

ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

issue # 14

bi-monthly newsletter

February 2004



Great premiere:
Warsaw - April 28-30
Istanbul - June 2004

Special geusts:
Thousands
on the streets ...

Soon in Eastern Europe:

Unwelcome guests around the corner

spectacle directed by:
capitalist elites from the region

sponsored by:
bloody profits

in main roles:
EEF & NATO

Anarchist courier 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 courier from Eastern Europe

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

An anarchist courier

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/anti-authoritarian activities in Eastern Europe.

Editorial team

Is a part of an international anarchist collective based around east-european activists living in Berlin. Our work would be not possible without great cooperation of our correspondents around EE.

Abolishing Collective

This collective was created in Autumn 2001 in Berlin by east-european migrant anarchists. As well as this publication the collective also organizes an ABC-like support group, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings, cultural events. We're cooperating with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and supporting local and global struggle against all kinds of oppression.

Correspondents

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



Executors

Correspondents: Pavel (Prague - CS), Mato (Bratislava - Slovakia), Marija (Skopje - Macedonia), Sasza (Grodno - Belarus), Nastyia (Minsk - Belarus), Antti (Moscow - Russia), Tuuli & Slon (Petersburg - Russia), Domas (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Ryga - Latvia), Maja-Tine (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Tavi (Timisoara - Romania), Mutlu (Ankara - Turkey), Soja (Bialystok - Poland), Michu (Torun - Poland), Laura-Zaczek (Warszawa - Poland), Rebel Mouse (Belgrad - Serbia).

Publisher: Abolishing Collective.

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Photos treatment: Cizio, Veronica.

English-proof: JFK & Jessi.

Layout: Veronica, Cizio.

Cover: concept - collective; execution: Cizio.

Print: DreiGroschenDruck & Abolishing Collective.

Distro coordination: Muri, Rema, Didem.

Web-site mastering: Matija, Andrzej.

Other sources of info

These are: "alterEE" EE-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC/Poland - info bulletin, "Avtonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, Russian indymedia; KOLOKOL newsletter; "AACTIV-ist Newsletter" from Romania & others.

Co-operation

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

abolishingBB@hotmail.com

Please send your graphics/photos only to:

abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com

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

Distribution

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

wielkowitsch@hotmail.com

More complex information on page 5.

Free copies / Print-Rin

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe (which get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address. At the moment we print by ourselves 1200 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

Financial side

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our editorial costs only through selling the newspaper so the money for printing is collected as well through our breakfast-benefits performed regularly in autonomous center "KÖPI" (Berlin) as well as through our pizza-circus, and benefits from outside.

bad english reputation

As you probably noticed the *english* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its grammatical 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

You can find us as well online under:

www.abb.hardcore.lt

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of all texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Some of them will never lose of its worth! Check it out (unfortunately some chapters are still under construction).

Deadlines

For all materials are obliging following deadlines:

15 - 15.03.2004

16 - 15.05.2004

WHAT HAPPEND IN EASTERN EUROPE DURING LAST 8 WEEKS, OR ... THE HIGHLIGHTS OF ABOLISHINGBB #14

pages 6-7



THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM EUROPEAN ECONOMIC SUMMIT WARSAW POLAND APRIL 28-30 2004

"On this occasion, we would like to greet the Summit not only with protest but with criticism and alternative visions. It is with this aim that we are calling for participation in an Alternative Economic Forum ..."

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TERRORISM:

THE BOGMYN OF XXI CENTURY

Public announcement by anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organizations and groups from ex-Yugoslavian region

"The interpretation of the term terrorism is now wrongly extending on activities of various anarchistic and anarcho-syndicalist organization and groups all over the world"

8-9 & 18-21



THE 3RD EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLES' GLOBAL ACTION (PGA) NETWORK

CALLING ALL GRASSROOTS, ANTI-CAPITALIST MOVEMENTS, GROUPS AND COLLECTIVES

What is People's Global Action?
A historical perspective on PGA in Europe

pages 12-13



REPRESSION FACTORY

Sentence in process against Krasnodar anarchist
International solidarity is needed

"The repression in Romania starts to look more and more like in western countries, but the scene is very small, unprepared and unorganised for such a massive attack"

WHEN CIVIL COPS ARE CALLING...

Goals & methods of secret services on example of polish ABW

pages 14-15



INTERVIEW WITH MEMBER OF BELARUSIAN GROUP RAZAM!

"In general we can say, that everything on belorussian territory belongs to Lukashenko
If I would have to call somehow this situation, then feudalism ..."

pages 24-25



AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE US MILITARY BASE IN POLAND

"In order to stop that ridiculous idea and make our voice noticeable and louder than government's propaganda we need strong counter-arguments. We have decided to focus on economical, ecological, social and safety arguments against the base"

pages 26-29



CAUCASUS BLOCK

"Uzbekistan and Western capitalists interests - part 2"

"Who needs to take Georgia under control?"

"Neither War either Peace - Caucasus"

"A call for an international day of action against the war in Chechnya"

New chapters in issue: COLUMNS BY OUR CORRESPONDENTS (pages 30-33) & COUNTER-CULTURE (pages 16-17)

Preparations for upcoming significant events as well as increase & modification of repression ... winter 2004 in EE

editorial proclamation

Privet ! Here is the next issue of AbolishingBB, the first in 2004. The New Year has just started and already new ideas regarding further work on this newspaper are coming into our minds. Lets get started. Recently we decided to introduce a few new chapters in our bulletin. To be exact, these ideas accompanied us from beginning but since we have been very careful that our project doesn't exceed our capacities we have been bringing them step by step to life...

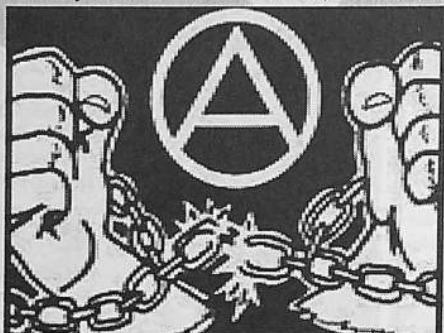
And so, we thought that it would be proper to bring more counter-cultural information in the form of a **new cultural chapter**. This is not only because many of us are involved in various cultural activities, making this form of expression a very important part of our lives. It is also because we really believe that transformation of society must occur parallel to all possible spheres of human life. Each piece of counter-culture that breaks authoritarian and conservative standards and at the same moment opens peoples' minds for something new is in this way comparative to a strictly "political" action. These two reasons were enough to decide: we don't want to keep counter-cultural aspects of resistance out of our newspaper. We hope that our correspondents and other people cooperating with *AbolishingBB* will help to fill this new chapter with reviews of various events and products of EE alternative culture. And we know very well that there is a lot happening on this level. So don't worry, this will only be a chapter, we don't want to turn ABB into a music store.

We would also like to dedicate some space in our magazine to reviews of the most interesting EE anarchist publications. Actually, it has always been a part of this magazine, but the idea is to have a more regular and complete presentation. In this way, we are asking all EE anarchist and anti-authorita-

nian publication collectives and persons for contribution. Only with your help we will be able to set up **EE-anarchist press review chapter** in future *AbolishingBB* editions. Contact us in order to find out the best way to do it.

The third, and for now last chapter we have already introduced in this issue are the **regular columns**. What we mean by this is a section of articles written mostly by our regular correspondents. These articles could help to give a bit more background on political and social developments relating to the normally presented statements, action reports, etc. in *AbolishingBB*. In this issue we are already presenting a handful of columns which have not necessarily met our inten-

and principles of this network, which is criticized by many anarchists. Maybe, in times of a very intensive campaign conducted by international powers which has led to the complete discrediting and isolation of anarchist ideas from society, closer exchange with such networks as PGA should be worthy of deeper discussion among anarchist communities ... Unfortunately, until now we have not received any specific info regarding the NATO-summit in Istanbul and the corresponding preparation of counter-activities. So watch for that in the next issue. And maybe some east european groups will find interesting an invitation from Berlin for joining the international conference and action days Autoorganization 2004. Well, this will be actually



tions 100% but are a good beginning and are anyway very interesting articles. Here again, we hope that other correspondents will join us in this idea.

As far as the contents of this issue, we decided to pay special attention to texts presenting **significant events in EE** in the near future. On one side, texts sent by Polish anarchists who are going to face the summit of the European Economic Forum in Warsaw in the end of April. On the other side, a call to all grassroots, anti-capitalist movements, groups and collectives to join the conference of the PGA network, held for the first time in EE (Belgrade). In this case, we have decided to attach an extra text about PGA, to make better known the ideas

the first from upcoming international events so should not be ignore and rather be seen as a great possibility for international communities and networks to meet in quite central part of Europe for example for planning further campaigns etc.

Many pages in this issue are related to the topics of **war and militarism**, which shouldn't surprise anyone nowadays. We would like to direct your special attention to the Call for an International Day of Action against the War in Chechnya, signed by Moscow's anarchists. Just to point out - you can find more texts about the situation in Chechnya in past issues of our magazine as well.

The public declaration "Terrorism: the bogeyman of

XXI century" signed by various groups from the Balkan region is strongly connected with last weeks accusations against the Italian anarchists but as well with the general strategy of putting the label of terrorism on all anti-capitalist activities. We also find this text very important. To say that **anarchism and terrorism** are equal is nothing new; it has been successfully practiced many times in the past by the power. Recently however, due to the creation of new structures of repression, it has obviously become a part of the main agenda for the euro-police, the euro-justice and other mechanisms connected with them. Considering the size of the anarchist movement in EE, its lack of experience with situations of massive repression and, in many cases, the huge passivity among society as far as showing solidarity with anti-authoritarian and radical minded people, in this region these developments should be watched with very special attention. The material about recent repression in Belarus, Romania, Russia and Poland, which you can find in this issue as well, go to show that local authorities have their own well-proven methods of oppression. In this sense, the influence of EU-introduced modern methods and structures can lead to the creation of total solutions ... who knows, maybe similar to the ones which people in EE were about to forget.

At the very end we would like to thank all those who supported us recently with some benefits, friends from Dresden, London, Berlin, some of our distributors (for extra quick reaction) and the others ... thank to all of you we managed to edit this issue and hopefully many more in future ! Long live anarchist solidarity ! Anarchist Greetings for all of you and especially for our distribution team, for all our fantastic correspondents. Till the next editing, which should be in early anarchist spring time !!!

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

Issue # 9 - April 2003: Eastern Europe Against the War (action reports and statements); "Sudden Death of a Mobster ..." (ASI statement commenting assassination against Serbia prime minister); before EE Mayday 2003; Infos from preparations to NoBorder camps in Romania and Poland; Anarchist march against imperialistic policy of the world elite (Zagreb); Antifascist reports from Poland, Russia and Belarus; "Experience from the West" article; "Don't trust anybody, not even us" - brief history of the Czech anarchism; Ukraine report from the Revolutionary Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (February 2003); Institutional and Social Mess of Bosnia nad Hercegovina; First Conference of Autonomous Action (February 2003); Belavezha forest disappearing (Poland); Fight against pipe (Georgia); Anarchist Initiative Rijeka (Croatia); ABC reports (Poland); few pages of short info; Communities in Struggle.

Issue # 10 - June 2003: "ANARCHY 2003" meeting in Warsaw, Anti-Border Conference in Warsaw; anti-border camps in Poland and Romania (last calls for the actions); statement from First Annual Balkan Anarchist Bookfair; press release from ASI; Anti-war protests are continuing in EE (reports & statements); MayDay 2003 across Eastern Europe (reports & statements); DIY scene report from Lithuania; First conference of SAF / Social Anarchist Federation in Ljubljana; Croatian police repression against Bicycle Caravan in Zagreb (story); History and present situation of CAF / Craiova Anarho Front; Antifascist reports from Russia and Czech Rep; IOM - EU's racist politics and its tools; ORA-S - Czech @group about their present politics, about media and about their publication ALARM; About East/West movements cooperation (article by AA/Moscow activist); Exiling from Hungary (border experiences by Serbian anarchist); ABC/ACK Poland; Communities in Struggle (list with about 150 @-projects in EE).

Issue # 11 - August 2003: editorial proclamation; Oppression of freedom of speech in Belarus (call for solidarity with "Navinki"); 3 pages of short info from around EE; Class conflict as an aphrodisiac for successful communication (IAS Serbia); Two weeks of anti-border and anarchists activities in Poland (report); Protest camp in Azov in South Russia (report); Anti-border camp in Dorjan on Greek-Macedonian Border (report); No-Border camp in Romania (report); Chechnya is the dead end of statist logics (statement of Autonomous Action Moscow); the Anarchocommunist Alternative AKA (founding declaration of a new group - Chechnya); Platformism without illusions (NEFAC interviews ORAS); Bicycle Caravan through balkans (travel and action report); One more villian on the international scene (article by L.Akai); State's Violence (text by Rebel Mause); East-West Meeting of AnarchoSyndicalists and Revolutionary Anarchists (historical text by Antti Rautiainen); Communities in Struggle.

Issue # 12 - October 2003: Workers' Protests in Poland (several texts); Proposal for next year NoBorder Camp; 2 pages of short reports from around EE; "Two houses evicted and no home for squatters in Ljubljana (story); Campaign for community center in Zagreb (report); Squat being created in Belgrade (report); News from Autonomist Collective - Torun (report); "Dealing with war, war makers and apathetic society" (Chechnya); "Reasons of War in Chechnya"; "No War between the people- no peace between the classes" (Chechnya); Half interview - half masquerade with NAVINKI (Belarus); Volja (presentation of russian magazine); Kolokol Newsletter; Falkor I.C.Y. newsletter; "The EU, anti-EU movement and feminist perspectives" (Poland); Rainbow Keepers conference (report); "City rising against methanol terminal" (Russia - report); ABC-Moscow; Repression in Romania; Calendar of workers' protests in Poland 2002; Communities in Struggle.

Issue # 13 - December 2003: Growing resistance against McDonalds and big business (collection of texts from Russia, Poland, Macedonia, Serbia, Lithuania and Romania); short infos from around EE; Uzbekistan and Western Capitalist interests (part 1); Squatting activities (reports from Petersburg, Skopje, Lithuania and Torun/Poland); Interview with Ratibor T. Trinovac from Serbian ASI; Summary of XVII General Assembly of Polish Anarchist Federation; presentation of various anarchist publications; reports on fascist activities in Romania, Poland and Lithuania; "Its all the same shit" elections in Croatia; workers struggle in Poland, Ukraine and Russia; and much much more !!!



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Distributors needed!

If you think that you can help with filling that network up, especially in Ireland, Spain, Switzerland or Portugal ... LET US KNOW

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THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM EUROPEAN ECONOMIC SUMMIT WARSAW POLAND APRIL 28-30 2004



THE ALTERNATIVE ECONOMIC FORUM WARSAW POLAND APRIL 28-30 2004

On the eve of accession to the European Union (significantly planned for May 1 to change the nature of that holiday), the European Economic Summit (which was cancelled in Dublin due to planned protests) is coming to Warsaw.

On this occasion, we would like to greet the Summit not only with protest but with criticism and alternative visions. It is with this aim that we are calling for participation in an Alternative Economic Forum.

The Forum will be open in nature and it is our intention to attract an audience from the general public as well as the activist community. The Forum will consist mainly of two sorts of events: lectures or presentations and discussions / workshops. Other events may be included but the main focus shall be on advancing a critique of current economic trends and practices and proposing radical alternatives to them. In particular, we would be interested in addressing at least some of the issues to be discussed at the Summit.

The following topics have

Special guests in Warsaw ?



been announced for discussion at the European Economic Summit:

- Economic Outlook: Does Western Europe's downturn call for structural reform?
- Eurozone Economics: What are the political implications of a two-speed Europe?
- The Common Agricultural Policy: Can it be reformed enough to meet the demands of enlargement?
- The Future of the Stability Pact: Propping up a cornerstone of the EU
- Beyond Enlargement: What will be the timetable for the next round of accession negotiations?
- Effects of an Expanded Union on Business
- The Regulatory Environment
- Attracting Investment
- Labour Markets
- Risks and Liabilities: How can foreign companies evaluate and manage the new risk environment?
- Europe in the Geopolitical Context Transatlantic Relations: What difference does enlargement make?
- Banking and Financial Services Consumer Markets in Central Europe
- The Oil and Gas Industry in the New Europe
- Infrastructure: How much will be distributed through transfer funds?

We feel that the following topics should be addressed during the Alternative Forum:

- Labour Markets
- Structural Reform in Western Europe in Light of European Enlargement
- The Stability Pact - What it Means

Business and the Future of Capitalism in an Enlarged EU

The Impact of New Investment in Accession States

The Situation in Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey

Russian Economic and Geopolitical Strategy in Light of EU Enlargement

Proposals for additional topics are extremely welcome.

At this point we would like to invite organizations and individuals to support this initiative by:

- passing on this information to other interested parties
- agreeing to organize a talk or other event

We invite abstracts or short summaries of proposed events. The languages of the presentations are open to negotiation. Summaries should include the subject matter, form of event, name of speaker(s) or organizers, time and space expectations and language(s) of the main organizers.

Please send proposals or queries of interest by February 28 to:

cube@zigzag.pl

Welcome! Willkommen!
Privet! Witajcie!



BUILDING A CRITIQUE OF THE NEW EUROPEAN ECONOMICS

On April 29-30, the European Economic Summit will be hosted in Warsaw, Poland. The choice of venue is significant. On the eve of EU expansion, business leaders will discuss, among other topics, structural economic reforms which will change the face of European economic life for generations. Anarchists, as always when such meetings come to town, plan to stage mass protests. These protests will no doubt attract attention, but people also need to articulate their criticisms of different economic problems in a clear way. For this reason we called for an Alternative Economic Summit to be held parallel to the EEC.

Critics of such summits as the WEF point out the fact that business driven by profits and based on exploitation just has nothing in common with the world we want to try to build. Although this is a basic premise, we realise that also in developing a dialogue with members of the general public who have been brought up on the promises of government and business leaders, we also need to be more exact in developing a critique of what is going on; we hope that the AES will not only allow people to exchange their knowledge and points of view, but will also help people to understand some issues in a new way and learn more about specific economic processes in Europe and in the world.

One question we should all be asking is which structural reforms European governments plan to take in order to become more "competitive" on the world market. With the euro at such a high, cutting production costs seems like the direction companies will tend to, and with such cheap labour markets now part of the EU, we can now see all the various excuses businesses will use to abandon their commitments to more expensive labour forces and social welfare. We can see the incursion of Thatcherite economics into countries where a few years ago (and even officially now), they tend to talk of "social partnerships". Just how much will be allowed to be eroded has yet to be seen, but if the Stability Pact is to be tightly enforced, governments will be forced to slash spending and raise revenues from new sources, such as introducing university tuition.

From the Eastern European point of view, we must also examine the costs of development and the realities of a Dual-Track Europe. On the one hand, there seems to be a good deal of awareness but on the other, a sort of resignation to the process. Most of Eastern Europe has been forced to liberalize their economies and adapt to the world market and erode their social protection programs to a greater extent than many countries of Western Europe, particularly as the tax base in these countries do not compare to the richer West. Although some Eastern Europeans are optimistic, many feel they have no choice in the matter except to try to knock themselves out education themselves as to get a slightly more advantageous place on the top of the heap. Many people expect years of survival wages, long-term indebtedness and lessening social security.

Before the Alternative Summit, we'd like to take time to explore some of these issues in more detail. We plan to open a bulletin board discussion on the page www.altermost.org.pl/aes and we invite contributions on all relevant matters.

Statement by anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist organizations and groups from ex-Yugoslavian region

Events that have occurred on 11th September 2001 marked the beginning of a new era, fulfilled with state repression worldwide. Using the al-kaida's (?) attack as an excuse, USA have begun the greatest retaliation against all those who momentary find themselves on the opposite positions facing intercessors of exploitation and totalitarian democracy. The interests of the ruling classes, not only USA but of other states as well, have finally got the opportunity to put all their enemies in one basket and kill them all in one stroke. The interpretation of the term terrorism is now wrongly extending on activities of various anarchistic and anarcho-syndicalist organization and groups all over the world. That is why we, named below, raise our voices against all pogrom-like calls given by world leaders and "ours", domestic, bourgeois, who seeks the easiest way of satisfying their mafia bosses in "war against terrorism".

First of all it is necessary to define the term terrorism, term that is now being used without drawing a distinction, to express the activities of Islam terrorist organization, Greek and Italy state communists, as well as members of anarcho-syndicalist organizations and other libertarian organizations and groups; in spite of huge differences between mentioned groups and their totally opposite ideologies.

The only true definition of terrorism is the one that defines terrorism as an attack on civilian targets. All those attacks which are carefully directed towards the structures of power, administration of

Terrorism: the bogymen of XXI century

PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT

USA, EU and NATO, as well as on the other hierarchic and authoritative structures within the society, under the presumption of wide support, can only be treated by definition of legitimate anti-fascists resistance. Considering the way of "handling" recently arrested persons suspected of co-operation with state-communist urban-guerilla organization (17th November - Greece), we can draw the general principle of criminal proceedings - all members of "terrorist" organization are a priori condemned to life sentence wrapped with kaffian process. This one and other similar processes only corroborate the thesis that European Union along with its satellites, using USA model, is turning into super-State in which all left-wing organizations, placed outside the strictly controlled time-table, are brutally persecuted. Speaking on that behalf, we can find latest psychotic outburst of the Dutch Parliament proclaiming anarchistic squats as "terrorist nests".

Letter-bombs which are being sent to the EU bureaucrats by the phantom "anarchist" group from Italy (Informal Anarchist Federation - FAI) is another one in the line of badly planned police frame-ups which for its goal has total criminalization of our movement. It is important to know that no anarchist group - orientated towards that type of struggle - would ever jeopardize rest of the movement by accepting the name which is very similar to the public Italian anarchist federation - FAI. Also, it is important to underline that anarchist are not creating bombs which do not explode.

It is necessary, once and for all, to block those mouths - mouths capable only for throwing

out lies and falsifications. Mouths that will find good (?) explanation for every, even the most brutal, aspect of violence conduct over freedom of individual or group of people by the State and capitalistic system. It will be hard to block those mouths - they represent platform of entire bourgeois world. Only the intensive and, unfortunately, violent action of wide masses of working people can shut those mouths of suffering and pain, and reinstate new world - the world of equality, freedom and solidarity - the Anarchy.

Only global revolution, carried out on anarchistic principles, can guarantee that terrorism will find the place that it deserves in human civilization - in junkard of authorities ideas.

