EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - REBEL

Siempre Antifascista

11-21 Nov 2009

Actiondays

www.siempreantifascista.tk

---

wawa11listopada.blogspot.com

11 Nov 2009
Warsaw
Antifascist
Demonstration

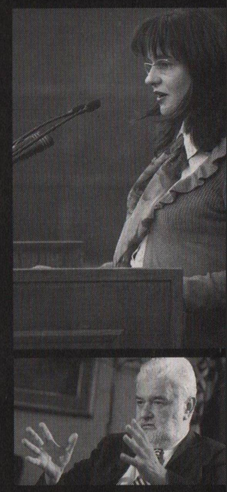
ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW

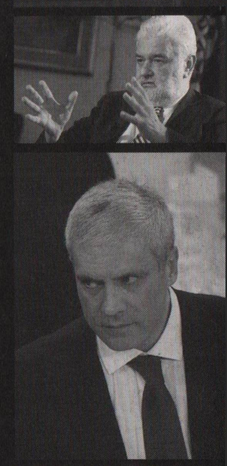
October 2009 EXCITINGLY IRREGULAR

ABOLISHING
THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

ISSUE #35



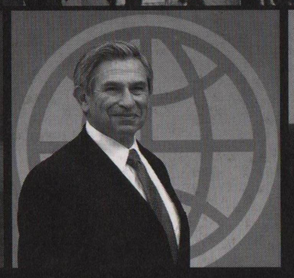




Who are the terrorists?









Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

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

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

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

"Abolishing the Borders from Below"
An Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

AN ANARCHST JOURNAL

"AbolishingBB" is an excitingly irregular magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysised 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 organized 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 corespondents from around EE. The work is based on a relativly stable network of corespondents 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-comming 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 corespondent 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 effectivly as possible.

FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

Free copies go to prisoners, all info-shops and libertarian librarys 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 corespondents, 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 ourslves. 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, especialy in south and eastern Europe.

ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

www.abb.hardcore.lt

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

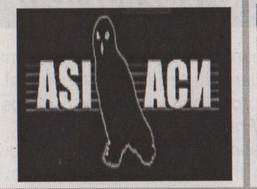
NOT 100%

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

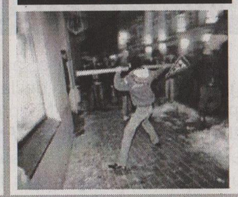
Contact Details for AbolishingBB and Distributors you'll find on Page 41

We are looking for correspondents from the regions of Eastland, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania, Turkey, Armenia und Georgia.

INTERVIEW WITH ASI ABOUT ONGOING REPRESSION IN SERBIA — Pages 6 & 7



Page 24

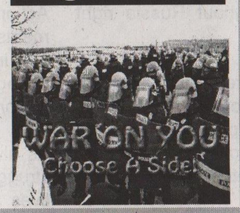


"THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE RIOT ARE INEXPERIENCED IN LEGAL MATTERS AND THE AUTHORITIES MAKE USE OF IT..."

REPRESSION IN LATVIA

NEWS WHICH DID NOT SURPRISE US

SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT NEWS FROM BELGRADE — Page 9 & 10



Pages 21 & 22



REPORT FROM THE AUTONOMOUS ACTION CONFERENCE IN RUSSIA

DETAILS OF THE EVICTION OF MILADA SQUAT IN PRAGUE — Pages 11 & 12



Page 28 - 30



"SUNNY CRIMEA - YES! YES! YES! COAL SMOKE - NO! NO! NO!"

REPORT FROM ECO-CAMP IN SEVASTOPOL

DIALOGUE WITH AHALI* ON THE KURDISH QUESTION AND ANARCHISM — Pages 14 - 17



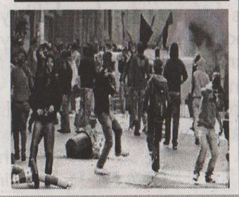
Pages 33 - -38



UNKNOWN MOMENTS OF ANARCHIST HISTORY

ANARCHISTS AND THE SECOND CHECHEN WAR

INTERVIEW WITH A MEMBER OF 'RESISTANBUL' — Pages 18 & 20



Pages 39 - 41



TENANTS ORGANIZE: A GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT IS SPREADING AROUND POLAND (BUT STILL HAS A LONG WAY TO GO)

CHAPTER WITH NEWS FROM ABC — Page 22 & 23



Pages 43 & 43



"THE UNIQUENESS OF OUR GROUP IS THE FACT THAT WAS ESTABLISHED BY WOMEN, IT CONSISTS MOSTLY BY WOMEN WHO ARE THE HEART OF AGREEMENT 11.11"

INTERVIEW WITH WARSAW ANTI-FASCIST

ABC * Squatters Dialogue * Announcements * Communities in Struggle

A 7224

In the spirit of Social Resistance against State Terrorism

As you can see, rumours about the decease of ABB have been highly exaggerated - we've just been preparing mentally and physically for another new issue. In fact, we had to (at least try to) solve some financial problems and organize the working capacity of our small collective to be able to prepare the new issue with full energy.

But now we're finally back with steaming-hot #35 of ABB.

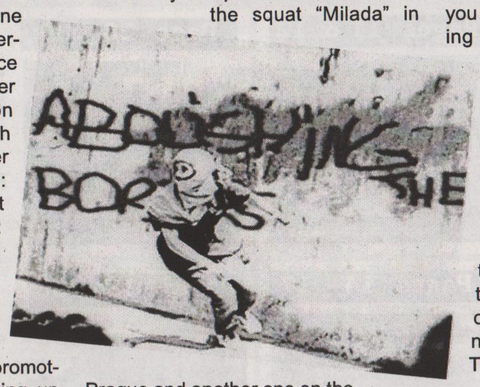
At the end of August, six comrades of the Anarcho-syndicalist Initiative were arrested in Belgrade, accused with "international terrorism" and are held captive until now. This made one important aim of the "War on terrorism" state agenda clear once more: giving a pretext for the ever increasing level of repression against social movements. Which lead us to the old and never socially answered question: "Who the hell's the terrorist here?" - and on to the answer: that the main actors of state and economy are the ones who really terrorize people, imposing onto them the fear of losing their jobs (by strengthening their economic dependency), promoting nationalist ideologies, building up armies, waging wars and - as the topic at hand suggests - retaliating against those who openly oppose this order of things.

As one small means of opposition resistance? and solidarity, we have some information on the arrests of members of the Anarcho-syndicalist initiative in Belgrade, including an interview and two articles that put those events into a larger perspective. Let's hope the comrades will be out of jail very soon - and let's build up the pressure to make sure of that!

This is, unfortunately, not the only case of repression social movements in Eastern Europe have been faced with lately as you can see in the **ABC section**. Antifascist Aleksej Bychin from St. Petersburg was sentenced to 5 years of prison for defending himself against an attack of 2 fascists, one of whom was, as it turned out, a policeman.

Another peculiar part of the picture is the attempt to declare an organization extremist in Novorossijsk/Russia for using the slogan: *"Freedom isn't something you get, it is something you take!"* This clearly shows the urgency of the campaign against the new *"Center for Counteraction against Extremism"* that is organised throughout Russia right now.

Pertaining to the resistance against today's social (dis-)organisation, there is the struggle for spaces that can be used for social projects and developing forms of living together. This topic is touched by a report on the eviction of the squat "Milada" in



Prague and another one on the ensuing squatting action day, which was also faced with heavy police repressions.

Squatters struggle is also one of the attempts to approach the housing problem while fighting the capitalistic relations. Other options of struggles are being led by grassroots tenants' organizations and communities, for example in Poland. We recommend you to read the interesting report on **tenants' resistance** that can be found in this issue.

During the summer, a couple of **meetings, conferences and camps** took place in Eastern Europe, reports on which you will find in this issue. A visitor to the General Assembly of Autonomous Action, which took place in the Ural Mountains, reports her experiences, there is a short review of the Anarchist Forum in Belarus and a detailed account of the Eco-camp against the construction of a coal terminal in Sevastopol, that spanned almost the whole of August.

A recurring theme in ABB for some time have been the ongoing atrocities and **struggles in Northern Caucasia.** In this issue, a member of Autonomous Action assesses the recent developments there and the Anarchists' (lack of?) involvement in it in his very interesting article *"Anarchists and the Second Chechen War"*.

As always, we are reporting from the struggles of radical antifascist initiatives around the region. In this issue you will find material about the founding of a new antifascist group in Warsaw, Poland and their activities. Check the **interview with "Agreement 11.11".**

As usual, we want to thank the people and projects who by their support made this issue possible, be it by contributing directly with articles, by distributing ABB around the globe, by helping out with all the tiny things that need to be taken care of during the preparation of a new issue or by financial support. Thanks a lot to all of you!

Keeping up an infamous tradition, we need to ask you for money in the end because the money we get back from our distros doesn't usually cover the costs for printing and sending - at least it doesn't come in time for that. And as we want to keep ABB affordable for everyone, we have to come asking every issue for solidarity from those who can donate a little. So, if you can help us, please contact us via email: abolishingbb@riseup.net

We hope you have an inspiring time reading #35 of ABB,

Let's take us some more freedom - and give some solidarity!

October 2009
ABBcollective

FREE THE BELGRADE 6

Political Arrests of anarchists in Belgrade Chapter

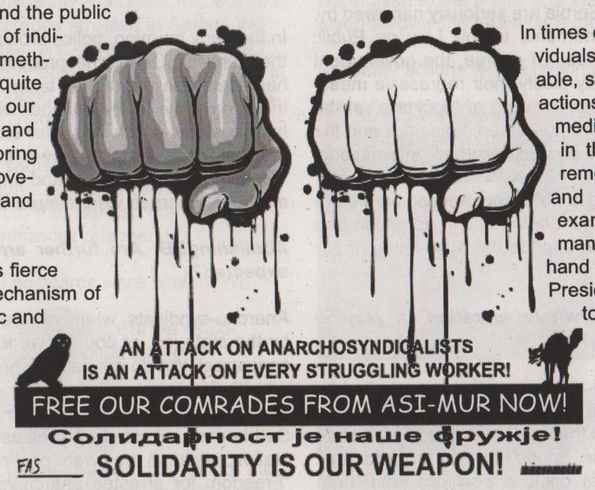
On September 4, at first five Serbian political activists Tadej Kurep, Ivan Vuloviæ, Sanja Dojkiæ, Ratibor Trivunac and Nikola Mitrovic, and soon after a sixth one, Ivan Savic, were arrested in Belgrade on trumped up charges. They are activists in or associates of ASI, the Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative, Serbian section of the International Workers' Association (IWA).
The arrests ware allegedly related to a direct action which took place at the Greek \ Embassy on August 25. Negligible damage was done; cracks in one window, a tiny burn mark on the facade and a circled A graffiti on the embassy as a act of symbolic solidarity with Thodoros Iliopoulos. The prosecutor however imagines this as an act of "international terrorism" and would like to charge our comrades with such. If the state allows such charges to be pressed, they could be facing 3-15 years in prison.
Although one of the accused, General Secretary of the IWA Ratibor Trivunac clearly and publicly declared that he knew nothing of the action, he was arrested. It is not the first time that authorities have come after him or his comrades for no other reason than the fact that they are radical critics of the state.
International solidarity campaign started immediately, took different forms of action and as we are printing this issue of AbolishingBB it is still winning on its dynamic, while Serbian comrades are being held in custody.
There is an extra solidarity website created to support anarchist solidarity campaign: http://asi.zsp.net.pl
We are calling on people around the world to TAKE ACTION NOW!
On the following pages we offering you collection of materials related to this case. It starts with statement of ASI (Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative) itself, followed by interview which we made with their remaining on freedom members, than some reports from solidarity actions and at the end two commentaries written one by our correspondent and one by member of ABB-collective.

Statement of Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative on Arrests of their Members

On September, 4th 2009 District Court in Belgrade decided that arrested members of ASI will be held for thirty days in detention. Our comrades are accused of an act of international terrorism.

Union Confederation "Anarcho-syndicalist Initiative" found out about the attack on Greek embassy, and of the organisation that took the responsibility for this act, through media.
We use this opportunity to remind the public once again that these methods of individual political struggle are not methods of anarcho-syndicalism, quite the contrary – we proclaim our political positions publicly and through our work we seek to bring masses to the syndicalist movement and all the libertarian and progressive organisations.

Wanting to brutally suppress its fierce critics the state, through its mechanism of repression, acts with banal logic and maps as suspects those who explicitly stated their libertarian beliefs, and by their imprisonment ends the case and gives a false picture of its efficiency to the public.



Unscrupulous actions of regime's organs can be observed from the first moments of arrest, unlawful searches of their apartments, intimidations of their families to extreme charges of international terrorism.

Given the fact that we do not support the acts of now famous anarchist group "Crni Ilija" (Black Iliya) we still cannot characterise what happened as "international terrorism", because terrorism, by definition, entails threats to the lives of civilians, whereas in this case no one was even hurt and only symbolic material damage was done.

It is clear that this state produced farce is just one way of intimidating anyone who decides to point out the injustice and hopelessness of contemporary society.

In times of general social numbness individuals reach for the most unbelievable, sometimes even self-destructive, actions in order to break through the media blockade and to put their case in the centre of attention – let us remember the workers who cut off and eat their own fingers, or, for example, the unlucky, distressed man who threatened to activate a hand grenade in the building of the Presidency of Serbia – that is, trying to shed some light on their problems in a broader social space. Lets not allow them to persuade us that one symbolic act of solidarity, even if expressed in a certainly ill manner, together with any other act of rebellion of those who are left with no rights should be treated as an antisocial act and an act of terrorism.

We express solidarity with the arrested comrades and their families and demand the truth about this case!
FREEDOM FOR ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS!
ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST INITIATIVE
Sept. 5, 2009

Get involved. Solidarity is our weapon.

FREE THE BELGRADE 6

INTERVIEW WITH ASI
ABOUT ONGOING REPRESSION AGAINST ITS MEMBERS

AbolishingBB: How would you describe development of ASI and its connection with changing of working people attitudes in Serbia in last 5 years?

Out of ten members 5 years ago, ASI has developed into solid, well organized, union confederation, which has its structures throughout Serbia, the strongest and most well known revolutionary organization in the country.
Regarding the Serbian workers attitude, it is undoubtedly moving towards anarcho-syndicalist positions. Evidence of that you can find in strikes organized independently of (yellow) unions, decisions being made on workers' assemblies, strikers' refusal to cooperate with political parties, and radical forms of struggle such as the blockade of international motorways and individual factory takeovers and their placement under workers' control or even workers' readiness to clash with the police and/or private security.

AbolishingBB: Serbian authorities announced loudly that they are dealing with case of „international terrorism". But more weeks after arrestment, 6 anarcho-syndicalists are still imprisoned while there is neither evidence nor official accusation set formally. How would you comment this evaluation?

The whole of 2009 was marked by radical workers' strikes and labor protests. It was estimated that a "hot" autumn, full of social unrest, awaits us. The State's answer of course, is increased repression, hence civil rights in Serbia are seriously narrowed by, for example, passing the amendments to the *Law on Public Information and the Criminal Code*. Of course, the government uses every opportunity to publicly justify their repressive measures. In accordance with that, the throwing of "cocktails" at the Greek Embassy, where there were no human casualties and the material damage was slight, was characterized as "international terrorism".
What are the indications of charges not being pressed we wouldn't bother to comment on, but them being still in detention is a clear indicator of state's desire to impede the functioning of our organization.

AbolishingBB: What role in whole situation is playing Serbian media from beginning?

It depends. The state controlled media and those controlled by the conservative structures have done it in the most disgusting way, while the liberal media used the incident to criticize the state that it does not have the same gauge for the left and right „extremists" (which is also quite criminal position), and there were some pro-leftist (only a few, unfortunately) which were entirely fair. We will cover all of that, as well as the whole wave of repression, in detail, in the next issue of *"Direktna akcija"* - our magazine.

AbolishingBB: What do you think, what exactly interest has Serbian state putting 6 members of ISA the label of "international terrorists"?

It is expected for the prosecutor to characterize the act as strict as possible. But we can not loose the impression that this description is politically motivated. Attacks on the embassies have already occurred in Serbia and no one had been declared a terrorist before. Here we can see state's clear desire to deal with it's hardest critics, and to intimidate all those who intend to stand in the way of it's unscrupulous exploitation.

AbolishingBB: Can you tell us who is actually terrorizing who, and using what means, within the Serbian society?

> ***"It was estimated that a "hot autumn" ,full of social unrest, awaits us. The State's answer of course, is increased repression"***

First we have to say that we do not support that kind of individual actions, but we also can understand that desire of individuals for these or similar acts is a clear indicator of injustice in society. Unfortunately, these gestures are only used by the state for justifying its repression. And then the actual terror of the state, in it's explicit form through the police and courts, or implicit: through alienation of work, lay offs, accidents, etc., seems invincible, or even justified for some.

AbolishingBB: What did the arrest of Tadej, Ivan, Sanja, Ratibor Trivunac, Nikola and second Ivan exactly look like? We are asking this question in order that other comrades can be better aware of how state forces are used to conduct their attacks in such situations.

In the early morning, police broke into their apartments to search the premises. During that process members of their families were harassed. They were then taken by force to the police station for the informative interview, after which they were remanded in 48 hour custody, which was later extended to 30 days. An interesting thing was that they were initially suspected of the act of "causing general danger" and only 24 hours after the arrest the charges were altered to" international terrorism ".

AbolishingBB: Are further arrests of ASI members to be expected?

Anarcho-syndicats, wherever they exist, are constantly targeted by the state, so, of course, we expect more pressure and even new arrest. We do not believe, however, that we might be arrested with the same excuse as our comrades, because the case is almost completed. We should mention that some anarchists in Serbia were arrested and released after 4h spent in the police station, because they were pasting posters on which was written "Freedom for arrested anarchists". They were threatened with criminal charges for obstruction of justice.

AbolishingBB: Let's come to the solidarity campaign which is going on. How does the solidarity campaign looks like at the moment on the local level?

Solidarity is the strongest weapon of the labor movement. There lies all of our strength. Therefore, the actions of solidarity are

Get involved. Solidarity is our weapon.

FREE THE BELGRADE 6

very important. As you've said there is already international solidarity campaign going on, with solidarity actions in front of embassies worldwide. Of course solidarity actions on local level may not be particularly pompous, because our organization is not particularly massive, but we still manage to attract attention, of the media that reported about our protest against state repression, and the police. We have already mentioned that some libertarians were arrested for putting up posters.

AbolishingBB: We hearted about some academic spectrum addressed their sharp criticism against the repression. What different communities expressed their solidarity with Belgrade 6?

> ***"Here we can see state's clear desire to deal with its hardest critics and to intimidate all those who intend to stand in the way of its unscrupulous exploitation"***

Almost all public individuals and organizations, except those under direct state control, have criticized the "international terrorism" qualification. Of course it depends on the kind of criticism, and the position it is coming from. Some of them can not actually be classified as "solidarity with Belgrade 6", while some are even able to inflict damage to the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

AbolishingBB: Anything you would like to tell comrades around the world using our pages?

It is important to learn from all this, and although we have already mentioned, it should be underlined that methods of struggle used by famous group "Crni Ilija" favors only the state. In addition to contributing to the creation of image of anarchists as extremists and thereby hampering the creation of a mass movement, and opening the space for the state to charge with brutality at those who make a real threat to the existing, capitalist order. Of course, we have no doubt in the good intentions of those who practice such methods, but as our old proverbs say: "The road to hell is paved with intentions that are great"

AbolishingBB: Thank you for finding time in this difficult moment. Lot of strength in your activities, we hope our six comrades can join your actions and meetings soon again, and let's hope that the wall which separates them right now from us will fall down one day forever!
Questions were answered by Dada, Milan and Nemanja, all members from ASI.

Solidarity actions with *Belgrade.6* in east European cities

ST.PETERSBURG

In the center of St. Petersburg (Russia) anarchists made a solidarity action in support of 6 comrades arrested in Serbia. We stuck a big poster with information and portraits of our comrades to a news stand, distributed leaflets and invited people to sign postcards with words of support to the Serbian comrades. The action went on for about an hour. Nobody was detained.

Repressive authorities use the same methods all over the world. We believe that international solidarity can change the situation to the better. Freedom to the Serbian comrades! Freedom to all anarchist and antifascist prisoners!

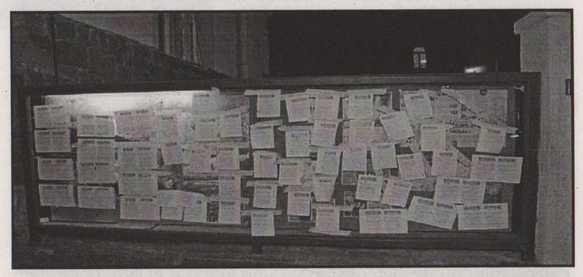
During the action more than 20 postcards were written. We understand that it is not possible now to send them by post directly. But we could address them to their lawyers or to a support group in Belgrade…

BUDAPEST

On 29th of September 2009, a protest was held in front of the Serbian embassy in Budapest. The coalition of anarchist movements of Budapest, together with activists from Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, and the Ukraine, stated their support for the imprisoned anarcho-syndicalists in Belgrade.

The protest should have started at 6:30 PM, but a group of about 20 football hooligans was waiting in front of the embassy at that time with flags and scarves. Around 30 activists gathered a bit later, so the protest ended without incidents. Two transparent were placed on the fence of the embassy, around 200 flyers were given to the public and the statement of solidarity was glued all over the embassy's panels.

Solidarity actions will be continued.





Get involved. Solidarity is our weapon.

Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

FREE THE BELGRADE 6

Gay Pride, the Belgrade 6 and the Hypocrisy of the Government



In 2001, the last time that the Beograd Pride parade took place in Belgrade, it was brutally attacked by fascists. I remember that then anarchists from ASI were there are were in a fight with the fascists. Our comrade Rata was one of the people who loudly and publically condemned the fascist terror tactics.

Over the past 8 years, LGBT activists in Serbia have been thinking about how to organize another parade and guarantee the safety of its participants. They had planned a parade for today. Amongst the participants were to be local antifascists. But the fascists have been actively organizing to attack the march again. They have even been organizing their terror attacks on the open internet. And therefore the authorities cancelled the parade "for the safety of its participants". However this came after a number of attempts to force the organizers to cancel themselves, which included telling them that the police would not only not protect the parade, but also that the organizers would be liable for any damage done during the parade. This would include any damage done by hooligans or fascists who attacked them.

In response, the organizers demanded that the authorities go after the fascists, nationalists and hooligans who were openly threatening them. Although making threats, as well as hate speech, is forbidden, the authorities are turning a blind eye and calling this "public discussion".

Personally I wouldn't have asked the police for anything but here we won't debate the role of the police. The organizers however managed to highlight the disgusting double standards of the authorities.

In the context of the Belgrade 6, we can see how, on the one hand a symbolic attack on the Greek Embassy resulting in a cracked window, some black marks and some graffiti is treated like "international terrorism" but open threats of attack on real people is just "public discussion".

The authorities are thus actively supporting hate and violence. In fact, these types of fascist attacks can be seen as terrorism in its pure meaning - and the authorities are supporting it. Although the government of Tadic is always trying to present itself as something more "democratic" or "open-minded", the government openly flirts with nationalists and turns a blind eye to their violence, thus supporting it.

Members of ASI who read a statement during a solidarity protest two weeks ago in Belgrade referred to another incident - the attack on the American Embassy in Belgrade last year by nationalists. The damage done in the attack was far more serious than that done to the Greek Embassy and even somebody died. But the authorities did not want to make a political case out of it.



Greek Embassy in Belgrade

The state actively supports violence against people... when the victims are homosexuals or their friends and supporters. They support attacks against embassies... when they don't agree on the politics of that government. They support nationalist and fascist violence and criminalize only those who fight against it. And for that reason, their hypocrisy should be condemned, even by people who don't identify with anarchism. The human rights organizations which so quickly condemn arrests of "opposition" activists all over the world can show their bias in such situations by their lack of concern, but given this pattern of action by the Serbian state, they should have no illusions as to what is going on.

In the meanwhile, for those who have opposed the arrest of the Belgrade 6, this is just another example of state hypocrisy and persecution which we should attack.

By Akai47

Get involved. Solidarity is our weapon.

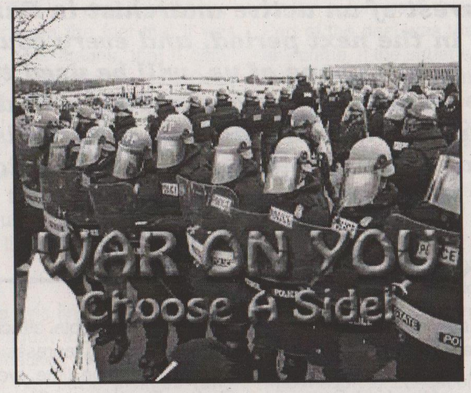
FREE THE BELGRADE 6

Some thoughts about news from Belgrade. News which did NOT surprise us

New old state strategy in action again

A wave of solidarity actions with the comrades arrested in Belgrade went through the continent, from London till St.Petersburg. That is very important. Wide and international solidarity is extremely necessary in such moments. And I would like to focus some thoughts exactly on *international aspects* of what is happening right now around us, the anarchists.

If the Serbian state suggested the issue of international terrorism, than we should take it into our consideration. Let's finally talk about international terrorism. There is nothing new to the fact that rulers of the capitalistic order are terrorizing those who resist them by all means with which its best ally, the state, has supplied them. However, in the last period we can observe a rapidly growing tendency of putting a stronger accent again on judicial means, increasing the level of accusations and where only possible playing with the terrorist card (*international terrorism, terrorist network, acts of terror*, etc). In France, the action of sabotage of railways as means of anti-nuclear and anti-capitalistic resistance was enough to start a hunt on terrorist and comrades from *TARNAC Farm* found themselves under this accusation. In Berlin, right now there are processes against 4 young persons accused for using Molotov cocktails against the police violence during Mayday anti-capitalistic confrontations in that city. They are being accused for attempted murder… In the same town, the state prosecutors are forcing the absurdly high sentences for some persons accused for putting fire to luxurious cars in the last months – a pretty effective form of action implemented in anti-gentrification and anti-capitalistic struggle. In Russia, anarchist activists are being taken under observation by a newly established institution named *"Center for Counteraction against Extremism".* Now in Belgrade, a group of very active anarcho-syndicalists is being arrested under the allegation of "international terrorism". The reason? Few seconds of harmless fire in front of the Greek Embassy in Belgrade.



It looks like putting the terror-etiquette and rising the wage of accusations for acts of resistance is again becoming the international strategy of state security systems to temperate the anarchist movement. Do we have a reason to believe that they need to implement this strategy again nowadays? I am pretty sure that yes. But not because the anarchists are becoming huge in numbers. For two other reasons...

Social *anarchisation* in progress

Firstly, there are a lot of signs Europewide for *anarchisation* within various social communities. What do I mean with *anarchisation?* Not necessarily the fact of people joining anarchist groups or organizations. Rather, people taking anarchist ideas and above all, anarchist forms of action and attitudes into their repertoire in facing the capitalistic exploitation and injustice. When we see how many young people (not necessary only young) are ready to take radical actions against the cops and the bosses in France… when we see how quickly some forms of action against gentrification (putting luxuries cars on fire is just an example) became popular means of expression among young people in Berlin… when we see how many Greek people took part along with anarchists in last winter's rebellion against the police and the state… when we see how many Serbian workers started and participated in wild-strikes, blockades, other direct actions and clashes with the police in the last years , as well as organized themselves in workers assemblies instead of in political parties or yellow unions… then we can understand what the *anarchisation* of peoples mean. And we can better recognize why state security systems are being called to undertake radical steps against these tendencies.

