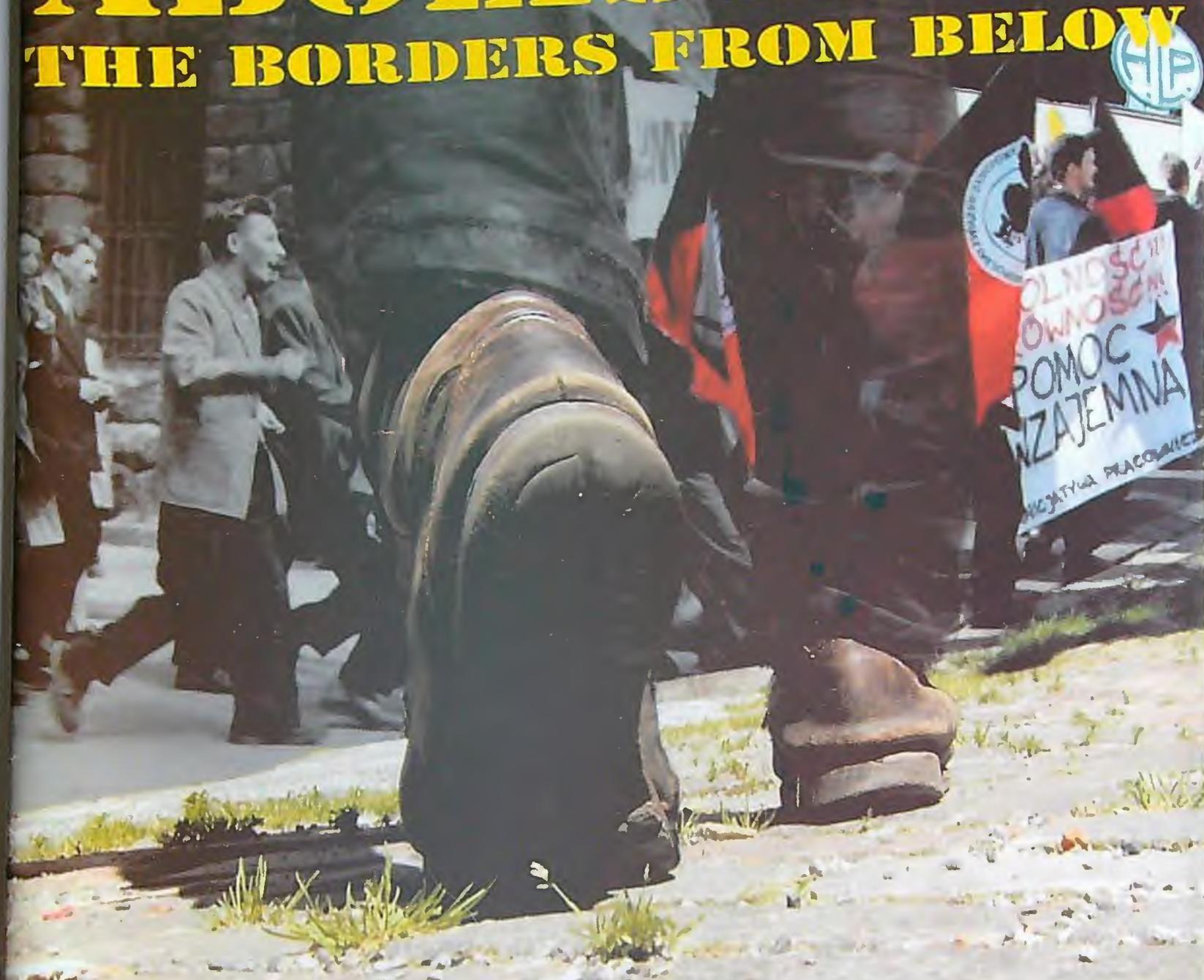


ISSUE # 29 Bi-Monthly Magazine May 2007

# ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW



**STEP BY STEP  
through social rebellion  
into solidarity and equal relations  
worldwide**

**Labour struggles in Eastern Europe**

**Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe**

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

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

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



### AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

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

### EDITORIAL TEAM & ABB COLLECTIVE

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

### CORRESPONDENTS

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

work is based on a relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which cover the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on a non-profit basis.

### EXECUTORS

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

### COOPERATION

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

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

### FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

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

### FINANCES

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

### BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

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

### ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

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

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

### NOT 100%

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



MAIN TOPIC OF THIS ISSUE ...

**LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE****Labour Struggles in Eastern Europe**

pages 6 - 31



pages 32 - 35



Texts on a riot causing monument

in Estonia

Reports and analyses from anarchist and anarcho-feminist gatherings

in Croatia

pages 36 - 37



page 38



Towards the creation of the anarchist movement

in Estonia

Festival and action reports from Bulgaria

page 39



page 40-42



Antifascist resistance around Eastern Europe

Student protests at the sociology department

Russia

page 43-44



pages 44

**BELARUSSIAN SOCIAL FORUM**

Chernobyl Protest Day in Minsk

Belarus

pages 45-46



pages 48



Right-wing extremists clash with anarchists in Prague centre

Czechia

Call out for No Border Camp

in Ukraine

page 51-52



page 53-54



Five years of resistance of one family against German-Romanian deportation-deals

Romania

ABC Updates \* Mayday Reports \* Announcements \* Communities in Struggle



**ARGENTINA**

Ediciones Anarquistas  
edic\_insumisos@  
yahoo.com

**AUSTRALIA**

outetheos@yahoo.com.au

**AUSTRIA**

Infoladen Epizentrum  
Lasserstr.10 Salzburg  
infoladen.sbg@subnet.at

**BELARUS**

distro@375crew.org  
Minsk

**BELGIUM**

Anarchistische  
Infotheek  
Annonciadenstraat 16  
9000 Gent

**BRITISH ISLES**

\* Active Distro  
www.activedistribution.org  
\* AK Press  
www.akuk.com

**BULGARIA**

Anarho Sprotiva  
Collective

**CROATIA**

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

**CANADA**

rhubarbapplepie@ hot-  
mail.com

**DENMARK**

pappaitalia@  
hotmail.com  
Kopenhagen

**EX-SOVIET UNION**

ftw@tao.ca

**FINLAND**

\* info@muutosvoima.net  
www.muutosvoima.net  
\* Morgue-  
Distro/Emma-Kollektiv  
morguedistro@  
yahoo.com

**FRANCE**

\* East  
ffabb@no-log.org  
\* West  
stonehenge@libertysurf.fr

**GERMANY**

\* wielkowsch@  
hotmail.com  
Berlin

**GREECE**

Lily Collective  
polbleibt@yahoo.com

**HOLLAND**

International Bookshop  
Amsterdam  
sjakoo@xs4all.nl

**<< DISTRIBUTION CONTACTS >>**

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

**ABOLISHING THE BORDERS  
FROM BELOW CONTACTS:**

**FOR TEXTS AND CONTACT:** POST: AbolishingBB  
abolishingbb@riseup.net c/o Schwarze Risse  
Kastanienallee 85

**SEND PICTURES ONLY TO:**  
abolishingbbphotos@hotmail.com

**DISTRIBUTION:**  
wielkowsch@hotmail.com

**PRISONER  
SUBSCRIPTIONS:**  
abb\_prisonersubs@riseup.net

**SUBSCRIPTION:**  
abolishingbb\_subs@riseup.net

**THE PREVIOUS ISSUES ARE STILL AVAIL-  
ABLE DIRECTLY FROM OUR  
GROUND-ZERO-OFFICE IN BERLIN**

**ISSUE#26 - October 2006:** editorial/ MAIN TOPIC: "Struggles And Activities From All Around", Inside Romania-interviews different cities, Anarchofeminist News from Croatia, Non- Governmental- Organisations- Poland, Basarabia-Human Ground, Budapest Riots, Education is our modern rite of passage-Macedonia, Repression-Report from Moldova, Nationalism and Anti-semitism -Poland, Kodopoga - a popular uprising turns into a program, Resistance against the G8-summit in Skt.Pbg., KATT-collectiv of tourists from Slovakia and more...

**ISSUE#27 - December 2006:** editorial/MAIN TOPIC: "Education and Up Bringing", survey -Education in Romania, Polish school system-revival of a hier-archical institution, Inicjatywa Uczniowska- Poland. Special education Romania Anarchist Education Activities in Czechia, Interviews - alternative educational projects in Warsaw, about The School Leavers in Poland. PUNA MUST- first anarchist network Estonia, Comments to the riots in Hungary, Unnoticed news, Announcements, ABC reports, Communities in struggle and more....

**ISSUE#28 - March 2007:** editorial/MAIN TOPIC: "Collectives - Organizing", Fascist tendencies in Slovenia, Anticapitalists in the capitol of Bulgaria, Antifa News from Russia, Czech and Poland, Actions for deser-ter day in Russia, The U.S. Radar base in Czech, Zero tolerance for zero Tolerance in Poland, Campaign against Sochi 2014 Olympic Games, Food Not Bombs+ AntiNATO actions in Zagreb, Fuck the trucks -Rospuda resistance, Illegal festival "Gender Paths-2", Anarchist resistance in ecological terms in Poland, Unnoticed news, Announcements, Communities in struggle and more....

Plus most other back issues from November 2001. Write for details.

**FROM HAND TO HAND****DISTRO****HUNGARY**

\* goantik@freemail.hu  
\* AKS7 - ak57@indy-  
media.hu

**ICELAND**

Arna Ösp  
Magnúsardóttir  
Fornahvarf 10,  
"Syggvir", 203  
Kópavogur

**IRELAND**

flabbyvegan@  
hotmail.com

**ITALY**

\* Central & South  
138squat@paranoici.org  
www.tmcrow.org/  
laurentinokkupato  
\* North  
crash@riseup.net

**JAPAN**

acclaim@  
nomasters.com

**LATVIA**

Green Liberty Riga  
a232@inbox.lv

**NORWAY**

kaosborgen@  
hotmail.com

**PERU**

ateneo\_rebelde@  
yahoo.com

**PHILIPPINES**

buynothingstealsomething  
@yahoo.com

**POLAND**

Oficyna Wydawnicza  
Bractwo Trojka

**os. Czecha**

17/8 61-287 Poznan  
www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl  
bractwo\_trojka@wp.pl

**PORTUGAL**

janaxana@hotmail.com

**ROMANIA**

\* Aactiv-ist Distro  
pinkpanthers@k.ro  
Timisoara  
\*www.fight-back.tk

**SERBIA**

distro@inicijativa.org  
www.inicijativa.org

**SLOVAKIA**

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

**SLOVENIA**

kultura\_kontra@  
yahoo.com  
Ljubljana

**SOUTH AFRICA**

zababooks@zabalaza.net

**SPAIN**

\* SQL Distro  
Libreria Rosa de Foc  
Calle: Joaquin Costa, 34  
08001 Barcelona  
winanar@wp.pl  
\* CM Bilbao- crimen-  
talpunx  
@paginaslibres.com

**SWEDEN**

boekhandel info  
stockholm  
bokhandeln.info@  
gmx.net

**SWITZERLAND**

\* cafe\_kabul@  
immerda.ch  
\* Infoladen Kasama  
Zürich  
info@kasama.ch

**TURKEY**

abcankara@yahoo.com  
Ankara

**UKRAINE**

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

**USA**

\* Czolgosz  
jvertigo@juno.com  
\* AK Press  
www.akpress.org  
\* Santa Cruz  
quiver@hush.com  
www.antipolitics.net/  
distro



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

*Anarcho-Syndicalist and Labour Struggles in Czechia**By Pavel (Czech correspondent)*

Can "nothing to report" still be worth reporting?

When I received the main topic for this issue, I'd already known that it would be a hard job. So I decided just to ignore it... Why? Just because there is nothing to report and write about, at least from my point of view. But just a few days after deadline, after sending my contribution, I received an e-mail back from editorial crew asking about the main topic. All right then, maybe it's right that even this "nothing" is interesting for people from other countries, at least to get a picture. As you can see, I'm writing in I-form. This article is subjective and although I'm trying my best to draw an adequate picture, there definitely are people who have another point of view...

Few years back – around 2000 and earlier – the Czech anarchist movement was full of

anarcho-syndicalist propaganda, magazines, organizations and groups. In just 6-7 years, all of this disappeared. Currently, there is no specifically anarcho-syndicalist group in Czechia. Why and how? And is there any lesson out of it? I believe so...

Mistakes in approaching the issue in the last decade

The first and biggest problem was that literally none of this group had ever suc-

ceeded in at least one of their goals. Once again, the question is why... First of all, all of these groups were deadly serious. They condemned punks and punk movement and one of their main concerns was to distance itself from "anarcho-punk" movement. Well, not a good choice in a situation where the majority of these groups were made by ex-punk people...

And in a situation where people from punk scene were the major supporters and consumers of anarchist actions and literature.

Anyway, I truly respect their effort to make the next step and move anarchist movement forward, but this effort was too artificial... The result was that those groups got smaller and smaller, as young activists of course wouldn't join that kind of group. And for all these years I remember just one (literary one) worker who joined the anarchist movement as a result of anarcho-syndicalist propaganda. This might be sad but it's reality... FSA (Federation of Social Anarchists) even tried to set-up their own official labour union (to get some extra rights according to law and to form truly anarcho-syndicalist union). They went so far that they registered their union at relevant ministry, but had never managed to get at least three people at one job location to form the base group.

Second problem I believe was language. These groups usually used old style archaic language as was used in anarchist brochures one hundred years – and even longer – ago. But this language is often inadequate and sometimes ridiculous. And what's more, it dangerously evoked the language of state communist propaganda. I believe we should try to give the right meaning to certain words back (such as "communism"), but if you want to speak to ordinary working people, you just have to speak their language and not to repeat some archaic inadequate slogans...

And the third problem in my opinion was inadequate theory. While the world of labour

is evolving really fast, especially in last twenty years, the theory these groups were based on was at least one hundred years old. OK, the base of these theories might still be valid, but a lot of it has been overcome by new, fresh attitudes and theories. Anarcho-syndicalism just needs to absorb these new pieces of knowledge and change itself as well. We need new strategies, new forms of struggle etc.

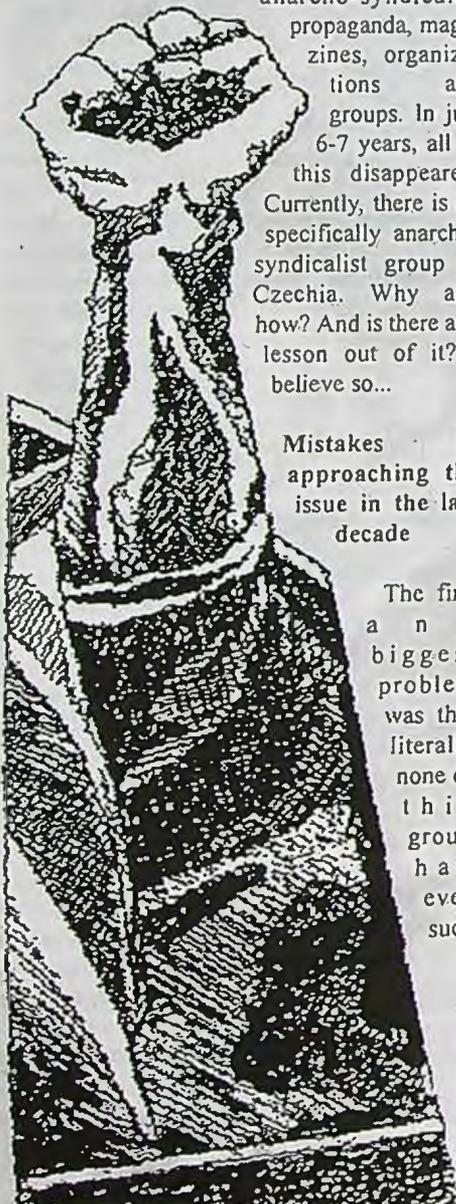
What's next?

And what is the situation concerning labour struggle right now? Generally said, the reputation of labour unions is very low. A lot of people still think about it as a "communist tool", others have fresh experience with their ineffectuality and inefficiency. All

big labour "struggles" from recent years have been lost – or more specifically, the leadership of labour unions made some kind of "compromise" with bosses. In fact that means that they accept the offer that is the same or even worse than the original offer without labour union intervention. The main method of labour protest is therefore official and controlled marches, and a few times a year spectacular and limited "strikes" (few times there were reports that workers actually had to work part time to compensate the loss of the strike). All under the control of labour union bosses, usually also the leftist members of parliament as well. No militant actions, no illegal strikes... As I wrote, nothing interesting :-)

**When there is no trust in leadership, there is a space for resistance from below**

The rank and file are disappointed and frustrated. This is a bad situation as well as a challenge. When there is no trust in leadership, there is a space for resistance from below. And even though the anarchist movement in Czechia has bad experiences with joining the labour struggle, it could be better next time.



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

*We think that this idea of grassroots, anti-authoritarian, rank and file unions and workers' organizations is not only current but that we are only now approaching the best time in history to form them"*

*"The miners' gave a good example of how you can achieve something using radical actions"*

## Interview with an activist from the ZSP (Związek Syndykalistów Polski) Polish Union of Syndicalists

**ABB:** A few weeks ago there was the founding congress of the Polish Union of Syndicalists. What were your reasons for starting the organization?

**Xavier:** There were some discussions going on for many months between different people in the country and we came to the common conclusion that we need to found a new organization. ZSP was born from the need to unite different people, social anarchists working in different organizations, in unions or outside of unions, who had more or less the same vision about how unions or other workers' organizations should look – that is non-hierarchical, anti-bureaucratic and anti-capitalist. Unfortunately there is a lot of confusion as far as ideas and tactics are concerned, but we hope to work to improve this.

**ABB:** Please tell us briefly about the structure and goals of ZSP.

**X:** ZSP is based in the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-communism and other types of social anarchism. Power structures and labour relations are always changing so we need to be able to create new ideas and tactics around these basics. We are definitely international in character; the name translates like "Polish" but it actually refers not to any national categorization but only to the administrative division which signifies the terrain we operate on. The structure of ZSP is decentralized: there are local groups and there will be regional and nation-wide. Each year there is a congress which will set out the course of action for the organization. At present we are not big enough that the structure influences how we work but we understand that as organizations get bigger, there is a chance that some "spontaneous hierarchies" may occur if the organizational principles are not clear; this is often a problem in anarchist organizations. That's why we decided to prepare ourselves and to establish a clear and transparent way of functioning.

**ABB:** What is ZSP's relation to the structures, goals and actions of today's classical anarcho-syndicalist unions? How far is the

idea of a union of syndicalists from an anarchist (-syndicalist) union – if you see any difference?

**X:** There is an ongoing discussion on the role of unions. We all agree that non-hierarchical unions can be a good tool in the social revolution and in the complete rebuilding of social relations. However, in contrast with some anarcho-syndicalists, we do not fetishize unions and don't treat them as an aim in and of themselves. We think that any form of workers' organization, be it an informal support group or various different sorts of rank and file organization, are a step in a good direction. Especially in Poland where a lot of unions sold out to the state and to capital, you can see that a lot of people are weary of unions, regardless of their colour. Therefore we say to people who don't want to organize in unions for whatever reason or who simply can't do so, that they should organize themselves in some different way. What is most important for us is a non-hierarchical way of functioning and having radical goals, not whether or not people are in a formal trade union or not.

We are also critical of unions which focus solely on mass without caring about the consciousness of its members. An anarcho-syndicalist union doesn't limit itself to fighting for workers' rights but it's an instrument for putting pressure on the state and capital with the goal of reorganizing society. Only conscious members of a union can begin to achieve the goals of a free society organized from below.

**ABB:** Let's look at today's workers' struggles in Poland. Have you noticed any changes in Poland in recent years in the way of struggling against exploitation?

**X:** Let's be frank. The situation of workers' self-organization is rather bad. Struggles are rather isolated and are easily put under control. Although there are

some moderate successes from time to time, such as the miners' protest in front of the parliament two years ago. That was a good example of how you can achieve something using radical actions. Two years ago the *Committee to Aid and Defend Repressed Workers* (KPiORP) was formed. In theory it was supposed to serve as an organization made up of different groups which would coordinate different struggles. In practice it became the instrument of achieving the organizational and ideological hegemony of the extremely hierarchical union *August 80* (Sierpień'80) which is tightly linked to the social democratic union *Polish Party of Labour* (PPP) (for example, in order to change the union leadership, the last chairman had to die in a car crash). At the beginning, part of the anarcho-syndicalist activists thought that there was no sense in acting in this committee and this would only serve to draw some activists from different organizations to *August 80* or the *Labour Party* (PPP) and to build a positive image for PPP. Others unfortunately thought this was a good idea for the development of Polish anarcho-syndicalism since it had financial and organizational capabilities and they still cooperate very closely with them despite the fact that various organizations already left the committee due to centralism and a cult of personality around the leader of PPP and *August 80*. (This is the same person.) So forming this coalition with social democrats ended up, predictably, a disaster and we don't see any possibilities of

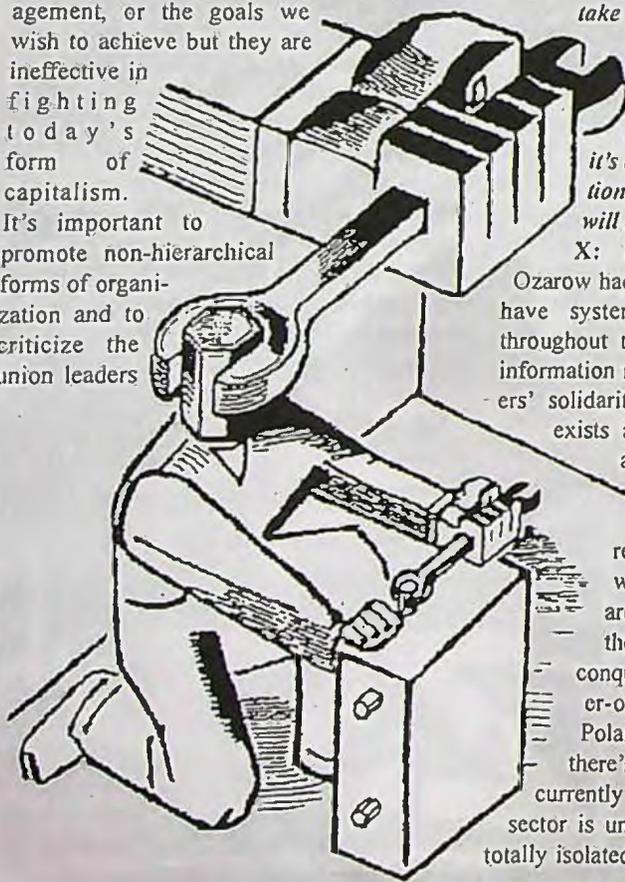


working in this field.

As we mentioned, from time to time some social protests break out. Recently there was a postal workers' strike and now doctors are preparing to strike. There are some protests at Cegielski in Poznan and maybe there will be a strike at the Opel factory in Gliwice. In Puck, a town with only 15000 people, 200 residents staged a protest against the privatization of the local hospital. However these are isolated protests and there is a lack of solidarity and consciousness which is the result of a lack of information between workers and a lack of belief that things can be changed. In the situation where there is a high level of unemployment, any form of workers' self-organization is met with the capitalists' favorite means of repression – firings. Many people were fired recently because they tried to form a union. The situation is slowly changing and the unemployment rate is slowly dropping, mostly due to mass emigration. In this case, better conditions can be found in a few sectors of the economy and some workers have less fear that they will be fired and are more emboldened to fight for their rights.

**ABB:** Which strategies for organizing and struggle do you promote?

**X:** We already said a little about this. The most important thing is building a sense of solidarity between workers so that it is not limited to sectors or workplaces and is not broken up. Capitalism's centralized character has an influence on this. We think that you have to be flexible when it comes to organization. Big centralized unions are not in line not only with the idea of workers' self-management, or the goals we wish to achieve but they are ineffective in fighting today's form of capitalism. It's important to promote non-hierarchical forms of organization and to criticize the union leaders



who betray the workers sooner or later. We think that this idea of grassroots, anti-authoritarian, rank and file unions and workers' organizations is not only current but that we are only now approaching the best time in history to form them. Everything depends on whether anarcho-syndicalists are not tempted by simple plans of action and social democracy, which unfortunately we can see happening. In our opinion the strength of anarcho-syndicalism doesn't only depend on the size of the movement (because then we'd have to say that the centralized unions are the best because they have the most members). Nor does it depend on copying hierarchical forms of social democratic unions. If we act like the social democrats, then we'll lose since anyway there are fewer of us. Social democrats and sell-out unions have a lot of members but 90 percent of them are passive; if the criterium for judging the strength of a union was not its size but the activity of its members, then it turns out that anarcho-syndicalist unions are better than the big centralized unions. In the centralized unions, sometimes even activity is not the result of some authentic engagement but the fact that it's a job and the union bureaucrats must go to the picket cause that's how they earn their money. We know of some demonstrations in Poland organized by the bureaucrats which look as if people had to go to them just like they'd have to go to any other job.

**ABB:** Do you see any chance for the radicalization of attitudes of workers in Poland in the near future? What changes would have to happen in order for these people to take the offensive? Is it the deconstruction of current unions? Is it a change in consciousness? A change in the forms of struggle? Or maybe you think that it's enough to have a few confrontations like in Ozarow\* and people will start to solidarize and organize?

**X:** Short-lived tensions like in Ozarow had rather little effect. You need to have systematic work nation-wide and throughout the world in order to build an information network and a network of workers' solidarity. Only when such a network exists and there is a higher level of awareness amongst workers, then such a struggle like in Ozarow can cause a large reaction on a wider scale because workers are stronger when they are in solidarity. The main rule of the authorities is to divide and conquer so we need to make a counter-offensive. Unfortunately in Poland and in most of the world, there's a lot to be done. For example, currently practically the whole service sector is unorganized. Millions of people totally isolated from each other face the sys-

tem alone whereas they can only effectively fight it by mutually supporting each other in groups and networks, for example by forming some sorts of federations.

**ABB:** What does ZSP want to do in the near future?

**X:** Most of all now we are concentrating on information campaigns and trying to influence how people think. We publish a paper called "Zaplata" (Payback) and we'll have a portal and forum working soon. The main instrument of the capitalists is isolation but we intend to change that. When the information network is established, then it'll be time to act. If enough people want to form a union, we'll do it or help, if others prefer to act as a solidarity group, we'll help and if somebody works in some other existing union (maybe there's only that one at work) in order to influence people and promote certain ideas and tactics, then we'll also support this. In general, we want to be flexible and react to people's needs and not to form an artificial organization only for the sake of forming an organization.

In general, we don't believe that you can really change the sell-out unions from inside but people in our organization are not forbidden from joining even unions like *Solidarity* if there is no other choice at the workplace – as long as they don't take up paid bureaucratic functions. On the rank and file level, you can have some influence perhaps on other individuals. Already we see that for some people this is bringing good results, better than we expected and we have got signals from many that people are just waiting for alternatives to the yellow unions, *Solidarity* and *OPZZ*. A lot of people didn't think that you could organize yourself differently. So we are full of optimism but let's wait to see what our actions say about us. Surely we'll keep readers of ABB informed as our activities spread. Right now we've existed too short a time to assess the effects of our strategies and activities.

The information networks of ZSP are in their infant stage but you can check out some webpages:

- \* [www.zsp.bzzz.net](http://www.zsp.bzzz.net) (ZSP page)
- \* [www.pracownik.net.pl](http://www.pracownik.net.pl) (workers' portal)
- \* [www.zlyszef.bzzz.net](http://www.zlyszef.bzzz.net) (bad boss forum for trashing employers)

\* Ozarow – small town next to Warsaw where radical resistance in the Cable Factory took place in 2001/2002. Workers of the factory supported by workers from other plants and by anarchists from all over the country resisted for a few months using all possible means of resistance. Struggle was finally lost but it directly initiated a series of common meetings, conferences and initiatives by workers and anarchists in Poland.

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE



This statement of the KRAS (Konfederatsiya Revolyutsionnikh Anarkho-Sindikalistov) Confederation of revolutionary anarcho-syndicalists in Russia was already written 1 year ago. This is not an analysis of the ongoing struggles themselves but an ideological analysis of the different forms of anarchist organisation in the context of labour struggles. Therefore this text can be understood as a continuation from the last edition of AbolishingBB with focus on "anarchist organizing" as well as a relevant voice in current issue of "labour struggles". More materials (most in Russian) and information on KRAS you will find under: [www.kras.fatal.ru](http://www.kras.fatal.ru)

AbolishingBB

## Worker's Anarchism

By Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalists

### Permanent crises of anarcho-syndicalism

Many times, all sections of the IWA-AIT say they are against reformism. They promise to be against collaboration with the state, against trade unionism. This is really funny as again and again reformism has taken power in the AIT. There must be an explanation. And we can not say, "Oh, that's the result of a conspiracy, reformists are everywhere and they want to destroy us". That is crazy and it would be real Stalinism to say that because it is a Stalinist method of explaining everything with enemy conspiracies.

We have to say that anarcho-syndicalism is in a permanent crises. If we look at the past, we see the same situations and problems. The Spanish CNT had a revolutionary experience before 1936. There were thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants. Some of them had experience with insurrections. They had anarcho-communist ideas. CNT members and other workers took over plants in Barcelona, organised communes in Aragon and Valencia. But what happened? Why did the CNT join the government? Why did the CNT collaborate with Leninists and bourgeois democrats? Why did the CNT participate in the politics of bourgeois modernisation - the creation of a regular army, state control of industry and exploitation of workers? Why did CNT fighters leave the barricades in Barcelona in May 1937 and give the city into the hands of the Leninist bureaucracy and Spanish capitalists?

Modern spanish CNT says, "there were mistakes". But it is not an explanation at all. Or if you want, it is also a Stalinist or post-Stalinist explanation. The Communist Party of USSR said after 1956 that "Stalin made some mistakes". But we are not talking about mistakes because both (Stalin and the CNT) supported (in 1936) the politics of state-capitalism and bourgeois modernisation. It was a long term policy, not "some mistakes".

I don't think we have to discuss Stalinism here, so let's go back to the CNT-E. We see a paradox - this organisation had revolutionary and counter-revolutionary members at the same time. And what happens if you mix a cup of honey with a cup of shit? Yeah, you will get 2 cups of shit. What is the point of having even 100,000 anarchist militants and insurrectionists if they cannot make a revolution because of a collective agreement with counter-revolutionary elements? Why give rifles to workers if they cannot use weapons against the state? Revolutionary anarchists who must compromise with their counter-revolutionary comrades (!) cannot make a revolution. The Friends of Durruti and other revolutionary groups of the CNT almost destroyed the police in Barcelona in May 1937 but then left the barricades because they were afraid of causing a split in the CNT with people who want be friendly to the police and the state!

Part of the explanation is inherent in anarcho-syndicalism itself. Anarcho-syndicalism is a compromise between anarchist workers' organisations such as FORA and neutral syndicalism which talks

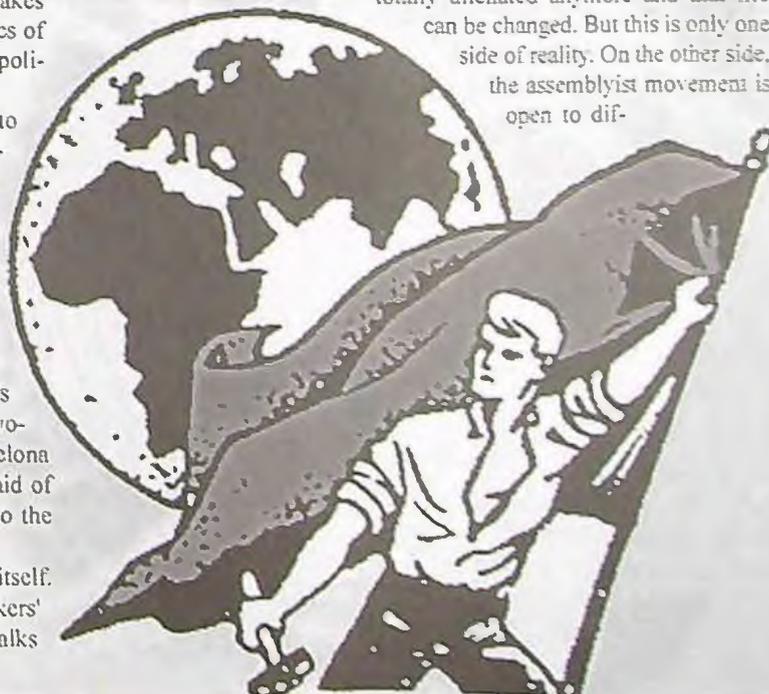
only about economic struggle and about direct action in the work place but not about anarchist society.

Neutral syndicalist organisation is open for everybody. Syndicalists do not ask what ideas you have. They care only about direct action, workers' assemblies which make economic strikes or even take over plants. Neutral syndicalists believe that common direct action will change the mind of people and make them revolutionary in the end. So it is not important what kind of ideas they have at the moment - workers have to leave all of their political ideas out of the union. Or anyway, their ideas will be changed during the struggle, to be sure!