Anarcho - Feminist Action (Zagreb - Croatia) www.anfema.tk

Anarcho - Syndicalist Initiative (Serbia) info@inicijativa.org

Anti - Fascist Action (Ljubljana - Slovenia) afa.lj@volja.net

Anti - Fascist Action (Zagreb - Croatia) antifasista@mll.net

Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" (Banjaluka - Bosnia and Herzegovina) ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk

Federation of Internationalist Anarchists (Serbia) federacija@mll.net

Rijeka Anarchist Initiative (Rijeka - Croatia) anarhisti_r@yahoo.com

Social - Anarchist Federation (Slovenia) saf.info@email.si

Subwar Collective (Belgrade - Serbia) shavedwomen216@yahoo.com

Zadar Anarchist Front (Zadar - Croatia) zadarskianarhisti@yahoo.com

www.solidarnostmahost.org

The 3rd European conference of the Peoples Global Action (PGA) network CALLING ALL GRASSROOTS, ANTI-CAPITALIST MOVEMENTS, GROUPS AND COLLECTIVES Belgrade post-Yugoslavia 23-29 July 2004

The 3rd European conference of the Peoples' Global Action (PGA) network: from the 23rd until the 29th of July 2004 an industrial zone around Belgrade, Post-Yugoslavia Peoples Global Action is a global network of local struggles, worldwide network that works towards a durable political, social, borderless and directly democratic alternative to capitalism and all systems of oppression, far away from the logic of parties, states and ideological apparatuses of the state (etatized trade unions, NGO's and so on and so forth). It is a place where anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist initiatives meet.

PGA HALLMARKS

The purpose of PGA exchanges and the PGA network is to connect local groups that agree with the PGA's hallmarks:

1. A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism; all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalisation.
2. We reject all forms and systems of domination and discrimination including, but not limited to, patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creeds. We embrace the full dignity of all human beings.
3. A confrontational attitude, since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organisations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker.
4. A call to direct action and civil disobedience, support for

social movements' struggles, advocating forms of resistance which maximize respect for life and oppressed peoples' rights, as well as the construction of local alternatives to global capitalism.

5. An organisational philosophy based on decentralisation and autonomy.

PGA is a tool for coordination, not an organization. PGA has no members and does not have and will not have a juridical personality. Nor organisation or person represents



PGA. Drugaciji Svet je Moguc! (DSM!) coalition is the European convener of the upcoming PGA conference. DSM! invites all friends from Europe to take part in organization process. We would like to emphasize that at this point we are sending a call, while more detailed information on thematic areas, travel, etc. will be available soon online or in newsletters.

WHY?

Because of the Peoples Global Action network: we strongly feel that the presence of the PGA network in the European East is of tremendous import-

ance for strengthening and expanding of our network. Because it is important, in the time of US interventionism and militarism to organize an alternative European conference of radical political networks, instead of accepting the false dilemma posed by new European nationalism and Eurocentrism. Because it is equally important not to accept the false choice of defending national state economies against the economy of the United States or of the United Europe. Because of the Eastern European political struggle: since the level

of organizing among East European groups working in accord with PGA principles is still scarce and unconnected, we are sure that staging the next conference in the part of ex-post Yugoslavia is going to be very beneficial for the PGA process in this region. We think that it is about time to leave summit hopping behind us and to link networking and local struggles. There is hardly a better place to do this than in Eastern Europe- and Post-Yugoslavia in particular.

Today, (ex-post) Yugoslavia is a country with 250,000 people that were killed in the war (from 1991 to date), while a million and a half internally displaced peo-

ple did not return to their homes, meaning that their repatriation remains politically impossible. The number of people who have emigrated is close to this figure and always rising, as people prepare every day to cross the border of the new Berlin wall [into] the Shengen state, which separates the new Roman empire from the "Barbarian menace". The number of missing people fluctuates on a daily basis, with the exhumation of mass graves and remains of the unidentified victims lying in white body bags, pushed from one administrative form to another to get their "case closed" (Tuzla). The most important news are not the ones on the cover pages, but tucked away in the back of newspapers, somewhere between the sports and culture section, in the array of classified ads: legal and illegal visas, human trafficking, laid-off people accepting any available job, renting a workforce, as well as offers in human organs (it is often the case that the invisible offer their kidneys for sale in order to provide their children with education, - an commerce that is still legally prohibited in Yugoslavia). Many of those who have committed crimes are still free and at large, while the agents of the "civil society" (read: bourgeois middle class) and their chief promoters - foreign NGOs fighting for "human rights" - are exactly those who would have to pay for the change in status quo and the real improvement of life conditions in our country, with the loss of their several hundred thousand jobs and mega-wages; in one word "nonsense as a political category" rules our lands. This brings the paradox to its pinnacle, because capitalism

brought "peace" (the western media and the international community off course have made a great effort to present the model liberal-capitalist, in whose times the greatest initial robbery of public property, privatization and fortune making took place - i.e. Slobodan Milosevic, as the "last communist of the century", connecting his overthrowing with the importation of liberal democracy, even with the use of bombs). Despite 10 years of isolation and a large amount of enthusiasm for a decisive capitalist "liberation", 45% of the population on the last elections went boycotted parliamentarian democracy as an option.

**FOR ALL
THESE REASONS,
CONFUSION IS
AT ITS PEAK
IN YUGOSLAVIA
TODAY.**

The civil war, military aggression (by the own military in the own country), embargo, NATO aggression, NATO occupation, reconstruction, parliamentarianism, negationism, rampaging capitalism, ethno-fascism, modern atavism, atavistic modernism, mass destitution, in one word - the most black dream of European reality, are only a few of the reasons for the Yugoslavs' feeling of complete misunderstanding with the rest of the "normal world", that has not experienced a civil war and the listed political nonsenses in the past ten years. The absurd feeling of returning into something that already existed, the bloody breaking up of the United Yugoslav states in order to enter the United states of market Europe, are but another element of the average Yugoslav's feeling of hopelessness, driven into the "joyful expectation of the civilized Europe". That's why we feel it is of extreme importance to promote direct democracy and self-organisation as

legitimate resistance and possible "alternative way(s) and direction(s)", spreading among our population the idea that behind big and unanimous propaganda fleg, exist another side of capitalism. Because our country has been put up for sale and faces mass deregulation of worker's rights, which is, paradoxically, something that the citizens of West European countries have to worry about as well. Because DSM, as the convenor of the next PGA conference in Europe, feels that our country has been given the role of a filtering corridor and courtyard before the gates of Schengen Europe. According to the last UNHCR statistical data, the population of Serbia and Montenegro rank third in the world in seeking asylum in other



coun-tries! For this reason, this location is adequate common ground for tackling the crucial issue of immigration, which is equally important for East and West. Because it is high time to shift the European radical movement from place of occasional victories (Bolivia, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil...) to the ground of its total defeat - ex (post) Yugoslavia

**WHEN
AND WHERE?**

July 23 to 29, 2004 in Resnik, Rakovica, industrial zone around Belgrade (Post Yugoslavia)

**DO WE NEED
YOUR
INVOLVEMENT?**

Oh yes! Our local context, as our guests from the last meeting (October, 2003) are now aware of, is very troublesome in many regards. We cannot do this alone.

**BUT WHO
ARE WE?**

Many of you still do not know us. So who are we? DSM is a group of groups, collective of collectives united under the slogan "Drugaciji Svet je Moguci!". Together, we are striving to create a new political space unaffiliated with political parties or the so-called non-

govern-mental sector. This new space prefers direct political action to generally accepted forms of engagement, such as lobbying or voting. We insist on a social dialogue that is different from the one proposed by our government and the NGO sector. The horizontal social dialogue we would like to be part of involves marginalised social groups that are systematically prevented from exercising their basic rights. We also distance ourselves from the concept of civil society and instead suggest the concept of a "participatory society". Despite being a relatively young movement, DSM has managed to attract a significant number of persons with

various social and professional backgrounds. Our diversity provides us with a steady flow of ideas, which we have started to carry out through short and long-term projects and activities. Our country has been under isolation for a very long time and what the people need most is a wake up call. And this is what we are doing and will continue to do - by providing information, through direct action and an open-minded approach that will try to convince people to co-operate in building a new society, rather than to compete for the crumbs contemptibly tossed to them by the ruling oligarchy. In conclusion, we hope that all who are concerned can trust our incentives and positive plans for action and could get involved to organize a successful conference in our ex-future country. The next preparatory meeting will take place January 10 - 12, 2004. in Belgrade We expect to have the goals and thematic areas defined before the scheduled date of this preparatory meeting. A more detailed application form for participating groups will be available soon. (we did not achieve any raport from that meeting so far - AbolishingBB)

E-MAIL

Contact info PGAe conference: pgaeuconfcontact@riseup.net DSM (Administered by: SUS Collective, member of DSM! coalition):

drugacijimejl@yahoo.com

INTERNET

PGA conference site:

<http://www.pgaconference.org>

Mailinglists:

http://www.pgaconference.org/g/internet/en_mailform.html

PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ...

CZECHIA

Solidarity action with Thesaloniki seven Support demo for political prisoners in Greece PRAHA

On November 27, 25 - 30 people gathered on the support demo for Thesaloniki prisoners in Prague. Anarchists gathered at the building of embassy of Greece, wove multi-language banner demanding freedom for Thesaloniki seven and read two speeches. In the first one the situation of imprisoned persons was described and also EU was criticized. Second speech pointed at international solidarity in this case. It was also said, that the struggle for freedom of political prisoners is continuing and we can support them by many other ways than just solid demonstrations, in this spirit was finished the speech. The demo was prepared by FSA - IWA and ESAF - IAF.

Hard life of Czech pro-capitalists PRAHA; BRNO

On December 7, another worldwide March for Capitalism took place, again in Czechia as well. In Prague, 5 pro-capitalists were joined by about 15 anarchists with slogans like "More wars = more capitalism." "Poor are destroying capitalism" or "Fuck environment, we want money!" Pro-capitalists were disappointed by our presence, first trying to hide our slogans by their "For Capitalism" banner (which mysteriously didn't work, as they went with banner up and we went with our slogans down and vice versa), and later by false finish of their session. In the city of Brno there were even more fun. 10 pro-capitalist with a banner with a grammar mistake (!) (later defended by the fact that rich don't have to know proper Czech) were joined by the same number of anarchists with banner like "Poverty to poor, money for the rich." Because people thought that the whole action was an anarchist parody, one of the pro-capitalist confronted one female anarchist. After the brief light confrontation, the police came and anarchists decided to leave.

Holy water against anarchists BRNO

And more fun in Brno. On December 13, as well as a few weeks before, anarchists attended the regular catholic march against the abortion clinic in Brno. With banners with Bakunin's quotations about church and masked liked devils they successfully confronted the rally. First time they even found themselves in the fight with nuns who use even "holy water" as a weapon! Second time the police watched the protest and didn't allow anarchists to join the action, so they follow the march in some distance at least.

Solidarity with Zapatistas PRAHA

Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation organized solidarity demo with Chiapas Zapatistas at the Mexican Embassy in Prague. 20 anarchists gathered at the embassy on Saturday, 17th January. Solidarity demo has been a part of our supporting activities for Zapatistas. Lectures tour on this topic was started later in the evening in Prague and it will continue in other cities in Czech and Slovak Republic. Brochure about Zapatistas and Mexican context was also released in these days and is available also on CSAF website

RUSSIA

Founding Congress of the Federation of Anarcho- Communists ROSTOV-NA-DONU

The 1st (Founding) Congress of the **Federatsii Anarkho-Kommunistov** (Federation of Anarcho-Communists - FAK) took place in Rostov-na-Donu from 7th to 9th November. It was attended by 14 people from Rostov-na-Donu, Krasnodar and Novorossisk. Besides participants from the FAK, there were also observers from the Marxist Labour Party and representatives Autonomous Action movement.

At the congress, there was an official declaration regarding the creation of the Federation of Anarcho-Communists as a new revolutionary anarcho-communist association. The programmatic and

organizational principles of the Federation of Anarcho-Communists were agreed and there was discussion on such important questions as interaction with other anarchist and left anti-authoritarian groups, information policy, organization of actions and measures for the winter of 2003-2004.

The participants and guests of the congress also took part in the 7th November demonstration, in a separate anarchist sector, and on the 8th November there was a public meeting dedicated to anniversary of the birth of Nestor Ivanovich Makhno.

POLAND

JANOSIK against multicorporated software

Open source activists in Poland have engaged in a legal battle with the national social security giant and its software. The software that the state forces on all companies is one of the worst and most expensive pieces of software ever written and it runs only on Windows systems. It is a legal obligation to use this program in order to wire social security data to the state monopoly, so all companies must have Windows systems in order to comply with the law. Open source activists have created an alternative application called "Janosik" (from the name of the legendary character much like Robin-Hood but from the Tatra mountain region) and have reverse-engineered most of the communication protocols used by the official application. They are battling in court to try to force the state insurer to publish technical information about protocols used in their application. The "Janosik" application runs on Linux and on a variety of other operating systems.

Action against pro-war politics POZNAN

On Friday 29 of November, the **Poznan Antiwar Coalition** made an action in an underpass in the city center. It consisted of a public auction of the corpse of the Polish soldier killed in Iraq. The ruling coalition entered in the auction offering money from liquidated tax breaks and liquidated funds for the disa-

bled and for lonely parents. About 30 persons participated. No cops were seen.

Capitalists against anarchists LUBLIN

On December 8 in Lublin the pro-capitalist demonstration of a liberal party and nationalists which were protecting them has encountered a counter-demonstration of Anarchist Federation from Lublin. It was the third "encounter" of this kind. People from FA Lublin kept shouting slogans like "Solidarity with Ozarow", "Pinocchet's puppies", "Long live self-management", "Human rights and not the rights of the market". The red and black flags were visibly irritating to the group of liberals and skinheads, who kept trying to provoke the demonstrators. A bulletin of FA-Lublin called "The Anarchist Voice" (devoted mostly to the critique of capitalism, including the situation of women workers, and including a pamphlet against the pro-capitalist party) was distributed. Several pro-capitalists were thrown eggs at, and in retaliation they sent a couple of thugs against the demonstration. A little before the counter-demo a *Food Not Bombs* table was set, the first this year. It will be served regularly every week on Sundays.

Anarchists accused of robbery in capitalists' headquarters LUBLIN

After a robbery in the headquarters of an ultra-capitalist conservative party in Lublin, anarchists in that town have been accused of it, because anarchist signs were painted on the walls inside of the robbed office. Although there were many fights between anarchists and members of the party (and some of the neonazi sympathisers of the party) people from FA-Lublin have stated that they have anything to do with this attack.

Unfortunately result of interesting accident WARSAW

4 December. A helicopter with the members of the Polish government crashed yesterday. Unfortunately the passengers survived...

Reclaim the Night march WARSAW

PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ...

PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ...

On the 10th of december, the day of international human rights, a march called "Reclaim the night" for the rights of women and homosexual victims of violence, took place. The march was organized by the *Coalition of Women of the 8th March* and by *Emancypunk* and other organizations fighting against violence against women. www.oska.org.pl

BULGARIA

Anti NATO/Anti war protest SOFIA

On 11th January 2004, group called *Avtonomna Bezvladnitsheska Grupa Anarkhos/Protiva*, conducted a picket in front of the Bulgarian Defence Ministry, to demand:

- * The immediate return of the Bulgarian military contingent from Iraq
- * No U.S. and NATO military bases on Bulgarian territory
- * No membership of Bulgaria in NATO

There were about 60 people at the protest, who shouted slogans and gave out leaflets. *Bulgarians are people, not soldiers!*

LITHUANIA

LNP racist influences grows SIAULIAI

Chairman of radical right-wing Lithuanian Nationaldemocrat party (LNP) and (suprise) a chairman of Public order committee of Siauliai city Mindaugas Murza, mentioned in the previous issue of ABIB, continues to shock. The last hit of LNP was made on local Jews society during their New Year celebration. First, big menorah in the centre of Siauliai was demolished, but LNP denied their participation. Then, during a traditional ceremony near restored menorah, LNP supporters (about 10 people) shouted and held banners with anti-Jews slogans. Police found no reason to stop LNP action, so the ceremony went under pressure and insults of neo-nazi supporters. Local activists inform that more and more nazi skinheads appearing on the streets of Siauliai. Next shocking news, that street hooligans started to dress like nazi skinheads. Local autonomous cen-

tre *Bendradarbei* was attacked by nazis once.

TURKEY

Struggle of self organized PTT ISTANBUL

Sub-contracted workers of Bahcelievler PTT who are organized in BIS* (Allied Workers Trade Union) started their strike on October 17, 2003 demanding improvement of unjust and precarious working conditions including low wages, missed paid leave, absence of occupational safety, deprivation of social rights and a broad range of abuses. Despite police repression, striking workers are carrying on their resistance. BIS, the trade union in which workers were organized was recently closed by a court decision. Friday on December 26, 2003 a solidarity concert was organized in Bosphorus University with musical groups like Grup Yorum, Hilmi Yarayici and Yasar Kurt to provide physical and moral support for the striking workers.

The struggle of the workers trade union to gain humane working conditions, which began on October 17th, 2003, was filmed by "11th thesis Cinematography Workshop" and made into a documentary called "Bread Struggle" (Ekmek Davasi).

*[Ed. note: BIS (Allied Workers Trade Union - Birlesik Isci Sendikasi) as the only base union of Turkey was founded in 2001 August by 35 workers and from the very beginning declared its acceptance of a kind of management depending on the initiative of the common members. Although the union legally has a managing committee, it is in fact controlled through the active participation of its members. Despite it's prohibition by the 3rd labor court of Istanbul on December 16th, 2003, workers who were organized in BIS are carrying on their struggle. Sub-contracted workers are continuing their wildcat strike and holding out in a resistance tent in front of PTT Bahcelievler Distribution and Handling Center.]

ROMANIA

Review of Romanian

publications

"Let's take a look at 3 romanian radical zines... actually, from what i know, the only ones..."

URA (HATE) zine

#9 "Our respect and honour for Romania - The Prison"; "State and Freedom"; "Making punk a threat again" (interview with several anonymous local punks); "Romanianophobia"; "Marx - Marxism - Communism" + translations of lyrics and quotes.

#10 "Fuck the system"; "Romania, prison for migrants"; "Compromised interview"; "Crisis period"; "Justice"; "The compromise or the alternative"; "Burning Terra"; "About freedom"; "Explosive Komunike" + lyrics & quotes.

#11 "Situationist manifesto"; "A finished man" - G.Papini; "Polish anarchism in first half of 20 century"; "Chechenya"; "Kurdistan" + lyrics & quotes.

#12 "The sacred, the violence & the blood"; "Anarchism and christianity"; "Orthodox christian" - a poem; "The night dissolves the bodies, but the day - the soul; Punk undead - Gothic"; "The empire of the spirit and the Empire of the Cesar"; "Deadly malady"; "Holy war" + lyrics and quotes.

LOVE KILLS (DRAGOSTEA UCIDE) libertatero@yahoo.com libertatera@yahoo.com

#1 "This is not a love story - editorial"; "The stumbling road of the Black Flag"; "Woman in anarchism: Emma Goldman"; "Woman in punk: Lydia Lunch"; "Woman in action: Rote Zora"; "Animal Liberation Front".

#2 "This is not a love story - editorial"; "State and society"; "Woman in anarchism: Sofia Perovskaya"; "Woman in punk: Patti Smith"; "Woman in action: interview with Rote Zora"; "Earth Liberation Front".

#3 "This is not a love story - editorial"; "The origins of anarchism"; "Woman in anarchism: Lucy Parsons"; "Woman in punk: Nina Hagen"; "Woman in action: Wimmin's Fire Brigade"; "The ideology of E.L.F."

REVOLTA!

aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

#1 "Why a passport for an Europe without borders?"; "NoBoder Camp in Timisoara"; "Anarchists against war in Timisoara and Craiova"; "Direct Action"; "The essence of anarchism"; "The spirit of revolt" - P.Kropotkin; "Class War - interview"; "Black Bloc"; "About anarchists in Poland"; "Anarchist meeting and Antiborder Camp in Poland"; "Principle of freedom"; "Anarchism or terrorism?"; "Oi Polloi - interview" + others...

#2 "16 october - International day of fight against McDonalds in Romania"; "What is fascism?"; "The ceasist fascism of WC Tudor"; "Communism nationalism"; "Capitalism, fascism and car culture"; "Origins of fascism in Romania - the Iron Guard"; "Press release about the 7 prisoners in Greece"; "First 5 anti-anarchists in Serbia"; "Errico Malatesta"; "Ricardo Flores Magon"; "Anarchists and the S11 tragedy"; "Are anarchists dangerous?"; "Antimilitarist report from Turkey"; "The keepers of the seed - anonymous palestinian poem" + others...

#3 "Living from HC-punk"; "Food Not Bombs in Romania - food revolts"; "Punk manifesto"; "Haos (punk/hc from RO) - interview"; "Facts..."; "Police brutality"; "Out there, in the middle of the world... life in polish mental hospitals"; + others not decided yet.

The editors of the zines (in case they don't put us in jail) prepare some hard-hitting stuff for march (split zine LoveKills/Revolta!) and may (URA/Revolta!). The march zine has a special focus on women issues and may issue has a special focus on workers issues. Editors of the zines would appreciate very much contributions from anyone, on the special issues but also on other issues you might consider worth putting in our zines. Also contributions are not needed only for march-may issues, but for longer period of time. Contributions can go from political to cultural, anarchism or punk, art or protest, etc. You might keep in mind that we hate authoritarian, sexist, homophobic, racist and fascist stuff!!!

PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ...

SQUATTING ACTIVITIES SQUATTING ACTIVITIES

PRAHA SQUATTERS UNDER ATTACK

XXX PAPIRMA EVICTED MILADA RAIDED

Papirna squat, legalised place that squatters get many years ago in exchange for another building, was partly evicted on December 18. Several rooms used for living were evicted by municipality police (Papirna is not the whole house, just a first floor in large house) with the threat that the rest will be evicted as well later, because on that space squatters have the legal agreement till May.

There was the idea to reschedule concerts and events at the nearby Milada squat, but without warning police raided it and discovered marijuana plants, and are taking two of the squatters to court, but there was not imminent threat of eviction, at least so far.

