

ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

issue # 9

bi-monthly newsletter

APRIL 2003

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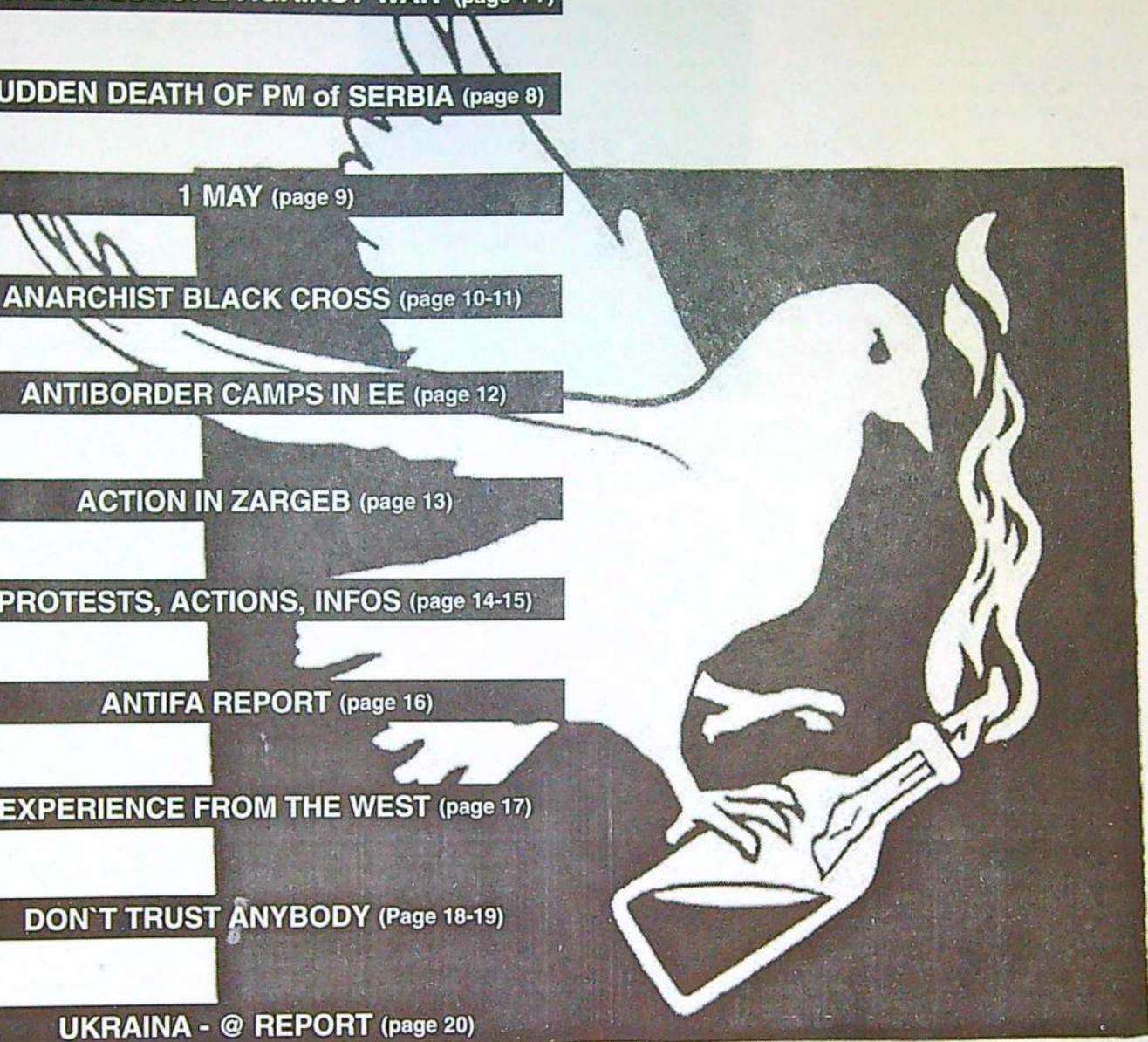
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**STOP
CAPITALIST
WAR!
LET'S START
CLASS WAR!**

Anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

IF YOU WANT TO CONTACT US...

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

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

"Abolishing the Borders from Below"

an anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

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

from different regions of East Europe to cover the most current, important and interesting issues. Our correspondent team for today: Pavel (Prague - CS), Mato (Bratislava - Slovakia), Alek (Skopje - Macedonia), Saszka (Grodno - Belarus), Antti (Russia), Ninja (Vilnius - Lithuania), Andrea & Subwar Collective (Belgrad - Jugoslavia), Maya & Tine (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena & Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Mutlu (Ankara - Turkey), Soja (Bialystok - Poland), Michu (Torun - Poland) and others. More correspondents needed!

Other sources of info: "alter ee" east-european-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC-Poland - info bulletin, "Avtonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, "AAC-TIV Newsletter" from Romania.

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

can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region.

Please all texts send to:

abolishingBB@hotmail.com

Please send your graphics & photos only to:

abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com

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

Distribution: we are looking for people/collectives ready to distribute this publication on a regular basis in their regions (especially in southern Europe). Previous issues are all available. Contact for distribution:

wielkowitzsch@hotmail.com

Free copies: will go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address.

Print-Rin: 1500 copies.

Sponsored: by Breakfast-Benefits presented in KÖPI/Berlin, our pizza-circus, and benefits from outside.

Deadlines: for #10 - 15.05.2003 and for 11 - 15.07.2003



An anarchist courier: a bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/autonomous activities in Eastern Europe.

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

Correspondents: our great idea is to set up a network of correspondents

...LOOK FOR ABFB IN THESE PLACES

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If you think that you can help with filling that network up, especially if you are living in north Italy, Belgium, France, Ireland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Spain, Switzerland or Portugal ...

LET US KNOW!

WATCH OUT - NEW POSTAL PRICES!!!

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

ABFB: Liebigstr.16; 10247 Berlin; Germany

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

Get in touch with our distribution coordination team under: wielko-

Some of the past issues of AbolishingBB are still available directly in our own distribution section. Here you have contents of them:

issue # 5 - August 2002

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

issue # 6 - October 2002

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

issue # 7 - December 2002

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

issue # 8 - February 2003

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MEETINGS EE in Warsaw /Poland (schedule of details), Anarchist MayDay 2003 in Eastern Europe (contribution into discussion: what do we want to achieve with "EAST-EUROPEAN MAYDAY), Can the War take Centre Stage? - article about war in Chechnya, Anarchist Defence Alternative - text about how to consider the debate of anarchist society, Bulgaria in the NATO - NOW - interview with members of new anarchist group in Sofia about the situation in Bulgaria, Interview with the Bolt Throwers Firm - first antifascist football hooligans in Russia... and few pages of short reports, and Communities in Struggle.

We just would like to thank a lot to all our regular correspondents and distributors for keeping great cooperation. Particularly we would like to thank ...Will Firth(FAU-IWA), Petra Horska, Jenni, Laure, Zaczek, Z., Robert, Suncana, Tavi, Tine and others for providing materials for this issue. Unfortunately, as always, we didn't find in this issue too much space for pictures... Thank to that you will find here a lot of interesting text.

And it was the first (and who knows, maybe last) number of ABFB made by our new editor. He decided to cut same names of authors of short stories and now he just wants to say sorry to them. Love, anarchy and solidarity! Abolishing the Borders from Below collective.

EASTERN EUROPE AGAINST THE WAR

In February and March in many cities across The EE people protested on the streets against the attacks on Iraq. Protests were smaller than in Western Europe. From several hundreds in Warsaw or Prague to ten of thousands in Budapest and Ljubljana. When we finished this ABFB, G.W. Bush and his bastards just started their dirty war. But we haven't feel like we've lost the battle and we haven't stoped fighting against terrorists with diplomatic passports.

Lithuania



Antiwar posters from Vilnius



Action was organised by one of the politicians who probably wanted to make his ratings higher. Because of this, our participation, would be described by mass media like we are supporters of the politicians whom, ofcourse, we are not. So, active youth, pacifists, punks were in a dilemma to join the demos or not.

Action took place before F15. In 31 January. Along side the youth, there were some elderly people and politicians. Most of them held banners with various anti-war slogans: "There are no democratic bombs." "We don't want to promote war, New American Terrorist Organisation." A walk was "escorted" by few police officers, but there were no incidents. Some national security officers were noticed as well. Participants visited US embassy, department of state protection, and the residence of the President. Unfortunately the President and Prime Minister have already announced the probable Lithuanian help for US in her war against Iraq.

On 20 March a small number of people were distributing anti-war leaflets in the centre of Vilnius. They were met with mostly aggressive and pro-war attitude. No police attention, yet :) On 22 March after an announcement on the net and a handful of posters a day before, 100 people gathered in the Rotushes square and walked to the US embassy, ministry of land defence and, the Presidents office. Slogans were shouted, songs were sung, leaflets given away, state security officers exposed and in general the walk was ok. Too bad it was Saturday so most of the offices were closed of course.

RUSSIA
No to war
for oil!

(Moscow)

Communists and nationalists gathered about 1000 supporters near the US Embassy in Moscow on the same day. In preceding days a rally was also held by the so-called Liberal-democratic party lead by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, which is in fact a very nationalistic party. However, these two rallies couldn't be called genuinely anti-war, as their participants, by no means, wanted to speak out against the war in Chechnya and the demonstrations were largely anti-American and nationalistic, rather than anti-war.

Going back to the demonstration against the wars in Iraq and Chechnya, its participants were predominantly young (under 40), which is rather unusual for Russia, where young people are usually said to be "De-politicized". Active chanting - "No to war for money! No to war for oil! 1-2-3-4- We don't need your fucking war!", etc. - helped to survive the frost of minus 15 degrees centigrade. Cop presence was rather heavy - about 50 in total - which was more than at a larger demonstration against the war in Chechnya two weeks before. Video footage of the demonstration in Moscow is available on Indymedia-Russian language at:

http://www.russia.indymedia.org/local/webcast/uploads/f15_moscow.mpg

CZECH:
To die for a
good thing - is a
nice death.

(Prague)

About 1000 people demonstrated in Prague. In this time Czech parliament has been negotiating about joining the war on the side of the United States. Czech politicians have been so pleased by the US proposal (request) to reinforce Czech chemical troops in Kuwait and fight against Iraq with the US Army. Czech Minister of Defence Tvrdik told soldiers in a public speech: "To die for a good thing is a nice death." Most Czech people are against the war. Three representatives of Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation came to the parliament with pickets that were saying "Tvrdik, go die for that nice thing in first line!" and "Czech chemists and American petrochemists - hooray against Bagdad". They also distributed leaflets with political messages against the war and capitalism. Corporate medias wanted their sensations so they had announced Anarchist representatives as the leaders of the demonstration. When they arrived they were met with a large presence of over 150 cops. By the latest news Czech Minister of Defence Tvrdik is not willing to go die in Iraq, but he told the media that in the case of war he and his family will be in danger of death. Hmm, that's the war, Tvrdik, people are dying there.

LATVIA
Marching
through the
city...

(Riga)

People in Riga joined F15 protests. At 12.00 more than 50 people, mostly youngsters (anarchists, HC sceners etc. alternative people), gathered near the US embassy and started a march through the center of Riga. During the march the numbers of people increased. At the maxium there was about 100 people marching through the city with red&black flags, banners against war and different musical percussions to make more noise.

We also had antiwar leaflets to pass out. Thats a good number for Riga if you take into account that this is one of the first activities where Anarchists demonstrate. At 14.00 the march returned back to the US embassy where there was a picket organized by an NGO called "Movement for Neutrality." So the marchers joined and took the first row leaving socialists/communist (statists, who organized that picket) behind. :) They were angry about that, of course. Up to 300 people took part. Unfortunately, there was really poor coverage of those activities in the mass media. Some words about the official picket (the one which was declared to authorities) and almost nothing said about the march. Only the news agency LETA mentioned that Anarchists were also among the protesters. A lot of people filmed and took photos of the march. Police (especially state security police) showed great interest in the march (probably about more about the marchers though). A video of anti-war action in Riga is available at http://re-lab.net/riga/nowar_riga.rm (RealMedia) WARNING! 16 Mb!!! 3000 people protested in Warsaw (plus local protests in Gdansk, Olsztyn, Poznan, Rzeszow and Wroclaw) made the biggest ever anti-war protest in Poland (you should know, that Polish government and army support anti-Irak coalition).

**BOSNIA-
HERZEGOVINA**
Food not bombs
against the war

(Mostar)

On the 15th of February we participated to the worldwide movement of protest against war in Irak. With millions of people, we demonstrated against American's will of violent intervention by organizing a "food not bombs" protest in Mostar. At lunch time and under the slogan "Hrana a ne oruzje" (food not bombs), several hundred people ate and discussed together to show their opposition to the Bush administration and its vision of international "justice". 400 people signed the petition we distributed. It will be sent to the American embassy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Local and national TV came and IBIH, the national channel, showed a 3 minutes report in the news. As we think non violent actions have to be the first way to deal with international crisis, we'll organize "food not bombs" protest each time need to defend this idea.

International day of action against the war in Iraq was marked on Moscow by a March of 200 activists from Socialist, Anarchist and radical ecological groups through one of Moscow's central streets and a rally at Pushkin square where in the recent months several demonstrations against the war in Chechnya were organized.

In smaller numbers human rights activists and activists of Greenpeace were also present. This time, too, the organizers decided to speak out both against the war in Iraq and the war in Chechnya, although the first topic certainly dominated in the speeches and the slogans of demonstrators.

This was not the most massive protest against the war in Iraq in Moscow.

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EASTERN EUROPE AGAINST THE WAR

SLOVENIA: Anti-war and anti-NATO actions (Ljubljana)

In Ljubljana-Slovenia from 7000-10000 people gathered. This was the biggest anti-authoritarian demo in Slovenia after the independence. The initiative for organisation of the FIS demo took the usual activist network in which the

anarchists are very active. So, the number of people on demo was a surprise and a great success. I think this is a result of resistance against NATO and a long lasting anti-NATO campaign. What I see important is the fact that so many people was not gathered by some party or NGO-s - it was gathered by radical leftist, anti-authoritarians and anarchists. The message of the demo was not focused just on Iraq, but also against the system, globalised capitalism and its impact on the situation in Slovenia. Slovenia signs a Vilnius Declaration in which it fully supports the unilateral attack on Iraq by USA.

The demo was just another sign that people don't agree with the slovenian government and state politics. The position in parliament and government is ruled by LDS for over 10 years now (Liberal democrats - totally neoliberal capitalist influence; joining NATO and EU are their superior points). I think their days are numbered and also I really believe that the people will say on referendum for NATO - NO! What is also interesting is that also the opposition in pro-NATO and pro-EU and that means that when the referendums will fall for them - people of Slovenia must demand that the whole politic-elite garniture go down.

Off course when this happens, we will have a lot of work to do with saying to people that another elections or different government is not the answer, solution or alternative. Anarchists will for sure be very active in the struggle for a real alternative.

On Friday 21 March and Saturday 22 March actions against war and NATO continued in Slovenia. And

on 23 March - the referendum on NATO and EU is taking place and we are waiting for results. There is still a big chance that the referendum on NATO will fall for the government (last public polls showed us situation: 50% - 50%), but for the EU referendum there is no question - people will support the slovenian entering EU.

Although this time also anarchists went to "vote" (-), we already made a statement in which we declare our no-stopping struggle against the state and capitalism.

On Friday, two demos took place. In Maribor (the second largest city in Slovenia) around 500 people gathered and protested peacefully throughout the day. In Ljubljana, the occupation of the place and square around the US embassy continued, but there was no other conflicts on the police barricades. Group of some 100 activists and anarchists made a mobil action in the city. In the building, where the UK and Australian embassies and some multinational corporations have their place, the main hall was occupied for half an hour. Police tried to prevent us entering, but the disobedience and anger was too strong. On the way through the city, a lot of people joined us and there was a lot of work for police. Protest headed towards the Spanish and Italian embassy and also beside the government and parliament buildings.

There was no conflicts and everything ended peacefully in the square 50 metres from the US embassy. This place is still occupied and lots of different activities are going on there.

On Saturday, the demo against war and NATO was called for 12:00. Some 1000 people gathered, between them group of anarchists with anti-war (class war) / anti-capitalist banners and red&black flags. The anarchist bloc was shouting a lot of slogans and singing revolutionary songs. The demo went around the city and stopped at some points, like the money-market (Borza), parliament, government and off-course US embassy.

This time the police barricades were the "biggest" in the history of Slovene state. The front group showed some non-violent "civil disobedience" protest. The

anarchists were too far away, so no bigger pressure was given to the US embassy.

Next week, more actions against war are planned and probably a big anarchist demo on Saturday, as a part of 1st Balkan Anarchist Bookfair, which will be held in Ljubljana, from 27 - 30 March.

On 23 March, the referendum on NATO and EU took place in Slovenia. Although we were still optimistic about the NATO result - the final results are a disaster - especially for the EU.

NATO : 65% for - 35% contra EU : 89% for - 11% contra 60% of people went to vote. After the referendum, the political elites and ruling parties were celebrating the results in one of the most elitist pubs/restaurants in Ljubljana. Also their supporters (mostly klero fascists) were celebrating on the main square in Ljubljana with NATO, EU, Slovenian and Party flags. Group of anarchists and activists went to fuck their celebration up. We came with our flags and banners, shouting slogans and singing revolutionary songs (which the fascists don't like). Later our group went into the pubs, where opposition parties (klero fascists - right wing social democrats) were celebrating.

The pub was full of their flags and members, but we disrupted their party - leaders of the party went out in 5 minutes and also their flags were let down - we hang in the pub our flags and the black flag with NATO death (remember from Prague?).

In the pub next door, the rulling coalition and government members were celebrating (president of government and some ministers, Liberal-democrats - neoliberal capitalists). Also Pat Cox (president of EU parliament) was there. When they want to go home with their big fancy cars, we blocked the road. As they and their securities could not pass, they called the police. A lot of police came and in the end they had to remove us violently. Two comrades were driven to police station, but they were released after one hour.

The battle may be over but the struggle continues! Social Anarhistična Federacija / saf.info@email.si

CROATIA: Blood in front of the British embassy (Zagreb)

Anarchist protest of international resistance against imperialistic aggression in Iraq 13th of February 2003 - Action before the British embassy. In the beginning, I have to point out that all these events were the first independent

action organized by the Antifascist Action of Zagreb, although people from other parts of Croatia took part. At first we decided to join a newly formed collective "Enough wars", but we didn't approve of their great reformist spirit and the way they work. I have to admit that they changed some of their plans on our critics, but we opted for the independent work and action. Logistic group was formed soon after a decision about independent work, and we started to develop two actions. The first one was designed to draw attention from the media, and through direct action putting information about main demo into media. Action was planned in the way that few activists spill themselves with red color (symbol of blood) in front of the British embassy. The action at the meetings increased in bigger dimension, and ended with decision of registering at police for that event. The important issue is that we tried to use faculties nearby, as a place where people can be informed about events, and where people can find out about crisis itself. That was later dismissed as less important, because that was the time when faculties didn't work with full capacity. But even so, students gave their share. Things which expanded

the whole event in front of the embassy, where exhibition of pictures with horror of war in Afghanistan, police repression now and then police brutality, etc. Among that there was free tea in organization of Food not bombs, and excellent performance. A performance was imagined and brought like a trial to Iraqi people. Judge, jury and defense agreed that Iraqi people should be sanctioned, because oil is very important thing for our lives, and the judgment - genocide - must be carried out right away - a black satire in front of crowded windows of the British embassy. Performance ended with spilling "people" with red color on a snow, followed by sounds of bombing, shooting and screaming, which gave more realistic picture of war. Police made some problems about registering, and have brought a whole bunch of police, special units and undercover police officers. We put out leaflets and anarchistic literature, and about hundred people gathered around. Media were interested, because it was about world sensation.

Our response was that we're not giving any statements to the media, except the short ones that offered the explanation to our refusal of contacting the media, and announced the demo on the 15th. When asked about the statement, we replied that we had considered the media oppressed and controlled, and because of putting us out from the context during all this time and also we pointed out to their responsibility for systematic serving of false information and creation of public opinion, and that's the reason why we didn't want to make contact bigger than this. One journalist understood statement as an attack on her profession, and so the next question was: "How do you comment a Molotov cocktail recipe on your

site?", and the answer was: "No comments." Her response confirmed our words, she didn't mention any critic to media, but she pointed out that we had a Molotov recipe on our site and that we didn't want to talk about it. Our action received good criticism in the media and opened a place for other groups which were there, and used it. At the very end of the event, a man from "Red rebel" Marxist group started with asking people whether they knew why they were there, did they know that they won't change a thing with just participating in the demo, their participation has to be continuous, and that only way the bigger changes can be realized. These words were OK, because we also asked people for some kind of mobilization in our proclamations and leaflets. After that he started to explain the issue through marxistic point of view, but soon he was interrupted by our view of the things.

Then we started to read our proclamation, and slowly everything was coming to an end. The whole demonstration was videotaped by the police and press cameras, but the "What are you watching?" production videotaped it as well, it is some kind of anarchist media, which later assemble enclosure, and in many cases they get to local TV stations. In the end, we received an invitation for a conversation from the British embassy, which we refused. Our actions weren't imagined to create space for politicians, and besides that, they have that space all the time, and we all know how it sounds. And that is really the thing we don't want to hear on our demonstrations!

EASTERN EUROPE AGAINST THE WAR



Anti war demo in Craiova

Is about our antiwar demo in 1st March. It is a whole story about how we can organize this kind of protest now when all mainstream media are against us and all the state propaganda is focusing on NATO integration. We were forced to collaborate with a troskist-marxist organization called association for the workers emancipation. Some of the lithers of this organization are friends of ours and may want to change something and have a little trust in us, but the big majority of them are old and senile and they can not do anything. However, with there help we can take the approbation from the authorities.

When we started organizing and working on the banners and placards C.A.F. was very active. In the beginning we were not very enthusiastic because we thought we could not say what we wanted. But instead we completed the job so the things became more anarchist than reformist. But the situation was really saved by our true comrades from activist collective from Timisoara. They were well prepared.

The number of participation was 100. At least a half were anarchists, less than 10 troskists and the rest were just punk-rockers. (we hope this punks to become more involved in anarcho-punk movement). The flags were red and black and the people from our city (also the police) know this was an anarchists protest. About the impact we are very pleasant because many young people participated and were interested about anarchism. This is good for our "ghetto" but is good also for public opinion because, even if we can not change their ideas about the war at least we change our distorted image. Now they see us like an well organized group and for this maybe they respect us more. Is important to say that the majority of people on the street was not against us .

Our really friends from activist collective were very unhappy because they belived the media give any attention to the troskists. Fortunately massmedia is interested " only about anarchists ". And this time the local tv made a good report, another tv station called us nostalgic hippies but they are not against us. We will try to keep the people mobilized and " angry ".

ROMANIA: War and ABC

(Timisoara,
Craiova)

Should we go on ilegal demo or not. And the answer was: Hell yes! So we prepare for the action. In the previous night at the punk concert there were 4 secret agents, and that was a sign from them that they will not stop there.

The authorised march was supposed to start at 13:00 in front of the university and go through the town. So, we decide we will still keep that as a convergence point, and after go to center and have a smaller march, without blocking cars and just leafleting and having banners and flags. Morning hours were a pain, cause people from the student organisation called by chiefs of the police got so scared that they would keep us all time on the phone.

We said we still go there, but because the cooking part was going hard, we decided that we should go and say to the people who will come to the university that the demo will be delayed untill after the Food not bombs action.