I think neutral syndicalists (or revolutionary syndicalists) were impressed by the dynamism of the workers' movement at the beginning of the 20th century. They were right to say that only a rank-and-file proletarian movement can become the basis of a social revolution. They were right to say that without rank-and-file proletarian activity, 90% of people cannot change their mind. Resistance is an important part of the social transformation if it is going in a rank-and-file way. Where else and how else can people get experience in self-organisation? But neutral syndicalists do not understand two important things.

Number one. People never leave their ideas out of the union. That's what FORA said - human beings live, love, work, make strikes, have political or philosophical ideas, dreams... and who can cut his life into isolated sectors? That is impossible. Everything influences everything else.

Number two. People who start rank-and-file strikes are open to new ideas, dialogue and discussions. Whoever has never seen that will never understand the point. People open collective activity and dialogue for maybe the first time in their lives and they see that life is not totally alienated anymore and that life can be changed. But this is only one side of reality. On the other side, the assemblyist movement is open to dif-



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

ferent ideas. It can be anarchism, leninism, reformist socialism or even fascism. And what happens if people for example agree with trade unionism and leninism? They will stop the assemblies sooner or later and say it is better to make a compromise with the state. When will they come back to direct action? Maybe in 50 years.

### From anarcho-syndicalism to FORA

We have to talk with people, help them to make their own leaflets or newspapers, tell them about other workers' movements and say, "You do not like this society, do you? But what is a good society? There could be a place where workers' assemblies (and councils which are totally controlled by the assemblies) control everything - the factory, territory and life itself. And this is a place without money, the state and property. Because assemblies create a new life through dialogue and they do not need anybody else, no institutions like the state or free market. And this is workers' anarchism.

And we can have a collective of militants who can make this work - both make strikes or other forms of assembly resistance (with other workers) and at the same time spread anarchist ideas. This is an integral anarchist union, this is the model of Argentinian FORA, the model of most revolutionary groups of Russian workers, of anarchism at the beginning of the 20 century (like the Federation of Anarcho-communists in Bialystok). The best way this concept was explained was in the text of French comrades from Cannes "Anarcho-syndicalism and People's Autonomy". (They use the word "syndicalism" but they're OK). They support the model of FORA and they say it must spread anarchist ideas, initiate strikes and cooperate with assemblies but not with trade unions and not with bureaucracy.

So what is the anarcho-syndicalism of the IWA-AIT? It was a compromise between the models of FORA and neutral syndicalism. And it is not working. It can't. The CNT say they are an anarchist union but not a union of anarchists. What does that mean in practice? They have a lot of people who are not anarchists but trade unionists. What happened with USI? The same - they have leninists in their organisation. There is no revolution but we see 1936 again and again. Anarchists 'protect their social rights' in the RSU, cooperate with trade unionists and political party members, and even... fight for trademarks in the state court with other reformists! What else do we need to say - we need to have a finalist movement, "International FORA"; or else we are nowhere.

### Integral organisation

Anarchist workers' organisation must be finalist, antiauthoritarian and integral. Relationships between man and woman, struggle against nationalism are important points. But I would like to add something. If we look at the proletarian insurrections like the european and Russian revolutions of 1917-1923, Spain 1936, Budapest 1956, Kvandju 1980, Suleimania 1991, Albania 1996, Argentina and Algeria 2002, what do we see are their causes?

1. People struggle against conditions of their lives
2. People struggle against war.
3. People struggle against police or army violence.

Well, we also can remember the ecological movement in Germany and Japan in 1970-1990.

Of course revolution stems from many reasons and we cannot explain them totally by such simple things. But I cannot imagine a femi-

nist revolution or antifascist revolution.

Anti-fascism was the main slogan in Spain in 1936 and we remember it was a counter-revolutionary slogan because it was connected (first of all) with an agreement between all anti-fascist groups like anarchists, leninists and democrats. I am sure that the anarchist workers' movement must destroy fascists. But not together with a state coup or red fascists (leninists) or anybody who are no better then fascists. When we destroy the roots of capitalism we will smash fascism.

Feminism, if it is the main point of the movement, will bring us to women's separatism. That is why the Spanish women's anarchist movement Mujeres Libres did not call themselves feminists in 1936. They said they were against feminism because feminism separates people, isolates women from men and makes the collective anti-capitalist fight impossible. That's exactly what we can see today. As for Russian feminists, they are more or less separatists.

I do not want to discuss words like 'feminism' or 'anti-fascism'. They can be good or bad - it depends how you use them. I know Czech comrades have revolutionary experience with feminism and anti-fascism. I just wanna say if we want revolution, we need communication between different proletarian groups in the zones of permanent social conflicts like factory, poor proletarian area and universities. If we forget the class struggle we become a simple anarchist federation. They don't have roots in community, no groups who permanently work in the zones of social tension. And they never have influence like the old class struggle anarchists.

### International synthesis

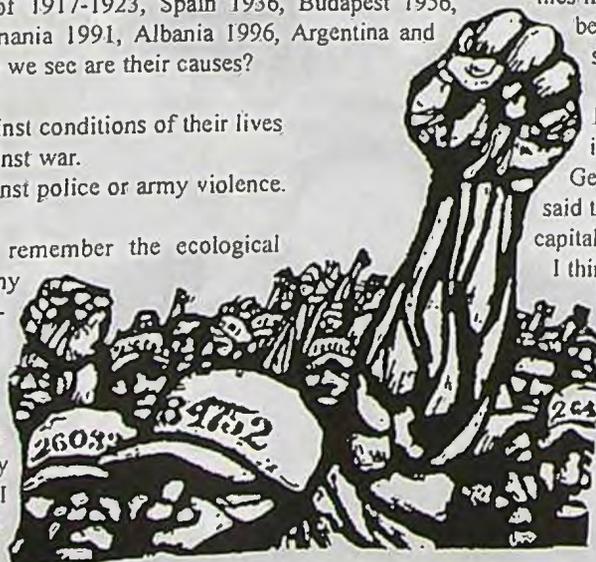
People are strongly separated and isolated in modern society. Men from women, immigrants from others, black from white etc. And what you do with all of that? I see only one basis - solidarity in the common struggle of proletarian people. That's not enough but we can't change life without it. I understand it sounds banal but it is forgotten by anarchists.

Look at the problem of fascism. We cannot destroy fascism until we have cooperation between people of different nationalities. Anarchist federations can invent only antifa activity. But antifa are struggling (sometimes it's really important) against the results of national division, not against its roots. On the other hand we cannot change things without fusion of different cultures, without a new cultural synthesis. And this culture must not be the result of state violence like in the USSR but a result of spontaneous self activity.

I am not talking about multiculturalism. If we look at the modern society we will find a lot of ethnic communities with their churches, newspapers, children's organisations, schools etc. All of these organisations are controlled by capitalists and bureaucrats. They compete in the free market and in the state, they spread only hate. (States sometimes make ethnic cleansing which are terrible but free competition between ethnic communities is the preparation for that cleansing).

The majority of workers' organisations are also nationalists. Even the CNT in 1936 were nationalists. (For example it rejected the idea to help Jews who escaped from nazi Germany. The General Secretary of the CNT Mariano Vaskes said that if Jews came to Spain, they would increase the power of capitalism).

I think we have to research the experience of FORA also because it was an organisation of immigrants which united Italians, Spanish people, Serbs, Germans, Jews and Arabs. It opened the space not for ethnic 'peace negotiations' (we know that peace negotiations between national bourgeois communities or states are just preparations for the next war) but a place for common struggle, equality and self-organisation. This whole space was permeated with the idea of a golden age - anarchist communism.



LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

Ideas and Action Conference in Warsaw



On April 28-29, the Ideas and Action conference took place in Warsaw. The main goals of the conference were to discuss some ideas about non-hierarchical, radical anti-capitalist workplace struggle and to network people who were interested in both promoting these practices and engaging in ongoing and new campaigns.

Unfortunately, there weren't really people from outside the activist scene in attendance and that's quite a shame. Probably people preferred to take a long MayDay weekend or perhaps the topics were not sexy enough or people were scared off by internet flammers. Since that was the case, the atmosphere changed to more one of discussion and exchange between activists.

There were people present from different groups; although the conference was called by the *Anarchist Federation Praga*, it was taken over by the *Union of Syndicalists of Poland (ZSP)* who were the main group represented at the conference. Other people from Poland came from the *Anarchist Federation, Freedom Equality and Solidarity, CK-LA and Workers' Initiative* plus a couple of non-aligned people. Visitors mostly were from the IWA but also our guest from the International Communist Left made a lively interlocutor. People from Slovakia, Czech Republic, Serbia and Turkey were able to make it to the conference.

There were a number of presentations and discussions. In the global era where many people work in multinational companies, the topic of linking workers internationally cropped up a number of times. One comrade from ZSP described how the capitalists' tools for controlling and fucking over workers can be used against them. He told us about some methods of sabotage used by workers, such as withholding or sabotaging knowledge in databases or "know-how" systems which capital-

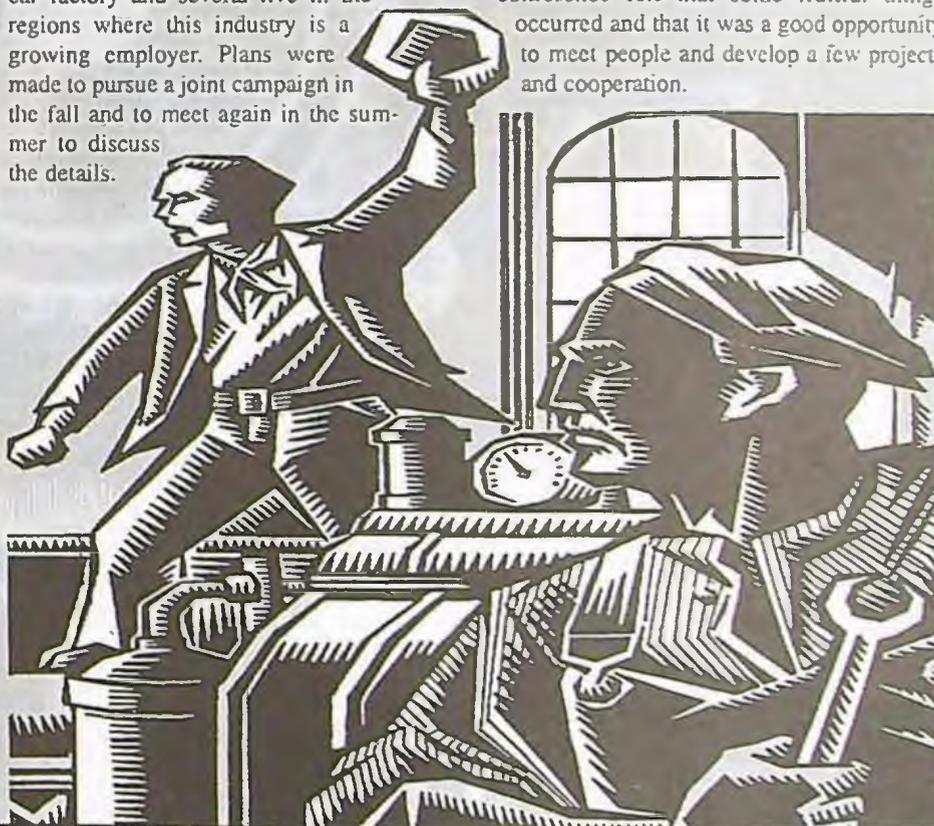
ists often use to replace skilled and experience workers with unskilled ones. He also examined the interaction between people working in international companies in different companies, especially those on different levels of the wage ladder and explored how they can act together effectively when capitalism is training them to compete with each other.

Another topic relating to connecting workers had to do with the automobile industry. The center of this industry will soon be in an industrial triangle made up of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia and people discussed ways of agitating and organizing in this industry. One worker present was from a car factory and several live in the regions where this industry is a growing employer. Plans were made to pursue a joint campaign in the fall and to meet again in the summer to discuss the details.

Questions of ideology and strategy also came up. Our comrade from *Priama Akcja* in Slovakia talked about their experiences in one struggle and examined some of the difficulties involved, particularly with other unions. Activists from Poland related some similar experiences and strategy for more effective organize were discussed.

Since there were people from groups with different ideas as to work with leftist parties or reformist unions or as to means of organizing, a discussion of these strategies took place. Clearly nobody's mind was changed but perhaps some misinformation was corrected and people clarified their positions.

At the end of the day, the organizers of the conference felt that some fruitful things occurred and that it was a good opportunity to meet people and develop a few projects and cooperation.



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

*"Anarchist movement is a result of the emancipative aspirations of the workers movement"*



## Interview with a member of Workers Initiative - Inicjatywa Pracownicza from Poland

One of the most active organisations dealing with labour issues in Poland is the IP - Workers Initiative / Inicjatywa Pracownicza. This formation started some years ago as a network of anarchists, mostly organized in FA (Anarchist Federation) focusing on labour struggles. Since then, IP changed its organisational structure and transformed itself into a trade union (while part of the activists of "old" IP started other organisations dedicated to the same issue).

There was almost no issue of ABB where we would not report on activities and struggles in which IP was involved. We regularly presented IP's statements and analysis. It was clear that the time would come to approach IP a bit closer and ask them some old and new questions. When should we do it if not in the issue focusing on labour struggles in Eastern Europe? We consider that many of you have already heard about IP, that is why this material starts directly with deep questions on theory and praxis of the organisation. The questions were asked by Veronika (ABB) to a member of Poznan section of IP.

AbolishingBB

**AbolishingBB:** Some time ago IP transformed itself from a network of cooperating labour and activist groups into a syndicalist organisation. What happened to make you decide on this change?

We could say that taking the unionist form of organisation was somehow the consequence of Workers Initiative (IP) activities. This as a strict anarchistic formation formed during the first years of existence (2001-2004) from approaching workers communities. Some of them accepted the more radical course of activities postulated by IP and at the same time they looked for the best formula that would be most adequate to the conditions prevailing inside the workplaces. We mean 8-hour-work-day, getting to the workplace, domestic responsibilities, etc. what leads to the situation that workers dedicate to self-organisation preferably the time they manage to skip during work processes. This means that the organisation has to be active in the workplace terrain and could move there as free as possible. That is why some workers of Cegielski Factory in Poznan, which identified themselves with the postulates of IP, decided to form first factory-committee of IP as a workers union.

**AbolishingBB:** How would you explain the rapid increase of the members of IP, especially in the last months? And a question connected with this: how does this flux of new members influence the character, structure of IP and above all, how does it influence the possibilities of struggle and realisation of the goals of IP?

It is fact that in the last 6 months some hundreds of workers joined IP. In our opinion it is on the one side an effect of a few years of our

constant activity among workers communities and certain popularity which our trade union worked out due to some famous actions and campaigns. On the other side workers are not afraid any more



of the employers so much (afraid to be fired) and are more open to undertake action, as well in the framework of the trade union organisations – these changes are definitely connected with the decrease in unemployment.

The increase in membership has caused us to undertake steps towards creating as far as possible the independence of particular plant-committees and regions. There are simply too many cases which every unit has to be able to deal with independently ... and this is the goal in general. Second step was a formal decision to detach the union from the activities of political parties. Until now, when the union was relatively small and internally strongly consolidated, this problem did not exist. But now, even if a danger of political instrumentalisation of the union is still very low, we decided to make it clear from the beginning.

Of course the increase in members of the organisation brings theoretically more strength, but in reality it means only a necessity of even more commitment. We are permanently confronted with problems. Our members are being fired (during last year altogether 6 of our activists were fired when they decided to set up IP in their workplaces), the factory-committees are under attack, or the employers refuse to recognise them, etc. However, against all these difficulties we are managing to form the new committees and encourage new people to get active in the framework of IP.

**AbolishingBB:** How would you characterise the workers unrests in Poland in the last 6 years? What forms of resistance and struggle are present? What kind of demands raised? What is the relation of forms of struggle and of demands on the results of these unrests?

In the last 6 years many changes already took place on this terrain. When IP was starting in 2001, still as an informal structure, we were facing a growing wave of social discontent. This wave reached its peak in 2002-2003 (which can be seen in the pages of this magazine at this period – ABB). Just to mention the „struggle of Ozarów”. At this period we had mainly to do with the struggles in protection of workplaces. Part of the worker crews, guilds and committees did not manage to save their factories but on the countrywide scale the struggle was a success, Polish government and political-economic elites were forced to change course. The state has sunk many millions zloty of debts of very different companies what managed to save hundreds of thousands of workplaces at the time when unemployment was already over 20% high, what means about 3,5 mln people. At this time the common strategy of

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

the struggle were not strikes but street demonstrations.

Now that unemployment has decreased, many workers communities have undertaken more offensive struggles, mostly for higher wages. The strike won by health-service workers in spring 2006 resulted in a massive increase of wages demands, and not necessarily those "from 3% on 5%", but for much much more. The wildcat strikes and demonstrations are on a daily basis. The forms of the struggle became more diverse. As IP we are using exactly these methods: whether strike of the post-bots which was initiated by our members or the "Italian strike" which is already taking place since a few weeks in the Cegielski Factory. But sometimes it is enough to raise the threat of starting the conflict and the work-conditions and wages are being improved. We have some such examples from the activities of IP too.

*AbolishingBB: In the last period you seem to intensively discuss the concepts and experiences of the Italian "workers autonomy" movement. Why did you decide to make these analyses exactly now? And even more: do you have an impression that people (workers) in Poland are on the search for new forms of fighting for social justice, forms different to those offered by traditional trade unions?*

We are analysing the concepts of *workers autonomy* in the belief that every historical moment has its appropriate forms of workers resistance and from that belief, that the structures of the trade unions, even if in some moments they can be a useful tool in the struggle against capital, under other circumstances they can appear to be just a bureaucratic structure co-responsible for pacification of our struggle. There is no tool existing which is perfect against everything and at every moment. That's why it is necessary to study various libertarian movements of resistance. As such, we consider for example *workers autonomy*, but as well anarcho-syndicalism.

Are the workers themselves seeking for new, non-trade-unionist-like, forms of resistance? Yes. Workers can very well fight apart from the union structures. The biggest workers unrests in Poland – 1956, 1970, 1980, or even those of 2002-2003, took place not only without the participation of trade unions, but even against their directives. Corruption and bureaucratisation of trade unions pushed workers to "discover" their own forms of struggle, already a long time ago. In Cegielski Factory here in Poznan the illegal strike is called "plyta" ("platform") – this is a place where the crew gathers during the protest after they leave the work-hall. There they discuss together and there the decisions are made. "Plyta" is known in Cegielski for more than a dozen years. Last year while demanding an increase in wages in Cegielski they tried to reach it through a legal strike. We were defeated. In this year we animated the tradition of the "plyta" (last time used in 2000) and it came to a series of illegal breaks in the work process. This strategy we have continued already for 5 weeks. The regular strike, especially the one that was won, has a spectacular character. But those kinds of methods like "plyta" are much more progressive in the long term perspective. If you have won the strike, on the next day the employer forces people to the machines or writing-tables under the slogan: "you got what you wanted and now time to work" and in most cases everything remains as it was before the strike. What is needed are individualised forms of struggle and not permanent hiding behind the backs of the leaders or those who called the strike. Another example: in Cegielski IP called the workers for a one day strike which was based on the idea – everybody officially takes one day of holidays on the same day. Polish law allows so called "holiday on demand" which one can take from one day to another. 90% of the crew, each one individually, went and demanded

24h holiday. Every worker has taken this decision and signs the request by himself.

Coming back to the *workers autonomy* we have to say that the conception of the struggle, as well as the political postulates cannot be "brought" or "obtrude" the working class from outside, what is still alive in the imaginations within part of the anarchist movement. These conceptions and ideas have to be worked out inside the (workers) communities. Workers are not a formless mass which one can form on the pattern of one or the other ideological conceptions. From this perspective it becomes obvious that it is not the workers movement that has to express the aspirations of the anarchists, but exactly opposite. The historical perspective just proves that – the anarchist movement is a result of the emancipative aspirations of the workers movement. It does not mean that IP resigns from the discussion on ideas. Through publication of various positions for example "Anarcho-syndicalism.

*Strikes, uprisings, revolutions 1892-1990*". "Workers self-management" or "Workers autonomy", as well as through organisation of the series of the Poland-wide Workers Conferences we are trying to widen our knowledge and to discuss. But one cannot mistake self-education with indoctrination. That's why in our bulletin (there are 5 editions pro year) one will not find many ideological materials. Most of the texts are reports from the ongoing struggles, interviews with workers describing their own experiences, analyses of particular branches of the labour market, etc. We believe that our ideology manifests itself in concrete activities and struggles, and not in declarations. If we speak about international solidarity, then, for example, where our members are organizing country-wide strikes of polish workers and workers from other countries in Ireland together with Irish *Independent Workers Union*. For example the one in TESCO-Distribution in 2005 or like the last one in MUS-GRAVE in April 2007. This is then our strategy and view on the issue.

*AbolishingBB: Some years ago IP and the anarchist spectrum initiated and organised a series of regular workers conferences around Poland. Can you make now, from a time perspective, a short estimation of their outcome?*

The conferences (there were 6 of them till now) had a very important meaning for our movement. They rebuilt the consciousness of importance, goals and strategies of the workers movement. They helped us to confront our anarchist perspective with other ideas, as even if we were the ones which initiated the conferences they had no and have no strictly anarchist character. It is an open forum on which we discuss and analyse various options.

*AbolishingBB: What about long-term perspectives on the terrain of labour struggle from your side? Are you thinking about further development of IP as a trade union or rather searching for new structures and ideas? What position and relations does the contemporary anarchist movement have towards the workers communities, and what are you considering promoting in the near future?*

We are more and more convinced that the anarchist movement which in the last decades was based on the relations with the movements of a cultural character is losing its meaning, it burns out. This character of movement was of course needed, it played an important role but from the end of the 90' the economic aspects are taking on more of a meaning. Founding of the IP was somehow a consequence of this trend and appeared out of the need to open anarchist communities on the labour problem. The problem is like this: it is difficult to relate the cultural



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

schemes to the economic questions and therefore the anarchist movement right now faces a kind of crises, which, we believe, will finally be overcome.

On the other side, it is rather less likely that the workers movement will adopt the forms of the existing massive trade unions of the national structure (such a one was also the CNT). Paradoxically, the workers movement also transforms and new forms of activity are not too clear yet. At the same time it is more and more clear that announcing the end of its meaning was too quick, especially in the global perspective. For instance, the Reuters agency reported in March 2007 that in China in Jang Zu took place long and very intense riots with about 20 000 participants over a few days. This was because of the increase of the prices of the public transport tickets from 6J to 14J. Even more interesting, that the Chinese government reports officially that in China in year 2006 ... 23 000 (!!!) of "massive incidents" (from Reuters) took place. It is a big country, but still – this number makes one think. Or this: on 22 May 2006 in Bangladesh thousands of workers took over the streets with the demand for an increase in wages and ... for one free day. 16 factories were set on fire. The workers unrest in Bangladesh is still continuing. In January 2007 a successful

17 days long general strike took place in Guinea, where trade unions USTG and CNT-Guinea (yes, yes: CNT!) achieved what they demanded. One needs to add that the struggle cost the lives of 59 people.

As we can see, the wave of workers protests have moved into other regions of the world. In this sense conceptions appear telling about the necessity for the creation of the syndicalistic movement of a new type, out of national boundaries. Big trade unionist centrals, limited by their national particularities, are not able to respond to the challenge, which is the globalisation of the workers movement. That is why IP plans to integrate with the anarcho-syndicalist movement which more and more Asiatic and African organisations are joining. There are serious considerations to create IP in Hungary and in Belgium. IP keeps contact with organisations and communities in Ireland. The Anarchist movement, which always fought against the national particularities and was developing international cooperation (of which the best example is your publication) can have quite an important role to play here. We just need to trust in our strength and get out from the cultural ghetto.

INICJATYWA  
PRACOWNICZA



DOKRĘCAMY ŚRUBĘ  
PRACODAWCOM

*AbolishingBB: Thank you for your time and very interesting answers.*

## The Struggle for Free Education

*Forced to work for a wage in order to afford their studies.  
Students in Serbia won't be bought and sold on the market!*

In the autumn of 2006, students at the University of Belgrade launched the first organised counter-offensive against neo-liberal reforms of higher education in Serbia. In this way they continued the same struggle initiated earlier in the same year by their colleagues from France, Greece and other countries across the world.

The neo-liberal restructuring of society and education is not only an unsuccessful strategy of development for a peripheral economy, but it also has a very direct negative impact on both working and academic practice of professors and students. Knowledge and research are being turned into commodities, an investment by the state and private sector, the value of which is determined by the market. Due to the necessity of maintaining macroeconomic stability by a restrictive budget policy, the burden of financing education is increasingly being passed to the individual. Students are forced to take only the courses that they can afford to „purchase“ on the market, they are forced to buy new textbooks for each subject in every successive year of their studies, they even have to pay to apply for an examination applications or to change the examiner. Basically, they are forced to work for a wage in order to afford their studies...

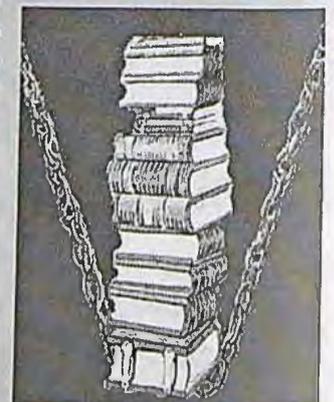
The rejection of the notion of education as a commodity, to be bought and sold on the market, was the central focus of the Student Protest. This was most obvious from the official slogans: „Down with the tuition fees!“, „We are studying – they are profiting!“ and especially „Blockade the faculty because knowledge is not a commodity!“. The most significant characteristic of the protest was its emphasis on collective and non-hierarchical modes self-organisation. All the main decisions were made at mass meetings open to all protest participants. Anyone could speak and state their opinion. These were the forums, in which student demands and plans were made, changed and formalised.

Students demanded a 50% cut in tuition fees, clear and transparent criteria for establishing the amount of tuition fees and accounts in general, and the recognition of the title of (four-year) „graduated student“

as equivalent to the new „master“ (3+2) level introduced by the Law on Higher Education. After a series of unsuccessful negotiations with state and university representatives, groups of students decided to radicalise the protest and thus reveal the wider social potential of their own struggle. The first step in the radicalisation of the protest was to organise for a blockade of the Belgrade University Rectorate to coincide with the sitting of the highest body uniting all the universities in Serbia (KONUS). The most important episode of the protest, however, was the blockade of the Faculty of Philosophy, which lasted from 22 to 28 November 2006.

The Student Protest lasted three months, from the beginning of October until end of December 2006. It included eight public protest meetings, over 30 student gatherings at the Faculty of Philosophy and approximately 15 gatherings at other faculties across the city. Over 17 000 students of Belgrade University signed petitions in support of protest demands.

The participants of the protest realised that, acting collectively, they could change the conditions in which they work and live. The protest became a more and more articulate critical praxis aimed against the injustices of the system. With the ever deepening divide between the official and the unofficial Serbia as their context, the organisational methods, the direction and the social critique inherent in the Student Protest all indicate the appearance on the scene of a new generation ready to face the social problems of transition Serbia and eager to build a truly democratic alternative to the existing system.



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

## Another Unlawful Act of Employers. IP Activists are Illegally Dismissed.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> March two trade union activists, Aurelia Włodarczyk and Jolanta Szymura from Workers' Initiative (IP) were dismissed by Greenkett Poland. They were both active in works of trade union and Aurelia Włodarczyk was protected by law. Dismissal process broke the act about trade unions, therefore the notice was illegal.

The Works Commission of Workers' Initiative in Greenkett Poland was founded in the middle of January, 2007. Few dozen persons, 2/3 production workers, belong to the trade union now. The union demanded that, first of all, salaries should be 30% higher (present salaries are on the level of 250 euro netto) and that conditions of work should be better. Almost all workers have casual contracts (7 years).

Greenkett failed to respect, until the moment of starting the trade union, basic workers' rights. Among other things, workers weren't paid on time, work-time-tables weren't shown to them, there were no working uniforms. In the factory, the level of noise and dust remains high. The trade union has also revealed a series of serious faults concerning employing people and the organisation of work. For example, no regulations concerning work or payment were presented to the workers, or the trade union.

Greenkett Poland is a part of Spanish capital group Grupo Ig which has factories not only in Poland but also USA, Brasil, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain. There are 1000 people employed in the factories.

*Work is adapted to the rhythm of the machines,  
practically it is necessary to work according to them*

### An Interview with Four Unionists of the Commission of Worker's Initiative from Greenkett factory (17 March 2007)

*What does the company you work for do?*

Greenkett is a Spanish company that produces wooden flooring. It has existed in Debno near Steszew for 3 years. Semi-finished wooden products come here from Spain and go back after being transformed by us. There are 120 people working in the factory, the majority of them are women. The factory works on three shifts. We work for 8 hours, all the time standing by machines. We can take only a 15 minute break during the whole day.

*On what kind of contracts are you employed on?*

Most employees work for time-contracts determined for 7 years. We get 5.30 zł (1,40 euro) an hour, and 8 zł (2,10 euro) for overtime. Overtime is not obligatory, but when we demanded a pay raise we have heard that the only way to earn more, is to take extra hours.

*Why in your opinion are workers rights broken in Greenkett factory?*

We haven't been told what our range of duties is, there are no lists of work and wages. There is a lot of pollution and noise in the hall. Earlier there was no headphones for reducing din, now they gave us some. The management thinks that it will solve the problem and we will not demand health compensation.

During last summer temperature on the hall reached 43 degrees - then they took away thermometers. According to the law, there mustn't

be more than 28 degrees. In winter there was no heating, two years ago we worked in two jackets and caps in 8 degrees, while air-conditioning in the office cost 5000 zł (1300 euro).

Every person who was sick too long has been immediately fired. Once one girl said to the boss that she would not work on Saturday. They told her that she didn't have to and fired her without giving any explanation. Now we earn less than at the beginning at the existence of this company. One year ago a Spanish owner cut our salary, then we made a strike. All people from one shift refused to work and manufacture was stopped for 5 minutes. Then a manager came, shouted at us, and we returned to work.

*Have you had any problems with repression from the management or the owner of the factory after you organized this wildcat strike?*

Before we established a trade union, the Polish

members of the management (for example a production manager) had shown a very hostile attitude to the whole crew. They warned us to not found a trade union. The Polish management earns from 1600 zł to 5000 zł (from 420



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

euro to 1300 euro), for few of them this is a first job. All the time they repeated that if we do not want to work we don't have to, because there are many volunteers waiting to do so.

They also suggested that they can move the company to the East. However, we heard from the management that we cannot get pay raises, because the company is investing and developing all the time. It is possible that they will open a new factory in Belchatow. They are considering also Slovakia. We think that they will not move the factory far away to the East, because costs of transport would be too high.

*How did you figure out that you can establish a trade union? Did the relations between you and management change after that?*

The husband of one of us knows unionists from Worker's Initiative in Cegielski factory in Poznan. We wanted to do something; we heard that we must find 10 workers who would want to establish a commission of the union. There was no problem with finding these people. Some unionists from Poznan came here and helped us with all the papers. Then, step by

step, new people signed up. Until now 58 people have signed. Relations in the factory are much better. The management became kind, polite, they began to speak to us in a normal way. After the establishment of the union we could notice many changes. Some of us have got working overalls; the rest of people will get soon. Earlier we had to work on Saturdays, now it is only for those who want.

*Your factory is strongly feminized. Have you ever had problems with sex discrimination?*

Here in the factory only about 20 men work. They work as the operators of the machines, stokers, trolley-drivers or electricians. Most of them have already got a raise, they earn about 1300 zł (340 euro), more than women. Only women work on the machines and select wood. A division on better and worse is already noticeable during recruitment. Staff in large part is made up of young women – from 18 to 25 years old. However, none of employees returned to work after maternity leave. Work is adapted to the rhythms of the machines; practically it is necessary to work according to

them. Young girls somehow deal with that, but older women are in a worse situation, not to mention single mothers who after work take care of their children.

*What does the general situation of workers look like in Steszew? Do some trade unions exist there?*

In general, there are no trade unions in Steszew. At least we haven't heard about them. Although this is a small village, here is no flow of information – we do not know if rights of other workers have been violated. Average wages are on the level of 800 – 900 zł (212 – 240 euro). Lot of people went to western countries, some people work in Poznan. There are some factories in the area, however many people work illegally.

*Thank you for the interview!*

*Material provided by members of IP.*

## Precarity at work

### The Analysis of the Problem and the Strategy of the Resistance

Precarity is the one of the most important phenomena of the neoliberal globalisation process. Evolution of the precarity is an attack on stability and certainty of employment, basic labour rights (adequate payment, the right to organize in the place of employment, protection from excessively long working time, protection from sacking) and the whole social security system (the access to retirement insurance, health care and unemployment security system). Increasing number of temporary employees and decreasing scope of labour rights security is now one of the most serious challenge for labour and leftist movements. The aim of this debate is exchanging of opinions on the problems connected with precarity at work in each country and working out the common strategy of resistance.