Looking to Serbia, Greece, France… well, maybe even to Germany, we can see that there is a certain tendency of the state losing its control over the streets more and more. And where they are helpless in the *public terrain,* there they are attacking more strategically in the state controlled terrains which are the police stations, court halls, prisons, etc. They know that people's resistance in these areas is much more limited. At the same time, this is a territory of uncontrolled state terror. While the streets, workplaces, living houses, public spaces are places of permanent confrontation, so there the matter of control is transformable. So this is the first explanation why we are facing a radicalization of the judicial offensive on anarchist lines: anarchist ideas and actions became again difficult to stop on the streets (because they became too popular again), so they need to be neutralized… well, actually terrorized… with a strategy more controllable by state.

Neurotic time for capitalists

Secondly, for the circles wishing capitalistic stabilization and normalization, this is a pretty neurotic time. Their system finds itself in a crisis. Of course, they do everything to talk it down, but in truth they know very well that the revolutionary mess in the form of domino effect (from one local trouble till massive insurrection with no borders and schedule) is nowadays a much more possible scenario than in last 20 years. The state security departments must be alarmed by the growing radicalization of forms of social intervention. This process is maybe still pretty slow and maybe didn't even reach the one from beginning of the 80s yet, not the speak of the 70s and 60s, but it is definitely visible. However, the resistance in the 60/70s was rather more predictable while led by communist groups and parties. Should the revolutionary domino happen nowadays, its predictability is doubtful (see Greece revolt at the beginning of this year). It means that the highest priority of

Get involved. Solidarity is our weapon.

FREE THE BELGRADE 6

state institutions responsible for social control for today is to separate the masses from radical spectra, rebellious communities and uncontrollable acts of resistance as far as possible. In the best case, all of them should be isolated. But as it is already too late, *anarchisation* seems to be an ongoing process, the "radicals" have to be discredited in the eyes of the people sympathizing with them. Them and their methods of struggle! That is why it was so important to react in France on anti-capitalistic sabotage actions, in Berlin on class-war car-burning and in Serbia on anarcho-syndicalist developments, with imprisonments under the terror accusations. The main goal is to stop further *anarchisation* of communities fed up with that system.

So there is a clear idea behind what is happening. The influence of anarchist ideas and tendencies on people's acts and attitudes has to be stopped. For us, that means we have to be aware of the eventuality that every upcoming arrest of an active anarchist in Europe in the next period, and every court against one of us, will be used to weaken this process. They will make everything to stamp us as terrorists again. And this strategy we of state we cannot avoid. We can only react on it. And we have to!

"So there is a clear idea behind what is happening. Influence of anarchist ideas tendencies on people's acts and attitudes have to be stopped. For us that means, we have to be aware of the eventuality that every upcoming arrest of an active anarchist in Europe in the next period, and every court against one of us, will be used to weaken this process. They will do everything to stamp us as terrorists again. And this strategy of the state we cannot avoid. We can only react on it. And we have to!"

New situation for Eastern European movements

As for Eastern Europe, it is a quite a specific situation (while the movements in Italy, Greece or Germany have already made many experiences on this terrain of confrontation). At first, repressions against anarchists in most East European regions have been very limited and soft during the last 20 years. So there is not much experience with state counterattacks of this kind. Secondly, the anarchist activists there after the 20 years long period of establishing their little movements, are facing a moment of reflection about the change of the circumstances around them. The times when friendly pickets against state repression, giving food to homeless people against social injustice, occupying trees against the ecological disaster and organizing workers gatherings on the issue of capitalistic exploitation could be considered as relevant and radical are going to the past. People around them became, in the meanwhile, more radical in acts and ideas than the anarchists themselves… I could give dozens of examples. I give one I witnessed by myself. When I was reporting about the luxury cars being burned in Berlin as a popular form of intervention against gentrification and forced moving at this year's self-organized tenants' conference in Warsaw, common tenants expressed their acceptance to this method, while the gathered anarchists and leftists got scared that this form of action is going too far for local circumstances… sort of absurd situation. At the same time, in some Eastern European regions, like Poland or Serbia, anarchists are often in the middle of resisting communities, be they workers' or tenants'. This leads to the following reflections: at first, the possibility to share the radical form of intervention is there; secondly, the attempts of the state to isolate them should be expected. That is why the news from Serbia did NOT surprise us. Are anarchists in Poland already alarmed? I hope so…

Should we make everything to avoid the repression?

Now… I am afraid that many eastern European comrades may believe that if they remain on their non-radical course it will save them from repression. Well, it is a very crucial question. Should we do everything to avoid repression? In the times when capitalism is starting to shake and the people are often ready for more radical actions than anarchists are tactically taking by themselves, one has to start to think seriously about the *syndrome of self-repression*. The position saying *"Radical interventions are only increasing repressions so they are counter-productive…"* is, according to my observation, very common. At the end of the day, the state does not need to intervene because we are controlling ourselves and our workers/tenants allies better than the state could do it… At the end of the day, we are maybe not being repressed… but distinguished, neutralized, integrated in system, fulfilling our democratic duty as critics of capitalism and state democracy, while capitalism and state do exactly need critics to be able to develop themselves and cover their weak points to be always resistant against possible attacks. Refusing radical interventions in terms of avoiding repressions ends with being useful for this system. At the same time, we should not forget that anarchists in Eastern Europe are still so few in numbers. So a very conscious and careful choice of strategy in terms of radicalization of the means of struggle (in the eye of the capitalist crises) is definitely necessary, no question here.

One thing is sure. In the next period, we will either choose the strategy to integrate ourselves into the system, or it will happen that will be labeled as terrorist. The second thing will happen independently of what we will do… sabotage the atomic energy industry, braking the flux of capitalist chains of production and exploitation, or attacking state repressive arms, police, military and prisons….and most probably even without reasons.

Well, for the majority of the people the most dangerous international organization with terrorist characteristics remains the state. And even if the state will always use their media to make terrorists out of us, we are closer to society than the state is. Let's make use of this simple advantage and explain finally who is who. These years, people are listening more and more to the beat of the street!
Free the Belgrade anarchists now!

Veronika, AbolishingBB

Get involved. Solidarity is our weapon.

MILADA EVICTION

Milada - the last squat in Prague - was finally evicted.
Here are the details about the eviction and resistance

Milada squat, located near the Vltava river and next to student block of flats a bit far from the city center, was the oldest (and the last remaining) squat in Prague. It was squatted on MayDay in 1998 by a group of people around the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation. The same year saw the first serious eviction effort; however, a few people managed to stay on the roof for two days while others resisted on the ground in front of the house. After the police retreated and went away, those people fought a private security company rented to guard the house and won. The house was saved that time.

Since then, a lot of things took place in the house. Countless gigs, benefit parties, lectures, practices etc. It has to be said that in the life of the squat they were different periods – there were times of enormous activity and there were times of total passivity when the house was almost exclusively about living. Anyway, in the last two years this sinusoid was increasing again and a new collective in the house was active again.

However, there was something going on about the Milada squat since the beginning of the year. The key aspect of the survival of the Milada squat has always been the fact that it was absent in the official list of buildings. This means, that it didn't exist legally. Therefore people inside (squatters) couldn't be accused of "illegal using of flat, living or commercial space", an anti-squatting part of Czech criminal code. When I used past tense I did it on purpose. The owner of the building, state Agency for Information in Education, somehow managed to put the building back to the list during the spring time. Nobody knows how, since enlisting building to the list requires a lot of official procedures including an overall check of the house by the Building agency.

As soon as the process of enlisting was finished, the eviction started. The final eviction of Milada squat took place on June 30th. In the morning the house was attacked by masked people, some of them wearing t-shirts with neo-nazis pictures (anti-antifa) or trademarks (Thor Steinar). Later it tunred out, that those people armed with sticks, pepper sprays and telescopic batons were from a private security company that was hired for the eviction by the owner of the house. Soem of the squatters managed to escape to the roof and alerted others outside the house.

During two hours about two hundred people managed to get into the house. Milada was immediately surrounded by enormous numbers of cops including special anti-riot forces. Because the majority of people were unprepared for the fight and came straight from their schools or jobs no serious resistance took place, even though a few efforts were made and people fought the police back. The situation was tense especially at the moment when the private security guards started to openly destroy the house, breaking windows and throwing the stuff out of it (stuff like computers, books, beds, chairs etc.).

A majority of defendants on the roof surrendered partly due to threats by the security guards that were attacking them with pepper sprays etc., partly because of a coming storm. In the end, two persons stayed on the roof.

Another tense moment came in the evening when those security guys completely destroyed the roof and then grabbed one of the last defendants on the roof. A short fight took place on the edge of 15 metres deep hole; however, they manage to get him into the house and not over the edge, luckily.

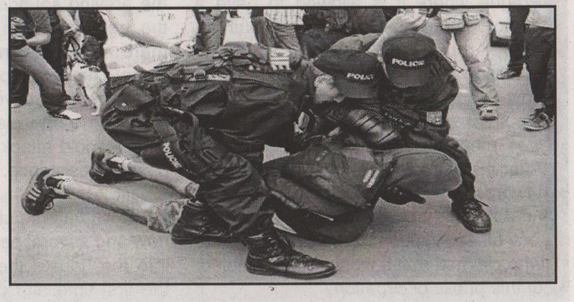
In that moment the strangest thing happened. Out of the blue a minister for human rights, member of the government, appeared at the scene. He started to negotiate with a police chief and a spokesperson of the squatters. About an hour later he came with a proposal: he would try to help finding a new space for the squatters if they immediately came down from the roof. Part of the deal was that nobody involved would be accused of any crime. If the squatters refused, police would give green light to the security guards inside, whom, just a few moments before the minister arrivede were trying to cut the security rope of the last defendant on the roof. As you see, there wasn't any alternative anyway so squatters took the offer.

For the moment fight was over. Milada was evicted and in fact destroyed.

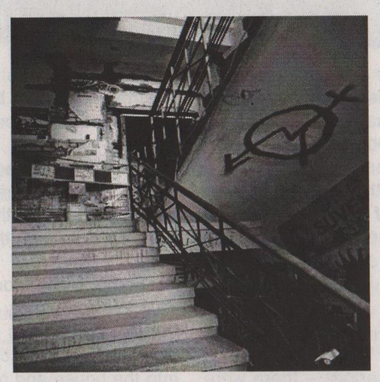
The eviction pissed off a lot people. In next the few days several meetings took place and as soon as it was clear that Milada was not about the twenty people that had lived there anymore, but that there was much wider movement now. A lot of actions took place including a day-long occupation of the Agency for Information in Education building, spontaneous demonstrations, banner droppings etc. In the middle of the process of forming a new large group – or a movement if you would like to call it like that - a minister stroke again. His former friend from the underground music scene and nowadays a shark-style businessman in housing business offered three flats and a cellar in his house in the city center for using till the end of the year for no rent.

But the new Milada collective didn't have the information about the businessman back then. Partly out of lack of experience people agreed and took the offer. Partly it was also a trap set by the minister who didn't give the squatters mandatory information and put them under pressure (a lot of people from the house didn't have place to stay so the need of the space was urgent). Soon they realized that the guy giving them flats is a major player in the





process that actually caused squatting itself – businessman in the frontline of gentrification, buying houses in the city-center, sending renters away and converting those houses into hotels or commercial spaces. Now there was the question what to do.



The house hadn't been completely empty – there are still three flats occupied by original renters. And one of the most common theories (and the one heavily propagated by the renters themselves) is that the owner decided to use squatters as a weapon against the most stubborn renters that haven't left yet (according to Czech law the owner of the house can't just throw you out, but has to give you another flat).

Squatters, in that time already a new and huge collective, decided to act in their own way. A major part of the space was converted into semi-public spaces where a lot of things took place. Public screenings, public kitchen, exhibitions, bike workshops, martial art practice, info-shop etc. , everything for free. A couple of hundred people have visited the house for one of those actions already. In the same time squatters are building relationships with original renters promising them help against the house owner in their fight for their right for housing.

This place is located in Truhlarska 11 street in the very center of the city (next to Namesti republiky, both tram and metro station). You are welcome to visit it, just ring the bell "Truhla".

They might have won the battle, but the war is still going on... And in September, Prague will see another battle...

By the way, Milada is still an empty house. During the summer it has been heavily destroyed by frequent rain and storms, as the security guards completely destroyed the roof... Apparently the aim of the owner is to do so massive harm to the building so that it would have to be destroyed.

Public squatting action in Prague

A few weeks before the eviction of the Milada squat, a group of people came up with the idea of a public occupation of a new house in Prague. Milada had been a nice house but a bit too small for all the activities of the anti-authoritarian movement at that time. The date was picked – September 12th – and the process of preparation started. With the eviction of Milada the action got another dimension of course and became much more serious, as it became a battle for the survival of squatting itself in Czechia.

The occupation of the new house was publicly announced. By coincidence it later became part of the "Week of unsociability", action week of the Czech Freedom Not Fear group in solidarity with Roma people and all other people that the corporate media calls "unsociable".

The action itself started at Palackeho namesti square, the only place in Prague where it is allowed to have a demo without noticing it to the authorities. Around 300 people gathered receiving a more or less funny lecture on how to squat a new house – serving as the smokescreen for another group that was meanwhile occupying the house. After the lecture a march started, aiming towards the abandoned railway station nearby. This railway station was a subject of speculation of corporate media who claimed that it would be the subject of this public occupation.

The reason for this speculation was only the fact that the house was among about a dozen targets of a banner drop of people from the Squatters estate agency, a collective that runs a website with a database of empty houses in Prague and information about their state, access and owners. The mainstream media noticed just this one banner and speculated that this banner is a "secret sign" for squatters...

Anyway, the railway station was not the subject of the occupation. A few hundred meters before it, the march turned left and ran to the actual building, a former spa nearby right next to the police station.

During a few minutes a couple of dozen policemen came to the house. People were sitting, chatting and eating outside the house while a couple of dozen masked squatters inside were dropping banners from the windows. The police slowly surrounded the area and blocked the arriving soundsystem from entering the area, so the fun was absent. At least, there were several speeches taking place. The spokesperson of the organizers repeated several times that the action is non-violent and that if the police would attack there would only be passive resistance.

When squatters put a rope out of a window and several people managed to get into the house, the police attacked for the first time and pushed people away from the house and into the road. Then it ordered people to clear the road under the threat of another attack. So people reacted and started to walk on a pedestrian crossing in front of the house.

In the evening the first arrest took place. Even though people managed to do two non-violent de-arrests, the targeted guy was finally arrested (for masking). There was effort to block the police car with the arrested guy but to no avail. As soon as the dark came police attacked again. This time it was no fun.

First they asked people to clear the road and go onto the sidewalk. Almost all people did as they were told but in that precise moment police attacked with full force. They used sound-grenades, batons, telescopic batons, chasing even those people that had nowhere to run. People ran as fast as they could, but they were beaten anyway. Some people were chased by the wild policemen as far as five hundred meters from the spot, beaten, threaten by killing etc. Those who fell down received an enormous amount of beatings. There were a lot of injuries, broken fingers, broken ribs, injured eyes... Nobody fought back as people were prepared to passive resistance. People said that this was the most violent police attack since the anti-IMF protest in 2000.

In half an hour people regrouped and tried to get to the house again. The police reacted violently again – chasing people all around the area, arresting anybody looking suspicious. In the end of the day more than 70 people were arrested (out of about 100 staying in front of the house till the evening). Those who were arrested were refused their basic rights (food, contact to lawyer) and were kept till the morning of the next day, an unusually long time. But the aim was clear – keep people off the streets till the house would be evicted. Nobody of those arrested was accused of any crime but just minor misdemeanors.

Meanwhile, the police negotiated with squatters in the house. The police was afraid of coming into the house, fearing possible traps prepared inside. Anyway, after the whole night of psychological war and a number of very last warnings they attacked the house with full force, through windows and walls, with sound-grenades, dogs and with anti-explosive specialists. The irony is that all the people from inside were peacefully sitting at the roof waiting for the arrest, where they were arrested a moment later.

24 people were arrested in the house on Sunday morning. Those who were arrested were kept in the police station waiting for a "speed-trial", an institution originally designed for a football hooligans. Speed-trial means that the police has so many proofs of someone's crime so that there don't have to be a classic trial as it would be pointless. In that case the judge is just deciding about punishment.

The arrested squatters were refused their basic rights (majority of them couldn't call their lawyer, didn't receive vegetarian food, some of them were kept for longer then the maximum time etc.), at least two women were sexually harassed (one by words, one was touched by a baton between her legs by a policeman making sexually explicit comments). A number of arrested poeple were repeatedly threatend with beatings and deprived of sleep.

All the arrested people were kept till Tuesday, Wednesday respectively, where their trial took place. A solidarity demo with about 60 people took place before the trial (it was during the working hours on a work day), escorting those who were released (as there were countless TVs and reporters), serving them food and drinks etc. A spontaneous demo with about 30 people took place during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday in front of the central police station where those who were arrested were kept, shouting slogans of solidarity.

22 people were sentenced, 1 was released. The majority received 80-100 hours of public work, the minority received conditional imprisonment of 20 days for one year. Three arrested foreigners (two guys from Germany and one girl from Finland) were also expelled for a year and a half.
15 people appealed the punishment – that means that a classic trial will take place. We will keep you informed about how things are going on...



Public declaration published before the public squatting action:

In September of this year we would like to occupy a house in Prague that hasen't been used for a long time, to open it for various activities and as a living space for those, who can't afford one, or don't want to pay unsuitable high rents. By various activities we mean organizing concerts, dance parties, keeping ateliers, projection of films, theatre performances, workshops and discussions, meetings of various collectives, shared dinners. The program of this center also depends on the inhabitants of the specific location - we would like to cooperate with our neighbors and take their needs and wishes into account . Brightening up a dead house and bringing something new into the district it is in , something that doesn't smell of whimpering for a contribution from public or European funds or of advert and profit-madness. We would like to make a proposal for a free alternative. And we want everybody to have a gain from it.

We think of Ungdomshuset, we think of Köpi and of Rozbrat too - and we know that we will get into a conflict with the law. The usage of an extrinsic property is a criminal act - it is almost like theft. We don't fear to take something that has been falling into disrepair for long time and that waits to be used for speculations in the future . A world in which the rich rather throw away a full plate than risk that the poor would take a bit from it is mad. Except a strong example of the less-developed world, it's also in the "rich countries" that the differences between poor and rich are getting bigger (and because of the crisis it will still grow). Because where on one side there is plenty, on the other penury must be growing. Politicians are doing so much to help to the interests of the privileged and protect them from the poor "pack".
Our voted representatives know very knowledgeable that a profit can be made from anything and the best is to get it from basic human needs. A world, in which the public interest is being conformed to a violent logic of business, doesn't have the right to call itself fair.
We don't accept the morality of the sacred private properties. We would never rob somebody who would be suffering because of it. Developers, investors and coorporations interested in speculations will never be suffering. We live in a strange world where everything is countable to money, the world in which we must live by rules that we consider to be nonsense, and from the point of view of someone who has nothing they really are without any sense. These rules are reasonable just for those who don't know by their cupidity what else they might want and how to protect what they already have. We don't want to have something in common with money or those who work with it . We don't want to be employees, we don't want to exchange our time and energy for these ridiculous papers, we don't want to live in boring frustration. However, we don't fear to work. We want to repair the house that we are going to occupy, we want to cultivate the area around it and we want to create a place for a dignified life and self-realization. We want to create a place that will funcion differently compared to the rest of the world (self-organization, no hierarchy, collective decisions) and that will be bringing something different (noncomercial culture, space for free selfrealization, wide spectrum of activities depending on actual needs). We, who did not choose this world for our life, deeply disagree with the way how it is working and where it is going, we will fight for the space that we will create according to our visions and dreams.

Dialogue with Ahali* on the Kurdish question and anarchism

For a century the Kurdish people, a nation divided under the Turkish, Iraqi, Iranian and Syrian States have not had the right to exist. They've been denied the right of self-determination, to organise as they see fit, to own their land, to live their culture, even to speak their language, while they are crushed under the weight of an extremely authoritarian and back warded semi-feudal organisation for purposes of social control. *"Kine em?" ... "Who are we?"* says a popular Kurdish song; it is not easy to define in a couple of words what the Kurdish people are: they are not an ethnic group, they do not have religious unity and even their language has dialects which are difficult to understand with one another. Yet, they all recognize themselves as Kurdish. And they have been fighting in many of the above mentioned countries vicious fights in order to have that right to exist. As a result, they have been gassed, massacred and displaced in the millions.

But the Kurdish struggle keeps going on no matter what with an impressive force fed by every single community in the Kurdistan area; this is a struggle not only against the colonial States, not only against the imperialist forces that often back them, but as importantly, a struggle against the very feudal class of wealthy Kurdish landowners that have been key allies of the colonial states and who have made huge profits out of this situation. We are not in front of a mere nationalistic struggle in the narrow sense of the word; we are in front of a social conflict, of a struggle for the complete emancipation of the Kurdish people from the chains of colonialism and capitalism. This is a struggle for national liberation in the complete sense of the word.

During the celebration of Newroz in Istanbul, the Kurdish New Year and a resistance day (21st of March), an impressive celebration where 300,000 Kurdish came together in spite of the police and military harassment to the people, we met a number of anarchists, both Turkish and Kurdish. They have an organisation called Ahali, meaning "People" in Turkish and they have been quite active in trying to bring the Kurdish question to the attention of the Turkish working class organisations and to give their support as libertarians in whatever way they see fit.

We had the chance to exchange some opinions on the Kurdish question and anarchism a couple of months ago. Here we reproduce them in the hope that it will bring some light on the Kurdish question and on the complex scenario that anarchists face in Turkey, where this struggle cannot, and should not, be ignored.

José Antonio Gutiérrez D.
September 24th, 2009

Interview reprinted from a-infos

What are the core issues, the main problems, on the Kurdish struggle today?



"as long as Dehaks exists,we are all Kawa"

The struggle of the Kurdish people, who have been under the pressure of the hegemony of four nation states, such as Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, is getting clearer today. Actually such anti-imperialist struggles are becoming increasingly important in the New Order of Global Capitalism. Far away from these global similarities with other repressed nations, the Kurdish struggle represents a "war in the making" in the Middle East for hundreds of years. The historical character of Kurdish struggle is at the core of today's rebel movement.

Kurdish people have been ignored, killed; states have forbid them to speak their language or to live according to their culture. So the freedom of living in their lands without the tutelage of the Turkish state, freedom to speak the Kurdish language, freedom to live according to the Kurdish culture constitute the anchors of the struggle.

Assimilation policies against the Kurdish people have been carried since the early years of the Turkish state, and resistance to these policies first was seen in Agri [1], Dersim [2] and with the rebels of Sheikh Said [3]. This rebellious character of the Kurds meant the State resorted to more radical methods of assimilation. Today's struggle's roots must be looked for in the early times of Turkish state and maybe in the last few decades of the Ottoman Empire. Resistance to the hegemony process of the Turkish state was responded to with genocide, particularly in Dersim, and forced displacement.

The Kurdish struggle has been largely a peasant struggle. Tell us about the Kurdish land problem...

Since it was not possible for Turkish state to take control over the lands of the Kurds by using direct force, in spite of massive bombings, the state attacked the economic facilities with the aim of controlling Kurds economically and also politically. The Agha system, a particularly backward form of feudalism, was supported by the state. Through this type of land system, the state planned to attack directly the agriculture which was and still is crucial in Kurdistan's economy. The Aghas were tribal chiefs whom the government supported economically and technologically. Thus they became quite powerful both in terms of land-owning, but also because of the technology support, in terms of agricultural production. Kurdish peasants were therefore forced first to use technology from the Aghas to be able to produce. But in return they had to give half of their produce to the Aghas. This "half-cropping" system did not last for long as soon the peasants began to sell their lands to the Aghas and became rural labourers under their authority. Some others migrated after selling their lands. Besides this economic role, Aghas also played a political role. Governments used them in order to get votes of Kurds and to integrate Kurds into the system. This political character was also backed by some religious aspects of the system. The Turkish state even gave quotas in parliament to Aghas in order to represent the Kurdish people [4]. Under these circumstances -assimilation, genocide, ignorance, forced land loss, having handed representation only to Aghas, etc.- Kurdish people said "Edi Bese" –Enough- and started to resist as Kurdish people, in the name of the right to speak their language, in the name of their right to live according to their culture, in the name of having right to their own land.


elections-DTP-on the first plan picture of Abdullah Ocalan

Today, the struggle does not only resist these conditions imposed by feudal landlords, but also the conditions imposed by the new order of Global Capitalism, or the new faces of power like neo-racism, sexism etc. Questioning the new aspects of power and oppression has made the struggle more lasting.

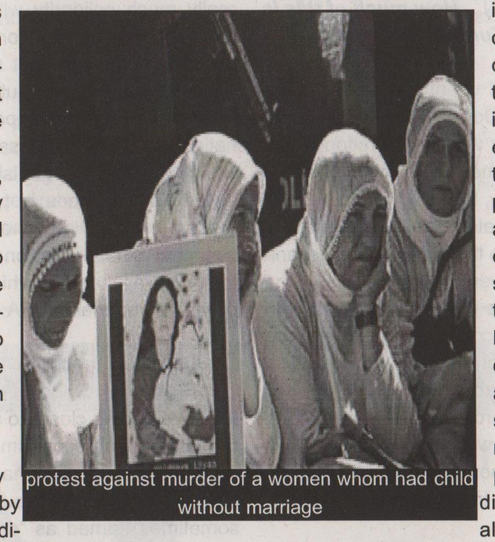
As anarchists, what is your view on the Kurdish struggle?

The Turkish state named the struggle as the "Kurdish Problem" and also it is referred to as such in international political literature. We insist that this not the issue, the real issue is the "Turkish state assimilation problem". As anarchists who question all kind of power relations, we cannot close our eyes to the resistance of the Kurds. Kurdish people have been confronted to the real face of State since the birth of the modern Turkish republic. Their struggle is nurtured by the rebel tradition in these lands.

As Ahali, we give importance to how we can influence people to bring about an anarchist tradition in these lands. With this long-term goal in mind we try to act and plan. So, it is logical for us to be in solidarity with comrades in the Kurdish struggle without any hesitation in respect to the national character of it.

Do you think the past elections (April), that many see as a victory for the DTP, will have a positive role in any form to the Kurdish struggle?

Last local elections seemed to have had a positive role to the Kurdish struggle. DTP, the party representing the Kurdish independence movement, has won one metropolitran municipality, 7 cities and 50 province municipality in the 2009 local elections. The meaning of the results of the 2009 local election was important. The elections have happened amidst polemic on whether to ban the DTP and whether to stop the political expressions of the independence struggle. With the election results, the Kurds reacted to these polemics. Not only had the prospect of a ban on the DTP, but also the polemics about Öcalan and on the separatist struggle had effects on these results. By giving their votes to a party which was coming from a tradition that the Turkish State has always banned and blocked, the Kurds were saying that the "DTP represents Kurdish people and here we are".


protest against murder of a women whom had child without marriage

In such conditions, we did not question the problem of representative democracy even though we are against it. Moreover, we think it is important to highlight that the free municipality activities that are a form of participatory politics at a local level, together with the public parliaments, women and

youth councils and similar organisms shows the democratic character of DTP goes beyond traditional democracy.