Going in front of the university we found one big surprise. The place was full with police. We spread around so that we can let people know that meeting point has changed. We managed to announce some of the people, but not all. We also met one of the people from the student NGO who fucked us. He was all pale and he said that he had conversations on the phone with police chiefs for more than one hour. He was begging us not to protest, not to put out banners, not to do anything. hehe! He said 3 big chiefs of the police where there and there is a big mobilisation from the police.

Anyway, so we announce as many people as we can, it seemed that more people prefered to come at the f.n.b. actions than at the march. We got back to the cooking place so, that we discuss new strategies for the action. people from CAF (Craiova anarho front) and the REVOLUTIONSHOP group, from craiova were here offering their help for the action and preparation. Their support was heartening for all of us here. There we discussed and realised that there is no way we could do the march at all and we should focus on the food not bombs, which together with our week of leafleting would make some sense and worth the material and financial help.

There were in the square where we did the food not bombs action some 50 people who came there for the action and also about 20 street kids/people which we have gathered from the streets. We put the banners up the surrounding walls and a friend was playing the guitar. Everything was ok, untill the first sign appeared...

The chief of a gendarmerie team came to us. He asked that he wanted to talk to the leader of the group. We said we have no leader. He said that somebody would better assume this role. So our hippy-guitar friend went and gave his id and said what's about. The discussions went great. The "jandarm" said he is glad that we have initiative and even if we don't have any autorisation he will send to boys of his team to protect us from the eventual fury of some potential people who would hate our stance. He said that we will start to shout

or do other "stupid" things disturbing the order and neighbors he and his team will act immediately.

We were so amazed about what we heard and we went on with the sharing of food and feeling good. All things went good untill the food was almost gone, and a police (not gendarmerie!!!) Car came. This time there were 6 policemen who jumped out and asked the same question. Who is your leader? So the story went almost the same. The hippy friend said what he told to the other guy, other people also went there and explained that the action is close to the end and we will soon go. The poliman said that they want to protect us from eventual aggressions from the other people who might pick on us because of the way we look or whatever. And that he respects what we're doing but we need to finish soon because they have a lot of missions and they are doing voluntary work there and are freezing.

So we say that we finish soon and go home with a fifth Food not bombs action with no problems. In very few minutes another police car came and a very big chief came out. He gave some orders and a policeman asked for our ID's, of everybody. The people who had none could go home. And they were not happy that so many of us gave the ID's to them (maybe because of too much paper work!!!). Anyway, some people got theirs back and others not. What happened next? 19 people got fines of 1.500.000 and one got 1.700.000, meaning about 45 euro per person. That comes in a situation where almost everybody was unemployed, student or whatever thing with no job, and that's in a country where the average salary is 1005.

The action was clearly a political one, and if small policemen understood and were not pissed for giving free food to the people, the chief came with clear orders from above and decided to punish some of the people there, so that they will remind this thing for the rest of their lifes: "You have the right to express your opinion, whenever we want!". People gathered after in a pub and discussed the problem, and the abc romania is officially started at this action. After spending a lot of their time and material and emotional resources people were still glad about the action and have no fear of the message from the state. people got more solidarity with the activ-ist collective and will join future actions. the police repression didn't make us weaker, but stronger and we won't stop here.

ABC meeting will take place on monday and decisions will be made there. we will fight all the way with all legal methods and only as a last choice we will pay the fines, which go up to 450 euros (!). there might be needed for help with 2 persons who admitted their fact (breaking the law with intention of disrupting public order) by mistake and because of no trust to romanian justice. We will need some money, cause this people are students and have no job, so, please spread this news around and if people can help us with financial difficulties, please get in touch. Also, there are 2 ways of going to court. one individually and having personal trials, and this way there are 90% chances to solve the fines with no money, and the second one is that we go and make a common complain and go to the media and stuff. this will lead to future complications that might end with bigger trouble and money spent for lawyers and stuff. ABC groups if they could give some advices, it would be great to get in touch and give some suggestions.

EASTERN EUROPE AGAINST WAR

POLAND Polish society against war

(Warsaw,
Gdansk)

In Warsaw the samba band Ya Bende kept thing lively - there were lots of flags, banners and a good mood despite the snow and cold.

A few days later (24 02 03) the US ambassador in Poland was mooned (shown are asses with "NO WAR" written on them) at the Gdansk university. The students who organised the action were asked by newspapers if they were not afraid of the consequences. They replied: "nothing could possibly happen to us, the US is the guarantee of freedom of speech in the world." It's a pity, but we have only one photo from this radical action, and its not perfect, because you can't see shocked face of the ambassador :-)



US ambassador was mooned by Polish students

TURKEY: Don't be a soldier Istanbul, Coralu, Ankara)

At the beginning, Anarchists in Corlu (a town in Thrace-Northwest of Turkey) made a "No War" demo on 26 January. About 500-600 people participated in an antiwar demonstration which was organized in Corlu. In addition to the political parties and unions an Anarchist group of 15 people attended the demo carrying a banner writing "no" (hAyır) and distributed an antimilitarist asterix leaflet and a manifesto signed as "Corlu anarchists".

On 15 February Anarchists were in Istanbul-Kadiköy with their black, red-black flags and a banner reading "Don't be a soldier". The main slogans were: "Earth, Commune, Freedom.", "We will not kill nor be killed, We won't be a soldier for no one", "Refuse! Resist! Say no!, Don't be a soldier", "Neither god nor government. Love. Love. Anarchy", "Murderer is the government. We will destroy surely", "Total-conscientious objection against war", "Let there be governments on earth", "All the governments are murderers"... At the end of the action the anarchist group burnt their black flags -as usual- and repeated the slogan "won't be a soldier for no one" while leaving the area.

On 22 March in Ankara an anti-war platform organized an anti-war march from Yuksel to Sakarya street (in downtown). A few hundred people marched with about 15 Anarchists from the Ankara Anarchy Initiative who attended the action carrying black flags and shouting slogans. After the demonstrators reached Sakarya street the Anarchist group left the square shouting their own slogans.

A group of anarchists supporting the Besiktas football team - hung out an anti-war banner in Besiktas-Istanbulspor football match on 16 Feb 2003. The common crowd in the game who were shouting anti-war slogans also repeated anarchists' slogan in the banner: "We support Besiktas, WE ARE AGAINST THE WAR"...

Turkey, Ankara, Perfect World-an anti-war leaflet 750 copies of the following leaflet was distributed by Ankara anarchists in anti-war demo

PERFECT WORLD

After the ongoing tension-action-comedy-adventure, the SATAN had been pinched in its motherland and last shelter-in the Middle East. Commander of the Civilized Powers, American Superus AlliedSon -having deep mystical suspects that in evil power's hands there exist biological, chemical, nuclear ogre technology which is enough to defeat up the civilization- has already began to fight on the front-line. Using its super authority emerging from its being the unique global Super Power, it desires to eliminate the

son of the witch, the brigand family, the bandit - Saddam. Its vigilant poses in the arms control process showed its admirable insistence on the subject. And now on, the War Machine parked beside us is creaking. Standing up with its twilight majesty, it is demanding/insisting for transit pass from air-base, navy-base, land-base tourmiquets. It also alludes that it can mark those -who are not honoring it- with not-believing-in the Brotherhood of the Ring, with demoting. The clock of war has been set to destroy the primitive & sick brain structure of the opposite civilization with sickening mixed pity.

Even the most radical necrophilic desires can be deflated on civil bodies - on which cannot prove its innocence, which fail to gain the mercy of those holding the arm, which are so weak and provocative. All the bones of a man can be broken; all of the organs can be taken out. Whatever happens-at least there is something called corpse-bag. As long as looking-blind and becoming-imbicible goes on, we can do nothing more than showing our hypocritical condolence.

FOR A WORLD WITHOUT SOLDIERS, A WORLD WHICH IS NOT DIVIDED INTO SECURITY ZONES... AGAINST THE SACRED WAR OF THE "PERFECTNESS-CRAZY" CIVILIZED WORLD...ANARCHIST REBELLION!

Anarchist Initiative Rijeka

was founded in September of 2001 from mostly two different already existing groups and some individuals, which have been working by themselves. Namely part of it emerged from student radical groups called Independent initiative and other part of it came from groups of individuals engaged in anti global and anarchist struggle for some time. Motivation for establishing such group was to connect each other better than it was done before and to achieve some kind of cooperation in our actions. From loose coalition at first a R.A.I. (Riječka anarhistička inicijativa) became an affinity group, which is now involved in several struggles in Croatia especially in Rijeka.

As most of the Eastern Europe, Croatia is facing several major problems. Increased poverty and social differences, militarization of the society (namely connected with joining NATO alliance and recent war in this parts of Balkans), raising of the right-wing movements (from nazi skins group to chauvinistic nationalist hate groups and political parties), globalization and increased investments of foreign capital, and one of the biggest ones a general opinion that all of our problems are to be resolved simply by joining fortress Europe. We as groups in connection with other interested groups or organization working in this area are trying to address all of those problems.

Our first major action was fight against installment of NATO radar systems (purchased by Croatian government as condition of joining the Partnership for peace) along Adriatic coast and in continental parts of Croatia. Activist group Rijeka has been organized whose core is consisting from anarchist but other activists are involved in it too. We have been organizing street protests along with two NGOs ("Moji ljetici and Mountaineer society "Orljak"), which proved themselves to be more radical than all other environmentalist groups working in Croatia. Also we've received some help from other anarchist groups in Croatia especially Z.A.P. (Zagrebački anarhistički pokret). Three protests were organized in our city and town near it and we went as support group on Anti NATO protests organized and conducted mostly by Z.A.P. in Zagreb. Radar systems aren't installed yet but government in Croatia set its mind to install them as soon as possible and our struggle in this area is continuing. In connection with anti-militarizing struggle a branch of Food not bombs coalition has been established and conducted its activities of collecting and distributing meals for those in need for it (sadly to say their number is increasing by each month). This group tough connected with R.A.I. is working independently and it's also contained from individuals, which aren't part of our affinity group. Actions are decreasing now due to the internal problems but we are sure that they are going to pick up soon again.

Concerning the problem of increased fascists and right wing rhetoric and actions in our society, for the second time in last 12 years, an Antifascist action has been established from R.A.I. and other antifascists and it's engaged in fight with fascists groups in Rijeka and Pula. Since our number is much lesser than those of the fascists, actions are still small and well chosen but have increased in last few months. In addition to that we have started our two-monthly newspaper in which we address all of those above-mentioned problems because we're trying to sensitive public and to educate them about other solutions and viewpoint about our society. First number of R.A.I. (newspaper) has seen light of day in November and next issue will be ready in the end of January. Texts were diverse from Proclamation of Anarchists through anti-militarization issues and reports from other countries and actions there to anti-global problems. Next issues will address problems of new stand by arrangement between IMF and Croatia's government, annulations of workers rights in connection with that, workers self-management, lies of parliamentary democracy, etc.

Serbian prime minister Zoran Djindjic survived an assassination attempt on way to airport 21 February this year. Yet, only 3 weeks later he got finally shot down in a middle of day, in the centre of Belgrade outside of government building. ASI put out statement commenting on that (see below), so Rata secretary of ASI, and

many others anarchists, got arrested for few days. Still in Serbia situation is very tense, as you can read in Rata's mail documented below. Inbetween we print also anonymous mail, which describes a bit strange political history of dead now, never our comrade but still ex-anarchist, Zoran.

SUDDEN DEATH OF A MOBSTER...

According to the announcement that was broadcasted by the majority of the media the American military experts performed testing of the world largest bomb, bomb weighing nine and a half tons. Prime minister of the one of the marginal satellite-states of EU and NATO, also one of the most vigorous exponents of the entering of Serbia and Montenegro state in to the bosom of this organizations, renowned by his close ties with several criminal gangs - relations indispensable for seizure and perpetrating of each and every form of power - was shot dead today in Belgrade.

If Zoran Djindjic had been murdered by the infuriated working class, conscious of the genuine target and root of its discontent, his death would be, perhaps, remembered as substantial in the history of the human civilization. He would join club of the notorious: Marie Antoinette, Louis XVI or tsar Nikolai II the Romanov.

Zoran Djindjic, the criminal, was killed by other criminals. This clash is not ours. It is a clash between those who hold the power and governance for more power and broader governance. Honest people, which are, in circumstances like these predestined for the role of helpless subjects and voyeurs, was never in possession of either.

To remain vigilant in the moment such as the present one is of the utmost importance. The consequences which this event will impose upon us, the exploited of the Serbia, shouldn't confuse us in the slightest manner. The so-called reforms will proceed, the thousands of people will be laid off and their lives will continue to be shovelled under the carpet of the privatization.

...AND SUDDEN ARREST OF A ANARCHIST

This message is sent to inform the people on the present situation... Our syndicate will make a statement when time and circumstances allow...

Message to the compenar@s who contacted me personally or over the list (I'm sorry I have to write it in this "collective" manner but I'm lacking time): I was arrested on the 14th because of the statement we made about Zoran Djindjic's (recently killed Serbian Prime Minister) death - the one whose translation we sent to this list also. Order for investigation and arrest was signed personally by Serbian minister of labor Dragan Milovanovic and it was sent to the minister of police. My house was raided and searched, my computer and several copies of our newspaper were taken away. I was held in prison for 3 days, and I was released in the late evening of the 16th. There were no grounds, even according to the martial law, for me to be arrested. Our statement was not published anywhere so I was arrested for the, so called, "thinking crime" - that is I was arrested because we had those positions and because I wrote it down. In Serbia, as in all "democratic" states, there is no such thing

Hackman which will be soon appointed will go on down the shining path of his predecessors. The small amount of freedom which was gained during fifth of October rebellion will be taken away. With anguish we are expecting forthcoming encounters with the forces of the law.

The state of the "extraordinary precaution" imposed by the state as well as frightening statement of the ministry of labor which is crushing one of the basic human rights, right to syndical organizing and the right to strike, serves as the best confirmation of our worst fears. This state will surely be used as a pretence for fight with all of the dissident voices and attempts of organizing resistance.

Anarcho-syndicalist initiative appeal to the exploited in Serbia to organize themselves in to strong revolutionary organizations in order to get rid of the essential problems once and for all: economical system of exploitation - Capitalism and hierarchised social organization - the State. Only than will the words freedom, equality and solidarity gain their proper sense again.

Anarcho-syndicalist initiative refuses the orders of the ministry of labor, continues with its habitual actions by all possible means and expresses the solidarity with all those who are not willing to sacrifice their class goals to the death of a mobster. Different war is possible: the class war

In Belgrade 12. mart 2003.

Secretary of anarcho-syndicalist initiative
Contact E-mail: info@inicijativa.org

as political prisoners - everybody can think what they want - except some times...

I'm, more or less, ok now. Since martial law is still on power (and it seems that it will be on, at least, until the end of April - this is very problematic and it seems we will have to cancel our Balkan anarcho-syndicalist conference) I'm under surveillance and I can not comment on things that had happened in the prison etc. until the martial law is taken down. Several thugs are spotted in front of my flat today, and I am obviously followed. Police is warning people who know me that they should be careful who are they having contacts with. Situation is very similar to some of Latin American states. Heavily armed police and army forces are controlling all the streets in Belgrade, and you can basically feel police state on your back. I'm thinking of going out of Belgrade for some time. I'll see if I'm going to go to some other city or to some other country...

Or, maybe, I'll just stay here... I'll write about that when the circumstances allow... Thank you all for solidarity and care. Rata

Who was Djindjic?

Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic was a long time dissident. During his student days in the mid-1970s, he left for Germany to join other dissidents who were, with the help of western intellectuals, escaping harassment in Titoist Yugoslavia. After his return to Belgrade, abandoning his anarchist ideas, Djindjic was among the founding members of the Democratic Party in 1989 - one of the main anti-Milosevic parties. A master tactician and a ruthless technocrat he soon took over as its leader.

Djindjic came to international prominence at the end of 1996, when he was one of three opposition leaders who inspired and coordinated nearly three months of mass street demonstrations against the attempts of the Milosevic administration to annul the victories of the "Zajedno" (Together) coalition in municipal elections across Serbia. The demonstrations - unprecedented in length and intensity in recent European history - brought victory. Djindjic's prize was to become mayor of Belgrade in 1997. During the Kosovo conflict, when NATO carried out its aggression against Yugoslavia, Djindjic took refuge in Montenegro and the west, leaving the country, and suggestions that "Serbia should be bombed" were not received with support in Yugoslavia.

After the aggression against Yugoslavia, Djindjic - as probably the most unpopular of Serb politicians - stayed in the background directing the ultimately successful campaign of another opposition leader, Vojislav Kostunica, in the race against Milosevic. Kostunica gained the largely honorary post of Yugoslav President, while Djindjic took over at the centre of power - as prime minister of Serbia. Djindjic had transferred Milosevic to The Hague Tribunal in 2001 - in the face of opposition from the people and many Serb political forces, including President Kostunica.

He introduced neoliberal capitalism of the worst kind in Serbia. His media manipulation and his technocratic behavior made him more and more unpopular, as Serbia was becoming one of the poorest countries in the region. Every day, more than 15,000 workers were on the street, protesting. More than 900,000 people in Serbia were fired (Serbia has a population of about 7 million), unions were aroused and social unrest was brewing. So called "Workers Resistance", from Kragujevac, an industrial city of Serbia, was vehemently protesting against Djindjic's neoliberal policies. Coalitions and social movements, such as "Another World is Possible", and others, were starting to take shape, and to resist IMF-isation of the country. A handful of intellectuals and journalists were fighting against an imposition of a "false debate": you have to choose between neoliberal "reformists" or "ultranationalists" - and there emerged a so-called "Belgrade consensus": a convergence of the neoliberal and the nationalistic political elite and intellectual commissars who were restoring the capacity of coercion against the people who tried to look beyond both options being presented, nationalism and neoliberalism. With regards to political parties, for much of the past two years, there has been a power struggle between Kostunica and Djindjic. Kostunica enjoyed popularity, and Djindjic was detested because of his techno-



Zoran Djindjic, dead PM of Serbia

cratic approach and what is called "reforms" (meaning: stabilization, privatization, liberalization, in the spirit of the "Washington Consensus") Yet Djindjic was very successful. He has used his links with President Djukanovic of Montenegro to establish a loosely-knit union of Serbia and Montenegro.

The power struggle with Kostunica finally went Djindjic's way with the replacement of Yugoslavia by the union of Serbia and Montenegro over the past month. This left Kostunica without an office and transferred him back to the opposition. Djindjic was not able to enjoy the fruits of his almost absolute power for more than a few weeks. There are a lot of speculations about today's assassination. According to one scenario, the most probable one perhaps, Djindjic was a victim of his own alliances with organized crime. Post-Yugoslavia, as every other "country in transition" (towards complete poverty) has seen a "new class" being formed, a group of oligarchs who made their money under Milosevic and found new protectors in Djindjic or Kostunica. A virulent element of this new class, comprised of business people and politicians, was mafia and organized crime. Another scenario is interpreting Djindjic's assassination as a political plot, perhaps even tied to the rivalry between Washington and Berlin. There is a suggestion that he was perhaps executed by Albanian nationalists who are gaining more and more strength in the south of Serbia.

Djindjic's circle, neoliberal technocrats, will use this situation and benefit from it. This is not good: I have seen it happening with Milosevic who had become almost a martyr after his extradition to the Hague.

As I am writing these lines, one of the TV stations loyal to Djindjic is broadcasting the movie "JFK". There is, also, another danger, the one of organized crime transforming this situation into a gang warfare. After this, gangs, and mafia in general, could be encouraged. And a situation of complete disorder could be introduced. In the best scenario, neoliberals-in-power will use and exploit this opportunity for their own benefit and further impoverishment of the country. Nationalist forces could be encouraged as well.

As for the people who are fighting for "another Serbia", against neoliberalism and nationalism, for them, at least at the moment, the situation doesn't look very promising.

WE ARE READY... TO GO

rWe don't have a good new for activists, who waited for a big plan of actions prepared for First May. It seemed that because of many anti-war protests people didn't have a time to think about First May in the middle of March. But some groups send to us their propositions (see below). Great thanks for it.

Salud comrades

Here is short description of M'ay Day in Prague. There will be a demo "For libertarian anarchist society" on Strelceky Island (place of MayDay demos since 1890). During the March there will be skeleton puppet as a symbol of capitalism and war bring away and burned or thrown to the river. As a part of demo should be some info stalls about anarchism in general and also focused on concrete issues.

There will be also anarchist MayDay actions in Roznov (made by Anarchist Morava group) and Bratislava (CSAF).

CSAF - Praha

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We are couple of individuals who are participating on foreign anarchist, anticapitalist...actions, and recently we started to representate our ideas under name Anarchist Morava, and started to organize 1st may demo in our city Roznov (east czech-morava), so far these demos where going on usually in big cities like Prague, Brno...that's why we want to be active here, as we think it has some sense, we don't want to walk all the time in somebodies steps, and we want to destroy this lethargy which is still increasing in this area's people. So far

there happened in most of times, that we crashed on noninterested men and we want to give people something to do and think about the way to realize this is to make a lot of materials indeed, as our 1st may demo will be based on antiEU and antiNATO political background.

Also some of us where part of EE anarchist block on prague demos in november.as we are connected with our comrades, we this hopefully EE anarchist block will continue, and still new groups/organizations/individuals will join us.

Our aim is to get interested and get to know wider amount of "normal" public, as well as "subculturals", to introduce them with our why contra and pro, to continue with anarchist campaign more and more in this area as we can say there is very small amount of anarchists, and people who even know about anarchism at all, and most of public think they know what anarchism means when they read or listen mainstream. Media, as i said, because we want to call wider public, we have to distribute a lot of materials, and that's why, inspite we know many of you will be busy with your own organizations, we ask you for help, in organizing some benefits, which money from we will use for making posters, stickers, flyers, leaflets and needed materials;as we want to go in many cities in wider area and put this propaganda on, we should make a lot of them, and our financial situation is very bad.

The more encouraged with fact, we actively working on are countable on fingers of one hand.

If you can or of you know somebody able to make these benefits of Anarchist Morava, the best in time till



Project of logo for EE First May

one month, please let us know, we would be very thankful. Also we talk to everyone, who would like to cooperate with us, is very welcome!

Our advance plan of 1st may:
-demo in the center hopefully with live music (also this way we are looking for the optimistic happy band, which should talk also to "normal" people by playing in the center, we try to manage this part, but we have problem with getting good equipment and agregat. we dont expect big succes in this part, but we tra to . maybe we/you will inspite of that find some surprising solution.)/soundsystem,theatre with political background, samba and jun-

glers,speeches

-march through the city
-gig in the evening

Our activities:

-during antiNATO campaign;-benefits in our and some other cities
-posters, flyers,leaflets, sticker in "clubs", library, some schools
-lecture about NATO with member of Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation
-stickers, flyers, leaflets, posters, starting website
-we made 3,5x7.5m antiEU and antiNATO banner
-preparing of 1st May demo
-Lets stop globalizing capitalism! Lets increase globalizing our resistance!

BUREAU FOR THE DOCUMENTATION AND INVESTIGATION OF THE CRIMES OF CAPITALISM

Bureau For The Documentation And Investigation Of The Crimes Of Capitalism is a project of the webpages, which aims to gather such texts and documents, which can help in understanding both the nature of present capitalist society and the ways how to fight it.

Capital represents social relation of exploitation, oppression, alienation and living insecurity. Capitalism means conditions, in which the deceptive majority of hu-mankind ser-ves for a appendage of the machines and institutions, while the minority rules

and lives on the work of others. Way out from this system is communism - as already existent inter-nationalist move-ment of the working class, which attacks the very basis of capitalism through its everyday class struggle.

It is not possible to talk of communism as of the "former regime", when despite the rhetorics of then ruling bureaucratic class, no respective attributes of the capitalist mode of production were abolished at all. Communism is neither utopia, model of society elaborated ahead of time. Only workers who fight for it, can

decide about its form.