In Poland there was The Fifth All-Polish Labour Conference on the problem of precarity at work - organized together by CK-LA (Red Collective/Left Alternative) and IP (Workers Initiative) which had taken place in June 2006. That was the first stage of our works on this topic (the analysis and the criticism of the phenomenon). Right now we work on the campaign on this matter - that means, we would like to initiate the practical activities. Within this campaign we want to organize, on the regular basis:

- ★ information actions - presentation of our criticism of the precarity at work
- ★ support for the temporary workers in their conflicts with the employers (demonstrations and pickets, the law assistance, organization of the boycott actions)
- ★ the actions of bringing pressure on the public authorities to force

them to equalize the position of the part-time labourers and the full-time labourers



IP and CK-LA decided that they both will start those activities this year. The campaign is to hold all precarity forms like: part-time work contracts, Temporary Work Agencies, self employment and contracts made out of labour law.

Our position is, that those above mentioned local activities we plan to undertake in Poland should be wide undertake across Europe, too. We know that many organizations who take part in I 07 conduct similar works in their countries (like friends from Spanish CGT).

I 07 is indeed a great opportunity to coordinate our struggle in the european or global scale. That's why we propose starting the across Europe organized campaign against the Temporary Work Agencies in the end of 2007 year.

During the debate on this problem we would like to talk about:

- ★ the situation of temporary labourers in each country (how big is the scope of precarity at work? In which branches is this applied the most often? What are similarities and what are the dissimilarities in each country law regulations?)
- ★ experiences of struggle against precarity of work in each country (techniques and methods of struggle)
- ★ plan of campaign against Temporary Work Agencies

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

*The Workers' Movement: Reflections for Anarchists**By Laura (Warsaw)*

The nature of the capitalist system is to adapt to work for its self-preservation and in this respect, unfortunately, it has been more effective than the anarchist movement. This is not only, or perhaps not even principally due to a lack of strategy but due to the fact that the accumulation of wealth and power and technical capabilities, as well as the social atomization which accompanies the capitalist system, works to our disadvantage in similar proportions to how it works to the capitalists' advantage. In such a disadvantaged situation, one must think of ways to employ real resistance of the kind which is not to be easily coopted.

Many traditional forms of unionism have, quite frankly not only been coopted, but have degenerated into clear class collaboration. Perhaps the greatest scourge of unionism has been the proliferation of careerist union bureaucrats whose need to keep on the payroll, of worse, to keep control of the union funds, have led them into a status quo situation with the bosses which essentially sells out the workers. Another contending problem is that of the "social partners", those who honestly believe they are in some sort of partnership with the capitalists and those try to negotiate with them softly, always believing that without the capitalists, there would be no work at all.

With such union leaders, being part of a union generally means paying your dues and hoping your representative will negotiate well on your behalf. At best, this can earn you a little extra cash or maybe some better working conditions. At worst, handing over your fate to the unions means you get sold out and if you can't figure out what went wrong, you may look at the very concept of organizing labour as something quite negative.

The biggest impediments to organizing however lie in the individualist culture and in the divisions created between workers. The workers in country X fear that if they organize, their jobs will move to country Y - and maybe they do. Or maybe they organize a struggle which has no social resonance.

One sound tactic for anarchists thus is helping to create this social resonance. A good example of this is with the Imolakee farm workers; their movement is supported by lots of university students who organize information campaigns, pickets and boycotts of the fast food chains that purchase the fruits of their labour. This is a critical element in the effectiveness of the campaign.

This doesn't mean that a struggle cannot be effective without social resonance. But there needs to be a conjuncture of several elements

of be effective.

Quite frankly, I wonder what the workers' leverage is in some small symbolic action. Some workers' struggles are entirely too polite: endless negotiations for 100 euros. Many kind-hearted souls recognize that this may be a fortune for someone, so they will enthusiastically support the demands for wage raises and hope to exert some pressure. But what pressure is it really on some workplace if 10 of 200 workers demand a raise while the other 190 don't. They threaten some action, to quit perhaps, to make a picket. But the capitalist sees these are troublemakers who can be replaced. Without the solidarity of the rest, how is this action possible to win?

There's no one easy answer to this question, because it depends on all the factors together. But what is clear is that the traditional methods some chose to use are not very effective in this situation and only serve to show who is the really bad boss and that somebody doesn't agree. Not that symbolic protest doesn't have a value unto itself - but these are the strategic questions one has to be asking all the time. The answer always seems to come back to the same thing: it doesn't pay to be polite.

Too many unionists shy away from radical action, or consider the height of radicalism to be a one-hour warning strike. In concentrating on "winning the small issues", they tend to put off the larger ones. to the point that they are further and further away on the horizon.



This syndrome has even effected some who consider themselves anarchist unionists, and there have been stories of people trying to convince rank and file workers not to occupy some place, but instead wait for a court verdict. Obviously, many of them are facing the same basic fear of many other workers - that if you act radically, you probably will lose your job.

It does look like that regardless of how you act, lots of people are destined to lose their job. "Overqualified" people who earned so many pay raises that their companies resent them for being "expensive", unionized "aristocrats" who "don't want to work" and be "globally competitive", even just citizens of countries where the labour force is more expensive than their counterparts elsewhere - all these people are likely to face a future of job loss or downward mobility. Yet the reformists are still buying time.



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

While all are waiting in the lull of collective action crises, brave acts of radical resistance becoming inspiring. Yet without a radical base, is any radical action at all possible?

In many situations, the strategy has been entrism into hierarchical unions, which tend to do nothing to change them. If you are lucky, you meet a few people or somehow benefit at work; if you are unlucky, you basically waste your time deluding yourself and supporting a hierarchical reformist project and you risk losing some people to the deradicalization process. The experience of this has varied but recently there is a clear worldwide tendency towards falling victim to the deradicalization process.

And then there are the long-term goals. Some people refuse to discuss them, believing the "revolution" to be such as far-off and abstract concept in comparison with transitional measures and little economic concessions. This usually accompanies a synthesis approach, which means that the basic message filters through in various ways. So it is not uncommon in Poland, for example, to find those in the workers movement who are fond of some forms of libertarian capitalism or some odd forms of Proudhonism or Abramowski's cooperatism, or who support capitalist worker's shareholders scheme. (This is actually a programmatic point in the statutes of one Polish group which flirts with anarchosindicalism.) If we look at the genesis of post-Soviet anarchosindicalism, we had the same thing. For people who think in such ways, the natural partners become the socialdemocrats who are actually fighting, but often using methods like completely vertical and undemocratic unions,

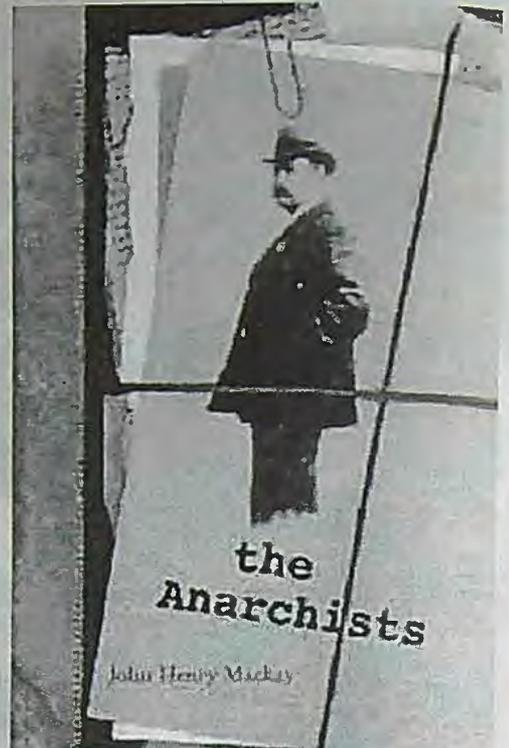
or who use the state, whereas the "enemy" sometimes become the other anarchists who exert pressure for a more radical stance. It becomes the rejection of radicalism as the essential modus operandi, because ostensibly it "scares people" and doesn't aim for any of those little victories that normal people are most concerned about.

For those following the trends in various workers' movements, in particular amongst different tendencies of anarchosindicalists or platformist entrists, it is clear that these tactical divisions are not easily overcome, all the more so that a good portion of people are unaware of their existence, understanding anarchosindicalism as merely some more democratic form of normal unionism, only with a cat depicted on a black-and-red flag.

What will break this tendency will ultimately be the development of some effective and more modern forms of resistance than the usual picket line. Certainly this will be radical in its form, and the beauty of it will be that it will be inspiring - something which will expose and lay bare the misery of traditional unionism and pay its goals seem totally insufficient. It will be spread in acts committed in the defense of one's life and freedom, one's real autonomy, not in defense of one's position as a cog. The question however, is who will the agents be - and will they spring up of their own planning or is there any way for us to encourage and speed up this process? We can always start by asking ourselves, how come this radical upstart isn't me? What can I do to realize such radical acts - is this a question of a lack of collective empowerment, or am I really not interested in upsetting my comfortable life? And what do I have to do to get to the point that I myself am an agent of resistance?

Vanguardism has been the downfall of many. We may see the workers as an outside agent of a larger goal - but this can be a dangerous stance, depending on your role in the plan. Rather, we need to be looking at ourselves - we are workers. Some of us are from environments with no consciousness of this; our liberal or educated peers may identify with their rulers in areas of tastes and ambitions. What needs to be done to find a group of co-conspirators who will monkey wrench the system with us?

This is not a rejection of organization. It is a realization that organization comes in many forms: it can be two people with a plan, it can be a loose group at work or it can be a large interna-



tional federation. But organization in and of itself is only of limited value if it does not meet certain criteria in terms of goals or its self-organized and active nature. In the real world, the emphasis on legalistic unions sometimes takes people off the track and causes them to ignore the other organizing possibilities which are immediately available to them. Most workers will find it difficult to form a union - but most of them can find means of action - maybe even which bring similar effects as union struggles. This is not a clear rejection of unionism, but is a criticism of the poor variety of forms of struggle. Capitalism is fast in recognizing methods of action and it has come up with many fixes for the known scenarios. The challenge for us is not to languish in our insistence in creating standard structures which tend to be resistant to innovation and too inflexible to take on the capitalist Medusa.

Unlike some, I'm not really waiting joyously for the social force that will shut up the workers by winning them a wage raise; although I certainly agree it's better to be paid well than badly, economic unionism's goals are exhausted when their passive members have just enough money to enjoy the standard range of middle-class consumer goods and they get stuck in the place where they no longer are willing to risk any material setback for such abstract goals as autonomy or anarchist utopian visions. This is the force which can undermine our goals by bribing people with the trappings of a bourgeois consumer lifestyle. Ultimately, we have to bring our goals and ecstatic visions of the libertarian society into the forefront and let people get a taste so they are not ready to quit when they get a raise and a mortgage.



LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

Dipping into the Unknown History of East European Anarchism

Last year very interesting and important book has reached a daily light in Poland. Book "On the edge of life - the memories of an anarchist 1943-44" is the first wider publication presenting the history of activities and struggle of anarchists and syndicalists in Poland in years before and especially during the WW2.

This history was so good hidden till now that even most of the contemporary anarchists in Poland was surprised discovering how active anarchist/syndicalist movement was in the last months before its destruction made by German fascist forces during the occupation and by Bolshevik regime short after the "liberation".

We are sure that this book sooner or later will be translated into other languages in which development we would like to help by giving this topic more space in this as well as in following issues of ABB. In this issue we are starting with first two materials. First one is a short biography of jewish-polish anarchist Pawel Lew Marek, the main protagonist of the book and author of the memories on which this book is based.

In this way, we might be opening here the new chapter in our journal where the historical and less known texts on anarchism in Eastern Europe will be present, discussed and analyzed. All correspondents and comrades from around the region are of course strongly welcome to contribute in this chapter.

AbolishingBB

Polish and Jewish Anarchists During the Fascist Occupation of Warsaw

INTERVIEW with MICHAL PRZYBOROWSKI about the book "On the Edge of life - Memories of an Anarchist 1943-44"

AbolishingBB: Hello Michal. Tell us please at beginning who you are, in what activities and structures are you involved.

I will start with the fact that my life-history is nothing special. My name is Michal Przyborowski, I am 30 and some years old, and I am living right now in Szczecin. I am part of the anarchist movement since 1989/1990. From this point until now I am member of Anarchist Federation, and in years 1996-2001 I was dealing with its informational office.

AbolishingBB: How did you come first time on the traces of anarchists and syndicalists during the Warsaw Uprising 1944?

With these traces it was not really this way. I will start from beginning. As polish anarchists have been always focusing on the history of the anarchism in Spain, in Russia or in the Ukraine, and there was less research made on the anarchism in the rest of Eastern Europe, I was always curious about it.

that the anarchist traditions here are not so huge like in already mentioned regions, it was clear that there had been always some anarchist activities here too. But I could never find any materials about anarchism before the WW2 in Czech, Yugoslavia or in Poland. These were the main reasons why I start my researches on this ground. I will add here as well the fact, that because of my work I did not have enough time to participate very actively in the movement in the last years, as I did it before. At the same time it was very important for me to not loose the contact with the movement and I decided to cover the historical aspects. Especially; I have focused on the anarchism in

Poland in years 1918-45.

The most difficult was to find any information about the people and events. Until now even not one book, dealing with the conspiracy of anarchists and syndicalists during the WW2, have appeared in Poland.

And if there are some little information on it appearing in the historical positions, than they are very marginal and includes huge amount of mistakes.

During 2-3 years, since I have started my research on this topic, I have visited all archives and libraries where only any information was available. But the most worth information and the documents I have got from the families of the people which participated in this conspiracy.



AbolishingBB: How it came finally to the appearance of the book "On the edge of life -

LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

memories of an anarchist 1943-44??

The text of the book I received from Sir Michal Marek, son of Pawel Lew Marek. During my researches after the traces of the anarchists I have reached as well him one day, and it was from beginning very cordial acquaintance. It is enough to say that already during the first meeting he gave me to read a copy of his father memories. At the very beginning there wasn't an idea to bring it as a book. At first after I read these memories I realized that it would be very important that more people get an opportunity to discover this war-time history of anarchists.

And coming to Pawel Lew Marek itself, he was one of the most significant persons in anarchist movement in Poland, before the WW2 he was a secretary of the Polish Anarchist Federation (AFP) for several years, he was redactor of the newspaper "Class Struggle", and during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 he was one of the founders of Syndicalist Uprising Platform and main publisher of the newspaper "Syndicalist". These memories are than so worth as they have been written by the person involved in so many activities from its beginning. When I had already decided to make a book out of it, than at first I started to gather whole documentation, pictures and other relevant information. It took me about 2 years, but it was very important to bring all these dispersed information together. Here I was helped a lot by two friends from Krakow, Rafal and Lukasz, which done a lot of work for this book.

AbolishingBB: Let us than come now to the deeper content of this publication. What picture of the anarchist movement in Poland in the 30-ies and 40-ies it opens for? What concepts were presented within this movement, what structures, numbers, goals and what social relevance?

Not many people know that in Poland in years 1926-39 the Polish Anarchist Federation (AFP) was active and bringing several publications. It was not easy period for this organisation as the repression from the side of the authorities was very strong. Therefore many things were taking place in the deep conspiracy. Probably, exactly this experience helped a lot the anarchists to adapt their work to the realities of the fascist occupation. The AFP consists from about 300 members and was

strongly promoting anarcho-syndicalism. The group was organised within IWA-AIT (International Workers Association). They have been active in many polsih cities, the biggest groups existed in Warsaw and in Lodz.

The social response of their activity was different, but I am not able to answer yet how big. Anarchists did not have such big structures like Socialist Party or Communist Party were and anarchism was not so popular among people as socialism or communism had been. But anarchists have been able to organise e.g. 10 000 people gathering in support for Sacco and Vanzetti, massive election-boycot-campaigns or organise strikes in the factories.

During the war there were two organisations existing. Committee of Polish Syndicalists (Związek Syndykalistów Polskich) was much bigger and was conducting many militant actions. Second was Syndicalist Organisation "Freedom"

Organizacja "Wolnosc", consisting from the anarcho-syndicalists, having its conspiracy printing-office, militant group, etc. To estimate a scale of activity of both organisations may help information that during the war about 20 different titles of conspiracy newspapers and journals have been printed by the movement.

AbolishingBB: Anarchists had their activities and agitation within the Warsaw Ghetto as well as during the uprising in the Ghetto.

About the anarchists from Warsaw Ghetto there is very less information left. About the fact that they were active as well there, is writing Lew Marek in his memories, and there are some more information about it. I have man-

aged to find a copy of the anarchist newspaper published in Ghetto in Hebraic language in 1942, as well as to one person which was in Ghetto and was connected with the anarchists there. This person managed to escape from ghetto before it final liquidation and deportation to the death-camp in Treblinka. We have to understand here the general situation with the Ghetto. In Treblinka some hundred thousand of people of Jewish origin was murdered, and for sure many of them were anarchists. I think it will be very difficult to estimate the fates of the anarchists from the Warsaw Ghetto.

AbolishingBB: How numerous have been anarchist and syndicalist structures during the Warsaw Uprising? Next to what other formations involved in the Uprising'44 did they decided to undertake the struggle? What role did they play in this Uprising?

About how numerous these structures during Warsaw Uprising'44 were is hard to say. The sudden beginning of the Uprising resulted in the situation that many people had no choice as participate in the various sections which had nothing to do with syndicalistic ideas, and at the same time, in the syndicalistic formations had been joined by many people per accident. The best example for that is the history of Karolina Marek, wife of Pawel Lew Marek, which at the very beginning of the Uprising has no choice as to join the Narodowe Sily Zbrojne, far nationalistic formation, and at first later she found syndicalist comrades on the streets of Warsaw and joined them.

But there were definitely the syndicalistic and anarchist formations during the Uprising. Two of them we can mention straight away: the 104 Syndicalist Company and the Syndicalist Brigade. Especially the "Company 104" left many relations of their struggle and is considered by the historians as one of the bravest and best organised formations during the Uprising. About the numerous of these formations says the best the

registry of syndicalists and anarchists killed during the war, the registry which was made after the war. After the fall of the Stalinism in Poland in 1956 it came to an attempt to write down the information about the killed people and in this register there are more than 300 names we speak here about. But we don't know exactly who died where.



LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

AbolishingBB: Pawel Marek Lew found himself at this time in hopeless situation: as polish - hunted by fascist occupants, as member of anarchist organisation - oppressed by nationalistic and Bolshevik tendencies of resistance, and as a Jew - facing denunciation by anyone. At the same time he was trying to develop the strategy for anarchist/syndicalist movement for after-war period. Passion which is hard to imagine for us today. But than, tell us please in two words what visions was he writing about at this time?

To answer this question I would need to go through whole content of the book, what is difficult in form of interview. But that is true, P.L.Marek although this hopeless situation was working on the new conceptions for anarchists for post-war times. He prepared the whole program in the points, this program is in the book too. The society should be organised on basis of grass root syndicalistic unions. He estimated how the social relations will be looking like after the war, that there will not be social exploitation or division in ruling and ruled classes. It shows that the anarchists were very seriously thinking about the future after the war. Unfortunately, everything turns different direction and the communists suffocated very quickly all attempts of the anarchists' activities.

AbolishingBB: Do you think that these recently discovered facts about the anarchist movement from first part of the XX century in Poland will find place in the consciousness of the polish historians, and therefore of the society, in the future?

These facts are at first becoming to be discovered and I hope that memories of PL.Marek will help here a lot. Short time ago in one serious historical magazine appeared a review of this book and was written that it is about discovering of the "white spots of the history", as today hardly nobody knows about the anarchists from that period, and even less people about polish anarchists during the fascist occupation. I hope that soon there will more facts discovered and it helps for wider appearance of the topic. There is already first effect. One scientist contacted me after appearance of the review and he sent me some documents about the repression against polish anarchists from this period, documents which I have never seen before. AbolishingBB: And the last question: what meaning has this discovery of the forgotten history for the young, about 20 years ago reborn, anarchist movement in Poland?

It is certainly important for us, it supports the identity of the movement, it helps to recall the tradition from time to time. During the years of the communist dictatorship in Poland any links with the older anarchists got broken and we have to learn and win experience from the very beginning. I would like that this book could teach us to not make the same mistakes from beginning. Although we still have common ideas, the anarchist movement was different in the past. In 1920 or 1930, only for the fact of being an anarchist you could go to the prison for 5 years. Today the repression might not be such a one, but for the authorities the anarchists remain a threat and we need to expect various acts of repression against the movement.

AbolishingBB: Would you like to add anything?

I would like to say thank you to all persons which helped me by bringing this book out, delivered the documents and photography's, and to say thank you to the readers which shown their interest to the book, they decided to read it. It will not be the last publication from this period. I plan to bring at least one book more in the future, as well as write some more articles, about the polish anarchists of the before WW2 period.

If anybody is interested in this topic, you can contact me through the redaction of the AbolishingBB.

AbolishingBB: Thank you Michal. We are looking forward for your further publications. And just to mention - polish members of the AbolishingBB (the only of us which could read the book till now due to the language) were very taken by the content of "On the edge of life".

Pawel Lew Marek - A Short Biography

Pawel Lew Marek was born 16 th of August in 1902 in Radymino, near Przemysl (nowadays south-eastern part of Poland). He started working when he was 14. In 1918 he was initiator of Independent Organisation of Working Youth (Samodzielna Organizacja M?odzie?y Robotniczej), which gathered young polish, Ukrainian and Jewish workers. He was an organizer of two strikes and a member of workers council. In 1923 he took part in November-riots in Przemysl, where he got closer to the ideans of syndicalism and anarchism. In 1924 he did a military service. In 1926 he was one of the initiators of Anarchist Federation of Poland (AFP). In 1930 he immigrated to Paris. He cooperated with a group of polish anarchists there. After his come back to Poland he was a secretary of

AFP (1931-37) and an editor of illegal anarchist newspaper „Class struggle” („Walka klas”). He was a worker in Schenka & Co. in Warsaw, where he organized an occupation strike. Then he was a manager in shipping Hartwig Company. In 1939 Pawe? Lew Marek took part in defense of Warsaw. In 1941-42 he was imprisoned in warsaw getto. After escape he was an organizer of revolutionary syndicalists group. He took part in Warsaw Uprising and was an organizer of Syndicalist Uprising Platform (Syndykalistyczne Porozumienie Powstancze) and editor of „Syndicalist” („Syndykalista”) newspaper. After a defeat of uprising he got to get to Krakow, where he was arrested. After the liberation of Krakow he worked in Regional Committee of Worker Unions. He

was an exponent of cooperatives, initiator of Union Housing Cooperative (Zwi?zkowa Sp?dzelnia Pracy) and its chairman. In 1946-49 he was also a chairman of Cooperative Publishing House „Word” (Sp?dzelnia Wydawnicza „S?owo”) in Lodz. Since 1951 he was living in Warsaw and working in union newspaper „Voice of Work” („Glas Pracy”). He died 7th of November in 1971. His grave is in Powazki Cemetery in Warsaw.



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

## Interview with a Member of KRAS (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-syndicalists)

### About the History and Problems of Forming Anarcho-Syndicalist and Anarcho-Communist Organizations in Former Soviets

With the help of one of our correspondents we received the following fragment of an interview with Vadim Damier of KRAS, the Russian section of the IWA. The interview was made not so long ago for CNT-publication.

AbolishingBB

*What inspired you to start anarcho-syndicalist activity?*

Of course, before the so-called "perestroika", no open anarcho-syndicalist activity was possible. The Communist Party repressed even the smallest signs of any oppositional moods. The people in my family were critical, so I always knew that the regime was unjust and had nothing to do with real socialism. I didn't know a lot about anarchism then but I was convinced that real socialism was not possible without self-management and that communism came from the word "commune" and was not possible without federalism. I listened to western radio stations and new a little about "dissidents" but I didn't really want to have contact with them because I didn't want to change the dictatorship of the Communist Party so that state capitalism could become private capitalism. But there was nobody around me with revolutionary leftist ideas and therefore I didn't have any chance to work in any underground group.

Before perestroika, I wrote some academic work about the ecological movement in Germany. It seemed to me that that this movement had a lot in common with self-managed socialism and federalism. Then perestroika started and after Chernobyl the ecological movement appeared here and I decided that my knowledge of the ecological movement abroad could be of help here. In 1988 I joined the ecological movement and I actively participated in the Moscow Federation of Ecological Groups. It was a very interesting movement which supported local self-governing councils in different areas of the city. At the same time I was promoting the ideas of self-managed socialism and even tried to publish a little journal. I wanted this socialism to become the main ideology of the ecological movement but unfortunately other ideas won out.

Sometime then I read a book on anarchism which was even legally published. Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread" made an especially strong impression on me. I understood that this is what I had been looking for all my life and these ideas fit my concept of a future soci-

ety. In this book I also found answers to my doubts and started to consider myself a "kropotkinist" anarchist. In 1990 I joined the first organization which called itself anarchist.

*Tell us a little about the modern history of anarcho-syndicalism in Russia*

As you know, in Russia there was a rich anarchist tradition which was interrupted by the Bolshevik dictatorship. There are accounts that the anarchist underground existed even up until after the Second World War but by the 1980s, of course there were no libertarian movements left in the country. The groups that openly called themselves anarchists started to appear around 1988-1989. In 1989-1990, they joined to form the *Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists (KAS)*. Actually, it wasn't an anarcho-syndicalist organization but something like a synthesis anarchist federation. There were anarcho-syndicalists there but also anarcho-communists, individualists and even anarcho-capitalists. Of course such an organization quickly fell apart. Now only a few groups in Siberia still operate under this name.

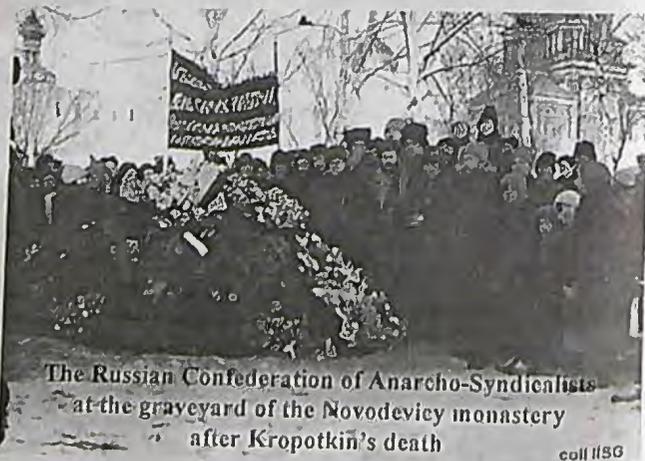
Why did this organization call itself anarcho-syndicalist? I already said that in Russia, very few people had read theoretical texts. Bolshevik propaganda called anarcho-syndicalism the idea that firms should belong to working collectives. The founders of KAS liked this. They were supporters of "market socialism" (something between Proudhon, anarcho-collectivism and Yugoslave socialism). Precisely the idea of "stateless market socialism" dominated in KAS. The leaders of KAS decided to contact Swedish SAC and received help from them.

Of course I as a "kropotkinist" didn't agree with this and tried to propagate anarcho-communism in KAS. But I quickly learned that even the

groups in KAS which called themselves "anarcho-communists" thought that this society wouldn't come soon and would come only after a transitional period of market socialism. So I left KAS and tried to find like-minded people.

KAS was a relatively large organization for its times. Formally there were about one thousand members but most of them weren't active and knew very little about anarchism. KAS politically did not play an independent role but was like a left appendix of the democrats. Members of KAS participated in the demonstrations organized by the democrats about the Communist Party and in 1990 supported Yeltsin and during the putsch of 1991 they participated in defending the Yeltsin government.

Of course, I managed to find people in Moscow with similar ideas amongst some of the younger activists of KAS and others. In March 1991 we formed another group, the first one which was for anarcho communist revolution, the Initiative of Revolutionary Anarchists (IREAN). In Aug. 1991, our group was the only one which acted against both the communists and the democrats, calling for a general expropriation strike against both. We contacted the Secretary of the IWA and we thought that this was the only International which is for libertarian communism. And we were in favour of joining. In 1992 one of us went to observe the IWA Congress in Cologne.



The Russian Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists  
at the graveyard of the Novodevicy monastery  
after Kropotkin's death

coll IISG

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

We started to publish "Black Star" (from 1991-1994 then again in 2003), to give out leaflets about forming anarcho-syndicalist unions and to prepare for a general strike. A few times a month we held pickets in downtown Moscow against liberal and anti-social reform, price increases and privatization. We tried to find people in other cities. In 1992 we formed FRAN (the Federation of Revolutionary Anarchists) with other groups in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Inside this there was an anarcho-syndicalist tendency – the Friends of the IWA. KAS fell apart; the anarcho-capitalists left and formed ADA (which is now in IFA) and many local groups lost lots of people or fell apart completely. Some groups made contact with us. At the end of the 1990s, KAS only existed in a few cities in Siberia. The formed the Siberia Confederation of Labour there (SKT) together with unions which left the official reformist unions. SKT calls itself "syndicalist" and not "anarcho-syndicalist"; it doesn't have any ideology and there are members of political parties in it. A strike for them is "an extreme measure". SKT is in contact with SAC and is part of SIL.

And we had some problems. Some people from our group came under the influence of some 'autonomous' people and became

against anarcho-syndicalism and the workers' movement and rather went into counterculture – then they went on to cooperate with Leninists, Stalinists and Maoists. We had to break with them.

In 1995 FRAN split. Anarcho-syndicalists from Moscow IREAN, some other anarcho-syndicalists, FRAN from Gomel and anarcho-communists from Baikalsk formed KRAS – the Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndicalists. In 1996 it became a section of the IWA. But there is a lot of difficulty building the movement in Russia. People are disappointed in the results of Perestroika, the tough social consequences of market reform and the spread of individualistic, egoistic moods which led to the atomization of the society. The situation of workers and farmers got worse very quickly and there was no radical resistance or collective action. Everybody was alone and individually fought for survival. In such conditions we of course find it hard to build a mass organization and we remain a federation of anarcho-syndicalist propaganda groups. In Moscow we promote anar-

cho-syndicalist ideas among immigrants and other workers who try to self-organize; students as well. We help strikers and support different protests, etc. The Baikalsk group organized a strike at a lumber mill but it was repressed and the group fell apart. The group in Gomel left anarcho-syndicalism in 2003 and took up a reformist position.

.... One of the most important things we do now is propagate our ideas about immigrants from other countries and parts of Russia. There are a few million of them in Moscow and many of them are illegal and have no working rights. We tell them about organizing experiences and resistance movements and we encourage them to form councils and strike....

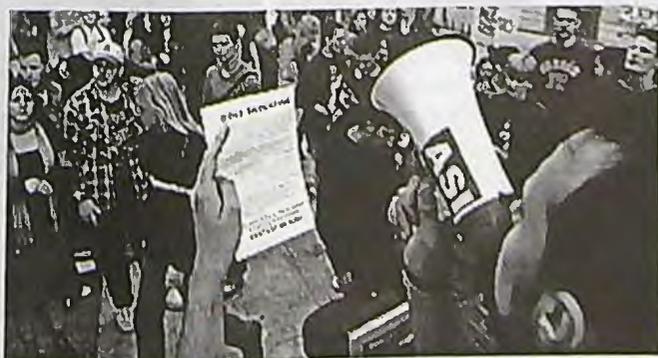


*"Our methods and goals are totally different than the one of yellow unions, and we have to realize that apart from the similarity in name, we are talking about two totally different types of organization"*

## Interview with Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative (ASI) from Serbia

**AbolishingBB:** Present, please, shortly the history of your organisation.

ASI started in 2001 as a network of anarcho-syndicalist orientated individuals, gathered around the magazine "Direktna akcija". We held our organization's founding congress in October 2002. Since we have grown from a small syndicalist nucleus, to a functioning anarcho-syndicalist fighting and propaganda organization.



We are involved in different workers struggles, always trying to put anarcho-syndicalist ideas into practice. We were involved in strikes of miners, in protests of electro-distribution workers, car factory workers, as well as railway workers and workers in third sector. In 2006 we managed to conduct first independent union action, which didn't involve yellow unions, in which we managed to force a boss of our companera, who was working in a restaurant, to pay her the money he owed her.

That signaled the new period of growth of ASI, which culminated with recent massive student protests, which were partly sparked and maintained by ASI education union. Our organization was very much orientated on spreading of anarcho-syndicalist and workers anarchist prop-

aganda in Serbia. Due to historical reasons Serbian population was not exposed to organized anarchist propaganda for decades. Serbian workers were not at all informed of any anarchist or anarcho-syndicalist ideas, and that is why we placed big part of our energy in the work of our publishing/research Center for libertarian studies (CLS). Apart from keeping a large library of anarchist and left-wing materials from the world and Balkans, in recent years CLS published various books and brochures, in which we tried to present anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist ideas to workers in Serbia. We published Proudhon, Goldman, Kropotkin, Pouget, Marx, as well as various publications documenting workers and student struggles. Our web site ([www.inicijativa.org](http://www.inicijativa.org)) is one more way in which we are trying to fight lack of informations about our ideas and actions. We maintain news service, as well as a large collection of digitalized anarcho-syndicalist materials.

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

In 2004 we have become section of International Workers Association (IWA), an anarcho syndicalist international, and since the XXIII Congress, that was held in Manchester, UK in December 2006, we are maintaining the Secretariat of the IWA. Work in the International helped us to strengthen our international ties to anarcho-syndicalist and anarchist workers organizations and enabled us constant exchange of practical solidarity, experiences and ideas with revolutionary workers from all over the world.

