

**EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST**

ISSUE # 27 Bi-Monthly Magazine December 2006

# ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW



*Let's get out of hierarchical  
forms of education*

## 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.

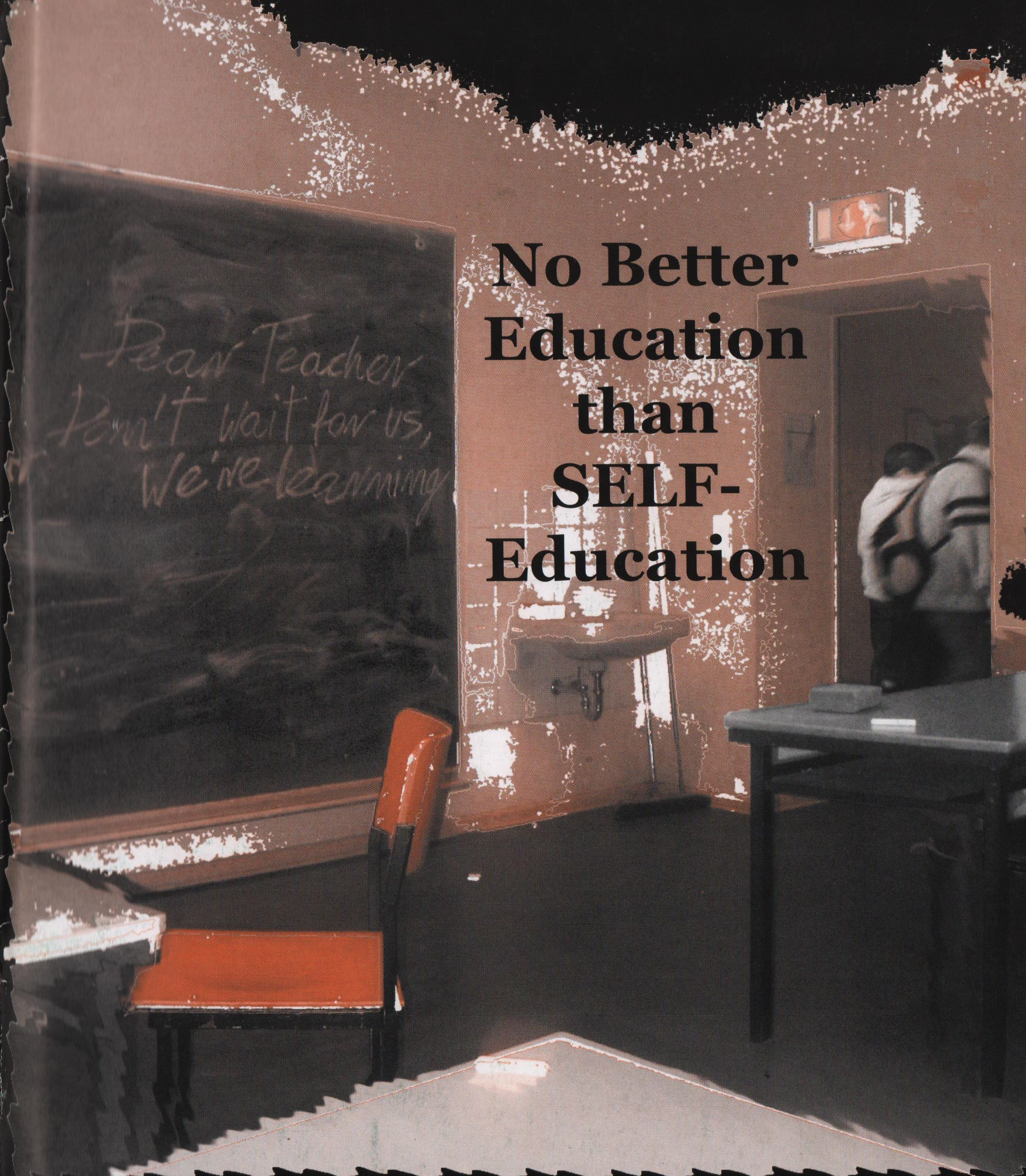
We realize that in some regions there are still a lot of problems getting hold of copies of AbolishingBB, especially in the small villages and cities around EE, plus in all the regions of the globe where no regional distro. teams exist.

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.

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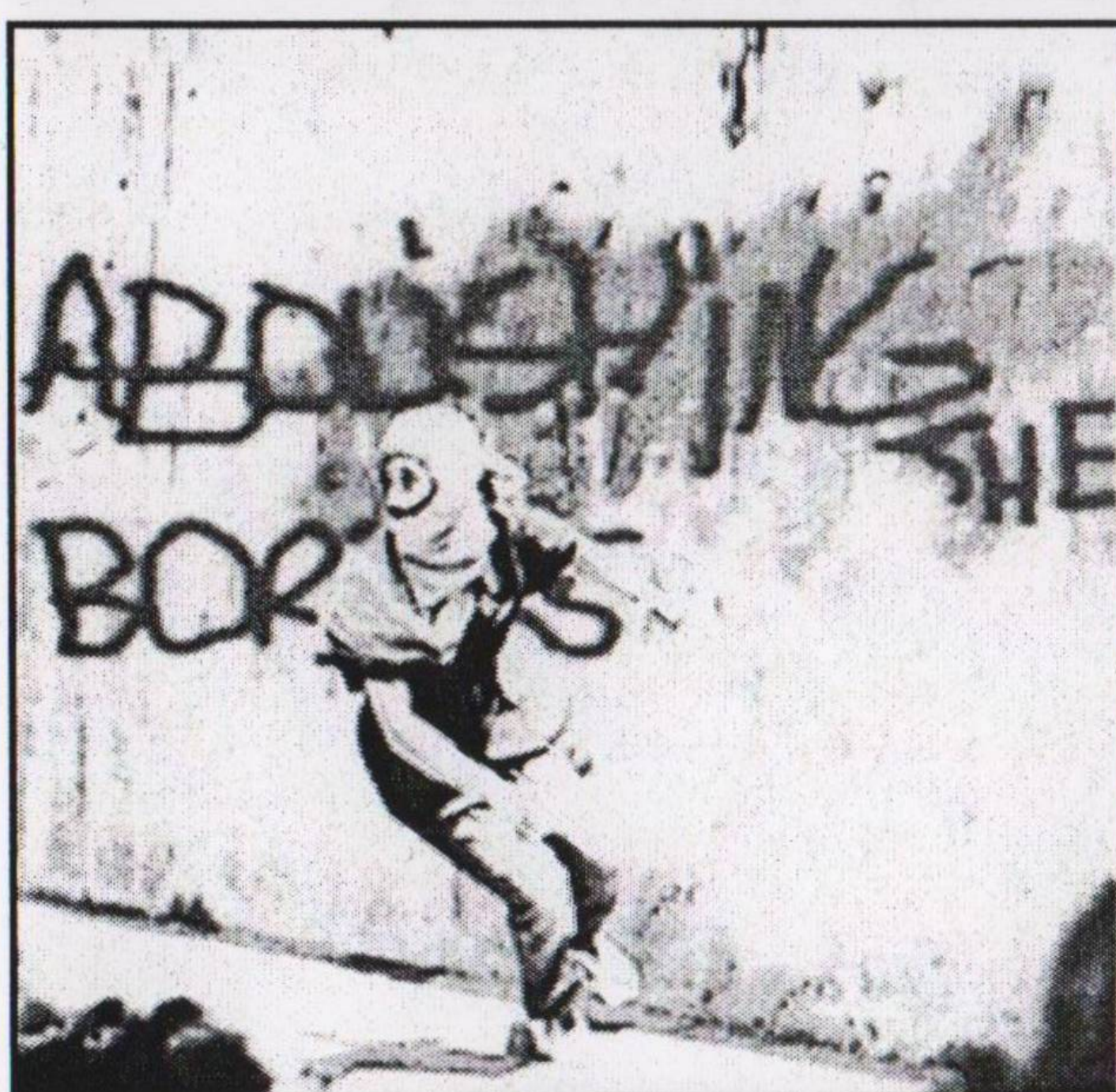
**Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe**



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

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

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and 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 cover the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on a non-profit basis.

### EXECUTORS

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

### COOPERATION

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

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

### DEADLINES

Deadline for next issue: 30.01.2007

### FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

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

### FINANCES

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

### BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

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

### ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

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

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

### NOT 100%

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



## MAIN TOPIC OF THIS ISSUE ... 'EDUCATION AND UP BRINGING'

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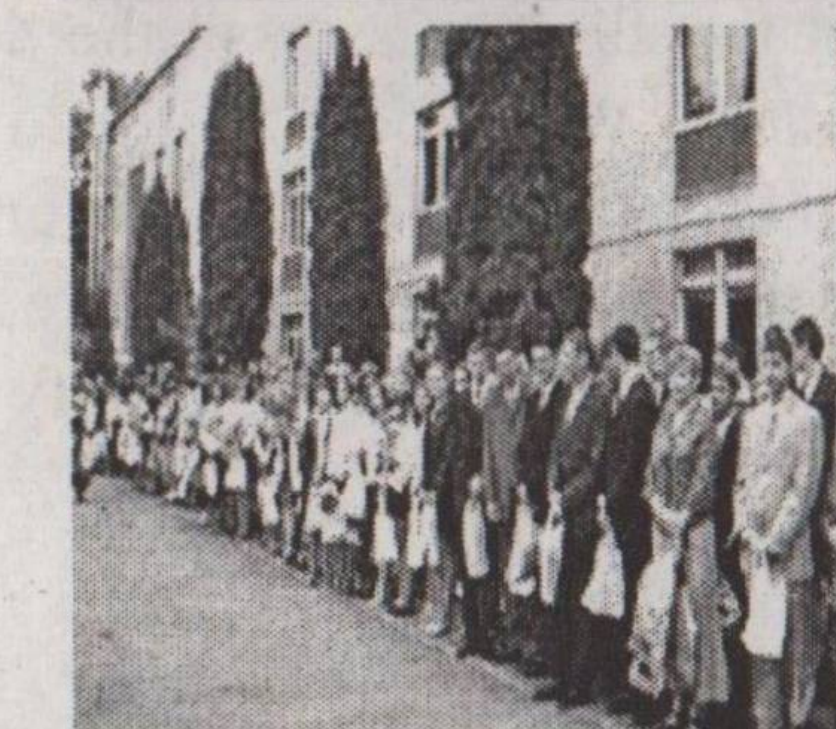
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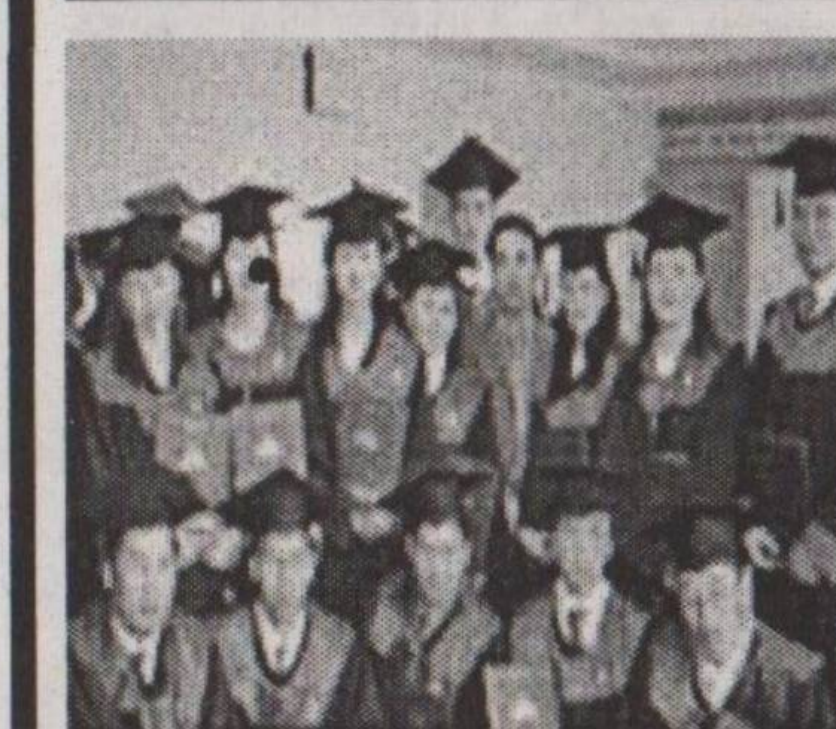
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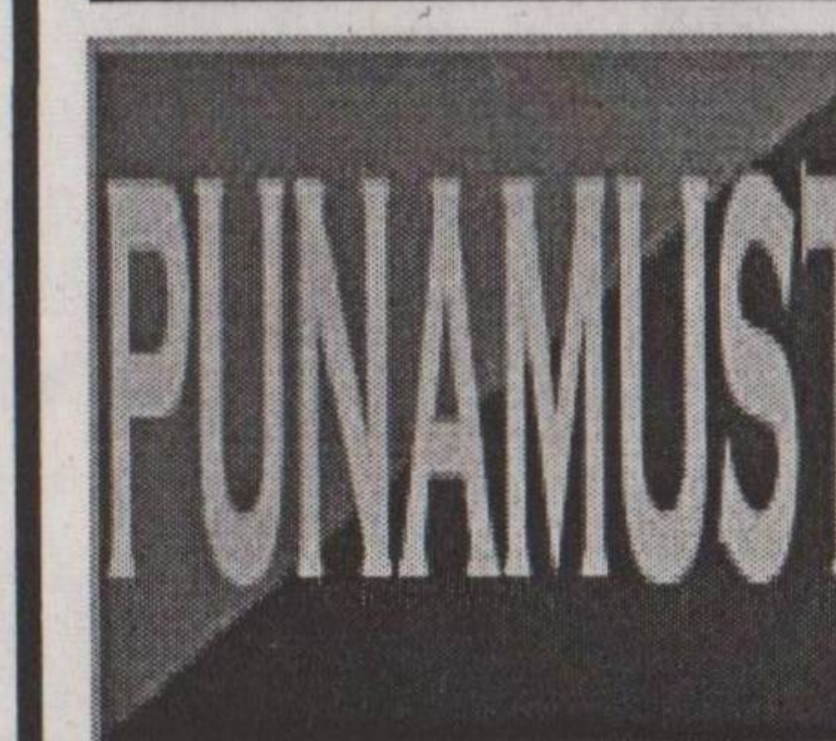
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9th-11th February  
Warsaw





## 5 YEARS OF ABB AND THE QUESTIONS WHICH CAN'T BE ANSWER OUT OF HERE

*"Welcome to the first issue of ABfB (...) We hope this paper will develop into a permanent publication (...) to not let this project rise above our editorial and organizational capabilities we have chosen to develop it slowly, step by step (...) to be honest we are not entirely sure what kind of character ABfB will take on in the end" ...*

These words have appeared in December 2001 in the editorial to the first issue of ABB. Last week during standard chaotic discussions on collective meeting, all of the sudden we discovered that just 5 years passed since ABB have seen a daily life for a first time. No time for any party celebrations or special edition of the journal on this occasion. The only we managed was few minutes of common reflection. This one again brought rather more questions than clear analyses. Is the idea of bringing the eastern-European anarchist communities from isolation through such a project like this one the right one? Did the idea to support networking processes between anarchists communities from the west with those from the east ended in some real projects? Did the notion to build the ground for more understanding for east European anarchist communities among the movements in the west brought some results? Do east-European anarchists need such a platform as AbolishingBB in times of turbo-communication per internet? Did anarchist movement in general needed 5 years ago such a project? Is it still needed and if yes than in what form than? And last but not the least: does all the work which was put in these 5 years into this project by about 20 persons which passed through the collective was worth just to stimulate some outnumbered anarchist community across the borders - or are there any other "goals to achieve" in future by ABB, maybe more socially relevant, maybe outside of the "movement" ...?

So facing this avalanche of questions we spontaneously spoke out two as astonishing as challenging conclusions. At first, right now we do not have any time or energy to lead the collective debate around these questions as the new edition of the journal need to be finished. Secondly, the really source of the answers for these questions is laying everywhere else around the world, both in the "east" as in the "west", but not within our modest structure. It is just very hard for us to find this perspective from outside, to know the impact (or its lack) of the project. So if anyone of you feel like having some answers on the question we just set - send us simply an e-mail (abolishingbb@riseup.net) sharing them with us. It would be very adequate "5-years anniversary souvenir" for ABB, as "to be honest we are not entirely sure what kind of character ABfB will take on in the end"

*"... if education supposes to be a key to the doors of life, than we propose or to encourage everyone to shape its own picklock or to get together and smash the doors to make it sure nobody will be left outside ..."*

During the work on this edition of the journal we allowed ourselves again to choose the focus on one specific issue and let east European anarchist to take the voice on it. And we choose this time the "education and up-bringing". As usually we were interested in complex approach to this topic, as the issue itself touches so many aspects of our lives and the social relations. So we asked our correspondents to right among others about their reflections on similarities and differences of the educational systems of the state-socialism times and of state-capitalism ones, on different processes of discrimination, class segregation which institutionalised education system cultivates, on deliberating character of education in general. But we were as well trying to find out what struggles or alternative-libertarian projects are present in terms of education in Eastern Europe nowadays (radical students networks, alternative schools, examples of practising the anarchist ways of education, etc). We made some interesting interviews; we reached some anarchists working as teachers, some anarchist rebelling as students, and some others describing the

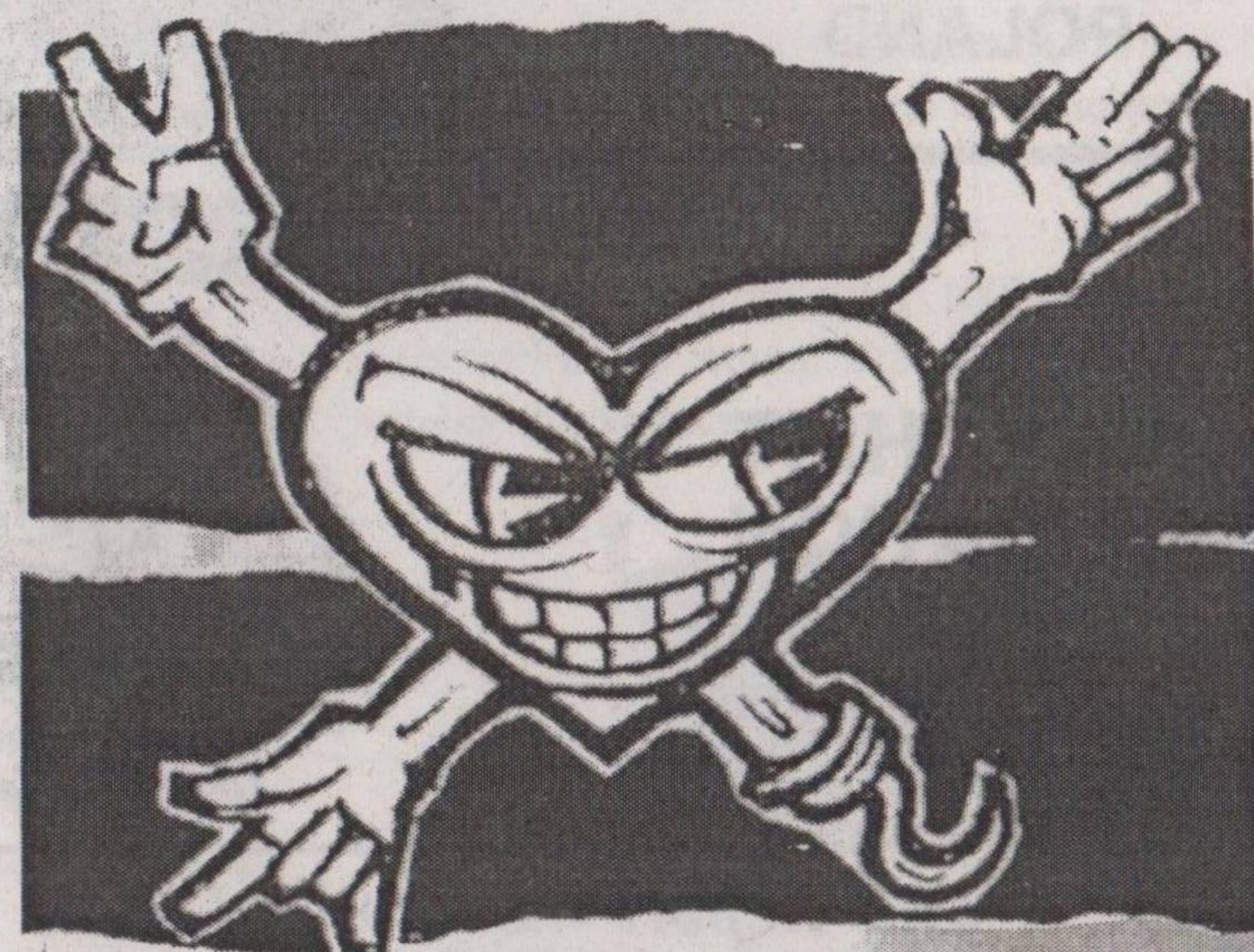
education far from the scheme teacher-student-classroom. We bring some theoretical views and practical examples. All in all, you will find on the following pages quite interesting cocktail of analyses, experiences and ideas around the concept of education which cocktail is difficult to summarise in this editorial in just one sentence. However... listening to the echo of the voices directed to the young people saying again and again "Learn! Education is the key to the doors of life", and watching at the same time the entire education processes in which whole societies are trapped today we have to say in such situation that if education supposes to be a key to the doors of life, than we propose or to encourage everyone to shape its own pick lock or to get together and smash the doors to make it sure nobody will be left outside. While both will lead to the same: to the popular liberation of thinking, acting and communicating, and therefore from serving and obeying. As usually we were trying to visualise this complex outcome on our cover in very simplify and more OR LESS symbolical way...

The attentive readers will definitely realize that the large part of the texts on the main topic is written by anarchists from Poland. It is not the first time in the short history of ABB that materials from Poland are taking about 50% of the space in the journal. Actually it is quite interesting plot of factors staying behind so we dedicate few lines to this issue. Well, we will be dishonest if we would not admit that there was always quite a core of polish anarchists within the collective so obviously contacts with polish movement are very good. But then two other important factors have to be mention in the context of this edition. Since some months the head of the state education system in Poland, the Minister of Education, is an extremely rightwing politician ...well let's call the things with their names: the fascist head. So its lays on the hand that the local anarchist movement is especially active on the social terrain of education in last period. Finally, we have the strong impression that the anarchist movement in Poland, with all its weaknesses, contradictions and disabilities, seems becoming from year to year on the strength in sense of social influence. So where the movement grows, there happens a lot, and where happens a lot there is a lot to be reported from. So this is last reason why you will run across texts from Poland again and again in this issue and maybe the next ones too

But accept of the main topic, we received and completed some more interesting materials. Among the others, deeper analyses on last months upheavals in Hungary by Barricade Collective from Budapest, an interview with antifascist activist from St Petersburg, short but very long awaited reports from Estonia, ... or some more stories from Poland.

As usually, make best of the information you find in here and if you think it is worth your time - help to spread this magazine in your community and wherever you can. And the next issue is coming in the beginning of the next year.

AbolishingBB



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

ISSUE#24 - April 2006: editorial/MAIN TOPIC: "Prison Society, Crime & Punishment" Racism and Gender Oppression all in Action against Roma Communities in Hungary, Shoot the Sheriff - and don't forget the Deputy, Prisons for Everyone in Poland, Styrofoam Crime, Criminals or Barbarians on the example of Biedaszyby G8 SUMMIT IN ST.PETERSBURG, ISSUE#25 - July 2006: editorial/MAIN TOPIC: "On crossroads of discrimination"; On the streets against homophobia, Stereotypes of Roma in romanian media, Homelessness in romania - NGO's and anarchist action, Interview with Puong - about the vietnamese community in poland, The face of polish nationalism -part I, Multiple discrimination on the examples of gender/ethnicity/culture and 'disability', Mayday - reports from different places, Report from protestfest Brno, G8-summit in St. Petersburg: SPB8 infobulletin/anti-g8-bike-caravan-report, Anarchist on the road of freedom - Alexander Atabekian, Nazis in ukraine - report by Kiev antifascists, Special zone of exploitation - interview with Jacek Rosolowski; Labour struggles, Unnoticed news, Announcements, ABC reports, Communities in struggle, ALF news and more ....  
ISSUE#26 - October 2006: editorial/ MAIN TOPIC: "Struggles And Activities From All Around" Inside Romania-interviews different cities, Anarchofeminist News from Croatia, Non- Governmental- Organisations-Poland, Basarabia-Human Ground, Budapest Riots, Education is our modern rite of passage-Macedonia, Repression-Report from Moldova, Nationalism and Antisemitism too close to home -Poland, Kodopoga - a popular uprising turns into a program, Anarchist Resistance against the G8-summit in Skt.Pbg., KATT-collectiv of tourists from Slovakia, Labour struggles, Unnoticed news, Announcements, ABC reports, Communities in struggle and more...  
Plus most other back issues from November 2001. Write for details.

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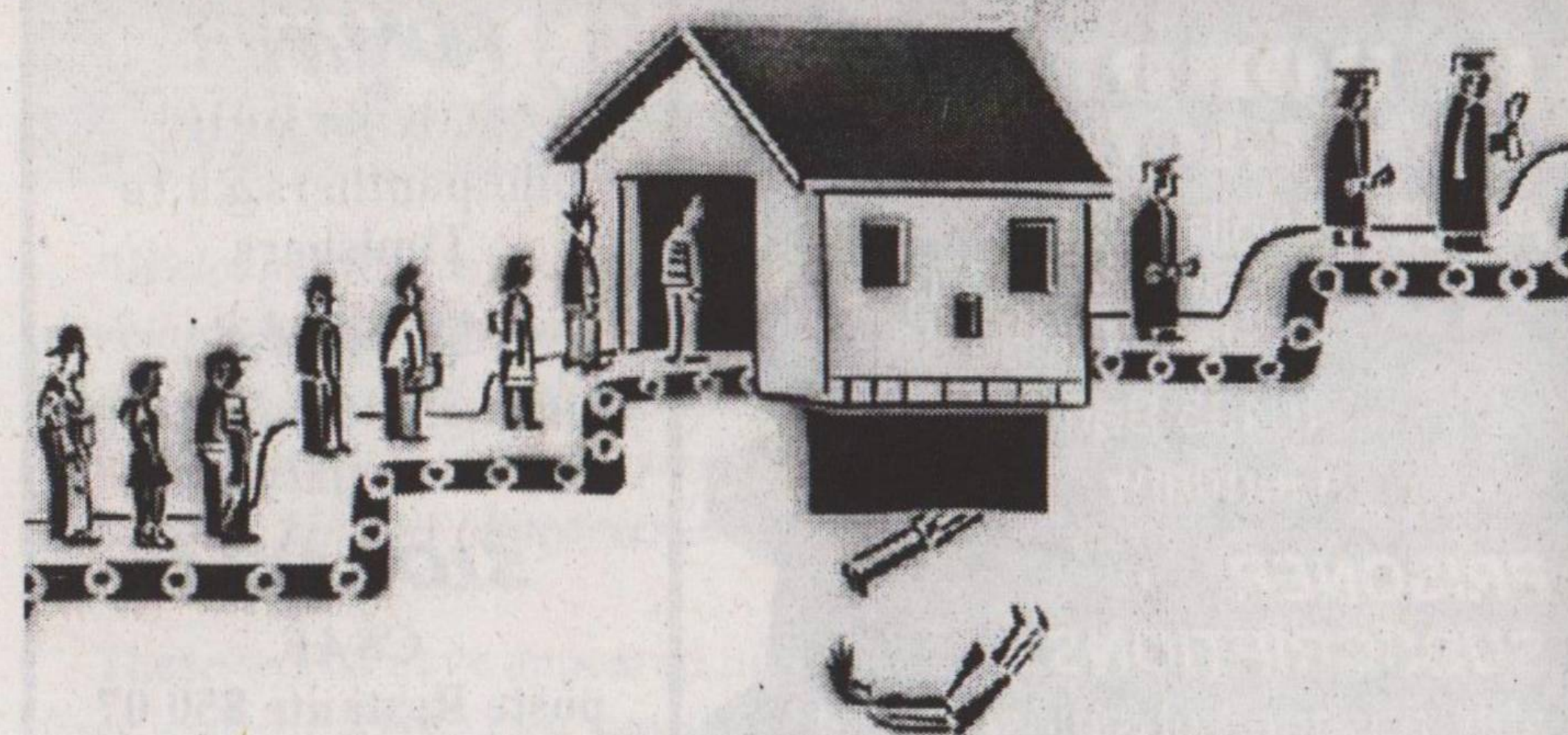
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## education and up-bringing

a short survey over  
education in Romania

by Marius

Education in Romania was a delicate subject and even a problem from the beginning. In this short text, I won't do an analyze of the Romanian educational system throughout the history, but only since the modern times until now. So, let's start...

In the medieval time, nowadays Romania was divided into a few regional-states. In the East, there was Moldavia, in the South we have Walachia and in the West is Transylvania (that was sometimes an autonomous principate or even an integrated region in the Hungarian Kingdom, and later into the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918). There is also another region in the South-west at the Black Sea - Dobroudja (Dobrogea) which was part of the Ottoman Empire from the XVth century until 1878. Also Moldavia had a region, east of the Dnister which was occupied through the history several times by the Tzarist Empire/U.S.S.R. Nowadays is called Republic of Moldavia and is one of the poorest countries in Europe (if not the poorest).

This introductory part is very important because in each of these provinces education was different and was influenced by different factors. For example, in Transylvania was predominant catholic education, which was made in hungarian and german language. Schools that taught in Romanian were forbidden for a long time and also, it were under the influence of the Ortodox and Greek-Catholic Church. In Moldavia there was a strong policy of russification and education was an important part of this policy. In Dobroudja the education was influenced by the numerous minorities which lived here (grecs, turks, mongols, genovese, russians, bulgarians, albanese etc.)

In Walachia, education had various influences: in the medieval times was predominant the influence of the Byzantine Empire, later were the slave, greek and ottoman influences.

In the medieval times, only the nobility (the boyars) had access to education which was done privately with foreign teachers.

The modern education in Romania has its roots in the final period of the XVIIIth century and the beginning of the XIXth century and it's deeply bounded with the national resurrection movement. In that period, also only the boyars and the new-born bourgeoisie afforded to attend schools and universities (most of them were sent to study in the Occident - especially France, which was a latin & "sister" nation). The rural population was condemned to ignorance through all of these periods. All I want to mention is that the population of Walachia and Moldavia in this period was divided into 2 classes - the nobles and the peasants, the later were in a small procent free, the rest was forced to live and work on the boyars lands and domains.

In the middle of the XIXth century (1864), after the unification of Walachia and Moldavia under the rule of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, was realized the first educational reform by this leader. Education was free and obligatory for all children from the first until the 4th grade. This made possible for many children to learn to write and read, but still the hard living situation of the peasantry was an obstacle for these children to have a complete education and a "no future" perspective.

On the other hand, the young bourgeoisie that studied in France or Austria came with new ideas to reform newly Romania. These young students came into contact also with radical cercles in Europe and played a major role in the 1848 revolution. After 1859, when Walachia united with Moldavia they came slowly into power, but didn't try or didn't try enough to transform the peasantry's situation from slavery to a free one.