Those workers' currents can be considered for theoretical expressions of the communist movement, which have recognized the necessity of the class struggle and have not tried to impose their leadership on the working class. Such tendencies have been especially council communism, as well as left communism, situationism, autonomist marxism and class struggle anarchism. The space here will be devoted to these currents.

you are interested, please, let us know. We fully intend to mediate ideas and debates of the international revolutionary movement to the Czech milieu, also printed journal is planned besides the webpage. Adresa:

Za nové hnutí!
c/o KONFRONTACE
PO Box 176, Praha 1

11001

Email:

zanovchnuti@union.org.za

Bureau welcomes various forms of cooperation and discussions. If

ABC ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Polish Anarchist Black Cross Infobulletin (#5 - Winter/Spring 2003) was just printed. Inside you can find info about:

Committee of Council of Europe Reports on Polish Police Brutality:

The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture charged the Polish police and prison police with acts of abuse and with beating up arrested and imprisoned people in a report issued last year. The Committee is deeply concerned by the constant rise in the number of imprisoned, which leads to proportional overcrowding of prison cells. Polish officials replied that they are working on creating another 20 thousand of places in prison over the next 10 years.

Poznan - Sentences in the Russian Consulate Case

Recently a court in Poznan sentenced 5 members of the Free Caucasus Committee to 10 months of prison; they were given 3 years probation and ordered to pay compensation of 5000 zloties (about 1250 EUR) to Poznan City Hall for damage and 300 zloties (75 EUR) to the Russian consulate. During the anti-war demonstration in February 2000 in front of a local Russian diplomatic post, 5 persons entered its territory and sprayed some political slogans i.e. "Murderers". In addition, a Russian flag, the property of consulate, was taken down and eventually torn to shreds.

Warsaw - Police vs. Car Killers
Riot police armed with batons and pump guns against smiling cyclists - that is how the "illegal demonstration" which took place in Warsaw in summer last year looked. Some Warsaw cyclist and bike messengers met near the King's Castle. Then spontaneously they started a Critical Mass, blocking the main streets of the city. Police appeared promptly, at first assisting the Mass. Suddenly, one cyclist, who spoke to the policemen, was struck down by them. The Mass was surrounded by an armed riot police unit. The police

was jeered at. That made them really nervous and they started to pick out individual people and take them to police cars, where some of them were abused and beaten. The Critical Mass dispersed and reformed on another street. Police chased them into the night, trying to arrest as many people as they could. The next day an injured cyclist filed a charge of abuse and brutality against police but the complaint was rejected by City Prosecutor.

Ozow Struggles On

Many activists from the Polish Anarchist Federation (FA) and other anarchist groups participate in workers protests related with the sudden closure of the Cable Factory in Ozow (a little town near Warsaw) in November and December last year. Workers, unionists and anarchists tried to prevent the factory owner from taking away machinery and other production gear. Protests were pacified by police and a private security agency which was hired by the owner - as a result, numerous people were hospitalised. As many as 50 people (including activists from FA) were detained and can now face trials, being accused of refusing to disperse and various forms of assaulting the police. ABC supported the protestors in an active way, organizing the press conference on the 1st of December which dealt with the acts of police abuse and brutality. A press release was handed to journalists highlighting acts of battery, physical assault and abuse from the side of the police. Besides this, the ABC appealed for financial support for the protestors; we are trying to help the protestors but we need to have money to pay for the lawyers. Bank account information can be found at the end of the text.

Wroclaw - Vegetable Defence

In November of last year, over 100 workers from Rydygier Hospital in Wroclaw, accompanied by FA activists, gathered on the one of main streets of the city to protest against the state authorities

responsible for not paying their salaries for a long time. Police removed protestors from the street in a violent way; one woman lost consciousness. Some people were detained including one activist from FA - Piotr Goral. Piotr was arrested for few hours and then released. He was charged with "distribution of potatoes, beetroots and other vegetables with the aim of attacking the police", "assaulting the police with eggs", "injuring one of the protestors with a vegetable", "assaulting police with a stick" and "organizing an illegal gathering". Police learned after a few days that one man can not be accused with so many charges and dropped most of them after interrogation of other protestors. In the end Piotr was put under police supervision (he must appear at the police station two times a week); another FA activist is also supervised (once a week). Both are charged with an assault on 3 police officers with a stick and eggs. The accused activists filed a complaint against the police - an investigation is under way.

Szczecin - 10 Days in Prison for Taking Part in a Demo

This is a brief summary of the sentence for Maciej Horoszko from FA Szczecin who chained himself in court, protesting against the 6 years of imprisonment that Tomek Wilkoszewski, the antifascist from Radomsko, has spent. Maciej is appealing and asking for your support with faxes to the Szczecin Court - support freedom of expression! Send a fax to: Sad Rejonowy w Szczecinie, IV Wydział Karny, sygnatura akt: VI k 870/01 (it's case number), fax: +48 91 433 35 28, every fax will be attached to trial files.

Bialystok - Repressive Measures against Antifa Continues

During autumn of last year, two squatters were detained and accused of breaking into the police transformer station. Although this accusation looks ridiculous, authorities continue their investigation. Meanwhile squatters and activists were paid a visit by the

court debt collector. Activists refused to pay a fine for sticking posters around the city with Border Camp announcements earlier last year. Finally the case of Rufik has ended. Rufik was accused of assaulting a nazi with a knife. Despite testimonies, evidence and the withdrawal of nazi testimonies, the court sentenced Rufik to 2 years of prison, suspended for 5 years' probation. Rufik was given a huge sentence for something which he did not participate in! Meanwhile Bialystok punks and anarchists were fined (50-300 zlotys (12-75 EUR) for an illegal demonstration in front of a local prison. They were protesting Rufik's 4 months' detention. There has also been a sentence for another antifascist - Lapa. Despite the help of ABC, the lawyer which was hired did not manage to prevent the judge from sentencing Lapa to 1 year in prison with no chance of parole. Lapa and his lawyer appealed.

Zakopane - Hunt for Eco Activists

A spectacular blockade of the cable railway on the Kasprowy Wierch mountain in Tatra Mountains was organized. The Fiscal Police is checking the financial documents of ecological organizations that took a part in blockade. Numerous people were called for interrogation to the Town Court.

Slupsk - after MI

After the police action during the May 1 march last year, one activist from Gdansk was accused of disturbing the legal demonstration of the ruling Social-Democratic Party. Other activist was called to the court for interrogation. Further activists expect to be called in upcoming months.

Warsaw - Hasek and Comrades; the case against punks continues

Two years ago, a few young punks in Warsaw, who were returning home from a gig, were insulted and provoked by three nazi-skins. After a short fight, the nazis were beaten. Police detained the punks and charged them. After 2 trials,

A N A R C H I S T B L A C K C R O S S

the punks received 3 and half years in prison with no possibility of parole. In the comment to the sentence, the judge said that "such a penalty has an educational aspect". Now this verdict is in the Provincial Appeal Court which shall decide whether change the verdict or not. You will find the addresses for the imprisoned punks at the bottom. Meanwhile one of the four remains at large.

Krakow - The Case against the Punks who Clashed with the Police

In February last year, punks organised a punk festival in Krakow which was apart of nationwide charity action. All benefits from the gig were destined to help sick children. However police appeared and triggered off a riot. As a result, many people were taken to hospital, some of them with extensive injuries as police used rubber bullets. A year after investigations ended a local court in Krakow issued two indictments, accusing 33 people of assaulting police, participation in an illegal gathering and also of acts of banditry. Another 9 people accused pleaded guilty and asked for a lighter sentence - they have got a few months of probation and have to pay a fine. On the other hand, the court accused the commander of the police of transgressing people's rights, which means that they found him guilty enough to be responsible for kicking people who were lying on the ground. (This was shown on TV). He is even facing 3 years of prison, however he is still a police officer with a high salary. ABC is still monitoring the proceedings and we will keep you informed.

Krakow - Chronicle of Repression - Summer 2002 - Winter 2003

14th June - a fine of 300 zloties (75 EUR) plus the cost of proceedings for anarchists who blockaded the street in a demo against the devastation of the city forest area of Sikornik. An appeal was rejected by the court. 2nd July - suspension of the proceedings against police who "abused their rights" by attacking the above-mentioned demo with batons because the activist that was beaten was not

hospitalized and put on disability for longer than 7 days (which in Poland that means that she was NOT beaten). 30th September - fine for an anarchist who was sticking posters around the city and was caught - 320 zloties (80 EUR). The activist appealed. 26th November - Wojtek Goslar (FA Krakow) found innocent of reckless handling of fire. (He just burned the Russian flag at an anti war demo.) 2nd December - termination of proceedings against 19 activists of the local FA for blocking the street in another protest in the Sikornik area. 9th December - FA activist Adam "Bzyk" Mucha receives five months of supervision and 20 days of public work for insulting a municipal guard. 10th December - fine for "Bzyk" who was sticking posters up around the city and was caught - 430 zloties (107 EUR). 8th January - first of three trials against Marta Opieszynska who bit a cop who was strangling her in self-defence. Eventually she was acquitted. Actually, a few other proceedings against Krakow activists are in progress - we will keep you informed.

Poznan - Anarchists found Innocent

11 anarchists accused of organizing and taking part in an illegal gathering (a demo against the war in Afghanistan in 2001) finally were acquitted at the end of last year. The whole case was widely publicized - the accused were supported by many - even by some popular artists.

Secret Police Agents still Active in the @-movement

Various people who were at the Border Camp 2002 were haunted by secret police agents. They tried to ask about contacts, people, the FA, etc.. Usually people refused to talk to them, however some individuals were frightened enough to talk more to them. As far as we know, such incidents occurred in Bialystok and Warsaw. ABC helped harassed people by instructing them how to cope with the Domestic Security Agency (ABW).

Warszawa - Reprisals after Demonstrations

FA Warsaw organized two demonstrations in October last year: the first was to protest against the NATO conference, the second against the war in Chechnya. Almost all activists who took part were ID checked. At least 25 of them are accused of "disturbance" and "taking part in an illegal gathering".

Krakow-

nine anarchists from Krakow are facing multiple court cases. These cases could mean sentences for up to 3 years in jail. They are accused of resisting arrests, and biting cops during various antiwar pickets in front of American and Russian consulates in Krakow and during blockades of construction of private houses for the city officials on public garden space.

Polish Prisoners Supported by ABC

Tomek Wilkoszewski - sentenced for 15 years of prison for killing a nazi-skinhead in self-defence. Recently he started his seventh year in prison. He is constantly supported by ABC. At the end of last year, Tomek appealed to the president of Poland for a reprieve. The day before the petition, supported, by many social and ecological organizations, was handed to president, ABC organized demonstrations of solidarity. Also, solidarity demos took place in various cities all over the world like Prague, Copenhagen, Malmo, Stockholm, Bratislava, Paris, London, Bruxelles and the Hague. Currently, ABC is supporting Tomek and we have also got help from ABC Copenhagen, Czech ABC and squatters from Berlin. We plan to release a benefit CD soon. Any other financial help for Tomek would be appreciated. Please find the bank account number below.

Michal Barton - Warszawa
52 1140 2004 0003 8022 5731
712

Title: Dla Tomka

Please write letter to him:
Tomasz Wilkoszewski, Zaklad Karny, ul. Orzechowa 5, 98-200 Sieradz, Poland

Write also to the imprisoned punks from Warsaw. (They will appreciate zines and music too):

Dawid Hass Zaklad Karny, ul. Bartnicka 10 87-800 Wloclawek, Poland
Janusz Szwarczyk Zaklad Karny, ul. Konarskiego 2, 33-100 Tarnow, Poland
Wladyslaw Matuszewski, Zaklad Karny, ul. Parkowa 1, 89-120 Potulice, Poland

You can help authors of ABC Bulletin by sending a small donation:

PEKAO BP XX oddzial
Poznan ul. Stary Rynek 44
61722 Poznan Poland Account
No. 10204085-5999100-270
Owner: Marek Piekarski

Poland, Szczecin: Dominik's case of incitement to sabotage
At 21 March there was a session of court where Dominik Sawicki stands accused of incitement for sabotage in the Szczecin shipyard, through the publication of an anarchist magazine. The accused didn't deny the charges, saying that sabotage was and will be a method of action for workers who have been deprived of other means of action. It might be a questionable tactic in court, but that was Dominik's decision.

Dominik is very grateful for the many protest letters from abroad which were sent to the court in support of him and which made a rather big impression.

Foreign contacts to Polish ABC: pomierz@poczta.onet.pl

Anything interesting to publish send it to: biuletyn@o2.pl



**ANTI-BORDER CONFERENCE,
WARSAW 26 - 29. 06, POLAND**

We would like to make 4 days of workshops, meetings, performances and other forms of info/actions against the borders, there will be workshop on migrations, exclusions, racism, governing of migrations, sexism, homophobia, nationalism, free education, climate and much more. On the beginning and on the end of the conference there will be some concerts and art production from different countries. An important part of the project is:

- informing the people about the current visa/ borders changes (Poland strengthens its east borders because of the eu enlargement);
- uniting people around the anti - racist actions (recently we see more and more nationalists fighting the migrants in Poland);
- making connections to finally develop some anti - deportations strategies;
- creating a stronger critical discourse about governing the migrations and borders.

The participants are from different polish and inter-national grass - roots and sometimes(not too often) ngos and educational institutions.

Hopefully some migrant groups in Poland will also take part. There will also be workshops presenting the situation in Belarus, Russia and Ukraine, which is not so very known even in Poland.

The conference will be held in Warsaw because of the facilities we have here, and because of the not so big distance from the official decisionmakers. We are still searching for some financing and equipment, so any forms of cooperation are very much welcomed; just as the propositions for workshops, performances, actions etc. deadline for propositions : 1 June 2003.

contact/ info : www.zcnjn.most.org.pl,
latobezgranic@wp.pl

We are part of the anti-border group from Poland, most of us participated in the previous camps/ anti - border activities here. Some of us are connected to the noborders network (part of the network will also be present in the conf). We would like to make an action day on the 1st of July, when the visas will be installed. There will be some anarchist meetings in almost the same time (27 - 30. 06) in Warsaw, and also a

antiborder camp near Krynk
(north-west Poland
02.07 - 07.07).

These projects are parallel and event sympathetic with each other. Feel welcomed !!!

Anti-border camp in Poland

Anti-border camp will take place on 2-7 July 2003 at Kundzicze (near Krynk), very close to Belorussian border. First preparation meeting took place in Bialystok beginning of March and first working groups been formed. They are:

- transport group taking care for logistic, hopefully equipped with a car or 2,
- food crew,
- security group dealing with security of the camp itself
- media group contacts with media
- coordination crew preparing, organizing etc.

Before camp there will be demo in Bialystok. Groups or individuals, which are willing to help in preparation of the camp at any level please contact FA (Anarchist Federation) Bialystok. We need support!

No-Border CAMP in 9-15 June TIMISOARA 2003

Starting with the mid 80's, Europe started to show its border regime and legislation. In 1990 Schengen convention was adopted, by which common standards on migration policy were established for all member states. All the countries in the European Union, except UK and Ireland, signed this agreement. Starting with that moment, asylum seekers from outside EU could ask for asylum only in the country they succeeded to reach. This thing made it impossible for immigrants to choose freely the resident country in conformity with, for example, the language they knew to speak or the place where their family or friends were.

Plan of action

In 9-15 June, Timisoara, a city placed in the west of Romania, near the borders with Hungary and Yugoslavia, will be the scene of the first NoBorder camp in Romania. This camp will mean 7 days of actions, discussions and workshops around the central problem - freedom of movement and establishment for everybody. The camp aims to unite activists, immigrants and artists from all over Romania and Europe, to create an environment for communication, exchange of informations and debates about migration and border regime.

NoBorder Timisoara will be a practical demonstration of collective and participants abilities of organisation and administration of their own actions during the camp, on non-hierarchical basis and self-management. This attempt asks for everybody's active participation, the camp being planned as a diy project.

Main actions that will take place:

discussions, workshops, working groups; video projections; concerts; direct action; performance parties, discussion points like: *freedom of movement - fundamental human right; UN high commandment for refugees

*Schengen Information System - "electronic borders", social control.

What is the SIS?

SIS is the central piece in the border regime in Schengen region, projected for centralisation of the dates concerning immigrants and refugees control, SIS is used also now for search and find the people considered "dangerous". All 13 member states of schengen agreement are participants in the SIS under legal but also logistic aspects. Although UK and Ireland are not a part of schengen space and so they are not part of the same visa regime, an official report shows that the two countries have a in EU's efforts of stopping illegal migration and organised crime.

SIS data base contains recordings made in each EU member state, agencies from EU countries being interconnected through thousands of terminals, this thing allows them to persons wanted for deportation or arrest, or suspected for being a danger for national security and for public order.

These data base contained at the end of year 2001, 10541271 recordings, including also between 1.3 and 6 millions of names. Siemens and Nixdorf and Bull group have projected and offer for SIS infrastructure


One of many "Food not bombs" action in Timisoara

and also the soft interface, and sema group is the one who's providing the SIS management.

In the present SIS 2 is being projected, which will allow identification with the DNA and biometric recordings (recognition by the iris) the dates held by SIS are available for Europol and Eurojust. The number of the new entries in SIS increased seriously after september 11 2001.

Migration, globalisation, work

Detention centers for immigrants, immigrants rights, international legislation regarding immigration, romanian legislation regarding migration, detention centers for immigrants in Romania

Refugees and immigrants are some of the most vulnerable members of society. The number of asylum seekers in the detention centers has grown very much over the past years. People who are not suspected for committing any crimes are locked without trials, many times for many months, in detention centers which are actually prisons from all points of view. The incarceration is subjective, arbitrary, illegal, useless and unjust. People who have done nothing wrong are locked away for indefinite periods waiting for the bureaucratic procedures for solving their problems and demands. Asylum seekers are put in domestic prisons, facing inhuman treatment, racism and segregation.

Capitalism, corporate politics, UE enlargement, the WEF, FMI, GS

The leaders of the (capitalist) world are pre-aching about a so-called "war without ending" who's destination is to protect

western values and civilisation, to justify their military actions and the support they offer to oppressive regimes.

In the name of protecting "our way of life", through military campaigns, they are actually trying to get unrestricted access for western corporation to all resources they need. Through international financial and trade institutions like the IMF, world bank, WTO, the west takes advantage of the economic domination and power to impose the rest of the world politics which will favorize their interests, leaving behind nations sinking in debts and poverty. As a consequence, people from this kind of places, brought to poverty by western exploitation, are being forced to leave, to immigrate looking for a better life, risking persecution and death.

Pollution, animal rights

Lead by their needs and desires to achieve always more profits and bigger ones, capitalism extends globally, resulting in a process of degradation of the environment in it's way. Abusive exploitations of the natural resources, together with pollution and carbon emissions have determined rapid changes in the global climate, more and more people being forced to leave their homelands because of floods, deforestations, and other forms of environment destruction. We're witnessess of the mass extinction of many animal and plant species - of the ecosystem.

15th of February 2003 - Anarchist march against imperialistic policy of the world elite (Zagreb)

This was international action day, and all media were concentrated on anti-war events. We put a little disturbing note into their lines, because we advertised our march, which wasn't registered at police, parallel with events which they called "the main anti-war event", organized by "Enough wars!". A lot of journalists called and asked for explanation why there are two parallel actions in town, and how come that we didn't register our demonstrations. Fortunately, police didn't take us seriously. Basically, we took separate demos, and by doing that we rejected their policy of some objectivity, where they give a space to politicians to talk about Iraqi crises (and that means a both-those who are for and those who are against), and on that way would be also opened space for spokesmen of rightists, which was their plan, but they gave it up. Besides, we didn't like their source of financing. So we kept our anarchistic approach to work, which is self sustainable collective, and through a benefit gig we raised funds for that action. We also talked about how we didn't want to give support to the European policy, which is anti war occasionally, because that is telling a story through public "we tried everything, you can see it's not working", and reality is that it's all state's interests. And when for example Germany talks about the war as a negative solution for crises, it does that exclusively to protect their interests as a state. We were pointing out that a state is a core of problems, because nowadays the state is a mechanism through which multinational corporations and their branches are pushing through imperialism. Today many believe in the expression "human intervention", and every new war is very well camouflaged and people simply believe in that policy. But don't forget that Germans used a same expression when taking over Ethiopia. We didn't register demo at police station, because if we start from a fact that elected representatives of people gave support to America, without asking people, and that way showed that people didn't have any legitimacy for state organs, than why should we ask them for permission? They are not legitimate objects for us. The police saw that we are growing in number, so they started to run here and there and to form incoming help.



One of many anti protests in Zagreb

Everything was full of press, who were drawing all over for some chaos or similar. The march itself was imagined as loud and fierce, and the route wasn't thoroughly defined, and a little bit wild- we wanted to make real civil disobedience. When we formed a block, it was about 300 people. In the beginning police tried to stop us, but we broke a blockade and started towards the main square, where also a gathering began. To me personally, the best slogan was "Antifa, antifa, antifascist action!", which we were shouting, and I saw a smile and support on the faces on lot of people who were watching from the sidelines. I think that Zagreb didn't hear this kind of slogan since Tito's working actions. We were asking people to approach and join to demo, and some of them did it. One tram driver stopped his tram, and on our pleasant surprise, started to shout "No pasaran!" together with us. We stopped at one bigger crossroad and read our statement in which we pointed out false antiwar policy of the European Union and about existence of big criminalization of attitudes which are against the policy of the world's elite. In the end, we approached the main square where we were welcomed by scanning. We joined their march and went together to the American embassy. There were about 10 000 people. In front of American embassy we burned down American flag as a symbol of disa-

greement with American imperialistic policy. Cops were unable to intervene, media started to photograph and film the scene of burning flag, to which we replied with "media, servants of the system!". So it was nice to see it later on TV how American flag burns and crowd screams: "Media..." On the very end performances were staged, and food was given away by Food not bombs. A week later a banner was put down in Croatian parliament with the sign "enough wars" and a lot of banners were hung on the city bridges. And for the end, I'll quote one part of our leaflet:

"It's all part of American strategy 'joint vision 2010', whose concept lies in American dominance over the whole world. And enemy is everyone who works against the interests of the USA. Those who don't fit in that concept, which is recently represented as top of democracy and intelligence, are risking military punishment and sanctions. It all sounds as war against poor regions. Maybe that's why more and more states, after "anti-war acting" through media are joining American imperialism. The policy of the state was always in support of a policy of stronger. That's why states are carriers of problems and dungeons of all people. Unfortunately, it doesn't come all at the state level. All individuals and groups can be sanctioned because of their not-identifying with the world elite. How the state will sanction it we

saw in Italy during the G8 summit, and soon we saw and more brutal way in Argentina. It all proves that state is the one who pushes people into conflict and death. In the name of people they give support to the war policy, and I believe that we're all aware that especially that policy can't guarantee for world's security. Only we can be guarantors. And that's why our struggle can't last a day; it must not exist only to calm conscience. Struggle must have its continuity if we want results. That's why it's important to take things into our hands, cause political options, which are permeated with chase for profit, personal interests and nationalism, can be any option for solving the world crises of today. Solution lies in smaller autonomous groups, which are part of international resistance, which destroy bounds of capitalistic pyramid. It's not enough to go out on demonstrations and say "no blood for oil". Even pacifism is not enough; near us capitalism is running over human corpses. We, who were witnesses of war horrors, need to send our message strongly: "We know what war is and we don't want it for anyone!". If we give it up, it is to be continued. The struggle continues..."