We were several times exposed to State repression in previous period, and our members were arrested and confined in short history of our organization for different reasons - from participating and radicalizing union protests, to issues such as issuing of our statement which described killed liberal Serbian prime minister as a murdered criminal, which he was.

**AbolishingBB:** *What are the present structure and goals of ASI?*

Presently ASI has groups in several towns. Biggest and best organized group is in Belgrade with especially good organized Union of Education that throughout fall of 2006. And spring of 2007 provided logistics for Student Protest against neo-liberal reforms of higher education in Serbia. In last nine months almost all our activities were focused on Student Protest, as we see it as one of the most important steps in rebirth of the left-wing movement in Serbia, and we are preparing our engagement in workers strikes in next several months, especially in general strike of railroad workers which is announced for end of may. Our present goal is promotion of direct democratic organization model for student and workers protest. In Belgrade we are working on organizing Union of unemployed and we are actively working in spreading of our organization in places where we still don't have our presence.

**AbolishingBB:** *In this issue of ABB we are trying to take a closer look on different forms of workers resistance in the contemporary*



*Eastern Europe. How would you characterise the workers unrests in your region in last months/years? What intensity they have? In what sectors of (re)-production they mostly take place? What forms of actions are mostly used? What are the demands?*

Serbian situation is somewhat specific in comparison with other Eastern European states. Bloody war which raged across ex-Yugoslavian region for years left horrible mark of nationalism and hatred in the population of this part of Balkans. That left very bad wound on the workers movement and capability of understanding the need for international struggle of the working class. The so called "transition" period openly started some 10 years later, with downfall of Milosevic regime in the end of 2000, which was practically taken down in a General strike scenario.

Huge waves of strikes and protests followed the process of grand theft called privatization.

The protest became very hot in 2003, when, in March, Serbian Prime Minister Djindjic was killed by his criminal companions. Marshal Law was imposed for a long period of time, law that apart from taking other freedoms from the workers, denied basic right to strike. That was something that broke that way of unrest. After that, populist nationalist government took over, and continued the same process with increasingly strengthening of nationalist and clerical sentiment, and with main union central being strongly subordinated to their will.

The protests which are initiated in Serbia are mostly badly organized, isolated, made without a vision of where to go, and in many cases present just a last straw of the dying collective. The issues that are mostly initiating protests are privatization, which means lying off of big portion of employed workers, or situations in which workers haven't been paid for years. Only some sectors, as some trades, such as doctors or teachers, are capable of organizing larger strikes in continuity.

Yellow unions are playing a large role of betraying workers interests, as they raise tensions in the beginning, gaining some trust from the workers, and then making deal which usually means that hundreds and thousands of workers are fired with minimal pay off. The unsolved issue of

Kosovo is being used by the authorities to divert attention from burning



social issues, but in recent period we can see that masses are more and more able of seeing through that curtain.

**AbolishingBB:** *Are there any more militant forms of action to observe there?*

Yes. We had several cases of workers taking over their factories (notable example is beer factory in Jagodina), and blocking them during a long period of time. Also we had cases of worker, or peasants blocking highways for days. Some of this actions finished in workers winning their demands, but some of them were broken by police or security guards.

**AbolishingBB:** *What are exactly the role and form of participation of ASI, or other anarchist formations, in these struggles?*

On workers strikes we spread out leaflets agitating for more radical actions and for direct democratic structures instead of corrupt yellow unions. When circumstances allow, we hook up with more radical workers and initiate radical actions, such as the case when we organized chasing of the manager of one surface mine in a small city close to Belgrade. Only by having luck he managed to escape from the managing building which was occupied by miners.

In Student Protest our members, as well as members of several other anarchist and horizontal collectives, participated on all mass assemblies, ensuring that direct democratic structure of protest is not violated. We also agitated and placed into practice more radical actions - blockades of faculties, interrupting the meetings of the highest body uniting all the universities in Serbia (KONUS), and other bodies, blocking traffic etc.

**AbolishingBB:** *Among some anarchist organisations in Poland, the concept of "workers autonomy" (developed specially in Italy some decades ago) is being analysed recently. This is result of observations towards the changes in contemporary production-processes as well as a result of the defeat of the unionism in general. Is 'Autonomia' as well an issue in your region, or is your movement rather sticking to the traditional anarcho-syndicalism?*

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE



movement anyhow. Our methods and goals are totally different than the one of yellow unions, and we have to realize that apart from the similarity in name, we are talking about two totally different types of organization. Sharpest critiques of mainstream unions were always coming from anarcho-syndicalist organizations. Our organization has never discussed the issue of Autonomia, so we are not able to give you the position of ASI regarding that issue.

ment in different forthcoming strikes and protests, another volume of our newspaper "Direkta akcija" is being prepared as well as few new publications from our CLS.

Parallel with that we are maintaining the Secretariat of the IWA. It is hard work, which involves constant communication with comrades around the world. The one of the primary tasks of our Secretariat is "digitalizing" of the International. IWA is making problems to the bosses since 1922, with notable episodes such as Spanish revolution, and what we are doing now is providing the infrastructure for international workers movement that will be capable to seriously challenge State and capitalism in XXI century.

We are sticking to traditional anarcho-syndicalism. We find it to be only suitable form of workers organizing for a fight against capitalism and the State. Yellow unionism is defeated, it was bound to, as its politics isn't sustainable in the present formation of capitalist system, but we don't see anarcho-syndicalist movement as being part of wider "unionist"

*AbolishingBB: What are the ASI present activities? How is going the work within the IWA?*

As we said, in last several months we were mainly focused on the Student protest against tuition fees, now we are preparing involve-

*AbolishingBB: Thank you that you found a time to share your ideas with the readers of our journal.*

## Workers of Security Services Branch Want to the Unions

By Zbyszek (Warsaw)

In contemporary Poland, breaking of the labour laws is a pretty common custom being practice the same by international corporations as well as by firms with local capital. This procedure is supported through the feeling of impunity by employers as even if the labour codex is being raped evidently, for eventual court-procedure takes years long. Than among different branches of the market, the branch of security services is the one which focuses probably all pathologies connected with violations of the work-codex.

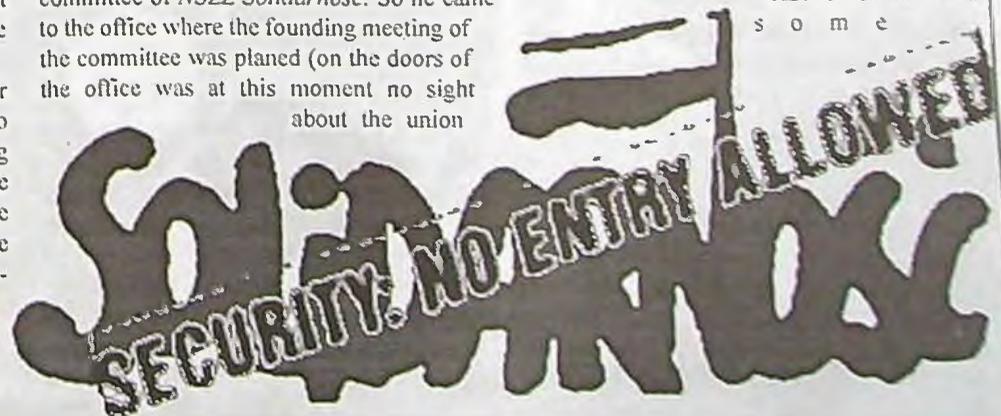
Already many years ago one could hear e.g. that the Warsaw market of security services got shared through secret agreement between 4 big firms. I was told about it by the owner of a little security service firm. He told me as well how big security firms are deriving the donations from the state for sham employment of the handicap people. He admitted, that in order to survive his little firm will most probably be forced to undertake the same practices.

Characteristic for all security firms is their radical anti-unionist attitude. Any attempt to start any union structure there, is being smashed right at its moment of born. At the same time there are enough reasons for the employees to associate themselves into the syndicates. The wages in this high risk profession are one of the lowest in the country – security workers without permission to carry a weapon earn about 1€ per hour. The

system of the employment looks in the way that employce has a work-contract than it is on the level of the lowest national wage. This situation leads to the need of the extra-work-hours and some people work about 500 hours in month.

Employers, in order to not be confronted with the labour-codex, are employing additionally people in their daughter-firms on the ordered-work-contracts basis, and in this way they do not need to pay the employers for the extra hours. How large is the feeling of being exploited proofs the fact that when in one of the firms, called *Solid Security*, people managed to set a trade union, in about one month 400 people join it. The employer was cutting wages of the persons joining the syndicate to the official minimum and deprived them of all bonuses. In another security firm, *Ekotrade*, one of the workers was trying to set the local-committee of *NSZZ Solidarnosc*. So he came to the office where the founding meeting of the committee was planed (on the doors of the office was at this moment no sight about the union

idea). Direction of the firm got informed about the meeting through their channels. They sent two persons from their lines to the meeting. This two gave the false names to the other workers which gathered. After checking who of their workers is behind this meeting they left the room. Some minutes later their called the guy which initiate everything on his mobile-phone and told him that he is fired. Just to mention: this oppression was used against the huge trade union which is *NSZZ Solidarnosc* which is part of the contemporary political power structure in Poland and act very close to the *PiS* (the governing party). So we could assume under this circumstances that such a syndicate like *IP (Workers Initiative)*, which member also was fired from another Security Service firm (*IMPEL*), is saying from the very beginning on the lost position. In case of *Solidarnosc* some



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

activists which are fired cause of attempts to set the union-committee can consider to get job in the union structure itself. On such a luxury can not allow itself smaller union such as IP. However it seems that the strength of IP lays rather in their spontaneous activities what is definitely not a fact in case of bureaucratic structures of huge trade unions.

The struggle for syndicalism within the security service brunch is difficult as well for that reason that after the fall of the commu-

nism, many of those firms was found by ex-police (militia) and ex-secret-security-service, people. Astonishing, this links and connections are still alive even today what was visible when unionists asked police to intervene after evidently breaking the laws by employer. Such calls are being often or completely ignored or it is explained that no conflict with the law appeared in this situation. Funny is as well that about all cases are informed journalists, from the press as well as

from TV but they are or not in strength to make any material on it or it is just not being published when ready. I was wondering why it is happening. And I was told by one of the unionists, that sooner or later in any media redaction somebody had to ask him/herself the question: "Wait a moment. What is actually a name of the firm which is watching our building?"

*"I decided to reorganise the work conditions in my way"*

## *Interview with Worker of Small Security Service Firm*

*When the organized fight of the workers of security services brunch does not exist yet (at least in most work places) the workers resist in the individual way undertaking any available for them measures. Here is a short interview with a polish worker from Warsaw employed in one of the typical security jobs.*

**AbolishingBB**

**AbolishingBB:** *What is your original profession and where are you working now?*

I am technician of gastronomy, lets say a baker. In the last two decades I have to changed a profession quite a few times, working in meanwhile in little gastronomy, in supermarket, as a driver, taxi-driver, etc. But now I am working since 7 years as a security of the property.

**AbolishingBB:** *How it happened that you landed on this kind of work and what kind of firm do you work?*

I migrate for work in the nineties. Than I came back and there was very difficult to get any work in Poland. Old friend of mine help me to get work in one security firm. The owner was ex-SB man and his wife owns as well a bit smaller security firm. We watched mostly objects, especially building sites. It was semi-contract job so we were very cheap for them in sense of insurances, etc. Than I landed in the firm I am now. We watch the parking side next to the sport-stadium. This is a small firm run by one guy which probably is connected with other security firms. We are just three workers there, we share our job

**AbolishingBB:** *What kind of contract you have there, what work times and what about the social benefits coverage?*

For about 4-years we have worked without any contracts. It was the proposal of the owner and I, as well as my two colleagues, we agree on it as we were glad that we can have any paid work at whole. So of course as well no social benefits – no ZUS (insurance packet), no holiday money. We get officially 4zł (1€) per hour. It makes altogether about 960zł

(250€) per month. We work in cicle – 24h at work than two days break, than again 24h work.

**AbolishingBB:** *How long one can survive with this kind of work conditions?*

Not long. That is why I decided to reorganise this conditions in my way. You know, all the money in this firm are coming through our hands. We not only watch but as well sell the paring-tickets to the clients. The chef gets than this money than from us. I just decide to dictate my wage by myself through gving to the chef not more than 60% of what was in the cash-box. Both colleagues have followed me. In this way I increase my monthly wage from 960 on 2000 zł. The chef found it out pretty quickly, but at first he is tight as employing us illegally, secondly I guess it is still better we "steal" this money from him as he make with us regular contracts, pay all benefits and whole taxes to the state. So he did not protested too much.

**AbolishingBB:** *Has his attitude changed somehow in reaction?*

One thing changed. He legalize our status, we signed with him contracts, but as well on half of ethat. But this change was as well a result of one accident which happened on the parking site after which situation he understood that with little of a bad luck he can get lot of complications with 3 black employed workers. But as the contracts where still "tricky" (half etat instead of real full etat) I decided to regulate as well the deal with a

holiday money in similar way I have done with the wage. Before we did not get any zloty for time we were taking holidays. So what I made was that when I came back from 3 week holidays I just took the money from the daily income as I would normally work these three weeks. I told two colleagues that I made it and than they done it the same. They took the money for the last holiday time they had. The chef realised immediately that lotsa money disappeared and he came to me asking on what an idea I came this time. So I explained him that I took just what anyway belongs to me and that most probably my colleagues have done the some.

**AbolishingBB:** *Was it not too much for him?*

He was not too happy, but than he said that he understand me but he don't like that I am sharing all my ideas with two other colleagues ... But he could not make more as he knows that I can give him enough troubles if he starts to rebel against me.

But even if I managed to increase the payments for us I have to make another job in between to could live godne life. I start to work as a driver again.

**AbolishingBB:** *Thank you for sharing with us your very personal strategy.*

No problem, I am not too conspirative about what I do in this matter. If you want I can give you a name and address of my chef, he is not my friend or something and sooner or later it will be time to quit this job anyway.



## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

MAYDAY REPORTS  
FROM EASTERN EUROPE

## TURKEY

## Mayday in Istanbul

Yesterday (1st of May 2007) Istanbul governor locked up the whole transportation system in Istanbul just not to let DISK (a leftist trade union) and others to have the Mayday celebration in Taksim square. His stupid attitude caused a real warfare; lots of people got stucked in traffic. According to the official reports, 799 protestors got arrested all

On the other hand, anarchists managed to enter Taksim square as they have declared a few days ago. Probably they were the only "illegal" group in there except DISK representatives and those from the organization committee. Taksim square has been invaded by about 60 anarchists (others got stuck in traffic or police blockage). Although the others started to draw off from the square, surprisingly anarchists did not leave there for a while. Later, while they were leaving the organization committee invited them again to support them in re-entering Taksim. However after a while a new police attack started; many people injured some got arrested. The clashed went on for some hours in Beyoglu-Istiklal Street. In here no known anarchist got arrested although many injured; however, at least 2 arrests known from anarchists in other places. Here you can see a video document from mainstream media showing anarchists' in Taksim: <http://video.milliyet.com.tr/vidcolar.asp?page=1&aranacak=&kanal=2&id=65...>



## ISRAEL

## May Day in Tel Aviv

It took about an hour till 100 or so local anarchists converged in Dizengof round plaza at centre of Tel Aviv. As the presence of police was too big, we moved in small groups to Meir garden, in hope to get rid of most of them. However, when we wanted to start the march from there, police blocked our way. After a while, few of us started to exit the garden around their block and they stopped their efforts. May be there was change of orders. (May be as the result of a big scandal in the media about the harsh suppression of the day before demonstration of the striking students) We started the march mainly on the pavement but also from time to time, when the pavement was narrow, people used the road too, while tree bicycles towing small courts with metal barrels used as drums travel in the road adjacent to us. From time to time policeman approach me and so happen to others who infringed the road, asking politely to return to the pavement...

During the march people distributed fliers and conversed with curious people. We also chanted and one chant was very popular and repeated many times: "They fuck prostitutes for money but they fuck workers for free".

When we arrived at the main intersection, we converged for a while, and turned to the Shenkin "leftist" street. As there was a service car blocking the movement we passed the cars using the pavement and found an empty road... The next half kilometer was a very surrealist phenomenon. About hundred anarchists with our flags, placards and banners, with our drums and chanting, marching in the middle of the road, with three stars police officer in the head... along the way three other policeman from those accompanying us joined him, as if they are leading the march.

Near the end of the road we turned to another one leading to the stock exchange "bursa" building but just when nearing it we turned again. Changing from street to street, sometimes disturbing a bit the traffic - mainly in the intersections we did a two hours march till we arrived at the sea shore. More than half the people dropped out along the route. Many of those remained opted suggested to cool off in the sea... It seems the demonstration was at its end and I dropped too.

(from A-Infos)



## POLAND

## Anarchist May Day in Poland

On May 1 this year there seemed to be more small and medium-sized marches than usual in different cities throughout Poland. Anarchists organized marches in Poznan and in Warsaw.

The march in Poznan drew about 200-300 people and went from the Cegielski plant on a march through town. Anarchists and syndicalists called for the manifestation under the slogan "Against economical discrimination!" In Cegielski there has been a conflict between workers and the management over pay and a few days earlier there were some protests in front of the factory. Unfortunately few of the people who



around the city - many without any reason. Many so-called "ordinary" people suffered from police attack; TVs show one guy who was slapped by a policeman just because he was sitting in a downtown cafe with some friends. Many people got sick related with tear-gas and such chemicals including "ordinary" people. There was a terrible smell and smoke all over Taksim-Beyoglu area. There was also great repression on the media; lots of reporters were beaten and live broadcast wagons of TV channels got arrested for a while just not to make news from Taksim square. Even the VERY mainstream Hurriyet newspaper started an online petition to protest Istanbul governor M. Guler and Minister of Interior Affairs calling the governor "Istanbul dictator".

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE



worked there came, probably preferring to enjoy the long weekend. Protestors demanded a self-managed republic and told the government to go to work for 600 zloties a month (150 euros). Speakers demanded a 30% wage increase for everybody.

The march in Warsaw drew some fewer people (150) and was cursed with a few problems with broken equipment and police - it even snowed during the demonstration. So things started late and some people left early, meaning that the demonstration did not "accidentally" run into the demonstration of the left parties (SLD, SDPL) and sell-out union OPZZ. Perhaps that saved us; there had been rumours and the radio announced that they were expecting riots in Warsaw so a large group of police were staked out around the corner from the demo.

The march planned to visit a few sites: the McDonalds recruitment center, the Ministry of Finance, the Labour Court and the Ministry of Labour. At McDonalds, we protested against not only the working conditions there, but against the growing amount of McJobs being created. At the Minister of Finance, we spoke about the Thatcherite economics of our Minister, criticizing draconian budget cuts and the false idea that cutting taxes and passing on the social security, health care and pension burdens to workers will create new jobs. There were some big funny pictures of our Finance Minister and she was out into pieces in the action.



There was a problem with snow and with both technical equipment and the permission to move down the street with our crazy vehicle which delayed the march, so two protest stops were cut so we could attempt to catch up with the red bourgeoisie who were going to have a picnic; anarchists organized a picnic next to them. Unfortunately, the politicians were all hiding inside their party HQ celebrating the anniversary of Poland's accession to the EU, so they didn't get a chance to get a piece of anarchist "birthday cake" or to have a chat with us. But there was

a lively exchange with the few body-builder trade union burcauerats who stayed at the picnic behind some rows of police and private security. Anarchists criticized their type of bureaucratic, sell-out unionism and were called "fucking socialists" by the unionists.

It seems like both demos had a nice atmosphere, although there were some nervous moments at the beginning in Warsaw. In general, it seems like the movement is in a low period throughout Poland, partly because of a large emigration, and partly because of a tendency to look for larger, more general left and liberal initiatives. So it was nice that the tradition of May Day is still alive and was remembered by anarchists.



## ex-SOVIET UNION

*In former Soviet Union, anarchists were once again hitting the streets in Mayday.*

*Below reports of anarchist actions in a number of cities.*

### "Freedom, equality, anarcho-communism"

*Blagoveschensk, Anur region*

Autonomous Action queued Bolshevik Mayday demonstration. They carried a 5-meter banner with text "Freedom, equality, anarcho-communism" and red and black flags, leaflets and paper "Situation" were distributed. Slogans were scanned. When only anarchist orator began his speech on true meaning of Mayday, Bolsheviks asked him to leave. There were no problems with police.

(by Autonomous Action of Blagoveschensk)

### "No one is illegal - working people unite!"

*Irkutsk*

In Irkutsk, anarchists joined general demonstration and distributed leaflets, papers "Volnaya Sibir" (Free Siberia), "Liniya Fronta" (Frontline, anarchist skinhead paper



made in St. Petersburg) and "Situation" (Paper of Autonomous Action). They had a banner "No one is illegal - working people unite!", and two banners related to anti-nuclear campaign in city of Angarsk nearby - "Angarsk is not a nuclear dump" and "No to a Chernobyl in Baikal". During march, there was a small fight with cops as they attempted to grab someone from the march without any apparent reason, but he was successfully dearrested.

(By AD-Irkutsk)

### "Police attempted to grab some anarchists"

*Kazan*

In Kazan, anarchist events were mainly organised by local anarchist communist group Derzay! (Dare!). Group had an early start, hanging banners with texts "Freedom, equality, fraternity" with encircled a and "Rights are not given, rights are taken!" to different areas of the city. Plenty of graffiti was made as well.



Anarchists visited meetings of KPRF, United Russia and meeting of splinter fraction from KPRF lead by Salikhov - in first two anarchists were just agitating, in third anarchists were participators. Second issue of paper "Derzay!" was distributed. In third meeting anarchists were let to tribute, making their point on the events in Tallinn. Meanwhile police attempted to grab some anarchists, but as participators of the meeting showed solidarity and surrounded police cars, police had to release all arrested.

(by Derzay!-group)

### "World is not for sale - Ukraine is not a product!"

*Kiev*

In Kiev, anarchists joined a common "radical left" demonstration which gathered some 100 people. Convergence point was at Bessarabki around 10:20, at least two buses of OMON were located to the spot. 11 AM colon moved towards Maidan from movie theatre Orbit, accompanied by music from drums, pipes and a mouth-organ. People were

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE



shouting "Get out on the streets, reclaim the city!" and "World is not for sale - Ukraine is not a product!", "Fascism won't trespass!". Slogans and banners were in both Ukrainian and Russian languages.

A number of speeches were made, one of them by anarchist Pyotr Raush from St. Petersburg.

(Report from [ukraine.indymedia.org](http://ukraine.indymedia.org))

**"There is not yet reason for workers to party!"**

*Krasnoyarsk*



In Krasnoyarsk, members of local of Association of Anarchist Movements unrolled banners "Rights are not given, rights are taken" and black flag. Around 60 leaflets "there is not yet reason for workers to party!" were distributed. They had no any problems with officials.

(From [ru.indymedia.org](http://ru.indymedia.org))

**"Unusually for Magadan, anarchists managed to escape without arrests"**

*Magadan*

Last year attempt to join demonstration of pro-Kremlin trade unions was a sorry failure as everyone got arrested, so this time anarchists wanted to do their own thing.

It was decided to have an action in front of supermarket "Severnoe siyanie" (Northern lights), as lots of people are gathering there. Anarchists had to wait at first, and were already about to change plans, as a police car was on guard in front of the magazine. But suddenly cops left somewhere, so anarchist torched a sea torch and each of them raised a cardboard with a letter, which together formed text "PROTIV" (against). Speeches were made and leaflets distributed, which explained meaning of mayday and against what anarchists are demonstrating. Unusually

for Magadan, anarchists managed to escape without arrests.

(Autonomous Action of Magadan)

**"Down with wage slavery"**

*Minsk*

In Minsk, anarchists joined meeting in park of Peoples' Friendship. Meeting was a mixed soup of some thousand Bolsheviks, trade unionists and social democrats. Anarchist group was rather small, mere 20 people. Anarchists were not attempting to have a large mobilisation, differently from Chernobyl Day march few days before which saw a bloc of some 80 anarchists.

Later anarchists dropped two banners near



Nemiga metro station, with texts "Down with wage slavery" and "Consume, work, die". They were visible for half an hour, until officials removed them.

(Indymedia Belarus)

**"Raise the black flag higher - state is the main enemy!"**

*Moscow*

Around Mayday, Moscow anarchists organised a festival "Red and Black Party", but as there were technical problems with concerts, eventually festival was just a discussion on theme of worker's movement in April 30th, and street actions in Mayday.

Having agitated in yellow and independent trade union events and Bolshevik march in the morning, Moscow anarchists went to have their own demonstrations in afternoon.



Illegal Anarchist march was supposed to go from metro Novokuznetskaya, over Moskva river to Bolotnaya square. However this year cops and FSB made first time a serious effort to prevent anarchist march from the beginning - all yards surrounding metro Novokuznetskaya were swarming cops in

marked and unmarked cars, a busload of OMON riot cops was also hidden there. It is unclear if cops had figured out Novokuzneskaya as starting point as journalists were invited to a spot nearby, if they had interrupted communications in closed internet or phone calls, or got information by some other way.

However cops were not outrageous enough to arrest people before beginning, but they took some people "for a walk", which practically hindered them from participating in the action.

There were a number of tactical lapses, but eventually anarchist managed to launch march few hundred meters away the planned starting point, and no more than 25% of the people were lost in the middle. Thus some 50 anarchists went on marching, with banner "Rights are not given, rights are taken", "No war but class war", "Down with the police state" and "Peace to world".

But in less than five minutes, just when anarchists had began singing of "internationale" and were about to cross Moskva river, police appeared and began grabbing people. They managed to grab just one person and some banners, but after loads of plain clothes police and a busload of OMON had engaged hunt of anarchists in the whole area, their overall harvest was 16 people. This was also something unforeseen -



never before during this decade Moscow police has bothered to hunt down participators of actions when it has already been dispersed, as it is rather hard to proof participation unless they have made an arrest on the spot.

During following hours, anarchists surviving arrests, and those who had missed first action due to preventive police measures or tactical errors, gathered in park near metro station Krasnye Vorota in other part of the city. Eventually it was decided to have one more march, from Krasnye Vorota to Kursk train station by small side-streets between Boulevard and Sadovaya ringroads. It was not much people there, but in general centre of Moscow is always empty during Mayday, only in Ohotniy Ryad next to Kremlin there are a bit more people but no action there would last a long time.

Some 45 people were in second march, only one banner ("Peace to people, war to power") had survived first one, but as small streets had nice acoustics and few cars, one could hear shouts "Freedom, equality,

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

anarcho-communism!", "Raise the black flag higher - state is the main enemy!" from far. Two sea torches were lighted as well. Cops were not prepared to this second



demonstration, so it finished close to Kursk train station without any incidents.

After second action, anarchists went to support arrested comrades, who were released during the meeting with summons to court for misdemeanour charge of illegal demonstration. A small spontaneous performance was made in police station. In the evening, anarchists also visited Bolotnaya Ploschad, leaving there statues for "prophets of capitalism" - this was original plan for the end of the first action, but due to police measures first demonstrations never made it to the square.

(by Autonomous Action of Moscow)

### Faraway from the Bolsheviks Nizhni Novgorod

In Nizhni Novgorod, anarchist skipped usual paper sales and leafleting in Bolshevik events, and preferred to make an action to support a local ecological grassroots initiative instead. In Kovalikhinsk suburb, local inhabitants have already for months protested against planned 4-way bypass road, construction would lead to disappearance of plenty of green areas and

a square. Developers are already cutting trees in area. Action was formally announced as "gathering of local inhabitants", as such an event does not need any permission. First participators planted trees, then two persons, masked as governor and city mayor, attempted to pull up these planted trees, but eventually were expelled. Eventually participators went to distribute leaflets against upcoming 2007-2008 elections in the city. Unfortunately, besides 30 anarchists and autonomes and a handful of ecological activists, only 6 local activists joined action. They explained, that campaign is already exhausted, as this far it has not reached any results whatsoever, although prosecutor confirmed that developers have made plenty of legal violations.

(by Autonomous Action of Nizhni Novgorod)



### "I am also not from here"

Novosibirsk

Absurd Novosibirsk Mayday "monstration" has already become a tradition, this year 700-800 people were reported to have joined it. Differently from last year, police did not planned to stop march although it broke out from the meeting in end of the common left-wing and trade unionist Mayday demonstration. Placates and banners in photos have



texts "Are you thinking?", "I do not think anything!", "Pigs are people as well!", "Researchers are our light - but lamps are cheaper!", "I am normal", "I am also not from here", and many others which are too difficult or impossible to translate. Other placates reported had texts "long live free condoms" and "you will be cured as well". One person was arrested. It was also repeated, that two organisers of the demonstration will be charged with misdemeanour charges.

(information from blogs)

### "Agitating in KPRF driven meeting"

Rostov-na-Donu

Anarchists from Federation of Anarchist Communists went to agitate in KPRF driven meeting. They reported that it is becoming more miserable every year - there were thousands of people in 90's, nowadays just few hundred, surrounded by police from every direction and infiltrated by vast amount of plain clothes officers. And nobody reacted when police for no reason grabbed three young persons from stalinist AKM (Avant-Guard of Red Youth). After apathetic meeting, anarchist visited city locations connected to history of worker's struggle, related to events of 1902 strike and left flowers.

(Federation of Anarchist Communists - via ru.indymedia.org)

### "Rubber bullets and tear gas, present of president to the working masses!"

St. Petersburg

In St. Petersburg, anarchists joined the

queue of - the ruling "United Russia" party! Apparently this move caught cops by surprise, as they could do nothing when some 20 anarchists marched by their colon, with a 10 meter banner with text "Freedom, anarchy, self-governance", scanning "United Russia is a fascist country!", "Freedom, equality, anarcho-communism!", "Main enemy is in your own country, main enemy sits in Kremlin!", "Rubber bullets and tear gas, present of president to the working masses!", "Raise the black flag higher, state is the main enemy!" and other slogans, burning sea torches. Eventually, when anarchists had already passed whole colon and were leading the march, 3 cops managed to grab the banner and anarchists dispersed without any of them getting arrested.

Other groups of anarchists from Autonomous Action, Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-Syndicalists, Association of Anarchist Movements and Punk Revival agitated in Bolshevik and liberal demonstrations. One group went to visit fascist Movement Against Illegal Migration (DPNI) and Slavic Union (SS) meeting with a banner "No One is Illegal".



Boneheads had not guts to jump them during their demonstration, but they made attempt to follow and jump their "guests" afterwards but without a special success.

Altogether there were 2 or 3 attempts of Nazis to jump anarchists during Mayday in St. Petersburg - first after 2 PM some 15 boneheads jumped 8 anarchists when they returned from Bolshevik demonstration in corner of Nevskiy prospekt and Fontanki. In another event, 15-20 boneheads jumped 5 SHARP in Zagorodniy street. No-one was seriously hurt in either of the events, and as boneheads outnumbered anarchists 2-4 to 1,



few broken ribs and teeth and a successful withdrawal from side of the anti-fascists may already be considered as a victory. DPNI took responsibility for first attack, they are all more seldom distancing themselves from the Nazi boneheads.

## LABOUR STRUGGLES IN EASTERN EUROPE

(Reports from Autonomous Action of St. Petersburg and piter.indymedia.ru)

### Leafletting under the black flags Tyumen

In Tyumen, anarchists decided not to join Bolshevik march, but they went to leaflet meeting in end of the march and distributed some leaflets and raised black and red and black diagonal flags. Cops grabbed one anarchist, but due to protests of other participants they eventually let him go.

(Autonomous Action of Tyumen)

### "Down with state and capitalism" Ufa

In Ufa, anarchists made a banner drop 9am at street crossing leading to centre of the city, banner had text "1st of May - Down with state and capitalism - avtonom.org". This way anarchists were first to launch Mayday actions in Ufa.

11am there was a meeting of yellow, pro-Kremlin trade unions. Anarchist leaflets received both positive and negative reactions. One hour later there was meeting of KPRF (Communist Party of Russian Federation), average age of which was 60 years. Last in series of boring events leafletted was event of "Just Russia" party, a new Kremlin political construction as they have an idea to shift to American system with two parties that have no any difference... "Just Russia" is supposed to be a bit more left-wing than ruling "United Russia", but both they consist of 100% Kremlin loyalists.

(by Ender/Autonomous Action of Ufa)

### "Anarchists arrested and charged with distributing nationalist propaganda!" Vladivostok

Anarchists planned to queue behind march of RKRK (Russian Communist Worker's Party), but this was banned and cops were swarming in the gathering point. As there were only 10 anarchist, it did not made much sense to have a separate march. Eventually anarchists went to join demonstration of KPRF, but tactical manoeuvres failed and both cops and UBOP (Administration of Fight against Organised Crime, a nasty special police force unit) turned attention on anarchists. Soon they attempted to grab anarchists, and caught four with one flag. Arrested were released after three hours, with charges of distributing nationalist propaganda! As usual, cops have been trumping up charges with left hand, perhaps

they were drunken. But at least some press was distributed, as each cop wanted a copy.

(Autonomous Action of Vladivostok)

### "Police attempted to kick black blockers out of the march" Voronezh

In Voronezh, anarchists were splitted to two sections in March - Voronezh Revolutionary Union of Anarchists (VRSA) was marching in front of the KPRF-driven march with leftists, whereas "Black Bloc" group was marching in very end of the demonstration. In common radical left bloc there were 30-40 people, numbers of "Black Bloc" sections were not reported. Police attempted to kick black blockers out from the march due to their drums, and there was another failed arresting attempt after march but otherwise everything went without excesses.