REBEL HOUSE IS ROTTING! NEW HOUSE IS COMING XXX BELGRADE

Not the very best news from recently squatted house in Belgrade. Squat "Rebel House" in Belgrade has inhabitants who are junkies and violent, so don't make a plan to come or stay in it. Especially if you are foreigners (people here usually think that foreigners are full of money). Recently some of those squatters started to attack one man from Germany because of money, other one which tried to protect him have got beaten. From better news, people in Belgrade found one more good empty house so they have a hope that soon it will be one new squat in Belgrade. Hopefully more successful than the old one. Its website is still under construction but you can check it in the future: www.akeija.tk (by Rebel Mouse)

VILNIUS SIAULIAI XXX THE END OF 2003 WAS QUITE DRAMATIC FOR LITHUANIAN DIY SCENE

In the end of 2003, legendary "Green" club was set on fire and completely burnt down. Nobody knows, for sure what happened, but it seems that workers were cutting (or stealing?) metal in the building and didn't pay attention to safety. Since the club was illegal and there weren't any papers, "Green" crew couldn't incriminate nobody. So all

the equipment and instruments of the club (i.e. Dr. Green and few other bands) were lost. Luckily, "Green" club was opened in new place and the activity is continued. But the only squat in Vilnius (and probably Lithuania) "Kabylys" was damaged during the same fire as well and squatters left the building. "Kabylys"/"Green" club building are left abandoned, the same with previously evicted "Barbora" squat. Empty houses with broken windows are better, than living ones?

Autonomous centre "Bendradarbei" is Siauliai faced other problem - somebody broke in and stole music equipment - guitars and instruments.

Activists from city of Kaunas organized a support concert "Friends for Friends" to help "Green" crew to recover after fire. Everything went positively and few hundreds euros were collected, but during a mess among the crowd drum set and amp were damaged, so all the collected money went to help musicians to buy/renovate their equipment ...

FIRST POLITICAL SQUAT IN MACEDONIA ALREADY EVICTED XXX SKOPJE

Exactly after one week after being squatted, Ciflik Voska was evicted. It was the first try and first anarchist squat in Macedonia.

For seven days we were making plans, starting to rearrange the rooms of the house and living the first squatted days in Skopje. The house which we thought (some research that we made said that) was abandoned, or at least forgotten, appeared in the end to be only waiting to be sold, probably to the construction company which was already building a big complex very close to it.

One week later, early in the morning the owner appeared in the house, surprised about what was happening. Then he immediately left to call the police. That gave the foreigners (whose number at the moment were even bigger then us in the house) time to leave the house and gave us time to prepare for the police. Since one of the owners was in the house before the police came, claiming to want to negotiate about what we can do together, we couldn't lock the door, after which the police came inside (only three of us were inside, three came later and they were caught outside the

house) and arrested six of us. Half day in police station, questioning and registering, and we were free. We still don't know if the owners made some official complaint against us.

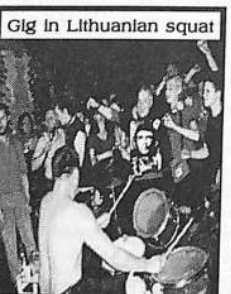
Squatting as a practice is not such an unknown subject to the people in Macedonia. Since there are many homeless people and families there are many cases of people squatting living places. So, the police were already introduced to the practice of breaking into empty apartments, houses, anywhere with a roof. But they seemed equally both surprised and confused with what we were doing in this house and with the type of resistance that they got. We clearly stated that it should not be treated as a criminal, but as a political act. The search for new place, which we desperately need, continues.



Milada in Praha



Historical squat of Praha - Ladronka



Glg in Lithuanian squat

Sentence in process against Krasnodar anarchist

On January 21st, Dmitry Ryabinin, anarcho-communist from Krasnodar (South Russia), the militant of libertarian socialist movement called "Autonomous Action" was arrested in the court-room and now he is in an investigatory isolator and waits to serve the punishment.

The Krasnodar case no. 2 has finished. Few years ago Russian employees of the Federal security service (FSB or KGB in the past) tried to jail many our comrades, accusing them in terrorism. Nowadays all happens again. The judge of Oktyabrskiy district court Mr. Goncharov pronounced a sentence. To Dmitry Ryabinin the court has appointed the punishment for six months imprisonment on settlements. To his comrade Lev Sokolov the court has appointed the same punishment, but because of his young age and other circumstances the punishment was mitigated. It means 1-year corrective term (probation). Obvious pressure has been rendered by the employees of FSB on the judge. The same person (employee of FSB) who had been there before was present at the court hearing on the 13th of January, when the judge declared a break. The defendants reconciled with a victim, Mr. Dolgov, in the court for 30,000 rubs (approximately USD 1,000). Mr. Dolgov wrote a statement with the request to stop the criminal case against Ryabinin and Sokolov. It's important to say that Sokolov and Ryabinin were accused of hooliganism first (article 213 of Russian Criminal Code), but because of changes in the Criminal Code of Russian Federation this accusation disappeared and our comrades were accused of causing the average physical injuries. Though also it has not been proved, because only the broken finger could be considered an average physical injury - and it was not established who has broken it. And what difference if the victims asked to stop criminal case? Neither Ryabinin nor Sokolov had previous convictions. They had good characteristics from work. It is so obvious that it is not meaningful to paint in detail the FSB's participation in this case. From petty household fight which occur daily in considerable quantity "law-enforcement" bodies managed to untwist political process against active participants of anarcho-communist movement. Before this incident FSB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs hadn't had an occasion to jail Kuban radical left militants and to intimidate their comrades now it's possible. The case is forged completely, written under dictation of competent authorities. It can happen to everyone of us. And for this reason it's necessary to defend our comrade Dmitry Ryabinin! We address to everyone who can help us: distribute this information as wide as possible, contact the media, write us and offer some ideas.

**FREEDOM TO DMITRY RYABININ!
FUCK FSB-SCISM!
NO TO POLITICAL REPRESSIONS IN
RUSSIA AND IN THE WHOLE WORLD!**

SQUATTING ACTIVITIES SQUATTING ACTIVITIES

International solidarity is needed

"The repression in Romania starts to look more and more like in western countries, but the scene is very small, unprepared and unorganised for such a massive attack"

On the night of 6 to 7 December 2003, the police from Craiova launched a new repressive operation against CAF-FAC (Craiova Anarho Front - Antifascist Front Craiova). The anarchists and antifascists from Craiova used to meet in a bar called *Keops*, where come only rockers and punks, to prevent any attempt of the extreme right organisation (new right) to make propaganda among rockers. In Romania many rockers identify themselves with nationalism and fascism. In the last months this bar was the target of many police raids, directly or undercover, sometimes under the pretext of protecting the bar!

Used to the provocations of the police through informers, collaborators or agent provocateurs, caf-fac members tried to avoid any incidents in the bar area in that night. But one of them left to walk his girlfriend home and was attacked by 5 persons which earlier tried to provoke scandal in the bar. His girlfriend managed to give a phonecall (again they will say that terrorists use high tech equipment, in Romania not all people have cell phones) and more than 10 anarchists and antifascists managed to intervene in time. Their friend was badly beaten, a motif for which the 5 attackers were beaten even worse. Immediately the police appeared, but not like always: 4 vans with riot police and (surprise?) 2 ambulances. Things degenerated in a short fight in which he hit several policemen in plain clothes. This thing advantaged in a weird way the 4 arrested anarchists (the rest managed to escape). The policemen preferred to get revenged and beat the 4 instead of giving them very big fines. So, the manner the punches they took, the smaller the fines were. It must be said that one of them was very badly beaten by the police and needs a few days of medical care, and another one negotiated!! The fine from 70 000 000 lei (1750 euros) to 4 000 000 lei (100 euros). The 4 arrested anarchists refused to give any informations to the police, but were set free receiving each a fine: one of 50 euro and 2 smaller of 17,5 euro (2 000 000 lei, and 700 000 lei in Romania the medium wage is 100 euro). To prevent the eventual actions in court of the police, the beaten anarchists tried to obtain medical certificates but the doctors refused, saying that they don't have the necessary stamps to make the legal papers. They talked to a lawyer, which refused to defend them and



advised them to pay the fines. But the big surprise came the second night evening when the biggest tv channel in Romania (pro tv) showed a report about the satanist movement from Calafat (a small city south of craiova) that became a big threat and gave birth to the anarchist movement in Craiova, that "encourages the population to civil disobedience", but the images showed were from the CAF demo from 1997 from Craiova!!!

This is the new tactic of the Romanian police that uses mass-media to prevent any protests against violence, abuses and repression. When raids against gypsies are taking place, in the media a news about thefts, murders and rapes made by gypsies are appearing (!!!). So the repression against minorities, gypsies or anarchists, is made with full force and with the approval of the public opinion that feels "threatened". Any protest on the streets or in the media against police brutality become useless. People start to understand the desperate gestures of Ravachol, Caserio, Czolgosz, especially that during the last incidents were deconspired several collaborators of the police. For now our answer is: VIOLENCE AGAINST VIOLENCE, because otherwise we die.

There is a need to help the friends in Craiova with the money for the fines. Activists from Aactivist Collective in Timisoara (another town in Romania) to friends in Craiova: **As time get harder and harder we must stick together for a better resistance. Take care and always inform the people about what is happening there.** Some international solidarity is needed too. For Romanian activists is very hard to organize financial support. For people there is not so easy even to keep international community inform - in Romania there are almost no possibilities to use internet for free. Each small support it will bring some hope to the people Just some advice on how other people managed in similar situations in other countries. Just such symbolic stuff like sending punk-he music, zines or books of good spirit are also a nice way to support people in trouble. The repression in Romania starts to look more and more like in western countries, but the scene (sadly) is very small, unprepared and unorganised for such a massive attack. And also, it seems more and more that the state try to distract people's attention from real problems with this harassments of our small scene.

"As time get harder and harder we must stick together for a better resistance"
Anarchists from Timisoara to their friends in Craiova

When civil cops are calling...

Goals & methods of secret services on example of polish ABW

Below we present in a bit modified form text which appeared on polish indymedia. Basically we don't agree with legalistic tone of this text. We think direct action against enemies and strengthening inner solidarity are always valid and not trying to sue the cops. Also concept of "citizen" as state implied definition of the human person we reject, still widening awareness about especially those state activities which are endangering us as political activists directly are necessary to spread... Be responsible, stay silent when needed, in order to attack again ... and never get caught! **ABW**

Main goal of ABW (Agencja Bezpieczenstwa Wewnetrznego - Agency for Inner Security) lays in destroying activists groups and creating atmosphere of distrust, in order to block communication and cooperation through internal fightings and divisions. Cop provocators can also encourage using certain tactics in direct actions during situations, when there are worst condition for that, so as to cause some arrests.

In life of any socially/politically active person can come a day, when we get a call from ABW cop. Voice on a phone can present him-/herself as eg scientist worker from some institute, that is just making research on social movements and would like to ask few things concerning our engagement. This person can yet simply and openly present as ABW officer and order us to come to their office.

As we know, internal security apparatus exists in all countries of the world. In Poland legal basis for acting of ABW (previously called UOP/Urząd Ochrony Państwa - State Security Office) are put through legislation "On ABW and Intelligence Services" issued 24.05.2002. According to it, tasks of ABW are eg: "finding out, preventing and fighting phenomena endangering internal security of the state and its constitutional order, and especially sovereignty and international position of the state, its independence, territorial coherence and its defense abilities". Other tasks of ABW are "investigating, preventing and fighting crimes: spy - activities, terrorism; trade of weapons, drugs or other articles and technologies of strategic importance "ABW suppose to protect capitalistic, free-trade oriented policy of the country. Other goals of ABW are "investigating, analyzing, filtrating and transferring to certain authorities all informations, which could have important meaning for inner security of the state and its constitutional order".

Such a wide and unclearly defined directives are enabling officers to invigilate basically any activity of citizens. In last period ABW with a special interest observes this social movements, which are critical towards integrational EU-policy of Poland, US attack on Iraq and globalization processes.

Rights of ABW functionaries are as unclearly defined as their task. They're "taking up operational - researching and investigational activities in order to find out and prevent crimes and persecute those responsible for them" as well as "operational-research and analytically-informational activities in order to restruct information important for security of the state and its constitutional

order". They are having all rights characteristic for the police, especially right to: identificate people (check papers, compare with datas, etc.), detain people, search house and other buildings, make strip-searches and check baggages. Additionally they are able to "observe and record, with an use of technical equipment, the view of situations and sounds accompanying them in public spaces".

ABW job is mainly collecting informations, yet citizens aren't obliged legally to help them. Especially they are not obliged to answer calls and follow its orders. We should remember, that obligation of personal presence ordered by any court or office concerns only accused one, witness and special witness in formally started "criminal, civil or administrative" procedure and this only after personally handed letter from this institution ...

During investigation in ABW office, agents are trying often threats and blackmails like in communist times. We should yet remember, that such a statements like "we will drive you to the forest" or "you will get problems with your studies" are legally so-called "crime of illegal threat", and they can be sued for that. Such a threats are injuring freedom and personal as well as political rights of citizen.

Other form of pressure is forcing to collaborate - those which resist are bothered at least with calls and threats. It could be very good to publish openly information on such a things on internet (indymedia, etc.), because last things that ABW wants is wide distribution and knowledge concerning their activities.

Confronting ABW people have little chances of legal defense, except of situations in which agents are making "illegal threats", physically abusing, etc., but anyway in most of the cases would be hard to find valid proofs. In a danger of infiltration bigger meaning has implying practical personal security measures, like eg using e-mails and mailing lists and phones, etc. During direct actions, demonstrations, camps, conferences, etc. is important to clear out details concerning making videos and photos, recording; if we decide to allow journalists they should present themselves to us (note names, etc!!!) - very often, and in future probably even more, photos or videos from some actions are used as material proof against the activists in a court. Independent media mostly reached consensus on respecting right all activists to stay unfilmed, yet we should beware...

On the end just a short note: we should be careful with accusing somebody of being civil cop, don't spread paranoia and gossip.

In Belarus without any changes ...
moustache of the president remains in
the Hitler-style. Apart of that ...

POLICE BROKE UP ANTIFASCIST CONCERT

Special purpose police department
broke up a rock-concert
in "New Club" in Minsk
50 people arrested

Two antifascist groups from
Grodna "*Kalian*" and "*Pet Nihil*" were
supposed to perform there.

- As soon as we entered the club
we felt the nervous atmosphere. The police
carried out the search. The organisers
of the concert were very tense - says
"*Kalian*" guitar player Ilja Piachynin. - One
of them explained that the concert had
been abolished by the authorities due to
possible "disturbances alert".

When people started to disperse
the police went hunting for music fans.
Over

50 people had been arrested and taken to
Leninski police department of Minsk. The
police searched over the personal things
of the arrested, checked the passport data
and freed the music fans. The version with
the "possible disturbances alert" had
been affirmed in Leninski district police
department when a journalist of *PAHONIA*
called there to ask about the reason of
arrest. One of the arrested received an
administrative warning for "distributing lea-
flets".

- During the personal search the
police found 40 bulletins of *BSM*
"*RAZAM!*". They studied the bulletin and
found a picture of president Lukashenka
in one of the articles "Reiting of living dicta-
tors". They told the moustache of the pre-
sident had been painted over the Hitler-
style and started to frighten me that it had
been a serious breking of the Law. After
that they made a transcript of the interro-
gation and let me go - says an activist of
unregistered Belarusian Social Movement
"*RAZAM!*" Aliaksandr Valodzin.

It's not the first case of abolishing
an antifascist concert by the police. - The
most insulting fact is that the concerts of
fascist groups are held in different clubs,
"New Club" as well without any problems.
Such fascist groups as "*KOLOVRAT*" from
Moscow and "*Apraxia*" from Orsha per-
formed in this club without any interference
from the police. It makes me think of stran-
ge coincidence - says Ilja Piachynin.

Andrej Adlianitski
pahonia.promedia.by

INTERVIEW WITH MEMBER OF BELARUSIAN GROUP RAZAM!

"In general we can say, that everything on belorussian
territory belongs to Lukashenko (...)

If I would have to call somehow this situation,
then feudalism ... "

This about 1
one year old interview
we translated from
polish anarchist zine
few weeks ago. During
formation of this issue
we find out that actually
there is not enough
space to put it in due to
many much more cur-
rent materials. But than
in very last moment we
receive a report which
you can see next by. So
even if we are comple-
tely critical towards pa-
lamentarian ambitions
and politics of *RAZAM!*,
we think they have
much interesting to say
about situation in
Belarus and this in-
terview is pretty good
background for recent
events in Minsk. Due to
lack of time we were not
able to put any adequate
pictures. Look as well
in #11 and #12 issues of
AbolishingBB for more
interesting materials
from Belarus.

In polish media
Belarus is usually
presented like relict of
"communism", where
to bring normality
only free market is
needed. I even read
some analyses, that it
would be hard to
overthrow
Lukashenko, because
people are simply
scared of capitalism.
Do you agree with that
and do you think, that
belorussian economy
is really so different
from widely under-
stood capitalism ?

Andriey/RAZAM!
Aleksander
Lukashenko defined cir-
cumstances in Belarus

as "market socialism",
so something what in
his opinion unites the
best elements of capita-
lism and socialism. Yet
nothing came out of it.
In Belarus state prop-
erty is dominating in
almost all spheres-in
industry, trade... That's
all what about any soci-
alism, except maybe
president's declara-
tions, that "working man
is most important"...
Still, from this pro-social
policies Lukashenko is
forced to withdraw.
Now, for example he
says that it would be
possible to buy land, yet
decisions about who
will be allowed to do so
are gonna be taken by
state. Also, privatisation
of biggest chemical fac-
tories was advertised,
with complete ignoring
of workers interests -
even law was especially
changed...

In general we
can say, that everything
on belorussian territory
belongs to Lukashenko.
He has absolute power.
In sphere of economy
he can fire any director
of state owned factory
and destroy any private
firm. At the beginning of
his rule, in such a way
he dealt with business-
men, which has been
financing opposition. If I
would have to call
somehow this situation,
then feudalism, especi-
ally concerning coun-
try-side. There a person is
completely dependent
from the state. And all
this governing system...
You know, each of "his"
people has been given
some territory to rule
on. These guys aren't
elected by people but

put there by
Lukashenko and in any
moment he can replace
them.

When and how your
organization was cre-
ated and what you
wanted to achieve
through this ?

Organization *RAZAM*
was founded in spring
2001, so before presi-
dential elections. In
these times following
scenario started to go
on: opposition negotia-
tes with Lukashenko's
apparatus, which is also
tired of his rule and
basically wants that
some what liberal oppo-
sition, so privatisation
processes, that could
stabilise present situa-
tion according to the
law. Actually campaign
of opposition leaders
Domash and
Hancharyk's was cre-
ated to attract not the
people, but belorussian
apparatus and Russia.
We didn't liked it. For
these reasons we didn't
participated in elections,
but got engaged only in
independent election
watch. In Leninovsky
quarter of Grodno,
where our people wor-
ked over 15 cases of
illegal manipulations
been found.

Before creating
RAZAM we wanted
country-wide organiza-
tion. It supposed to
unite widely understood
leftist initiatives-from
anarchists to indepen-
dent social democrats.
But it didn't worked out
on such a level: every-
body was pulling in their
own direction. Only in
Grodno organization

RAZAM was created uniting most of radicals of this city. Main goal is and was resistance against neoliberalistic scenario of so-called compromise between state powers and opposition, that both want these neoliberal reforms.

Could you shortly describe activities of RAZAM?

We put out newspaper "RAZAM!", internet webpage and of course lot of street actions and other protests. Most known was campaign of support for journalists from "Pahonia". Few of us, sat for that in arrest. We disturbed one of court hearings and after that KGB issued a list of persons not allowed to come to this process, including 4 of us. Or for example this story about defending orthodox church, when media didn't know even how to report it... This church was simply only one in Belarus independent from Moscow Orthodox Patriarchat and we wanted that people have possibility to prey in independent church, even if president declares forbidding it. It was funny to see later on russian TV people in "Anti-EU" t-shirts chaining themselves to the church, that supposed to be thrown down with tractors and commentator talks something about "desperated believers sacrificing themselves in defence of their church"...

We took also part in local elections, but some of our candidates along with over 1000 oppositional candidates didn't been even registered because of manipulations of election committees.

To many of us famous was story of anarchist Stas Pochobut. How all this things about police brutality, kidnappings, tortures, etc. look from your perspective?

Only because international solidarity, so making this story known, no legal proceeding was issued against

us. Firstly they wanted to charge us for smashing shop window near to place of arrest, yet all this international attention and especially the faxes flooding court caused, that cops kept quiet after.

On beginning of 2001 one of RAZAM founders Dmitriy Gorshanov was arrested and tortured one hour with gas mask on his head, so he was losing consciousness over and over. They wanted force him to admit to some theft. There are other cases of brutal beatings by "hooligans", which go around in cars owned by cops, threats, attempts to force people to work for KGB, etc. In all these cases best remedy was international solidarity. For this i want to thank all people, that been picketing belorussian embassies, sending faxes..

As we know belorussian opposition is weak and only been able to create some leaders, yet never could attract wider masses of society. What's your opinion about them?

In my opinion, main mistake of all anti-Lukashenko opposition is their tendency of going into blind alley of conflict with own society. When in 1994 Lukashenko was elected, opposition leaders been preaching that people are stupid and not able to understand basic values. Since then nothing changed. I think, that these leaders are living in different world than society, so they aren't able to communicate. Is easier for them to deal with state apparatus than with the people. So even if trust towards state is generally going down, no trust towards opposition is growing either. Except of this in Belarus, because of western grants and foundations is developing very successful profession: oppositionist financed from the West.

From the very beginning we in RAZAM showed willingness to cooperate with all opposition,

including radical right, yet none seem interested here in Grodno. So, almost always we must count only on ourselves. Some time ago in Grodno tobacco factory stopped working and there was no cheap cigarettes, workers going pissed off 'cause how to fucking smoke if you only can get Camel or Marlboro. We did a flyer with Lukashenko smiling and text:

"You want to smoke?
Health of nation
above all!"

We went to some organization, which has access to printing, as we wanted to distribute it around the city. Guy looks, says:

"What the fuck is a problem?!"

We explain, what's the deal and he pulls out package of Marlboro saying:

"There is no problem..."

All these guys didn't even know that there is this big problem with cigarettes in the city!!! Of course, they didn't let us print this flyer too...

How looks everyday life of average person in Belarus?

Average wage is ca. 70-80\$, but food prices are higher than in Poland. Rent for flats are speeding up. Most of youth is jobless. If you are on the list of oppositionalists, state will not let you have any good paid job. Even in private firms they don't want you then, because they can have troubles... In RAZAM we are mostly students, unemployed and workers - and students are basically preparing for being one of latter ones.

It is interesting, that in Belarus (at least in Grodno) was possible to bring together in one group anarchists with rest of radical left. In Poland most of anarchists completely dis-

cending themselves from any cooperation with "pro-state" left, probably because there are still engaged with fight against "real socialism". Why in Belarus, considering that you are on similar post-state communism stage, is different?

Also in our country part of anarchists is critical towards our activities. But we must remember, that in our country is dictatorship and so all its opponents are willing to work above barriers.

What's with the unions in Belarus?

They are completely dependent from political fractions: Federation of Unions is pro-state and Belorussian Independent Union as well as Free Unions are pro-opposition, yet heavily ruled by bureaucracy...

What are your plans for future and do you believe, that you can change belorussian reality? Is any help and cooperation needed from other countries?

Even if none of our candidates didn't went into local governments, we supported Glushakov from Revolutionary Social Movement and he won elections with 54% in Gomel, one of biggest cities. It was big success for whole belorussian left. Also hundreds of talks with simple people on the streets are showing that will for changes grows together with general dissatisfaction. We hope on one hand to overthrow dictatorship, and on other hand prevent liberal reforms. For this we want country-wide and not local organisation. International solidarity has for us primary meaning. In case of troubles, every sign of it, every fax, demonstration abroad helped us. Thanx again!

We decided to add some new chapters from this issue of ABB. One of them we devoted to such important subject in human life as culture! Of course we want to focus our attention on every manifestation of no-mainstream art. So, we are really waiting for informations about underground art life in your community, especially news about activity of art groups, galleries, exhibitions, shows, happenings, future gigs and festivals, important books, music reviews and interested internet sites dedicate to alternative culture in EE.

If it is possible, with info about events send us a picture of cd's or book's cover, photo of painting from exhibition, a picture of band, that you invited to play in your town, contact email address and so on. And we wait for informations about persecuting of artists, because of thier views and art. You can read about that in our main culture story, in this issue of ABB.

We hope, that soon our culture pages will be really full of informations from all nooks of EE. But remember - we need your help, to do that. So, be in touch.

ABB editorial team

BLACKPENGUIN Movie Collective is SEARCHING FOR!

Comrades who can make written and visual searches and translations in turkish, english and various languages in order to make documentary productions on anarchism, anti-militarism, feminism, vegetarianism, etc... Comrades who can make vocalization and presentations and are sure about his/her own intonation. Comrades who can use camera (especially for studio shots), and who are experienced in Digital and Analogue video-editing...

karapenguen@myinet.com

Info about distribution of turkish anarchist books!

Hi all! In Turkey, Istanbul, there is the one and only anarchist publisher named kAos. The priority of kAos was and is to sell there books as cheap as possible. But in the last time they have financial problems and made the half of the rooms they have to an second hand book shop with whatever books. Finally we had this idea to have a distribution in Berlin for all over Europe and the rest of the world @-booksfrom kAos. If you're interested, or you know people who are interested in anarchist books in turkish please send an email to:

paseko_hegaztiak@web.de

THE CASE OF NIEZNALSKA

The case of artist Dorota Nieznalska was chosen as the biggest shame of culture life in Poland in 2003 - this is the opinion of internet readers of Raster, polish culture magazine. When, more than a one year and half ago, Dorota Nieznalska exhibited her work 'Pasja' in Wyspa Gallery in Gdansk, a scandal erupted. Now the gallery doesn't exist, and the artist was forced to stand trial for her work. The outcome of the lawsuit shocked the whole art society in Poland. We remind the very beginning of the affair...

HOW ALL IT WAS?

The controversial part of 'Pasja' is a cross with a photograph of male genitals on it. After the piece had been shown in Gdansk in 2002, the TVN channel broadcast an extensive material on it.

Few days after the exhibition ended, the gallery was visited by a group of MPs from the League of Polish Families (an ultra right-wing political party). Under threat of using physical force, the MPs demanded that the work be shown to them, later on, they reported to the public prosecutor's office in Gdansk that a crime had been committed. Nieznalska was accused of 'offending religious beliefs of other people, that is Catholics, by publicly insulting [...] the object of worship through placing a photograph of female genitals on a Christian symbol - the cross[...]'.z

THE CROSS ON WHICH CHRIST HAD DIED...

'No, I didn't see the exhibition myself' - said one of the most disturbed people, Gertruda Szumska in a newspaper interview - 'but I was told what had been shown there. To the cross, on which Christ had died, a picture of male genitals was attached'.

On an Internet portal 'trojmiasto.pl', some anonymous members of Młodzież Wszechpolska (nationalist youth group)

threatened that they would 'hang such artists' and 'shave their heads, like the Polish Home Army did with women who were in close relationships with Germans during Second War World'. In the meantime, professors at the Fine Arts Academy in Gdansk agreed that they need to support the case of offended MPs and decided on throwing Wyspa Gallery out of its premises. It was widely known that they already had such plans earlier, now however, fearing the right-wing ruffians, the professors decided to use nudity as an excuse and get rid of Wyspa

Gallery. And so, the gallery run by Grzegorz Klamon lost its exhibition space, and, for several months, Dorota Nieznalska had to stand an embarrassing trial. Now, the verdict is known. Unfortunately,

it turned out to be another shocking disappointment...

**PENAL LABOUR
BECAUSE OF
ART?** Polish judges can sentenced an artist because her work "offends religious beliefs". Nieznalska has been forbidden to leave the country and sentenced to

six months of penal

labor. How can any artist possibly be sentenced for his or her work?! We live in a country of Inquisition and repression, where ideas and artistic visions of individuals are being persecuted! How should we protest against such Inquisition of the government? Are we to organize a protest march? Or perhaps some more exhibitions, this time deliberately offensive and controversial? How can we speak out about our disagreement with the Dark Ages-verdict of the judges?!

Forgetting about both: artistic freedom and the freedom of speech, the rights to

which are enshrined in the constitution, the court has made a grave mistake.

THE DISGRACE OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND

Since 18 July 03 Dorota Niezalska is the first artist in Poland to be convicted in a court of law because of the work she had made and exhibited. Gagging of art started certainly earlier - about two years ago - but the recent sentence creates a dangerous precedent that can seriously affect the situation and critical stance of artists in Poland. We have already seen examples of censorship and self-censorship in institutions, now however, the fear has infected the artists as well. A few things have went terribly wrong here. And certainly, if the judge forgot about the constitutional right to artistic freedom and freedom of speech, court's verdict is one of those things.

DEMOCRACY OF REDNECKS

Polish democracy has provided room for a bunch of political rednecks, discrediting the Polish state and society. And we have to put up with those comedians, conmen, liars and cheats. Against our will, we are forced to listen to xenophobes, anti-Semites and fascists, who speak their mind and use democratic discourse as an excuse. Yet the discourse doesn't provide for liberal attitudes, both in artistic and social terms. Polish system of justice is helpless in the face of organized crime, corruption and economic scandals. It's helpless in the face of those full of hatred towards others. But instead, it can effectively deal with artists who express their beliefs openly, under their own name. The system of justice passes ridiculously short sentences on bandits, mafiosi, and drunk drivers running over pedestrians with their cars. Yet it will restrict Niezalska's personal freedom - because she's neither an artist nor a talented person, on top of that she is making a career in court.

COURT GOES WITCH-HUNTING

Of course we are totally surprised by the verdict which sentences Dorota Niezalska to six months of limitation of personal freedom. All we have left, is hope that this deplorable decision will be changed by a court of higher instance. Should it happen otherwise, courts will become a witches' bridle. Both justification of this verdict and its argumentation were extremely inconsistent and emotional. First, the judge had made it clear that he wasn't going to conduct an analysis of the artwork, then, while passing the verdict, he acted like an art critic. Moreover, the judge didn't hear the experts and theologians who were able to give an opinion on whether Niezalska's work was actually sacrilegious or not - if, of course, such arguments can be used in public. The judge didn't accept any of the arguments presented by the defense. Neither the one that the artist had made the cross not as a cult symbol, but as a symbol in general, nor the one about the fundamental

right to freedom of artistic expression. Apparently the judge doesn't understand the idea of being an artist, as it is something vague and unclear to him. But according to him, 'religious beliefs' is a widely understood and clear concept. He doesn't see any difference between artistic and political gesture. And Liga Poskich Rodzin (political party which brought the case to court) is always around in situations where it can make some political benefit or, while a social campaign aimed at homophobia is taking place.

FIVE PERCENT OF POLES HAS GO TO JAIL?

And what did Dorota Niezalska do? She exhibited a work in a gallery, which was situated on the grounds of the Academy of Fine Arts. Since the times of Plato, the academy was a place for intellectual and artistic discourse. This rule was broken when the gallery closed. It is hard to accept the reasoning that since ninety-five per cent of Polish citizens is Catholic, we are obliged to think their way. By doing so, we condemn ourselves to a total thinking ban. And soon, any statement different from the one commonly accepted, will be punished without further ado. Are we to live in a homogeneous society, that speaks with one voice and offers unambiguous definitions of symbols, where "non law-abiding" individuals are thrown into prison?

WHAT DID NIEZALSKA GET?

We are outraged by jury's statement that a fine for Dorota Niezalska is no punishment, because the artist earned a fortune thanks to that work. In jury's opinion, Niezalska had planned everything carefully in order to ensnare the public opinion and make easy money. We find it hard to believe that anyone can possibly think that in a country which has no art market, one can make a profit because of a lawsuit and media hype. Long before the whole incident, Dorota had an established position as an artist, and she presented her works in the best galleries in Poland. Because she had the courage to show 'Pasja', Niezalska had her scholarships and subsidies cut off; she has been stigmatized and censored. It wasn't her that made any profit on the lawsuit but the League of Polish Families. A spectacular political sham is their typical marketing strategy, and the judge acted just like they wanted him to. He spoke in a voice of the fundamental right-wing party, which thereby proved to be in charge everywhere. What makes us wonder is the question whether we can make a stand against such treatment of art and artists.

The appeal in this case was lodged, but judge didn't fix a date of new trial yet. This text was taken from www.raster.art.pl where you can read its full English version. This station contains opinions and statement of Aneta Szyrak & Grzegorz Klamon who supported the defense of Dorota Niezalska.

Czechia - A bit of anarchist noise
Edelweiss Piraten, anarchist band playing melodic punk, released their first CD on the Czech brand new anarchist label *M.A.P. (Music Against Politicians)* records. With the full colour booklet both in Czech and English and more than a half an hour of melodic punk with good sound from professional studio and anarchist lyrics, there is no doubt that you have to listen to it! Contact MAP for details: mmap.records@ziplip.com

Russia - Music festival

March 8 is international women's day, and anarcho-feminists are preparing a big feminist festival to be organised in Moscow (6-8.03), with 3 concerts and another activities. Contact adm@avtonom.org for more info.

Poland - New Action

New issue of anarcho-syndicalist newspaper *Akcja Bezpośrednia #5 (Direct Action)* made by members of Anarchist Federation (FA-Szczecin) and Workers Initiative, is out. 8 pages A2 in polish, with very current info from Poland and abroad. To get under address: Dominik Sawicki, P.O.Box 53, 70-474 Szczecin 34. People witch would like to distribute please contact: wianar@wp.pl

Poland - Exhibition of posters from Russia

This exhibition include 120 posters from National Russian Library and it shows the history of Russian posters from times of art nouveau through relolution, wars time and space conquest until perestrojka. This carefully selected collection present wonder of Russian poster, which was and is not only a instrument of propaganda, but first of all it is artistic sensation. You can see exhibition to 2004-02-08 in gallery AWANGARDA in Wroclaw, Poland, but if you can't go there, you can also look same of old Russian posters in internet galleries, for example, on this side:

www.internationalposter.com/russian-text.cfm



What is People's Global Action?

A historical perspective on PGA in Europe

People's Global Action's Infopoint newsletter (November 2003)

You may have heard the name People's Global Action, but you may not quite know what political dynamic and what groups it includes. So here is a quick flashback, in light of the preparation of PGA Europe's Belgrade conference, scheduled for summer 2004, and also to help further develop structures for communication and exchange among anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist movements. This text focuses on introducing PGA Europe, but occasionally extends to cover the general history and worldwide process. The acronym PGAe in this text refers to "PGA in Europe". Needless to say, this text does not purport to establish any kind of orthodoxy, neither regarding the history of PGAe nor regarding its political goals. No one is empowered to act as a PGAe spokesperson. No one can represent PGAe. The comments outlined below should therefore be seen as one point of view among many, and a partial one at that. It is the point of view of a handful of committed individuals engaged in the broad, complex and fascinating process that is PGAe.

From the Earliest Days to Counter-summits

In the wake of the Zapatista insurrection in January 1994, in Mexico, a number of encounters took place. Among these were the famous "Intergalactic Encounters against Neo-Liberalism and in favour of Humanity", held first in the Chiapas and subsequently in the Spanish state. The political context was glum. The Wall had just fallen and free-market capitalism was - however briefly - triumphant. The indigenous peoples of the Zapatista movement had created a shock of hope. It ran around the world.

It was in the aftermath of these encounters that the idea of a worldwide network for coordination and information exchange among activists first arose in the

oretical discussion - and then in practice. One early goal was to attack the World Trade Organization. The First Worldwide "People's Global Action against WTO and free trade" conference took place in Geneva, in February 1998. Several hundred representatives of people's movements from around the world gathered. They managed to agree on a political manifesto (1).

Amongst the participants were Canadian Postal Workers, Earth First ecologists, French farmers and anti-nuclear campaigners, Maori, U'wa and Ogoni people, Korean trades unionists, North American native women's organizations, radical Ukrainian eco-people, and peasant movements from all continents. Their manifesto covered such issues as the use of direct action as a means of political struggle; the establishment of an organisational principles based on decentralisation and autonomy; and building direct democracy alternatives. This entire structure was to be moved forward by 12 different groups, called "convenors", distributed regionally throughout the planet.

Convenors

Convenors are collectives acting as contact, information, and coordination points. They co-organise global and regional conferences and used to put out the calls for Global Days of decentralised Action (GDA), notably on the occasion of WTO summits. In the first convenors' committee there were 3 from Latin America, 1 from western Europe, 1 from Eastern Europe and 2 from Asia. At the time of writing, there are sometimes several convenors per region, especially in Latin

America. Convenors share their workload with other collectives. The earliest European convenors were "Reclaim the Streets", a group with its roots in radical ecology and road protests that had helped renew anti-capitalist direct action techniques, notably through the use of street parties as blockades and by establishing connections with workers' organisations such as the Liverpool dockers or London Underground workers. In Asia, convenership work has been done by organisations like KRRS, an Indian farmers' union with a membership of several million, best-known for setting fire to Monsanto GM crop fields, and the National Alliance of Peoples' Movements, a national platform of grassroots movements from the whole country (which includes Narmada Bachao Andolan, the National Fishfolk Forum, the Union of Landless Labourers of Andhra Pradesh, etc.). The current Asian convenor is the Krishok Federation (the landless or otherwise marginalised peasant movement) from Bangladesh. In Latin America, PGA has gathered very diverse cultures and backgrounds, from CONFEUNASCC, a small-scale farmers' union in Ecuador, Movimiento de la Juventud Kuna, the Bolivian cocalero movement in Chapare, to the Colombian Process of Black Communities.

And so resistance became as global as capital

In May 1998, the first fruits of PGA were seen in four days of worldwide resistance against the G8 summit in Great Britain and the WTO summit in Geneva, which was the second Ministerial Conference since the creation of the WTO, and a celebration of 50 years of GATT and post-World-

War-II capitalist world order. This was the first of a long series of counter-summits. It included some of the hottest protests that Geneva had ever seen and in Birmingham participants in the G8 summit were forced to stage a secret evasion to escape a newly occupied city. Meanwhile, some 200,000 Indian farmers demonstrated to demand that the WTO be dissolved.

In those days, the dynamic remained locally-based. PGA-initiated Global Days of Action were decentralized events. One of the most impressive was J18, on June 18th 1999, an anti-capitalist day to correspond with the G8 summit in Cologne. Actions were organized in 72 different locations, including the arrival in Cologne of the Inter-Continental Caravan for Solidarity and Resistance (formed by grassroots groups from India and other Southern countries) and a festive occupation of the City of London which ended with the financial centre being ransacked by a few thousand demonstrators. During this period, the expression "anti-capitalist" made a massive return both among militants and in the media. The slogan "Capital is global, the struggle is global" was put into practice.

In Seattle, in November 1999, the closure of the ministerial conference of the WTO showed the effectiveness of combining the many different direct actions - sometimes highly coordinated, like the blockades of all the streets leading to the summit - that were organized by small affinity groups. There were solidarity actions in more than 70 countries. The so-called "Battle of Seattle" which had radicals at its forefront, was nonetheless quickly exploited by traditional leftist citizen reform groups and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which sought to use it as a "creation myth" for their new strategies of power-sharing among trade bodies and "civil society." In September 2000, the



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International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank summit in Prague, Czech Republic, was PGA's chance to see how well actions using a diversity of tactics, such as street parties - dancing and mobile confrontation (the pink line), sabotage (the blue line) and confrontational civil disobedience (the yellow line), could complement each other. There was also a multitude of preparatory initiatives, such as the "caravan against capitalism," a roving series of actions in French-speaking parts of Europe, initiated by the Réseau Sans Titre (the Untitled Network).

The counter-summits and global protests rapidly transformed into occasions for mass convergences of activists from all over, and these convergences have continued to this day, despite the precedent set by the ominous repression during the G8 summit in Genoa, Italy. Today's counter-summits bring together a spectrum of groups, political parties, and "civil society" NGOs that is much broader than just the ensemble of groups involved with PGA. Indeed, it is often forgotten that the original impetus behind these counter-summits came from radical groups opposed to lobbying and who denounce the welfare-state and parliamentary "democracy", as much as (neoliberal) capitalism.

PGA hallmarks

The purpose of PGA exchanges and the PGA network is to connect local groups that agree with the PGA's hallmarks:

- A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism; all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalisation.
- We reject all forms and systems of domination and discrimination including, but not limited to, patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creeds. We embrace the full dignity of all human beings.
- A confrontational attitude,

since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organisations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker.

- A call to direct action and civil disobedience, support for social movements' struggles, advocating forms of resistance which maximize respect for life and oppressed peoples' rights, as well as the construction of local alternatives to global capitalism.

- An organisational philosophy based on decentralisation and autonomy.

PGA is a tool for coordination, not an organization. PGA has no members and does not have and will not have a juridical personality. Nor organization or person represents PGA.

Political developments and other forms of action

Apart from mass events, the frequency of which is determined by big capitalist institutions' calendars, PGA has also been responsible for the development of other processes, that are sometimes less well-known. The Intercontinental Caravan enabled some 400 members of Indian farmers' organizations and some 50 members of other "third world" people's movements to come to Europe and demonstrate outside major institutions such as the WTO, the IMF, the OECD, NATO and so on, as well as outside multinational companies' European headquarters. They destroyed GM crop fields and a state research laboratory. Crucially, the caravan enabled these "third world" groups to build bridges with a variety of European movements.

PGA-inspired Global Days of Action provided a context within which to develop creative forms of direct action, even for quite

small collectives. Thus, street parties, blockages, occupations, anti-capitalist carnivals and so on. The very decentralization and proliferation of contacts between various groups led to the establishment of participative outward communication tools such as Indymedia (There are currently more than 130 separate Independent Media Centers, IMC's, throughout the world, with many more sub-collectives within

IMC's as well as "rogue" IMC's operating independently from the network; Indymedia has been called "the largest all-volunteer organization in the world").

Other internal tools such as PGA's internal lists were developed, providing a noticeboard for actions and analyses round the world.

In July 2002, the international no-border camp in Strasbourg, France, marked a coming-together of PGA's various organizational modes and approaches to anti-capitalism, as well as practical actions centered on the theme of immigration and confrontational border-camping practices that are particular to the international No Border network. The result was the next (shaky) step in the evolving practices of self-management and autonomous living, direct democracy, and decentralized actions, involving 2,000 people over a period of 9 days. This experience would provide a base of experience that helped to launch the other camps and similar "autonomous villages" that proliferated during the anti-G8 demonstrations in May and June 2003, in France and Switzerland.

PGA's Second Global Conference took place in Bangalore, India in August 1999. On this occasion, the network proclaimed its intention of going beyond "free exchange" of ideas and information, to promote a generalized

attack on capitalism and other forms of domination such as sexism and racism. A decision was reached to clearly identify the differences between PGA and other anti-globalization groups whose ideas are fundamentally opposed to ours such as, extreme right-wing groups, political parties and reformist NGOs. PGA's 3rd Global Conference took place in Cochabamba in Bolivia. It stressed the importance of local and regional processes. Despite these positive developments and after several years of - perhaps too frenetic - activism, a number of criticisms of the organizational modes and political goals of PGA were expressed with increasing force. PGA's European conference at Leiden in August 2002 aimed to confront these criticisms and act on them.

PGA's 2nd Conference

The first European PGA conference took place in the year 2000 in Milan, Italy, and was hosted by the Italian "Ya Basta!" movement for civil and social disobedience. The second took place in September, 2002, in the small city of Leiden, Netherlands, and was hosted by EuroDusnie, an anarchist collective, which was a European co-convenor with the Catalan Movimiento de Resistencia Global (Global Resistance Movement). Lots of people from across Europe converged to share analyses and discussions; at least 650 were officially signed up, and many more just attended. One of the main points of a conference like this was simply to facilitate face-to-face encounters and to bring to light, even in the eyes of the participants themselves, the existence of a common movement and a common state of mind. The conference was also an opportunity to bring about a common understanding of the forces and struggles represented there, to consider questions the movement faces in common, and then to move forward with concrete proposals in response to the question, "What now?"

Our Dutch hosts had put in place



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an organizational structure aimed at ensuring the participation of all those present. All participants were invited to get involved in the cooking and cleaning; preparing and moderating meetings, workshops and discussions; creating a daily newsletter summarizing the outcomes of the discussions and debates. Help was also provided with transport, particularly for groups from beyond the European Union's Eastern border, by means of a redistribution of Western Europeans' registration fees.

The question of who might be admitted to the conference was raised, bearing in mind that the purpose of PGA exchanges and the PGA network is to connect local groups recognizing the founding hallmarks.

There was no strict mode of selection, though registration did include a request for reasons for participating. People were actively encouraged to prepare for the conference at a local level. Discussion days were seriously hard work. They mainly took the form of small discussion groups on all the many themes suggested by participants, but also on general strategic questions relevant to the movement as a whole and working groups of PGAE organizational structures. The issue of how discussion should be conducted and how decisions should be reached was the subject of lively debate, with a view to encouraging egalitarian participation and counteracting power-plays. Techniques used include facilitation, hand-signals, small groups, progressive consensus and so on.

The tyranny of having no (formal) structure

The balance between formal and informal, in the ways that PGAE works as a network, was another main focus of the structure debates. PGAE has a strong preference for organic and affinity-based relationships. But it became equally apparent that the lack of clarity as to "who takes care of what" makes the distribution of responsibility overly fluid and makes it unclear exactly how and

where decisions are made and makes it difficult for new people to integrate. This in turn leads to informal hierarchies which are particularly hard to read because they are invisible. The challenge is therefore to make it more explicit how the structure works, without rigidity and without falling back into the bureaucratic and authoritarian structures that we have been reflexively conditioned to expect. (2)

Finally, the work on the P G A e structures (mailing lists, web-sites, information relay systems, contact lists, and conference organization) should be done in a much more formal and open way... so as to invite many more people to get involved. Faced with the absence of new conveners and the need to clarify the work to be done on the network structures, a new working-group meeting for PGAE was held at the Tanneries, an autonomous self-managed space at Dijon in France in March 2003. It was at this meeting that DSM, a Belgrade-based anti-capitalist group, offered to act as convenors.

Detailed summaries of discussions and decisions made about PGAE process in Leiden (3), which were completed in Dijon (4), are available on the web. They are based on the organizational principles of PGA, which were affirmed at Cochabamba. (5)

The info points...

To move PGAE forward on a large scale and to promote it on a local basis, the Leiden conference decided to set up several "info points," a series of local groups that are involved in PGAE. Each "info point" group is responsible for spreading information about the conferences, history and projects of the PGA network to people who are interested. These info points are not "members" of PGA, because PGA has no membership,

but they do work to make this network more visible, an important task, considering that the network does not speak as a whole or as an organization. You can find a contact list for these info points on the 'net. (6)

European Convenors and Process Group

The role of European convenors was defined at Leiden as organizers of the European conference, responsible for making the network visible and dynamic, as well as maintaining its infrastructures (web site, newsgroups, contact lists) and contacts with the rest of the planet. At Dijon, it was decided that these tasks could be shared amongst different collectives interested in committing to PGA and its structures (with particular reference to infopoints). These collectives constitute the process group.

One of the most powerful tools of the network is the PGA web-site (6), which compiles a large number of historic texts, announcements, action reports and reports from PGA conferences. Another tool being developed is the web site <https://global.so36.net>, a thematically-structured global archive project, a forum in which to publish articles on themes and actions.

Three mailing lists have been created as communication tools for PGAE...

pga_europe_processlist is a forum that all of the collectives involved in the PGAE structures and decision-making processes (conferences, lists, web-sites, info points, etc.) should subscribe to.

pga_europe_resistance list is for announcements of and reports from events and actions. The

pga_europe_discussion list is for basic texts and debates. To subscribe to these lists, go to the web-form. (7)

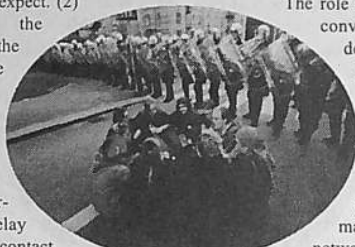
The sustained campaigns

In Leiden, thematic working groups were set up, based on PGA principles. One was on water, and another was on creating alternative forums ("hub" projects) during the various social forums. Since Dijon, there has been a specific working-group dynamic focussed on gender.

Finally, what is PGA? A Network? A Coordination? An Exchange?

These discussions posed the question of the possibilities and limits to a network that claims to be based on decentralization and autonomy, which has no official membership, offices, or bank accounts, a network without spokespersons, where nobody speaks in the name of the network or makes decisions on its behalf. The debate on the role of PGAE has continued since Leiden and Dijon, and is still far from being resolved. For some, the crucial point is that, in contrast to political parties and other coordination structures, PGA should not aim to launch action campaigns in its own name, even though the encounters between groups, communication structures, and contact networks that it offers have been able to greatly facilitate the establishment of concrete common initiatives, even recently such as the global day of action in December 2002 in solidarity with Argentina's popular uprising or some of the anti-G8 blockades and events in 2003.

This doesn't mean that PGA conferences, convenors, or simply groups in the network can't take the initiative of launching propositions or campaigns to the whole network. On the contrary, the originality and dynamism of PGA is that - thanks to a minimal agreement on goals and means of action and coordinated autonomy - it is a network capable of inspiring action. (In practice, the origin



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of propositions have been quite decentralised. The calls for action during Seattle or Prague for example were first made by local groups there, and picked up after by the convenors.) In contrast to traditional organisations, not only propositions can come from anywhere, but there is also no effort to make the actions appear as an international action of PGA. The action is that of the organisations that take it up, acting locally in their own name. For this reason the network as such goes relatively unnoticed, which does not make it necessarily less efficient than a traditional kind of organisation. It is certainly not PGAE's goal to make consensual decisions on global strategy for world revolution. Apart from the hallmarks and manifesto, PGA groups can disagree on all kinds of things (particular forms of action or going to Social Forums, for instance) without having to split or argue endlessly. Thus some groups can try a political hypothesis and come back to discuss it after. For some, PGAE shouldn't officially decide anything but its own structure and the manner in which to set up gatherings, lists, web sites, and other means of communication. To people of this opinion, PGAE is basically a means of exchange between various groups who share a commitment to its principles. There is considerable potential here, since it enables regional and global moments of coordination; it provides a means of getting to know each other, of contrasting our various approaches to political theories and struggles, of sharing ideas for action, contacts and resources, of providing ourselves with quality time to judge the success of our actions and to engage in thematic analysis. Despite this emphasis on decentralized and autonomous action, others also feel that, PGAE ought also to be able to regularly find ways to put forward campaigns and coordinated days of action, in its own name. The issue remains under discussion.

Other debates
in progress within PGAE

Breaking out of the activist ghetto

The question of how to open up our groups and networks, which can sometimes ossify into closed tribes, rigid in our identity politics, has many facets. How do we break out of the "ghetto" of hard-line activists who are totally sure of the truth of their mission and the justness of their means, without diluting the radical hopes of our struggles and practices?

By casting an analytical eye to the makeup of our meetings, in Europe at least, we can see that they are primarily made up of activist "specialists," between 20 and 30 years old (even if there are a few grey heads here and there) and a hegemony of middle-class white folks. These observations reveal the lack of ties to other categories of people, notably immigrants and undocumented migrants, but also more generally the working class. This contradiction is problematic for our struggles, in Europe at least, within a network that calls itself "People's Global Action" (8).

Overview of the reflections on strategy

There were several themes of the discussions and political campaigns opened up during the Leiden conference. However, a few major questions focussed the debates. Here is an overview. The counter-summits and global summit protests, which since 1998 have made up a common playing-field for the movement, have since Spring 2000 been the object of various criticisms: the trap of the spiral of repression, the lack of focus on local struggles, the exploitation of the movement by leftist "civil society" and reform groups, the search for unitary consensus among the masses rather than fundamental analysis, our loss of the element of surprise,

the loss of our choice over the place and time of our actions, and the lack of the constant renewal that is necessary to keep our actions effective. Since Seattle, some activists have argued that we ought to leave the counter-summits to the unions and the NGOs. Many people who have experience with concrete direct action want to redevelop the element of surprise, using other forms of action and in territories that are less fenced in by the forces of repression.

Others say, this is all true, but can we simply abandon the terrain to the cops and reformists, when we know that this huge magnet which we have created is still drawing thousands of people, many of whom are basically looking for us and not for reformist bla-bla. And how can we say that we want to break out of the ghetto and talk with all kinds of people, but not want to talk with people from the base of ATTAC, for example, or other people who come? The debate continues...

It was also said it was no longer enough to identify the enemy as being mainly made up of multinational corporations and financial institutions. We should refocus our critic of the state and social control, as well as of all forms of domination within human relationships (including consumerism, sexism, racism, discrimination on the basis of sexuality, and other systems of oppression), and of the ways that these systems of domination are integrated in our own realities, in our daily lives and at the various scales of social interaction in which we play a part. By varying our tactics and our fields of discourse, by staying inventive and unpredictable, we can still shake our contemporaries out of their resignation and alienation. People spoke of developing structures to support autonomous communities and self-sufficiency, silly actions and public art, street assemblies, sporadic or

permanent caravans, action camps, occupations or new international days of action at places and times of our choosing.

The importance of experiments in self-management, of squats and other zones of temporary autonomy, currently under threat in Europe, were stressed. Various forms of camouflage and other anti-repression techniques were suggested in order to avoid the pigeon-holes (or cages) in which they are attempting to contain us, with false claims of terrorism.

Without media stars, experts, or professional theoreticians, PGA is moving forward, thanks to the multiple gifts brought to the network by the creativity of individuals, with the goal of creating common frameworks for collective action, among those who have no desire to be recognized within the Left of political parties and institutional labor unions, with their long line of hierarchical and dogmatic organizations.

PGAE's Belgrade Conference, in the summer of 2004, will provide another opportunity of continuing these debates, as well as discovering new faces and new projects.

Notes:

- (1) <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/en/pgainfos/manifest.htm>
- (2) Tyranny of structurelessness by jo freeman
- (3) http://www.pgaconference.org/_postconference_pp_plenarydecision.htm#P3
- (4) <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/dijon/report.htm>
- (5) <http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/cocha/principles.htm>
- (6) <http://www.agp.org/>
- (7) http://www.pgaconference.org/_postconference/_mailform_1.htm
- (8) For a detailed analysis of racism within PGA, see the People's Global Radio interview with Maria Teresa Santana, at <https://global.so36.net/2002/09/377.html>

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WORKERS WORKING ON THEIR OWN INSTEAD OF DISMISSALS

Threat of steelworks' collapse - pressure of international corporations

Tragic situation of Silesia region of Poland

The tragic situation of Silesia, the region in which the heavy industry and mining play the key role, is caused mainly by the government's actions, which ruin both of these industries. In the case of the mining industry the authority is aiming at the liquidation of this part of industry mostly because of the World Bank's dictate. In the case of the heavy industry, the instructions of the European Commission which is bossing about how much can be produced contribute to the liquidation of plants and depriving thousands of people of employment.

The one and only idea of the government for rescuing the heavy industry is looking for foreign investors, meanwhile it is only a temporary rescue, to achieve a better price for the sale of the industry. Because of this, only the best and new manufacture lines were included in the syndicate of Polish Steelworks. The interest of foreign companies is only in gaining information about the market, because Poland is a perfect market for the overproduction of western corporations overproduction. Thus, it can be expected that the liquidation preceded by the bankruptcy of most of the Polish steelworks would be the thrust of foreign investor. The creditors of our heavy industry are banks with the major participation of foreign capital. After taking charge of market and investment in purchase of our plants, this capital is interested mainly in transferring the profits abroad. Therefore, those banks won't be interested in the realisation of the development programme for heavy industry. In our country the heavy industry has got a huge production potential. For the European Union's corporations suffocating from too much overproduction it is a big danger. That is why from the beginning of 90's there are endeavours to extort a reorga-

nisation programme from the governments which a permanent liquidation of a production potential will predict through the limitation and liquidation of some parts of steelworks and massive dismissals. The government shows an unusual submission and undertakes to accept the heavy industry destruction programme.

The general strategy which steel corporations are going by in the struggle for shrinking market is a progressing process of capital concentration and creating bigger and bigger corporations supported by states and groups of states. We can talk about the process of oligopolisation, what means formation of several big concern organisations on a big market, dividing markets among themselves and leading rivalry among each other for a restricted scale, just not to give rise to trade conflict. Whereas small and smaller organisations of steelwork production are absorbed and subordinated.

In the European Union countries and in the USA there exists a strict and ruthless protection of their own markets with the help of the state or groups of states for this exact industry. The huge EU steel corporations have direct influence on political decisions not only on their governments, but also on the European Commission which fulfils their interests. Those corporations are interested in enlarging the export mainly to the central-east Europe countries. European Commission suspended negotiations about gaining the credits for reorganization of Polish heavy industry with international financial organizations, which was done exactly on demand of the EU steel corporations. It clearly shows the guidelines on which EU is going by in the negotiation process with Poland and also shows how the official declarations goes

to the factual intentions and interests.

Foundry workers dumped on the street

European Commission conceives of heavy industry of ten affiliated to EU countries, especially the heavy industry of Poland, Czech Republic and Romania, as an enormous danger for EU steelworks. They directly warn those countries that their road to membership of EU goes through the radical reorganization and further reduction of the production level. European Commission wants a reduction of employment in foundries of the affiliated countries up to 2/3 that is to say over 200 to 250 thousand people. Reorganization of this industry in the EU's propositions is assessed at about 10 billion \$, but EU says itself that they don't have funds for co-financing that kind of reorganization.

European Commission tries to save its face. As though they want to give funds for steelworks' industry, but want to exchange it for the workplaces' liquidation. So, thanks to the effectively running policies based on thievery of the EU, Polish Steelworks had to decrease the production drastically for getting 3 billion zlotys, but those money had to be repayed because of not using them on time. Someone can ask why do we have to supplement steelworks when it's uneconomic. Well, the truth is that the foundries spent 1,5 billion \$ for reorganization, from which only 200 million \$ were credits guaranteed by the government. The rest were own funds and commercial credits, what is unheard-of in EU countries.

European Commission's procedure, which demands a sell of our foundries to the EU's corporations, is directly dictated by the demands and interests of EU's

steel corporations. It can be affirmed with full belief that the whole theory of privatization was and still is fulfilled in the direct interest of not only EU, but also of all the highly developed countries. The fact of existence of those disgraceful demands not only for the Polish side or European Commission, but also for IMF and World Bank was and still is held back by Polish political élites. The privatization process, similarly to the whole economic transformation, was and still is shown as a sovereign theory consequent from the economic wants. A demand for the production forces' limitation is not any longer dressed in the ideology of free market, like in the case of mining or agriculture. EU directly exposes their intentions, demanding for writing down about how much every single foundry will decrease their production. And on top of it all, European Commission demands for reduction of production powers, those which are the most economically effective and the most advanced.

Under the government's push foundries have to reveal all the facts and figures about the production process to the European Commission's inspectors. Before that, there was an access given to the World Bank to all key information about Polish mining. What is more, an agreement was made that the basis of the estimation about the government's reorganization programme will be an estimation about the possibilities of marketing of Polish steel done by a British consulting company granted by PHARE funds.

What in exchange? In exchange the European Commission suggests help in form of donation for social protection programmes for dismissed foundries' workers, also credits but those from international financial institutions for reorganization and

own contacts while selecting EU corporations in the process of privatization, which sounds now even grotesque. European Commission says that the employment should be limited to 40,000 people (now it's 95,000).

Foundries can belong to the workforce

The trade union's positions about rescuing the steelworks are divided. Some of them agree with the government's programme of looking for foreign strategy investor, but some fend that off suggesting a necessity of centralization and capital-organizational concentration meaning the huge corporations and holdings in the EU type. Another idea to create a so-called integrated treasury enterprise model, which characterizes in that it will not be anymore in the reign of representatives of the state's economic administration, nor private capital owners, but it will be handed on to the workers' teams and the management. It is different in USA where the foundries' workers rescued their workplaces thanks to the takeover of their works for keeps.

The workers' own in American steelworks has a long tradition and its formation was always connected with an immediate initiative of trade unions. The first form of this own were the cooperatives and the first wave of cooperatives organized by the cooperative unions developed during the breakthrough of 40's and 50's in 19th century. The first one was "Foundry of Steelworks' Employees' Union" cooperative. In the following years many different cooperatives were created in many different industries. Unfortunately their activity met with backlash of private capital in form of dumping rival or not giving a credit etc. In the end of '60's in the 19th century a second wave of cooperatives developed. One of their popularizers were: Ira Stewart - the organizer of wide campaign in support of 8-hour work-day and Willim Sylvis - the chairman of International Union of Foundry Workers. He called the local union's units for

organizing cooperative foundries. The first of those foundries was the one called "Troy" created in 1866 getting good results at the beginning. After 2 years 11 more foundries were created and 20 were in the state of organization. Along the same like before also this new cooperative movement faltered as a result of dumping rival and difficulties in getting the credits. The biggest american trade union of the 19th century - Work Knights' Order was also for the cooperatives. Their aim was "to achieve a full liberation of manufacturers' goods from slavery yoke".

Unfortunately American unions movement in the end of 19th century deviated from the idea of workers' own under influence of marxists. The style of thinking and action imposed by the marxists outlasted to the beginning of '80's in 20th century, after what it begun to be knocked out in connection with popularization of working shareholdings. Those changes initiated again with putting trade union of steelworks' industry. Initially, after all trade unions were suspicious or even hostile to the new form of owing the employees, because working sharehold was often used as an anti-union instrument. The working capital own brought in the form of act - a plan of working capital own (ESOP) created working capital with traditional private capital. That is why it paradoxically was more profitable for employers than for employees.

Everything had changed in the beginning of '80's when, being under pressure of liberal Reagan's politics, a crisis in american heavy industry begun provoked by a cheap import of steel. Employees together started to rescue their bankrupting enterprises and it turned out that the best way was the very one working shareholding. When the company started to have a rough time, the employers usually started to turn to plant's trade union to accept the decrease of pay. Unions started to demand for action in exchange for pay concessions. Union of Heavy Industry's Employees became a sympathizer and organizer of

working on their own. The union's initiative was direct, unions started to act as employees in their new form of workers-owners. In working partnerships, organized by the trade unions, the union keeps its traditional functions of employees' protection, because the conflict of interests between employees and management doesn't die out. At the same time the role of union is beginning to be widened with representing employees as owners. In a big working enterprise the management functions are:

- an assurance of free press for keeping contacts and discussions inside the enterprise

- checking management's and supervising counsel's activity

- public question reporting concerning managements works

- organizing meetings on the lowest rank in a way not to be ruled by the management

- preparing the ranks of undertaking plans of the enterprise

- supervising the preparing of alternative plans

Most enterprises after being redeemed by the employees from the state of bankruptcy came to the fore of heavy industry, inasmuch as for a positive solution for steelworks' problems the initiative of people who are directly involved is necessary - which means employees themselves. The wealth located in the enterprise comes from the value elaborated by all workers and should be still used in their interest but not in the interest of a narrow group of economical-political élites. Since the enterprise's workforce is on the ball about what is happening in the enterprise, it is best identified with the enterprise, which is their "workshop" and a donor of life stabilization - that is why the reign of the workshop should be handed on to the employees.

HOSPITAL SUBCONTRACTORS' STRIKE Poznan Poland

The workers from the hospital HCP Medical Center (employed by the Bresco firm) were not getting paid on time. When it happened again and there wasn't money on the account by 13 November, they went on strike. After two hours the firm declared that it would pay. They went back to work but they got paid only a week later. All of the workers when then given notice and Bresco explained that their contracts were all terminated because of the strike.

Bresco is an employment agency which also specializes in sending personnel to hospitals. It is known in Poland for its anti-worker activity. For example, on March 13, 2003, cleaners, cooks and non-registered nurses who belonged to Solidarity and were employed at the Railway Hospital in Wrocław held a two hour strike. The main reason they did so was that they were not paid on time. The Bresco firm explained that the hospitals owe them a few million zloty. The conflict was not resolved and on May 28, a strike broke out. The hospital administration had to use soldiers to give out meals in the hospital.

In Poznan, the workers from Bresco already were on strike. On May 29, 2003, they organized a picket in front of a hospital in defence of workers' rights. Poznan Workers' Initiative Anarchist Federation directly supports the striking workers from Bresco.

AN APPEAL FOR SUPPORT OF CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE US MILITARY BASE IN POLAND

Dear friends,

The US vice-minister of defense, Douglas Feith, arrived to Poland on the 8th of December. His visitation has opened unofficial negotiations concerning opening the US military base in Poland. That way the United States began discussions of "organization and modernization" of American military forces that probably will result in building the first American military base in Kshesin (by Poznan, west Poland). Unofficial information claims that Kshesin, located close to the National Park, can receive one US group of 16 battle machines from Germany and military unit servicing F-16 airplanes.

An extract from the local newspaper: "The Feith's visit has proved that the United States was stepping up discussions with key European allies about the overhaul of US global military deployments. Donald Rumsfeld, the secretary of US defense, who passed on that new during the last NATO debate, informed of US state representatives' visits in countries chosen by the US and subsequent arduous negotiations. Anyway, Feith highlighted that the first decisions on possible movement of American military bases to Poland will not be finalized in close future. Negotiations of conditions can last even couple of years (.) According to general Slawomir

Petlicki, founder of GROM (special commando unit), the decision about setting up the US military base in Poland has been already made by the Americans."

Our movement is opposed to presence of the

interview that "Poland is ready to allow US bases on its territory if such a request was made". In order to stop that ridiculous idea and make our voice noticeable and louder than government's propaganda we need strong counter-argu-

the civil staff is reduced, the Americans prefer to employ US companies, the local community become dependent what makes all subsequent Americans savings extremely damaging for local people. We need any reliable information, if possible supported by examples from countries where American bases have been already set up.

Ecological reasons- we are looking for any examples of adverse impacts of present bases on the environment, what include every day base's work and planes' take-offs as well. Especially that the base in Kshesin will be close to the National Park.

Social reasons - concerning relationship between US soldiers' and the local community. For example, status of soldiers who commit a crime, attempt to hide it etc. All accidents connected with base's working, for instance famous case of shooting the cable railway in Italy (we have only incomplete information about it).

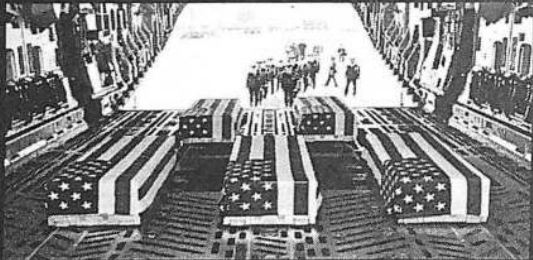
Question of safety- the government's propaganda will try to prove that the level of safety in Poland will increase when the base is open. In our opinion, the presence of American army can only jeopardize the safety of our land. Concerning the US forces' criminal activity around the world, US units are particularly susceptible to attacks and may become target



American base in Poland. Taking into consideration the military significance of the issue, it seems quite possible that the biggest part of negotiations will be kept in secret and any influen-

ments. We have decided to focus on economical, ecological, social and safety arguments against the base:

economical reasons- one of the most important for



ce on the decision will be difficult. The Polish government announced prior "public consultation". We believe that the best way to stop that project is to mobilize the local community in Kshesin. Although the official negotiations has just started, pro-government media have already described benefits for Poland if the base is set up. Prime Minister Leszek Miller said in an

the local community. The government will for sure propagandize the issue of profits for the area around the base. New workplaces (civilians servicing the base), orders for Polish companies that will build and modernize the base, food orders etc. are said to appear. That might be true, although we have heard that reality looks slightly different (for example in Germany)-

for not only extremist group. It means that the local community might become an accidental victim of such attacks. We need every information about attacks on American units besides areas of war.

First and foremost, political reasons are the most important for us, but we need to support them with all reasonable information concerning present American bases around the world. It will make our message more clear and effective. We ask for every info about subjects above, and all helpful matters that were not mentioned here. Even the most seemingly insignificant news can be extremely useful. Given that all action has international meaning we also are looking for all notes and even short descriptions of previous worldwide campaigns against the American bases. We need information about their effects and successes in particular.

If you could help, write us (the best way in English or Polish):
rudabestia@o2.pl or
P.O. Box 5, 60-966
Poznan, Poland.

Thank you for help.
Please, send it to everyone who may help us.

Posnanian Anti-war
Coalition (www.antywojenna.prv.pl)

<http://republika.pl/paspartoo0/wi/ang.htm>



VRAH CLUB ALERT!

HELP TO SAVE THE DIY PUNK SPACE IN CZECH REP.

2004 didn't start very good concerning the state of hardcore/punk scene in Czech Rep. Just before Christmas the Papima squat in Prague got evicted by city authorities. It's hard to say what exactly has happened, because the place used to have some contract preventing it from eviction, but the sad reality is that it happened and that we lost one of the best spaces for gigs here. Right now Prague suffers from lack of places to play - only the 007 Club (where it's not possible to organize gigs during weekends, because they are not too profitable) and last squat in Czech - Milada (which is pretty small and too far away from the city center) remain.

To add the insult to injury, another space in the opposite part of the country, VRAH Club in Roznov pod Radhostem, is also under the threat of eviction. This place is run in total DIY way and currently is in a huge debt (rent, electricity etc.). It has to be paid back until June 2004 and the sum is pretty big considering the economical situation in Czech (which is even worse in the area of Roznov town) - more than 1.600 USD. Several kinds of benefits are organized around Czech Rep., but it seems it won't be enough and your help is badly needed.

What's VRAH Club about?

Gig place. VRAH started back in January 2000 in abandoned agricultural high school space (the gig room itself used to be a classroom!) and it provides a place for gigs of dozens and dozens of bands since this date. Probably every good Czech and Slovakian hardcore/punk band has played here, but it also helped countless of foreign bands touring through Czech Rep. There's no space to list them all (...). The gigs usually took a place in super-friendly and wild atmosphere in front of enthusiastic crowds. Also they don't cost more than 3 USD to get in, you can buy cheap booze inside, spaces for distro-tables are always provided. The bands are treated extremely well receiving decent money, food, sleeping places. To put it straight - VRAH is the best place to play in Czech Republic and we can't afford to lose it.

Recording studio VRAH also provides the space for "Moc Plevel" recording studio run by CO-CA and V.V.B. guitar player. If you have heard any recent recordings of bands like COMPLICITE CANDIDE, FESTA DESPRATO, HOMO CONSUMENS, VYBOR VEREJNEHO BLAHA, AD CALENDAS GRAECAS, FOOLCRAZY, PHALLANX, SICHER HATE SYSTEM or PSI, they were all recorded here. Punk bands from this part (North/East part of Czech Rep. - Roznov and Vsetin-towns area) are the best in Czech in my opinion and this cheap analog studio manages to document their music pretty well.

Space for arts, practise place etc. Not only gigs take a part here. Often you can find different exhibitions of non-commercial art, video projections or regular painting/sculptural courses. Also few local bands do practise here. In short it provides the much needed space for different kinds of activities for youth in area where you can hardly find any options for autonomous action.

The only income for the VRAH comes from the door money (not very high considering the fact that the touring bands have to be paid as well and the entrance is still much cheaper in Czech than in the abroad), drink sales (not very high considering the fact that many people come in already pretty shit-faced) and from bands practising there. The electricity bills are insane and the rent is also pretty high. In the past situations like this one already have happened, but now (beginning of 2004) it's much worse than before. If you can help, please do it. Benefit shows, parties, releases - any help is welcomed. If you can't donate money, maybe you should consider donating some of your band's/label's releases, which will be sold as 100% benefit for VRAH.

For more info about VRAH and to figure out the best way how to donate contact orba@seznam.cz or malarierec@seznam.cz MALARIE REC. Vidce 300, LDS 12, 756 27 Valasska Bystrice, Czech Rep. Filip Fuchs

CALL TO ALL
EAST/CENTRAL EUROPEAN
SELFORGANIZED GROUPS
FOR PARTICIPATION IN ...

AUTOORGANISATION 2004

INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE
& ACTIONWEEK

04-11 APRIL
BERLIN

A lot of autonomous projects and structures struggle internationally for their survival. In the everyday life in our selforganised projects our political claims for autonomy and the reject of power are at least partially realized. Working collectives and selfadministered enterprises represent a direct alternative to the mainstream working conditions, dominated by competition, pressure for benefit and the rules of profit. Infoshops and alternative media establish not only an opposite public, they also link different emancipating projects together.

But it's everywhere the same: resistant and not commercial projects and formations do not fit into the imagination of a capitalist society and its market conditions, and have to expect attacks from different levels.

Autoorganisation 2004 offers the possibility for the international exchange of experiences and discussions about perspectives of the autonomous movement. Autoorganisation is planned as an international conference and actionweek from the 4th -11th of april 2004 in Berlin. The conference will set up space for workshops and intensive discussions about different themes and problems around selforganised structures and projects (history, repression, organisation, campaigns, women projects, media, other forms of work and education...)

During the actiondays the different forms of our protest and intervention in the public discussion will be practiced. We already prepare a infrastructure for the time during the meeting which will introduce you to the different projects in Berlin (sleeping places, translators, locations). If you have ideas about workshops and actions, please contact us.

For more informations check out:

www.autoorganisation-04.org
autoorganisation@gmx.net

STAY IN MOVE, COME TO BERLIN
APRIL 2004!

UZBEKISTAN AND WESTERN CAPITALIST INTERESTS

Part 2

With second part of "Uzbekistan and Western Capitalist Interests" article we are opening our second block in this issue. Caucasus, region where very uncomplicated people conduct their very uncomplicated lives but general situation becoming more and more complicated with every month. Why? Due to very special importance which Caucasus plays for all economical powers, especially US & its western allies, but as well for Russian elites. On examples of Uzbekistan, Georgia and Chechnya we are trying to put a bit more light on influence which those powers exert on current rotations among local dictators, issues are connected. In the second part of this block you will find as well materials which can be big interest for many of EE or Turkish comrades involved in antimilitarist activities.

Due to very little presents of anarchist sources of information from that region we use partly some different ones (Uzbekistan) but still quite credible in our opinion. AbolishingBB

(...) It is claimed that authorities sometimes deny that an address is legal simply because they are not happy with ethnic Uzbeks belonging to a Christian church. It is daunting for a religious group to invest in property without knowing if its address will be recognized as legal. Despite some hostility toward Christian groups of the kind just noted, Russians, Jews, and foreigners usually enjoy more religious freedom than the predominantly Muslim ethnic Uzbeks. Since those responsible for the 1999 bombings probably did have ties to politicized Islamic organizations, the Government considers all "Wahhabists" to be linked to terrorism even when they are not. The term "Wahhabist," as applied by the Government to some Sunni Muslim groups, can be used to mean Islamist terrorist but it can also be used simply to mean any former student of a disliked imam or foreign madrasah (school of Muslim religious instruction). Some Muslims belonging to prohibited groups deny being extremists and claim that they are simply being persecuted for their religious beliefs, and it is true that the govern-

ment is suspicious of anyone who seems especially devout, such as bearded men and covered women. Many report that they do not feel comfortable praying five times a day according to Muslim tradition, and most men who do pray are cautiously clean shaven.

Groups labelled "Wahhabist" are not simply denied registration, making them illegal, but are also branded as "prohibited" a more extreme classification meriting stiffer forms of punishment. The difference is that a prohibited group is not merely unregistered but is forbidden by law. In practice, however, courts often ignore this distinction and prosecute members of illegal groups as though they were prohibited. In 1998, the government permanently closed several hundred unauthorized mosques. No religious group may form a political party or social movement, and it is illegal to teach any religious principles privately. Those who meet privately to study Islam are in danger of being arrested. For example, in August 2001, a court convicted seven men for praying in a private home, incarcerating six of them; the court was more lenient on the octogenarian host, letting him go after he paid a fine. Police made prosecution easier by planting drugs and Hizb ut-Tahrir flyers on the accused.

The Muftiate issues lists of Islamic literature permitted by the government, bookstores selling Islamic literature not found on the list being at risk. People have even been imprisoned for possessing religious texts written in Arabic. Belonging to an illegal or prohibited religious group is enough to risk arrest. It is common for law enforcement officers to torture those held in pre-trial detention for the sake of extracting confessions. It is likely that such mistreatment has even resulted in the deaths of several people. The police threaten relatives of those who have died in custody not to talk about the deaths of their family members, and it is not easy to calculate the numbers of those who have died suspiciously. Convicted prisoners are also often brutally mistreated. In the period covered by these reports, the Uzbek government often held unannounced trials of large numbers of people alleged to be dangerous Islamists. International observers were rarely allowed to attend these trials. One striking feature of them is that defendants were often tried in groups even though, according to human rights activists, the defen-

dants were often not actually connected to each other. Prosecutions were made on the basis of confessions which, according to many of those convicted, were extracted under torture. Judges ignored these claims and handed out prison terms which were typically anywhere from 15 to 20 years.

Examples of specific cases

There are over 6,000 political and religious prisoners in Uzbekistan. Every year, some of them are tortured to death. Sometimes the policemen or intelligence agents simply break their fingers, their ribs and then their skulls with hammers, or stab them with screwdrivers, or rip off bits of skin and flesh with pliers, or drive needles under their fingernails, or leave them standing for a fortnight, up to their knees in freezing water. Sometimes they are a little more inventive. The body of one prisoner was delivered to his relatives last year, with a curious red tide mark around the middle of his torso. He had been boiled to death. His crime, like that of many of the country's prisoners, was practising his religion. Karimov makes no distinction between peaceful Muslims and terrorists: anyone who worships privately, who does not praise the president during his prayers or who joins an organisation which has not been approved by the state can be imprisoned. Political dissidents, human rights activists and homosexuals receive the same treatment. Some of them, like dissidents in the old Soviet Union, are sent to psychiatric hospitals. Human rights activists themselves are often targeted due to their criticism of the government's indiscriminate attacks on anyone suspected of Muslim extremism. The activist Ismail Adylov, who is apparently not even religious, was arrested in July 1999 for allegedly possessing Hizb ut-Tahrir leaflets which the police may have planted. In September, he received a six-year prison sentence. In April of 2001, police arrested the activist Mahbuba Kasimova and warned her to stop making contacts with the relatives of those who have been imprisoned and to stop attending trials of suspected Islamists. On the 18th of September 2001, a prosecutor in the city of Andijon began an investigation into the Human Rights Society of Uzbekistan (HRSU). HRSU aroused suspicion only because it had helped a group of women who were demanding the release of their male relatives. The investigation was

eventually called off.

On the 26th of May 2003, authorities arrested the human rights defender and journalist Ruslan Sharipov along with two colleagues, Oleg Sarapulov and Azamat Mamankulov. The National Security Service had harassed all three men several times previously, harassment which included beatings and theft, warning them to stop criticizing the police and President Karimov. Sharipov was charged with homosexuality as well as having sex with minors. Although Sharipov is openly gay, the charges appear to have been selectively applied and, perhaps with regard to having sex with minors, fabricated in order to silence and shame a critic. When Human Rights Watch was granted the opportunity to speak with Sharipov in detention, he explained that the police threatened to rape him with a bottle, put a gas mask on him, and placed copies of his human rights articles before him on a table while shouting at him for long periods. In August, Sharipov was sentenced to five and half years in prison.

On the 26th of September 2003, Human Rights Watch reported in the article "Uzbekistan: Human Rights Defender Loses Appeal" that an Uzbek court upheld Sharipov's conviction. In the same report, Sharipov is described as arriving at court with broken glasses, a swollen eye, and an injury above the eye. The police had an explanation for the injury, namely that there was a traffic accident on the way to court which injured Sharipov and no one else. The court dropped a charge of "antisocial behavior," thus reducing Sharipov's sentence from five and a half years to four, but upheld the remaining charges.

At great risk to himself, Sharipov wrote a letter to Kofi Annan dated the 5th of September 2003. The letter was smuggled out of prison, and is posted on the Human Rights Watch web site. Sharipov explains how before his first trial, he was forced to write a "suicide note" in which he stated his intention to kill himself. He was told that if he made any further appeals or complaints that he would "kill himself." This is consistent with the cases of Emin Usman and Shovruk Ruzimuradov, as described above, who officially committed "suicide" but who, in fact, were pretty clearly murdered. While in pre-trial detention, the police from the District Department of Internal Affairs knew they had to be careful so that the signs of torture would not

be blatantly obvious during the trial. In his letter, Sharipov notes that he cannot explain everything that has been done to him - one form of humiliation, which he does not elaborate on, involved videotape -, but he reports that the police did find a way to torture him as a means to get him to plead "guilty": "They put a gas mask on my head and sprayed an unknown substance into my throat, after which I could hardly breathe. They also injected an unknown substance into my veins and warned me that if I did not follow their instructions they would give me an injection of the AIDS virus." He explains how he was coerced both into "confessing," a coercion that included his being informed that his mother, younger brother, and even his attorneys would be tortured if he did not comply. In fact, as noted in the Human Rights Watch report mentioned above, masked men did kidnap and beat Sharipov's public defender Surat Ikramov in late August. In Sharipov's letter, he also expresses fear at being sent to a penal colony in which, as the police have informed him, there are prisoners waiting to kill him so that the state need not take responsibility for his death, presumably in case the "suicide" option fails to prove satisfactory.

Relations to the United States

U.S.-Uzbek relations have recently been described as "flourishing," especially since March of 2002 when the two presidents signed the Declaration of Strategic Partnership upgrading Uzbekistan's status in relation to the U.S. On the 14th of that month, the Russian newspaper Kommersant reported that the talks were unusually friendly with Bush himself setting the amicable tone. I quote: "Although the US press is covering the Uzbek president's stay rather scantily, US state officials are not stinting on their words of approval for Uzbekistan. At any rate, throughout Mr. Karimov's stay in the United States not one accusation of flouting human rights has been made against Uzbekistan - before 11 September this was a common occurrence". After this meeting, the state-controlled news media of Uzbekistan proclaimed that the United States was on the side of the Uzbek government in its campaign against terrorism. In August of 2002, Karimov remarked to his legislature that "We

should state with great pleasure that the majority of the world community recognizes the Uzbek state's and people's decisive participation in the fight declared against international terrorism". In October of 2003, The Guardian reported that "Last year, Washington gave the [Uzbek] government \$500m in aid, \$79m of which was specifically for the same 'law enforcement and security services', which the U.S. State Department accused of 'routine torture'". On the 6th of January 2002, a U.S. senatorial delegation, led by Joseph Lieberman and John McCain, met with Karimov in Tashkent to thank Uzbekistan for its cooperation with the invasion of Afghanistan, portrayed as crucial in combating terrorism, and to solidify future relations between the two nations. There were improvements, possibly because Karimov was afraid at the time of new American legislation. According to the International Religious Freedom Report for 2002, the number of those arrested during the first seven months of 2002 declined significantly to a mere 300, in contrast to the 1,500 for any seven-month period from 1999 to 2001. In addition, 800 received amnesty. Furthermore, in January 2002, four police were sentenced to twenty years in prison for beating to death a suspected member of Hizb ut-Tahrir and for the severe beating of another suspect who had to spend months in the hospital. However, there were also reports that three senior police officers involved in the beatings escaped punishment. In the month after the Senate delegation, the Justice Ministry registered the Independent Human Rights Organization of Uzbekistan (IHROU) after four years of failing to do so. According to the U.S. State Department's web site, a second human rights organization was registered by the government in March 2003 (4). In May of 2002, continuing with the International Religious Freedom Report, three officers of the National Security Service, were convicted in the beating death of a suspected member of Hizb ut-Tahrir, receiving prison sentences from four to fifteen years. Some courts began to respond to allegations of torture. Finally, in contrast to earlier periods, in the period covered by the 2002 report, there were no reports of religious leaders being harassed, arrested, detained, or disappeared.

In October of 2002,

Lieberman and McCain introduced legislation to make U.S. military and financial aid to Central Asian nations contingent upon the improvement of their human rights records and the opening of their political systems.

Overcoming Hypocrisy

One might be tempted to argue that the United States could not and cannot be too aggressive in demanding greater freedom in Uzbekistan, since the United States needed Uzbekistan to launch its campaign in Afghanistan. But even if one assumes that the invasion of Afghanistan was a dire necessity, this is not a good explanation of American hesitation to promote democracy among the Uzbeks. Ever since 1999, if not earlier, Karimov had been pleading with other countries to wage war against the Taliban, and it was the Clinton administration which first designed a plan to do so, a plan which the Bush administration only considered with hesitation prior to 9/11/2001. So why has the U.S. allowed Uzbekistan to operate in such an authoritarian and undemocratic manner, given the United State's repeatedly stated intention of spreading democracy and respect for human dignity through the world? Natural resources are surely a factor. Another factor may be that the U.S. shares Karimov's concern with regard to Muslim extremism and is happy to let him do much of the dirty work in controlling it - "dirty" here meaning oppressive and authoritarian. In other words, the United States is content to let fascism reign when it sees fascism as being in its own interests. The lesson to be learned is that freedom and democracy are not ends in themselves but good only when convenient. Obviously, they are not matters of principle.

People around the world are quite capable of seeing that the United States has close, even intimate relations with many undemocratic regimes for the sake of American security and economic interests. Central Asia is one place to look to understand how hypocritically the United States often behaves. This is only part of the story. I have not discussed in any depth the degrading economic conditions in Uzbekistan, the suspicious business activities of the Karimov family, or the other autocratic countries in Central Asia with which the U.S. enjoys close ties ...

*Oil from a new location
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Who needs to take Georgia under control?

Three men make the history of Georgia: president Eduard Shevardnadze (ex-member of Communist Party politburo and ex-minister of foreign affairs of Gorbachev), Abashidze (leader of muslim mafia in Adjara Batumi) and Badri Patarkatsishvili - the right hand of Boris Berezovskiy, the master of behind the scenes maneuvers, multimillionaire and oligarch. Badri gave money to the development of the opposition as well as money to buy the bureaucrats in Shevardnadze's "power ministries" (internal affairs and police). Badri tries to take Georgia under control with the help of the opposition.

I suspect that the pair: Boris (Berezovskiy) and Badri need Georgia as a stage in a greater plan of opposition to Putin, involving Chechnya with the help of Basayev and those like him. But Georgia is a tasty morsel all by itself, through it will run the oil pipeline from Azerbaijan to Turkey, and this OUTSIDE OF RUSSIAN CONTROL. Oil from a new location through Georgia: this is a new great project for the 21st century. If Boris and Badri will take control of Georgia, the Americans will treat them with respect, having in mind the US interests in Azeri oil. So Badri needs Georgia and he is closer to his goal now more than ever.

On the question "how it is happened that protestors came so easily in Georgian parliament during the revolt", the answer is: It is possible if you have enough money and connections. The parliament security and a lot of police and army officers were simply bought by Badri. Apparently, he could offer more than Shevardnadze. Badri has shown that he can make use of his money when the time comes. So Edik (Eduard Shevardnadze) went away. Georgia is in the hands of the opposition, that is of Badri. We'll see what happens next. First, we'll see how Badri will stand the control of Saakashvili - who has a hell lot of ambition. Second, what will happen to Adjara? Will it want to separate from Georgia? Abashidze is a strongly pro-russian politician, and the opposition and Badri are very anti-russian. But on the other hand the situation in Georgia is not likely to develop into a civil war right now.

Also there is the question of Abkhazia. The refugees from Abkhazia supported Saakashvili for exactly the expected reasons. Thirdly, what position Saakashvili will take with regard to Chechnya? This could be felt strongly here (in Russia). I suspect that this is another page of the fight of Berezovskiy against Putin, and probably not the last one.

Mihail Magid

"Neither war, either peace: Caucasus"

Below, shorter version of article, that appeared in german anarchist / anti-militarist monthly "Grasswurzel Revolution". Author, Andreas Speck, is member of War Resisters International (WRI) and visited this region in summer 2003.

Impressions from journey to Caucasus

Already when first ideas concerning this trip came out, it was clear that these regions would be very difficult for us in WRI. We had there only very few contacts, like new georgian section of our network, and political positions of these contacts didn't been clear. There was lot of problems getting visas, because countries of these region not always are acknowledging officially existence of their neighbours as independent states. Most of contacts didn't answered, so it was not possible good planning of this journey. Very little was clear for me when I finally landed in Tbilisi, capital of Georgia.

Georgia

fear from "Big Brother" Russia

Following chaotic situation after putsch-attempt in Moscow in 1991, Georgia became independent state. Right after this difficult times came with big riots in Tbilisi in December 1991. Regional, mostly ethnically defined conflicts broke out in South-Ossetia and Abkhazia: first one was stopped on 24th June 1992 with official ceasefire agreement, but in Abkhazia it escalated in 1993 and despite of official ceasefire (watched mostly by russian army, which is on other hand observed by UN-Peace Corps) situation there is permanently tense. Till now Abkhazia is officially independent, yet no other country except of Russia recognizes it. Practically, Abkhazia is completely cut out from Georgia even for any transport and you can reach it only through Russia.

In both of these conflicts, "Big russian Brother" plays important role. Georgia accuses permanently Moscow of supporting abkhazian and south-ossetian desires for independence, politically and economically (weapons, etc.). Georgia demands also from UN to push through its own state integrity with means of "heavy peacekeeping" a la Bosnia - this is clear threat of war towards government of Abkhazia. Mistrust towards Russia causes wide pro-NATO excitement in Georgia. Like Shevardnadze

government, also all important opposition are craving for, not much realistic even, NATO membership.

Also human right groups aren't opposed much to that. War against Iraq was actually positively perceived, and recently Georgia send also their own troop contingent (trained by german Bundeswehr) to Iraq, as to prove at least symbolically their loyalty to USA policies. On outskirts of Tbilisi, new & big US embassy is build-symbol of georgian importance in strategic concepts of USA concerning this region. Also Germany has much interest in Georgia, as military support never comes without hopes for profit.

Pacifism isn't very popular in Georgia. As result of abkhazian conflict there is over 250 000 internal refugees (mostly of georgian origin), which cannot go back there. Between them most support are having hardliners demanding violent solution of conflict. During Iraq war, georgian WRI section was only group, which organized very small anyway, demonstrations against it and till now it is only group with antimilitaristic positions. Even if Georgia officially recognizes right to refuse serving the army, actual law concerning this is not being implemented. In spite of this last year over 300 people applied as conscious objectors, yet is very unclear what happened with them. Usual way to avoid army goes through corruption-with bribe you can get or some medical statement or delay of draft till you reach "safe" age. Also not registering under real adress (so "invitation" cannot be handed out) is often practiced.

While people in Georgia are feeling threatened through Russia, many in Abkhazia or South-Ossetia are scared of Georgia. Abkhazia has their own army and very hard draft system. There it is unthinkable to object the army and we didn't manage to have there any contacts. In last years some Jehova witnesses been kept imprisoned because of their refusal to serve.

Armenia

trapped in the past

From Tbilisi I travelled together with Ucha Nanuashvili (WRI-Georgia) to Yerevan, capital of Armenia. There it was even difficult to find any groups, that wanted to meet with us. Armenia is only land in Caucasus, when now objectors sit

in prison - some 24 Jehova witnesses are serving 1,5-3 years sentences and many others waiting for trial or are under arrest.

Political situation in Armenia is strongly connected with never "worked out" massmurder of ca.1,5 million of Armenians by Turks (on territory of today's Turkey at beginning of 20th century) - which Turkey officially never acknowledged, forget any "apology", as well as Nagorny-Karabach conflict.

In soviet times Nagorny-Karabach was an autonomous region inside of Republic of Azerbaijan, but already in 1988 (so still under soviet rule) armed confrontations took here place. Since war between Armenia and Azerbaijan in early '90s, Nagorny-Karabach is actually independent republic, yet not officially recognized even by Armenia (from which it is completely dependent). Troops from Karabach & Armenia are controlling some 20% of Azerbaijan's territory, but since 10 years there is ceasefire watched by international observers.

Also in Armenia, corruption is best way to avoid army. Reasons for avoiding are laying rather in very bad conditions of soldiers than antimilitaristic ideas. Armenian committee of Soldiers Mothers are worrying about these conditions, but -others than their counterparts in Russia - they are not fighting to get their sons out of army. Basically they're seeing these conditions as obstacle for building strong armenian army, so very unpatriotic. Seemingly they don't have problems if their sons will die in war against Azerbaijan, but they should die proudly and patriotically and not from poorness of barracks life.

The past is in Armenia very present. In Yerevan there is Massmurder Memorial and turkish revisionism and refusal to acknowledge massacre - till now !!! are complicating contacts with this big neighbour. Also very small international attention to these massacre, makes it till now difficult to "work out" this whole-armenian trauma. This plays also in Nagorny-Karabach conflict an role, because permanent military preparations silencing down any critics. Republic of Nagorny-Karabach has also very strict draft laws and we know nothing till now about any objectors there.

Azerbaijan

oil and refugees

Situation and atmosphere is similar to Armenia. Because of occupation of 20% territory through Armenia and N.K. to speak about peace means only finally acknowledge loss of this land. Till now there is in Azerbaijan ca.1 million of internal refugees (by whole population of 8 millions), most of them from region around N.K. Republic, formerly populated by Azeris but now mostly by armenian troops. These places are almost completely desolated, because even civilian Armenians don't settle there.

In spite of strong nationalism, militarism and heavy anti-armenian sentiments not many is excited about joining the army. Way out goes, as in whole region, through bribes. In a moment no conscious objectors are imprisoned, yet over 2 thousand of deserters sit in prisons and they are reporting about horrible conditions in army.

As well as Georgia, Azerbaijan looks with hope direction West, and here also towards Turkey. This can be understood as answer to "Defence alliance" of Russia with Armenia. Important oil and gas sources making country interesting for the western powers-building of pipeline from Baku (Azerbaijan) to Ceyhan (Turkey) shows, that western oil interests are secured by omitting way through Russia. From this richness nothing comes yet to population, especially refugees, which are surviving supported by international humanitarian groups and getting less and less state money. Till now most of them lives in refugee camps, so in tents or old train wagons.

Epilogue

"Why antimilitarists aren't interested in conflicts in ex-Soviet Union?" asked activist from Human Rights Centre in Baku. Hard to answer. Much has to do with general ignorance about this region in the West. Other problem are lacking identification possibilities (this plays big role also in perception of balkan conflicts in the west): in this countries there is no peace movements, that could serve as point of reference in solidarity. Also difficult it is for western activist to engage in topics concerning Caucasus, because whole situation here needs deeper and complex understanding and simple anti-americanism doesn't help anything. Here the black & white standards of "good ones" and "bad ones" are not to apply easily...

A Call for an International Day of Action against the War in Chechnya

The sky was clear on the morning of the 23rd of February 1944 in Grozny. Inhabitants of the city had been invited to a square to celebrate the 26th anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army. The Vice-commander of the local Red Army regiment stepped up to the tribune and voiced a harsh sentence to the whole nation: "... The Communist Party and Soviet government have decided to deport all Chechens and Ingushetians. Resistance is useless, since the center of the province is surrounded by armed forces."

Horrified, the crowd marched in lines of four to convergence points where they were loaded into trucks which headed to the railway station. The same thing happened everywhere in the republic; in some villages deportation began in the evening when inhabitants had been invited to sing and dance around bonfires. In the village of Haibah, a colonel from the NKVD (predecessor of the later KGB and FSB of today), Gveshiani, decided to burn all 700 inhabitants alive, an act which was celebrated by the chief of the NKVD Beriya who had arrived in the republic 3 days prior in order to personally command the operation known as "Chechevitsa" (lentils).

More than 14 200 freight wagons and 1000 passenger wagons loaded with 480 000 persons headed to the steppes of Kazakhstan and Kirgistan. The journey took almost a month and one fifth of the passengers never made it there due to hunger, thirst and typhus fever, which were rampant in the freezing and overcrowded wagons. Countless others died due to hunger and diseases in the steppes during the following years. Only in 1956 were the Chechens and Ingushetians allowed to return to the Caucasus.

In 60 years some things have not changed in Russia. The 23rd of February is now "the Day of Defenders of the Fatherland", which was

recently made an official holiday. And ethnic cleansing is still going on; according to statistics, the chance of people disappearing or being arbitrarily arrested in Chechnya is just about as likely as a Soviet citizen being repressed during the darkest years of Stalinism around 1937. The war, which has continued since 1994 with various degrees of intensity, is anything but over; just between the 20th and 25th of December 2003 at least 19 bomb attacks or shooting incidents between Chechen guerrillas, local police and federal army were reported in Chechnya and neighbour-

hoods, since it helps to distract the attention of the inhabitants of Russia from social and economic problems. In a wave of general war mongering, it is easier to spread militarist and chauvinist hysteria, strengthen repressive institutions, suppress popular protests, pass unpopular reforms and loot people. The war in Chechnya is a conveyor belt of hangmen and sadists, who often are not capable of settling back into a peaceful life. Used to fear and killing and indifferent to the value of life, they fill the ranks of special forces and OMON and plant seeds of chauvinism

peaceful people of any nationality. We are antagonists of patriots of every country.

No politician can ever find a solution to conflict, since the abolishing of chauvinism would mean the end of their power. Remember, that Putin became a president due to military hysteria. Only the inhabitants of Russia and Chechnya can find a solution to the conflict, taking their destiny into their own hands. This solution cannot be separated from the emancipation of people from the state, capital, nationalism and racism. Unity of the people against politicians and over political boundaries must be stronger than ideas of "the unity of Russia", "independence of Ichkeria" or religious bigotry of any kind.

We should never be quiet on 23rd of February. We will struggle as long as a single nationalist, patriot, politician or capitalist decides how we should live! We call anarchists and supporters of free societies to organise any kinds of actions all around the world in days surrounding the 23rd of February 2004, in order to commemorate 60th anniversary of the Chechen deportation and to protest against the ongoing slaughter of the peaceful inhabitants of Russia and Chechnya. Your action could be a picket, graffiti, a concert or a lecture; there are countless alternatives so use your imagination!

If you agree with our action call and want to join actions, please contact the initiative group located in Moscow:

Adm@avtonom.org

or

P.O.Box 13, 109028 Moscow Russia

We will make a summary about actions of all groups which agree with our action call. Even if you do not agree with us about some points, contact us and we will list your action separately.

**Down with war = state!
Long live free society!**

Anarchists of Moscow



ring regions. Anyone can come into the line of fire; dozens of people died due to disgusting bomb attacks in Moscow and Stavropol'skiy Krai in December.

According to opinion polls, more and more people are discontented with the way Putin's regime is handling the Chechen conflict and about no one buys the claim that "the conflict has been regulated". But still only a few people admit that all solutions to the conflict proposed in the framework of "real politics" lead nowhere. The concept of "a united and undivided Russia" is just as dead as the concepts of "independent Ichkeria", "temporary UN-governed administration" and "negotiations between Putin and Maskhadov". Repeating of the 1996 Hasav-Yurt experiment would only lead to further persecution of national and religious minorities, the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, kidnappings and the slave trade.

War is useful for

in the consciousness of people around them. This war pushes 18 year old conscripts with a short training into a nightmare of armed conflict; acts of terror in Russian cities happen because of this war. It is naive to think this war is not ours. It may hit all of us, just as it hit the actors and audience of Nord-Ost, just as it hit the victims of police brutality and OMON who came back from Chechnya. Right now in Russia they are not only attacking peaceful demonstrations, but legalized rock concerts as well.

We do not celebrate the 23rd of February, because for us there is nothing to be celebrated in the anniversary of the ethnic cleansing of the Chechens. Moreover we do not celebrate the 23rd of February, because we do not recognize such a fatherland (Russian, Chechnyan or whatever) which is worth defending by means of occupation, kidnappings, filtration camps, torture, murder, rigged elections, racist propaganda or bomb attacks against

COLUMNS COLUMNS COLUMNS



Bourgeois
feminists and taxi
drivers

On December 10, various feminist organizations in Warsaw organized a "Take Back the Night" march. After much consideration as to whether or not to participate, I decided not to for a couple of reasons, the main one being the proposed strategy for dealing with the question of violence which was undertaken by certain groups. The march started on the "bad side" of the river, in Warsaw's Praga district. The idea behind this was that "no woman in her right mind would dream of walking down Targowa St. (the main street) after midnight". I wondered it would be pointless to discuss that with the organizers; probably they would argue that I'm "not in my right mind" to not be bothered. Nor would it probably make a difference if I argued that maybe men were more likely to suffer physical attack than women (which I suppose is the case). And certainly the class issue would be lost here; I'm not at all sure that this place even is any more dangerous than any place else, except maybe in the minds of those who are always afraid of the poor neighbourhoods. I guess the foreign equivalent would be middle class white women organizing something in the South Bronx cause "it's dangerous up there". Perhaps significantly, the march went not even through these "bad neighbourhoods", which might have at least been seen as a sign of empowerment, but started from the gentrified section near the new shopping mall and proceeded directly out of the neighbourhood towards the center. It's a little hard for me to sympathize very much with the bourgeois ladies who are very bothered by the fact that the shopping paradise borders on a slum and wonder how on earth they can get so close to Targowa St. and survive their mall experience and I suppose class-wise, the march was much more appealing to them than to the women who actually live in the neighbourhood, who don't real-

ly seemed to be nearly as
bothered.

This aside, what some feminists organizations did and are continuing to do is to pressure the police to put more cops in the neighbourhood. They are upset that the police do not take the question of crime against women (in particular violent crime) very seriously. Hmm. Well, there are surveillance cameras around the neighbourhood and we often see patrols, but I'm not impressed by the work. I usually just see them harassing people, mostly foreigners. I try to dodge them when posting; I suppose if more of them were around, they'd tried to actively crack down on such activity. I'm sure that more cops would just mean more misery for people going about their normal lives. And yes, some people are "criminals". In other words, there's always a Russian guy playing guitar in the underpass, some people selling pirate CD's or will mushrooms illegally, some people destroying billboards or posting something, some Vietnamese or Africans living illegally ... I get the feeling that all of these people are a million times more likely to suffer from police presence than any rapists or muggers. I don't even know how many rapists or muggers you'd find around here but I suppose that violence is more likely to happen to women in their own homes than on the streets. But how on earth can you convince normal bourgeois feminists that policing is not the answer? Here there is a bit of failure on the part of more radical feminists, including anarcho-feminists, to make any confrontation against the lobbying of these feminist groups to the police. Instead they are just support for the bourgeois feminists and, if they have their own, different point of view, they don't do enough to make it heard. Instead, even people I know are complaining about not enough police. It makes you wonder. The second, less important demand that some feminist groups have been lobbying for is that taxis lower their prices for women in the evening. Part of the argumentation is also "it works in some places in Germany". Sometimes it makes you wonder if we're all living on the same planet. People from abroad won't know any details of the taxi strikes and the wars against taxi companies, so a little background. Some weeks ago there were many days of

radical actions by taxi drivers. Why? Quite simply, most taxi drivers are not in the best financial situation. Some drivers work for companies and receive either a fixed wage or a percentage and some have their own cabs. Right now, the price of gasoline is extremely high in Poland but the market conditions keep the prices of relatively "low". Now, it's extremely unfortunate that in Poland, the wages are low and the prices are high - or at least many things are just as expensive or even more expensive than in Europe. But I participated in these taxi actions and talk often to the cab drivers in my neighbourhood, so I have some idea that few of them are in a privileged economic category. As a matter of fact, most independent drivers do just a little better because they try to cheat and not claim some income on their taxes, a move that I support as tax money gets stolen by bureaucrats. But now there are two things that make life difficult for the cab drivers: the government has ordered that they install fiscal cash registers in all cabs. Not only does this have an initial cost of 500 euro, but everything will be taxed. In addition, the tax law has been changed. Previously, taxi drivers were exempt from certain taxes related to petrol because the petrol was a business expense; now they aren't. In other words, the basic cost of operating taxis has gone up significantly but not rates. If anything, in this economy, companies with high rates have been forced to cut them. (Compare Warsaw's typical 25 - 50 eurocent fares per kilometer with Germany's 1.5 euros or higher. Germany gasoline prices: \$1.10/ liter, are higher than Poland's 80 by about 25%, but the rates are 3-5 times higher, so it's not nearly as profitable. If a taxi driver in the UK can make over 1100 euros a month, in Mexico City 200-400 (depending on hours), in HK 400 euros, then in Poland it's pretty much like in Mexico and taxi drivers make "average" incomes usually by working terrible hours, weekends, extra, doing extra work like shopping for the elderly, etc.) But the bad situation of taxi drivers did not stop Polish yuppies from taking actions against them. In a country where people have a lot of sympathy for people like coal miners (whose industry incurs losses and is heavily subsidized), there was little to no sympathy for the drivers (who the public mista-

kenly view as wealthy entrepreneurs). Some people started an action of calling up and ordering cabs and then either cancelling them at the last minute or not taking them. So I suppose that this taxi idea might be reasonable in places which overcharge for taxi service, but I doubt whether anybody thought whether or not the drivers cut incur another cut to their already minimal profits. But why should that bother those feminists groups from taking more "good ideas" from abroad?

Then, it would be interesting to ask why the feminists who form a major part of the "Green Party" haven't countered those proposals with just calls for more frequent and safer public transport. I suppose waiting at the bus stop is the most dangerous thing of all. Of course the city of Warsaw pays a private security company millions to watch the bus stops so that people don't put up posters on them but I suppose keeping an eye out for the safety of people on the stops would be too difficult to organize. I suppose that there does need a lot to be done to improve people's safety, but the proposals I heard did not take my fancy at all. There is always a big question for me about which areas anarcho-feminists can find in common with the bourgeois feminists and in these areas I guess I found very little in common but great differences in relations towards working and poor people and very classist assumptions.

Laure Akai / EA-Warsaw
Overview



on the Czech
anarchist activities

I guess that the best thing to start with this new rubric in the *Abolishing the Borders from Below* is an overview on the Czech anarchist activities. So, let's go...

The biggest anarchist organisation in terms of membership is the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF) with several dozens of members. It has cells in Prague, Pilsen (Plzen), Vysoke Myto, Kutna Hora + Moravia region

(individuals in various cities, mainly Brno) and it also has Slovak section with about 20 members. The CSAF has a very nice regularly updated website with articles, news, ABC section, video and photo section etc. - and also English section with news and articles on www.csa.cz/english.php. Politically, it is some kind of "synthesis" organisation, serving as an umbrella group for various anarchist's tendencies. It is part of the IAF. The CSAF's magazine Existence finished recently and currently the organisation doesn't have any periodic. The integral part of the CSAF is also ABC group.

The second bigger group is Federation of Social Anarchists (FSA). It has groups in Prague, Blansko and Brno. It also has its own web pages serving as an anarchist portal with articles and news (<http://fsa.anarchismus.org>), although not as frequently updated as the CSAF's web. Politically they attached themselves to anarcho-communism with the strong working-class attitude. The FSA publishes the Svobodna Prace magazine (Free Labour) in the form of 8 page newspaper with articles on actual issues concerning common people, news and also one or two bigger theoretical pieces. It also has its own ABC group and official labour union called rovnost (Equality), however without any cell so far because the lack of members (you have to be member of the FSA to join it). The FSA is part of IWA.

Antifascist action, the anarchist's antifascist group, split recently. The biggest part decided to join the FSA, but still use its name, logo etc. So, AFA-FSA has its cells in Prague, Jihlava and Zlín. It has nice webpage (www.afa-cz.antifa.net) with a huge nazi-monitoring section and it publishes its own magazine called the Akce (Action) filled with news, theoretical articles etc. Another part of former AFA formed a new group, Antifa. It is only Prague-based organisation

and although they decided not labelled themselves as anarchists, they co-organised the anarchist MayDay or anarchist's anti-war demo. It has webpage on www.antifa.cz. The third part of former AFA remain the AFA as it was - this group is Brno-based and don't have any public document so far. All groups mentioned above are focused on militant antifascism.

Feministická Skupina 8 Brezna (the Feminist Alliance of March 8) is a small Prague-based anarcho-feminist organisation, but the rumour is going around about setting up a new cell in Brno. They are small in numbers but quite active, focusing mainly on lectures. Each year they organise demo on March 8 with street theatre and PNB. They published their own quarterly magazine Prima cesta (The Direct Way), each issue focused on one feminist topic. 5 issues have been published. They also have a website: <http://fs8brezna.cen.cz>.

Solidarita, which many of you could now as anarchist organisation, no longer labelled themselves as one. They now called themselves "pure communists" and as organisation remain inactive for quite a long time, although their members participate on various projects. They also still have their own web page, "the journal of libertine communism" Alam (<http://alam.solidarita.org>), but hardly updated with communist theory and articles on working-class struggle. They had cells in Prague and Brno.

There are also a few little regional groups. One of them is Uhersko-hradištské anarchistické sdružení (Anarchist Association of Uherské Hradištské town, UHAS) that run their own web-page (www.uhas.wz.cz) and a small anarchist zine. Another one is based in Pardubice and run the internet distribution of anarchist books and pamphlets (<http://apdistribuce.unas.cz>) and a small publishing Apres. In the town of Most there is the group called Cabaret Voltaire. Pomer punk collective

has labelled themselves as anarchist's group for a few years already. They publish zine of the same name (so far about 25 issues is out), a mix of music and politics, and a few newsletters on various issues. They also release beneficial tapes and CDs. Last but not least they have an independent group within themselves focusing on animal rights from anarchist perspective. In Prague, feminist zine Bloody Mary is published. Although not specifically anarchist's, its authors have pro-anarchist attitude. 6 issues is out.

The biggest anarchist magazine in Czech is the A-kontra. It has been published for 5 years now. Recently it managed to get the official license that allowed them be sold on bookshops, newsagents etc. It published 4-10 issues a year, around 1.600 copies each. It publishes a mix of news, articles, theoretical pieces, interviews, polemics... It is no longer attached to any organisation. It has a website on www.a-kontra.net.

The Food not Bombs currently works only in two places, Liberec and Hradec Králové, cooking every week in Liberec and one a month in the latter. Both groups consist of anarchists. Usually the homeless people attended their action in a huge numbers.

We can't talk about squatter's scene there. After the evictions of the Iadrnka and Papina and unsuccessful effort to squat the new place (Safranka), the last squat remain is the Milada one in Prague. Although originally set up as anarchist's place, they hardly have any connection to the anarchist movement now. They organise a lot of gigs and cultural actions there and also have a website - www.milada.s.cz.

There is another interesting place in Prague, anarchist's info-cafe the Krtkova kolona. You will find it in Socharska street 6. It should be opened every day since 5 o'clock. Run by members of the Solidarita and CSAF, it sometimes served as a

place for lectures. The rest of a time it serves as pub and (poor) info-shop. Anarchist library is building up at the moment there (by the way, if you could donate any anarchist literature or magazines, get in touch! So far it gets something from the Freedom Press, Schöners and Do or Die - thank you...) and should be opened soon.

Another cross-organisation activity is the anarchist publishing Subverze, run by people from the CSAF, Feminist Alliance and various individuals. So far they published two pamphlets, Anarchism: For and Against by Albert Meltzer and Introduction to Social Ecology consist of a several essays by Janet Biehl.

Also worthy to mention is another pretty new publishing, Intu, that so far published only one book The War and Globalisation by Michael Chossudovsky, translated by the CSAF member.

Culturally there is also some anarchist activity. The Edellweisen Piraten, melodic punk band with anarchist lyrics, play for some time and has a new CD out. This band is attached to the FSA. There is also brand new anarchist label M.A.P. (Music against politicians) who released this CD. Another anarchist band is V.A.P. (Voice of anarcho-pacifism), an old punk/hc band who play again now. They have a pacifist and socially-critical lyrics, but although the name could be misleading, they distance themselves from the majority of anarchist movement because of its "extremism." You can download all of their songs on vap.punkmusic.cz. Sometimes, gigs by famous anarchist's bands (Brigada Flores Magon, Heros and Zeros, The Movement, Conflict...) is organised, usually in student's 007 club. The poet group Fronta na banan (The Que for the Banana) has pro-anarchist attitude and performed on some demos few times.

Pavel (A-kontra editor
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passports for Slovakia

In future, developed for us by the system's powerful ones, absolute control of citizens will be inevitable for safety of elites and capital.

On today's level and speed of IT's progress is time, when will some "Big Brother" monitor every our step, question of unpleasant near future. One of bricks of this threat is also new conception of European Union's passports, so called europasses, which will be gradually implemented in its member states.

In Slovakia they will start to be issued after 1st of May 2004 and according to slovak interior department's press releases will be old passports valid also after this date. What new will europasses bring us? Besides improved anti-forgery protective elements, a novelty will be so-called data page, which is note in eye of many freeminded people. Namely in its electro-nal stripe it's possible to save loads of information; officially it's for now "just" biometric information like e.g. face's scope, fingerprints or retina scan (also unique for everybody on Earth). By now just people imprisoned before had this privilege - having information of this kind about himself somewhere in central database, from 1st of May was everyone wanting to travel out of the Schengen agreement's countries (and not just out of them - several times we were able to see, how was Schengen forgotten day-to-day. Enough reason was when in one of countries met elites on another of their mega-

New EU

lomanic sessions...) declassified to this rank.

Though everyone, who watches visions of officials just a bit, knows that this is just a pre-level to a dream of every modern ruler - sole ID (doesn't mind if it will be chip, card or e.g. cell phone), in which will be stored everything for life, from health card through electronic keys to bank account. Then will be nothing easier than monitor every step of owner, every field of his life through operations made by this unit. And when concerned one becomes uncomfortable, by deactivating his ID will be simply possible to "erase him from life" by pressing few buttons. In condition, when every man's necessity will be realised this way, he (or she) will be virtually dead. Moreover it's not very difficult to localise such a electronic circuits anywhere on planet (excepting cases when one hides some deep under the ground).

Everything mentioned is technically possible yet nowadays and how easily similar "reforms" come through, when are done gradually and seemingly unrelated, can be seen also on de facto null responses of public and media on implementing the europaes. Slovaks who think, that they can delay this luxury at least for ten years by prolonging the validity yet before 1st of May, will be probably disappointed. What Interior Department forgot to notice in their press releases is, that validity of old passports, doesn't mind when they were registered, ends in year 2006. So the only thing remaining us is to commit ourselves fully to the hands of Schengen's information system, or to start to think about what could stop this madness, before it becomes impossible.

Mikluho-Maklaya street,



Moscow - Russia

I live in 2nd block of dormitory of People's Friendship University of Russia, once named after Patrice Lumumba and meant to educate specialists for third world countries, as a part of ideological struggle between first and second world. Although share of students from South has dropped since the Soviet times, there are still more than 3000 foreign students studying in our university.

In 1995 10 people died due to arson in 5th block, last July there was a fire in the 1st block, fortunately without casualties. In night between 23rd and 24th of November it was turn of the 6th block, five days later administration stated that body count is 37, but I heard that unrecognised corpses alone are 42, plus 13 recognised ones. Unlucky coincidence? Rooms packed with 3-4 persons, in dorms dating back to early 60s and meant temporary, dysfunctional sprinklers, dysfunctional alarm systems, locked up ("for security reasons") alarm exits (all facts they are now trying to cover), all unlucky coincidence? That is the fuking death trap in which I have lived last 2 years, in a house identical to that one which just burned.

Firemen who came with one car 40 minutes late without stairs and water, second car coming 30 minutes afterwards without a light projector to see from where students are about to jump? Ambulance drivers, who were demanding bribes from those willing to have a ride to hospital since victims were abundant, as a sort of capitalist form of triage? Cops staring and doing nothing? All unlucky coincidence? I would rather call it institutionalized disrespect of life, deeply rooted in Russian society. Everyone are talking about an arson, but I think it

is more because of the atmosphere of fear and terror of our dormitory than because of a well-founded suspicion - almost monthly pogroms last spring, last time nazis killed an African student 24th of August.

Moscow Mayor Luzhkov showed up quickly to show his fake pre-electoral solidarity, and found guilty faster than any investigation - "unruly students". Media decided that fire had been lit by Nigerian students, maybe considering that nation as most dangerous in Africa, although no Nigerian student was living in the room from which fire is claimed to have began. I was told also some illegal Tadjik guest workers had bribed their way to live in the block number 6, but I am sure no-one will count their bodies. 6th block was a quarantine building for recently arrived students, and there is almost no Russians living there - 2 Russian victims of fire seem to have been there by coincidence. As always, university administration declares that students are guilty, and in a need of a further control - no guests after 10 PM, confiscations of water boilers (should we drink tube water in this piggy?)

In Thursday 27th of November, fourth day after the fire, there was quite a heated meeting where rectorate answered to questions of the students. A day before there had been a spontaneous meeting of African students association, which had turned to a general assembly of all foreign students. Students voiced about twenty demands towards rectorate, written down the previous day, such as free translators and care for those who suffered from fire, financing trips, visas and hotel rooms of relatives to collect corpses, hosting homeless students in university hostel, to find out reason of the fire and why emergency exits were closed, to react against racist media propaganda, and most importantly, limiting the greed of university which keeps accepting students although there is no means to provide normal housing for everyone.

In the beginning some 100 students were in

the meeting, but at the end it was around 500. Rectorate also provoked students, for example by denying claims that emergency exits had been closed. Rector Bilibin announced that he will pass his post when worst of the mess has been cleaned. However in the end rectorate managed to handle the situation, promising daily consultations with the just formed foreign student's committee, which included delegates from the well-established continental (Africa, Asia, Middle-East and Latin America) and national organisations.

For sure many people were angry for such a development, and in Thursday we managed to call a spontaneous meeting planning for more radical protests, besides students from Finland also Sri Lanka, India, Colombia, Sambia and Mauritius were presented. However this group failed to gather another time, established national and continental organisations have big authority and did their best to "keep things under control". Usually people also count on their embassies, many countries have very small embassies located in normal apartments, and students have very informal relations with their ambassadors which help with any kind of every-day problems. People do not figure out that in problems of this scale diplomats will not be in our side. Many people are also very busy taking care of their country-men in hospitals, collecting humanitarian aid and so on. But although the small hope I had last Thursday quickly vanished away, it was maybe my best day in Moscow this far. In Saturday 29th of November some 25 nazis assaulted our block (number 2) and block number 1, I was not around ... 6 of us were hospitalized, one Jamaican in serious condition. As most of attacks of this year, this one was unsuccessful as well, some 9 nazis got arrested. However I heard arrested were very young, 14-15 years old, so they may well escape any sentence. In another hand, Russian adult jails are a paradise in comparison of juvenile prisons ("Maloletka"), where rape is institutionalized...

Nazis in Moscow have a bit similar pattern of organisation as American streetgangs, they recruit very young (from 12 years olds), use these kids as cannon fodder and are viciously regional, and often fight among each other. This way of organisation has been very successful and state repression is pretty ineffective against nazis even now when significant section of it has decided that nazi movement does not benefit it. Nazis did not wait too long to attack another time, in Sunday 30th it was turn of Block number 5. I heard one Chinese guy had just got off from hospital where he had been taken care of because of the fire, just to get stabbed and sent back there! Maybe nazis did not lit the fire, but they are doing their best to have people believe that they should be credited. In Tuesday morning 2nd of December 4 AM there was a bomb hoax in our block, just 4 hours before block number 10 had been evacuated. Our hoax seem not to be by fascists but by security from the 1st block, one of them is now arrested. In Wednesday 3rd of December minister of education Filippov, former rector of our university attended two open meetings between students and rectorate in different buildings, promising a lot. Most hilarious promise was related with the security problems, they promised to set up FSB office in the university - seems like they miss the days of "Fervoy otdel"!

I heard people telling that really fire began from stairs to 2nd floor and not from a room in 2nd floor as claimed, and exit of 2nd floor was tied in order to maximize casualties. If this is true, nazis are definitely to be credited, and really the location to which fire was set fire was ideal to kill as many as possible. Early Friday 5th of December there was a fire in the bathroom of the 7th block, which was quickly extinguished. In 20th of December there was another small fire in the 9th block...

Aleksei / Moscow

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

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

Armenia

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

Belarus

ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o. box 217; intolerant@autonom.zzn.com; www.anarchik-blackcross.by.ru

AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; restless81@mail.com

Anarchist Library - Minsk; antifa@mail.ru

Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>;

<http://kompaktor.narod.ru>

ANTYFA - antifascist group; antifa@mail.ru

Autonomous Action / Grodno - Grodno P.O. Box 38 230015 Grodno; Belarus.

Autonomous Action / Minsk - Minsk P.O. Box 34 220030 Minsk; Belarus.

"Ataka" - anarchist newspaper; ataka@tut.by

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; nus-1@rambler.ru

"Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of

Brest; ksenia.izberg@mail.ru

KDS "Razam" / Confedederation of Active

Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno

P.O. Box 237; kds-razam@tut.by; www.razam.by.ru

"Navinki" - satirical anarchist weekly newspaper;

Minsk; kampramat@tut.by

"Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk;

rebelgirls@mail.ru

www.anarchisthistory.boom.ru - history of anarchy in

Belarus

www.375screw.org - d.i.y. political punk / hardcore

culture of Belarus

Bosnia & Herzegovina

Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk

Bulgaria

"Anarho Sprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>

"Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>;

svoboda@bulgaria.com

"Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>;

anarchy@bulgaria.com

www.stand.at/struggle - anarchist web-site with

lot of interesting historical material



Croatia

AFA - anarchist antifa network; www.vjecniotpor.vze.com; antifasista@ml1.net

AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action) - anfe-na@zaminet.net; www.anfema.tk

"Monte Paradiso" - squat/social centre in Pula;

URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5;

52100 Pula; <http://squat.net/monteparadiso>;

monteparadiso@pu.tel.hr

Rijeka anarchist initiative - rai200@net.hr;

anarhist_rj@yahoo.com

"Tabula Rasa" - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in

Cakovec; address: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop

Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia

Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front - local anarchist

group in the city of Zadar;

zadarskianarchisti@yahoo.com;

solidarnost.mahost.org

ZAP / Zagreb Anarhisticki Pokret -

Zagreb's Anarchist Movement;

www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/3707; zap@zaminet-zg.zn.apc.org

Czechia

ABC-CSAF - c/o PH., po box 41, 565-01 Chocen.

abc@csaf.cz

AFA - anarchist anti-fascists group; po box 81; 100

81 Praha 105; afa_praha@volny.cz

AKA AnarchoCommunist Alternative - AKA-

CZ@email.cz; phone number: +42077637863

"A-Kontra" - anarchist magazine and collective.

po box 223, 111 21 Praha 1; a-kontra@csaf.cz

Anarchist Group Uherske Hradiste -

uhp@uhp.wz.cz; uhp@uhp.wz.cz; "Bazar", P.O. Box

24; 686 01 Uh.Hradiste

CSAF / Czechia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia

Anarchist Federation), po box 223, 111 21 Prague

lintersec@csaf.cz www.csaf.cz/english

Federaci socialnich anarchistu (FSA - IWA)

(Federation of Social Anarchists) - PO box 5; 15006

Praha 56; fsa_lintersec@anarchismus.org

<http://fsa.anarchismus.org>

Feminist Alliance of March 8" - @-feminist

group; fs8.breznia@centrum.cz

Info-Shop - Sochanska 6; Prague.

"MILADA" - squat in Prague;

nuladsq@volny.cz

ORA "Solidarity" - organization of revolutionary

anarchists; L.K. po box 223; 111 21 Praha 1;

<http://alam.solidarity.org>; intersec@solidarity.org

"PAPIRNA" - squat in Prague.

PH - international secretariat of CSAF

intersec@csaf.cz

Estonia

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

Hungary

"Gondolkodo Barikad" - Logodi utca 51; 1012

Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter");

open Monday-Friday 12-18; www.aifok.info

www.geocities.com/anarchinfo

Latvia

"ZABADAKS" - DIY political/cultural project,

infoshop etc.; Vijaļiņu 24; Kuldīga; LV-3300 Latvia;

www.nekac.lv; maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

Lithuania

active@hardcore.lt - LT activists network

"BENDRADARBIAI" - autonomous culture

centre in Siauliai; Vytauto g.103 A, Siauliai; tel.

370 69909049

booking@hardcore.lt - booking in Lithuania

"GREEN" - diy culture club in Vilnius;

Maironio 3 (in the yard), Vilnius;

booking@hardcore.lt

www.hardcore.lt - Lithuanian diy scene info

resource on the net

Macedonia

KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA

- anarchist collective in Skopje; kolektiv za slo-

bodarska ideja @ hotmail.com;

slobodarska@zipmail.com; slobodarska@yahoo.com;

slobodarska@hypocrisy.org

Plodst Sloboda (Freedom Square) - anarchist

publisher; plodst_sloboda@hotmail.com

Direktna Akcija - directa@freemail.com.mk

Poland

ABC/ACK - www.ack-most.org.pl

ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa

121. biuletyn@ack.wpl

ACK Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31.

sanch@poczta.wp.pl

ACK Bialystok - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.

ACK Slupsk - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12.

bifa@polbox.com

ACK Trojmiasto - Bartek Pomierski,

ul. Wiewiorca 72; 80-126 Gdansk;

pomierz@friko2.onet.pl

ACK Wroclaw - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagiellońska 10D;

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

50-240 Wrocław. pbn@poprostu.pl

ACK Lublin - Piotr Hiller, ul. Kwilinskiego 2/30; 20-067 Lublin. cskier@poczta.onet.pl

ACK Lodz - CL, Po BOX 203, 90-950, Lodz 1
Anarchist Library - ul. Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

Anarchist Library - ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wrocław.

"A-TAK" - anarchist magazine from Krakow; atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dystyrbucja@wp.pl (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html

"A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl

"BUNKIER" ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Torun.

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

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

"De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Białystok, address: ul. Czeszochowska 14/2; www.decentrum.prv.pl

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

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

FA-Biała Podlaska - fiabp@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Białystok - soja2@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Czeszochowa - akiciasiak@wp.pl

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

FA-Inowrocław - pychu@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Krakow - lukasch@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Lublin - fahublin@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Lodz - falodz@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Opole - sobol13@o2.pl

FA-Ostrowiec Sw. - marcin@natura.most.org.pl

FA-Poznan - fa-poznan@o2.pl

FA-Rzeszow - xjedrusx@o2.pl

FA-Slupsk - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl

FA-RSA Sochaczew - aminazi@frik6.onet.pl

FA-Szczecin - fa_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl

FA-Warszawa - natak@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Warszawa/Praga - hydrozag@poczta.onet.pl

FA-Wroclaw - ahm@o2.pl

FA Zyrdow - sidorm@poczta.wp.pl

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

Food Not Bombs / Olsztyn - edelweiss@o2.pl

Food Not Bombs / Rzeszow - ul. Kuźnia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel. 602769138.

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

jedzeniezmiastopityki@poczta.onet.pl

"FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wrocław. freedom69@o2.pl

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

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

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; inicja-

tywa_silesia@hoga.pl

KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl

K.U.R.W.A. - Anarchist Revolutionary Coeducative Feminist Group;

www.alter.most.org.pl/kurwa ; ptite@go2.pl ; cube@zigzag.pl

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

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

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

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

"Mac Paradiada" - anarchist magazine in polish; paradiada@polbox.com

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

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

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

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

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

"strefa" - infoshop in Szczecin; ul. Domanskiego 1c, tel. 504935357.

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

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

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

"YA BANDA" - anarchist samba band Milanowek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl

Romania

AACTIV-IST Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome / anarchist punk group - aactivistcollective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@burne-rang.ro

A Nera - ecological, social and (counter) cultural center; in the mountains Cheile Nerei; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action) - spleen-patty@yahoo.com

C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front) - anarchist collective from city of Craiova. libertatera@yahoo.com

Gluga Neagra / Black Hood - distribution & bookings for diy concerts / tours; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

INFO-PROPAGANDA - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatera@yahoo.com; libertatera@yahoo.com

MISCAREA UNDERGROUND TIMISOARA - (UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT TIMISOARA); www.ugtm.go.ro

URA - anarcho-punk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.html

LOVE KILLS - woman anarcho-punk zine / Craiova; libertatera@yahoo.com

libertatera@yahoo.com

"Revoluta" - bymonthly anarchist & diy h/punk newsletter / Timisoara;

aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

"Revolutionshop" - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com

www.proiectns.org - grassroots activist site

www.miscareapunk.go.ro - site about punk (and not only) in Romania

Russia

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

"ANARCHIVE" - russian language electronic library and archive of anarchist theory and practice; http://anarchive.da.ru

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

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

ANTI-FA Samara - anti_fa@mail.ru

Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) - see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact address

"Epicer" - anarchist infoshop in St. Petersburg; Phone: +7(812)2323344; post: Epicer c/o Vladimir Tarasov, PO Box 103, 190013, St. Petersburg, Russia. e-mail: epicer-infoshop@nm.ru

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

Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language)

http://russia.indymedia.org;

indymedia@mail333.com;

indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru (Moscow);

indymedia_piter@pochtamt.ru (St. Petersburg);

smeshno@risup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)

IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation

www.angelfire.com/via/IOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru

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

KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndicalists) - Moscow: c/o Vadim Damier; -Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow;

comanar@mail.ru; http://www.geocities.com/libcomru

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

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

"NOZH I VILKI" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@newmail.ru; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia

OLD SKOOL KIDS - punk/hardcore label and distro; oldschoolkids@yahoo.com;

http://oskids.nm.ru

Petersburg Antiwar Committee - see "Noviy Svet" contact address

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

RAINBOW KEEPERS - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:

-Nizhniy Novgorod - klem@dron.ru

-Votkinsk - votkinskrk@mail.ru

-Kasimov - rk@rk.ryazan.ru

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

(this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)
 Perm - pulark@rambler.ru
 Volgograd - maasha@rambler.ru
 Ekaterinburg - vty2@mail.ru, dpa@etel.ru
 Moscow - rkrz@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru
 Samara - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru
 http://duplo.narod.ru
 Rostov - rkrostov@don.sitek.net
 Petersburg - tuuli@mail.ru
 S.H. SOUND SYSTEM - label & distro including political punk stuff;
 http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyh@yaho.com

Siberian Confederation of Labour - Omsk;
 http://syndikalist.narod.ru/

"UTOPIA" - an anarchist magazine of revolution and counter-culture Vldlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia;
 utopia@mail333.com

"Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library;

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

http://volja.nm.ru

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

AUTONOMOUS ACTION network:

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

Autonomous Action of Krasnodar (also for Avtonom-paper) P.O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia fak-kr@mail.ru

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

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

"Avtonom" - regular publication of Autonomous Action.

Cities with individual members connected to Autonomous Action: (for Brest of Belarus, Kirov and Perm write to Krasnodar contact address)

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

Belorechensk - P. O. Box 5 352630 Belorechensk; Russia sukhvse@hotmail.ru - Brynka - P. O. Box 10 94100

Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742 454021

Chelyabinsk; Russia vital@chel.sumet.ru

Irkutsk - Vladimir Skraschuk Poste Restante 664056 Irkutsk; Russia

Izhevsk (Udmurtian republic) antiwar@udm.ru

Kaliningrad - ska-konig@mail.ru

Kasimov - P.O. Box 52 391330

Ryazanskaya oblast Russia - rk@lavrik.ryazan.ru

Kolonna - Yuri Popov Poste Restante 140476

Moscow oblast, glavpochtamt.

Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614 183050 Murmansk;

Russia.

Novgorod - Vitaliya Lapikina Poste Restante

173014 Novgorod; Russia; holosik@yandex.ru

Novorossisk - P. O. Box 144 353907 Novorossisk;

Russia; ger2@mail.ru

Rostov-na-Donu - P. O. Box 4059 344103 Rostov-na-Donu; Russia; neponyatny@pisem.net

Saint-Petersburg - Bolshakov A.E. Poste Restante

192281 Saint-Petersburg; Russia

blackguard@mail.ru
 Sochi - d_m@pochtampt.ru
 Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481 625001 Tyumen; Russia;
 roustam_f@hotmail.com
 Volgograd - Vyacheslav Vashchenko ul.
 Novorossiskaya 16-56 400087; Volgograd; Russia
 Voronezh - an-action@rambler.ru Anarh-vm@yandex.ru
 Yaroslavl - yar_anarchy@mail.ru
 Yekaterinburg - kreator@mail.ru
 Yoshkar - Ola P. O. Box 76 424028 Mari Republic Russia

Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:
 http://ad-direct.newmail.ru - federal site maintained from Novorossisk

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

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

http://www.poes2.narod.ru - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod

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

http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan.

AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia) - afa_skl@hotmail.com

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

CSAF / Slovakia - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation); slovensko@csaf.cz

(international contact); regional contacts:

CSAF Bratislava - bratislava@csaf.cz

CSAF B.Bystrica - bbystrica@csaf.cz

CSAF Trencin - trencin@csaf.cz

CSAF Trnava - www.trnava.cz

CSAF Vychod - csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com;

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

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

Slovenia

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

AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN - autonomous culture centre in squatted swim-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.akd-izbruh@yahoo.com

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

www.ruleless.com - slovenian anarchist portal

Ukraine

"anarh akbar" - @-zine from city of Sumy; P.O.Box 131; 40-030 Sumy, Ukraine (no name on envelope!)

Autonomous Action / Lugansk - com.act@mail.ru

"Nabat" - ukrainian libertarian anarchist newspaper; www.nabat.info; azarov@hobbox.ru

www.zaraz.org - page of anarchists from Kyiv

www.tigra-nigra.by.ru - anarchist group from Kyiv

Turkey

ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent - abcankara@yahoo.com

"Isimsiz" - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com

"Kara Gazete" - anarchist street newsletter; http://karagazete.ports.com

kara tren kolektifi (blacktrain collective) - traveling distribution of anarchist literature, info and material; karatren@sofhome.net;

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

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

www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari - anarchist publisher in Istanbul

www.mecmu-a.org - magazine from Istanbul

Serbia

ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative - is@inicija-



tiva.org (international secretary); www.inicijativa.org
Federation of Internationalist Anarchists - federacija@ml1.net

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

RRR (Radical Resource Room) - polit/cultural project in Kraljevo; kontra@ptt.yu; www.kontra-punkt.info

Subwar Collective - Belgrade; shavedwo-men216@yahoo.com

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

Slovakia

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

THIS LIST CAN BE ENLARGE AND KEEP CURRENT ONLY WITH YOUR HELP. SO WE ARE CALLING ALL GROUPS AND ACTIVISTS AROUND THE EASTERN EUROPE FOR HELP THROUGH CONTACTING US EACH TIME WHEN YOU REALIZE THAT ANYTHING NEED TO BE CHANGE OR ADD ON THESE THREE PAGES.

Educate - Organize - Protest

6th-8th of February

Moscow Russia

Conference of the Autonomous Action

Conference will not deal with organisational questions instead it plans upcoming actions and evaluates past ones.
Read more from www.avtonom.org

23rd of February

An international day to commemorate victims of the ethnic cleansing

60th anniversary of beginning of the deportation of Chechenyans to Asian steppes. A day to commemorate victims of the ethnic cleansing and to protest against war in Caucasus
admavtonom.org for more info

28-30 of April

Warsaw - Poland

The Alternative Economic Forum

On the eve of accession to the European Union, the European Economic Summit is coming to Warsaw. Protests and alternative economic forum are planned. More info:
cube@zigzag.pl



June
Istanbul Turkey
NATO Summit

23-29 of July
Belgrade - postYugoslavia
The 3rd European conference
of the Peoples' Global Action (PGA)

network

<http://www.pgaconference.org>

Analyse - Resist - Create New