"Women and media"- in organization of Anfema (Croatia)

On the 20th of February in net.club MAMA Anfema organized lecture and video projection about women and media: using women's bodies as selling objects (for example, women are the things you get with the car, and men are those who have a car, etc.), effect of media on women's health, pressure of skinny stereotype of false beauty, etc. Promotion material was translated leaflet of Czech anarcho-feminist group. The guest was Sanja Sarnavka from local feminist group from Zagreb. Before her presentation three girls were talking about that problem in generally, hypocrisy of magazines like Cosmopolitan, and influence of Barbie

doll. After that was presentation of documentary movie of Women's studies "Distorted reflections". People came in great number, more than was expected, and reactions and critics were positive. The only bad thing was that it wasn't enough time for discussion, and people wanted it. It's decided, because of the importance of topic and interest of people, to promote it in other towns also. Some agreements are already made, and so "Women and media" goes on... Plan for the future: to translate and present materials about the global trafficking of women. AnFemA (Anarcho-feminist action)

Protests ... Actions ... Infos ... Autonomous Activities ...

Czech

Prague: tram drivers on strike

Tram drivers in Prague are on strike. They struggle for months to have their wages at the same height as bus drivers and metro drivers. Without success. Their employer publicized "study" which compares driving tram and bus. It's result made tram drivers angry. "In fact, the result of the study is degradation of tram drivers to the role of passengers sitting on a special place" is stated in the press release of Federation of tram drivers (tram drivers trade union).

The study is saying that tram drivers have no driving licenses, so they are not drivers. "Because we are not drivers, we can't drive our trams and there will be strike on Monday, February 3." Is also stated in the press release of tram drivers.

Only one tram harbour wasn't blocked in the early morning on Monday. From two tram harbours were striking drivers together with some sympathisers pushed by security guards cooperating with police. Till approximately 7:45 in the morning 3 next harbours were under control of striking people, one on Zizkov periphery was violently evicted by riot-police. Transportation company, employee of tram drivers, call lot of part-time drivers to work to break the strike, but only half of trams were in the streets of Prague in the morning. The strike should last till midnight, till now is not clear how it will continue.

08 March demo in Prague

In Czechia, anarcho-feminist group Feminist Alliance of March 8 organised demo/happening on Náměstí Miru. Street theatre "Pipi" by Astrid Lindgren was played by group composed mainly from activists of Feminist Alliance and then HC/punk show by anarchist band Edeiwiss Piraten took place. Vegan food was distributed by Food not bombs Prague. About 200 people came.

Infocafe Krtkova Kolona mission statement

The infocafe is an anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist initiative taken in the wake of the anti-IMF/World Bank protests of S26. People who had come together in the course of that gathering decided there was a need to use the energy unleashed by S26, to make sure something of use and value was left behind, when all the demonstrators had gone home. One year to the day after those protests, the infocafe was opened.

Yes, we are for a classless society, we are for the abolition of waged labour, we are for the collective ownership of the means of production, producing for people's needs, all of these things. And we are not linking ourselves to any one particular issue - the issue for us is class struggle, and we see what we are doing as being class struggle, even if it is outside the point of production.

But we want a society that produces not just for people's material welfare, but that provides true quality of life - bread yes, but roses too. We want a society that places play right back where it belongs - at the centre of life. So we are taking the initiative to provide what we feel is denied us by the present system of social relations. We see this struggle as part of the evolution towards social revolution. By experimenting with new ways of social interaction and collective organisation, we are walking towards utopia - even if that place retreats one step for every step we take towards it.

United by certain wider aims, alienated, exploited, we envision a different world. In order to reach an anti-Capitalist world, we feel the need to act in new ways, and to wipe out the notion of suffering from

our activities. We say NO to martyrdom, NO to sacrificial mentality. Because a movement that just wants to go down in (another) glorious defeat is not worth being part of. We intend the circulation of energy as well as struggles. We want to win this revolution, because it's the only one we've got.

So - we invite participation from those who agree with our analysis and our aims. We can be contacted virtually at infocafe@zplip.com, or in the flesh at Infocafe Krtkova Kolona, Socharska 6, 160 00, Prague 6, Ceska Republika.

Poland

"08 March - Our bodies, our lives, our rights"

That was the main slogan for this year's 8 March demonstration in Warsaw. Around one thousand participants joined and made this demonstration the biggest among all 8 March demonstrations organised by "Porozumienie Kobiet" since 2000. This year's "manifa" was coordinated by OSKA a women group responsible for networking. (see also www.oska.org.pl) "Porozumienie Kobiet" means "Agreement of women". Most women organisations are a part of that agreement - From legalised organisation, women lobby's, women-rights organisations to anarcho-feminist groups. All together they choose a main slogan for each year. Beyond that every group can integrate themes which for them are the most important. Very present this year was the gay and lesbian rights issue. Gay & lesbian groups like Lambda and ILGN joined the organisation as well. That's very important because the women-rights movement should make clear that they won't separate the lesbian & gay movement and that queerness & different sexual orientations/behaviour in public spaces should be accepted as something natural.

Another issue of this year's march was the anti war protest. It seems that almost all women organisations in "Porozumienie Kobiet" (no matter of their political background) don't agree with USA's imperialist politics. That means of course that they also don't agree with the politics of Polish government supporting the invasion in Iraq.

The whole march did stop in front of the president palace, where the "gender theatre group" and "Kukuleczki" theatre group made an antiwar performance. Arrived in the old town other performances about abortion, christianisation of the EU, homophobia did take place. At the end was a show of Warsaw's feminist hip-hop band Duldung singing except "manifa" a new antiwar song. Of course during the whole manifestation Radical Cheerleaders did warm up the atmosphere. All together the manifestation was successful and had quite good publicity (especially before the 8 March there was a big media attention). The only maybe sad happening on the demonstrations path was a small, miserable looking rightwing protest of "Młodzież Wszczępolska". Luck for them, they had police protection, so they did get only some dirty snowballs in their faces. Smaller actions and manifestation did take place also in other cities of Poland.

Soli demo in Warsaw

On the 6th February there will be a solidarity demo at the Spanish embassy in Warsaw against repressions of activists in Valencia. Polish @ctivists demand the immediate release of these people who are in jail with no proofs and because of an obvious frame-up. Anarchists are not criminals, and the real delinquents are those who force us to survive while they are making themselves richer. Nor their repression, nor their prisons, nor their laws will stop our struggle against any authority and for freedom.

Infoshop's birthday

Warsaw Infoshop is going to celebrate its 2 birthday this weekend. It's really good news. I guess, besides a party, Iraqi people will also show an antiwar film. Anyway, the infoshop for me has been the one local project which has kept my faith in people locally - I'm sure the last letter sounded maybe entirely negative. It's true that the squat fell apart and people can't put themselves together to organize a new one. But thanks to a few committed people, the infoshop has managed to stay open and even improve. Recently people worked for months to dig a hole and make a second floor basement cafe. It was really hard, unpleasant work. It will bring new people into the shop and hopefully cooperation will work well. We have to also say that Szczecin is doing well with their infoshop.

McD burned in Gdansk

On Sunday morning 23 March, a McDonalds restaurant was set on fire in Gdansk.

Chechen refugee action in Bialystok

On 23 March there was also a rare action in Bialystok organized by refugees from Chechnya. It was an anti-war action but apparently also the question of their status on Poland was raised. Maybe 70 people took part from there refugee center.

Romania

Infoshop in Craiova

Anarchist activists from Craiova, Romania will open an infoshop in short time. It is a space with two floors but they can only use the upper room and there gonna be library and infoshop and they will use it also for meetings, workshop, video projections... The place is situated in the center of the town so it is gonna be very practical and they hope that the impact of activities there will be very big.

They need some support, especially: issues, zines, books, video tapes, audios and everything printed on xerox with/for anarcho purposes. You can contact with them at this address: revolutionshop@hokmail.com and you can help them sending any kind of materials on this address:

POPESCU ADI

ALEEAE TEATRULUI

BL.T2 APT.21

CRAIOVA, DOLJ, COD 1100

ROMANIA.

Infoshop in Timisoara...

AActivist Collective is a group from Timisoara, a city in the west of Romania. They decided a while ago to start an alternative library/infoshop. They already gathered different books, newspapers, magazines, etc. But if you ever decide to support their infoshop/library you can send a copy of some actual or past publications (or other things like stickers, posters, leaflets/flyers...) to this address:

AAC Tavi Avram Trandafirilor 17 1837 Gataia
Timis Romania Europe

If you need more informations about the group, the project, past or future actions, you can find contact to AAActive-ist Collective in Communies in Struggle.

...and squat

In February Timisoara crew squatted a house!!! Building seem to be complete ruin, so the reparation works are going to be heavy. Place suppose to be ready for camp in June, so please support our comrades as you can...

Russia

Fight for Moloko

All good will people! Moloko (www.molokoclub.ru) - the best alternative club in St.Petersbur is in danger! City authorities doesn't

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want to renew rent contract and force the club to leave the building, because of some funny reasons (like the bar is bigger, than was agreed in the contract).

The action in defense of "Moloko" was started. You can help the club as well by sending emails with declaration of your support to:

moloko@molokoclub.ru.cc;
domas@hardcore.lt

We urge you to consider renewal of rent contract with music club "Moloko" as it is one of the few places in the city, where good will people can spend their free time. We know, that reasons to close the club are not very serious and believe that the owners of the "Moloko" will be able to solve them. Hope for your positive decision.

Armenia Office on fire

In the early morning of Friday, 14th of March 2003, the premises of the "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly - Vanadzor office (HCAV)" were set on fire in an act of political terrorism and oppression against an organisation that has been among the active protestors about the results of the recent presidential elections in Armenia. The vandals broke a window of the front door and destroyed the main part of the office with firebombs, representing the peak of a series of violent actions to force our office refrain from its activities around the elections and our intention to organize protest meetings.

HCAV is part of the "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly" network in the South Caucasus and has engaged in sensitive issues such as a joint project with hCa in Azerbaijan and human rights protection of their fellow citizens in Vanadzor and the northern region (Lori) of Armenia. During the presidential elections, our NGO participated with an observing mission of about 35 persons, whereas in the forefront of its activities, one member had to resign from his job and another was set under pressure by local police - for their involvement in the monitoring action. HCAV could observe a number of violations during the two rounds of elections (bribing, unequal press coverage, suppression of opposition candidates and supporters, pressurizing of electoral commission representatives, falsification of votes etc.) and was planning to organize a meeting on it on the 15th of March in Vanadzor. After we had been informed that the mayor of the city did not "allow" this meeting - thereby violating articles 26 and 33 of the Constitution of Armenia - and we still did not cancel the event, a window of our office in the center of Vanadzor was broken by force and activists set further under pressure by local authorities to not participate in protests. Today's stroke has to be seen as a final attempt of certain circles to pressurize HCAV and to set an example for all protestors that want to express their widespread discontent about the elections and are refusing to recognize the results that would make Robert Kocharian president of Armenia for a second term. Although the OSCE and the CoE have expressed their dissatisfaction about the conduct of the elections, the international community should not delay putting political pressure on responsible authorities to guarantee a real democratic outcome of the elections. Protestors and lead organizations such as HCAV should be guaranteed our very right for freedom of expression and any acts of oppression or violence against that have to be stopped immediately.

We ask you to closely follow the situation in Armenia and its regions especially, urging local state

authorities and international organisations to stand up for the above, and make sure that acts of aggression such as against us do not occur any further. We count on the support and solidarity of our colleagues and friends in Europe in those hard times and want to re-confirm that we will have the public meeting about the elections on Monday, 17th of March 2003, in Vanadzor.

The activists of the "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly - Vanadzor office" Siegfried Woerber (hCa - Caucasus, Interchurch Peace Council IKV)

Free Arthur Sakunts!

Arthur Sakunts, (Coordinator of the "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly - Vanadzor office", editor of the independent newspaper "Civil Initiative"; Civil society activist in Armenia and the South Caucasus, father of three kids - two of them younger than 1,5 years) is in prison. On the 15th of March, he was arrested after a short, not public trial for organizing a meeting in front of his office in Vanadzor. The aim of the meeting was to inform the population about the findings his organisation had made during recent presidential elections in Armenia. In the night before, the premises of HCAV were set on fire, after other methods of oppression against the organisation and Arthur in person did not work out.

Arthur is a well-known human rights advocate, publisher of the independent newspaper (see www.heav.am) and an outspoken peace activist, and this is not the first attempt to disturb his and his organisation's activities.

We - a coalition of other "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly" offices in the South Caucasus, the organisation's chapters abroad and local such as international partners - demand the immediate release of Arthur Sakunts (who is suffering from heart problems and has gone on hunger strike in his imprisonment of 10 days) and ask the international community for support in this matter!

Please send a letter of protest to addresses printed below. Publish this information on the internet and in mass media is highly appreciated, and please distribute it to other friends and colleagues!

Letters should be sent to:

-Responsible judge, Vahan Rudik Hovhannisyani: icm_lori@freenet.am, (00374-51)52734 *phone
-City mayor, Samvel Darbinyan: Vanadzor@armincy.com, (00374-51) 22250 <fax>, (00374-51)22648 *phone

-Governor of the Lori region, Henrik Kochinyan: marzpet_lori@yahoo.com, (...) 20413 <fax>, (...) 26192 *phone

-Official representations of the Republic of Armenia in your country. (slightly adapted letter) on <http://www.armenian.com/embassy.html>

You can find all addresses of Armenian embassies. Copies of your emails please send to: free-sakunts@gmx.net or woeber.siegfried@gmx.at (For further inquiries and letters of solidarity for his family and colleagues, please use these addresses as well).

Lithuania

Kablys squat evicted in Vilnius!!!

In the night from tuesday to wednesday (28/29 January) the squat "Kablys" in Vilnius Lithuania has been evicted, 13 people were arrested. One of them was beaten during interrogation by police. So the "Green Club" which was located in the squat with concert hall, vegan restaurant and independent cinema was closed.

Greece

Balkan Anarchists' meeting in Thessaloniki

On 14th of February 2003, Balkan Anarchists met in Thessaloniki. Anarchists and anti-authoritarians were present in the meeting in which issues of the war and anarchists' associated anti-war struggle were argued.

The meeting was organized in the University of Macedonia; groups from Slovenia, Serbia, Macedonia, Turkey and Greece told their views about the war and their own struggle against the war. Anarchists attended Salonika 15F demonstrations as it is usual all around the world; later in the evening they had met again in the place of Antiauthoritarian Movement Salonika 2003 and went on their discussions about the war and communication among anarchists. Final manifest of the meeting is presented below:

We, the Balkan anarchists, who responded to the call of Anti-authoritarian Movement SALONIKA 2003 and met in Thessalonika on February 14-15, due to upcoming war in Iraq and summit of European Union in June 2003, considering both as part of the framework of the globalized capital, declare that:

We, who suffered wars in our recent history, either between states, among nations or attacks of NATO-like in the case of Yugoslavia, have many reasons, not only ideological but realistic ones also, to be against the war, which in the current period is prepared in Iraq by the dominators of the world.

We express our resistance. We are not with Bush or with Saddam. We are with the people who are suffering in the wars and under different regimes. We know very well that as long as the power exist so will the wars.

We are the anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist component of the world antiwar movement and we decided to express our common position and to organize mobilizations and manifestations against the war.

As anti-authoritarians and anarchists, part of the anti-globalization movement, we declare that we will participate in the mobilizations against the summit of European Union that will be held on 20-22 of June 2003 in Thessalonika and we invite all tendencies of anti-authoritarian and anarchist movement and their social allies to join us.

Hungary

Two manifestations took place in Budapest, after they had been banned several times in the past few weeks. 3000 people formed a "Peace Chain" across the Liberty bridge. In the afternoon tens of thousands gathered for probably the largest peace demonstrations in the history of Budapest. Unfortunately, right-wing radicals showed up as well and tried to turn the "Citizens for Peace" march into an anti-government demonstration.

Slovakia

600 per. strong demo (but only one in Slovakia) was org. in Bratislava by an NGO called "Not in Our Name." Speeches by members of the church, Arab community, kind of social democrats etc. and around 20 anarchists took part, mostly from CSAF with the biggest banner of the march, pickets and a few flags. 500 copies of a special issue of Zdobna-magazine was there to be spread. Also 50 pieces of Czech FSA's newspaper, Free Labour (special issue), was handed out by people close to Prama Akcia-IWA.

NIE DAJ NAZISTOM ŻADNEJ SZANSY

On 15th of March there was antifascist and anti-war demonstration in Białystok (Poland)

About 150 people gathered. We marched through all centre of the city, visited nazi shop (where owner tried to record us on video but hidden his ugly face fast when he was spotted) where we shouted slogans and insulted nazis inside. Due to huge police presence (10 vans and riot cops and some patrols on foot) there was no direct action at this point. Later we moved through centre and there about 20 nazis stood on our way. They were quickly confronted by security group but riot cops prevented us from lynching nazi pigs.

One of nazis got his nose broken. At this point traffic was blocked for about 10 minutes due to attempts to reach nazis by antifascists. One antifascist was arrested at this point. Then nazis threw few eggs on us and then we moved again, only to be stopped by line of riot cops with shields. Because nazis didn't realize, that cops saved them from bashing and they behaved too aggressively, cops arrested 16 of them, few run away. Demonstration finally moved further. There were more speeches, chanting etc. On the way one nazi who was passing near was punched by security group member. Then we moved to HQ of nationalist party and pelted building with eggs. Then demonstration ended without any hassle from cops.

15 of February 2003

Antifascist critical mass in Zagreb (Croatia)

The Green Action group worked on this, they usually organize critical mass in Zagreb, to draw attention to problem of not having enough bicyclist spaces and ecological problems. During preparation time we had a contact with that group, and a bit weaker connection with the "Enough wars" group. A day before it, the information of canceling critical mass was spread around, and surprised everyone. In the beginning nobody was giving any answer, some sort of hole was created, because we wanted to fulfill all three days with actions. Not to mention that on their preparation we all accepted changing first planned 15th for 14th of February for critical mass. After all that we got information that they gave up organizing it, because people who were working on it felt the lack of support. It all sounded ridiculous, so we pushed the action through. That's why we lost a large number of people, because we didn't have enough time to inform all people that action continues. On the action day about 30 people gathered around. Traffic was stopped in the most frequent street in town. Police didn't know for that action, so they weren't there at the beginning, but we got escort on the half of the way. Critical mass was people on bikes, people who were by foot and holding banners, and ones who were giving away leaflets. In front of American embassy we started to shout "Killers!", and police was stoned. They didn't have any stronger control, only the usual one, so they were frozen.

We continued further and after all the way we finished on one square, where we all went away, cause everything looked like the police were about to take people into custody. Cops didn't manage to act on our total civil disobedience!

Prague's jewish quarter: nazis didn't come through (Czech)

Neonazis had planned their march through the old jewish quarter in Prague. Demo was legal, in application for it was written, that the demo is for remembering of Holocaust victims (!). In fact nazis had been planning march with torches around synagogues like in thirties. Anarchists and antifascists through all organisations called for blockade of the nazi march. Our press releases were quoted also in some corporate newspapers. The plan was to block the street in the middle of jewish quarter near Staronova Synagogue and not let nazis go beyond this point.

When nazi demo started there were slightly over 30 boneheads, in near street were waiting for them about 80 antifas and same number of some jewish organizations members and common people. Authorities stopped nazi demo at last minute, what was told by police officer to the antifascist demo. What he hadn't told was the fact that nazis are marching probably after negotiations with police on the opposite side around the city center. Police instead of stopping their demo - as it act against illegal anarchist demos - gave protection to the nazis including few mounted policemen. So result of the day was that nazis didn't come through jewish quarter, but police allowed them illegal march through the streets of Prague. Positive fact was that lot of common people joined anti-fa demo, what is quite uncommon here.

Moscow, Russia

In the evening of February 22nd nazis tried to close down a DIY punk concert in Jerry Rubin club of Moscow, they had got from somewhere false information that there was an anti-fascist festival going on there. Two separate nazi groups came, some 40 persons from a relatively new but very active group of Spartak hooligans, and a few dozen of younger nazis with pneumatic pistols and other quite serious gear.

However in the darkness nazis got confused, and took each other as anti-fascists! As a result of the rumble younger nazis were beaten up, but Spartak hools also decided to retreat and not to make it to the club.

In the afternoon of February 23rd antifascists headed to Krylatskoe, a ski-resort in Moscow suburb which is one of several dozens of nazi convergence points in Moscow area, here 20-100 fascists regularly boozes, harasses and robs other youth, and cops care fuck as usual. Antifa-crew was a record big, some 40, which resulted organisational difficulties, so posse ended up to an unplanned and unnecessary fight with the security and cops. However crew retreated successfully without no-one getting into serious trouble, and a number of nazis got beaten up on the way as well.

In Nizhni Novgorod, 30 African stu-

dents were arrested in the beginning of March for attacking nazis.

According to press, during night between Saturday and Sunday of February 16th in Moscow near metro Akademicheskaya, a group of football hooligans was attacked by another group of young people, armed with knives and other weapons. As a result, several football hooligans were seriously wounded and hospitalized. In articles published in Izvestiya and ultra-right website www.dpni.org victims have claimed that attack was organised by anti-fascists.

One must say, that metro station Akademicheskaya is known in Moscow as a convergence point of youth which support neo-nazi ideas. Thus drunken fights take more than seldom place there. Administrators of www.redskin.newmail.ru do not know who organised the attack of February 16th. However we are surprised to read about knives used against such a young people, almost children.

This history once again shows how stressed international relations are in Moscow.

Street violence of racists has taken such a massive character, and has not been

reacted by official structures, that one should not be surprised that more and more people are ready to ensure their security by any means necessary.

Attention: the following messages are translated from forum of the website of most serious Moscow nazi crew - Kolovrat. (And so all writers are nazis, but we decided to put their stories to this issue of ABFB, because of context of these reports. So go on:-)

Minsk, Belarus

Monday February 10, 2003 - 13:35

9th of February in Minsk antifa (this means alternative people in general -ed.) was celebrating birthday of Bob Marley, and organised a concert which was successfully closed by skinheads (boneheads -ed.). scum showed some hard resistance with chairs, fire extinguisher etc. But this was not the end, RASH and DIY punks collected a brigade of 50-60 persons with chains, bricks and bottles and chased young skins to Oktyabrskaya (metro station).

People from Wolves 88 were resisting, and just by chance they were not caught since OMON (special police) showed up and were picking up everyone around, since it all took place in the very center of Minsk.

Monday February 10, 2003 - 14:59

A right-wing friend of mine just called me from Minsk - says, that it was much worse than that. Some 15 right-wingers (that means nazis -ed.) are in hospitals, many still in KPZ. It is true that cops caught lefties as well. It seems like after South of Russia (Novorossisk, Krasnodar...) Minsk is

about to be second what it comes to number of aggressive RASH groups. Please someone from Minsk write about the situation, just objectively please...

Monday February 10, 2003 - 23:46

I do not know who are in hospitals, there were several fights in different places.

Objectively, we gave them a good going in the club where scum were some 15 persons (we were about 30), but after 2 hours they got their shit pack together and moved to center. Seems like the concert was cancelled and they decided to have a payback.

Various testimonies state that they had two brigades of some 50-60 persons, which united after OMON had stormed Oktyabrskaya (metro station).

That time some 30-40 Dynamo hooligans came up to help skinheads. In the square AFA rushed through OMON, losing a few of theirs. OMON surrounded them tightly, and began to push them towards park.

Scum were not badly armed, 3 knives were seen, not to talk about chains, bars, bricks and bottles. They had some 18-20 years in average, and the core group of AFA was around as well. Two Wolves got it worse in the metro Oktrabskaya, T. who weights 115 kg was dropped with one blow by some (antifa) fighter! Another guy got 3 bottles trashed into his antenna.