(report from anarchvnrn.ru via  
russia.indymedia.org)



## BULGARIA

### "Today is not a holiday, but a day for a fight!" Anarchists on the streets of Sofia



FAB (The Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria) did a rally for the 1st of May in Sofia. More than 100 anarchists with flags and banners gathered in front of the National Theatre "Ivan Vazov" at 12:00 a clock. A group of about 40 neonazis with black flags showed trying to prove the rally with stupid slogans, but they didn't succeed to disturb it and with a little help by the police soon after their arrival the boneheads decided to go away. There was a police cordon to watch the anarchists and as usual a civil cop taking a video footage of the protestors. There were also a lot of journalists making photos and interviewing the protestors. A declaration was read by FAB and then the rally started. First the anarchists passed by the Italian Embassy and the people shouted "Assassini - Killers" to remind about the murder of Carlo Juliani, then the rally continued through the main boulevards in the center of Sofia and all the people shouted different slogans like : "Today

is not a holiday, but a day for a fight!", "Stanishev - a bandit, enough of this genocide" (Stanishev is the pri-minister of Bulgaria), "European prices - African wages" (after the joining to the EU all the prices have been rising but the wages are the same as before), "Pseudo Socialists - Capitalist Pigs" etc... The rally ended in front of the National Library where everyone was able to speak out on the megaphone about the problems he/she is concerned. There were invitations to the passers by to join the rally, because solidarity is the way to help each other.

The struggle continues!

### Awaking society from its lethargic dream Mayday in city of Razgrad

The anarchist community of Razgrad did a couple of actions for Mayday. These are actually the first anarchist actions about the 1<sup>st</sup> of May in this town. Two of the local crews (Street Art Revolutionaries and System Resist Crew) got together the night before Mayday and did a massive stenciling through the whole town. The stencils had messages that "The 1<sup>st</sup> of May is a day for resistance" and "Capitalism kills the Earth". This day has started to be celebrated as a holiday during the Socialist regime and the truth about it has been hidden from the people. So we decided to make a leaflet with the story of Mayday (the protests in Chicago for 8 hour working day, the events at Haymarket square and the crazy trail and execution of the anarchists of Chicago). We went through the center and the town park in the late afternoon on May the 1<sup>st</sup> and handed out about 100 leaflets. We also organized a video screening of the Canadian documentary "The Take", which took place on the next day. This movie shows the resistance of Argentinean workers after the economic collapse in 2001, when they start to occupy the closed factories and self-govern themselves without bosses. There were about 40 people present at the screening and everyone liked the movie. We also had put an info table with Mayday leaflets, the last two issues of our zine "Katarzis", the last issue of "AbolishingBB" and some newsletters for the upcoming protests against the G8 summit in Germany this summer. We hope that more and more people are gonna awake from the lethargic dream they are in and will take back their lives in their own hands, so we could all fight to create a better world.



# Say 'NO' to a nationalist point of view ! The story of a riot-causing monument in Estonia

## INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY

To understand the complicated relationships between Estonian and Russian communities in Estonia today, it is necessary to know some history. Therefore let's have a very brief look on what has happened on Estonian soil over the last 300 years.

After the Great Northern War, in 1710 de facto, Sweden lost Estonia to Russia which resulted in 200 years of Russian ascendancy. Influenced by the first active nationalist movement in the 19th century and after surviving the biggest attempt of Russification of that time in the 1890s, Estonia declared itself independant in 1918, after winning the Liberation War against Soviet troops at the end of World War I. With the start of chamber of horrors called the World War II, Estonia once again was annexed with the Soviet Russia in 1939 (Molotov-Ribbentrop pact), but this lasted only for 2 years, since Nazi Germany occupied the country in 1941.

Three years later, in 1944, the Red Army reconquered the Baltic region, including Estonia, presenting the occupation as 'liberatory', while in reality one authoritarian occupation was replaced by another. There was barely any resistance for independant Estonia that time, since most Estonians able to fight were forcibly drafted either by the Red or by the Nazi army. Since the 1944 occupation, Estonia stayed under Soviet pseudo-socialist dictatorship for almost 50 years. As a part of another Russification process, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Russians were brought to Estonia and most of them remained even after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the birth of Estonian Republic in 1991. The result today: 68.5 per cent of estonians and 25.6 per cent of russians.

## THE MONUMENT AND THE EPILOGUE

To mark the 3rd anniversary of 'liberating' Tallinn, a bronze monument was built to Tõnismäe near the city center in 1947. The place was used as a mass-grave during the war and 12 members of the Red Army were buried there. Originally named the 'Monument of the Liberators of Tallinn', it was renamed to the 'Monument to All Victims of the World War II' after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since then the memorial has been the scene for the

9th of May and 22nd of September celebration events for Soviet-minded people and veterans of the World War II.

The 9th of May 2006 saw hundreds of Soviet-veterans gathering near the monument with red flags of USSR, Russian flags and pictures of Stalin. When two estonian far-right activists appeared with an Estonian flag and a placard saying „Remember Estonians, this soldier-occupied our country!“, the crowd started taunting them and the police decided to take the estonian nationalists away. The conflict hit the news big and a lot of estonians were frustrated by the arrogance of Soviet-minded people. The neo-liberal government decided to relocate the monument which then was protected by the police for several months.

But the situation calmed and gatherings were allowed again. Both, estonian nationalists and the defenders of the monument (headed by the newly formed group called the Night Watch), held several meetings in the memorial area, most of them ending with conflicts between two sides. The monument issue was one of the biggest topics in the public eye for months, but no compromise was made - the idea to relocate the monument held.

## REMOVAL OF THE MONUMENT AND THE RIOTS

When the general elections of Estonia in March resulted in another right-wing coalition, one of the first promises of the new government was to finally relocate the Tõnismäe monument. The Estonian Centrist Party, Russian Party of Estonia, Night Watch, Estonian Leftist Party, 8th of May Movement, left-wing intellectuals/professors and anarchist collective PunaMust were among others who opposed the relocating but were unable to stop the progress. Pressure was put on Estonia by the Russian government as well, since Putin, using the conflicts in Estonia for self-interest, threatened Estonia with various



methods should the monument be relocated. The pro-Kreml youth organization Nashi also organized several protest actions in front of the Estonian embassies in Moscow and St. Petersburg, demanding the Estonian government to leave the monument alone. But the decision had been made.

The relocating process started early in the morning of 26th of April, when about 500 policemen in riot-gear encircled the memorial and the monument was covered with a giant white tent. The exhumation of the buried soldiers was supposed to start the next day. The Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence promised that the monument itself will stay in its place and won't be relocated before several weeks. The new location was said to be the Graveyard of the Defence Forces, not far away from Tõnismäe. After seeing what's going on, the Night Watch group called people to gather for a mass-protest at 18:00 near the tent. According to different sources, 1000-3000 people showed up. As the people were gathering, the police was organizing as well: the riot police, special forces unit K-Commando and the Prison Department with a water-cannon were brought to the scene.

As the people started throwing bottles and eggs toward the police line, the situation got more intense. At about 21:00 police warned the people, saying that if they do not leave, the police will attack. After 30 minutes and people still at their place, the riot police started spraying tear-gas and beating people with batons. The protesters answered with stones and sticks. As the police attacked, half of the crowd left the area taking the by-street, where the offices of the ruling Reformist Party and the

Ministry of Justice were located - windows of those and other nearby buildings were smashed. People moved on and finally reached the Pärnu street - one of the biggest and most populated street in Tallinn. All shop windows were broken and shops looted, kiosk was looted and burnt. Later, a popular nazi pub „Woodstock” was also attacked, four Molotov cocktails were thrown into the windows. Stores in the old-town and the central Tallinn, including Armani, Hugo Boss and several fur stores, were also attacked and looted. The protesters were free to do what they wanted for almost 3 hours as the police forces were all gathered around the monument. After the midnight, the police started clearing the streets, using rubber bullets, smoke grenades etc. Hundreds were arrested, many injured. One of the protesters, Dmitri aged 20, was stabbed to death near the nazi pub, for „unkown reasons” according to the police. During the night a crisis committee was brought together which decided to relocate the monument immediately.



The morning of the 27th of April was calm. At noon, groups of estonian nationalists started rallying around the city, clashing with groups of local russians. As the evening came closer, people started gathering near the Freedom Square to march to T?nismäe. Riot-police and water-cannons were brought out again. As the darkness took ground, another set of riots began. People threw traffic-signs and stones at the police and smashed everything they could. Small groups of protesters spread around the city. The riot-police attacked the crowd beating everyone on their way, including old people, tourists and journalists. The water-cannon was also used. Hundreds were again arrested.

Tallinn was not the only place where the protests took place. In other cities such as Pärnu, Kohila-Järve, Narva and J?hvi acts of 'vandalism' and small gatherings took place as well. The protests didn't end with Estonian borders: 'Nashi' blocked Estonian embassy in Moscow, breaking windows of the building and later attacking ambassadors car. The diplomatic protests from Russia included calling a boycott on estonian products and ending all diplomatic relations between Russian and Estonian governments. Tens of websites of Estonian

governmental institutions were attacked by russian hackers.

In total, around 1000 protesters were arrested. As the riots were the first in Estonia, the police was clueless and the places to put the detained people run out. Some were hand-cuffed to street-light posts, others were taken to storehouses near the port - several reports of police brutality have been made. On 28th of April, all public meetings were banned until 11th of May and an „assistant police program” was launched for the frustrated nationalists to give them a chance to pay back for the broken windows and burnt flags, legally. Over 2000 people have registred so far. Police also opened a web-site with photos of protesters and a call to all 'good' citizens to help indentifying the people who took part in the riots. The mayor of Tallinn and several other politicians who disagreed with actions of the government and the police, were condemned by the members of ruling parties.

### ANARCHIST POINT OF VIEW

While the biggest pro-monument collective called the Night Watch is being defined as a neo-Stalinist group, the national conflict over-shadows the class conflict, which made it hard for libertarian leftists to come out to support the rioting russian minority. That shouldn't be counted as stupidity of the protesters nor the cowardice of the libertarian left - instead, the reasons lie in the mainstream media and the acts of both Russian and Estonian governments, whose propaganda has turned the fight for the rights of one group of people into a wide-spread national conflict.

Instead of trying to make all the people believe in the same truth and speak the same language, like it was tried in Estonia by Russian imperialists in the time of Russification in 1890's and 1970's, we have to accept variety. Inuegration has to be mutual, but so far, the majority has been trying to impose their culture, truths and views on the minority, naturally causing anti-Estonian attitudes among the local Russian community which are beefed up by the Kreml-controlled Russian media. Anarchists therefore see the provocative actions of authorities and mass media as one of the main cause of the riots.

It would be wrong to say - like many in Estonia today do - that the integration politics of the local government has failed. A more close assessment would be to say, that it has been non-existent. Many people - seeing the

deepening national conflict after the riots - think that we're back in the situation we were in 1991. That's not true. If we compare the relationships between Estonian and Russian communities in Estonia in 1991 with the relationships we had one day before the riots, in 2007, there is not much difference.

The local anarchist collective PunaMust [Red'n'Black] does not support a pro-Stalinist approach to our history and neither do we support the nationalist point of view concerning the Russian community in Estonia. Our statement concerning the riots was the call to break away from the mainstream approach propugated by both Russian and Estonian governments and the mass media. Condemning all types of nationalism, anarchists declared that if all people in Estonia do not disaffirm their nationalist prejudices, there can be no longstanding solution.

The causes of what happened should not be looked for in the mainstream discourse, which tries to explain everyting on the basis of some nationalist approach. We, the anarchists, are very much concerned, that this type of approach would lead to a proliferation of nationalist mentalities in Estonia - among both, Estonian and Russian communities. But it is important to understand, that the current intense situation originates from the very same nationalist and racist approach.

Before we say 'NO' to a nationalist point of view, which will always generate further conflicts, there can be no talk of living side by side peacefully. To become truly free and break ground for a free society, people must liberate themselves from social constructions such as race and nationality. Anarchists hope and call for understanding and independant iueraction between communities and for the creation of humane, tolerant and free society.

In solidarity,

M. from PunaMust

<http://www.punamust.org>

Tallinn, Estonia



## Public statement by anarchists from PunaMust

*There has been many different, often opposite understandings in the Estonian public eye concerning the riots that took place in Tallinn and North-East Estonia at the end of April. Unfortunately, a lot of these opinions seem to rather deepen the current conflict than try to resolve it.*

*The main causes of what happened should not be looked for in the mainstream discourse, which tries to explain everything on the basis of nationalist approach. We are much concerned, that this type of approach might lead to a proliferation of nationalist mentalities in Estonia - among both, Estonian and Russian communities. But it is important to understand, that the current intense situation originates from the very same nationalist and racist approach. In reality, there should not be 'us' and 'them' - there should be people living in Estonia.*

*Therefore we are absolutely indignant that both Estonian and Russian*

*governments - supported by the mainstream media in both countries - are not willing to renounce their approach to the problem on nationalist basis. As we consider that type of approach by far even more stressful, we see the provocative actions of authorities and mass media as one of the main cause of the riots.*

*We don't understand, why some parts of media are trying desperately to explain, that all types of aggression by the authorities were justified. Considering what happened on the streets, we condemn both the indiscriminate vandalism and police brutality. We are also not happy with the attitude which displays all critical analysis of the governments actions as 'not-welcome'. In a democratic society, people are not condemned for the use of freedom of speech. We're afraid that as the conflict grows, Estonia would turn into a police state and we also see a threat in the brainish activities of the govern-*

*ment, which enlarge the threat of foreign aggression.*

*PunaMust [Red'n'Black] calls for both - Estonian and Russian - communities to start a self-governed dialogue, independent from the state and the media; we call for people to do what the state never could and will. We ask not to be subject to provocative actions which ultimately serve the goal of further contradistinction; we ask to give up all prejudices on nationalist basis. We call for people to be clear-eyed and join the anarchist declaration which condemns all nationalism.*

*Anarchists hope and call for understanding and independent interaction between communities and for the creation of humane, tolerant and free society.*

*Anarchist movement PunaMust  
[Red'n'Black]*

## A letter from Tallinn

*And this is an anonymous letter by a Russian-speaking anarchist comrade in Estonia, explaining the situation around riots which took place in Tallinn in late April. This letter (published with minor edition) gained wide attention in Russian blogosphere (published in <http://community.livejournal.com/anarchism>), and it was translated with permission of original author in condition of preserving his anonymity. This is just one person eyewitness account, which does not go too deep to political analysis - and but its honest subjectivity is its value.*

### A LETTER FROM TALLINN

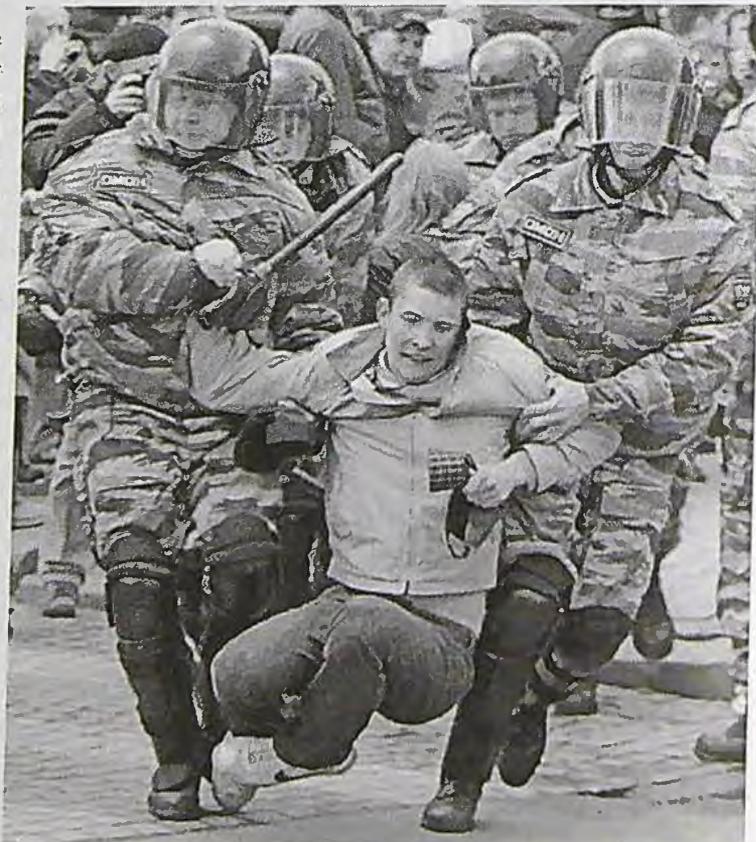
For the beginning, I must say that it was probably the most stupid riot in the world. People who showed up, were mostly drunken, or got drunken on the spot. First everyone stood up and drank, then they were shouting "shame on you" and whistling up. Then they began throwing pigs with bottles. In response, pigs brought a bit more troops and water cannon. Pigs were making some kind of declarations, and then they announced that in case people do not leave, demonstration will be dispersed. But of

course nobody left, so they began dispersing demonstration. People were pushed to side streets and beyond

As there were many people, few thousands, people began to trash shops. Liquor stores were looted, as well as Hugo Boss and other shops with expensive clothing. People were looting whatever they could steal, some expensive stuff (for example one guy stole whole set of expensive women's underwear, people were also stealing some sunglasses which cost like 100 euros, in Estonia that is an astronomical sum for sunglasses and only bourgeoisie

buys them).

At this point, no-one was thinking about the statue anymore, and honestly speaking



many people cared a fuck about it in the beginning. Russian and Estonian speakers were together looting liqueur and clothing. Shortly speaking, it was a bunch of gopniks just taking over anything they could further sell somewhere. For some reason people trashed a store which sells sewing equipment, then a small store which sells nothing but paper of different colours. It was a kind of absurd sight when people were just trashing windows with their bare hands, wounding them and spilling blood everywhere, stealing booze and when pigs pulled them over, they were just shouting "what are you doing! It hurts!" (one guy threatened to sue pigs). Few cars were turned over, then people went to burn a kiosk from which a merry crowd expropriated cigarettes and drinks. When a TV reporter asked someone why they were trashing kiosk, he asked that this is "Russian drought", that is when everyone wants to drink but there is just one bar open.

A fur store was looted, windows of a school and theatre got trashed, billboards and many other stores got trashed. Maybe something else got trashed as well, but I just do not remember what.

As for the police brutality, most ridiculous case is when a friend of my just went out to have a walk in Narva, North-East of Estonia. He was immediately pulled over by cops and fined 360 Estonian crowns (20 euros) for nothing. He just left home, and did not even walk very far! Many people just got randomly arrested for nothing. Plenty of people were for example coming home from work, they were

just thrown to ground and tied. And then they were just lying in cool ground, getting frozen. Those who were yelling the most, were battered with batons, crowd was shot with water cannon. There were also these Robocop guys, running around with special guns shooting rubber bullets. Over everything there was a helicopter flying, armed with a spotlight. Those who got caught, were arrested and taken to port hangar (as police stations got quickly overcrowded - translator note). There are still more cops than usual in the city, checking documents from everyone.

I have a negative opinion on everything that happened. I have to go to this in detail in order to explain why. Every victory day 9th of May people are coming to the statue, leaving there all the kind of placates, such as with text "Russians will never stand on their knees", discussing how Russians freed Estonians and how Estonians are not thankful. Most of the people who come there, do

not talk in Estonian at all and are very nationalist. Many people, mostly youth, hate Estonian speakers. They are assuring that Russians liberated Estonia, and they do not care that then Estonia was occupied just as it was occupied by fascists, plenty of people were deported to Siberia etc. They are very proud to be Russians. This is why I already for a long time do not like people who are visiting statue. But I also do not like those, who are against the statue, they are first of all Nazi boneheads (who are plenty there), and elderly Estonians, who lived during time of occupation.

Just figure it out - Russian speakers do not want to learn Estonian language, because they consider Estonian speakers retarded. In some areas, if you speak Estonian, your ass may be kicked just because you do not speak Russian! And these people, who do not speak a single word of Estonian (and they are plenty) are complaining, that they do not get work and that their rights are curbed. But I just wonder how they may get a job, if they may not speak with their work-



mates and with clients. But they do not want to learn Estonian. They have this attitude that they are Russians, they do not need it, let Estonians learn Russian (I am not just imagining this out myself, I heard this more than once myself). So this is how the conflict arises.

Estonian speakers get insulted for the fact that Russian speakers are not learning the language, and Russian speakers are occasionally beating up Estonian speakers, are not learning the language and just complain that their rights are curbed. And of course, some are declaring "I am an Estonian, this is my territory" and other respectively that "I am a Russian, we have a big country, we will just roll over all of you as you have just one tank" (this thing about the tank is no joke either, plenty of times I heard from Russian speakers that Estonia is just shit and Estonians goats, as Estonians have just one tank).

So they are just fighting each other on national grounds. And this riot was based on this idea that we, Russians, are tough and Estonians are nothing. People were shouting "Russia, Russia!". I do not figure out why people were shouting it. If you do not like it here, move to Russia. But for some reason they are not leaving. Now someone just uploaded to internet a manifesto that 9th of May there will be an armed uprising, and they are calling Putin to send an army to help them. To put it shortly, it is just total idiotism for a piece of metal (which, I must say, nobody was destroying, as (Russian - translator note) mass media was claiming, but just moved to another place. And to place of its former location a green park is made with plenty of flowers).

So I am against both sides, who participated to this fights for or against removal of the statue, as all of them are Nazis. But we should not leave without attention the fact, that many Russian speakers were negative about rioters, but are still judging Estonian speakers. I never had any problems with the

Estonian speakers. I have a grey passport (that means I do not have citizenship of any country, in line of citizenship in my passport there is just XXX and in cover of my passport there is text "Aliens passport"). I am from a Russian speaking family, but I learned Estonian. I never heard anybody saying, that I am a Russian scum or something like that. I had never problems with finding employment. And after riot, my relation to Estonian speakers did not changed a bit.

And all of this just because I learned the language. I am not shouting that I am a cool Russian and that all Estonians are goats.

I think anyone may get an Estonian citizenship without any special problems. You just have to learn language, and pass an examination on knowledge of the language. Every pupil in schools are passing this exam in 9th class in school. Exam is so easy, that even someone who almost does not speak any Estonian may pass it. Besides this, one has to pass an exam on knowledge of the constitution, which is just as easy. You come, people give you questions and constitution, you answer to these questions and that's it. Further on, just some paperwork and you get the citizenship. I do not know anyone, who appealed for a citizenship and was refused from it. But I just simply do not need it. It is even better without it - I do not have to serve in army.

# Lookin back on the first Anarchafeminist festival in Zagreb

## 13-15 April 2007

### WHY AM I WRITING THIS?

Part of the program of this year's ASK (Anarchist book fair) in Zagreb, was workshop "Anarchist world r/evolution", where people were discussing about current state of anarchist movement, and one of the conclusions was that not enough attention is brought to analysis and critics. To put it more simple - there is a constant rushing toward new projects and actions, and very often there is a lack of feedback and looking back on the things which were going on, and to see what have we achieved, positive and negative sides of it, what mistakes have we done, and what consequences has it brought. Also, what things could we avoid, and what have we learnt out of it... And after all, was it worth doing it at all. All of this I personally (and other people on the workshop) thought very important.

The conclusion of the discussion was that, today, anarchist groups and individuals are confronted with the universal problem which we could name "reinventing anarchy½". I hope that this text about Anarchafeminist festival will be at least a little bit useful to those who are interested to see what things we faced preparing this fest, and also that it will be helpful to those who are dealing with same kind of projects. It is true that you learn the best on your own mistakes, but some mistakes could be predicted...

### FESTIVAL

Preparations for the fest started 6 month before. During this period some questions occurred: raising money, festival place and logistical stuff (since we don't have our place here), sleeping capacity for participants and guests (which was, on the end about 50 people), and of course, our goals and purposes of the fest, and ways how to reach it.

Since we are an anarchist group and we believe in principles of self-organizing, (which considers also principles of self-financing), it took us a great effort, since we wanted to pay at least part of the traveling cost to the participants from eastern Europe, cause we know about hard financial conditions there.

All the means we needed we raised thanx to support and work of sympathizers of the idea, through several DIY benefit gigs, parties (making disco a treat again), personal donations, etc. I just need to add, that this amount of money that we needed for 3-day festival might seem not so big from someone's perspective, but for us it's not like that, and we put a lot of effort into raising it, and that means for a longer period, and especially intense in the last 6 months. Maybe that takes more time and it's harder than fund raising and project writings for donors, like NGO's are doing, but it's definitely sweeter when you know that you managed it on your own, thanx to cooperation and solidarity. Besides, it was important for us to prove to ourselves that this kind of event can be done on DIY principles, and that self-sustainable principle is a base of anarchist actions. On the end it all went well, we even had money left, so we were able to support some other projects.]

### PROGRAM

Participants prepared program of the festival by their own affi-

nicities. Most of the program was made to bring anarcha-feminist ideas closer to the people who are meeting with this idea for the first time. Lectures, discussions, workshops and exhibitions were formed with the big help of guests from Greece, Macedonia, Romania, Czech, Poland, Finland, Bosnia and Croatia, and topics were concentrated on criticism of today's society, presentation of alternatives by DIY principles, and subverting categories of gender.



Since we didn't want that program turns into only theory and «preaching», we welcomed all the initiatives for practical things, like workshops of silk screen-printing, fanzine making, DJ-ing, etc. We'd like to point out some topics which were important for re-questioning of anarchafeminist attitudes: Anarchafeminism won't be televised (about relationship between @-feminism and media), then about self-educational activities of anarchafeminist activists from Czech, Ungender workshop (subverting categories of gender) of the group Queerilica, and discussion on the last day of the fest, about autonomous woman's spaces.

Organizing this festival, we had two motives: First was a more educational character, to bring ideas of anarchafeminism closer to a wider circle of people, from those who are already involved in anarchism, than those who came because they had interest in it, to common passers. The other motive was to bring in one place all those groups/individuals from different regions that are already actively involved in the movement to get to know each other in person, to share experiences, to discuss some questions and share problems, and to try to see what is our position as a movement. Because of wide spreading of those groups/individuals, this was an important step in better connection and cooperation.

Fest went without any problems from the technical side of organization, from the free festival place, FNB cooking, volunteer sleeping accommodation, thanx to solidarity and help of many people. For us, atmosphere was ok and relaxed, but after the fest there were some reactions, which defined the whole event as punk anarcho ghetto, which brought a lot of different reactions and discussions.

Did we achieve our goals? Well, about better connection of the movement and future cooperation on the level of (eastern / central / north) Europe, we can say that we're on a good way, and that we can be satisfied.

Considering the size of the movement, big amount of people actively involved in it visited festival, new friendships were founded, and there is an interest for future cooperation. There is a mailing list organized on which all the participants and all those who are interested, can talk about future projects.

About education and bringing the idea closer to a wider circle of people, we can definitely say that we failed. That is not a new problem of anarchist movement, and there's a lot of reasons why that is so. One is lack of experience, another one is wrong estimating, then wrong tactics in approach, ignoring from the side of media, lack of developed alternative media who can reach masses, and after all, apathy of Croatian society in general, and deep prejudices to anything with word anarcho- in it.

All in all, we can conclude that we are, as organizers, pretty satisfied with the fest. There were some proposals that something like this happen again next year, but somewhere else. Those things will be discussed on the mailing list. If you are interested for cooperation, and you want to be added on the list, write on:

chaosgrtlz@gmail.com

You can check more infos on the: anfefest.tk

In solidarity, Zlatokosa from AnFemA



## «If you don't come to bookfair, we'll bring bookfair to you» Third Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb

After three years of organising bookfair it's clear that we need to look back and see what was done, how it was done and what to do now. General feeling around bookfair is good. Still, a lot of things can be done different or better way.

So, third bookfair went well. Main problem with bookfair is that it moves every year - not staying in one place, and changing locations means that we don't know what to expect from it or that people don't know about the place, which was the case this year. Place of Green Action was nice and it's in town centre, but not well known for public events. This was a reason that not so many people showed up, at least not as many as previous year, but still more than first year. Still, we managed to minimize this problem with moving bookfair outside, at one of the main squares in town... If you don't come to bookfair, we'll bring bookfair to you... And this worked well. So, second day of bookfair (saturday) was main day, at least if we speak in numbers, as hundreds of people went through it, got some books and other materials. And what is most important we all got a chance to talk in public about anarchist ideas and to present them to people who are not already interested, involved or somehow connected to it.

Although saturday went well and we got more people at the bookfair, thing that we (people from the collective) consider the best

so far (compared to past years) were discussions and in many ways this years bookfair was more focused on our movement. Discussions were dealing with different issues, showing wide range of struggle(s), but also providing some space to hear different opinions on same issues, and share experience. Discussions that took place at bookfair were "Problem of urbanisation", "Against militarism in Israel and Anarchists against the wall", "Anarchy and education", "Student protests in Belgrade", but also presentation of book Green Tools for Sustainable Revolution, and all-day workshop "Anarchist World/R/evolution". More on discussions/workshop you can find at bookfair webpage

(<http://www.ask-zagreb.org>).

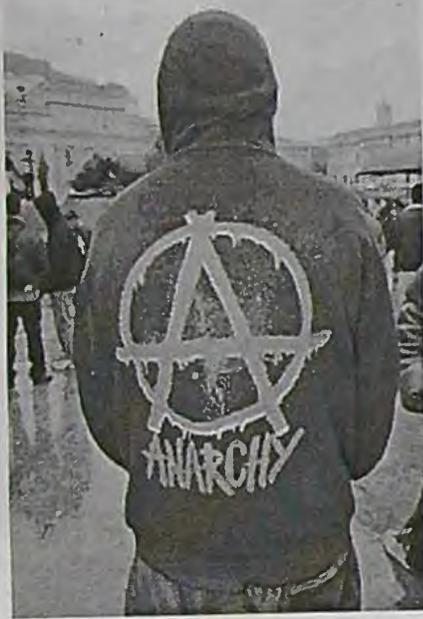
There were 20 or so groups / projects / publishers, which seems to be «standard» number since the beginning of the bookfair...

Whole event brings anarchist movement and ideas a bit in focus of everyday life in Zagreb, but it's just a small step forward in terms of spreading ideas. What we decided after it is that we need similar events through rest of the year as well, smaller but continuous events that would bring people together more often. As soon as this gets anywhere further we'll post more news to ABB.



## Understanding the situation for realistic perspectives - towards the creation of the anarchist movement

### Latest from the anarchist scene in Estonia



Over the past few months several events have taken place in Estonia with the anarchist group PunaMust [Red'n'Black] involved. Although they were nothing big, I would still like to let you know about them, to show that the movement in Estonia is up and running.

On 3rd of March, only a day before the general elections in Estonia, PunaMust organized an anarchist protest march to condemn the undemocratic electoral system of Estonia and parliamentarism in general. Some 30-40 anarchists gathered near the city center and marched towards the Houses of Parliament with flags and a banner. Surprisingly, the feedback for the event was rather positive - this might be due to the fact that anarchists were basically the only ones in Estonia who had anything critical to say towards the system in general publicly.

Before the protest march, activists from PunaMust ruined a large amount of propaganda posters of different parties by putting their own posters on them. The anarchist posters read things like „Enough of the parliamentary state!“, „More money = more votes“ etc. Spokesmen of the parties, who spent millions on their propaganda campaigns, and the police decided not to start an investigation calling the activists „just a bunch of bitter kids in need of attention“. On the other hand, after the pro-

test march, which in the eye of the law was 'illegal', few activists got some threatening calls from the police but in the end no charges were brought.

The problem of lacking an autonomous place has been haunting PunaMust from the day it started. On 28th of April, we therefore organized a seminar about squatting and autonomous social centers for radical activists. Contacts were made with Finnish squatters and one of them came to Tallinn and shared the Finnish experience. A lively discussion followed the event and one of our most important near future goals is to build up an autonomous place, either as a squat or a social center - something we see of crucial importance in effective organizing.

On 5th-6th of May the local animal rights movement called LoomadeNimel (In The Name of the Animals) which has cooperated with PunaMust on several occasions, organized an animal liberation workshop with Martin Balluch from Austria. Two days of sharing knowledge and experience were extremely motivating to everyone. Some 20 Finnish animal rights activists also attended the workshop - a bunch of great people we've had contacts before (since the Smash ASEM event in autumn 2006).

On 8th of May, a leftist somewhat political movement 8th of May Movement organized a picnic with a statement of condemning war and standing for peace. The event was supposed to have a clear anti-fa statement as well, but considering the riots in Tallinn at the end of April and the intense situation in general, the organizers unfortunately decided to skip the anti-fa message. PunaMust still decided to take part and about 10 anarchists participated.

Some time ago I wrote in ABB: „PunaMust is not a formal organization, but a group of loosely connected individuals.“ Although this idea still holds, we're beginning to look into the future for new perspectives and goals to build a more organized movement that would unite more active radicals around Estonia.