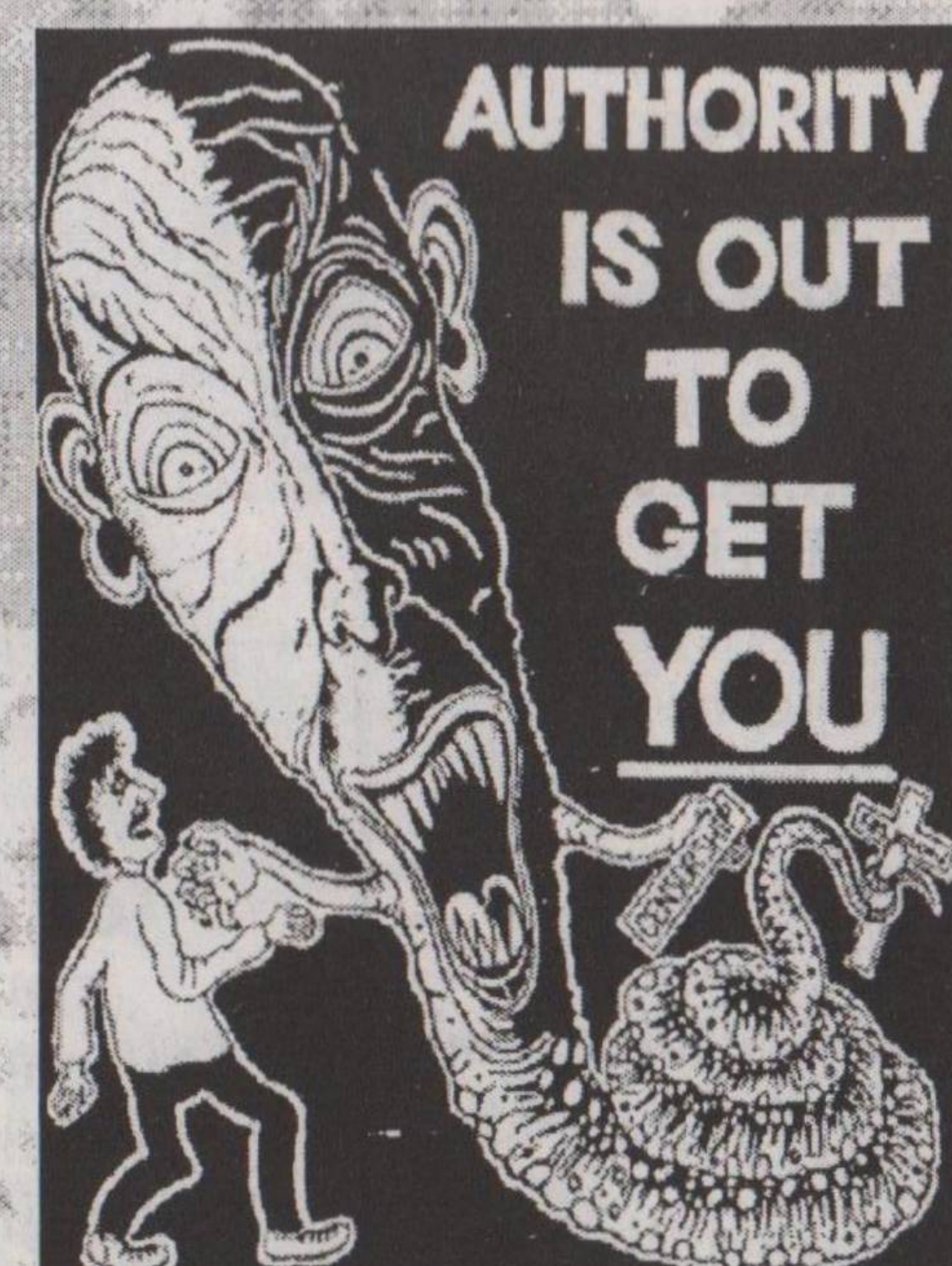
As a small conclusion from this part of our history, I would say that education was a privilege from which benefitted only the nobles and was forbidden to the poors, because they could enlighten themselves and (perhaps) tried to liberate from their slavery.

After 1866, when Romania was gouverned by Carol de Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a german king, it was not much

improved the educational system. Only those who afforded to go to school went, the rest attended the 4th grades which allowed them to learn to read or write (if they learned, because they could not attempt courses regular, being forced to work the land with their families for a living).

By the first world war, perhaps over 50% of the Romania's population was illiterate and semi-illiterate.

By the second world war, the situation improved a bit and many Romanians could go to school and get a relatively liberal education. This progress was stopped after the 2nd world war, when Romania was occupied by the soviet army and the communist party, under the total influence of Moscow, came into power. Since 1948 the communist tried and succeeded in their attempt to destroy the education system in Romania. In 1948 it was emmitted a law which statuated that education in Romania is free for all, obligatory for 10 classes. It was imported the soviet model - teaching russian language was obligatory from the first class untill the graduation of the high school (12th grade) and even in the faculty. The national history was falsified and chopped by the new rulers, the "teachings" of Marx, Lenin and Stalin were in all manuals and special obligatory courses with them were held, all this with the objective of "creating the new man".



## education and up-bringing

## education and up-bringing

This communisation of education was a hard, long and effective brain-washing. Young students were forced to learn only lies and this emerged after a decade into a succesful transformation of the young generation into an obedient subject and object of the Romanian communist party. This process had many negative consequences.

From the beginning, quantity took over quality in the educational process. Pupils and students pass the exams and the class almost always with the biggest grades, even if after a cycle they remained illiterate or semi-illiterate. This thing led to unprepared and unskillfull workers in all the domains. This thing returned as a bumerang in education - teachers were not very much prepared, many were stupid, unskilled or illiterate. So, after decades of so-called education, the Romanian society was almost collapsed - doctors only with the name of "doctor", teachers only with the name. This is one of the main reasons of why there wasn't an effective resistance in Romania against the communist authoritarianism and also, because of this, Romanian people got used to expect always in its life the help of the "father-state" in any situation. The idea of freedom was strangled from the beginning. Those who opposed were very fast arrested and put into jails or, even worse, into psychiatric hospitals as "people with a deviant behaviour" or as "schizophrenics". So, after the 1989 so-called revolution, the Romanian society had to face its horrors in the real capitalist world which came upon the people as a guilotine.

## THE STATE, THE PEOPLE &amp; THE EDUCATION AFTER 1990

So, at the beginning of the '90, Romanian society had to deal with the tragic situation of education. Within this tragic situation, I can identify three important factors: 1. the state policy that undermines public education; 2. poverty; 3. indifference.

At the first point, i would like to emphasis the criminal state policy gainst the educational and the health systems. All politicians who were in power ignored the problems existent in these systems and they tried, consciously, to prolong this crisis. There are many different reasons for doing this thing. First, as the communist system, also the capitalist system doesn't need well educated people. This kind of people can and will identify who represent the real parasites of the society: politicians and political parties. The capitalist system doesn't need educated people, because educated people could raise the "problem" of their natural rights and of their liberty. The politicians, in this matter, control all the educations unions. All protests in Romania were mild, even if the main issue was the funding for education and low-slavery-wages (today, a Romanian teacher earns about 150-200 euros a month). Even though, during teachers strikes, were heard many voices that expressed against the politicians and their very high wages (a PM's wage is around 1500-2000 euros and is getting bigger year by year), still no one can/want to see that the real problem is not the low wage, is the politician whose interest is only the profit. So, every strike or protest ends with long uneffective round-tables negotiations that end with a small raise of our wages. So, they (unions' leaders) always ask for the mercy of these fucked-up politicians. But, there is another big problem within the union struggle. People became tired of this and don't believe that a strike will lead to something good and prefer to resign with their shitty situation. By the time I'm writing this lines, another strike is on the way, but by no means will achieve something more than the last one.

So, these problems lead to point no.2 If there are no money for education, health, industry people are poor. And poor people are struggling to survive every day in Romania. Especially in the rural zone people, after 1989 became very poor. So, the parents don't think anymore at their children's education. These children come to school only for a small period or they come a week, then they will miss

school for a month. So, another generation(s) of illiterate youth is graduating Romanian schools and they will be the next victims of the system. On the other hand, many of them, along with their parents, try to earn money by working every day so they don't even go to school.

Or, many parents prefer not to work, even though they are very poor, but to live on their children backs with the money they get with the state allowance. And this thing leads to no.3 - indifference. Youth is indifferent to education, saying most of the time - "why do we need to learn, if learning doesn't get us money". Teachers are indifferent to education. Many of them, in the new educational system, are unprepared to work with kids and don't respect their education, abuse them or they don't give a shit about their work. Their is another face of this problem. The system is so bad made because you are driven into indifference. Teachers are payed also depending on how many classes they teach. Classes form only if there is a minimum number of pupils (15). And nowadays, Romania has a big problem with natality. Year by year less and less children come to school and many abandon or leave the country with their parents to work. To get their wages, teachers are "obliged" to keep these children, that don't come to school anymore, into the scripts.

So, how can a teacher do all his best in the class if there is no one to teach and why to do all his best for a shit wage?

There is another problem i want to write about it - school violence. These days was made public a report that said 25% of the teachers is subject to students' violence. And perhaps, the percentage of the students' subject to teachers violence is about equal. Everyday news on Romanian tv posts present hidden-cameras reportages with teachers humiliated by their pupils and pupils humiliated by their teachers. And this because the Romanian society became more and more violent. Also, the lack of education lead to promiscuity. Many girls in Romanian schools sleep with boys for money. Many girls get married very young (sometimes at the age of 14 or even lower, in the case of Rroma) and abandon school. Many girls get pregnant due to this promiscuity and are forced to abortion or get infected with sexual diseases. I can tell you all these from personal experiences. And the state tolerates this because it needs more and more slaves year by year!

In the end, there is nothing much to add. As an anarchist and as a young teacher, all I can say is that the situation is tragic from all point of views. If there doesn't take place a change, a real one, in the sense that people become more conscient on their lives and situation and if they don't learn not to rely all the time on the State to solve their problems, than we are doomed forever and condemned by our resign and apathy to eternal darkness.



## education and up-bringing



# the education system and segregation - at times forced assimilation - in Slovakia

On the example of the Roma minority

INTERVIEW MADE WITH IBOLYA FROM SLOVAKIA BY THE EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

Can you describe us a bit the overall situation of Roma children in the current education system in Slovakia?

School segregation of Roma children takes different forms, including placing Roma children in schools for the mentally disabled; separating Roma in classes with programmes for mentally disabled within the regular school; separating them in Roma-only classes within a regular mainstream school; and maintaining Roma ghetto schools located in the ghetto or formed as a result of withdrawal of non-Roma from Roma-majority schools. Segregation of Roma children in education, whether intentionally imposed or resulting from other processes, needs to be recognized as a form of discrimination.

Depending on the specific historical demographic and social factors, one or more patterns of segregated education of Roma are specific for different countries. For example in Bulgaria there are 106 schools and pre-school facilities in which the student body is 100% Roma. Most of these schools are located in or close to segregated ghetto-like Roma neighbourhoods. Around 70% of the Roma children of school age are currently educated in the Roma ghetto schools. This is already becoming a tradition, because these schools were established in the period of 1950-1970 and were labelled by the authorities at that time as "schools for children with inferior lifestyle and culture". These schools were intended to teach basic literacy and vocational skills. Since 1992, these schools were formally given the status of regular schools, but in fact they remain to date schools which offer low quality of education.

The in-built unfairness in the operation of education systems excludes large numbers of Roma children. There are patterns of residential segregation; discriminatory practices by individuals within the education systems and an overall social context of racially-based rejection of Roma by the majority populations.

What types of segregated education in Slovakia are we talking about?

There are special schools for children with developmental disability (special remedial schools), segregated classes in the mainstream schools, segregated "standard" schools (ghetto schools, "Roma schools") as well as nursery schools/kindergarten and private students (home studying). For example in the Prešov district in Slovakia 84% of all special school students were Roma in 2001-2002. The psychological testing that is currently practiced produces racially

Could you explain the main reasons behind the high numbers of Roma students educated at special needs schools and the disabling or discriminatory factors that are present in the process of placement/transfer?

The process of placement of pupils in primary schools is organized as the key factor in determining what education a child will acquire. Before entering primary school, the child's qualification for placement in regular primary school is assessed. If the child appears immature for regular

school, a decision is made to postpone school attendance, to place the child in a 0th or preparatory class, or to place the child in a special needs educational facility. If learning difficulties appear with a pupil who already attends school, his/her condition and causes of the problem are assessed and it may be recommended to transfer the child to another type of education (from standard to special needs education, or to a different subtype of special needs education).

Without questioning at this point the construct of this whole educational system, it should be kept in mind that this requires a fair and appropriate

process of placement/transfer to make an objective decision on the child's education.

A diagnostic examination is made for the purpose of assessing the ability and qualification of a child for schooling in a certain type of education (standard, special needs), because only a child with a confirmed diagnosis of 'mental underdevelopment' can be placed in a special needs primary school. The determination of the level of 'mental underdevelopment' is performed by a psychologist by means of psychodiagnostic intelligence tests. But is it really intelligence that intelligence tests measure and are results of intelligence tests valid and reliable for all human beings regardless of the environment and culture they come from? It needs to be kept in

disproportionate results; Roma children are assigned to special education without testing; parents are coerced to give their consent to the placement of their children in special education; even first-year Roma students are put in special education yet special remedial classes are set up in mainstream schools. Roma students are also segregated to avoid the withdrawal of non-Roma from schools or there is a rise in the proportion of Roma children in a school as a result of 'white flight' from schools. So some schools tend to refuse the enrollment of Roma children at their mainstream institutions.



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mind that these tests are standardized for the majority population in a particular country made by the majority population. They are not taking into account that the context, where a Roma child may grow up is different - the type of culture is different and the environment is often socially disadvantaged, marginalised and poor. Standard intelligence tests are not able to recognize the fact that children may be stimulated in a different way than tests' tasks expect. A child should be placed or transferred to a special needs education facility only after at least two 'specialists' have examined the child and recommended this type of education for the child. But in the case of Roma children, the educational system sometimes doesn't even bother to make a single examination at all. Recommendation of a suitable education is not based only on an assessment of a child's abilities, but on the assessment of these in the context of demands of a school. Recommendation of experts (teachers, psychologists) is based on the premise that a child has to fulfill certain requirements to be educated in a certain type of a school. Our present education system considers that a lack is on the side of the pupil, who has to adapt to the system.

What happens with those who don't adapt to the system because they are viewed by the system as the 'Others' who don't belong to it?

For example despite the right of parents to enrol their children in a school of their preference, in many instances Roma children who attempt to enrol in schools outside the Roma ghettos are denied access to these schools. There are a lot of known cases where school guards prevented Roma parents from entering school premises. Some Roma parents managed to submit applications for enrolment in their school of choice, but received immediate negative verbal response. That's the message, you are not welcome outside of your neighbourhoods, stay in the segregated schools.

And there are many cases of discrimination where Roma students are going to standard schools. For example a teacher uses derogatory words when talking to Roma pupils, calling them "Negro" and other pupils started to treat them roughly as a result. The situation is not improving after the mother of a Roma student had talked to the teacher several times and even escalated after a week. To prevent the things from worsening even more, the mother eventually decided to move to another town. Or a Roma student attending a special needs school in the town of Snina in Slovakia was physically attacked by a school worker, because he forgot to change his shoes. The boy spent nine days in hospital as a result of the attack.

But still the overall situation is very hard to track, because not all Roma are non-integrated and the whole community is very heterogeneous. How would you see the state attempts to assimilate Roma and in correspondence their resistance towards these tries.

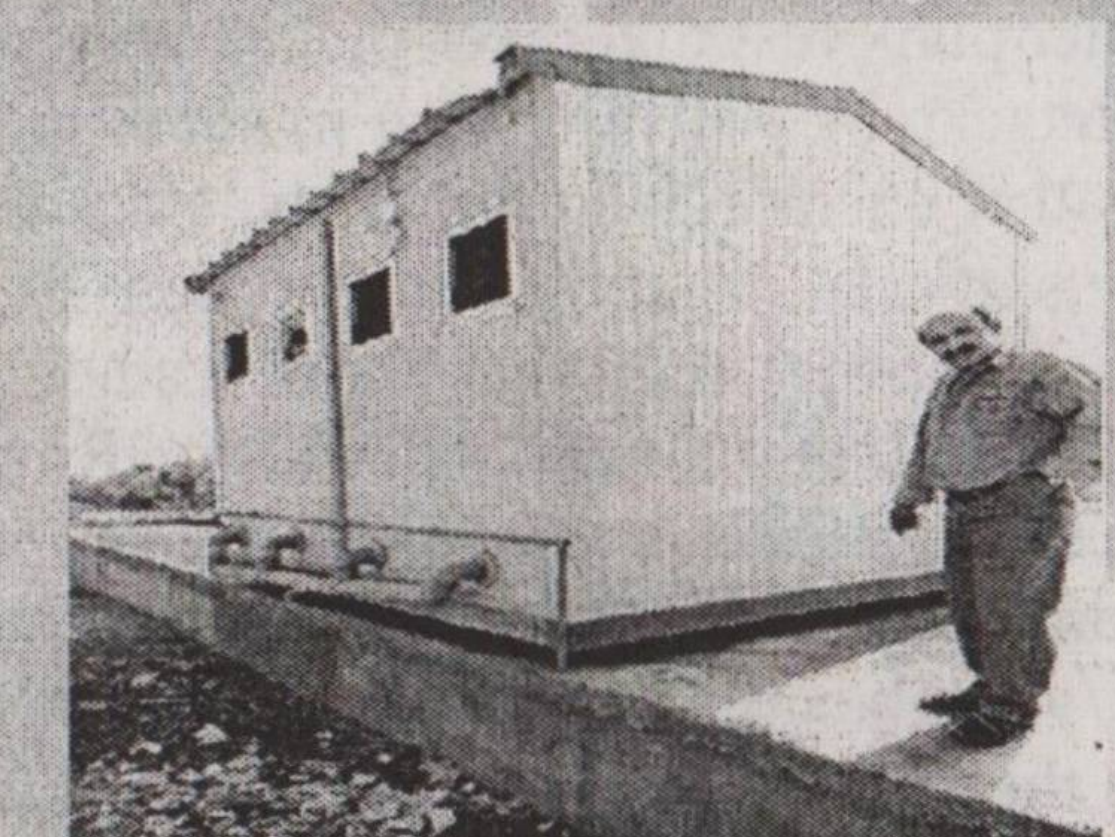
Attempts at changing the (educational) structure of the Roma population and bringing it closer to that of the majority population through government intervention can be traced back at least as far as the beginning of the socialist era. Most of the time it was not meant to integrate but to assimilate. One of the main attempts and main problems has been the forcing of Roma students to fit into the majority model of education. Meaning Roma parents often view the school first of all as a lying institution and a coercive instrument designed by the majority population to assimilate their children. And many still have experienced attempts of state assimilation, for example by cutting off their wheels of caravans by police as well as taking away their horses, so they had to start living where they were assigned as a work force. The majority on the other side insists on 'the financial factor' - understanding education as a direct link

between the attained education and the economic wealth, hoping to improve the conditions of Roma and change their mentality. But how should you be motivated, if you are everyday reminded that you don't belong, that you are a criminal, you are unwanted, treated with inferiority as an 'outsider' or maybe as cheap labourers. But the Roma community is also highly heterogeneous. Individual groups of Roma people differ in their lifestyles, standards of living, education levels and so on. They are socially integrated, partially integrated and non-integrated. These differences between individual Roma groups, caused by different degree of social integration have to be always kept in mind. But especially for partially integrated and non-integrated Roma the splitting of Czecho-Slovakia had consequences that still go on, for example leaving then-thousands stateless, because the government refused to acknowledge them as citizens. This longstanding oppression and exclusion has led to distrust, fear and apathy among a lot of Roma.

Can you imagine anyway out of this 'dead-end-road'?

I have recently learnt about the idea of Learning Communities in Catalonia, which I think are quite interesting. The Learning Communities start from the premise that all children, regardless of their culture, gender, ethnicity, and language, have the right to an education that does not condemn them to school failure and social exclusion but rather helps to create an atmosphere and culture through promoting solidarity within classrooms, schools and neighbourhoods. A Learning Community is a project that consists in the social and cultural transformation of an educational center and its surroundings in order to reach the goal of an information society for all, based on dialogic learning, and through the participation of the community in all its spaces, including the classroom. The school system inherited from the industrial society tend to assimilate all the cultural differences and extend the mainstream culture or even segregate those who are different. In this type of system the Roma culture is seen as inferior and preventing Roma from the access to resources and opportunities as other people. So Roma families are mainly blamed of not being interested in education. The student body is homogenised and different cultures are subordinated to the mainstream one, or assimilated, means giving up an own identity as the only solution to fit into the educational system. But this is no more than modern racism. Learning Communities kind of try to confront this view of knowledge infected by nationalism - means especially the ideas that schools are obliged to transmit knowledge, with the state influencing on the curriculum. The delivered link between achieving knowledge for money and so on. Learning Communities try to make minority cultures visible in the educational centers, create family member associations, improve the school-family relationship. This all based on a concept of unity in diversity, a respect to cultural difference and an egalitarian dialogue among cultures, where criticism is also possible. This also goes far behind the walls of the classroom, for example by family member education, internet for all, school opening from 8 till 20 o'clock and so on.

more information at (<http://www.comunidadesdeaprendizaje.net>)



Roma father in front of a segregated Roma school

## education and up-bringing

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## Polish school system - the revival of a hierarchical institution

by Maciek



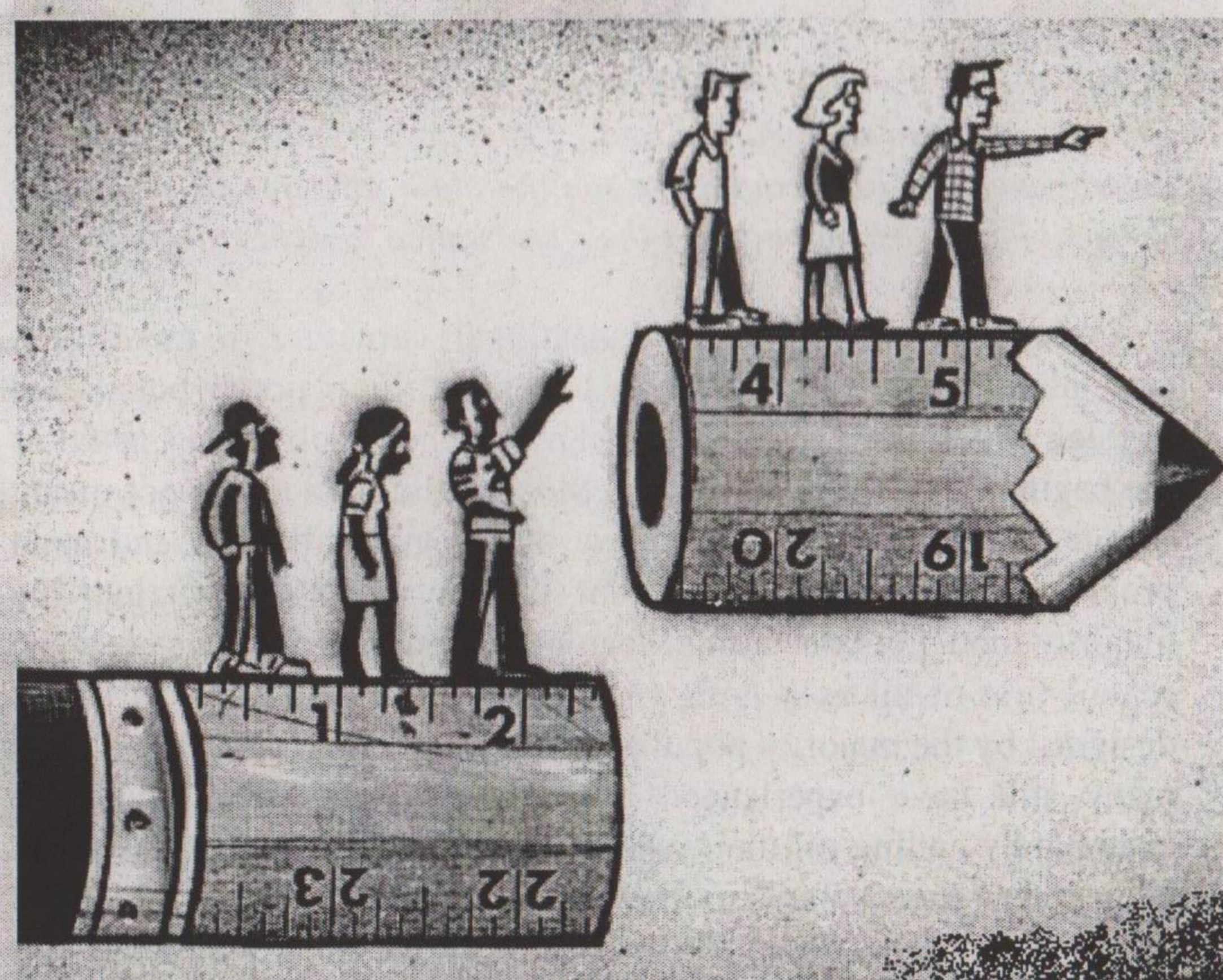
The ABB collective, as always, chose the best main topic matching current situation. Especially the current situation in Poland. Here, education system was always a piece of shit, hierarchical institution, aimed only for creating people who are more elements of a machine, than unique, individual human beings. But now, changes are coming, and these aren't changes for better, that's for sure.

All of subjects in school, that have influence on young folk's way of looking on political and social questions, are based on one idea - patriotism. 80% of literature lessons just

reading and analysing and finding patriotic elements in polish literature. During history lessons, one can mainly learn about polish history, and general history is rather a background to what happens in Poland. In my school, and I can say, that in most other schools, the history was taught in a very biased way - as an example - polish alliance with Napoleon Bonaparte against Russia was a national-liberation struggle and was fully righteous and justified, while Ukrainian Kossak's uprising against polish supremacy, was an act of treacherous backstabbing. Other kind of lesson is the so called sexual education that never had anything to do with sexual education. The official name of this subject is "Preparation for living in a family" ("przygotowanie do życia w rodzinie"). It should be more like "Preparation for living in a traditional, patriarchal, hierarchical family". This course is not compulsory, one doesn't have to attend (of course, it's the parents choice, not student's/pupil's). In my experience, there was just one lesson - the teacher came in the classroom, and asked us to write something like "There are many threats for young people, who should live in love and truth and they can always be attacked by people representing interests of hatred and lie". I asked - who are these agents of evil? I heard that Jurek Owsiak is a good example of a guy not living in truth and love. Jurek Owsiak is the guy who organizes the biggest charity action in Poland - the funds he collects always are directed to children's hospitals. His "evil" side is that he also organizes "Woodstock" festival in Poland - a sort of hippie/kinder punk fest that takes place every summer and is the main object of attacks by polish church in summer (during other seasons, they have other enemies - communists, etc.). So I guess that this example depicts nicely what is "preparation for living in a family" here in Poland. Now, that is what WAS. It's not going to seize to exist, but our minister of national education, Roman Giertych (leader of LPR - League of Polish Families, biggest radical right-wing party in Poland) has some great new ideas - you can watch his video here (<http://youtube.com/watch?v=5105gdBhV4k>) - don't bother the voice in the background - just see who is the bad youth according to Roman G!

So, recently the media have been full of news about pathological events in polish schools - 14 year old girl killing herself, after being humiliated by her "colleagues", boy being beaten, etc. This gives our minister a reason to bring his ideas to life. One of these is introducing curfew for under 18's. After certain hour, kids will be able to stay in public places only under adult's supervision. Next - all schools will have to install monitoring systems and their computers will have to have programs restricting access to certain websites installed. Funny thing is that application recommended by LPR, when tested by one of polish anarchists denied him access to squatter's websites and leftist and anarchist organisation, while allowing him to view redwatch and Blood and Honour sites. Another thing that may now be introduced by headmasters in all schools is uniforms - LPR politicians say that girls with their navels exposed are more to be watched on beaches, than in schools. Well, as we all know, nudity (as far as we can call showing navel "nudity") and sexuality are mortal sins. It's rather visible, what ideology is now main-stream in Poland. These are just some of Giertych's ideas for making education better. Lessons of "patriotic education" (compulsory, if you have any doubts), special schools for "difficult youth", with ultra-discipline, and employing polish soldiers, who were in Afghanistan (most sick idea I've ever heard).

The very disturbing problem is, that except for students from Inicjatywa Uczniowska (Student's Initiative), and some political parties' youths, no one protests against this ideas. For anyone, who has any knowledge concerning education, and this knowledge doesn't come from XIX century books, these methods will have only one result - more and more pathologies, not only in schools, but in adult lives of today's kids - they will only know physical strength as an argument, and hierarchy will be the only social and private relationship form, they are going to know. This is of course not an argument for LPR, for whom these issues are the basis, on which society should be founded.



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## special education in Romania

by Irina

This is a short report from Romania, about the special education system. I just want to say a few words, to get a picture about the situation of "handicapped" children/people here, lots of other things need to be mentioned, maybe 100 times more than I wrote here (things about social help for these people which is terribly low, their rights which are completely ignored or even denied, the health care which is improper etc).

First of all I want to say that I'm working with children who inherited/are born with some mental deficiency, which means they are differently abled than most of the children, but not DISABLED! The term "disability" was introduced once with the westernisation and the importation of everything that means western "cultures"/"values"/standards.

Just some years ago it was unacceptable to call a person "disabled", but now everything has to fit the new standards of the West and E.U.! Most used concepts before, were: children/persons with special needs/ special educational needs!

The state of "handicap" is the consequence of the person's condition/deficiency.....the person in itself is not handicapped, but SOCIETY is the one making the person handicapped because it doesn't suit its needs, it neglects/ignores/denies them; demanding too much, putting too much pressure - the normality standards, what is acceptable and normal for most of the population!

In Romania children labelled as "handicapped" are put in special schools! The public special educational system means SEGREGATION! These special schools are old, ugly and cold buildings, only for "handicapped" children! Lots of efforts have been made for integration of these children, not on national or local level, not within governmental programs, but here and there by N.G.O.s who are representing these people's interests and fighting for their rights. Despite these efforts you can face a lot of problems and obstacles, because teachers in mainstream schools are not prepared to meet these children, they get really scared and they don't want to hear about having a "handicapped" child in their classroom; you can also face problems and strange reactions from "normal" children who are coming with misjudgements from their families, parents don't even allow their "normal" children to play with a "handicapped" child and prefer to avoid them as much as possible. This is all because of the lack of information. No one talks about the condition and the needs of these children, what they really signify and what needs to be done.

Indeed you can see them everywhere, on the streets (they are not living in special small communities) but this doesn't mean integration....they are wearing their label of "handicap" wherever they may go, they are seen as "plagued", people avoid them, insult them, children are aggressing them....

Unfortunately I came across public special education system during my student years, when I had to do some research; the experiences I got in some of these places are terrifying! Teachers are abusing children and calling them "stupid", "imbecile", hurting and punishing them in ways you can hardly imagine; or just completely ignore them, while they are smoking cigarettes and drinking coffee, talking about movies or make-up....or whatever! Unfortunately I had nowhere to go

to report this kind of situations, since the organisations for children's rights face the same corruption level as the whole system does! No one cares about them, there is a vicious circle, and they are going hand in hand! I have to mention that most of them get the false diagnosis....like "severe handicapped" or "profound handicapped" or it doesn't matter, just because they are rroma (the rroma children are facing an even greater discrimination in the mainstream schooling system) or just because they come from a very poor background - the so called "social cases" - (no need to mention that in fact they are smart, intelligent and creative as any other children).

Not so long ago I started working also with young people....the situation is even worse....they are completely dependent on their families/caregivers...the social help they get from the state is very low, they couldn't survive only with this money.....As far as I know, in Bucharest, where I live, there is an educational complex where they can learn some sort of crafts, depending on their skills. After graduating this school, there is no real chance for them to be employed; as far as I know, there are no protected workshops....or anywhere they could go.... Private or public institutions prefer to pay taxes rather than employ a differently abled person. The only places I have seen these people working are the institutions/N.G.O.s which are providing rehabilitation services for them!

The short description I have made here doesn't cover even half of the dark side of the "story". The thing that I wanted to emphasize is that these persons have to suffer a lot because of the indifference and misconceptions of people and society in general!



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## INICJATYWA UCZNIOWSKA

"Schools should develop a person's ability to think independently and critically and not to blindly follow authority"

"Structure of our organisation fits to the structure of the schools we aim for"

Interview with Activists from STUDENTS' INITIATIVE, Warsaw  
Common work of AbolishingBB and Laure Akai

Next to the different critical texts on the contemporary education system, along with materials presenting the libertarian alternatives to it, we have in this issue an interview with members of the student movement from Poland which focus on the resistance and radical changes on the issue of education. The movement is very new; its members are mostly students of secondary schools, very young people who are mostly just making their first steps of confrontation against structures of institutionalised power, oppression and injustice. The movement is called INICJATYWA UCZNIOWSKA, what means Students' Initiative and was started by two Warsaw high school students in Oct. 2005 who are anarchists. The original aim of the group was to promote libertarian education. A lot has happened since then, some of it almost by accident.