Everyone on their side was masked. Stories about further events of the evening are very contradictory...

EXPERIENCE FROM THE WEST

A lot of us, people connected with ABFB, are or were emigrants. We decided to abandon our countries because of many personal, political, economical, social and cultural reasons. Some of us lived abroad for many years, but still they are second-category citizens. And this is a story of one of our friends...

Unfortunately, I left Serbia for the first time in my life just as I was 24. That was a ten days before the beginning of the bombing of Yugoslavia. I went to study German's language in Basel in Swiss. Realizing that only riches can cross the border i.e. to get visas I sold the apartment in order to reach normal life. After 7 years of horrible poverty I was ready to take a risk in my life in order to reach normal life. Than I knew about anarchism nothing but the punk songs, that I've been listening to, were telling. Just as all young people from the Eastern Europe, I believed that the West is a Promised Land. For the poverty, I was trying to runaway from my disappointment was even greater when I first experienced the discrimination that is a reflection of the fascism that is ruling in Europe.

The trip to the Swiss itself was full of unpleasantness. Namely, the bus to the Zürich left me in Lugano in the middle of the night. Somehow I've found my way to Basel. I wouldn't recommend Serbian shipping to anyone. There, in Basel, another surprise was waiting for me. The dormitory director has cut my 1600 SFr. Check that I had sent to pay the room for several months. I haven't been calling that was his explanation; so he rent the room to the other student, and had throw away my check. He was arrogant, finding himself not duty; he didn't apologize (he actually expected from me to do it) & in the end, didn't want to go to the bank to find a solution for this problem. That was on me to do it, but the bank was not about to give such kind of information to the private person. I was forced to call Serbian bank where I paid for the room, so as the story with that bank was far more difficult I got money back one year later, when I came back in Yugoslavia and when I threatened to the bank with charge.

I don't want to explain in details because the story would be too long; I would like to mention these problems that I had as a stranger on the west. The tearing the check is an obvious example of discrimination. I am convinced that he would never do such a thing to a person from the Swiss. He knew that people from East don't have the money and we are legally unprotected. So he enjoyed his power.

In the school where I was study German's language I faced the trials to get me apologize to them. They were very surprised also when I talked against Serbia. Namely, the Swiss people believe like robots in government and in state, and as they are educated to be nationalists, they'd never say anything bad about Switzerland. Money is all what they think about and they are limited with their idea to try to represent the Swiss like the best country in the world, where nobody has a problem and where is everything perfect. Nobody is so stupid to believe in it.

Because I was in German's canton, where people are trained to be nationalists and bricks in the wall, the only happiness of mine were punk concerts in Hirschenek cafe. There people haven't been robotized but it was hard to meet them - I suppose from fear that exist at the people who use drugs. I didn't mind so much for it because I am more individual person. There were in any case great punk concerts.

In the dormitory, I met also robotized people who have knowledge, who put philosophy verses on their room door, but they never observed it (they never realized it in their life). In University library a girl was friendly talking to me as far as I told her where I was coming from. Then she just got frowned and left/went. That was the time when Western Medias persecuted the Serbs. It was, together with the bombing 'their national interest'. Political elites succeeded in convincing the wide mass that Serbian people are monsters and killers. That is how they cleaned conscience at ordinary people who, with their passive behavior, let that government lead war.

So I realized that nationalism is the same in West and in East. The state breeds it like a resource for the needs of political and economic elites. Either for attacking on people from exactly region or for attacking on all foreigners. On the Balkan, we saw what kind of people are nationalists who are always ready to kill the 'enemy side' that is targeted by politicians. So the wide masses are not innocent, isn't it?

Of course, one more thing in which I couldn't believe, and this is the fact that shows me why riches are untouchable for poor, it is that people in Swiss think only about money and career. Of course, they will get it from some riches or government and therefore they must be quiet for anything that elites are doing. So they must listen like the dogs what their government say them through medias. In other way they couldn't reach success in present system. That convinced me that authorities are the same all over the world (I was not anarchist in that time so I got this opinion from experience, not from this or that book). In that way, riches and governments are taking control over the way of people's thinking. So if ordinary people want normal life, they must be quiet. After it, riches can bombard and exploit people in other regions without fear that somebody will make protest.

When my 3 months visa expired, the war was still on in Serbia. Therefore I registered myself as a refugee.

Since I've been receipted I've noted many mistakes that frightened me. During the medical examination the doctors gave me injection with already opened package of needles. The doctor started to talk to me in

Albanian language, and she made a big distance when she realized that I was from Serbia. Her nationalism was reacted. Maybe somebody will not believe, but I was able after 1 month there to recognize on the street who is from Serbia and who is from Kosovo. Lines of faces are different. First 2 days were the hardest because I had nothing to do with myself. We were surrounded with barbwire; I used to see always the same people and got nothing to occupy myself. The people from Africa and Bulgaria did talk with me, while people from Kosovo kept the distance. That so because they are very depending of their society, so they are frightened that they would be condemned by their community if they speak with somebody from Serbia. Then I started to help to the people and that would of make me happy. I was usefull and days were passing faster. I had mostly take other refugees to the hospital or to some doctors while I was already 3 months in Basel, so I met the town. People from Sri Lanka were mostly sleekness, from some kind of eye disease, because of bad conditions of traveling (mostly with ships) and they were grateful to me because I helped to them. Then during the time, people from Kosovo didn't hate me so much anymore. But even though, a few young men from Albania started to provoke me on nationalistic basis. I've been transferred that days in other town - La Chaux de Fonds, in French Canton Neuchatel. I've got bittered, because I mentioned that I can speak English and German's language, but they send me in French Canton and even little town where people can't speak other languages. Beside it, I mentioned that I have still 200 lessons in language school in Basel, and I was asked by Faculty to send them all documents in order that they decide for permission for studying. Now I understand that they tried to stop me in all ways, and they had no idea to let me to study because the state should then pay all my expenses (if I get asylum). The state always does everything against refugees. They promise to all refugees that they'll get big money if they decide to go back in their country. Other refugees told me it and I believe that is so.

Now I lived in the building with mostly Kosovo-Albanians and some people were from Africa. Many of them didn't great me and beside it I realize that are existing some of them who sell drugs so I will be 'guilty' if anyone of them finish in the prison. Therefore I was little afraid. After a while I've found an organization in town that 'helps to refugees'. Later I realize that they work for the state. I asked them how could I move myself to Basel but they needed 2 weeks to find somebody who speaks English (and for me it is not normal that kind of organization has no people who speak other languages than just

French). Than that person 'investigated' me all the time all information about me. In fact, she tried it but I moved speech always in my wish because I came there to ask for help and not to answer on so many questions (how I arrived in Swiss, where are my relatives, etc). In the end she gave me address where I can ask for help. She told me in the end that she doesn't understand why I ask for asylum when I am from Serbia and not from Kosovo? I told her that Serbia is under bombs and that I don't have idea to go in war against whole world, so if she has a wish she can go instead of me. In that moment I realized definitively that they try to send back all of us.

Besides these kinds of problems with employees and with such kind of organizations, all foreigners who are not tourists (refugees also) feel discrimination on every step. I used to face the hate in the trains also. Or all 6 months, how much I was in the Swiss, only one young girl didn't show the hate during speech with me. It seems that she was an exception that pointed the rule.

I came back willingly because I was sick of so much fascism. They were going to send me back after they find me a job that I don't have right to refuse. That would be their way to take back money that they spent for me (for flat and 420 SFr that I got per month). I was not ready to work in order to give them money.

The school didn't give me money back (about 2000 SFr) for lessons that I didn't have & still I didn't get back 1600 SFr check. I came back to Serbia with an experience that made the deep seal in my head.

By these words, I've tried, as much as it is in my power, to show my experiences & to point the need for making the groups that would sincerely help to refugees & who will fight against existing of borders between people.

Now I have also the wish to take a walk through Europe and meet at least few squats, seeing that I've found out what is anarchism but I didn't have a chance to use it for real. I know anarchism only from the books so No border camps is going to be good experience for me.

Rebel Mousse
P.S. This experience is described for No border camp in Sredisce in Slovenia that was happened in the end of August 2002. Unfortunately, I didn't succeeded to come there because Slovenian borderers stopped me in it. Later Hungarian borderers at the Hungarian/Austrian border caught me so they exported/exiled me back to Serbia. Fuck. About it I will have to write another text.

"Don't trust anybody, not even us!" Brief history of the Czech anarchism

The motto in the title, attributed to the anarchists of the 20. century, is typical for the anarchist movement in Bohemia, not only in the way, that it warns against considering the anarchism as a dogma. Czech anarchists also prophetically warned against themselves. The history of the Czech anarchism is a history of a development of the libertarian radicals, who left their ideas and moved into high policy posts, or became propagandists of the Bolshevik totalitarian ideology. And even after the revival of the anarchist movement we can see how the movement politicizes and forms stable organizations, at the other hand also its cutting-off into activist ghettos. The history of the Czech anarchism isn't just black and white - and that way perhaps more interesting and instructive.

Tradition before the rise of the movement
Many revolts against authorities can be found throughout the Czech Middle Ages. The most considerable was the Hussite movement, that in 1419-1434 led to a war between the followers of social and church reforms and the Catholics. Those most important in this movement were especially radicals, associated in the newly found town Tabor (that became for a short time the first consumer commune in the European history) and the radicals in the adepts movement (blamed for nudism and in Middle Ages atypical sexual unboundness). A very important and high-principled pacifist was Petr Chelčický, who refused any violence, and also any controlling of man by another man (affected e.g. L.N. Tolstoy). On his ideas stands a small, but culturally important church of the Czech brothers. Also important were the peasant revolts with social motifs in 17. - 18. century, that didn't mostly have a good ending.

From the end of the 18. century many national emancipation show among the Czech people living in Habsburg monarchy, that included Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, part of Poland, Italy etc. With them the patriotism and nationalism, and frequently conservative opinion appears too. The environment of the Habsburg monarchy, which disliked these endeavours, gave rise to the radically democratic nationalism, supported mostly by young people with political and social aims. This very group got in the lead of the short revolt in Prague in 1848, and also Bakunin, that time a radical democrat, cooperated with this group. But the anarchist movement itself arose few decades later.

The roots of the Czech anarchism and its forming

The anarchist movement in the 19. century had several practical and intellectual sources. First of them was the labourer radicalism, affected above all by Die Freiheit magazine, edited by a propagandist of terrorism and former social democrat in emigration Johan Most, founder of conception "propaganda by deed". His ideas found strong responses in Bohemia, and his magazine was being (not really successfully) imitated. Another source was the Czech socialistic movement in abroad, especially in the USA, where the most active organizers and activists were being expelled by the continuous repression. The most radical ones turned to anarchism, and were extending it back into their countries. A considerable influence over the anarchist movement had magazines as Budoucnost (The Future) in Chicago or Volne listy (Free lists) in New York (from 1890 to at least 1917), partly for its contact with world's anarchist movement, partly because they were not being censored.

A very significant fund of anarchism was a part of social democracy, which after its legalisation and establishment didn't agree with the retirement from the original socialistic ideals and tough partisan discipline and centralism. Those socialist, often influenced by the mutualism of Proudhon and the ideals of cooperation, started to claim the "independent socialism". Probably the most considerable person here was a well known activist and the follower of the socialist movement Vilem Korber (born 1845, died owing to the police persecution and incarceration 1899), who entered the independent socialism in 1892 in his magazine Novy vek svobody (New Age of Freedom). A considerable importance had also a movement of

the nationally and socially radical youth around the magazine Omladina (The Youth). In February 1894, 68 of those were sentenced to a short-term prison. By that, many of them got radicalised and reassured in their anarchistic conviction. In the biggest associations and around the most expressive persons the most important magazines were being edited, above all Omladina. The editorial staff of these magazines, became the organizers and agitators of the movement. But this form of "organization" soon seemed insufficient and the anarchists decided to unite in a joint program statement. This was defined in 1896 in the Manifesto of the Czech anarchists. As a typical anarchist document of that age it claimed individualism, refuse the state and capitalism and criticised the social democracy. Blackly typical was that its author, A. P. Kalina, left the anarchist movement soon after.

Anarchism and anarchosyndikalism
The social bases of anarchism were created by before the north-bohemian miners and the labourers in the textile industry. Understandably, those were not satisfied by individualistic proclamations and secret unions. The inability of organization was clearly exposed in 1896, when there was a 12 days mining strike. Eight thousand miners got involved and several attacks on the mine officials, strike-breakers and the mine equipment occurred. But this was used as a pretext for the army, that strongly suppressed the strike, and as a consequence many of the involved were punished by firing or expulsion from the country. A little more successful was a mining strike in January 1900, held in hole in Austria and organized by the social democrats (anarchists actively participated).

A meaningful inspiration for the anarchists was the anarchocomunism of Kropotkin. This helped them to overcome the original individualism and at the same time it connected the partially mutualist and cooperating societies in the conception of e.g. V. Korber. A small anarchist loan office is founded and several cooperative projects are created, but altogether they were not very successful.

Another inspiration is the revolutionary syndicalism. In 1903, after several years of discussion, the North-bohemian mining federation (Severočeská hornická federace, SHF) arose with about eight hundred members, and a year later two other important organizations. Czech anarchist federation (Česká anarchická federace, CAF) with several hundreds of members was intended to be clearly defined and diffusing anarchist ideas. Czech federation of all unions (Česká federace všech odborů, CFVO) (about 1200 members) was intended to be a radical sectional organization. According to S. K. Neumann, poet and anarchist activist, and to the notions of the CAF members, it was to be the "brains" of the movement, while CFVO its "fist", in which vanguardist aspirations are visible. That was with what the syndicalist founders of CFVO could never agree.

They weren't just political syndicalists, at the contrary, they were a propagandists of anarchism for long time. New specific anarchist group was formed, which headed CFVO, mainly by K. Vohryzek (1876-1933), a talented self-taught person, translator, redactor and activist. Thanks to his linguistic skills he was in contact with the world's movement. He was able often to publish magazines of high quality - Nova Omladina in his edition was published three times a week. His character's tendencies towards intrigues caused many problems in the anarchistic movement. In addition to that he financed the movement by thefts and contrabands of zuckerin and this way also earned his living. Besides this anarchism it is possible to identify in CFVO a part of people tending to refuse any connection with anarchism and to stick to mere radical syndicalism. Later on, under the influence of the international meeting of anarchists and anarchosyndicalists in Amsterdam, K. Vohryzek himself inclined to these ideas. This connection and Vohryzek's authoritarianism caused disputes between him and younger activists.

The years 1905 - 1906 were very important, because under the influence of the Russian revolutionary anarchists became more active, whereas

sometimes they acted as a radical component in a social democratic actions, sometimes they came up with their own action. The mining strike from the 30. 8. to 17. 9. 1906 was important, but again ended unsuccessfully, because, besides other reasons, the social democrats didn't show enough solidarity.

In 1908 the CFVO was officially dissolved (Austro-Hungarian authorities terrified by its dissemination among railway's staff) and repressed. Vohryzek's illegal economic activities became a welcomed pretext for a trial against him and to discredit the whole movement. But the movement itself didn't show any sympathies with him, disapproved him, or even suspected him of being police informer and also refused his proposal to again getting involved into the work of the movement.

After the extinction of CFVO, the CAF became more significant, which after stopping publishing the magazine Prace (The Labour), succeeded in publishing a weekly magazine Zadrha (The Cooperative). On the other hand, the syndicalist movement, never revived its former force and significance, even with new organizations being formed: Land's Union of Miners, Aegis (Zemská jednota horníků, Odhrana).

Overlap into art
The anarchist movement had also an important cultural dimension. In the early nineties, some of the ideas of anarchism (above all of the individualistic ones) were an inspiration for the poets gathered around the "decadent" Modern revue (Modern Review). We can't consider this as a deep connection, later on many from them inclined to the Right.

An important generation of poets was above all that of S. K. Neumann (1875-1947), with his magazine Novy kult (New Kult), which included anarchism on one side and literature and art on the other side. "Generation rebel", as it is called, succeeded in expressing their anarchist conviction in their verses and so today children read "natural" and "satanic" verses of S. K. Neumann (Devil here was a metaphor of a proud man), antimilitarist poetry of Frana Srnec or ironic poetry František Gellner in their readers.

To anarchism belong distantly prose-writers as Marie Majerova, though organized member of social democracy, she belonged to the group gathered around S.K. Neumann. She devoted one of her novels to the criticism of individualistic anarchism and the escape to a "communist colony". J. Hasek, was an editor of several anarchist magazines. According to some testimonies also F. Kafka participated in a few anarchist actions and showed his sympathies towards anarchism.

And many others were deeply interested in art, though today rather forgotten (Franta Sauer, Michal Mares, Alois Vekoslav Haber), which shows a relatively high cultural standard.

Antimilitarism and anticlericalism
Anarchists were not only interested in the exploitation workers, but also in other specific forms of oppression, in which the others (e.g. social democracy) showed just an opportunistic interest. Anarchists found themselves another allies for this initiative.

First of these forms of oppression was militarism, which the anarchists comprehend as the last ripcord of the state and as an institution, which absolutely demotes a man. Anarchist antimilitarism was staying in the shadow of the antimilitarism of the youth of national socialists (opportunistic party trying to involve the workers into the "national aims", but not nazis). Only after the trial against the national socialist militarists and after their party leaving them, the anarchist youth decided to get back to these activities. But later they were considerably paralysed by a similar, but smaller trial. But the anarchists before and even after that kept propagandizing their ideas at the pages of their magazines.

Another fight was anticlericalism. The anarchists were against religion and especially against the influence of the church. Jan Opletal, originally a social democrat was a lot engaged in this idea. Beginning from 1900 he was publishing an anticlerical magazine Matice svobody. Into these pro-

blems all the movement got involved. They were also supporting a Czech section of Volna myslenska (Free Mind), although they kept criticising its political neutrality the same as their somewhat bourgeois character. In common they had the propoganda of seceding from the church, but they weren't much successful even among themselves, because of the fact, that seceding from the church in that time demanded a lot of personal courage. These activities had also a longer-term importance. The army is up to the present (also because of other historical reasons) very unpopular in Bohemia and the Czechs are also infuriatingly religiously lukewarm. This has many different reasons, but definitely the anarchists had a certain importance in it.

The roots of the decline of the Czech anarchism

Anarchist movement continued also many faults. We can name e.g. the small participation of women (which the anarchists are recently trying to reflect) displays of anti-semitism (but not indeed racist, rather as a disagreement with the Jewish bourgeoisie - but many Czech anarchists were Jewish also). Czech anarchism had artists, writers, editors of magazines and propagandist, but not one theorist. The movement was also busy with all kinds of problems in the movement itself, which disgusted many originally protesting followers. Complicated organizations such as CAF and CFVO needed to have leaders of each union and besides that leaders of the movement as a whole. These were mostly the anarchist magazines publishers, who were in fact a "full time activists". This resulted in creating some kind of elite. Probably the biggest problem was that the anarchist movement after twenty years of existence didn't achieve any success. It wasn't growing, on the contrary, the strikes were ending unsuccessfully and even the project of creating a "communist colony" was not successful. As we can see, the movement wasn't able to organise one successful strike. The anarchistic attitude and the refusal of partial changes resulted in a feeling of ineffectiveness. But the movement in that time wasn't able to achieve any changes, but partial changes.

At the beginning of the war Bohuslav Vrbensky (1882-1944), an anarchist and a dentist, tried to work out a concept to solve the situation. He decided to concretize anarchist opposition and define it not only against any state but before all against the concrete Austria-Hungarian state. This had a clear aim, the independent stateless organisation of Bohemia. At the same time they needed an efficient form of organization, which was supposed to be a "specific political party" not involved in the state legislative body (this wasn't so strict in the municipalities) and relatively autonomous, yet functional, much better than the present CAF (where the decisions of the leaders were only optional for the members).

Michal Kachta (1874-1940), cobble and a editor of the magazines Prace and Zadrha claimed against this proposal. He named it "a gem of next compromises" and reproached him a non-anarchistic attitude and forgetting of the anarchist internationalism. In 1914 a meeting of anarchists accepted Vrbensky's proposal, whereas all the changes and the specification of the program were to be made in long term, and meanwhile only CAF changed to a federation of Czech anarchist communists (CAK).

The big war

Any other changes in the movement were stopped by the outbreak of first world's war. Immediately after, the anarchist organization and its magazines were prohibited, also confiscation of its property and interment of many activists occurred. Their places took those, who got involved in the movement recently under different influences. Their first goal was to maintain the movement, in which they succeeded despite of the fact that many of them left to fight in the war. In 1915 the traditional anarchists held several strikes in the north Bohemia and perspectives for new activities are opened. Prague anarchists got involved in the unrestrained workers activities and into the creation of workers councils. Under the difficult wartime condition the anarchists have changed from a movement being

opposed to any state to a radical part of the Czech policy. In Bohemia the anarchists fought for the independent Czech state, in cooperation with whole the Czech policy, including the Right that represented the interests of the bourgeoisie. The 22. 1. 1918 the anarchists were actively involved in a big strike and parallel demonstration, during which they made their speech with other socialist-political parties. They wanted to extend the strike into northern Bohemia, and they discussed it with Alois Rasín (later ultra-right Finance Minister and a victim of the anarchist attempt) Jaroslav Preis (director of a big bank). This attempt of a class collaboration par excellence was an absolute failure, because these representatives of the interests of financial capital supported the strike with their words, not with their money.

During these activities the anarchists got closer to the dissidents among social democrats and above all with national socialists, with which they had the prewar antimilitarist fight. The anarchists (similarly some other socialists) started to endeavour to unite all socialist parties and in February 1918 they invited the others to do it. The social democrats and the national socialists negotiated this without them and unsuccessfully, so only the anarchists and the national socialists united in the Czech (later Czechoslovak) socialist party (CSS). The anarchists participated significantly in the creation of their program, which was socialist and considerably autonomous, and it left in longer-term space for a social revolution and a without-state socialism - but it was just a temporary concession for the national socialist opportunists, only to strengthen their party during the historical crisis. The anarchists participated in the common general strike the 14. October 1918 and in promulgation of the Republic the 28. October 1918 as well.

Ministers, deputies and founders of communist party

In 1919, after the end of the war, a meeting of anarchists took place, where despite of the disagreement of the members, the leaders persuaded them that it was necessary that they be united with the national socialists and dismiss the anarchist organisation. And in fact, that was the end of the classical anarchist movement.

The new Czechoslovak Republic was being supported by the anarchists, because they saw many socialist hopes in it. B. Vrbenský became the minister of supply (1918-1919), later the minister of public works (1920) and also the minister for health service and physical training (1921-1922). B. Vrbenský, S. K. Neumann, T. Bartošek and L. Landová-Slychová represented the anarchists in the parliament. But their hopes were very soon disappointed. The anarchists served the renewing republic to gain the workers' sympathies. At the same time they calmed the worse resources of the social dispossession (afterwar situation in supply). Anyway, step by step they were being deprived of any real influence over matters.

The reaction of anarchists were various. In 1920 the group around S. K. Neumann and his magazine *Cervený detič* detached the himself had left the parliament even before, his place took an anarchist-syndicalist Vaclav Dvůřák. This group went through the enthusiasm about the Russian revolution to the "socialism of deed" and finally unconditionally accepted bolshevism. S. K. Neumann after leaving the CSS established a federation of communist groups, which participated on the establishment and later united with the Communist party of Czechoslovakia (KSC). In 1923 the group around Vrbenský had a strong disagreement with its own party and left it, also he left the parliament. They didn't come back to the anarchist ideals, but they attempted to base on the original programme of CSS. After a complete fiasco in 1925 most of these became members of the Communist Party. This is an incredible ending of former partisans of freedom of a man, who changed into dogmatics singing heroic songs about Stalin and the Soviet union.

The extinction and the rebirth of the Czech anarchism...

Former anarchists in the CSR acted also in another way. František Šauer, well-known anarchist bohemian is famous for his breaking down of Marian colourism in the center of Prague, about what all clericals were furious. He is also well-known as one of the founders of an organisation

called the "black arm", which was taking not used flats and giving to the workers families. In fact, this was the first kind of squatters in the Bohemia. Two anarchistic attempts were done in the Czechoslovak Republic. First executed by A. L. Stasny (16 years old), the 8. January 1919 he shot at the Prime Minister Karel Krámer, later very unpopular, at that time a man that gave rise to the independent state. The attempt wasn't successful. The target of the second, this time successful one, was the 5. January 1923 the unpopular Minister of finances Alois Rasín, responsible for the exploding currency policy. This time it was nineteen years old Josef Soupal who executed the attempt. Both attempts resulted in discreditation of anarchism, increase of repression and common feeling of support to the people's victim. After the second attempt the first Czech fascist organisation "Cervenobílí (Red and Whites) was formed during the hysterical demonstrations of the Right. In this situation any attempt to renew the anarchist movement was sentenced to fail. This was caused also by the fact that a group that tried to do it in 1923 considered the anarchism with a kind of religious enthusiasm (e.g. one important man of this group named his daughter Bakunina Sateňala) and at the same time with a lot of elitism - the "enlightened minority group of anarchists" towards the "ultraidita". This group gathered around a Free association of anarchists (*Volné sdružení anarchistů*) and its magazine *Bezvládní (Anarchy)* did not last even a year. After its extinction there aren't any information of anarchist movement, only absolutely fragmentary, accidental and incorrigible concerning mostly a few individuals, who perhaps sympathized with anarchism.

So the flag of the libertarian Left was overtaken by the trockists. But we must specify, that the stalinists denoted as "trockists" almost anybody who criticised their system from a marxistic, but also revolutionary position. Many of this way denoted didn't revolt against this mark, because at that time a "trockist" was the enemy number one, and so this word had the excitable sense of the "out of bounds fruit" or a political taboo, same as anarchism in many societies and eras. One of the Czech trockists was Zavis Kalandra (1902-1950), originally a member of KSC, later criticising the Moscow trials and calling for solidarity with the Spanish POUM. This excellent filologist and historian spent the second world war in the Nazi concentration camp and was later, after the bolsheviks coup d'état sentenced to death in the first Stalin's trial. The Czechoslovak surrealists took the libertarian left position and it led to their ostracism from stalinist's side and later to their coming into the underground. An interesting representative of the Czech underground culture is a poet, prose-writer and philosopher Egon Bondy (born 1930), influenced by trockism, Marxism and sympathies with anarchism. The movement of the revolutionary youth, a trockist group, against which there was a trial in 1971 was influenced by anarchism too. The Czech trockist movement was owing to the every day confrontation with Bolshevism authoritarianism considerably liberal, agnostic, besides Trockij they published many others, e.g. a french text *Socialism ou barbarie*. Globally emphasis was placed on the libertarian aspects of Marxism, whereas many trockists who ran away from the neo-stalinist terror very soon realised their difference from the little western trockist groups. After the fall of Bolshevism in 1989 the trockists created a free platform of the autonomous and liberal activities called *Leva alternativa* ("The left alternative"), in which the anarchists also participated. It needs to be said, that the trockists had a similar fate to that of the anarchists in the 20. century - from the radical opposition they moved to a fight against the bolshevik oppression and later they didn't manage to oppose effectively the restoration of market capitalism after 1989. Most of them ended among liberals, social democrats, in the green party or they left the party. Some of them went to the Communist party. Today's trockistic groups arose newly after 1989, under the influence of the western trockists, and they suffer from probably all illnesses of the classical trockism.

The alternative culture had a much more important influence on the rising anarchism. This arose from continuous prohibitions, that affected the

artistic production very strongly - and twice the music groups, which were inspired by the "rotten capitalist west". A group of people living in a punk subculture gave rise to an environment tending to anarchistic ideas. Very important magazine of Czech underground culture called "Vokno (Window) reported about anarchism, punk, squaring or the translations of H. Bay and G. Woodcock. Another magazine with an even bigger influence was *Voknový (window-newspaper)*, after 1989 returned Kontra. The anarchists took this magazine in 1991 and with the title *A-kontra* it was the first nation-wide magazine in the Czechoslovak anarchist movement. Already at that time quite strong anarchism groups coexisted, especially gathered around local municipally-political zones of different levels.

The first known anarchist organisation, the Czechoslovak anarchist association (*Československé anarchistické sdružení*), was founded in October 1989 in Prague, month before the change of the regime. Involved into the *Leva alternativa* they were trying to coordinate the anarchist activities. They were organising anti-party demonstrations, and very soon the street fights with the fascist skinheads started, which culminated in a huge concert at the Letenská plan in Prague the 1. 5. 1992, which ended by the victory of anarchists.

And its development

The first important differentiation in the anarchist movement occurs in 1992. While the majority claimed the boycott of the elections, a part of the editorial staff of *A-kontra*, that time under the Egon Bondy's influence defended the opinion, that in that concrete situation it would be better to vote for the communist party. They choosed this way as a "smaller evil", because they themselves were not able to reach the power to hold back the aggressive Right, the capitalism and to break Czechoslovakia (which happened in 1993). In 1992, these anarchists made a "coup" in the *Leva alternativa*, which was supposed to bring new financial resources, but in fact resulted in the exclusion of the liberals and the reformists, cooperation with KSCM and to actual extinction of this grouping.

In 1991 the Anarchist federation is formed around the magazine *Autonomie*, which strongly disagreed with any support to the KSCM. They attempted to include all parts of the anarchist movement. Besides this one, also another organisation occurred, the *Anarchosyndikalistická iniciativa* (Anarchosyndicalist initiative, former *Anarchosyndicalist federation*), which didn't have but a little influence. Theories from abroad and the inspiration from the foreign practise had the most significant influence on the movement's development.

In 1994-1995 crisis occurred in the movement. The organisation *Anarchist federation* and the *A-kontra* magazine extinct and the traditional methods of activities seemed to be exhausted. For example editor of *A-kontra* magazine, Jakub Polak, began to fight against the neo-nazis in a legal way - he tries to put the fascists into jail and works as a lawyer of their victims. *Czechoslovak anarchist federation* is formed around the magazine *Svoboda mysli* (Free mind) and its publisher Petr Wahlmuth, that tended to include all parts of the movement, same as *Anarchistická federace*, but this time with a more specified conception and organisational structure.

Throughout the development of the anarchist movement a tendency to creating of clearer defined groups manifested, altogether based on the theories of class-struggle. *Solidarita*, with a strong influence of the Irish Workers solidarity movement, was the first of them, and in 1996 it left the *Anarchosyndikalistická federace* (which later on connected with the CAF as its anarcho-

syndicalist fraction). It created a group with an interesting development - from rather non-anarchist revolutionary syndicalism through the revolutionary anarchist syndicalism to a kind of synthesis of platformism, communism and left communism. The second group, *Federace socialistických anarchistů* (Federation of Social Anarchists, FSA), inspired besides by platformism by the Bookchin's essay "Social anarchism or a lifestyle anarchism" arose in 1997 around Petr Wahlmuth and created their specific ideology. Both of these two had a considerable influence in the theory and in turning the movement towards social problems and social anarchism. On the other hand, especially FSA, was famous for its intolerance, which culminated by attacking an anarchist with different views and opinions.

An important impetus to the Czech anarchism were the street parties. The first Czech street party took place the 16. 5. 1998 as a part of the worldwide day of action. The taking of the street changed into a medical demonstration of around three thousand people and struggles with the police and attacking of the McDonald restaurant occurred. Street party showed the problem of capitalist globalisation and also the abilities of the movement. The 5. 6. 1999 another radical demonstration of 5 - 10,000 people took place and ended by the punks attacking the USA embassy. It was the biggest Czech demonstration against the war in Yugoslavia. An important autonomous newspaper of that time was *Konfrontace* (Confrontation, published in 1998-2000). A considerable influence on it that time gained the antifascism. In 1996 the Antifascist Action was formed, right after a police repression in the rock club Propast. The antifascist activities were important for the anarchist movement as a whole, and we find the following of anarchism among the victims of the fascist violence (Filip Venclík in 1993, Zdeněk Čepelka in 1994). Beginning from 1999 the neonazis began to be organized in a political party and organise public demonstrations, against which many radical and militant demonstration took place, as the most significant the 1. 5. 1999. This one ended by a police repression against anarchists and antifascists, protesting at the same time the demonstration of the neonazis.

An important event in the Czech anarchist history was the IMF and WB meeting in September 2000 in Prague. Anarchists together with trockists, radical environmentalists other organizations formed a platform *Iniciativa proti ekonomické globalizaci* (INPEG) and were intensively involved in the protests. But the protests, which culminated the 26. 9. in a demonstration of 12,000 people and many struggles with the police had a lot of mistakes. The platform agreed in what it criticised but didn't show any alternative. Because of the one day of protests the work with common people in the Czech republic was forgotten. For more, the campaign in the medias after the protests strengthened the repressive climate in the Czech Republic. After the protests the weakened movement was going on in its activities, the single organization development, but also the atmosphere of the "activistic ghettoes" is strengthened throughout all movement. Meanwhile, some attempts of self-reflection occur. Besides the anti-NATO campaign, the renewal of anarchofeminist activities (existing already in the 1990s) is very important.

In 2001 an anarchofeminist organisation is formed, the *Feministická skupina S. brezna* (Feminist Group of S. March), whose aim is to bring new topics into the society but also into anarchist movement.

UKRAINE REPORT FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY CONFEDERATION OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS NESTOR MAKHNO FEBRUARY 2003

A working group has been set up in the Ukraine to promote anarcho-syndicalist union initiatives. There are now a number of such initiatives thanks to the ongoing work of anarcho-syndicalist activists and workers' groups in the Donetsk region, as well as in Dnepropetrovsk and Kharkov.

The new working group, whose aim is to form a General Labour Confederation of the Ukraine (VKT), is made up of local union activists - miners, transport workers, students, and education and cultural workers. The VKT is to be a union for all organized workers who are prepared to defend their rights independent of party politics and state structures and whose goal is to foster self-organization and self-management in the workplace and society. The VKT will devote its attention to:

- defending members' wages and working conditions
 - helping members who have lost their jobs
 - common leisure activities
 - social insurance
 - education (learning self-organization skills, studying anarcho-syndicalist experience, methods, practice and principles, examining social problems and ways of resolving them)
 - building up the Workers' Guard (self-defence force)
 - introducing workers' control and self-management in the workplace.
- The plan to set up the initiative and establish the VKT originated from the RKAS and representatives of a regional section of the Independent Miners Union of the Ukraine (NPGU), as well as independent groups of transport and education workers.

An Alternative Youth Centre

In the summer of 2002 a young people's union called the "Alternative Youth Centre" (AMT) was set up in Donetsk. Further branches are likely to be formed this year in Makeyevka and Yasinovataya (cities in the Donetsk region with populations of 700,000 and 200,000 respectively). The AMT's members are young people - students, musicians, actors, computer freaks and educationalists - who agree with anarcho-syndicalist methods and generally share anarcho-syndicalist views. The AMT aims to advance self-organization and self-managed groups in the youth scene by defending its members' interests and supporting social projects.

On 16 October 2002 the AMT and RKAS organized a protest action against McDonald's which attracted

around 200 people. The group of educationalists and students in the AMT has begun working regularly with homeless children in Donetsk. It started off in a squatted building but was evicted. Now it is working temporarily out of a mine building in Donetsk while looking for longer-term premises. The group's activities with the children involve social work and teaching (and, of course, providing food and medical assistance).

The AMT holds regular training sessions for its members on union work, social projects and building up the organization (a group of graduate social trainers is also involved in AMT).

Warning - Trotskysts!

An old tactic of supporters of the Fourth International, entism, has lost none of its currency for the heirs of Trotsky in the Ukraine. Forming alliances with ideological enemies, penetrating their organizations and taking them over from within, thus also eliminating political rivals, are standard methods from the arsenal of the British Militant Tendency and its satellites in the countries of the former USSR.

The Militant section in the Ukraine, KRK, employs similar tactics with the aim of spreading its influence among workers. KRK activists calling for the creation of a workers' party have penetrated trade unions and left-wing organizations so as to win over their members. In late 2002 members of the KRK branch in the capital, Kiev, approached the RKAS in Donetsk and proposed cooperation. The RKAS Organization Committee refused. It turns out that the Trotskysts have also made similar propositions to a range of other anarcho-syndicalist organizations, including the FAU-IWA in Germany, who also turned them down. Their aim is clear - to use the membership of anarchist groups and organizations as a medium for spreading their own influence.

Anarchists must not yield to these fake expressions of "comradship". We do not and cannot befriend totalitarian political organizations, even those on the left, even those with revolutionary goals, even if they speak of "the liberation of the proletariat" - we know the true intentions underneath the rhetoric.

Repression against Miners in Pavlograd

The regional leader of the miner's union NPGU in Pavlograd, S. Gorenko, was arrested on 16 October 2002. The official statement said he was being charged in connection with "financial machina-

tions" of the Pavlograd NPGU during the parliamentary elections in spring 2002 (in which the NPGU and Gorenko personally participated). But the Pavlograd miners say that the repression is really just revenge by the local authorities for the coal-miners' strikes organized by the NPGU in the summer of 2002 demanding the payment of wage arrears.

Back to the Future - the 8-Hour Working Day

In mid-October 2002 the workers of one of the rolling mill sections at the experimental tube factory in Dnepropetrovsk responded to the agitation of a socialist activist by spontaneously introducing the 8-hour day and 5-day week in their section. This broke with the "tradition" of 12-hour shifts and 6-day weeks which had become established at the factory although it was expressly banned under the collective agreement between the unions and the owners. There was also no overtime bonus at the factory. Management applied all sorts of pressure to the workers, cutting their wages and threatening to dismiss them, but the workers held out until late December 2002.

A library of socialist and anarchist literature had been set up at the factory at the beginning of October 2002.

Garbage at the City Council Building

On 30 November 2002 a protest action was held by the municipal service workers of "Ekologia" in Dnepropetrovsk who had not been paid for 6 months. Several dozen garbage trucks were driven up to the City Council building, partially blocking traffic. The workers held a rally there and threatened to repeat the protest in a month's time if their demands had not been met. Next time they promised to come with their trucks full and dump the garbage right under the City Council's windows.

The Situation in Rural Areas of Crimea

In November and December 2002 the electricity authorities began cutting off power to large sections of the population in the mountainous rural areas of Crimea. In some cases individual houses were cut off, in others - entire villages. The huge number of unpaid electricity bills is due to the almost complete collapse of economic life in most of these rural areas and most people's lack of any income. People having their electricity cut off led to massive protests and spurred on the self-organization of the population. Defence groups were set up to stop electrici-

ty-authority staff from entering the villages, and in some places there were clashes with escorting police. To a significant extent this resistance was carried by the Crimean Tartars, an ethnic minority living in compact settlements and preserving strong traditions of mutual aid ever since their collective deportation under Stalin.

Metalworkers Strike

On 4-5 January 2003 the workers of two sections at the Dnepr Metallurgical Complex in Dneprodzerzhinsk (near Dnepropetrovsk) went on strike demanding payment of several months of wage arrears from 2001. Ever since the current management took over the works in January 2002 it has refused to pay the outstanding wages that the old management owed the workers. About 1,500 workers participated in the strike, but it collapsed when the leaders of the strike committee were sacked. However, it was soon proved that these dismissals contravened labour legislation and the six sacked workers were reinstated just two weeks later.

Self-Managed Projects

Legislation and the socio-economic conditions in the Ukraine make it very difficult for the creation of self-managed businesses or cooperatives. But RKAS comrades in Dnepropetrovsk have now achieved modest success in this direction. Service-sector workers at one of the city's large hairdressing salons decided to organize collectively to protect their rights against the arbitrariness of the local authorities. The local RKAS branch gave legal aid and organizational assistance.

Self-organization has allowed the hairdressers to substantially reduce the price of their services and introduce free haircuts (etc.) for people on particularly low incomes. It is also interesting to note that:

- visitors to the self-managed hairdressers' see the revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist posters that liberally adorn the walls of the building;
- the hairdressers' collective refused to hang out the Ukrainian state flag on 1 May, as expected of them, but hung out the anarcho-syndicalist red-and-black flag instead;
- tax inspectors who came for a routine check of the books were pelted with wet rags and driven off the premises. More details about this project in the next mailout.

INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL MESS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Recently we started to develop contacts with some people in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. There seem to be quite busy crew of anti-authoritarian, anarchist and other open minded people, which are starting to organize more and more things on many levels of social and cultural activism. Some of on-going projects existing there are these dealing with issues of sexualized violence (rape), conscience objection and anti-militarism, anti-anti-authoritarian, anarchist infoshop got opened recently too, on 15 February there was first Food Not Bombs action in Mostar, meeting of anarchists from all over Bosnia as well as festival in summer are planned. In a next issue we present a bit more actual infos and contacts from Bosnia, now only short introduction describing political situation in the country after war, then story on anti-rape project and report from FNB action. Very thanks for this materials for our friends from Mostar! About some of the projects you can read in bosnian, english or french at: www.mjfoe.org

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) was a republic of Former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, a big communist experiment in an very undeveloped and rural area. Most of the antifascist partisans came from BiH and all the time during the second world war BiH had some free territory.

For the communists it was so important because it is ethnical very mixed area consisting of three religions (Catholic, Orthodox and Islam) and tree ethnical groups (Croats, Bosniaks, and Serbs). After the second world war, when the whole country was rebuilding, BiH got most of the heavy industry. People from this republic were the first ones to volunteer for building the roads and the rails all over Yugoslavia, and the ones who strongly supported the communist concept of brotherhood and unity. BiH also had the largest number of the mixed marriages.

When the civil war was starting in Slovenia and Croatia, people of BiH were accepting refugees and calling their relatives to come here because people would never allowed such thing to happen here. Even the football fans who were extreme nationalists in other republics were against the war and division of the country in BiH. Forming of the first national party led to the forming of the second and the third and they were convincing the people that they are jeopardized by the others. Unfortunately people got hooked and the bloodshed could begin.

Now we jump over three years of war and go straight to Dayton agreement which was signed in November 1995. In an American military base. It was a compromise between tree war criminals and the world policeman which non of the war fractions were pleased with. Ordinary people were just happy that it ended and didn't care about politics or the privatization process that was about to begin. After the communist BiH became the experiment of the international community. They have created a state that consists of two entities (Republic of Serbska/RS and Federation of BiH/FBiH) which have their own governments plus the joint Council of ministers which represents some kind of state government. Federation of BiH was created in 1994, in Washington as a com-

promise between Bosniaks and Croats that were in conflict at the time. Each side demanded the right to control the territory with their majority population so Federation is divided in ten cantons out of which two are mixed and the rest are ran by majority population. Every canton has it's government and all the institutions. Each entity has a parliament and there is a joint one. There is also an Breko District, a town which both entities claimed a right on, that also has a government of it's own. To summarize: we have fourteen governments, three parliaments, two entities, ten cantons and an district. But real power of people's lives in BiH lays in hands of international community represented by colonial Stabilization Forces (SFOR) and the Office of High Representative (OHR) which can stop, change or impose any law or any other legal act. His Highness High Representative at moment is Paddy Ashdown, leader of Liberal Party of Great Britain. Also the governor of Narodna Banka (National Bank) is foreigner, SFOR soldiers and international officials are not under jurisdiction of BiH legal system.

It's not so hard to imagine how dysfunctional this whole system is and how difficult it must be for the citizens of BiH to pay for it's maintenance, especially if you have in mind that the infrastructure has been destroyed during the war and that there is practically no production of domestic products. Unemployment is around 40% and is getting worse this spring because of the new law on bankruptcy proceedings. One hundred thousand workers are expected to lose jobs or the benefits that they have at the moment. The average celery is 350 KM's (KM's value is equivalent to ex DM) in RS and around 450 in FBiH. BiH is in deep debts because of all arrangements we've had with IMF and WB. Privatization process has been done similarly to Czech model so the people who owned all the factories and everything else got some certificates that they could use for investing which means selling them for nickels to war profiteers who then buy all the companies. In the past two months there has been a public discussion on the subject of privatization of electro energy system in BiH. Trade unions and all the people are against it even the governments are not happy with this but the ultimatum was given by the IMF- either you sell it to foreign companies or you lose access to the credits and grants. The decision was not made yet but it's probably going to be in favor of IMF.

The power in all structures of government is held by three national parties who led the country to war, but even short periods when so called opposition (led by social democrats) was in power nothing has changed because both options were just implementing neo-liberal laws imposed by the OHR. Youth in BiH is very passive and apathy and statistics show that 62% of us want to leave the country. It's worth mentioning that a huge number has already gone during and after the war.

Nationalism is still the key problem in BiH not because it results with violence in the streets, but because it's used by national parties to remain in power, keep the status quo and rob the people through the process of privatization. International

community plays a big role in this by enforcing neo-liberal laws and giving the western corporations power over the local market.

V-DAY Until the violence stops

Violence and sexual abuse of women and girls in Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a pervasive yet under recognized human rights violation. Unfortunately, sexual abuse happens much more often than it is written or spoken about it.

One of the dominant problems regarding this issue is its understanding as a domestic violence that is not legally defined in any Bosnian law, regulation or police statement. As a general rule, women in Bosnia and Herzegovina refrain from reporting cases of violence and sexual abuse because Bosnian society is strongly and traditionally patriarchal. In many cases Bosnian society views problem of violence as a very private thing. Thousand of woman on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina are living and accepting violence day-by-day in their life because they do not have any proper mean to fight it. Those women are carrying their trauma and living with it without having any proper chance to speak about it, find help, often feeling ashamed and left behind from society. They are aware that if they try to speak or to find help they could be accused or sealed by their community and family.

Roots for this kind of behaving we can find in the society structure which is not allowing women and young girls to build their confidence and find their place and role. It is very clear that gender violence has many levels and forms, but no matter which one we are taking into consideration, the result is always the same. It is one of the heaviest wounds on a personal level as well as on a society level that is always leaving deep injuries. According to the questionnaire that was made on the territory of Herzegovina-Neretva canton, 76% of the women had witnessed the violence and 56% has or is experiencing the violence.

It becomes very clear that abuses and discrimination of woman and girls in Mostar region, as well as in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a kind of taboo, about which we have to start speaking openly, breaking the wall of silence, restoring the consciousness and public who does not want to recognize importance and seriousness of this problem. Also, on the territory of Herzegovina problem of violence is very much present but up to now it has never been taken as a really serious problem by the public and governmental institutions. Therefore, we can say that this problem stays on society margins, inaccessible.

One of the aims that V-day has is to contribute to prevail prejudice and open possibilities for woman and men to get informed and learn more about their rights, identity and possibilities. Woman all over the world are very much aware that we are living in a world in which they do not feel safe that in one moment of their life they could become a victims of sexual abuse and discrimination.

V-Day Campaign

V-day was born in 1998 as an outgrowth of Eve Ensler's play, "The Vagina Monologues", which expresses the violence that suffer women and young girls all

around the world. This theatre performance was held in many countries, and it became very clear that this violence does not recognize nationality, religion or political background borders.

That is how V-day has become a global movement spreading a new vision of the world in which woman and girls will be able to live with their full dignity and freedom. Only in year 2002, more than 800 V-Day benefit events were presented through V-Day World wide campaign and College campaign, educating millions of people about the reality of violence, helping and supporting women to find and discover their own identity.