Concerning the structure of the movement and the way things are organized, we've been lacking a clear knowledge of what people in PunaMust really want to do. Since there are different people involved sympathetic to different tactics and ideas with different interests varying from animal liberation to left radical politics, we've decided to see PunaMust only as a body offering an environment for discussion and organizing for different autonomous groups. In our view, this would serve a goal of keeping the movement as non-hierarchical as possible and it would also help to build a network of different collectives fighting in solidarity on different fields of life.

As I already said, the problem of lacking an autonomous place has been haunting us from the day we started. The feedback to our seminar in April was very positive and one of our most important near future goals is to find a place, where we could hold our regular meetings. This place could also be used to build up a library which is at the moment working only on an online basis through the PunaMust webpage. We're absolutely sure, that the autonomous social center would bring the movement to a whole new level. It might sound strange and sad, that something as elementary as a place to hold meetings is so hard to find, but for us that's the reality and we have to deal with it.

When the first active anarchist group in Estonia - PunaMust - started in the beginning of 2006, we did not really know what should we expect or what goals should we first try to achieve. Today we are beginning to understand the situation for realistic perspectives for radicals in Estonia; we are starting to grasp the idea of what our first and most important goals should be. And we are motivated to the fullest to fight for achieving them, in solidarity and co-operation that will dismiss all borders, from below!

In solidarity,

M. - PunaMust  
(<http://www.punamust.org>)  
Tallinn, Estonia

#### FUTURE PERSPECTIVES



# Mutual aid is the anarchist's heart so who shares it - wins! Report from Free Festival in Razgrad / Bulgaria

A Free Festival took place for second time in the small Bulgarian town Razgrad on the 31.03.2007. The place of the event was the well-known town park. The fest started at 15:00 and the weather was cloudy and dark. But in spite of the high cloudiness and the fear of rain, after many spells, magic tricks and ritual dancing we had luck and it didn't rain that day. The idea of this festival fired a lot of people with enthusiasm and little by little they started to gather. There were even people from other towns. Everyone was sharing things that s/he didn't need and was finding something for himself/herself from the stuff that the others had brought. The really free market was full of t-shirts, sweatshirts, pants, caps, shoes, toys, books, music CDs and a lot of eco, vegan and anarchist leaflets and zines. There was also free vegetarian kitchen with various delicious meals like rice with vegetables, baked cabbage with soy pieces, potato



salad, cabbage salad, cakes, buns and other desserts. The fest was going very well under the sound of ska, punk, hard core and hip hop music. There was organized a net foot ball game. There were also juggling clowns, flying skateboarders, in-liner, BMXers and a couple of musicians playing acoustic songs. The fest was full of high

spirits and all the people had great time together like a big and united family. There were some clothes left on the free market so we decided to give them to the old man's home for people with mental problems. The fest ended at about 23:00 and we think that everyone was satisfied and happy about it. We hope to continue organizing this Free Festival and to turn it into a regular event. It is our alternative vision to this brutal and greedy capitalist system. Everyone has some resources, that could share - something that is needed by someone else. Self-organizing, mutual aid, sharing resources, ideas and experience are exactly the most important things to build a healthy and united community.

Mutual aid is the anarchist's heart so who shares it - wins!

## WE WANT TREES - NOT CONCRETE!

The municipality of Razgrad has started to log all the poplar trees in town no matter their age. As you know poplar trees become dangerous when they get old and dry, but in this case there were lots of healthy trees cut as well. Our crew (Street Art Revolutionaries) decided to do an action to oppose this sick logging and to express our opinion about it. We cut down 1 billboard banner late at night of 06.04.2007 and used the clear (back side) of the banner to create an ecological banner and that says:

"ENOUGH LOGGING!  
WE WANT TREES, NOT CONCRETE!  
NO COMPROMISE IN DEFENSE OF

EARTH!"

So we went in the center square which is in front of the municipality and dropped the banner at noon. There were a lot of people there and most of them said they are on our side, never mind the masks we had put on. 2 Hours after that some people from the municipality took down the banner, but they didn't destroy it and just put it down on the ground. So we managed to get the banner again and drop it during the night from a construction side near the biggest hotel in town. We also shot a video (SAR - Stop The Clearcut Campaign) of the action which you could see on this site:



МУЗИКА, ХРАНА, ИГРИ, ДРЕХИ, ВЕСЕЛА  
БЕЗ ДА ДАВАШ ПУКНАТА ПАРА!

БЕЖАЛНИЦИ ОСТАНА И ДЕНА АЛТЕРНАТИВА НА ВАСИ  
34 ГОДИ, КАН ТРЕБА ДА СТАВАТ ПОСЛЕТИ. ВСЕКИ ОТ НАС ИМА  
МЕДИ, НЕКА НЕ ИЗПОЛЗВА И НЕ ОУ ТРАБАТИ. ЕДИНОТО ДА СЪМ АЗ  
РЕШАВА ДА СЪМ СЪЩЕТО. ТОВА ВЕЩНО МОЖЕ НАПОЛНЕНО СЪМ  
(СТЕТИ ДРЕХИ, СМЕРИ, ДАКОВА, АРЖЕНО И ТА.) И СЪЩЕТО ТОВА  
ДАТО ДРУЖИТЕ СЪ ДРУЖИТЕ МЕДИ. СЪ МОСТО РЕШ НАС СТУДА.



СПОДЕЛВАТЕ ЛЮБОВТА!



## STREET ARTS REVOLUTIONARIES

SAR is an anarchist collective bent on the total liberation of ourselves and our world through creative self-expression and self-determination, the annihilation of capitalism, hierarchy, morality, ideology, and human misery in all its forms, and - above all - the transformation of life into a joyous, care-free game, to be played for the highest of stakes. We refuse to compromise with these assembled forces of selfishness, apathy, and violence, and insist that every day of our lives be an adventure unfettered by external controls or internal inhibitions. So can you. We struggle for a day when art will no longer be just another commodity to be exchanged for other sterile consumer goods, when both the means of production and all the products thereof will be shared openly so that everyone will be free to be an artist and live a life based on the pursuit of desire rather than ever-increasing standards of mere survival. In the meantime, we do what we can to lead lives outside this merciless system of domination and exploitation as we plot its downfall.



## ANARCHIST AND ANTI-FASCIST ACTIONS DURING VICTORY DAY SOME ANTIFAS HEAVY INJURED RUSSIA

In St. Petersburg, around 5:20 PM during Victory Day parade, anarchist anti-fascists dropped banner from infamous "Gostinly Dvor" supermarket in Nevski Prospekt, with a picture of sabocat ripping the two-headed Chernobyl-eagle from Russian coat of arms, and texts "towards new victories", "antifa" and "fascism has many sides" - last one hinting that Russian state may represent a kind of fascism as well. Banner was up for few minutes, as cops were hesitating to remove it. None of the activists were arrested.

Around 4 pm another group of activists was distributing anti-chauvinist leaflets before column of the march was passing by. Eventually five leafletters were arrested, but after

two hours after some insults and threats they were released without charges, and met by a support group.

Meanwhile anti-fascists were busy in internet as well. Antifa Hack Team cracked neo-nazi site "Russian terror" (ns-wp.org).

Besides this crack, Antifa Hack Team destroyed databases of the following neo-nazi forums and portals: vladpni.net14.org, ns-attack.net14.org, forum.ruord.org, ns-belarus.org, aryan-front.com and slovenski-radikali.com.

Homepage of Antifa Hack Team:  
<http://antifa-info.hardcore.it>

## YEVGENI "LOTUS" KUZNETSOV - REST IN PEACE

In the night of 28th of April, our comrade Zhenya "Lotus" was murdered. He was shot in the head with a supposedly "non-lethal" traumatic gun in café PirOGI in the center of Moscow. According to some witnesses, the conflict which resulted in the murder started when Zhenya took a free chair from another company sitting nearby. A woman not related to either of the companies was also seriously wounded from shots.

As witnesses told that the murderer was of Caucasian origin, some Russian nationalist organizations ran like fleas to the corpse, promoting their own goals in a pitiful way with this tragic and meaningless incident. This is especially shameful, taken into account ideas of Zhenya, which were far from racism. For him, ethnic origins of perpetrators of injustice were never important.

"Lotus" lived a hard life of a working class underdog. He had his bumps with the law already at early age, and he spent 1 and a half years in a Russian juvenile prison, which are way more notorious for their brutality than prisons for adults. He was known among ska music fans in Moscow, and also one of the founding fathers of ultras movement of the FC Lokomotiv in 1990's, as one

of the founders of firm "Vikings", which together with "UltraLoko" is the oldest and established group of the Lokomotiv hools. Lotus made his name know in the streets.

2002-2003 Lotus considered himself as an anarchist skinhead and anarcho-communist. He helped to distribute journal "Avtonom", and most importantly he was out there establishing militant Antifa movement in Moscow, in hard times when the game in the streets was 1 to 50 or even more.

After 2003, Lotus withdrew from street militancy for reasons unknown to us. It was definitely difficult for an ultra to be openly Antifa, and an enormous pressure was put on Lotus from the side of hooligans with far-right sympathies. More importantly, he was also increasingly troubled with his own personal struggles. But whatever were his reasons, and even if he revised his opinions, we are certain that he never became a fascist and he always had friends from many different nationalities.

Lotus was loved among fans of Lokomotiv, and after his death most of them put their political differences aside to pay homage to Lotus in the following home play of Lokomotiv against FC Spartak Moscow (Lokomotiv won 3-0). At the beginning of the game, a minute of silence was held to commemorate Lotus. Players and administration of the club also made a homage banner commemorating Lotus with text "Zhenya, we remember you" were hanged, together with banner of Vikings. Most notably, fans of Spartak in opposite side also joined homage. They hung banners with text "Zhenya RIP" and "We pay homage". However not everyone showed unity and respect in tribunes. Apparently some national socialist fans of Spartak will never forget fists of Zhenya they met many years ago - a banner deriding SHARP skinheads was hung up, in a miserable attempt to spit on the grave of Lotus.

Thus it is no doubt, that the short period of social activity of Lotus left an impact which will last forever. Rest in peace, comrade.

## ANTIFASCIST STRUGGLE IN ST.PETERSBURG - SPRING 2007

### NEONAZI ATTACK ON THE 3RD OF DECEMBER 2006 AND ITS CONSEQUENCES - REPRESSIONS AGAINST ANARCHIST ANTIFASCISTS IN ST.PETERSBURG

As we mentioned before (see ABB #28) on the 3rd of December a group of nazis attacked activists of Antiwar Committee, which is a coalition of people of different political views, not only anarchists. They have been organising a weekly picket against the war in Chechnya / North Caucasus for 7 years already. As a result of the fight 3 people got wounded, one nazi was detained by cops. Also in that evening some nazi went to hospital with knife wounds - and it is still unclear if he got these wounds in the fight with anarchists. One member of Antiwar Committee appealed to the cops and prosecutors office - but they refused 4 times (!) to

open up criminal investigation against the attackers. And soon we learned that there is already a criminal case... against anarchists who were only defending themselves.

On the 13th of March flats of two comrades from St. Petersburg League of Anarchists were searched. One of them was Pyotr Raush, one of the oldest anarchist activists in ex-USSR. First cops visited his flat where he is registered but does not live and took a kitchen knife from there. Then some people in plain clothes went to the flat where Pyotr actually lives but he did not open the door to them. They have

been hanging out near his house for three days so he had to stay inside and not let them in. Pyotr did not want to be brought to interrogation; he did not want his flat to be searched. Also he was afraid that he would have been accused of attacking the nazi with a knife. After the siege of his flat ended Pyotr preferred to leave the city. So once again we can confirm that many cops and prosecutors sympathise with neonazi groups and ideas and are unwilling to deal seriously with the cases of nazi attacks against libertarian activists.

## A WEEK AGAINST RACISM

In March 2007 St. Petersburg antifascists took part in the European week against racism which takes place every year in different countries. Some of the week's events were made in cooperation with NGOs and scientists who also wanted to raise their voice against xenophobia. There was a press-conference by all of the participants of the week (including antifascist and Food Not Bombs activists), photo exhibitions, scientific conference (rather interesting one!) at the sociology faculty of State University and, of course, some street actions. On the 17th of March there was an antifascist meeting. First there were plans to make a demonstration but the authorities did not permit that so the activists agreed to their proposal to organise a meeting instead. About 50 people participated, mostly anarchists and anarcho-punks. The main slogans were "No one is ille-

gal" and "Our city is a hero. Are you?" (meaning the resistance in Leningrad during WW2). Some armed neonazis were planning to attack the meeting but they were detained by cops in the subway. Also one nazi scout tried to make pictures of antifas with his mobile phone. Then this very talented photographer posted the pictures online to his blog - you can't help laughing looking at them - they are of really low quality and you cannot see any details there.

Another action - this time unauthorised by authorities - took place a couple of days later in the very centre of the city near the Kazan cathedral. The antifas rolled out a huge banner with crossed out swastika near the cathedral, shouting slogans and lighting a torch. A girl in a wedding dress of course became a star of this action. The

cops were all around but they could do nothing and did not manage to detain anyone! The video from this action is somewhere on the <http://piter.indymedia.ru> website (and on YouTube as well).

A secret concert of the famous Italian antifa-skinhead band Los Fastidios (supported by locals Crowd Control, Antiperfect and Next Round) on the 25th of March was the best finishing point of the week. Before that Los Fastidios played in Petrozavodsk to a crowd of at least 1000 people, half of them came to see the band from other towns. Needless to say that the song "Antifa Hooligans" was the most popular on both gigs.

## REPRESSIONS ON THE CASE OF ATTACK AGAINST DPNI (SEPTEMBER 2006)

On the 17th of September 2006 a group of antifascists attacked a meeting of DPNI (Movement against illegal immigration), probably the most successful nationalist organisation in Russia now (see ABB #26 for details). As a result of the attack many antifascists were detained and now there is a criminal case against them. 6 people (punks and skinheads, some of them

playing in bands) are accused of hooliganism and will be brought to trial in several months. Fortunately, no one of them is in jail now. But one punk had to spend a month in mental hospital.

The authorities wanted to check his mental condition and if he is proven healthy he might go to Russian army - which is of course not much better

than Russian jail. Any actions of solidarity with St. Petersburg antifascists and any material support will be much appreciated!

## ON STREET WAR GOING ON

On the 1st of May when 200 or even more neonazis (DPNI, Slavic Community, football hooligans etc.) marched in the centre of the city together with "communist" KPRF (thank you, stalinist scum!) there were at least 3 fights between neonazis and anarchists and antifascists (see Mayday report in this issue). A couple of days before that some nazis were clever enough to yell "Our slogan is 88!" to a crowd of punks and skinheads going home from a gig which was benefit for local antifa. Stupid arseholes were beaten up. On the 5th of May late in the evening a group of punks and skinheads were attacked by nazis near the Staraya Derevnaya subway station in the outskirts of the city. Antifas fought back, but 2 punk girls got severely beaten and one of them got wounded by knife (she is okay now). On the 8th of May antifas attacked the Nazis again - near Moskovskaya subway station. It is clear that the level of street violence in the fights between nazis and antifas stays very high - and seems like this situation is not going to change in the near future.

## VICTORY DAY ACTIONS

On the Victory Day which is celebrated on the 9th of May a group of antifascists hung a banner in the very center of the city when a column of veterans of WW2 was passing by Nevsky prospect. "Onward to new victories! ANTIFA. Fascism has many faces" was written on the banner, there was also a picture of anarchist black cat tearing apart the empire symbol - 2-headed eagle. The cops took the banner away in several minutes, no one was detained. Another group of antifascists was distributing antipatriotic leaflets - some people were detained by cops for 2 hours and then set free without any charges.

## NEW NAZI STABBING IN ST. PETERSBURG

In evening of Saturday 5th of May, in metro station "Staraya Derevnaya" a group of around 15 boneheads jumped 5 antifascist punks. Both sides took casualties - two girls from side of punks suffered, another of them was stabbed. One nazi also got his face sliced. Stabbed girl is recovering. In evening of Sunday 6th a group of nazis was again looking for antifa in the same region, but they got beaten up.

## NAZI ATTACK IN TIMISOARA - ROMANIA

On the 5th of May took place the last concert at INCA Cultural Center in Timisoara with bands like GasMask Terror, Pavillionul 32, Aku, Calibrul 49 and Desintegrated. Around midnight some punk kids ran round the corner saying to the guys at the entrance (after the first nazi attack we agreed to take turns at the entrance outside) that the nazis are coming. All the people outside came in except for two guys who didn't hear the warning until the last minute, one of them being hit when he was trying to get inside. While the door was pulled from both sides some guys run

inside to warn us (there were around 50 people at the concert, most of them from other cities), and in the meantime pepper spray was used to back off the nazis outside and quickly we ran outside after them. They were only 10 of them which seem that they were there to beat the punks who were going to the shops nearby or who went home - not to attack INCA. They managed to escape and quickly after that the police came asking questions and looking around. After the police went away we organized some small groups to look around INCA and the places the nazis use

to hang out but found nothing, so we left them some graffiti to warn them that we don't take shit and they should think twice when they pull stunts like that.

Timisoara is the only city in Romania that has serious problems with nazis (especially at punk shows) and there is a need for a strong antifa group to be organized quickly not only here but in the rest of the big cities or these attacks will spread as the right wing politics and other shit like that tend to be popular in this country.

## FASCIST DEMO ON 1ST OF MAY IN BIALYSTOK (POLAND) CANCELLED!

Fascist group NOP announced few weeks ago that they are going to hold a demonstration in Bialystok against EU (although as anarchists we are against EU as well). We have decided that fascist scum are not to be allowed to hold any public event in our city. Few days after this announcement unknown hackers attacked websites of Bialystok's NOP and also their

main website nacjonalista.org, leaving it non functioning for some days. Local antifascists also managed to have few "education talks" with NOP activists and few days before the demonstration mobile teams fly-posted city with hundreds of antifascist posters and made lots of graffiti. 1st of May saw no fascists in the area - apparently defenders of Polish nation didn't feel secure

enough to carry on with their plans, their organization in a mess after the trouble they had. Antifa spotters cruised the city in vain - city centre was full of police but no fash in sight. I think we made our message clear - this is not your fucking city scumbags!

## FASCIST DEMO AND COUNTER-ACTION IN WROCLAW (POLAND) ON 21 OF MARCH

21st of March in Wroclaw there was legal demonstration of fascist group NOP (National Rebirth of Poland) supported by Blood and Honour and some other assorted nazi and fascist scum. About 80 to 100 idiots gathered to demonstrate against immigration and spread racism. Anarchists and other anti-fascists planned a counter action. They managed to gather about 200 people - part clad in black, masked up and ready for confrontation, others with make up, balloons not willing to fight. Fascists apparently didn't feel too good as well, because they didn't move from the gathering point. The counter demo moved on them and before cops could react a quick fight ensued. Fascists were also bombarded with jars filled with extrement. Flag poles, boots and fists started flying left and right. Heavily armed riot police pushed demonstrators back after a while and for next 40

minutes fought with all those who tried to break through to attack nazi demonstration. During these fights two people got arrested (later on they were sentenced under new law of "24 hour courts" charged with assault on a policeman, but due to big media attention and criticism they got only conditional period and small fines). Fascists finally managed to march with police protection and despite heavy posturing behind cordon, they didn't do anything to come in close contact with the anti-fascists. They also collected few broken banners, lost during fights with police and made pictures with them, claiming it to be their "war trophy". After demonstration ANTIFA groups moved to defend local squats against possible attacks. On the way a few groups of nazis returning from the demo happened to be in their way. They were given no mercy. No attacks on squats happened.

Now there is big media storm over this demonstration, because clearly racist slogans were displayed on banners and shouted during legal demonstration, which was protected by the police. On their behalf organizers of the fascist demonstration filed request authorities, demanding to investigate and prosecute those who attacked them. We wonder how it happens that the ACAB slogan is promoted by so many right wing skinheads coming from football hooligan background.

In general counter demo was a big success, some nazi faces were bleeding that day, they could see they will not spread their racist shit without problems and there are people willing to confront them. Hopefully it will also serve to unite anti-fascists in Wroclaw which was relatively quiet over the last years.

## Student protests at the sociology department of MGU Russia

On April fools' day students of the sociology department of Moscow State University (MGU) carried out an act of protest against the intolerable conditions of studying they face. 25 people handed out leaflets and black balloons to prospective students and their parents, who had come to the annual open day of the department.

The main demands of the students were to improve the quality of education, put a stop to reactionary propaganda and to guarantee the minimum of facilities at the faculty. The action was organized by an informal student network OD Group, which was founded by students of the sociology department about a month ago. Activists of the OD group began their campaign by setting up a site, handing out leaflets and informing the academic community about the situation in the faculty. Information about the problems in the faculty quickly spread and acquired a resonance well beyond the usual internal faculty discussions. The situation was taken up by the mainstream press after famous sociologists such as Vladimir Yadov, Andrei Zdravomyslov and Tatyana Zaslavskaya supported the students. Students from other faculties and other universities linked up with the OD network. The reason that the faculty has acquired such interest is because what is happening there has become the centre of the concentration and coming together of a whole number of contradictions, which concern not only the students directly affected but also a much wider interests.

One dimension of the conflict is academic. The situation in Russian sociological, and more generally in the academic, community is defined by the strengthening of conservative, national-patriotic tendencies. Anti-semitic and clerical propaganda, which has been introduced under the leadership of the Dean of the sociological faculty Vladimir Dobrenkov, has led to a natural disgust among students. Moreover the administration of the faculty has banned from the syllabus authors that do not conform to their conservative views. As a result virtually all modern western sociology is out of bounds.

Another dimension of the conflict is social. The sociology department is regarded by the administration as a source of income from selling prestigious diplomas to the children of rich parents. Normal students in such a situation are not able to study properly or even to eat - until recently the only place where it was possible to eat was in a café where lunch cost 500 roubles - \$20.

Still another axis of confrontation is political. Here we are witnesses to a very important process: social and academic conflicts are becoming clearly expressed in ideas. Students who are unable to pay 500 rubles for lunch and afford themselves an expensive car are reading left theoreticians such as Bordieu and Foucault, while the children (and future representatives) of the ruling class support conservative, nationalist propaganda. Calls for academic freedom are taking place together with calls for stamping out corruption, such as the preferential treatment for rich students, who in turn back authoritarian order created to defend their privileged position.

The current conflict should not be reduced



to any one of these problems. It is more correct to talk about a whole range of contradictions. On the one hand both sides clearly reflect the situation that has developed in the Russian intellectual community. On the other hand the emergence of a relatively new for Russia social paradigm (though of course it is not at all new for the western world) is distinctly making itself felt, with the appearance of standard (in the European conception) right and left tendencies in society.

Moreover, the conflict at MGU should not be attributed to "external" influences (as

some commentators inclined to conspiracy theories have suggested). It goes without saying that both sides have sympathizers among political, academic and social institutions. However the main acting subject are the students themselves, who taking direct responsibility for their actions through the OD network.

The key question is how and by whom are decisions made: by the existing institutions, groups of support and "sympathizers" - or by the active participants of collective actions themselves. The answer to this question is unambiguous - the students' protests are the result of their own self-organization and the emergence of a civil and social initiative from below, an initiative that is not dictated to by any external influences or agents. Indeed the process of a gradual spreading of the influence of the students of the sociological faculty beyond the confines of the faculty is taking place. Students from other faculties and universities took part in the organization of the last action. The actions of the students of the sociological faculty are becoming a pole of attraction for other groups, forming a network of informal ties, initiatives and discussion.

The movement of the students at the present time is at a stage of dynamic development. The growth in the number of activists involved in collective actions is being accompanied by a critical appraisal of the situation. And the longer this situation lasts the higher will be the stakes on both sides, and the fewer possibilities that will be open to the Dean to diffuse the problem, limiting it to the walls of

the faculty. For now the students themselves exclude the possibility of stopping their actions since the key demands connected with changing the system and improving the quality of education remain unresolved. The decisive factor will be the support of the majority of active students of the faculty. The sympathy of many of them has already been won. However turning this sympathy into an active force still remains ahead of us.

By Sergey Marsky

This text was written about one month ago by a participant of OD group. Undoubtedly,

some comments are necessary, in regards to most recent events and issues that are important for the anarchists. As to main achievement of OD group - that is an intense and mostly well-disposed reaction in media (mainly in the Internet) and considerable support of the academic community. Both have made the university administration to treat group as a serious part of the negotiations. Many orders of the principal of the university concerning «situation in Sociology Department» are a successful result of this kind of activity. But currently first contradictions within the protest group are appearing, because some activists want to obtain the improvements in sociology department by means a collaboration with the university administration, and others instead believe that only a permanent pressure on the administration is may to change anything at all. A current discussion within the group take place about range of the demands - should they be limited to the specific problems



of the sociology education at the department ("we will expel bad dean and will invite qualified lecturers"), or should they concern general questions of the education system in MSU. Also a confrontation between the "liberals" and the "leftists" is arises within the OD group from time to time.

Despite everything, the protest in the sociology department of MSU is unique and remarkable grassroots initiative in contemporary Russian student community. Its further fate is determined right now and will depend on its success to attract massive attention among students, if students from various universities will see that problems in Sociology department are their common problems.

By A.B. from A.D.

Website of OD group:  
<http://od-group.org/>

# BELARUSSIAN SOCIAL FORUM

## 15-20 MAY 2007

As we are bringing this issue to the print, in Belarus many of our comrades participates in Belarussian Social Forum. In the next issue we will present you the outcomes of this event. Here just short presentation of the idea.

On May 15-20, Belarussian alter globalist groups, together with EYFA, organize the Belarussian Social Forum, an autonomous space in Minsk where Belarussian and foreign representatives of NGOs, grassroots initiatives, organizations and networks can meet face to face to discuss local Belarussian as well as global themes.

This BSF will lead to a better understanding of the social and political reality in Belarus for Belarussian as well as international activists, and will stimulate the level of national and transnational cooperation among them, breaking through the isolation that most Belarussian activists are working in. For activists from isolated Belarussian regions especially, this meeting provides an alternative to dictatorship style society building and the opportunity to develop political, social and cultural activities within a networked format working in opposition to authoritarianism and neo-liberalism.



Some of the themes planned to be addressed during the meeting:

1. alternative education: "free university" project; reforms of educational system, students' movements in Belarus
2. media, new communication technologies, indy-culturc: technical aspects of working with the information; Alternative media perspectives in Belarus. International Indemedia network development. Blogs and bloggers' communities.
3. free soft, open source vs piracy
4. rethinking socialism. Left theory and social criticism in contemporary Belarus.
5. food not bombs, other kind of altruist/solidarity projects and groups in BY/internationally
6. alternative economics, autonomy, self-government
7. fundraising vs mutual aid
8. workers' movement and trade unions in Belarus and European experience
9. involvement in international cooperation and contacts. Hospitality club, other grass-roots networks
10. human rights practical training for activists
11. G8
12. nuclear energy and alternatives
13. sexual and reproductive equality; gender issues, women and LGBT rights promotion movements in Belarus and elsewhere.

## CRITICAL MASS IN SOFIA / BULGARIA

A massive crowd of about 500-600 people took part in the annual bike action in Sofia on May 15th, Climate Day. People from 1 to 88 years old, on bikes, on roller skates, in wheelchairs or in baby buggies walked and cycled with a police escort through the city of Sofia. The bikers blocked a couple of street crossings but the police were forcing the people to move and not to block. And at the end of the parade the cops got a couple of bikers because they refused to conform to the police's orders. The other people gathered around the cops and try to convince them that this is our right to be on the road and especially on this (legal) bike parade. But the cops wrote tickets to the bikers they caught. Then someone from the crowd put a message with permanent marker on the police car "PIGS" and an "A" in circle.

This was definitely the most positive action ever, as not only bikers and pedestrians but also car drivers are increasingly aware of the problems of traffic unsafety, congestion and worsening air quality. It looks that everybody is ready for a change! Bat Bojko (the mayor of Sofia), how long do we have to wait for our bike lanes? Where is our city bicycle network? When can we say: Bat Bojko bikes??



## CALL TO JOIN CHERNOBYL PROTEST DAY IN MINSK

21 years ago, on the 26th of April 1986, a reactor melted down in a nuclear power station in Chernobyl, Ukraine.

Byelorussians suffered most from this worst nuclear disaster in history.

Since the 90's the national-liberal opposition to the regime of president A.Lukashenko has been organizing the annual march "the Chernobyl way". The Purpose of the demonstration is to draw the attention of the public to the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, and to criticize the government for the failure to liquidate and to minimize these consequences. Since 1996 anarchists have taken part in the demonstration, but always in a separate

column and with their own slogans. The purpose of the anarchist participation is to draw the attention to problems in which the leaders of the opposition are less interested. For example, Chernobyl revisionism - the conscious revision and underestima-

tion of the consequences of the accident. Not only the Lukashenko government is involved in this, but also the international organizations (UN, World Bank, IAEA) "helping" Belarus.



The main themes of the anarchist mobilization this year are the government plans to construct a nuclear power plant in Belarus, and the cancellation of the benefits and allowances for the victims of the disaster.

The mobilization is also an occasion to spread information about alternative and decentralized forms of energy production. Last year, at the 20th anniversary of the catastrophe, about a hundred anarchists

carrying radical slogans and banners made a big difference with the boring and abstract protest of the "traditional" opposition. This year we want to mobilize an anarchist bloc of at least a hundred participants. We invite people from East, Central and the Western Europe to join our protest action!

### WHY DOES IT MATTER?

On December, 1st, 2006 president Alexander Lukashenko declared that a new nuclear power plant will be constructed in Belarus. Engineering works

at the prospective locations and negotiations with Russian and French suppliers of equipment have been started already. The construction of the plant is supposed to begin in 2008. Right now is the best possible opportunity to halt this process, and

this is what anarchists and a number of other organizations in Belarus are attempting to do. During all the years of governance by Lukashenko the rights of the victims of Chernobyl has been violated. The resettlement of the inhabitants of the polluted regions has been halted. Healthcare worsens. The Benefits and allowances to victims and to people who worked in the liquidation of the consequences are being reduced and cancelled. More and more often official pseudo-scientific reports tell us that the illnesses of victims are caused by "mental issues", not by the continuing influence of radiation.

#### WHY WE PARTICIPATE IN ACTIONS OF NATIONAL-LIBERALS

We are not allies of nationalists and liberals, we do not share their vision of the future of Belarus, their strategic goals and



their methods of political activity. However we stand in solidarity with all the victims of repression on political grounds, irrespective of their opinions, and we support demands of oppositional human rights organizations such as for freedom of speech, of assembly and of association. The political climate in Belarus discourages social and civil activity, especially direct action in the streets. In the conditions of Belarus it is not efficient to organize short small actions. Longer small actions in crowded places will almost certainly be brutally dispersed, most participants would be arrested. Only mass demonstrations allow us to avoid general arrest of activists. That is why anarchists participate in actions of the national-liberal opposition. We join these actions because at least the people who take part in these actions (usually several thousands, sometimes tens of thousands) will see our message, passers-by and passing cars will see our banners as well. It would be shameful

to miss such an opportunity to spread our ideas.

Why we need you to be here... The anti-nuclear movement, and even more the social movements of the most direct victims of Chernobyl, are very weak and isolated in Belarus. The experience of international solidarity (instead of just humanitarian help) can strengthen the movement and convince the activists that they are not alone. International support may also increase the interest of the local and foreign media and help us to get our anarchist message through.

#### TAKE CARE OF YOUR SAFETY!

We will try our best to avoid problems with the keepers of "law and order" for our guests. But here is some advice that you might like to take into account. Avoid attracting attention when crossing the border (this is less of a problem when you come from Russia, as there

is practically no border control between Russia and Belarus). Think of some "harmless" reason to come to Belarus if you are asked at the border. Do not carry any



papers or other attributes that could be associated with anarchism or other oppositional political activity, until the action is about to begin. Keep a low profile in terms of clothing during all your time in Belarus. Police will probably attempt to single out foreigners for arrest. We will try everything to avoid this for you, but you should count with the possibility that you will spend a few days under arrest in case things go wrong (...)

The anarchist bloc will be organized by Autonomous Action, the Federation of Anarchists in Belarus and other anarchists.

We will trash the repressive apparatus of the state!

The Nuclear Power Plant will never be built in Belarus!

Together we will win!



# ON THE EASTREN BORDER OF EU

## LOCAL ACTIVITIES, ANTI-G8-MOBILISATION AND MANY PLANS FOR FUTURE

REPORT BY ANARCHISTS FROM IASI / ROMANIA



Down here in Iasi in Romania we are establishing some small initiatives. During the winter we didnt got so many activities but spring brought us new energy. Something changed a bit at the end of march. Some friends of our from Bucharest, Germany and UK came to our city with a video activist project.

We searched for screening places and we were lucky enough to find a great place, the big hall of Atheneum, a new theatre from Iasi. The director of the place liked us so we had projections for two nights into this theatre, of course, after 21 because of the plays from the evening.

Even they were late at night, sometimes until midnight or 1 o'clock in the evening, people came. I admit that i was expecting something around 30 people, but we had almost 150 every night and talk after. Two movies had some long debates, one about the Roma holocaust and one about



G8. Still, a lot of people contacted us, and since then they are helping us into other projects.