DTP municipalities that were won in the local elections were understood as greater gains than the Kurdish representatives sitting in the Turkish parliament. We can understand this if we compare the popularity of Osman Baydemir, the mayor of Diyarbakir, with that of Ahmet Türk, the parliamentarian and co-chairman of DTP.

As we mentioned we do not believe in representative democracy or bourgeois elections. But under these particular conditions, that saw the DTP nearly banned and in the face of the advance of new aspects of the Kurdish struggle, such as giving more importance to direct public participation, we saw that support for the DTP in Kurdistan was expressing opposition to the Turkish State, and this was expressed as the will of the Kurdish people.



expulsion of kurdich people by irakes

We heard that there Kurdish women are quite oppressed by tradition and those stories have certainly circulated and have been promoted by the Turkish state in order to expose the Kurdish people as back warded (honour killings, etc.)... How much of this is true? What's the position of the Kurdish liberation movement on women?

Firstly we have to consider that Öcalan, who established Kurdish struggle's theorization, took women liberation to the core. Because he claimed that women were the first social class that was taken under authority, that's why society's liberation must start with women liberation. As a result of this, Kurdish struggle gives importance to the independent organisation of women in the armed movement as well as in the social and political arena. There's a co-chairman system in the DTP, there are local women councils, and there are women organisations both in the guerrillas and in the Kurdish cities; this could be seen as the practical application of this theory. We also have to say that Kurdish women are among the most politicized women in the world. You can see this every 8th of March, when the number of Kurdish women on streets is 30 times more than others in the world.

The Agha system regards women as if they were nothing but commodities. They can be traded in exchange of money or live stocks. Women are unable to make decisions about their own lives and are isolated from the social, economic and political life. Being supported by the State, the Aghas play an important role in the isolation of women from the economic life. According to them, women are unnecessary in working life and unsuitable for working. Women are expected to stay home in order to do housework and to grow children.

This kind of isolation combined with religious factors lead men to claim to be the owner of women, thus being nothing but a property of men and seen only as an object. They became a symbol of honour and any violation of old customs cause women to be murdered in the name of honour killing.

The state may seem quite critical about honour killings at first. However, as we mentioned before, the Aghas are strongly supported and actually were created by the State. Due to this fact, it becomes obvious that honour killings are mainly caused by the State organisation, in spite of its apparent "efforts" to stop them.

What are the main difficulties to build links between the Turkish and the Kurdish popular movements?

The Turkish leftist movement is mostly focused on the working class movement. So we can say that they see the Kurdish struggle as a secondary problem that can be left to be dealt with after the revolution. They don't give enough importance and do not express really much solidarity with the Kurdish people. Maybe the most important reason for this lack of "interest" in the Kurdish question is the fact that some Turkish "left" groups still see Mustafa Kemal, the authoritarian founder of the Turkish Republic, as an anti-imperialist hero and so they adopt his nationalist ideas. They see him as a sort of a Che Guevara while they see the Kurdish struggle as a "tool" of the USA to divide Turkish lands in two and then "eat the two smaller pieces of pie." So the initial anti-imperialist approach becomes a nationalist one which does not hesitate to blame the Kurds as the ones which cause problems and who are the pawns of imperialist USA.

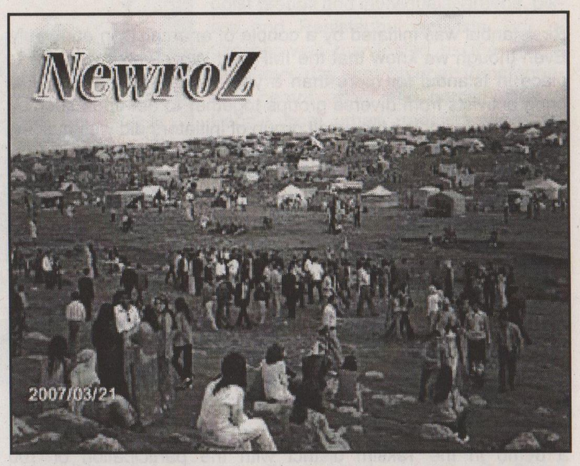
On the other hand, the Turkish popular movement, as it is "modernist", is divided from the Kurdish movement, whose theory is getting closer to anarchism by its relentless criticism of State-centred socialism. Especially over the last ten years, the Kurdish movement has turned away from a State-centred struggle to a more thorough idea of social revolution. This is sometimes named as "democratic confederalism" or sometimes "democratic comunalism" etc. But we can say this theory is getting richer with the views of social ecology, inspired by the teachings of Murray Bookchin.

What would you expect from the international libertarian and solidarity movement?

Globalisation of power is making resistance global today. Having information about the resistance from all over the world gives us hope and strength to cope with the struggle against the system. We believe that we can expand our resistance by this international solidarity network. We, as those who oppose capitalism, racism, sexism, State's authority etc., need each other under current circumstances, when capitalism increasingly controls the lives of the individuals and the Nation States have a more strategic role in this new order of global capitalism.

We believe that we can learn many things from other people's experiences. Firstly, it is really important to share your experiences with groups like ours which has less experience. These shared experiences could assure us to solve the problems that we face while spreading anarchism in our lands.

Anarchists has mostly been organised for short term goals, with small campaigns carried by little groups until recently. International solidarity is crucial to make anarchism gain a social character with long-term goals. We need to share our experiences in the process of these long-term projects. We got the spirit of 1850's but we are acting since 2004. We are expecting, for example, from you who have a revolutionary tradition in Latin America, to share your experiences and to listen to ours.



Footnotes

[1] Scenario of a Kurdish rebellion in 1927 that declared the Kurdish Republic of Komara Agiriyê, that lasted from 1927 to 1931, when it was crushed by the Turkish army.

[2] Region of another rebellion in 1937.

[3] Leader of a rebellion that extended to the Diyarbakir region in 1925.

[4] The Agha system actually works as a State within the State. These tribal chiefs had been given absolute power in their villages in order to contain the PKK armed struggle (especially since 1984). They have been armed to the teeth by the State, with their own paramilitary gangs called the "village guards", who are responsible of countless atrocities (including massacres, torture, etc.) Related Link: http://ahali.info/php/wp/

From their webpage: http://ahali.info/php/wp/?cat=15

"we are the ones have a black future. we are anarchists. with the refuse to be educated we believe in the destruction of education slots and that the universal information is in the streets. we hate the teachers testing our knowledge with his/her authority and imposing examination system. we are organising for a free world…"

We met with the Meha workers in the resistance tent built up opposite the factory.. as today for 48 days factory is closed and the machines were stolen by the bosses. as long as Dehaks exists, we are all Kawa Ahali attend the Newroz celebrates with a kurdish banner means "As long as Dehaks exists, we are all Kawa".



Interview with member of 'Resistanbul'

1) What and who is 'Resistanbul', how and when did you come together, what were the aims?

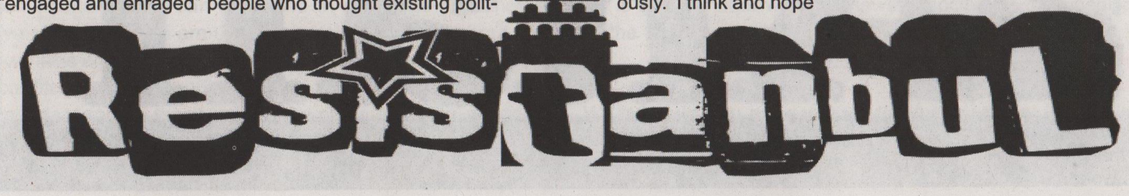
Resistanbul was initiated by a couple of anarchists in early July. Even though we knew that the IMF and WB summit would take place in Istanbul for more than a year, it was rather difficult to bring activists from diverse groups together to act upon such an issue. The first thing the small group of initiators did was building a blog (direnistanbul.wordpress.com). Subsequently an open call for a general meeting was made. The first open meeting was held on July 22 with the participation of 70 activists. In that meeting, the initiators dissolved themselves so as to form a non-hierarchal action network. In the meeting, it was decided Resistanbul should operate by way of individual participation rather than group representation. Initially Resistanbul consisted of anarchists, feminists, lgbtt activist, libertarian Marxists, and ecologists. After the first meeting Resitanbul started to have weekly meetings open for everyone. The first call for a mass mobilization, in which the week of 1-8 October was declared as the carnival of resistance against the IMF and the WB, was translated to almost 20 languages. Resistanbul opened the "season of resistance" on August 5 with a demo in the Taksim district with the participation of 100 activists. From the beginning, Resistanbul aimed at forming a network between diverse groups and individuals from different areas of anti-capitalist resistance. Therefore, Resistanbul did not solely focus on an anti-summit mass mobilization but mainly tried to form a potentially long-lived anti-capitalist network that would operate after the summit.

2) What did you do in the mobilisation time, whom did you want to mobilize and and what means did you use?

When Resistanbul came about there was hardly any other preparation for the IMF and the WB meeting. Socialist parties and groups as well as large unions and confederations had been enjoying a summer laze and had an unconcerned attitude. The first thing we had to do was to announce the upcoming summit and the week of resistance via posters and stickers. Constant street presence—be it a demo or a food not bombs action— was another way of keeping in touch with general public. We also formed a media team which got in touch with reporters and columnists from both mainstream and alternative media with the aim of spreading our message widely. Resistanbul used a combined two-way mobilization tactic, so to speak. One was a broad festive general campaign which aimed at mobilizing those who were fed up with party politics, always-the-same dreary slogans, tedious leaflets and mind-numbing union campaigns. We used witty and to the point slogans, unconventional visuals (or playfully transformed the traditional iconic forms such the "revolutionary fist"), transformed the established demo structure by using our bodies playfully. We also aimed at giving clear and succinct information about our opposition to the IMF and the WB. In addition to leaflets, booklets and wall newspapers we prepared a "propaganda" film, organized solidarity parties with revolutionary dancing and cocktails. For me, this carnivalesque mobilization process worked very well because it attracted many "engaged and enraged" people who thought existing political institutions/structures could not express their political views. The second tactic for mobilization was more in the line of a grassroot one. We aimed at working in areas directly affected by the IMF and the WB policies. In order to achieve this we formed thematic working groups.

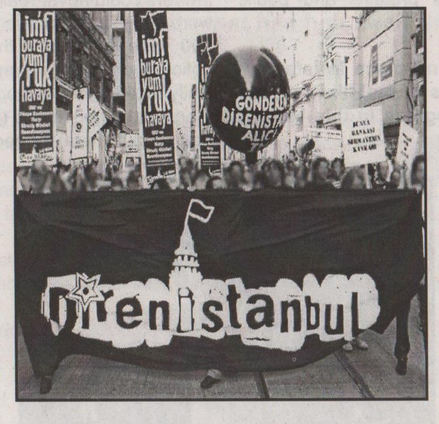
3) On your website there were some declarations of the different working groups on gender, ecology, economics, gentrification, immigrants and neoliberalism. What were the ideas and aims of this groups?

These working groups were formed precisely for such grassroot mobilization in diverse areas of resistance such as urban gentrification, ecological destruction, commercialization of education, labor struggles, and gender issues. These working groups brought different independent grassroots organizations acting out in their areas of contestation together. Through such collaboration we managed to work together with those who are directly aggravated by, say the outcomes of urban gentrification, student groups opposing the education fees, and workers on strikes. These working groups organized local panel discussions, forums, movie screenings, and actions in order to underline the effects of global capitalism, the IMF and the WB policies in their local areas of struggle. They also produced booklets on urban gentrification, water policies, and ecological destruction. In this respect, working groups were highly operative in giving a "content" to the mobilization by constantly explaining what the IMF and the WB are and why we oppose them. These groups also decided on the content and the form of thematic action days in the week of resistance. The efforts of the groups culminated into a series of wall newspaper entitled "resist post" which explained in detail what the IMF and the WB is and the ways in which they intervene in every aspects of our lives. In addition to the above mentioned working groups two other ad hoc working groups were formed in reaction to two urgent events. The first was the 11th International Istanbul Biennial and the other was the riots of immigrant in two detention centers. The Biennial group got together to criticize and act upon the corporately sponsored "communist" Istanbul Biennial and wrote an open letter to invite all artists to the streets against the IMF and the WB summit. The letter created an immediate controversy and attracted a hell of a media attention, which in return helped us to bring the summit in public discussion. The immigration working came together after the riots in two detention centers (one in ?stanbul and the other in Kirklareli). Even though Turkey is a transit immigration country there had been no social movement concerning the issue. Right before the riots a group of people including Resistanbul activist had come together to form a "no border Istanbul" network. The riots gave the push for an immigrant solidarity action in front of the Kumkapi detention center in Istanbul —the first in its kind— with the slogan "no one flees without a reason/ we are all immigrant". The action not only brought the immigrant issue in the agenda of the social movements but also decreased the police repression in detention centers. In this sense, working groups were extremely functional in building a collective resistance from the ground. They brought together people, groups and activists who never worked together previously. I think and hope



that their efforts will culminate into a long-lived anti-capitalist network, whether under the name of Resisanbul or not.

4) What are your critics on imf and world bank and how is this connected to the situation of the people in Istanbul?



IMF and World Bank are institutions that have not emerged just recently. They have existed for more than 60 years, but we became more familiar with these institutions after the 1980s because the number of countries using loans increased. Turkey has always had close ties with these two institutions since 1950s but the 1980 coup d'état was a turning point. As a carefully planned shock therapy, the coup eliminated any kind of social opposition and paved the way for the integration to the global capitalism. IMF and WB are very well known in Turkey since they have been regular guests with their structural adjustment programs over decades. As you know the IMF is actually a brokerage institute, and the WB is a bank doing business on a global scale. Their basic business is to bring together countries that need credit and countries with sufficient cash reserves that are able to create credits. Canada for instance has got enough money to invest into these banks whereas Bangladesh on the other hand is looking for credit to sustain the enormous deficits in their annual budget. IMF and World Bank combine this unity. But the real problem is that with all their good intentions they are not taking actions for a beneficial outcome. When they give out debts the interest is charged anyway. Of course the interest accumulates and is added to the debt, this way a never-ending credit spiral sets off. We know this situation very well because Turkey is one of the countries with the most constant debts. The debts come with certain obligations known as the "recommended" structural adjustment programs which impose privatization, deregulation, limitations of the public budget, cuts in wages and agriculture subsidies etc. Everyone knows that the IMF and the WB are not innocent but are responsible for the economic situation in Turkey. We can even talk abouta strong and widespread public opposition to these institutions. However, this opposition does not have a clear anti-capitalist stance. Mostly it is associated with nationalist tendencies against foreign investment in favor of national capital and investment. What Resistanbul tried to do was putting forward a global anti-capitalist opposition by showing how global capital works hand in hand with the government and national corporations alike; that they should not be thought independently from one another. Also we underlined the fact that urban gentrification, global warming, and GMO products and the use of terminator seeds and the like cannot be separated from the policies of the WB and the IMF.



5) You have called for action days from 1st till 8th of october, what kinds of actions did you arrange? What actions happened on the 6th and 7th of october, the main days of the protests?

We mostly made street demos and mobile road blockages directly marching through the roads or partying with samba on a spot. Between 1st of October to 5th, everyday there have been thematic actions. On the 1st of October, we were in the streets against the social security law with labour and trade unions, socialist parties and other activist groups. We have declared the second day as the 'global resistance day against the ecological destruction of capitalism' and marched on this day while blocking the way to the congress valley with ecologist groups and individuals, greens, bikers and Resistanbul activists. 3rd of October was manifested as the 'global resistance day against urban transformation, gentrification, and homelessness'. People from urban transformation districts, social urbanist collectives, and Resistanbul activists marched to the Beyoglu City Hall with the slogan of "our homes are in our hands". 4th of October, the topic was "global insurrection day against capitalism". The demo began with marching from the Tunnel Square with slogans against capitalism and on the second half of the way, the 'Rhythms of Resistance' samba band participated and also the clown army took their place. This small army of clowns entered in the multinational brands' stores. We passed the first blockage of the riot police into Taksim Square and Rhythms of Resistance played there while clowns were dusting riot police shields. On 6th of October, there was a big demonstration on Taksim Square which was organized by labour unions. Resistanbul gathered at Tunnel Square and marched through the Istiklal Street to Taksim. As soon as we entered the Taksim Square, police attacked the crowd with teargas. After the police attack, leftist and anarchist groups charged into multinational brand stores and banks.

Police went on using too much teargas and a civilian collapsed due to a heart attack in the teargas fog. Although the nearest emergency room was very close, the roads were blocked by police, so he died in the ambulance. Later that day Resistanbul gathered in Nisantasi, a high class residential neighborhood as well as a shopping district. As the police never suspected any sort of protest in the district we easily made our way to the fences in front of the main entrance of the Congress Valley. While Rhythm of Resistance was playing, we marched around the valley and made mobile road blockages on the way through Besiktas. We accidentally ran into a delegate convoy escort and blocked it for a good ten minutes, jumped on the car, shook and scared the hell out of them. On the morning of October 6th, 'Union Against the IMF and the WB' gathered in Pangalti and marched through the Congress Valley. After marching a little, police teargassed heavily and protestors attacked multinational brand stores and banks. In the afternoon, Resistanbul began marching and making mobile road blockages around Besiktas. Then we made our way to Inonu Stadium and go on blocking road in front of the valley. In the evening, to act with solidarity with protestors in custody and decry the police brutality, we marched through Istiklal Street and made a public announcement at Tunnel Square.

6) What other groups and networks did participate in the protests? How and with whom did you cooperate?

Union Against the IMF and the WB (that consists of groups that are mainly marxists and also a local anarchist group), DISK-KESK-TMMOB (Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions,

Confederation of Public Employees Trade Unions, The Union of the Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), EMEP-EDP-TKP (Party of Labour, Freedom and Solidarity Party, Turkey Communist Party), Black Block (local and international anarchists), Anticapitalist Block (a socialist group) participated in the protests. Resistanbul participated mass protests and public announcements with these groups.

7) In 2004, the nato summit was taking place in Istanbul. Could youbenefit from the experiences of mobilisation and actions of this time?Can you see progress in this kind of counter summits?



Although we began mobilisation only two and a half month before the summit, in 2004 the mobilisation began much later. In 2004, the main idea was to gather a black block of anarchists and because of the short mobilisation process, the strategy of blocking the summit was not discussed properly. Black block participated mass protests and riots on the days of summit. Riot police attacked all groups earlier than expected so the protests could not last that long. This time, before main days of protests, we were organized in a more widespread manner. Anti-authoritarian, anarchist, feminist, LGBTT, ecologist and libertarian-marxist individuals formed Resistanbul together to mobilize against the summit. We organized much more independent actions and activities rather than being dependent on mass protests.

8) You mobilized for the action days people from all over turkey and as well as a big amount of activists from europe. What impact through international network and collective protest do you expect for the anarchist movement in Istanbul?

It has been a chance for us to melt both local and international direct action, mobilization and riot tactics and experiences into novel forms of resistance ones which should be more effective than the previous ones. We think that expanding the organization process and spreading the international network will improve the mobilisation and the transfer of experiences.



9) Can you describe the tactics of the cops and other repression agencies against your resistance? Did they attack you as well in the time before the action days? What do you suspect for the time after the summit?

Before summit days we organized several street marches at different places of Istanbul like other leftist groups. Sometimes cops tried to prevent our march on the street, and forced us to pavement because we had blockaded traffic. In such situations we rejected to walk on pavement and usually could do what we want. Of course sometimes tension increased, but as we decided not to use violence against police they had to accept our action in a formal press statement. Rhythm of resistance group and sometimes our clowns were surprised them, and press interested us as well. They did not attack us, but sometimes some cops threatened some of our friends. Several friends arrested by police, but all of them have been left next day or night. We are sure they will watch what we organize next.

10) How will you organize solidarity for the repressed activists? How can people in other places support you?

Officially it was announced that 120 people were taken under custody during the protests on the 6th and the 7th. But the lawyers could never really reach the exact number as the officials were not willing to share the list of arrested. we suspect that over 200 were taken. and there are many who were taken by the police and beaten up and left afterwards. So they were not officially taken under custody. All but two are free now. On the 8th, there was a house raid (possibly there were more but we did not hear about them). 3 people were taken and then set free. We also heard that 1 person was taken by the police during an ID check without any reason and set free again without going thorough any legal procedure. It seems like this is the new strategy they use. Resistanbul wanted to organize a solidarity demo outside the main police station where the protesters taken on the 6th and the 7th. It was canceled because we heard that fascists gathered in front of the building waiting for us. Instead we made a demo in the center against police violence and repression. As for now, we don't know how it will go on. It is a good idea to follow the Resistanbul blog for more details about repression.

11) Two days after - what do you think are the 'results' of the actions, apart from the fact that the summit had to be finished already in the morning of the 7th ;-) ?

Although we had try to organize a mobilization under Resistanbul Coordination, with thousands of communiqué, poster, sticker, stencil, demonstrations and appearance at media, this became may be the most effective propaganda work against the summit. In two months all media (radios, tvs, newspapers, internet news portals, even foreign media) mentioned the actions of Resistanbul. All other groups also prepared for the summit but, Resistanbul's propaganda work supported all others, not only its own work. Just like a posters words "Insurrection time for Istanbul!", it can be said that our campaign of resistance against the summit together with all other subversive actions prove that the anti-capitalist resistance rise in Istanbul. For us, the main important outcome of resistanbul was that we managed to form an anti-capitalist network of diverse groups, those who never struggled together before.

12) Will you continue with resistanbul? How?

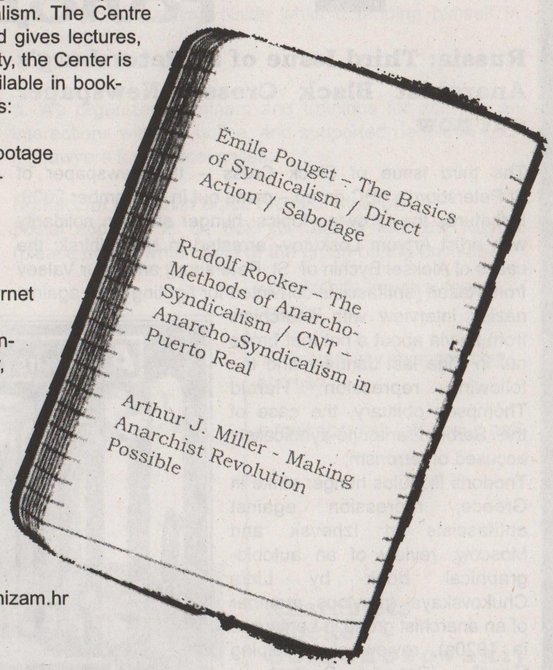
We think that Resistanbul network should be continued and work as an anti-hierarchical anti-capitalist action group. We will organize some decision making gathering and will discuss how we will go on, whether under the name of Resistanbul or not. For now, there some issues in front of us like Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture, and the organization of No-Border camp. We can do a lot of things against this "Capital City" discourse, against gentrification processes of Istanbul etc.

Centre for Anarchist Studies Croatia

This is an article about the foundation of the Centre for Anarchist Studies (CAS) in Croatia and about its web site that has just been finished.

What is the Centre for Anarchist Studies?

Centre for Anarchist Studies (CAS) is an NGO founded with the goal to study anarchist theory, practice and history, emphasizing anarcho-syndicalism. The Centre collects anarchist literature, publishes anarchist publications, and gives lectures, seminars and public discussions. Because of the publishing activity, the Center is registered as an NGO, since this will make our publications available in bookstores and libraries. So far, the Center has published three books:



1) Émile Pouget – The Basics of Syndicalism / Direct Action / Sabotage
2) Rudolf Rocker – The Methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism / CNT – Anarcho-Syndicalism in Puerto Real
3) Arthur J. Miller - Making Anarchist Revolution Possible

Center's web site

The Centre's web site is a public good. It's designed as an internet archive of
libertarian literature on Croatian language. The archive will be constantly updated with new texts about anarchist/libertarian theory, practice, and history and with interviews and photos.

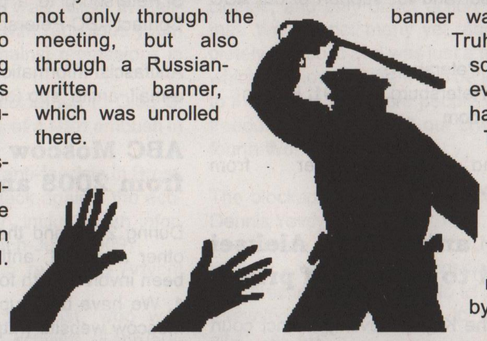
The Center wants to give as much information as it can to its users in
order to break prejudices about anarchism as an idea that advocates chaotic, unorganized and Utopian society. We want to explain and elucidate anarchism as a legitimate political ideology with its theory, practice and history.

If you want more information, please contact us at kontakt[at]anarhizam.hr

Salud!

Prague protest against police terror in Russia

Group of approximately fifteen anarchists met in front of Russian embassy on 18 July 2009, 9 PM, to support russian anarchists' calling up for a day of global actions against police terror and persecution of Vsevold Ostapov in Russia. The goal of meeting was the expression of protest against the persecution of Vsevold Ostapov and some of his friends, who had been accused, arrested and tortured. Police also prevented them from access to health care. The protest against state terror and for solidarity with its victims was articulated not only through the meeting, but also through a Russian-written banner, which was unrolled there.



After the end of the meeting, the banner was brought to object in Truhláøská street, where squatters from recently evicted squatt Milada now have their social center. The banner was hung from the windows of the social center to show squatter's opinion on state repression against anarchist movement to the passerbyes .

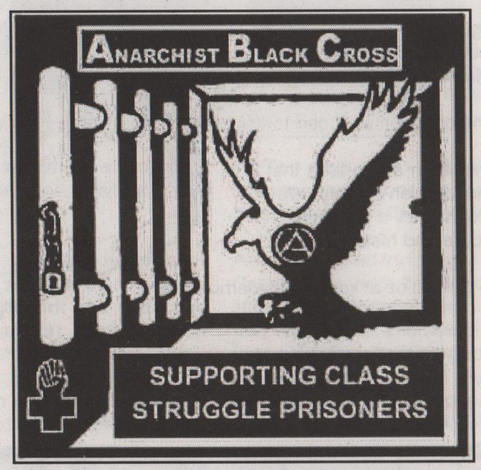
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

№ 3
ЧЁРНЫЙ КРЕСТ
Газета Анархического черного креста в Петербурге

ГОЛОДОВКА

Russia: Third Issue of St.Petersburg's Anarchist Black Cross Newspaper out now

The third issue of Black Cross – the newspaper of St.Petersburg's ABC group – came out in September 2009. It features the following topics: hunger strike in solidarity with artist Artyom Loskutov- arrested in Novosibirsk; the cases of Aleksei Bychin of St. Petersburg and Artur Valeev from Kazan (antifascists convicted for fighting back against nazis); interview with anarchists from Latvia about a riot that broke out in Riga last January and the following repression; Harold Thompson obituary; the case of the Serbian anarcho-syndicalists accused of terrorism;
Thodoris Iliopulos hunger strike in Greece; repression against antifascists in Izhevsk and Moscow; review of an autobiographical book by Lidia Chukovskaya (previous member of an anarchist group in Leningrad in 1920s), review of "Helping Hand" (Crowd Control / Agathocles split cd, benefit for ABC) and another benefit compilation CD called "Destroying Prisons". In the "history of resistance" section there is an article about anarchist Andrey Andreev (1882-1962) who spent 20 years in Russian prisons. There are also a couple of letters, a list of addresses of imprisoned activists all over the world and some other stuff.



Your donations for the paper and for support of our ABC group will be
very appreciated.
Anarchist Black Cross – St.Petersburg
Contacts: P.O. Box 32, St. Petersburg, 194291, Russia
e-mail – a4kpiter (at) gmail.com

You can download the paper from http://bakunista.nadir.org/ website.

St. Petersburg - antifascist Aleksei Bychin sentenced to 5 years of prison

On the 8th of May 2009 the Kuybyshevskiy district court sentenced Aleksei Bychin to 5 years of prison for deliberate grievous bodily harm to two or more persons (article 111, part 3 of the Russian criminal
code).
In a fight which took place on the night of 12-13th of June 2008, Aleksei pulled a knife when defending himself against two nazis who walked down Nevsky Prospekt in St. Petersburg making nazi greetings and shouting "sieg heil". Aleksei wounded one nazi with a knife, after that they ran away. Eventually it became known that one of the nazis is a police officer. On the 18th of July 2008 Aleksey was arrested.

According to the defence, Aleksei was not planning to kill someone, and originally he was just defending himself but eventually took measures which overpassed necessary means of self-defence. There is a number of contradictions and attempts to hide facts in statements of the victims. The defence insists that Bychin should be sentenced according to less serious article and released, taking into account confessions of the accused, and the fact that he has already partially paid the medical bill of one of the victims.
On the 4th of August 2009 an appeal against the court decision was dismissed by St.Petersburg city court. The hearing lasted 3 minutes and was just a mere formality.
We consider this sentence unjust, and we are sure that Aleksei was acting out of of self-defence.
In September 2009 Aleksei was transferred from St.Petersburg to a prison somewhere in central Russia. Contact ABC-Petersburg if you need his address.

Antifascist Information Group
e-mail: antifa_spb (at) riseup.net

ABC Moscow – summary of activities from 2008 and the first half of 2009

During 2008 and the first half of 2009 we (together with other anarchist, anti-fascists and Social initiatives) have been involved with following projects:
1. We have been updating the news section on the ABC Moscow website (http://avtonom.org/abc) with translations of news on repression and political prisoners from Russian

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

to other languages and vice versa. We also maintained an English language section of the website.

2. We have maintained prisoner lists on the website, and written to some prisoners abroad. We have also maintained contacts with other Anarchist Black Cross groups in various countries and cities.

3. We published 3 brochures in Russian; "Juridical and practical advice for activist encounters with the police", "Computer security for libertarian activist" and "Guide for a culture of activist security and counteractions against repressions". We maintain some sections of the Anarchist Black Cross in the journal "Avtonom".

4. We were searching for financing and people for finishing the cases, which were once taken up by lawyer Stanislav Markelov. Markelov was defending many anti-fascist and social activists, among them Chechens who suffered from actions of Russian army. Stanislav was murdered the 19th of January 2009 whilst returning from a press-conference related to one of his cases.

5. We spread information about the following famous (or less so) cases, and provided them material aid:
-The case of the anti-fascist Aleksey Olesinov (since November 2008)
-Repressions against anti-fascists of Izhevsk (April-May 2009)
-The criminal case against anti-fascists of Naberezhnye Chelny (May-June 2009)
-Charges of "extremism" against anarchists of Tyumen (January-March 2009)
-Providing the anarchist prisoner P. with a much needed lawyer since he was thrown into isolation four times during the autumn and winter of 2008-2009 after some of his writings about his prison life were published on the internet. He was also provided with some parcels.
-Solidarity actions with anarchists and anti-fascists repressed in Ukraine (after a Nazi was killed in self-defense during a fight in May 2009), with rebellious youth of Greece in December 2008, and against repressions in France (in June 2008)
-We financed two prescriptions of medical aid to Oleg S, who is still suffering the consequences of a Nazi ambush in Izhevsk February 2004.
-Financial legal support of Belarusian anti-fascists in Brest.
-Support to the victims of the Nazi attack against the ecological protest camp in Angarsk 2007, including an information campaign about the case (March-June 2009)
-Participation in the media campaign regarding Artyom Loskutov, arrested in Novosibirsk
-Fundraising for hospital bill of anti-fascist, who was stabbed by Nazis in action of LGBT activists (February-September 2008).
-Fundraising for family members of Aleksey Krylov, murdered by Nazis on his way to a punk concert in March 2008.
-Fundraising for hospital bill of anti-fascists from Omsk, ambushed by Nazis in May of 2008.
-Fundraising for lawyer bill of anti-fascist Aleksey Bychin, accused of assaulting Nazis while defending himself in June of 2008.
And some other cases

6. We organized seminars and trainings for activists on interactions with the police, and supported people in finding lawyers for political cases.

Ñontact for Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow:
postal address: P. O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia
(please do not write name of the group on the envelope)

website:http://www.avtonom.org/abc

myspace:www.myspace.com/abcmsc

e-mail:abc-msk (at) riseup.net



Anarchists blocked Lomonosovskij Prospekt in Moscow

On 22 September anarchists of Unity crew and other activists blocked the road on Lomonosovskij Prospekt in Moscow close to metro station Universitet. That way, they wanted to pull public attention to police brutality.
14 anarchists, some of them from Unity crew, closed down the 6 lanes of the street. All of them already were confronted with arbitrary violence from the police or people in plain clothes, and only direct action of united people can stop that. We are not many yet, and this blockade was completely symbolic and was just a training and an example, by which methods the fight can be lead. The more people take to the streets, the more people will stand together for their freedom, the better will our chances for victory be in the fourth World War.

The blockade took place with four banners: „They are all Dennis Yevsyukov – MVD, FSB, FSO, FSKN", „The state is your prison – free yourself!", „No to police tyranny!", „Be realistic – demand the impossible!". The activists shouted with fires in their hands: „No to police tyranny!", „Hands off Vsevolod Ostalov!", „Take to the streets, take back the city!", „ACAB".

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Latvian comrades need support



On January 13, 2009 a riot broke out in Riga (Latvia)...

The authorities of the country had lost all trust of the population, industry and agriculture had been completely destroyed, and IMF credits wasted and the people could not pay even for their very modest flats. Mass unemployment and misery was the immediate threat for many thousands.

Under these circumstances, after a meeting organized by opposition parties, some of the people tired of the lies told by politicians and powerlessness of the opposition took to radical action. They threw stones into the Saeim (Latvian parliament) windows, overthrew police cars, and broke into Latvias Balsams shop, belonging to a well-known Latvian politician. This was a spontaneous outburst; it had not been prepared by any organization. People of different social classes, ethnic origin, age and political views took part in the riot.

"The participants of the riot are inexperienced in legal matters and the authorities make use of it..."

Now the cases of 46 participants of the event are in court. They are charged for participation in mass disturbances (Art.225 part 2). If they are found guilty they will be sentenced to an enormous prison term - from 8 to 12 years. The rebels did not kill anybody and the material damage they caused is not so high, yet, **the authorities are afraid of new riots and treat those who dared to challenge them with extreme cruelty. The people who defended their right to live are judged like criminals.**

"The authorities want the accused people to compensate for the tear gas used to suppress them..."

The participants of the riot are inexperienced in legal matters and the authorities make use of it. For example, investigators called the suspects and recommended them to come for interrogation without a lawyer. There is a large list of policemen who demand that the rebels indemnify not only for physical damage (like bleeding noses) but also for moral (!) damage, which is estimated many times higher than the physical one. The list of material damage includes the "expenditure", it means the authorities want the accused people to compensate for the tear gas used to suppress them.

We appeal to our comrades all over the world, to human rights community - demand the end of prosecution of participants of January 13 events. Latvia wants to have an image of a humane European country where the government serves the interests of the people and your protest against the prepared act of state terrorism which mail spoil the "credit rating" of the country can play the crucial role in liberating the people.

08.08.09

Direct Action Group
dir_act_lat@riseup.net

It is important to draw public attention to the case and execute pressure on Latvian government. Letters to the prosecutor office could be sent. Here is a possible version, it has the address and telephone of the office.

Kalpaka bulvaris 6, Riga, LV-1801
Latvijas Republikas Prokuratura
To General Prosecutor of Latvia Janis Maizitis

Sample Letter

Tel +37167044400

On January 13, 2009 a riot broke out in Riga (Latvia). The authorities of the country had lost all trust of the population, industry and agriculture had been completely destroyed, and IMF credits wasted and the people could not pay even for their very modest flats. Mass unemployment and misery was the immediate threat for many thousands.
Under these circumstances after a meeting organized by opposition parties some of the people tired of the lies told by politicians and powerlessness of the opposition took to radical action. They threw stones into the Saeim (Latvian parliament) windows, overthrew police cars, and broke into Latvias Balsams shop, belonging to a well-known Latvian politician. This was a spontaneous outburst; it had not been prepared by any organization. People of different social classes, ethnic origin, age and political views took part in the riot. The rebels did not kill anybody and the material damage they caused is not so high, yet, the authorities are afraid of new riots and treat those who dared to challenge them with extreme cruelty. The people who defended their right to live are judged like criminals. The investigation was held with numerous violations. The participants of the riot are inexperienced in legal matters and the authorities make use of it. For example, investigators called the suspects and recommended them to come for interrogation without a lawyer. There is a large list of policemen who demand that the rebels indemnify not only for physical damage (like bleeding noses) but also for moral (!) damage, which is estimated many times higher than the physical one. The list of material damage includes the "expenditure", it means the authorities want the accused people to compensate for the tear gas used to suppress them.
We demand the end of prosecution of participants of January 13 events.

Report from General Assembly of Autonomous Action

This year I was privileged to attend the 8th annual conference of Autonomous Action, an anarchist group with branches across Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine as an observer representing the Anarchismo project.

The conference was held at a secret location in the Ural Mountains where a campsite was set up from resources laboriously carried uphill over a 6 hour hike. This was a necessary precaution police attention and in addition provided economical conference accommodation in a country were poverty is widespread.

The campsite was beautiful; nestled in unspoilt conifer forest teeming wildlife, much of it unfortunately of the insect variety. The comrades were the most fantastic hosts, going out of their way again and again to make me feel welcome, introduce me to people, find me translators, put me up in their homes before and after the conference and generally take very good care of me during my stay.

During the lengthy journey to the campsite the comrades were able to explain something of the recent history of Russian Anarchism to me which I found very interesting. After having been totally crushed by the Bolshevik movement following the Russian Revolution, Anarchists in Soviet Russia faced the task of rebuilding a movement from scratch in the 1980's when Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of Perestroika once again permitted political opposition. This was no easy task given that the number of living anarchists in a country larger than Europe could literally be counted on one hand. The first task of anarchists in the eighties was therefore propaganda initiatives to inform others of the anarchist philosophy.



As in other countries, the anarchist movement has been influenced by subcultural movements such as punk. The environmental movement has also been a large influence. In particular the Rainbow Keepers, a Russian equivalent of Earth First active in the 1990's was influenced by anarchist ideas and organisational principles and has been instrumental in popularising anarchist ideas amongst activists.

Coordination of groups leading to the formation of Autonomous Action began around 2000, as an attempt to organise the diffuse elements of anarchist activity into a federation capable of defending itself and coordinating in a more organised way.

Autonomous Action now has around 120 members. 12 branches sent delegates to the General Assembly representing Tyumen,Ufa, Nizhni Novgorod, Moscow, Irkutsk, Magnitogorsk, Novosibirsk, Barnaul, and Minsk. In addition two new groups based in Cheboksary and Kazan were admitted to the federation during the assembly and an individual member attended from St. Petersburg.

Also attending as guests were the Union of Autonomous Youth, the youth wing of the Siberian Federation of Labour, a syndicalism union with approximately 6000 members, mainly in air traffic control, healthcare and public transport. 48 individuals were present in total. Within the Autonomous Action, individuals and groups must agree to abide by the manifesto and organisational principles. A proposal passed during the conference also requires members to refrain from publicly voicing opinions that contradict agreed AD positions. Beyond this, groups have a large degree of autonomy to adapt their activity to local conditions.

Joint projects and Campaigns are decided through conference but participation by local groups is not compulsory. Resolutions on joint activity have the status of recommendations. The conference resolved several joint projects including the publication of a "how to" activist guide and a national campaign against the Centre for the Prevention of Extremism, a national police initiative targeting activists.

Decisions are made on a national level in three ways: by a vote or the reaching of consensus between group delegates, by conference or by a referendum of members.

Delegates councils are held every two weeks using the internet. Each group is expected to meet regularly in order to discuss the agenda and mandate a delegate. The delegates council have limited powers compared to the conference, for example they are not able to change any rules, or admit collective members or expel members.

Conference makes decisions by consensus if possible and by 2/3rds vote if not. Members not present can send mandates.

The referenda of members allows decisions to be taken on any important issues that come up between conferences. They can be initiated by any group and decided within one month. As with conference consensus is sought first. The period allowed for attempting to reach a consensus is one month after which a 2/3rds majority vote is accepted. This period is shorter than previously as the spread of the internet across the region has now reached the point where all groups have at least one member who is able to obtain internet access. This is improving the efficiency of decision making.

The conference began each morning with physical training. I'm ashamed to say I never found out what this involved, considering that the hike up the mountains on the first day was quite physical enough and preferring to spend my mornings dipping my feet lazily in the river.

The programme then continued with discussion on various subjects often lasting well into the night. Topics included Anti Fascism, Anarchist Black Cross, the economic crisis and training in how to deal with the police.

There was also decision making on national proposals. These were mostly of an administrative nature but also included a proposals for a shared programme of action. There was also discussion of strategy and the direction Autonomous Action should take in the future.

A large amount of the conference was given over to reports from each group on their activity and the situation in their region, followed by discussion and suggestions. This provided an extremely interesting overview of activity and an insight into the working culture of Autonomous Action. I was impressed by the respectful and comradely tone of discussions and the willingness of participants to listen to constructive criticism.

The overwhelming majority of the groups gave significant time in their reports to an account of antifascist and Anarchist Black Cross Activity. The fascist movement in the region is very large although the exact numbers are obscure as many fascists are organised in a decentralised fashion into street gangs.

The neonazi movement adopts a radical rather than a parliamentary approach and aims at establishing superiority on the street and crushing political opposition as a precursor to seizing state power. The popular slogan "Russia for the Russians" is

"If we truly aim to be part of making history we need to remake ourselves as an organised, theoretically clear movement to become an effective part of revolutionary change."

For a Free Humanity ...For Anarchism



given effect by regular attacks on migrants. The existence of these movements clearly necessitates a militant response from the anarchist movement. Comrades reported that violence is escalating, frequently involving the use of knives where previously only fists had been used.

Nationally, 9 comrades have been killed by fascists in the last few years: Nikolay Girenko, Timur Kacharava, Aleksandr Ryukhin, Stanislav Korepanov, Ilya Borodaenko, Fyodor Filatov, Stanislav Markelov, Anastasia Baburova and Ilya Dzhaparidze Of these, Timur Kacharava and Ilya Borodaenko and Anastasia Baburova were anarchists, and Ilya and Anastasia also members of Autonomous Action.

There is a great deal of racism in wider society against people from the Caucasus and central Asia which the fascists are able to exploit. One comrade told me that more people would probably be involved in fascist movements were it not for the fact that the soviet years had engendered a sense of cynicism towards political expression of any sort!

Only a few groups were able to report superiority on the streets or progress in preventing the fascists from organising. The more common anarchist experience is of being outnumbered locally by fascists. The level of state attention on anarchists is also high. The movement has political prisoners and many groups had experienced harassment from the Centre for Prevention of Extremism. This partially reflects on the militant tactics employed by antifa but is not wholly explained by this. Although the delegates from Ufa reported that general political activism is distinguished from militant anti fascism and is tolerated locally this experience is unrepresentative and in any case is only a recent development there.

Unsurprisingly therefore, participation in the Anarchist Black Cross is a very popular activity for members of Autonomous Action. Anarchist Black Cross activities include collecting money for lawyers fees, collecting and publishing information about prisoners, educating activists in basic legal rights and tactics when dealing with the police and supporting resistance by prisoners.

Anarchist Black Cross activity is coordinated over the Autonomous Action email list. This is apparently not wholly efficient and some difficulty was reported in obtaining accurate information. A proposal was made to delegate responsibility for some tasks to named individuals but this was decided against on the basis of wishing to avoid the creation of an elite of ABC activists and in favour of generalised responsibility shared by all.

Apart from Anti Fascism and the ABC, groups reported a large range of other activities including, animal rights campaigning, environmental campaigns, propaganda production and movie clubs, food not bombs initiatives and attempts to organise factory workers and tenants and student unions and to campaign on bread and butter issues such as the price of public transport.

Anarchists, particularly in Ufa are also involved in LGBT issues, Russia is quite socially conservative and the rights of LGBT people are not always respected. For example a Gay Pride march in Moscow was subject to a counter demonstration by members of the Russian Orthodox church amongst other reactionaries.

Anarchists appear to have achieved the greatest public support for environmental campaigns, understandably so as many of the projects opposed are harmful to local people as well as to the environment more generally.

It would be fair to say, however, that the pursuit of social organising and campaigning work is often overshadowed by the pressing need for survival and self defence. This is not to criticise Autonomous Action, which struck me as successfully maintaining a decent organisation under tremendous pressure. One delegate, in a particularly beleaguered region reported that "All we do is just hang banners and fight for survival."

Other delegates commented on increased organisation challenges facing their groups as a consequence of repression from police or neo nazi's. For example groups may find that membership suffers as individuals become dissuaded from remaining in the movement. This prompts a need for greater recruitment activity and a relatively high turn over of activists, leading to a greater requirement for internal education and training.

Autonomous Action appears capable of responding effectively to these challenges although solidarity from abroad is of course always welcome! The conference gave the impression of a small movement but one which is focused and well organised. One comrade commented that although membership had been steady at around 100 people for the last few years but that the quality of participants had increased terms of serious and self discipline.

All in all a fantastic bunch of comrades! I can only end the report by thanking them all for their hospitality over an inspiring and informative week.

Hradec Kralove: Against the state terrorism of Israel

A meeting of organization SION took place on Ba• ka square on Monday 19 January 2009, in order to support state of Israel's assault on Gaza Strip. Sionists wanted to legitimize state terrorism pointed to Palestinian civilians. Contrariwise, local anarchists connected with regional branch of Czechoslovakia anarchist federation – East (ÈSAF – Èeskoslovenská anarchistická federace) and decided to come out publicly against politics of Israel, which is supported by SION. They unrolled a banner with the lettering: "For peaceful coexistence in Palestine" and were distributing ÈSAF flyer titled "Solidarity with Palestinian people". This flyer expresses anarchist attitude to contemporary events in the Middle East and solidarity with innocent victims, both Palestinians and Israelis.



Report from Anarchist Forum in Belarus

On 3-5 July, while the capital of Belarus was swarming with policemen guarding the Day of Independence, an anarchist forum was held in the forest near Minsk. The forum gathered anarchists and the people supporting them from all regions of Belarus as well as from Russia, the Ukraine and Poland.The day before, the initiators of the gathering laid the foundation of the camping: they created a minimum everyday infrastructure and developed the place for holding debate. Afterwards, the newly arrived participants took an active part in the camp maintenance: built a stove in the kitchen, brought water to the place, hewed the wood, cooked.Within the framework of the forum different kinds of discussions, workshops and seminars were held, such as labour movement, antinuclear resistance, transportation, activists' security, Anarchist Black Cross, methods of antifascism, migration, gender problems, street medics, CIRCA etc. A movie "The Take" about modern forms of labour movement by Canadian journalist and writer Naomi Klein was screened. The participants from the Ukraine and Russia passed on their own experience, local activists tried to solve some practical problems of connections between themselves as well as the consolidation of like-minded people. Some new printed and multimedia editions were presented incl. those prepared specially for the sections and adapted to the Belarussian situation. Hot debate followed while discussing methods of anarchist actions, for example concerning labour movement, were a controversy between anarcho-syndicalists and autonomists started. The workshops, especially in medical aid, were of great use. The variety of the topics helped people to learn many new and useful things, although not always compromise and practical results were obtained.The serious discussions didn't prevent the participants from maintaining the camp, communicating and forging relationships. Leisure activities pleased most of the participants – a disco and an acoustic concert of "PolitZek" ("Political Prisoner") at night gave place to football and other party games during the day.This event allowed a possibility to discuss some important things and to try to decide something together, to feel the ability to create a micro community, to start relationships with new people from different towns and, what is more important, to get inspired and encouraged by the experience of each other, directing our efforts to the realization of our dreams and different projects.

Antinuclear Resistance in Belarus

In Belarus, nuclear energy is a very sensitive issue. The Chernobyl disaster in 1986 had grave consequences for the Belarusian population, which are felt up till now. There are no nuclear power plants in Belarus.

However, the authoritarian regime of the president Lukashenko has announced plans to build one. At the same time, it's cutting on the support for victims of Chernobyl. The decision was made with the active support of the international nuclear lobby. The construction is to be undertaken by a Russian corporation "Rosatom". It is to be held in a seismically active zone, several dozens kilometers away from Lake Naroch – the largest lake in Belarus, which is ecologically unique for our country and is a tourist attraction. On the construction $4 billion will be spent, which otherwise could be outlaid for development of alternative energetic. Ten months ago Antinuclear Resistance was formed in Minsk, the anarchist group's main aim is to stop the government's plans to build this nuclear power plant. The group is only growing and starting activity, but now it's one of the most active collectives involved in trying to stop the construction of nuclear plant.

Actions of Antinuclear Resistance:

- In November 2008 group of activists went to the Astraviec with leaflets, and with attempt to speak with people about the problem. It was a first step of spreading information in the area about the danger of the nuclear power plant. As a result from talks with people we got that many of them are against nuclear power plant, but also due to state propaganda people in the city are thinking that the power plant will bring new working places, and develop infrastructure in the city.
- On the evening of March 12th, a few activists of Antinuclear Resistance drew some slogans on the concrete fence of exhibition center of BelExpo, where there was an exhibition of nuclear energy. The slogans where; "Íåò ÀÝÑ" ("No to Nuclear Station") and "ÀÝÑ? ÍÀÒ ÑÏÀÑÈÁÎ!" (Nuclear Station? No, thank you).
- During the night from 25th to 26th of April, before the annual demonstration in memory of victims of Chernobyl , few people in Baranovichi made a graffiti attack, spraying antinuclear and protests slogans on
administrative buildings in the city. Unfortunately three people were arrested this night. From the words of the police, the mayor of the city took on personal responsibility of the case. At the 28th of April they faced a
court and got 165 dollars fine. After three months the city public utility authorities tried to get 1100 dollars more from the guys, but at the end it didn't worked out for them.
- On April 26th, Antinuclear Resistance took part in the demonstration in the anarchist column with banner "Àëüòåðíàòèâà åñòü" (There is an alternative) and green'n'black flags.

On August 23rd, near the place where the nuclear station will be built, the Antinuclear Day of Actions took place. Ecologists and anarchists from Minsk, Grodno and Moscow supported local people who are standing out against construction of nuclear power plant. Public got the brochure about the danger of nuclear energy. Also two banners were dropped in local villages: 15 meter banner «Àñòðàâåöêàÿ ÀÝÑ? Äçÿêóé, íå òðýáà!» (Astraviec nuclear power plant? No, thanks!) and banner «Íåò ÀÝÑ!» (No to NPP!). The action was made together with "Áåëî ðóññêîé àíòèÿäåðíîé êàìïàíèè" (Belarus antinuclear campaign) and Russian group "Ýêî çàùèòà!" (ecodefence).

- On the morning of 7th of September slogan "Íåò ÀÝÑ" was drawn on the building where the Direction of Nuclear Power Plant Construction is situated.

The anarchist's sites on the topic:

- http://belarusantiatom.info/ – antinuclear resistance
- http://anr.noblogs.org/ – antinuclear blog

The ecological groups we cooperate with:

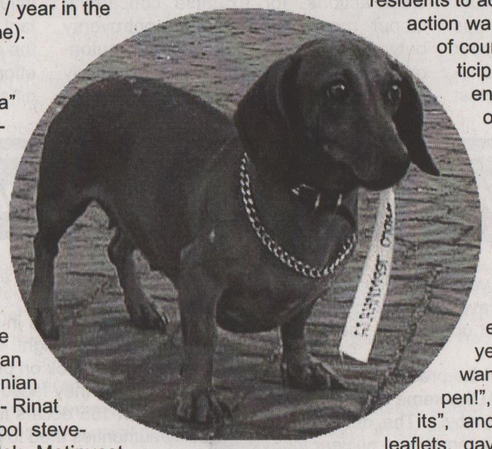
- Ecodefence! (Russia) - http://antiatom.ru/
- Belarusian antinuclear campaign - http://www.atomby.net/

Report from the eco-camp in Sevastopol in August this year

"Sunny Crimea - Yes! Yes! Yes!
Coal smoke - No! No! No!
No to coal terminal, no to criminal capital!"

Chants such as above, decorated the month of August in the city of Sevastopol, located in the south western part of Crimean peninsula. More than a hundred eño-activists from post-Soviet territory (Ukraine, Russia, Belarus) and Western European countries (Poland, Germany, France, Sweden and others) arrived in the eco-camp to act together against the construction of the coal terminal, scheduled to start this fall with large business monopoly unloading and reloading the field work.

About the problem
Stevedoring company "Avlita" intends to build a coal terminal with capacity of 8.5 million tons / year in the centre of Sevastopol (Crimea, Ukraine).



Information
Stevedoring company "Avlita" (Sevastopol) specializes in stevedoring (loading) work and transporting services. The company is primarily involved in transportation of metal, but also serves a grain terminal with capacity of 2 million tons a year, put into operation in April 2004. 77,12% of Avlita shares belong to the Cyprus company 'Metalukr Holding Limited', which represents the interests of the group Metinvest, controlled by Ukrainian businessman and member of Ukrainian parliament from the Party of Regions - Rinat Akhmetov. Actual owner of Sevastopol stevedoring company "Avlita" is 'Donetsk Metinvest Holding' – the managing company of Metinvest. The rest 22,88% of shares are owned by the Cyprus company L.I.T.A.T. Offshore Company Limited.

Mission of eco-camp
To help organizing local activists in the fight against the destruction of the Black Sea ecosystem.

Purpose of eco-camp
Do everything possible to prevent the construction of such a dangerous object in the city of Sevastopol on the Black Sea coast. Camp participants advocated transition to alternative energy sources, environmentally-friendly industry, for clean and waste-free life activity. They demand public environmental monitoring of business activity.

Chronicle
International eco-camp started, as scheduled, on August 7. But on the night of 5 August (during training camp, which was held from late July to 6 August) people (presumably from a private security company) arrived at the encampment, where at that time about 30 people were presented, and harshly ordered to stop the camp. They destroyed several constructions, filmed the activists and threatened them. The next morning (August 6) the camp moved to another location. The night visit left bad memories, but more steeled us than frightened. And there still left the question: "Who were they?", Because the first thing that those people said was: "Here we found them". The next few days we had to settle completely from scratch in a new place and meet the newcomers. The main flow of people was between 7 and 11 August.

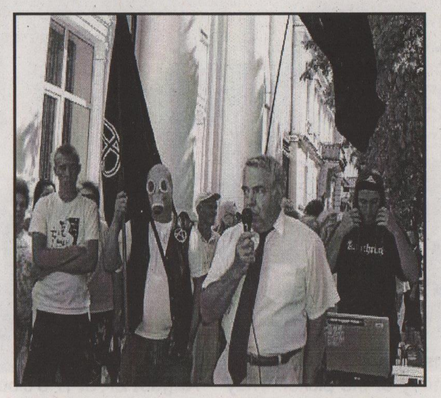
August 11, the camp was already over 60 people, and we organized the first picket in the centre of Sevastopol in Nakhimov square. This picket was the beginning of a series of daily information points (infopoints) where activists with the help of visual materials (posters, banners, black and green flags), loudspeaker and leaflets drew the attention of thousands of residents and visitors to the problem. We planned to wake up the population and bring them to a citywide rally in the city centre (scheduled for August 16, Sunday). Not insignificant was the fact of the collection of signatures. Journalists from regional television came to the picket. An activist from the camp gave them interview in which he revealed major plans of eco-camp and urged local residents to actively join the protest. As a result, our action was covered by regional television, and of course by the Internet. After the rally participants of the eco-camp met with local environmentalists and discussed issues of interaction and cooperation.

August 12, informational pickets continued in other two squares of the city: Nakhimov and '50 years of the USSR'. Each of them brought together 30 activists with black-green and black-red flags, banners and information posters. They shouted the chants "Sunny Crimea - yes, yes, yes! Coal smoke - no, no, no!","We want to breathe, the terminal will not happen!", "Health is more important than profits", and others. Passers-by willingly took leaflets, gave their signatures against the construction of the terminal and spoke with participants of the picket. The vast majority of passers-by were against the construction of the terminal and supported the eco-camp. Even the conductor of the trolleybus, in which we returned from the picket, urged us to stick a leaflet in the salon, which we did. The first victim of the future terminal - Coal mutant - attended one of the pickets. He approached passers-by and, gasping and rolling his eyes, led them to the information poster. With his appearance, he showed the consequences of construction of a coal terminal on the shore of the still clean Black Sea: pollution of air and water space, cancer and other diseases to the residents of the city. Pickets were attended by journalists and TV reporters.

August 13, informational pickets continued in three squares of the city: Nakhimov, Zakharov and '50 years of the Soviet Union' (in 3 of the 4 districts of the city). Pickets gathered a total of about sixty activists. Picket at Nakhimov square was accompanied by drumming and reading of poetry through a loudspeaker. A man wearing a gas mask walked up and down the area and handed out leaflets. Nakhimov square attracted not only the participants of the protest camp, but also representatives of the Security Service. Pickets on Zakharov square and '50 years of the USSR' passed without major incident.

August 14 In the morning an impressive delegation of authorities came to the ecological camp. It included public safety police headed by the Police Chief of the district Mr. Maisak (six persons), migration department (two persons) and Forest Service (two persons). There was a great bunch of cars. Newcomers

checked the passports of the camp participants, wrote down the data, inspected the camp. No special law violations were found, representatives of the Forest service commented a bit on the washing and smoking places. Representatives of the Migration Service checked the passports of the non-Ukrainians and their migration cards. Police persistently asked, "who is in charge of the camp' and did not believe when we told them that all decisions are taken by general assembly. When asked about the reasons for the visit, Mr. Maisak replied that the police "received a signal" from local residents, that there were drunk and rowdy persons in the camp. Well, the police made sure that nothing like this happened. The only strange things is why the Police Chief himself came to inspect a common hooligan case?



August 15, members of the ecological camp held a press conference to tell reporters why they gathered in Sevastopol this summer. Press conference held in the Suvorov square, had a beautiful view of the grain terminal, which Avlita company has already built in Sevastopol. Press conference was held in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere.

August 16 the citywide rally, which had so long been waited for, took place. there were about 200 people in the Nakhimov square at 17:00 . Many of them learned about the rally during the informational pickets. 5 residents took our blank forms for collecting signatures in their districts, and one of them was collecting signatures during the rally. Black and green flags were waving over our heads, we held banners "Businessmen! Clean air and our health is more important than your money!", "Coal terminals - no!" Clear Skies – yes, " Save the city! Protect the future of our children!", "Coal Sevastopol is nonsense! Let's say to coal terminals: No!" etc. There were information posters about the problem. Speakers gave their speeches from the board of a truck "Gazelle", decorated with banners "Everybody for the protection of the Black Sea" and "No to coal terminal". A colourful performance was the highlight of the rally. First several 'children' appeared in the area with merry music and started playing around the terminal, built with cardboard boxes. But a minute later music was replaced with a frightening march and a cardboard boat floated. On board of it Rinat Akhmetov himself, owner of Avlita. He began to bombard the terminal with bags of charcoal, and "children", of course, started coughing and choking. Then out of the chimney of the terminal caustic poisonous smoke poured. Of course, the "children" could not survive unders such conditions and died right at the walls of the "terminal", and Akhmetov rubbed his hands and calculated his profits. At the end of the rally participants of the camp reported that on Tuesday 18 August the camp is to be transferred to the north side of Sevastopol, to the walls of Avlita. A permanent picket was scheduled to start there from August 19.



August 17, our eco-camp was visited by a TV channel NTS. Activists were interviewed, told about plans for the relocation of the environmentalists to the north and about yesterday's rally. It was particularly emphasized that we do not endorse any of political forces and work only by our enthusiasm. On the same day the participants visited the grave of Moscow anarchist Anastasia Baburova, who was killed by an unknown killer on 19 January 2009 in Moscow, together with a known leftist lawyer Stanislav Markelov. She worked as a journalist and wrote, among other publications, in the magazine "Avtonom", and the day before her death, joined the "Autonomous Action" movement. Nastia was born in Sevastopol, so her grave is here. The activists laid flowers to her grave and paid tribute to her with a minute of silence ...

August 18 ecological protest camp solemnly moved to the north side of town. Now the camp had direct view of the existing grain terminal of the company Avlita. The move began with a picket in the Nakhimov square at 16-30. After half an hour the picket evolved into a demonstrative procession through the entire area under the black and green flag with a banner "No to coal terminal!" and cheerful slogans with a loudpseaker. Thus, about 50 ecologists came to the quay and boarded the boat to the North side. In fact, there was a kind of peaceful seizure of the boat - a banner hung from the board, we waved flags from the ship and shouted loud over the Sevastopol bay, "No to coal terminal! No to criminal capital!", "I am not happy with the terminal, Avlita, go to hell!". After the activists came ashore near Zakharov square, the participants of the eco-camp arranged another short picket, and then there was a march across the North side to the new location of the camp. The march was also supported by flags, loud speaker and banners. Passers-by expressed their full support to the activists. After yesterday's visit to the new location of the camp, police and security forces did not stop.

August 19 they notified the eco-camp that it is forbidden to set up bonfires, put up tents and even just to sleep on the ground. Now the camp was located on the North side, near the monastery cemetery, a few hundred meters from the grain terminal of Avlita company. This place is not the forest zone, so environmentalists believed the police claims to be illegal. Andrei Borisov, one of the participants of the camp said: "In general, we can understand the police. They are pressed by the corrupted authorities and forced to "do something with eco-camp." But we are not violating any laws, only support the people of Northern side in their struggle for a clean environment. We filed a notice for a permanent picket in front of the grain terminal of "Avlita" and will be there all the time. Of course, the daily information pickets on Zakharov and Nakhimov squares also will continue."

August 20 eco-camp members held a theatrical action in Chersonesos. Chersonesos is an ancient city located of the territory of Sevastopol, an open-air museum. There are many ancient ruins, restored buildings of the times of ancient Greece, Rome, and medieval Byzantium, and a public beach. Around 10 am ancient people wearing white tunics appeared among the ancient columns. However, snow-white garments were stained with black coal. Resurrected inhabitants of Chersonesos expressed their concern about plans to build a coal terminal in

Sevastopol in rhymes. Having thus expressed their indignation, the guests from the past handed out leaflets against the construction of the terminal to Chersonesos tourists. Then they gave an interview to television in which they spoke about the dangers of the coal terminal and about the eco-camp protest. They hoped that their voice will be heard by the City and the Avlita company.

August 21, ecological protest camp moved to Lubimovka place, a five minute drive from the city. The move was caused by increased pressure by the authorities. As was previously said, 18 August environmentalists staged a protest and set up a permanent a tent camp in the area of the grain complex of stevedoring company Avlita. There were no complaints from the local population and neighbouring businesses. However, on August 18 representatives of the police, the SBU (Ukrainian special forces), the city and the district administration appeared in the camp with the threat to "evict" the environmentalists without any legal ground. August 19 the guests returned and threatened with administrative sanctions. The reason for their claims was the use of tents on the territory of the picket. They wrote down the names of the present activists, and said that the foreign activists will have problems when leaving the country if the tents will not disappear the next day. Environmentalists found these demands unreasonable and violating the laws of Ukraine. But the authorities have made it clear that in any case they will find a reason to evict the camp, and sanitary and epidemiological stations will help them. When officials failed to detect violations of sanitary and epidemiological norms in the place of the picket, they referred to their rich imagination. "You came from ill regions. In Russia, for example, they have found swine flu," - said an employee of Nakhimov sanitation centre to foreign participants. She also tried to find illegal drugs in the camp, looking at an ordinary pack of glue used for distribution of leaflets.



August 22, on the Northern side of Sevastopol they discovered inscriptions made by unknown opponents of the construction of the coal terminal. The opponents of the construction are, according to opinion polls, over 90% of the population of Sevastopol. For more than 5 years, the North side choked with another object of the company "Avlita" (which is going to build the coal terminal) –Grain terminal. Owner of Avlita Rinat Akhmetov - one of Ukraine's wealthiest businessmen - is going to save money on installing filters. However, the authorities of Sevastopol gave him permission to build an even more dangerous enterprise.



August 24, the Independence Day of Ukraine members of art-team "Helm" and of eco-camp made another performance. At about 14.30 a group of people with "Avlita" tables glued to their t-shirts, came to the building of Sevastopol administration, which has allocated land for the construction of environmentally hazardous enterprises. They brought there tombstone and wreaths. The inscription on the tombstone was "Sevastopol 1783 -?". Next to the "tomb" a heap of coal was dumped. Thus, people who care for the environment of Sevastopol, showed that danger threatens the city with the planned construction of the coal terminal. Policemen guarding the building of the City Council removed the wreaths and tombs almost immediately after the rally, but a lot of coal remained near the building for some time.

August 25, another rally against the construction of the coal terminal was held in front of the Sevastopol City Council. The rally was attended by some 200 residents of Sevastopol and the participants of the ecological camp. In addition to them at the meeting there were representatives of public organizations, as well as professional environmental specialists. Closing the meeting, one of the participants stated that the resolution drawn up by participants of the meeting, will be transferred to the city council. The participants demanded them to comply with the will of citizens, and otherwise let elected members of Sevastopol City Council leave their seats, and the citizens will deal with all the issues themselves. While the protesters signed a resolution of the meeting, those participants who were free from this, chanted various slogans.

August 27, at 17 o'clock the inhabitants of Sevastopol and members of the ecological camp (about 60 people) gathered near the Apollonovka quay. According to local residents, 17.20 a boat with managers of Avlita was supposed to come on this quay, located directly in front of the grain terminal. Environmentalists told the residents who gathered there, about the problem. After that the rally participants noticed that the boat apparently belonging to "Avlite, sailed far away from the Apollonovka quay toward the central piers of the city. The rally participants recalled that Avlita boasted that it always is ready for a dialogue with citizens. But at a time when citizens gathered at the quay, to bring their demands to the representatives of "Avlita", the latter turned away from the public. They proposed to organize the next meeting on the North side of Sevastopol, just in front of the office of Avlita "and stand there," until the administration comes out. Also a worker of Sevastopol Marine Plant made a speech during the meeting. This company is experiencing bad times, at a time when "Avlita" is stepping up their output. Meanwhile, in old times Sevastopol Marine Plant gave work to several thousand people (at the coal terminal there will be about 200 positions), and paid for the infrastructure of kindergartens and summer camps, which "Avlita" cannot afford. Despite the fact that the meeting with representatives of the Avlita "did not take place, residents of and the participants of eco-camp intend to continue a campaign of protest against the construction of the coal terminal, scheduled to begin as early as 1 September. Resolution of the meeting was be sent to all governmental offices and to the office of Avlita.

August 29, the international ecological camp in protest against the construction of a coal terminal in Sevastopol was closed. It worked since 7 August and was attended by a total of more than one hundred environmental activists from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Western Europe. But the closure of the camp does not mean the end of the campaign of protest.
Eco-camp closed, but the struggle continues.

Unnoticed News

Mayday in Czech Republic

This year's Mayday anarchist meeting in the Czech Republic organized by *Czechoslovak anarchist federation* (ÈSAF) traditionally took place at Strelecky Ostrov (river island), where anarchists have celebrated it since 1890.



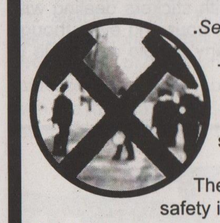


The program was initiated by guitar band *Tyranie Identity* and then a ÈSAF member said a few words about roots of anarchist Mayday tradition, especially about Chicago events of 1888 and people could put flowers on the memorial tablet. After that, crowd of 160 people was going towards the Palacky's square and shouting "Against state and capital! For the liberty autonomy!", "Where is a state, there is no freedom.", carrying banners like "It's not races that separate us, but classes do it" and "United against all forms of oppression" at the front of the march. In the middle of the track a ÈSAF member read a speech about economic crisis (slightly diturbed by a police helicopter).

Mayday continued at the *Mayday Festival* arranged by *Antifascist Action* (AFA), where ÈSAF distributed 3000 leaflets with the information how to cooperate with anarchist movement. AFA offered space to many anti-authorian organizations and collectives, besides ÈSAF to *Anarcho-feminist Group*, *Collectively Against Capital*, *Freedom Not Fear*, *Food Not Bombs* or magazine *A-kontra* and *Milada* squatters. Entry fee was voluntary. Besides the music show (*Envy* from Japan, *La Fraction* from France, *Propaghandi* and *Brutal Knights* from Canada and many musicians from the Czech republic playing punk-rock, hip-hop, techno and so on.) visitors could hear many speeches there ("Anarchism for the 21st century", "Antifascism", "Zapatistas", "How to do grassroots policy", "Crisis and Czech working class"…). For families with small children there was an air castle there. Almost 8000 people visited the festival. Compared to the last year, it is more than double growth. Czech anarchists were very surprised at such support and hope that it will be even better next year.

Coal Miners Killed in Methane Explosion

Miners Claim that Mine - Management Knew of Dangers and Covered them up



.September - Warsaw

Twelve people died in a methane explosion at Ruda Slaska-Kochlowice mine in Poland. Dozens of others were injured, some very seriously.

The "accident" raises the issue of poor safety in Poland's mines again, where profits often take precedence over human life.

Shortly after this incident, a miner showed videos that he made showing how the methane levels could go way over the safe level, but the management of the mine would ignore this. It looks as if there have also been, like in other mines, incidents of falsifying records.

In April, a miner managed to document the methane levels on video camera and provide evidence that people were being forced to work in unsafe conditions. The management ignored this. Then he reported this to various law enforcement agencies, including the ABW (National Security Agency). On April 16, the ABW informed the police and the Mining Office of these offences. Yet nothing seems to have been done.



The ABW brought up the matter again on May 11 after being informed of repeated infringements.

Methane is considered explosive in concentrations over 5%. At the time of the recording, the methane level was 9.1%.

This is just the latest incident which highlights how sometimes mining companies put people's lives at risk so they can earn more money. In 2006, 23 people were killed in the Halemba mine in Ruda Slaska in a blast in an area of the mine which has had high methane levels for months. This high-profile tragedy apparently did nothing to improve the safety conditions in many mines.

Announcements & Appeals

Help needed for anarchist Rafal Gorski!

Following appeal is strongly supported by AbolishingBB collective. Rafal Gorski is close friend of some of us and great comrade which we met many times on actions and discussions; we read his books and other publications. His dedication for anarchism and importance for revival of anarchist movement in Poland in last 20 years is great. Please support Rafal! AbolishingBB

Rafal Gorski; writer, anarchist, member of Anarchist Federation, based in Krakow, Poland has been fighting cancer for years. Now, his life is in danger again - cancer attacked his backbone. He's in hospital and awaits his next surgery for which he has to go to the Netherlands. The biggest cost, which neither he or we can't cover ourselves is his transport (hes not able to move), the treatment will be nearly fully funded. We're attempting to cover the transport cost of 2.500 euro, that's our call for solidarity and support for our comrade and a prolific anarchist writer. Time is crucial here and we hope to have the money gathered by next week as he could be transported on the 16th of September. Contact us at ***fa_krakow@wp.pl***

With solidarity, Anarchist Federation - Krakow branch



If you can support Rafa³ please donate his treatment:

PKO BP PL57 1020 2906 0000 1002 0138 1219
BIC/Swift code: BPKOPLPW
Jakub Rudnicki
ul. Komorowskiego 8/5
30 - 106 KrakówPleasie write: "Help for Rafal"

Supportive action for Tamara Karasteleva in Novosibirsk

An action of solidarity with the human rights activist Tamara Karasteleva from Novorossijsk took place in Novosibirsk, Russia, on the 16th of September. On the 4th of April she had attended a rally against a law regarding curfew with the slogan "Freedom isn't something you get, it's something you take".
Two months later the court judged the slogan to be "extremist" and in August the office of the prosecutor put in an application to declare the "Novorossijsk committee for human rights" an extremist organization. Its leader is Karasteleva. The first session of the court will take place on the 17th of September.

Most probably after the organization is declared extremist, criminal cases are going to be opened against its activists. It is obvious that the local authorities simply found an excuse to deal with the human rights activists Tamara and Vadim Karastelev/a, who took a stance against the policies of the regional authorities on many occasions.

It is as obvious that the term "extremism" has a wide range of interpretations and thus allows for tagging it on any kind of activity, any action of protest.

In the course of action activists of "Autonomous Action" and of close leftist traditions put up a banner on balloons inside the metro station. On the banner, the same slogan for which they want to declare Tamara an extremist could be read. Beforehand the station was massively decorated with stickers dealing with the topic. The action took place at rush hour and even though the banner was removed quite fast, many people were able to see it.

---

http://avtonom.org/index.php?nid=2730

short news:

On the first day of the process on the 17th of September an application was entered asking for an independent linguistic expertise concerning the slogan. The representative of the prosecution declared, that foreign grants for human rights activists "could carry destructiveness into the social-economic life of the city".

On the 30th of September the city's prosecutor had to ask for suspension of the trial without examination because the action had not been signed by the appropriate person, the prosecutor of the Krasnodar region. Now it remains to be seen if he will sign a new version of the application for declaring the organisation extremist for using an adaption of Maxim Gorki's words: "You do not get rights, you take them!"

Unknown Moments of Anarchist History

Anarchists and the Second Chechen War

It is of little doubt that the total failure in the attempts to oppose the Second Chechen War was the bitterest defeat of the Russian anarchist movement during the past decade. A feeling of total powerlessness in front of the brutal realities of the Chechenyan meat-grinder was pressing so heavily on the imagination of anti-authoritarians during the first half of the decade, that the movement only recovered a bit when the intensity of the war calmed down gradually.

One may say that the Second Chechen war started on the 26th of August 1999, when air forces of the Russian Federation bombed Grozny and other parts of Ichkeria, and finished on the 31st of october 2007, when pro-separatist websites published an announcement of Dokku Umarov, that the Ichkerian Republic had been dissolved and replaced with the Caucasus Emirate. Of course, the war still goes on and various armed attacks take place almost on a weekly basis, but the goal of the rebels is not anymore national independence of Ichkeria, but the formation of a theocratic state that would unite the whole North Caucasus. Chechen nationalist resistance was marginalized, and, in practice, is not a significant force anymore. This war may be seen as a continuation of the general «North-Caucasian War», which began with attack of islamist fighters to Dagestan on the 7th of August 1999, although even before that there were significant islamist attacks, such as the attacks of emir Khattab against the 136th motorored batallion in Buynaksk on the 22nd of December 1997. The Islamists were never about to be content with the Khasyavyurt agreements of 1996. Islamism is a fundamentally anti-nationalist ideology, thus the formation of a national state may not be a goal of Islamists.

Thus, the coup in October 2007 means the end of one era and the start of a new one, so now it is about a time to make some summary of the anarchist success, or more exactly lack of it, in the struggle against imperialist war in Northern Caucasus during the last 8 years.

A libertarian take on Islamism

If for liberal opponents of the war the victory of Islamists over nationalists inside the Chechen resistance was a reason to mourn, anarchists rather look at this infighting as neutral observers. Anarchists were never up to picking up a «lesser evil» between nationalists and Islamists, or between separatism and federalism, or between Bolshevism, fascism and capitalism or any other authoritarian ideology whatsoever. Anarchist communism is never waiting for «necessary conditions», and even though its realization for sure is not possible over one night, it is also no way to get closer to it by any kind of a state system. This of course does not mean that anarchists are for Status Quo — there is always an alternative, decentralized, non-hierarchical scenario of the development of social conflicts.

Obviously, Islamist concepts on terms of sexual freedom and position of women seem very backward, but one should also point out that in comparaison to other authoritarian movements, Islamism also has its good sides. Islamism refuses any ideas of superiority of one «nation» or «race» over others, and is also proposing some limits on neoliberal capitalism, such as a ban of usury. It is underlining the importance of social responsibility, although it is not criticizing capitalism as such. In Lebanon and Palestine, Islamists won the trust of the oppressed by social initiatives and a principled stance against corruption. In Chechnya, support of Islamists from abroad played some role, but really the key reason of victory of Islamists inside the resistance were the common interests of Islamists on the whole Northern Caucasus, which provided a chance to set up a wider movement over national boundaries. Also in conditions of a general collapse of the formerly developed society, Islam as a more archaic institute was providing some rudimentary social structure, just as in Afganistan of the 1990's and in Somalia today.



Currently praise and even conversion to Islam is a trendy phenomenon among Western (and not only) leftists, and there are even modern attempts of synthesis between Islam and anarchism, but one should take them with a grain of salt. Islam is obviously not equivalent of Islamism, the first one is an ancient religion, which allows a huge spectrum of interpretations, and the second one is a modern ideology, way more unequivocal. But Islam is the only one of the major world religions that was founded by a politician, and the origins of Islam gave it a certain modern flavour in comparaison to the others. That is, it is more fit for state governance than other religions of the antiquity. If one day there will be an anti-authoritarian Islam besides the modern Islamism, there is little doubt that the religious interpretations of the first will be vastly different from the interpretations of the second one.

But anarchists should also never regress to level of demonization of Islamism. Islamism is not more dangerous, or more cruel than any other authoritarian ideology. Declarations such as «Islamism is fascism», which one may hear from most different people, from government authorities to some anarchists, are just ridiculous. Obviously, modern Islam did not develop in a vacuum — it took influence from fascism, socialism and other Western ideologies. But it is not a subcategory of one of them, but an ideology in its own right, and it accepts a wide range of different social structures, from the absolute monarchy of Saudi Arabia to the theoratic republic of Iran.

Islamism is not the same thing as Wahhabism. Main inspiration for all Islamists is modern Iran, which is not Wahhabist but Shiite. That is, Islamism is a modern ideology (or more exactly — many ideologies), which do not have an exact correspondence with any of the ancient branches of the religion. The Wahhabist movement, which originates from 18th century Saudi Arabia, is for sure one of the sources of modern Islamist thinking, but no less important is, for example, the tradition of Moslem Brotherhood, founded in Egypt in 1928, and the teachings of its main ideologue Sayyid Qutb.

There is little doubt that we will often face islamists in a common field of struggle, as in many regions of the former Soviet Union they are the only force, which may challenge the corrupted despotism of the government officials. In this situation it would be a grave mistake to present Islamists as a bigger evil, as reasons for the support of Islamists are obvious. Also, it would be a grave mistake to propose any kind of tactical cooperation with Islamists. Notwithstanding their superficial criticism of capitalism, modern Islamism is not even a feudalistic, but an all-out bourgeois movement with some theocratical flavor. We will not be doing any better, if all-out corrupt heirs of the Soviet nomenclature in Middle-Asia or Northern Caucasus are replaced by Islamists. The history of the most recent 5000 years proves that no religion can save a human being from moral degradation, which is the inevitable consequence of any authority of one over another.

Who won the Second Chechen War?

I do not label the Islamists of Northern Caucasus as Wahhabites consciously, as that would be a simplification — for example Dokka Umarov considers himself a follower of the Sufi Islam traditional in Chechnya. But the Wahhabist segment played a significant role in the conflict, as it was the factor which caused the split of the Chechen society in the course of the Second War.

Akhmat Kadyrov was a significant factor in the success of the Federal forces. Kadyrov was Chief Mufti of Ichkeria, defending the interests of the traditional Chechen Sufi school against the expansion of Wahhabism. After several attempts on his life had been committed in Chechnya, starting from October 1998, there was no doubt that the Wahhabite influence in Chechnya was incompatible with his life. Thus, federal forces got a very valuable ally, where Maskhadov and rest of the «half-secular» authorities were trying to avoid any decisive conflict with Islamists. After the beginning of the Second War, Maskhadov and the national resistance could not refuse open cooperation with the Islamists, but this alliance was way more beneficial for the latter. The situation «between the frontlines» was a big disadvantage for the national resistance, and thus its influence had vanished already long before Maskhadov got killed on the 8th of March 2005. During his struggle underground, Maskhadov condemned deeds of Basayev and other commanders of Islamist resistance against peaceful people, but Maskhadov did little to interfere — not that he would have really even been able to. It is unlikely that Maskhadov was in a position to sidetrack Basayev, and Basayev was also a useful scarecrow, which could be shown to the whole word: «If you are not going to negotiate with me, you will have to talk with him».

For Kadyrov the elder, it was way more easy to persuade field commanders to surrender than it was for the federal troops, as he was himself a living example of the opportunities switching sides would offer to turncoats. Alu Alkhanov, Chechen president to follow Kadyrov the elder, was the last representative of the original anti-Dudayev opposition of 1994 with any significant position in Chechnya. Since Kadyrov the younger sidetracked Alkhanov, all leading positions in the republic have been promptly put in the hands of former resistance fighters. So Kadyrov the younger could move on with his goal to gain total hegemony in the republic, and move on to eliminate the influence of all federal forces inside the Republic. The insolent and unpunished execution of the former commander of the «Mountaineer» detachment, Movdavi Baysarov, in the center of Moscow in 2006, and the expulsion of Sulim Yamadaev from his post as commander of the special battallion of the Ministry of Defence «Vostok» (East) in April of 2008 show, that Kadyrov is in a position to reach for this goal (after the original of this article was published, Yamadayev was assassinated in Dubai — police of Emirates has issued an international search warrant on number of Kadyrov's associates involved in the assassination, but obviously they have nothing to be worried about in Russia). As Kadyrov's allies are also involved in hostile and violent takeovers of companies, controlled by Chechen businessmen outside Chechnya, one may not describe the relation of the younger Kadyrov to federal authorities in terms of the 21st century, rather it is something like a relation between a King and a Duke. The «Duke», that is Kadyrov the younger, is allowed to do whatever he likes in Chechnya, such as to set up private torture prisons at his own estates. The influence of federal authorities in Chechnya is weaker than even in times of Dudayev, as back then there still existed an opposition capable to act, and at times Dudayev was only controlling the capital of the republic. Chechen nationalists were forced to refuse from formal sovereignity and from independent foreign politics, but in exchange they received generous federal subsidies and an amount of powers inside «their» republic, of which leaders of other subjects of the Russian Federation may only dream.

Today Chechnya is an extremely authoritarian republic, and it is impossible to estimate the level of real support for Kadyrov. The fact that a number of influential field commanders are still hiding in the republic (or surrounding areas) shows that resistance has not completely lost its support. But there is no doubt that the politics of Kadyrov, regardless of the many controversies, is supported by a substantial part of the population. First of all this is due to the betterment of living conditions, and also to a way better security situation than during either periods of the independence (1991-1994 and 1996-1999). But the support for Kadyrov the younger is also due to fact that he managed to prove that he is not a simple marionet, but in a certain sense he is proceeding with his original nationalist project. Currently Chechnya is one of the most ethnically homogenous territories in Europe, and power (both civil and military) is completely in the hands of former national separatists. Everyone understands that when the following cycle of weakening of the central state in Russia starts (which will undoubtly happen sooner or later — in 50, 100 or 200 years), there is no force which may maintain Chechnya under the authority of Moscow.

Obviously for anarchists, all this intrigue is secondary — hostage taking and de-facto competition between federal troops and resistance on which of them manages to kill more of the hostages is just a detail of the general bloody tragedy. 100 victims of the hostage taking in Dubrovka and 300 in Beslan are just a small part of the general picture of tens of thousands of murdered and maimed. War is always an unprincipial and bloody business, and if sometimes one manages to set rules for the game, it is only when following the rules is beneficial for all of the parts of the conflict. But in the case of the second Chechen war neither of the sides made such attempts, thus everyone bears responsibility for what happened.

And in the end, it is also secondary what happened in Buynaksk, Volgodonsk, Moscow and Ryazan between 31st of August and 22nd of September 1999. Yes, much is unclear with this history,

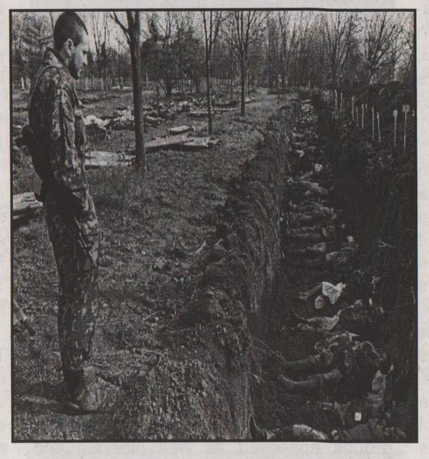
expecially in regards to Ryazan, and in case we will once win (and most likely only in that case) all of this will be investigated. But this far the «alternative version» of the story is still not finished at all, and I am certain that things would have developed the same way even without the explosions. Public opinion was not even close to stopping the First Chechen war, it only halted after the military success of the resistance. Thus, in 1999 the state could easily go on with the war even without the explosions.

Thus in the end, who won? Obviously, nationalist turncoats won — they did not get formal independence, but their real powers vastly exceed the powers of average politicians of today, the hands of whom are usually tied by a number of international agreements. There is also no doubt that the federal athorities and the Chekist (i.e. secret service, expl. ABB) clique, which during past 8 years consolidated to its hands all the power in Russia, also won — they were forced to give all powers inside Chechnya to former nationalists, but now they do not have to worry anymore about a heavy death toll for «maintaining the integrity of the country» and its consequence, a discontent public. And in a certain sense, islamists also won — they have no chance to realise their political ambitions during the following decades, but they gained a practical monopoly of guerilla struggle in Russia. Amongst the number of warring fractions, only one has undoubtably lost — that is the nationalist resistance. And what comes to those who did not wage war, they are completely on the loosing side — hundreds of thousands of physically and mentally crippled people will pass the trauma of war on to the second and third generation.

Lessons from the Chechen revolution

What happened in Chechnya 1991-1994 is yet another example of the moral failure of national liberation ideology. The Dudayev regime was not able to stop violence, robbery and ethnic cleansing against the Terek Cossacks, who lived in those territories at least since the 16th century, which perhaps were not settled by Vainakh (Chechen and Ingushetian people) and other inhabitants of the republic prior to the 1950's , people who found themselves in a vulnerable position after the collapse of the Soviet system of administration. I do not describe these events as a «genocide» as I am an opponent of the semantical inflation this word has suffered during the last 20 years. But it is a well-established fact that in those times anyone who was not supported by a more archaic social structure could suffer in Chechnya.

It would be a crude simplification to describe the regime change in Chechnya in 1991 as a «coup d'état». As a matter of fact, a real revolution took place in Chechnya, perhaps most fundamental among all of those which took place in the former Eastern Block 1989-1991. If in Central Europe, and especially in the USSR, changes were pretty much gerrymandered by representatives of the nomenclatura itself, or intelligentsia in opposition, in Chechnya the lower stratum of society was much more involved than in any other place. If Dudayev and his closest circle came from the nomenclature (i.e. group of people in «Communist» states that more or less openly control the secretariat of the ruling party), the main protagonist of the revolution were not discontent in this stratum, but rather most marginal elements of the society: elderly vicitms of the 1944 deportation, rural and unemployed youth. This was due to the character of the Soviet system in Chechnya — whereas national quotas were carefully preserved in the highest posts of the republic, technical professions requiring a high level of specialisation were closed for Chechens. Thus apart from a few representatives of nomenclature and intelligentsia, the vast majority of Chechens were working either in agriculture, or at the lowest stratum of the city economics. This was due to a high fertility rate (which in part was a consequence of the collective trauma of deportation) and limited possibilities, and from the middle of the 1980's more and more people got involved in marginal and criminal segments of economy. These people never got anything from the Soviet authority, and they had every reason to hate everyone who succesfully integrated into the system.



In 1991 it was payback time, and the opportunity was seized eagerly. Not only non-ethnical population escaped from Chechnya, but the majority of the former intelligentsia escaped as well. It would be a simplification to say that the conflict was purely national — besides the conflict between ethnical and non-ethnical population, there were also conflicts between proletariat on the one hand and intelligentsia and former nomenclatura the other, and also between the rural population and city dwellers. But as the Soviet system did not provide the protagonists of the revolution with the necessary skills of governing a modern state, a process of «demodernization» took place in Chechnya, and more archaic social forms (such as religion and clan) replaced the modern ones. But in the process of intermixture with modern capitalism, this process adopted a corrupted, deformed form. In ancient mountaineer society, for example, the institution of slavery (which is actually hardly slavery, thus it is even misleading to call it that way) was first and foremost a form of social protection for vulnerable people, a way to feed those who had not family or clan to take care of them. But now economical interests came to play, and the traditionally humane institution of «slavery» was transformed to a highly profitable trade of humans, which in between 1996-1999 reached such a scale, that it became the main source of foreign currency in the republic. Most of the leadership of the Ichkerian republic, according to «Novaya Gazeta» also Dokka Umarov (but not Aslan Maskhadov), was involved in the business.

Obviously, the reason for the war of 1999 was not to «free slaves», but first of all to «preserve the integrity of the country». The reason for the war of the 1999 were certainly not natural resources of the republic, as the amount of oil and gas in Chechnya will never compensate the massive bill the war has caused this far. But one should not ignore the fact that slave trade was one of the key factors in gaining the public sympathy for the war in Russia. Separatists traditionally blaim Russian special services for provoking conflicts between Chechnyan fractions and for involvement in slave trade, and there is some evidence on that. But it is hard to take seriously claims that Basayev was an agent of FSB — just as conspiracy theories around 9/11, these theories totally deny that Moslems themselves could form significant movements against imperialistic ambitions.

Theories of Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov, who was most important Chechen political scientist and writer in emigration during Soviet times, of relatively anti-authoritarian historical «warrior democracy» of Chechens were not capable to direct revolution towards an anti-authoritarian direction. No archaic antiauthoritarian social systems may exist, when surround-

ed by modern capitalism, there are no paths back to the past. And in the end, such attempts were hardly even taken — really Dudayev just wanted to be a small Yeltsin, just as Yeltsin wanted to be a big Dudayev. Attack against Chechen parliament in 1992 was repeated by Yeltsin in Moscow a year later. In June of 1993, Dudayev was already shooting mayor's building in Grozny and a meeting of opposition with tanks.

First of all, example of Chechen revolution is a good argument against those Marxists (first of all against left communists), who believe that only material conditions and class composition of a movement defines its destiny, and that communism appears somewhat on its own if these factors fit. But it is not like that — no emancipation is possible without anti-authoritarian ideas spreading to the minds of wide masses. Besides material conditions, ideas are also necessary. And it is not an issue of some «backwardness» of Chechnya — as a matter of fact in Soviet Chechnya industrial production was more developed than in plenty of other republics. But in Soviet Chechnya the mostly Russian industrial proletariat was in a privileged position compared to the mostly rural and lumpen Chechen proletariat.

Obviously, there was nothing exceptionally horrible taking place in Chechnya 1991-1994, nothing that could justify the following massacre. Post-colonial processes against former presentatives ot the privileged stratum were much more brutal for example in Algeria and Zanzibar of the 1960's. But what happened in Chechnya 1991-1994 is a good reminder for anarchists, that not every revolution is an anarchist one, and it is not enough that a revolution is violent, that it is not exclusively ethnical and that lowest stratum of the society is involved. Besides the second and third characteristics, it is also necessary that anti-authoritarian ideas are shared by a substantial part of the people — otherwise it is likely that the story of the Chechen revolution is repeated: bloody conflicts between various fractions of the new elite, and impunity of banditism, the victims of which are often from ethnical minorities (in the case of Chechnya: Terek Cossacks and other Russians, Nogais and others), but at times also members of the Chechnyan majority became victims of bandits and slave traders.

Anarchist resistance against the Second Chechen War

Probably even without the explosions of 1999, anti-war movement would have been miserable, but after them it did not exist at all. Eventually, it took 3 months after the beginning of the war, until the



anti-war movement had gathered enough audacity to get to the streets. The first people to demonstrate in Moscow were Anarchists in December of 1999 (apparently already before that there were some sorry pickets in other cities). Soon other groups appeared as well (liberals and Trotskists), and the question of cooperation became a topic. In this respect, the movements in Moscow and St. Petersburg developed to different directions.

In St. Petersburg, all anti-war groups (anarchists, liberals and Trotskists) agreed about a common anti-war picket, to which everyone was to participate with their own political symbols. In Moscow liberals did not wanted presence of political symbols in the pickets, but due to nature of the slogans (instead of «No war but the class war», there was «For negatiations between Putin and Maskhadov»), their weekly picked had a liberal flavor.

The question of bringing political symbols is many-sided, and, as a matter of fact, during recent years in plenty of cases anarchists have seen their role in social movements in Moscow as a role of defenders of autonomy of protest against the intrusion of political parties. In such a situation, it makes sense to demand that nobody brings political symbols, anarchists included. But when the proposed solutions themselves are fundamentally diverging according to ideological paradigma, as it is the case with the conflict in Caucasus, anarchist symbols in actions help to underline diffences between solutions proposed by anarchists in comparaison to solutions proposed by other political groups.

Separate anarchist anti-war pickets in Moscow died out already in spring of the year 2000, and a small number of anarchists began to join the weekly liberal picket. Autonomous Action in Moscow made a conclusion, that participation to weekly picket is merely a symbolical act, as small numbers in picket do not correspond with the widespreading anti-war sentiments in the society - during first half of the decade, according to independent opinion polls it was always 30-50% of the questioned who were against politics of Putin in Northern Caucasus. That is, such a picket is more a show-off of one's own «moral superiority» towards surrounding society, than a real attempt to change politics in Northern Caucasus.

This is why the Moscow group of Autonomous Action took the decision to look for other means of resistance. At first, we gathered humanitarian aid and spread stickers with address of website of Kazan anarchists, which had hints and legal aid for those willing to avoid military service. Then, since 2005, we have been organising the «Deserter Day»-festival.

The last revitalization of the anti-war movement took place in autumn 2002, when special forces attacked hostage-takers in Dubrovka with gas which killed more than 100 hostages. Back then, Autonomous Action again joined the Moscow Anti-War Committee, dominated by pro-Western liberals. But this resurgence was to be short-lived, and the last strike against «anti-war unity» was when Moscow Anti-War Committee gave a platform to such candidates of the 2004 presidential elections as Irina Khakamada. Anti-war sentiments in Russian society were always widely spread beyond the liberal intelligentsia, which symphatises with politics of USA and neoliberalism, but the liberal participators of the committee never figured this out, and eventually Autonomous Action left the committee again, this time for good.

We were never willing to cooperate with liberal parties, no matter if they attempted to participate or boycotted elections, but we are ready to cooperate with those Non-Governmental Organisations which are not mere a front-organisation of some political party, even if the participators of these organisations themselves are mostly liberals. But unfortunately, the people from the Anti-War Committee of Moscow, as many other political figures in Russia, did not value the political independency of their own organisations.

Deserter day festival

Already back in 2001 the Moscow group of Autonomous Action picked up the struggle against conscription as a tactical method of the anti-war campaign. Obviously, we do not support a professional army, but rather a «Black guard», a volunteer anti-bourgeois militia, but in topic of conscription it is most easy to find a common ground between interests of working class in Russia and Chechnya. The name of the festival, which has been organised annually since 2005 (and outside Moscow since 2008), «Deserter day» was a conscious provocation, as mostly desertion is in Russian news when desperate conscripts escape garrisons with assault rifles and run amok, killing random people. We may understand their despair, although we do prefer more rational ways to desert as the only rightful reaction against an imperialistic war. We picked up the label «Deserter day» in order to declare our principal position, and to underline the dead-end of reforms such as «professional army» or «negotiations with Maskhadov». Only by declaring such a principled position, we could develop autonomous anarchist political subject in Russia, whereas otherwise we would have been lost in amorphous general mass of liberals and «leftists» («leftism» of whose is often to be suspected).

Deserter day was a success. The original goal was not to found a tradition but this year already the 5th festival was organised, in Nizhni-Novgorod (the first time the festival was organised outside Moscow was in Kirov in 2008). Deserter day also became a model of other large anarchist convergences, which soon followed (Black Petrograd first organised in 2004, Libertarian forum of 2006, Gender Festival of 2008). Eventually, these kind of convergences replaced conferences of formal anarchist organisations as the main form of inter-city meetings of the movement. This was a fundamental transformation in the anarchist movement of Russia. Obvously, having visited Deserter day-festival people are way more upswing than after yet another weekly anti-war picket, thus at least in this respect the new tactic was a success.

But although the first action day in 2004, which was declared to be «Deserter day» the following year, was organised on the memorial day of the 60th anniversary of the deportation of Chechens and Ingushetians, gradually the anti-war theme moved to the backround, and the festival in Kirov in 2008 was practically an anti-military event. The intensity of the conflict has been falling for years — and the less news of new attacks, the less the problem is in minds of anarchists and society in general. And paradoxically, the defeat of the anarchist anti-war struggle opened new directions for activity. As the North-Caucasian conflict is not daily news anymore, anarchists may get involved in more fruitful activities than anti-war campaign, which was judged to be a defeat since the very beginning. And this only because a «significant minority» of the population with anti-war sentiments does not yet mean anything, if there is a lack of structures which may organise resistance.

Defeat of the campaign against the Second Chechen War

But neither anarchists, nor other anti-war groups have such structures. During the times of the Perestroika the destiny of the anarchist movement became tied with the destiny of the general democratic movement, and nobody was prepared for the pace and insolence of Yeltsin's treachery. For the sake of the liberals one must say that the best of them understood what was going on already well before the beginning of the First Chechen War, but after many years during which liberals were building a support base for the falsely democratic segment of the nomenclature, the masses either stayed behind the segment, or became totally politically apathic while attempting to survive during the economic shock therapy of the beginning of the 90's. It was too late to change the course, and anarchists, «democratic leftists» and «liberals with a coinscience»



Chechen women vote October 5, 2003 in Tsentoroi

were left without a mass support, and the state of affairs became clear already during the First Chechen War. Back then, despite the anti-war propaganda in the mass media owned by oligarchs who hoped to gain personal dividents from Yeltsin by blackmailing him with the fear of popular opinion, the scale of anti-war protests was a modest one. And in general, there are hardly any successes in history in stopping imperialist wars by efforts of the population of the imperialist countries alone. Always, when anti-imperialist movements gained the upper hand (for example in Vietnam), most sacrifices were always made by guerilla movements.

But in Chechnya, odds were too uneven from the very beginning. The victory of the resistance in the first war was a miracle which has no analogue in modern history, thus it is no surprising that it was not repeated in the second war. And the reasons for the defeat of the resistance were laid already in 1996, when during the Khasavyurt negotiations the Ichkerian government failed to gain a recognition of sovereignity from Russia. That is, no matter the miracle of the victory in the fight over Grozny, in diplomacy the resistance only managed to reach a draw. It is pretty likely that both Maskhadov and Basayev figured this out, but only the second decided to keep on waging war, where the first understood that the resistance had already completely exhausted its reserves. Perhaps Maskhadov hoped that some miracle will result in such a deep crisis in Russia, that the country will collapse altogether and the establishment of Ichkerian independence de jure will become possible. But such a miracle did not take place.

Right now, due to the successful «localization» of the conflict (where it is waged mostly by army and military structures, manned with local population), only small part of the losses are amongst inhabitants of the other regions, and even more seldom conscripts from other regions are being killed. Also, due to strengthened control over mass media, the war has practically disappeared from the TV screens, and for the vast majority of the population it simply does not exist anymore. The only chance of resistance right now is to count on some global crisis, which will completely disintegrate Russia and stop the influx of money from federal budgets to the local elite, but the current global energy crisis is on the contrary strengthening the federal authority in Russia, due to the vast reservers of oil and gas in Russia.

The stubbornness of the St. Petersburg anarchists, who with almost no breaks co-organised anti-war pickets for 8 years in a row, deserves a praise. There were times, when there were less than 10 people in the picket and it seemed to be a pointless masochism, but at some point numbers of picketeers began to grow, and 2004-2007 it was regularly attended by dozens of people, of whom at times 90% were anarchists. St. Petersburg anarchists managed to reclaim a space in the city, where every week any city dweller could come and have a talk with anarchists and acquire some anarchist press as well. This was made possible only due to stubbornness and, to some level, self-sacrifice as well. More than once the picket had to be violently defended, first with sticks, but in later times with knives as well, and at the end one of the very early participators of the picket had to leave Russia altogether, when the state apparatus started to use one of the cases of self-defence as a pretext for repression of the movement as a whole.

So in the end, the fatal problems of St. Petersburg anti-war movement were not due to its tactics, but due to its positions. They eventually split and soon totally annihilated the oldest anarchist group in the former Soviet Union at that point, St.

Petersburg Anarchist League PLA, which for years had been the most active section of the Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) which in turn for a while was a member of the International of Anarchist Federations, IFA.

Originally, St. Petersburg anti-war pickets were not initiated by the PLA but by «unaffiliated anarchists», but PLA people and positions were prominent in the picket, especially towards the later years. The position of the PLA was always in support of the resistance (with criticism of attacks against civilians), as the PLA was looking for a unification of all possible anti-Putin forces, with the approach «first we get rid of them, and then settle issues between each other». Autonomous Action of Moscow never wanted to accept such «ecumenism», our basic position was always that nobody will support us, unless we may present a worthy alternative for the current regime. If we sometimes acted together with other anti-war tendencies, it always happened only under the condition that we may present a strict anarchist alternative to imperialist wars — that is fraternization of the proletariat from both of the sides, against their own bosses.

The position of the PLA is partially justified, as after all in 1994 it was the federal forces, who started the wide-scaled massacre. Internal conflict in Chechnya had started a long time before, but Yeltsin increased the scale of warfare to a completely new scale. But in order to convince people that an alternative exists, one has to present it — but when one looks at a «united front» from a side, the usual impression is that these people do not know what they want in the first place. Today, the whole Russian opposition is collapsing, and only anarchists are in an upswing — this is a sign that we were right, when we insisted for keeping our own positions in regards to the war in Chechnya. If we had merged with some united front back in 2000, we simply would not exist anymore.

Defeat is not the end of the struggle

Thus, although main culprits of the escalation of the conflict were federal authorities, Autonomous Action of Moscow never supported neither nationalist, nor Islamist elements of the Chechen resistance. We were always proposing a third alternative — unification of the proletariat from both sides of the conflict, against their leaders. But in practice, since the beginning of the first war the «third subject» was practically not existing on the spot, people in Chechnya were too busy fighting for their individual survival to fight against their government. In some sense, the movement against disappearances of people, where unarmed women predominate, is



Ramzan Kadyrov, center, is the president of Chechnya and Terek FC, the Russian region's top soccer team

now such a «third force» (apparently according to North-Caucasian norms, it is not worth of a man to plea something from authorities without an assault rifle). Another such movement is that of inhabitants of Makachkala (capital of Dagestan), who after the collapse of the city's infrastructure due to corruption of local authorities built barricades in winter 2007-2008, apparently independent of any politicians. But unfortunately, although one has already seen such initiatives in Northern Caucasus for some years, the anarchist movement in Russia is not strong enough to form any kind of alliance with them. A third example is the movement of the «mothers of Beslan», organised by relatives of victims of the 2005 hostage crisis and resulting massacre, but due to the general political situation which makes punishing people who ordered to start the attack and to shoot a school full of hostages with bazookas and tanks, this movement has gradually degenerated to a semi-racist anti-Ingushetian movement not harmful to the authorities.

And due to the lack of such a «third force», the position of supporting theresistance is, of course, very attractive to radicals, as bearded lads with assault rifles obviously look cooler than elderly ladies with placates of their disappeared sons. Eventually, some elements of the PLA found a common language with the anti-Arab and anti-Russian racist Boris Stomakhin, who is currently doing a 5 year stint for his ideas, sentenced among others things for «humiliation of human dignity of a group of persons for reasons of their nationality». A crime he definitely has committed — which however does not meant that he had to be sent to prison, in my opinion having his ass kicked would have been enough. Anti-Russian (or «Rusofobic» as it is called in Russia) stance is if not unavoidable, then at least a logical end for anyone who began to support nationalist or Islamist resistance. Thus, in the end, anarchists in St. Petersburg went in different directions, and the anti-war picket was inherited mainly by those who first refused internationalism, and then anarchism alltogether. Some comrades from St. Petersburg criticized us, claiming that in Moscow we «do not give due attention to the anti-war theme», but instead of ritualistic protests we attempted to find some new, creative approaches, some new ways to make some impact. We never denied the importance of the Chechen theme, but the actuality of the question alone is not enough to define priorities. And in the end, in terms of results one may not consider either the St. Petersburg or the Moscow approach as successful, but at least in Moscow we could establish certain ways of action, which eventually helped local anarchist movements to reach a new level in terms of organisation and action.

Besides approaches of Autonomous Action of Moscow and the St. Petersburg League of Anarchists, there was also a third anti-war approach. Anarcho-Syndicalist KRAS-AIT made anti-war stickers and joined a number of anti-war actions, but they never counted on anti-war actions as such. They preferred to find conflicts in workingplaces and not only, which would open roads for a social movement which could challenge capitalism, and thus also such consequences of capitalism as imperialist wars. This makes a certain sense — it is clear that anti-war actions, in such a form as they took place, were more symbolic deeds for cleaning one's conscience than real means to stop the war. But on the other hand, there is no doubt that in the beginning of the millenium, the Chechen war was the most topical problem in the society, and Autonomous Action of Moscow decided that it would be a crime to be silent, even thought there were little chances to influence what was going on. By means of organising protest, we could at least break the situation of total silence in society, and to find those few people, who were ready to act against all odds. It is easy to be an anarchist during revolutionary times, but those heroic deeds of the anarchists in the past which we now envy, are easy when you have a feeling that the society which surrounds you is supporting and approving them. Most genuine revolutionaries are those, who do not lose their spirits even in a condition of a total isolation. We almost lost our spirit, but eventually we passed the trial.

S2W

This article was originally published in Avtonom #30 in Autumn of 2008. It was translated for Abolishing the Borders from Below #35 in Autumn of 2009, and a number of mistakes were corrected and some information updated.

Tenants Organize:
A Grassroots Movement is Spreading around Poland (but still has a long way to go)

In recent months we have seen an increase in tenant protest and tenant-related activity across Poland. Although tenants' organizations have existed for years, this time things are a little different. Around the country, people are self-organizing, protesting and coordinating between the groups. The movement is still smaller than it should be, but for local reality, it is relatively big and noticeable. Why now? What happened that made the tenants organize and what are the problems that they face?

A little background on the situation will help people understand better.

HOUSING - A PROFITABLE COMMODITY

The housing situation has many local specifics; things can look quite different around Poland due to both historical reasons and the current socio-economic profile of the location. I will say a few things about the general situation and then more about the local situation but with the note that some of the problems of Warsaw exist in different proportions elsewhere.

The biggest problem in general is that housing is a profitable commodity and people want to make money off it. During the PRL period, there was both private ownership and public, but there were very few private landlords. (They did exist though. More about that later) In general, there was a housing shortage and long waits for people to get public housing. The extent of the shortage depended on the area, how many people wanted to live there, how much money was allocated to build there, and other historical factors... like the amount of destruction seen in WWII.

The PRL was not a classless society and, although some workers obtained decent housing, many also received substandard, slum-grade flats or houses and these houses, for many years, were not modernized or renovated. If you walk around neighborhoods like Warsaw's Praga or similar poorer places throughout Poland, you can still see bullet holes all over the walls of the houses. You find lots of places with no toilets in the flats and no bathrooms. No heat. No gas. Wooden elements of the houses caving in. In short, many places were not modernized or renovated during the whole PRL period and they just began to fall apart. If people are able to live in some of these places at all, it is because they have fixed it up themselves. In a way, they make their places liveable in the same way as squatters all over the world - except they pay to live there.

After the PRL fell, there were many forms of privatization, and the profiteering that came with it. The cities and workplaces sold off many places and a cheap price... and people became private owners. But not everybody had the same opportunities to buy their places. First of all, whether or not you could buy depended on your financial situation, but not only. Different places offered different deals and many people were not allowed to buy at all. In the course of years, a class of propertied people sprung up while many people remained without. This class of propertied people now had access to a source of capital since they could sell or borrow against their property. But there were many left out of this privatization bonanza.

People who don't have a public housing agreement or people, for example children who grow up and want their own flat, faced a new situation. In the past, you would have to wait in line for a flat. Now, the ideology was turned so the idea of the capitalists and neoliberals who run things was to minimize the public sector, especially public housing, and expect everybody to satisfy their needs on the private market. So it started that people who could afford it, took loans for 30 years to buy something and landlords and property speculators started twisting the market and driving up prices. The end result is that housing became too expensive and is hardly affordable for anybody but a small elite. And for those who have to live somewhere but don't earn much, which is a good portion of people, it is a constant struggle or living in cramped quarters. In general, the situation is bad for most people.

SOME WARSAW SPECIFICS

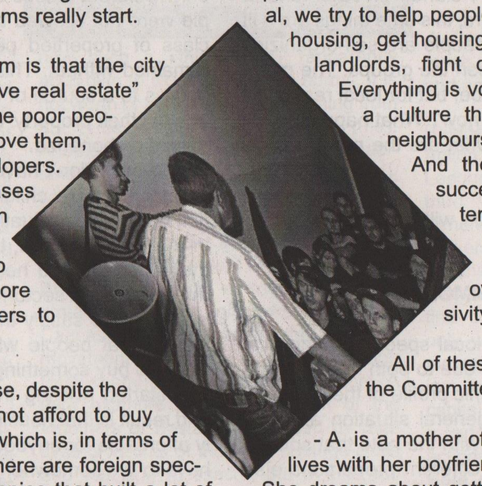
Some of the specific problems in Warsaw relate to both the extensive destruction of the city during WWII and its current status as financial capital of the country. As people probably know, most of Warsaw was destroyed by the Nazis. Part of the people who lived in Warsaw before the war were killed and part left the country. But after the war, the government wanted to rebuild the city and also repopulate it. People who had left the city during the war came back, but also new people would have to move here.
But so much of the city's housing supply was destroyed.

A few things happened. Private apartment buildings which weren't destroyed became city property and people were sent to live there. (There were some exceptions to this, but in general it was this way.) Also. many new buildings were built were old ones were destroyed.

This has its consequences today... because the city is "reprivatizing" these houses. Rarely does this mean giving it back

to the original owners. Most of them are dead. Sometimes these houses go to grandchildren who never lived in Poland. Sometimes they go to speculators who bought the right to the claim. And sometimes they go to frauds that forged some documents.

All around the city, we see people who spent the last 40-50-60 years in a place, taking care of it, repairing it themselves, putting in water, heat, electricity, windows, etc. etc., who are suddenly told: this is not your house. And are told to leave. Or they are told: you should pay 50 times higher rent. And if they don't agree with this, then problems really start.



This is one problem. Another problem is that the city itself sometimes sees some "attractive real estate" and think what a shame it is that some poor people live there when, if we could just move them, we would be able to sell to developers. There have been many, many cases where the authorities broke the law in order to get rid of people. (A couple I'll describe below.) Poor people who are in attractive areas or one of the more decent buildings, are seen as barriers to making potential profit.

And the potential profit is huge because, despite the fact that many people in Poland cannot afford to buy anything, there is an elite in Warsaw which is, in terms of Poland, relatively large. In addition, there are foreign speculators and banks/ investment companies that built a lot of flats, many of which are empty. This pattern of property speculation exists in many other places in the world, so no need to go into details about how it works.

THE LAST STRAW(S)

The tenants' movement has been around for years, but a new wave of activity around Poland was inspired by a few things. First of all, for years, reprivatization was quite slow. But the current government, who are neoliberal ideologues of the worst sort, sped this process up. They also did other things though like raising rents 200-300% in many cities and cracking down on people in various ways.

In April some neighbourhood people started the *Tenants Defence Committee* when they heard that the city wanted to raise rents and I and comrades from ZSP joined. Since then, we have met other groups of people who formed neighbourhood tenants associations, sometimes in one house or block, usually in response to things like a bad private landlord or the threat of reprivatization. And not only in Warsaw. People contact us from other cities saying they want to do the same. Or they just organize themselves. We can say that, although the scale of activity is not the same as in places with a longer history or a stronger civil society, these groups are definitely popping up like mushrooms around the country.

We can also see that, in some places, the situation became dire because people were losing work, but at the same time, where expected to pay much more money for housing, food and everything.

SOME CASES AND WHAT THE TENANTS GROUPS CAN DO

Part of what the different tenant groups do is protest and lobby. But there is also a lot of grassroots activism, helping people to help themselves and to organize for their self-defense.

The *Tenants Defence Committee* has open consultations twice a week and there are always people coming to ask for help, advice or to offer their help to the movement. In general, we try to help people avoid eviction, get more decent housing, get housing, not be mobbed or ripped off by landlords, fight corruption in the city, etc. etc. Everything is volunteer and depends on building a culture that people intervene when their neighbours are being fucked in some way. And there have been many individual success stories. Of course deeper systematic change is needed, but this is a good start. A lot of people are connecting, getting involved and overcoming the alienation and passivity common in society.

All of these cases are people who came to the Committee for help or who joined:

- A. is a mother of two young school-age boys who lives with her boyfriend and children in a 12 meter flat. She dreams about getting a bigger flat because all four people hardly fit in one room and the kids tend to get on each others nerves and fight instead of study. She is afraid that this will negatively affect the family situation and the children't development. She has tried for years to get a larger flat, but there are thousands of people ahead of her on the list. She cannot afford to rent a place, although she is waying the option of getting a second job and what would be worse: never seeing the kids, or living in the small flat. She is also afraid that, despite the fact it's not her fault, the social services may decide that her housing is not suitable for her family and take away her kids. (We can read about such



cases in the newspapers from time to time.)
- B. lived in a flat owned by her workplace, a city entity. When they got money to gentrify the building, the workplace, ignoring the law, moved people into alternative housing of a much worse standard. People were but under pressure since they felt their jobs were also threatened. B. was offered a 7 meter basement outside of Warsaw in exchange for her 70 meter flat. When she refused to go, they cut off her heat, hot water and removed the plumbing. Finally they tried to evict her. The eviction papers indicated her "new address" - a building that didn't exist. The eviction was blocked and she got a better flat, although not as good as the old one.



- C. lived in attractive real estate that "had a fire". In accordance with the law, people moved out to repair houses should get temporary housing and be moved back. All the people in her house never returned and the flats were renovated and sold to yuppies. For years, she and her 3 sons, all of whom are grown, lived in a 28 meter flat with extremely bad conditions. She has been trying for years to get a better flat.

- D. has two children but, when things didn't work out with her partner because of abuse, she returned home and lived in one room with 4 other people. There was alcoholism and violence. She left her partner because of it, but found it again in her family home - a familar cycle. She was determined to get away from this violence and was able to leave temporarily and live in rented accomodations, even though this was very difficult for her. When somebody in her family died, and being unable to afford her own flat, she wanted to go back to the apartment, move out the other people to another place and take over the flat. But the city said she has no legal title. She also admitted that she lived outside this house sometime, so the city claimed she could afford her own place. When the city determines you have no legal right to a flat you are living in, they impose fines. Still living there then with 3 other people, the family could not afford the fines and an eviction order was given.

- E. lives in a house that is falling apart. Literally. Water leaks when it rains, there is fungus all over, no heat, etc. The city wants to move his family to another, much worse flat, but don't want to guarantee their return after repairs are made.

- F. lives in a reprivatized house. Nobody knows how the owner became the owner since there are old people in the house who remember the owners before the war. The city is not cooperative in giving them, or any people in their situation, information. When they asked who the owner was, they were told it is "personal data" that cannot be disclosed. When they found out anyway and asked how this person became the owner, they were told that this is the business of the two parties involved (the city and the owner) and that the tenants are "not parties to the case". Although decisions on such matter are legally public, the city does everything to block access to documents. After lots of work getting information on the owner, the number of the decision, etc. etc., the city claims it cannot find a copy of the decision. In the meanwhile, it has come to our attention that the owner was involved in acquiring other properties under rather corrupt circumstances. The tenants are currently fighting with the landlord who cut off their gas and water.

- G. was always told that she lived in one of the few buildings which was reprivatized years ago and was private even during the PRL era. For years she paid the private slumlord and receiving dodgy receipts. The conditions are quite bad. At some point she began to doubt whether the landlord really had legal title, but also she was not able to get information. After our very interesting intervention, she finally found out about the building - which is owned by the city. The details of this story are still being worked out, but it looks as if somebody in the administration made a "deal" with someone not to enter the real estate on the lists of municipal property and probably the "landlord" and some corrupt bureaucrats have been splitting the rent money for years.

It is often the case that the city does not have complete lists of its property, for various reasons, including corruption. Paper records, to which there was extremely limited access, where easy to manipulate or make disappear.

These cases, which are only a select few, reflect some of the problems people face. What are people doing to combat this?

First of all, knowing that it is possible to fight is the first step. Many poor people have weak social networks in Poland and little experience with fighting for their rights. The law is byzantine at times, and the bureaucracy can act above the law, especially if it was involved in wrongdoing.

Part of the problem is to document all these stories and to show the patterns. The city tries to sweep these problems under the carpet, or make things to be the fault of "bad people" who can't manage their own finances or affairs. It is also important to expose when city officials have broken the law.

Another important thing is to motivate people to take direct action. Direct action means blocking evictions, or standing up for neighbours when their landlord turns off the gas. But first people have to know about it and believe that their presence in a confrontation can make a difference. Another form of direct action is simply squatting. Or organizing a rent strike. The latter is something we called for but the movement was not ready for yet.

Other forms of action have included protests and confrontations with politicians. For example busting into the office of the Vice President and confronting him about misleading people on actual housing policy.

Here I only gave examples from Warsaw because I know these cases first hand.
But tenants are acting in different cities. In Bialystok tenants interrupted the city council and are suing the city. In Krakow, tenants hold regular meetings and block some evictions. In other cities, people are forming groups to give legal advice or help people avoid eviction.

There is still a lot to do. There are only a couple of hundred people really involved around the country, which is still small for a problem of this size. But it is a start and something which has given hope to some people who are in dire circumstances and decided to fight. We are hoping this fight will continue and grow.

By Akai37

Anti-Fascist News

Svitavy without nazis

On Saturday July 25th , a memorial march organized by the *Czechoslovak anarchist federation* took place in Svitavy city. Main topic were the victims of racially motivated murders after 1989. Eight years before, a tragedy happened here, when nazis killed a young roma. The investigation of this tragedy was accompanied by unclarities and very loose attitude of the police. As a result, one nazi was sentenced to 17 years of jail. Since then, the neonazi movement and especially the *Workers party* (Dilnick?strana – a czech NPD-like political party, which nazis try to use as a ladder to politics) exploited this tragedy's anniversary every year to try to gain political score. But no nazis marched through the streets of Svitavy on this year's one.

The first protestors – anarchists, antifascists, punks and roma too gathered before 2PM in front of the railway station. The first impression wasn't good, the number of demonstrators wasn't too high, but the situation improved eventually and there were around 50 – 60 people in front of the station. A few days before the action, media had written a few hysterical articles about the threat of riots initiated by anarchists from all over Czechia. The police believed them and so there were many anti-extremist department pigs, few linemen and two trucks of robocops in front of the station (more trucks were hidden in the side streets). Unfortunately, demonstrators got information about the presence of the stalinist group *Communist union of youth*, which tried to have a march at the same time and place and according to an unconfirmed information, the nazis were preparing to attack the demonstration (police stopped a few cars with nazis repeatedly).

Before the march, activists were warned, that they can't wear mask on their faces. The police was trying to develop maximal repression and menaced to ride the mob down, often because of basecaps, sunglasses and hoods (the problem was the combination sunglasses + cap, also, according to a policeman: when the sun isn't shining, there is no reason). "Masking prevents identification,



it's illegal and we can have a reason to a ride the mob down or charge a penalty of 10 000 crowns" said a policewoman from the anti-conflict team. After 2:30PM, the march started. In the front, there was a banner that read "NO to another neonazi victims", at the sides "Against fascism by all means" and "Students against racism". Other banners had signs "The classes are dividing us, not races", "Against pogroms" etc. Activists directed to Sq. M?u, the place for public speeches. The crowd was shouting "Svitavy against nazis", "Black and white united", "One race – human race", "Our streets, our cities – antifa"... Approximately after half of the march a group of roma tried to join us, but the police surrounded them and prevented it.

The march reached the square, where the speech was read. Some of the victims of neonazi violence were present. The speaker criticized police tactics on violent nazi activities, the growing of police competence and the persecution of anarchists. At the end of the speech, the anarchists ellaborated on the problem capitalism – an economical system managed by a small group of people, a system of frustration and fear, leading some people to totalitarian ideologies, for example nazism. After the speech, the march headed back to the station ("protected" by the police). During the way back,the group of roma finally joined the march. The police finally understood that the roma weren't going to attack us, but wanted to express solidarity. At that moment, there were 80 people on the march. The demonstration ended around 4PM at the station.

Thanks to all those who supported the action and who weren't afraid to express resistance against neonazism and totalitarian ideologies.

As a consequence of ÈSAF's blockade of this date, neonazis had to postpone their protest for the liberation of the sentenced fellow-tribesman to 22nd of August. Thanks to the bad weather, they didn't gather in the expected numbers and gave up on marching through the city. But their action wasn't left without response again. In the city, they were awaited by aorund 30 militant roma, that are starting to organize aside from state and official roma institutions and are slowly finding their way to the antifascist and anarchist movement.

HISTORY CAN'T REPEAT!
AGAINST FASCISM AND ALL ITS ROOTS!





INTERVIEW WITH WARSAW ANTI-FASCISTS FROM "AGREEMENT 11.11" INITIATIVE

This year a new antifascist group appeared in Warsaw. The group is close to the local anarchist movement and will bring a new spirit into the local antifascist theory and practices. Finally, the group has an international invitation for antifascist around the Europe. So we decided to make an interview with them. And here is the result... ABB

AbolishingBB: 11th November in Poland is traditionally the day of antifascist activities, especially in Warsaw where extreme right from different groups from all over the country organize the march through the city center. Since on that day, Antifa reacts in one or another way every year, what was the reason to create a new antifascist group focusing on this action exactly now? How is the "Agreement 11.11" going to contribute to the movement?

„Agreement 11.11" is designed by people interested in promoting active antifascist attitudes. It was created in Warsaw on summer 2009. Our long-term target, and this is pretty new in Poland, is to build mass antifascist movement aiming towards different social groups and to promote antifascism within the society.



Demonstration Warsaw 11.11.08

The genesis of the group goes back to the last years International Antifascist Conference "Siempre Antifascista" in Berlin (Germany) and to be more precise, to the discussion one day after that took place among activists from Poland which participated in the conference. We were pondering some alarming issues, one of them being, that the antifascist movement in Poland, as it is now, does not really attract women. This observation was the starting point of the later discussion about how in fact the antifascist attitudes and actions in Poland look like and why women don't see place for themselves within it. We have started to debate over the aspects which restrict us.

So far, the antifascist movement in Poland gathered around males and its activity was mostly based (except work of NGO's) strictly on street confrontations. In some cities Antifa militant antifa groups were connected more with football hooligans than with any libertarian groups' and very often polluted with homophobic and sexistic attitudes. We wanted to change this situation.

The consequence of this was a meeting in June this year, organized by group of women. We discussed about the condition of the anti-fascist movement in Poland in a very critical way. After that we recognized the deep need to change the prevailing situation. The very same day the group was set up. The group is strictly anti-authoritarian, we cooperate nor with the police and state, neither with political parties. We do not tolerate different manifestations of discrimination such sexism and homophobia.

The uniqueness of our group is the fact that was established by women, it consists mostly by women who are the heart of „Agreement 11.11". Moreover, the group unites people from different circles: anarcho-feminists, squatters and militant antifascist activists. This mixture of different influences causes that our group is focusing on both issues, education and direct action.

Towards ongoing activities, „Agreement 11.11" initiative has started from several-month-long campaign concerns rising awareness about anti-fascism activities. We have already organized discussions, meetings, lectures, film showings and concerts of antifascist bands. The highlight of the campaign will be the *Day of Antifascist Action* pointing at the neo-fascist legalized march in Warsaw on the Independence Day – 11th of November.

AbolishingBB: ***Why is this day so important in the context of Poland?***



It is not a secret for everybody in Europe that here in Poland, we have strong nationalistic tendencies which are probably even getting stronger. It exists in mainstream media, in state institutions and in society in general. Because of these strong patriotic and conservative tendencies it's very easy, under the cover of patriotism, to smuggle neo-fascist and neo-nazi ideology, which infiltrates society without any barriers. The society is not educated good enough and it seems that hardly anybody has noticed to where it actually leads.

Additionally, bad economic situation of large parts of our society, high unemployment rates and many other social problems are causing huge frustration. The right wing politicians try to distract our attention from the real problem which is the injustice and inefficiency of capitalism, they plant scapegoats like national or sexual minorities. In that way they re-channeled social rage and disappointment of the actual situation.

Furthermore, education programs for schools are soaked in patriotism and conservative values. Young people are not thaught to think indepentently, or to criticize the reality that surrounds them.

Such phenomenons meet with a favorable response to implant the ideology of hatred. This atmosphere is well disposed towards coming into existence and acting of various radical right organizations and parties like *NOP (National Rebirth of Poland)*, *MW (All-Polish Youth)*, *Falanga*, and the main group standing behind the march 11.11 – *ONR (National-Radical Rebirth)*.

Unfortunately, one of the most important factors which favors quite free acting of these organizations is, at least until now, a weak antifascist movement…

AbolishingBB: So what are the plans for 11th of November?

This day we organize certain antifascist activities alongside the March route of the neo-nazis. Apart from direct actions there will be a legal demonstration. Street activities are still being discussed. But for sure we want to attract people from different circles. Now, we invite and activate academic circles, youth, refugees and nongovernmental organizations (NGO's). During the demonstration we want to arouse their interest in other forms of actions. The final of the Day will be a concert. We invited artists representing different music styles to reach different youth circles who might be interested in antifascist activities.

AbolishingBB: What results do you expect? Do you plan any further activities being a consequence of the 11.11 action?

One of the aims of this action is not to let the neo-fascists realize their annual march. In the same time it supposed to be a demonstration of existence and strength of anti-fascist movement and we are sure that by this action new people will join us. Through this action we want to focus the attention on the invisible problem which is the blooming legal neo-fascism. We expect that our resistance will rivet the attention and will be the beginning of the discussion about it. The aim of our action is also to provoke civil disobedience of different forms and the revival of consent attitudes for direct actions among the people.

AbolishingBB: The "11.11" actions in Warsaw are giving the start signal to the International Days of Antifascist Actions under the slogan "Siempre Antifascista". In this context it's possible that activists from other regions may come to support you. What should people coming for the action from abroad know ?

On the one side this day means always great mobilization of the police. Last year, during the antifascist blockade, police managed to surround a big part of the people and even take data from many of them. Well, it was our tactical failure from which everybody should learn. Of course, the local anti-repression groups will be working. Important to know is the fact, that on this day the anti-antifa groups are more active as well, but on the other hand the experience shows that they are being mostly effectively neutralized by our movement.

Anyway, before noon on the day there will be an informational meeting for visitors about the situation in the city. We will work out the integration structure in the street actions so that comrades from abroad do not feel lost. We guarantee accommodation for the visitors in private lodgings or on the local squat (we'd be very grateful if you could confirm earlier – by e-mail from the blog – how many people we should expect).

AbolishingBB: Thanx a lot for interesting update. See you in Warsaw on 11.11…



Abolishing the Borders from Below CONTACTS:

FOR TEXTS AND CONTACT:
abolishingbb@riseup.net

DISTRIBUTION:
wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

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

Distribution CONTACTS:

ARGENTINA
★Federacion Libertaria Argentine
fla2@radar.com.ar

AUSTRALIA
★ngnm55@gmail.com

AUSTRIA
★Infoshop Kaleidoskop
office@kukuma.info
★Infoshop Treibsand
Rudolfstrasse 17
4040 Linz
treibsand@servus.at

BELARUS
★ zinefest@riseup.net
Minsk
★ belarus@avtonom.org

BELGIUM
★Anarchistische Infotheek
Annonciadenstraat 16
9000 Gent

BRASIL
★marceloyokoi @riseup.net

BRITISH ISLES
★ Active Distro
www.activedistribution.org
★ AK Press
www.akuk.com

BULGARIA
★aresistance@riseup.net

CROATIA
★suncanfema@yahoo.com
"sto citas?" Zagreb
Preradoviceva 32
www.stocitas.org

CANADA
★rhubarbapplepie@hotmail.com

DENMARK
★Infolade 69, Christiania, Kopenhagen

ex-SOVIET UNION
ftw@tao.ca

FINLAND
★ info@muutosvoima.net
www.muutosvoima.net
★ Morgue-Distro/Emma-Kollektiv
morguedistro@yahoo.com

FRANCE
★ East
ffabb@no-log.org
★ West
stonehenge@libertysurf.fr

GERMANY
★wielkowitsch@hotmail.com
Berlin

GREECE
★Lily Collective
polbleibt@yahoo.com

HOLLAND
★International Bookshop
Amsterdam
sjakoo@xs4all.nl

HUNGARY
★goantik@freemail.hu
★morze-infoshop@riseup.net

ICELAND
★Arna Ösp Magnúsardóttir
Fornahvarf 10, "Syggnir",
203 Kópavogur

IRELAND
★flabbyvegan@hotmail.com

ITALY
★Central & South
138squat@paranoici.org
www.tmcrew.org/laurentinokkupato
★ North
crash@riseup.net

JAPAN
★acclaim@nomasters.com

LATVIA
★infokaste@riseup.net

NORWAY
★kaosborgen@hotmail.com

PERU
★ateneo_rebelde@yahoo.com

PHILIPINES
★buynothingstealsumthing@yahoo.com

POLAND
★Oficyna Wydawnicza
Bractwo Trojka
os. Czecha
17/8 61-287 Poznan
www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl
bractwo_trojka@wp.pl

ROMANIA
★ Aactiv-ist Distro
pinkpanthers@k.ro
Timisoara
★ www.fight-back.tk

SERBIA
★distro@inicijativa.org
www.inicijativa.org

SLOVAKIA
★CSAF
poste Restante 850 07
Bratislava 57
csaf-trencin@arachne.cz

SLOVENIA
★a.infoshop@gmail.com
Ljubljana

SOUTH AFRICA
★Zabalaza Books
zababooks@zabalaza.net

SPAIN
★SQL Distro
Libreria Rosa de Foc
Calle: Joaquin Costa, 34
08001 Barcelona
winanar@wp.pl
★CM Bilbao-
crimentalpunx
@paginaslibres.com

SWEDEN
★ boekhandel info
stockholm
bokhandeln.info@gmx.net

SWITZERLAND
★ cafe_kabul@immerda.ch
★ Infoladen Kasama Zürich
info@kasama.ch

TURKEY
★ abcankara@yahoo.com
Ankara

UKRAINE
★ Infoshop Kiev
infoshop@gmail.com
http://infoshop.zaraz.org

USA/North America
★ Little Black Cart,
PO Box 3920,
Berkeley CA, 94703
http://littleblackcart.com
info@littleblackcart.com
★ Czolgosz
jvertigo@juno.com
★ AK Press
www.akpress.org



All previous issues are still available directly from ABB

ISSUE # 33, October 2008: Editorial: War, Media and Labour Struggles; Anarchists towards the new war in the Caucasus; Free/alternative media in capitalist society – polemics, interviews, presentations; Anarchy in Bulgaria – Interview with Bulgarian organizer and zine publisher; Strikes and workers struggles in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Romania; Interview with Bartek Kantorczyk, an initiator of the biggest wildcat strike in Poland in the last years; Alarm in Rozbrat, report on actual situation of polish anarchist center; Shut down EU migrant hunters! – report from actions against Frontex; War in South Ossetia – Russian anarchists visiting war region in Caucasus; Unknown moments of east European anarchist history – historical materials from Bulgaria and Ukraine; Report from NoBorder camp in Turkey; Anarchist debate about anti-fascism in Russia (continuation); the first Gay Pride Parade in Bulgaria – report;

Communities in Struggle

The Never Complete List of Anarchist Groups, Projects and Collectives from Eastern Europe

WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM
www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)
www.abb.hardcore.lt (bad english)

ARMENIA

★ **"Proryv"** - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; vaga@freenet.am

BELARUS

★ **Antifa football league** http://www.baf-league.com/
★ **Antinuclear Resistance** - No more Chernobyls!
antiatombel [at] riseup.net
http://anr.noblogs.org/
★ **Autonomous Action**
http://belarus.avtonom.org
-Minsk:
belarus@avtonom.org
-Soligorsk (Minsk region):
nonexecution@gmail.com
★ **Linux Vacation Eastern Europe**
http://www.lvee.org/
★ **Eat Yourself**
D.I.Y. punk/hardcore crew from Homiel and Mahiliow
http://eatyourselfcrew.ucoz.ru/
★ **Food Not Bombs** - Minsk
fnb-minsk[at]riseup.net
http://fnbminsk.noblogs.org/
★ **Food Not Bombs (**and other initiatives) - Brest
brestunite @riseup.net
★ **Free Theatre** - anarchist theatre from city of Brest
freetheatrebr@yahoo.com
http://svabodny.kantakt.net/
★ **Squatters' movement of Minsk**
squatthebelarus@riseup.net
★ **Indymedia** - Belarus
https://belarus.indymedia.org/
★ **Kairos** - libertarian analytic blog
http://kairos.noblogs.org/
★ http://razam.by.ru/ - website of already nonexistent KDS "Razam" / Condefederation of Active Initiatives "Together"; quite informative what concerns earlier years of social struggles in Belarus
★ http://anarchistory.boom.ru/ - history of anarchy in Belarus
★ http://www.375crew.org/ - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus
★ http://fcd-zumado.anho.org/ - DIY distro with anarchist attitude
★ http://naziscum-by.noblogs.org/ - Nazi Watch Belarus

Zines:
★ A-party-Ya (R.I.P.) - Brest
sanjaamatar@gmail.com
★ Defect In Industry - Minsk
defectinindustry@ mail.ru
★ New World -- Minsk
P. O. Box 37
220053 Minsk Belarus
lydok@riseup.net
★ oD.I.Y.sya! - Minsk
P. O. Box 389 220090 Minsk Belarus
okpunkrock@mail.ru
★ Rebel Desire -- Minsk
P. O. Box 33 220123 Minsk Belarus
rusel13@gmail.com
★ Tryznas kefiras - Minsk/Vilnius
tryznas-kefiras@riseup.net
http://tryznas-kefiras.noblogs.org
★ Namerenije - Minsk
tanuysha@riseup.net
★ Blah-blah-blah - Brest
uzhasno@bk.ru, lets87@bk.ru
★ http://svobodna.org.ua/ - international feminist website in Russian; grrrlz from Belarus also make contributions to it

BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

★ **Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina"** - Banjaluka; ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk
★ **www.osvajanjeslobode.bravehost.com** - anarchist info from BiH

BULGARIA

★ **Anarchist Portal** http://a-bg.net
★ **Anarchist writings**
http://savanne.ch/svoboda
★ **Anarcho-saprotiva autonomous group**
aresistance@riseup.net
★ **Anarchy in BG** http://change.to/anarchy
★ **Animal rights, anarcho-primitivism, feminism** http://anarchyfuture.a-bg.net/
★ **'Aresistance'** - D.I.Y. anarcho punk hardcore web zine, diy@aresistance.net, www.diy.aresistance.net
★ **'Ecotopia'** - Infocenter *Razgrad*, infocenter.ecotopia@gmail.com
★ **Independent media center**
http://bulgaria.indymedia.org/
★ **'Katarzis'** - DIY zine, katarzis@riseup.net
sfti.diy@gmail.com
★ **Subcultures, crust, punk, hardcore**
http://music.a-bg.net/
★ **'Svobodna Misl'** - Bulgarian anarchist newsletter, http://sm.a-bg.net/

CROATIA

★ **Sabota□a pokvarenog sistema'** - internet network collective,
aktivizam@yahoo.com
www.sabotazapokvarenogsistema.tk
CAKOVEC:
★ **Tabula Rasa** - infoshop, Josipa Kozarca BB, post:: p.p. 18, 40315 M, Sredisce
PULA:
★ "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:
★ **Rijecka anarhisticka inicijativa** - rai2002@net.hr, www.rai.anarhija.org
★ **Škatula** - infoshop, Delta 5 (Ivex building, 1st floor), 5100 Rijeka,
infoshopskatula@net.hr
ZADAR:
★ **Direktna akcija**. - anarchosindicalist initiative
direktnaakcija@gmail.com
★ **Inicijativa queer** - anarchoqueer group, inicijativa_queer@yahoo.com
★ **Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front** - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar;
zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com;
www.solidarnost.mahost.org
ZAGREB:
★ **Anarhisticki sajam knjiga** - anarchist bookfair, www.ask-zagreb.org
★ **AnFemA** - anarchofeminist action,
anfema.action@gmail.com, www.anfema.tk
★ **FNB** - hno-zg@net.hr,
www.hranaaneoruzje.net

CZECHIA

★ **Antifascisticka Akce (AFA)**
http://www.antifa.cz
kontakt@antifa.cz
monitoring@antifa.cz
media@antifa.cz
shop@antifa.cz
international@antifa.cz
Local anti-fascist groups by towns and regions:
- **Beroun,** berounsko@antifa.cz
- **Blansko,** blanensko@antifa.cz
- **Brno,** brno@antifa.cz
- **Kladno (Antifascisticka odpor)** kladno@antifa.cz
- **Kralupy n. Vltavou,** kralupy@antifa.cz
- **Olomouc,** olomoucko@antifa.cz
- **Opava (Autonomna antifa),** http://opava.antifa.net, opava@antifa.cz
- **Ostrava (Autonomna antifa),** ostrava@antifa.cz
- **Praha,** http://praha.antifa.net, praha@antifa.cz
- **Prerov,** prerov@antifa.cz
- **Rakovnak,** rakovnik@antifa.cz
- **Northern Bohemia,** sever@antifa.cz
- **Teplice,** http://teplice.antifa.net, teplice@antifa.cz
- **Vysocina - Jihlava region,** vysocina@antifa.cz
- **Zlin region,** zlinsko@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 sdru□ení Uherské Hradište** - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradište), 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
★ **Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF)**
www.csaf.cz, csaf@csaf.cz - from there mail forwarded to local group or someone
Postal contact: CSAF, P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1
★ **Infocafe Krtkova Kolona in Prague**
http://kk.czechcore.cz, kk@czechcore.cz, Sochalska 6, Praha 7, 170 00, +420 604 247 218
★ **Squat Milada in Prague** - http://milada.s.cz, milada@s.cz, Na Kindlovce 1, Praha 8
★ **FSA-MAP** - Federation of anarchist groups, info@anarchismus.org, www.anarchismus.org, international secretary: fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org
- **Northern Czechia,** fas-sever@anarchismus.org
- **Zlinsko**, fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org
- **Prague**, fas-praha@anarchismus.org
- **Brno**, fas-brno@anarchismus.org
- **Jihlava**, fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org
- **Pardubice,** fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org

★ **Info Café "Krtkova kolona"** - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubenec, kk@czechcore.cz, kk.czechcore.cz, Tel: 605 983 191
★ **Hudebni klub "Za vraty"** - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, international@zavraty.com, 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

★ **Be UnderGround** - punk zine, antiporvari@riseup.net, www.myspace.com/bug_zine
★ **Food Not Bombs –** Tallinn - videomees@hot.ee
★ **www.punamust.org/** - anarchist web-site
★ **www.hot.ee/anarhism** - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

HUNGARY

★ **AFK** - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); www.socialdisease.tk
★ **Barricade Collective** - anarchist group; www.anarkom.lapja.hu
★ **"Gondolkodo Antikvarium"** - anarchist bookshop; www.ainfok.ini.hu; gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (near metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18
★ **Morze Infoshop** - Hegedü utca 3.; 1182 Budapest
www.metatron.sh/infoshop ; morze-infoshop@riseup.net
★ **www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo** - anarchist web-site

KAZAKHSTAN

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

LATVIA

★ **Infokaste** - anarchist D.I.Y. infoshop, cafe & distro, infokaste@riseup.net, www.neirothe.net/infokaste
★ **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
★ **Autonomous Action** - in Rezekne elbort@rambler.ru

LITHUANIA

★ **active@hardcore.lt** - LT activists network
★ **"Elnias"** - space for various DIY activities; Vilniaus str. 72 (in the yard), Siauliai, gabrieli@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. 204 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; sgausiperemaila@yahoo.com, fiorfraga@gmail.com, tel +37067809606 http://posedis.mums.lt
★ **booking@hardcore.lt** - booking in Lithuania
★ **www.hardcore.lt** - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

MACEDONIA

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

MOLDOVA

Autonomous Action - in Kishinev: system_must_dead@bk.ru black_anarh@mail.ru

POLAND

★ **ABC/ACK** - www.ack.most.org.pl
- **Warszawa** - po box 30; 02-741
★ **Warszawa 121** - . ack-wawa@o2.pl, www.emilka.bzzz.net/porady/porady.html
- Poznan - po box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31, ack@rozbrat.org, tel. 0618484672 (tue 19-21, We-Thu 17-20), www.rozbrat.org/ack.htm
★ **Bialystok** - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26., abcbialystok@o2.pl, www.ack-bialystok.prv.pl
- Lodz - riefka@gmail.com
- Warszawa-Praga - zaczek@gmail.com
- Mielec - redakcja@innyswiat.most.org.pl
- Przasnysz - fnb-przasnysz@o2.pl
- Wroclaw - tomasso@riseup.net

★ **Anarchist Library** - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.
★ **Anarchist Library** - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.
★ **"A-zine"** - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 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; chaosgrrlz@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.czsz.prv.pl; maciek@riseup.net
★ **Dziewczyny w Akcji** (Girls in Action) - anarchist feminist group in Bialystok; www.dziewczynywakcji.prv.pl/; dziewczynywakcji@wp.pl
★ **"Elblaska"** - squat in Warsaw
★ **Emancypunx** - anarcha-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.
Office of FA - biurofa@riseup.net
FA Warszawa / WGA - w.g.a@poczta.fm www.emilka.bzzz.net/spotkania/spotkania.html
FA Warszawa Praga - fapraga@gmail.com ; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop/
FA Slask - fas@riseup.net
FA Torun - fatorun@riseup.net
FA Slupsk - feniks33@interia.pl
FA Poznan - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org ; www.rozbrat.org
Adress: Sklot Rozbrat ul. Pulaskiego 21a 60-966 Poznan; P.O.Box 5 60-966 Poznan 50, fila 8; Tel: Anarchist Library (We-Fr 17-20): +61/8484672 607992069
FA Kraków - fakrakow@buziaczek.pl ; www.fakrakow.wordpress.com/
FA Lódz - falodz@riseup.net ; maciek@riseup.net ; www.czsz.prv.pl
FA Inowroclaw - crustian@tlen.pl
FA Czestochowa - akielasiak@wp.pl ; yeti1202@tlen.pl ; www.faczestochowa.most.org.pl
FA Gorzów Wielkopolski - fagorzow@o2.pl ; www.fa-gorzow.prv.pl/
FA Lasin - anarchy@op.pl ; www.zmowa.bzzz.net/
FA Dublin (section of polish anarchists in Irland) - fadublin@gmail.com
FA Sieradz - fa.sieradz@gmail.com
★ **Food Not Bombs**
- Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45
- Lodz - falodz@riseup.net
- Olsztyn - 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.Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.
- Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl

★ **Feminist & Anarchist Feminist Calendar** - feminikalendarz06@interia.pl
★ **"Freedom"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. crkblabla@gmail.com, http://www.crk-wro.info/
★ **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** - Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 1830- 2000 or longer, Sun. 1400-1700 plus by appointment and during events ; fapraga@gmail.com; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop,
★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA** (Workers Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;
★ **INNY SWIAT** - anarchist magazine and distro; c/o Janusz Krawczyk, po box 24, 39-300 Mielec 3, innykrawat@wp.pl , www.innyswiat.most.org.pl
★ **IP-FA / Szczecin** - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.
★ **IP-FA / Silesia** - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa_silesia@hoga.pl
★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza** (Workers Initiative) - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl
★ **Kolektyw Autonomistow** (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl j "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 www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/ (co-organized by the anarcha-feminist groups)
★ **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**
- Krakow - testcyf@kr.edu.pl
- Poznan - lets@poland.com

★ **Liberta** – anarchist-feminist group in Wroclaw; libertagrrrl@o2.pl
★ **"Little Mary"** - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;
★ **"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/caffe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; adress: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city).
pilon@poczta.onet.pl; www.pilon.za.pl
★ **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - www.antifa-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.
★ **"Szwejk"** - anti-military service and Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul.Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, antywojenna@rozbrat.org
★ **"Tekno Collective"** - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl
★ **Ugrupowanie Feministyczno Anarchistyczne (UFA)** – anarcha-feminist group in Poznan; ufa@robrat.org
★ **Valpurgi Night** – regular festival against homophobia and sexism in Warsaw, with workshops, conference, spoken word, concerts, films...
www.myspace.com/nocwalpurgii;
★ **Wiedzma (The Witch)** - anarcha feminist group; Po Box 3321-500 Biala Podlaska; Poland; witchgrrrl@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
★ **URA** - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; www.antifa-antitot.blogspot.com; libertatero@yahoo.com
★ **Love Kills** - woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; www.lilith-lovekills.blogspot.com;

jolierouge101@yahoo.com
★ **"Revolta !"** - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com
★ **Subteran Collecitve** – anarchist-activists collective in the city of Iasy; subteran_iasi@yahoo.com
★ **www.proiectns.org** - grassroots activist site

RUSSIA

★ **Alliance for Animal Rights** (Radical non-hierarchical grassroot activism for animal rights)
http://aar.org.ru/
http://animalrights.ru/
Contact: news(A T) animalrights.ru
★ **Alterkom** - network of student resistance in Petrozhavodsk
http://altercom.forum24.ru/
altercom A T bk.ru
★ **Anarchist Black Cross Moscow**
P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia
(no name of the group to envelope, please!)
http://www.avtonom.org/abc
http://www.myspace.com/abcmsc
abc-msk A T riseup.net
★ **Anarchist Black Cross of St. Petersburg**
Alekdandr Vitalyevich Yermakov
P.O. Box 32 194291 St. Petersburg
(no name of the group to envelope, please!)
a4kpiter A T gmail.com
★ **Anarchists of Petrozhavodsk**
http://www.ptz-anarchist.narod.ru
ruinos (A T) mail.ru
★ **Libertarian Marxist group "Derzay"**, Derzay-zine
P.O. Box 152
420044 Kazan Russia
http://derzaj.ru
red (A T) derzaj.ru
Animal Liberation Front Supporters Group - Russia
http://aeliberation.net,
aeinfo A T aeliberation.net
★ **Antifa Ulan-Ude**
afa.ulanude (A T) gmail.com
http://www.myspace.com/afa_ulanude
★ **Association of Anarchist Movements** (ADA-IFA)
member groups and individuals
★ **Online community:**
http://community.livejournal.com/ada_ifa/
★ **Moscow Region group of anarchists**
spresist AT riseup.net
http://spresist.anho.org
★ **Yaroslavl** (individuals)
ada-yaroslavl A T riseup.net
http://anarcho.front.ru
Zeleznogoroskiy Union of Anarchists
zhsa@list.ru
★ **Alliance of Libertarian Initiatives** (of St. Petersburg)
(Coordinates local activities of Anarchist Black Cross, Autonomous Action, Food Not Bombs, Pyotr Alekseyev Resistance Movement, Punk Revival and others)
spbnabat@gmail.com
★ **Autonomous Action**
http://avtonom.org,
info A T avtonom.org,
Regional groups of Autonomous Action:
★ **Barnaul** ad.barnaul@gmail.com
★ **Blagoveschensk** (Amur region): ad_blaga@riseup.net
★ **Irkutsk**, also for Free Siberia-paper: http://irkutsk.anho.org
a.volokos@gmail.com
★ **Kirov**: asssa@diino.com
★ **Krasnodar**: P.O.Box 4943 350075 Krasnodar Russia
asmodeys1@gmail.com
★ **Magadan**: eternity11@yandex.ru
Magnitogorsk: razer@riseup.net
Moscow, also for Avtonom-journal: adm@avtonom.org
avtonom @avtonom.org
P.O.Box 13, Moscow, 109028 (no name on envelope, please!)
★ **Nizhniy Novgorod**, also for Situation-paper:P.O.Box 25 603104
Nizhniy Novgorod Russia
(no name on envelope, please!)
http://nnov.avtonom.org
avtonom69@gmail.com,
situazion@avtonom.org
★ **Novosibirsk**: nsk@avtonom.org, zemfa@riseup.ru
Saratov: pkropotkin@yandex.ru
Tyumen: streetriot@inventati.org, akbar @riseup.net
★ **Ufa**: ufa@riseup.net, adufa@mail.ru
Cities with individual members of Autonomous Action:
★ **Cheboksary**: punkvil @yandex.ru
★ **Chita**: Myrava.trava @gmail.com
★ **Ivanovo**: kvazimodo@riseup.net
★ **Izhevsk: avtonom**.cinema@gmail.com, avtonom18 A T yahoo.com
http://izhevsk.avtonom.org
★ **Kaliningrad**: swindle A T riseup.net
Kemerovo: moreaction.lesstears@gmail.com
★ **Mikhalevo of Ivanov oblast**: luzippy @ mail.ru
★ **Murmansk**: P.O. Box 4614 183959 Murmansk Russia
tel: 22 89 73 (Aleksandr), vp1@inbox.ru
★ **Novorossiysk**: Atari@yandex.ru
★ **Penza**: komin1987@inbox.ru
Perm: deadsun'rambler.ru, kisa_war@ mail.ru
★ **Petrozhavodsk:** sad1st-ptz@mail.ru
Rostov-na-Donu g_p_v @inbox.ru
★ **Ryazan**: http://ad-62.narod.ru/ ad-62@ bk.ru
★ **Samara**: verogiper@mail.ru
★ **Shelehov of Irkutsk oblast**: a.volokos@ gmail.com
★ **St. Petersburg**, also for PetrogrADets - paper: ad-spb@riseup.net
★ **Tolyatti**: ad-tlt@mail.ru
★ **Vladivostok**, also for Udar-paper: a-avtonom_vl @riseup.net, cccpka@gmail.com
★ **Volgograd**: volgauto@inbox.ru
★ **Yekaterinburg**: P.O. Box 329 620135
★ **Yekaterinburg Russia** libertarizm@gmail.com
Individual press distributors of AutonomousAction
★ **Biysk** (Altay region): rastamao@ 404team.org
★ **Kaluga:** antiglobal@mail.ru
★ **Kamyshin of Volgograd region**: antoha@bscom.ru
★ **Naberezhnye Chelny** (Tatarstan): granat-rzn @mail.ru
★ **Neftekamsk** (Bashkorstan): rocks@list.ru
★ **Ozersk of Chelyabinsk oblast**: avtonom-ozersk@ yandex.ru, padlik@ bk.ru
★ **Sakhalin**: paha_keeper @mail.ru
★ **Samara**: avtonom-samara@ yandex.ru
★ **Sochi**: palma17v A T gmail.com, gaura@ riseup.net
★ **Vologda**: blackflag@list.ru
★ **Voronezh**: dingir@mail.ru
★ **Yaroslavl**: anarcho_kommuna @mail.ru, hkos_68@ mail.ru
★ **Yoshkar Ola**: punk@zvenigovo.ru, pizdecsisteme@mail.ru, www.creeples @mail.ru
★ **Zarechniy** (Sverdlovsk oblast): kontrcultura @gmail.com

★ **Bakunin Fund**
Kornilov Sergey Gavrilovich
Kuvshinovskiy Rayon, s. Pryamukhino
172101 Tverskay aoblast, Russia
tel: +7 (48257) 75 160, +7 (495) 918 40 04, +7 (916) 322 33 47
~~http://www.bakunin-fund.da.ru/~~
bakunin-fund@mail.ru
★ **Black Bloc** (Voronezh)
http://blackbloc.anho.org
blackblok0@gmail.com
★ **Clandestine Insurrectionary Rebel Clown Army in Moscow**
ka@riseup.net
★ **Critical Mass** (Moscow),
http://massa.org.ru/,
critical.mass.moscow@gmail.com
★ **Confederation of revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalists (KRAS-AIT)**
Moscow
P.O.Box 34
117485 Moscow Russia
(no name of the group to the envelope)
http://kras.fatal.ru/,
http://kras-ait.over-blog.com/
comanar@mail.ru
★ **Rostov-na-Donu**
P.O.Box 4059
344103 Rostov-na-Donu Russia
socprotest@pochta.ru
★ **Saransk**
tmunzer@mail.ru

★ **Cultural Center "DUPLO" & Alternative movie club** Diversija in Samara
http://www.duplo.narod.ru/
~~duplo@yandex.ru~~
★ **Organized Siberian Antifascists**
siberia@riseup.net
http://o-s-a.anho.org/
★ **Food Not Bombs**
General contact: fnbru@riseup.net
Barnaul: iniciativa-barnaul@yandex.ru
Irkutsk: irkfnb@gmail.com
Izhevsk: edavmestobomb@gmail.com
Kazan: fnb-kazan@yandex.ru,
http://www.fnb-kazan.narod.ru/
Kirov: punkauskirov@mail.ru
Krasnodar: fnb_krsndr @mail.ru
Krasnoyarsk: fnb-krk@mail.ru
Moskva: http://edavmestobomb.narod.ru/, fnb-msk@riseup.net
Nizhniy Novgorod: fnbnnov @ gmail.com
Novosibirsk: x316x@mail.ru
Perm: fnbperm @mail.ru
Rostov-na-Donu: subbacultcha @ mail.ru
Samara: tipunanija @rambler.ru
St.Petersburg: epicenter-infoshop@ nm.ru
Tyumen: fnb_tyumen@autistici.org
Ufa: fnb@inufa.org
Vladivostok: fnb-vladivostok @mail.ru
Volzhkiy:: fnbvlz @mail.ru
Voronezh: fnb-vrn @ yandex.ru
★ **For the Abolition of Vivisection!** - Initiative group (SHAC Russia),
http://zhestokosti.net/,
http://stopanimaltests.livejournal.com,
skazhi@zhestokosti.net
★ **Free Trade Unions Confederation of Tomsk**
http://kulac.narod.ru
★ **Free University**
(anarchist lectures in St Petersburg)
voluni@list.ru
★ **House-museum of Pyotr Alekseyevich Kropotkin**
tel: +7(495)993-92-04 (Jan Lvovich Prusskiy)
m448@mail.museum.ru
★ **Indyvideo**,
http://indyvideo.ru/,
indyvideo@riseup.net
★ **Krasnoyarsk group of anarchists**
anarh-krk@mail.ru
grua.livejournal.com
★ **MPST (Inter-Professional Union of Workers)**
Phone: +7-963-923-39-69
e-mail: mmagid@mail.ru, wwp61@ mail.ru, buhr1@yandex.ru,
aneretik @gmail.com
http://mpst.anho.org
★ **Network of Working Place Resistance**
http://antijob.anho.org/
★ **Punk Revival** -- St.Petersburg,
http://pv.mahost.org/,
aocats@gmail.com
★ **Punk-Revival Moscow**
http://pv.anho.org/forum/index.php
oipunkpv @googlemail.com
★ **Rainbow Keepers**
Moscow: Hranitelisvetlana @ gmail.com
Samara: duplos@ yandex.ru
★ **RASH St. Petersburg**
http://rash-spb.org/
★ **Red Skins** - Anti-fascist skinheads
http://www.redskins.ru/,
admin@redskins.ru
★ **Siberian Confederation of Labour**
sibokt@gmail.com
http://syndikalist.narod.ru/
★ **Victor Serge library**
http://www.praxiscenter.ru,
praxis2001 @mail.ru, praxiscenter@ gmail.com
★ **Websites**:
404team.org - activist tech group
n@404team.org (also Jabber)
Anarchist songs
http://www.a-pesni.golosa.info/
Anarchists of St. Petersburg

http://spb-anarchists.anho.org/
Anti-fascist portal of information and analysis
http://www.antifa.p0.ru/
★ **Anti-yuppie** - news of anti-glamorous culture of Kaliningrad and surrounding region
www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru
witamin_w38 (a t) rbcmail.ru
★ **Bakunista! website** - theory and analysis, anarchist history
http://bakunista.nadir.org
bakunista@riseup.net
★ **Golosa.info** - open publishing website from Tyumen region
http://golosa.info,
admin@golosa.info
★ **Good Night White Pride**
http://goodnightwhitepride.com/
★ **Indymedia Russia,**
http://ru.indymedia.org/,
indyru@nadir.org
★ **Indymedia Kuban** (Krasnodar region and Adygeya)
http://kuban.indymedia.ru
imckuban@riseup.net
★ **Indymedia Piter** (St.Petersburg),
http://piter.indymedia.org/,
imc-piter@riseup.net
★ **Indymedia Siberia**,
http://imc-siberia.org,
info @imc-siberia.org
★ **Nazi-Watch Russia**
http://nazi-watch.noblogs.org/
★ **News about squatting and squatter movement**
http://squat.anho.org/
★ A **website on Nestor Makhno**
www.makhno.ru
★ **A zine archive**
http://www.diy-zine.com/
Notable blogs:
★ http://anarchism_ru.livejournal.com
★http://anarchia_ru.livejournal.com
★ http://anatrrra.livejournal.com - migration, anti-fascism etc.
http://avier38.livejournal.com - anarchism in St.Petersburg
★ http://copylefter.livejournal.com - copyright, copyleft, creative commons, filesharing...
★ http://ihavexx.livejournal.com - anarchism and animal rights in St. Petersburg
★ http://iriele.livejournal.com - ecology and anarchism in Nizhniy Novgorod
★ http://mikola_a.livejournal.com - anarcho-communism in Belarus
★ http://shraibman.livejournal.com - history of anarchist movement, syndicalism (by MPST member)
★ http://sindicallisto.livejournal.com - another syndicalist blog by KRAS member
★ http://streetsmedia.livejournal.com - Squatting, prisoner support...
★ http://tupikin.livejournal.com - Vlad Tupikin
★ http://vivalafora.livejournal.com - syndicalism, history of anarchist movement... by KRAS member
Zines:
★ Girls Are Strong - St. Petersburg
gas_zin@mail.ru
★ Imhopang - Moscow
imhopang.punk.ru
imhopang@yandex.ru
★ Insomnia - Moscow
P.O. Box 64 109147 Moscow Russia
www.myspace.com/insomnia_zine
endishear@gmail.com
podonokx@ gmail.com
★ Interpretation - Moscow
P.O. Box 16 117437 Moscow Russia
interpretation_zine@yahoo.com
http://www.myspace.com/interpretation_zine
★ Kamardzhoba - Nizhni Novgorod
crustnn @yahoo.com
★ Knives and forks - St. Petersburg
zilonis@newmail.ru
★ Liniya Fronta - St. Petersburg
frontline @ riseup.net
★ Meet with the resistance - Magnitogorsk
razer @ist.ru
★ My Riot Inward - Petrozhavodsk
Alexei Zaikov
S. Kovalevskoi street, 9-108
185002 Russia
scandalsp@mail.ru
★ No Borders - St. Petersburg
noborders @front.ru
Refuse Resist-zine
http://www.rfrs-zine.narod.ru
rfrs.info@gmail.com
★ Rod Svart Punk - Perm
K.S. Pylaev P.O. Box 6594 Perm Russia
rod_svart @front.ru
ICQ: 354-310-442

SLOVAKIA

★ **Anti-Fascist Groups**
- **Trnava (AFA)** - antifa-trnava@safe-mail.net
- **Bratislava (AFA)** - http://blava.antifa.net, bacityafa@yahoo.com
- **Bratislava (Autonomna Antifa)** - bratislava@antifa.cz
- **Bratislava - nazi monitoring** - http://monitor.revolt.org, monitoringba@yahoo.com

★ **Alternative Magazine in slovak language** - biedaduchay@safe-mail.net
★ **Antifascist Action from Trnava** - antifa-trnava@hushmail.com
★ **Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross)** - ciernykriz@yahoo.com.
★ **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** - slovensko@csaf.cz
- **Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz
- **B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz
- **Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz
- **Vychod** - csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com

★ **FNB Trnava** - jedlott@safe-mail.net
★ **KATT** - collective of anarchist tourists, kattkolektiv@yahoo.com
★ **Priama Akcia-MAP:** www.priamaakcia.sk
- **Eastern region:** vychod@priamaakcia.sk
- **Bratislava** - ba@priamaakcia.sk
- **Western region** - zapad@priamaakcia.sk
- **International Secretary** - intersec@priamaakcia.sk
- **Postal contact** - Priama akcia, P.O. Box 16, 840 08 Bratislava 48, Slovensko

mobile phones:
- +421 949 387 174 - Priama akcia - VA?chod (east)
- +421 949 708 508 - Priama akcia - Bratislava

★ **Info@Police** - www.infoapolice.sk, info@infoapolice.sk (Bratislava)

SLOVENIA

★ **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - kultura_kontra@yahoo.com.
★ **Akd Izbruh Kulturni Bazen** - autonomous culture centre in squated swimm-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd_izbruh@yahoo.com
★ **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana, tel. 00386-1-4340345, anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org, www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv
★ **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - saf.info@email.si
★ **Union of self-organised workers** - SiSD/USW - is_usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

UKRAINE

★ **International Union of Proletarian Revolutionary-Collectivists (left-communists in Ukraine)** - prometej2003@ukr.net, proletar@ukr.net, http://iuprc.250free.com

ARTEMYOVSK:
★ **Rage of the youth zine** - *Artemyovsk* - fnb_art@mail.ru, xveggyx@yandex.ru

DONETSK:
★ **Anarchist Federation of Donetsk** - samoorg@mail.ru , 83017, Donetsk-17, private box 1819.

KHARKOV:
★ **Animal rights alliance** - save-animals@mail.ru , kharkov@animalrights.ru
★ **Autonomous Action** - akh@nm.ru, antifa@km.ru
★ **Svobodna** - anarcha-feminist web-page (russian language) www.svobodna.org.ua svobodna@riseup.net
★ **Diyhc** - hardcore/punk web zine, http://diyhc.org/, diyhardcore@gmail.com
★ **FNB** - die_young@riseup.net
★ **People for animal rights** - glazoo@ya.ru
★ **Zaraz** - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives, www.zaraz.org , info@zaraz.org
Infoshop, http://infoshop.zaraz.org/, infoshop@gmail.com

LVIV:
★ **Antifa** - antifalviv@ua.fm

ODESSA:
★ **Diversiya** - infoshop, Knyazheskaya str 30 – 32,
★ **FNB** - animal_rights@riseup.net

RIVNE:
★ **Come Alive** - diy punk/hc concerts, tolizban@yandex.ru

SEVASTOPOL:
★ **Autonomous Action** - vlasti_net@mail.ru
★ Animal liberation group, Antifa, Food Not Bombs and other activity: klim_kacha@mail.ru, dzyina@yandex.ru
★ Group active in animal rights, Antifa, Front Aids: keeponfighting@mail.ru
★ **Vlasti net** - zine, vlasti_net@mail.ru

SUMY:
★ **Anarchist Federation** of Sumschina - http://www.fas-2017.tk/ , fas-2017@yandex.ru

ZHITOMIR:
★ **FNB** - fnb_zhytomyr@mail.ru , private box 127, Zhitomir, 10014
★ **'Zhyvy!'** - distro, www.truemens.narod.ru/distrotr.htm , truemen@mail.ru
★ **'Veselka'** -.distro, makefuture@ukr.net, diyzhytomyr@ukr.net
★ **'Suck Out'** - zine, www.truemens.narod.ru/suckoutzone.htm , anyom@inbox.ru
★ **'Squat UA'** - zine, truemen@mail.ru
★ **'Far For'** zine - makefuture@ukr.net, diyzhytomyr@ukr.net

TURKEY

★ **"AForum"** - www.internationala.org
★ **Anarsist Bakis** - http://go.to/anarsistbakis - archive of anarchist texts
★ **ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - abcankara@yahoo.com
★ **"Imlasiz"** - www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net- anarchist magazine
★ **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com
★ **KaosGL** - www.kaosgl.com - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine
★ **"Kara Kizil"** - www.karakizil.tr.cx- anarchocommunist group
★ **http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net** - anarchoprimitivists
★ **http://ankarafanzin.freeservers.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