For four years it is growing and gathering women from all over the world. This year V Day campaign will happen from February to March trying to gather Valentines day and Woman's day in a creative and progressive atmosphere that will attempt to make the mentalities evolve about this issue.

Two towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo and Mostar, have united their forces to organize V Day campaign in both of the cities, sharing their experience and knowledge on this project. The whole town and surrounding of will be included in this project on different levels through medias, marketing, public events, workshops, exhibitions and anti violence campaign. Campaign in Sarajevo, one of the biggest in Europe, will be turned more to the rest or Eastern Europe gathering actresses, volunteers and does who are interested in giving contribution. The one in Mostar will be more turned to its region and the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a special accent on young people, giving them chance, place and possibility to find more about equality, human rights, gender issues. We want that Bosnia and Herzegovina becomes one of the strong world spots that are supporting fight against violence and a support point of V Day global movement. Cooperation and collaboration between Sarajevo and Mostar, as well as with other V Day organizer will be constant and interactive.

"Rape free zone" campaign is a part of V-day campaign. Through this campaign we will become part of "World Rape free zone" campaign which is encouraging people all over the world to mark their communities as "Rape free zone". We want to work with the local community, authorities, and schools to proclaim Mostar city as "Rape free zone". On that way we will try to send a very strong message about what the violence is and how to fight it.

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all information about v-day campaign worldwide: <http://www.vday.com/>

FIRST CONFERENCE OF AUTONOMOUS ACTION 14-16 TH OF FEBRUARY 2003 IN MOSCOW

The goal of Autonomous Action (AD) is to form a common libertarian communist organisation in the area of former Soviet Union. Autonomous Action was organised in its first general meeting in January 2002, until then it had existed two years as a project. Currently Autonomous Action has local groups in dozen or so cities of Russia and Armenia, and supporters in Belarus, Lithuania, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Read more about us from our website at www.avtonom.net

Conferences of Autonomous Action are not for discussing organisational documents and principles of Autonomous Action, they are dealt in general meetings which is a superior decision making mechanism of Autonomous Action. Next general meeting will be organised in the summer of 2003 in South of Russia. During both of the general meetings of Autonomous Action (1st in Nizhni Novgorod in January 2002, and second in Krasnodar 2002), as well as in all the 4 preparatory meetings in prior to foundation since January 2000, considerable amount of time was sacrificed to organisational questions of the movement. The practical and creative side of the activities had if not been ignored, at least dealt very hastily in the strict time frame limited by organisational needs. The 1st conference was the first real opportunity to define ourselves in terms what we are actually doing, not only in terms what we declare ourselves to be. Unfortunately the fact that conferences have only right to make recommendatory decisions maybe also reduced eagerness of activists to travel, only one delegate came from south (from Rostov-na-Donu), and only one from Siberia (from Tyumen).

Friday 14th of February

People arrived during Friday, and during first evening people just presented their local situation. There were delegates from Moscow (Autonomous Action of Moscow, ADM), Nizhni Novgorod (Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod), Ivanovo, Yaroslavl (Union of Young Anarchist Communists, SMAK), Tyumen, Rostov-na-Donu and guests from Praxis (Moscow), MPST-AIT (Moscow), Belarus Anarchist Front (BAF, Minsk), Movement Against Violence (DPN), ATTAC of Nizhni Novgorod and Anarchist-Communist Union of Youth (MAKS, Yaroslavl). Maybe 30-40 different persons participated to discussions during the conference.

Before presentations there was a discussion about the anti-war demonstration of the next day. 15th of February demonstration in Moscow was organised by exceptional anti-racist, pro peace in Chechnya but not anti-authoritarian coalition of ATTAC (in Moscow a trotskist front), anarchists who run Russian Indymedia and Rainbow Keepers. Some conference delegates had principal reservations against participating to such an event as an organisation, so it was decided that those who want to go may go as individuals, and conference will begin 4 hours later than planned in Saturday. In the end, action was

successful in Moscow scale (180 participants, in comparison latest trotskist demo against Chechen war mobilised 20 persons in March 2000), but anarchist presence was small and we failed to present ourselves as an anti-authoritarian alternative.

Situation in Moscow

In Moscow Autonomous Action has grown considerably during last 6 months, but there are usual problems, such as every time different people in meetings. There is a sizeable distro (www.avtonom.net/adistro) but not enough effort to distribute products. Autonomous Action has participated to a broad anti-war coalition which is offspring of the dissident movement and has organised most massive demonstrations against Chechen war, but this coalition is a forum of constant intrigue and political ambitions of liberals, and some members of AD Moscow are in outright opposition against participation to the coalition. Moscow group also publishes website on working place issues, www.antijob.nm.ru, and its free paper version Radical lazybones, not to forget about music publication and distribution. Two projects which are not projects of Autonomous Action but to which activists participate were also mentioned - "Besparkshola" discussion club which is 2 years old now, and new anti-clerical campaign "Radicals Against Church" (RPTS, same initials which Russian Orthodox Church uses). On anti-fascist issues networking with football hooligans has been a success, but this has also resulted to escalation of conflict where activists have been assaulted at least 3 times with knives during the last 6 months.

Situation in Minsk

Belarus Anarchist Front was formed in autumn of 2002, after some 2 years of discussions. Anti-fascist activity plays important role in Minsk. Relations with older anarchists are not really good, old FAB (Federation of Anarchists in Belarus) is not really functional anymore in Minsk, none of them showed up on the streets in mayday or in October revolution memorial day 7th of November. In Gomel FAB is doing well, but reports of at least one of their militants running as a candidate in local elections were heard by other conference delegates with a disappointment (eventually one member of Autonomous Action from Gomel was excluded). In Minsk BAF has 6 members and some 20 supporters. First action by these people was organised in 1st of May, NBP (National Bolshevik Party) scum came up parading. In Grodno there is also an active group called Razam, but politics of this group are not really anarchist. Nationalist pro-West opposition of Belarus which was strong in mid-nineties is now in a state of complete collapse.

Situation in Nizhni Novgorod

In Nizhni Novgorod Autonomous Action has some dozen regular attendants of meetings and several supporters. There is a sort of positive competition which ATTAC, which unlike in Moscow is not a trotskist front but some 10 students who have very recently got involved in political activity. They are helped by Voronezh

ATTAC. Less positive competition from the side of nazis and NBP. Nazis know some of anarchist activists, and unlike in many other cities anarchists have not been able to challenge fascists on the streets. Level of social conflict is low in Nizhni Novgorod, about all opposition forces came up to a meeting against housing reform, and all in all it was only 300 persons. AD organised 2 anti-militarist pickets in November, which were attended by some 40 persons. There is a distro and discussion club "Pozitiv" as well. Lecture organised as a part of visit of George Katsifikas to Russia was a success. Rainbow Keepers has some 3 persons in Nizhni, they organise actions together with AD. Old Federation of Anarchists of Nizhni Novgorod Area (FANK) still exists because not everyone is content with the way AD is organising, but it has maybe 1 member.

Situation in Yaroslavl

Main issue in discussion about Yaroslavl was for sure the split. This has been a big source of confusion in other cities, since during half years there were two groups with name SMAK (Union of Young Anarchist Communists), who published paper with the same name (Trotsky Equivalent). Now however another group decided to change its name to MAKS (Anarchist Communist Union of Youth), and the first group will change name of its bulletin. In general situation has calmed down, and after a period of bitter exchanges groups are now co-ordinating their activities together. MAKS participated to conference of AD as a guests, and both sides agreed that one important reason of the split was in inter-personal dynamics.

There has been lots of activity in Yaroslavl since summer, such as picket for anarchist Stas Pochobut, who was cruelly beaten by police in Grodno, Belarus and hospitalised for a month. 5th of September there was an action against educational reform, which received good echo in media. There was nice footage in TV about pensioners carrying anarchist banners... group participated to Social Forum of Yaroslavl, which was a bad experience. Anarchists withdrew from ATTAC which they were once co-founding, but SMAK still maintains contacts. There was a successful action in opposition to mainstream communists in 7th of November, this was jointly organised by SMAK, local ATTAC and a local splinter group from KPFR (Communist Party of Russian Federation) called Organisation of Workers Councils (OST), which is developing to a positive direction. This was attended by some 400 people, but resolution of the meeting was somewhat reformist. Social situation in Yaroslavl is more heated than average in Russia, for example as a protest against new housing bill one block of flats collectively refused to pay for electricity and water.

In the end SMAK and MAKS debated their differences... MAKS described SMAK as reformist, since they raise simple reformist and economic demands and try to network with any kind of oppositional and non-stalinist workers. SMAK criticised anti-fascist activities of

MAKS - "since we do not beat up junkies or alcoholics, why should we beat up nazis who are just another symptom of a general disease called capitalism?".

Other cities

Tyumen group really never get off to air, last mayday they mobilised 4 persons. Now one person emigrated, and one spent half a year in Polish squats... but the "left" in general is in trouble as well, for example RKSM(b) collapsed altogether. (This is one of the several komsomols, this has more extreme orientation than the biggest SKM and is sort of Maoist, it has lately severely suffered due to imprisonment of many of its activists). Tyumen is a rich city because of oil, and thus there are not really social conflicts. In Ivanovo only two persons regularly attend meetings, and everything is in the very beginning. Activists in Ivanovo are also involved in the Esperanto movement, and it was decided that AD should establish contacts to this movement.

Saturday 15th of February

First discussion of the day was no more or less than about "Situation in Commonwealth of Independent States, strategy and tactics of anarchist movement in the conditions of today". A glaring difference between xUSSR and Western anarchism is that although in xUSSR movement is tiny, people definitely believe that the system is about to collapse. Sight of system ruining itself around you pushes feelings inside the anarchist movement to a completely other level. Not that there is much optimism around, it is more like a bitter struggle about the future of world after capitalism - either anarchy or disorder. This puts for example anti-fascist activity to another perspective - although fascists are not so many, they are one of the few forces who will be there robbing the corpse of the system after its rigor mortis, and better to face them now than then. A delegate from Yaroslavl defined the situation in his city like "anti-globalist consensus", legitimacy of the system is in a freefall but there is a lack of alternatives. There was a discussion about to whom we should orientate, different opinions were said for example about relevance of youth subcultures, but nothing very new. Several delegates advocated getting involved in concrete struggles instead of ultra-radical sloganism. There was some frustration since only already politicised people come to mass actions - it was proposed that we should push for abolition of any party- or political symbolics in mass actions.

Ecological protests

Next part of days program were working groups, but these had to be organised one by one due to lack of space. First discussion was about ecological protests. It was pointed out that ecological protests are one field where anarchists may get into concrete issues. There are lots of potential, for example in Moscow some small-scale ecological initiatives pop up about every month, but no-one has resources to network them. Things like clean air are important to every person, no matter how apolitical. System also knows this, just see how much they used pressure to silence protests in Volkinsk, although even city

major was supporting protestors. But now few people who are continuing the campaign in Volkinsk feel themselves abandoned. The fact that no major ecological protest camp was organised in summer 2002 was a problem for anarchist movement in general, since these have been important both as convergence and discussion platforms, as well as to have new people involved in activities - a sort of activist school of self-organisation.

A question was raised about the situation of Rainbow Keepers in general. Movement is indeed in a crisis, as its inability to organise a protest camp in the summer of 2002 shows. These problems date back to mid-nineties, but blew up in the summer of 2001 when a major protest camp was organised in Volkinsk. But although future of Rainbow Keepers is unclear, it makes no point for AD trying to replace Rainbow Keepers since latter has a very different kind of organisational dynamics. One important factor in the birth of AD has been the aspiration to get rid of the tyranny of structurelessness rampant in Rainbow Keepers. But in the same time the informality of the latter has been the main reason why it has had the best dynamics and least barriers to involve new people among all anarchist groups during last 12 years, which has also lead it to being the most successful, at least to some moderate extent. Role of AD should be more like ensuring that tradition of the protest camps does not die even if Rainbow Keepers is unable to organise them.

There was a discussion on protests against Tuman ammonia terminal project, organised jointly by Atshi community and Rainbow Keepers. This was a minor protest camp last summer, with less than 20 persons participating. Some persons from second Autonomous Action general meeting travelled to camp, but many AD activists decided not to join due to involvement of Cossacks. And indeed, one AD activist who had participated to protest told about her funny feelings when sitting in campaign HQ, provided by Cossacks, and having a portrait of Nikolai II hanging on her head... she also pointed out that Atshi is really an NGO nowadays, and thus there will always be problems when we try to co-operate with them. (Ed. note: Roots of Atshi community are in Maikop group of Confederation of Anarcho Syndicalists of 80's, since then it has developed through many phases, latest being turning from an ecological community to an NGO. Soon after AD conference Atshi confirmed that they will organise a protest camp in summer of 2003 as well).

There was also discussion about relation between social and ecological issues (one old criticism of Rainbow Keepers has been that they ignore workers in facilities they aim to close). It was pointed out that anarchists should always demand guarantees to those who may suffer after closing a plant, one person also recollected a protest at Cherepovets in the beginning of the nineties, in a city where life expectancy had dropped to below 50 but there were not even theoretically other jobs available than horrible open pit mines and industry connected to them.

Anti-fascism

Second theme-discussion was about anti-fascist activities. It was quite generally agreed that really fascism is just another form of organisation of capitalism. In

discussions inside the fascist movement, one may see that they just feel they do the dirty work which majority supports but does not want to do. FSB (ex-KGB) plays double game, in another hand repressing nazis but in another hand using them against leftists, they armed Tsarytsino pogromists since they hoped they would crush antiglobalists who would protest against WEF in Moscow, and they distribute anti-fascist addresses to nazis. NNP (People's National Party, hardcore nazi sect having pagan rituals and all that with some 500 members) fighters train in OMON (ministry of interior special forces) bases. It is also a myth that street fascism is a working class movement, first fascist football hooligan group in Moscow, Flint's Crew of Spartak fans, has plenty of graduates from prestigious MGU and GMIO universities.

One person wanted opinions about "reformist" strategies, since majority of anarchists may never get involved in the streets anyway. She was disappointed that soon after anarchists in Volgograd successfully stopped a nazi concert by appealing to mainstream media and Union of veterans, no-one was supporting her when she was trying to do the same in Moscow, claiming such strategies being "reformist".

One should also not confuse racism and fascism. The former often has a legitimate face, and we should pay more attention to that. For example about every orthodox church distributes Russkij Dom and Russkij Vestnik-papers, which carry openly racist materials in almost every issue. We should target also these kinds of organisations, and for example sabotage events of Eurasia and other respectable new-right institutions with respectable face.

Workplace issues

Third theme discussion was about conflicts in working places in general, and about Radical Lazhones-bulletin published in Moscow. In Yaroslavl people have some success in networking workplace struggles. In historical faculty of local university, practically all of the students, 460 subscribers altogether, signed a petition against expulsion of a student who had been fighting when drunk. There was a mass layout in one of local factories, FSB panicked but in the end workers were just passive. However they have found some great union militants. Yaroslavl activists do not like Radical Lazhones - new forms of oppression, toyotism and situationism are just not actual in Yaroslavl where fordism is still as strong as ever and conveyor pulse of the city.

Points in Moscow replied that it is true that points of view of antijob-website and Radical Lazhones are Moscow-centred. According to web statistics and messages in the guestbook, main group visiting the antijob-site are office workers so stealing their bosses time, that is really the group we reach most successfully.

Another Moscow activist described the conflict in MGPU university to which he was participating, and which was described in Radical Lazhones. In the end students were passive, and no-one wanted to get into regularly union activity. He also thinks that RL is really trying impossible by trying to mix revolutionary syndicalism to situationist and "anti-work" tendencies.

One veteran of the movement noticed a huge contrast between universities of Perestroika years and today. About all

what was then gained has been lost now, students do not even have their own announcement boards anymore!

Antimilitarism

The following theme discussion was about anti-war movement and antimilitarism. Nizhni Novgorod group had submitted a proposal about campaign against law on alternative service which will come to force in 1st of January 2004 (this was actually the only formal proposal submitted to conference). To be honest, this proposal was written in somewhat formal and boring language, but it was approved without much of discussion since there was not really anything to disagree with. One concrete criticism of the text was the demand about militia-kind of army - in distant past these kind of structures have been used against workers movement. Such demands should never be separated from the total of revolutionary movement. In general this campaign which Nizhni has been organising since summer has at times had a strange mixture of reformist and radical revolutionary slogans, you should not really separate demands like right of everyone to carry arms from the ideal of total social revolution.

Another part of the proposal questioned was its obligation to organise common anti-draft actions locally in certain dates, such as in "Day of the defender of the fatherland" 23rd of February (which happens also to be the date of beginning of Chechen genocide of 1944), first date of the spring draft and so on. Yaroslavl commented that last time they had such an action they got beaten up by both cops and patriot bigot passerbys. They were replied that action does not necessarily have to be a picket, it could be a discussion, graffiti or whatever your imagination enables. Street actions were seen impossible in Ivanovo as well due to tiny number of activists and repression.

In Moscow people have distributed stickers of website <http://antimil.narod.ru> made by anarchists from Kazan which gives advice to those who want to avoid draft, but later it was recognized that in Moscow they manage to draft only some 8% anyway, and some 10 commercial or NGO structures offer exactly similar kind of services more effectively than we do, so there is no really demand for such an activity.

One alternative to pickets is to participate to common anti-war actions. It is not really that much about by side whom you walk, but how you do it - if it is forces hostile

to anti-authoritarianism, you should prepare and make your point accordingly.

Anti-patriarchalism

Last discussion of the day was about anti-patriarchalism (or anti-sexism or feminism, or gender issues, or whatever...). This became quite funny process in the end. In the beginning it was about to be cancelled altogether, since those people from Krasnodar who had most to say had failed to travel to conference. But then a comrade from Minsk made a point - against marriage and for free love! What a blast from the past, an issue which seems to have been completely buried in the anarchist movement during the last 60 years!

Some issues relating to more modern feminism were dealt as well. Some people raised cliché arguments criticising such feminist projects like critic of male majority in the anarchist movement, and were

verbally baited accordingly.

Sunday 16th of February

This day most were outrageously late, supposedly having parted the night before. This was only breach of the iron discipline, which conference organisers had successfully imposed in a form of a prohibition, first time in the history of AD... only one person dared to open a bottle during conference, and had it confiscated in 10 seconds.

Repression and Anarchist Black Cross
Since after more than hour of waiting there were only 7 persons around, a decision was made to start program with discussion about repression, this was an extra-point proposed on Saturday, but not dealt then due to lack of time. Questions related to current projects of Avtonom had to be dealt later in the day with bigger group of people, when there were some 20 persons around.

There was usual discussion on the always controversial issues about who is a political prisoner, what a solidarity group should do and who we could help. There are currently dozens of political "leftist" prisoners in xUSSR, from small urban guerrilla groups and also completely trumped up cases. However there are no clear anti-authoritarianism in trouble, and in Autonomous Action there will never be consensus about need of supporting any of the current prisoners.

Instead a point was made in favour of forming a working Anarchist Black Cross group inside AD, which would work strictly by principle for anarchists by anarchists.

This because although right now there are maybe not clear anarchists in trouble in xUSSR, it is just a matter of time when there will be. And also if we do not help those currently in trouble abroad, such as Polish anti-fascists, we may not expect any help from abroad when the shit blows up in xUSSR. Any lawyer in Russia costs \$1000, ? sum far beyond our capacities.

It might be that issue of supporting some unknown anarchist in a far-away country is not a killer mobiliser to a picket, but there are also other things we may do, such as writing letters. Any number of Avtonom should dedicate a page or two to issues of prisoners. In the end, a decision was made to found a Black Cross group inside AD, and that in the beginning Nizhni Novgorod group would co-ordinate this work.

Publications of Autonomous Action

The official program of the day started by discussion about common journal of Autonomous Action, Avtonom, which is also most widely distributed libertarian publication in xUSSR. At first people raised usual criticism against punky style of layout and language in the paper, but this discussion was soon halted - the same discussion took place in every single preparatory conference, and both 2 general meetings of the AD during the last 3 years. And as usual, the conclusion is that change of the style demands change of the editor-in-chief, but there are no volunteers. And those wanting more intellectual and theoretical journal should set up a separate paper anyway, since "most intelligent" journal in the scene, Naperokor has finally ceased to be published after its 12th issue. Some new people were accepted to redaction of Avtonom.

Yaroslavl group raised a completely new idea to make their new monthly bulletin, formerly known as Trojke Equivalent, as

federative. Everyone agreed that we need more regular publication than Avtonom which seems to be unable to catch its quarterly publication pace, but people had reservations against Trotyle Equivalent, since it has extremist rhetorics, and thus is no less subcultural than Avtonom although it is not that much oriented to any musical subculture. It was decided that Yaroslavl tries to take into account these criticisms, they will publish new bulletin and if people like it they may distribute it in their locals.

Getting new people involved

Following section of the program was rather confusingly named - as "cadre politics of AD" in lack of a better term. Really it the point was about getting new people involved, and what is even more important, about transferring hangers-around to self-organising active subjects. Some groups of people are difficult to integrate to movement, for example in Yaroslavl and Volokinsk pensioners have shown militancy in actions organised by anarchists, but attempts to get them into movement have failed. It was pointed out that AD should have more public activity, since conferences and general meetings must be somewhat closed we should also have some kind of public presentations, but like the way trotskist are seducing people with events on "antiglobalism", whatever it means. It was also decided that AD should make a well-made booklet about itself including manifesto and other basic information.

Also other "agitational materials" were discussed... since Ivanovo is a concentration of textile industry, they will take care about our federal flag investments! Several provincial cities, such as Yaroslavl, Nizhni Novgorod, Ivanovo and Minsk are setting up small anarchist libraries for activists to use... Moscow group may buy books from bookstores and to distribute to these locals. It was also decided to more effectively share information about available resources, for example Moscow has an old notebook (486 DX) which we could pass to some group. It just spent few years in Grodno. There should be other funds than that of the federal, since membership payments are too small. It was also decided that AD should more effectively react to actual events in form of resolutions and press releases.

Summer camps

Next discussion was about summer camps. One person appealed for forming an xUSSR co-ordination group to encourage xUSSR participation to Warsaw anarchist conference of June, in vain. However there was some interest about travelling to Warsaw, as well as to border camps which have been planned at least in Poland and Romania, something might get organised in Grodno as well. However many may not travel to abroad because you need a costly special passport for that, so it would be important to have some kind of camp in Russia as well. Either a camp similar to Rainbow Keepers camps, or a discussion-training camp on our own which have been talked about for years. Rainbow Keepers do not yet plan any camps, but Atshi wants to organise a camp, maybe in Taman as last year. A new referendum should be organised in Volokinsk, a delegation of radical ecologists will head there in the end of March to evaluate the situation. There will be some kind of camp in Minsk as well, organised by BAF.

Discussion about coordinatory council was one of the more depressing moments of the conference... it is organ of AD, which

co-ordinates work between meetings in the real life with a strictly limited mandate. Collective works in an e-mail list, and has a decisionmaking period of 2 weeks. During last autumn council collapsed for difficulties of access and general ignorance of members, but conference failed to find more than one new member. Each collective of AD has one vote in council. This work is seen as boring and bureaucratic, also working guidelines of council and AD in general are difficult to grasp since there is plenty of grammatical errors in them. A person was delegated to correct these documents. It was decided, that no general referendum will be organised during the spring, and that in case it is not possible to organise general meeting in South of Russia next August, Yaroslavl will be an emergency variant. Nizhni Novgorod will collect materials for and publish next issue of (Self-definition), internal bulletin of AD.

Anarchism and "antiglobalism"

There was a spontaneous discussion about Attac. It was noted that Attac in xUSSR is a very different than in the West. In some cities of former USSR it is a trotskist front, in another ones a grassroots group. The scale is everywhere small. But it was pointed out that the theoretical roots of the movement come from the West anyway, where movement is militantly reformist and very hostile to any kind of anti-authoritarian ideas. One person said that even if xUSSR Attac is different, participating to it is an act of unsolidarity with Western anarchists whom Attac is persecuting. However no-one demanded cutting all links to any local Attac groups in xUSSR. One person was delegated to write an article revealing those sides of Attac unknown to many anarchist in xUSSR.

Last point of the program was discussion about movement against global capitalism and PGA, for which there was no time in Saturday. As for the PGA, talk was more like a monologue since most of the people had not really grasp about it, and little ideas how to participate. Some people had information that G8 would maybe come to Russia in 2004, and there was a discussion about possibilities to organise international protest in Russia. Some people were more pessimist, some more optimist, but in the end it was decided that we should go for that anyway in order to get our level of activity to next level. It should be possible to get at least few hundred international protesters to Moscow, and it is unlikely that it will be anything more dangerous for them than Genoa.

In the last minutes of the conference a very good and concrete proposal came up - to organise an all-Russian anti-militarist action in prior to beginning of the spring military call-up, 30th of March. It was decided that in northern Russia activists of AD will converge to Nizhni Novgorod, since we should travel to other events except conferences and too often everything is centred around Moscow.

OVER 100 ANARCHISTS IN BLACK BLOCK DEMO IN ANKARA, TURKEY



Poster of Turkish Black Block

March demo Anarchists attended Ankara 1st of March anti-war demo as "Black Block" in which there were people walking within unions, political parties, NGOs and various leftist groups. According to the mainstream media 60.000, according to the organizers 100.000 demonstrated. The march started at 10:00 and 4 hours later there were still groups who could not enter Sıhhiye Square.

In this demo "Black Block" consisting of anarchists from different group and individuals coming from various cities reached the highest number and highest enthusiasm in the history of Turkish anarchist movement. We were carrying lots of banners ("WE SHALL NOT BE ANYONE'S SOLDIER", "NO", "REJECT, RESIST, SAY NO!", "CAPITALISM KILLS", "ANARCHIST REBEL AGAINST THE WAR", "DON'T BE A SOLDIER", "LET THE STATE NOT EXIST", circled "A" etc.), tens of black, black-red, black-purple flags, and lots of placards. With participation of anarchists from universities, unions etc. Black Block was about 400 anarchists (according to some it once became 600, for some it was about 500). It consisted anarchists from Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Antalya, Usak, Malatya, Sakarya, Bolu, Denizli, Corlu (Tekirdag), Eskisehir, Samsun, Antakya

and (probably) from some more places we did not know and even there were few comrades from France, Italy, Greece and Finland. Gay and lesbians from Kaos GL and Istanbul-Lambda walked in front of our cortege and sometimes we shouted same/common slogans. Some slogans were: "You cannot make revolution! You cannot buy it! It exists in your soul or nowhere!", "Anarchist Rebel against the war", "War is a shitty thing", "We are anti, anti-militarist", "We shall not be anyone's soldier", "Make war! Make war! There is shit! There is shit!", "No party no leader give power/shoulder to anarchist", "Rebel revolution anarchist", "We won't die we won't kill we will not be anyone's soldier", "Reject Resist Say No! Don't be a Soldier", "One Solution Revolution One Solution Anarchy", "Let's raid the parliament, let's make it funfair", "Killer State! We will smash it!"

Ozgur Hayat (former AGF) group who are isolated by anarchists forming Black Block because of their violent acts against the other anarchists-came to the demo (mostly) from Istanbul and were about 60-70. They wanted to walk near Black Block but we did not let them to walk nearby.

Ankara Anarchy Initiative

Ankara Anarchy Initiative is an open group to all anarchists and variants (in Ankara) for communication, coordination, discussion and acting together. Ankara Anarchy Initiative is not a new organization; it declares to be the preceding of the group of anarchists using the name of Ankara Anarchists which are/were active in anti-war, anti-militarist, anti-capitalist, anti-statist, anti-prison struggles for years. In the name of solidarity with all anarchists... Long live anarchy!

BELAVEZHA FOREST DISAPPEARING (Poland)

The Belavezha Forest, one of the last fragments of the primeval forests that once covered the whole of northern Europe, is under threat. A massive felling of trees is taking place in order, environmentalists say, to earn hard currency. Many areas are being felled completely, including some locations that for decades have been the object of constant ecological and scientific monitoring.

The forest straddles the Polish-Belarusian frontier - indeed, until 22 years ago, the "frontier" in the forest was purely theoretical. In 1981, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev ordered the building of a barbed-wire barrier, in order, it was said, to keep out possible infiltrators from the Polish Solidarity movement. The laws of Poland and Belarus proclaim their sections of the Belavezha Forest national parks. In addition, in 1992 the forest was placed on UNESCO's list of world heritage sites.

When Belarus gained independence, those concerned with the conservation of the forest saw it as one of the main assets and treasures of the new state. Money for necessary conservation work was in short supply, but in general the future seemed auspicious. In 1998, however, a sawmill was set up at Kamenyuki, a settlement in the Belarusian section of the forest, under the auspices of the Belarusian Presidential Administrative Department. The then-director of the park, Yauhen Smak-tunovich, prote-

sted but was told that only diseased or damaged trees would be felled. In 2001, however, Smak-tunovich and his deputy were dismissed, and a new director was appointed, Mikalay Bambiza. The latter - seemingly the personal choice of President Alyaksandr Lukashenka -- was described in the official media as a skilled administrator. Ecologists, however, were alarmed, since, in his previous post as director of the Prypyats National Park, he had given orders for the felling of a number of ancient oak trees.

Soon after Bambiza took office, the sawmill began working full speed. However, its operations come directly under the presidential administration and are covered by official secrecy. No outsiders are quite sure what goes on there or where the timber goes. What is clear, however, is that hundreds of trees have been felled to feed the mill.

In 2002, the environmental pressure group Terra-Kanventsia was set up to try to force the Belarusian government to fulfill its international environmental commitments. Many leading environmentalists, ecologists, and public figures joined or expressed sympathy with the group, and an independent environmental newspaper, "Belavezhskaya Pushcha," was launched under the editorship of Valery Dranchuk.

To counter the protests, the Belarusian authorities invited at the

end of January a select group of journalists to tour the forest. Dranchuk was not allowed to participate; former park director Smak-tunovich and his deputy were likewise kept away! The journalists were allowed to see large areas from which all the trees had disappeared. Representatives of the Presidential Administrative Department assured them, however, that the trees had all been blown down by a gale or else that they had become infested by beetles and had to be felled. The former director, they said, had endangered the health of the forest by trying to block the prophylactic felling of diseased and infested trees.

One forestry worker, who gave his name as Valery Puchinski, tried to tell the journalists a different story. The reports about the felling of the forest were all true, he said, and as a worker there, he was "ashamed" of what was happening.

But the authorities quickly countered his intervention by explaining that he was "sick."

Barred from the official tour, Dranchuk held his own news conference in Kamenyuki. The forest, he said, has been taken over by an "industrial lobby." Many local people, whose families have worked in the forest for generations, are refusing to take part in the felling or to work at the sawmill, Dranchuk said, adding that large numbers of "outsiders" have been brought in to fill their jobs.

Terra-Kanventsia is now planning an appeal to the Council of Europe and other international bodies. Bambiza, meanwhile, maintains that no illegal felling is taking place. In the eyes of the administration, this may well be so. For the Lukashenka regime seems to operate according to the syllogism: "The constitution defines Belarus as a presidential republic; Lukashenka is president; therefore, anything he orders or sanctions must be constitutional!"

The establishment of a sawmill and large-scale felling to earn foreign currency is not new to the forest. In the 1920s, when the whole forest was under Polish jurisdiction, part of the forest was leased out to a British company, which established a mill and began clearing tracts of forest in the vicinity of Hajnowka, doing damage from which, local foresters say, the forest has still not fully recovered. In 1990, "Niva," the Belarusian-language newspaper of the Belarusian minority in Poland, claimed that, once again, excessive cutting was taking place. The administrators of the Polish section of the forest, however, denied this, saying that the large loads of timber currently leaving the forest by rail were, in fact, coming from the Soviet Union.

This report was written by VeraRich, a London-based freelance researcher

Fight against the pipe (Georgia)

This is a request to join Georgian youth in the protest to save Borjomi by sending an email to decision makers at Worldbank and EBRD!

It is not too late to make Georgia's "decision makers" reconsider their decision to allow the pipeline construction by BP and Georgian International Oil Company through natural reserve and mineral water area: Borjomi. Georgian youth hopes that we will not have to treasure bottles of Borjomi mineral water like a bottle of old brandy.

The pipeline is regarded as wrong by the Georgian people (polls have revealed this). Borjomi National preservation is one of Georgia's unique geographical areas because of its natural beauty, and most significantly, the mineral springs of Borjomi-Georgia's most famous and lucrative export. This place used to be the favorite resort for Russian emperors during the nineteenth century and it still remains ecologically one of the cleanest areas in the Caucasus. Now, the safety of the valley and mineral waters is greatly

endangered because of the so called "century project". The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline construction.

The corporations responsible for pipeline construction are BP and Georgian International Oil Company. According to thorough assessments by foreign and Georgian experts, the currently proposed route for the pipeline construction: through the Borjomi preserve, creates massive danger to the ecological safety of the region and to the existence of the unique mineral waters. If an oil spill were to occur, and considering previous experience of pipelines all over the world, this seems likely: Rivers in the Borjomi preservation will be severely contaminated within four hours. It should be noted that Borjomi mineral water contributes 10% of Georgia's exports abroad; that is why Borjomi is a region of vital economic interest for a country like Georgia which is experiencing serious economic crisis in the aftermath of the break up of the Soviet Union.

The Minister of Environment of Georgia Nino Chkhobadze rejected

the proposed pipeline-route through Borjomi and urged an alternative route. She was forced to change her original position by president Shevardnadze who stated that HE HIMSELF is a guarantee for the ecological safety of the region and he is "responsible to present and future generations of Georgia that nothing dangerous will occur." It makes you wonder how a person who will not become a president again in three years can become a guarantee for environmental safety of such a long lasting project. It is not too late for Georgia to choose between clean environment and an important part of our existing economy... and foreign oil companies!

Thank you in advance *

more information you can find on:
www.falkor.org
www.bankwatch.org
www.foe.co.uk/campaigns/climate/press_for_change/baku_veyhan/index.html
www.risingtide.org.uk/pages/Baku/Baku.html



Stop to cut the trees! (Poland)

The Greens of Warsaw, Poland have started a campaign of blocking the cutting of trees on the eastern bank of the Vistula involving sit-ins and sabotage. The official pretext for the cutting of trees is that thick vegetation is a danger in case of floods, but it is suspected that the real reason is the construction of a highway. It would seem that it is a usual corruption scheme where a state agency spends public money to save costs for private entrepreneurs who will build the highway. The whole of the eastern bank of Vistula in Warsaw has so far been left alone. The area has been more or less deserted since that part of the city was destroyed during Napoleon's wars. The wild vegetation of the bank is the nesting ground for dozens of species of birds.

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

Armenia

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

Belarus

ANTYFA - antifascist group; antyfa@mail.ru
Autonomous Action / Grodno - Grodno P. O. Box 38 230015 Grodno; Belarus.
Autonomous Action / Minsk - Minsk P. O. Box 34 220030 Minsk; Belarus.
 "Navinki" - anarchist newspaper; navinki@user.unibel.by

Bulgaria

"Anarho Sprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>
 "Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; svoboda@bulgaria.com
 "Anarchy in BG" - web-site; <http://change.to/anarchy>; anarchy@bulgaria.com

Croatia

AFA - anarchist antifa network; www.vjecnotpor.vze.com
 AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - anfema@zaminir.net
 "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>; monte-paradiso@pu.tel.hr
 Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadarskianarhisti@yahoo.com
 ZAP / Zagrebacki Anarhisticki Pokret (Zagreb's Anarchist Movement); www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707; zap@zaminir-zg.ztnp.apc.org

Czechia

ABC-CSAF - o/o P.H., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen. abc@csaf.cz
 AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100 81 Praha 105; afa_praha@volny.cz
 "A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective. po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; a-kontra@csaf.cz
 CSAF / Czechia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation); po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; intersec@csaf.cz www.csaf.cz/english
 "Feminist Alliance of March 8" - @-feminist group; fs8.brezna@centrum.cz
 Info-Shop - Socharska 6; Prague.
 "MILADA" - squat in Prague; milada.sq@volny.cz
 ORA "Solidarity" - organization of revolutionary anarchists; L.K. po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; oras_intsec@another.com www.solidarita.org
 "PAPIRINA" - squat in Prague.
 PH - international secretariat of CSAF intersec@csaf.cz

Hungaria

GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM - book-shop run by anarchists; 1066 Budapest

O.u.40; www.ainfokini.hu; shimintaka@yahoo.com

Latvia

"ZABADAKS" - DIY political/cultural project. infoshop etc.; Viljulis 24; Kuldiga ; LV-3300Latvia; www.nekac.lv; maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

Lithuania

PO BOX 790; Vilnius 2050; nindze@hardcore.lt

Macedonia

KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA - anarchist collectiv in Skopje; kolektiv_za_slobodarska_ideja@hotmail.com; slobodarska@zipip.com; slobodarska@yahoo.com; slobodarska@hypocrisy.org

Poland

ABC/ACK - www.ack.most.org.pl
 ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121. biuletyn@ack.w.pl
 ACK Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31. sanch@poczta.wp.pl
 ACK Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
 ACK Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12. bifa@polbox.com
 ACK Trojmiasto - Bartek Pomierski, ul.Wiewiorcza 72; 80-126 Gdansk. pomierz@frko2.onet.pl
 ACK Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; 50-240 Wroclaw. pbn@poprostu.pl
 ACK Lublin - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30; 20-067 Lublin. cqkier@poczta.onet.pl
 ACK Lodz - Lukasz Pieczara, ul.Switezianki 23/7; 91-496 Lodz 88. lukaszpieczara@box43.pl
 Anarchist Library - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

Anarchist Library - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw (burned out !!!).

"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

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

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

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

"De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Bialystok, address: ul.Czestochowska 14/2; tel.448 608082442

EMANCYPUNX - anarcho-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.

FA (Anarchist Federation) - some of FA-sections you can contact by local ABC/ACK groups.
 FA-Praga (Warsaw) - J.Gawlikowski; po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4.

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

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

Food Not Bombs / Olsztyn - edelweiss@o2.pl
 Food Not Bombs / Rzeszow - ul.Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.

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

Jedzenie i polityka / pocztka.onet.pl
 "FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl

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

"INFOSZOP" - infoshop / anarchist & feminist library / info cafe; ul.Lotewska 11; saska kepa; Warszawa. Open: Monday-Thursday 18⁰⁰-20⁰⁰; Saturday 13⁰⁰-17⁰⁰; Sunday 14⁰⁰-17⁰⁰; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoshop (tel. +48 503676482).

Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA (Workers Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers; Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.

KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michow77@poczta.onet.pl

K.U.R.W.A. - Anarchist Revolutionary Coeducative Feminist Group; www.alter.most.org.pl/kurwa; ptite@go2.pl; cube@zigzag.pl

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

LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Krakow. testy@kr.edu.pl

LETS - Local Economy Trade System in Poznan. lets@poland.com

"LITTLE MARY" - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;

"Mac Pariacka" - monthly anarchist magazine in polish; pariacka@polbox.com

"PILON" - underground bar/cafe open Mo-Sa from 6pm; address: ulica Bulwar Fladelfijski - Torun (under the only car bridge in the city).

RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl

"Radical Cheer Leaders" - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa.

Contact through Emancypunx.

"ROZBRAT" - squat / anarchist centre, ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

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

SZWEJK - anti-military service; ul.Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31

"TEKNO COLLECTIVE" - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl

WIEDZMA (the WITCH) - anarcho feminist group; www.wiedzma.w.pl

"YA BANDA" - anarchist samba band Milanówek/Warszawa. oiqa23@go2.pl

Romania

Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action) - spleenpati@yahoo.co.uk

AACTIV-IST Collective - Timisoara; pinkpant-her@k.ro

C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist col-

jective from city of Craiova.
libertatera@yahoo.com
"Revolutionshop" - anarchist infoshop in
Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com

Russia

A-Distro - distribution of anarchist publications: po box 13; 109028 Moscow; dikobraz@lists.tao.ca; http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro

Alliance of Kazan Anarchists - antirml@narod.ru; http://antirml.narod.ru
"ANARCHIVE" - russian language electronic library and archive of anarchist theory and practice; http://anarchive.da.ru

Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod P. O. Box 25 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia ad_nn@mail.ru

Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia - PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. e-mail: anliberation@rambler.ru

ANTI-FA Samara - anti_fa@mail.ru

Association of Anarchist Movements ADA - lack of contact address.

Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Sindicalists - lack of contact address.

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

Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; e-mails: indyru@mail.ru.com; indymoskwa@pochtamrt.ru (Moscow); indymedia_piter@pochtamrt.ru (Petersburg); smeshno@riseup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)

IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation; www.angelfire.com/ialOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru

JERRY RUBIN CLUB - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jrc@nm.ru; http://jaryclub.narod.ru

"MEGAPHON" - magazine of anarchist, anti-capitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail.ru.com

MPST (section of IWA) - mpst@mail.ru; http://www.geocities.com/libcomru; http://mpst.tsx.org; Saint-Petersburg

"NOVI SVET" - anarchist newspaper newworld@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989).

This is also the contact for **Petersburg Antiwar Committee, Petersburg League of Anarchists (PLA) and Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA).**

"NOZHI i VILKI" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@mail.ru.com; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia

OLD SKOOL KIDS - punk/hardcore label and distro oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru

RAINBOW KEEPERS - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:

Nizhniy Novgorod - yulika@dronr.ru, klem@dronr.ru

Votkinsk - votkinskrk@mail.ru
Kasimov - rk@rkryazan.ru

(this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)

Perm - pullark@rambler.ru

Volgograd - maasha@rambler.ru

Ekaterinburg - vy2@mail.ru, qbn@elektu

Moscow - pupara@chat.ru, krzi@seu.ru

Samara - dupio1@mail.ru, dupio@samtel.ru

Rostov - rkrostov@don.sitek.net

Petersburg - tuuli@mail.ru

Russian Anarchist Party: www.rpa-karelia.narod.ru - page of anarchists from Karelia

S.H. SOUND SYSTEM - label & distro including political punk stuff; http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com

Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk; http://www.skt.omsktown.ru

"UTOPIA" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopia@mail.ru.com

"Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library; Balaklavskij Prospekt, d.6 k.4, room 365; subway station "Tchartanovskaya"; Moscow, open: Tu 18-20, Sa 12-17.

"VOLYA" - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); obschtschina@pisem.net

"ZHEST" - anarcho-feminist magazine; zhest@pisem.net

AUTONOMOUS ACTION network:

Autonomous Action - network of anarchist & libertarian groups all over Russia. po box 13; 109028 Moscow. fak-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Krasnodar (also for Avtonom-paper) P.O. Box 3472, 350001

Krasnodar Russia fak-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Moscow P. O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia dikobraz@lists.tao.ca

Autonomous Action (antiglobalist initiative project) - po box 3472; Krasnodar 350001. anti_bs@mail.ru

"Avtonom" - regular publication of Autonomous Action.

Cities with individual members connected to Autonomous Action:

(for Brest of Belarus, Kirov and Perm write to Krasnodar contact address)

Alma Ata - P. O. Box 149 480 000 Alma Ata Kazakhstan ad_eldar@hotmail.com

Belorechensk - P. O. Box 5 352630

Belorechensk; Russia sukivse@hotmail.com - Brynka - P. O. Box 10 94100

Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742 454021

Chelyabinsk; Russia vital@chel.sumet.ru
Irkutsk - Vladimir Skraschuk Poste Restante

664056 Irkutsk; Russia lzhevsk (Udmurtian republic) antiwar@udm.ru

Kaliningrad - ska-konig@mail.ru

Kasimov - P. O. Box 52 391330

Ryazanskaya oblast Russia - rk@lavrik.ryazan.ru

Kolomna - Yuri Popov Poste Restante 140476

Moscow oblast, glavpochtamrt.

Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614 183050

Murmansk; Russia.

Novgorod - Vitaliya Lapikina Poste Restante

173014 Novgorod; Russia; holosik@yandex.ru

Novorossisk - P. O. Box 144 353907

Novorossisk; Russia; ger2@mail.ru

Rostov-na-Donu - P. O. Box 4059 344103

Rostov-na-Donu; Russia; neponyatny@pisem.net

Saint-Petersburg - Bolshakov A.E. Poste

Restante 192281 Saint-Petersburg; Russia

blackguard@mail.ru

Sochi - d_m@pochtampr.ru

Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481 625001 Tyumen ;

Russia; roustam_f@hotmail.com

Volgograd - Vyacheslav Yaschenko ul.

Novorossiskaya 16-56 400087; Volgograd;

Russia

Voronezh - an-action@rambler.ru Anarh-

vm@yandex.ru

Yaroslavl - yar_anarchy@mail.ru

Yekaterinburg - kreator@mail.ru.ru

Yoshkar - Ola P. O. Box 76 424028 Mari

Republic Russia

Websites of groups linked to Autonomous

Action:

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

http://redskin.newmail.ru - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk
http://antjob.nm.ru - site against work, maintained from Moscow

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

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

http://www.aad-narod.ru - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists

http://www.poet5.narod.ru - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod

http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union

http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru -

Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan.

Serbia

ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative - is@inicijativa.org (International secretary); www.inicijativa.org

IAS-ADA - anarchist library of local group of IAS; o/o Slobodan Gajin, Vojvodjanska Brigada 15b/8, 24430 Ada.

RRR (Radical Resource Room) - poli/cultural project in Kraljevo. kontra@ptt.yu, www.kontra.punkt-online.org

* www.anarchy-serbia.tk - new anarchy side from Serbia

Slovakia

AFA-Bratislava (Antifascisticka Akcia Bratislava) - baoty_afa@yahoo.com

AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west

Slovakia) - afa_sk1@hotmail.com

CIRNY KRIZ (CK, Black Cross) - cierny-kriz@yahoo.com.

CSAF / Slovakia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation); csaf_sk@hotmail.com; csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com ;

Nakladatelstvo Bob Zlom (NBZ, Point of Fault) - publisher of anarchist literature; lack of contact address.

PRIAMA AKCIA (Direct Action) - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union;

po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava

48.priamaakcia@yahoo.com

Slovenia

AC MOLOTOV - cultural-political social centre (squat) in Ljubljana; Kuriniska 3; 1000 Ljubljana;

events@acmolotov.org; www.acmolotov.org

AFA LJ - Antifascisticka Akcija Ljubljana; anarchist AFA group; afa.lj@volja.net

Ukraine

Autonomous Action / Lugansk - com_act@mail.ru

"Nabat" - ukrainian libertarian anarchist newspaper; www.nabat.info; azaroff@hotmail.ru

Turkey

ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent abcankara@yahoo.com

kARa ev kolektifi (collective of black house) - anarchist project in Istanbul; karaev@excite.com

Educate - Organize - Protest

East European MayDay 2003

All over EE!

@ @ @

**Bicycle Caravan to the EU-
Summit in Thessaloniki**

Slovenia - Croatia - Serbia - Bulgaria

From April till June 2003

@ @ @

No Border Camp

Romania: 9-15 June 2003

@ @ @

**International Anarchist
Meeting - EE**

Warsaw-Poland; 27-30 June 2003 connected with ...

INTERNATIONAL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST

BORDER POLITICS of EU

Analyse - Resist - Create New