On the day before the group planned its first demonstration, Roman Giertych from the League of Polish Families became the Minister of Education. So the first demonstration, although it wasn't planned that way, turned out to be understood as a demonstration against Giertych. Other demonstrations against Giertych followed and were widely covered in the press, so many young people started to join up.

Because of the fact that new people were interested and started coming to meetings, Students' Initiative in Warsaw started to have a broader base. This has been a good thing, although it means that there have been different visions of the group - for example, about its politics. There have been some challenging moments for the group - for example when the newspapers started to print articles about them after having picked up that they had links to anarchist materials on their web site or when Giertych and the press claimed that they were organized and financed by the former left ruling party. In the end, they decided not to pretend to not have any contact with the Anarchist Federation but to stress that they were independent, and even at times to use the word "non-political". This has led to some criticism, including criticism from within and some other sections of Students' Initiative who have a more defined political view.

These are the realities of many movements which strive to be open to larger and larger groups of people and which aim to create open, democratic structures, like Students' Initiative, which wants to spread the word and create radical groups in different schools around the city. Nowadays, the Warsaw group would like to concentrate on spreading the word and working towards libertarian schools. Of course there is much to be worked out; there are even different ideas of what that is supposed to look like. But for now there is a lot to be done to even improve democratic participation in schools and to fight against the ideas of the Minister to do things like introduce a "zero tolerance" plan, patriotism lessons, do away with the teaching of evolution, open militarized reform schools, introduce uniforms and promote sexually segregated education.

The Students' Initiative puts out a zine called "Educators" and holds discussions and meetings twice a week. They have many demonstrations behind them as well, the most recent being one in Warsaw at the beginning of November calling for libertarian schools. A few months before they had their most well-known action when they called for a strike and people tried to occupy the Ministry of Education. 18 people were arrested in that action.

The interview below is a result of work of Laure Akai and AbolishingBB. Altogether 6 members of Warsaw section of Students' Initiative, answered the questions. Students' Initiative will be referred to by the initials IU. (Some answers are slightly edited due to repetition.)

*In what socio-political context in Poland was the IU founded in?*

K: IU was set up because we didn't like the decisions of the contemporary Minister of Education - Sewerynski. The situation in schools was, as it still is, far from satisfying. We wanted to change the system of education and also to show that students can think in a self-reliant way. But then I believe that the direct impulse to act was Sewerynski's plan to catholicise the schools.

X: The direct reason to found such an organisation like the IU was because of the breaking of the rights of the students and the growing political and church indoctrination in schools.

*What is the current structure of IU and what principles does it operate on?*

L: In Students' Initiative there are people who want to change things and aren't indifferent to things that are going on in schools and in the current educational system. In Warsaw there are 30-40 people. There are also groups in Katowice, Czestochowa, Torun, Lodz and Opole. Unfortunately we don't always have direct contact with the other sections so we can't speak about how things are with them. But we all have the same manifesto. We don't have any leaders and anybody can propose their ideas. We make decisions together and everybody does what they can at the time given.

K: Structure of our organisation is the same one as the structure of the schools we aim for.

I: IU is a federation of collectives which functions throughout Poland. Each section is autonomous and functions as it wants, as long as they act in accordance with our manifesto. The groups number from 3-7 people to about 50 people. They meet in different places to conspire against the right-wing government but above all they act to promote Free Schools which respect the rights of pupils.

X: There must be about 350 persons around the country involved in the IU today. There are sections in big cities as well as in the little towns. Altogether 12 sections cooperating in a federative way without any Centrum, although unfortunately Warsaw is considered to be one.

*Are the students in your school liberal, radical, right-wing...?*

S: In my school there are different people - right-wing and left-wing - but no radicals. Usually the students are busy with study or parties and aren't that interested in politics or social activism. The majority of them don't believe that we can change anything.

J: In my school the majority are hooligans in tracksuits who don't care much about what's happening. They just want to finish school as quickly as possible.

*What do you think of Roman Giertych and his ideas, e.g. "zero tolerance" - program?*

K: Giertych and his ideas is one huge defeat. His ideas are a disaster to any education, not even mentioning the libertarian one. Let's take only the examples of the "zero tolerance" project or the idea of "school trinities" (three-adult-person patrols within the school buildings made by parents, social workers and authority officers) - he is not even trying to solve any problems just heading to limit the violence with use of power. And these are just examples of the last weeks. Giertych has an endless collection of such ideas - all of them kill only the personality and individual character of the pupils.

L: The only idea that he was able to implement was to introduce military reform schools and uniforms. (note: they are not obligatory but it allows schools to introduce them if they want and encourages this.) And those problems with the school-leavers exam. (note: Giertych tried to change some aspects of this exam and last year retroactively passed some people who had failed.) Nobody knows what it's going to look like and most people can't start preparing.

X: His decisions are in contradiction with our understanding of education (...) Program "Zero Tolerance" was brought using the tragedy of Ania from Gdansk (Ania committed suicide after being molested by some teenagers from her class). Her suicide was used in a political game which is awful. Well, the idea to face the problem of violence in schools is not wrong, but Giertych, instead of looking for the reasons for this violence desires only punishments and repressions towards the students - not only towards those using violence but as well towards all non-humbled. Mutual support and students' solidarity are real alternatives towards Giertych's program. Program "Zero Tolerance" is meant to build the police system in the schools in Poland, and this is a fact which does not need more comments.

L: "Zero Tolerance" is a bad approach to the problem because it can create a socially marginal group of hooligans and have the opposite effect from what Giertych expects. The worst students will be isolated and will become even more aggressive.

X: By looking at his decisions one can see that they have a slightly different character. Changes towards the school-leavers exams were meant to raise the popularity of Giertych as the Minister of education. The rest of his "improvements" are to be considered as a pure fight against the students, as if we would be his enemies to be crushed - a nationalistic system of education and discipline. The idea of student-uniforms reminds me of the hard school of PRL (state communist regime in Poland 46-89) or with the Prussian school, where the teacher is the master and the student a servant.

K: By changing the school-leavers exams regulation Giertych wanted to win popularity among young conservatives, while with "Zero Tolerance" program popularity among the older ones. It's very consequent politics from his side.

*Can you describe some of IU's activities?*

L: We try to do different things. We had a march for libertarian



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education, manifestations against Giertych, we collected school supplies for Chechen refugees and we put out the zine "Educators".

X: The first action of IU was a protest in front of the Ministry of Education against catholic indoctrination in the schools. Then actions in Warsaw and in Krakow which were reactions on the open letter of Minister of Education to the curators calling for a ban on pacifists and ecological activists in schools. Then came the anti-Giertych protests. Right now we are developing a Poland-wide campaign called "Black Schools", which is about protecting the rights of students and support actions in cases of repressions against them.

*What are your libertarian ideas for schools?*

X: As a long-term goal we would like to transform the whole system of education into libertarian model, not necessary very specific one like Ferrer's one or Neil's one, but rather in such one in which each school can adapt the system which the students appreciate the most.

K: For me the ideal of the school is described in the "Summerhill" book: a school as place in which the human-talents can be drawn out, and not a place of compulsion and indoctrination. Decisions should be made by all students and teachers. A place to which I would go with pleasure.

L: Free Schools rely on students managing the schools themselves in cooperation with teachers or student-teachers. There are no orders or bans on students. Students shouldn't be indoctrinated with ideology. Schools should develop a person's ability to think independently and critically and not to blindly follow authority.

*Many radical social protests in Europe over the last years have come from young people: the winter 2005 riots in the French suburbs, then in March with the anti-Lukashenko clashes in Belarus, then again in France with the massive actions against CPE, or summer student protests in Germany. In those places, young people were the first to radically mobilize - and radicalize other social groups. Did these events have any influence in Poland?*

L: We took an example from the French Students. We organized a strike and occupied the Ministry of Education. We also did some direct actions - we locked the Ministry gates and did some graffiti. It's hard to compare this though with the things that went on in France. We don't have a strong labour movement and young people are brainwashed by dogmatic liberal democracy.

X: The mentioned events could have a stronger influence than we can consider right now. Thanks to these moments of resistance many people in other counties (especially younger people) understood the possibility in changing the reality especially if we tighten our strengths. In Poland you could see quite a lot of solidarity actions and info-events in connection with the anti-CPE struggle in France.

*How are you interpreting the "youth riots" of today - as an element of universal truth that "resistance lays in the nature of youth" or do you see it as a result of the contemporary processes we are caught in?*

X: Both in one. Youth is impatient and seeks quick results of its outbursts ... and that's great. Young people seem to be the strength which in the past the workers were. Wherthey don't agree - they go on the streets. They won't negotiate with politicians.

K: I consider IU as just a beginning of a bigger social movement. But there is a problem of apathy among the people, including young people.

*And how can you radicalize people?*

S: I think you have to take radical actions yourself first of all. If people see that you can take such actions and that you can get away with them, then they will have a impact. For me,



## education and up-bringing

that's a lot better than having theoretical discussions or talking about things that happened 200 years ago. When people are interested in activism and have a chance to form a good affinity group, it's good.

M: I think that when the situation becomes radically worse, people become radicalized. But the situation is that people are numbed by the emptiness of all the news on the media and the resignation of the older generation who are been observing this shit for a long time and who were also effected by the communist regime. It's difficult to think of mass reactions when people have been passive for such a long time. A lot of students come under pressure from their parents, many of them who are trying to live out their unfulfilled dreams through them. In such situations, maybe some incentive to act can be drastic measures taken by the government. Of course it's passive in itself to wait for such things to become active. And those who rule us are experienced in manipulation and ways to regulate reactions so that there is never such a violent clash. However I'm counting on them going overboard. But I'm not waiting passively. We have a lot of hope for our zine, "Educators" and we are hoping that our ideas and proposals spread.

*With which groups or movements do you cooperate? Can you combine your actions with other social protests?*

S: Of course we work with others if we have the same goals and as long as their protests aren't led by or used by politicians.

I: We try to focus on education, our main goal. But of course often people from IU are involved in other activities and groups. For example, a lot of us are vegetarians and we want to do something at Christmas time when the supermarkets are selling carp (Note: Carp are live but they usually bludgeon them to death on the spot when purchased)

L: We cooperate where it's possible, for example with the Anarchist Federation (FA). We have similar ideas about education, so we can do things together.

X: FA helps us to organise our meetings and gatherings. We draw a lot from their experiences. Some of the IU are part of the anarchist movement. The workers union "Sierpień 80" ("August 80") helps us with printing our publication "Educators". We tried to cooperate with the teacher's union ZNP but it turned out to be a fiasco. And for sure we never will cooperate with any political parties, we won't become part of the power-game.

*What do your parents think about your activities?*

I: My parents support me a lot. We talk a lot together about how to do things more effectively. If I need to, they write notes to get me out of class to do something, and they pick me up at the police station.

S: My parents don't care - as long as what I do is legal. They were angry when I was arrested and they are against things that can get me in trouble at school.

*Did you manage to establish any contacts with libertarian and anti-authoritarian movements from other parts of the continent?*

X: Yes, we have international aspirations but it is not easy task. Many people have to be mobilised. We might establish good contacts with Berlin. We already have contacts with students structures in Germany, Austria and Ireland.

*What are your plans for the near future and the more distant future?*

M: I'd really like to continue working together with people after I finish high school. The best thing would be if a few of us got directly involved in education, for example as teachers. Maybe we can start our own libertarian school. As adults they won't be able to ignore us as much as they do now. I feel like we need to share our experiences with younger people. I'd also like to work together with my colleagues on different types of social actions like Food Not Bombs or in the ecological movement or defending workers.

I: We are currently helping students from one school that have problems with censorship in their school paper. We want to draw up a list of rights for students and help support people in such cases. We also want to continue doing lectures. And we're going to collect money at school to buy more books for refugee children. Personally, I'd like to get a good group of people together and start a squat. And I'd like to work with other organizations, especially anarchist ones. My friends think the same.

L: We're working on the idea of a "Flying Library" which would spread books on libertarian education. We're also compiling a Black List of Schools to expose places where students' rights are broken. We're trying to encourage solidarity and action amongst students.

*Any wishes towards the future situation in Poland?*

X: We wish that the government collapses, however it looks at the moment that this government will smash itself but not much will change anyway. The new one will come in. Considering the issue of education we would really welcome a general strike in schools so that Giertych would lose all arguments to fight for his Ministry of Education chair. There is a sort of anarcho-syndicalistic spirit within our students approach.

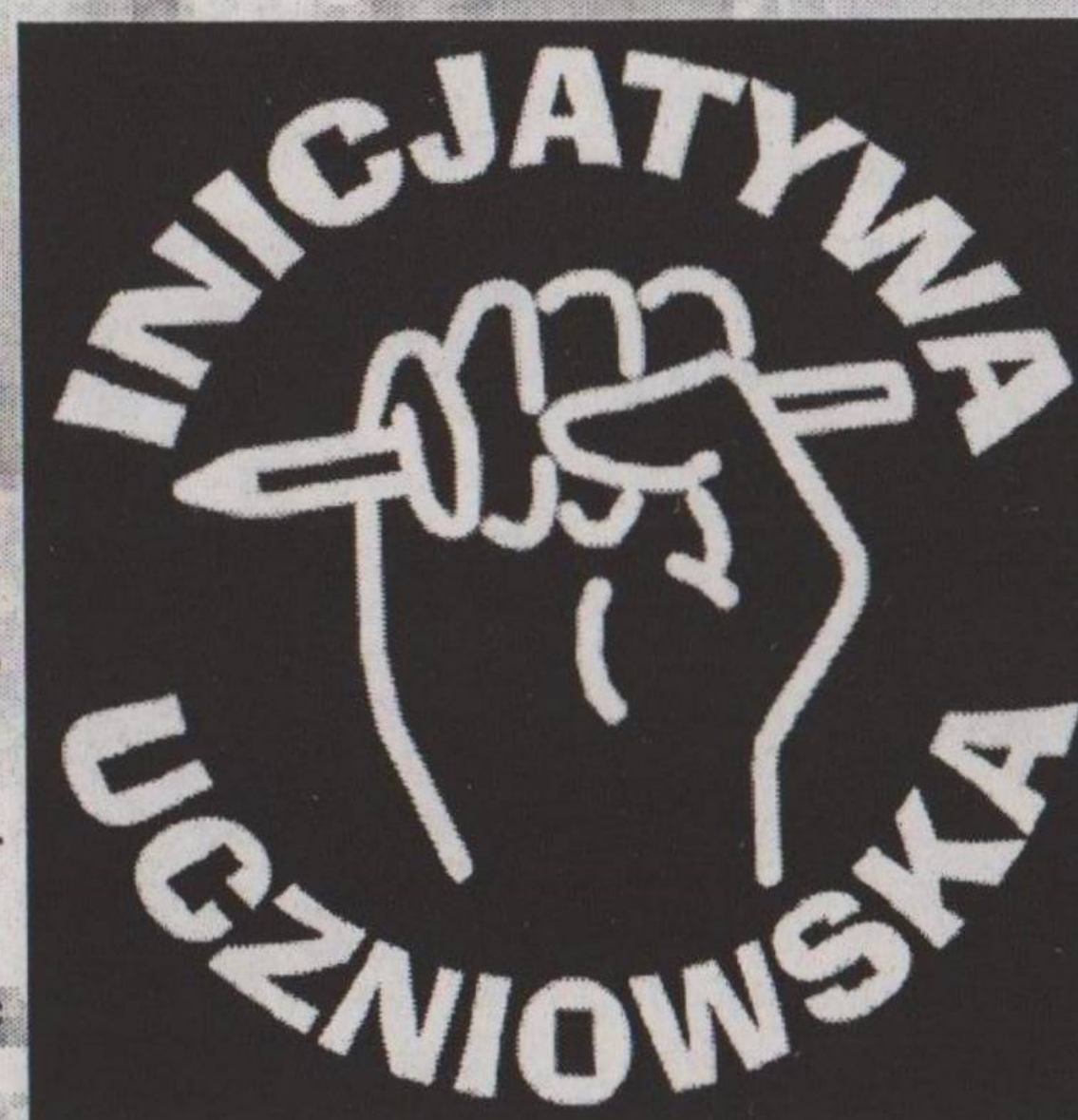
*Do you have anything to add?*

X: We would like to appeal to all groups sharing our ideas: lets start to work together. Solidarity is our strength!

*Thank you for interview. Please organize and inspire further!*

\* "Zero Tolerance" is a short name of program called "Zero Tolerance for violence in school" presented recently by R.Giertych, polish extreme right-wing Minister of Education. Program brings generally more control and discipline into the schools and includes among others such elements as: changes in cards of "students rights" and "teachers rights", gives more power to the school directors and more control over the teachers, brings new system of punishments towards "incorrect students" and special school-units for "difficult students", introduce tendency of "respectable dresses" for students, sets new catalogue of "unaccepted behaviours" for students, support campaign against drug-dealers and free flow of pornography, open the doors for police and other authorities' controls in schools (e.g. "School Trinities"), and more.

\*\* "School Trinities" is one of the elements of the "Zero Tolerance" program. "Trinities" are made of three persons, representatives of three state-institutions of social control: police, public prosecutor's office and board of trustees. They will regularly visit/control the schools having full access to all school documents as well as right to interview students and teachers. About 1500 of "Trinities" have been created last weeks all around Poland and been send on hunt.



## education and up-bringing

## the call of the students' initiative from Poland

A school. The place where students come because they want to. They learn what they want to and what they are interested in. There are no marks, homeworks, repetitions. It is the students' choice which classes they follow. Their opinions and comments are essential, they are respected and reckoned. They decide how the school is organized.

Utopia?

No, it's reality.

This is how the education in dozens of independent schools around the world looks like. Such ideas are widely achieved in Finland and they bring splendid results. In spite of the fact that there are no marks, homeworks and the students don't have to follow many classes, they are one of the best students, what also many surveys show. It seems that they simply like going to school.

Persons who learn under such conditions are self-confident, happy, they have the strong sense of self-esteem. They learn how to decisively think and estimate by their own - the ability that in the traditional school you can never gain. They even look so much different from the oppressed, intimidated and nervous students of the Polish schools.

The most surprising and important is the fact that giving the students freedom in choosing and following the classes doesn't end with illiteracy, complete ignorance and truancy. Just the opposite - they can choose the field of their personal interests and then they come to school because they want to learn something, improve their abilities

and evolve. They come because of their wish and readiness, not because of obligation and punishment's fright.

This is the common, every day life of thousands of students. Why the status quo should be upheld?

We want that the people who spend the most of their time in schools, could also decide about them. No more mock, showy autonomies! Many people ask why there is no civil society in Poland. The answer seems to be quite clear: if the students don't belong their schools, the citizens don't belong their state.

We postulate the deep transformation of the Polish educational system and the attitude towards education in general! From the early age we are being prepared for the "rats' race". The logic of the cold competition dominates and rules. No more marks, rankings! No more school segregation for leading ones for the "talented" and ghetto-schools for the "misfitting". Let's enforce the constitutive evaluation system and enable the students to pick up and get the knowledge instead of being filled with it!

You must accept the fact that a student has the ability of thinking and he/she has the right to decide about his/her future on his/her own. Let us choose the subjects we want to learn, steer and control our lives! Even if some of our decisions are wrong, they are our own decisions and we suffer from the after effects. Isn't it how the responsibility works?

Inicjatywa Uczniowska, Warsaw

## the system of education discrimination in Ukraine

Investigating the problem of discrimination in our University we've defined such ways of its manifestation:

- the restriction of the creative abilities of the students (thrusting of the teacher's point of view on the students, out of date manuals, low level of teachers' competence);
- high level of formalism (putting the problem of the discipline on the first place, in order to divert attention from more serious problems (lack of manuals, lack of technical equipment);
- there are obvious cases of sexism: girls are not allowed to wear clothes which bare their bellies. If they do, the guards are permitted to take away their documents without the permission of the owner. The guards constantly behave in a very rude way, treat the girls as sexual objects. We often hear

from them: "The girls may come in, and the boys, show your documents!" or vice versa. And the administration even encourages such behavior;

- other members of the staff also don't behave in a very proper way (they can speak on the telephone, eat or do something else during working time without paying any attention to the students who can wait for their help for hours (e.g. in the library or on the faculty). The students' annual complaints are not regarded;
- the University becomes a commercial tool for pumping out the students' money. Students are obliged to buy (not to copy that can be much cheaper, but to buy!) some manuals which we can use only during one semester; we have the one of the lowest scholarships among all the Ukrainian Universities; the

students are forced to abrogate their contracts illegal, without any opportunity to protest from the students' side. Moreover, there are some cases of bribery (implicit or direct);

- the content of the subjects. While studying different disciplines the students are taught that it's impossible to live without system, that system is the main thing in our life; they are also taught that the main reason to choose the profession is the social demand and that all students must become the proper (or rather convenient) members of the society;
- the marks are given according to the demand of the administration: in one academic group there must be a certain number of 5 (excellent), 4 (good) and 3 (satisfactory). And it doesn't matter whether a person deserves it or not.

Sometimes due to the incompetence of the teachers or their preferences the marks are given at random;

- some teachers like to abuse their power at the expense of the students' knowledge and marks (which influence the sum of the scholarship). They sometimes use some humiliating expressions about students. E.g.: "Hello, low-achievers!" or "Why this pederast isn't here?"

Some students of the Kyiv National Linguistic University



## education and up-bringing



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## Anarchist education activities in Czechia

by Pavel

As the main topic of this issue is education, I'd like to introduce anarchist education activities in Czechia. I'd concentrate on two biggest ones that are unconventional in some way and in the same time they have potential to be sustainable and long-lasting activities... And they might be inspiring for another readers of ABB. Besides this two described below, Czech anarchist movement do a lot of things on the education field, as the education is one of the few means of spreading our ideas.

## Lectures and discussions

The most visible are lectures and discussions. As this year is a 15th anniversary of anarchist magazine A-kontra, it's editors prepared a series of lectures on various themes around the whole Czechia (unfortunately, these lectures usually take place in some kind of sub-cultural places like punk clubs etc. so they are usually attended just by people already interested in anarchist ideas). The biggest series of lectures and debates was organized four years ago, just before the NATO meeting in Prague. Their topic was certainly NATO, it's role in world politics and reasons for our resistance. This "lecture tour" was really successful; it managed to step out of traditional sub-cultural circles and was attended by hundreds of people in general. Even some nice reports in local press were published...

## Internal part of education activities is also press

Currently, the Czech anarchist movement has three magazines. The biggest one is "A-kontra" published 5 times a year. A-kontra even has limited official distribution (tabaco stalls, newspapers etc.), "professional" outlook and it covered various topics - antifascism, world and local news, reportages from anarchist actions, theoretical articles, short news, culture etc. Another two titles are "Akce!" (magazine of Czech AFA, published ca. 1-2 times a year, focused on antifascism) and "Prima Cesta" (magazine of anarcho-feminist group, published ca. once a year, focused on anarcho-feminist issues). Time to time some various subjects from anarchist movement manage to published a book, but all coordinated efforts for sustainable and long-lasting publishing activity finished after very few titles. Now let's move to two main activities mentioned in the beginning of this article...

## Self-helping university

A couple of months ago, a project of Anarcho-feminist group called "Self-helping University" started in Prague. The basic idea is that majority of people within the anarchist movement has something to offer to the rest - some skills to share etc. The second basic idea is to avoid the capitalist "exchange mentality". The whole University is therefore some kind of platform, where people could offer and/or request workshop/skills they would like to share/learn. Workshop and courses are for free, even though some time people share the cost of material/space etc. The central place of the University is anarchist info-café Krtkova Kolona, but workshops take place in various other places... The whole project began with a mass meeting where the whole idea was presented. During the meeting, people could write their offers and requests to a big piece of paper. It became clear that there are

people who would like to learn skill that others regards as something very common (usually gender things like bicycle repairing, sewing, car servicing or cooking), though some unconventional skills and workshops were offered as well. Finally, several courses and workshops were set up right on the spot and several others later. Each course has than it's own initiative meeting, where it's form, periodicity, date(s) and time etc. were set up. The most attended ones were vegan cooking courses, vegan half-finished product making workshop (such as to-fu, seitan etc.), English speaking, linux workshops, street self-defence lectures... A lot of courses are still running continuously, attended regularly by 6-12 people. Others were just one-day workshops; a lot of them is planned and would take place in a future.

I believe the whole idea of the Self-helping university is great. It became clear that within the anarchist movement there are people who have some "exclusive" skills and knowledge and are more than willing to share them with other people. On the other hand, there are a lot of people willing to learn. Some of them don't have money to attend standard commercial courses, some of the skills and knowledge required simply couldn't be learned by that way (history of anarchism or vegan half-finished product making for example) and for a lot of them is a presence of like-minded people and friends both among the attendants and "teachers" a very motivation to learn something new (especially when it is something intimate like self-defence for example). Besides that, it became clear that a lot of people would like to learn some kind of common skills but it is very difficult to learn them in an adult age (sewing etc.) and this kind of activity is a perfect way to do it.

Therefore, the very nature of Self-helping university lays in anarchism and the day-to-day practice of the University realize anarchist ideas in praxis.

## An anarchist camp about education and edification

Another activity of Anarcho-feminist group is annual anarchist camp about education and edification. The original idea was to have an anarchist camp, where adults and children could co-exist and do various activities together; in the same time, child-free adults would meet children there and have possibility to get some experience with interactions with them. Last but not least the motivation for the camp was also to connect activists with small children back to the movement and give them a space where they wouldn't feel excluded with their children, but quite contrary they would be in the very center of an event.

Last year (2006) the third Camp took place already. One week during the summer around 60 people (ca 1/5 of children) gather and enjoy very intensive and very powerful event. All kind of activities takes place there; from workshops and lectures through sport to day-long Camp game in the camp-site surrounding.

Very important part of the ideas that the Camp is based upon is also self-management. Even though the camp do has its own group of people who prepare and "organise" it, all decision regarding practical functioning of the Camp, program and general rules of the camp are subjects of mass meetings hold every evening. Volunteers take care of food and baby-sitting as well as other necessary work. And even though organizers collective prepare a lot of activities and workshops beforehand, it is expected that attendants of the Camp

would bring their own activities (and it happens so). Internal part of the Camp are theoretical discussions (about child-caring, crime and punishment concept, a way how to treat people who do something nasty in anarchist movement etc.) and experience sharing. Everyday various workshops took place, from stilt walking and giant puppets making to self-defence and screen printing. Therefore, the Camp itself is one big school of anarchism, it's principles and it's practical functioning. People who gather there

directly work on anarchist principles and organize relatively complex and long activity according to it. What makes me happy is that it really works and while each Camp we engaged in hot discussion, we hadn't spent a half of the camp with arguing but rather with playing and learning... The camp is a place where we could gather, play with each other, exchange experiences, learn something new and simply live anarchy, even though just one short but intensive week in a year...

## Alternative educational projects in Warsaw

Not many alternative educational projects have been developed so far in the region of Eastern Europe. These circumstances are directly linked to the few decades' long social experiment of communistic totalitarian monopoly of the state, influencing all social processes - in the first line of course the processes of education. But we still were able to discover some places where libertarian thoughts could be sowed on this state-polluted social ground. Even more, we found some anarchists being very involved into these projects. And even if these projects themselves are nothing new for our western comrades we still find it very interesting to present them from eastern perspective. The next two materials are the effect of this decision. Two anarchist/libertarian women working as teachers, Kasia (teacher in Waldorf-school in Warsaw as well) and Nika (teacher in the school of Civic Educational Association in Warsaw) are telling us about relations between their ideas and experiences in the educational projects alternatively to the institutionalized state education system. AbolishingBB

"I know that alumnus/graduates of my class  
will not bring their children to the schools  
based on fear or schools raising submissive society"

-INTERVIEW WITH AN ANARCHIST TEACHER IN WALDORF-SCHOOL IN WARSAW

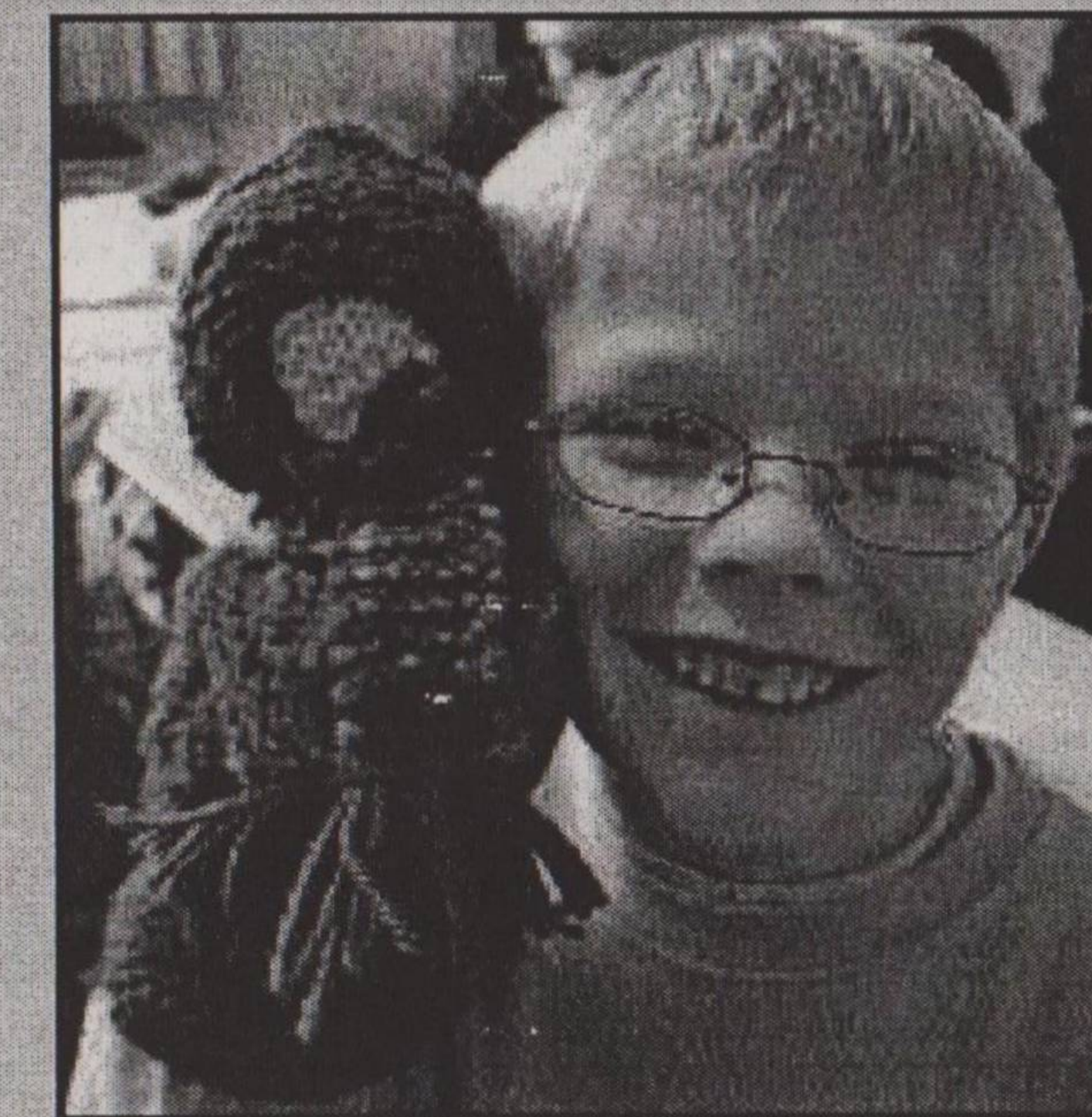
*Before we come to the questions concerning your daily practice of teaching, could you present us shortly what ideas in terms of education and upbringing you profess as a person of libertarian believes?*

From the ideas the closest one for me is the one of anti-pedagogic. Therefore I reject consequently the process of upbringing as the shaping of the other person on purpose. In terms of education I support the idea of a school which is raised by the local community for its own needs. Important is partnership of acting, responsibility and commitment of all being involved in the

school as well as mutual non-hierarchical relations. I am an opponent of domestic education.

