have realized that this structure is not 100% working, therefore, believing strongly that everyone should/could have the possibility of access to the information and news contained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

LOVE AND RAGE  
YOUR ABB CREW

For all subscription details, send an email to: [abolishingbb\\_subs@riseup.net](mailto:abolishingbb_subs@riseup.net)

Libertarian  
structures and  
emancipative  
communities  
under the  
fascist attack

# ALERTA ANTIFASCISTA !





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

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

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and 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 Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...



### AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

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

### EDITORIAL TEAM & ABB COLLECTIVE

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

### CORRESPONDENTS

Our work would not be possible without the great contributions of our correspondents from around EE.

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

### EXECUTORS

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

### COOPERATION

If you operate in Eastern Europe, you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region. If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

### DEADLINES

Deadline for next issue: 15.01.2006

### FREE COPIE / PRINT RUN

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

### FINANCES

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

### BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

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

### ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

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

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

### NOT 100%

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



**This little anarchist project which just through its existence supports many others anarchist projects ...  
... NEEDS YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT !**

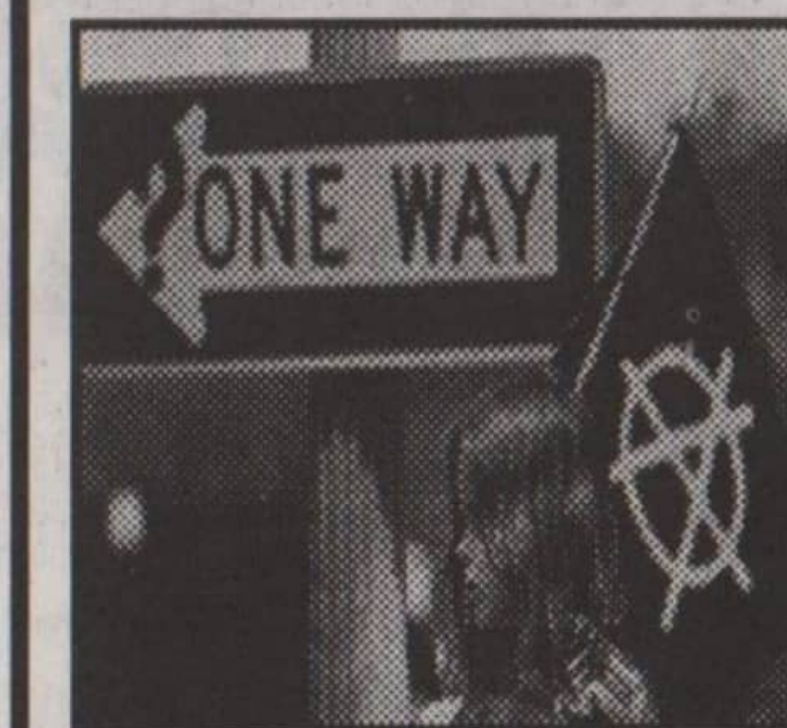
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the East European  
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**Eviction of  
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ASSEMBLY AND SPEECH  
HAS BEEN LIMITED**

Report by Anarchist Federation  
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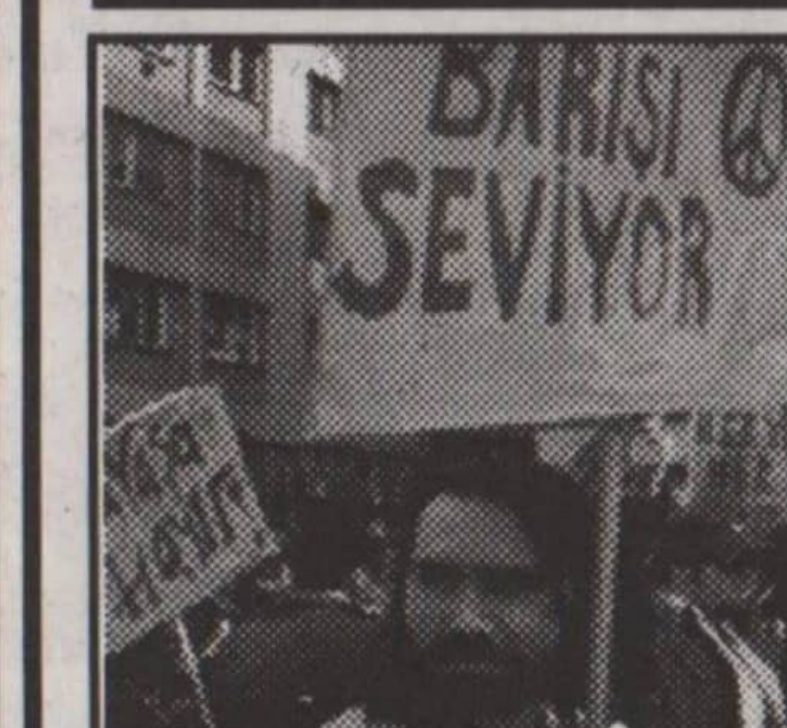
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**MEHMET TARHAN**

anti-militarist gay-anarchist  
sentenced to 4 years of prison

\* Reports from Lithuania \* Unnoticed News \* Announcements \* Squatters Dialogue \* ABC Reports \* Communities in Struggle \*



Here we go with another issue again...and, until now, is the longest issue to date! Looks like as we are expanding number by number, but, beside higher printing costs, we are completely satisfied with this!

Quite a couple of things happened in the last times here around, especially in the last weeks before the publication of this new issue, which made us reflecting, more than usual, on some scary developments within the eastern Europe area..

We come than to the usual explanation on the journal cover: actually, on the beginning on, we were planning a cover with its focus on one of the central issue of this number, the debate on the relation between anarchy/anarchism and leftism within eastern Europe libertarian movement; on this topic, we'll come again later in this editorial.

But than, we have been put all under shock, hearing about how our comrade Timur from St.Petersburg had been brutally killed from nazi scum after a Food Not Bombs action over there, and as well as another activist got seriously injured in the same occasion: Timur was a comrade, a friend for some of us cooperating on that project, being also visiting Berlin few months ago; his story is founding space in our pages, where we

want to remember him but not making a martyr out of him, but rather let people know who he was and remember them that our common struggle for anarchy has to walk further on.

Sadly, this has been just the top of a new fascist arise within some eastern region: in the last weeks, we witnessed several well organized fascist attacks against anarchists, libertarians and other communities, say against the Equality-March in Poznan (Poland), or against punk concert and DIY community in Kiev. The reports from massive marches of fascist and National Bolsheviks in Moscow and St.Petersburg, about the confrontations with nazi-hools in Lithuania and about the way the State apparatus deal with anarchist anti-fascist structures everywhere around, feeling up even more pages in this issue. Nazi scum has always been active and carrying infamous action here around, this isn't a news at all, but, like always, there are period where they are pushed more down in the sewer from antifascist activities, and other where they try to rise up again with their coward methods: attacking a person and stabbing him in 10 people, is the point of this iceberg. We felt than necessary, to give a call to keep on the active militant antifascism, as well as all other forms of anarchist antifascist resistance. Beside the usual chapters in our articles, we put the issue on the cover space, in order to underline even more and making ours, once again, the cry coming out from eastern european anarchist: fight back nazi by any means necessary! Alerta Antifascista! We hope that everyone out there, western, eastern, southern, whatever, any active radical antifascist conscience, will feel rather provoked to the strengthening of the fight against this scum, instead of remaining paralyzed because of the shock: antifascism is an everyday attitude, part of our struggle of libera-

tion from all form of oppression, let's keep strongly together towards this direction.

As mentioned before, another topic we liked to bring on our pages has been this time, the debate about the relation anarchy/leftism in eastern european anarchism. A lot of people might be pretty unfamiliar about what this discussion is like: this debate, has been actually

## FASCIST SCUM IS COMING OUT BACK FROM THE DEEP SEWER ...

## ... IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO KICK THEM BACK DOWN THERE ...

We are not interested, anyway, to host a merely theoretical debate on this topic, but we felt, rather, that this discussion is central, both on theoretical as practical level, among the anarchist communities within eastern Europe. What does the concept of Left meaning in those ex sovietic countries for libertarian people? How

is differing to the usual approach of some other western European countries? What's, than, their relation with it, and with the people spreading this message? These are few of the questions that arose in our head, and that we felt as interesting for our correspondent to write on. How many times we heard, for example, about how activists travelling from western to eastern Europe had to confront themselves (and sometime behaving also arrogantly towards this new discover) with the fact that people over there are not enthusiastic at all in, say, seeing communist nostalgic propaganda gadgets so often in the hype among some activist communities, or with the fact that most of the anarchists, over there, don't define themselves at all with the term "left"? There's often a kind of clash between our communities, than, on this topic, which is, so, showing, how this theme is not all just a theoretical fun, but a serious, wider, daily thing for a lot of us. Generally, in fact, in eastern Europe the only active radical and emancipative movements are made out of anarchists: anarchists, over there, mostly don't show any interest at all, or are not willing to collaborate with other kind of existing "left" groups which are, on the most, leftovers from the former sovietic era and bringing still the message, as well as the authoritarian forms, of that ideology with them. Over there, it is clear that the history of the Left has been seeking other roots and developments than in some other western regions, mostly you cannot even talk about left in the sense some western groups refer to it, cause there you are talking about stalinist groups, the left, over there, meant the State: there is not existing any, so called, anti-authoritarian left (is also really rue that a true anti-authoritarian left at all exists?..)

For sure, we would be, as collective, also really interested in developing a rather criti-

cal and deeper discussion on what, generally, the term of left is meaning for us: we, as anarchist collective in which various anarchist options are represented and confronting each other in every discussion, don't have a common position towards this rather controversial but, for sure, more and more necessary discussion/confrontation.

Let's say, that this might be for us all, maybe, just the beginning of a new forum chapter within our journal...like always, is also up to our active readers and correspondents to answer to this question, repeating, once again, that this space is from us understood as an open forum for eastern european anarchist groups and individuals, and not a "our" journal.

When we are already by the term "journal" - you could manage to see that this term replaced a term "courier" in the subtitle on the front page. Just little change caused by the fact that from 12 page long newsletter with exclusively action-reports (ABB #1 - December 2001) we arrived to 60 page heave JOURNAL with quite a lot theoretical disputes and interviews.

We also really like and are proud to publicize a project that is taking place since few time among the italian anarchist community: some people, over there, had the idea to put out a publication which is based on the translations of articles from our journal. Since even barbarian english seems to be a big barrier for the italian activist spectrum and, therefore, building a border in the communication, we are completely happy that some people over there consider the thematic of our publication so worth having a regular translation, and being than accessible to everyone there; this is, for us, another example of smashing some of the boundaries and borders which affect our life: in this sense, good luck to the Italians comrades! You can check it and as well downloading here: <http://www.tmcrow.org/afb/>

We would really love to support in any means, for example financially, this Italian-ABB project. Unfortunately, instead of that, on the very end, we are forced sadly, once again, to repeat how financially broke our project is. So this is, once again, an appeal to all people who would like to support our journal donating money, and to all distributors to pay their debts; we would like than to say a big thanks to the Berlin house-project/squat Rigaer94, which borrowed us this time some of the money necessary to go on print, as well as to comrades from Slovenia and all others who support us with benefits in the last period.

Your ABB crew



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

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

issue # 21 - October 2005: Editorial: "Selfcrucifixion is no fun"; CZECHTEKK it out; Food Bot Bombs in Kijev; Electoral Circus back in Poland - issues main topic; Unnoticed News; Interview with anarchists from St.Petersburg about upcoming G8-summit in Russia; Radicals ecological Protest-camp in Otradnyy - Russia; War Criminals out of Prague - call for street protests; The 30th congress of Anarchist Federation in Poland; The Battle of Czech-Tekk - photoreport; 5th general meeting of Autonomous Action; Bacvanska from Inside - about custody reality in Serbia; Is it better to be a criminal or an illegal person? - deportation prison in Basel (memories); ABC-reports; Anarchists Announcements and Appeals; @-Squatters Dialogue; Freedom to People - Death to Empires! - various anarchist positions on war in Chechnya; Exploitation in Supermarkets in Poland; Report from NoBorder Camps on bulgarian-greek border; Against war and a rmament - report from Brno; Counter Culture - movie reviews; Anti-fascist news; Communities in struggle; and more ....

Plus most other back issues from November 2001.

Write for details.

## FROM HAND TO HAND

## DISTRO

### ALTERNATIVE EAST EUROPEAN CAFE, INFO- AND MEETING POINT THE "AQUARIUM" IN BERLIN

Every Tuesday of the week between 16:00 and 19:00 you can come round to browse our library of books and journals relating to Eastern Europe, get information relating to EE or just chill out with a cup of coffee and discuss the latest news from the barricades with some good comrades.

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

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





# AGAINST REINFORCEMENT OF THE STEREOTYPES



One of the first myths Western Civilization created is that it is surrounded by barbarians, chaos and cruelty in every direction. Sometimes stereotypes may be a lot of fun, sometimes creation of a mythical aura around "eastern" anarchism helps combating boredom of everyday activism. After all, that is for what Abolishing the Borders from Below is for, besides of course laundering money from stolen cars: sometimes stereotypes even come close to reality, I would not be living in Russia in the first place if I had not any attraction to chaos and unpredictability.

But stereotypes become a problem when they form a barrier against social change, and that is their common purpose. Disorder and unpredictability are not anymore considered as an escape from dullness, but they result in a lack of self-respect. And lack of national self-respect is one of the main reasons which make people to wave EU flags in Maidan, calling for an orange revolution for their country to become "a civilized democracy like all normal countries".

These stereotypes are alive and well in the activist scene as well; people in the East keep looking to the Western movement infrastructure from below, with envy and lack of self-respect. Some feel pressure, afraid of "disappointing" Western activists. And reading the interview with Klava and Ligovka Zapatista from St. Petersburg published in ABfB #21 with a sorry sub-header "People interested to take part in the protests and brave enough are welcome", one gets an impression, that any international joining G8 protests in St. Petersburg next summer will immediately be robbed by police and murdered by a horde of football hooligans, nazis and OMON. It is unfortunate that these stereotypes are enforced

once again, since fear and passivity will be their only harvest.

If beginning point of any anti-summit organization is the worst possible scenario, just forget about doing anything since you may get shot even in a social-democrat paradise like Sweden. I agree that groundless optimism may be just as harmful as groundless pessimism, but let us try to get a bit realistic. If you do some risk-assessment, you may conclude that the level of repression is always

first of all related to level of confrontation. And since I am afraid that level of confrontation in St. Petersburg will be less than in many other places, chances for one to leave unhurt are substantially higher than let us say in Greece, Italy or Spain.

Role of internationals in St. Petersburg is an ongoing discussion in Russia, as well as a message which we should pass to them before protests. We do not call for Rambos, but one should not be a total tourist either - and it is hard to find a middle way between these two approaches. And no matter how much we hope for international support, we know that we may not expect internationals to do basic organizing work on the ground - that is only up for us to do. But even if only a few dozen people are "brave enough" to travel to St. Petersburg, they will play an important role in proving that the alternative to capitalistic global order is not nationalism, which is the mainstream of "anti-globalism" in Russia, but international solidarity. So no matter how shit scared you may be, do not leave us completely alone!

Big part of Western activists already face a million guilty complexes for their privileges, so I am reluctant to add some more - self-guilt is a totally wrong approach altogether. But still, if the meaning of your life is to organize yet another totally safe and predictable symbolic protest and record it with a digital camera in order for it to be published on Indymedia, why the hell fight against global capitalism in the first place? If it is first of all security what you are up for, it would make more sense just to loot and bomb all the rest of the world until "democracy", "human rights" and "western civilization" are everywhere, and you may live safely. The Anarchist movement needs no monks, and I am not demanding people to abolish all of their privileges overnight - I have plenty of them to shamelessly enjoy as well. But giving up ones privileges of secure and predictable life just for a couple of days does no harm. You will only learn that your fear of barbarians has no ground, and there is life beyond capitalism, "democracy" and "western civilization".

Igor - Network Against  
G8/Moscow

## NETWORK AGAINST G8 (RUSSIA / EX-USSR)

### BASIC PRINCIPLES

Network Against G8 is an initiative created for resistance to the G8 summit in Saint-Petersburg in Summer 2006.

1. The initiative is aimed against the states, current dominating economic system and all forms of oppression.

2. For the participants of NAG8 any discrimination on basis of race, nationality, gender, sexual orientation and age is intolerable.

3. We make decisions by consensus. In case of lack of consensus on some questions groups of NAG8 participants may make their own statements and actions not contradicting these basic principles.

4. During the preparation of protest actions we are not interested in cooperating with organisations aiming at taking power.

5. We approve of any methods of resistance, if they are aimed against the rulers but not against the people of G8 countries. Any member of the network is free to choose his / her own tactics.

Contact  
(in St.Petersburg):  
nag8spb@mail.ru

\* \* \*



## A CALL OUT TO PROTEST



### AGAINST G8 SUMMIT OF 2006 IN ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA

In July 2006 G8 will hold its summit in St.Petersburg, Russia. G7 was created in 1975, for informal discussions on economic and political questions between heads of most powerful capitalist states. Russia joined in 1998 - it was accepted thanks to its nuclear arsenal and vast natural resources (in 2004, Russia was only 16th largest economy of the world; e.g. China was not invited to the club).

G8 has no juridical status whatsoever, so it exists outside any democratic framework. But it still has become an important spectacle and platform, where top leaders of the world may look for consensus among each other, before imposing their policies on their populations.

We have no illusions about parliamentary democracy, we are against any governments. Current state of the world proves all too well, that with a submissive mainstream media spreading anti-terrorist hysteria, powers are yet able to submit their citizens to policy of war and destruction. Russia has been one of the forerunners of these developments, with an endless war in Northern Caucasus and suppression of independent media.

We are anti-capitalists, and we do not have any illusions about national capital as an alternative to global one. Small diplomatic skirmishes between major powers in regards to North Caucasian and Iraq wars were quickly settled, and essentially all G8 states give at least passive support to policies of each other. Solidarity between elites passes any borders, so our solidarity must do this as well.

Whatever labels media put on us, we are not "anti-globalists". We are for a free flow of people, ideas and struggles - across any borders. When G8 leaders claim to fight for freedom, they are fighting for a freedom of capital accumulation - according to which nuclear waste must have freedom to cross borders into Russia, but people must not have this right. G8 leaders also claim to fight against poverty, but in reality it is their policies that cause poverty in the first place. Moscow has more billionaires than any other city of the world, while vast majority of Russian population has profited nothing from the politics, declared to be aimed at "economic growth", which in any case will last just as long as there are natural resources to be looted. In contrary, it is the very poorest who have been targeted with the neoliberal reforms, such as revoking free social benefits and rising prices of communal payments, which is connected to the plan of Russia joining the WTO.

We call for protests all around the world during G8 summit in St. Petersburg.

We also call for a global convergence to St. Petersburg in time of the summit

- attention of the whole world will be directed to spectacle of the G8, and we must show that they will be met with protest anywhere they will go! We are everywhere!

Network Against G8 (Russia / ex-USSR)





# IN MEMORY OF TIMUR KACHARAVA

## 21 AUGUST 1985 - 13 NOVEMBER 2005

At around 6.30pm on Sunday the 13th of November 2005, anti-fascist activist, anarchist, musician and dear friend Timur Kacharava was murdered by neo-nazis on Ligovsky prospekt in St Petersburg city centre, Russia.

Following a FOOD NOT BOMBS action (giving free hot vegan food to homeless people) outside Vladimirskaia metro station, Timur, Maxim Zgibai, and a few other friends walked around the city, ending up at a bookshop on Ligovsky prospekt. Timur and Max stayed outside to finish a beer while the others went inside. Shortly thereafter Timur and Max were suddenly and brutally attacked by a group of around 8-10 neo-nazis, screaming "anti-antifa". Timur was stabbed repeatedly in the body and neck, severing the carotid artery. Max was stabbed 5 times in the chest and back, and had his head cracked open. Following the vicious attack, which lasted about a minute, Max managed to call out for an ambulance to the security guard inside the bookshop. When Max came to the aid of Timur, he couldn't feel his pulse. Timur was white and lying in a pool of his own blood. He was already dead. His friends could do nothing to save him.

Max is currently in hospital in a serious but stable condition. He is conscious but in deep shock. Amazingly the knife wounds missed all organs, and he has suffered no brain damage. He is unbelievably lucky to have survived.

An ambulance and police came only some 10 minutes after the attack. A supposed "emergency" response. Keep in mind that this attack occurred across the road from the main train station in the city centre of St Petersburg. The group of neo-nazis escaped and have not yet been apprehended by police.

There is evidence to suggest that Timur, Max and friends were followed after the FOOD NOT BOMBS action, as neo-nazi "scouts" (people on the lookout) were spotted at the time of the serving. Timur had already been attacked on the 9th October 2005, and thus they knew him by face and name. Similar beatings by neo-nazis have been common place all over Russia for some time. There is a strong underground fascist movement in Russia, which is associated with the Partiya Svobody (Freedom Party), RNE (Russian National Unity) and DPNI (Movement Against Illegal Immigration) political parties. Street parades by these parties have taken place in St Petersburg, with the participation of neo-nazis chanting racist and nationalistic dogma. We believe that on Sunday the 13th of November, the neo-nazi group followed our group of friends with the intention to kill. The swiftness of the attack, the readiness of knives, the fact that they all wore low black caps and indistinguishable clothing, and the speed of their escape all attest to this.

Timur was only 20 years old and the only child in his family. He was the co-founder, guitarist and main songwriter of local St Petersburg political hardcore band Sandinista!, and recently joined the punk band Distress. Sandinista!'s first CD-EP is to be released by Moscow DIY label OLD SKOOL KIDS in the near future. Distress returned from a tour in Sweden only days before Timur's murder. Besides musical activity, Timur was an active participant of the anti-fascist and anarchist community in St Petersburg. He was involved with St Petersburg's first FOOD NOT BOMBS collective since its inception in January this year. He was also involved with

the EPICENTRE infoshop, CRITICAL MASS bike protests, and with anti-fascist and anarchist demonstrations in St Petersburg. Timur was a 4th year philosophy student at the St Petersburg State University.

We remember Timur as a passionate, fun, intelligent and idealistic friend and talented musician. As a beloved only son and as a boyfriend. His sudden and violent death has devastated the local community in St Petersburg and broken the hearts of friends and comrades all over the world - in Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Italy, Germany, UK, Spain, France, Portugal, South America, Scandinavia, the USA and Australia.

They didn't just kill Timur, they've killed a part of each of us.

A police investigation of murder and attempted murder is underway. However, previous experience has shown us that the Russian police are in no hurry to solve politically motivated crime. Various

political and racial attacks by fascist groups on Russians and foreigners have gone unpunished in the past. The city governor of St Petersburg and some mainstream media has claimed that Timur's murder was by random "hooligans", and not politically motivated. It is inconvenient for the authorities to face up to the rise of fascism in Russia - and often these groups are supporting those in power.

This is not something that we are willing to accept.

It is a disgrace to Timur's memory to claim that his death was for anything other than political reasons. Timur was murdered for his beliefs in equality and freedom - we cannot forget that.

Because we cannot accept murder on the streets, because we believe in freedom,

and because we loved our friend Timur dearly, we are organising a series of benefit gigs worldwide. Money raised will go directly towards paying the medical expenses for Maxim Zgibai and other victims of recent neo-nazi attacks, towards finding the murderers and towards putting a stop to the rise of fascism in Russia.

If a concert is being organised in your area please come and honour Timur's memory, and support your friends and allies in their struggle against fascism in Russia.

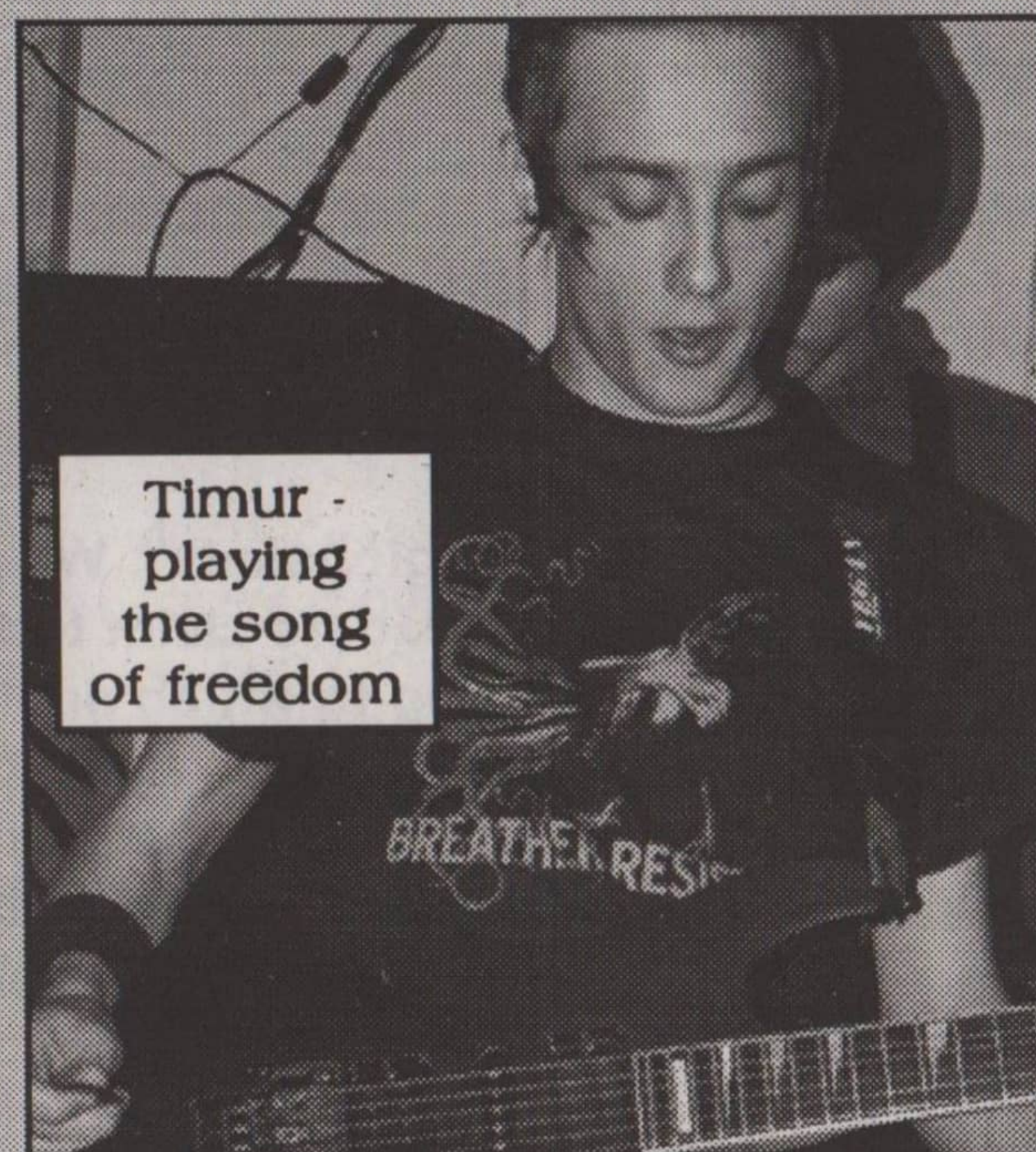
If you would like to organise a benefit gig, please contact Timur's friends on the email address below (or at addresses you already have) for further info.

*Timur, we will always remember you!*

A website, with some info in English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish and Lithuanian has been established by friends to keep a record of this tragedy (includes updated information about memorial events, benefit gigs, media coverage and reports on the investigation):  
[www.stop-it.narod.ru/eng](http://www.stop-it.narod.ru/eng)  
[stop-it@yandex.ru](mailto:stop-it@yandex.ru)

Info and mp3s of Timur's band Sandinista! can be found at:

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



Timur - playing the song of freedom

## UKRAINE

### NAZIS ARISE IN KIEV

On 19th of November after a concert of Lithuanian band "TORO BRAVO" people who there were attacked by Nazis. This precedent of such a massive and cruel Nazi action started a series of terror attacks against Antifa activists in Kiev.

It was known that nazis were planning this attack on the club, but the organizers of the concert decided neither to cancel it nor move it. Per Diem the art-director of the club, before the concert, got a phone call from fascists from SOKYRA PERUNA group who told him to forbid the concert otherwise they will burn the club and added that if REBEL BOYS (Kiev's Antifa band) played they will not attack the club itself but will beat people in front of it.

In the evening of the same day there was information that the concert was cancelled by Security Service of Ukraine as somebody called them and told TORO BRAVO (Antifa band from Vilnius) is a fascist band. But then on Saturday the organizers told the concert will take place anyway.

Before and during the concert there were no Nazis found around the club, so people thought they just threatened us and half of people left without any problems.

But then suddenly about 50 people came out from behind the corner of the club. They were Nazis armed with bottles, bludgeons, bats and bricks. Some of them ordered "In line!" and they attacked people who were standing in front of the club. Mostly it

### Young fascist on the streets of Vilnius in Lithuania



was ordinary non-political people who came just to listen to the music, they were unarmed and not prepared to fight.

As a result, nine people ended up in hospital, two with broken heads, and one with almost torn arm - four open breaks! Lots of people of both genders were beaten.

Organized Antifa mob was about 30 unarmed people so they had to step back to yards. Then they split into smaller groups and began to hunt the Nazis. They managed to catch and beat up some 10-20 Nazis.

Police who had left right after the end of the concert came back in 20-30 minutes when everything was over. They refused to take statements from those who suffered and said that they couldn't catch any nazis in the suburbs. Somebody said that he heard a conversation between a policeman and somebody from the organizers and the policeman told that as they were not paid a 1000 euro they will not meddle in it.

Next day (Sunday 22.11.05) more terrible news came. The musicians from TORO BRAVO and the people who were with them were caught and violently beaten when they were taking a walk in the park. Nazis who attacked them were recognized as members of one well-known nazi firm "Kephir". The most probable that it wasn't just a sudden assault but a planned action

and that musicians were spied on. In the upshot, one of the concert organizers who were with the musicians is still in the hospital with broken nose, concussion of the brain and a smashed face. Musicians from TORO BRAVO were heavily beaten but managed to get home on their own and they're more or less good now.

On the same day another guy who organized the concert was beaten by a group of nazis at his own house.

On Monday two of active Antifa fighters also were assaulted by Nazis. One of them was stabbed with a screwdriver but fortunately it was not sharp and he wasn't transfixed - just got a huge haematoma.

We all are in shock here. We were collecting money for Timur Kacharava (antifascist anarchist killed by Nazis on November 13 in St. Petersburg) and when all these sad things happened comrades from St. Petersburg told us to keep this money for our suffering people. And it's really needed indeed. We used to consider Kiev as a very safe place. Nazis were not seen here, they haven't ever done any big actions - maybe someone was beaten from time to time but still none of us considered the situation here could become as bad as in Moscow or in St. Petersburg. And it happened just suddenly. It's really strange to think about what kind of gas gun to buy or to realize that you can be attacked from behind with a screwdriver because of the color of your laces. For every action there's an equal and opposite reaction. So we're thinking about how to defend ourselves, and the people around us, from senseless stupid nazi violence. We are thinking about how to survive and to take control over the situation into our own hands.

Fight for your right

## LITHUANIA

### NAZI BONEHEADS ON THE OFFENSIVE ANTI-FASCISTS IN LITHUANIA ON FULL ALERT

Nazi boneheads still make trouble in Lithuania. Their herd is quite big in seaport Klaipeda, almost every gig is under risk of their possible attack, so it wasn't a big surprise when they attacked a punk/ska concert in the middle of the city. People were able to push them out of the yard, where the gig took place, and closed the gates. Skinheads continued to attack by throwing bricks and other things. One of these hit and injured a security guy. He became very angry and said "It's not your business now, it's between us and them only". While a few police cars came and caught some of the boneheads. The rest were heavy beaten. Klaipeda police chief declared, they're ready to clean the streets from nazi hooligans. The war between Klaipeda police and boneheads began when a football fan died after a clash with cops. It's not proven, because of police defeat or not, but the investigation got

quite a big resonance in media.

Before the gig of well-known Italian antifa skinheads band Los Fastidios, there were rumours about a possible nazi attack. Therefore some local antifa skins went to Poland to accompany the band to Lithuania. Lots of antifa activists came to Vilnius to defend "GreenClub" but it was a false alarm. Later some people said that the skinheads from various towns couldn't find a united solution.



### "FC VOVA" MEANS LOVE FOOTBALL HATE FASCISM!

Football club "FC Vova" was established in Vilnius, capital city of Lithuania. Most of the players are various Vilnius underground persons, i.e. Toro Bravo, Sloppy Livin, Frekenbok, Dr.Green band members, gig promoters. Every match there is a "Love football Hate Fascism" banner displayed. The same slogan is included in the logo of the club. This year "FC Vova" took part in an official tournament for the first time - amateur Vilnius Sunday league. Despite poor results, players are ready to exercise and play better next year. "FC Vova" is invited to take part in the Antiracist World Cup 2006 in Italy. ([www.fcvoval.hardcore.lt](http://www.fcvoval.hardcore.lt))



# ANTI-FASCIST NEWS



## 4TH OF NOVEMBER FASCIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN RUSSIA AND ANTI-FASCIST COUNTER-ACTIONS

### NEW NATIONAL HOLIDAY

#### Backgrounds or about the secular state in Russia

4th of November is a new national holiday in Russia - "day of national unification". In 2004, the government decided to finally scrap the holiday of October revolution memorial day (which was during the last years celebrated as a day of "pacification and agreement" although there is definitely not any peace or agreement around the meaning of October revolution in Russian society). 12th of December, constitution day holiday was scrapped as well - apparent shift from "constitutional presidential" to "absolutist presidential" way of governance. Mayday holidays were shortened from two to one day - as a compensation, New year holidays were prolonged to 10 days, and another new holiday day was declared for 4th of November.

One probably needs no explanation, why the elite of Russia of today prefers "national unification" to "revolutions". The new holiday is supposed to refer to events of 1612, when the Polish army under Hetman Hedkevich was expelled from Moscow by troops of counts Minin and Pozharskiy. But really on the 4th of November nothing happened. The outer city walls ("Kitay-Gorod") were taken over 22nd of October in Julian calendar (used in Russia until 1917) and 1st of November in modern, Gregorian calendar. Polish troops were trapped in the Kremlin, together with their collaborator allies the Romanov family, whose member Mikhail Romanov got crowned Tsar the following February - he lost the fight but won the war. Polish troops capitulated 26th of October, which is 5th, not 4th of November in modern calendar. The "Smutnaya Vremya" ("Dark ages"), as the times of government disarray between Rurik and Romanov dynasties are called in Russia, went on at least until 1618, when the Poles accepted a peace treaty



in Deupino, their Cossack allies fought until 1619. Apparently, the 4th of November was chosen because the 5th is too close to seventh, which would give people a chance to booze both old and new holiday, and the day in between. 4th is also traditional Orthodox Christian celebration of "Icon of Kazan god mother", which was a talisman of the troops of Minin and Pozharskiy. So much from secular state in Russia!

### REPORT FROM MOSCOW

*"Russia is everything, all the rest is nothing"*

Unity of Russian far right

The vast majority of the Russian population for sure does not refuse yet another holiday, but is absolutely indifferent in regards of its contents (which, at least in regards of its historical significance, are zero). An important exception are nationalist and fascist groups, who were granted a great day of public celebrations. In Moscow and St. Petersburg at least fascists reacted with enthusiasm and in Moscow they managed to mobilize perhaps the biggest far-right mobilization since 1993.

Relatively new fascist front organization, "Movement Against Illegal Immigration" (DPNI) managed to call a mobilization to which at least Eurasian Union of Youth (ESM), National Empire Party of Russia (NDPR), Russian General National Union (RONS), National-patriotic front "Pamyat" (Memory), Russian Social Movement (RSD), Russian National Unity (RNE), People's National Party (NNP) and some people from Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR) joined. It was a rare show of unity from scattered Russian far right. Biggest block was that of DPNI, one block was marching simply under banner "FCSM", that is, hooligans of Football Club Spartak Moscow. It was some 2000 fascists altogether. Different estimations of share of nazi-skinheads vary from 50 to 90%, especially block of DPNI which was almost exclusively of them. Apparently even nazis themselves had not expected such a success, organizers announced a march and meeting of merely 300 persons, and they will follow some legal proceedings for exceeding this number 7 times. March went from statue



of Griboyedov in Chistie Prudi by Boulevard ring to Slavic square in Sol'yanka. Nazis were shouting "Long live Russia", "Russia is everything, all the rest is nothing" (originally NBP slogan, adopted by more right wing fascists), "Russia for Russians, Moscow for Muscovites", "Sieg Heil" and others. The following meeting was cut short due to numbers exceeding permission, perhaps also due to anti-Semitic slogans shouted by 4 RNE representatives who got arrested. But from point of view of Moscow police, shouts of "Chechens, get the fuck out from here" apparently do not qualify as "spreading racist hatred" charges.

### VARIOUS ATTEMPTS OF ANTI-FASCIST RESISTANCE

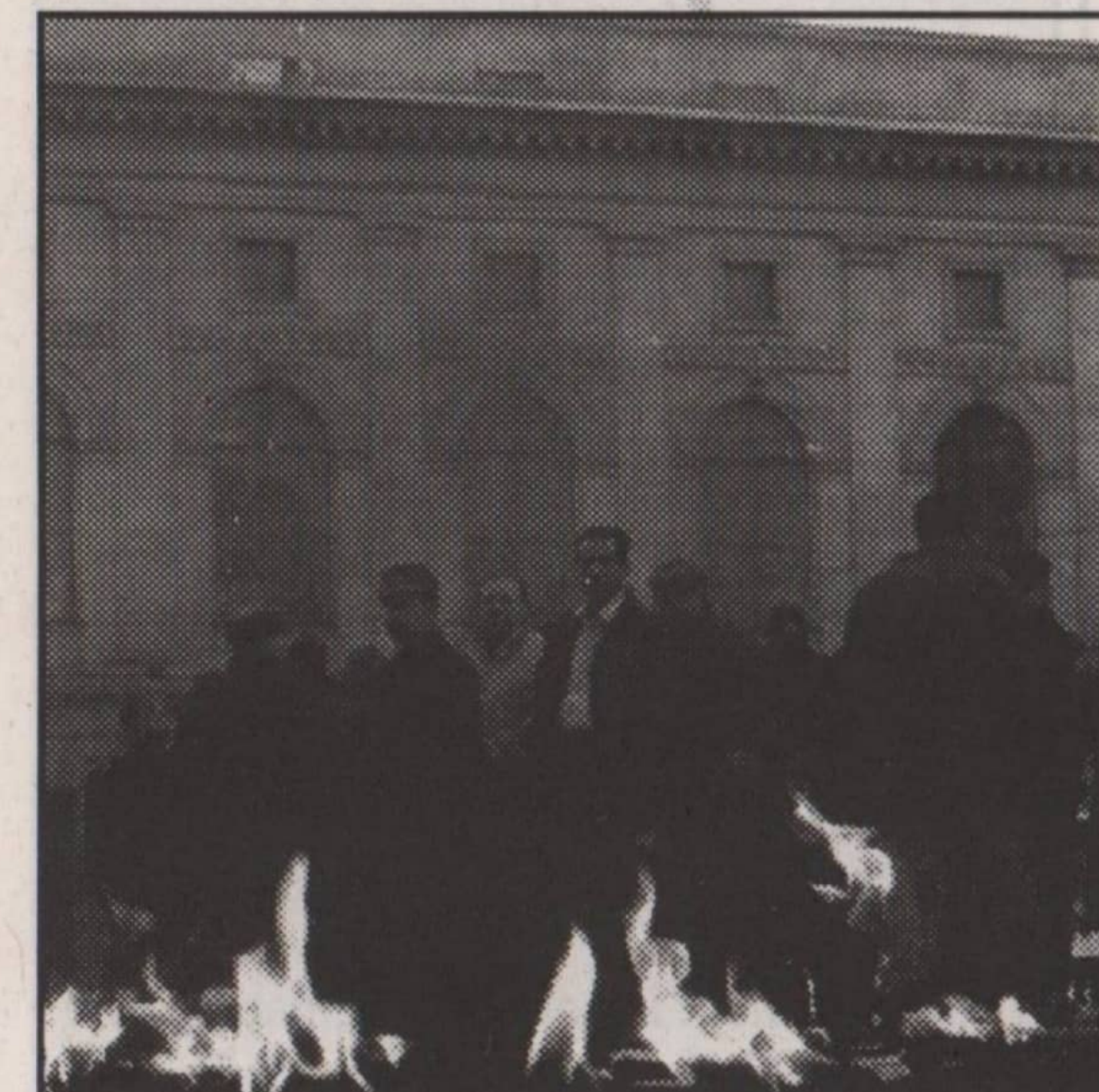
Various "anti-fascist" groups attempted to interfere against the fascists with different means. I will document all of them here, although most of these groups are certainly not anti-nationalist, and in case of some even "anti-fascism" is doubtful. Most ridiculous "effort" was that of Kremlin marionette "anti-fascist" group "NASHI", who announced that police had arrested 5 persons in their illegal picket against fascist march on the 3rd of November. But no journalist, no anarchist observers saw any picket in place that was announced in a prior press release of "Nashi". Apparently "Nashi" just circulated press releases for advertisement purposes, without bothering to organize any action. DPNI also saw this as a chance for further publicity, also on the 3rd of November they put a declaration



on their site, pleading "police to free arrested anti-fascists without further sanctions" in the name of "free speech".

Some Stalinist youth threw firecrackers at the Nazi march and, according to information, some of them got arrested and beaten up by the police. Perhaps 15 liberals from pro-western "orange clone" organization Oborona (Defence) threw water-filled condoms at the march. The Anarchist counter-mobilization was not much of a success, perhaps 15 people went doing graffiti along the route of the march, stickers "4th of November - celebration of Nazis regenerates" and leaflets of "No worker is illegal" of Network of Working place Resistance (www.antijob.tk) were distributed as well. Close to closing point of the march, anarchist raised banner "fascism wont trespass" with shouting the same, but the group was soon dispersed and banner was burned by Nazis. 9 liberals who had joined anarchists got arrested, but they were soon released.

The security of the demonstration itself and police managed to stop Nazi skinheads from attacking anti-fascists, only 2 of them attempted to jump on anarchists raising banner. Good for anti-fascists in Moscow, since they were outnumbered 40 to 1 on that day. DPNI tries its best to avoid street thug image, but it will be hard in the future given their main constituency.



In St. Petersburg, Nazis managed to bring less people and anarchist counter-actions were slightly more successful. An illegal picket was quickly dispersed, 9 persons were taken to 27th police station for several hours, they got photographed, threaten and their fingerprints taken. Police were well informed prior to about the anti-fascist action. (article written for www.avtonom.org)

## REPORTS FROM ST. PETERSBURG

### SHORTLY ABOUT THE POLITICAL CLIMATE WE ARE LIVING IN

The information below must be useful for our friends abroad to understand in what kind of political climate we are living. On the 4th of November a new holiday - "day of national unity" was celebrated in Russia for the first time. The result is that various extreme-right and xenophobic groups and parties got a chance to make public actions. In Moscow a nationalist rally gathered more than 2000 people (Movement against illegal immigration et al.). In Petersburg nationalists only managed to gather about 100 people. There was a peaceful counter-picket by anarcho-punks and other antifascists who went to the street with a banner "Nationalism won't pass". (There was also direct action in which Nazis were beaten up, but that's a whole different story). 2 of the people who were holding a banner were detained by cops and spent several hours in police station. All of the detained were photoed, filmed on camera and fingerprints taken. Then some of the people were interrogated in an informal way. Cops were telling them things like:

- "if we want to, we can accuse you of \*mass disturbances\*" (this is about a picket of 12 people or so)
- "we know that foreigners are your leaders, but we can jail you and no foreigners will help you" (the cops mentioned names of two western activists who have been living in Russia for some years already as "leaders")
- "we can put you on the list of anarchists, extremists and anti-globalists and after that you will never be able to travel abroad"

Cops also tried to make an impression that they "know everything" about local anarchist / antifascist / squatter scene. Of course that's not true, but they knew some particulars of some people's personal lives.