Two weeks later we started to spread some ideas to young people about some biking problems, eco transport and climate change. There are still many subjects to talk about and we didnt made any working group as it would be useful, but we maage to make the first critical mass in the city. It was chaotic for the first ,round' as nobody got the idea that we dont need leaders, but at the end was ok. We were around 50 people at the start, plus other joining after. As it was for the first time it was funny with the police as they didnt knew how to react.

After 10 minutes of cycling in the central area the police came with one car and a motorcicle. First they were totaly confused, as some policemen said they have nothing to say against us and other one who said that we must stop our ride. We continued and they also came with us and blocked all the big boulevards to make a way for us. Hehe.

After this they started to film everything, many of us were laughing as the police was so suspicios with some people only with bikes.

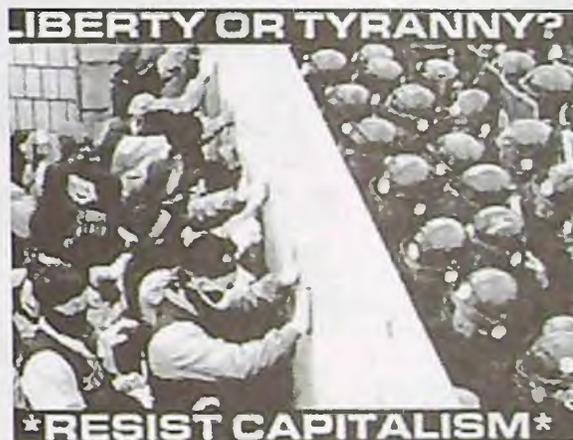
At the end of april we got other project acomplished. We got a underground place from the same theatre - Tatarasi Atheneum, and we made over there two days of workshops in the same time a art exhibition with pupils and students works about social issues.

We had workshops about animal rights, about romania indymedia, popular education, and a nice game which was ,stolen' from the dissent g8 infotour, about not being a millionaire. We had also materials about ladyfest romania, romanian vegetarians society and others.

This was like the firestarter for the first of may. As we had no special thing for may day last years, we were planing a food not bombs action close to fist of may, so we waited a bit to make it then.

We cooked food, tea, pancakes and we went to a central park where a lot of young homeless people are living. Our action was also oposing the mainstream ,left' celebration which turned into bread and circus. They took people out in the street, for 5 minutes to demonstrate as a left activist with left flags and whatever simbols, and after they invited the "activists" to a may day party when you were spending 15 ours as a consumer.

So if they transformed this day into the working consumers day we wanted to be with normal people. We stand in the park, we ate, we listened for some music and played some voley. Togheter. Around 60 people had their plates with food. We would like to make more but we had not enough 'infrastructure'.



For us was great as we got this actions for the first time in our city and we hope we will make food not bombs at least once a mounth.

Talking to other people maybe more into politics than other, and talking about future, as the Nato summit will be in Romania in 2008, we want this summer to establish a infoshop in our city and to plan some actions for the next year. I think after G8 summit will be much more easy to talk about this because i think right now a lot of people is only into anti g8 process.

Greetings from Iasi !

# Czech Republic: Right-wing extremists clash with anarchists in Prague centre

Prague: The police in Prague detained some tens of people during incidents accompanying a May Day meeting of right-wing extremists who clashed with anarchists trying to prevent their march today, Prague police spokeswoman Eva Miklikova told CTK.



Over 20 people were detained on Strelecky island in Prague centre and others later during the march to the U.S. Embassy today.

Miklikova did not rule out that some of them can be accused of assaulting a public officer.

The participants dispersed at about 14:30.

According to a CTK source, several young Social Democrats were among the detained as well as anarchist Ondrej Slacalek who opened the demonstration of anarchists this afternoon by a speech at the memorial to the victims of communists in Prague-Ujezd.

"We want to recall what May Day was and still is in its original meaning - the day of suppressed people's fight for their rights and freedoms," said Slacalek.

Right-wing extremists, members and supporters of the Patriotic Front and the National Unification movements, started to meet on Strelecky island before 13:00. Some 20 of their opponents tried to prevent the meeting.

This is why the police called on the leftist activists not to mar it. Afterwards a short brawl arose between the left and right radicals. Policemen interferred immediately and divided both groups.

As the left activists refused to leave the place, they were gradually detained and brought to a local police station.

The right-wing extremists then marched towards the U.S. embassy, chanting nationalist slogans such as "Nothing but the Nation."

In the meantime, the anarchists, singing the Internationale, went the same direction to meet the right-wing radicals. Some 100 anarchists tried to prevent the right extremists from getting to the U.S. embassy.

A police helicopter was monitoring the situation.

The police called on anarchists to enable the officially reported and permitted march of the right-wing extremists. Policemen pushed anarchists away, using truncheons among others. Some of them were detained.

Armoured police then accompanied the ultra-right march to the U.S. Embassy where radicals gave speeches and read the name of the Chicago police who died during the unrest in 1886.

Some 100 anarchists, most of them in masks, accompanied by the police, went to the foot of the Petrin hill where they dispersed. Policemen followed a number of demonstrators up to the tram stop. The police commando even got on the tram and gradually photographed the demonstrators.

Police say that the events were calm except for some individual incidents.

"The police will naturally keep monitoring the situation in Prague," Miklikova told CTK.

<http://www.infoshop.org/inews/article.php?story=2007>



# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

## PROCESS AGAINST 10 ANARCHISTS IN WARSAW ... ACTUALLY NOW JUST AGAINST 9

10 anarchists are still on trial for participating in a demonstration two years ago against the meeting of the Council of Europe in Warsaw. The charges range from "breaching the intouchability of a police office" to resisting arrest and using bad language against the police.

An arrest warrant was issued for A. from FA-Praga who decided that he had enough of this court nonsense. A. was beaten in custody and also the court determined that he was arrested without grounds. Despite this, due to the absolute absurdity of the law, he still has to face the charges (!) and show up in court and at the police station every other day. And, this was just too much of a pain in the ass.

In a letter to the court, A. wrote:

**"... ENOUGH OF THE PROSECUTOR'S AND THE POLICE'S MASCARADE! NO LEGAL AUTHORITY, NO PROSECUTOR OR POLICEMAN WILL JUDGE ME! NOBODY WILL DECIDE ABOUT MY LIFE! YOU'LL NEVER GET ME ALIVE!"**

**FAREWELL TO THE OTHER 9 FALSELY ACCUSED IN THE INCIDENTS OF MAY 16 2005 AND THOSE WHO SUPPORTED US. THANK YOU FOR THE SUPPORT..."**

@ @ @

### PAVEL DELIDON - A PRISONER OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Our friend and comrade, anarchist Pavel Delidon is in serious trouble - already for 6 weeks he has been in a remand prison, charged with robbery by illegal trespass (according to Russian criminal code, these charges could result in 7 to 12 years imprisonment). And all of this just for his attempt to take back what belongs to him.

Pavel turned 19 years old this April, he is living in a poor and depressed region in South-West Russia, in city of Stariy Oskol of Belgorod region. He has been active in various anti-authoritarian projects for almost two years already, in ecological protest camps, Food Not Bombs, animal rights issues, organization of concerts and street actions. In summer of 2006 he participated in the Libertarian Forum in Moscow and protests against G8 in St. Petersburg, in Petersburg he got arrested and was sentenced to 2 days in prison.

In autumn he returned to his small town, and began organizing anti-militarist actions, cleaning forest from trash, he kept writing articles and poems. There was no other anarchist activity in his home town, but he managed to find some interested people and they planned to organize a concert for Mayday, but

eventually just a small demonstration was organized as at this point Pavel was in prison already.

In December 2006 Pavel was working with his father, repairing the home of a relative of an influential businessman, who owns the biggest retail store in his hometown. Work was ordered by mother of this businessman, who turned out to be a swindler, and eventually she did not pay a good part of the work (1500 rubles, that is around 50 euros. Average wage of a blue-collar worker in hometown of Pavel is 150 euros a month).

After numerous phone calls, it became clear that the boss was not about to pay for the work. As usual with this kind of work in Russia, there was no written contract whatsoever made with the boss - thus there was no any legal ways for Pavel to get compensation for his labor (not that such a contract would

have meant a lot anyway - Russian courts very seldom make settlements in interest of the workers, and even if they do, nobody is enforcing these decisions).

In late march, Pavel decided to expropriate some property of the boss in order to get back what these rich people owed him. But unexpectedly boss was home,

and a conflict took place between them, and even more unluckily son-in-law of the boss showed up, called police and Pavel was arrested and imprisoned with charges of "robbery by illegal trespassing" (statute 162 paragraph 3 of Russian criminal code).

Unfortunate result of Pavel conflict with the rich and privileged boss was that she ended up in hospital - apparently she lied about being seriously wounded, as Pavel was just spraying pepper gas. Relatives of this bourgeois woman have promised to do anything they can in order for Pavel to be in prison as long as possible, and they also promised revenge on Pavel when he is released from prison one day. Pavel's mother was fired from her job the first day following the incident.

Current strategy of defense is to change charges to "vigilantism", which is a much less Serious charge - maximum sentence is 5 years and even probation is possible. This is a very difficult legal battle, thus we consider that another lawyer besides one already hired by poor parents of Pavel is necessary. Court should take place in June.

Pavel has a homepage (<http://www.ossnake.narod.ru>) and live journal (<http://ossnake.livejournal.ru>), both of which have only materials in Russian language. His email account is currently read by his supporters, so you may write him letters through it - [ossnake@narod.ru](mailto:ossnake@narod.ru). You may also write to Pavel in prison, as he speaks only Russian it would make sense to send mostly postcards, photos and drawings in case you do not speak Russian. Address of Pavel in prison is:

Pavel Delidon  
Lenino-7 SIZO  
Stariy Oskol  
308514 Belgorodskaya oblast, Russia

But in case you may read cyrillic letters below, it would be better to write address with them:

We are currently raising funds for second lawyer for Pavel, but as he has so many friends we have already almost raised the necessary amount of 1000\$. However I am sure friends of Pavel in Stariy Oskol would not refuse donations to feed him in prison, as Russian state does not feed its prisoners. If you are interested in donating, write to Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow - [adm@avtonom.org](mailto:adm@avtonom.org).

### ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW

#### OPEN LETTER TO VICTIM TATYANA FEDOROVNA SBITNEVA FROM ACCUSED PAVEL DELIDON

Tatyana Fedorovna, I think this letter will be interesting to you, as I will explain reasons of "robbery" of which you are accusing me. Right in the beginning I would say, that I am very sorry for physical pain I have caused you.

From the beginning of December, I was working with my father at your cottage. I was immediately stroked due to various issues. We were supposed to do suspended roofs and cover batteries and pipes with gypsum cartoon. From the very beginning I did not see any sense in this, as roof was already covered with beautiful figured foam plastic panels, and batteries were new and beautiful, and I did not see any sense in covering them. I made a conclusion, that the only reason why you wanted to make these changes was change of trends in interior design. But you were not concerned with spider webs and dust everywhere. Apparently current bourgeois vogue does not demand cleanliness, but makes its best to try to sell us new, expensive materials. I just have to say that they are just extorting money from you.

I suppose that you, as well as your neighbours, were in Komsomol in your youth. You were celebrating ideas of communism and equality, and you believed in social justice. So why are you now betraying these ideals, and cynically wasting resources, produced by working people, and you are giving up to provocations of the capitalism?

I suppose you remember when you came to house, and you told us, how you greeted your neighbour and asked what she was up to, and got offended and angry because she was angry that she is working with her house and "she was doing everything herself, and not employing anyone". You were very disappointed, thus I concluded that after all you have



# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

some conscience, although your pride for your high economic status comes first after all.

But I had to make peace with these moral issues, as I promised to help father in this work. As a result, I woke up early, worked all day in the dust of your cottage, and when I came home I only had enough power left to eat and sleep. I have an enormous amount of interests and issues, which I had to put aside as I was working for you. I read a lot, I write poems and articles, I do music, I learn programming,

I watch interesting movies, I travel, chat with my friends and I am involved in activities useful for society, but all of this I had to lay aside for your repair. And I am not complaining, as I understood that work requires sacrifices. I just want to show, that I had a responsible attitude towards your caprices. We did not discuss about the time of fulfilling the works, but as you asked, we tried to finish work as fast as possible. And during time of the project, I lost a close friend! Many people do not have a single true friend, but I had. I could not even go to his funeral, as I took this work and I had to fulfill it. When work was done, I was about to quickly leave for my beloved girl in another city, but again work kept me in its grip and even this I had to sacrifice. Everything was secondary in comparison to your demands and oral agreements we had. But counting on your honesty, we fulfilled everything.

But in return, you did not fulfill what you had promised. You paid to us in three separate occasions. As first two payments were minor ones, we did not pay much attention when you paid less than was agreed in the beginning. But in third time, you decided not to pay us a sum of 1500 rubles. And for this, you could even find a rather cogent argument - we did not spend all materials. My father decided not to explain why they were left unused, he just submitted to injustice. We made a deal that in case you sell money back to the store, you will call us and give us the money.

But as a matter of fact, some materials were left as there must always be some extra. If we had not enough of all materials, we could spend days in arranging more of it. And when we had already bought materials, we found some old materials from your garage which was left unused from the previous repairs. Thus we used these old materials, and what was left was about the same amount what was there in the beginning. We tried to ration using materials as much as possible, in order to waste as little as possible, and for this you betrayed us.

Eventually our acquaintances told us, that you could take these materials back to the shop and get the money back, but we never got a phone call from you.

When I realized that there will not be an honest way, I decided to pick another one. As victor Hugo said, "Bravery does not frighten crime, it is honesty which frightens authority". I agree with him, thus I decided to make a crime according to law, which as a matter of fact is restoration of justice. I think, that you

have some sympathy for Robin Hood, who took money from the rich and gave it to the poor. It is a shame, that attitude of a man to this kind of simple moral norm is dependant on how much they concern him personally. 28th of March, suspecting that you were not home, I planned to enter your home and to take money for which I had worked. I rang the bell several times, but no-one came to open the door. I climbed over fence and planned to enter through window, but then I saw that door was not locked. Only when I had entered the house I figured out that you were also at home, and already calling for help. As there was no place to run to, I had a reflex of self-defence, and I began shooting you with pepper spray. You tried to run, but as you were blinded, you fell down and shouted. I closed your mouth with my hand, and asked where your money is. You answered, that there are 1200 rubbles in your handbag. Then your son-in-law showed up and caught me, and called neighbours. As a result, I was heavily beaten, tied up and given to police. When you were waiting for paramedics and police to arrive, you were still walking around without difficulty, telling everyone what a bandit I was, telling what a vermin and how insolent I was and you proposed to let your dog bite me. But when the paramedics arrived, you fell down to stretchers and suddenly felt so ill. I was not intending to hurt you, and even when I was tied and someone proposed you to wash yourself with water in order to ease burning, I began explaining that water will only hurt you more. I did not want you to be in a pain, and I suppose you remember it.

I do not even want to describe what they did to me in police station and in police prison (you are better off not seeing it even in your dreams).

Your son, who showed up in the cabinet of the police while they were beating testimony out from me, was threatening that when I am out from prison after 5 or 10 years, he will "spoil my life".

There is a big icon in a room of your son; however I do not see his beliefs to realize in practice. What about that woman, whom he beat up, very cruelly, in last year? Wasn't it your god who said "root of all evil is love to mammon, and those who dedicated themselves to it deviated from the faith and this way got themselves much grief" and "As you have an abundance of everything, have also an abundance of good deeds". Bible is teaching that revenge is a sin, and people should be able to forgive each other.

For sure, you may say that I am definitely not sinless, and I must agree with this. At least I recognize this, and I promise to never do anything like I have done again. My wrongful deeds were dictated by objective circumstances, but I definitely did not want to wound you. This was a mistake, and I must agree with my guiltiness.

If you only may, please forgive me, although most likely I do not deserve pardon.

This letter is open, which means it will be published in media. I am writing in order to

make everything clear, and in order for everyone who has read it to know that I am not a robber, and I did not have bad intentions. And now, I do not want wish anything bad to anyone. I just want, that you look at all of this from an objective angle, and not want to spoil my lot.

Pavel Delidon

## ANTI-FASCIST AND ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVIST FROM MINSK IN ARREST

In beginning of April 2007, Zhenya Shimanskiy, an anti-fascist and animal rights activist and a vegetarian from Minsk got arrested, and he is currently held in remand prison of Minsk. This after he had spent 8 months underground after being imposed a 1400\$ fine he could not pay for animal rights-related graffiti. During his time underground he was also arrested having thrown a brick through a window of McDonald's in Minsk, but due to awesome luck he managed to escape prison at first, until he was arrested second time.

Zhenya was planning to leave Belarus for few years, but eventually he ran out of luck, and was arrested in Minsk after a routine check of documents of a company of youth he was hanging with in the street.

Zhenya will face a court in beginning of June for inability to pay his earlier fine, and for sabotage against McDonald's. He may face several years in prison, unless enough money is raised to pay his fine. Money is also needed to feed him in prison, as Belarussian state does not feed itsprisoners. In case you are interested in contributing, please write to punker@375crew.org with subject line "money for Shiman".

Besides money, letters of support are also urgently needed - apparently Belarussian authorities have decided that he is a dangerous extremist, and visits are not allowed even for close relatives. You may write to Zhenya at the following address

Evgeniy Dmitrievich Shimanskiy  
Volodarskogo str. 2, room 35  
220050 Minsk Belarus,

Note that Zhenya only understands Belarussian and Russian, so in case you do not speak either of these, you may send photos, drawings and other nice stuff.

We have photos of Zhenya, and we are happy to pass them on to be published in papers which are not distributed in Belarussia. However these should not end up on the open internet!

ABC/MINSK PUNX CREW  
(Translated by Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow, adm@avtonom.org)

Photos

<http://avtonom.org/index.php?nid=1015>  
<http://avtonom.org/index.php?nid=1015>

# CALL OUT FOR NO BORDER CAMP IN UKRAINE 2007

*Hello! With this call-out we invite you to No Border camp, Ukraine. If you have any ideas, questions or want to join us in preparations already now, help with building the camp in the week before the camp officially starts and that is most important - to form the program suggesting workshops, seminars, practical training or whatever - don't hesitate to write us right now!*

*If you want to be regularly informed about ongoing preparations and more actively participate the preparation of the camp, to help to form the program suggesting workshops, seminars, practical training or whatever join international mailing list:*

*noborder\_ee\_int@lists.riseup.net  
(working language is English)*

*Please help us to spread this call-out as wide as it possible! Translate it in any language and distribute in your own country or wherever you can!*

The camp will take place from the 11th to the 20th of August 2007 in the main region of transit and labor migration in Ukraine: Transcarpathia.

The eastward expansion of the European Union has resulted in moving the walls of "Fortress Europe" to the Western border of Ukraine. The Ukrainian region of Transcarpathia, of which the biggest cities are Uzhgorod and Mukachevo, has become a new borderline, with increasing militarization and major concentration of detention camps



for refugees from the countries of Global South and former USSR, who try to escape war, totalitarianism or misery to the European Union countries. It is hard to find any "open" information about the conditions in the majority of these camps.

The condition of the refugees in Ukraine is very unstable: freedom of movement is restricted; it is hard to get a job or medical care, and no social security is provided. When one gets refugee status, the only support they get from the state is a single payment of a petty 3 euros. In recent years Ukraine has even extradited asylum seekers to places like Uzbekistan, where they were imprisoned for years in the notorious authoritarian regime's gulags.

The increase of border controls makes a big impact on lives of local people in the depressed region of Transcarpathia. The region is situated on the intersection of borders of five countries: Ukraine, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary and Romania. Four of them are now in the European Union, but Ukraine will not be its member in the near

future. So "Fortress Europe" strengthens its Eastern frontiers on the borderline of Western Ukraine. Still, up to half of the working population of Transcarpathia works abroad. Ukraine cancelled the visa regime for EU nationals, but the EU has not made the access of Ukrainians to the European labor market (or even European countries' territory) any easier, although it would be hard to imagine for example agriculture in the EU today without Ukrainian guest workers.

At the same time, Transcarpathia has been for a long time a very special region with its unique blend of local cultures and traditions, and now it turned out to be one of the main routes for international migration. Therefore, local border guards, security services and media, using xenophobic language, help to spread prejudices towards migrants among local population, which resulted in rising tensions in the region.

We demand the right of free movement for everyone, asylum for all the persecuted people and the

## NO BORDER CAMP IN UKRAINE 2007

right of people to migrate from depressed areas to work in other countries, if it can make their lives better. We demand abolishing all visa regimes. We want to tear down "Fortress Europe" contemporary border regime, which has led to the state-sanctioned murder of thousands of people in its borders during recent years. The "Global Apartheid" policy should be stopped!

We continue the tradition of No Border camps on Eastern borders of the Fortress Europe, which were organized 1998-2000 on the border of Germany and Poland, in 2000-2003 on the Eastern border of Poland, in 2001 in Slovenia, in 2003 in Romania, in 2003 and 2005 on the border between Greece and Bulgaria and in Finland in 2004. The camps have also been organized on the Southern borders of Europe (on Sicily 2000 and on Tarifa of Spain 2001), inside Europe at airports and main sites of European surveillance and decision-making system (such as in Strasbourg 2002) on the border between Mexico and USA and in Australia. This year our international movement makes a major step forward, as the camp in Ukraine will be first ever organized on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

### SOME OF THE AIMS OF THIS CAMP ARE:

1) To create a ground for communication between activists from Eastern and Western Europe and from everywhere else: meeting, establishing contacts, sharing skills, knowledge and experience, etc. (workshops, discussions, practical trainings, concerts and much more).

2) To attract the attention of the people in Ukraine (but also in Russia and in the world) to the racist policy on migration; to address the questions of contemporary forms of racism and xenophobia.

3) To create contact with local people in the region of Transcarpathia: anti-racist education, open public events, film screenings, exhibitions, concerts and discussions, with an aim to improve local people's attitude towards migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

4) To exchange information between us: how the authorities in different countries criminalize migration, what are the situations with deportation prisons, and to share the experiences of resistance in different countries. One of the practical results of the camp is going to be the publication of a brochure with the information from different countries on all these issues to reinforce our struggle (call-out with approximate questions is coming!).

5) To get more people from different anti-authoritarian collectives and movements in Ukraine, Russia and other 'post-soviet' countries involved with the migration-related issues; mobilize people for struggle against racism, criminalization of migration and deportation camps system.

We will discuss the possible ways and perhaps we will do some actions (but not in the very region of camp; it has been advised by everybody who's in touch with the region that any confrontational actions done by activists from "out-

side" on such a sensitive issue could make the situation worse, not better). So first of all it will not be an action camp but a camp for communication, networking, planning and popular education.

Another event that is going to take place in the camp is an International Food Not Bombs gathering. There is an explosion of Food Not Bombs activities in Eastern Europe. In Russia alone there are about 50 groups that are regularly doing actions. We already started to form a program of workshops, discussions, practical trainings etc. But we prefer the program of the camp to be formed by the people who will come there. So if you've got something to share or contribute - please let us know now! It can be any topic you are interested in, not only the main topic of the camp.

Please take into account that Ukraine has cancelled the visa regime for the citizens of the European Union, the USA and some other countries, so if you have a passport of some Western country you probably do not need any visa to join us.

Feel free to spread this call-out through your contacts.

More information and contact:  
[noborder2007@riseup.net](mailto:noborder2007@riseup.net)

International mailing list:  
[noborder\\_ee\\_int@lists.riseup.net](mailto:noborder_ee_int@lists.riseup.net)



## NO BORDER CAMP IN UKRAINE 2007

## Tranzit Zone

**The stateless Marin Mogos is dead after five years of resistance with his family against German-Romanian-deportation-deals**

*"It feels as if it was yesterday, but it's a long time. It's like a nightmare, and I will wake up soon and he is here. I cannot believe that he is dead. I know my father is in the grave, but I cannot believe that it's true. (...) Since five years that we are here now, he always got up at 6:30, made coffee and breakfast. Now you see his bed is empty." - "And your mother, how is she handling this situation?" - "My mum is the one who is making the breakfast now. Often she is talking to him, talking about all what's going on here. If you write this all down, it will be a book. But nobody is interested in our situation!"*

Gabriela Mogos is sitting on her metal bed in front of the barred window and starring at the runway behind it. She talks silently about her father Marin Mogos, who committed suicide on the 17th of march 2007, hung himself on the bars of such a window.

Since five years the family Mogos lives in the Transit Zone of the Airport Otopeni in Bucharest/Romania. Guarded by some Border-Policemen they are held in two rooms of this prison-like building far away from the international terminal. Every morning at 7:00 they can see the Lufthansa-plane arriving from Germany. Five years ago also they came by this airline to Bucharest, but not for business or holiday, they came in handcuffs as deportees.

Untill summer 1990 Marin and Anisoara Mogos lived in Romania together with their five children. In socialist times Marin was persecuted by the secret service Securitate, was imprisoned and tortured. Anisoara was also brutally beaten by police while she was pregnant and loosed her child. Traumatized and in their experience of the political chaos in post-revolutionary Romania in 1990 - when police together with union miners finished bloodily the protest of oppositional students and furthermore attacked Roma communities in Bucharest, when in lots of towns Romanians started pogroms against their Roma

neighbours - Marin and Anisoara, both Roma, decided to leave Romania for ever.

As refugees in Germany, as well as thousands of other immigrants, they gave up their Romanian citizenship and lived as stateless people in the western part of the country. First placed in an asylum camp,



later settled down near to Wiesbaden they started to build up family life. The children Gabriela, Gheorghe and Dorina went to school; Emil and Simona married their friends. The parents tried hard to get a status as legal refugees and waited 11 years for a decision of the so-called foreigners office (Ausländerbehörde). In the end the authorities turned down the application on asylum, as well as following revision and application on exceptional leave to remain in Germany, because Romania is considered as a "save country" in the eyes of German/EU deportation policy. The fact, that their life identity was completely focused on Wiesbaden, which means friends, school, jobs, German language etc., did not count.

The life as quasi-illegal refugee in German society means not only daily and future insecurity, but also bureaucratic sanctions, the perma-

nent force of excuse, racist police controls, education restrictions or limited mobility. Gabriela Mogos: "We were only allowed to move around Hessen (county in central Germany). Believe me, I had such a fear when I went from Frankfurt to Mainz, what means only crossing a bridge, because than you are in Rheinland-Pfalz (the river Main is the border between both counties and cities). (...) Why do I have to do what they want me to do? Why they command me? Every human being has rights. You have the right to go wherever you want!" Utopia and reality.

At 4:00 in the morning of the 7th of march 2002 14 policemen entered the flat of family Mogos, separated the father and two children from the mother and Gabriela and sent them in handcuffs to the airports Munich and Frankfurt. After physical inspection and racist comments like "we don't need dirty gypsies" they are deported to Bucharest. In such cases the pilot has the right to say NO to forced deportations, but he doesn't used this possibility, even if the family and other deportees asked him for.

Gabriela is 15 years old and lived 10 years in the house near Wiesbaden. Her married sister and brother she leaves behind with their partners in Germany.

In the so-called homeland the border police is not better than in Germany. In Romania Racism against Roma is so popular like political resistance is not. But a lot of stateless deportees refused any Romanian papers, especially the Romanian citizenship. The only place they can stay is the transit zone as no-man's-land. Also the family Mogos took this chance to fight for the right to go back to the place where they decided to live. This fight took until now five years of their live and still goes on. A lot of others gave up after pressure and attacks from Romanian border police; family Mogos and one other person lived all this time in the transit zone of Otopeni Airport.

Following the Human Rights as stateless people the state where you gave up your citizenship is responsible for you, in case of family Mogos it is Germany. So normally

the Romanian state would send back such "cases" to Germany. But in 1998 both states signed a "taking-back-agreement" which is valid since February 1999. In fact this contract is not valid for people who came earlier to Germany, but the German authorities refer to the additional arrangement from spring 2001. In a dubious meeting of the ministers of internal affairs the Romanian side agreed under German pressure connected to

the EU-entry to take back also earlier refugees. For some richer refugees it was possible to bribe the Romanian authorities to delete them from a list made especially for these deportations. Hundreds of others were not able to make such deals.

"Shocking news reached me this morning. Marin Mogos, stateless like us, was found dead this morning in Otopeni.

(...) He is a victim of illegal deportations, effect of agreements of two Ministries of the interior; in fact traffic in human beings; seen as a collateral damage in the entry-process of Romania to the EU. The EU that not at least asks for the Rule of Law, transparency and Human Rights." This is part of the electronic comment of Gabriela Codreanu, also member of a sta-

teless family who mostly had the same story like the family Mogos. Constantin and Carmen Codreanu together with their children Gabriela and Andrei also left in 1990



Romania, settled down in Germany and were deported in 2003 to Bucharest Otopeni. They refused to stay in the transit zone and lived direct in the international terminal on the ground. After two years they were put out by airport police and since that time the Codreanus are living without papers in the streets of Bucharest as illegals, ignored by police

and depended on the support of friends in Germany and Romania. Gabriela Codreanu started in Germany the school of law and is organized after her deportation a campaign for her family's right to go back. ([www.codreanu.de.tf](http://www.codreanu.de.tf))

Both families started trials in the European Commission of Human Rights: the Codreanus against the

Romanian state referring to the illegal agreements with German authorities, the family Mogos against the German state because of illegal deportation and for the right of asylum. Both failed all their applications but are not willing to give up. Both reached to get public interest from Human Right Organizations, Antiracist Groups and a German as well as Romanian Mass Media. Some support them, but mostly the media is interested in scandals like the expulsion of the Codreanus from Otopeni or the suicide of Marin Mogos. The question of the illegal contracts between Germany and Romania is only peripherally mentioned. In fact they are confronted with the nationalist accusation of treason their patria. To discuss the freedom of movement or the concept of home not as a geographical or ethnical question but as a question of your own will in a transnational reality is not very popular in our societies.

The silence around their cases let Marin Mogos take the last scream of resistance. His daughter described the place of the transit zone like a madhouse made out of white walls far away from real life. Both families need your support to find a way back in a normal life, especially because authorities don't give a shit on their existence.

**NO BORDERS  
NO NATION  
STOP DEPORTATION**

*Article by Wasja Budei*





## ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS

### INVITATION FOR TWO CONFERENCES IN FORMER SOVIET SPACE

On behalf of the Praxis Research and Education Center at the Victor Serge Library in Moscow, I would like to invite you to participate in two conferences we are organizing this July in the former Soviet space. For more information about PRAXIS and the Victor Serge Libraries, please visit our site at [www.praxiscenter.ru](http://www.praxiscenter.ru). The first conference will take place in Moscow, at the Memorial Society, on 9-10 July on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the revolutionary events of 1917. The general topic: "1917-2007: Idea of the Revolution and Experience of History". Your papers and individual participation are welcome. The languages of the conference will be English, French and Russian. Please see attached Call for Papers for details and list of subjects. In addition, on 11 July, there will be a meeting in the Victor Serge Library in Moscow, devoted to its 10th anniversary. On 16 July, we will hold a presentation of the new branch of the Victor Serge Social Library in Sebastopol (Crimea) in advance of the second conference, which will take place July 17-18 at an ecological camp in Peschanoe, Crimea, Ukraine, (Black Sea coast in 40 km from Sebastopol). The general topic is "Global socio-ecological crisis and ways for its overcoming." Please see attached program for details.

These meetings will provide a unique chance to meet and talk with Russians (and Ukrainians) on the non-Stalinist Left and to present your own ideas and experiences. There will also be time for fun, comradely toasting and tourist sight-seeing. (With so many historians of the Russian Revolution present, we will certainly organise a walking tour of 1917 Moscow).

As for accommodations in Moscow, Praxis is usually able to find rooms or apartments for international guests at modest rates. At the ecological camp in the Crimea, there is a choice between tenting and rooms in a former 'workers' rest house'.

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to email [praxis2001@mail.ru](mailto:praxis2001@mail.ru) (in English or French). Hoping to see some of you there,  
Best Wishes, Richard Greeman

P.S. Please circulate this notice, post it on your sites and list-serves, and send it to any publications to which you have access. Also, Russian readers are still eager to receive Left (feminist, GLBT, anti-globalist, etc) books and magazines, which we make available through the Victor Serge Libraries in Moscow, Petersburg and Sebastopol.

### Radical anti-nuclear protest camp in Angarsk, Siberia - a preliminary announcement

Rosatom (Russian Federal Agency on Atomic Energy) is planning to build a new international center on enrichment of Uranium in the city of Angarsk, which is located just 60 kilometres from Irkutsk and 120 kilometres from lake Baikal. According to local activists, Rosatom just wants to profit by letting international nuclear industry leave the ecological costs of enrichment process to Siberians. But Siberia has already had more than its share of ecologically harmful industries and other menaces, such as clear-cutting of local forests. This is why local activists of Autonomous Action and from ecological "Lake Baikal movement" will organise a radical ecological protest camp, which is planned to start 15th of July 2007. If you want to keep updated of this project, write to [ogopogos@gmail.com](mailto:ogopogos@gmail.com). Updates will also be published in English section of website of Autonomous Action, <http://www.avtonom.org>

Autonomous Action of Irkutsk

### Anarchist Federation Camp in Beskidy 24-31 June

Polish FA are organizing a camp this summer. The idea was discussed recently at the last FA-meeting in Szczecin and is meant especially to integrate parts of FA that don't normally get to meet for longer times and also to meet the young people who are interested in FA but are in small towns or somehow isolated. It's with a view to developing some friendships, ideas for further cooperation and seeing how we can encourage and help people in smaller towns to connect with others, overcome isolation and be able to better participate in the anarchist movement.