*Were these believes the reason for you to start working as a teacher in one of the few Waldorf-schools in Poland? What are structures and educational processes in this kind of school? Students attending this school come from which kind of social classes and milieus?*

The Waldorf-school is the only one in Poland with a collegial management. The director is elected from the circle of teachers only in terms of external representation. "The heart" of the school is the teachers-collegiums which meets once a week for a 3-hours long meeting to discuss ongoing issues. Mostly Decisions are made by consensus and not by voting. The fundamental decisions are made together with an actively working council of parents. Quarrels and discussions are on daily basis here. The school is lively and in permanent exchange of organisms. This is a real existing non-hierarchical community of teachers with huge commitment and sense of



responsibility. These facts caused that I decided to work there. Process of education in Warsaw-school takes 9 years - 6 years in primary and 3 in secondary school. During the entire period of primary school a class unit has its own tutor, some teachers decide to continue the tutorial of the same class during the years of secondary school. The tutor together with parents and students creates the



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partnership/community which is based on social solidarity and respect for individuality and freedom of the others. This is what makes a public-school difficult to join by children from poor families. The parents of our students do not belong to one social strata or class; what they have in common is the philosophy of life. However, actually the most of them belong to the so called polish middle class.

*How do you appreciate the relation of your libertarian ideas and educational practice in this school from the perspective of the time you spent there?*



I am working in this school for the ninth year now. Sometimes I feel somehow limited in terms of methodical aspects of teaching. Fortunately the main principle of the school is treating the teachers as free and responsible persons. So I have never been forced by other teachers to do things I was not convinced to do. I was always taking full responsibility for my choices what sometimes resulted in conflicts with the parents. I take this school as kind of compromise but I still have a feeling that I am more profiting than losing in here.

*Allow us to confront you with some common questions being usually asked in the context of this kind of educational approach in contemporary society. How would you describe the confrontation of Waldorf-school alumnus/graduates with the brutal daily reality of popular rat-race?*

This is exactly the question I really don't like. As we are obviously not selecting the students on basis of their intellectual capabilities, among them are as well some students for which Waldorf-school was/is the last chance for "the normality" before being banished into the oppressive state special-schools for difficult children. These students in fact may have still serious problems after leaving the school. On the contrary, the same students "trumps" are generally better communication capabilities and social maturity as amongst their coeval students.

Usually our students possess less of the encyclopaedic knowledge and of the ability of systematical work but it happens as well that some are ending in "famous" European or American high-schools.

*What about the Waldorf-schools and the aspect of exclusivity?*

The first Waldorf-school was created in a cigarettes-factory for children of the workers and its goal was to equalize the educational chance of these children. In Germany the sensibility of wide (in sense of social strata) access is present till today. In Poland Waldorf-schools have communal character what means they are attended by children of parents who are more conscious of the role of education, and not necessarily of the poorest ones.

*What role takes the strong aspect of Christian values within the Waldorf-school?*

The christian values are treated as the source of european culture here. In waldorfs-pedagogic a main aspect is put on mythology and religiousness, but it is rather in terms of providing complex education than any indoctrination. Except of celebrations of general Christian holidays and dealing with Egyptian, Hindu, Germanic or Greek mythology, generally a big accent is put on presenting not only the materialistic reality around us. Common praying is not taking place in the school but as a school of public title we are obligated to provide the catholic catechisation for those students which ask for it. The Christian values have rather to be understood in context of a method for work and not as its organisation or its main idea. In this answer, same like in the others, I am writing about our Warsaw-school and not about Waldorf-schools in general.



*Various anarchist, libertarian and left-wing discourses around the question of education are focusing mostly two complex problems -*

*the one of authoritarian character in the concept of upbringing-education itself ("unquestionable contract between the generations", "raising in a submissive society", "schools as institutions based on subordination and fear", "destination character", etc) - and the one of the social class character of education ("unequal access to education", "different standard of schools for different social-classes", "education to nowhere, means without perspectives", etc). What is in your opinion the mutual relation between these parallel and not without reciprocal contradictions lead discourses, and in what social processes/activities do you see a chance for a radical turn on the terrain of social relations?*

I know that alumnus/graduates of my class will not bring their children to schools based on fear or schools raising submissive society. If they will not find alternative schools, they will probably create such a school by themselves, and by this time they are different from me, because I am not sure if I myself will have enough will to form such a school for my child. But for them the capability of shaping the reality around themselves is already something natural (... in this way things happen at the Waldorf-school ...), while for most people of my age and for myself too it is not the fact. In exception of the school-reality, Towards the discourses ... I was dealing seriously with these issues during the time of study, but now I am not wasting my energy on criticism attitude which I consider as an ineffective one. When you are working on the daily basis in the school, where you constantly pay attention on autonomy of the other persons, you are solving your dilemmas in practice. These solutions are generally not orthodox and appear each time to be results of needs and expectations of all taking part in the process. So much towards the first mentioned discourse. Towards the second one, I see the panacea in the creation of small schools by local communities. In Poland nowadays "the best ones" are considered the little, 20-students big schools in the villages created from the initiative of the parents as a reaction on closing the state schools by municipalities, based on the assumption of too little numbers of children. These little schools are treated as common wealth and they truly respond to the needs of the community.

*Thank you for this interview.*

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## "nice one but something bugs me"

-LIBERTARIAN ACTIVIST FROM WARSAW ABOUT HER EXPERIENCE OF TEACHING IN THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL OF THE CIVIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

I don't have fond memories of my days at primary and secondary school. I was the black sheep, labelled as "intelligent but lazy" with lots of problems caused by my punk image then. Finished the secondary school and tried to study but I wasn't successful. I was fed up after the first month. Then, it was the long "punk education" with my band: touring, rehearsing, taking part in different activities, partying and fucking the system. When the band split up, it took me some time to realize what I actually want to do. Even though I was quite old, I decided to give it a try and studied again. This time I liked it a lot and managed to finish this year. Now, I am a dedicated teacher trying to do my best at primary and lower secondary school in Warsaw. I try to put into practise all the interesting things and ideas that fascinated me during my studies (such as all the modalities, influences of lateralisation and multiple intelligences on learning, anxiety, motivation and memory), keeping in mind my own painful school's experiences. To sum up, I try not to remind the teachers from my primary and secondary school. And another thing crossed my mind: it's better to study when you are older. It tastes better. You really appreciate it. I think I'll study more...

The school I am teaching at is situated in the old part of Mokotów district. The venue used to be a nursery before it was adapted to educational purposes. It's colorful, covered with murals in the outside and seasonal decorations inside. It's one of the STO schools, which is Spoleczne Towarzystwo Oswiatowe (The Civic Educational Association). The Association was founded in 1987 as the first organization to promote the idea of education independent of the state monopoly. The primary idea of the STO is to improve educational conditions and creating the ability to choose different ways of educating and upbringing. The Association founds different types of schools and nurseries. According to its guidelines, the schools should be small, blended into local community and subjected to the parents' supervision. If you want to find out more about STO schools visit [www.sto.org.pl](http://www.sto.org.pl).

The learning conditions aren't anything special comparing to other schools from the big cities. The classrooms are rather small although not overcrowded, as the number of students in the class never exceeds 17. The school is equipped with a computer room, a

library and a gym, all of them not considerably impressing, as the venue itself is not very spacious. When it comes to educational model, the main emphasis is placed on the humanity, integrity, freedom and uniqueness of every student. Practically, the teachers have to find enough time to work individually with every student who has reported any difficulties with mastering the material. Different ways of working/learning are suggested if the problems persist and every student has a chance to improve their mark or performance. There are many children and teenagers with dyslexia, dysgraphia and ADHD (a condition characterized by behavioural and learning disorders) that seem to be much easier to come across these days. Working with those kinds of children is a real challenge, as it requires patience and appropriate attitude from the teacher. The teachers' team is professional, friendly



and open-minded. Two of them openly characterise their attitude as close to anarchist. They surely know how to promote openness of thinking as well as stimulate the pupils' own activity and independence understood mainly as the courage to ask questions and engage in discussions, the ability to obtain necessary information and to solve problems and, least but not last, how to be tolerant and respect the rights of others. In my school, there are philosophy classes about limits of freedom, racism, nationalism and other important issues. I think that because of all aspects mentioned above, the school atmosphere is very friendly and motivating, giving the kids supporting conditions for comprehensive education. No wonder that I was so excited and happy when they offered me a job there. There are tuition fees in STO schools that vary according to location. In big cities the fees are higher as the costs of running school

are higher. Between 15 to 30% of the costs are covered by grants from local self-government authorities. In the school I work at the monthly fee is 820 zlotys (around 214 €; while an average salary being around 600€), which is fairly expensive. And that's my main reproach with it. I love the idea of STO and I work for it but I can't afford sending my daughter there. The idea seems to work only for better off people. As for the students, I can see that most of them come from very rich families. The parents don't care about the costs of their children's education. They pay and demand, which extremely changes the attitude they would have had if it had been a state school. In some cases the teacher has to explain every case of poor mark and when the headmaster keeps the parents side she/he feels like a slave doing his/her job, not a teacher trying to create friendly learning atmosphere and assessing students' work. So, those are the

problems: firstly - no support from the headmaster, no backing against complaining parents, and, secondly - the gapping financial difference between the parents and the teachers. Sometimes I feel all my effort is worth nothing and I shouldn't worry about looking for interesting materials to make the classes interesting and motivating. Even if the students don't learn anything, they will go to the private higher secondary (liceum) where the system is similar. The parents will pay and demand that their kids should pass to the next class. Then, there are private universities with generally the same modus operandi. Then, they will get a good job at their parents company. The real knowledge seems to be not needed. Isn't it hopeless? Fortunately, I think so only when I have a bad hair day or when even though I had prepared the lesson, it appeared to be a complete flop. Apart from that, I feed myself with positive thinking and acting, as working

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with teenagers is very stimulating and usually there's no time for boredom. Only sometimes it crosses my mind, that something is not fair in this configuration... Something positive to finish with. STO schools offer many additional activities: logical thinking circles, nature lovers' circles, photography, chess, artistic, music and dance groups, optional classes in the

field of art, literature, IT, ecology, economics, psychology, drama groups and language circles. This year I came up with the idea of additional English classes with a very simple but nevertheless interesting curriculum. We meet once a week, listen to different songs and discuss the lyrics. There lessons are crowded and the children spontaneously assimilate the ideas conveyed

by the songs' lyrics. In the meantime, they involuntarily practise different grammatical structures while singing-a-long the song. I love that idea as my adventure with conscious learning English started because of curiosity about "what they sing about".

## the most you learn, you learn aside from school

by Zbyszek

## Flavour of fear

The band Homomilitia from Lodz used to sing a popular song: school lies, school depraves, in school you get bad marks and all the teachers are pricks. Actually, it pictures quite exactly the problems connected with education system. In the late nineties, because of my work, I was travelling around Poland and visiting schools. What really struck me was one thing, I thought: "Fuck, nothing has changed since I was at school!" I observed the same tricks, the same shouting and bluster and the same demand of forced manifestation of respect (standing up). And all of these without any real contact between students and teachers. In the air I felt the well known, yet hard to define smell that brought the already forgotten emotions. Rudolf Steiner, who created anthroposophy and the system of Waldorf schools, said that in all the institutions like schools, hospitals and prisons you could smell the same, very specific flavour, the flavour of fear.

## From Gierek to Giertych

My education fell on the times of real communism in Poland and the described events took place in the time when the real capitalism managed to show his true face. However, the status of education from the two periods is almost the same. It just needs to help in producing obedient and well "educated" citizens, who are prepared for their functions in the system. Creativity, if any, is wanted only in some before prepared situations. If it is not framed it will be immediately seen as a proof of the social misadaptation of students. The former structure used to send such difficult and misfit youth to special reclamation centres. When Roman Giertych became the minister of education he proposed something else - special boarding schools for such youth.

There is one essential difference in comparison to the former centres - to these new schools students are to be sent by force. The official reason should be the reduction in violence in schools. Yet in the television spot promoting this idea the gate closes not after some aggressive muscle boys but after boys and girls who look like the ones regularly protesting against Giertych.

## Tests with the Celtic cross

I don't want to focus on Giertych and his ideas because it is clear that they are derived from his nationalistic beliefs. The problem with education is exactly the same as it was when he was attending school and now, when he is the minister of education. In an ordinary Polish school teachers and students are enemies with a quite thick wall between them. Ok, maybe there are some praiseworthy exceptions but generally the conflict and mutual misunderstanding has already long roots. From some friends of mine who are teaching I know that you don't really need to put much effort to be understood and break the wall. Some years ago, a friend of mine who was then looking quite "punk" started teaching English in the primary school. The neighbourhood had not the best reputation, many kids were fascinated with the football hooligans and nazi skins. During intervals she could hear the words: "What a junky" said behind her backs by the boys from the last classes. The students in her class used to hand the tests with the drawn Celtic cross on them. First what she did was teaching them how to write the word "skinhead" properly, then she started to talk with the students. The kids (aged 12) understood that they could tell her and ask her about anything. It was shocking for them, nobody had treated them like this before. The other teachers (despite their pedagogic education) did nothing more than

the program material because that was what they were paid for. After one year I asked her how were the nazi fans. She just laughed and said it was already history.

## Nothing unites better than bad habits

When I'm preparing the text the Polish media are busy with the story of 28-year-old teacher from Wroclaw who used to meet with her students (16/17-year-old) after school. They used to drink beer, from time to time they smoked a joint together. One day parents of one of the students read the mail sent to him by the teacher. It was an invitation to a party. The parents informed the school and the school's authorities the prosecutor. The Polish media immediately got mad about the teacher. Her photos with the black strip covering her eyes were printed on the first pages of most of the newspapers. The headlines were shouting: "She used to take drugs with her students!", "She was the one who induced the students to drink!". The woman got fired and arrested, she is waiting for the trial. Of course almost nobody wrote that she had been already teaching in this school for 8 years and had the opinion of an excellent teacher and pedagog. Her only fault is that she was a friend of her students, she was doing with them exactly the same things that they would be doing without her. I think that if the mentioned above friend of mine was teaching in her school until now, probably she would end like the woman - in arrest and with the opinion of a depravator. The system of education doesn't allow any relationships between students and teachers. Marks, certificates and diplomas are all that matters. Treating students as partners is at least wrong and making friends with them is a crime for which you must be punished. That's why I really don't like school although it's been ages since I finished it.

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## about the School-leavers' Exam in Poland

by laure akai

Students and teachers have been discussing the proposed changes in the "matura" exam, which high school students take in the last year of their studies. They are also speaking about the "amnesty". A few months ago, Minister Giertych announced that he was changing the minimum passing mark, retroactively. This prompted a scandal from teachers and students alike. The students argued that it was not fair that they studied hard and that people who had lower marks than they had passed the exam. One section of Students' Initiative even decided to take the Minister to court since such a change is not in accordance with either Polish law or even some elements of the constitution. But among all these discussions and arguments, there still was a lack of a critical view on the whole question of the matura exam, on exams in general and the nature of our education.

The question is indeed complicated but in short we can outline 3 rather conflicting views on testing competence and on access to "higher education".

A. The first view is based firmly in elitist assumptions that higher education is (and should be) limited in financing and access. Under models developed based on this view, admission to institutions of higher education are limited to the "best students", as usually determined by test scores.

This first view is the closest to that existing in Poland although paid, private educational opportunities may offer some opportunities to those who are not in the highest category. Yet the educational establishment has shown strong resistance to opening up access to education. Usually such establishments are considered "diploma factories" for those willing to pay. There is a certain hypocrisy in this line of criticism however when prestigious areas of study, for example law at Warsaw University, is attended by 60% paying students vs. 40% non-paying; at a time when the legal profession is trying to limit access to the legal society, nobody has labeled this a "diploma factory" because of its exclusivity. This shows that the main assumption behind access to university education is that in order to be good, it must be selective and elitist.

B. The second view is that higher education should not be limited to anybody, regardless of age, income or previous educational performance. This second view does not, however, exclude the possibility of integrating elitist models, for example as in the US. In the US model, more or less anybody who completes basic education or its equivalent may pursue higher education but in reality there are institutions which carry more prestige and are often (but not universally) more economically exclusive and which are in fact keys to access to the higher income job market.

In such a system like in the US, there is no passing or failing the test which plays the role of university qualifying exam; there are simply scores. Access to a more elite school or a large scholarship is dependent on a combination of a high score plus good academic history. A lower score does not close off educational access or even financial aid eligibility although it may decide the prestige level of the university you may enter. The system also makes allowances for those who score low on this test but who performed well during their studies (or vice versa) to be considered for a position in a more prestigious institution and for students who perform well in the first

year or years of university to move into a more prestigious institution.

C. The third point of view is critical of the tendencies of institutionalized learning and testing. This point of view is part of the anarchist and libertarian legacy of education as exemplified by the Free School Movement and the works of Paul Goodman but also echoed in the writings of Ivan Illich. (And to a degree in many advocates of more empowering education, like Paolo Freire.) From this point of view, we can draw criticisms of the educational system in general, but also of the current matura question.

First, from a formal educational point of view, one should be asking which kinds of skills and "knowledge" the matura is actually testing. Is it testing a wider concept of intelligence or is it testing concrete skills in areas necessary for personal and social life - or is it testing a pupil's ability to rote learn facts and to discipline him or herself to sacrifice his or her time and other pursuits in favour of learning what they are told to learn?

This question in fact relates to testing in general and the curricula of some educational systems. Are we in fact encouraging a development of skills, interests and interpretation of history and literature, an appreciation of the arts and an ability to apply sciences, or are we asking students to regurgitate ideas, memorize dates and formulas and to expend their energy acquiring "knowledge" that they can neither apply or remember rather than encouraging their real interests and skills?

Through the experience of the free schools and also later confirmed by work done by Freire or Illich, we can see that a motivated person may in fact learn many things by his or herself and can indeed achieve better results on his or her own than in traditional classes. We may therefore find that the system tends to test what it has taught but this might not reflect other skills, knowledge or talents.

As an example, I can refer to the case of one young girl from Warsaw who I met who was a fan of Manga magazines and who spent hours drawing and even learning Japanese and as a result, has suffered in her grades at school. On the other hand, her drawing skills are quite exceptional (and ultimately should be marketable), and even her level of Japanese is higher than her level of English, despite having five hours of instruction in that language per week at school.

In terms of the authoritarian nanny ideology of education, this girl is in big trouble because she is in danger of failing maths, has no aptitude for sciences and is bored by Polish lessons. The system might consider her an educational failure because it has set out what it considers to be "basic knowledge" that "everybody needs" although it is seriously questionable whether or not everybody needs to be able to calculate the area of a trapezoid. Certainly, some people will need this knowledge - as will some people need to speak Japanese, make good crepes, drive buses, make cabinets and possess a whole range of other skills which have nothing to do with taking exams at school.

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Rather than an educational system based on memorization and exams, proponents of libertarian models propose a wider variety of learning models which include self-study, peer tutoring and wider interaction which may include apprenticeships, informal discussion, etc. Education can be continued throughout one's life and anybody can become a sharer of knowledge. (Illich famously described the method used by libertarian educators and the Catholic Church to teach people in parishes Spanish when they recruited a bunch of 14-16 year-old Puerto Rican kids, some of whom had negligible formal education, organized a workshop for them and made them the teachers. The results which occurred through this exchange usually surpassed formal university education in that language.)

If a person needs to prove that they possess a skill, of course a performance or aptitude test can be given. Nobody would want to get in a bus with somebody whose driving skills were never tested. The libertarian models of education do not exclude the possibility of such testing when considering giving somebody a job or task.

Secondly, we can look at the exclusivity of higher education as a result of social hierarchies which seek to reserve exclusive positions of power and well-paying jobs for the families of elites. Although class mobility certainly exists in many societies, the more limited the opportunities, the more restricted access to higher education tends to be. Meritocracy is overridden by privilege when the wealthy or influential help get their children into universities above less powerful children with better grades. In the US and other countries this is even institutionalized in alumni privileges where large donors to universities may ensure their children receive special consideration. (For example, if you are eligible to apply for Harvard, you have a 10% chance of getting in if you parent's weren't alumni, but more than 40% chance if they were. And if you scores are too low, only a parent alumni or rich and powerful one will help.) This is how George Bush, a mediocre pupil, got into Yale. And both Bush and his opponent in the last election John Kerry had non-impressive 3s throughout their time at Yale. One can draw two conclusions from such facts: that either academic performance is not a perfect indicator of how a person will succeed, or that, more to the point, obtaining academic merit is partially an entrance test for weeding out the few non-elites who may be of service to the elite club due to their exceptional skills or performance of everything that was asked of them.

Finally, a point somehow related to the second is how the traditional educational system, especially when financed unequitably, is inclined to guarantee "success" disproportionately to those who already occupy relatively well-off positions in society.

Last year there were some stories in the press about some schools, for example one in Mazuria, where none of the students passed the Matura exam. There is a clear worldwide pattern which shows a correlation between poverty, wealth and academic achievement. (There are of course exceptions. Tellingly, where wealthy pupils fail to be very good academically, they usually are able to enjoy a large range of other pursuits.) A rather traditional leftist (or even liberal) point of view has been that one must eradicate poverty and raise the level of the poor's education in order to change things to their advantage. However the anarchists, as well as Illich or Freire, while also hoping to see an end to poverty, also pointed out that when the nature of education was changed to encourage more autonomy and learning of direct skills, the poorest were able to benefit immediately and attain results similar to the more privileged.

Ivan Illich wrote convincingly of this in "Deschooling Society" in 1970. He also described the disappointing results of trying to equalize achievement between rich and poor in the US only by allocating the same amount of money to schools in rich and poor neighbourhoods. He maintained that one key to the problem was that what was going on outside the school was equally as important as what was happening on the inside. He also noted that money was often spent on salaries and facilities, but it is not better buildings and equipment that necessarily improve the quality of education (unless these were totally inadequate in the first place). Illich argued that if the poor relied on the established system for their learning, they would not benefit as much as learning exercising choice and taking control over the matter they learned. Further, he argued that institutionalized learning which favours already better off people in fact means that the poorer working class fund the educational privileges of those better off than they.

In modern Poland we can see how this works when a student from a well-off family who has many opportunities and advantages may receive a free education while a working class person, who has to work full-time to support part-time study, has not received a similar benefit.

Some students complained about Giertych's amnesty as not being "fair" to them. This is a very common psychological reaction to the question of effort and rewards amongst people. Many are convinced that achievement is strongly related to effort: I spent hours and hours studying, whereas my neighbour did not, therefore I deserve more. In a primitive way, there is some sort of justice to this thinking - after all, why should you spend the time studying when those that didn't also can pass the test?

This avoids the bigger question of why learn that stuff at all. Putting this question aside, the assumption itself is a little simplistic.

My friend and I took a language class together recently and after a few weeks, it became absolutely apparent to me that he was able to remember things right away whereas I had to put in much more effort just to remember. I suppose that in the end, if we were to get similar results, I'd have to spend 3 times more time studying than he. Fair? No - but it's a fact. On the other hand, I can do things that he will never be able to master. Also "not fair" - but talent or natural inclinations account for different results at school, just as much as having help or support at home, a hospitable learning environment in or out of school or a number of other factors.

If it turned out that somebody had all the educational privileges needed to do well and then did better than somebody whose school had bad teachers, bad equipment, tough students and whose parents were uneducated alcoholics, is it "fair" that the first get a higher education and the second might not?

In reality, it is competition itself which is not always fair. It's social injustice. It's also the valuation of labour in such a way that some labour is considered worth much more than others that's not fair. The question of whether or not amnesty is "fair" is only of issue when university entrance is exclusive and when large segments of society believe that their economic well-being is connected with their ability to earn a university degree. (This is not necessarily true, but people are conditioned to think in this way.) We should rather be questioning how it is that we have constructed the basis of the rat race in our school systems, and whether or not the system is fair or encourages real learning.

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## PunaMust

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## ALL OF A SUDDEN ... ANARCHISM SPREADS RAPIDLY THROUGH ESTONIA!

PunaMust (Red'n'Black)

### First organised network of anarchists in Estonia

In the beginning of 2006 a small group of activists from the cities of Tallinn and Tartu formed the first known organized anarchist group in Estonia called PunaMust (Red'n'Black). They started with putting up a webpage ([www.punamust.org](http://www.punamust.org)) to call for an internet-based communication network to discuss libertarian ideas and actions in Estonia. While there has not been any real anarchist movement in the country, PunaMust quickly got attention in the public eye and by the end of 2006 the membership of PunaMust has increased to about 200 people all over Estonia (mostly students).

PunaMust is not a formal organization, but a group of loosely connected individuals. While it's principles are clearly anarchist, the members would like to keep it as non-dogmatic and flexible as possible. Therefore people starting from animal rights activists and ending with left radicals can be found in the movement. PunaMust rejects all forms of authoritarian coercion and exploitation, party

politics and views on the world based on authority and violence; all discrimination based on gender, religion, race, sexual orientation etc.; all forms of hierarchy that work against human freedom and liberty.

During the year, PunaMust has organized several actions. After an anti-consumerist action in May in front of the biggest malls in Tallinn and taking part in a demonstration against authorities exploiting public space in the city, the movement coordinated the Estonian part of the bike caravan against the G8 in June and six activists travelled to Saint Petersburg to take part in the protests against the G8. Unfortunately Russian authorities basically jailed people in the stadium of Kirov and only a few small protests took place. Back from Russia, PunaMust called for a solidarity action in front of Russian embassy in Tallinn and some 30 people participated to pressure the authorities to release people who were jailed in St. Petersburg. The summer ended with a meeting of 20 most active members in

August to discuss further plans of action. In September four members of PunaMust travelled to Helsinki to take part in a protest action 'Smash ASEM'. Several contacts were made during the days in Finland and one of them led to Abolishing Borders from Below and finally making contact with the ABB crew and contributing from Estonia.

The anarchist scene in Eastern Europe is showing more and more signs of activity and cooperation between activists from different countries is needed to build a strong movement of direct action towards a just and free society. By now, you can count on another group of individuals sharing libertarian ideas from Estonia - PunaMust.

Mario Laul  
Anarchist movement PunaMust  
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### PunaMust GOALS

- ★ To offer alternatives to the modern systems of capitalism and centralized government.
- ★ To support, propagate and to practice direct democracy.
- ★ To expose the immoral nature of capitalism and its violent, undemocratic ways.
- ★ To create autonomous zones, untouched by the state and the capitalist economic system (although accepted by the state), based on mutual aid and connectivity.
- ★ To improve education, appreciate the freedom of an individual and to protect natural resources.

### PunaMust PRINCIPLES

- ★ We are against capitalism as we find it as an inhumane economical system, that is evil, ineffective, and wasteful of natural resources because it puts profit ahead of the well-being of people and the planet. We also strongly oppose neo-liberalist and neo-conservative policies.
- ★ The state attempts to justify its existence through laws and perpetuate its existence with propaganda and the use of violence, therefore fighting against the state shouldn't be a crime.

- ★ We oppose all hierarchy and exploitation.
- ★ We oppose all discrimination, wars and violence against people.
- ★ We don't think that today's system can be reformed from the inside, therefore we discard all forms of parliamentary politics.
- ★ We oppose all forms of discrimination, no matter the race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, beliefs etc., of a person. We especially disagree with ideas of chauvinism and nationalism.
- ★ The nation-state should be replaced by a decentralized system, based on mutual aid and direct democracy.
- ★ We vehemently oppose Nazism.
- ★ We want to ensure the existence of natural diversity; therefore we support ecologically-friendly consumption.

### HOW TO ACHIEVE THIS?

- ★ Our main tool is Direct Action.
- ★ By creating, supporting and propagating alternative, non-hierarchical organizations, media channels, subcultures and economic systems.
- ★ By organizing peaceful demonstrations and protest actions.
- ★ By raising awareness of important issues.
- ★ By creating autonomous zones.
- ★ By co-operating with organizations that share our beliefs.



## CONNECTIONS...

### SOME COMMENTS TO THE RIOTS IN HUNGARY

-BY THE BARRIKADE COLLECTIVE

As far as the proletariat's resistance against the economic crisis lies dormant, the legions of fascism step on the scene. As Pal Justus wrote, the fascist movement becomes fascist only when it manages to stir the masses. This mass has manifestly come to life during the last weeks.

Some communist comrades project their revolutionary optimism into the events of 23rd of October 2006 as well, and some of their statements are based on a totally false understanding of the reality. Among others, such an absurd sentence was said by a comrade when he considered that the attack against the synagogue in Pest is a part of the class struggle. We could agree if the masses act against the catholic and protestant churches in the same way as against the synagogue but that wasn't the case. On the other hand, the optimism of the comrades is based on the fact that we live in a society which contains the practice of exploitation in all its aspects. We think the same. The faces of those who are burning cars on the streets, who are building barricades, who are fighting the riot police - these faces are our wry faces, the nationalist face of the working class. The counter-revolutionary armies of the conservative and fascist masses - which fear for their more and more falling living standards, who are poisoned with nationalist ideology by the extreme right - fight hand to hand with their own bourgeois state order on the avenues. This mass of false consciousness is composed of a number of retired people and wage-workers, small contractors, students and, of course, unemployed. The mass, which defends the status quo of capitalism either under the strong influence of the right wing or swinging further from it. Why does this anger - which was suppressed by the exploitation for long - come to life from the side of the fascists and become a part of the counter-revolution?

The power led by the leftist-liberal MSZP is the vanguard fighter of the neo-liberal economic terror since the transition of 1990. The majority of the society, i. e. the working class, identifies leftism with neo-liberalism, while their privatized workplaces are continuously abolished and they are fired. The precariousness of the everyday life increased enormously. As a result of the free movement of the labour-force, the country has become one of the centers of the labour market in the Eastern part of Central Europe, where the eviscerated proles from the Ukraine, Romania etc. have totally become victims of the black market. At the same time, the price of the labour-force has been gradually pushed down to a level, with which the working-class' members from here couldn't compete. Already at the beginning of the 90's, kinds of fascist beating squads visited day by day the Moszkva square, where - in the framework of a hunt against the "stinking Romanians" - these late heirs of

Ivan Hejjas beat up their naked class-companions.

In addition - as a pernicious heritage of the past, as a legacy of the Kadar-regime -, the weakness, the lack of the working-class movement's self-organization reveals itself more and more. The fact that the working-class movement - because of the party's tutelage - moved to the museums during the bolshevik epoch, appears clearly today. Since then, the workers haven't managed to organize themselves into proletariat on social scale. As we can experience, social democracy - which discredited itself already when it was born - still collects its victims, and lulling a large part of the working class, playing the role of a tranquil and wise prophet, it preaches calmness for its voters. The evolved situation seems to be rather bleak in point of the future, and for the working class, it worsens enormously the chances of coming to consciousness, since it is the organized fascist mass which reacts now and will react in the future to the real exploitation, and it will sit on the situations. Against it, anti-fascism - which is also counter-revolutionary - already starts to awake, and small groups of social democratic intellectuals begin to manifest their democratic ideologies. The fruits of the tactician nationalism of the ruling class' left wing - just as the fruits of the "romantic right-wing illusions" - have ripened.

It has always been a characteristic of the fascist national romantic, to ideologize the weekdays of the exploitation of the working class, and to translate them to its own language in the spirit of its moralist, christian polecat-course. Nationalist historical horror-visions and symbols, the attachments of white terror turn up from the closed rubbish-shoots of the past - hungarian flags are flaunting in the Budapest wind. Moralistic speech can be heard on the squares, the place of real working-class dissatisfaction is occupied by kitsch and national romantic. The view of the street becomes a shop-window for pseudo-historical legends. Mushy, gushy, idealized fascist critiques circulate in the public thought, which skim over the real economic exploitation and push it into the background. Through the mediation made by the press, Trianon-blasting slogans, folk-tales from the times of the Carpathian basin's conquest are travelling around and knocking in the warrens. The fascist forces don't have even the palest vision about the functioning of the capitalist economy after the relay of the present government, and they cannot understand that it's impossible to turn back the wheel of history from the capitalist globalization towards the feudal fixed ideas. Their perfectly romantic dead-end goes through the myth of the "Hungarian beret" - the holy crown - into the foggy idyll of past-watching and devout wound-licking.

As the populist Fidesz admits more and more openly that capitalist Hungary is in

chancery, and in the reality, the problem for the opposition is not the forced economic measures of the governmental coalition but the hiding of the facts about the real economic situation by the government, the apocalypse of the nation's death arises in the minds of the right-wing bourgeoisie. There are many for whom Fidesz has also discredited itself, that's why the white free squads' emergence in the capital of the country. Fidesz already tries to flinch back carefully from the fascist masses to the parliament. At the beginning, it supported the demonstrations, but it has gradually lost the control over them, so they retreat now. Just as the bolshevik party ran behind the revolutionary masses in 1917 and suited the expectations, so did Fidesz with the angry fascist masses. But at a certain point it couldn't march further on the road with its scrabby guards, unless it could dig also its own future perspectives of power in the melancholic deep-Hungarian graveyard. Since the fascists don't demand that Orban and his company must take the power, but they project into the future the creation of a new Constitutional Assembly legalized by them. In this point, the schematic bourgeois formula of the seizing of power by the fascists cannot follow the usual screenplay, because the present world capitalism doesn't need - even partly - a fascist ruling element in Eastern Europe bullying with anti-capitalist overtones, which would always try to spit into the soup of the internationally dominating and functioning capital - hence, only the wind of fascism sweeps on the streets. The fascist aspirations are pushed to the periphery; however, society is filled with nationalism. At this moment, the ruling class doesn't need a totally fascist capitalism, but it can influence the masses of the working class with its elements; nothing else can alarm these masses but their ever more despoiled life, through which they can recognize the chess games of false consciousness. Hence, in the reality, the white counter-revolution is doomed to dying of hunger in the dictatorship of liberal democracy.

But who are these nameable fascist elements? Hungarian class society has been extremely conservative and it still is. The formerly suppressed old complaints, imagined hurts, historical myths come to life and start to influence within the forces outside (but also inside!) the parliament. A number of fascist dross (journals and books) are published, the football matches are fascist gatherings, only in Budapest there are at least 10-12 fascist bookshops. Everyday fascism continuously haunts in the Roma and Jewish questions and in the other domains of capitalist reality. The conservative aristocracy of the genteel Hungary which had been suppressed in the Soviet zone and then revived at the time of the transition, has grown strong during the last two decades. The Hungarian citizen is an outstanding defender of the party of order, and he has

always actively hated the fundamental elements of the bourgeois enlightenment. His latent anti-Semitism, his social demagoguery, the eager propagation of the christian-national thought and of the defence of the race gradually infiltrated into the everyday consciousness. You must pray, believe, and work trustworthily - pronounced once the watchword Bela Bangha, the militant catholic priest. The Fuhrer of Fidesz propagates today the same. And the lonely mass finds a community, half-drunken teenage girls rampage on the Fidesz-meetings, and they put the portrait of the leader on the walls of their rooms, next to the photo of Kurt Cobain. Never have got so many young people into the trail of counter-revolution through the propagation of national self-consciousness and national vital force. The right wing bungs his fans "the leftist-liberal government's bolshevism" and a totally falsified, mendacious historical scheme.

In line with the falling of the standard of living, the chauvinist ideas buried 60 years ago have broken surface, and they make a successful career. Clomping and hustling, the extreme right defends the home market; on the food market, it gives a special support for the Hungarian products in the form of advertisement campaigns, while it preaches that "foreign capital is bad, Hungarian capital is good". The fascist press called the prole insurgents from the French suburbs a riff-raff but it cheers the arsonists in the centre of Budapest. From a number of fascist journals, the weekly called Demokrata bears the palm, which takes on fascism absolutely openly - this is the beloved boulevard journal of the bourgeois from Buda. Religion, belonging to the church - which is composed of hundreds of fascist priests, clerics and militant preachers - is in fashion again in Hungary. And there are the fascist parties: JOBBIK and MIEP, countless fascist cultural circles, a lot of associations and - not least - the bourgeoisie of Hungary, the politics of which is the hotbed of fascism. In Hungary, even the sparrow is nationalist, although its father is from Serbia and its mother is from Morocco, but it chirps in Hungarian! The nationalists are also in dread of the fact that the country "becomes gipsy", because "the Hungarian population" has been decreasing since 1987, while "the Roma population" has been increasing.

The fact that Hungary joined the EU also strengthened nationalism since the domination of global capital outplaced the rural contractors to the periphery of the economy. They have to bustle up very much in order to maintain their competitiveness against their foreign rivals. The small contractors were bankrupted by the network of the department stores. The parties which mythicize national capital were losing their dominant position better and better and had to change. The nationalist mini-capitalism now has to reconstitute itself in order that it could be dominant in the future. This is why the smallholders will demonstrate again with their tractors. This has been the situation since this small junk-heap has joined the EU. Those who saw, on television or on the spot, the clashes in the streets, don't cherish any illusions. The counter-revolution has been

fighting against the counter-revolution. The modernization of capital has been facing the conservatism of capital. The dialectics of enlightenment has been materializing.

The police also got into a heat, they had sized up their former act and had drawn some lessons from that. Now they were confident, were beating everybody, were shooting rubber bullets in the height of people's head. They were savaging both fascists and others who were commemorating the anniversary of 1956. The inner city is small so everybody was being attacked by them. The policemen have been frightened therefore, as an exercising, they have been transforming into wanton militant insects just as their friends, the fascist-democrats. Some people think that now this is the return of the spirit of 1956. But in 1956, the self-conscious working class, the proletariat organized as a class, had been fighting against the bourgeoisie. In spite of their deceptive nationalist slogans, they had wanted to take control of their lives and had rejected all sorts of administratorship over themselves. The historical memory of the fascist movement is very self-mythicizing and touches up historical facts. This crowd, which has been in the streets for more than a month, would have been swept away by the



proletarian uprising of 1956. After all, the proletariat had rejected both the Horthy regime and its bolshevik double, and had rejected capitalism as a whole! Therefore the references to 1956 made by nationalism and the fascists are totally absurd lies. Those few former revolutionaries who by now have become servants of fascism, in fact are opposed to their former themselves.

It may there will be change in government in the near future. In that case, the ruling class would entirely unmask itself. Provided that it won't take economic measures against itself. This has already happened not long ago when the government, taken on running into debt, raised the salaries. It was buttering the working class up temporally but it was possible only for a short time. World capital put the Hungarian government right. The crowd has been taken to the streets by the discontent, but some elements of the working class have been walled up by fascism between the walls of national optimism. On the other hand, the working class will experience that the extent of exploitation is getting bigger and bigger. Now white terrorist gangs are in the streets and their democrats are in the parliament. Are they an insignificant minority? Yes, for the time being. But if the living standard decreases speedily, the struggle will continue in the streets. In that situation it's not indifferent if groups with red flags would attack the parliament or white terrorist guys,

singing revisionary songs, would charge the synagogue. It's also important whether antifascism would emerge since in that case the democratic trap would be re-created. And now we gave taste only of the Hungarian situation.

We can answer to the question of the breaking out of the expected proletarian revolution only in a speculative way. Although the experiences of the struggles of our class also contribute to this. The gradually increasing economic exploitation against the working class world-wide had never been abided for a long time by our class. This infuses hope into us, but it should be noted that the capitalist world had always been stronger and better organized than our revolutionary attempts. On the other hand the structural necessity of capital (the infinite accumulation) has been glooming the optimistic vision of future (nuclear age, wintery summers and summery winters etc.). While the prole, who is your neighbour, has not eaten hot food for more days and not long ago five beggars have died of exposure. While the workers, making haste to their workplaces, inveigh against the public transport and in the evening looking at the television, they dream their happiness into the virtual infinity. As long as the power will not be turned off. What is then? The general decomposition and miseries have to give birth to revolutionary situation and to revolutionary consciousness. If these are late, the competition of the democratic currents will occur again in the streets and this will manifest for workers the impossibility of social peace. There is no civil war in itself, there are class interests behind that. The question is, that in the process of exploitation to what extent will the false conscience break up and how strongly will the class struggle be able to emerge.

The ruling class has been using crowds of brainwashed workers for its interests. But nationalisms of various kinds also have been competing with each other and the extreme right, without effective capitalist support, will decline. Since it appears economically only in fragmental way in the bloody oasis of democracy. The reformist past has misled the working class several times, by now the meeting of the immediate aims and the real desires has to become necessary - not on the dissecting-table but - through the struggle of our class - on the red barricades!

*Barricade Collective Autumn 2006*





## CONFLICT BETWEEN LOCALS AND ROMAS IN SLOVENIA

At 28th of October suddenly all the news were reporting about the clash between local people from a village Ambrus, near Novo mesto (south-east of the country) and Romas. About 200 people from the village plus people from other nearby villages came to chase away a Roma family (of 25 people) who have lived there for a decade. The reason: a Roma man beat up one local guy, who's been in critical condition since then. Special police forces have been controlling the area for 24 hours, many politicians visited the critical region and many human rights organization started to interfere. Representatives from both sides (Romas and locals) met with police and politicians and Romas agree to be moved away for a short period (not more than 3 weeks). They were moved to ex-emigrant center to another part of Slovenia. The place itself is not in proper condition, but the government promised to find new location for them. If they don't find it, they will go back to the same place, but the locals of Ambrus have declared they will not let this happen and they will (peacefully) demonstrate until Romas are gone from their village. The Romas wish to stay at the same place or some place nearby, but all the mayors from the cities refuse to take them.

My first opinion of this situation was: conservative people from the village are discriminating Romas, because they are intolerant to people of different culture. Then I started to look at little more detail at the situation and I got quite more complicated picture of the situation. That's why I also wanted to write this article, because we are too many times blind by our conviction that all people, who say something against other people, are xenophobic, the minorities are always the oppressed and that there are always "the good and the bad guys".

First of all, I would like to give a picture of a lifestyle of Roma people in Slovenia, especially in Ljubljana, because I'm more familiar with the situation here. I know many people who live near to them and I've had some contacts with them, too. So, they usually live in big families in barracks or normal houses (some of them very wealthy) near the city. They have many children, who are begging on the streets for them, some of them go to school, too. They get social money for the children and for themselves, because they usually don't work. In front of the barracks you can see a high-class cars parked and lots of burned cars and trash. You rarely see them alone on the streets, they usually walk in groups and have strong patriarchal culture, which means you can see only guys, while girls/woman only stay at home and sometimes beg on the street with their children. They earn most of the money

by recycling of iron, copper etc. You can make good money with this, so many other people do this too. Here starts the first problem: the easiest way of recycling is to steal some old car, take it to the woods or in some dark place (small roads) and burn it. Ofcourse you can take all day and recycle the car ecologically by taking all the parts apart, but they don't do this. The recycling company then buys the burned car (without checking the documents ofcourse) for 50-60 euros. And every burned car brings many liters of oil, few liters of refrigerating water, acid from the acomulator, petrol... to the ground and it poisons also the air, because of so much plastic. The Romas from Ambrus had about 80 burned cars on their land and they were situated directly above the water source (drinking water for 2000 inhabitants). In Ljubljana, burning cars is common event and police knows about it, but are afraid to interfere, because Romas possess lots of weapons. Apart from ordinary robberies, blackmailing, burning cars and possession of weapon are the most problematic issues. Some years ago somebody dropped a bomb in one of the Romas' house in the area of Ambrus and killed two people. I don't believe this was a racist attack, but was probably some personal offence, because right-wing people are not capable or doing something so seriously and there are many people who have been offended by Romas. It's very bad, because this is something that causes xenophobia and racism: bad experience with people of different culture. In the case of Ambrus, locals've said they have nothing against Romas because they are Romas, but because they cannot live with them. They are willing to accept them if they assimilate into society and live without oppressing the others. For me, it was quite surprising to hear this from these people, because I usually have opposite opinion about them. And I believe

most of these locals are not xenophobic and racist just because they don't want their neighbours to pollute their water and steal from their homes (the burned cars are usually the cheap ones, which

are easier to steal and are owned by poor people). Unfortunately, racism will start from this point, from bad experience with non-Slovene people. Because ordinary people don't care if you steal from the government, but stealing to each other is something far different. And while human-rights organizations think that the Romas are the oppressed minority, people living next to them will say to you an opposite story: police lets them drive in unregistered cars, lets them burn the wires (for copper) and stolen cars, shoot with guns at parties, build houses without permission... while non-Roma people would pay high penalties for such behaviours. When someone complains, the police say: "We have a family, too." Police is usually afraid of them. Ofcourse it's not everywhere like that, many Romas live in harmony with non-Roma people; but unfortunately that's a very common phenomenon and it's the main reason for xenophobia and racism towards Romas. There are also other minorities in Slovenia and non of them deserves so much attention, because they are normally assimilated (the biggest minority are people from ex-Yugoslavia).

What I want to say is that problems of Romas have to be solved in totally different way, because giving them money and special rights (which other minorities don't have) won't solve the problem and it will only get worse. The government can do anything, but if they are isolated from other society and can't live without conflicts with other people, no-one will accept them and allow them to be his/her neighbour. Xenophobia increases and even the Romas that are different, don't have a chance to be part of the society. That's why, the only way is to help them to assimilate into society, to let them keep their culture, but to help them learn to live without disrupting others. This can be made with



education of children and informing of adults, but can't be made without their effort, too. There are many Romas' representatives who've started to speak out in public and most of them are intellectual people of good knowledge. They are aware of these problems and they are also the ones who should take this step. We can help them in this way, but accusing someone of being a racist just because s/he chases away someone from the community, is blind.

I hope this article doesn't sound xenophobic, because I talk so much bad things about them, but that's the truth and we can only banish the racism by knowing and being aware of the situation. In the case of Ambrus, the locals invited human-rights

organization to come there and to see the problem, because they don't want to be stigmatized as xenophobic racists. As far as I know, no-one has come there yet (only the politicians and the police). Everyone in Slovenia who has contacts with Romas knows about this problem, but doesn't speak about it loud, because doesn't want to be called xenophob. I think that only through a program of proper education and connection between Roma and non-Roma people, a real effort can be made.



## ABB COMMENTS...

As it has happened before with other issues of ABB, we had quite some discussions inside the editorial collective about giving the following article some room inside this paper or not. Among the objections was the anxiety about the impact it could have on people who already hold negative stereotypes about Rroma, without having another article providing a more differentiated background to the topic as well as the fact that it holds a lot of terms to build up barriers between people, for example nationality. Having in mind all our concerns we still decided to print it, hoping it will further discussions around the topic and leading to a better understanding from all sides. Anyway not without giving you a short introduction from our point of view.

If we talk about 'minorities' we have to keep in mind that these groups 'come into being' by various processes. In a lot of cases the term 'minorities' doesn't relate to the actual quantitative number, but primarily to power. Groups that are labelled as 'minorities' usually don't choose to live dominated by a 'majority'. These terms carry mainstream political values, which doesn't mean that these power-relations are fixed forever. That's why it would be much more accurate to talk about minoritized groups. Culture, status, nationality and so on always needs 'THE OTHER' to understand and define itself and in the case of the 'majority' to feel superior.

Rroma constitute a subject which creates itself (in ethnic self-definition) as well as an object which is created by others (via stereotypes and stigmata). These two areas are also interactive, which leads to the fact

that the structure of Rroma groups swing between conformity and differentiation, assimilation and resistance, culture and counter culture, social underclass and ethnic group. Similarly the structure of dealing with Rroma shuttles between stereotypes and stigmata, repression and denial, racism and tolerance. Relations with Rroma are characterised by strict segregation or close cooperation.

The following article gives many examples of bad experiences with people of different cultures, in this case Rroma, coming to a conclusion that this is something that causes xenophobia and racism. But it has an immense shortcoming in showing the other side of the coin. How do Rroma adjust themselves to changing conditions of their social environment, and how are their different strategies explainable? In fact, it is never really considered what results the abrupt disruption of community life - disintegration of traditional norms and values of Rroma and erosion of traditional family life through forced assimilation by 'majorities' - by state policies had on Rroma. Maybe there is a direct relation between the levels of poverty, exclusion, racial attacks, subordination against Rroma and their closing up against the 'OUTSIDE WORLD', sticking more strongly to their traditional culture, developing other means of surviving, growth in 'crime-rate' and in the mistrust towards the 'majority'.

It cannot be the way to call for an assimilation of Rroma to the 'majority', because "they have to learn to live without disrupting others". Who is setting the standards in this way? The 'majority', the 'State', the 'system'? But it's also not appropriate to call every criticism of a minoritized group like the Rroma an racist attack, like some international lobby groups as the ERRC are doing. Neither way is leading towards the eradication of hostility, barriers and hierarchy between people.



Anyway we would like to give you another example on an incident in some other country, where after being criticized internationally, the 'majority' was also quite keen to explain that they are not racists, but the Rroma just simply are not willing to adapt to the society. Some people might still remember the bad publicity the Czech Republic gained around the world in 2000, when in the city of Usti nad Labem a two-meter wall was planned to built between buildings with city flats, hosting mainly Rroma and a number of family houses on Maticni Street. Of course the explanation to defend the wall was by saying that it's not a case of dividing Rroma and Czechs, but of dividing respectable and unrespectable people. The residents and local authorities said that wanting peace and quiet has nothing to do with racism.

Well is the construction of a wall or the driving out of a Rroma family from their house through the villagers of Ambrus, by threatening even to kill them, and make them hide in the forest for days a just and only solution?



## UPDATE ON THE SITUATION IN SLOVENIA

21.11.2006

Barricades manned by villagers have gone up on all roads and paths leading to a particular spot in the village. Those who normally live on this piece of land belong to one extended family. Mobs of villagers have just expelled them to nearby woods, all 30 of them, including 10 children and a pregnant woman. They spend a few cold nights in the woods. They watch one of their dwellings being set ablaze and can hear the villagers at the barricades threatening to kill any one of them who dares return. But no one is killed in the end. The expelled family belongs to one ethnic group, the Roma?

25. 11. 2006

Ambrus, Slovenia - About 1,000 Slovenian villagers scuffled with police late on Saturday as they protested against the return of a large Roma family that had been evicted last month. The Strojans, a 30-strong Roma family about half of whom are children, were asked by the government to leave their house near the village of Ambrus in late October after villagers threatened to expel them, accusing them of theft. Scores of police sealed off the roads to Ambrus, in central Slovenia. One protester was hurt in a scuffle with police. "We are here to prevent the gypsies' return. We don't mind gypsies in general, but we do object to having this particular lot here," said Ales Lobokar, one of the protesters. After their eviction, the Strojans were put up in a former army barracks in another part of the country, but government efforts to resettle them failed when locals protested.

26. 11. 2006

Ljubljana, Slovenia - A group of Gypsies who had been forced to flee their homes in central Slovenia a month ago by local villagers tried to

return late Saturday afternoon but were forced to turn back. The group, an extended family of 31 people, tried to return to Ambrus, a village 30 miles southeast of Ljubljana, after four weeks in a refugee center. But about 1,000 villagers and other residents of the area assembled, blocked roads leading to the village and then battled riot police officers. Officials then persuaded the family, the Strojans, to turn back. The family, who are Slovene citizens, agreed to leave Ambrus on Oct. 28, after a mob surrounded their homes. Local residents had demanded their removal after a fight between a man from Ambrus and a Slovene who was living with the Strojans, after which the villager fell unconscious. He remains in a coma, and the man with whom he fought is in detention. The government said it was justified in moving the family to the refugee center, saying that it had acted to protect the Strojans. The government had promised to resettle the group, but a plan to move them to a suburb of Ljubljana, the capital, foundered when residents there protested. The fighting Saturday began after the family left an army barracks that had been their home since their expulsion from the village. Residents from Ambrus heard the group was coming and barricaded the roads. The police were called, and three people were injured in the scuffle that followed, witnesses said. The family waited in a roadside parking area during the confrontation and were then persuaded by government mediators to return to the barrack. Milan Zver, education minister and president of a government commission set up for the protection of the Gypsies, also known as Roma, said after the confrontation Saturday that he was disappointed that the Strojans had acted on their own to try to return home, without first consulting the authorities, Reuters reported. On Friday, Zoran Jankovic, the mayor of Ljubljana, withdrew an offer to find the Strojans homes in Sostro, a suburb of the capital, after inhabitants there staged two days of protests.

## ABOLISHINGBB FREE TO PRISONERS

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 journals 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 worldwide 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 journal 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.

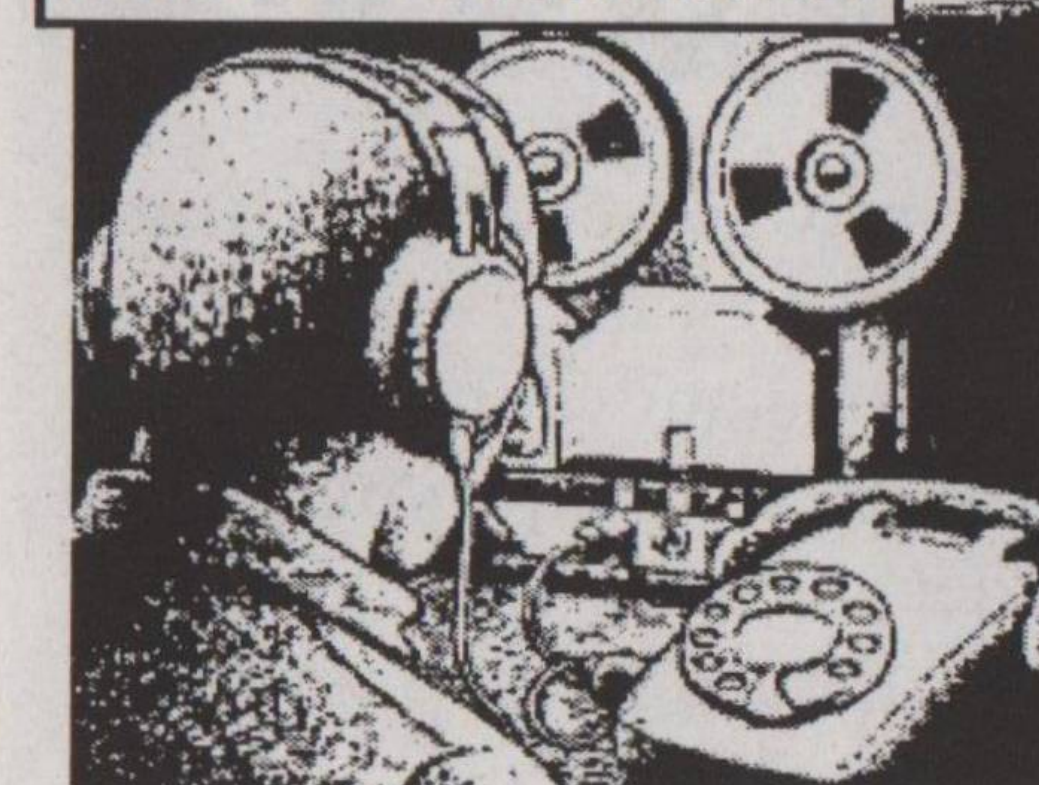
We feel that people shouldn't forget our comrades who are inside because of their actions against the actual state of things, nor the so-called social prisoners who, on different levels, pay tribute to this society's need of punishment. We like to repeat, that we strongly oppose this conception felt 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...

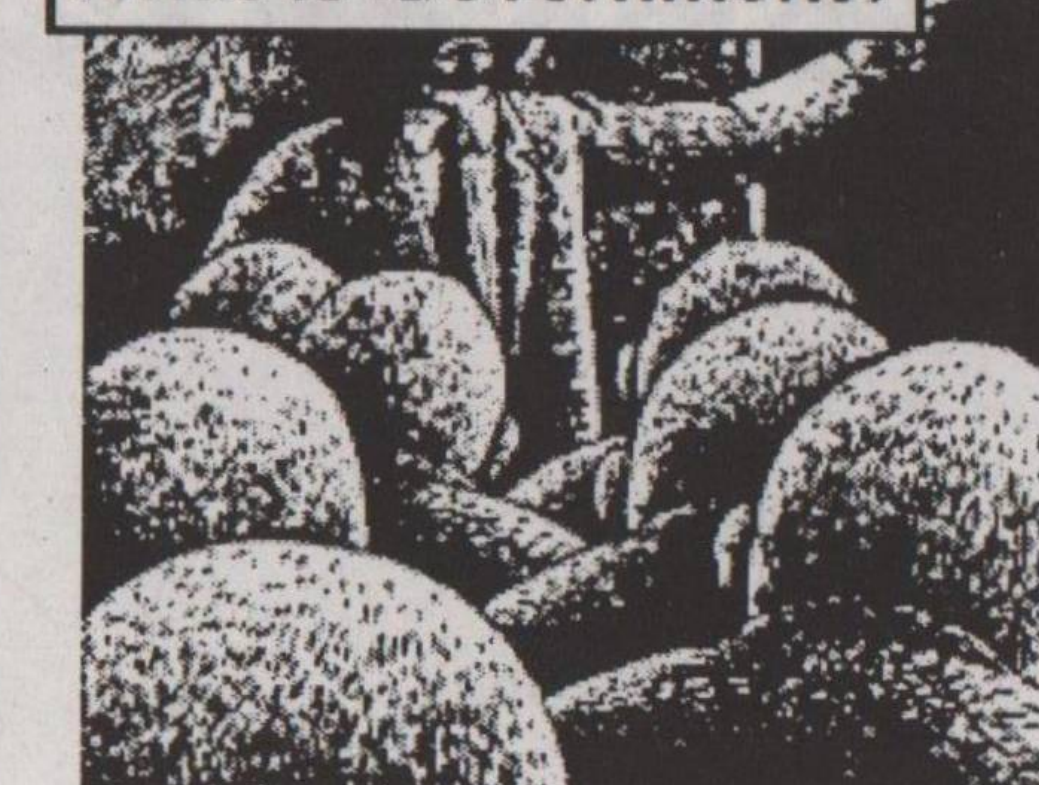
abb\_prisonersubs@riseup.net

What is Government?



TO BE GOVERNED IS TO  
BE WATCHED, INSPECTED,  
SPIED ON,

What is Government?



REGULATED, INDOCTRINATED,  
PREACHED AT,  
CONTROLLED, RULED,

What is Government?



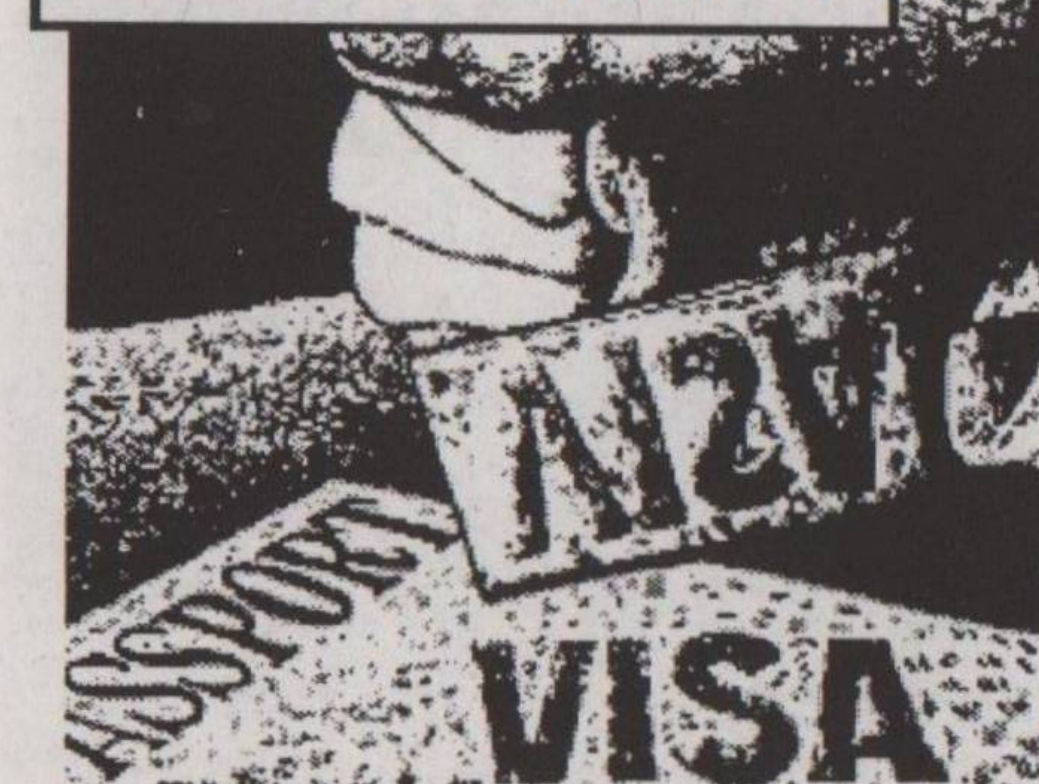
CENSORED BY PERSONS  
WHO HAVE NEITHER WISDOM  
NOR VIRTUE.

What is Government?



IT IS IN EVERY ACTION  
AND TRANSACTION

What is Government?



TO BE REGISTERED,  
STAMPED

What is Government?



TAXED, PATENTED,  
LICENSED, ASSESSED,

What is Government?



MEASURED, REPRIMANDED,  
CORRECTED, FRUSTRATED.

What is Government?



UNDER PRETEXT OF THE  
PUBLIC GOOD IT IS TO BE  
EXPLOITED,

What is Government?



MONOPOLISED, EMBEZZLED,  
ROBBED, AND  
THEN,

What is Government?



AT THE LEAST PROTEST  
OR WORD OF COMPLAINT,

What is Government?



TO BE FINED, HARASSED,  
VILIFIED,

What is Government?



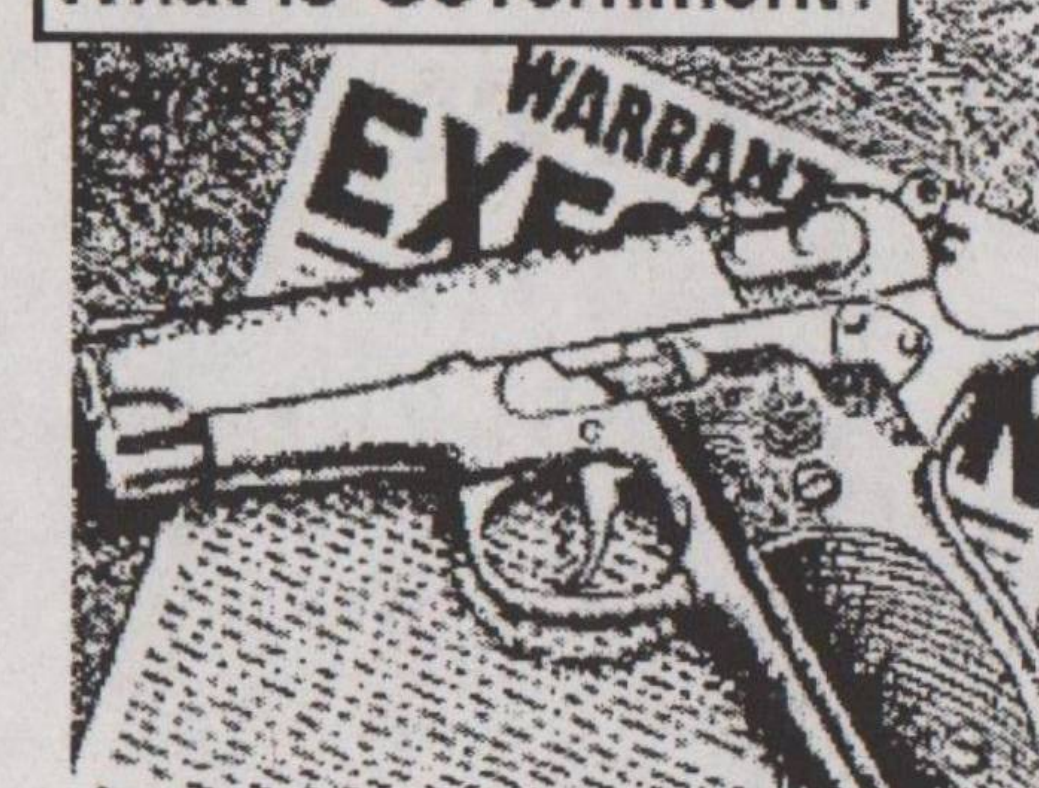
BEATEN UP, BLUDGEONED,  
DISARMED,

What is Government?



JUDGED, CONDEMNED,  
IMPRISONED,

What is Government?



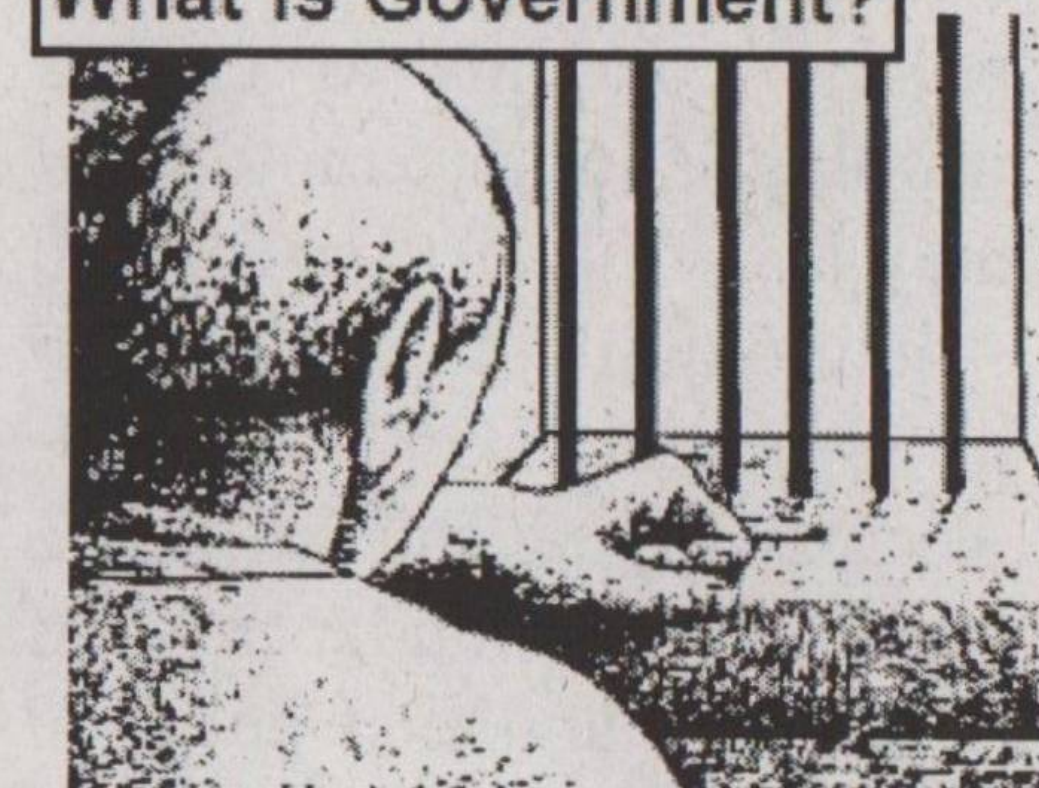
SHOT, GARROTTED,

What is Government?



DEPORTED, SOLD,  
BETRAYED,

What is Government?



SWINDLED, DECEIVED,

What is Government?



OUTRAGED, DISHON-  
OURED,

What is Government?



THAT'S GOVERNMENT,  
THAT'S ITS JUSTICE,  
THAT'S ITS MORALITY!

Graphics by Clifford Harper

Text by Pierre j. Proudhon

for a free society  
Without bosses,  
politicians & bureaucrats



## UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

### POLAND

#### BIRTH CONTROL CONFERENCE IN POLAND

On Saturday the 25th, anarchists from FA Praga organized a small informational action at a birth control conference organized by Catholics at the Medical Academy.

#### Background

It isn't enough that abortion is not allowed in Poland, but the fundamentalist government has been conducting a full-fledged war against birth control information. It started last when the newly-elected government started appointing fundamentalist quacks to ministerial positions. The people who are responsible for state policy on sexual education and family planning have often appeared in public to disinform people. Among the most popular stories they are spreading is that hormonal contraception will make women infertile. More recently, a bill was presented in parliament which would require condoms to bear a warning label that they do or may lead to infertility (!) and would require these "facts" to be taught in school. Accompanying this all is the idea that the calendar method is the best and that children should be taught this way at school. Instead of having separate classes on sex education, these ideas should be incorporated in biology and religious classes.

#### Catholic Conference

A number of Catholics organized a conference at the Medical Academy. Although the public was invited as well, the main target of this conference were medical

students who could hear the latest scientific findings of Opus-Dei and other Catholic extremist - sponsored "scientists" and "doctors". The purpose of the conference was to try to convince the medical students that artificial methods of birth control are so dangerous that its immoral to encourage their use.

Anarchists handed out alternative information to those who showed up at the conference. The booklets given out had also been given out earlier to high school students, for example at an "open-university" lecture on birth control which was organized by Students' Initiative and took place on the sidewalk in front of the Ministry of Education a couple of months ago.



#### ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN BIALYSTOK

In Bialystok local anarchists decided to wage their own campaign during preparations to municipal elections. We decided that somebody has to do something with all those ugly faces, looking at us from billboards and posters.

Mobile groups of Anarchist Anti-Election Action (3xA) paint-bombed dozens of billboards, destroyed hundreds of posters and put some graffiti and few hundred of our own anti-election posters. Hundreds of anti-election leaflets were also distributed during Food Not Bombs action. Local media wrote a lot about "electoral

vandalism" and bosses of main political parties complained that actions caused them lots of financial damages. You can find pictures and propaganda film about that on

Photos: www.myspace.com/decentrum

#### POLICE INVESTIGATES RE-SQUATTING OF DECENTRUM!

Recently all the people that had their names taken during the re-squatting of DeCentrum were summoned by police to testify. The police are investigating a case of people throwing stuff on city guards during breaking of the squat-barricades. Cops were very angry during interrogations but seems like they didn't get anything for now. We will inform about progress in this case.



### CROATIA

#### WARNING-ACTION AGAINST THE ANIMAL KILLERS IN ZAGREB

On November 17 the so-called art gallery "Klovicevi dvori" which has a long history of torturing and killing animals in their performances became an object of direct action by Animal Liberation activists in Zagreb. The action was very brave since the gallery is situated only 50-100m from Croatian parliament and government buildings and is heavily guarded by police

and private security officers and video cameras. The van which belongs to the Gallery was burned to the ground. No other property was damaged and there were no human or animal casualties.

### BULGARIA

#### PRE-ELECTION CIRCUS BY "ANARCHIST RESISTANCE" GROUP

31 October 2006 On the 27th of October activists from the "Anarchist Resistance" group did an action called "Pre-election Circus" in the garden of "Sveti Sedmochislenitzi" to oppose the upcoming elections for a new president. They gave free vegetarian food, clothes, books, zines and music CDs. There were banners in front of the free stuff that said: "Food Not Fat Lies" - because the politicians' ridiculous pre-election efforts are not important for us; "Clothes Not Hollow Promises" - because their false and naïve lies won't mislead us; "Books Not Speeches" - because we want to be informed and aware, and not manipulated and isolated. The activists distributed pamphlets and booklets with a challenge not to vote and with our alternative idea for the world - Direct Democracy and self-government - the basic principles of anarchism.

The passing people like always watched suspiciously in front of the big banner "Pre-election Circus", but kids had fun with the carnival masks, balloons and popcorn. A couple of bums got free clothes and were very confused that something could be got for free. Many elderly people had warm "Banitza", rice and fruits. There was also a bowl of

## UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

fortune papers and all the people that took a paper got 1 fortune sign: "No matter who you vote for, politicians win". Two activist clowns cheered everybody and didn't forget to remember why this event is taking place.

There were no problems with the police and everything finished normally and calmly. The activists want to go more often on the streets and to gather more and more people.



### ROMANIA

#### FOOD AND VEGETARIANISM IN IASI

by Subteran Collective

Vegetarian day... there could have been more of us, but some people couldn't make it for various reasons, and also due to the experience from Meat Out Day which wasn't so nice, we were quite reticent about the impact of this little campaign and also about the reaction from the people that would get in contact with us and to the information.

Not to forget about Food Day. We went to McDonalds again. This time was much better than the last year because we were double the people and we also spread more flyers and we got in contact with many more people. We also worked on some new flyers with some extra information about the other fast food chains, coca cola and other similar corporations. This was also in order to avoid discussions with the guys from

McDonalds in which they accused us of being paid by someone from the "market" of the fast foods who wants to take over their clientele. In any case, everything was quite calm and nice and the 'bad guys' from the fast food were curious about the 2006 flyer.

Still some people around us don't think that the fast foods are such important 'killers' and we should go and act in different directions, but this is an easy way for the youth to get involved in something around here and after this to become more and more political if they want it. Even if people don't want to buy into "our news" and information it would be great even if they just read the flyers and warm up their brains again, because all the people from our district need this kind of exercise.

### ESTONIA

#### ESTONIAN ANARCHISTS MARCHING AGAINST THE AGGRESSIVE POLICIES OF THE U.S.

#### THE FIRST REAL STEPS OF ORGANIZED RESISTANCE

On the 27th and 28th of November the president of USA - George W. Bush - visited Estonia. While the media was flooded with restrictions concerning the visit, local anarchist group PunaMust called for protests against the war in Iraq, aggressive neoliberal global policies and politics filled with hypocrisy and cynicism. Media reacted with a lot of interest and several appearances on radio and TV shows made it possible to spread libertarian ideas and

criticize the aggressive and non-democratic activities of the U.S.

Since no organized anarchist groups have been active in Estonia, the protest march promised to be the biggest anarchist protest in our time on the soil of Estonia. Well, that didn't need much: 20 people would have been enough. As said, there was a lot of media attention and before the main protest, several smaller actions happened. About two weeks before the visit, anarchists from PunaMust put a big banner saying "Bush = Terrorist" on a railroad bridge near the city center while the city center was filled with stickers with a picture of Bush saying "Attention! Mass destruction lies!" Leaflets and flyers were handed out spreading information about the war crime in Iraq, about cannibalistic corporate imperialism supported by neoliberal policies and calling for protests against it on the 28th of November.

On Tuesday the main protest took place. Anarchists were supported by human rights activists from Amnesty International, green activists, animal rights activists and anti-war activists. About 200 people showed up and with the support of the sound of drums and chanting the protesters headed to the city center, where all the groups involved had a chance to speak and say why were they there. While animal rights activists were talking about their jailed comrades in the States and human rights activists criticized U.S. concerning Guantanamo, anarchists criticized the whole world view that Bush's administration stands for: consumeristic capitalism, neoliberal policies, violence concerning Iraq that's

supported by NATO and so on. A lot of people were happy to see that, even in Estonia, which always bows in front of the bigger and stronger, there were people who were not afraid to take to the streets and say what they mean; who are not afraid to make a stand.

The protest march was, as expected, peaceful. Since anarchism as a world view offering a positive programme for society is really a new thing in the public eye of Estonia, it was good that the whole event was peaceful. Different from earlier events, media reacted positively, although they did not cover why the protest took place. This happens all the time: the demonstration gets more attention than the idea behind the demonstrations - WHY it was organized in the first place. Then again, I believe that overall everything turned out fine and PunaMust picked up a useful experience concerning organising demonstrations and dealing with media interest. Right now, the first real steps of organized resistance are taking place in Estonia - steps that will hopefully be just a fraction of the road we have in front of us.

Seeing more than a hundred anarchists gathering to make a stand in Estonia - together - really made my heart beat faster. Now we need to put even more and more energy into action, to show that libertarian ideas really have the capacity for considerable programme for the future; to show that anarchism is a constructive philosophy, not only for the destruction of the old system, but for the creation of a new and a better one.

Mario Laul  
Anarchist group PunaMust  
Tallinn, Estonia

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## UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS



# LABOUR STRUGGLES

## GENERAL-SECRETARY OF SIBERIAN CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (SKT) ARRESTED

by Will Firth / Yelena Starostina FAU (Germany) /  
SKT (Siberia) Monday, Nov 27 2006

For the July 2006 anti-G8 meeting in Russia in Saint Petersburg, Vassily Starostin, the general secretary of the anarcho-syndicalist SKT, and his 14 year-old son were stopped on their train by the Ekaterinburg police with the accusation of criminal case.

Here are two English messages in English from the German FAU and a member of SKT in Tomsk.

*Anarcho-syndicalist salutes,  
Frank, International Secretariat of CNT France  
Will Firth (FAU Berlin)  
Phone/fax: +49-30-444 8398*

The following information came by phone this morning, 11 July 2006, from Yelena Starostina, a member of the Siberian Labour Confederation (SKT) in Omsk. Yelena's husband Vasily Starostin, their underage son Yegor and several other union and human rights activists from Siberia have been arrested in Yekaterinburg in the Urals.

The activists were travelling by train to St. Petersburg to participate in the Russian Social Forum and demonstrations against the G8 summit (11-15 July 2006). They have been accused of "illegal possession of documents" and it is not known how long the police intend to hold them in custody. It seems that agents of the secret service FSB were also involved in the activists' arrest.

Please react immediately, if you can, by sending protest faxes in Russian or English to the head of police in Yekaterinburg (name not

known), demanding the activists' immediate release. The fax number is 007-343-358 8740, it was working this morning.

★ ★ ★  
SKT SIBERIA

Special services of Russia do not give an opportunity to delegates of the Russian Social Forum to arrive in St. Petersburg where should take part in the anti-G-8 summit. Against these delegates various provocations are organized: throw drugs and explosives, select passports, beat. It is detained already 200 person.

In Ekaterinburg have landed from Vassily Starostin's train - the General Secretary of the Siberian Confederation of Labour. Together with his son, aged 14 years. Against them the state wants to bring a criminal case.

We ask our comrades to organize the company of solidarity in support of our comrades.

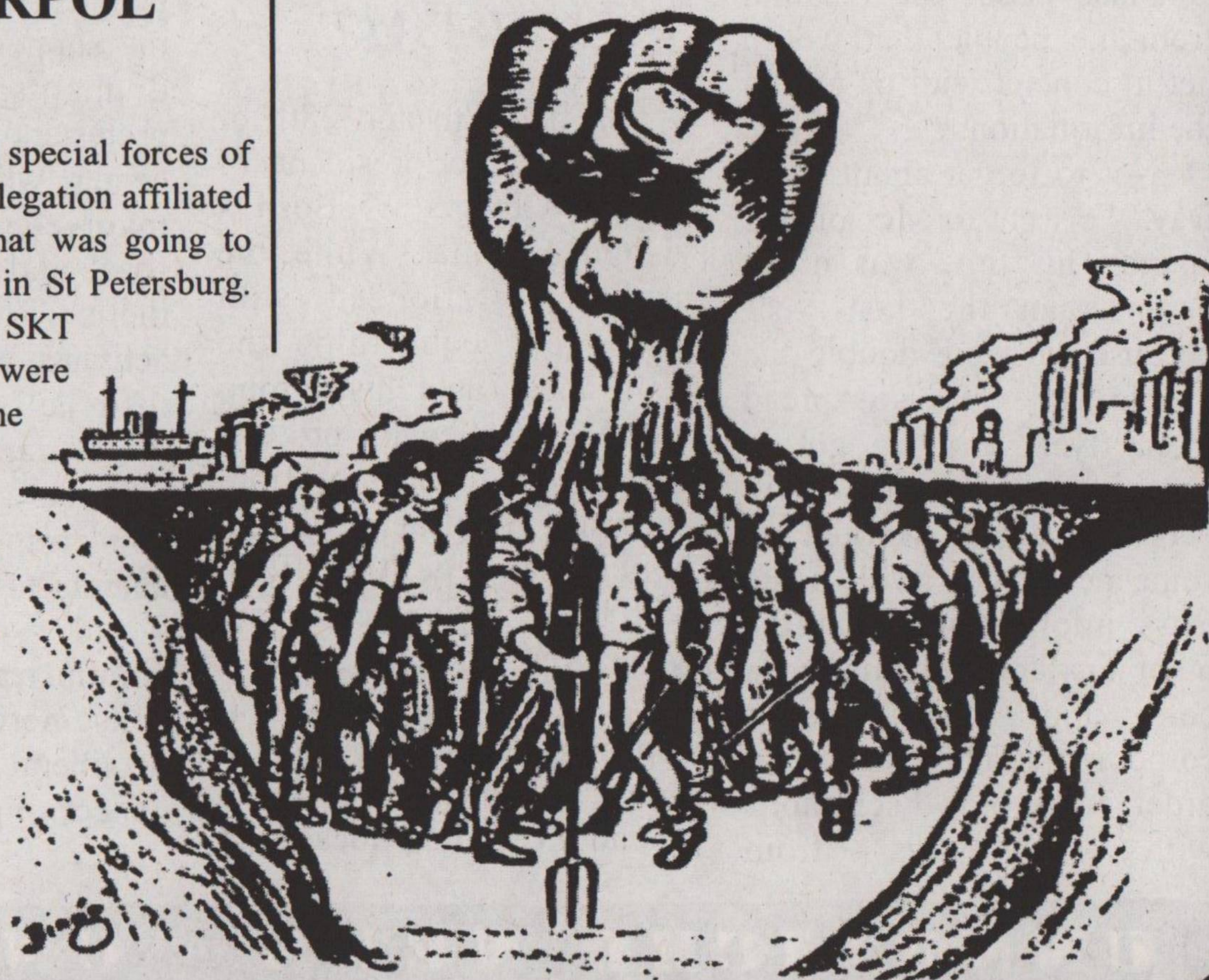
Phone the police station where Starostin and his son are  
detained: 8-343-3582018

fax the head of department of Internal Affairs of  
Ekaterinburg: 8-343-3588740

Aleksandr Markin  
mark\_alex2000@mail.ru

### ADVANTAGE TO INTERPOL [THE POLICE]

During the night of July 10 various members of the special forces of Ekaterinburg caused to disembark from a train the delegation affiliated to the SKT (Siberian Confederation of Labour), that was going to attend the Picial Forum parallel to the G8 summit in St Petersburg. Among these was the confederal secretary of the SKT Vassili Starostin with his under-aged son. At first they were told they were being forced off the train because some passengers had accused them of bad conduct, but it was then claimed that it was because they were speaking against the government and were carrying "fascist symbols" (that is to say the red-and-black flags of the SKT!). Globally, some 200 delegates to the Social Forum and to the counter-summit of the G 8 have been placed under arrest. Their passports have been confiscated, they had narcotics and explosives planted on them, they are accused of causing violence and contempt for law and order. Russian Autonomous place, 12.07.06 (translation by Frank, CNT 91)



## ANARCHISTS SUPPORT MAIL CARRIERS' STRIKE

On Nov. 13, a wildcat strike of mail carriers started in the Gdansk post office. Now the strike has been taken over by different unions, mostly Solidarity, and has spread to most major cities in Poland.

*The mail carriers' demands include:*

- ★ an 8 hour work day for all workers of the Polish Post (most mail carriers work 10-12 hours daily)
- ★ a raise to 1500 zł. a month (about 500 USD or 375 euro) from the current 800-900 (about 275-300 USD or 200-225 euro)
- ★ overtime payments
- ★ no more carrying heavy bags filled with advertisements

The Anarchist Federation and Workers' Initiative organized some solidarity actions and talks with the post workers. Anarchists in Poznan and Gdansk organized pickets and in Warsaw a couple of talks and solidarity during an occupation.

### Talks with the Workers and Background on the Situation

Slightly over half of Warsaw's mail carriers are on strike. Nov. 21 and 22, members of the Anarchist Federation Praga met with striking workers to speak. On Nov.22, mail carriers occupied and blocked the entrance of the 2nd main post office in Warsaw, in the Praga district.

The anarchists spoke about radicalization of the protest and about possible strategy in light of the liberalization of the postal market which was about to take place. As it turns out, most postal workers were unaware of the major changes that were about to take place in Poland.

Under pressure from the European Union, Poland must remove the last protectionist regulations concerning mail delivery by 1997. Currently, private firms face restrictions on what they may deliver. The overwhelming bulk of mail delivery in Poland is comprised of lightweight letters but next year, private firms will be allowed to compete in this market.

Amazingly, almost nobody we spoke to seemed to be aware of these impending changes.

On Nov. 15, InPost started operation in Poland. This private post office has opened 75 outlets and plans to open 800 more by the end of the year. When the ban on competition in the small letters market is lifted, they plan to compete with the Polish Post. They plan to cut prices on letter delivery, which is relatively easy considering Polish Post's inflated rates, which are 10-15% higher than in the US for example.

Other potential entrants on the market include Deutsche Post.

Some of the mail carriers had heard of the private post but were not aware that it would be allowed to compete in its market.

Anarchist discussed the likely scenarios for the letter carriers. When analysing the profit structure of Polish Post, we were able to determine that, if costs were allotted as at present, Polish Post could only afford a raise of about 1000 zł. per year per employee. We spoke of how profits were mismanaged and channelled to the upper management. Furthermore, we supposed that union negotiators at the higher levels know about, plus they know that the government is under pressure not to subsidize the post and that Polish Post will lose some of its market share next year. It was our opinion that the workers will be, from now on, hit in two ways: heavily workload and mass reductions.

This was a message that apparently the unions didn't want to convey to the workers, some of whom were greatly surprised. Anarchists said that nonetheless, the strikers demands were justified and the strike should continue but that we suspect that the unions

will, as they usually do, negotiate the mass reductions with the post office and may even trade off a slight pay raise now for an agreement on reductions in the future. (But so far they haven't negotiated a pay raise.) Anarchists made the connections between exploitation and price wars and between management greed and waste and diverting funds away from the workers. Anarchists argued that management has to go, that budget cuts have to be made at the expense of bureaucrats and that the most office can be self-managed. In reality, it was a little much for some people to take in at once, some people preferring populist slogans but many people took leaflets and financial information and everyone appreciated that we compiled this for them.

### Anarchists vs. Private and State Capitalism

The most interesting discussions took place between anarchists and a Solidarity leader and an activist from the Polish Labour Party.

Anarchists asked Solidarity for an official position statement on the situation on the postal market. They don't have one but at least one guy told us that this competition will be good for the workers and that he was hoping that the private posts will be more efficient. (Solidarity has a long history of lobbying for privatization of state-run enterprises.) He mentioned that Solidarity will certainly try to unionize InPost. The Polish Labour Party guy was furious saying that the Post Office has to be run by the state and be a protected industry.

Anarchists pointed out that the Post Office was currently run by the state and that currently consumers pay too much, mail is regularly delayed, stolen and mishandled, many of the local post offices are a mess with huge lines and that the workers get shit pay while the bosses channel money into their pockets. We argued that privatization was no answer - only self-management.

The Labour Party guy was furious again claiming that problem was not the state, but that the state isn't run by honest people, which is the fault of people like us who try to convince people to boycott election instead of voting for the Labour Party.

When anarchists asked if any discretionary funds from Aug. 80 trade union were ever used to fund the activity of the Labour Party, some nasty fight broke out and the Solidarity bigwig kicked us out.

*(The leaders of Aug. 80 and the Labour Party are the same people.)*

### UPDATE

As of now, mail carriers in many cities have joined the strike, but not all of them. Most post offices are working and accepting mail, even if they are not delivering. The exceptions are in Warsaw in the Praga District where the 2nd PO in the city was shut down and in Szczecin where 23 POs have closed during the strike. In these places, and in a few others, other postal workers (cashiers, sorters, etc.) have joined the strike.

After long negotiations with Polish Post, the workers were offered a raise of 100 zł. a month - around 25 euro. They are demanding about 10 times that as a raise.

Of course the Post Office cannot "afford" that without cutting management posts or spending or receiving subsidies from the state. So this will become a political issue and will require the government to decide because only a decision to subsidize these raises through the state budget will provide this money. Or layoffs. The Polish Post employs over 100,000 people but its profits would only cover a raise of about 80 zloty a month. The state is of course not interested in subsidizing anything - except themselves and have put the PO under pressure to be profitable.

Unionists and workers have stated that they won't except that amount and that they may start a general strike as soon as tomorrow.



## POLAND: WORKERS' INITIATIVE ACTIVISTS FIRED FOR SPEAKING OUT

### REQUEST FOR HELP FROM WORKERS' INITIATIVE

The Impel-Tom Company in Zielona Gora has fired the next three activists of Workers' Initiative because they spoke loudly and openly in court about the illegal activity of their employer towards their labour union.

At the beginning of 2006 the workers of the Impel-Tom Company with its branch office in Kostrzyn (which employs about 700 workers in Lubuskie voyevodship) began their struggle for better wages. But when in spite of earlier promises, they still didn't receive higher payment in February, they decided to found their own labour union - the first one in the Impel-Tom. Twelve persons from forty workers in Kostrzyn joined the union and the collecting of next declarations was in progress. On March 7 the members of the labour union wanted to have the founders' meeting of Workers' Initiative in the Impel-Tom factory. The management of the company decided to take preventive measures. Some people weren't let in the company and two initiators of the union, including Jacek Rosolowski, were made redundant. Rosolowski accused the Impel-Tom of discrimination because of union membership and of company's illegal activity against Workers' Initiative. After a few months' trial, on October 31 the court in Zielona Gora brought in a verdict admitting Jacek Rosolowski was right and ordered the company to pay damages to him.

After this sentence, on November 2 three members of Workers' Initiative were fired: Czeslaw Toczek, Piotr Duplaga and Robert Szkwarek., who testified in Labour Court and spoke openly about the illegal activity of the employer towards their labour union. The Impel-Tom Company has also determined work contracts with the rest of the workers of the Impel-Tom in Kostrzyn (except the guard) offering them new work conditions in the Acromar Company (which belongs to Impel-Tom). New work hasn't been offered to the above-mentioned members of Workers' Initiative. In this way the management of the Impel-Tom Company, which also manages Acromar, got rid of active members of the union effectively, using that form of lockout as a punishment for an attempt at founding a labour union.

The Impel-Tom Company is a part of the Impel S.A. holding, which is the biggest group of outsourcing companies in Poland in security, cleaning and catering sectors. In 2005 it employed more than 17.000 workers including the disabled, which let the company get subsidies from the state. In 2005 its turnover was about 627 million zloty and the company made 21 million zloty profit. Impel S.A. is listed on the Warsaw stock exchange. In 2002 Impel was famous for its brutal pacification of the protest organized by workers of the Cable

Factory in Ozarow, made to order of Boguslaw Ciupiala, owner of Tele-Fonika company.

Workers' Initiative is announcing the beginning of Polish campaign against the Impel-Tom.

We are asking everyone for help. We bear large expenses for legal defense, material help and organizing demonstrations because of many dismissals of activists of Workers' Initiative. Therefore, we are asking you for financial support.

**OZZ Inicjatywa Pracownicza**  
**Poznan, Gorecka 154**

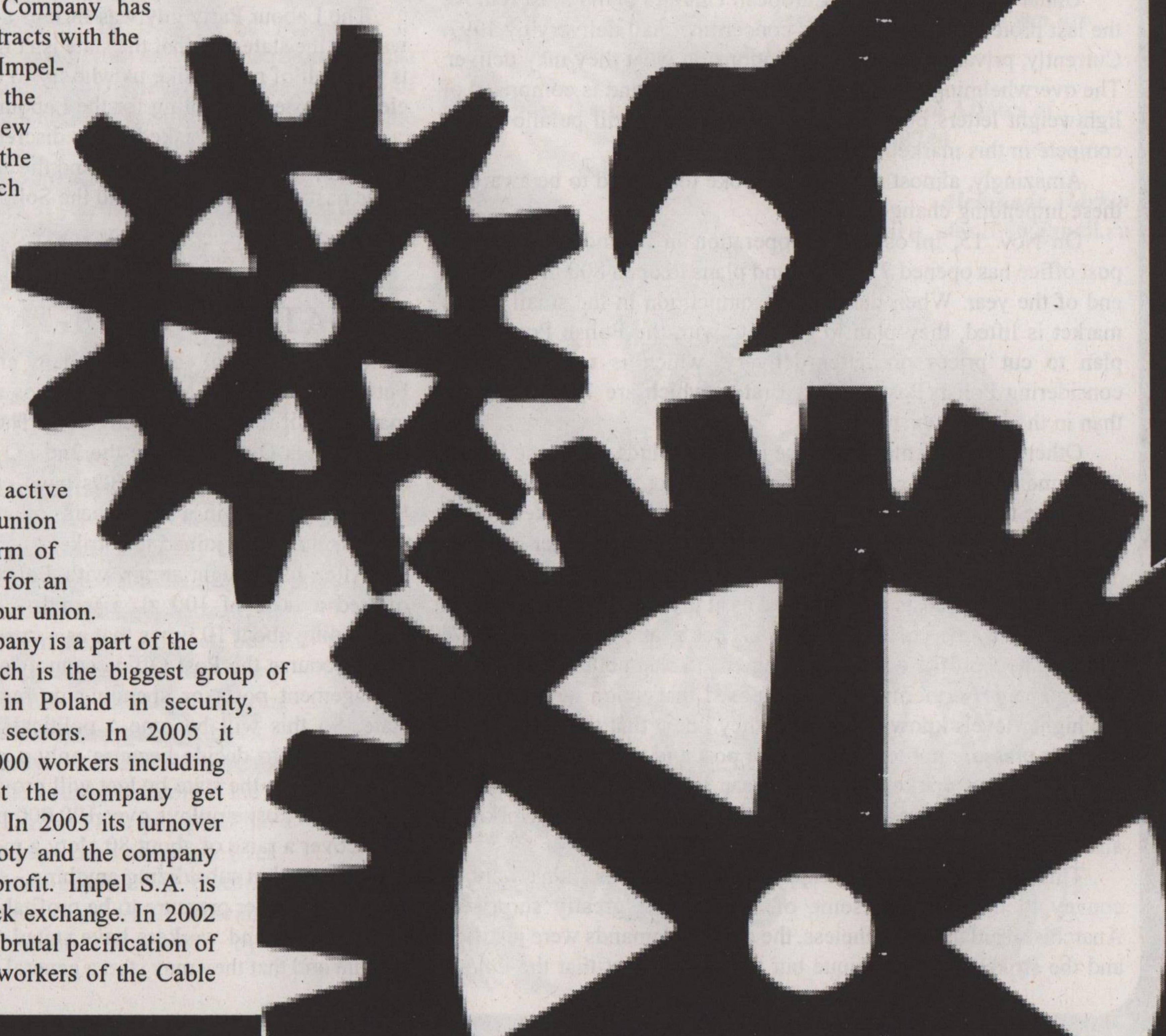
**GBW/Spoldzielczy Bank Ludowy**  
**swift address: GBWCPLPP**

**57 9043 1070 2070 0042 8758 0001**

**postscript: darowizna na rzecz represjonowanych**  
**zwi&#261;zkowców**

**(which means: donation for repressed trade union activists)**

**Solidarity with your struggle,**  
**All-Polish Trade Union Workers'**  
**Initiative**  
**(OZZ Inicjatywa**  
**Pracownicza)**



## ANARCHISTS AND ECOLOGISTS INVOLVED IN ROSPUDA VALLEY DEBATE IN NORTH-EAST POLAND

Radical ecologists organized a train trip to Augustow (city in north-east Poland) to speak to local people about the Augustow bypass. A large number of anarchists also went on this trip to agitate for an alternative route for the bypass, which is to be part of the Via Baltica highway from Warsaw to Helsinki. The currently planned bypass would cut through the Rospuda Valley, a rare natural area which is a "Natura 2000" protected site (in April, the EU started proceedings against Poland for damaging protected ecological areas). Some of the rarer wildlife in the area, which is part of a national park which includes primeval forest, are lynx and different type of eagles.

Besides the ecological issue, there are other interesting social issues which compelled people to go there. The city of Augustow has an awful problem that trucks go through it and, since there is only one traffic light in the whole city, and since people routinely speed, people are constantly being killed. Despite this, the mayor refuses to even consider putting up traffic lights. Yesterday was a conference with ecologists: the mayor refused to come, saying he won't speak with ecologists. He gave his own press conference and when asked why he won't put up traffic

lights, he answered "because it would slow down the flow of traffic".

So as it turns out, the building plans have some classic elements of corruption involved, especially land speculation. If that route through the valley is chosen, it will be ineligible for structural funds from the EU and local taxpayers will have to pay 100% of the cost. Poland will probably also be fined, which means more costs for taxpayers.

So far, more than 200,000 people have signed petitions against this route and for an alternative route that would not only avoid going through the valley, but would also serve as a bypass for the next bigger city in that region, Suwalki.

Despite all this, the mayor of the city has done an amazing job of convincing some, if not most, of the city that the only reason that people get killed in Augustow is because the ecologists care more about birds than people and are blocking the building of the bypass.

About 300 people went to the city to hold an open meeting with residents and do hand out information and try to talk to the mayor. Some of the more hostile residents came and it was even quite disheartening to see how strong the misinformation from some politicians can be. For example, the residents had been told that Greenpeace had been blocking the road for 15 years, which is even impossible because Greenpeace started in Poland only 2 years ago.

Despite this, the action was quite interesting and is probably the first time that local residents even engaged in any discussion on the topic.



## FOOD NOT BOMBS IN BUCHAREST ROMANIA

### Initiativa Libertara

On Sunday, October 15th 2006 an alternative group from Bucharest organized a Food Not Bombs in a small, peripheral and poor neighborhood from Bucharest called Ferentari. About 1 PM the FNB group installed their things in front of a block, on the sidewalk. The people started to gather at first curious than eager to get from what was prepared and brought for them. About 100 food portions and 15 tea liters were shared. Many of those who were standing in line waiting for the meal asked what organization or party organized that event. For them was pretty hard to believe why and how a group without any formal connections wants to organize an event as that one. They supposed there are some hidden reasons because before the presidential elections some guys belonging to a party implied in the elections went there and gave presents consisting in aliments, an old man said. Obviously they tried to convince them to vote that party. The

ironic fact is that they are so ignored even forgotten by the city hall and by authorities that most of them don't have ID cards so that they could not vote. Although the block area was filled with trash, being pretty hard to breed decently the people out there were more animated than the ones from the richer and cleaner neighborhoods. They were very impressed by the help given. After the food and tea was shared, the organizers distributed the clothes which were collected from personal or friendly donations. The clothes distribution was more difficult because the people frightened that they won't get anything started to push each other and to pull the clothes out of the plastic bags. After the garment was given, the people from Ferentari invited the FNB volunteers inside their apartments to demonstrate the precarious conditions they are living in. Those people live in an unimaginable dirt, without any electricity or hot water. Many families use

their children allocation for living, others work by hour for different bosses and others work for minimal wages because they don't have any education. Most of them said is barely impossible to escape that awful neighborhood because they cannot afford another more expensive way of living and the city hall doesn't give any help either. The organizers decided to return with this kind of actions in the area and with other new plans such as area cleaning, green spaces recovery and tree planting after they've noticed the inhabitants' interest to collaborate. We're hoping and trying to organize in the future a FNB per month in the poor neighborhoods from Bucharest and we're also hoping to receive a positive feed-back, by that meaning collaboration and understanding.

**For more details visit**  
**www.fight-back.tk web-site**





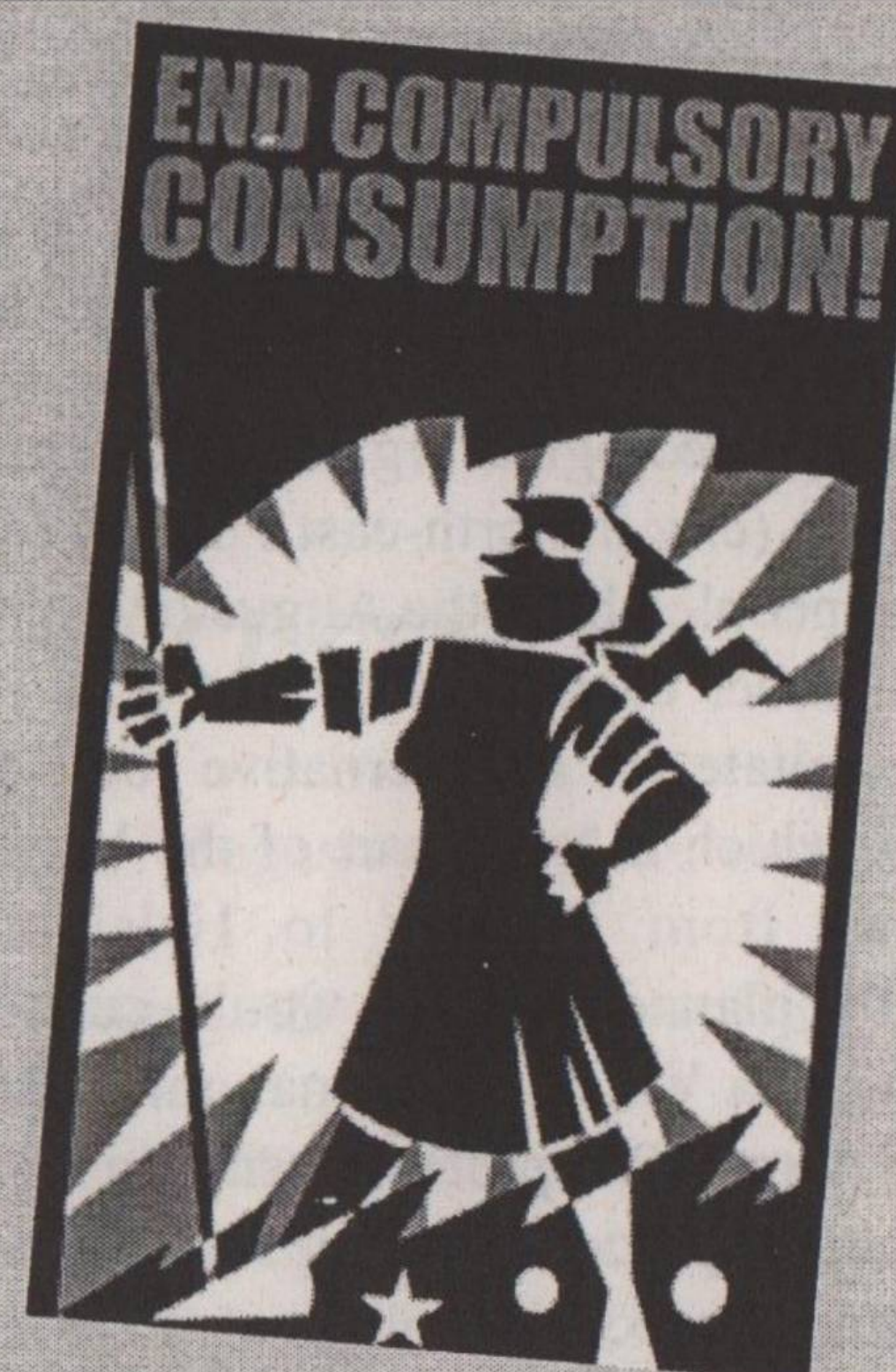
# ANARCHISTS CELEBRATED INTERNATIONAL BUY NOTHING DAY IN WARSAW WITH A NUMBER OF ACTIONS

First, people from OBIN (Organization Without an Interesting Name) and *Elba Squat* put together a very funny happening about consumption in the downtown. In the happening, the TV presenter - played by a woman wearing a hollow TV set, offers a shopaholic dozens of funny and useless items. The consumer keeps buying more, with lots of funny jokes, eventually has to take more and more credit, is visited by the grim reaper - the Dollar - and is killed by an avalanche of home shopping products. In addition to the happening, a free shop was set out and free vegan food distributed outside of McDonalds.

Secondly, *Anarchist Federation Praga* continued their protests about the politics of supermarkets. In the past they have had campaigns against supermarkets related to numerous issues, from gentrification to poor working conditions, to their impact on local food producers. Yesterday a campaign against Media Markt (and its owner Metro group which includes - Praktiker, Makro and Saturn) began. A number of actions will be held until the end of the year. Although Metro Group is the 2nd richest retail group in the world, in September they fired a worker in Gdansk for establishing a trade union. Workers in Media Markt earn about 225 euro a month, despite the fact that prices in their shops Poland are the same as throughout Europe. A conversation between the boss of the shop and the unionist was even recorded and published in the papers. In it, the boss makes clear threats against the worker for the union activity. Despite this, the shop used a stupid pretext against the worker to fire him. Amazingly, a court found in favour of Media Markt; this decision will be appealed.

Media Markt already faced an unofficial consumer boycott earlier in the year when it aired commercials featuring Polish thieves in Germany. Most people found it to create negative stereotypes. Sales in these shops dropped considerably in the first few weeks after the commercials aired. So Media Markt already has a bad image. An online petition was created and a Media Markt advertisement has been detoured and will be given out, placed in newspapers and mailboxes across the city with a boycott sticker. Pickets will be held in different Media Markt shops and the HQ of Makro will be visited. Finally, in the even FA Praga presented a slide show on a large beam on the side of Carrefour

supermarket. The show presented the economics behind supermarkets and consumption in the first (and second) world and advertised Buy Nothing Day. Slides presented different issues through photos and slogans, such as sweat shops, labour inside the supermarkets, child labour and slave labour in industries such as the cocoa industry, the gap between the consumption levels of rich and poor, contrasts in wealth, conspicuous consumption, built-in obsolescence, the production of waste, factory farming, globalization, the dominance of corporate brands, etc. etc. All of the actions went well, drew the interest of the public and hopefully inspired some thought.



# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

## GREECE

Tarassios Zadorozni was one of among 17 persons arrested on the 6th May 2006 during the antiwar demonstration of European Social Forum held in Athens. All of them faced heavy pre-constructed accusations. On the 10th May, the court decided the imprisonment of 4 of them to punish in their face the choice of radical social and class war. One of the four, a 17-year old boy, was released on the 22nd May. Today, 7 months later, three people still remain imprisoned, among them Tarassios Zadorozni. The court is revealed deaf to the attitude of the comrades and the fake accusations and insists on their imprisonment despite the applications for release since 7 months now.

**TARASSIOS  
ZADOROZNI'S  
LETTER FROM  
KORYDALLOS  
PRISON, ATHENS,  
GREECE**

**29TH NOVEMBER 2006-FIRST  
DAY OF HIS HUNGER STRIKE**

Forced behind fences and cement after my 6,5 months of hostage state in the court prison of Korydallos, I realise that they only achieved to cage my body. Whatever real and free inside me, have I managed to keep pure and untouched.

I was found in a position of hostage by the State because I decided to take part in a protest demonstration, because the State was looking for a scapegoat to project the image of control and judgement giving. The corruption of the system was greatly revealed since in the begin inconsistencies and inaccountancies existed in the statement of the cops who later were forced to change them in front of the state inquisitor. Of course, these changes together with other "reasons" which the state

inquisitor brought forward aimed only to prolong my case so that the decision

in their hands, I will transform it into a form of fight against them to gain my freedom.

I am going on hunger strike since the Wednesday 29th November and demand immediate release from prison without terms for me and all those accused together, the drop of all charges and the closing of the case. I will not allow them to use freedom as a tool in their political and legal games. However, the fight will be hard and I will need the solidarity of those outside the "wall" who are interested to support my struggle.

**The ideas cannot be  
stopped, prisoned,  
directed.**

Tarassios Zadorozni,  
3rd wing, Korydallos  
prison

**ΣΥΓΚΕΝΤΡΩΣΗ  
ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗΣ ΣΤΟΥΣ 3  
ΠΡΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΣΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ 6ης ΜΑΗ**



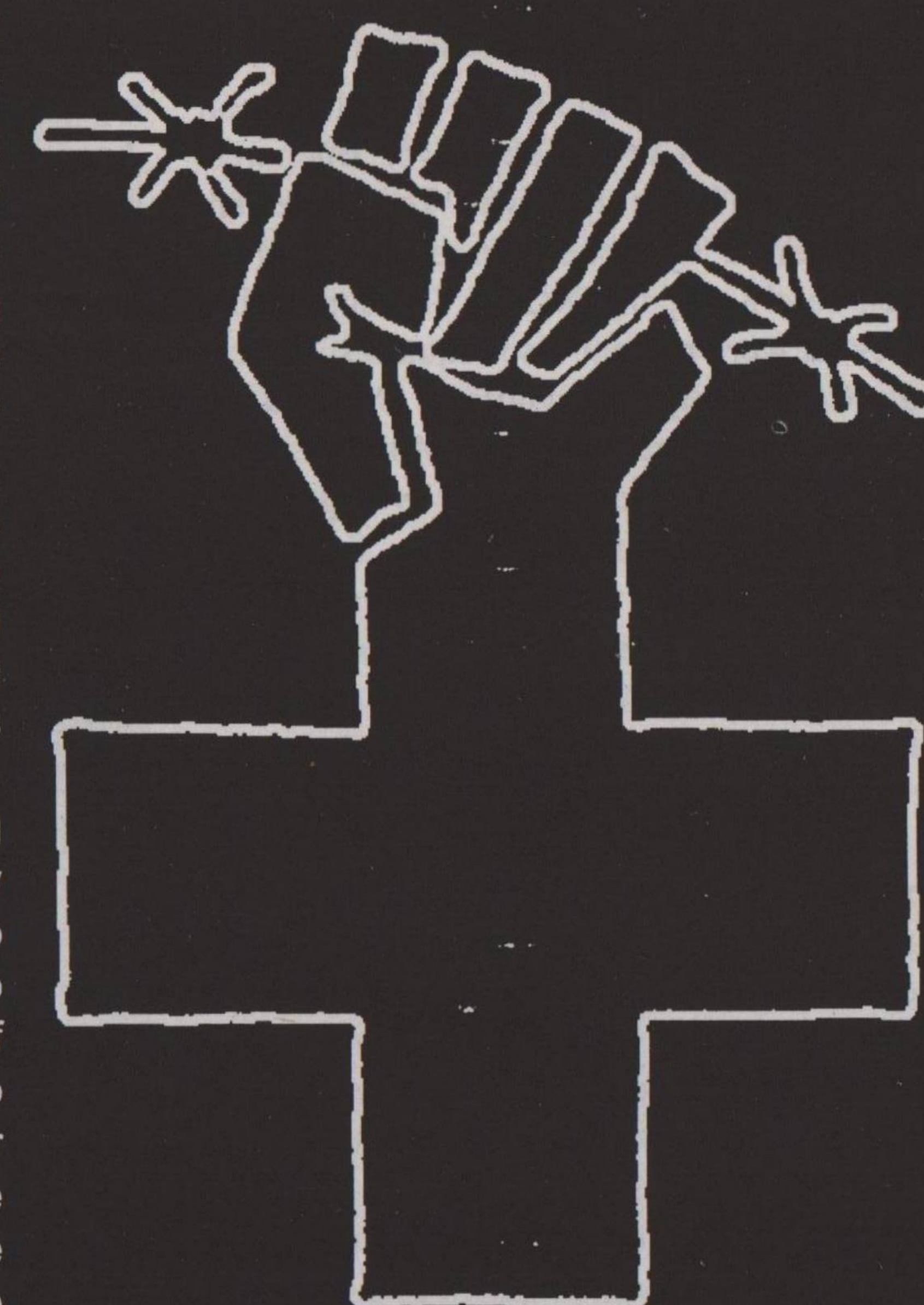
**ΠΡΟΠΥΛΑΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 1/12 5μμ  
ΘΑ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΣΕΙ ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΗ  
ΣΤΟ ΠΟΛΥΤΕΧΝΕΙΟ 7:30μμ**

ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΟΙ ΣΥΝΤΡΟΦΟΙ (A)

of the 6-month council would be influenced and my farther imprisonment would be decided. How could they anyway make a sound case without using deceiving methods to obscure the facts when real facts against me do not exist.

Not having any choices, being driven in a dread, disgusted from the continuing injustice against me, I continue my fight with whatever means are left.

If they think that imprisoning me they have beaten my passion for freedom they are to laugh at. In an attempt to sharpen the contradiction of this decayed system and to exhibit its totalitarian character I will stop offering them the right to control my body. Since this is the only thing they have



# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



# ANTI-FASCIST NEWS

## ANTIFASCIST DEMONSTRATION TORUN 18.11.2006

Antifascist demonstration on the 18.11. in Torun was a reaction of mostly young people at increasing of nationalist atmosphere in our country and town. The reason of our gathering was to show that an antifascist movement in Torun exists and doesn't respect nationalist tendencies in our town and country. At 18:00 o'clock in the centre of Torun where about 150 persons who came for the antifascism demonstration and about 165 policemen. From



the beginning policemen and clerks from the city department started pressure. They told us that we must take off our masks and if we don't do this the demonstration will be illegalised. But we didn't agree on this. Just when we started, behind us appeared a group of 20-25 nazi's mostly from NOP (National Renew of Poland). People turned back but the police separated us from the nazi's and there wasn't any fight except the fighting by words. After then we were going our manifestation route. When we came back the nazi's weren't there. They had only stationary demonstration. During manifestation we were talking about the fact that people who some time ago were from fascist groups now acting in political parties and have a high position in polish



government (members of LPR are from fascist organisation Młodzież Wszechpolska - All Poland Youth). After the demonstration a lot of people went to a concert to Pilon (Apatia, Złotzieje Rowerów). The nazi's were in the centre of the city but the Antifa was watchful. The success was that nazi's car ("hitlermobile") was destroyed by Antifa and some of the nazi's where hit by anti-nazi activists. There where only a few mentions about our action in local media. We thought that the demonstration and the concert where great. We would like to thank all people who came, especially people from Warsaw and Białystok for their support. This day we showed that antifascists in our town can resist fascists and they are the majority.

## ANTIFASCIST PROTEST IN BUCHAREST ROMANIA

*From Initiativa Libertara*

On November 10th an anti-discrimination protest was held in the streets of Bucharest with the city hall's approval. The protesters were escorted by police forces in order to march safely. On the NGO's list supporting this event were present also Aquarius, Accept (Gay Community Association), Agentia de Monitorizare a Presei (Press Monitorization Agency) etc. The route made by organizers was Victoriei Square-Romana Square - Universitatii Square - Izvor (ultracentral map areas). The event, we can say, was pretty well promoted. About 2000-2500 flyers were shared and a few hundred posters that were presenting this antifascist action.

Around 2PM in Victoriei Square approximately 200 people were waiting for the march to start armed with banners, flags and flyers. Earlier that day, in Romana Square some punkrockers who were heading to the march gathering place were beaten by a group of neo-nazis who wanted probably to express their stupid hate, their idiotic and nostalgic ideas concerning this protest. The guys didn't suffer major injuries and made it to the starting point of the march in time. At 2.15PM the Antifa event - the gathering - was broadcasted on the national television post TVR1. A

representative from Press Monitorization Agency had an explanatory interview about the march.

At 2.30 PM the protest group started to march on the established road singing out antifascist slogans and against discrimination in all its forms. Some of the slogans were



"Against racism and fascism", "For tolerance and diversity", "Against sexism and discrimination", "Racial hate, society's plague", "No one is illegal", "Against visible or invisible borders", "All different all equal" etc. Some passers-by were looking curiously, some were encouraging the protesters standing

on the sidewalk and others convened to the march. Later in Romana Square a neo-nazi group tried to interfere, probably to challenge the people in the march and provoke violent incidents and definitely for splitting the antifascists group. This frustrated people who tried to get close to the march but were held down just in time by the police forces.

We cannot clearly state that in that neo-nazi group were also guys from the extreme right organization Noua Dreapta, we can only suppose that it was so but anyway, that won't be nothing new for anybody. Antifascists didn't act violently and didn't response in any other way because they organized this protest not to start a street fight, but to make this social problem, discrimination and neo-nazism known to everybody as being dangerous and wrong.

For a few hours the established route was followed, everybody was loudly calling to organizing and fighting against racism and all forms of discrimination. Many persons who were part of the march are daily confronted with various forms of discrimination, but many joined the march just in solidarity with the others. Around 4.30 the group arrived to Izvor area where they stopped for several



minutes in the place where a future Holocaust memorial monument will be placed. During this stop a speech was held and the march's manifesto was outspokenly read at the megaphone/loud speaker. The necessity of this actions was explained and also the danger of this neo-nazi, fascist tendency.

The march continued and ended shortly after that stop at the entrance of Underworld Club (a Punk Music Club in Bucharest) where at 5PM was already programmed a movie projection, compounding movies that were linked with the event through their subjects, then a punkrock gig. Some of the bands who played for this event were Pavilionul 32 and Nihilistic, two Romanian antifascist bands. Before the concert started three hundred brochures were shared to the people out there; flyers and informational material as well.

We do hope to organize more often this sort of events, because discrimination doesn't have to be present in our lives and what's more important - it doesn't have to be a special day to motivate us to fight against it. People should live in peace and understanding. These sick theories such as racism, xenophobia, homophobia, sexism and others cannot be accepted and should not be accepted. Be active and fight against this plague called discrimination! Don't let it take over your life!

### Antifascist March Manifesto - Why an antifascist action?

#### Motto:

"You grew up in a typical Romanian family / And this stops you now / To see behind what they has stucked into your head / To realize how you have been educated / Raised in a patriarchal society / You'll say 'The woman is a tramp!' / Raised in a racist society / You will say 'Honest gypsies don't exist!' / Raised in an orthodox-moral society / You will 'know' that religion is not cheating on you / Raised in a homophobic society / You will say 'Sodomy is a disease!' / Raised in nationalist society / 'There's no other country so beautiful!' / Raised in a bolshevik society / You feel insignificant and you are scared! /

*A TYPICAL EDUCATION - Pavilionul 32, a band from Timisoara*

It is now said about fascism that "it doesn't exist anymore". We think about fascism as an "old" word, that hides a long-gone past. Unfortunately, even if fascism

"doesn't exist anymore", the fascist ideas are still taking different forms, often supported by "normal people". In fact, fascist ideas make the real difference between persons: the difference between the "normal" ones and the "abnormal" ones; the ones who actually are citizens of a nation-state and the non-citizens who are considered a major source of corruption and destruction of that specific nation's unity. Where does this outspoken "normality" start and possibly end, who settles its boundaries and limits, what makes it valid are different aspects of which this "normality's" promoters don't talk about, considering that this idea is just "right".

Neo-nazism and nationalism, as well as their main coordinates (racism, discrimination, xenophobia) can be considered the most visible manifestations of the fascist tendencies. Human societies from all around the Globe, including the Romanian one, comprise and allow many forms of discrimination, frequently disguised, which let the fascist ideologies spread. We have to keep in mind and be aware that such ideas don't just come out from "mysterious fascists" that work undercover, but are being kept alive just in the



middle of that culture we're accepting as being ours, that culture we're taking part of.

The goal of an antifascist action would be exactly this one: to try to build a different (Sub)culture to fight against the spreading of discriminatory and intolerant ideas. The present antifascist rhetoric may seem unpleasant for the Romanians because for 45 years the communists applied the same rhetoric as well. At the surface they're very similar. Syntagms as "the liberation-war on fascism and imperialism" sound familiar? What about Nicolae Ceausescu's declaration according to which many of the people who were out in the streets at the Revolution are "fascist elements"? What about Ion Iliescu's denouncement of the students from Universitatii Square according to which these would have been "fascists"?

Even though, the difference between the two languages is a huge one. Communism is criticizing fascism using the argument of an also totalitarian ideology, while the present critique of fascism is based on human rights and on the actual problems of the society. The communists were using fascism as a "scarecrow" because they desperately needed an enemy, while the antifascist rhetoric is denying the whole content of this

ideology/doctrine- that creates discrimination, social exclusion and urge to hate. As somebody said, "we don't use the 'neofascist' label as a cheap insult hoping to cause an emotional reaction, but as a real description of a current phenomena". We've organized this action which includes concerts, movie projections, a march downtown Bucharest, as well as the distribution of a brochure because we felt like saying NO to the things we see all around us and bother us: intolerance, discrimination in all its forms, hate, xenophobia, authoritarianism. Their normality is not ours! The normality promoted by some IS NOT ours as well! Moreover, nobody can impose/dictate this "normality" as being the right one.

In addition, many of the upsetting and alarming aspects previously presented are not part of the public agenda (including the Media agenda, the politicians' agenda and the citizen's agenda). We think is time to speak out about these problems, to make them public and particularly make the society fully aware of the importance of these problems.

At the same time, by this action, one has intended to create a link between the informal groups of activists and the ones from the civil society area. This would be a first step in outlining a more complex network of social activism.

### Briefly, why make this action?

★ because we don't want sexism, racism, xenophobia, antisemitism, homophobia and other forms of discrimination to be found in the thinking and in the behaviour of the people to whom we're interacting with.

★ because we are for equality and respect between all people, no matter what race, social economic status ethnicity, abilities, sexual orientation, gender.

★ because we are against authoritarianism and the hierarchical organization of the society- which makes the majority of the rich people to be the one who controls the minority of the poor ones.

★ because we want the abolition both visible and invisible borders that restrict the right of free speech of the minoritarian and marginalized groups. ALL DIFFERENT, ALL EQUAL!

*For more details visit  
www.fight-back.tk web-site*





# ANARCHIST ANTI-FASCIST ACTIONS IN RUSSIA 4TH OF NOVEMBER 2006 - A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Last year, Russian authorities decided finally to get rid of the ceremonial weight of the October revolution, scrapping the holiday of 7th of November (which had for years been called "Day of pacification and agreement"). But as increasing amount of working days would hardly make you re-elected, a new holiday had to be added to calendar - 4th of November, "Day of unification of the nation". As part of the same reform, mayday holidays were shortened from two to one day, but holidays around New Year were increased to ten days.

What is exactly speaking celebrated 4th of November? Orthodox Christians celebrate "Day of the icon of Kazan godmother", which according to legend was protecting militia of Pozharskiy and Minin during fight to expulse Polish army from Moscow in 1612. But there was no fighting in 4th of November - main battle, takeover of Kitay Gorod fortress which was then in outskirts of Moscow took place 1st of November. Confusion with the dates is a result of isconversion of dates from Yulian to Gregorian calendar - but apparently nationalists and religious fundamentalists do not care too much about math, as much of the mathematicians have been racially impure anyway. And in the end, victory of Pozharskiy and Minin was worthless since next year throne ended up to Mikhail Fedorovich Romanov, who had collaborated with the Polish, and whose family was to loot the country for the next 300 years.

But no cause is too illogical for a nationalist to celebrate. And last year they were pretty successfully - "March of the right" in Moscow gained 3000 participators, making it the biggest nationalist show off in Russia for a decade.

Much has happened during the year - first open collaboration of Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF) with emerging nationalist umbrella Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI) in various social protests and during Mayday demonstration in spring of 2006, then raise of DPNI to national and international prominence after their successful agitation for pogroms in city of Kondopoga in Karelia and resulting ethnic cleansing of the city from Caucasian Migrants. This has eventually resulted KPRF distancing itself from DPNI, but meanwhile nationalists have gained new allies from Zhirinovskiy's

LDPR party, and first of all from Rodina (Motherland) party, a pro-Kremlin "left" set up to take over communist electorate, and in formation of which nationalists organizations played a prominent role.

Thus DPNI could build this years "Russian march" with help of authority of a



number of Duma deputies, but last years march with open hard-line Nazi participation and events in Kondopoga had caused too much public outrage for march to be allowed. Eventually among major cities "Russian march" was only allowed in Irkutsk, and in most of the other cities nationalists had to join other demonstrations or stay home.

## MOSCOW

Moscow nationalists gained most of the previous hype, and last year nationalists from many other regions had traveled to Moscow. Until very last moment, DPNI was defiant,



declaring that they will go for an illegal action in case of a ban, if necessary in Moscow metro. Only in the very last moment they announced that they will join legal demonstration by "People's will" nationalist

organization in Maiden Field square close to Park Kultury metro station - it remains a mystery why nationalists wanted to demonstrate in a square where a statue of religious anarchist Lev Tolstoy is located.

Although this announcement was made only one day before, anarchists of and not of Autonomous Action had enough time to bomb square and its surroundings with anti-fascists slogans and stencils - under statue itself it was written "No-one is illegal", "It's no way to understand racists by reason" and "Fascism won't trespass", stencils had texts "destroy fascism" and "Antifa!" with some international clip art. Marching route of fascists from metro was covered with slogans "Death to Nazism!", "Destroy fascism!", "Antifa", "Russian = Jew = Caucasian = Human being" and others.

Already more than a week before collective of the website of Autonomous Action had called for autonomous, non-centralized actions to disturb fascist plans, as it was clear that no counter actions with a reasonable anti-authoritarian political content would be allowed, but it seemed likely that Nazis would be allowed at least a meeting if not a march. In retrospect, this was the right judgment, but not enough to have something even relatively successful organized in Moscow. Apparently many anarchists have not yet realized, that even anarchists do not need leaders, but instead they expect someone else to organize a show for them. Besides the graffiti action night before, only decentralized anarchist action was a banner drop 10:35 at square of three stations where metro station Komsomolskaya is located. This metro station was DPNI convergence point in a plan aborted a day before, but a number of Nazis were gathering in the square. Banner had a text "Death to Nazism" with a crossed swastika, and it was dropped from a railway bridge - banner was in place for 10 minutes and none of the participators of the action was arrested.

Anarchists were also splinted in the question whether to participate some of the other Anti-fascists initiatives - these were networking around Russian Antifascist Front (with curious initials RAF) of right-wing liberal orientation, and

Left Anti-fascist Front (LAF) which included groups from Russian indymedia

collective and lesbian- bi- gay- and transsexual activist to Trotskyites and Stalinist youth organization AKM (Vanguard of Red Youth). RAF was only movement to have a legalized meeting, in Marsh square at Moskva river.

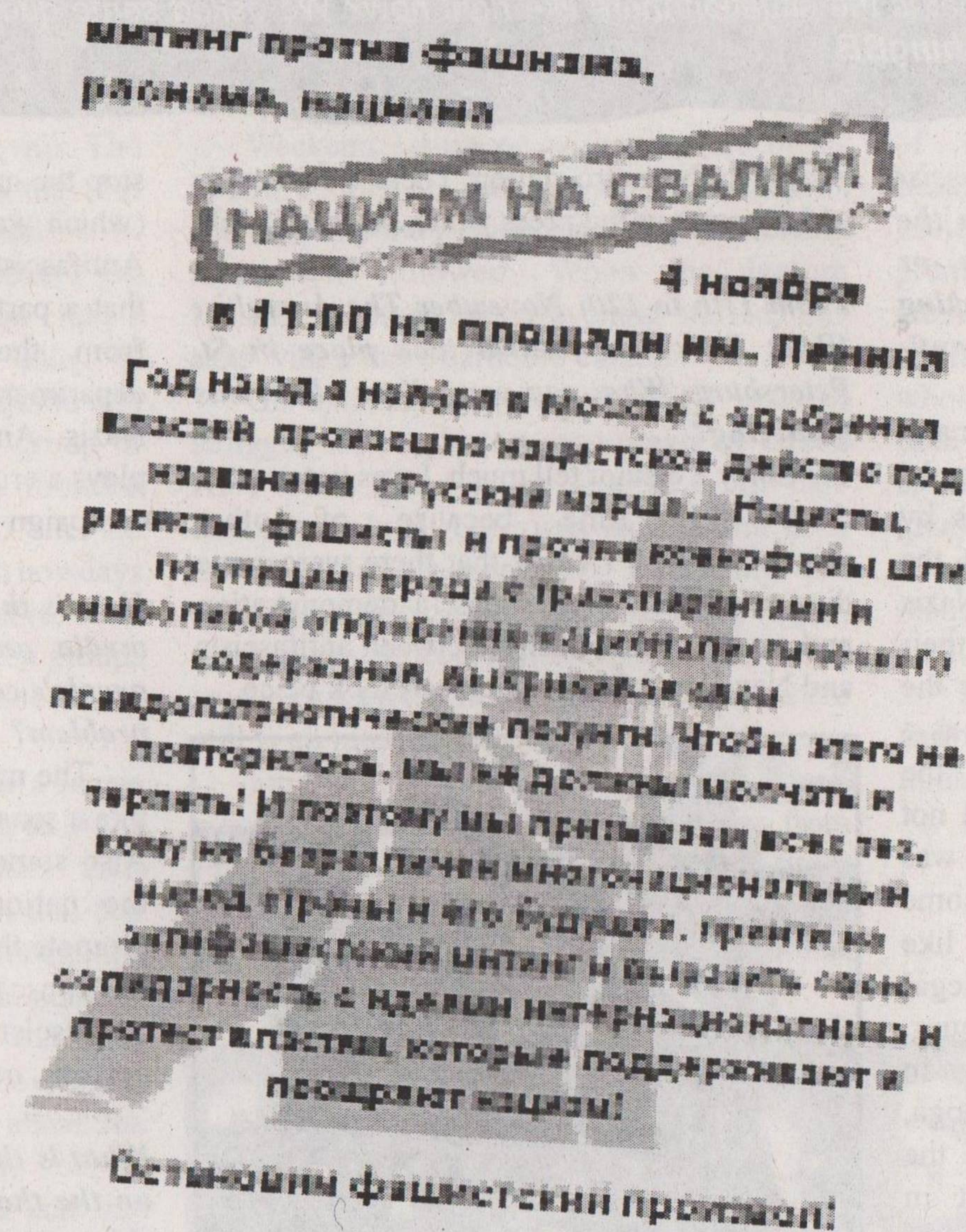
Positive side of KPRF flirting with fascists is that a number of communist youth organizations have developed towards more autonomous direction, even Stalinist AKM welcomed gay and lesbian activists to their traditional annual "Anticapitalism"-demonstration in September. This disappointed traditional AKM allies the National Bolsheviks to such extent that they did not joined the final rally of "Anticapitalism 2006", and perhaps there will now be a row between AKM and nazbols for good. In another hand, AKM is still hardly any anti-authoritarian Organization, and according to preliminary reports no participators of LAF could organize anything very interesting to disturb fascist action, so yet there is few base for "let us stick together" argument of "left unity" anarchists. Eventually most of the LAF joined right-wing liberal RAF action, but it remains to be seen if anything positive may emerge from the resulting mish-mash of 1990's murderous neo-liberal reformers, Stalinist youth, well-intended "independent" anti-fascists and "left unity" anarchists. A number of hard-line Nazi groups promised to attack RAF demonstration in Marsh square but little came out of their plans.

Eventually Nazis managed to rally up to 1000 people to Maiden Field square, this was three times less than last year, but pretty much taking into account promises of authorities to suppress any nationalist protest with a heavy hand. Liberal demonstration was about the same size. More than 200 people, most of them Nazis but also some anti-fascist were arrested, apparently most of the Nazis were arrested randomly before they committed any violence. Reportedly Nazi goons beat up some journalist at their meeting, but no other violence has been reported yet.

Although guess of Autonomous Action group of Moscow about course of events was quite right, it was still hard to organize anything successful as it is always harder to organize a counter-action than it is to organize in a situation where you are having the initiative. Fascist plans and policies of the authorities were just changing too quickly for us. During last few years interest to common anarchist street actions has been falling in general in the scene, and in Saturday morning it became clear that critical mass for having an

illegal anarchist march may not be reached.

There is no lack of people in extreme antifa actions - 15th of September it was up to 100 people storming fascist concert in club "Tochka" in Moscow, this is not only more people than in any anarchist action in Moscow during a decade (with exception of anti-G8 protest in June), but also more than any independent political youth organization besides national Bolsheviks may bring to their actions in Moscow. Last year 4th of November antifa smashed boneheads successfully in Chistie Prudy metro station, but results of



## ST. PETERSBURG

This far only reports from St. Petersburg are from mainstream and fascist sources, and they are contradicting each others to some extent, thus there may be mistakes in the following reconstruction of the course of events.

Although St. Petersburg mayor Matvienko had promised to suppress any nationalist actions with a heavy hand, police did not put much effort to stop nationalist march leaving from movie theater October to main St. Petersburg street, Nevski prospekt. Some 200 nationalists participated to the march, and

hard-line Nazi component with "traditional Slavic" sieg heil greetings was even more visible than in Moscow. Nazis carried picture of pagan god Perun and shouted "All power to Slavs", "Kondopoga" and "Long live Rusi" (ancient name of Russia).

Some 40 anti-fascists attempted to block fascist march in the crossing of Nevski prospekt and Liteiny prospekt, most of these anti-fascists were anarchists but some authoritarian Marxists and democrats were involved. Originally Nazis retreated, but eventually they managed to run over anti-fascists whom they outnumbered 5 to 1,

pepper gas which anti-fascists shot to defend themselves was not enough. Police did not interfered beginning of the fight, but then they arrested people. Nazi sites are bragging about antifa taking heavy casualties, but this information must for sure be taking with a big grain of salt.

Eventually OMON stopped Nazi march at Fontanki, and authorities could force Nazis not to organize planned rally at Kazanskiy cathedral. 120 people, among whom both fascists and anti-fascists have been reported arrested during the day, but most of them were released during evening. It is yet unknown if charges are pressed against some anti-fascists.

## TYUMEN

In Tyumen of Siberia, anti-fascist action was organised by local group of Autonomous Action in cooperation with Yekaterinburg group of Autonomous Action. Meeting took place from 11 to 12 AM in central square of Tyumen (at statue of Lenin), protest was directed against racism, Nazism and fascism. Action was legal and gained much attention from different mainstream media. 30-40 people were participating, which is pretty much for Tyumen. Besides Autonomous Action which organized action, people joined from United Antifascist Front, greens, AKM, Vpered (trotskists), Memorial and other organizations. Authoritarian Marxists behaved themselves and did not make PR for their sects. There were banners "Our fatherland is the whole humanity", "Dump Nazism", "Capital is father of fascism" and others, and plenty of black and red and black flags. Speeches were made and there was some guerilla theatre, leaflets were distributed as well. Some Nazis were seen monitoring the meeting, but eventually no-one tried to jump the participators.

[www.avtonom.org](http://www.avtonom.org) collective



# ONE YEAR AFTER FASCIST ASSASSINATION OF TIMUR KACHARAVA

## Interview on the current situation on the streets of St. Petersburg

About 12 months ago we reported about fascist assassination in St Petersburg of our comrade, antifascist and anarchist activist, member of local FOOD NOT BOMBS group and guitarist of political hardcore-punk bands, TIMUR KACHARAVA. Timur was not the first and not the last victim of fascist terror in St. Petersburg but we have to mention that since his death, the eyes of many antifascists world wide have been opened to the daily struggle between antifascists and various nationalist formations taking place on the streets of St. Petersburg.

One year has past, what is the situation there like right now? We asked some questions to one of the local active anarchists... **AbolishingBB**

**Can you tell us how the situation with fascist terror in your city has developed since the murder of Timur? What processes or activities caused by that situation are taking places within antifascist (autonomous, anti-capitalistic, anarchist) communities?**

Unfortunately, I cannot bring too many positive turnouts. In the last year many attacks and murders of migrants and foreigners by Nazis took place. In spring-summer 2006 the police managed to arrest a group of Nazis responsible for several murders, and their leader D. Borovikov was shot dead by the cops. The city authorities presented this as a great victory over the neo-Nazis. But the racially motivated attacks obviously did not stop, for example, a student from India was murdered in the centre of the city some months ago. Also new nationalist groups like DPNI (Movement Against Illegal Immigration) appeared in St. Petersburg. DPNI got lots of publicity nationwide in connection with the pogroms in Kondopoga, Karelia, and it seems that now they are the most successful nationalist movement in Russia. In September 2006 the DPNI rally was attacked by antifascists (see in the previous issue of ABB). Another important political topic is state racism - and first of all the massive campaign against Georgia and the persecution of people of Georgian origin. Some details of this campaign remind one of ethnic cleansings or the times of Nazi Germany.

To add something positive to this picture - it seems that now more young people are interested in confronting fascism. And also St. Petersburg was the only town in Russia where antifascists tried to stop the so called "Russian march" on November the 4th and undertook physical confrontation with the Nazis.

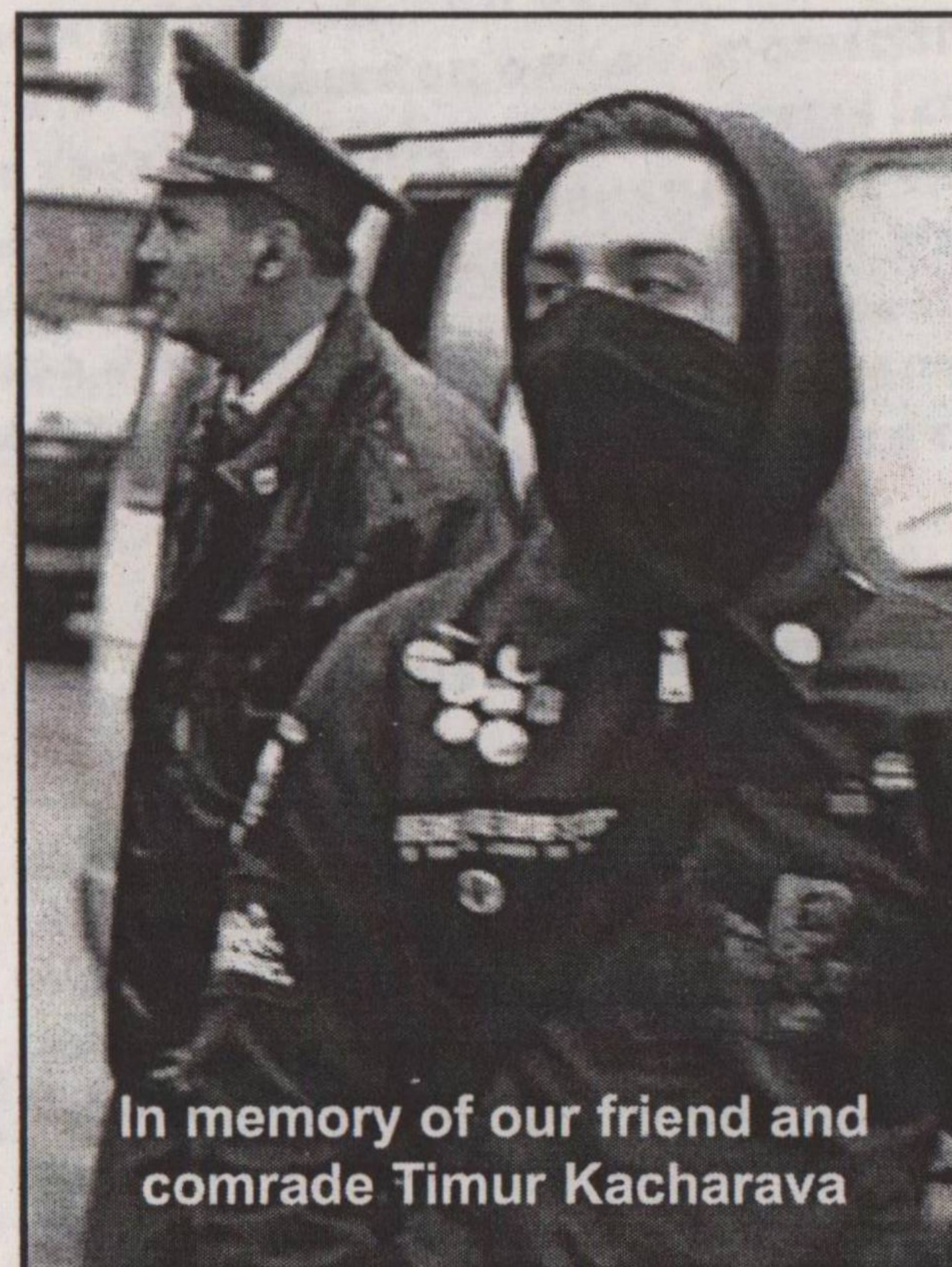
**Were there any actions for the remembrance of Timur in November?**

On 13th of November several hundred people came to the place of Timur's murder with flowers and candles. After this some of the people went to the club where a memorial punk-hardcore concert took place. The Nazis were hanging out near the club but there was lot of police around so there was no fight. After the concert the cops also followed the

people to the metro station. There were couple of in reports in the press which were quite ok.

**From 11th to 12th November The Anarchist Black Petrograd festival took place in St. Petersburg. What can you tell us about this gathering?**

Sorry, I cannot tell much, I was not present there this time because of other responsibilities. I know that there were some discussions and workshops, a demonstration and several small clashes between antifascists and Nazis, and finally a concert took place.



In memory of our friend and comrade Timur Kacharava

**How do the police and other state institutions react towards the rising Nazi structures?**

On one hand, the police are making some investigations and they arrested some people who, as they say, are connected to racially motivated attacks and murders in St. Petersburg. Members of Nazi groups (Mad Crowd, Shultz 88) got sentenced to jail terms and other punishments; some more Nazis are waiting for trial (the Borovikov group; those who killed Timur). Last year there were court cases concerning the murder of a Tajik girl, students from Vietnam and Congo etc., but the courts often acquitted the suspected attackers because there was not enough proof against them.

On the other hand, the police did little to

stop the nationalist rally on November the 4th (which was not permitted by the authorities). Antifascists who were arrested on that day say that a part of police officers (including those from the famous 18th "anti-extremist" department) definitely were on the side of the Nazis. And of course the interior ministry plays a crucial role in the ongoing xenophobic campaign against people of Georgian origin.

**How is the neo-fascism shown in the public media and how it, if at all, influences people's consciousness and sensibility on this problem?**

The media often tend to present this topic like a sensational one, without much analysis. Also some media give freedom of speech to the nationalists, which might help them promote their sick ideas. And I cannot say that the consciousness of people is growing - an antifascist rally can gather probably 400 persons, not more.

**What is the impact of the Orthodox Church on the thoughts and behaviour of people in this context?**

It seems like a big part of Orthodox Church priests stand on very conservative and nationalist positions. A couple of examples - a local paper "Orthodox Russia" is one of the leading extreme nationalist publications. And a purely anti-Semitic 'documentary' movie "Russia with a knife in the back" (promoting the old idea of Jewish conspiracy) is being distributed through church kiosks - they have already sold more than 5000 DVD's in St. Petersburg alone. In Moscow some priests support DPNI and other nationalist movements; also there are several orthodox-fundamentalist organisations. In several regions in schools a new class called "the basics of orthodox culture" is being introduced what is just another threat for the minds of young people.

**Thank you for this valuable information from faraway St. Petersburg.**

**We wish you much strength and positive turnouts of your struggle.**

# We will rock you

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# ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS

## INTERNATIONAL ANTI-G8 MEETING, 9TH-11TH FEB -- WARSAW



International Gathering to prepare the protests against the g8-summit 2007 9th-11th february in warsaw/poland. An invitation to an international meeting of coordination to all those, who desire to build up unbound radical resistance against the g8 summit 2007.

The effects of capitalism are global, as is resistance to it. Seattle, Prague, Chiapas and Argentina are only few of the places that tell about resistance, struggles to create experimental spaces and protests in the streets. So many people were fighting for a better life in the past and continue to do so in the present.

To us the mobilization is just another step in the worldwide resistance against the transnational institutions of the neoliberal economic system, against the devastating effects it produces every day. we don't only want to block the g8-summit, we want to attack capitalist politics, that is so contemptuous of humankind, and we want to live alternatives to that.

To go on creating a continuity of resistance, to strengthen our struggles by networking and cooperation, we invite all of you to participate...

It has been more than a year now that since we first met on the preparation meeting in Hamburg in October 2005. Since then lots of things happened in and around the preparation of the protest against the g8-summit 2007. Concerning international mobilization, too, ideas and inspirations were shared, practical preparations started. So the infotour gave presentations in 20 countries, more infotours in Europe, as well as to Norway, Israel, Palestine and the U.S. are planned. This summer more than 1000 people participated in an international preparation camp, where the international working group was founded. This working group started the newsletter "news from the fields and beyond" and the international website (www.dissentnetwork.org). This is also the circle inviting for the international gathering in february.

The contents of the upcoming protests had been discussed in various groups, alliances and meetings, some (like dissent!, the revolutionary alliance or the interventionist left) created especially to confront the g8, and others that follow a more general perspective. On an international level the contents of the protests had been discussed at the pga (people's global action) conference this year, a discussion that will continue.

Besides, people work on international protests against the g8 along subject matters. One example is the working group on g8 and agriculture, which among other plans call to

support the worldwide actionday of "via campesina" on the 17th of april and for another day of action against the global agrobusiness at the 3rd of june. One day later, at the 4th of june there will be actions focussed on migration, while on the 5th of june g8, war & militarization will be on the agenda, when the airport rostock-laage will be laid to siege right at the moment when the g8 want to fly in.

Not all of the initiatives come from germanspeaking regions. Different antirepression groups try to include the experiences of former summit protests. They invite for an international networking meeting on the 1st to 3rd december to Utrecht in the netherlands. The street medics as well get organized internationally. Their meeting will be on the 8th-10th december in Leiden/nl. The project "Caravana Utopia" under the motto "Movin? Europe" has been discussed internationally. In the netherlands dissent! was founded, which is going to organize infotours, and also in sweden people will do their own presentations. Attac france is publishing a newsletter and in greece there is a website against the g8-summit 2007. In some countries, like in the UK, there are independent mobilizations to Heiligendamm, etc.

The february gathering will be an important contribution to the ongoing mobilization process - aiming not only to call for participation in the protests against the g8-summit, but also to organize the protests internationally, to bring together the different approaches. Here we can interconnect the struggles we come from, we can make plans, develop strategies and get to know each other - to go on walking the ever more far-reaching road of rebellion together.

### Contents of the meeting

The different plans, projects and networks of the mobilization will be gathered, the latest organizational, legal and infrastructural information will be given. We will bring all the material we have to distribute, bring yours as well.

There will be room for working groups on all kinds of subjects to share what had been done already and to continue working (e.g. on Camp07, antirepression, fundraising...) Another focus of the meeting will be the reflection of the process, the question of aims and the continuity of joint resistance. How will we go on after the summit? How to get everyone cross the border in the first place? How to best

combine our different skills and tactics locally? How to best combine mass mobilizations and decentral actions internationally? Which actions can we take to prevent/reduce repression and to make it very, very expensive for them if we can't keep them from oppressing us?

These are some of the topics for the gathering in february. There will be further work being done on a provisional agenda, as well as on organizational and content preparation during the next meeting of the international working group in Rostock at the 30th/31st of december. More information will come soon....

*To those who want to  
dominate the world, the  
world responds with  
RESISTANCE.*

**International Workinglist:**  
g8-int@lists.riseup.net (subscribe yourself:  
https://lists.riseup.net/www/subrequest/g8-int)

**Newslist:** g8-int-contact@riseup.net

**Dissent! webpage:** www.dissentnetwork.org  
www.dissentnetzwerk.org/wiki/Coordination\_f  
or\_Translations

**Interventionist Left:** www.g8-2007.de

**Plattform NGOs:** www.g8-germany.info

**For a Revolutionary Perspektive:**  
www.free.pages.at/nog8/home.php

**Information:** www.gipfelsoli.org

**Convergence Center in Hamburg:**  
https://hamburg.dissentnetzwerk.org

**Movin Europe Caravana:** www.vision07.net

## EDELWEISS PIRATEN'S NEW CD OUT

Edelweiss Piraten, anarchist and antifascist female fronted punk/hardcore band with a trumpet from Czech republic has a new CD out. Their second release is a split CD with like-minded metal-core band Rumburak; together around 70 minutes of good music with a message. A full-colour booklet contained lyrics translated into English. The split CD was release by Music Against Politicians records. Edelweiss Piraten can be contacted at piraten@anarchismus.org

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

## WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM

www.alter.host.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; intolent@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@yandex.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.anarchistory.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

\* Anarchist Portal http://a-bg.net

\* "Anarchist resistance" - autonomous libertarian

group, areistance@riseup.net

\* "Federation of Bulgarian Anarchists"

federaciata@gmail.com

\* "Katarzis" - DIY zine, katarzis@riseup.net

\* "Svobodna Misl" - Bulgarian anarchist

newsletter, http://sm.a-bg.net/

\* "Vasil Ikonov" - anarchist group,

ikonov.a-bg.net; vasilikonov@yahoo.com

### CROATIA

\* AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) -

anfema@zamor.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.anarhija.org, rai2002@net.hr

\* "Skatula" - infoshop, I.Zajca 20/2, Rijeka,

www.rai.anarhija.org, infoshopkatula@net.hr,

every day 17-20h - weekend closed

\* "Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop

in Cakovec; address: Josipa Kozarca BB; post:  
Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce,  
Croatia

\* Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local

anarchist group in the city of Zadar;

zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com;

www.solidarnost.mahost.org

\* www.stocitas.org - Antiauthoritarian publisher

\* "sto citas?" b.shop Zagreb Preradoviceva 34

### 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, fsa-sever@anarchismus.org

- Zlinsko, fsa-zlinsko@anarchismus.org

- Prague, fsa-praha@anarchismus.org

- Brno, fsa-brno@anarchismus.org

- Jihlava, fsa-jihlava@anarchismus.org

- Pardubice, fsa-pardubice@anarchismus.org

\* Info Café "Krtkova kolona" - (anarchist info-

café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubenec, 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,

Vtelná 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

\* Food Not Bombs - Tallinn - videomees@hot.ee

\* 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 (anarchopunk

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

\* "Elnias" - space for various DIY activities;

Vilniaus str. 72 (in the yard), Siauliai,

gabrielei@takas.lt

\* "Gyvas" - space for various DIY activities,

Kauno str. 1a (in the yard), Vilnius,

xdirtx@hardcore.lt

\* "Pavasaris Infoshop" - Mindaugo str. 20-12,

Vilnius, xdirtx@hardcore.lt

\* "Posedziu Sale" - DIY culture centre;

Savanoriu str. 206 (4th floor), city of Kaunas;

simas@dr.com; tel. +37067750363;

http://posedis.mums.lt

\* booking@hardcore.lt - booking in Lithuania

\* www.hardcore.lt - Lithuanian diy scene info

resource on the net

### MACEDONIA

\* direct action - anarchist collective

directa@freemail.com.mk

\* fuck yoga - a distro and label

neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com

\* kaka - a distro and label surovo@yahoo.com

\* napravi sam - a collective

radexxx2000@yahoo.com

\* teror 13 - a infoshop info@teror13.tk

www.teror13.anarhija.org

### POLAND



## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

★ **"A-TAK"** - anarchist magazine from Krakow; atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dystyrbucja@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.bractwotrojka.prv.pl

★ **"Bunkier"** ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun; stagnation@wp.pl

★ **Chaos Grrrl** - anarchist-feminist zine from Warsaw; chaosgrrrl@o2.pl

★ **"Czarna Emilka" (Black Emily)** - local of GWA (Group of Warsaw Anarchists) in the very centre of the city

★ **"Czarny Pajak" ("Black Spider")** - anarchist space with discussion club, movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; www.czs.prv.pl; maciek@riseup.net

★ **Dziewczyny w Akcji (Girls in Action)** - anarchist feminist group in Bialystok; www.dziewczynyw akcji.prv.pl; dziewczynyw akcji@wp.pl

★ **"Elblaska"** - squat in Warsaw

★ **Emancypunx** - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78; www.emancypunx.com; emancypunx@o2.pl

★ **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.

- **FA- virtual collective secretary** - biurofa@go2.pl

- **FA-Bialystok** - fa.bialystok@op.pl

- **FA-Czestochowa** - akielasiak@wp.pl

- **FA/RSA Gdansk** - jwal@pg.gda.pl

- **FA-Krakow** - lukasab@poczta.onet.pl

- **FA-Lublin** - falublin@poczta.onet.pl

- **FA-Lodz** - falodz@riseup.net

- **FA-Opole** - sobol13@o2.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

★ **Food Not Bombs**

- **Gdansk** - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45

- **Lodz** - falodz@riseup.net

- **Olshzyn** - edelweiss@o2.pl

- **Poznan** - fnb@rozbrat.org

- **Warsaw** - fnb@op.pl; www.fnb.w.pl

www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm, we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan

- **Rzeszow** - ul.Kustonia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.

- **Gliwice** - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com

www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl

★ **Feminist & Anarchist Feminist Calendar** - feminikalendarz06@interia.pl

★ **"Freedom"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl

★ **Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc"** (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.

★ **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 18<sup>30</sup>-20<sup>00</sup> or longer, Sun. 14<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup> plus by appointment and during events (summer 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); fapraga@gmail.com;

www.altermost.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 Autonomistów (Collective of Autonomists)** - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl

★ **"Kromera"** - squat/culture centre; ul.Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.

★ **LadyFest** - there are few Lady-fests in Poland (in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw); www.ladyfest.webpark.pl; ladyfestwawa@o2.pl

★ **"Lesbians, Gays and Their Friends"** - festival in Wroclaw with conference, workshops, films, street actions http://www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/ (co-organized by the anarcho-feminist groups)

★ **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**

- **Krakow** - testcyf@kr.edu.pl

- **Poznan** - lets@poland.com

★ **Liberta** - anarchist-feminist group in Wroclaw; libertagrrl@o2.pl

★ **"Little Mary"** - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;

★ **"Mac Pariadka"** - anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com

★ **"Marcowanie"** - anarchist-feminist mailing list, bulletin and regular women camp

★ **Obin (Warsaw)** - radical street-art collective organising workshops, internet and silkscreen for free; www.obin.org

★ **"Pilon"** - underground bar/cafe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl

web:http://www.pilon.za.pl

★ **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - www.anti-fa-wildeast.prv.pl; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. wildeast@poczta.onet.pl

★ **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leader team based in Warszawa; rchpl@02.pl

★ **Refuse** - underground label & mailorder (books, zines, music); www.refuserecords.prv.pl

★ **Revenge of The Nerds (Warsaw)** - anarchist-feminist zine distribution/editors; www.revengeofthenerds.bzzz.net

★ **Revolution Diva** - anarchist-feminist zine (Poznan)

★ **"Rozbrat"** - squat/ collective/ anarchist center/ anarchist library - ul. Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan; P.O.Box 5, 60-966 Poznann 31, fa-poznan@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org, www.foto.rozbrat.org

★ **S.E.K.W. "Krzyk"** - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul.Sienkiewicza 25; tel.+48 504878370).

★ **Sister to Sister** - anarchist feminist group/network around Poland, mail-order and anarchist dyke zine "Lechtaczka"; sistertosister@o2.pl

★ **"streFA"** - infoshop in Szczecin; ul.Domanskiego 1c, tel.504935357.

★ **"Szejek"** - anti-military service and Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul.Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, antywojenna@rozbrat.org

★ **"Tekno Collective"** - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl

★ **Ugrupowanie Feministyczne Anarchistyczne (UFA)** - anarcho-feminist group in Poznan; ufa@rozbrat.org

★ **Valpurg Night** - regular festival against

homophobia and sexism in Warsaw, with workshops, conference, spoken word, concerts, films... www.myspace.com/nocwalpurgii; ★ **Wiedźma (The Witch)** - anarcho feminist group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND; witchgrrl@poczta.onet.pl; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl

★ **"Ya Banda"** - anarchist samba band Milanowek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl

**ROMANIA**

★ **Aactiv-ist Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome** - anarchist punk group 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

★ **Fight Back** - anarchist collective Bucharest, www.fight-back.tk

★ **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g\_a\_rezistenta@yahoo.com

★ **Info-Propaganda** - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com

★ **URA** - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.ht ml

★ **Love Kills** - woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com, libertatera@yahoo.com

★ **"Revolta!"** - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

★ **Subteran Collective** - anarchist-activists collective in the city of lasy; subteran\_jasi@yahoo.com

★ **www.proiectns.org** - grassroots activist site

## RUSSIA

★ **ABC-Moscow** - spt2003@email.com; P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)

★ **Alliance of Kazan Anarchists** - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru

★ **Anarchist League of Kamchatka** - 4tankista@mail.ru

★ **Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia** - PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. anliteration@rambler.ru

★ **Anti-Fa Samara** - anti\_fa@mail.ru

★ **Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA)** - see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact adress

★ **"Epicerter Infoshop"** - Evgeni Fayzullin, PO Box 103, St. Petersburg, 190013 e-mail: epicerter-infoshop@nm.ru http://www.infoshop.spb.ru

★ **Food Not Bombs**

- **Main Website:** http://foodnotbombs.net.ru

- **Volzhkiy** - fnbvlz@mail.ru

- **Voronezh** - fnb-vrn@yandex.ru

- **Irkutsk** - fnb-irk@yandex.ru

- **Kirov** - punkauskirov@mail.ru

- **Krasnodar** - fnb\_krsndr@mail.ru

- **Moscow** - fnb-russia@yandex.ru

- **Nizhni Novgorod** - fbnbnov@rambler.ru

- **Novosibirsk** - x316x@mail.ru

- **Perm** - fnbperm@mail.ru

- **Rostov-na-Donu** - subbacultcha@mail.ru

- **St. Petersburg** - epicerter-infoshop@nm.ru

- **Tolyatti** - fnbtl@mail.ru

★ **Free Trade Unions Confederation** - Tomsk; 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; jrc@nm.ru; http://jarryclub.narod.ru

★ **KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndicalists)** - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; -Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; http://aitrus.narod.ru

★ **"Megaphon"** - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail333.com

★ **Network of Working-place Resistance** - cockney@rambler.ru, http://antijob.nm.ru

★ **"Noviy Svet"** - anarchist newspaper; newworld@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989).

★ **"Nozhi i Vilki"** - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@newmail.ru

★ **Old Skool Kids** - punk/hardcore label and distro; oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru

★ **Petersburg Antiwar CommitteE** - see "Noviy Svet" contact adress

★ **Petersburg League of Anarchists** - see "Noviy Svet" contact adress

★ **Punk Revival** - network of politically and socially active punx from St. Petersburg http://www.pv.mahost.org

★ **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** - rkrz@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru

- **Samara** - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru http://duplo.narod.ru

- **Rostov** - rkrostov@don.sitek.net

★ **S.H. Sound System** - label & distro including political punk stuff; http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com

★ **Siberian Confederation of Labour** - Omsk; http://www.skt.org.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.ne

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

★ **Contacts of Autonomous Action**  
Do not write names of the groups on the 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

- **Kem (Republic of Karelia, Russia)** - katousha@onego.ru

- **Krasnodar** - P. O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia

- **Nizhni Novgorod**, P. O. Box 25, 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia, ad\_nn@mail.ru

- **Ryazan** - 137@mail.ru

- **Saratov** - koluchka@pochtamt.ru

- **Ufa** - ADUfa@mail.ru

- **Chelyabinsk** - P. O. Box 18742, 454021 Chelyabinsk Russia, naumov2@mail.ru

- **Yerevan (Armenia)** - m\_eduard@freenet.am

★ **Contacts of individual members of Autonomous Action**

- **Astrakhan** - podero@list.ru

- **Vsevolzhsk (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; timmad@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)** - ivangrob@mail.ru

★ **Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:**

- **http://ad-direct.newmail.ru** - federal site maintained from Novorossisk

- **http://redskin.newmail.ru** - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk

- **http://antijob.nm.ru** - site against work, maintained from Moscow

- **http://anti-fa.da.ru** - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara

- **http://potok.hotmail.ru** - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk

- **http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru** - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists

- **http://www.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; shavedwomen216@yahoo.com

★ **www.anarchy-serbia.tk** - anarcho site;

★ **www.afanovisad.tk** - Antifa Novi Sad

★ **www.kontra-punkt.info** - anarchist information & discussion web-site

## SLOVAKIA

★ **AFA-Bratislava (Antifasisticka Akcia Bratislava)** - bacity\_afa@yahoo.com http://blava.antifa.net

★ **Alternative Magazine in slovak language** - biedaduchay@safe-mail.net

★ **Antifascist Action from Trnava** - antifa-trnava@hushmail.com

★ **Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross)** - ciernykriz@yahoo.com.

★ **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** - slovensko@csaf.cz {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

★ **FNB Trnava** - jedlott@safe-mail.net

★ **Priama Akcia (Direct Action)** - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; priamaakcia@yahoo.com

## SLOVENIA

★ **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - kultura\_kontra@yahoo.com.

★ **Akd Izbruh Kulturni Bazen** - autonomous culture centre in squated swim-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd\_izbruh@yahoo.com

★ **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI-1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345, anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org, www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv

★ **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - saf.info@email.si

★ **Union of self-organised workers** - SiSD/USW - is\_usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

## UKRAINE

★ **Autonomous Action / Donetsk** - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru

★ **Infoshop** - infoshop in Kiev. http://infoshop.zaraz.org; infoshop@gmail.com

★ **Food Not Bombs** - Kiev - die\_young@riseup.net

★ **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** - abcanakara@yahoo.com

★ **"Imlasiz"** - www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net-anarchist magazine

★ **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz\_dergi@yahoo.com

★ **Kaosl** - www.kaosl.com - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine

★ **"Kara Kizil"** - http://www.karakizil.tr.cx-anarchocommunist group

★ **http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net** - anarchist primitivists

★ **http://ankarafanzin.freesevers.com** - zine from Ankara

★ **http://veganarsi.cjb.net** - anarchoprimitivist zine

★ **www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari** - anarchist publisher in istanbul

★ **www.mecmu-a.org** - magazine from Istanbul

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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