### WOUNDED ANTIFASCISTS NEEDS FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT

Another 7 antifas were detained after the physical confrontation with the fascists took place in the city during which confrontation the nazis got effectively smashed. Police arrested some anti-fascists activists relatively far away from the place of the fight. Short after first confrontation nazis gathered some forces for revenge and attacked a couple of persons and wounded one of them with knives. After this confrontation 7 people spent much more time in police station and were let out very late at night. The cops were trying to connect both fights and accusation followed. The attacked guy (M. from Kronstadt) is still in hospital with multiple wounds, he was in coma for

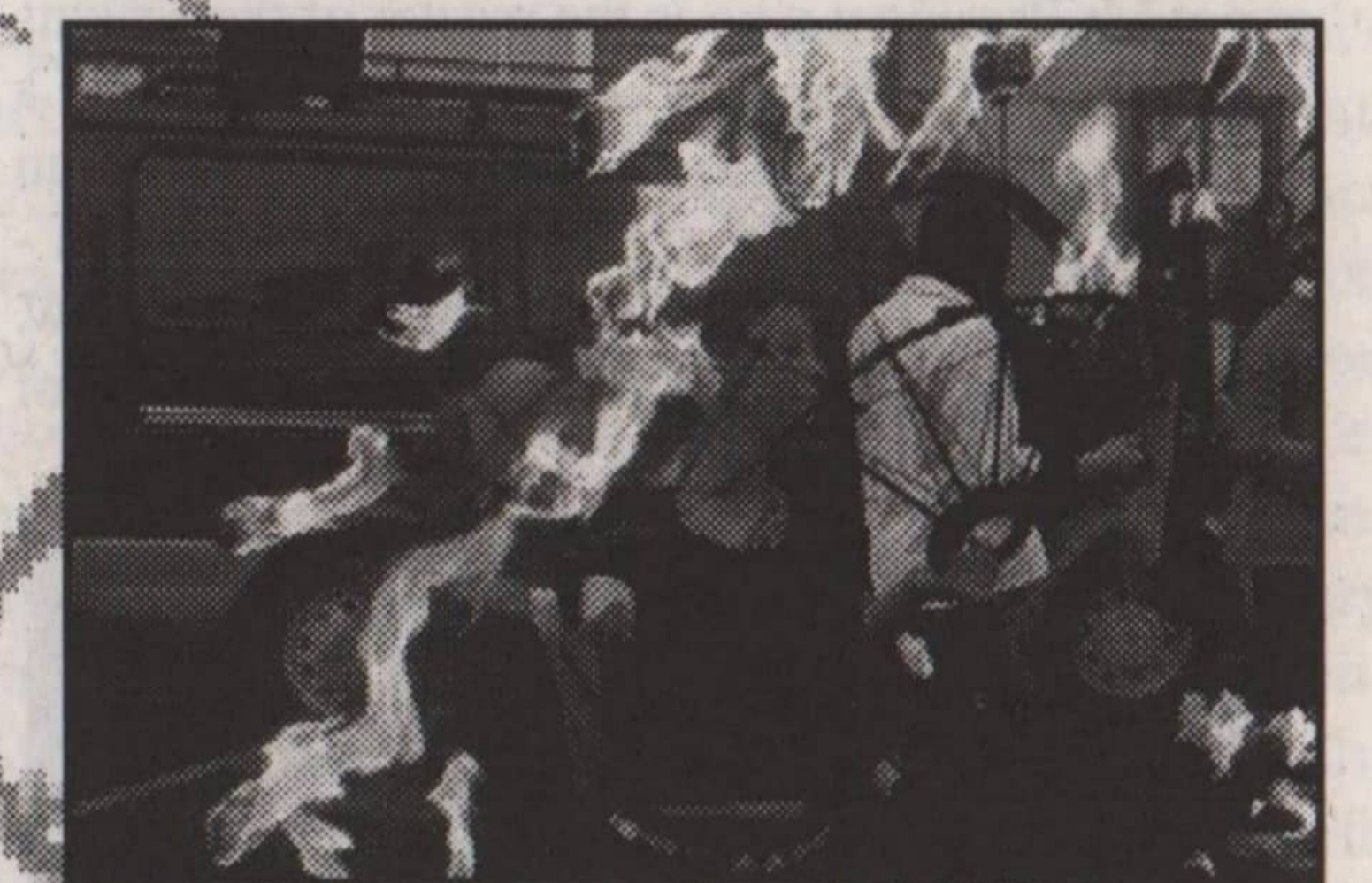
some time and his treatment costs lots of money (get in touch if you can help).

Results of this day of actions are rather controversial - on one side, the nazis saw that there are people who oppose them and then got beaten up, on the other side cops took as much as they could from this situation, gathering information on activists (many of whom never got detained before).

### 6th of November

#### MARCH AGAINST HATRED

On the 6th of November the second March Against Hatred was organised in Petersburg. It is dedicated to the memory of antifascist scientist Nikolai Girenko, who was murdered by nazis in 2004 (they shot him through the door of his apartment), and also to all victims of racist violence. The organisers of the march are mostly people from liberal-democratic parties and human rights groups. The march gathered about 400 persons, including 40



anarchists (PLA - Petersburg League of Anarchists, people from antifascist punk-hardcore community etc). Unlike the previous year, the number of foreign students was very low, with the exception of Africans who gathered about 25 persons. Attacks against foreign students are very common in Russia, and in Petersburg one African guy was killed just a couple of months ago.

Many people who took part in actions on 4th of November were not present - they didn't want to meet the police bastards again. Near Gorkovskaya metro station 7 young anti-fascist punks were met by about 20 nazi-hooligans - so the punks had to runaway. No other incidents with nazis happened except that some people said that they saw 'scouts' along the way of the march.

Also some people were afraid that nazis were going to attack the weekly Food Not Bombs action - so they went there to help in case of danger. But fortunately, no nazis showed up, and in the evening kids had much fun on a hardcore concert, probably one of the best shows this autumn (with almighty local bands Oparysh Osozhal, Cut And Run, 8 Herz and Ray from Moscow).

by Antifa Piter  
no pasaran - a.c.a.b.



*Surrounded and harassed by hundreds of aggressive cops and rightwing homophobes*

## ANOTHER BRAVE-TRY TO CONDUCT THE EQUALITY PARADE IN POLAND



On November 17, The President of the city of Poznan, Grobelny, has banned its gay parade, which was scheduled for November 19. But the people, from not only gay-communities, decided that it is not Mr. President who is the master of their rights but only they themselves and Poznan witnessed a mass civil disobedience again. People held an equality parade despite the refusal of permission - similarly as happened some months ago in Warsaw. However this time the event became an object of even more wild attacks.



Primarily an event for homosexuals, this parade was also dedicated to equality in general - for example, against racism as well. Apparently the police without trying to get in touch with organizers or even without clear call to dissolve the gathering started off aggressively, taking down the names of the participants and eventually arresting them violently. "But even if they would call to dissolve the gathering - how could we do it: as there was this police-cordon surrounding us, and around them another cordon of about 500 aggressive members of Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Poland Youth) organization, who threw eggs and stones. The last thing people thought about were to disperse - people felt fear". Altogether 68 people from the parade were arrested, people from various organizations, among them 10 anarchists, and some public people



(actors, etc). According to an eyewitness police took "only" 68 persons as they didn't have any more transporters on the spot. A short time after this massive and brutal arrest, a protest in front of one of the police stations took place. During this protest another 3 people got arrested! Fortunately, by the end of the day everyone was released.

The President of the City banned the parade, claiming it was for "the safety of the participants" - of course sending the police in to beat them up must have also been for their own good. President Grobelny is from the Civic Platform party, which claimed to be a liberal counter-partner to the far



conservative "Law and Justice" from Kaczynski. This is the political post-scriptum, again for the people under the illusion that Civic Platform would be more "tolerant" in terms of civil rights - the main leaders of this group, Rokita and Komorowski both made remarks against the march. Rokita said that it crossed the line between private life and political life (meaning people should stay in the closet and shouldn't show themselves) and Komorowski supported his colleague Grobelny's banning of the march.



On the other side one of the participants of the Parade (which never happened) stated in his relation after the event: "What is the worst, is the intrusive thought, that this was just a beginning of new order in Poland. The new ruling party and the new president will try to rule the iron fist. Time will tell, if they are to succeed. Struggle goes on, we will not give up!". The new tactics, protests and most probably new trays to bring the message to the streets in form of Parades are being discussed. (text completed from different reports and reactions of polish gay and libertarian activists - ABB)

<http://www.poland.indymedia.org/pl/2005/11/16978.shtml>

As reaction on events in Poznan on November 19, one week (November 26) later in many polish cities the marches against repression of freedom of assembly organised mostly by anarchists, libertarians and grassroots organizations took place. Reports from these marches to find on the page 14. Below the statement which was spread on most of these actions.

### FREEDOM OF DEMONSTRATION, OR POLITICAL HYPOCRISY?

Declaration of the "Freedom Coalition" organizers of the demonstration in Poznan

In connection with the ban and repression of the Equality March in Poznan, a movement in defence of freedom of speech and assembly was created. Although the events of 19th of November were the immediate cause of the social protest, this was by no means an isolated occurrence. Freedom of demonstration is being violated in Poland for a long time. This is why we are amazed to see declarations of support for our movement from politicians who - at the time they were in government - have acted to repress demonstrators no less violently. Each of the ruling coalitions has exerted violence to repress demonstrators. The AWS ("Solidarity") coalition of Prime Minister Buzek had cops shoot protesting workers and farmers (several workers of Lucznik were gravely wounded, as well as farmers conducting road blockades); the SLD ("post-communist") coalition used police for consecutive days to pacify the protest of workers of the cable factory in Ozarów, in January of this year police has attacked a peaceful demonstration against the visit of Vladimir Putin in Krakow - these are only but a few of similar cases. It is worthy of note that deputies of the SLD (some of them are now prominent members of SdPL) and UP (Labor Union) have voted for a law limiting the freedom of assembly faced with a growing wave of discontent with their government. Today, sensing opportunity, the same people put on a mask of defenders of democratic freedoms. This is astonishing hypocrisy.

Our movement is not about replacing one political party with another - our movement is a movement for freedom and democracy against the abuses of government, its arrogance and hypocrisy. A government which - let us remind - lacks the support of a majority of the population. Our country needs a spontaneous and grassroots movement which will empower us to regain our rights and will remove compromised political elites.

Freedom coalition

## POLAND

### THE PLANS OF FASCISTS RUINED IN WARSAW

On the polish national holiday, November 11, the fascists usually conduct their ceremonies as well as hunts on the people on the streets of many polish cities. This year the antifascists in Warsaw effectively ruined the celebration of fascists organized around the NIKLOT, a new right, nazi-pagan organization.

# ANTIFASCISTS

## ANTIFASCIST ACTION BRATISLAVA

Antifascist Action Bratislava (AAB) was formed at the end of 2001. It was necessary to react to fascist efforts and no one was doing this, except an NGO called People Against Racism (Audia Proti Rasizmu). Antifascist Action has a different opinion on dealing with fascist problem than APR, and unlike them rejects cooperation with state and its repressive sectors (which are of course full of far right sympathizers). AAB doesn't think that an appeal to strengthen police or counter-extremist section will help to eliminate fascism. They're just tools of state and for state everyone is an extremist, who has something against the present political orientation and its defects, from both the right or left. AAB doesn't believe in the possibility of ending fascism within this system, which mistakes are a breeding ground for fascists and their simple solutions, consisting of totalitarian reign, deputing of complicated problems to ethnic, cultural or other minorities and populist nationalist talk.

If people, bored by today's politicians, trust to the false alternative of far right, sooner or later will start fascist dictatorship! AAB rather supports ideals of self-ruling, social-equitable society, though seemingly unrealised in present, than to cooperate with system in which AAB doesn't trust only for limited results and thus become just another of its tools for stronger preservation of the status quo. Inasmuch as AAB stands for non-authoritarian principles, it cooperates just with similarly profiled organisations. AAB considers authoritarian left to be the same enemy of freedom as fascists and according to this reacts to it. Bratislavas antifascists strive to act against fascists in ideological way, by confronting their

sedition politics and creating space for ideas antifascists identify with and, if it's necessary, even in physical way, because this way has proved as essential part of antifascist struggle.

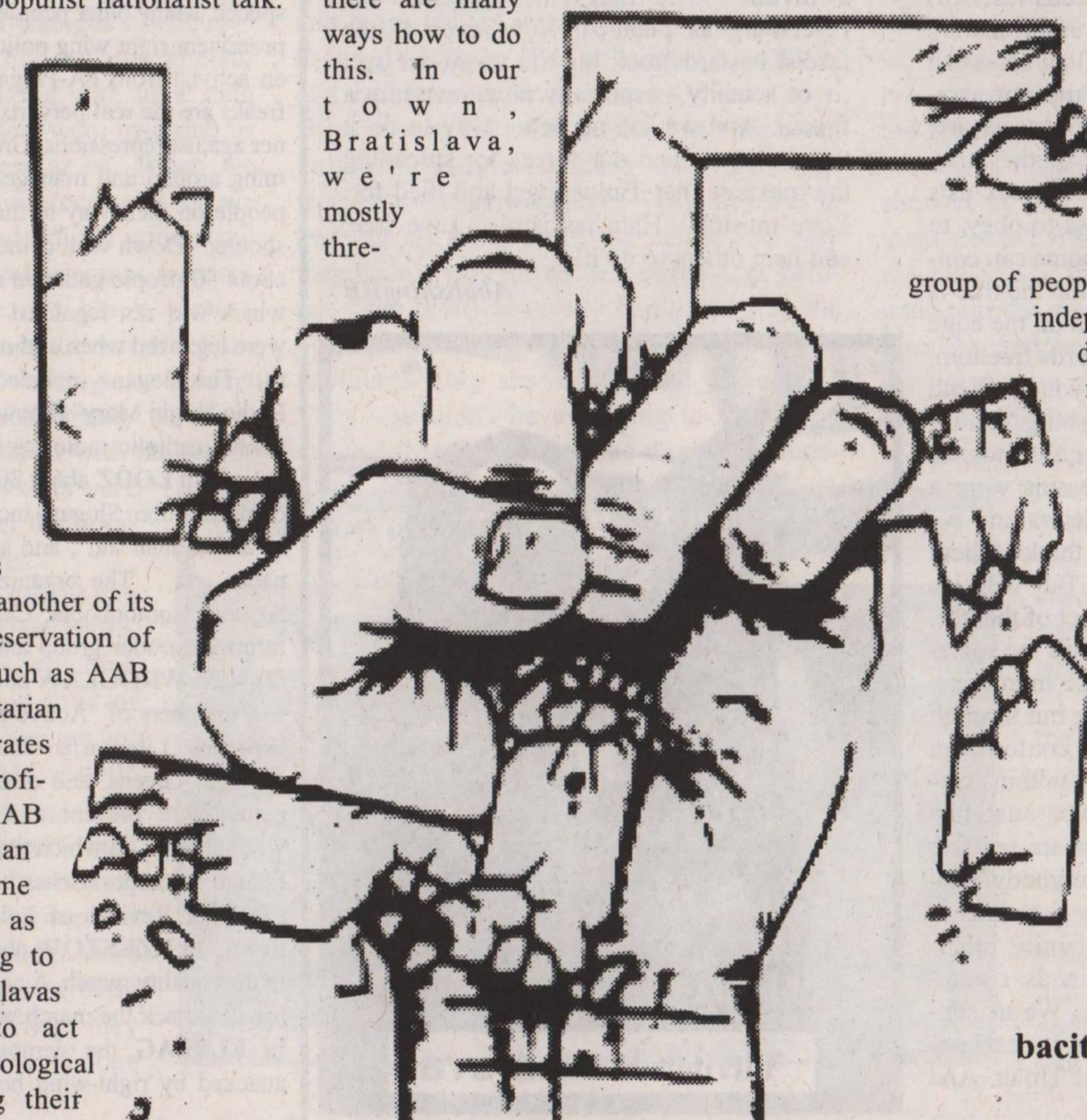
For sure you're disgusted of being witness or maybe even target of fascist hatred. But the situation won't change by itself. Hiding or counting on police won't solve it. Complaining to friends, or rhetoric about revenge also won't solve it, because after primal anger fades out, everything will stay as before. But what can change it, is organised activity against fascists, which will target them directly and repeatedly in the most efficient way. You may also significantly contribute to clear streets of your hometown from fascist scum. This requires your own permanent activity, not waiting for help from others. There are various ways how to contribute to antifascist struggle. People should show the fascists how much they don't like them and there are many ways how to do this. In our town, Bratislava, we're mostly three-

ated by violent nazi-skinheads. What makes sense then, is direct physical reaction to their violence. Local Nazis attack not only minorities or alternative youth. But if they are confronted sharply, they usually act as cowards and stop their desire for fascist violence. The same goes for right-wing propaganda and meetings. You must know your enemy, that's why monitoring of the fascists is so important. Their photos, addresses, information about attendance in organisation, participation on attack, position in movement and so on you can send to local antifascist organization. Let others know about fascist, his perverse thinking and activities! As well is being necessary to spread further antifascist ideas and distribute or create promotive antifascist materials, write antifascist articles, organize events with antifascist themes, or benefit events for local Antifascist Action or other non-authoritarian organizations and so on. The spheres of activities mentioned here can surely be developed. It's up to an individual, which part of the antifascist struggle he or she considers as most important. Essential is to start to do something! Even a small

group of people can work effectively as an independent antifascist bloc. You don't necessarily have to be a member of Antifascist Action because of it. But Antifascist Action can unite people on some principles, help them to coordinate their activities better and make their work more effective. If you're interested, contact Antifascist Action Bratislava for solidarity, help or cooperation! Join antifascist activists and start to act against the fascists!! Together we'll win the antifascist fight!!!

Contact:

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





*"He just smiled at us ..."*

## ABOLISHINGBB-FAREWELL WITH TIMUR FRIEND AND COMRADE

If one would ask us "what are the most difficult challenges facing anarchists today?", we would mention in the first place such challenges as: to change the peoples perception towards what in fact anarchy/anarchism is; to break down their blind trust in the state and power representation principles; to encourage them to take their lives into their own hands; to convince them to give up all kinds of authoritarian attitudes in their behaviour and relationships; and more of this kind. But then there is one very commonplace but dramatic and realistic aspect more to be considered: one of the crucial challenges which accompany an anarchist in her/his political activity nowadays is ... to survive ... in the truest sense of the word.

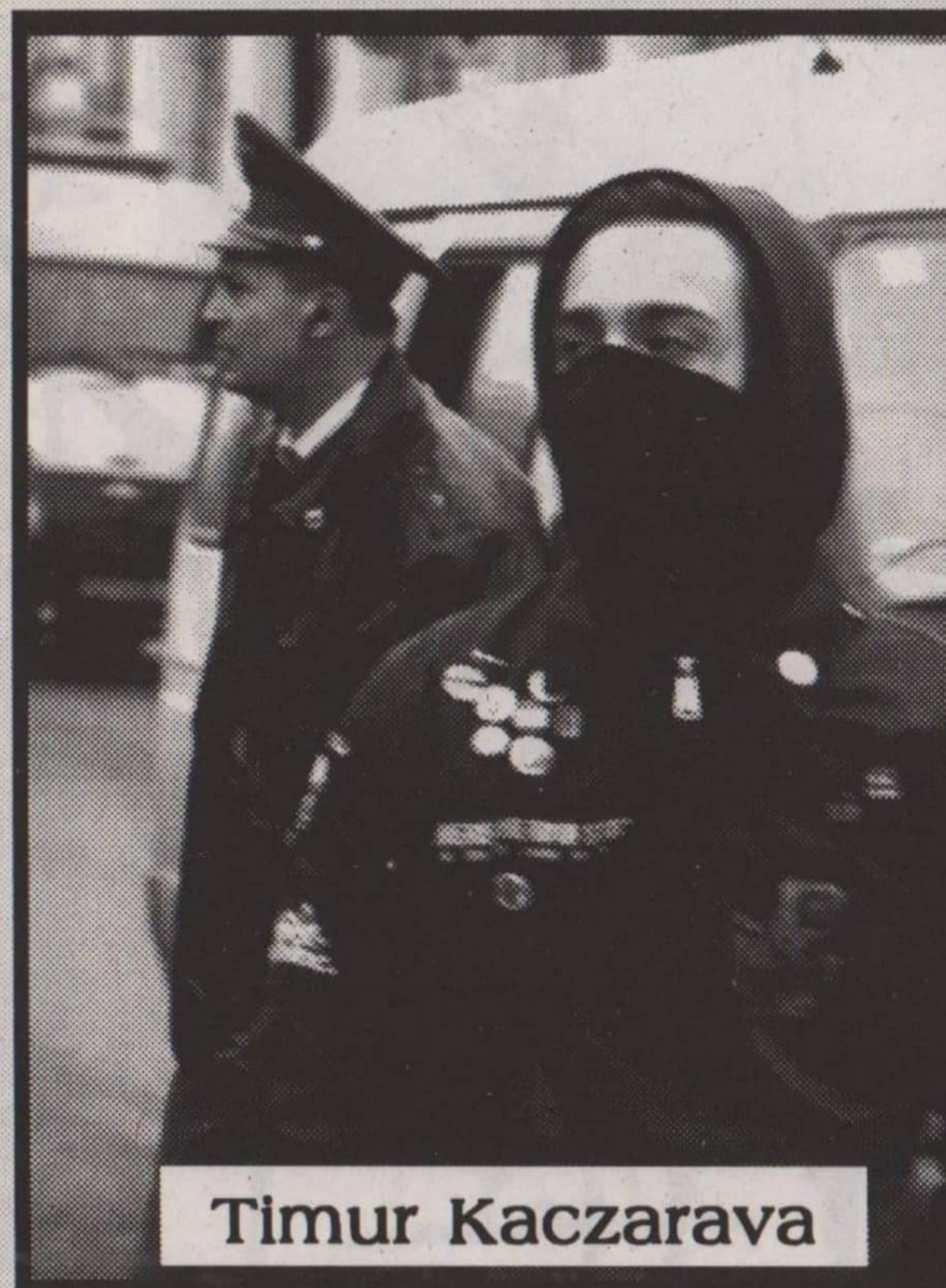
We are not living in Spain 1936, nor in Bolshevik terror times, but still - living the courageous anarchist life of daily radically critiquing the existing circumstances and of practical resistance against all forms of authoritarianism, makes the anarchist a target of daily multi-frontal attack. This permanent attack comes from the side of the state forces, from the side of conservative violators (people degenerated due to the existing state of society, like hooligans/red-necks/machos/rapers/mafias ...) and of course from the side of organised fascist militants (nazi-skins or paramilitary squadrons). Today, in every society where statism and capitalism (which breeds fascism) spread their poison (and it is unfortunately most of the worlds population) an anarchist comes to be a living target. And not accidentally, the stronger these tendencies are, then the harder the daily life of the anarchists. And of course not only for anarchists but for many others who refuse to obey, to serve, to surrender. So even if some can consider it as a pathetic exaggeration the true is - life of the anarchist is a march on the edge of imprisonment and death towards freedom.

In the last month our young friend and comrade from St. Petersburg, Timur Kaczarava, lost his life at the hands of Russian fascists. Timur's assassins were a bunch of bloody fascist murderers and we don't need to tell here what we think of them and what we have for them. But we also cannot suppress the wider aspect of this tragedy: Timur died as well because the society he/we live in cultivates these murderers. Not necessarily in a direct way, but through its own blindness, apathy and conformism towards the massive deviations within social relations. That is why we, anarchist friends and comrades of Timur are sending here a double message to everybody who feels hit by his death, in the first line to Timur's partner Lyubava, his family, relatives, band-mates, comrades, friends, co-students, professors, neighbours ... We are sending all of you the deepest and warmest condolences because of the loss of Timur. And

we are sending you an appeal to stand together for what Timur stood for, until the last minute of his life: for a world without fascism, racism, discrimination, for a world without any kind of domination, exploitation or oppression.

We did not have too many opportunities to know Timur as closely as the people in St. Petersburg and some other places did, but we recognized in him one of the most optimistic activists from Russia we ever met. During his visit in Berlin a few months ago we saw in him an enthusiastic symbol of the young generation of Russian libertarian activists who can bring a new spirit in to the Russian libertarian movement. Timur was full of plans and ideas; he seemed to be very open for new inspirations and for exchange of experiences. We have seen him last time when he and his partner were picking up the packet with our magazines to bring them to faraway St. Petersburg. We ask him if it is not too heavy and if it is save enough for him to carry them all these hundreds of kilometres and through all the repressive borders. He just smiled at us ... we understood we should not ask stupid questions: Timur was aware of both, the necessity of commitment and dangers connected with libertarian activity within the authoritarian world; he made the choice long before he met us so our question was completely unnecessary. We just said to him "thanx a lot, we owe you a favour". The magazines reached the Petersburg as planned. Now, even if the fascist bastards took his life away, we still ... or actually - especially now, owe him a favour. And we see no better way to do it than to strengthen our forces for spreading the message that Timur lived and died for: Love music! - Hate fascism! - Live free, and help others to do it!

*AbolishingBB*



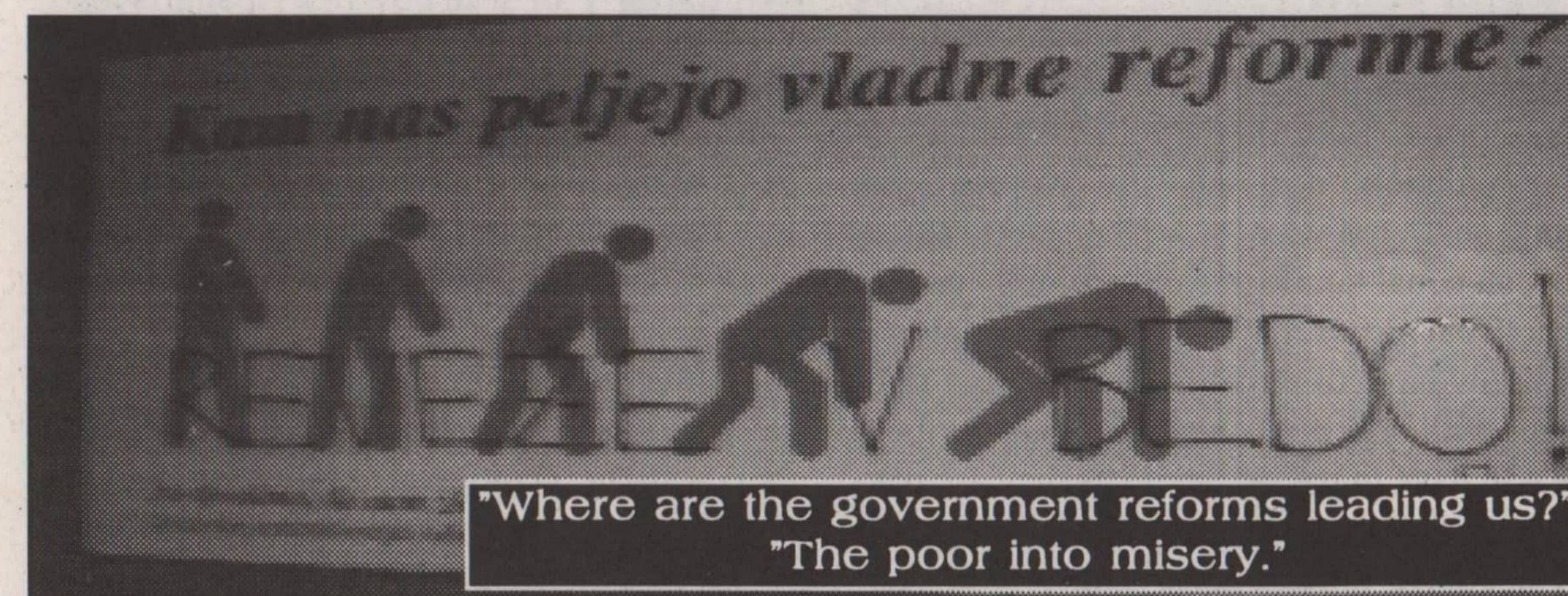
Timur Kaczarava

## SOLIDARITY WITH THE REPRESSED GAY MARCH IN POLAND (26-27.11)

In **KRAKOW** 300 people gathered, accompanied by the city security guards. Opponents of the march, supporters of intolerance and inequality have not been seen. Some politicians appeared and make speeches as well as people from women's organisations and those supporting LGBT rights. In **POZNAN** were about 300-400 people. Statements were made by the Anarchist Federation, the Greens, the Kongsola association, and others. Slogans including "All authority disrupts", "Samorządna Rzeczpospolita (Self-governing Commonwealth (pl))" were called out. Activists from Workers Initiative trade union talked about excessive policing and workers' rights, flyers from the Anarchist Black Cross about demonstrators' rights are being distributed. Only some "Football-hooligans" have been seen this time. People shouted "The streets of Poznan are ours", "Freedom, equality, mutual aid", "Everyone different, all equal", "Every authority kills freedom", "Freedom of speech, freedom to gather". Despite some negotiations, the police did not permit a march to take place. In **KATOWICE** about 100 people gathered including Green Party, Anarchist Federation - Silesia, Self-Defence Party. Rightists and fascists gathered in a similar number yelling "perverts" and "get out of Katowice". Fascists throw some eggs on demonstrators with shouts "no abortion". A happening took place. A person locked in a cage shouts: "I'm gay, I'm a Silesian, I'm a lesbian, I'm Jewish, I'm Asian, etc...". In **WARSAW** about 600 people gathered on Constitution Square with rainbow flags, many slogans against the new right-wing president, against fascism, against repression of freedom of speech. Many older people present. Photographs of prominent right wing politicians were displayed by an activist from FA-Praga with the subtitle: "God freaks are the real perverts". **CKLA** had a big banner against repressions. Groups of fascists were roaming around and managed to beat up a couple of people on their way to the demo. Some hooligans shouted "Down with communism" ... In **TORUN** about 50 people gathered in Torun (the only picket which was not legalized - pickets in other cities were legalized when authorities came under pressure). The slogans included "Torun apologizes for Radio Virgin Mary" (known anti-Semitic and xenophobic catholic radio station) and "No justice, no peace". In **LODZ** about 300 people gathered on the demonstration. Slogans included: "Freedom, equality and mutual aid", and slogans about self-governance, etc... The organizers were the Campaign Against Homophobia, Center of Womens Rights, informal gender group and Anarchist Federation - Lodz. In **WROCLAW** about 250 people participated, members of "Active Society", anarchists from Wroclaw Libertarian Group, Young Socialists, ATTAC, Greens, and others... The fascists opponents were present and shouted "Free Poland without fags", to which the organizers replied "Free Poland without fascism". Boneheads from NOP (National Revival of Poland) tried to block the march. In **RZESZOW** about 100 people took part in the equality march. A couple of dozens of fascists tried to attack the march with eggs and yoghourts. In **ELBLAG** the demonstration in Elblag was attacked by right-wing hooligans with stones and

## POLICE INTENDED TO ELIMINATE ANARCHISTS FROM WORKER'S PROTEST IN LJUBLJANA

by Maja  
ABB correspondent  
from Ljubljana



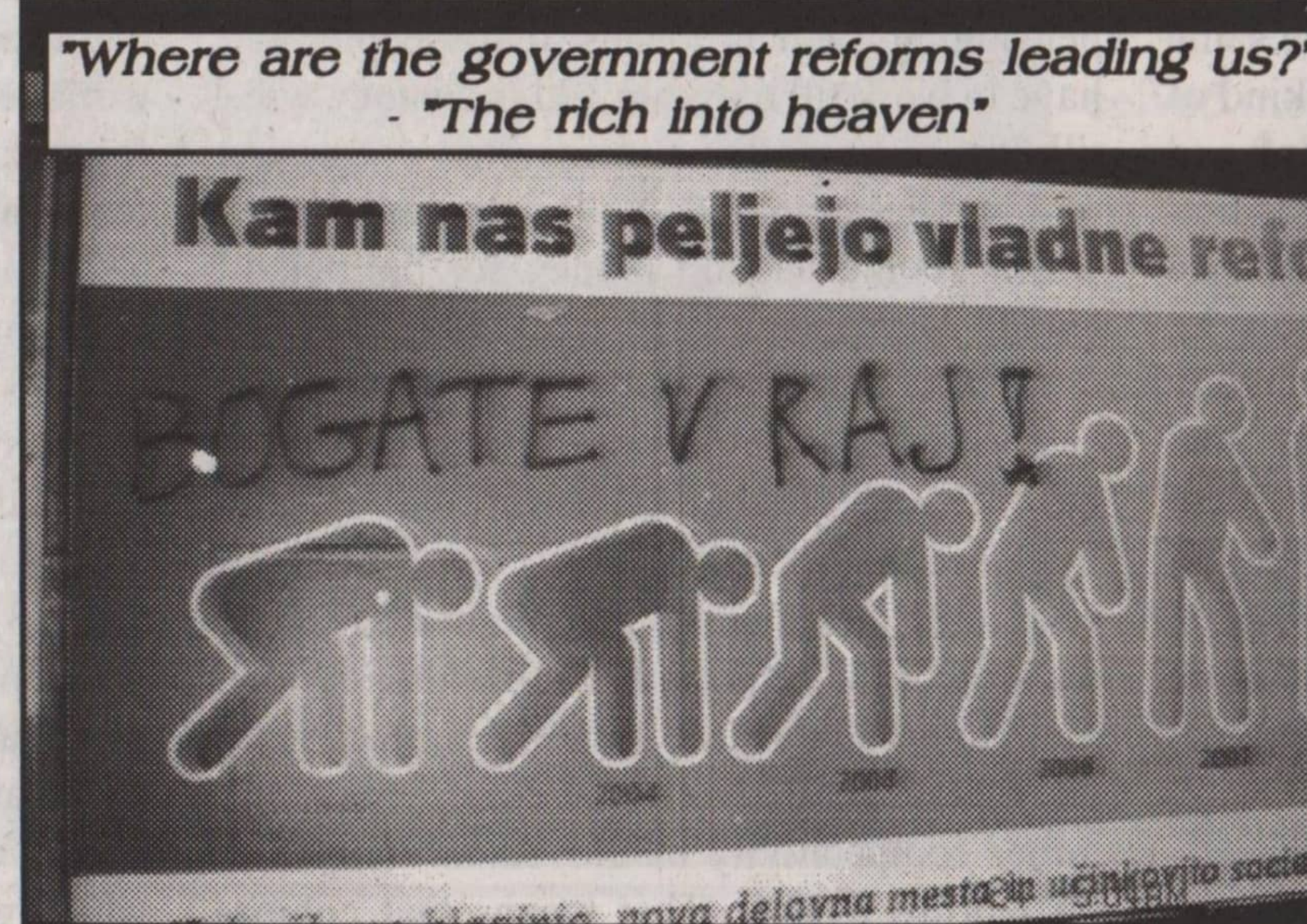
On 26 of November about 20 anarchists who marched with workers on protest against government reforms in Ljubljana (Slovenia) were surprised by section of riot cops, who eliminated the group without any explanation and started to put them into police vehicles. Finally only two anarchists were arrested ... because of having dogs (one of dogs was about 15cm high), as they "were threatening the protest". No-one wanted to hear anything about violent elimination of the group from the protest with no sensible reason.

Our correspondent from Ljubljana describes on example of this latest intervention the oppressive policy of new conservative Slovenian government, its attempts to criminalize young anarchist movement in that country and the role of the syndicates on the social mood in Slovenia.

From the start of the protest the police was constantly watching a small group of anarchists, who joined with a mass of workers on a march against government reforms (more on reforms itself more below). We hold the banner with inscription: "Capitalism cannot be reformed! For radical changes of society" Some workers were enthusiastically applauding at us and were singing with us a song Internacionala, while others were insulting us and pointing their fingers at us. When we spoke with those who disagreed with us, we found out that they mainly didn't understand who we are and what is our message (someone even asked if we are black mafia). Somewhere in the middle of the march we joined the mass and we had nothing else but that banner and three flags, periodically we shouted the slogans, communicate with the rest of the crowd and a few snowballs were flying towards agency for temporary work named Manpower.

We were standing in a crowd like that for about an hour or more, while the riot cops were watching us. Suddenly they stood in front of us and started to shout: "You are not invited on this protest! Move out!" Somebody heard them saying: "Get them out fast, so the others can't see". The rest of the protestors were stopped with surprise, shouted at the riot cops, some of them were ready to interfere and few of them were taken with us. When they dragged us on the side walk, one

cop said: "One is missing!" - what proves that they had counted us before. Some cops smelt of alcohol, some were holding pepper sprays in their hands. They were dragging us and shouting at us, some more, some less violently. They lock about 8 people in police vans, and those locked immediately called journalists and a lawyer. Then policemen have changed their purpose, let all of us go without even checking our ID's and detained in police van only two people, because they had dogs without muzzles with them. Why they had to tear out all group from the march and why they hadn't warn the owners of the dogs before - they didn't have any comments. On the question: "Why you drag us out, we didn't do anything?" they answered: "But you could." They also didn't have nothing to answer on the fact that presence of the dogs on demon-



stration was never a problem and that also other protestors have dogs without muzzles in the march.

The arrested persons stayed at the police station till the end of the protest. The arrested dogs were that time closed in a police car (about 2 hours) and one of the arrested person got appeal for the judge. One of the policemen at the station told him that he never saw such funny situation, but that's an order (one of the dog was so small that a muzzle for her is not even possible to buy). According to the law\*, a dog on a public gathering has to wear a muzzle, but the owner can be arrested only in a case when s/he is warned and doesn't obey the orders. Of course there were no warnings, even if the owners and their dogs were present at the protest from its beginning, so the policemen had almost 3 hours to warn them.

The rest of us continued with the protest and were calling at the police station and went there after the march. We managed to get some basic information, but the person for public communication was that day out of reach (what a coincidence!).

Why we are not invited on the protest (and who invited them?) and why they eliminated all group because of only three dogs, we all probably now very well: demonstrating of power, threatening, intention that we leave the march, criminalization in front of other protestors... and we could find more. And all in spite of facts that demonstration was legal, that we acted the same as other protestors, that we didn't launch any reaction among other protestors, that our dogs were peaceful and on the ropes and finally - demonstrations were not meant only for "the invited-ones". They showed us that our new right-wing government doesn't want us and that repression in the future will increase. It also clear that the main purpose was to arrest the group, but why they changed their minds and find presence of the dogs as an excuse, we will probably not find out. Maybe they didn't like the attention of other participants of the demo, arrival of

journalists or the action was exactly planned and its purpose was only to terrorize (they didn't check our ID's, they only start to check the pockets of people who were temporarily arrested).

The journalists didn't record the event, which is probably not a coincidence, too. Despite the statements that we gave to them, nobody mentioned elimination of the group, but only that story with dogs. They cut out only the sentences from the statements that were talking about dogs and nothing else. Nothing about violent elimination and short depri-



vation of freedom of 8 people... And lots about what the protestors were wearing, what they were drinking and eating, what were the weather conditions like...

Even if the anarchist movement is very small in Slovenia at the moment, the state feels threatened by our ideas and will definitively increase the pressure. Few years ago we were able to organize demonstrations on our own and not even one demonstration or other activity was legally registered. There could be hundred of us blocking all the roads in the centre and we had never bigger problems with the police. About a year ago a new government came to power, extremely right wing and conservative one. They put out the most expensive police penalties in all EU - not only they increased the road penalties, but they also made huge penalties for actions like burning a state flag (it can be other state's too), being loud at public place and shit like that. Then they put very high taxes at student work, but the student organizations managed to decrease the taxes to some level. Then they start to talk about privatisation of schools and other services, putting priests at the police stations, take more taxes from people who don't have children (this idea was banned very fast, because public opinion was too loud against it), they took over the national TV, started to build new NATO airport which will be an important strategic point... Now they decided they will make new reforms, which will affect the whole population. Because the public opinion against the reforms is very high and syndicates too strong, the media already started to put out the stories of other countries, who made similar reforms and their life is now so much changed to better (for example Estonia) - we all know in which way it really changed!

So, all that influences a lot on a movement too - first was 1st of may demo in Maribor, which was attacked by police, second was attempt of destroying Metelkova (only alternative cultural centre in Ljubljana left) and now attack on this protest.

Even if the governments are all the same and there cannot be any justice in any kind of state, I can see big difference between left and right wing government. The difference is between the method and the amount of violence they use. But the reforms will probably be taken anyway, because they were already accepted in other countries of EU and Slovenia politicians act as sheep and are very conservative, too. The results will be bigger unemployment, decreased social money, more working hours for less money... read more about that in the paragraph about background of the protest.

## BACKGROUND OF THE 26TH NOVEMBER PROTEST

### The analyse of new government reforms

The proposal for new reforms was given out by the government and a special group of delegates was set up to arrange the details of this reforms. Because the reforms will affect all population, not only the workers, the public answered very loud. The reforms are:

- an equal tax-degree, which will come to 20%. That means that extremely reach people who now have to pay 40% - 50% from their wages, will now give only 20% and poor people will have to pay 4% more as they are paying now (16%). (the bosses and politicians get about 15-times bigger wages than workers).

- the equal tax-degree will also increase the costs of food (now is 11,5%), medicines, apartments, water supply, books, services for agriculture....

- health service reform is bringing 10% decreasing of health substitute for illness and decreasing of substitute for injuries outside work (from 80% to 60%-70%) and accommodation in hospitals or health resorts.

- privatisation of big firms - banks, insurance companies, public services...

- after the government accepted so-called Strategy of development of Slovenia they

nies will have to pay less taxes, which in their words means that this will lead to economical progress and therefore bigger chances for employment and more money in the state. But we know that this only means that companies will be able to move their factories to poorer countries and grab more money into their pockets while people (workers, unemployed, children, students, homeless, immigrants, pensioners...) will have to work more hours for less money in agencies for temporary work with expensive health service costs and very low social money.

- the reforms do not include any ecological progress laws, even if there is very clear that without ecological awareness we can only save money to buy fresh air and clean water. As an example I will mention here that the authorities don't want to put bio-diesel on the market even if there are many companies which want to produce ecological fuel for vehicles. 20% of bio-diesel is used in public transport (buses), but because it is very slow, expensive and connections are very bad, most of the people use cars for the transport. And only now they started to build gas pipes on the petrol stations. Recycling of house-rubbish started only about a year ago, but only 4% of garbage is recycled. And similar stories follow.

### THE SYNDICATES AND THE PROTEST

There are many syndicates in Slovenia and they influence at the government quite a lot. But they are also politicians who want to make their career. The biggest is Svobodni sindikati Slovenije (Free syndicates of Slovenia) who also organized this protest. As all syndicates their structure is very hierarchical and acts reformistic (they cooperate with capitalists and government). Many times they are financed by political parties and the wages of syndicate leaders are quite the same as those of politicians or capitalist bosses.

There many syndicates through all branches of work, for example in railway-company itself exists 9 big and several small syndicates. The membership contribution costs 1% of workers wage which is quite a lot of money for making nothing more than a protest every few years and spreading big words. There are also some syndicates who are formed by government and in this case support the reforms. Their names are quite provocative: Solidarnost and Alternativa and their symbols "A" and a star!

On the 26th protest the organizers spent about 3.000 euro (!) for organizing the event and about 400 buses arrived from all cities of the country and workers from many different syndicates, even police syndicate appeared. There was about 20.000 - 40.000 people, which was a record number in last decade of

## Kam nas peljejo vladne reforme?



"Where are the government reforms leading us?"  
"Into poverty and misery."

named a Council for reforms that wants to raise the level of employment by steps as extension of effective advanced years for pensioning, which means that people will have to work till 65 years old (now they work till 58). The reforms also regulate decreasing of compensation money for dismissal to 6 wages (compensation money for politicians' counts 24 wages).

That's how they will enable employers to easily dismiss their workers and the consequence is also less of those who will actually live until their pension.

- the reforms also include decreasing of state financial help to peasants and one of the most important aspect of new reforms - greater flexibility of work and employment and larger competitiveness of Slovenian companies on world's market. That means that compa-

Slovenia's demonstrations. The march was very short, because it was legal and organizers were afraid that the protest will be banned by the government (why you have to ask government if you want to demonstrate against them anyway?!). It was snowing all day and a day before, so many actions that we've planned failed, but we had managed to take the action against their propaganda posters (from organizers and from government syndicates) few days before (see the pictures). Beside us also other non-syndicate groups attended: students, pensioners, group Dostje! (Ya basta!) which included many other groups and individuals (gay-lesbians, Erased...). Dostje! also wanted to have their sound system, but the organizers didn't want to give permission and they also warned them that police will interfere if a group of 20 or more people will move from the mass and they are ready to use force in this case. The organizers also said that all the megaphones and materials are registered, no masks are allowed etc. The "orders" were given out two days before the protest, even if a week ago things looked different (sound system was confirmed and no special orders were given). It all looks like somebody from the authorities (probably police) had put pressure on the organizers by saying that Dostje! and anarchists are dangerous terrorists who will burn the city. I think there is no doubt about that. So, when the intervention of the police happened (even if we acted as obedient citizens), my first thought was that organizers decided to throw us out, but I changed my mind after thinking for a moment. The leader of the Free syndicate expressed his regret regarding to the event through other syndicalists. And I also don't think they see us as their enemies at the moment, because there is so small number of us.

@ @ @

## ANARCHIST@S TOWARDS PROSTITUTION

*We are living in times in which the domination and exploitation are penetrating all kinds of social relations. Since our magazine exists we have been always reporting from the various struggles conducted by the industrial workers from around the Eastern Europe resisting their oppressors, and in general - about the pauperisation of working class people in the region. In each of the twenty one until now published issues of ABB you can find handful of this kind of reports. But you will find only very few texts towards the situation of tens of thousands of women in the region working and suffering as prostitutes.*

*What is even more concerning - the issue of prostitution is very rare taken up and discussed by the anarchists in general. This silence, especially in connection with East European realities can not be accepted any longer. Prostitution is a constant element of social live in the region, daily experience of huge amount of east European girls, women and, however in most situations in totally different way, the men. The strong influence of the Church, capitalistic mechanisms, states policies, mafia structures, patriarchal dogma but as well the reproduction of the myths towards the prostitution, are creating the invisible hell on the earth for all those women which we never write about as they do not strike, demonstrate or gather to storm the parliament. But does it mean that they not resist? Yes, they do - but in most cases alone, and in silence. Anarchists of the region not only should but have to take a voice on that issue.*

*And here they do again. The first once will be two anarchist@s from Poland, Sylwia - with her text "Prostitutes, prostitution, anarchism", and Ania W. - which in interview made by Veronika (ABB), will tell us about her very personal view on the issues addressed by Sylwia and her long and tough experience with prostitution. And as usually we want to encourage all our correspondents, especially the anarchist-feminist once to catch the topic. AbolishingBB*

# PROSTITUTES, PROSTITUTION, ANARCHISM

BY SYLWIA DERWISZ

So-called "public opinion" deals with prostitution according to its own ideological differences. Similarly as with abortion or euthanasia, is it topic over which fight "leftists" and "rightists" (as far as these definitions are still valid in parliamentary politics of European governments). Liberals describe prostitution as one of many types of work, while conservatives see in that core of evil and fall of morality. And what say about it anarchists?

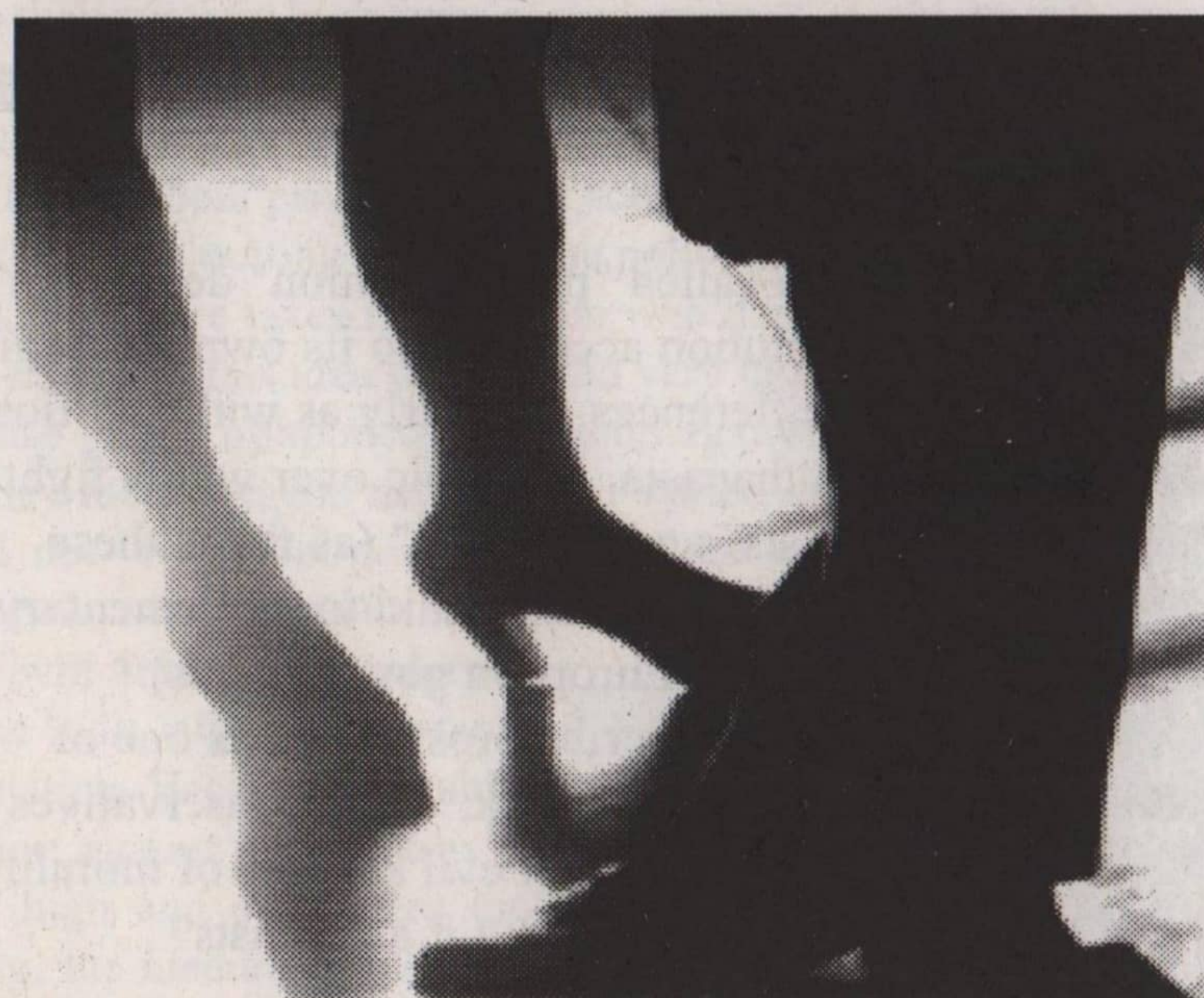
Actually till now I didn't experience any serious discussion concerning this issue. In the West antiauthoritarian movement of prostitutes or women working in porno industry had been created long ago. Go-go dancers are creating syndicates, some consider their own jobs as main field their feminist activity. In Poland and other east European countries prostitution is much darker issue. On one hand is it result of catholic dogma concerning monogamy and "clean sexual life", but also results from simple observation of reality of erotic services market. Sex for money is perceived mostly in form of disgusting shed squeezed between similar barracks offering vegetables or buttons, situated at open market, behind which women from Russia or Ukraine work hardly for shit pay. Often are they only ones in their families which work abroad to support rest of family there, back in home country. This exploitation and humiliation could serve as perfect example of capitalist horrors and growing gap between riches and poor, if not

## ANARCHIST@S TOWARDS PROSTITUTION



## ANARCHIST@S TOWARDS PROSTITUTION

one detail - prostitution is oldest profession in the world. Independently of political system or of religious impact, women sell their bodies all over the world. Not only this - there are women which choose it as their profession and have from it satisfaction. And here I think lays main problem and trap of ethical critic of prostitution practised by anarchists or libertarians. On one hand I see they treat it as form of work. Arguments appear about exploitation by pimps, vulnerability concerning rape threat or physical violence, low payment or humiliating act of "selling oneself". Still, most of these arguments could be reflected concerning any other work, in which we sell our own time making senseless and brainwashing activities. Often we do it without any insurance, for shit money and being threatened as well by physical violence, mobbing, etc.



Exist as well known argument of "moral" nature in which question of human (or concretely here - female) objectification is usually raised. Selling the body is seen as selling "oneself". Human sexuality is seen as something intimate and individual, so putting this sphere of life to level of merchandise is act of dehumanization and taking from women part of herself.

There are some libertarian positions, which defend prostitution and paradoxically, they are based on similar arguments like those of the critics of prostitution. Especially is there underlined that prostitution is a metaphor for each other work, so it should not be exclusively brought into the sphere of morality.

Further argument - probably most typical for anarchists as well as for part of feminists - is about freedom of choice. Women can choose whatever work they want and realize themselves in a way which gives them most satisfaction possible. Except of majority of prostitutes - these forced by economical problems - there is position, which fully defends this work. This opinion have women, which consciously and by own will choose prostitution to live from (just for themselves or to support their own families). Such are arguments of emancipative fraction connected with sex-positive feminists (term created while so-called "sex-wars"

in 80s). According to them, woman uses her own body on bases of open exchange, offers it for payment. Man is consumer, woman offers services. Often additional argument used here concerns sexual liberation and taking pleasure from having many partners.

Speaking about prostitution we should never mix it with trafficking with women. Forcing women to sex, taking away their passports, imprisoning them had nothing to do with prostitution as "profession". Women trafficking is based always on violence and exploitation and cannot be seen as nothing else than incapacitation of the human.

Further important question concerning prostitution is basing critics on morality. Dividing persons between "moral" (monogamic, distanced from sex and lust) and "immoral" (evil, polygamist and lewd) is simple division of women in good and bad ones. Especially dangerous is using such a terminology concerning women, which through ages had been estimated and valued by religions, men, artists and described as "good" when it served family, state, children or god or marked as "bad" for erotic pleasure of men, as symbol of sin and fall of human kind. For these reasons, action of rightists in Poland which massively wear T-shirts with "obscene" women and text "girls are waiting for your prayer 24 fours a day" is just next example of complete objectification of women. No any prayer will help a women to support herself, and prostitute which likes her job see such a "joke" as simply stupid and ignorant.

Presented above arguments and examples are merely draft of diverse attitudes and opinions concerning prostitution. They proof that it isn't possible to go on with pushing this question to margins of morality, economy or choice. All these factors can be reasons to practices that work. However, highly questionable is complete lack of interest from side of anarchists towards this issue and lack of any support for women, which don't feel good in role of prostitutes...

by Sylwia Derwiz



## ANARCHIST@S TOWARDS PROSTITUTION

## ANARCHIST@S TOWARDS PROSTITUTION

### "MY DREAM IS A BRIGADE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROSTITUTES FIGHTING BACK THE RELIGION ..."



*Veronika: Can you tell very shortly at the beginning what are your passions and what are you doing?*

Ania: I am studying social science, I am active in anti-war movement and in the movement of solidarity with occupied Palestine and I am participating in many other activities of various libertarian movements. My passions and at the same time the most important life-adventures are anarchism and feminism. I decided myself for prostitution 10 years ago - it was supposed to be a way to finance my studies.

*Veronika: Why did you decided to give this interview?*

Ania: Prostitution takes much space in my life and I can not and I do not want to negate it or to silent it. On the other side, during the 10 years of exercising this profession, I had only few times a possibility of having a free and sincere talk on that topic, and those were always private talks. But we all, the prostitutes as a spectrum, we necessary need any platform to free expression. Like every social group we have a need of dialogue. Here I see a terrain for feminists, everywhere - but especially in Eastern Europe. My appeal and warm request to feminists: don't give this space back to the church, state, police statistics, police speakers, gutter press ... in short: do not give it to the men. I have an impression that while talking about my personal experiences with prostitution I am not talking only about myself. I am quite sure I am a speaking voice of many women which, for various reasons, "have no voice", especially in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland. That's why I will talk about "us", even if since few weeks I have finished with this profession. In our case the old feminist slogan "Private is political" comes true: I am conscious that my history is a history of hundreds or thousands of women, even if, for sure, some differences in the details. Apart from the fact that I want to give a justice back to my female-friends (I believe I owe them solidarity) this is for me the first opportunity, since 10 years, to share my thoughts with the others. Unfortunately, during 10 years of exercising prostitution I did not found any platform, any milieu, where I could discuss freely about

## THE HARMING MYTHS OF PROSTITUTION

INTERVIEW WITH ANIA  
REBEL WOMAN FROM POLAND

my life-profession. Today, I don't consider it as a right thought. We are forced into double-life; our families, friends (if we have them people we know, professors etc. don't know, don't suspect, or prefer to don't know about our "second life". The society prefers to don't know about us at all, to silent our existence even if we make a considerable social group. We are or pangs of conscience or a danger for a system, for patriarchy, for men. Maybe because it is already our existence which is breaking down too many taboos? Maybe because sometimes we know more about the men more as their own wives, families, their milieu? They show us this side of them which should remain in the shadow, which should be hidden from their surroundings. Maybe that is why they do everything in order to not let us speaking free. The prostitutes themselves are afraid to take voice; they know very well that they are not welcome in the public sphere. The men succeeded to push them into the underground, to separate from other women, from other people. That is why prostitution goes together with terrible inhuman solitude. It would be very interesting to analyse the mechanisms of exclusion which are active here: I consider the moral and the religious ones as the most important.

*Veronika: How do you define the prostitution?*

Ania: This is one of the most difficult questions. Personally, I have used already the term "profession", but I would rather prefer to put this word always between quotation marks ("profession"). Nowadays the work of prostitution is not comparable with any other earn activity, with any other profession, in fact. I try to explain now why I do think so. This work "cements" patriarchal domination of men. It is them, who dictate the conditions. Who is paying, dictates the condition. The arrangement prostitution-client is not horizontal and will never be horizontal as long as the money plays its role. Extraordinary cruel aspect is the fact that selling of sexual services takes away from the woman the contact and the joy with her own body, takes away the science of recognizing the needs of her own body. This is the result of using your own body as a tool. I heard the argument that this is considered like any other physical work, but this is just rude simplification. In any other work the objectification goes so far. The factory worker (woman) doesn't have to agree on pain of abdomen during the work. I am wondering if the clients of the prostitutes know how many of them are working during their period. I willingly explain what does it exactly mean: before intercourse, prostitute put a piece of natural sponge into vagina, piece of common sponge or tampon cut in half - depends of what she has or what for she can allowed herself (natural sponge is most healthy but the most expensive too). Often she is doing this in hurry and within not hygienically circumstances, often she can hurt herself especially if she has long finger-nails (and mostly she do have, as this is one of the market's requirement, it means: of the men). Than she has painful sexual

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intercourse, especially if she has scratches. In many cases, she can not tell the man that she would prefer the sex without penetration. Sometimes she is not able to control the intensity of the intercourse. Afterwards she needs to take the sponge away, often again in hurry ... and so few times per day, few days one after another. One could say - it's her fault, why is she working during her period - but it is not so easy. As any other person, prostitute works when she needs money. Of course, the client sees nothing - prostitutes are, because have to, excellent actresses. One of my friends was working one week long, although she was told to go to the hospital. She has a cyst, which of course broke during the work. I met women working being pregnant. One of them was always brought by her husband next to the motorway where she was working. It was in Poland, not far from German border, but I heard about the same stories from Germany, so probably everywhere is similar.

When I am speaking about "woman can not control the intensity of the intercourse", I mean she is being raped. Exactly that - no more and no less. Excited clients often don't recognize her resistance, and even if - his reaction can be of rage. He has paid for service and he wants to have it the way he imagined to get it. Sadism is here a daily bread. I was asking myself many times why the clients richly gifted by the nature are choosing tiny, sensitive prostitutes. Especially those of child face...

Each prostitute has to block her feeling of pain, as all other feelings - disgust, for example. That is why I believe that prostitutes are persons being the most outlying of their bodies, obtaining the less satisfaction from their bodies. I would say that even more as for the nuns, and for sure much more than the women working in the factories. The last ones at least have their own bodies for themselves ... theoretically. At least they don't need to smile when someone rapes them. Condition of work dictates "the market", but this no-personal term fake the real picture. "Market" means nothing else as: the men. It is them who dictate the prostitutes' outlook, prices, form of services. Even the "service" is a very imprecise term. Many men would like to have a power over the personality of the woman they pay. Often (always?), the relation prostitute-client is a hidden or open war. I believe, that this is for clients a source of sexual excitement - whether if they are conscious of that fact or not. Some are obviously conscious. They feel a joy and excitement by crossing the borders. For example, if she doesn't wish her face being touched or refuses to kiss (these are the most often taboos of prostitutes - each prostitute has her own taboos) the clients will always try to do it knowing that she is depending of his money and most probably she will not leave the room, she will not scream on the client. If she does it, most probably she will lose her work place. It happened to me quite a few times.

The "constraint" is probably the best description of how I personally see the prostitution. I have to add at this point, that in my opinion in the patriarchal societies all, or most of the relations between the sexes are tasking any form of prostitution. In the school, in university, on the street - EACH woman, independently of age, outlook or social status is sometimes treated as prostitution. Each of us is humiliated, but the prostitutes take money for that. There is not a big gap between a prostitute and a so called "decent woman" completely subjected the patriarchy. The gap exists between them and those women which learned to fight for autonomy, the sexual and any other.

*Veronika: How it happened that you choose this way of earning the money? Taking this decision ... very hard moment in once life ...*

Ania: No woman can take such a decision easily. I was hazily conscious of the different possible consequences, already at that time. I remember, I was thinking that there are women who "are suitable" to this profession, but I did not consider myself as one of them. Today I believe that no one of us "is suitable" for it. But before I have started to think about this possibility at all, I have checked all the other ones that were available for me. They were not many, in fact. I was very young, year after the school-certification, without any profession in the hand, kind of scared of independent life. After I have finished the school, I left my family house, conscious that I needed to start working as my father wouldn't have payed for my studies. It appeared that from the little student-jobs, heavy work in the Pizza Hut or giving private lessons, I couldn't pay all my costs. No student scholarship as ... my father earned too much. Has been not important at all, that I did not have any contact to him. In fact, I won the court case for the aliments but ... the judge decided that "as young woman you should reconcile with your father and come back home", so I have got just 100 zł per month (now about 50 euro) - not enough even to pay the rent for the smallest room. But I remember that I was fighting ... I remember the insensibility of the curator on university when I told him about my problems, asking for eventual help from the university. I am wondering now how everything would have gone if in the Polish universities the function of a plenipotentiary towards women rights and equality rights would exist, as I know this from Germany. Who knows ... At least I would know to whom I can go with my problems.

*Veronika: Prostitution and Polish society - what associations are coming into your mind?*

Ania: In Poland most of the society considers itself as faithful, the Catholic Church has huge influence on the entire sphere of morality. Catholic double-morality does wrong to everyone, it does huge wrong, but as the patriarchy and religion are the systems made up by the men, those who suffer the most are women and children finding themselves under the men influence. And, among the women, the prostitutes suffer the most as they are the less emancipated. Polish prostitutes are unfortunately often ... too often women with catastrophically low sense of their own value. Not only they have to hear already, as a child about the kurwas, whores, bitches ... or however one calls the prostitutes in this society - this we have everywhere, but in Poland some of them adopted by themselves this Catholic morality, they considered themselves as "the sinners". And that's why they don't resist, don't organise in syndicates, don't fight for their rights, seldom show solidarity towards their prostitute-friends, as for example German prostitutes. They try very seldom to liberate themselves from the control of the men - local owners, prostitute bullies, or police. The effects of this Catholic influence are



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dramatic and I suspect that in the other East European societies is not that much better. I saw the prostitutes from the ex-Soviets: scared, submissive like the lambs, perfect slaves. Some of them were even religious. One of them read a bible each day after the work. I was wondering how she could sleep after the doses of damnations towards the prostitutes which this book contains. Anyway, in the Eastern Europe the religious prostitutes are not a rarity and most possibly it's them who suffer at the most: extra fight with qualms of conscience. It must be a nightmare. However, I would not like to be in the skin of any priest when one day all women will reach the logical conclusion that it is the clerics who are responsible for their damn bad self-consciousness ... I hope this day will come. My dream is a brigade of the revolutionary prostitutes fighting back the religion ...

Some parts of Polish prostitutes adopted the myth of "Polish Mother" and, in this way, they torture each other. I knew a woman which was fighting without mercy against all her female friends without children. She stated that only women who work for their children are worth of respect. She herself worked for her son. This is just an example of senseless "class divisions" within the prostitutes. I spoke before about the immigrants - this is in the prostitution an extra "class": if they live and work "illegally" they are easy victims for the men: bullies or cops. They have not any rights, so they are submissive and obedient. And looks like this everywhere - in Poland these are women from Russia, Ukraine or Bulgaria, in Germany short time ago women from Poland, Czechia and other new EU countries (now they can work in EU legally), in Spain these are women from Latin America and Africa. They are for sale - "slave traffic". By the way, it is not true that men don't know about it - they use their situation as clients or policemen. Some of them appear even in both these roles. One of the night-clubs in city of Wrocław, where I was working 10 years ago, was unofficially "protected" by local police. Cops were almost daily guests and clients. The woman who owned the club was blackmailed from the mafia, so on the end, between two evils, she preferred to pay to the police. Of course, cop-clients knew very well which women are illegal and of course they were blackmailing them. However, they did so towards all of us - this happens everywhere where prostitution is illegal. These cops knew as well that in the club works a 16 years old girl, "Dominika", beautiful child serving to the extra special guests, among them the cops. And nothing justifies them - even the fact that Dominika was a prostitute since she was 13.

*Veronika: Let's come to the myths about the prostitution which are alive in the society. What are the reasons, according to your knowledge, why women undertake this profession?*

Ania: From all the myths which gathered themselves around the prostitution, probably the most harm makes the myth of ... let's call it "nymphomaniac", however I don't like this term, it means - a woman who has an higher sexual need than the average one. Even some feminists who are talking about prostitutes use this scheme. In this context, I ask the question: why in today's world, in so call civilised western societies, women of allegedly bigger sexual needs undertake the prostitution? They have, after all, the possibility of sexual realization in free and equal schemes. After all, even in Poland we have the "swinger clubs", which are probably the perfect place for these so called "nymphomaniacs". So what is left? The economical reasons - this is the source of the prostitution, economical inequality and poverty. This explains why the women and not the men are mostly prostitutes, although everyone claims that sexual needs of men are bigger. This is why as well the most of the women working today on the streets of Poland, are women from the ex-eastern block, mostly from Ukraine and Bulgaria.

Next to the material one, it is a very important reason, in my opinion, that the positive decision of women for prostitution is the masochism.

The chauvinists claim it for women in general. They are not wrong if we speak of prostitutes, but with this difference, that the sources of masochism among prostitutes are not to be found in "woman nature", whatever it could be, but ... in the rape. According to the statistics which I found in the German feminist literature, nine out of ten prostitutes are the women who were raped as a child. It is not difficult to see the reason-effect connection. Pathological masochism would explain as well the addiction of prostitutes to their profession - many of them can not quit with it, even if material benefits are doubtful; they accept stress, humiliation, risk of the illness. I know the women which were able to finish with prostitution, at first after the full therapy by psychotherapist.

*Veronika: According to your experience, what other myths or wrong analysis is being reproduced, as well within libertarian spectrum. What should be clarified?*

Ania: The aspect "to eliminate or to legalize prostitution?" is often discussed. But unjustly people consider these two approaches as contradiction. I see legalization as necessary step towards ... elimination of the prostitution, elimination for all women good. There where prostitution is legalised the conditions of work are more human and this should be an aim as long as prostitution exists. The legalization is unquestionable easier to achieve as the elimination of reasons for prostitution. Let us start with the realistic (for today) if that way we can help these women. The society owes a lot to the prostitutes, and definitely the men contracted a huge debt by them. It is them, the clients, who should seek that prostitutes are doing better ... but it is clear, that they don't care at all. I (we) are allowed to blame them for it.

*Veronika: Do you think that in the post-capitalistic and libertarian society, the society saying "good-bye" to authoritarian relations, there is still place for prostitution?*

Ania: The term "prostitution" itself is completely discredited in my eyes. Here I mean all that, with what I am connecting the prostitution personally. The new society assumes the new relations between woman and man, between the genders. Nowadays there is a request on prostitution because the most of clients are ill men derive satisfaction from the humiliation of the other person. The most of them could be described as deviants, even by patriarchal society. These men need a therapy but I can not say what kind of form such a therapy could take. If the role of therapeutics should be made by prostitutes, as it is seen by society today, than this society should pay prostitutes proper respect for the hard work they do. But what about we are talking here, if for example in Poland even the nurses are being treated as parasites of the state. Alicja Frohnert, German journalist, writer of Polish growth, and ex-prostitute, postulates that prostitutes should be paid by the Health Service to which concrete client belongs to, and that service itself should be ordered by the doctors, mostly psychiatrists and sexologists, on recipe. In current situation this perspective seems to me quite interesting - at least it would be clear what actually role the prostitutes accomplish. But then, the question appears, if after elimination of the poverty there would still be the women ready to do that profession...

*Veronika: Thank you Ania for that interview, in the name of our collective and all readers of ABB. You have for sure much more to tell, we hope we can read your word somewhere soon again.*

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## BULGARIA

PROTEST AGAINST THE  
US MILITARY BASES AND  
STATE REPRESSION  
TOWARD THE ACTIVISTS

On Saturday, 12 November, a protest against the US military bases, which are going to be situated near the villages Novo Selo, Bezmer and near the Burgas' port, took place in Sofia (Bulgaria's capitol). More than 500 people marched through the central streets of Sofia, expressing their stand against all military bases. The protest ended in front of the National Theatre "Ivan Vazov". In the protest took part the anarcho-block of autonomous anti-authoritarian group "AnarchoResistance" (around 60 people). Few nationalists from BNS (Bulgarian National Union) were also there but left quickly after the demo.

On the evening of 10 November two activists were arrested and brutally beaten by the police, while they were sticking posters for the protest near the Synagogue. The cops said that Vladimir Trichkov and Stefan Andonov were sticking the posters on the Synagogue's wall (which is a complete lie!) and that they resisted the arrest. Their presence in the area of the Synagogue was used by the police to paste words like "anti-Semite" and "nationalist" about them (which are also complete lies!). From 12 November the two are on hunger strike after the refusal of medical help and meetings with their families. They are sued by the quick procedure. The Minister of Interior, Rumen Petkov, awarded the two cops who arrested Vladimir and Stefan during the weekend, for the "perfect work" and for the pressure they put up with in court for convicting the two activists as "guilty".

After the protest on Saturday most of the people also protested in front of the police station, where Vladimir and Stefan were kept for more than 5 days without charges. On the first court meeting on Monday around 20:00 o'clock

(!) the witnesses of the defence were not even allowed to enter the courtroom. The next day Vladimir and Stefan were out on 500 leva bail. The next court meeting is on 17 November.

On 19 December 1999 the Bulgarian parliament accepted the proposal of US military bases, despite most of the people being against the presence of US military forces. The US authorities even said that they aren't going to pay anything for the use of Bulgarian territory.

## CZECHIA

EGGS TO THE  
LIMOUSINES IN PRAGUE

Around 100 anarchists gathered on a demonstration against the "Days of the EU and USA conference", event attended by such people as John Ascroft, Jose Maria Aznar, Rudolph Giuliani or Tommy Franks. After the speeches, the march to the place of the event was blocked by the heavy-equipped anti-riot police so people quickly separated into small groups and with banners gathered right before the place. More exactly, as the place of the conference was on the island on the Vltava river, people gathered before the bridge to the island. Of course the bridge was blocked by the anti-riot police, equipped even with a military tank... So people at least ate vegan goulash, waved banners and threw eggs at the limousines of the conference attendants.

## LITHUANIA

"MAN + WOMAN = FAMILY"  
- HOMOPHOBES IN  
ACTION ON THE STREETS  
OF VILNIUS

The demonstration which gathered some conservatives, nazi-skinheads and religious dudes took place on September 30th back in Vilnius, at the new City Council square. The action

was called "For Healthy relationships and True family values", which in fact was an anti-gay thing, because the flyers were distributed telling stories about gays taking power and attacking the "normal" way of life all around Europe, stories about euro-gays, which are molesting children and disagreeing with nature and god. Homophobes were demanding the preventive treatment of that "illness". But they also had a concrete point for the state - the ban on [might be] upcoming gay parade in Vilnius.

There were a few conservatives, around 50 boneheads, few totally messed-up religious dudes, some scholars with funny posters and an angry teacher, who was telling them what to do now, and also the Man - Lithuanian little local Hitler out of Shiauliai - Murza. He was surrounded by two followers (not so much for 4th Reich, huh?) and held his "swastika-style" flag over his head. The conservatives were giving away their idiotic leaflets about "gay attack" and also talked a lot to the cameras [there were quite a lot of correspondents, because this kind of thing doesn't happen very often to in Lithuania, and also because these kind of things are good to sell during evening news], while the boneheads were just standing with some "genius" banners like "man + woman = family" and such-like. The others were just waiting for the end of an action with boredom on their faces.

FOOLING THE FOOLS -  
ANARCHISTS  
CONFRONTING  
HOMOPHOB-PARADE

But there was also an alternative side of that action! Activists got to know about this two days before and were just a few people with few ideas. While some of them were making photos and provoking conservatives talking to the cameras by standing in front of people being interviewed and raising their right hands in nazi greeting and putting two fingers on their lips, the Witch (local activist) came into the square and

according to FluxuS concept made a live and spontaneous performance. During it she was acting like one of the homophobes and attracted a lot of cameras and talked to them about things like "every woman should produce at least 8 kids!" or "the man who can't produce new life, must be destroyed!" and so on. The media believed she was one of them (and in the beginning even they did!), so she was very successful in discrediting all these homophobes in the media!

When the Witch ended her ritual, activists got to the 4th floor of the supermarket nearby, went to the open-air café on its balcony and putted out a PACE flag in front of the homophobes. After a while a few cops ran into the building and detained three people. They were released very soon as cops seemed to be not interested in any actions against anarchists or homophobes. Probably they got instructions not to intervene, because the Powers on one hand are homophobic themselves but on the other hand they must create a tolerant image in the eyes of the EU bureaucrats, so they didn't show their loyalty to one or another side.

TOILET PAPER FOR RIOT  
POLICE - FOR THE FIRST  
TIME STUDENTS OUT ON  
THE STREETS

On the October 13th students took to the streets in Vilnius. They did so because the government announced plans to cut a lot of money from the Educational System. They gathered near the Vilnius University, in front of the President House and started the demonstration. There were around 5000 people involved. Some came from other Lithuanian cities. There was a big bus with music and speeches. And for the first time in Lithuanian recent history there were riot cops all around the buildings that were set as targets. These were President House, City Council and Seim (Parliament) buildings. Students were going through the streets and shout-

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ing slogans inviting government to live with them for a while in their barracks and to try and survive on the money they are given. Although all action ended up with a big all-stars concert near the Parliament with populist politicians talking bull and most of the students just having another weekend party and whole thing being incorporated into spectacle, still there were positive sides to the demonstration. Like the few conscious people, knowing what it is all about, like the few people throwing toilets paper at the riot cops, like this guy who tried to storm the Parliament and who was brutally arrested and taken away after he got down. There was a moment when the crowd could release him, but they missed their chance and so cops made even more arrests. We've seen at least 4 people being detained, and mass-media talked about 15 of them. The demonstration didn't change a lot, because students got their adrenaline, concert and nice promises from politicians, so they relaxed and enjoyed the show, and the promises remained just a few nice words. But on the other hand this was a first time experience for local students, so there's always the hope that it achieved something more than this!

ANTI-MCDONALDS  
ACTIVITIES IN VILNIUS

On October 16th there was an anti-McDonald's action in Vilnius, related to the International Anti-McDonald's action Day. Few animal rights activists did a performance wearing animal costumes and spreading pro-veg and eco leaflets near the McDonald's in the very centre of the city. All the leaflets were distributed; none remained, although some McDonalds manager threatened to call the police. The same activists also organized the "Animal Rights Week" this October with street theatre, films and giving out food. You can contact them through: [gyvunuteises@yahoo-groups.com](mailto:gyvunuteises@yahoo-groups.com)

ALTERNATIVE CINEMA  
BASED ON ANARCHIST  
PRINCIPLES

Alternative Culture Center "Kultūrmamis", based in Vilnius, started a series of alternative films and discussions in the local little cinema of the Union of Lithuanian Cinematographs. The first film was shown on October 26th - it was "The Corporation". Around 50 people attended the event. There was a tea and discussion after the film. Whole thing is based on anarchist principles - everyone can participate in choosing the film or discussion subject and also preparing tea and getting cookies.

## POLAND

WORKERS IN LODZ  
ATTACKING  
THEIR BOSSES

Apparently in the middle of October one of the managers of the *Mertoni Indesit* factory in Lodz was attacked with razor blades by workers. It is not the first time that this same man was attacked and this happened to another manager as well. The workers apparently are fed up because of the work conditions, which include e.g. forced and unpaid overtime, are like a concentration camp. Last month, a worker was killed in a press accident, which was the straw that broke the camel's back. The trade union Solidarity claims that they had no idea there were any troubles at the factory.

BOMBS IN WARSAW -  
JOKES, PROVOCATION OR  
REAL WARNING  
FOR KACZYNSKI  
HOMOPHOBIC GANG?

In October about 13 bombs were set around Warsaw and a statement signed by "militant Gays" was sent to the media declaring war against the president Kaczynski and the homophobic practices of his authorities. The bombs appeared as not

real ones but pyrotechnic experts said that, if they had contained explosives, they would have been so. Half of the city was paralyzed the whole morning. It isn't clear whether this is Mr. Kaczynski's doing (some crazy attempt to remind people that he is against gays and for law and order) or if it is the work of his counter-candidate in the run for the presidential position, Mr. Tusk's. Or if it is gay power in fact. Or even someone else.

While the gay groups have quickly condemned the act there is a good chance that the anarchists will be blamed for it. Especially that one of the famous politicians already stated it on Polish TV. In the meantime, on November 17, The President of the city of Poznan has banned its gay parade which was scheduled for Nov. 19.

POLAND: THE LAND  
WHERE "THE COLOURS  
OF PRISONS UNITED"

When the famous right-wing leader of the Polish anti-EU-farmers-movement Andrzej Lepper spoke about the CIA interrogation centers in Poland a long time ago, he was dismissed as a nut. However the US-government has admitted that US planes with suspects landed in Poland but claim it was "only to refuel", and that both Polish and Romanian authorities are claiming "not to have any information about it", the rumours of the CIA having detention centers for Al-Qaeda in both countries are becoming more credible for various reasons. Some investigative journalists are writing about "Bush 'operating secret gulag in eastern Europe'". If the information turns out to be true, the detention centres for prisoners of the US-government are located around the town of Szczecno in Poland (north of Warsaw) and in Constanta in Romania (right on the Black sea). This is where the US-aircrafts landed after coming directly from Kabul in 2003/2004. While the investigations about this "scandal" continue, at the same time the number of the detention centres for prisoners of the EU-government is growing in Poland anyway, without any wider public discussion. The Polish government itself remains busy with the question where to pack "its own" army of prisoners.

## ROMANIA

"CREATING RESPECT AND  
SILENCE" - RIOT POLICE  
STORM AN ALTERNATIVE  
CULTURE CENTRE

INCA, centre for alternative culture in the city of Timisoara, which hosted the No Border festival last year, was a target of more aggressions recently. After the local rock mafia, biggest student NGO, and other groups declared many times war on the place, now is the time that the level gets higher. On the 4th of November during one concert and after complaints about the noise volume (complaints signed by one neighbour, former member of Securitatea secret police during Ceausescu's time) 2 cops came to demand to turn down the volume. While doing this from the stage, the word "cops" (not accompanied by swearing!!!!) was heard. The cops felt offended and wanted to teach the band a lesson, and returned 5 minutes later with riot cops and took the band off the stage while in the middle of their act, as well as one of the people running the INCA center. 3 of the people in the band were fined with a total of 200 euro. Following this event the INCA centre sent out a press release accusing the police for this abuse against freedom and expression and this mobish way of "creating respect and silence" used by the police.

After only one article was published about this in the local media, people from the city came to make several controls for health and other things inside the centre. Today we were informed that a certain unit from the city department asked the mayor to break the contract with the foundation that got the lease

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to use the place.

INCA is not an anarchist centre, but is the only alternative place in Romania. In the near future, an alternative library was planned to be opened, there is place for locals bands to rehearse, place for concerts with local and international bands, film projections or art happenings, meeting place for groups, etc.

We will keep you updated about the situation in Timisoara.

### RUSSIA

#### RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT'S EXPERIMENTS WITH LEGALITY

Federal Immigration Service in Russia has promi-

sed a general amnesty for "illegal" immigrants from CIS countries in Russia. This amnesty would give basic social services for about one million "illegal" immigrants from CIS countries, but it is not announced for which time period this amnesty will be realized - as a first step they talk about "experimenting" with 10 000 people. It is estimated that there are between 7 and 14 million "illegals" from CIS countries in Russia, and altogether they are more than 80% of the general amount of "illegal" immigrants.

#### KISS IN MOSCOW - DANIEL COHN-BENDIT EXPERIENCE IN RUSSIA

During the first week of October Daniel Cohn-Bendit appeared in Moscow. During his speech he was confronted

with some hard questions not only from anarchists, but other leftists as well, which he tried to ignore and who the moderator tried to not let speak. There were some very critical leaflets and comments. This time there were no people who were inclined to throw a pie, but apparently Max Kuchinsky (a famous character who in recent years liked to demonstratively kiss men, often in an improper fashion) started kissing all sorts of guys there, including Cohn-Bendit.

#### THE INTER-CONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE GOT OUT OF CONTROL

4th of November there was an ecological disaster in rocket dismantling site in Perm, against which Rainbow Keepers, Autonomous Action

and others organised a protest camp in the summer of 2004 (reports in past issues of ABB). All details of the disaster are carefully hidden, but apparently the fuel storage of an inter-continental ballistic missile to be dismantled exploded, and burning rack and a number of surrounding buildings in the territory of the Scientific Research Center Polymeric Materials (NII PM) were damaged. It is not known if people were hurt. Their current permission for emissions from dismantling expired 1st of July this year, so dismantling the rocket was illegal in the first place.

## "Whole system of representative democracy and government as it stands has got to go"

### THE ELECTION IN POLAND: THOUGHTS ON GOVERNMENT AND CAPITALISM

#### BACKGROUND

As anarchists who espouse direct forms of self-management and organization, we do not go to the polls. We will not be governed. We do not even want to cross all candidates out because we are not implying that none of the candidates are good enough; we are saying that the whole system of representative democracy and government as it stands has got to go. This year, with both parliamentary and presidential elections held in Poland, the Anarchist Federation held a campaign to boycott elections. It included meetings with the public, debates, demonstrations, newspapers, bulletins, radio and TV appearances, guerilla art actions, happenings, direct actions and a website with many articles, photos, etc..

The campaign raised some debate in Poland. The President Elect, Lech Kaczynski, is best known in activist circles for banning the gay parade two years in a row and is a proponent of harsh punishment for criminals and the "decommunization" of Poland. In light of this, many people indeed got sucked into "the lesser of two evil" trap. In addition, there was some discussion about whether or not the boycott tactics were preferable to giving an invalid vote (if you could be so kind to label the sort of arguments on our e-mail forums "discussions"). Some of the thoughts below reflect these questions.

#### CLASS WAR OR CULTURE WAR

There are two distinguishing aspects of Kaczynski's politics; his social conservatism and his professed pro-social economics. (Not that we believe that it or any other form of capitalism is pro-social.) Despite insinuations made in the foreign press that people voted for Kaczynski because of some fondness for conservative values, it was really the public perception of the difference of degree of economic neoliberalism which gave Kaczynski the election. Really conservative parties, such as the League of Polish Families, actually lost a good portion of their support and places in Parliament. Likewise, the least popular of all the major political parties this year was the most economically liberal, the Democratic Party.

The above is admittedly a great oversimplification of the myriad of factors which swung the electorate. Conservatism played a role in that most people are conservative and the most popular parties only projected different degrees of such.

Many voters seem to have focused primarily on issues of culture rather than economics when making their choices. Conceptions and analyses of economic issues are either lacking or dull repetitions of market neoliberal dogma taught at business school and syphoned to the public by experts. This phenomenon is nothing unique to

Poland and has been described by many commentators around the world, including, amongst others, Thomas Frank. Frank has described how in the US, working class people can be swayed to vote for parties which do not at all represent their economic interests by focusing their attention on issues such as abortion; he labels these "cultural" issues.

It is clear that only a small portion of the electorate would actually benefit from the economic plans of Kaczynski's rivals' party, Civic Platform. For example, a proposed linear tax, combined with the liquidation of some of tax breaks most often used, would mean real tax savings of between 25 and 35% for the wealthiest Poles, and a maximum of 4% for the overwhelming majority of the working class. (Some studies have shown simulations where people in this tax bracket would actually pay more after the reduction of certain tax breaks.) This tax revolution would be accompanied, naturally, by privatization of most social services.

It is understandable that a certain portion of people either identify with the wealthiest or simply hate the poor; this segment of society generally supports the liquidation or minimalization of most social programs as they are convinced that the poor are poor because they are somehow morally inferior (ie. lazy or degenerate). What is more curious in this election is that a certain part of what in other circumstances might constitute a

liberal or even left scene more closely identified with Mr. Tusk than Mr. Kaczynski.

Rather strict leftists or communists saw no choice between the two right-wing parties. However, many moderate leftists and liberals clearly saw Mr. Kaczynski as a greater threat. As Varsovians, we have already had many run-ins with Kaczynski and his crew. (Kaczynski was the President of Warsaw.) We completely understand what his party in power can mean for the state of our civil rights. First and foremost for the rights of sexual minorities. (Although on the other hand, for the last few years there have been mass waves of arrests and repression connected to anarchists and workers' activists. For us, things are likely to remain more or less the same.) Nonetheless, it was disconcerting for us to see that a good portion of the liberals around us were unable to muster any critique of the economic program of Mr. Tusk's party. Even more disconcerting was that it turned out that in this loose activist movement, which includes feminists, human rights activists, etc., some people argued for the introduction of paid higher education, the liquidation of public health care, etc., from the right-wing point of view.

I spoke with a number of supporters of and activists in the Democratic Party, which is headed by the extreme pro-business leader of a lobbying organization for private employees which has lead the attack on workers' rights for years. Amazingly, people from this party have told me "I can't stand the right". When I pointed out that in economic terms they were the most right-wing of all the major parties, I even became the victim of xenophobic diatribes about how I don't understand local politics. I should not be surprised that, for such people, the culture of the Democratic Party, which speaks of democracy, human rights in the Ukraine and Belarus (a smokescreen for pro-market policies they wish to spread) and tolerance of minorities would attract them and would even obfuscate their economic programs. (Although after some longer discussions it just turns out that some of the "human rights" crowd are firm believers in the market economy and the miracles of capitalism.)

We have come up against the fact that not only society as a whole, but the local liberal scene and, unfortunately even some of the left and anarchist scene are lacking a class analysis. Perceptions of lifestyle, personality, cultural habits and beliefs become a binding and mobilizing force. In accomplishing this, the capitalists (private and state) conquer the economy by managing to take it, as much as possible, outside the field of debate. We witnessed how in the last presidential debates, the candidates argued about whether diplomacy or hard-handedness is better with the Russians, about who had the dirtiest campaigns and so on. And, unfortunately, these were the issues that interested many voters.

The issue of class and economics however played a crucial part in the election, as perhaps did certain traditions; elections showed a clear east/west divide in the country. Populist, left and peasant parties received at least 1/3 of the vote. Ultimately, economic issues seemed to sway voters towards Kaczynski who promised a more

social economic policy. While the farmers and populist parties like Self-Defence, as well as Solidarity, decided to back Kaczynski in the second round, left parties like the ruling SLD or the Social Democrats either backed Tusk or said that people could vote for the lesser of two evils, implying that was Tusk. This despite the fact that, economically, Civic Platform was miles away.

If the analysis of culture over class can be simplified to show working class people voting for the right because of cultural issues, we cannot say it is so simple in Poland. Some people did vote for their perceived class interests, even if this perception was clouded. In the US, the simplified (and perhaps incorrect) version is "right-wing economics, right-wing social issues". In Poland, you have right-wing parties in economics divided into conservatives, ultra-conservatives, moderates and liberals, you have left-wing or left-of-center parties with liberal worldviews or moderate world views, you have populist parties which lean left or left of center in economics but are conservative or even fascistic, and you have parties which have incredibly eclectic programs, such as Self-Defence. (It recently declared itself as the only truly left party. It tends to favour many aspects of the welfare state, is against linear tax

power is a reality therefore, one must get into power. The system must be changed from within; changing it by popular movement is beyond the realm of conception.

The pragmatist also believes that one party can be substantially better than the other often because they concentrate on single issues or reform issues. The pragmatist votes for people who promise abortion rights as they see this as a concrete gain. The pragmatist can be bought of by any number of concession issues which parties are willing to make or promise. They will trade their gain for another person's losses.

Above all, the pragmatist rejects the possibility of organizing the world without governing bodies. The pragmatist will always find arguments why people should vote for their party, some issues, we admit, being profoundly important for some people. But what the pragmatist fails to understand is that the reason why we have, for example, anti-abortion laws isn't because people voted for the wrong party, but because we gave up the power to decide these things ourselves when we consented to be governed.

(BTW, one of the reasons some people voted for the left wing former ruling party last time was because they promised to legalize abortion. They gave this up and eventually made a deal to drop the issue in exchange for the church supporting Poland's entrance into the EU. This is how pragmatists act; they change to the most politically expedient idea of the moment and carry on whatever manipulations they can get away with.)

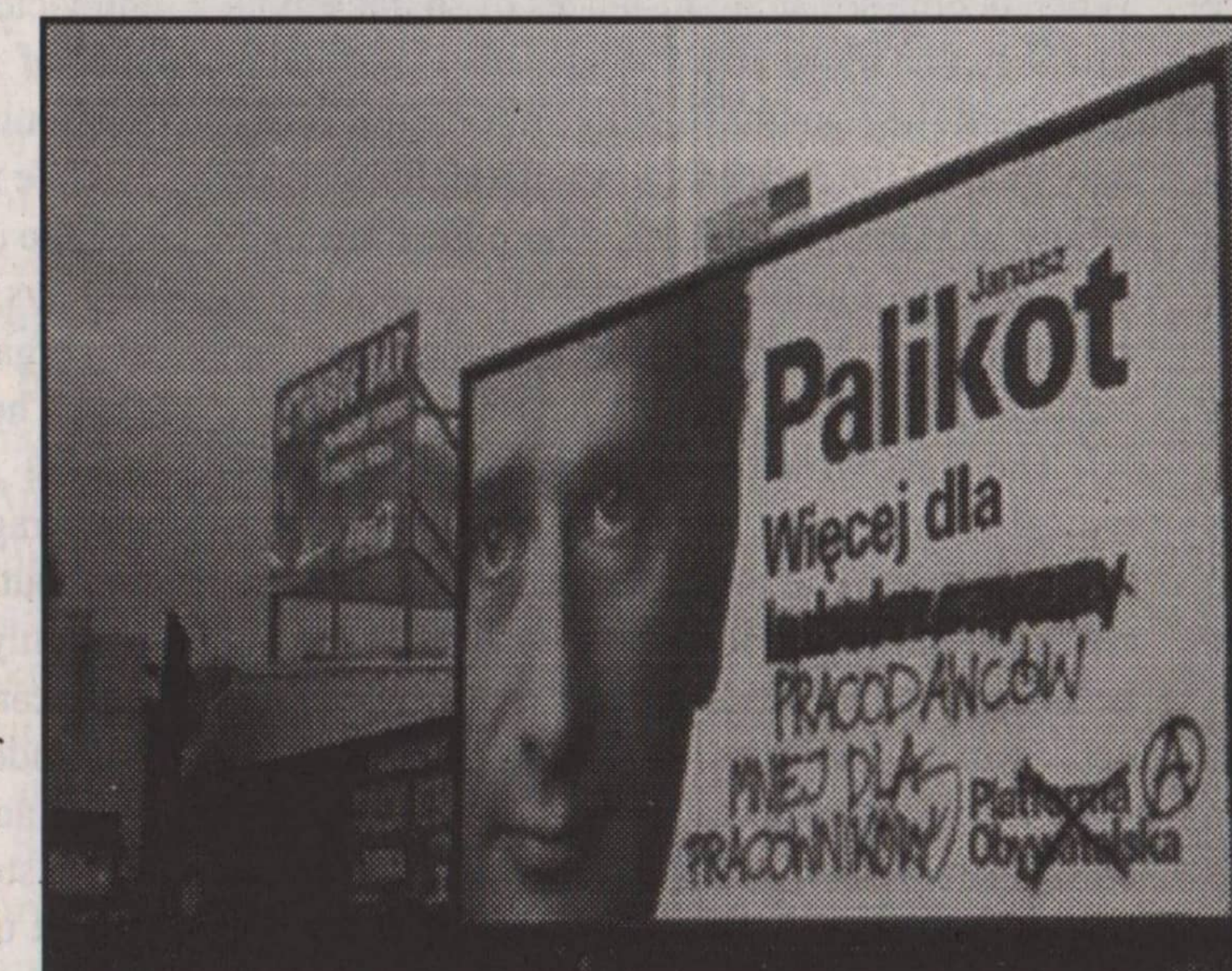
#### ACTIVE OR PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Another thought on the nature of government is on the act of voting itself. In anarchist thought, there is much debate over the issues of consensus and majority voting. As a strong believer in individual rights, I believe in the right of minorities to break away and do something other than what the majority wants, particularly when

the majority vote for practices which support hierarchies and actually entrench the power of minorities, ie the rich. As an anarchist, I do not intend to follow a majority who, for example, creates and perpetuates political systems as we have today and I demand the right to live in community with others outside this system and to organize an alternative to it. However, I also understand that my ability or inability to do this often depends on the goodwill of the majority. Therefore, winning over the majority of people, if not to anarchism itself than at least to accepting the existence of anarchistically organized regions or communes, is part of our continued struggle.

I am not against voting, even majority voting if people consent to it and if they retain options to follow their conscience and act differently should the situation occur. But I am talking about direct democracy. I am talking about voting on concrete issues. I am not talking about electing representatives who will then decide everything for us.

Some people, even including some left-leaning anarchists, have argued that not voting in the elections is a passive activity but this is definitely not the case. It is, when combined with our activity, the most active form of resistance that we know.



for individuals but has the most drastic tax proposal for corporations: a 10% flat tax. This, they are sure, will encourage investment in Poland and create jobs.)

#### THE POVERTY OF PRAGMATISM

The most frequent argument we encountered from the left was that, as anarchists who support grassroots organizing rather than electoral politics, we were leading people astray. Somebody is going to be in power - it may as well be a leftist.

Our acquaintances from the left thus got behind different parties. It was amazing to see what kind of compromises people can make in the name of political pragmatism. Our favourite was related to the Labor Party (or Party of Work); although the Presidential candidate and leader of this party had run for president last time in a coalition with the fascist group NOP, and although a good number of people there have solid far-right credentials, many communist groups supported this party as it was full of trade union activists. In this respect, we did have one segment of the left that put the class war over the culture war.

This was a beautiful example of the politics of pragmatism. The pragmatist believes that



When we boycotted the elections, we did not make a decision not to find out about the political programs of the candidates; we tend to know them better than most people who voted. We also did not make a decision not to have a voice. If anything, we were one of the few forces in Poland that had our own voice and was not absorbed into the game of political pragmatism. With this voice, we went directly to the public and spoke to them about why we are against all politicians and, more importantly, what we propose instead. Some people engaged in discussion with us, some people not. Some people thought we were super, other that we were idiots or clowns. (Ironically, our sharpest criticism tended to come from the left and liberals, not normal people.) Through active contact with people through every means we could possibly use, thousands of people came into contact with our ideas. And this is more active an act for us than going to a ballot box.

### CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

I'd like to comment on how the low voter turnout was perceived by society's elites, which, it seems, also includes part of the left-liberal scene. As anarchists, we understand that when people do not vote, it is not for one reason only; at times it is a strong protest against the whole political system, at times it is apathy or a feeling of powerlessness and resignation. But it is also clear to us that in the system of representative democracy, where people do not actively engage in the decisions that affect their lives; there is a lack of responsibility and a feeling of real alienation. We also understand that this feeling of powerlessness is a conscious manifestation of the situation which people find themselves in. Not all classes of people are willing to accept that they are essentially robbed by the political system; often it is a consciousness which comes with being on the bottom rung of the class ladder. As anarchists who believe in direct democracy, and as people who have run into the direct consequences of apathy, alienation and the atomization of society, we are fighting against feelings of powerlessness, we encourage the people to seek real empowerment through grassroots organization and direct action. Such a society as we want to build cannot exist in such a state of apathy.

However, we firmly reject the idea of those who claim that an election boycott encourages apathy and that even going to the polls and giving an invalid vote is better because it is an "active" form of protest. There is nothing in either our philosophy, or, more importantly, our practice, which encourages apathy; we encourage active participation of all members of society (including, BTW, those without voting rights like minors, foreigners and disenfranchised persons. (Some people couldn't vote because of some antiquated residency/registration rules.) At our election day action, 80% of those involved did not have the right to vote for one of these reasons, but we all chose to exercise our right to discuss our opinions with society, despite the fact that one could get arrested for that.) And for us, a sign of passivity is rather deciding to vote once every 4-5 years for some representative who then will do all the thinking and decision making for you than to actively organize grassroots organizations

where everybody takes an active role in decision making.

We were disgusted by articles both in the press, as well as comments in places such as the IMC which implied that people who did not vote were too stupid to do so. We were out yesterday on the streets of our district, talking to people. Many of them grew up poor, in disadvantaged situations and the class mobility of such people, as we know, tends to be very small. We often meet people who understand what we are talking about - but often they have little hope that they can organize something themselves and change things. But sometimes they see that it happens. Sometimes they see that social solidarity works. (For example yesterday one of our members intervened when the police started to fine a group of poor people selling locally produced vegetables on the street near the corporate supermarket Biedronka. Biedronka who is notorious for breaking workers' rights, doesn't want to see any street vendors near its shops. After the intervention, the police backed off and didn't fine the vendors. It was a small action, but many people noticed then that you can successfully intervene in such situations and not just walk by apathetically and ignore what's happening to your neighbours.) When people see small instances of social solidarity, they feel more empowered. This is not something that they gain by voting; this is something they gain by the active support of neighbours and fellow workers in situations where they are fighting directly against oppression, injustice and exploitation. This is where the anarchist can make an impression - not at the ballot box.

The press writes that our neighbourhood is a typical shame. Only 10% of the people have higher education. The people at the polling stations comment that most of the people there can't vote because they are behind bars. (Although prisoners usually can vote. We know that prisoner voter turnout was actually quite high and almost all of them voted for Tusk.) The turnout was the lowest in the city and, if we believe the press, it's because people are simply not educated enough to make choices for themselves. This is the image of the poor which the elite wants to perpetuate so that they can continue to fuck them over.

The leftists' and even some left-anarchists' take on this is that, if only the poor would stop being so stupid, they would vote for those who protect their interests (ie. for them). Few of the real communists use these words, whereas the liberal "left" elite tends to say it more directly.

We do not agree that people without education are stupid; in terms of acting in accordance with their interest or not, we find that many middle class people act far more illogically in the political sense. We find that a leftist voting for a rightist because he's the better of two right-wing people makes far less sense than sleeping all day. We find a lot of basic common sense among ordinary poor people who are fed up with the system and even many who in fact live in societies on its margins. This is not to say that we fetishize them as a revolutionary agent but that we see in reality how much of the educated classes not only actively support the politics of the elites, but also prefer to set themselves apart from and higher than the working poor. The amount of elitism we have encountered recently has truly upset us.

### ANARCHIST ORGANIZING AND RESISTANCE

We will not vote for or against anybody because the whole system is a complete waste of our time.

The government is used to protect, above all, the private property of the capitalists, and we include state enterprise in this category. To be governed is to lose your voice. To be governed is to hand over your money, the fruits of your labor, to others to do as they want with it. If you are lucky, they may give a shit about some social issues such as health care; if not, they will spend your cash on military operations, sweetheart contracts and themselves. To be governed means losing your rights in a society which is becoming more and more apathetic to what's going on and more brainwashed by the elites in control of business, the government and the media. To be governed means to place your faith in those who control you and to stop believing in your own ability to self organize. Government is the increasing alienation of people from each other and the triumph of all the forces who intentionally try to break us apart and destroy human solidarity. It is the victory of the farmongers, and the totalitarians, of the experts and the elites, of the most manipulative and unscrupulous.

We will not vote in the elections because we want to organize together with our peers, with co-workers, neighbours, friends and comrades, and this organization will be according to our principles. The have a long way to go to eliminate hierarchies of experts and leaders, to create and encourage more equally and egalitarian participation, but we want nothing less.

Only when we firmly believe that this is possible can we start to take steps to implement it. We understand fully that, for now, we probably we all accomplish things on a small scale, yet that won't stop us like it stops the pragmatists who cannot understand the commitment to long term struggle we will have to give. Every small success we have in this area can inspire and spread to others and we can do this now; we do not have to wait until we get an electoral majority to start this work.

L. Akai  
(Warsaw correspondent)

The Boycott Election website (in Polish)  
[www.bojokot-wyborow.org](http://www.bojokot-wyborow.org)



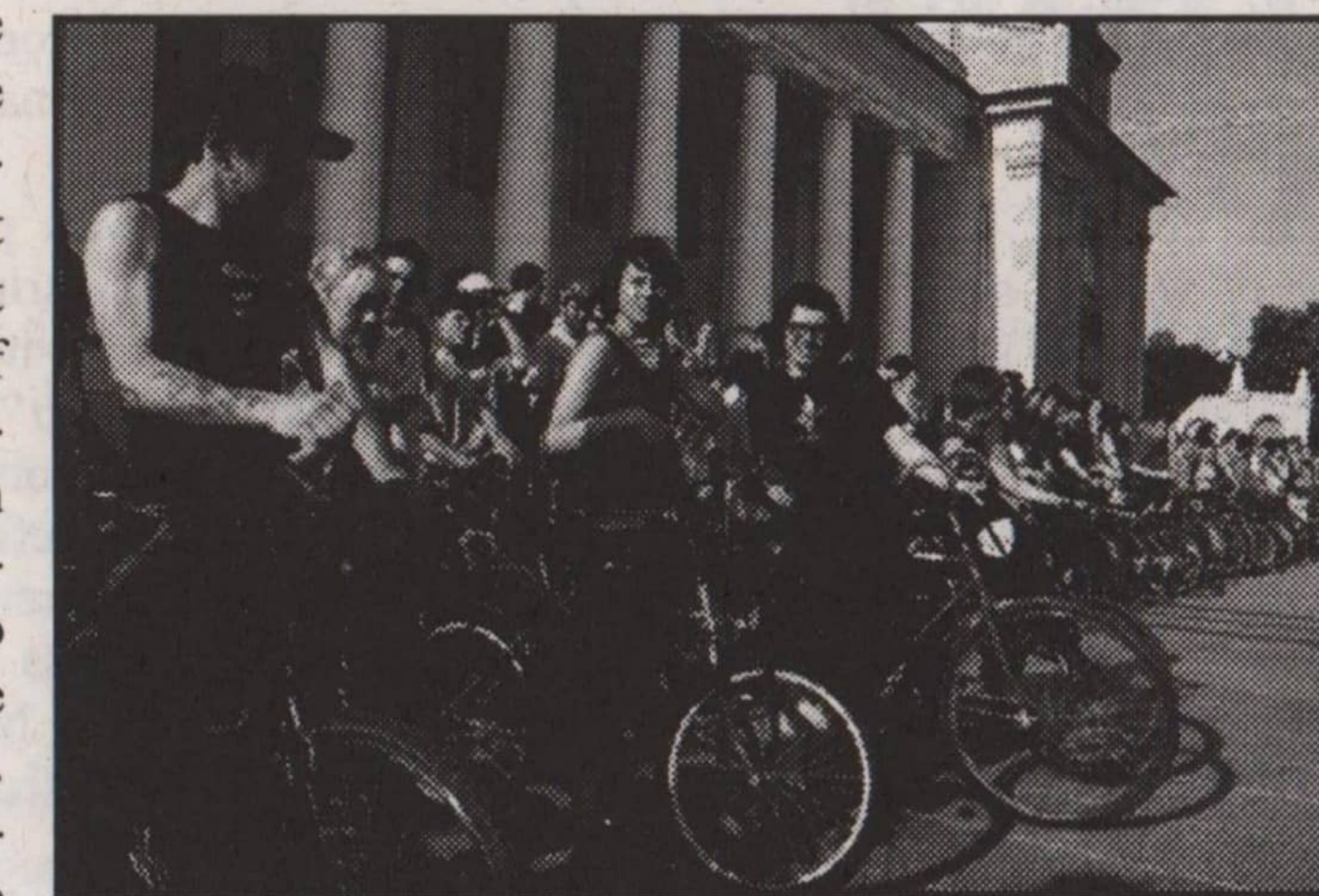
## LIBERTARIAN NEWS FROM LITHUANIA

### "30 KM AWAY FROM VILNIUS"

*About the first Critical Mass actions in Lithuania and the crushed down ties of the society under state patronage*

May 2005 saw the first critical mass action in Lithuania. Though more and more people for various reasons (health, ecology or just more fun) take their bikes on the streets, the situation is quite miserable. Few years ago Vilnius mayor Arturas Zuokas, famous for his populist activities, decided to promote biking. The first thing was to make bike lanes in the city. From the first sight, it was very positive, but in fact, lines were drawn straight on pavements or sides of streets. Most lanes are hard to ride on because of uneven pavements, high street and pavement edges; usually they start and finish out of nowhere - there is no real infrastructure. Then the mayor decided to introduce a free city bike system after the example of Copenhagen and other cities. Local folks were not ready for that charity - most of so-called "orange bikes" were broken or stolen the very first day of the action. Some of them were cut to pieces, others thrown into the river; **a man riding an orange bike was noticed 30 km away from Vilnius...** So the mayor spent a pile of money on a very doubtful thing, actually... Another thing is the relations of car drivers and bikers. You can't be sure, even if rules of the road are on your side. Most car drivers take bikers as second-rate. What is interesting is that the public transport drivers are especially angry and dangerous for cyclists. They often block bikers with their huge machines. On purpose or not, bike drivers are often hit by cars. In

general, car drivers think bikes should run on pavements while pedestrians think the opposite. One more aspect against bikes is thievery. Leave your bike for few minutes and that's enough. Even high security protection is not a problem for "professionals".



So it's the last Friday of May at one of Vilnius parkings. Hundreds of leaflets are distributed, advertising on the internet and special website [www.criticalmass.tk](http://www.criticalmass.tk) launched. About 200 bikes, some flags, some drums, and a positive atmosphere were present. The time was chosen specially to go through evening traffic jams, the route - by central streets and past the mayors office, leaflets prepared to distribute amongst drivers. Though action was totally illegal (the probable reason why official clubs of bikes refused to participate) and police cars appeared just in some minutes after the action began, cops did nothing to stop the march, just

followed it. There was some chaos in riding, polemics over whether to obey the rules of the road or not, give public transport free way or not. The first critical mass march attracted drivers and pedestrians; it got coverage in popular TV programme for drivers. Later on, smaller critical mass marches happened every last Friday of the month. People from Kaunas organized 2 actions in their town. On car free day official bike, roller-skate, skateboards march was organized. Critical mass activists joined the march. Attendance of the march was smaller than the first Critical mass.

Hope it won't be just one more "we did it and that's it" action. Unfortunately, lots of activities don't have succession. It seems more important to follow the West's example than to work on everyday basis. Usually there is not much content inside flags, banners, leaflets, patches, pins, etc. That is one of the reasons why I stopped reporting from Lithuania recently. It became regular in West some years ago. Lots of autonomous youth centers established, rebellious teenagers got space to manifest. Of course it's much better than in many Eastern countries, where governments are still busy with property dealing. The situation forces us to be smarter, but it requires more everyday power as well. Maybe it's the reason why many activists disappear after their teenage rebellion.

### "10 KM AWAY FROM VILNIUS" First DIY Festival in Lithuania or on the search for new forms of coexistence

Some responsible and dedicated people organized the first do-it-yourself open air jam "Darom 2005" near Vilnius. A lonely private farm near a river with more than 10 ha of land was chosen. Half of summer people built a stage, toilets, bridge, cleared neglected buildings, prepared trash bins, electrical installation, and scheduled the programme. There was no support from commercial or governmental structures, necessary money was collected from personal savings. All the weekend, despite heavy rain, more than 1500 people from Lithuania, Latvia, Belarus, Ukraine, Poland, Germany, Holland, etc. played music, football, listened to music, watched movies, danced, communicated near fire, even took a bath of

fire-heated stones. Everybody was invited to lead a discussion, make an exhibition or performance. Unfortunately only few people came with some ideas. Most of potential people were busy with various festival activities: technical questions, cooking food, working with distros, building, and security. Copyright office called the organizers and wanted them to pay for performing, but it was rejected by saying it's a private party and all the artists perform their own pieces only. Policemen were let inside to have a look, but then they guarded the entrance

from local rednecks only. The most positive side of the festival was its coexistence with environment: both nature and people. Everybody was urged to take care of trash and it worked quite well. Local people were let in for free. They came with children and were surprised by the friendly atmosphere. Usually the situation at various provincial events reminds one of the "wild west". Natives said that they're interested in helping with providing agricultural works and food products at Darom 2006. ([www.hardcore.lt/darom](http://www.hardcore.lt/darom))



## SHORT REPORTS FROM LITHUANIA



## Anarchism towards Leftism - the East European perspective

## THERE IS NO LEFT LIKE RUSSIAN LEFT?

skeptical at least - Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists KAS adopted market socialist positions, Bakunin's collectivist ideas were also popular and some opted for outright free enterprise and employing, slipping from anarchism to liberalism. But after shock-therapy of the 90's, new generation is increasingly anarchist communist. As 25% of the population wants Soviet Union back, a mood very different from that of Eastern Central Europe, leftist self-identification among anarchists is perhaps also gaining popularity. Many have feelings of "brotherhood of the losers" with various minuscule authoritarian Marxist sects, which is in my opinion based more on common lifestyle and attractions (spending time in pitiful oppositional demonstrations), than real to similarity of ideas.

Discussion on "anarchism after leftism" is yet unknown in Russia. Not only unfortunately - at times this debate seems to degenerate to a level, where all possible, often contradictory "evils" such as bureaucracy, authoritarianism, reformism and pacifism are lumped together to a common "left" waste bin, and anarchism is defined solely by negation of it. American debate is influenced by neo-conservative winds in that society, and in generally where "left" in USA means usually liberals, in Western Europe it means social democrats and in former Soviet Union Bolsheviks - three traditions which do not share too much.

In time of Putin, Russian political opposition has clearly splitted to "reds" and "oranges" - unfortunately "black" is yet far from challenging these two. Neither of them clearly fits into western perception of the "left". First raise social concerns, but do not shy away from conservative and chauvinistic rhetoric. Second talk about human rights, but gives priority to human rights of persecuted oligarchs, and does not shy away from people who managed and gained from ruthless "shock therapy" of the nineties. Support base of the first is in province - pensioners, state employees but some industrial workers as well. Second is supported by significant share of urban intelligentsia and middle class, but is pretty much hated by rest of the people. I think this

At times, anarchist movement mirrors developments in the society in a peculiar way - it moves to the very opposite direction than the mainstream. For example, in some very militaristic countries anarchist movement has a pacifist majority. Also when anarchist movement re-emerged in Soviet Union in 1980's, attitudes to common property were

gap is pretty much unbridgeable, and we should try our best not to get associated with either of the sides in popular conscience, but to develop a completely autonomous movement.

Just as almost every self-declared "leftist" has their own opinion on what is "left", almost every anarchist has also own opinion on what is "anarchy". Even average perceptions on what is "leftism" and "anarchy" have varied considerably during recent 200 years. So although I do not feel any affinity with "left", it is not my task to clean anarchism from "leftism", but to establish some basic clarity of concepts and definitions so that a meaningful discourse between self-declared anarchists and self-declared "leftists" would take place. A condition for this is crushing some myths, and a good myth to begin with is that about historical internationalism of the "left".

People abroad are curious with phenomena such as National-Bolshevik Party, considering it some sort of weird Russian perversion. But this is not the case, NBP and anti-Semitic Russian "left" in general is nothing but a result of a logical evolution. It is the Western left which has to continuously redefine itself in order to justify its existence through theoretical fusion with various anti-authoritarian movements after total discreditation of totalitarian Soviet regime. Nationalism and bolshevism got gradually intermingled from the very first day. After all, bolshevism is about NATIONALIZATION of everything. Authoritarian left is nationalist to down bottom, one of the declared evils of the capitalism has always been its "rootless cosmopolitanism", how it "passes all the borders and rules the world".

Modern state and nation go hand in hand; there may not be one without other. According to Soviet national politics, Soviet Union was "a multi-national entity, with a consolidating role of the soviet nation", that is, goal was to create a nation, which was to be a new one but still a nation. Recently drafted pro-

posal for national policy of Russian Federation was just a rewrite of the last Soviet policy accepted 1978, only "Soviet nation" has been replaced with "Russian nation".

It was not Stalin but Lenin and Trotsky who began massacring "disloyal" national minorities inside Soviet Union - first ethnic cleansing by Bolsheviks was that of Bashkirians in 1921. First National Bolshevik was Nikolai Ustryalov, who worked in administrative apparatus of white guard admiral Kolchak during civil war, but afterwards moved to support Bolsheviks, even if in migration. His journal "Smena Vek" ("Change of the landmarks") became increasingly popular in the 1920's, and was one of the few emigrant publications freely distributed in the Soviet Union. In October of 1921 Trotsky becomes the first among top ranking Bolsheviks to openly endorse national Bolsheviks in second Russian meeting of Politprosvet, and recommends to distribute their ideas among armed forces. In 40's, Soviet brand of patriotism became hard to distinguish from traditional tsarist one.

by S2W

## COOPERATING WITH LEFTISTS

As in Poland Anarchist groups are one of the biggest (and most active) left-wing groups, communists and socialist often want to cooperate with us when organising actions, like demos and other. We often agree to that, but should we?

It is obvious, that we fight against the same cases: social injustice, poverty, generally speaking - capitalism. But is fighting AGAINST something enough to make allies? I will not write much about history of anarchists - comrades cooperation, because everybody knows that story: Kronstad, Madrit etc.

Even the fact, that in most cases, I have known, they just want to use us for their political gains, is not enough, because there are of course cases, when socialists want to help people and they have good intentions. But their idea of social struggle is totally different than ours. They want to get power to make people's life better. We want people to get the power and control over their own lives themselves. We don't want any power for ourselves, except



## Anarchism towards Leftism - the East European perspective

## HISTORY TEACHES AN EXTRA SENSITIVITY TOWARDS ASPECTS OF FREEDOM DURING ANARCHIST RELATIONS WITH RADICAL-LEFT

for the power to control our own lives. Even if some socialist group had good intentions, got to parliament and made changes, that we would agree that are good, these changes would be unstable, because as soon as they would loose influence, other party could change the law. Of course, no law can be good for everybody. Moreover there is the question of taxes, which clearly divides us. We are against all compulsion. I don't think, that people who have more than others should be robbed.

Of course, these are just some general thoughts. These can't be treated as rules everybody should firmly stick to. There are different people, and there are different organisations. Sometimes, some leftists will just want to use us for doing propaganda for them, sometimes cooperating with weirdest org can prove to be a good idea. Sometimes even cooperating with right-wing can be good!

However, we must always remember that fighting against common enemy does not necessarily make allies. History has shown us many times that such attitude can end up badly. We must be aware, that slogan "neither left nor right" is not just alogan. It does have its depth.

by Maciej



The question of mutual relations between the widely understood left (incl. the radical one) and anarchism is not one which is not letting me sleep any more, however my position on the topic has not change is years. I guess in Western Europe anarchism and the radical left had more chances to make a common way than as it was in Poland or some other places around Eastern Europe. The question of experiences is here, I believe, the crucial factor. Living in Poland it is hard to forget that during over half of the century the biggest enemy of freedom was a system which ideologically grew up from communism. Of course I am aware that many people of radical-left consider his system as minor or bigger degeneration of the sublime premises, however it does not change the fact that the great majority of the followers of the communism rather preferred to support its degenerated form as to fight against it. In our part of the continent this system has got, not by accident, the name of "the real communism". For the new power the anarchists, with the exception of those who after the victory of communist parties in their countries decided to support the build up of the new socio-political order, mostly became very quickly the enemies, or in the best case - the inconvenient witnesses of its politics. Just having a look at the beginnings of the first communist state at all - the Soviet Union, which are seen at least by the Trotskyites as the years of the biggest enlightenment in human history, have to be seen as completely de-enlightening by anarchists. Kronstadt is just the most known and significant of examples.

It is not even necessary to persuade anyone of the fact that the polish communists governing this country had a hostile attitude not only towards anarchists but as well towards freedom as such. But not many may know that after the 2WW the extreme right wing and ideologically fascistic politicians were cooperating and somehow supplemented the communists in Poland. The most known example is Boleslaw Piasecki (leader of pre-war polish fascistic organization ONR-Falanga) who after the war was a very important member of the completely on government dependent movement of the Catholics - PAX. The fewer anarchists were rather treated as unreliable and rebellious elements. Furthermore, very often the official propaganda has used the term of "anarchy" as a very convenient argument in the fight against the opposition. Especially in the 80-ies when the "Solidarnosc" and the other oppositional organisations appeared, the authorities liked to accuse these movements of "driving the country into anarchy". In this way they justified the introduction of the state of war in December 1981, and later the pacification of the anti-government demonstrations. I guess I don't need to add that these arguments were completely out of place. That's shortly a bit on history.

Contemporarily I've had an opportunity to observe the activities of various radical-left groups in Poland and here my observations are not full of optimism either. At first, very characteristic of those groups is a strong polarisation in many little groups which concurs

with each other with full persistence. The best organized of them seem to be Pracownica Demokracja (the Workers Democracy) - for a long time they called themselves Solidarnosc Socialistyczna (Socialist Solidarity) until someone told them that the shortening of their name could sometimes be misunderstood ... They are actually the polish version of British Socialist Worker. As anarchists we have had us some episodes of cooperation with them. In most cases it was the bigger manifestations. And even if PD, compared to the other left organizations, marks itself out in a positive way (in sense of skills to make a compromise and lack of ideological intoxication) I still cannot take our common experience just like that. The most significant were their comments after the anti-IMF/World Bank protests in Prague 2000, which were printed in their standard publication. In the programmatic text which begun with the statement that except of them "anarchist also had their little part of the protests", they came to they ideological declaration where "in case of the workers revolution winning we can not forget that anarchists, with their unrealistic postulates, never brought anything good in history. It is ok that they talk so much about freedom but when it comes to the revolutionary uprising by the working masses, we cannot allow ourselves to question the decisions of the revolutionary government. Everyone who will oppose it becomes automatically the enemy of the revolution". Reading such a statement it is not difficult to find out what would await us if these sorts of formations

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would conquer (through any wonder) a decisive influence in the situation.

Does it mean that there is not even one group of the radical left on the political scene with which we could cooperate in Poland? There are some. The positive example are people from Lewicowa Alternatywa - Czerwony Kolektyw (Left Alternative - Red Collective) but being honest at least some of them consider themselves at a certain point to be anarchists. I also know that quite good cooperation was established by people from FA-Poznan (Anarchist Federation - section Poznan) with editors of leftist magazine "Nowy Robotnik" (The New Worker). In many other groups there are quite interesting individuals, whose ideological sympathies are leftist but who are not excluded from seeking for a common language with them. It does not change the fact that anarchists should consider all bad experiences from history and be very sensitive towards the aspect of freedom while cooperating with various groups of radical left, what is difficult to avoid anyway.

In my understanding, anarchism was never left nor right - I pass over in silence these libertarian positions which glorify stateless capitalism as a medicine for all problems. I am spe-

aking here about the traditionally understood position where anarchism stands for respecting each individuals freedom and at the same time assumes solving the social problems through mutual horizontal cooperation between these individuals. In my opinion what distinguish anarchism from the traditionally understood (radical) left in most, is mistrust towards all forms of "transitional periods". At the end we cannot forget that Marx wanted the stateless society too, just - after the period of proletarian dictatorship. Me personally, I would be the first enemy of "anarchist dictatorship" so even more I usurp myself the right to questioning all other sorts of dictatorships. As well I was always alarmed by the attitude of the leftists towards the state - I have a strong impression that most of them are ready to accept its existence under the condition, that it will be governed by themselves...

On the other hand there was one thing that surprised me about the alter-globalist movement. It was the interception of non-hierarchical and grass-root principles also by the leftist spectrum. In my opinion it is the certain impact of libertarian ideas into the common struggle against the corporative-capitalistic system. I am not sure how this adaptation process looks like today, as I've heard some alar-

ming stories. But if the cooperation between anarchists and the radical-left will manifest itself through interception on certain concepts and ideas of anarchist self-organisation, then I would assume that this cooperation as worthy of continuation. Of course on that case the question appears: what could anarchists learn from the left-people? Let me leave this question open here.

A separate aspect of this topic is the disappearance of the division for left and right in contemporary political life. It became very visible during the last parliamentary and presidential elections in Poland. The winner was the conservative right-wing party and its presidential candidate, which during the election campaign put the accent on defending the poor people and opposing the program of liberalisation of the market. Paradoxically, this program was conducted the last 4 years by post-communist party SLD, which was declaring its leftism consequently 4 years long... That already after a few weeks after the elections the new right-wing winners put their left-face to the side is another thing. But this is rather the lesson for those who believed them.

Zbyszek

uncountable riches in Russia; Lukashenko made a fortune money-laundering through dummy firms in Poland and there the SLD were involved in numerous privatization, embezzlement and other corruption scandals... just to name a few examples.)

It has to be said that there are plenty of leftists who define leftism in completely noble terms: defending the poor, equal rights, etc.. When they are confronted with, for example, national leftists, they are quick to announce that they are not real leftists. Leftists of this sort, although obviously well-intentioned, like to focus on what they see as a leftist truth - that we all want the same thing: a better situation for everybody. The fact that some would accomplish this through revolutionary Jacobinism, authoritarianism and terror, some through complete state control, some through national isolation, while others through direct democracy or globalization - this becomes secondary to the fact that "we all mean well".

For the purposes of this article, we can take into account that people use this term in different ways, but ultimately we have to admit that the majority of self-defined leftists are statist.

### THE FALSE DICHOTOMY OF THE LEFT

One of the most common tendencies in human behaviour is to create dichotomies; by presenting

## LEAVING THE LEFT

### WHAT IS THE LEFT & WHY SHOULD WE IDENTIFY WITH IT?

#### DEFINING IT

The question of anarchism and the left is fairly complicated and perhaps a key element of this complication lies in the attempts to those adhering to the notion of the left to constantly try to redefine themselves and the very definition of "the left". In fact, we often see that in any discussion on the definition of the left, there may be no consensus on the definition thereof. There are a number of interpretations one can use thus it becomes virtually impossible to talk about the left with leftists before first establishing what they mean by it.

A certain Serbian anarcho-syndicalist, defending the left identification, makes the simple distinction that a leftist is a person who believes in communal or collective property whereas the right defend private property. With this definition, most of the functioning parliamentary left

in Europe, who lead privatizations of state enterprises and believe in private capitalism and property ownership, would simply not qualify for leftist - despite their own self-identification as left. Indeed, a certain portion of the radical left does not recognize these people as leftists at all.

Another definition of "leftist" would be a left-statist - one who believes in government intervention in the economy (planned economy) rather than the market. Free market libertarians would disagree with this idea, pointing out that many governments which are pro-business and pro-capitalist actively intervene in the economy in favour of corporations. Maybe then it should be added that, at least in theory, a left-statist should intervene on behalf of and to the benefit of the poor.

Of course we can see that in practice, left politicians who claim to be doing this actually provide little to no benefit for the poor, and, if they do, it is in symbolic proportion in comparison to the benefit they bring capitalists. One can argue that, while the dole may save some from starvation, it is not really tackling the structural problem. In the post-communist states, many left politicians are far more active in providing benefits to themselves. (Communist fiefdoms brought many

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two "either - or" choices, we simplify the world into absolute and opposing categories. The "left-right" debate is often framed in a false dichotomy: that there is a "left" and a "right" and that the world fits neatly into one of the two categories.

Unfortunately, anybody who studies politics seriously sees this is simply not the case.

Besides the economic divisions of the left and right, people have assigned a whole slew of personal or cultural issues to both sides. A leftist is thought to be anti-racist, pro-choice, pro-immigrant, anti-war, whereas a right-winger is thought to be socially conservative, a church-going creationist and a Klan member at heart.

So it becomes quite difficult to explain all the socialists who supported the wars in Afghanistan of Iraq and how arch-conservatives often opposed it. The conservative, right-wingers of the US opposing NAFTA and the FTAA for different reasons that the anarchists, although there are areas of overlapping in their demands - not at all the neat division they should hope for. If the left is the antithesis of nationalism and patriotism, it becomes difficult to explain the Russian or Polish left looking to nationalist and patriotic groups for support. And in both countries, the most draconian free-market capitalists became champions of "human rights". (Even in the last elections, the worst capitalists were sometimes assigned to "the left" because of its anti-discrimination politics.) And if the left should be pro-labour, it becomes hard to explain how far-right parties like the League of Polish Families defend workers' rights and the Labour Code which the post-communists systemically destroyed.

And where do fascistic and totalitarian systems fit? Obviously these can be either left or right, or some mixture of the two (for example, corporatism).

Clearly, if anarchism is the struggle against the state, for direct democracy, for real equality, it is in opposition to both left and right statism. This dichotomy of left and right is a distraction from the main struggle. That said, leftists will always define themselves and many will reject totalitarianism, or point out that, for example, the Soviet Union was not communist but actually state capitalist. (Although recently Soviet revisionism has reared its ugly head in some places in Eastern Europe.) For such leftists, you cannot argue that X was a leftist and a total dictator or a murderer, or no friend of the working class because all will just be written off as anomalies.

(Karl Popper argued that communism or Nazism should be viewed as distinct from the left-right spectrum. If this is the case, that totalitarianism is its own element, then what about egalitarianism? By the same token, shouldn't the inverse of totalitarianism also be off the spectrum?)

I certainly can accept that labels mean less than

what somebody concretely means by them. This goes for the label "anarchist" as well. Therefore, before making any judgements on those who argue for the left identification, one has to get specific information. And specifically, I would ask whether or not a "left" anarchist believes in the state (or some sort of pseudo-state) or not. Further, do they believe that the state should wither away and thus believe in maintaining the state mechanisms for an indefinite time until the Marxist imperative is fulfilled?

This might seem like a silly question for some, but there are actually groups which define themselves as left-anarchist which believe in and explicitly call for this old Marxist formula, which leads one to ask why they decided to label themselves anarchists instead of Marxists.

Some leftist anarchists actually believe in the coordinating role of the state but just don't like the current state. Others just seem to think that anarchism is so impossible that you have to invent many stages of statism to finally get to it.

Some anarchists don't want the state as coordinator but, believing the revolution is not at all imminent, and believing in the left-right dichotomies, they will support the left, even going as far as to vote for them, just because they believe it is the lesser of two evils. This group tends to be fooled by this dichotomy; left anarchists might transform themselves into liberals to vote, like they voted for Anybody But Bush, or earlier for Clinton and somehow stayed quiet as he bombed and embargoed Iraq. Such is the fear of the "right", such is the deceptive strength of these dichotomies that such folks can even see no evil. These are, luckily, still a minority of "left" anarchists; most left anarchists see themselves as an opposition movement of political outsiders. Of course in countries where the left is or has been the establishment, this identification looks different.

When people from the Russian left form a broad coalition and offer to set up an IMC, you are not dealing with rebel outsiders - you get a mixture of people included the boss of a trade union with 1.5 million people, you get the Communist Party of Russia's spin doctor and you get a former headline deputy who worked as a secret agent and writes for a nationalist paper.

### OUR TRADITION, MAYBE - OUR FUTURE ...?

Some people very interestingly argue that anarchists have always worked inside the left, so that's a good reason to do it now.

For them, I have one main word: Russia.

Kronstadt is not the only situation where we can see the failure of the left. In practically every situation where real things were happening, where revolutionary moments were taking place, the left vying for power showed their true colors.

Of course every second leftist claims they'd have done something different - but it's the 50 percent of those who always think that the left did what they had to do for the revolution that bother me.

If we look back at the anarchist tradition, we unfortunately see that every time anarchists have stepped away from a revolutionary anarchist position in favour of some compromise with the left, they have been fucked. If we have something to learn from our tradition, it's that in the future, we should learn to avoid the mistakes we made in the past.

Of course to do that, you do need to have some knowledge of anarchist history - preferably not written from a leftist's point of view. The leftist's point of view tells us, for example, that the anarchists did not support the Popular Front in Spain with enough enthusiasm - and that's of course one of the reasons that Franco ultimately got into power. They forget to mention that the Spanish anarchists had already been repressed by some of the PF's politicians and that some were not stupid enough to believe in the fake unity or token positions of power offered by the PF. Unfortunately, the leftist point of view, usually linked to something more palatable to the bourgeois, has more academic credence than the anarchist one, so a normal person might be more likely to come across it as an "authoritative" source of information. Even worse, many people just don't care for any history; a shame since we can learn from the parallels.

Quite frankly, I believe that the identification of anarchists with "the left" is a remnant of the 19th century. In the last 200 years, the left has struggled to redefine itself. Originally, it was the laissez-faire wing of the French Revolution. "Left" eventually transformed itself into "socialist", but the brief history of socialist/anarchist "common cause" should have ended after the Russian revolution. For some years, when leftists were largely busy being some sort of state apologists (pro-Soviet, pro-Trotskyists), a large portion of anarchists could rest because they lost their identification with those people. This changed with 1956, with the subsequent new left in Europe and then the US invention.

C. Wright Mills wrote back at the beginning of the 50s that the working class was politically conservative because it was working in the interests of the capitalists and were only interested in reaping the wealth offered to it in the system. Mills' theories must be examined in their historic context: the working class was bought off perfectly in the reformism of the New Deal. The programs of the New Deal seemed to be pretty close to what labor activists (or at least the reformist ones) were fighting for all along; so with the New Deal, the protection of labor was entrusted to the state, not to an independent movement. The working class could not be as easily convinced that capitalism was against their interest as the state dealt the death blow to organized labor,

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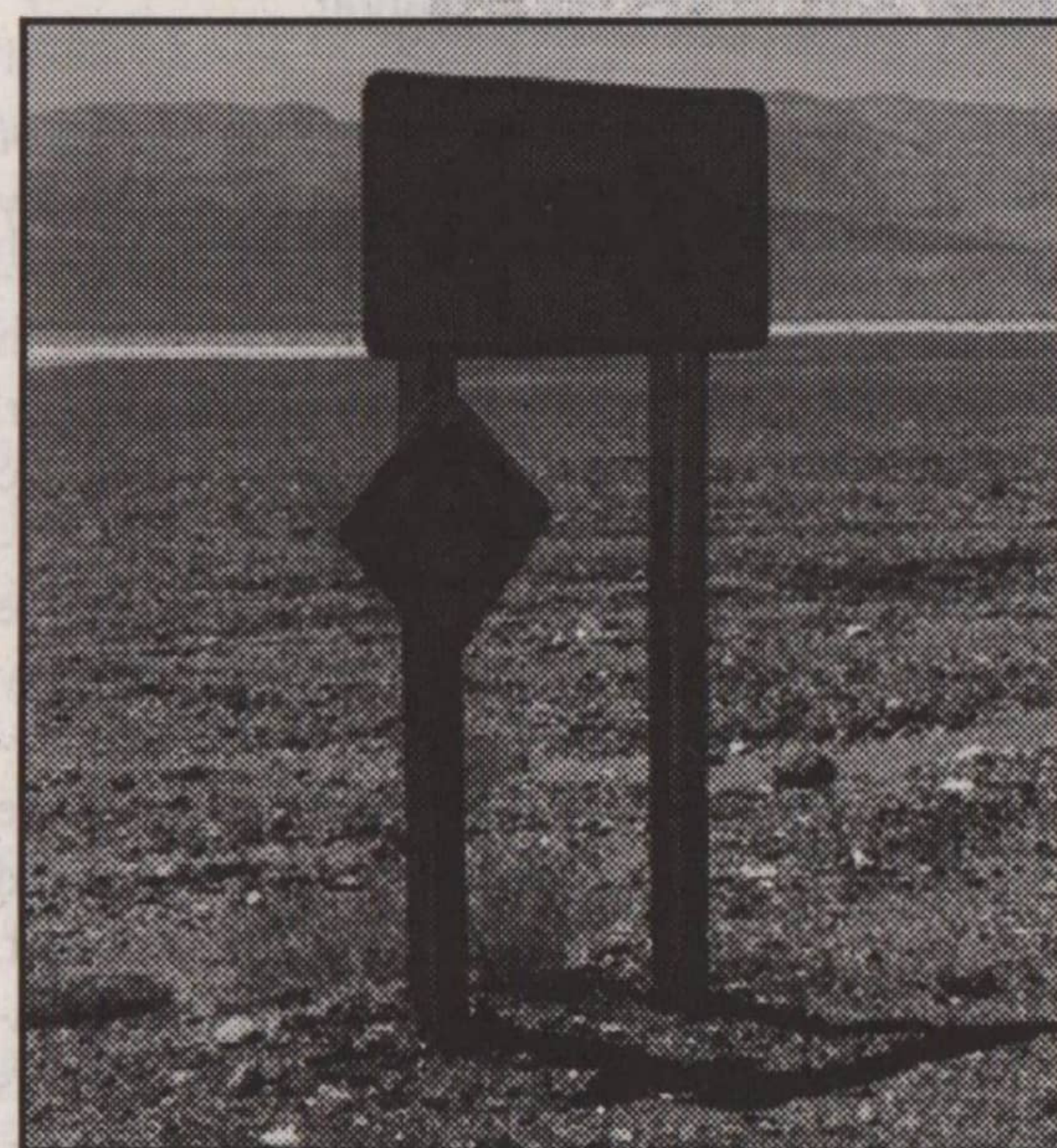
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which subsequently degenerated into a class of grafters. And Americans lived fatty off the profits of the war economy.

Mills did not imagine the reclamation of the working class, nor could he imagine that its material situation would decline to such an extent that, even in the fat United States, it has regained much of its potential as a radical agent.

Mills imagination of a New Left as an anecdote to the alienation of modern consumer society and bourgeois morals actually drew a lot on the direction that some anarchists and radical artists had taken at the end of the 40s and throughout the 50s, largely in reaction to the regular left. While the ideals of the New Left may have been proclaimed in earnest, some of it was a re-packaging of authoritarian communism with different actors: instead of the fat consumer worker, the main leaders of the New Left were his rebellious but privileged children. The Left's new clothes made it seem cool again - even if its became entrenched in leadership again. Some anarchists began to see themselves as part of the left again because the left was, again in a false dichotomy, the anecdote to conservatism.

The New Left did not prove to be promising of course for most of the anarchists in it: ask the anarchists who were in SDS or any other such structure. Unfortunately, the mythology of the new leftists survives in the mainstream whereas the anarchists' story remains somewhere in the underground, thus for the last two generations of anarchists, the New Left retains a more positive mystique than it deserves. The anarchists largely rebelled and started more radical politics in the late 60s while their new left counterparts sold out and got absorbed into the banal normality of "mainstream counterculture". The idea that the left is a progressive and changing force keeps some attracted to it. Ironically, some people think that the 1960s philosophy of the New Left (which is actually predated by loads of other people) is actually somehow "more modern" than any trend in anarchism, despite the fact that it proved itself a dead-end at least 40 years ago.



(This seems to be true amongst some retrograde anarcho-leftists in Poland. Probably they have to go through this step to realize it's bullshit; probably they'll have to wait for some New Left to get themselves into power to confirm that they're all just as crap as any other.)

The future for us only lies in going ahead, and not recreating the leftist, statist, reformist traps that always get us sidetracked - or worse. But that can't be accomplished unless we've made careful studies of the past from a libertarian anarchist point of view.

### LOVE THY LEFTIST

The question of identification with the left is one thing; the question of working with leftists is quite another. Everything depends of who, what and where.

It is obvious that a lone Marxist intellectual is different than an organized Marxist-Leninist Party, that a small Trotskyist sect is different than a Trotskyist who manoeuvred his or her way into the government on some leftist ticket. Maybe the only difference is in actual power and influence; one might argue that in mentality, they may be the same. (I don't believe in such blanket statements when it comes to individuals.)

A lone Marxist is probably less likely to practice entrism and try to poach members or use money or other resources to persuade people to cooperate with them. Although again, there is no clear rule.

The question you might want to ask is what it is that you really want to achieve and how does the presence of any of those people help or hinder you?

For example, if your main goal is to have an event where you make contact with the public and try to tell them about anarchist ideas and practice, you probably don't want to co-organize this with some aggressive, paper-pushing communists because right away people will notice them, maybe even more than you, and they may get confused as to what you're advocating.

When the movement concentrates only on protest against something, than this gets obscured. Common cause. Let's unite and get bigger. Some anarchists take this philosophy as something natural - so much so that it would require a lot more time and space to criticize this idea.

One of the problems is when those who are only mildly convinced of anarchist ideas begin to believe that this common opposition is stronger than the ideas for building a new society. They concentrate on the common opposition, sometimes to the detriment of what they want to create. It can start with tacit support for more legalistic or authoritarian groups and develop into hiding and eventually forgetting that you're an anar-

chist. Compromise with others is one thing - but this sometimes merges into the assumption of a new identity.

In the worse case scenario, people identify with a common point and blind themselves then to the areas which should be starkly in contrast with what anarchists actually fundamentally believe in. Thus during the first Gulf War you could find American anarchists rooting for Sadaam Hussein (because they don't like American imperialism) or you have some Russian morons who praise N. Korean as a bastion against Western values and capitalism or supporters of Chavez who ignore his pro-militaristic meetings (for example with Putin) or his hugging Mr. Mugabe.

This isn't to say there might not be times when cooperation with leftists might be in order. But it is a shame when this cooperation turns into the promotion or realization of left statist aims and not anarchist ones.

What is needed in each situation is some set of objective criteria for determining if it is worth it and if it really is furthering our goals or the leftists'. The problem is that anarchists themselves have wildly different criteria. Many have the main criteria of having a body count. It is better to drown in a sea of red flags and be 30 people than be 15 people on your own. Somehow, "you" are more, you look more powerful and legitimate, even though this power is totally illusory and you don't really look any more attractive to most people.

That said, many people on the left generally want "good" for people, and we can always find some common ground. One does not have to focus on the negative - just not to ignore it or be naïve. Working within the left, some coalitions or with some individual leftists, you may find some new sympathizers; after all, our main task is to spread our ideas amongst people, and most leftists still qualify for that category. People should set realistic limits though and not resign themselves to the left because of peer pressure, the daunting challenges of self-organization or laziness.

Limits are reached when you have made a reasonable effort to engage somebody in more radical discourse of activity but receive a negative sum result. By this we mean not only do you not get a potential anarchist, but you also engage in futile activity, waste your time, become more liberal and reformist yourself, or actually help the other party but achieve their goals more than you do yourself. Although there are no strict rules, the following are based on some situations where you are likely to wind up working against your own best interests.

"Don't waste time with people who are as strongly convinced of their ideology as you are of yours. Although arguing with your favourite

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Trotskyists might be fun, draw the line when it becomes clear that their sole interest is recruiting for their own organizations and revolution.

"Quickly ascertain whether or not the leftist has electoral ambitions. Get out before you become a political liability and fuck you over.

"Avoid organizational coalitions with leftists who clearly dislike anarchism and have a tendency for law and order. They can wind up pointing their fingers at you when trouble happens and call the police on you.

"Don't trust anybody who uses words like "dictatorship" or "national".

"Watch out for liberals who pass in left circles but are only "single issue sputniks". These are people who might be involved in one issue with a left group or coalition but actually are not at all anti-capitalist and may believe otherwise in the system.

### THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE SYNTHESIZED

Another question posed by the ABB collective but which is complicated to answer here is whether in light of the New Right and Third Positionists, we should abandon the slogans of "neither right nor left" (which some of them also have used) and whether we are forced to choose the left.

Again, this is the false dichotomy of the left. It implies that anarchists do not have their own legitimate position and that "the left" has a monopoly on being against "the right".

In fact, we cannot even say that the entire left actually does stand in opposition to the right, or any modern variation thereof.

There are lost of examples of how left and right positions overlap; leftists who do not maintain consistency and integrity in some areas might even find themselves the supporters, tacit or otherwise, of such politics.

a) IMC activists who identify with the left naively identified anti-globalism as a "left" issue - whereas the conservative right probably have even more anti-globalists. (Some clever leftists even eventually understood that they were alter-globalists, not anti-globalists.) With such reductionist politics, they mistakenly franchised at least one IMC to a right-wing antiglobalist. Word is that there are still people who either do not see the difference or simply don't believe that right antiglobalism is possible.

About anti-globalists, there were numerous examples of left and right cooperation. Some people see this as a success since they found a "common cause" with the right.

b) The "Patriotic Left" is a term some use in Poland. The deceased Daniel Podrzycki was a presidential candidate this year for the Polish Party of Labour and labelled himself this way. Leftists claimed he "united the left" in this Party - except he and many of his colleagues had political experience on the right. Four years earlier he was regarded as a "fascistic element" and had a coalition with NOP (Poland's member of the International Third Position and one of the most neo-nazi of all ITP groups). On a common platform of unions and defence of labour, many leftist groups (New Left, Workers' Democracy, Group for the Labour Party, etc.) simply ignored this and had no problem supporting the Patriotic Left.

c) The mainstream of the Left in Russian is also "patriotic"; red-browns far outnumber the reds. Some are against big business and global capitalism which they associate with America, imperialism and anti-Russianism. They may not be anti-capitalists even; some are corporatists - others believe in national capitalism or Kortenesque capitalism. But these details may fade into the background against the great national aspirations common in the Russian left and used by them to get wider support.

d) A longstanding tradition of support for national liberation movements which have plagued the left also may obscure the lines between left and right.

The right is in a position to get considerable support for essentially nationalist ideas through associating them with different calls of national "liberation". In places where right-wingers do cooperate in the left, they usually find common ground in such discourse.

e) In some situations, when the right-wingers find a place amongst the left-wingers, people complain about "infiltration"; although this happens, it also happens that the right-wingers are more or less upfront about their politics, but the left-wingers just don't get it. One famous case in Poland was about ATTAC being infiltrated and about the magazine Obywatel. While they were publishing clearly right-wing articles, an expose was done which was denied by the left-wingers who only were forced to resign to save their asses when they couldn't lie to foreigners anymore because they were stupid enough to print an article that everybody recognized as written by a famous member of the NDP. (But it was antiglobalist!) (Why anybody should be surprised at another Green-Brown project beats me.)

In cases of such overlap, either the whole picture is not taken into account due to some "common cause", or people really don't care about the differences.

The anarchists who use the slogan "beyond left and right" the most often - National Anarchists,

have got beyond nothing other than other people's labels, for which they can be commended. (And only for that.) They haven't got beyond arbitrary national labels and identifications, which are even worse than right-left labels: by and large they are sexist and homophobic. But I believe they see themselves as neither in the right or in the left; nationalism is both a left and a right phenomenon. These folks bandy about the "dogmatic" label for anybody who defines anarchism as something more than anti-statism. Well what good would it do us to say we're leftists just to make ourselves seem "beyond - beyond left and right". With that same logic we can also give up the word anarchist since those fucks are discrediting it.

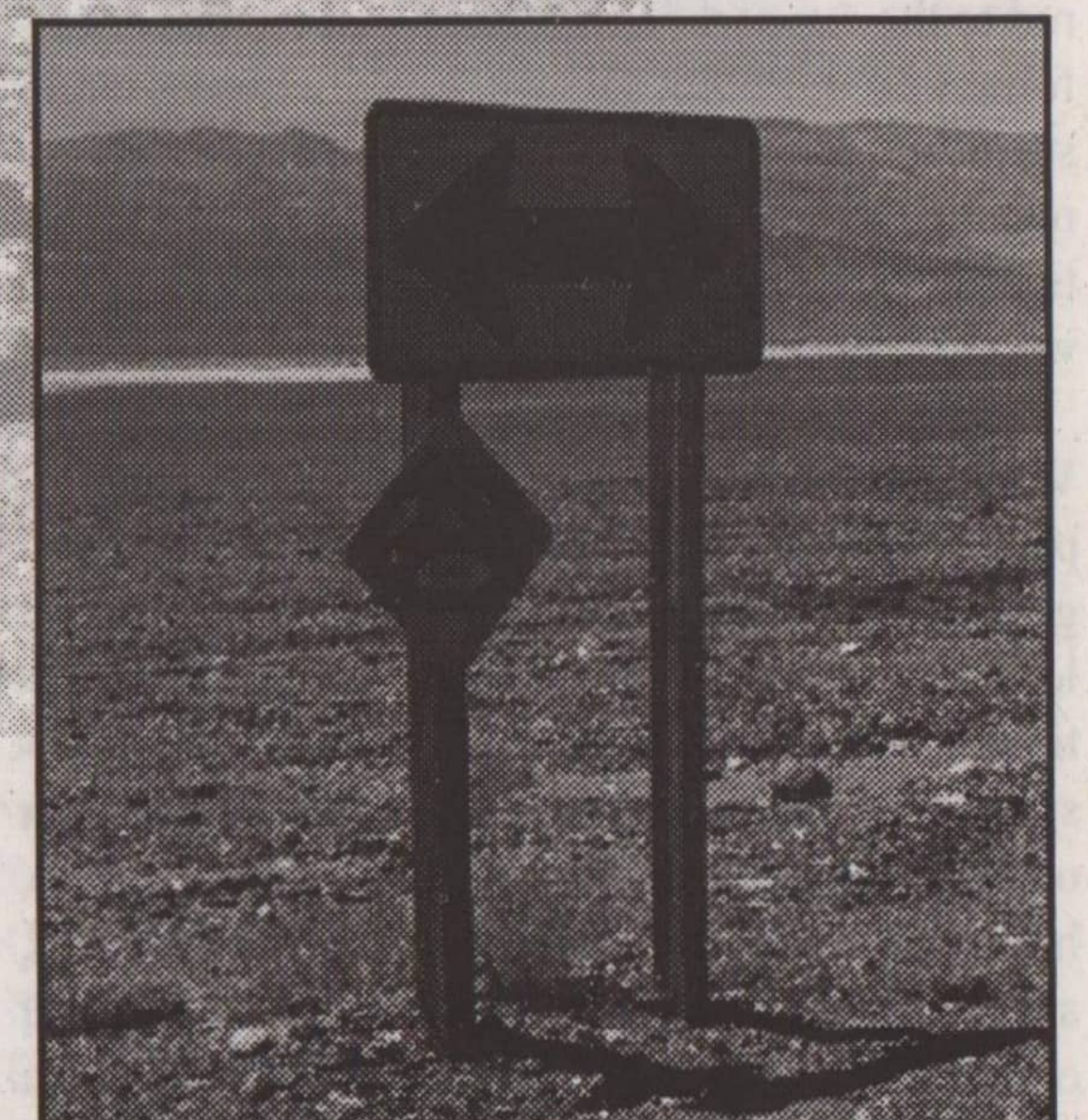
That word, that label doesn't matter as much as what you say - or what you don't say.

The homophobic National Anarchists, ironically referring to Hakim Bey, point out that he also says that the left-right divide is somewhat false. These ideas are actually quite old; Orwell wrote about them, as did countless others. In this case, the thing Hakim Bey could have done was to launch an attack against such people; instead he has a long history of laudatory statements about right-wing militias and contacts with a wide variety of left and right people.

If we want to confront the New Right, the Old Right, the conservatives, the nationalists, National Bolsheviks, etc., it doesn't help to take some label up, nor does it help to use the same slogans without any explanations. The thing that helps is a continual and consistent critique of what they are espousing and clearly saying why this has nothing in common with what you are espousing.

One last observation is that people who do not focus on these distinguishing fine points of theory and practice often do not oppose the New Right for the same reasons they don't oppose the New Left - lack of forethought, analysis, searching for common threads however tenuous or just plain indifference.

L. Akai



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*Text below is the only one from the chapter "Anarchism towards Leftism - the East European perspective" which was not written for AbolishingBB. The authors, Ute Weinmann and Vlad Tupikin, wrote this text about one year ago for NEPRIKOSNOVENNIY ZAPAS magazine. English translation was made by Sharapov, proof-read by Mel Cooke and it previously appeared in Blah-Blah-Blood zine #2 (www.szss.tk). So you will approach quite unusual for AbolishingBB sort of writing but the information the text includes brings best sort of background to the topic we deal here with.*

# THE LEFT-WING AND NATIONALISM IN RUSSIA

At first glance, the left-wing movement in Russia appears to be big and diverse: it is hard to find an issue of Gazeta newspaper or Vlast magazine that does not mention the Communist Party of Russian Federation (KPRF), deputy group Motherland or their leaders Zyuganov and Rogozin. Within the media field (although that is mostly online media - which isn't the fault of the characters themselves but of the media field itself which is actively weeded out by the state) you can find Viktor Anpilov and Ilya Ponomarev, as well as groups that they are related to - Working Russia and Union of Communist Youth (SKM). You can find information about Youth Left Front, Red Youth Avantgarde, Russian Party of Communists (RPK), Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP) etc. etc.

But the thing is that all these formations are classified as part of the left spectrum, mostly following the tradition that was founded by the press in early 1990s (right after the Soviet Union collapsed). In its turn the press followed the names that the organisations gave themselves rather than their essence, and also the fact that it was these organisations that opposed Russia's neoliberal reforms. They were defined as left-wing mostly by analogy: Who's the chief opponent of neoliberal (contemporary capitalist) politics? Of course the left. Well, then our anti-government protesters are also left-wing. (Just to remind you, in late 1980s the press had quite commonly referred to the supporters of liberal / capitalistic transformation of Soviet society, introduction of large-scale private property and free market - pretty much right-wing liberals - as left-wing). For political analysis, for orientation in political space, we need stricter criteria to follow.

While not assuming that this definition is complete, we consider left-wing those who share generally anti-capitalist views and support at least socialisation (not necessarily nationalisation) of large-scale private property. We also consider the left-wing to involve acknowledgement of socio-economic rights (for a home, food, healthcare, rest, assistance for the disabled, ill, and elderly etc., benefits, as well as freedom of occupation), viewing them as equally important

and compulsory to the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association etc. Also important are anti-authoritarianism (which means universal elections of not only parliament deputies but also all socially important officials, including district police and market managers, as well as federalism or even confederalism of social system) and internationalism (not only is nationalism not acceptable, but also any kind of state patriotism).

If somebody would view this definition as anarchistic we would gladly agree with such an opinion and would remind them that originally Marxism itself (as defined by Comrades Marx and Engels, not Lenin and Stalin) has been quite anarchistic. Founders of Marxism, when they referred to the dictatorship of the proletariat, meant the transitional post-revolutionary form of government that was directly preceding the total abolition of the state: they viewed socialism as a stateless social system.

In our opinion, there is next to no left in today's Russia. In any case, we cannot view as such KPRF, or Stalinist organisations and groups such as Working Russia or Red Youth Avantgarde, although our article is to be mostly dedicated to them.

We owe a little explanation here. This text is dedicated to the parties, organisations and informal associations that the major Russian media refers to as left-wing, based on the historical context of their formation (Russian journalists follow a faulty logic here - if they call themselves communists they must be left-wing) and their self-positioning (self-definitions, red flags, Marxist-Leninist spells, hammer and sickle trumpery of the attributes etc.). Also covered are movements openly propagating the merging of traditionally left and right ideas. The most pertinent example of those movements is so-called national-bolshevism (which can be found both within National Bolshevik Party "NBP" as well as outside). On the one hand it cannot be included in the scheme of left and right often used by political-sociologists and activists, and on the other hand it without a doubt has a remarkable influence on the deformation of the rather socially oriented values within so-called left scene towards more

explicitly nationalist content. So as we choose the subject of discussion we are following not so much our own understanding of being left, which isn't quite common in Russia, but rather the traditions that are formed by the party propaganda of the leading "red" movements and by the mass media.

So-called Russian leftists are mostly relying on the Soviet legacy. Being left-wing for them means a mix of Soviet state patriotism (or even imperialism), xenophobia (anti-Semitism and hatred of the Caucasians are not the only examples, but they are significant) and opportunism in regards to the contemporary capitalist state (often they not only fail to demand the abolishing of the state, they don't even demand the socialisation of large-scale private property [1]). We won't even mention the anti-authoritarianism (inner structures of most "communist" organisations are deeply authoritarian); that the methods they suggest to change society with are occasionally super-authoritarian; and finally, that the constant splits in the "left" camp are evidence of the realisation in this environment of the purely leadership-based organisational principles (when the leaders fail to agree among themselves, the "proletarian avantgardes" double and triple in numbers).

Soviet past is where not only the ideological grounds for possible "left-right" union (Soviet state patriotism) are coming from, but also the first organisational attempts at it. Back in the perestroika days, the numerous parties and organisations of most different colours started to form the political blocs between communist and nationalist (occasionally explicitly "brown"). Shining examples of such unification were the joint conference of Memory (from the "brown" camp) and Unity [2] (from the "red" one) in early 1990 which was also attended by a number of trade union and Komsomol leaders, and, a year later, a conference of patriotic movements under the aegis of the Communist Party of Soviet Union's Central Committee [3]. What was started in the USSR was continued in the newly independent Russian Federation. In February to March of 1992 national-patriotic parliamentary bloc "Russian Unity" was formed, and a little later, in October of the same year, "Front of National Salvation" (FNS) [4] was formed under the slogan "Justice, National Roots, Statehood, Patriotism" with the purpose of being the united left-right opposition. It featured a wide spectrum of "left-patriotic" organisations and parties such as RKRP, RPK, Socialist Workers Party (SPT), and Working Russia etc. Future leader of KPRF Gennadiy Zyuganov was one of the first to sign the constituent document of the Front. Although

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FNS as a long-term project of left-right opposition did not work out - because in 1993 it was abandoned by many communists and then some of the right-wing - the direction of the further ideological development of the leading players of the so-called left wing didn't go through qualitative changes.

Later organisational efforts to unite the left and the right were centred around the respectable KPRF (an example is People's Patriotic Union of Russia which the Communist Party used to win the nationalist votes during the parliamentary and presidential elections), as well on the level of marginal radical organisations (an example is Working People's Front formed by Anpilov's Working Russia, Limonov's NBP and Terekhov's Union of Officers to take part in the parliamentary elections in 1999 though it fell apart long before the campaign started).

However stable and lasting these unions were, it was nationalists and communists (we need to constantly remind: so-called communists, pseudo-communists, self-styled communists, communism as a world-wide phenomenon that traces its roots to middle XIX century, and 99 per cent of contemporary Russian communists have nothing to do with actual communism) that were drawn together. It's easy to understand the roots of this mutual attraction. It is enough to look at the metamorphoses that the concept of communism went through in the USSR. The Soviet Union's regime, as is well-known, called itself communist. But the USSR itself was an imperialistic state with an aggressive foreign policy outside the country and a totalitarian and antidemocratic one inside. Already from the mid-1940s the official ideology of internationalism was relegated to the background, with its place taken by Great Power Soviet state patriotism - a facade hiding Russian nationalism in disguise. Soon after World War II, the USSR regime employed the traditional bugaboo of reactionary monarchist propaganda - anti-Semitism. In its foreign policy, the USSR was a fitting heir to aggressive Russian imperialism. After almost completely recovering the borders of the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire, the Soviet Union went even further, establishing throughout most of Eastern Europe (with the exception of Yugoslavia and Greece, but attempts were made there as well) semi-colonial pro-Soviet regimes. These were supported by direct intervention of the USSR whenever needed.

Understanding communism in precisely this context (as an ideology of an imperialistic murderous state) and being a follower of exactly this kind of communism, it's easy to accept the idea of a union with undisguised nationalists of practically any kind (from monarchist cavemen and anti-Semitic pagans to NBP-style "left fascists"). It is also easy to understand the reciprocal aspiration of nationalists towards the union with pseudo-reds. The thing isn't only about the services of the USSR, and personally of Stalin, to the idea of the

Russian Empire, it's also a desire to reap a profit from Soviet nostalgia that is found not only in the aging KPRF electorate, but also in a new youth trend (CCCPC t-shirts etc.).

In the course of such long-term and mutually beneficial co-operation the so-called left have obtained (or have shown as inherent in them from the USSR times) the features that allow us to confidently characterise them as national patriots using pseudo-left rhetoric. It needs to be mentioned that the "left" are acting and developing not in spite of the country's political situation (great state idea, patriotism and even nationalism as a good style), not opposing it, and not trying to break it, but in accordance with it. They are not alone. The movement towards Great Power and nationalism is being made not only by the pseudo-left, but also by most other political powers (the notorious idea of the liberal empire). The pseudo-left have their own, special "bridge" to nationalism - the popular idea of support for "national liberation" movements in their struggle against American imperialism and Comprador bourgeoisie. It is obviously easy to move on to support nationally oriented bourgeoisie and - going further - "alternative Great Power".

It would be more convenient to show the special features of Russia's "left" in four chapters: KPRF; Small-scale Stalinists; Kremlin's Pseudo-left Constructs; NBP and National-Bolshevism.

### KPRF

KPRF was formed in February 1993, at the moment when the aforementioned Front of National Salvation was going through a remarkable crisis as it lost much of its radical activist base. A little later even the more moderately patriotic members of the Front started to flee it over time. Out of these fleeing politicians, the basis of the KPRF party apparatus was formed. This determined the national-patriotic course that is prevalent from the very beginning till now.

In his book "State" Gennadiy Zyuganov outlined the main features of the political line as he saw them. Analysing the socio-political situation in Russia at the time, Zyuganov states that "...the chief contradiction of the historical moment we experience is a contradiction between antisocial, anti-state forces that rely on Comprador capital and pursue a policy of destruction of Russia, and the state-patriotic forces whose union is just being formed" [5].

Zyuganov, who has left the Marxist roots of communist ideology far behind, describes the new synthesis of "red" and "white" as thus: "Uniting the "red" ideal of social justice, which is a sort of earthly hypostasis of the "heavenly" truth saying "everybody's equal in God's eyes", and the "white" ideal of nationally understood statehood, apprehended as a form of existence of centuries-old peoples' sacred things, Russia will finally

achieve the desired social, inter-estate, inter-class harmony and stately power..." [6]. It's not surprising, considering such a background, that the national-state logic that dominates KPRF leaders' rhetoric is also reflected in actions of the party. While initially Zyuganov's views could be considered just one of the versions of party ideology, by 1999 the "communist" leader and his entourage were quite successful in suppressing the opposition within the party. Conservative obscurantism of "Daddy Zyu" has become KPRF's party line [7].

During KPRF's election campaign in 2003 the party put stress on nationalist and explicitly anti-Semitic slogans. It was particularly worried by the so-called "Russian question". In an interview for radical nationalist Orthodox Christian newspaper Rus Pravoslavnaya party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov told this of his position: "Today the patriotic slogans of the ruling regime can fool very few people. The anti-Russian, anti-Slavic purpose of the current course is getting clearer and clearer. Russian people, Slavs, and other indigenous peoples that are historically the basis of Russia's thousand year old statehood, ended up being the most destitute and humiliated. The results of the authorities' Russo-phobic policies are terrible. The population of natively Russian regions dies out 2 or 3 times faster than the country's average. There are practically no Russians in the higher levels of power. They were driven out from management, finance, mass media". And then: "Our people are not blind. They can't help but see the Zionisation of state power is one of the reasons for the country's catastrophic state, mass poverty and dying out of its population. They can't close their eyes to the aggressive role the Zionist capital plays in the breakdown of Russia's economy and in the embezzlement of the nation's common property" [8]. In our opinion, speaking about any kind of leftness of the KPRF is simply inappropriate.

### SMALL-SCALE STALINISTS

Radical Stalinist parties / sects have tried taking over the space vacated by the official banning of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (KPSS) in August 1991. To an extent they have succeeded. Although the more moderate and "decent" people have gone to organisations such as Socialist Workers Party (SPT) (we can mention as an example the red dissident Roy Medvedev), the radical Stalinist RKRP and Working Russia movement were, until the founding of KPRF in early 1993, Russia's biggest opposition organisations. As internationalist communist Marlen Insarov noted, "RKRP joins one stillborn "front", bloc and coalition with monarchists and White Guard after another" [9]. After a big communist party - KPRF - formed, took over the national-patriotic niche and lured most of the rank-and-file RKRP members in [10], the radical Stalinists (represented not just by Anpilov and Tyulkin's RKRP, but following in its footsteps and thus not

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worthy of separate analysis as part of such a brief overview) got a chance to clean their red banner from brown stains. But they did bollocks. Let's quote some more. Working Russia is promising to make businessmen "who support the national interests of Russia... directors of large companies they created" [11], come the victory. Narodnaya Pravda is outraged by the influx of immigrants and refugees from CIS states into Russia and is calling for strict restrictions, for the sake of "Russia's sovereignty" [12]. The Stalinists held on to their nationalist line throughout the 1990s. Before the Duma elections of 1999 RKRП Central Committee secretary Boris Yachmenev promised that in the Duma-to-be Working Russia will defend "national priorities in all questions and spheres" [13]. Numerous tactical unions of various Stalinist organisations with explicitly nationalist groups (Barkashov's RNE in early 1990s, Limonov's NBP at the end of decade) are making the picture complete. Struggle against "Zionism" has become so characteristic of Viktor Anpilov [14] that it overshadows his fight against "capital" more and more.

### KREMLIN'S PSEUDO-LEFT CONSTRUCTS

It's not a secret that election bloc Motherland was formed by the Kremlin before the 2003 Duma elections, in order to take away votes for KPRF, which was then the Kremlin's United Russia's main opponent. The very signboard of the new bloc is a testament to its patriotic purpose, but it's fair to assume that without a powerful component of this kind it wouldn't have succeeded in appropriating almost 10 per cent of party giant KPRF's vote. Motherland's then-leader Sergey Glaziyev was considered a not yet corrupted politician promoting the introduction of social-market elements into Russia's politics. The national-populist role was assigned to Motherland's current leader Dmitriy Rogozin. But even the "moderate" Glaziyev was, in 2003, one of the signees of the appeal calling for nationally proportional representation in the authorities for Russians and other Russian indigenous people. Glaziyev signed it in the name of Russian Communities Congress (KRO) [15]. After having played his role in the electoral defeat of KPRF, Glaziyev had to leave Motherland and seek new allies, but Rogozin stayed, and it is he who now plays the role of safe, ostensibly left-wing "opposition" for the Kremlin. While standing firmly on "national ground".

### NBP AND NATIONAL-BOLSHEVISM

We conclude our article with a chapter on National Bolsheviks, not because they are the last in line, but rather the other way around. We think them the most dangerous for the internationalist ideas phenomenon that grew in the last ten years on the field that's mistakenly but traditionally perceived in Russia as left-wing. Everything we represented in the ideology of the previous groups' as unfinished, not quite formulated and

fragmentary, has found its full development in National-Bolshevism.

Why do we cover NBP, Russia's chief mouthpiece for National Bolshevik ideas, a party whose main slogan is "Russia is all, everything else is nothing!", in the article about Russia's left wing? It's hard to pass by a party that has armed itself with a full range of "left-wing icons": Lenin, Stalin, Mao, and Che. A party that chose the hammer and sickle as its emblem. A party that has been actively trying to make friends with practically all left groups, so-called and not, from Stalinist to anarchists. Unlike KPRF, RKRП etc. whose electorate and membership is more or less dying out, National Bolshevik Party has been aimed at the youth from the very beginning. Vivid hooligan slogans and actions, reliance on scandals and shock, have attracted into the party ranks the people who hardly have any political convictions at all. But that's OK for the NBP, because the party members get supplied with the "correct" views once within the party, not before entering, which would've been the case were the "adult" logic of the communists and Stalinists followed. The youth saw nothing unusual and wild in the eclectic fragmental mixture of communist and fascist ideas, based on the promise of freedom from parents' care and sexual revolution (up to the introduction of the polygamous family [16]). This eclecticism has in ten years of NBP's existence become a sort of tradition in its own right, has developed supporters, propagandists and some kind of (pseudo)scientific computation.

"The Natsbol [17] is "right-wing" writes Yevgeniy Prilepin in issue 4 of NBP-Info which was published especially for the NBP ideological conference in the Spring of 2004. The NBP is an heir to one and a half thousand years of Russian history, and it's responsible for this heritage in the future, but not to the "liberal humanitarian values" and not to the international. Natsbol's "leftiness" is so wide that it includes a lot of "right-wing" values - at least a cult of nation and power - Natsbol is a "left-wing" fascist" [18]. He is echoed, also in NBP-Info, by Marina Kurasova: "We have united to fight for social and national justice, to protect the interests of Russians in Russia and abroad, to transform Russia in a revolutionary manner, to destroy the old world and to build the Other Russia. We are ready to destroy the power of the bourgeoisie, bureaucrats, ethno-criminal [sic] groups, smash the police state and external enemies such as NATO, USA and foreign capital" [19]. And finally, most explicitly: "Without a doubt, NBP is still hauling Russia's "left-wing" movement on its back - so far it makes sense against the background of social discontent. But our main precepts - regarding the complete change of the political line - are much more important than any "left-wing" components in national-bolshevism. NBP also hauls the "right-wing" movement [...]" [20]

Unlike Hitler's NSDAP, Russia's NBP has formed not within the right-wing discourse, but within the left-wing, and is still partly within this framework. It has become possible, in part due to the activity of various mossy Stalinists who, from the start of perestroika (or even before it began - Molodaya Gvardiya magazine of later Soviet era can be recalled), have been actively introducing right-wing imperialistic and nationalist ideas to the left-wing legacy. That the results of their years-long labour has been used by a dynamically growing and active party with youth membership and an obviously eclectic and flexible program which is as gutta-percha as it takes to camouflage the pure will for power, seems like a fair punishment for those who practiced unscrupulousness in allies and tolerance for nationalism.

Now, when the NBP, one of the few active and not just "talking" political organisations, has temporarily armed itself with generally democratic and human rights slogans, the human rights activists and liberals seem to face a temptation that many of them cannot resist. If somebody thinks that the National Bolsheviks are going to play fair, they are in for a bitter disappointment. Natsbols do not shun mind manipulation: "...it shouldn't be shunned because political struggle is unthinkable without real propaganda (it would be unnecessary to give examples of Lenin, Hitler, Mussolini)" [21]. And further: "National Bolsheviks should understand that saying "yes" today and "no" tomorrow to the same question is better than expressing "neither yes nor no" both times..." [22].

### WHAT'S LEFT?

Besides, we have only few internationalists left who are united in microscopic groups which the background of micro-political splits have sometimes reduced to 1 or 2 people-strong; dogmatic communists who aren't only unable to unite with anyone at all, but are also using rhetoric that can only be understood by specialists; nimble Trotskyists who are willing to unite with, or more precisely "enter" (in order to take over them) any big structures, whichever comes along, even the KPRF, but aren't really considering independent political action; anarchists who seem to have a tendency to drift towards harder communist or Trotskyist positions, are partly concerned with animal rights more than with human rights, and are partly enveloped by artistic and musical subcultures to the extent that they are almost completely depoliticised.

But if there's anywhere in Russia that the nationalistic "big lefties" can be criticised from the left, it's from these circles. And if Russia's internationalist left has any kind of perspective, it is, in our view, in the unification of the ideas that these micro-political circles discuss, combined with youth energy, eternally renewed, generation after generation. What lacks now is just subjects for such a unification.

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# PEELING POTATOES - ANARCHIST ACTIVISM OR CHARITABLE GESTURE ?

## FOOD NOT BOMBS IN BELGRADE - SERBIA MADE AND WRITTEN BY SUBWAR COLLECTIVE

For the last couple of years we have been organizing Food Not Bombs actions, more or less on a regular bases, but every year on the 16th of October we are in the center of Belgrade, in front of one of the most popular McCancer restaurants in town. So, this year, we were there as well, but this time with many more different groups and individuals involved (around sixty people) than usual, which made the action itself more serious and successful.

We gathered around two o'clock and started with a sound system and food table settings straight away. Everything was ready soon after that, and we started giving cooked vegan food with apples and leaflets to the people who were passing by. The good thing was that it was Sunday, so there were lots of people on

the streets. This time we were supported by a large group of jugglers and some DJs who were playing music during those three hours, so there was lots of positive energy around. What is more important is that the people who came for the food were mostly homeless and poor, so we can say that this action was a real success and we were pleased with it. McMurder's exploited workers didn't react to us, even though we were in their front garden handling out leaflets to their customers, too.

As far as we can say, this action was the most successful one in Belgrade since the beginning of anti McShit protests and we'll try to keep it on this level, to make it better, and to involve even more people in the future.

SUBWAR COLLECTIVE

*"We discuss a lot of social matters  
on each FNB action ... while peeling potatoes"*

## INTERVIEW WITH FOOD NOT BOMBS GROUPS FROM KIEV AND WARSAW

**ABB: Lets start from beginning - where did you hear about FNB for the first time and how did it begin in your city?**

**KIEV:** The most part of our group heard about FNB only around last winter from the internet. But some of us knew about it before and took part in some FNB actions in other countries during different international events. In January 2004 people who were interested in street activities met somehow at one place at one time, got to know each other and began to do their first street actions. And then in a month somebody proposed to start FNB activity, we accepted this idea and began it.

**WARSAW:** I heard about FNB for the first time from members of an ecological organisation (PNRWI) which interested me. Then, I didn't start FNB in my city I just joined existing group so I cannot tell you exactly about the beginnings.

**ABB: With what frequency do you conduct your action? What are the places you serve the food? How many people make use of it? How do you finance it?**

**KIEV:** We don't do our actions very often as the situation for doing it is actually not easy. We have no possibilities to collect food for free at markets and such other places - nobody's going to throw anything out until it becomes total garbage. And to conduct our first actions we used our own pocket money. Later we managed to organise one charity concert to collect money for FNB. We usually do our actions at places where poor people use to meet. Usually we serve about 100-150 portions. There are about 10-15 people from us who prepare the action and about 15-20 more who come to support the action, to spread the leaflets, enjoy our meal etc.

**WARSAW:** We serve hot, vegan dishes every Sunday, whole year round, except summer

holidays. About 80 people make use of it. We raise the funds by contributing money ourselves.

**ABB: What are the reactions of the authorities towards your activity?**

**KIEV:** Fortunately local city authorities don't give a damn about all of our activities. So we didn't have any problems with them yet. Policemen who came to our actions a few times just asked what we're doing and when we'll finish - just to know.

**WARSAW:** As the action started police used to come on each action and make notes. To avoid problems we started informing authorities about each action. Then we stopped doing this because police is not interested in us any more.

**ABB: Apart from the fact of "giving-taking the food" - does it come to any other interaction between you and the "consumers"? What kind of**

AbolishingBB



*inter-action are they?*

**KIEV:** The most what we could expect as an inter-action is the conversations with interested people. Lots of people come to us not to take a dish but to talk. Somebody - just to tell how happy they are there are people like us, somebody - to try to take us at our word, to find out who's paying and other shit. And it's true that none of them join our group or have helped us in any other way. No. Few times we were given money by some unknown people.

**WARSAW:** Usually food is taken by homeless people. We try to talk with them and to inform them about politics but they never seem interested.

**ABB:** What is your GOAL by putting your energy into this kind of activity?

**KIEV:** To express ourselves, to help people who need it, to spread our ideas and points of view, to attract public attention to the wide circle of social problems. We realize this world will not be totally changed during our lives, but we will keep on trying to do our best to improve our and other people's lives in it. We are not able to sit on our hands when there's such a lot of shit happening around us.

**WARSAW:** For me, the most important thing about FNB action is that, by doing this action we prove that non-hierarchical civil organisation can exist and that people don't need governments to conduct such actions. My goal is to prove this.

**ABB:** Taking into consideration that one of the most crucial tasks of anarchists is to inspire people to take the initiative in their own hands (best in a collective way), how can the FNB action be seen as the activity aiming at this goal? Is it anyhow "inspiring" for the people getting used to charitable aid? And, is it anyhow "inspiring" for you to see people getting use to get things for free but not making any impression of wishing to change anything by them selves?

**KIEV:** Our actions are not permanent or regular. So people don't get used to it. As for us - yes, every action is really inspiring for us indeed. When you see old woman holding a plate with food you cooked or homeless child taking additional portion - you're realizing that just now at this moment you have really helped some people; you've really made this world a little bit better. And this is actually what the inspiration is all about; this is what gives us energy to continue our activity. Also we do not expect anything from people who makes use of our actions - they are mostly poor old people and homeless children. They have almost no possibility at all "to take the initiative in their own hands", they are real social exclusions. So we are glad just to help these people. And also as we get some positive feedbacks from ordinary people who were just passing by, who were very surprised that we're doing this for free for everyone who needs and without any political or religious umbrella-organisation - we do believe that our activity has its positive effect on society, that it really changes the environment around us.

**WARSAW:** It's absolutely not inspiring for the people who make use of our action. This action teaches homeless people idleness and inactivity. This is the biggest problem that FNB Warsaw

faces. On the other hand FNB action does a lot for the people who take action in it. Through Warsaw FNB many people came by and helped us few times, and much more heard of us - for these people FNB has done a lot. It had illustrated that idleness doesn't change anything, it had inspired a lot of people to make their own actions and it educated them about activism, anarchism and ecology.

**ABB:** Where do you see the differences between FNB activity and the charitable support to the poor conducted by the church?

**KIEV:** Usually churches do their charitable activity just because it's their tradition. Their point is not charity itself but to continue this custom. On the contrary, we consider that we touch a wider circle of problems than just charity. We're trying to attract public attention to different social topics such as poverty as a consequence of disparity between expenditures on militarization and social security. A very important part of our actions is to spread our informational materials which explain the point of FNB activity and its goals.

**WARSAW:** First of all it is a political action that stands against authorities and criticizes government and all hierarchical structures. Second thing is that we do not expect people to pray or believe in god - near the place we serve food there are also Christian charity actions - they ask people to pray before eating and they don't treat them well at all; we serve food for everyone that wants to eat it.

**ABB:** Do you know that some people, and we are not speaking of any yuppies but proletarian or even libertarian persons, told us that they don't like to approach the FNB even if they are hungry and without any money because they feel a strong mental block towards a situation in which they feel like they've reached the very bottom of society. In other words, one can understand that these people even if they may sympathize with initiatives like FNB consider your efforts at the same time as a heavy challenge towards their dignity. What do you think about it?

**KIEV:** We didn't meet such people yet and we really doubt we'll meet them here. If they even exist somewhere they probably will not communicate with us. (... and that's exactly the problem we wanted to stress here - ABB) But some people from our group refused to take part in our actions when they found out we buy food instead of collect it somewhere for free. They told it goes against the basic sense of classic FNB. We don't agree with them in this question.

**WARSAW:** This also is a big problem that we face. We are aware of that, but I think it's a similar problem which all 'helping' actions face. And don't have an idea what to do with it, and I'm not sure if there's any reasonable solution as we thought about it already many times...

**ABB:** Are you discussing the

*background aspects and problems connected with this form of social intervention within your group? What ideas towards FNB-activism (ideas which you might not have a time to introduce yet) would you like to share with the comrades from other East European cities or even around the globe?*

**KIEV:** Unfortunately we didn't even have the possibility just to discuss our own motivations of doing FNB - now it's the first time. And less than a third part of our people are present here. So we don't have a lot of things to write here, shame on us. Some of us really know the political backgrounds very well and know what and why they do what they do. But we must say that there's people in our FNB group who claim that they are apolitical and do everything to make people hear about it. And at the same time they seem to be very motivated to do FNB actions. We do not know what their point is for it. We're developing. We really believe that our group-self-consciousness will rise one day to the level when we'll start to discuss things we're interested in and doing it with all members of our group.

**WARSAW:** We discuss a lot of all social matters on each FNB actions ... while peeling potatoes. We have ideas that we would like to start with but we still lack people and time to realize what we want so I rather don't want to speak about things that I, because of lack of time, cannot do.

**ABB:** We wish you realization of your political dreams through your activism. Anything to add?

**KIEV:** Thank you for pushing us forward.

**WARSAW:** First of all I would like to say that there are many different FNB groups in Poland and the Warsaw group isn't the biggest or the most active one. Therefore you cannot take the answers I gave as a common position of polish FNB groups. Actually we are acting autonomously and we don't even know each other usually. The second thing is that it has been just my point of view - to have representative FNB-Warsaw answers it would take much longer. Thirdly, as I mentioned before, we are too few and have not enough time for improving our activities. Everyone from Warsaw will know what I'm talking about. Therefore I would like to state that we are revitalising FNB and in a few weeks we plan to push more life into the whole actions as well as to get louder, bigger and more effective. Finally, we also wish all the best for FNB activists all over the world.

Our website is [www.fnb.w.pl](http://www.fnb.w.pl)



# THE REALITY OF THE NIGHTMARE

*"We have to set the totality of revolution against the totality of capitalism"*

Estimations by *Barriacade Collective* - Hungarian anarchists

## PRIVATIZATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

"At first the workers of Ózd were told that they could retain their workplaces, then they were told that only certain parts of the factory would be closed and the privatization would create new workplaces and they would be trained for a new profession in order to come up to the new technological demands, and so on, every day a new lie. For these people, for Hungarians as well as for other East-European millions, the turn from one-party dictatorship to democracy means simply, that now more politicians lie than before" - wrote the spring issue of the democratic newspaper "Reportage". And the illusions of the working class collapsed... The "fantastic trip" from the one-party-democracy passed over to its direct continuation, where it's not just one party which interferes in your life, but the totality of the bourgeois forces, which are today not less unable to solve their crises as earlier. Every rubbish and dirt settles on us, we will die earlier, we are sent to their wars - which are directed against us, we suffer from their floods, their dog-days, we freeze to death, we die of hunger: this is their vale of tears...

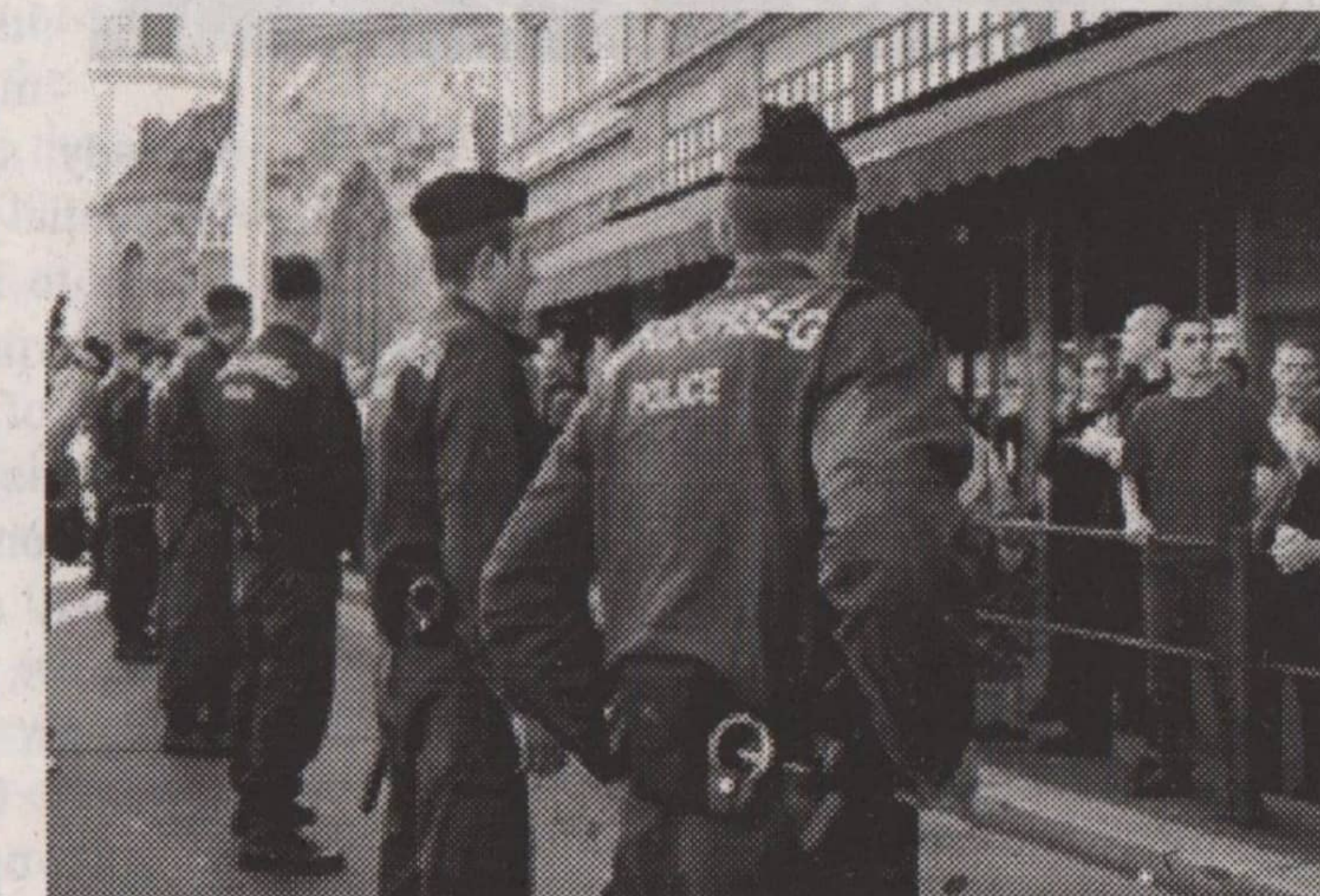
This writing wants not merely to describe a process, but wants to encourage everybody to organize ourselves jointly in order to burn up the world of capital, we, the ordinary, oppressed proletarians. Otherwise, we are nothing else than data, numbers and information in the statistical almanacs of the bourgeoisie.

The transition in Hungary is the process of the capitalist re-organization, which aimed at the reinforcement of the accumulation of capital. The party-state collapsed, and modern capitalism appeared. The goal of privatization is the acceleration of the movement of commodities and capital, the perfection of competitive spirit. The total bourgeois (state) property - which was created by the working class but which was expropriated by the masters of capital - contained 1860 enterprises (the total value of which was equal to 2600 billion forints), and the value of the firms, privatized until the end of the '90s, were equal to cca. 2000 billion forints. In 1986, a "bankruptcy law" was established, and those enterprises, which showed deficit, were artificially "pumped" with capital (Láng Machine Factory, Ganz-Mávag, the mines in Tatabánya etc.). Already at the end of the Kádár-epoch the property of the enterprises Tungsram, Ganz Electric Current, Ganz Railroad Vehicle Factory, Ózd Metallurgical Works, Hungária Insurance Company etc. went into the hands of "foreign capitalists". A lot of people naive-

ly thought that with the "compensation law" the past owners - who were "deprived of their private property" by the bolshevik state - will be recouped - it did not happen. In spite of this, once again the old-new ambitious bourgeois locusts and their satellites could step on the way of the further capital increase. Privatization slowed down, the "foreign" bourgeois hyenas stayed away for a little time, unemployment increased, in 1991, for example, it became two times bigger and reached 7 per cent, and the initial enthusiasm of the working class turned into disappointment. This area was also transformed from the mortuary of bolshevik democracy into the prison camp of liberal democracy.

The secret of the bolshevik full employment myth was out, uncertainty became the master when the proles were drinking their evening beer and watching TV - they started to worry about their workplaces. Unemployment rate in 1993 was equal to 13 percents, this meant the lack of footing for 650-700 thousand wage-workers. The movement of capital became faster: at the beginning of the transition, the "foreign bourgeoisie" owned 10 per cent of those property, which was expropriated from us earlier by the state. One and a half million workplaces disappeared, the number of registered unemployed workers grew from 47 thousand to 650-700 thousand (as we have mentioned already), a lot of wage-workers drudge illegally. According to the official data, between 1995 and 2003, the rate of employment grew by 345 thousand, while unemployment decreased by 150 thousand, the number of not-registered unemployed people is about 200 thousand. Between 1990 and 1995, 500 thousand people retired. In the study of a team of sociologists we can read: "The Middle-European economies try to adapt themselves to the capitalist world economy, it can be supposed, that the biggest part of possibilities of work in heavy industry and in mining will close down." Their predictions came true, shadow-towns and the slums from the beginning of the 20th century revived, the former state-capitalist industrial towns - "the prides of our party" - became the empires of erosion. Tatabánya, Ózd, Miskolc are the constats of capitalist horror, the indifferent proletarians living there endure with patience - the question is, until when. Because their future is just as hopeless as their past - unless we destroy the capitalist world, which fattened from us.

In 1985, 60 thousand workers drudged in



the iron-smelting industry in Hungary, their number decreased to 9 thousand until 2002. In general, the worsening of the conditions of the industrial working class have become frightful: the number of workers employed in the processing industry was cut down by the capitalist rationality from 1.7 million to 1 million, in the building industry from 400 thousand to 270 thousand, in the mining from 120 thousand to 13 thousand. Such death factories as Ganz-Mávag, Csepel Works, Rába Works and others were closed. "Their is no job, that's the truth, you can ask however much people, but I tell you, everybody says the same. There's no job, people just stand and talk with each other, they scold the system and the new managers." (From the statement of a prole.) During the history, the bourgeoisie always wanted to use unemployment for its own goals, the wages of the workers were brought down, the working class was egged on more effective labour, the members of which were divided and threatened with the spectre of unemployment. Today, in 2005, the unemployment rate in Hungary is 7 per cent, that is 2 per cent smaller than the EU-average, but - because of the low wages and the huge taxes - the living standards are very low. (In the central part of Hungary - which Budapest also belongs to - the brutto average salary of the manual workers is 104 thousand forints, from which they receive 74 thousand; the brutto average salary of the mental workers is equal to 235 thousand forints, and they get 136 thousand. In the northern part of the country, in the poorer areas, the brutto wage for manual workers is 90 thousand - they get 70 thousand; for the brain workers, 170 thousand is the brutto salary, and they receive 105 thousand. But they often do not get it in time. These data are from 2004.)

More and more people take their chance in the western labour market, this is also characteristic to the capitalist sharks, who try to remove their enterprises to those places which are more favourable for them. In 1992, a pecu-





liar bourgeois trick was started, the "Employee Part-owner Programme" (MRP), the essence of which is the following: "The MRP is such a technique of privatization, which made it possible for the employees of the former state-owned companies, to become owners in organized way or - in juridical sense - individually by those firms, where they are employed" - wrote a left-wing scribbler. 283 MRP-organizations were formed, in 1999, 200 from them were still functioning, in the following years these miserable attempts to integrate the workers kept stalling, then started to stagnate. There's a typical case related to this, which is mentioned by a journalist: one quarter of the wage-workers by the Tungsram factory of General Electrics in Újpest (a northern district of Budapest) established their own Ltd. They drudge approximately for 2/3 of the average salary - we get the information. With the support of MSZOSZ (social democratic trade union), the lobby for workers ownership goes on. In 2000, there were 187 companies with wage-worker shares. This covers about 70-80 thousand workers. The line goes from Henkel Hungary Ltd. to Auchan, the bourgeois and their exploited privatized together in a lot of places ("holy peace between classes - Eduard Bernstein, Lenin, Bill Gates and the dream factory exchange glances"). There are companies at which the workers - through their MRP-shares - are the sole owners (Herend China Manufacture, Ribbon and Cord Factory Share Company). The "foreign" capital investment rushed to the country: between 1990 and 1995, the number of "foreign" firms increased from 5 and a half thousand to 25 thousand (most of which are in the joint ownership of both Hungarian and foreign owners), and in the next years mammoth and transnational companies gradually also appeared - quarry hunters from Germany, Austria, Italy, USA and so on. A characteristic fact: until 1997, 1859 state companies had been liquidated. Until 2004, the international bourgeoisie invested 3.4 billion euros to enterprises in Hungary, the Hungarian locusts invested 3.2 billion to their foreign business. The "international capitalists" pumped about one half of this invested money into the processing industry (the production of trams, vehicles, real estate, food etc.). The GDP decreased until 1993, from 1997 it has grown by 4-5 per cent. Today one million members of the working class live from less than 50 per cent of the average income, the number of homeless people are between 30 and 50 thousand, the data lie at random, the christian polecats and their orga-

nizations intensively stupefy the "people of dustbins" with their donations and syrupy tales, joined by the various left-wing punchinellos with their humanist activities.

The next squealing sentences were stated by one of the bourgeois ideologists, the former pampered cretin of the state-party, today national-socialist Imre Pozsgay: "Another part of the Hungarian bourgeoisie also didn't come into being as a result of its own accumulation of capital, that means by an organical evolution.

Already at the beginning of the 90's, the influential parties made an effort to place their clients to leading positions at the state banks and enterprises. This shows indirectly, that the rotation of the economic elite accelerated already in this period: at the end of 1990, a half of the economic elite was assigned to new posts, in 1994, already nearly 80 per cent of it. Moreover, in the financial elite, the rotation was even bigger. Part of the economic elite probably was not assigned to leading posts because of its professional knowledge, but because it had mutually beneficial connection-capital, which tied it to one or more parliamentary parties. So, when its enterprise was privatized, it got 'advantage in position' if it wanted to buy it, and if not, it helped to choose the purchaser, which seemed to be optimal both for it and for its party. In both cases, it became part of the clientage of its party. This clientage-organizing activity of the parliamentary parties ran through the past decade." The abolition of agricultural co-operatives, the liquidation of metallurgy and steel industry in Hungary (because these branches of industry lost the competition of capital or were incompetent from the beginning) produced a significant unemployment. A big share of the not-privatized companies got ruined and became bankrupt. 1 million people were fired - liberal capitalism wanted to show its superiority over bolshevized capitalism this way.

## ABOUT REFORMISM, TRADE-UNIONS...

*"We would like our Trade Union to take part in the fight for new order that would guarantee pluralism and democratic rights, work and good payment for it." This "wonderful and touching", silly, counter-revolutionary statement was written by the Polish trade union "Workers' Initiative", which is a member of the "Anarchist Federation".*

It's time to state that we create by no means a myth about the working class, we reject the stereotype of the proletarian man with oil on his hands, who fights proudly, shoulder to shoulder with his companion, the tractor-driver proletarian woman, for the better conditions of life. Even if the sources of the disgusting bolshevik falseness of socialist realism and the "proletarian myth" of the currents fighting for workers' autonomy are not the same, these two flow into the same river, into the maintaining of the world of exploitation and labour. They both conserve the capitalist

relationships and maintain the status quo. The first commands us, proles to the work-benches by its bolshevik party and sucks our blood. The partisans of workers' self-management - and this contains also the ouvrierist currents with their artificial federalist falansters weakening the fighting unity of the proletariat, with their practice of limiting the terrain of our exploitation to the workplaces, and with their trashy, syndicalist, popular frontist, "proletarian", anti-intellectual politics - send us to the fatherland of exploitation by their false slogans and self-management (by the absolutely mendacious myth of "The factory is yours, you work for yourself"). In the long run, it is no matter, what these very effectual ideologies and their practice have understood from the critique of value - exchange value, exploitation - alienation, private property - property, in one word: from the critique of the world of labour, if in fact they leave the fundamental pillars of capitalism unchanged.

We must attack not only the capitalists, but also the other preservers of capitalism, that member of the working class who is a model of adaptation, who is fascist, liberal, social democrat, bolshevik or trade union-member - as necessary -, who has a democratic attitude to the system both in his behaviour and his ideology. It would be quite superficial and biased to attack only the capitalists because they oppress and exploit us - we let them to do this, we endure this, fear and pray for waking up tomorrow calmly again, and for starting a new day of capitalism. Class solidarity is the basic condition of our struggle, and - taking a look to Hungary - we can find only quite weak marks of it. This article wants to show - among others - that our class bears the burden of capitalism in a servile manner also in this region. We cannot have partial conquests: the gaining of higher wages, the shorter labour-time, the various "social benefits", the enforcement of rights (of any kind) and also the forming of a trade-union in the paunch of capital. But we also have to beware of the artificial pumping of pseudo-radicalism and hurrah-optimism. At first, there is no reason for these, secondly, our struggle can be understood only in its world process, and accomplishes itself in the dialectics of "setbacks and advances". We have to self-organize, not only in the workplaces, but we have to set the totality of revolution against the totality of capitalism, what means: out from the factories, out from the workplaces, out to the street, to the squares, to the mews, to the parks, to the fields, to the lands, out from the flats and schools, out from the churches, out from the museums of capitalism, out! We have to take back our real lives jointly and in a self-organized form from the wolfs of capitalism - we have to smash and set on fire the whole world of capital outside in the squares and inside in the heads. Let the past burn on the bonfire accompanied by the smile of the actual season. We have to end the era of illusions, if not, then we will meet the "era of barbarism". From the strike of the Polish miners to the street-fightings in Bolivia - we are in the streets everywhere, and have to keep in mind the universal character of our struggle! It is only this context, in which it is worth estima-

ting the position of the working class in Hungary.

What is about the trade-unions, they always pushed the wagon of the capitalists, of course, they do this also today, but - among others, because of the lack of membership - they cannot be effective in the fight for their demands, they always need the financial support of the bourgeoisie, this help is given them by the bourgeois parties - so its a joke to speak about any kind of independence. After 1956, the bolshevik party had demanded from the workers to be trade-union members, but this demand died since. During the transition, Magyar Demokrata Fórum (this party expressed then a "third road" and was born from the alliance of the left- and right-wing nationalists) and the social democrats were competing with each other for the favour of the trade-union and workers' council movements - which were led by the bourgeois ideology -, of course, this was because of the forthcoming elections. Privatization and unemployment touched first of all the industrial working class, so the trade-unions have become weak among it - there was simply no need for them. They could maintain their existence only where the strong industrial working class continued to dominate: at the railroad and the energy sector, for example. The trade-unionist lobby still exists, and at the time of elections a lot of trade-unionist politicians fly to the Parliament on the list of the Hungarian Socialist Party. "The property, infrastructure of the trade unions have remained considerable still after the transition. MSZOSZ with its branches had a bigger property and more developed infrastructure than all the parties together" - wrote about them their historian. They have really kept their power during the transition to the fatherland of the new happy-making capitalist principles. But this power cannot compose an independent force, and the trade-unions always "fight" for their interests as the satellites of this or that bourgeois party. The parties also need the trade-unions as a voting base - this way, the picture is ready. "Capital (money) is needed for the campaign of the socialists. Trade unions are needed for settling the result of the match" - formulated a leader of the Metal Workers' Trade Union exactly and aptly.

After 1990, every fifth wage-worker left the trade-union, altogether 80 per cent of the trade-union membership exited from this "earthly heaven", because they experienced that their organizations hadn't taken a stand for them (privatization, dismissals etc.). In spite of this, several thousand trade-unions sponge on the workers in Hungary (an older source speaks about 3600 trade-unions). Theoretically, the labour time is 8 hours, but the road to the workplace and back adds 2 more hours to this, and for our reproduction we have to sleep, eat and drink, live sexual life, have fun and improve mind - with these we get also the necessary ideological clyster.

So it is not the task to artificially divide the world of labour, the planet of exploitation into labour-time and free-time, because in capitalism everything is determined by the circulation of reproduction. God, fatherland, family,

labour, exploitation, alienation, war, famine, freezing to death...

## BLACK LABOUR - OR WHICH LABOUR ISN'T DARK?

After the transition, about 200.000 wage-workers moved to Hungary from the neighbouring countries hoping to find better conditions of survival. About 300.000 "foreign" wage-workers illegally live here from hand to mouth. The rate of employment is much less than the international average, according to the capitalists, a workforce equal to about 400 thousand people "is missing from the labour market". The authorities harras black labour, of course, because it does not pay the taxes.

One data source says, that in Hungary between 1990 and 1994, 1.4 million workplaces out of 5 million were liquidated. In most of Eastern-European countries, the real wages are less than 25 per cent of the average real wage in the EU. The labour market of modern, "brilliant" capitalism often becomes a real market of the unemployed wage-workers. For example, in one of the most busy squares of Budapest, Moszkva square, the proles "wait for their employment" every day. Not far from this market, there's a food market also with meat, apples, fried dough, poppy-seed, fish... From early morning, hundreds of totally exploited workers stand there and wait for the opportunity of drudging 10-12 hours, which makes it possible to survive until tomorrow. In 1997-1998, there was a wage-slave market approximately in every fifth town and village. On the Moszkva square, proles from Rumania, from the Ukraine, from Russia and from Hungary compete with each other, during the regular police-raids they disperse, and then return to the square. They bargain over the wages, which fluctuates between 3000 and 5000 forints. (We could say, that's the average, but these exploited have nothing besides this, maybe relatives somewhere afar in miserable hovels, who wait the money for food from them.) They are employed on buildings or do gardening labour.

Everyday fascism follows their lives, the nationalists would like them to go back where they have come from - since for the nationalists, "Hungarian commodity", "Hungarian labour-force" is always more desirable as "foreign". On the one hand, nationalism is generated by the right-wing of the bourgeoisie, but the liberal and left-wing camp - competing with the right-wing - accepts the game and generates it further. The nationalism of the bolshevik party called Hungarian Communist Workers' Party finds its echo in the leading oppositional party, the far-rightist Fidesz, and we could continue to enumerate the examples for long.

The statistical data about the minimal living standard and about the salaries are absolutely useless in most of the cases, because the capitalist class "takes back" with the inflation everything it had apparently lost. According to data from 2000, there are 300 thousand "foreign" workers in Hungary, the Chinese



wage-worker market is considerable with its labour-force equal to 15-20 thousand people. A big part of them work in the commerce and catering trade, their bosses are usually those Chinese bourgeois, who moved to here because of the better conditions of exploitation. It's an old practice of the capitalist to move to places where they can make bigger profit. After a time, it was completed with the lending of labour-force, the essence of which is to give to opportunity - if needed - to put a big labour force quickly and effectively to the "racks". The bourgeois who borrows takes the labour-force over, undertakes the various administrative burdens. (A prole said about this: "I work here for ten months. I know that my salary is the same as that of the mate working next to me, who is not a lended sweater, I get lunch-ticket and travelling contribution. Yeah, I don't get premium. I feel mostly the absence of security, I will never get used to the fact that at the end of the month my contract expires and I must dread whether it will be prolonged.") But why the capitalist enterprise have made this step? 1. The borrowed wage-worker makes it possible for the company to flexibly adjust itself to the actual circle of customers. 2. Before christmas, for example, much more orders come to the entertaining-electronical industry, the circulation in the market becomes faster, the profit of the capitalist is much bigger than in the other months of the year. 3. In a long term, the borrowed labour force is cheaper. The wage of the borrowed worker is usually the same as that of the "native" prole, but the borrowed worker pays himself 20 per cent of the travel price, he/she doesn't get assistance for his/her children's education and also doesn't get other forms of benefit which is given to the "native" by his capitalist master.

## CARICATURES

The youth of the working class is standing also in front of a beautiful future, the rate of unemployment within it is 19 per cent. According to a statistics from the past year, a worker needs 53 thousand forints for subsistence - in the reality, this is enough only to avoid dying of hunger. The average cost of living of a working-class pair is 93 thousand forints in a month, the same for a proletarian family with two children is 154 thousand forints. From netto 45 thousand it is impossible to make both ends meet, this pocket-money is less to 8 thousand than the average cost of living.

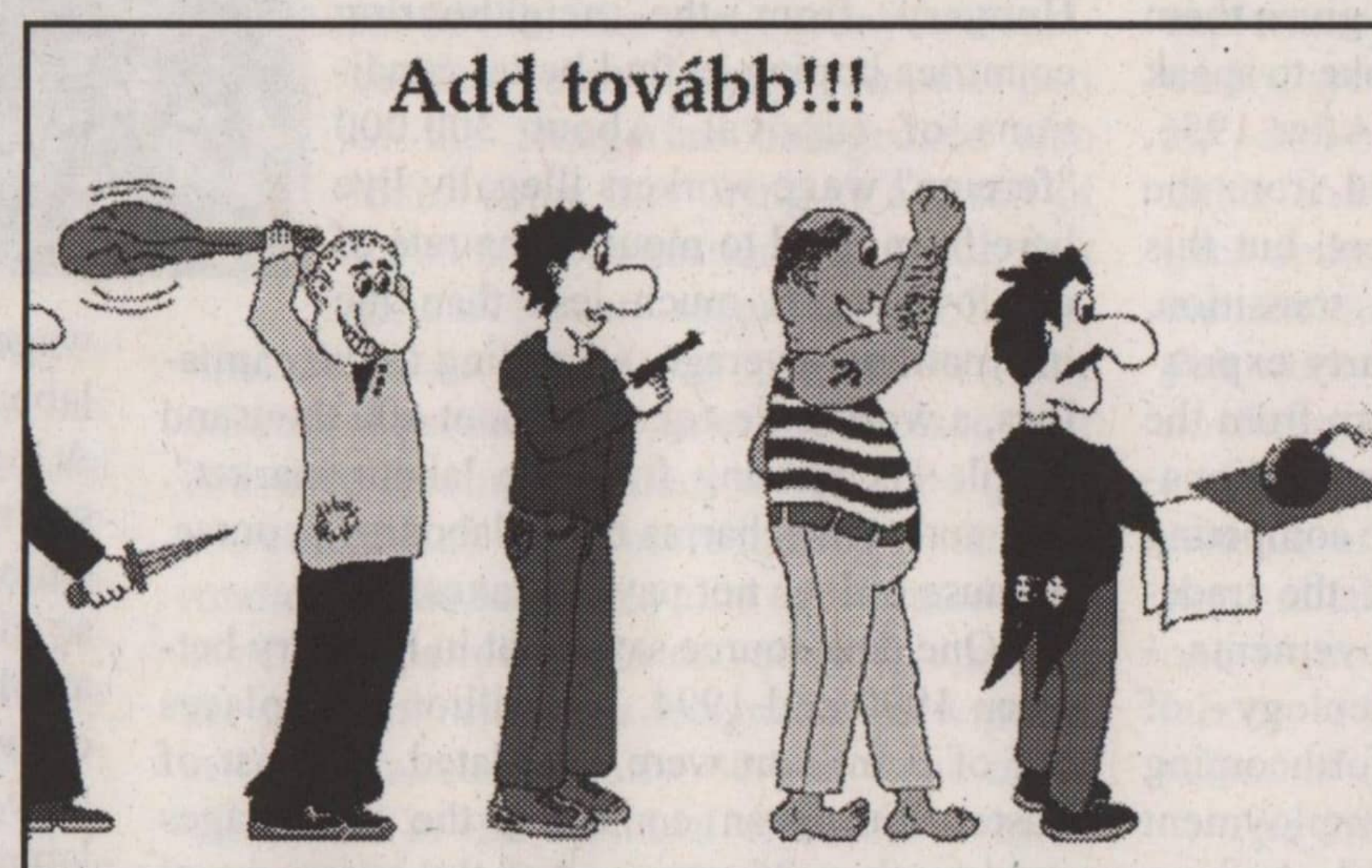
The positions of the working-class pensioners is also bad: an old man/woman (often a



wreck of his/her life) have to live through from 48 thousand, two old proles from 88 thousand, at the same time the smallest pension is 23 (!) thousand forints. In the proletarian districts (and slums), the workers' families which don't pay the rent are usually evicted, and the authorities always emphasize the cases of the people with gipsy origins, strengthening this way the everyday fascism. Besides this, the separating of the working-class people with gipsy origins is permanent everywhere - in the schools, in the workplaces. They are mostly afflicted by unemployment - from about 600 thousand gipsy people (most of which are members of the working class) approximately 30 per cent is unemployed (for a big part of the population, they are "a gang of stinking thieves", which would steal also the stars from heaven - the bourgeois stereotypes work this way).

The living standards have fallen enormously in comparison with that of the Kadar-regime. But the market and its assortment are significantly bigger. You can find everything on the racks of democracy, but the prices of the capital's "high quality products" are very high, and they leave for us only the fat-watered meat, the washy wine, the coarse tobacco, the diluted milk, the sour, inedible bread, those packaged products whose warranty is over and other dainties... - which are also very expensive (1 kg of bread costs 200 forints, 1 kg of pork costs 800 forints, 1 litre of milk costs 150 forints, 1 box of cigarette costs 400-500 forints and so on). Electricity, heating are expensive, life is expensive. We are forced to eat-drink absolutely unhealthy things (what is not unhealthy in capitalism?), such things, which the bourgeois wouldn't give ever to his pig. We must buy them at a high price, and tomorrow morning we must be punctual. This is the essence. And then we reach the hospitals, since we are mentally-physically perishable commodities which go bad quickly, and here a new trauma (and not the plain, as the movement song says) is waiting for us. The nurse-workers' wages are low and they have to drudge like cattles, there are too few beds (according to some statistics, the number of beds corresponds with the level of 1966) and you will quickly be trundled to the cemetery, but the your proletarian relatives have to pay for the funeral. On the holy sea of culture: the books, newspapers, movie, theatre, library are terribly expensive, and so is the pretzel, which is thrown to us - gobble, prole! The prices of books sometimes

reach the western level and the same is true for the CD-prices - it's good that you can "pirate". The days of sick-leave have become less: earlier you could be absent for 3 days unjustified, now you can do that for 1 day - after that, you find yourself on the street. The terror of democracy accompanies us also on the public transport, where the muscle-brained asses (the



King Kong hirelings of the transport company) can beat you black and blue if you don't have a ticket. The public transport is expensive, and the company which has a monopoly, raises the tariffs as it likes.

The membership of Hungary in the NATO and the EU didn't change anything in the menu of capitalism, capital continues to enlarge its markets and abolishes its past restrictions, putting an end to those obstacles which were rational for it earlier but today stand in the way of capital circulation. The membership in the NATO gave a punch to nationalism, we can remember the outbreak of the war in Yugoslavia, when only the class-struggle elements (which will be mentioned below) fought on an internationalist basis against the war of the ruling class. The left-wing intellectuals whimpered and grunted, they published some dazed manifestos in the brave spirit of Mother Theresa, while politically and economically they were absolutely interwoven with the bourgeoisie. The Hungarian Stalinists with their solidarity with Milosevic had blazed fire up against the American/NATO imperialism, and they continued to do that in the next wars. The nationalists came forward with the myth of the "thousand years old Hungarian field" (which has been made complete in their minds through the ancient history of Hungarian commodity, education, culture), and hand in hand with the Stalinists, they pull the integrated part of the working class about. Each of them create arbitrarily a picture of the enemy (USSR, USA), and they cannot understand that globalization did not start at 1990 but at the debarkation of the conquistadors.

In this sense, the social-democratic/liberal line is more professional, they aren't romantic but make an out-and-out realpolitik, and they do the dirty labour as far as they can. And it can happen, that this task will be taken over by a conservative government, which will be no less demagogic and populist than its predecessor. So in the big political carnival, the

citoyen of the Horthy-epoch meats the "man-in-the-street" of the Kadar-regime, the arrow-cross men (Hungarian nazis) meat the members of the AVO (which was a kind of secret police during Rakosi), this way we get a ravishing, sentimental kitsch-parade, which is, nevertheless, spilt with a huge portion of the ice-cold capitalist rationality. If we take a socio-photo, we can get such a motley picture about the reality in Hungary.

### OPPOSITION, CLASS STRUGGLE, INTEGRATION...

Today class consciousness is vague in Hungary, a big part of the working class shrink back from using some basic historical proletarian concepts, and would like to throw these concepts back to the obscurity of the past. But these concepts express the essence of the

struggle of our class, and they cannot be "out-of-date" as far as the communist society hasn't been produced by the world of exploitation. Such concepts are the class struggle, communism, proletariat. The majority of the working class identifies communism with the capitalist bolshevism of the Kadar-epoch, but there are also a lot of exceptions. One of the historical features of this area is, that at the same time when we fought against capitalism, the party-state "expropriated" the class struggle. Of course, this was a play-acting, which sent the working class to sleep. Counter-revolutionary organizations continue to sit on the working class, first of all the trade unions, which - as the most vigilant social democratic remainders - today also have a lot of victims among the workers. The necessity of the trade unions - the vampires of the proletariat - for the ruling class is always determined by the deepness of the contradiction between the capitalists and the working class, the value of the trade-unions' share is proportional to that.

The strikes of the past 15 years have always been directed by some of the lobbies which do "protection of the workers' interests", usually a trade union. Their demands have never crossed the boundaries of democracy. In 2000, there were 5 registered strikes, 6 were in 2001, 4 were in 2002, 7 were 2003, 8 were in 2004, the number of the participants in these strikes is nearly equal to 70 thousand. These data are quite revealing. But we recall the statements of a social democratic ideologist, who, of course, cannot be accused of being a revolutionary. The paid scribbler writes: "After 1998, the trade union protests didn't really embarrass the government. These protests remained within the structure, at most, they wanted to change the roles or the cast."

But it is also true, that because of the transition, those small anarchist-communist cells also have appeared in Hungary, which existed during the Kadar-epoch at most as buds. These communist currents are usually small in their numbers, but these active organizations and their efforts, of course, met the general internationalist endeavours. When we write a

report about the position of the working-class movement in Hungary, we must by all means point to the fact, that, after all, the "passive working class" has produced its militants, and - first of all, because of the internationalism of the committed fighters - its activism gained continuity. In the nineties, the press and the leaflets of Anarcho-Communist Action (Gravediggers' Class-struggle League) and the cell of the Internationalist Communist Group appeared in Hungary - as important signs of proletarian activism. Since then, the various anarcho-communist cells have divided and grown - these cells radically opposed bolshevism, anti-fascism, social democracy, liberalism, that means: democracy, capitalism, the dictatorship of value. These avant-garde groups did not let the real class-fighter movement to disappear from the scene.

But what on the other side happens in the name of "anarchism", is a mere left-wing puppet-show, commercial competition and market. We can feel as in the whirlpool of a comedy on the fair, and the usual roles turn up in the "dramatic version of anarchism". They would like to make from the struggle of our class a mere primitive subcultural idiotism, they behave like barnstormers with their pseudo-squats, they pick out from the heritage of '68 the situationist movement (which their egoism has misunderstood), and they ride in the value-market of capitalism as an empty, alienated leisure hobby. They dissolve their real dissatisfaction on the counter-cultural market which works as the twin of the Auchan supermarket-chain. They, and not the real anarchist movement must be thought of, when we quote the opinion of Bordiga: "the anarchists are the social democrats of our times". The Trotskyists are present in this area from the birth of Trotskyism almost permanently - except the Kadar-epoch - and they continuously make their petty counter-revolutionary activity. Since the end of the Kadar-regime, the Fourth International tried to collect a membership and - with its arbitrary understanding of 1956 - to glorify and to propagate in its press the former brilliance of the bolshevik party. Then the local section of the Socialist Workers' Party appeared, with its eager newspaper-making (their paper was called Solidarity - it is a joke in itself since they were Trotskyists) and disgusting church-building, with their direct participation in each social conflict and with their exhibitionism. This institutionalised movement couldn't become deeply rooted here, their lunatics and priests infiltrated into the ATTAC, and for today, they "build the better future" - the prisons of the working class - together with their twin brothers, the Leninists-Stalinists and other leftists of the same kind.

As a result of the transition, the accumulation of capital by the beneficiaries of privatization, the old-new bourgeoisie have increased, the wage-workers' salaries have fallen as the roller coaster, one and a half million workplaces have been liquidated, one million wage-workers have become unemployed, several hundred thousands have been forced to retire, the capital produced by the proletariat was at first expropriated by the state ruled by

the bolshevik slave-drivers and their twin brothers: social democrats, liberals, nazis, and then they have sold it out, so now the working class is standing here skinned, crippled and sweated.

But what did we wait from them? LABOUR, BREAD - the misery of wage labour, so, that's it! In Hungary, thousand of workers can calmly be fired, because the ruling class meets no serious resistance, and if there are still some mix-up, then the trouble is no more than a protest against the loss of status. The trade unions bark as vigilant watchdogs but they don't bite (of course, they are not held for that), sometimes there are some strikes which have been reported earlier, then the proles confined into the panel houses go home contented, to build further the objectified dreams of their objectified lives. The working class and its movement (which have been milled during the Kadar-epoch) today fall as an avalanche into the camp which is led by the left-wing bankers, "defenders of their interests". The self-management propagating left-wing, also active today, says its prayers and begs the masters of capital: for workers' ownership, for shares. But the aim of obtaining and defending the workers' ownership was never anything else than the defence of the workplaces - because of that, we reject the workers' self-management, and when we write about the "losses" of the working class, we emphasize that it "have lost" these things always within the world of exploitation. These so-called losses are disturbances between capital and labour, we have to break out from this cage! No partial success can lead out from the jails of labour and alienation, so we don't argue against privatization - that would be mere reformism - but we argue for the communist revolution! We experience day by day how the ruling class sits down to us and restricts our space of life, but we don't need a symptomatic treatment, we don't fight for actual political goals. Let politics go to hell, our struggle goes for the abolition of value! Down with workers' autonomy! Down with the demagogic social democratic fancies and slogans! The slogans rejected by us are parroted off by the whole Hungarian nationalist left-wing beginning with the bourgeois Eszmelet journal with its social democratic Marxism, which left-wing doesn't want anything else than the left of the world in general: a reformed, humanist latrine - the world of capitalism with its totally objectified mammoth plant. They look for and they find alternatives within the hall of capital rotten to the core. The row goes from the neo-Trotskyism of the ATTAC to the far left, which get at the working class with their stinking ideology and build a church with the integrated, servile members of the working class, who think that, they've found a real community. Often the activists from the working class dig their own graves when they enter into a capitalist vampire-organization.

The working class also very rarely fights in an organized form against the rapidly worsening standard of

life, the inflation, the measures of the capitalist power. Class solidarity is a scarce phenomenon, the reason for that is, that the exploited seldom goes further in mind from its own state of life and discover himself/herself in the other exploited. However, the working class is dissatisfied in general, each tries to fight in his/her subjective level against his/her reality, and from the carrion-eating nationalists to the above mentioned leftists, the capitalist defenders of property - "the riders of discontent" - stand sentry.

As a rare exception, we can mention that in 1994, 16 proletarians from the tannery in Pécs had refused working, because they had considered their wages to be low - they were immediately fired. In a former text we have already reported about the seizure of factory at Cyklon-Brestal, and the refusal of labour by the proletarians employed by the Kerkamenti Saw Ltd. in Lenti was also a refreshing exception in 1994. The press permanently reports about strike preparedness from the Malév (Air Transport Company) to the BKV (Budapest Transport Company), sometimes even about strikes, which are quickly put off. So, the working class here is also discontent and lives very badly, but its reality cannot delude it with pink dreams, with fairy-tale for long, because its reality is a horror.

Obviously, the whole working class must come to itself, but the signs are disquieting all over the world. We would have like to show a clear picture about the situation in here, contributing by this to our common struggle, taking the measure of our forces and weaknesses. Unfortunately, we could say very few about our forces, however, we are neither embittered nor pessimistic.

In New Orleans and its environs, the proletariat plunders and wages war on the natural elements created by the capitalist society. It's good to see that our class hasn't lost its vital force and burgles the shops of democracy, but at the same time we mustn't forget that we are afflicted by the beastly avidity of capital, by the tsunami, by the floods, by the earthquakes, by the droughts, by the famine and by thousands of other capitalist curses. All these are accompanied by our continuously decreasing standard of living, our exploited lives compose a real horror: we are cattles on slaughterhouses - as the army of capital thinks about us - but our tasks are not few: let's act, to send their false notions together with their world system to hell!

Barricade Collective - Autumn, 2005.





## ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS



### THE XIITH CONGRESS OF THE BELARUSIAN FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS (FAB)

On the 2nd of October, while at the Congress of democratic forces, the Belarusian opposition was arguing, electing its united candidate for the forthcoming president election campaign of 2006, Belarusian anarchists carried out their Congress to discuss questions really important for Belarusian society.

More than 50 delegates from Minsk, Homel, Lida, Vitebsk, Ivatsevitchi and other Belarusian regions took part in the XIth Congress of FAB. Activists from the following initiatives participated: Belarusian social movement "Razam!" ("Together!"),

Autonomous Action (Belarus), Antifascist Resistance, members of Belarus Indymedia team, the radical unemployed of the Navinki newspaper, and other anarchist and anti-authoritarian initiatives acting in the country.

The participants of the Congress discussed pressing issues of Belarusian reality, determined tasks of Belarusian anarchists in the current social and political situation in the country, as well as planned some concrete steps to the subsequent development of the anarchist movement in Belarus.

One of the most important results of the Congress was the decision about FAB's joining IFA approved by consensus of all participants. Representation of Belarusian anarchists in the International will allow them to attract more attention to Belarusian problems. Moreover it will strengthen international solidarity and support from foreign comrades that is very important for Belarusian anarchists, especially after recent repressions of the officials against activists of the antifascist movement.

## SUBTERAN COLLECTIVE

### No resources - many plans; New collective born in Romania



Our group was formed this summer (2005). Everything started with simple meetings followed by discussions in which everyone had progressive ideas and with time we started taking direct action to help our community.

Iasi City is situated in the north east of Romania. There are a lot of social problems which include unemployment, problems with the infrastructure and ecology. Our city is in Moldova county which is one of the poorest in Romania and that is a reason for the people's low level of education and low access to information.

In the short history of our existence we have conducted just 4 actions of which 2 street actions and 2 alternative film screenings about the alter-globalization movement.

With screening the movies Genoa Senza Risposte and The Fourth World War we tried to bring in front of people's eyes some facts that are not in the mainstream media, as well as the information about the progressive social movements. Through street actions we tried to catch the attention of public opinion concerning pro-

blems we are dealing with more often like illegal privatisations in a corrupt environment. On the anti-McDonalds street action we tried to inform people about the dangers of unhealthy eating, insisted on promoting a healthy lifestyle, which not so many people have these days. On the street actions our group was joined by some other people depending on the compatibility between our ideas and their principles.

We don't lack future plans either, so we hope that in a short time we will be able to centralize more infos on a website and at the same time start off more projects like a distribution, an online library, a fanzine and movie collection especially since we also want to help some other people who would like to organize screenings in other towns ... of course.

We have many more projects in mind but they need more cash and time to be done but we hope we will accomplish them someday.

Contact:

subteran\_iasi@yahoo.com

## ST.PETERSBURG DIY HC/PUNK-POLITICAL ZINE IN ENGLISH!!

St. Petersburg DIY hardcore / punk zine BLAH-BLAH-BLOOD #2 is out now. 60 A5 pages in English: interviews with "wheel of Dharma", "Marschak", Jason Flower ("Third World Planet") / "Mexican Power Authority" / "Supreme Echo", archive interviews with "Dilonis" and "Brigadnyi Podryiad", tour reports about trips of "Hero Dishonest" into Russia and Belarus, reviews, articles about the war in Chechnya and connections between Russia's left and nationalists. Available for 3USD / 2EUR ppd. through Epicenter Infoshop: Yevgeniy Faizullin. PO Box 103, St. Petersburg, 191013, Russia (epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru).

Version in pdf format is available through <http://www.diy.astashou.com> website.

Contact: diyhc@yahoo.com.

## NEW ANARCHIST PROJECT "BLACK SPIDER" IN THE CITY OF ŁÓDŹ, POLAND

At the beginning of September 2005, a new anarchist project in Łódź started to actively exist. "Czarny Pajak" ("Black Spider") had its opening ceremony on 10th September, and since that day on, we have been trying to make it an alternative place open for all initiatives. The name comes from a funny hat we found in the room we are renting, which is supposed to be a spider. Today, "Czarny Pajak" is home to a few organizations and initiatives. We are organizing movie and discussion clubs, we are home for an anarchist

library ([www.biblioteka.bzzz.net](http://www.biblioteka.bzzz.net)), and Anarchist Federation and other organisations have meetings in "Black Spider". We would like to invite all anarchist groups and people to take part in creating the ambience and looks of the place. You can read more info on what is going on in Łódź on our website, Czarny Sztandar ([www.czs.org](http://www.czs.org)). Feel free to write if you want some information in English: [maciek@riseup.net](mailto:maciek@riseup.net)

## NO BORDER FESTIVAL (IS PLANNED) IN ROMANIA

NoBorder Festival is planned to take place in city of Timisoara, Romania. This should happen in period 24-25 march 2006. Festival is planned to be a Do-It-Yourself event which should bring together people from 15 former communist countries (eastern European... or how you wish to call it). Festival is dedicated to DIY movement in Eastern Europe (south, central or north of east Europe). Apart from bands from each country, we also invite DIY distro's/labels to take part and also films about social struggles or by independent artists that can be presented during the day.

Next year we hope to be able to organise workshops as well, and invite a few people active in anti-authoritarian activist groups in Eastern Europe. We still need help on different levels, and so if people have time or will to help us with ideas or in other ways please contact us.

There is an idea to dedicate the upcoming festival edition to Timur, a 20-years old anarcho-punk-antifascist activist from St. Petersburg who was killed by Russian fascists in the middle of November 2005, as his life was strongly dedicated to ideas that our festival wants to promote.

## "KRTKOVA KOLONA" an anarchist space in Prague, Czechia Invitation and call for financial support

Only anarchist place in Czech, info-cafe "Krtkova kolona" ([kk.czechcore.cz](http://kk.czechcore.cz)) is finally officially opened. You can visit it at Socharská 6. Opened Monday-Thursday 16:00-22:00. Cheap internet, table football, drink and something little to eat.

At the same time it has big financial difficulties, so benefits and other activities are organized.

*The realisation of the festival is highly dependent of the costs which our Romanian comrades have to deal with and which they in no way are able to cover by themselves. In this sense the announcement above should be understand as a call for support for this initiative. For contacting the activists in Timisoara*

Write:

aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

## ABOLISHINGBB FREE TO PRISONERS

Since the last number ( but for "technical reasons" this article didn't made it for the last issue), we've started to have a regular free prisoner subscription: We've developed contact's with ABC groups around Europe, sending them as much quantities of couriers as they ask for, and they are taking care of distributing them to the prisoners they are in contact with; on our side, we still cover Germany.

Anyway, our idea is not just to set this up for Europe, but, possibly, to expand it on a world-wide level, prisoners are prisoners everywhere on the earth.

As already mentioned before, this project is just in its beginning stages, which means that it will take a while before it's gonna work decently. We are not professionals, neither do we want to be, so, as always, we will try to put our best into it, but we need this idea to be taken up by other people, because we alone will not manage to get it up to its best level: in this sense, will be also really appreciate every donation or benefit sent to us, that could help to cover the cost of this idea.

On a last note, some people probably ask themselves why we think it is important to send our courier inside: we think that one of the most afflicting things when you are locked down, is the lack of communication and information from the outside world.

We feel that it is necessary to keep some bridges of solidarity between the people, both political and social prisoners, that find themselves deprived of their, already small outside, freedom.

We feel that people shouldn't forget our comrades who are inside because of their actions against the actual state of things, nor the so-called social prisoners who, on different levels, pay tribute to this society's need of punishment. We like to repeat, that we strongly oppose this conception felt by so many people, even inside our "scene", that find in prison an answer to problems and questions that still need to be answered by us all.

The abolition of borders from below must walk together with the abolition of prisons. The cry of freedom, of anarchy, cannot exist together with the presence of the prison system. In this sense: towards a society without prisons!

Your Abolishers...

[abb\\_prisonersubs@riseup.net](mailto:abb_prisonersubs@riseup.net)





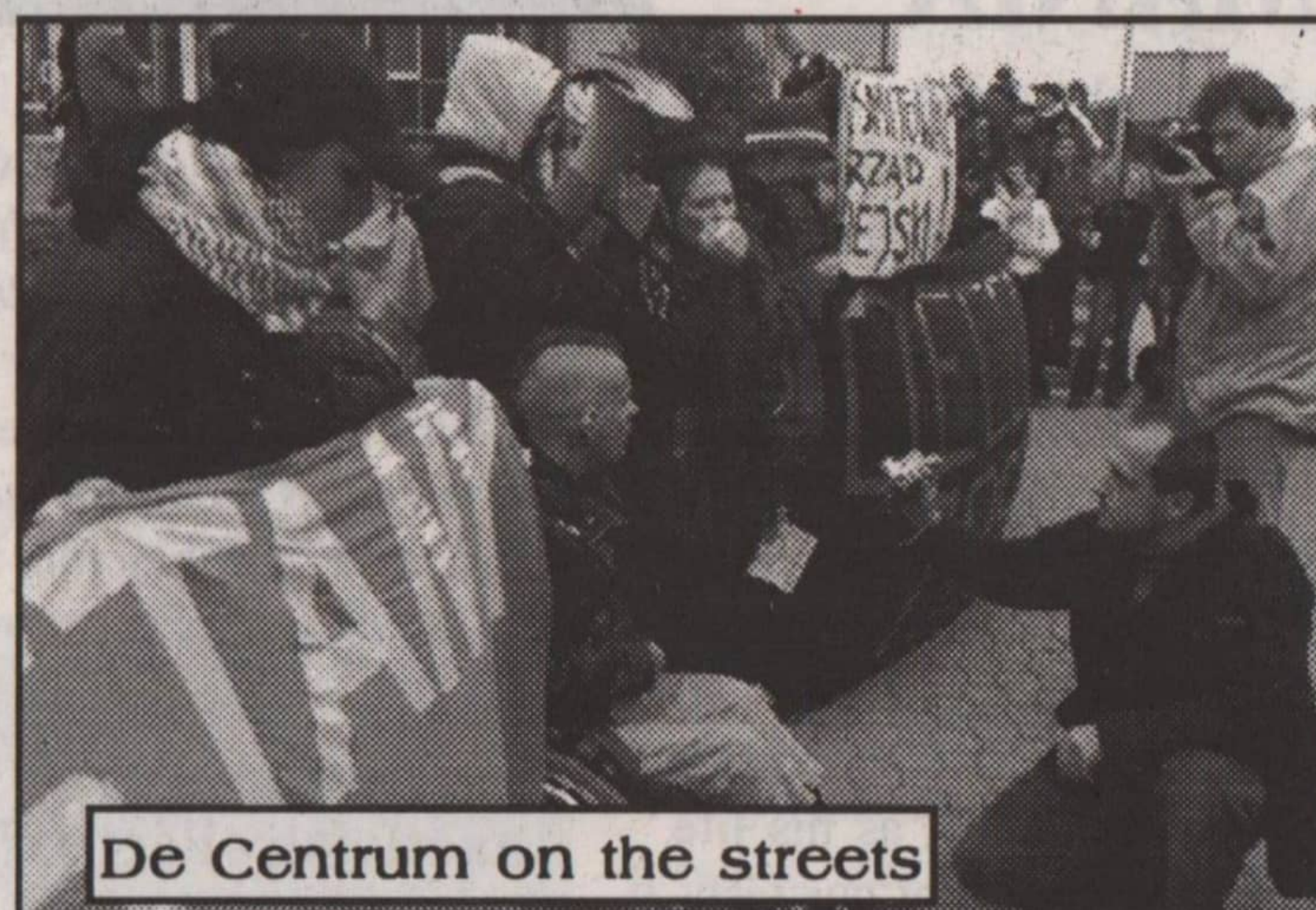
# @=SQUATTERS DIALOGUE

**"THEY CAN EVICT THE BUILDING  
BUT OUR IDEAS LIVE ON"**

## DECENTRUM SQUAT IN POLAND EVICTED THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

Probably lots of you heard about the DeCentrum squat in the Polish city of Bialystok. Anarchist stronghold in the centre of the city that has been there for 5 years. Never defeated, attacked often by cops and Nazis, being home to many valuable initiatives and a meeting point for lots of cultural activity and political meetings.

On the 25th of October city guards and city officials entered the building in the early morning, using acetylene torches to cut through the armored door and evicted the place right on the spot. Of course it was illegal, of course some people became



De Centrum on the streets

homeless just before the harsh Polish winter, of course everybody was surprised but that is not the point. This was continuation of the policy of gentrification going in Bialystok for last 203 years. With posh yuppie flats next to the squat and it being a perfect spot for future development of capitalist business, we knew we will not be there for much longer. Still it came as a bit of a shock to most of us.

People gathered outside in a short time, harassing city officials. Media were there immediately afterwards. City guards used some violence against the people trying to get back to the building, cops came as well. After some negotiations cops allowed people to enter the building and take our valuable stuff, among it all the antifa stuff that was allowed to be evacuated to our great surprise as well... City officials quickly realized that they stomped in big shit as they received a lot of unwanted media attention. All the next days DeCentrum was in main headlines, in local papers, radio, TV and made it to national news as well. The action of the city was criticized by everybody. The embarrassment of the officials was deepened by their pathetic explanations of this action and completely contradictory statements they were making to the media. An emergency meeting was called. The next day a few dozen people were demonstrating without permission in front of the city council building. After the demonstration about 30 anarchists tried to break into the building again but after a scuffle with the cops and city guards they were pushed back. What is interesting is that the police were so scared of media attention that they didn't even used their batons in the fighting and didn't try to make any

arrests, being content with pushing people back. More solidarity actions followed - some demonstrations in the city (one of them together with homeless people that we regularly fed during food not bombs actions). There were solidarity actions in other cities of Europe as well - Minsk (Belarus), Moscow, Kiev, Berlin,

London and in many Polish cities: Warszawa, Katowice, Kolobrzeg, Biala Podlaska, Poznan, Lodz, Czesochowa and some more. Hundreds of people made phone calls, sent faxes and emails, annoying the shit out of the city officials. Dozens of people gathered in front of embassies, handed out protest letters, held banners and so on. It worked to some extent - showing them they can't just evict us and expect no fighting back. Me personally, I would prefer all Polish embassies to go up in flames, but that's just wet dream ha ha...

After a week of pressure the authorities started bending and they said they were ready to give us some building straight away if we only register some legal association. This caused a big problem in the collective. Nobody was happy with it, we didn't want to legalize anything but some people decided its the only possibility as there are no other buildings to squat at the moment and we need to have some sort of social centre. In the meantime some people broke into DeCentrum building again. Unfortunately the building is badly damaged by the cops and Nazis, who were allowed to attack it under the nose of the police, when nobody was inside. As a result people left the building, leaving a banner on the wall saying "If you buy DeCentrum you buy Trouble". Authorities reacted to this

saying that this is a threat and they are not going to negotiate anything but after two days said they still want to negotiate. Currently, people are gathering signatures demanding authorities to give us back the building. Some direct actions like graffiti and some stuff against the city council also happened and a few nazis who tried to attack the squat just at the moment when anarchists were hanging around were badly beaten as well - at least something to wipe our tears away ha ha...

Now my personal view - I think in some respect its good what happened. Authorities were sitting quiet for the last 3 years, not interfering with our activity and some people really thought we can exist alongside each other and believed DeCentrum will never be evicted. The truth is that they were just waiting for a good moment and they certainly learned their lessons from previous attempts at evicting us and this time did it really quick before support could arrive. It has also shown the real face of authority and some people (especially those not involved in struggles for DeCentrum that happened in the first year) lost all illusions about the nature of power. Bad part of it is that people now went for legalisation process. While nobody is happy about having any sort of deals with the city council, some people think its the only way, while some others think its better not to have the place at all rather than bend to the authorities and let them

win. Ultimately they sent a message across the country - you can evict squats and if there is too much trouble with solidarity, you can always sort them out by giving them some other building on a legal basis and have the anarchist movement under control. Perfect for rulers who want to show their permissive face, while at the same

time crushing the place of REAL resistance that was a problem for them for the last few years. We will see what will happen next. The spirit of DeCentrum didn't die - they can evict the building but our ideas live on, hatred towards the authorities' burns very brightly in some of us and we will never make peace with power so if they thought they can stop us that way, the next months and years will prove them wrong.

The Struggle Continues!!!



# @=SQUATTERS DIALOGUE

**"WE ALL KNOW THAT WE ARE THE MEMBERS OF AN INTERNATIONAL  
MOVEMENT, THAT'S WHY NOW WE ARE ASKING FOR YOUR SOLIDARITY"**

## CALL FOR SOLIDARITY FROM BUDAPEST IN HUNGARY

On the first Saturday of October we squatted a house in Budapest, Hungary. The building is the property of the local government of this district (Erzsébetváros, 7th district of Budapest). It wasn't used for three years now. In one day we moved in, cleaned the building, established an infoshop, a coffeshop, a freeshop, a huge dormitory, and a gallery with four exhibitions and with one cinema

Last year we squatted an old socialist "pioneer" shopping mall, and we organized there a cultural centrum for the autonomous movement. This was our first action as a group, and this was the first well-organized squatting action in Budapest for years. We were evicted after two weeks. After it we got a small basement from a rich friend of ours, some of our friends run that place, called AK57 since then. Now we wanted to try our best again, and squat a new building.

We planned to make the opening party on Sunday, a day after squatting, so we invited our friends, comrades and the media (both the independent and the mainstream). Unfortunately the police arrived earlier, but they couldn't come in, since the door was locked; the funny point (that shows that we are much more organized than them) is that it was locked from outside. They were standing at the gates at least for one hour, we were watching them and arguing with them from the windows of the first floor; those who were invited (around one hundred people and the

media) gathered on the street.

We wanted to discuss the situation with the local government; finally one member of it told us that he will come in to talk with us. So we let him in and one police officer as well. They told us that we have two choices:

a) we go out with our free will in this case the vice-mayor is going to discuss with us  
b) we reject the first solution and in this case the police is going to take us to the yard. In both situations the police is going to write up our names.

We talked with them in our cinema: two of them and forty of us. The policewoman seemed to be confused, but she tried to look like a tough one. The politician tried to be friendly and made promises - he had some personal contacts among us.

So we chose choice a. We made a compromise that this time we go out, and try to talk with them. We made a strong promise: if they fuck us we will continue our struggle. Day after, on Monday we went for the discussion with the politician. Of course he fooled us: he told us that it won't be an official discussion and the government won't cooperate with a group who makes illegal actions. Fine. We agreed then that one of those NGOs who signed our solidarity proclamation will give our portfolio to the government, and the politicians will make a decision until the end of October. If the NGO will not get an empty building from them (our will is to get Building

A, which we squatted on Saturday, it's in good condition, our things, and the exhibitions are inside) until the end of this month, our group will continue the struggle. Until that time we'll put pressure on the government as we've learned it from the tactic of the EKH (actions on the street, both legal, illegal). In Hungary we will have elections next year too. We think we are the only well organized squatters in the capital of the country so we'll continue our struggle until we'll get a house.

We all know that we are the members of an international movement, that's why now we are asking for your solidarity. When the Ernst Kirchweiger Haus in Wien, Austria was in danger, we organized ourselves, some of us hitchhiked to Wien and helped in those hard days, the others then organized a solidarity demonstration here in Budapest in front of the Austrian Embassy. Now we ask all of our comrades to put as much pressure on the leaders of our district as you can! We ask you, because this city really needs an autonomous cultural, social center! Try your best, make something creative, or simply do something similar (organize demos in front of the Hungarian embassies in your country!) to the solidarity demo that we made this July to help our Austrian comrades.

*The struggle continues!*

**Long live the international squat movement!  
Centrum Group**

## DECENTRUM UMBRELLA-SOLIDARITY ACTION IN KIEV

On 3rd of November about 20 young people picketed the Polish Embassy in Kiev (Ukraine) with strange demands. They came to express their solidarity with semi-underground cultural center in Bialystok which was deprived of its premises.

As in other countries, the action was called "Umbrella Solidarity". Participants decided to gather at a certain time at 16:30 with umbrellas and to collect signatures for the demand to restore the building to the cultural center. The umbrellas under the clear sky give to what's happening a certain comicality which is actually needed for youngsters. Young people also brought some polish music and a self-made banner with a slogan which is also the same for all actions in different countries: "DeCentrum w centrum naszej uwagi" - "DeCentrum is at the center of our attention". A policeman/security guard, who was inertly watching the participants while they were on the other side of the street, came right away

with questions when youngsters moved to the Embassy's doors. As an answer some people gave him a letter with a request to return the building and proposed to him to join them and to sign it.

Of course he refused and went to his sentry box to call instead. As it turned out he was not calling the embassy because in 15 minutes reinforcements came - A "Bobik" - police car with three more policemen. They tried in vain to find out which organisation is presented by these people. The attempt to determine and convince the leaders was nice but also without any results. "Who's in charge here?" they asked. "Nobody" young people said. "Whose name are you signing the letter from?" "Every person's signing it from his/her own name. We all are free people here and each of us has their own head".

While spreading the flayers some people show interest. Some old lady turned to be the most cute of them asking: "Yoi, children, you're not

for Korchynski (Ukrainian right-wing leader), right?" - "God, forbid!". "That's good."

So I see such nice kids, is it possible they are for Korchyncki? ". That's it.

The embassy officials looked out at us through the jalousie. Finally after 30 minutes, after several calls via door intercommunication system one of them came and took the signed sheets. "Enough, it's enough" he said when every participant of the action was coming separately and giving him his/her own letter and the letters of those pedestrians who signed them.

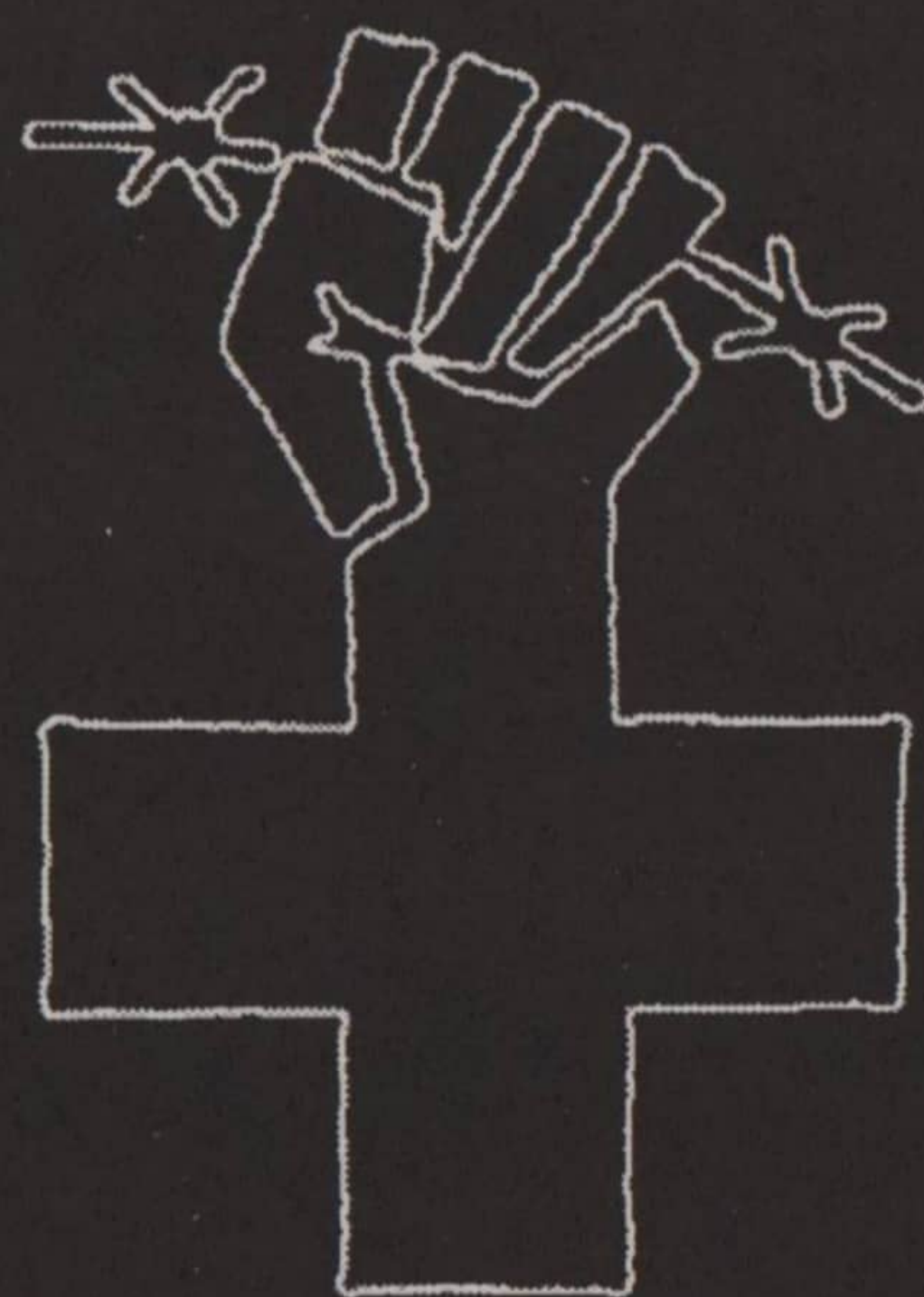
It seems like it's all just funny romantic appeal... but it seems as a result of such funny actions in different countries of Europe, it was decided to give DeCentrum a new quarters.

Arthem Chapeye





## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



### BELARUS

Andrei, Belarusian libertarian activist and journalist belongs definitely to the favourite's objects of the oppressive arm of Lukashenkos regime. Not long time ago Andrei was fined 2,500 dollars and had his passport taken away for protesting. Now he has been detained again for having written a critical article and held for 5 hours. He had a stamp in his passport (from the Belarussian authorities) forbidding him to go West but he came to Poland through the Ukraine. When he was returning, he was detained at the border and had his passport taken away.

Andrei is an activist from the Polish minority in Belarus and was involved in some anti-government activity. Unfortunately these activities are now being used more instrumentally by the Polish government.

### BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

#### WE ARE ALL PRISONERS - THE STATE IS OUR PRISON!

On Tuesday 11.10.2005, a group of anarchists and antimilitarists from Mostar and Sarajevo held a demonstration in front of the Turkish embassy in Sarajevo in solidarity with Mehmet Tarhan. Mehmet was arrested, harassed, and sentenced to four years for refusing military service.

As a consequence of the torture inflicted upon him by the army prison administration, Mehmet started a hunger strike on 30.9.05. In front of the Turkish embas-

sy, approximately 15 protestors were carrying banners with messages of support for Mehmet, while shouting "Army kills, freedom for Tarhan" and "Enough with violence." They also handed out flyers with description of Mehmet's case.

Same as during previous actions, there were more police than protestors. Embassy staff refused to take the protest letter because it was against their protocol. We continue to demand freedom for Mehmet Tarhan and all comrades around the world and we ask all of you to put pressure on the Turkish embassies, consulates, or representatives in the countries where you live. Imagining ourselves in Tarhan's place should be enough to make us understand the importance of support for our comrades.

*We are all prisoners - the state is our prison!*

*Krug-(A) Mostar*

### FINLAND

#### "What do I have to say if I am jailed in November of 2005 for draft refusal"

*Statement of Antti R.  
Written a few days before his arrest*

*I refused all military service, call ups included, in November of 1997. My first call up date was 12th of November 1997, 19th call up date given to me was 14th of March 2005 and 20th date was 15th of July 2005. I never showed up to a call up, except once when I visited the event with three other anarchist total objectors in order to sound a fanfare and read a manifesto against army. But army officials handed us to the police, and consider that this action did not qualify as fulfilling my "call up duty".*

*During the last 8 years, I have been almost continuously under an arrest warrant in Finland. Almost any time I have had dealings with police or border guards, I am fined for absence from a call up, and given a new call up date. Usual fine amounts to 90-120 euros. I do not pay these fines, because I think the right to conscientious objection should not be on sale. Thus fines are converted to a prison term, 7-10 days for each absence from a call up. Often I complain to court for these fines, after all my only crime is*

*conscious objection, and I should not be punished dozens of times for one single "crime".*

*Finnish court degrees have not considered serial punishment for one "crime" as a problem, and my own resources and skills are not enough for filling a complaint to international court degrees. New Finnish law on advocates, which deprived amateurs the right to work as court advisers, has lead to a situation where I may not receive any compensated legal aid - although altogether I have been given several months of prison, no real advocate will take my cases since each of the 20 cases alone is just a misdemeanour, which does not qualify for state compensations for lawyer's work. Occasionally I have also missed court sessions, which may result in an additional fine of 400 euros, which are converted to 15 more days in prison.*

*My motivation to fight against the apparatus of state violence has only grown each year. The more stubbornly army and state justice system attempt to push me, the more I wish their destruction.*

*I am not against violence always and everywhere. I think defence of freedom and equality, by violence if necessary, is a right and duty of every human being. But the state has a monopoly of violence, the right of the ruling class to solve moral questions as a justification of the violence. And if one may draw a single lesson from the history of Finland, it is that one should not count too much on morale qualities of the ruling class - alliance with nazi Germany is just one, although an outstanding example of this. I will rather keep my right to make moral choices, and refuse military service.*

*So for me total objection is not a personal lifestyle choice, but a practical means to throw a spanner in the works of the state violence apparatus. A large scale draft refusal would cause more harm to the state, than the method of total objection which is most popular today, where total objectors first visit a call up in order to appeal for alternative service, and only later refuse any kind of service - this way a total objector does not end up in an endless cycle of call ups, and gets a standard 197 day prison sentence for "alternative service crime". Approval of current law on alternative service 1992 resulted in a decline of the number of total objectors down to less than ten persons annually. But during last 13 years we have suc-*

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*ceeded in developing a total objection movement, which is one of the biggest in the world - according to state statistics during the last couple of years more than 70 persons have been annually sentenced for an "alternative service crime", which in most of the cases means total objecting. As far as I know, only Armenia, South Korea, Eritrea and Israel have movements of such a scale, and in the first three countries known imprisoned total objectors are mostly Jehovah's witnesses, a religious group freed from military duty in Finland.*

*One may even compare the number of political prisoners in Finland to that of China, where according to official statistics some 3000 persons are in prison for purely political "crimes". For sure, many Chinese activists are sentenced for "usual" crimes, and vast majority of the political prisoners are in laogai, "re-education camps" without any court process whatsoever. But although, besides the "official" political prisoners, 5% of the 300 000 prisoners in "re-education camps" were political, China would still have only two times more political prisoners per capita than Finland, where an average 30 total objectors are imprisoned in any given time.*

*Of course, where a relative number of political prisoners in China and Finland are of the same scale, one may not really compare treatment of prisoners. But current easy living of political prisoners in Finland is not due to benevolence of the state, it is a result of struggle of the previous generations of total objectors - especially hunger strikes of 1990 and 1992 taught the state a lesson that total objectors are a security risk, and it is convenient to give them a privileged treatment in prisons. We have come a long way from the torture camp of Karvia to which Jehovah's witnesses were sent in 1960's.*

*But change-makers must keep in mind, that after any concessions from the side of the system it has all the cards, whereas we must again begin our organizing from the beginning. Our final goal should not be shortening of alternative service by one month or even abolition of conscription, but destruction of the state army and whole violent apparatus of the state. To a large extent alternative service has lost its political meaning, it is generally understood just as a longer but less intensive way to do military duty. Some even choose total objection for purely pragmatic reasons - it takes less time than alternative service, and open prisons allow working with a*

*better net income. Total objectors are sentenced from a conveyor belt; courts and imprisonment have lost all media value whatsoever.*

*We may be content with our achievements of the last 13 years, but the world is developing in the wrong direction much faster than our movement is growing. Nationalism and other "great narratives" are in decay, and as a consequence the system of conscription is in agony all around the world. But armies and wars have not disappeared anywhere; first of all they are used to solve practical geo-political and commercial issues. In some sense we have returned to the 17th century, to a time of mercantilism before nationalism and conscription, when wars were first of all seen as a business activity operated exclusively by professionals.*

*Integration to the machinery "for defence of civilization" of international capitalism is far in Finland, both in the level of attitudes and in practice. A good example of this is a totally uncritical attitude to the presence of Finnish blue berets in Kosovo. Finnish corps in Kosovo are under direct command of NATO headquarters. Under former UN administration, NATO has in practice colonized Kosovo for an unlimited period of time, even the proposal of full sovereignty is raised more and more often at the official level. In practice both of these variants mean ethnic cleansing of the Serbian minority.*

*A liberal democrat may argue, that ethnical cleansing of Serbian minority is a "lesser evil" than the cleansing of Albanian majority attempted by Milosevic's administration after the beginning of the bombings in 1999. But I do not think that democracy means right of majority to cleanse minority. In general, ethnic conflicts should never be solved according to nationalistic paradigm, where just some nations must be taken as winners and others as losers.*

*Whereas the majority of Finnish people consider NATO as a vehicle of super-power machinations, the UN is generally considered as a neutral organ for "common good". But to safeguard its own "credibility", the UN is more and more often willing to go clean the mess of Western interventions, thus becoming more and more a part of those politics itself. A formal endorsing of interventions by UN Security Council depends only on results of trading behind the curtains; apparently Finnish government would have accepted sending blue berets to Iraq as well, in the case results of these*

*machinations would have been different.*

*Former Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen faced no consequences for the secret support his government gave to US lead military coalition 9th of December 2002. It was only the opposite side in domestic politics who had to pay the price for one of the biggest political scandals since Finnish independence - state official Martti Manninen was fined for revealing classified information, and Anneli Jaatteenmaki had to abandon her post as a premier minister, although later on she was cleared of charges in court.*

*Command language of Finnish air forces has been English for years, and it is no doubt that professional soldiers are eager to get into "real action". NATO-membership, which according to a poll by Suomen Gallup is supported by 23% of Finnish and opposed by 57%, is not the first, but the last and perhaps meaningless and thus unnecessary step to international integration of security policies.*

*I do not think the biggest problems in Finland to be humanitarian, or even social, I think the biggest problem is a cultural one - narrow mindness, naive belief that no global problems will ever reach small and distant Finland. But no matter all our efforts, the chance of Finnish army joining a war for the interests of the global elites is today bigger than anytime after 1945. It is only up to us if we let this happen or not. So we must fight against developments, which turn conscientious objection into apolitical routine, we should never loose the global perspective from our sight. We should always look for new, more effective means to sabotage the violent apparatus of the state. Always when the army comes to cities to train for occupations, we should provide them authentic feeling of a guerrilla resistance, supported by hostile civilian population. Every sentencing of a total objector, every arrest of a draft resister should be made an event, which judges, cops and army officials will never forget.*

*Long live anarchy!*

*13th of November 2005*

*(Antti is one of the regular AbolishingBB correspondents from Russia ... at moment as well, occasionally from Finland!)*

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## KYRGYZYSTAN

### PRISON REVOLT IN KYRGYZYSTAN

*According to official reports, four prisoners were killed in the police operation, but human rights activists have suggested many more were seriously injured.*

*The operation has been followed by attempted break-outs at two prisons on the outskirts of Bishkek - claiming the lives of two inmates - and disturbances at several other penal institutions.*

Prison No. 31 (some 37 km from Bishkek) had been in the hands of inmates since October 20 when parliamentary deputy Tynychbek Akmatbaev, and two civil servants, were shot dead while inspecting conditions in the jail. A fourth person, the head of the penal authority, Ikmatulla Polotov, later died of his injuries.

The Kyrgyz leadership has defended its decision to storm the prison, vowing that any future revolt will be dealt with in the same way.

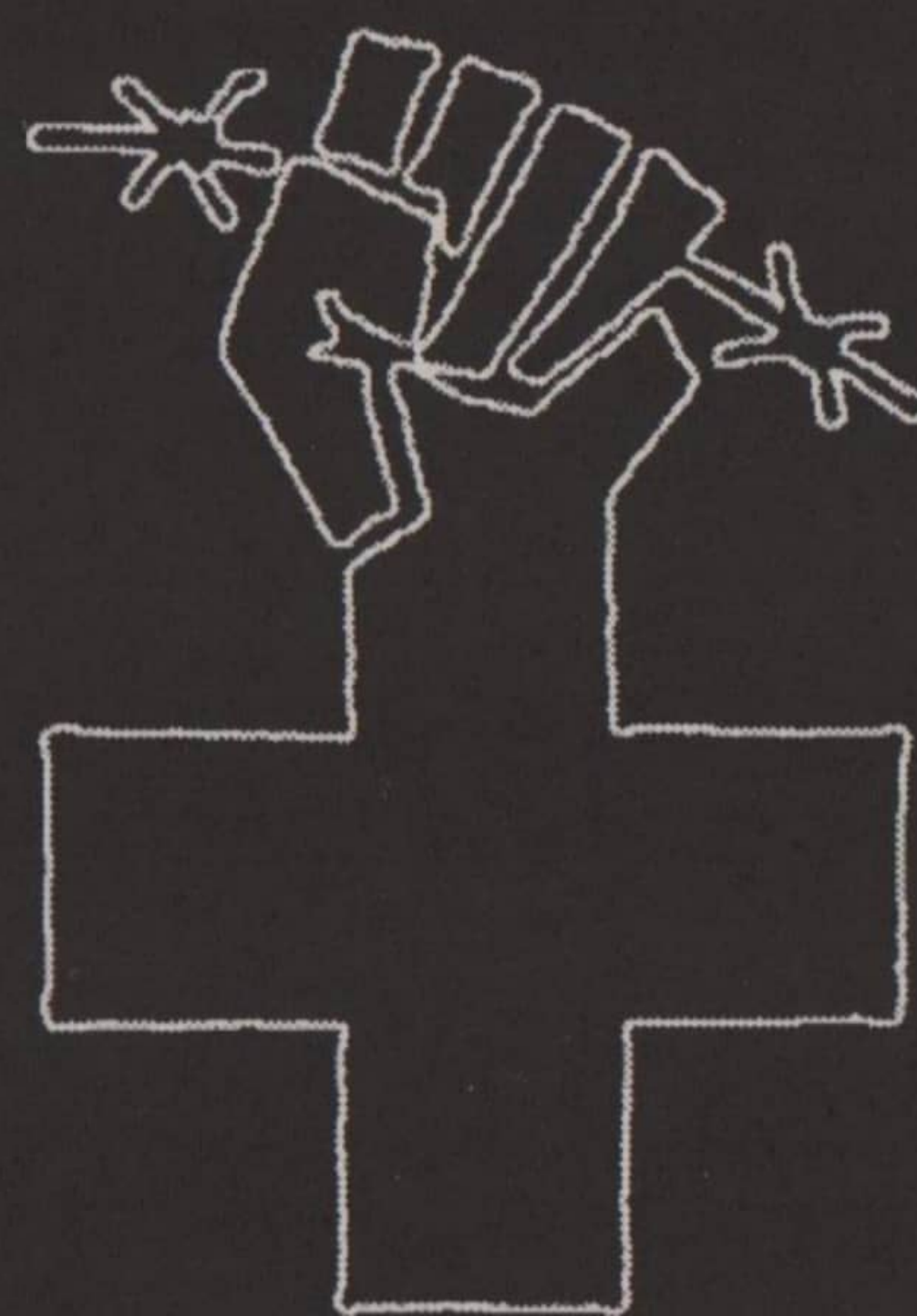
"Bringing order to penal institutions is a natural process. A democratic nation cannot tolerate anarchy and lawlessness," President Kurmanbek Bakiyev said at a press conference, a day after the revolt was crushed.

The authorities claim the decision to launch the assault on Prison No. 31 came after 14 suspects in the October killings - including the alleged ringleader Aziz Batukaev - refused to give themselves up. Fourteen other suspects had been arrested in the immediate aftermath of the October 20 killings.

Officials say that the new head of the penal authority Kapar Mukeev was shot in the hand and attacked by fighting dogs as he attempted to negotiate the voluntary surrender of the remaining suspects.

Deputy Justice Minister Sergei Zubov said the incident prompted the assault on the prison building. A source in the penal authority said the special forces used large-calibre machine guns and grenade launchers to destroy makeshift barricades erected by the inmates.

The elite troops are then said to have seized inmates who had formed a human shield around a building in which Batukaev was holding out. Mukeev told journalists that the alleged leader of the



rebellion had in recent years lived a life of luxury within the jail; such was his apparent power and influence over prison staff.

He said Batukaev had converted three floors of a wing into a private office - complete with billiard room and sauna - where he lived with his wife and close relatives.

Mukeev also said Batukaev was allowed to breed fighting dogs and kept three mares and 15 goats, providing him with a supply of fresh milk which he required for a stomach ulcer.

Special forces are said to have found a large number of firearms, knives, ammunition and drugs when they seized from Batukaev's prison headquarters.

"In recent years, Batukaev felt very free in prison, and completely ignored the rules of imprisonment," said Mukeev.

Batukaev's sister, Yakhya Batukaeva, described the assault on the prison as an outrage, insisting that the inmates had offered no resistance, and had been prepared to cooperate with the official investigation into the October 20 shootings.

She also rejected Mukeev's description of her brother's lavish life behind bars, saying that he lived modestly and worked in the interests of fellow prisoners.

"As a tidy person, he whitewashed and painted the room where he lived. Also, he built a mosque and church in the prison grounds. Was that a bad thing?" she asked.

Officials believe the seeds of the prison revolt were sown by a combination of worsening conditions and corrupt penal officials.

"Prisoners had nothing to do and were left to themselves. And to stop them from starving, their relatives were permitted to send them food. As a result, a great deal of things could be brought into pri-

son, including prohibited items," said the deputy general prosecutor, Abibullo Abdykapparov.

At press conference, other relatives claimed that prison staff demanded bribes from inmates to meet their families and have food sent to them.

## POLAND

### IN POLAND FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND SPEECH HAS BEEN LIMITED. ENOUGH POLICE AND STATE REPRESSION!

#### Report of The Anarchist Federation (section Poznan) and The Anarchist Black Cross (ABC/ACK Poland)

The Anarchist Federation and the Polish Anarchist Black Cross in the first report published on 21st of December 2004 have paid attention to the fact that "for several years actions of many different political and social groups that openly protest against the Polish government's policy are submitted to bigger and bigger repressions, with the use of the police and the machinery of court". This phenomenon is not incidental, but on a mass scale. For the past 3-4 years many activists of anarchist, antiwar, radical left wing, social worker and ecological movement, have been put on trial. It is easy to see not only the rising number of "political" cases, but the courts are also passing higher and higher verdicts. Today the number of police, prosecutor's and legal proceedings are hard to count, however, we can mention these examples:

- 1) Several people are charged with demonstration against war in Chechnya on Lawica Airport in Poznan in 2004. They are now standing trial in Poznan
- 2) From 6 to a few dozen defendants were found guilty in connection with demonstration against Vladimir Putin's visit in Cracow in January 2005. They are now standing trial in Cracow
- 3) One person accused in connection with a "critical mass" (bicycle demonstration) in Poznan is standing trial now in Poznan
- 4) One person convicted of a Nurse and Midwife's Trade Union demonstration in Warsaw in 2000 (convicted to fine with a possibility to change to arrest)
- 5) 11 people are accused with demonstration that took place in Warsaw on 16th of May 2005 (3rd Council of Europe

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Summit)

We assess the number of people now being or in the recent past under police repressions (which include at least detention) at about 80.

We don't know the precise number of suits against workers protesters. For example 20 people were arrested on the 22nd of October 2002 after the demonstration of shipyard workers. 11 of them were put under accusation. No less than 20 people, maybe even 70 have been charged after the protests in Ozarow on 27-30th of November 2002.

The reason for the government repression is undoubtedly an increase in the number of social conflicts (for example the number of demonstrations, according to the police statistics, rose from 315 in 2001, to 2054 in 2003, and 1476 in 2004), that the government apparently can not manage with. So it is trying to restrict the freedom of assembly and speech. It has happened at two levels:

Firstly officials have taken actions using formal and legal procedures in order to reduce the freedom of demonstrating. During past few years we could notice many examples of such behavior; we mention here just some of them:

- 1) The mayor of Poznan gave 11 prohibitions of demonstration to the group Free Caucasus Committee (Komitet Wolny Kaukaz- KWK) who protest against war in Chechnya. Every time when KWK activists demonstrated in spite of illegal prohibition, they were repressed by the police and then the court. On 30th of September 2004 Chief Administrative Court (NSA) considered all prohibitions given by the mayor as illegal. It was announced that he had no right to prohibit anyone from demonstrating. The court referred to 57th article of the Polish constitution which ensures everybody freedom to organize peaceful assemblies and to take part in them. NSA noticed in its verdict that "the constitution introduces the institution of freedom of assembly, not only the right to organize them".
- 2) In the beginning of 2004 parliament tried to introduce an amendment to the act about assemblies, which would forbid people whose appearance prevents them being identified taking part in demonstrations. It would also find an organizer of a protest responsible for damages done by any member of assembly or done shortly after this assembly. Official reason of the planned change of law was safety to the

members of protests, but in fact the government wanted to tighten the rights to demonstrate. That amendment was planned to be introduced shortly before protest against the European Economic Forum in Warsaw 2004. The Polish Constitutional Tribunal recognized it as not contrary to the Polish constitution.

3) The local authorities mainly connected with "Prawo and Sprawiedliwosc" (PiS-Right And Justice- the political party that has won last month's parliamentary elections and whose representative has become the Polish president two weeks ago) and "Liga Polskich Rodzin" (LPR -the Polish Families League- the radical right-wing party) have tried to restrict the rights to demonstrate of "Equality Parades" many times in Poznan, Warsaw and Cracow. The most glaring example took place on 11th of June 2005 in Warsaw, where despite the fact that Lech Kaczynski (the present Polish president) banned the parade, about 3 thousand people marched through Warsaw as an act of civil disobedience.

4) The apparatus of the police uses, on a mass scale, surveillance and intimidation against activists, under a pretence of preventive actions. A well-known case of these actions took place at the beginning of 2004 just before the alterglobalist demonstration against the European Economic Forum. The police intruded into dozens of activists homes and at workplaces, put pressure on them and provoked them in order to intimidate and discourage them to participate in the legal protest. On 29th of April 2004 the police abused their power and stopped buses of activists going to protest in Warsaw from Poznan, Elk and other cities. In addition, custom officers didn't let in two buses of Hungarian activists going to that protest.

Secondly, in many individual and specific cases there are actions taken that restrict freedom of assembly and speech, in which the police and justice administration use the most glaring provocations and law abuses. This includes: using restrictions discouraging people from taking part in demonstrations, brutal police interventions (using violence) during protests in order to provoke protesters and by this creating situations which can be used against them on trial. It is common that the police (often without any evidence) accuse protestors of aggression or assault. Courts usually believe the policemen, in the name of the rule that policemen's testimony is more credible than defendant's because police officers have no reasons (or business) to lie. Of course the rule of the credibility of

a policemen's testimony in which Polish courts seem to fully believe has no rational psychological and sociological sense. On the contrary there are many cases when policemen have lied to court, and it is in their business as it is a consequence of intentional strategy of abusing violence by public order services.

It results in:

- 1) criminalizing people who protest against policies of the authorities
- 2) police actions are getting more and more violent and sentences of the courts are more and more strict
- 3) charges are not commensurate with situations, and often concern completely innocent people

We can mention many examples of these situations, for instance:

1) Proceedings against Andrzej Smosarski have been completed in a court in Warsaw. Andrzej Smosarski has been invited to take part in protest of All-Polands Trade Union of Midwives and Nurses on December 2000 in Warsaw. The demonstration was dispersed by the police and demonstrators were divided into small groups, and surrounded by a police cordon. Suddenly, Andrew noticed that one of the women required immediate medical treatment. Despite his requests, police officers refused to let the woman contact ambulances standing nearby. Seeing that, the group of demonstrators, with Andrew among them, started to push forward and finally broke through the cordon of police officers in order to help the sick woman. As a result of that, Andrew and another agitator were accused of assault of a policeman (kicking him in his chest), although nothing like that had happened.

In Andrew's presence, the police officers agreed upon their own false version of the whole accident. Court of first and second instance has found him guilty of violating a policeman's „nietykalnosc" (immunity). Smosarski was sentenced to 3700 zlotys fine with a commuted to 100 days of imprisonment. With false accusations and a severe sentence, the judges and police obviously want to silence social critique and threaten other activists

2) Agnieszka Wasieczko was one of 11 people arrested after demonstration in Warsaw on 16th of May 2005 against 3rd Council of Europe Summit. They were detained by the police, who even in the police car didn't want to give a reason and a legal basis for their detention. After arrival at the police station they were kept in a garage belonging to the headquarter.

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Afterwards they were examined in a tent. Every attempt of resistance was suppressed. Detainees were pulled, pushed, beaten and strangled. One of them was thrown on a table, hit on his head and had his eyelid smashed. All were chained to chairs by their right hand. Policemen took photographs and fingerprints. All irregularities committed by the police during detention were afterwards taken by the court as justifiable. Ironically, Agnieszka Wasieczko was accused that "by kicking and hitting with her hands a policeman's face, she violated his corporal inviolability", and "in the same place by shouting: "you are fucked" she wanted to force the policemen to stop the actions", and finally that "she insulted the police officer by using words commonly known as offensive". For this she may be sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. Agnieszka firmly denies that any of these events took place during the detention.

3) The organizers of a demonstration planned for 26th of January 2005 against Vladimir Putin's visit in Cracow reported to the Town Council about the protest on 24th of January. The Town Council rejected their application because it was "too late". Despite this, on 26th of January the protest of human rights protestors took place. It started peacefully till several officers shouted: "we'll take him!" and tried to take one demonstrator who held the Chechenyan flag. Being surprised with officers' assault other members of the protest decided to help and to shelter the beaten demonstrator. The reaction of the police was that several people were pulled onto the snow, kicked in the legs, had their arms twisted and hair torn out. Taking out one demonstrator the police attacked the next person in a similar way. According to the protest participants, outside observers and even the media who wrote a statement about aggressive behavior of the police, the police reaction was not justified. What is more, we can suppose the brutal intervention was intentional in order to change the image of protesting people from peaceful demonstrators to "dangerous hooligans". Demonstrators did not use violence or call for violence, just chanted slogans, which didn't offend anybody. Policemen individually said to the protesters to finish the meeting, but nobody heard a call to disperse announced through a police megaphone or in any other official legal way. The police didn't let protesters finish the protest and disperse on their own but created a cordon around protest participants and did not inform about anything. Half an hour later individuals, after being

identified, were taken straight to the police cars. People who didn't have any documents were immediately taken into custody. Whole action finished at 7, when the last frozen and drenched person was released. Over 30 protesters were detained. The police officers refused detainees the possibility of writing a complaint about conditions of detention, as well as not give reasons for the detention and didn't pass on copies of the proceedings. In the meantime a few new policemen were substituted at the police station, who officially entered into proceedings as those who were involved in the detention (although they weren't). At least two detainees weren't allowed to see the doctor. The police took pictures of all detainees without the previous permission or accusation, which is unlawful. People who opposed this were dragged by the place where photographs were taken by force. Not everybody received a warm meal during the whole day, but just a cup of tea, although they were wet and frozen from being dragged through puddles and snow during the intervention. Those who wanted a vegetarian meal got only several slices of bread. Two hours after being released from the police station one detainee fainted a few times. She was immediately taken to the hospital, where doctors recognized exhaustion of the body caused by starvation and stress. In the beginning the police accused 33 people, but finally they decided to send to trial the cases of 6 people: Iwona Bojarczuk, accused of pushing away hands and pulling at an officer; Jan Sawicz, accused of pushing away an officer's hands; Marek Kurzyniec, accused of waving hands and pulling an officer; Monika Gilowska, accused of waving her hands in front of an officer; Grzegorz Sobieszka, accused of waving his hands and legs, making the detention difficult by kicking into police car's doors, kicking an officer in the head and insulting an officer by using vulgar words; Karolina Wisniewska, accused of having illegal drugs. Claims of human rights abuses against the prisoners include: throwing people into water despite the sub-freezing temperatures; kicking people in the genitals, pulling their hair (dreadlocks) in order to exert pain, throwing two women to the ground and putting their knees on the women's backs despite no violence from the side of the protestors.

4) On 26th of November 2004 cyclists organized a "critical mass" bicycle protest in Poznan. From the very beginning several police cars appeared and officers subjected the cyclists to a routine control.

The police made a list of cyclists, who decided to continue their protest. No policeman informed demonstrators in any way that the demonstration was illegal. Near to Freedom Square the police cars freely overtook cyclists but then they blocked the road. Policemen bluntly threw people off of their bicycles, threw the detained on bonnets of the police cars and on a fence. They were offended, pulled, kicked, persecuted and demeaned. Undoubtedly provocation was a part of an intervention scenario. A senior officer threatened the detained not only verbally, and young policemen followed his example. They used words: "paws on fence fucker and legs wide spread, other wise I'll kick your ass". Every objection or movement by the detainees ended with threat or accusation about making difficulties to the actions of police. In a short time tens of people were standing along the fence with wide spread legs and hands on the fence. Policemen did not react when protesters invoked the law e.g. the act about the police. In such circumstances none of the cyclists accepted fines and all were arrested. Persecutions and humiliations were repeated at the police station. Few hours later almost all demonstrators were free but they would face the trial at local court. But Slawomir Kmiotek become detained on a charge of punishable threat, only because he rebuked the police officers during the intervention that they had used means inadequate to the situation. At the police headquarters, in the accuser's presence, policemen established their testimonies. Slawomir Kmiotek may be sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment.

In all these cases the fact that intervening public order services do not respect freedom of assembly and speech has a fundamental meaning. The public opinion is rarely informed about repressive methods of the police actions. The media sometimes bows before the illusion of "the state of law" and they believe the police and prosecutor's excuses. Meanwhile, year-by-year we are coming closer and closer to an authoritarian system, where democratic standards are established by the police officers and the officials of the state administration. Under a pretence of crime and terrorism menace, they try to enforce legal solutions, which will be ruthlessly used against the political anti-systemic opposition.

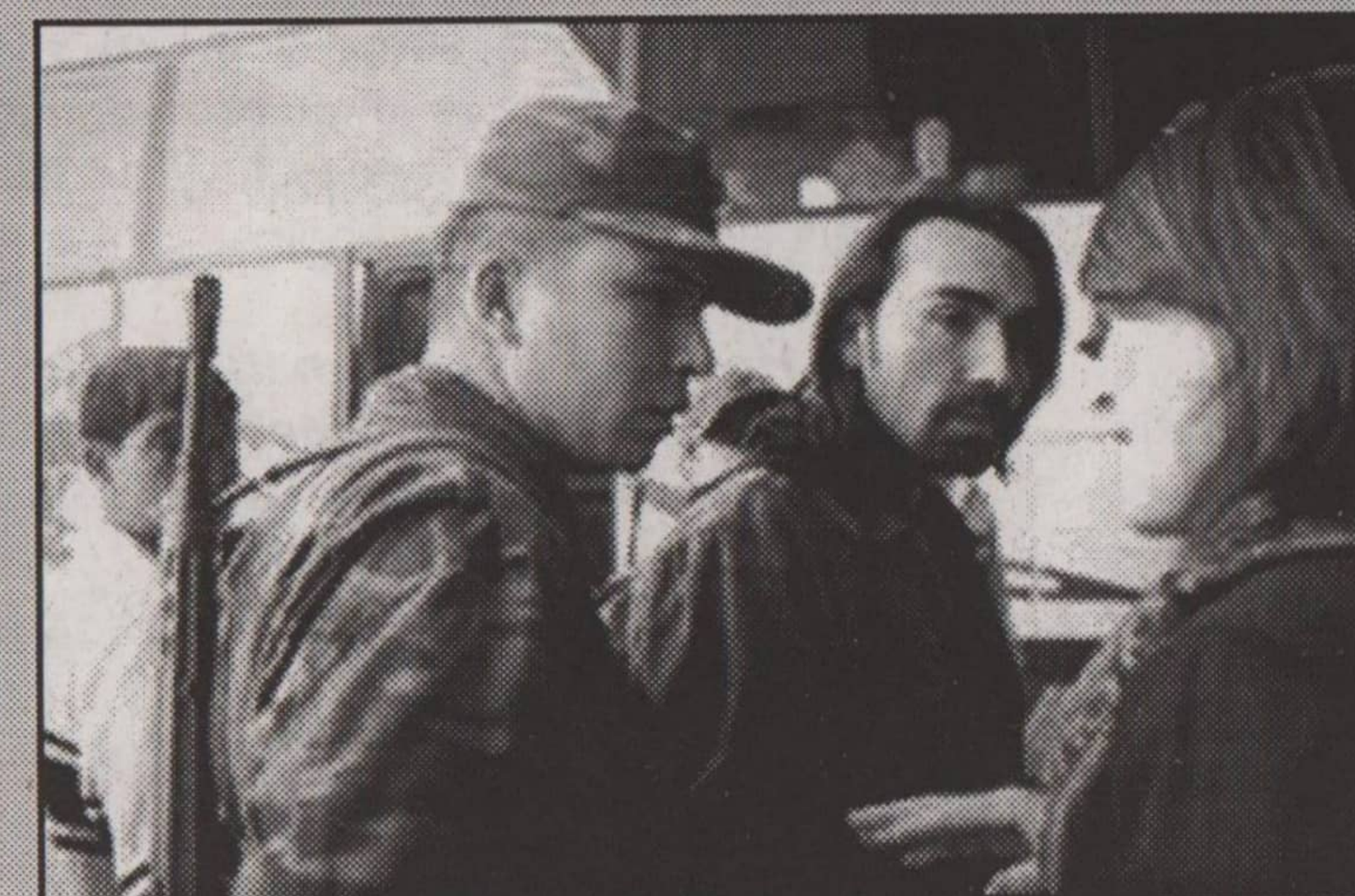
**The Anarchist Federation section Poznan (Federacja Anarchistyczna sekcja Poznan)**  
**The Anarchist Black Cross**

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### INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVIST FROM SUPPORT GROUP FOR MEHMET TARHAN -

- ANTI-MILITARIST GAY-ANARCHIST SENTENCED TO 4 YEARS OF PRISON



*Mehmet Tarhan is a turkish gay anarchist antimilitarist who is currently in prison for refusing to serve the army. Since his story is going on, we always reported update on his case in our ABC chapter. He got finally sentenced to 4 years of military prison, the highest sentence, until now, for an antimilitarist; he has been also abused from others prisoner and tortured.. We had here the opportunity to have an interview with a person involved in the solidarity work towards his case, and we hope this cry of support will reach more people willing to take on solidarity action and making as much international pressure as possible against the brutal reality of the Turkish prison and military system. On behalf of AbolishingBB, with member of "Solidarity Iniziative with Mehmet Tarkan", speaks CLONY.*

*Your ABB*

*Clony: Let's start from your group: what's the focus of your work, how is it structured and so on? Were you the only group working on Mehmet case?*

The name of our group is Solidarity Iniziative with Mehmet Tarhan, which is an umbrella group, so it means that

several group came together: the antimilitarist initiative of Istanbul, in which Mehmet is also taking part in, Lambda and Kaos GL, which are 2 groups of active gay and lesbian, and activists coming from anarchist and anarcha-feminist groups.

Most of the antimilitarist activists in Turkey, are anarchists, like Mehmet himself. He is also gay,

and was for him always really important to put a special tone on this in the antimilitaristic campaigns, and as well for the people bringing forward the solidarity work with him, is as well really important to keep on having a special tone on this aspect. For active antimilitarist is a particular necessary point to underline, since turkish society is deeply homophobic, and this is 100% reflecting within the military structures: in Turkey, when you can prove with pictures and video material, to be gay, than you would get an "illness certificate", that would say that you are psychological ill, and therefore, you don't need to attend the military.

That's exactly what do they want to do now with Mehmet, to force him to have this "medical text", which is also involving an anal inspection. Until now, he always refused any contact with the military doctors, and he is strongly opposing to this other torture. Coming back to the work of our coalition, it is active not just in Istanbul, but also in few others turkish cities, bigger ones like Ankara and Izmir, as well in some others smaller cities, and it is mostly united on the antimilitarist principle, considering how strong is, in here, the power of the military structure: i would say, without any doubts, that they represent the biggest political and economical power here, having enormous influence on government's politic, plus having quite a lot of economic businesses, like factories of every kind, banks etc., and they get also the biggest economical percentage of the yearly state budget.

*Clony: We know that used to be an*

*ABC group in Ankara, is it still active? Has been part of this support campaign?*

The abc group from Ankara is participating as well, mostly on the level of translating material and spreading to the other anarchist groups in Turkey as well outside the region on an international level.

*Clony: What has been the reaction of the anarchist movement over there? Is it just our impression, or because of this case it got more compact?*

Actually i would say that most anarchist groups working on this Mehmet case, were already active together. The good thing was, that with this work, we were mostly able to establish a contact with anarchists from smaller cities. On the bad side, instead, we had to focus us on the antimilitarist action for Mehmet, and most of actions that we planned towards other directions, we weren't able to realize them. As example, we wanted to begin an antinuclear campaign, as well another

one with the focus on the migrant situation here (especially on migrants from Africa and Chechen), but all our time has been taken because of this solidarity support towards Mehmet.

*Clony: What about the normal society, did this case become a major topic among the medias? Has been some-kind of interest on it beside the "scene"?*

In the mainstream medias, this story didn't found much place. We also worked with few mainstream lefty journalist, they wrote some article and, sometimes, they have been invited to speak in some info events. To bring another example of the clima here towards this story, one journalist from a mainstream newspaper lost his job, exactly because he was "guilty" of having written 2 articles on Mehmet story, but the "official" excuse, has been he was not a good working journalist... As well when we try to talk with normal people on the streets, they are simply scandalized, about the fact that we put in total criticism the idea and

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the ideology of the military and want to fight against it: they completely don't have the conception that people could express a strong critic on such fundamental aspect of the turkish society. They think that the military is really necessary to protect us, and that the all the men must do it; sometime, in the mainstream medias, there are some discussions, in relation also to the possible joining of Turkey into the European Union, about the introduction of the civil service as another option to the military one, but this idea is anyway not representing at all our group coalition's ideas, since we want the completely destruction of the military ideology, and not to get some "better" substitution to it: but normal people generally see us as dreamers..

**Clony:** *Knowing a bit about the turkish movement, we know how splitted and extremely bad relations are between anarchist and communist groups. On this case, and as well generally when activists are confronted with such repression and the threat of prison, is there any collaboration between the 2 factions?*

No. we don't have any contact at all, in for of collaboration, with communist groups. People from some human rights organization, who are also on socialist or communist position, worked with us, but we didn't had any contact with clear communist organization: they don't have a clear concept in their mind about how wrong the military is: they are convinced, for example, that a communist army would be good, or communist revolution with a communist army would be their dream..although, as said, we had some individuals both communist and socialist working with us, but they are not part of any organized communist group; also, we maybe know few people in this groups, but even though few of them are sympathetic to our cause, they don't work with us. Generally, in the past as well now, a lot of anarchist are solidarizing when some big repression operations are taking place against communist groups, we have also to say that generally these groups get a lot much more repression than anarchist ones, in the sense that anarchist groups are much smaller, not a real structured organization as them, but rather small affinity groups, and as well a lot of communist groups are conducting armed struggle, thing that is not taking place in the anarchist movement. On the

most, is also since no more than 15 years that the anarchist movement raised in Turkey, so is still really young and still not such a big problem for the State as the other communist organizations, or radical trade unions, students etc.; State see us still as a relative minor menace, at the moment.

**Clony:** *Mehmet has been, sadly, finally sentenced. How will your support work going on? Did you got a chance to find out what is reaction to this sentence was? Is still strongly convinced of his actions?*

I was personally at the process when the sentence has been read. We, as supporters, were really destroyed from such a

response; for him, on the contrary, situation was a bit different, not, of course, in the sense that he was happy with this situation, but that, at least, he knew what he was finally facing after

months of not having a definitive response on this and being left with this permanent insecurity.. He had always defended himself in front of the justice, talking explicitly out his political ideas and not rethreating any step back from his convictions, since the beginning on and as well after he got sentenced. We will try, for sure, to keep on with the solidarity work, we have clearly a lot of money problem, since we have to pay lawyers, the trip costs for them in order to get to the process, people has to go always to the trials in order to show to the justice that Mehmet is not alone, money to pay the support propaganda etc. also, here is really difficult to get money in a d.i.y. way, since we do not have any good developed anarchists structures as in Berlin or some other place, we organise soli parties where people who go are, on the end, also the people who do the support work, so finally the money is coming out always from the same pockets!

**Clony:** *We were also wondering, con-*

*sidering also the average conservatism of turkish society towards this topic, how was the relation of Mehmet's family towards him: did he got any kind of support from them, have been any contact between the support group and them?*

The sister from Mehmet is really active in the solidarity group with us, and also the rest of the family is supporting him and our work. We do have than really good relation with them, and they fully accept both his life and political choices.

**Clony:** *How was the international solidarity response towards Mehmet? Can you tell something about it? Do you have also some suggestions about what could be some effective solidarity work outside Turkey?*

A lot of foreigners groups participated in the international solidarity work, also donating money, and for us has been a really important and vital sign for the ongoing of our campaign. In case like this, and especially in Turkey, this international support is really important, because the turkish state has always fear of such things. I do personally think that, like always, the solidarity work could have been bigger, i think in this direction also would have been important to mobilize a wider spectrum of people, also more mainstream, because, as mentioned, the turkish state fear always this kind of pressure from outside, so this kind of support is always a good weapon to use. It is also important to keep on this international contact, for us, in order to work together on the future campaigns: antimilitarism is a really big important point in anarchist struggles in here, but is also not the only topic approached from the anarchist movements, but we keep of fighting as well for anticapitalism, antifascism, anti homophobia etc.

**Clony:** *Do you want to add something?*

Yes, I would like to give here the number where you can donate money for our support group: you can donate on this account, a german one, and than they are taking care to transfer this money to us.

"KDV in der Türkei" bei Connection e.V., Nr.: 70 85 701 bei der Bank für Sozialwirtschaft, BLZ 370 20 500

**Clony:** *Ok. Thanks a lot for the interview and keep the struggle ongoing!*

Thanks also to you. Freedom for Mehmet! Down with all armies!



## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



### AGAINST FALSE DICHOTOMIES

No doubt if you read the mainstream press, you will all of a sudden start hearing about what a nightmare country Poland is with its current politicians. All of a sudden, some people started to notice that abortion is illegal; there are extreme right people in the Parliament and civil rights are being flouted.

Worse yet, the upstart Finance Minister made absolutely unbelievable statements regarding Tesco supermarkets, saying that they are not really building the economy but ultimately taking away jobs, etc.. The whole neo-liberal establishment went up in arms.

Of course, it is true that we have this horrible extreme right League of Polish Families who organize anti-abortion exhibits in the EuroParliament. (Only it's also true that fewer or them were elected than 4 years earlier. The leader of the party, Roman Giertych, actually almost did not get re-elected this time.) And it's true that we have a large right-wing population, a lot of intolerant Catholics and problems with demonstrations. And I know it's true because I read about it in Gazeta Wyborcza\*. (\* main liberal and neo-liberal paper started by Adam Michnik with very strong opinions. Usually total crap - i.e. recent editorial by Michnik comparing Guantanamo Bay to a holiday resort!)

Gazeta Wyborcza builds the opinions of a certain portion of society, but also influences journalists in other countries. The political formula is very simple = Civic Platform is good, Law and Justice, Self-Defense and the League are bad. And a good deal of the articles written represent exactly that slant.

Recently a whole page was devoted to how badly anarchists and leftists are repressed. Funny thing: when there was a different government, (the one that actually DID all the repressing), they largely didn't want to know about it or mention it. When people were arrested in April in Warsaw, the papers portrayed everyone as criminals; now we are victims of human rights abuses. It shouldn't take much thinking for people to see how we are simply convenient for the paper now;

despite the fact that all these repressions took place under the leftist government, or are the responsibility of some local authorities, it all can be tallied up to the fatalistic scenario that they'd like us all to believe: that because people voted for Law and Justice Party, they created a disaster for the economy and for human rights in this country.

Not that I want to justify Law and Justice in any way, but I just don't buy what the liberals and neo-liberals (who are, let's face it, the economic right) are trying to tell us: that only the party (parties) of their choice are any good. For us, they are also complete shit. You can see how these false dichotomies work around the world. What gets me is how otherwise intelligent people fall for them.

Now all of a sudden, a certain group of liberals in Poland woke up that "the government is bad". Duh. Like we didn't know that. All of a sudden, some of them try to step up their "anti-government" protests, and even think that anarchists are a good natural ally for them. Only it turns out that they're just against THIS government, and sometimes just because they don't like populism, or think it's not pro-EU or free market enough. In the best case scenario, they just don't like religion being mixed with politics. This last reason we can support. The first ones - well, let's just say that those positions are not the most troubling for us.

Should we be troubled that the Finance Minister, Teresa Lubinska, has a history of fighting against hypermarket development in Szczecin? Of course the whole lot of them are capitalists, but how many capitalists (including fake socialists) in this country have said anything at all about the nature of exploitation and the investments made in Poland by big international concerns?

We're just not going to buy the neo-liberal propaganda that we're in for an economic catastrophe if anything other than the most draconian pro-market, anti-labour economic measures are implemented. Not that Law and Justice won't prove to be total bastards against workers; I'm sure they will. It's just that during the whole election period, we heard a lot of fear coming from the liberal population about gay rights, etc., but we didn't hear any of them, for example, criticize Civil Platforms horrendous proposals for a flat tax which would have given a tax break of 25-35% for the richest people, and practically no break for the mass of the working poor and would have been accompanied by mass budget cuts and privatization efforts in areas such as health care and higher education. In other words, for this narrow group of people (who often come from a

small economic or social elite), some set of social policies took precedence over another set of economic policies; they panicked at one but didn't blink an eye about the other. And, quite significantly, they proved that they were quite insensitive to the growing dissatisfaction of the working poor with hard capitalism.

"Hard capitalism" means the strictest neo-liberalism which totally disregards the condition of the poor, as opposed to "soft capitalism", which is crappy all the same, but at least it maintains some token services, mechanisms to protect labour, progressive taxes, etc.. All capitalism has got to go, but as far as the real material conditions of the working poor is concerned, hard capitalism is quantitatively worse, which is why although we don't agree with the protective role of the state, we prefer to see the authorities who rob us use our taxes for health care and social benefits than F-16s and perks for the rich.

No matter what the outcome of the election was, we are fucked. If we are not fucked in one way, we are fucked in another. No matter who's in office, we hate the whole system and are going to continue to fight against it. To maintain an anti-capitalist and anti-state perspective, we have to ignore these false dichotomies.

Laure A.

ABB - Warsaw correspondent



### THIS GENERATION HAS NO NATION

Since the insurrection in Albania in 1997, there has been no other social revolt I could feel more related to than the recent events in France. It definitely wasn't "creative resistance" so beloved by modern social movements, nor a spark of mere "dissent" which usually are set up in safe leftist frame (which "allows different opinions", yet isolates and criminalizes "the violent elements" for the sake of preserving its own status quo), it wasn't the next circus of whining march demanding just to "be heard by leaders" or critic of "current government policy". And me, as underdog and immigrant, I feel a deep joy and understanding concerning such a contagious outburst of



sheer hate towards the reality that oppresses as expressed by those torching the cars the last weeks.

What are the fucking choices? Stay squeezed in a bus at 6:30 in the morning heading towards hardly searched for next bullshit job, stand at the front door of concrete residential block on the outskirts of town waiting for nothing and knowing that no love of my life will appear from around the corner but only the next cop patrol? Or maybe plunge myself in some leftist or religious sect believing that "change will come"? Is it boredom? No, it's just disinterest in any time-killing repetitive activities offered by the system, like consumption or production of religion, sports, money, art, music or politics. Refusing to be a star for 5 minutes, a monkey playing for cruel masses, who cheer or hiss but also refusing to be spectator. Even in those levels that are always incorporated into the system, like music or literature, is much to discover, much things inspiring, yet... is it freedom? Overdosed with possibilities, which are none because they offer only the illusion of escape and cannot crush the wall of everyday horror of living in this system... There is no real choice but to revolt without any compromise, destroy the objects of metal and plastic, sacred private or state's "property".

Self-styled western revolutionaries that followed the events in France on TV or on their beloved alternative web-sites, will now write their analyses & articles, some seeing in that youth in revolt new subjects that will bring about their dreamed of (but never practiced in real) "revolution" while others will try, as they always do, to distance themselves from the riots, repeating, as usually written in their Bolshevik or postmodern catechisms phrase, that "it didn't change anything".

Still, even in these societies pacified by bourgeois concepts of "justice, equality and democracy" are small segments of social ferment; not assimilated, not integrated individuals, who cannot be connected through belonging to any common collectivity (as nation or football club) but only through their incompatibility with existing reality. Nothing to be proud of, nothing to be ashamed of. Certainly nothing that needs to be justified. I understand and I feel, as I feel everyday's rage boiling under my skin. And I know that some others do too... Not because of a lack of some "justice" there's no "peace", but because of the impossibility of forgetting that there's no forgiving, because there's no illusion, there's no compromise.

NHL (AbolishingBB)



## I CAN'T RELAX WITHIN THE LEFT

At first I had planned to write a real solid text on the leading topic of this issue, but after check of how many pages our correspondents already sent, I decided to limit myself to a little comment in this column chapter.

I am an anarchist, and I can't relax within leftism. But wait ... are there any people from outside the movement which are able make any difference between both? If not - I am trapped. And I will risk a sentence: with me - all anarchist movement of today is trapped. And now ... how to get out from here? Explaining that in the history the reds always were killing anarchists sounds like the story told by these obsessed but harmless street-freaks running around and telling you the same message everyday, story they can not get rid off even for a minute. I feel that one need to tell some more. One speaks better from her/his own experience as about the Kronstadt again and again.

Since I participate in social resistance I always was alarmed by many leftist manners. In my eyes, leftism very massively transports authoritarianism (even in its anti-authoritarian structures), militarism (don't mix with militant resistance) and subordination (see bigger leftwing movements or smaller leftwing guerrillas) - which are all attitudes unacceptable for anarchists and even more for the future we struggle for. So these are some of organisational characteristics on basis which one could relatively easily distinguish the most of left from the attitudes promoted by anarchists. As nowadays the left tendencies are in general much stronger than the anarchist, so anarchists are hidden in the "smog of left", one can not see these differences so clearly. But I believe that when time will come that anarchism will be a bit stronger (and visible) one should not have problem to see clear cuts between attitude of "authoritarian left" and of anarchism (or anarchist left).

But then ... the problems of distinguishing have just begun. As the above aspects could be easily classified under the "authoritarian left", anarchism could

be wrongly reduced to the "true left". Well, there are very deep-rooted discourses in the "left as such" which still cause that I can't relax within the left. I mean here for example the concepts of "work", "nation" or "state". Obviously they play a very different role in left discourses as in anarchist ones. I would say: the left in general can not emancipate itself from traditional way of dealing with these concepts and in this sense I consider it as a conservative power. While since ever, Left derives its power from "cult of work" as the false mechanism for reanimation of starving class-consciousness, from "trust in nation" as a lunatic search for identity supposed to help mobilize the masses, and from "instrumentalism and justification of the state" as the guaranty of organizing the masses during the revolution and in post-revolutionary period ... the anarchism clearly calls for dismantle of these concepts. Concepts which are obviously peoples' self-made hand-crafts suppressing them on the way to popular revolutionary emancipation. While in case of "state" and "nation" I guess to be well understand, just to clarify the problem with "the work": I see "the cult and glorification of the WORK as a peoples life-fulfilment" and I see "respect and satisfaction for/from common creation" - and the one is what I see on the left, and the second one is what I expect from anarchist position.

Well, there could be more said for example about the conservative face of the leftism (ignorance towards questions of patriarchy, ecology, animal-rights, etc.). There could be as well a lot of said about the anarchist tendencies being very poisoned by the offensive left influence (presented as well in this magazine). And there could finally be more said here about what than anarchism stands for (actually I hope this magazine tells enough on it). But my message for now has to be short. On the one hand far going outdistance from everything what is consider as a left today, is not my option at all (see some economical concepts for example; some collective and communistic solutions of production and distribution; anarcho-communism; etc). On the other hand uncritical identification of anarchism with the left (or radical left) is deadly for the first one, especially as long as anarchists are weak enough to get with their message through the "smog of left". Finally, not the completely cutting of the links with the Left, but strong criticism and building own position in order to permanent confronting this position with this of traditional left, is what I would like to see ... get out of the trap!

Veronika (AbolishingBB)

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

## WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM

www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)  
www.abb.hardcore.lt (bad english)

### ARMENIA

- ★ "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; vaga@freenet.am
- ★ Armenia Indymedia - vahagn@bem.am

### BELARUS

- ★ ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o. box 217; intolerant@autonom.zzn.com; www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru
- ★ AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; restless81@mail.com
- ★ Anarchist Library - Minsk; antyfa@mail.ru
- ★ Anti-McDonald - http://belmac.narod.ru; http://kompaktor.narod.ru
- ★ ANTYFA - antifascist group; antyfa@mail.ru
- ★ Autonomous Action / Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno

- ★ Autonomous Action / Minsk (Belarus) belarus@avtonom.org; www.belarus.avtonom.org
- ★ BAF/ Belarusian Anarchy Front - baf@list.ru
- ★ Belarusian Linux Community - www.linux.hitech.by

- ★ "Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; ecoaction@tut.by
- ★ FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist - Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134; - Novopoloc; nuts-1@rambler.ru

- ★ Food Not Bombs - Minsk - fnbminsk@narod.ru
- ★ "Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; ksenia.izberg@mail.ru
- ★ KDS "Razam" / Condefederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; kds-razam@tut.by; www.razam.by.ru

- ★ "Navinki" - satirical anarchist quarterly newspaper; Minsk; pauluk@tut.by; www.navinki.net
- ★ "Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; rebelgirls@mail.ru
- ★ www.anarchisthistory.boom.ru - history of anarchy in Belarus
- ★ www.375crew.org - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus

### BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

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

### BULGARIA

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

### CROATIA

- ★ www.kontra-punkt.info - anarchist information & discussion web-site
- ★ AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - anfe-ma@zamiir.net; www.anfema.tk
- ★ "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; http://squat.net/monteparadiso; info@monteparadiso.hr
- ★ Rijeka anarchist initiative - www.rai.anarhi-

- ja.org.rai200@net.hr; anarhist\_ri@yahoo.com
- ★ "SKATULA" - infoshop in Rijeka; u Kruznoj 8; open Wed&Thurs.17-21
- ★ "Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovec; adress: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia
- ★ Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zaderskianarchisti@yahoo.com; www.solidarnost.mahost.org
- ★ www.stocitas.org - Antiauthoritarian publisher

### CZECHIA

- ★ Antifascist Action (AFA) - afa-praha@anarchismus.org, www.antifa.cz
- ★ Anarcho-feminist group - anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz, anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz
- ★ -1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita) - praha@solidarita.org, www.solidarita.org, tel: +420 604 247 218

- regional group of Brno, brno@solidarita.org, tel: +420 732 616 695

- ★ Anarchistické sdružení Uherské Hradiště - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradiště, e-mail uhas@email.cz

- ★ "A-kontra" - anarchist magazine, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel. +420 605 903 098, e-mail: a-kontra@csaf.cz, www.a-kontra.net

- ★ "Bloody Mary" - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, Bloodymary@bust.com, c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1

- ★ CSAF - Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation - P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1, e-mail: praha@csaf.cz, www.csaf.cz

- Kladno, e-mail: kladno@csaf.cz
- ★ Northern Czechia, e-mail: sever@csaf.cz
- Kutnohorsko, e-mail: csaf.kutnohorsko@email.cz, e-mail: kutnohorsko@csaf.cz, tel: +420 721 732 844

- Jihlava, e-mail: csaf.jihlava@email.cz, tel: +420 721 732 844
- Eastern Czechia, e-mail: undertakerdis@seznam.cz

- ★ FSA-MAP - Federation of anarchist groups, info@anarchismus.org, www.anarchismus.org, international secretary: fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org

- Northern Czechia, fas-sever@anarchismus.org
- Zlinsko, fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org
- Prague, fas-praha@anarchismus.org

- Brno, fas-brno@anarchismus.org
- Jihlava, fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org
- Pardubice, fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org

- ★ Info Café "Krtkova kolona" - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubeneč, e-mail: kk@czechcore.cz, kk.czechcore.cz, Tel: 605 983 191

- ★ Hudební klub "Za vraty" - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, e-mail: international@zavraty.com, www.zavraty.com, tel: +420 723 555 287

- ★ Squat "Milada" - Prague only squat, Na kindlovce (small house next to the student residential halls), Praha, squat\_milada@centrum.cz

### ESTONIA

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

### HUNGARY

- ★ AK57 DIY CLUB (half squat) - 1074 Budapest, dohány u. 57. ring 128 at the doorbell;

- ak57@indymedia.hu; http://ak57.freeblog.hu; sms +36 20 488 8629

- ★ AFK - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); www.socialdisease.tk

- ★ BARRICADE COLLECTIVE - anarchist group; http://www.anarkom.lapja.hu

- ★ "GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM" - anarchist bookshop; www.ainfok.ini.hu; gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18

- ★ RUGANEGRA - (street folklore staff); www.ruganegra.tk

- ★ Social Disease Kollektiva (anarhopunk collective) - http://socialdisease.tk

- ★ www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo - anarchist web-site

### KAZAKHSTAN

- ★ www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

### LATVIA

- ★ Pretspars Collective - zine, distro, web, actions - http://pretspars.hardcore.lt; pretspars@riseup.net

- ★ "ZABADAKS" - DIY culture house, zabba@inbox.lv, www.nekac.lv, tel. +371 3320666

- DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia;

- www.nekac.lv, maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

### LITHUANIA

- ★ active@hardcore.lt - LT activists network

- ★ "Posedziu Sale" - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 206 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; simas@dr.com; tel. +37067750363; http://pose-dis.mums.lt

- ★ booking@hardcore.lt - booking in Lithuania

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

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

### MACEDONIA

- ★ direct action - anarchist collective directa@freemail.com.mk

- ★ fuck yoga - a distro and label neveranswerthe-phone@yahoo.com

- ★ kaka - a distro and label surovo@yahoo.com

- ★ napravi sam - a collective radexx2000@yahoo.com

- ★ teror 13 - a infoshop info@teror13.tk www.teror13.anarhija.org

### POLAND

- ★ ABC/ACK - www.ack.most.org.pl

- ★ Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. biuletyn@ack.w.pl

- ★ Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31. sanch@poczta.wp.pl

- ★ Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12. bifa@polbox.com

- ★ Trojmiasto - pomierz@frikio2.onet.pl

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

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

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

- ★ Anarchist Library - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.
- ★ Anarchist Library - ul Jagielonczyka 10D;

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE



## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

Wroclaw.

- ★ **"A-TAK"** - anarchist magazine from Krakow; atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dystribucja@wp.pl (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html
- ★ **"A-zine"** - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl
- ★ **"Bractwo Trojka"** - anarchist publishing house from Poznan; bractwo\_trojka@wp.pl, www.bractwo-trojka.prv.pl
- ★ **"BUNKIER"** ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Torun; dr.ozdzu@interia.pl
- ★ **"C-4"** - alternative culture centre in Lodz (ul. Weglowa 4).
- ★ **"Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc")** - anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
- ★ **"Czarny Pajak" ("Black Spider")** - anarchist space with discussion club, movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; www.czs.org; maciek@riseup.net
- ★ **"De Centrum"** - anarchist squat in Bialystok, address: ul. Czeszochowska 14/2; www.decentrum.prv.pl
- ★ **EMANCYPUNK** - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.
- ★ **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.
  - **FA- virtual collective secretary** - biurofa@go2.pl
  - **FA-Biala Podlaska** - fabp@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Bialystok** - wildeast@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Czestochowa** - akielasiak@wp.pl
  - **FA/RSA Gdansk** - jwal@pg.gda.pl
  - **FA-Inowroclaw** - pychu@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Krakow** - lukasab@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Lublin** - falublin@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Lodz** - falodz@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Opole** - sobol13@o2.pl
  - **FA-Ostrowiec Sw.** - marcin@natura.most.org.pl
  - **FA-Poznan** - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org
  - **FA-Rzeszow** - xjedrusx@o2.pl
  - **FA-Slupsk** - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA/RSA Sochaczew** - antinazi@frikio6.onet.pl
  - **FA-Szczecin** - fa\_szn@interia.pl;
  - winanar@wp.pl
  - **FA-Warszawa** - natak@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Warszawa/Praga** - fapraga@o2.pl & fapraga@gmail.com
  - **FA-Wroclaw** - ahm@o2.pl
  - **FA Zyrdow** - sidtom@poczta.wp.pl
- ★ **Food Not Bombs**
  - **Gdansk** - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45.
  - **Olsztyn** - edelweiss@o2.pl.
  - **Poznan** - fnb@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm, we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan
  - **Rzeszow** - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel. 602769138.
  - **Gliwice** - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com www.food-notbombs.prv.pl
- ★ **"FREEDOM"** - Centre of Animation and Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl
- ★ **Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc"** (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.
- ★ **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"**

- Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.)
- Open: Mon.-Fri. 18<sup>30</sup>- 20<sup>00</sup> or longer, Sun. 14<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup> plus by appointment and during events (summer 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop
- ★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers Initiative of FA)** - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;
- ★ **IP-FA / Szczecin** - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.
- ★ **IP-FA / Silesia** - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa\_silesia@hoga.pl
- ★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers Initiative)** - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl
- ★ **KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of Autonomists)** - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl
- ★ **"KROMERA"** - squat/culture centre; ul. Kromera 6; Wroclaw.
- ★ **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**
  - **Krakow** - testcyf@kr.edu.pl
  - **Poznan** - lets@poland.com
- ★ **"LITTLE MARY"** - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul. Warszawska 249/25;
- ★ **"Mac Pariadka"** - anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com
- ★ **"PILON"** - underground bar/cafe open Mo-Sa from 6pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl web: http://www.pilon.prv.pl
- ★ **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl ; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl
- ★ **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through Emancypunk.
- ★ **"ROZBRAT"** - squat/ collective/ anarchist center/ anarchist library - ul. Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan; P.O.Box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, fa-poznan@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org, www.foto.rozbrat.org
- ★ **S.E.K.W. "KRZYK"** - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25; tel. +48 504878370).
- ★ **"streFA"** - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1c, tel. 504935357.
- ★ **"SZWEJK"** - anti-military service and Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul. Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, antywojenna@rozbrat.org
- ★ **"TEKNO COLLECTIVE"** - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl
- ★ **WIEDZMA ( the WITCH )** - anarcho feminist group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND; witchgirl@poczta.onet.pl ; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl
- ★ **"YA BANDA"** - anarchist samba band Milanowek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl
- ★ **AACTIV-IST Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome** - anarchist punk group aactivistcollective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumerang.ro
- ★ **A Nera** - ecological, social and (counter) cultural center; in the mountains Cheile Nerei; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
- ★ **Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action)** - spleenpatty@yahoo.com
- ★ **C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front)** - anarchist collective from city of Craiova;

- libertatero@yahoo.com
- ★ **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g\_a\_rezisten-ta@yahoo.com www.gluganeagra.go.ro
- ★ **INFO-PROPAGANDA** - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatara@yahoo.com
- ★ **MISCAREA UNDERGROUND TIMISOARA - (UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT TIMISOARA);** www.ugtm.go.ro
- ★ **URA** - anarcho-punk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.htm
- ★ **LOVE KILLS** - woman anarcho-punk zine / Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatara@yahoo.com
- ★ **"Revolta !"** - bi-monthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
- ★ **"Revolutionshop"** - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com
- ★ **SUBTERAN COLLECTIVE** - anarchist-activists collective in the city of Iasi; subteran\_iasi@yahoo.com
- ★ **www.proiectns.org** - grassroots activist site
- ★ **www.miscareapunk.go.ro** - site about punk (and not only) in Romania
- RUSSIA**
- ★ **ABC-Moscow** - spt2003@email.com; P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)
- ★ **Alliance of Kazan Anarchists** - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru
- ★ **Anarchist League of Kamchatka** - 4tan-kista@mail.ru
- ★ **Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia** - PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. anliberation@rambler.ru
- ★ **ANTI-FA Samara** - anti\_fa@mail.ru
- ★ **Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA)** - see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact address
- ★ **"Epicenter Infoshop"** - Evgeni Fayzullin, PO Box 103, St. Petersburg, 190013 e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru http://www.infoshop.spb.ru
- ★ **FOOD NOT BOMBS**
  - **Moscow** - http://foodnotbombs.net.ru
  - **Petersburg** - see Epicenter contact address
  - **Kirov** - punkauskirov@mail.ru
- ★ **Free Trade Unions Confederation** - Toms; http://kulac.narod.ru
- ★ **Indymedia Russia** - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; indyru@nadir.org;
- ★ **indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru** (Moscow);
- ★ **indymedia\_piter@pochtamt.ru** (Petersburg);
- ★ **smeshno@riseup.net** (Kiev, Ukraine)
- ★ **IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation** - www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru
- ★ **JERRY RUBIN CLUB** - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jre@nm.ru; http://jarryclub.narod.ru
- ★ **KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-syndicalists)** - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; -Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; http://aitrus.narod.ru
- ★ **"MEGAPHON"** - magazine of anarchist, anti-capitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail333.com
- ★ **Network of Working-place Resistance** - cokkney@rambler.ru, http://antijob.nm.ru
- ★ **"NOVIY SVET"** - anarchist newspaper; new-world@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all

issues since 1989).

- ★ **"NOZHI I VILKI"** - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@newmail.ru; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia
- ★ **OLD SKOOL KIDS** - punk/hardcore label and distro; oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru
- ★ **Petersburg Antiwar Committee** - see "Noviy Svet" contact address
- ★ **Petersburg League of Anarchists** - see "Noviy Svet" contact address
- ★ **PUNK REVIVAL** - antifascist and anarchist punks from ST.Petersburg - http://www.punk-revival.com
- ★ **RAINBOW KEEPERS** - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:
  - **Nizhniy Novgorod** - klem@dront.ru
  - **Votkinsk** - votkinskrk@mail.ru
  - **Kasimov** - rk@rk.ryazan.ru (this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)
  - **Perm** - puliark@rambler.ru
  - **Volgograd** - maasha@rambler.ru
  - **Ekaterinburg** - vty2@mail.ru, dpn@etel.ru
  - **Moscow** - rkrzl@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru
  - **Samara** - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru http://duplo.narod.ru
  - **Rostov** - rkrostov@don.sitek.net
  - **Petersburg** - tuuli@mail.ru
- ★ **S.H. SOUND SYSTEM** - label & distro including political punk stuff; http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com
- ★ **Siberian Confederation of Labour** - Omsk; http://syndikalist.narod.ru/
- ★ **"UTOPIA"** - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopia@mail333.com
- ★ **"Victor Serge's Library"** - anarchist & communist library - City Library no.10, ulitsa Verkhnyaya Khokhlovka 39/47, metro "Marksistskaya" Telephone/fax: +7 095 278 8156. http://www.sergelibrary.org/
- ★ **"VOLYA"** - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); obschtschina@pisem.net; http://volja.nm.ru
- ★ **"ZHEST"** - anarcho-feminist magazine; zhest@pisem.net
- ★ **www.squatting.ru** - portal, dedicated to squat-ter movement!
- ★ **Contacts of Autonomous Action**  
Do not write names of the groups to envelopes! Never republish parts of this contact list without this note! Contacts are from Russia, unless specified otherwise.
- ★ Federal site is **http://www.avtonom.org**
- ★ Collective members of Autonomous Action. Name of the group is Autonomous Action - <name of city or region>, unless specified otherwise.
  - **Moscow** - P. O. Box 13, 109028 Moscow Russia, taoom@seu.ru
  - **Far East** (has members in Vladivostok and Nahodka) - ad\_primorye@front.ru,
  - **Ivanovo** - P. O. Box 1842, 153000 Ivanovo Russia, ad\_ivanovo@front.ru
  - **Irkutsk** - P. O. Box 166, 664058 Irkutsk Russia, klown@rambler.ru
  - **Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists** - ska-konig@mail.ru, http://www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru
  - **Kem (Republic of Karelia, Russia)** - katous-ha@onego.ru
  - **Krasnodar** - P. O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia
  - **Nizhni Novgorod**, P. O. Box 25, 603104

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

- Nizhni Novgorod Russia, ad\_nn@mail.ru, www.nnov.avtonom.org
- **Ryazan** - 137@mail.ru, http://ad-62.narod.ru
- **Saratov** - koluchka@pochtamt.ru
- **Ufa** - ADUfa@mail.ru, http://u-f-a.org.ru
- **Chelyabinsk** - P. O. Box 18742, 454021 Chelyabinsk Russia, naumov2@mail.ru
- **Http://commune.narod.ru**
- **Yerevan (Armenia)** - m\_eduard@freenet.am
- ★ **Contacts of individual members of Autonomous Action**
  - **Astrakhan** - podero@list.ru
  - **Vsevolzhk (Leningrad Region, Russia)** - darkpunk@list.ru
  - **Kirov** - redskin@ptlan.com
  - **Perm** - P. O. Box 3095, Perm Russia ad-perm@rambler.ru; deadsun@rambler.ru
  - **Tyumen** - P. O. Box 4481, 625001 Tyumen Russia, roustam\_f@hotmail.com
  - **Yaroslavl** - ad-yaroslavl@mail.ru
- ★ **Correspondents of Autonomous Action** (distributors of press of the organisation without a formal membership)
  - **Voronezh** - dingir@mail.ru, http://anarhvrn.narod.ru/ad
  - **Izhevsk** - projectfreedom@mail.ru; tim-mad@udm.ru; antiwar@udm.ru
  - **Yoshkar** - Ola - punk@zvenigovo.ru
  - **Kolomna (Moscow Region, Russia)** - matherfacker2017@mail.ru
  - **Naberezhnye Chelny (Tatarstan, Russia)** - anarchist@chelny.com
  - **Ozersk (Chelyabinsk Region, Russia)** - padlik@bk.ru
  - **Murmansk** - P. O. Box 4614, 183050 Murmansk Russia.
  - **Saint Petersburg** - blackguard@mail.ru
  - **Minsk (Belarus)** - belarus@avtonom.org; www.belarus.avtonom.org
  - **Lida** - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno Oblast, Belarus
  - **Donetsk (Ukraine)** - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru
  - **Sumy (Ukraine)** - P. O. Box 131, Glavpochtamt 40030 Sumy Ukraine, ivan-grob@mail.ru
- ★ **Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:**
  - **http://ad-direct.newmail.ru** - federal site maintained from Novorossisk
  - **http://redskin.newmail.ru** - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk
  - **http://antijob.nm.ru** - site against work, maintained from Moscow
  - **http://anti-fa.da.ru** - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara
  - **http://potok.hotmail.ru** - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk
  - **http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru** - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists
  - **http://www.poe5.narod.ru** - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod
  - **http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro** - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union
- SERBIA**
- ★ **ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative** - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org
- ★ **Federation of Internationalist Anarchists** - federacija@ml1.net
- ★ **Subwar Collective** - Belgrade; shavedwo-

- men216@yahoo.com
- ★ **www.anarchy-serbia.tk** - anarcho site from Serbia
- ★ **www.afanovisad.tk** - Antifa Novi Sad
- SLOVAKIA**
- ★ **AFA-Bratislava (Antifascisticka Akcia Bratislava)** - bacity\_afa@yahoo.com http://blava.antifa.net
- ★ **AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia)** - afa\_sk1@hotmail.com
- ★ **CIRNY KRIZ (CK, Black Cross)** - cierny-kriz@yahoo.com.
- ★ **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** - slovensko@csaf.cz {international contact}; regional contacts:
  - ★ **CSAF Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz
  - ★ **CSAF B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz
  - ★ **CSAF Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz
  - ★ **CSAF Vychod** - csaf\_sk\_vychod@yahoo.com;
  - ★ **PRIAMA AKCIA (Direct Action)** - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; priamaakcia@yahoo.com
- SLOVENIA**
- ★ **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - kultura\_kontra@yahoo.com.
- ★ **AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN** - autonomous culture centre in squatted swimm-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd\_izbruh@yahoo.com
- ★ **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345, anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org, www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv
- ★ **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - saf.info@email.si
- ★ **Union of self-organised workers** - SiSD/USW - is\_usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967
- UKRAINE**
- ★ **Autonomous Action / Donetsk** - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru
- ★ **Autonomous Action / Sumy** - P. O. Box 131, Glavpochtamt 40030 Sumy Ukraine (no name of the group to envelope!), ivangrob@mail.ru
- ★ **INFOSHOP** - infoshop in Kiev. http://infoshop.zaraz.org; infoshop@gmail.com
- ★ **www.zaraz.org** - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives. Web-site of anarchist group in Kiev. info@zaraz.org
- TURKEY**
- ★ **Anarsist Bakis** - http://go.to/anarsistbakis - archive of anarchist texts
- ★ **ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - abcankara@yahoo.com
- ★ **"Imlasiz"** - www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net-anarchist magazine
- ★ **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz\_dergi@yahoo.com
- ★ **KaosGL** - www.kaosgl.com - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine
- ★ **"Kara Kizil"** - http://www.karakizil.tr.cx-anarcho-communist gro up
- ★ **http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net** - anarcho-primitivists
- ★ **http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com** - zine from Ankara
- ★ **http://veganarsi.cjb.net** - anarcho-primitivist zine
- ★ **www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari** - anarchist publisher in istanbul
- ★ **www.mecmu-a.org** - magazine from Istanbul

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