Info: [buirofa@bzzz.net](mailto:buirofa@bzzz.net)



# ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS

## Anarcha-Feminist festival in Romania July 6-7

INVITATION FOR LOVEKILLS ANARCHA-FEMINIST FESTIVAL #2 - LOVEKILLS Collective was born out of the anarcha-feminist zine called LOVEKILLS. During the years this zine made people from the local d.i.y. scene understand the involvement of women in anarchist movement and their influence upon it. In the beginning the LOVEKILLS Collective was made only for the developing and improvement of the zine; which is still the only anarcha-feminist zine from Romania and it is dealing with issues that women are facing in the Romanian society as well as in the d.i.y. scene; many articles are about women in anarchism (from both the ideological and practical point of view). In time we realized that writing a zine is for sure not enough. Although the d.i.y. scene that we are part of is very small, sexism is present at its highest level, so this is how the idea of organizing an anarcha-feminist festival arose. Our possibilities in matter of finance and space are limited but we are doing anything possible to put our ideas in practice. Our fellows from Romania as well as those from abroad expressed their enthusiasm and are willing to support us.

LOVEKILLS anarcha-feminist festival wants to be an open space for boys, girls and of course queer. The aim is challenging for discussions and debates about the double oppression that women are facing each day due to the customs, traditions and prejudices of patriarchal society which develops feelings of inferiority through its authoritarian relationships, feelings of fear and terror because of the constant threat of sexual harassment, assault, abuse; feelings of culpability because of the aggressive religious dogma; feelings of being exploited through exhausting hours of work in society and at home; fatphobia and other body image issues because of the beauty standards violently imposed every day and so on....

We have the strong belief that by discussing and changing experience we are able to develop more efficient ways of fighting against patriarchy and all the eyesores that are coming with it.

The festival will take place on the 6-7th July in Timisoara (West of Romania). During the two days of festival there will be workshops, concert, exhibitions and video projections. Anyone who is interested in taking part at this happenings whether it is about presenting a workshop /documentary/ exhibition, performing, playing, bringing a distro or anything else please contact us for more details as soon as possible. We are also hoping that you give us suggestions and ideas.

Any kind of support is welcomed.

Contact us : [3lovekills3@gmail.com](mailto:3lovekills3@gmail.com)  
LOVEKILLS

## "Intergalactic Libertarian Forum" in Samara / Russia

It takes place in spite of massive repression from the side of the state

The repressions against "Intergalactic Libertarian Forum" which should take place during the Summit "Russia - the European Union" on 16-18 of May have begun in Samara (Russia). On May, 10 the police organised a search of the public center. In this center the Coordinating Committee of the libertarian forum was based. Some computers with necessary information inside were taken away. Coordinators of the Forum planned to hold discussions and working groups in different rooms on that center. In the evening 2 journalists from "RIO" TV which had some video materials and witnesses' interviews were arrested by police and transported to the police department to have a conversation without being given any reasons explaining why.

On May 11, the building of the public center has been closed by the local authorities. Searches and the prohibition from entering the building blocked up the work of the public center and several human rights and ecological NGOs (i.e. association for the protection of the rights of the voters "VOICE", project "Maintenance of the freedom of speech and freedom of assembly", youth cinema club etc.), although the repressions were aimed at the Libertarian Forum but not these groups.

On May 13, human rights activist from Niznij Novgorod were arrested at the rail-station just after their arrival in Samara, they were suspected of a crime, but after short conversation were released.

On May, 14 at 23:30 one of the activists of "Intergalactic Libertarian Forum" was attacked in the entrance of his house and was violently beaten with the help of fungo sticks. All day long he was followed by a car and suspicious man. Activists are followed by unknown persons and telephone calls are listened to.

In spite of everything the "Intergalactic Libertarian Forum" will take place.

17 MAY 14:00 CHAPAEV PLACE Discussion:  
Corporative values and human rights.  
Civil society - a possibility of hegemony or polygamy of free associations?  
The process of Bologne. Commercialization of culture and education.  
17 MAY 17:00 STREET PARTY! MEET In the Pushkin square  
18 MAY 14:00 discussion: WTO: Perspectives for Russia after entry into the WTO.

Welcome to forum! We are ready to exchange opinions and find new development solutions!

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

## WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM

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

### ARMENIA

- \* "Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; vaga@frecnet.am
- \* Armenia Indymedia - valagn@bem.am

### BELARUS

- \* ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o. box 217; intolerant@autonom.zzn.com; www.anarchistblackcross.by.ru
- \* AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk: restless1@mail.com
- \* Anarchist Library - Minsk; antyfa@mail.ru
- \* Anti-McDonald - http://belmac.narod.ru; http://kompaktor.narod.ru
- \* Antyfa - antifascist group; antyfa@mail.ru
- \* Autonomous Action / Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno
- \* Autonomous Action / Minsk (Belarus) belarus@avtonom.org; www.belarus.avtonom.org
- \* BAF / Belarusian Anarchy Front - baf@list.ru
- \* Belarusian Linux Community - www.linux.hitech.by
- \* "Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; ecoaction@tut.by
- \* FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchist - Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134; - Novopoloc: nuts-1@rambler.ru
- \* Food Not Bombs - Minsk - FNBminsk@yandex.ru
- \* "Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; ksenia\_izberg@mail.ru
- \* KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O. Box 237; kds-razam@tut.by; www.razam.by.ru
- \* "Navinki" - satirical anarchist quarterly newspaper; Minsk; pauluk@tut.by; www.navinki.net
- \* "Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; rebelgirls@mail.ru
- \* www.anarchhistory.boom.ru - history of anarchy in Belarus
- \* www.375crew.org - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus

### BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

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

### BULGARIA

- \* Anarchist Portal http://a-bg.net
- \* Anarchist writings http://savanne.el/svoboda
- \* Anarcho-saprotiva autonomous group areistance@riseup.net
- \* Anarchy in BG http://change.to/anarchy
- \* Annual rights, anarcho-primitivism, feminism http://http://anarchyfuture.a-bg.net/
- \* Independent media center http://bulgaria.indymedia.org/
- \* "Katarzls" - DIY zine, katarzis@riseup.net sfti.diy@gmail.com
- \* Subcultures, crust, punk, hardcore http://music.a-bg.net/
- \* Diy zine about punk/hardcore, animal rights, primitivism, art
- \* "Svobodna Misl" - Bulgarian anarchist newsletter, http://sm.a-bg.net/

- \* "Vasil Ikonomov" - anarchist group, ikonomov.a-bg.net; vasilikonomov@yahoo.com

### CROATIA

- \* AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - anfema.action@gmail.com; www.anfema.tk
- \* "Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; http://squat.net/monteparadiso; info@monteparadiso.hr
- \* Rijeka anarchist Initiative - www.rai.anarhija.org, rai2002@net.hr
- \* "Skatula" - infoshop, I.Zajca 20/2, Rijeka, www.rai.anarhija.org, infoshopkatula@net.hr, every day 17-20h - weekend closed
- \* "Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovec; adress: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia
- \* Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadarskianarhisti@yahoo.com; www.solidarnost.mahost.org
- \* www.stocitas.org - Antiauthoritarian publisher
- \* "sto citas?" b.shop Zagreb Preradoviceva 34

### CZECHIA

- \* Antifascist Action (AFA) - afa-praha@anarchismus.org, www.antifa.cz
- \* Anarcho-feminist group - anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz, anarchofeminismus.ccn.cz
- \* -1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita) - praha@solidarita.org, www.solidarita.org, tel: +420 604 247 218
- regional group of Brno, brno@solidarita.org, tel: +420 732 616 695
- \* Anarchistické sdružení Uherské Hradiště - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradiště, e-mail uhas@email.cz
- \* "A-kontra" - anarchist magazine, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel. +420 605 903 098, e-mail: a-kontra@csaf.cz, www.a-kontra.net
- \* "Bloody Mary" - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, Bloodymary@bust.com, c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1
- \* CSAF - Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation - P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1, e-mail: praha@csaf.cz, www.csaf.cz
- Kladno; e-mail: kladno@csaf.cz
- Northern Czechia, e-mail: sever@csaf.cz
- Kutnohorsko, e-mail: csaf.kutnohorsko@email.cz, e-mail: kutnohorsko@csaf.cz, tel: +420 721 732 844
- Jihlava, e-mail: csafjihlava@email.cz, tel: +420 721 732 844
- Eastern Czechia, e-mail: undertakerdis@seznam.cz
- \* FSA-MAP - Federation of anarchist groups, info@anarchismus.org, www.anarchismus.org, international secretary: fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org
- Northern Czechia, fas-sever@anarchismus.org
- Zlinsko, fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org
- Prague, fas-praha@anarchismus.org
- Brno, fas-brno@anarchismus.org
- Jihlava, fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org
- Pardubice, fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org
- \* Info Café "Krtkova kolona" - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubeneč, e-mail: kk@ezechcore.cz, kk.ezechcore.cz, Tel: 605 983 191
- \* Hudební klub "Za vraty" - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, e-mail:

- international@zavraty.com, www.zavraty.com, tel. +420 723 555 287

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

### ESTONIA

- \* Food Not Bombs - Tallinn - videomees@hotmail.ee
- \* www.punamust.org/ - anarchist web-site
- \* www.hot.ee/anarhism - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

### HUNGARY

- \* AFK - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); www.socialdisease.tk
- \* Barricade Collective - anarchist group; http://www.anarkom.lapja.hu
- \* "Gondolkodo Antikvarium" - anarchist bookshop; www.sinfok.ini.hu; gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18
- \* Ruganegra - (street folklore staff); www.ruganegra.tk
- \* Social Disease Kollektiva (anarchopunk collective) - http://socialdisease.tk
- \* www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo - anarchist web-site

### KAZAKHSTAN

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

### LATVIA

- \* Pretspars Collective - zine, distro, web, actions - http://pretspars.hardcore.lt; pretspars@riseup.net
- \* "Zabadaks" - DIY culture house, zabba@inbox.lv, www.nekac.lv, tel. +371 3320666.
- DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga; LV-3300Latvia; www.nekac.lv, maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

### LITHUANIA

- \* active@hardcore.lt - LT activists network
- \* "Elnias" - space for various DIY activities; Vilniaus str. 72 (in the yard), Siauliai, gabrielel@takas.lt
- \* "Gyvas" - space for various DIY activities, Kauno str. 1a (in the yard), Vilnius, xdirtx@hardcore.lt
- \* "Pavasaris Infoshop" - Mindaugo str. 20-12, Vilnius, xdirtx@hardcore.lt
- \* "Posedziu Sale" - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 204 (4th floor), city of Kaunas; sgausiperemila@yahoo.com, fiorfraga@gmail.com, tel +37067809606 http://posedis.mums.lt
- \* booking@hardcore.lt - booking in Lithuania
- \* www.hardcore.lt - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

### MACEDONIA

- \* direct action - anarchist collective directa@freemail.com.mk
- \* fuck yoga - a distro and label neveranswerthe-phone@yahoo.com
- \* kaka - a distro and label surovo@yahoo.com
- \* napravi sam - a collective radexx2000@yahoo.com
- \* teror 13 - a infoshop info@teror13.mk www.teror13.anarhija.org

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

## POLAND

★ ABC/ACK - www.ack-most.org.pl  
 - Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa  
 121. ack-wawa@o2.pl  
<http://www.emilka.bzzz.net/porady/porady.html>  
 - Poznan - po box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31,  
 ack@rozbrat.org, tel. 0618484672 (Tue 19-21, We-  
 Thu 17-20), <http://www.rozbrat.org/ack.htm>  
 - Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26..  
 abcbialystok@o2.pl, www.ack-bialystok.prv.pl  
 - Lodz - riefka@gmail.com  
 - Warszawa-Praga - zaczek@gmail.com  
 - Mielec - redakcja@innyswiat.most.org.pl  
 - Przasnysz - fmb-przasnysz@o2.pl  
 - Wroclaw - tomaso@riseup.net  
 ★ Anarchist Library - ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.  
 ★ Anarchist Library - ul. Jagiellonczyka 10D;  
 Wroclaw.  
 ★ "A-TAK" - anarchist magazine from Krakow;  
 atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl  
 (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html  
 ★ "A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english  
 contains articles of polish anarchist groups.  
 L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4.  
 eube@zigzag.pl  
 ★ "Bractwo Trojka" - anarchist publishing house  
 from Poznan; bractwo\_trojka@wp.pl, www.bract-  
 wotrojka.prv.pl.  
 ★ "Bunkier" ("B 48") - underground  
 concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun;  
 stagnation@wp.pl  
 ★ Chaos Grrrl - anarchist-feminist zine from  
 Warsaw; chaosgrrlz@o2.pl  
 ★ "Czarna Emilka" (Black Emily) - local of  
 GWA (Group of Warsaw Anarchists) in the very  
 centre of the city  
 ★ "Czarny Pajak" ("Black Spider") - anarchist  
 space with discussion club, movie-projections,  
 anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz;  
 www.czszy.prv.pl; maciek@riseup.net  
 ★ Dziewczyny w Akcji (Girls in Action) - anar-  
 chist feminist group in Bialystok; www.dziewczy-  
 nyw akcji.prv.pl; dziewczynyw akcji@wp.pl  
 ★ "Elblaska" - squat in Warsaw  
 ★ Emancypunx - anarcho-feminist group; po box  
 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78;  
 www.emancypunx.com; emancypunx@o2.pl  
 ★ FA (Anarchist Federation) - federation of  
 polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.  
 - FA - virtual collective secretary -  
 biurofa@go2.pl  
 - FA-Bialystok - fa.bialystok@op.pl  
 - FA-Czestochowa - akielasiak@wp.pl  
 - FA/RSA Gdansk - jwal@pg.gda.pl  
 - FA-Krakow - lukasdab@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Lublin - falublin@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Lodz - falodz@riseup.net  
 - FA-Opole - soboll3@o2.pl  
 - FA-Poznan - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org  
 - FA-Rzeszow - xjedrusx@o2.pl  
 - FA-Slupsk - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA/RSA Sochaczew - antinazi@friko6.onet.pl  
 - FA-Szczecin - fa\_szn@interia.pl;  
 winanar@wp.pl  
 - FA-Warszawa - natak@poczta.onet.pl  
 - FA-Warszawa/Praga - fapraga@o2.pl & fapra-  
 ga@gmail.com  
 ★ Food Not Bombs  
 - Gdansk - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45  
 - Lodz - falodz@riseup.net  
 - Olsztyn - edelweiss@o2.pl  
 - Poznan - fmb@rozbrat.org  
 - Warsaw - fmb@op.pl; www.fmb.wp.pl  
[www.rozbrat.org/fmb.htm](http://www.rozbrat.org/fmb.htm), we serve food every  
 Sunday at west train station in Poznan  
 - Rzeszow - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303

Rzeszow; tel.602769138.  
 - Gliwice - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-  
 101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com www.food-  
 notbombs.prv.pl  
 ★ Feminist & Anarchist Feminist Calendar -  
 feminikalendarz06@interia.pl  
 ★ "Freedom" - Centre of Animation an  
 Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre &  
 Collective; ul. Jagiellonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. free-  
 dom69@go2.pl  
 ★ Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc"  
 (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975  
 Poznan 61.  
 ★ Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"  
 Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the  
 Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.)  
 Open: Mon.-Fri. 18<sup>00</sup>-20<sup>00</sup> or longer, Sun. 14<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup>  
 plus by appointment and during events (summer  
 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); fapraga@gmail.com;  
 www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop.  
 ★ Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers  
 Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to  
 FA focusing on support for workers;  
 ★ IP-FA / Szczecin - Dominik Sawicki, po box  
 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.  
 ★ IP-FA / Silesia - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice;  
 inicjatywa\_silesia@hoga.pl  
 ★ Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers Initiative)  
 - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan;  
 www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl  
 ★ Kolektyw Autonomistów (Collective of  
 Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-  
 116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl  
 ★ "Kromera" - squat/culture centre; ul.Kromera  
 6a; Wroclaw.  
 ★ LadyFest - there are few Lady-fests in Poland  
 (in Lodz, Wroclaw and Warsaw);  
 www.ladyfest.webpark.pl; ladyfestwawa@o2.pl  
 ★ "Lesbians, Gays and Their Friends" - festival  
 in Wroclaw with conference, workshops, films,  
 street actions <http://www.nts.uni.wroc.pl/festiwal/>  
 (co-organized by the anarcho-feminist groups)  
 ★ LETS - Local Economy Trade System  
 - Krakow - testcyf@kr.edu.pl  
 - Poznan - lets@poland.com  
 ★ Liberta - anarchist-feminist group in Wroclaw;  
 libertagrrl@o2.pl  
 ★ "Little Mary" - anarchist squat in  
 Czestochowa; ul. Warszawska 249/25;  
 ★ "Mac Pariacka" - anarchist magazine in  
 polish; pariacka@polbox.com  
 ★ "Marcowanie" - anarchist-feminist mailing list,  
 bulletin and regular women camp  
 ★ Obin (Warsaw) - radical street-art collective  
 organising workshops, internet and silkscreen for  
 free; www.obin.org  
 ★ "Pilon" - underground bar/caffe open Mo, Th,  
 Fr and Sa from 7pm; adress: ulica Bulwar  
 Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car  
 bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl  
 web:<http://www.pilon.za.pl>  
 ★ RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) -  
 www.antifa-wildest.prv.pl; po box 43; 15-662  
 Bialystok 26. wildeast@poczta.onet.pl  
 ★ "Radical Cheer Leaders" - anarchist female  
 cheer leader team based in Warszawa; rchpl@o2.pl  
 ★ Refuse - underground label & mailorder (books,  
 zines, music); www.refuserecords.prv.pl  
 ★ Revenge of The Nerds (Warsaw) - anarchist-  
 feminist zine distribution/editors; www.revengeof-  
 thenerds.bzzz.net  
 ★ Revolution-Diva - anarchist-feminist zine  
 (Poznan)  
 ★ "Rozbrat" - squat/collective/ anarchist center/  
 anarchist library - ul. Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan;  
 P.O.Box 5, 60-966 Poznan 31,  
 fa-poznan@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org,

www.foto.rozbrat.org  
 ★ S.E.K.W. "Krzyk" - squat / anarchist centre, po  
 box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul. Sienkiewicza 25;  
 tel.+48 504878370).  
 ★ Sister to Sister - anarchist feminist group/net-  
 work around Poland; mail-order and anarchist  
 dyke zine "Lechtaczka"; sistertosisister@o2.pl  
 ★ "streFA" - infoshop in Szczecin;  
 ul.Domanskiego 1c, tel.504935357.  
 ★ "Szejwk" - anti-military service and Poznanian  
 Anti-war Coalition; ul.Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5;  
 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, anty-  
 wojenna@rozbrat.org  
 ★ "Tekno Collective" - underground techno crew  
 from Torun, sadi@poczta.onet.pl  
 ★ Ugrupowanie Feministyczne Anarchistyczne  
 (UFA) - anarcho-feminist group in Poznan;  
 ufa@robrat.org  
 ★ Valpurgi Night - regular festival against homo-  
 phobia and sexism in Warsaw, with workshops,  
 conference, spoken word, concerts, films...  
 www.myspace.com/nocwalpurgii; ★ Wiedźma  
 (The Witch) - anarcho-feminist group; PO BOX  
 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND;  
 witchgrrl@poczta.onet.pl;  
 www.wiedzma.most.org.pl  
 ★ "Ya Banda" - anarchist samba band  
 Milanowek/Warszawa, olga23@go2.pl

## ROMANIA

★ Aactiv-ist Collective Timisoara, Antifa auto-  
 nome - anarchist punk group aactivistcollecti-  
 ve@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bume-  
 rang.ro  
 ★ A Nera - ecological, social and (counter) cultu-  
 ral center; in the mountains Cheile Nerei; aacti-  
 visticollective@yahoo.com  
 ★ Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action) -  
 spleneparty@yahoo.com  
 ★ C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist col-  
 lective from city of Craiova;  
 libertatero@yahoo.com  
 ★ Fight Back - anarchist collective Bucharest,  
 www.fight-back.tk  
 ★ Gluga Neagra / Black Hood - distribution &  
 bookings for diy concerts tours; g\_a-resisten-  
 ta@yahoo.com  
 ★ Info-Propaganda - anarchist leaflets publishing  
 from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com  
 ★ URA - anarcho-punk fanzine from Craiova;  
 WWW.ANTIFA-ANTITOT.BLOGSPOT.COM;  
 libertatero@yahoo.com  
 ★ Love Kills - woman anarcho-punk zine /  
 Craiova; www.lilith-lovekills.blogspot.com;  
 jolierouge101@yahoo.com  
 ★ "Revolta!" - bymonthly anarchist & diy  
 hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollecti-  
 ve@yahoo.com  
 ★ Subteran Collective - anarchist-activists collec-  
 tive in the city of Iasi; subteran\_iasi@yahoo.com  
 ★ www.proiectns.org - grassroots activist site

## RUSSIA

★ ABC-Moscow - sp2003@email.com; P.O. Box  
 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)  
 ★ Alliance of Kazan Anarchists -  
 anumil@narod.ru; <http://anumil.narod.ru>  
 ★ Anarchist League of Kamchatka - 4tan-  
 kista@mail.ru  
 ★ Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia - PO  
 Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065.  
 anliberation@rambler.ru  
 ★ Anti-Źa Samara - anti\_fa@mail.ru  
 ★ Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) -  
 see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact adress  
 ★ "Epicenter Infoshop" - Evgeni Fayzullin, PO  
 Box 103, St. Petersburg, 190013

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru  
 http://www.infoshop.spb.ru

★ Food Not Bombs  
 - Main Website: <http://foodnotbombs.net.ru>  
 - Volzhkiy - [fnbvz@mail.ru](mailto:fnbvz@mail.ru)  
 - Voronezh - [fnb-vm@yandex.ru](mailto:fnb-vm@yandex.ru)  
 - Irkutsk - [fnb-irk@yandex.ru](mailto:fnb-irk@yandex.ru)  
 - Kirov - [punkauskirov@mail.ru](mailto:punkauskirov@mail.ru)  
 - Krasnodar - [fnb\\_krsndr@mail.ru](mailto:fnb_krsndr@mail.ru)  
 - Moscow - [fnb-russia@yandex.ru](mailto:fnb-russia@yandex.ru)  
 - Nizhni Novgorod - [fnbnov@rambler.ru](mailto:fnbnov@rambler.ru)  
 - Novosibirsk - [x316x@mail.ru](mailto:x316x@mail.ru)  
 - Perm - [fnbperm@mail.ru](mailto:fnbperm@mail.ru)  
 - Rostov-na-Donu - [subbacultcha@mail.ru](mailto:subbacultcha@mail.ru)  
 - St. Petersburg - [epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru](mailto:epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru)  
 - Tolyatti - [fnbilt@mail.ru](mailto:fnbilt@mail.ru)

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

★ Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language)  
<http://russia.indymedia.org>; [indyru@nadir.org](mailto:indyru@nadir.org);  
 ★ [indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru](mailto:indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru) (Moscow);  
 ★ [indymedia\\_piter@pochtamt.ru](mailto:indymedia_piter@pochtamt.ru) (Petersburg);  
 ★ [smeshno@riseup.net](mailto:smeshno@riseup.net) (Kiev, Ukraine)  
 ★ IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation -  
[www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS](http://www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS); [sidorovan@mail.ru](mailto:sidorovan@mail.ru)  
 ★ Jerry Rubin Club - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists;  
[jrc@nm.ru](mailto:jrc@nm.ru); <http://jarryclub.narod.ru>

★ KRAS - IYA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndicalists) - Moscow; c/o Vadim Damier: -Pereulok Aynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; [comanar@mail.ru](mailto:comanar@mail.ru); <http://aitrus.narod.ru>

★ "Megaphon" - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; [megaphon@mail333.com](mailto:megaphon@mail333.com)

★ Network of Working-place Resistance - [cok-kney@rambler.ru](mailto:cok-kney@rambler.ru); <http://antijob.nm.ru>

★ "Noviy Svet" - anarchist newspaper; [new-world@mail.admiral.ru](mailto:new-world@mail.admiral.ru); <http://novsvet.narod.ru> (all issues since 1989).

★ "Nozhi i Vilki" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; [zilonis@newmail.ru](mailto:zilonis@newmail.ru)

★ Old Skool Kids - punk/hardcore label and distro; [oldschoolkids@yahoo.com](mailto:oldschoolkids@yahoo.com);  
<http://oskids.nm.ru>

★ Petersburg Antiwar Committee - see "Noviy Svet" contact address

★ Petersburg League of Anarchists - see "Noviy Svet" contact address

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

★ Rainbow Keepers - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:  
 - Nizhniy Novgorod - [klem@dront.ru](mailto:klem@dront.ru)  
 - Votkinsk - [votkinskrk@mail.ru](mailto:votkinskrk@mail.ru)  
 - Kasimov - [rk@rk.ryazan.ru](mailto:rk@rk.ryazan.ru) (this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)  
 - Perm - [puliark@rambler.ru](mailto:puliark@rambler.ru)  
 - Volgograd - [maasha@rambler.ru](mailto:maasha@rambler.ru)  
 - Ekaterinburg - [vty2@mail.ru](mailto:vty2@mail.ru); [dpu@etel.ru](mailto:dpu@etel.ru)  
 - Moscow - [rkrz1@seu.ru](mailto:rkrz1@seu.ru); [blatoba@mail.ru](mailto:blatoba@mail.ru)  
 - Smara - [duplo1@mail.ru](mailto:duplo1@mail.ru); [duplo@samiel.ru](mailto:duplo@samiel.ru)  
<http://duplo.narod.ru>  
 - Rostov - [rkrostov@don.sitek.net](mailto:rkrostov@don.sitek.net)

★ S.H. Sound System - label & distro including political punk stuff; <http://svinokop.narod.ru>;  
[diyhc@yahoo.com](mailto:diyhc@yahoo.com)

★ Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk;  
<http://www.skt.org.ru>

★ "Utopia" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia;  
[utopia@mail333.com](http://utopia@mail333.com)

★ "Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library - City Library no.10, ulitsa

Verkhnyaya Khokhlovka 39/47, metro "Marksistskaya"  
 Telephone/fax: +7 095 278 8156.  
<http://www.sergelibrary.org/>  
 ★ "Volya" - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); [obschtschina@pisem.net](mailto:obschtschina@pisem.net); <http://volja.nm.ru>  
 ★ "Zhest" - anarcho-feminist magazine; [zhest@pisem.net](mailto:zhest@pisem.net)  
 ★ [www.squatting.ru](http://www.squatting.ru) - portal, dedicated to squatter movement!

★ Contacts of Autonomous Action  
 Federal site is <http://www.avtonom.org>

★ Correspondents of Autonomous Action (distributors of press of the organisation without a formal membership)

- Voronezh - [dingir@mail.ru](mailto:dingir@mail.ru), <http://anarhvm.narod.ru/ad>  
 - Izhevsk - [projectfreedom@mail.ru](mailto:projectfreedom@mail.ru);  
[timmad@udm.ru](mailto:timmad@udm.ru); [anuiwar@udm.ru](mailto:anuiwar@udm.ru)  
 - Yoshkar - Ola - [punk@zvenigovo.ru](mailto:punk@zvenigovo.ru)  
 - Kolonna (Moscow Region, Russia) - [matherfacker2017@mail.ru](mailto:matherfacker2017@mail.ru)  
 - Niberezhnye Chelny (Tatarstan, Russia) - [anarchist@chelny.com](mailto:anarchist@chelny.com)  
 - Ozersk (Chelyabinsk Region, Russia) - [padlik@bk.ru](mailto:padlik@bk.ru)  
 - Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614, 183050 Murmansk Russia.  
 - Saint Petersburg - [blackguard@mail.ru](mailto:blackguard@mail.ru)  
 - Minsk (Belarus) - [belarus@avtonom.org](mailto:belarus@avtonom.org);  
[www.belarus.avtonom.org](http://www.belarus.avtonom.org)  
 - Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno Oblast, Belarus  
 - Donetsk (Ukraine) - [redrash@mail.ru](mailto:redrash@mail.ru); [redskins@mail.ru](mailto:redskins@mail.ru)  
 - Sumy (Ukraine) - [ivangrob@mail.ru](mailto:ivangrob@mail.ru)

★ Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:  
 - <http://ad-direct.newmail.ru> - federal site maintained from Novorossisk  
 - <http://redskin.newmail.ru> - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk  
 - <http://antijob.nm.ru> - site against work, maintained from Moscow  
 - <http://anti-fa.da.ru> - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara  
 - <http://potok.hotmail.ru> - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk  
 - <http://www.nd-nn.narod.ru> - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists  
 - <http://www.poe5.narod.ru> - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod  
 - <http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro> - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union

## SERBIA

★ ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative - [is@inicijativa.org](mailto:is@inicijativa.org) (international secretary); [www.inicijativa.org](http://www.inicijativa.org)  
 ★ Federation of Internationalist Anarchists - [federacija@ml.net](mailto:federacija@ml.net)  
 ★ Subwar Collective - Belgrade; [shavedwomen216@yahoo.com](mailto:shavedwomen216@yahoo.com)  
 ★ [www.anarchy-serbia.tk](http://www.anarchy-serbia.tk) - anarcho site;  
 ★ [www.afanovisad.tk](http://www.afanovisad.tk) - Antifa Novi Sad  
 ★ [www.kontra-punkt.info](http://www.kontra-punkt.info) - anarchist information & discussion web-site

## SLOVAKIA

★ AFA-Bratislava (Antifasisticka Akcia Bratislava) - [bacity\\_afa@yahoo.com](mailto:bacity_afa@yahoo.com)  
<http://hlava.antifa.net>  
 ★ Alternative Magazine in slovak language - [biedaduchay@safe-mail.net](mailto:biedaduchay@safe-mail.net)  
 ★ Antifascist Action from Trnava - [antifa-trnava@hushmail.com](mailto:antifa-trnava@hushmail.com)

★ Cirny Kriz (CK, Black Cross) - [ciernykriz@yahoo.com](mailto:ciernykriz@yahoo.com)  
 ★ CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation) - [slovensko@csaf.cz](mailto:slovensko@csaf.cz) [international contact]; regional contacts:  
 ★ CSAF Bratislava - [bratislava@csaf.cz](mailto:bratislava@csaf.cz)  
 ★ CSAF B.Bystrica - [bbystrica@csaf.cz](mailto:bbystrica@csaf.cz)  
 ★ CSAF Trencin - [trenčin@csaf.cz](mailto:trencin@csaf.cz)  
 ★ CSAF Vychod - [csaf\\_sk\\_vychod@yahoo.com](mailto:csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com)  
 ★ FNB Trnava - [jedlou@safe-mail.net](mailto:jedlou@safe-mail.net)  
 ★ INFO-@-POLICE - anarchist Infoshop in Bratislav; [info@infopolice.sk](mailto:info@infopolice.sk)  
 ★ Priama Akcia (Direct Action) - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; [priamaakcia@yahoo.com](mailto:priamaakcia@yahoo.com)

## SLOVENIA

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

## UKRAINE

★ Autonomous Action / Donetsk - [redrash@mail.ru](mailto:redrash@mail.ru); [redskins@mail.ru](mailto:redskins@mail.ru)  
 ★ Infoshop - infoshop in Kiev  
<http://infoshop.zaraz.org>; [infoshop@gmail.com](mailto:infoshop@gmail.com)  
 ★ Food Not Bombs - Kiev - [dz\\_young@riseup.net](mailto:dz_young@riseup.net)  
 ★ [www.zaraz.org](http://www.zaraz.org) - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives. Web-site of anarchist group in Kiev. [info@zaraz.org](mailto:info@zaraz.org)

## TURKEY

★ Anarsist Bakis - <http://go.to/anarsistbakis> - archive of anarchist texts  
 ★ ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent - [abcankara@yahoo.com](mailto:abcankara@yahoo.com)  
 ★ "Imlasiz" - [www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net](http://www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net) - anarchist magazine  
 ★ "Isimsiz" - anarchist counter-magazine; [isimsiz\\_dergi@yahoo.com](mailto:isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com)  
 ★ KaosGL - [www.kaosgl.com](http://www.kaosgl.com) - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine  
 ★ "Kara Kizil" - <http://www.karakizil.tk> - ex-anarcho-communist group  
 ★ <http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivists  
 ★ <http://ankarafanzin.freeservers.com> - zine from Ankara  
 ★ <http://veganarsif.cjb.net> - anarchoprimitivist zine  
 ★ [www.geocities.com/kaosnyaylari](http://www.geocities.com/kaosnyaylari) - anarchist publisher in Istanbul  
 ★ [www.mecuu-a.org](http://www.mecuu-a.org) - magazine from Istanbul

## COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

**EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST**



**EVENTS**

**No Border Camp  
Ukraine/Transcarpathia  
11th-20th of August 2007**

**Ecological camp  
in Peschanoe, Crimea  
Ukraine  
17th-18th July**

**Conference:  
"1917-2007 Idea of the Revolution and  
Experience of History"  
in Moscow 9th-10th**

**ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW**