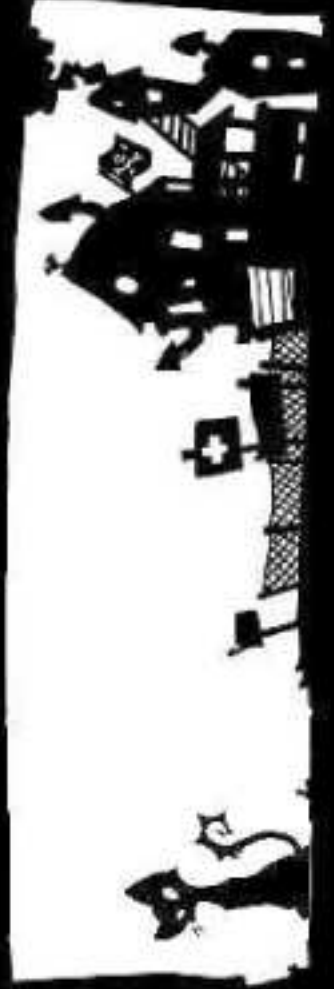


if your heart is  
 free, the ground  
 you're standing on  
 is liberated  
 territory.  
 So defend it!

erinyen collective berlin



contact erinyen@ist-einmalig.de

erinyen



anarcha-feminist inky #1



**Erinyen**  
anarcha feminist collective  
berlin

**erinyen@ist-einmalig.de**  
**erinye@riseup.net**

the people in power  
will not disappear voluntarily.  
for example giving flowers to the cops  
just is not going to work.  
the only way i like to see cops given flowers  
is in a flower pot from a high window.

**anarcha-feminist inky #1 - 1 €**

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# Some thoughts of anarchofeminism

by Sunchana

I wanted to write about something that's bothering me for a longer time now. It became as a problem through years of activities, not just momentarily. Problem is more complex as it seems on the first sight... So, where to start?

Hmmmm.... Maybe in a year 1999, when I joined the group of girls from my local punk hc scene, which gathered around to discuss about problem of sexism on the scene, and wider problem of patriarchy in the society. In that moment I was a young girl: who had problems to express herself in front of people she doesn't know, being too silent... But that changed in years that followed. I decided that I owe to myself as a female raised in this society, to bring back at least one part of dignity that has been stolen away from me, cause being just a girl. Through years, I even fell in the basic trap of talking too much, so I had another problem. Why should it be simple, you ask?

So, one of the things I wanted to share with you is a problem of domination in communication, often described as aggression in communication. The most often context in which you can find those words is while describing male/female ways of communication, in which is told that men are taking more space/time talking in mixed groups than wimmin. I would agree only partially here, cause it's important factor here how are you brought - I know a lot of girls having problems to shut up finally, and let other people talk for a change, and guys being so shy that you have to pull out words from them. It's probably more often case that guys are louder, cause being raised for a dominant and public role, but I would not generalize it as a rule. What I have problems with is domination, no matter where it comes from, a girl or a boy by sex. I'm just allergic to wimmin who act as they're alone, not aware at all of other people in a discussion, and nobody wants to stand up to them, cause we should all be sisters?! And especially is insulting if a guy says something to them. Come on, grow up, grow out of these terms which define us as men or wimmin. I see that both sexes share a lot of common problems, some more, some less. Well, not all problems, but sometimes it seems to me that, coming from (radical) feminist circles, people want to make differences bigger than they really are, doing what society is already doing and too well-building not a gap, but the whole canyon between us. We should embrace and appreciate the boy who have a will to overcome difficulties and prejudices of this society (in which you are stigmatized for

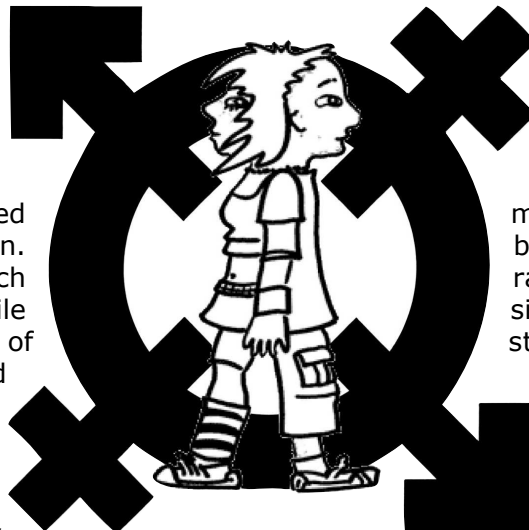
being a feminist, stereotypically a woman) in order to say openly and proudly that he's a feminist. After all, nobody's choosing his/her sex coming in this fucked-up world poisoned with gender roles. That's why I strongly believe that we should all work together, to deconstruct those gender imperatives that this patriarchal society is giving to us. That's why I think anarchofeminism is the answer. Cause it, simply, combines the best of two ideas -feminism and anarchism.

Solving problems of patriarchal domination only from one side - educating/raising conscience of only female population is only 50% of work. No wonder that most of men think that feminism is wimmin-only problem, and until we don't move from this point, we can come only half way to true liberation. Ignorance is our worst enemy. That's

why I think anarchofeminist groups should be mixed by sex, exchanging and comparing experiences in order to deconstruct traps of gender roles.

In the herstory of feminist movement there have always been so called "conscience raising" groups, which had a significant role in making wimmin stronger to step out, become visible and shout out loud their goals and demands. Nobody is denying the role they had in herstory of feminist movement. I understand here the need of individuals for

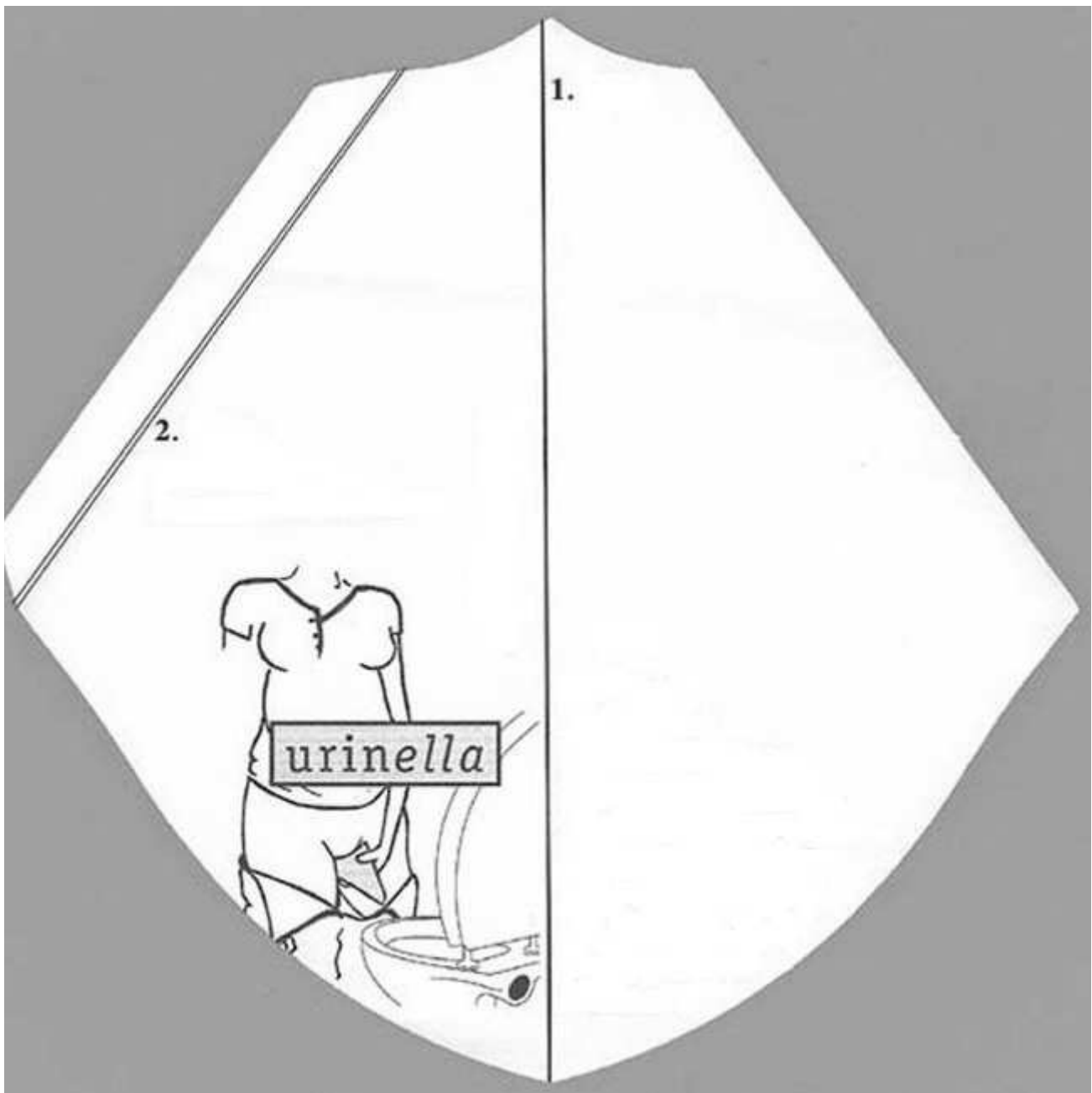
"secured" environment in order to make themselves stronger, but that should not be the final goal, but a step on the way to liberation. I see a transformation from wimmin-only groups to open groups as kind of evolutionary transformation from traditional feminist movement to modern feminism based on anarchist ideals, called, well, anarchofeminism. We should respect suffragettes (in context of time), as well as 1st, 2nd or whatever wave of feminism, to postfeminist critique. One of the main characteristics of anarchism is that it is a political idea - and that means that it should be applicable to the whole society. (Because of that "detail" there have always been argues between anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-primitivists...) Somebody told me that no one is stopping men from having men-only groups, discussing about antisexism. Well, one more important detail is that anarchism is about uniting, not dividing people, and ideas also. It's about connecting different kinds of resistances to oppressions, such as antiracist, antihomophobia, antixenophobia, ecology, anticapitalism, antisexist, and all the other you can think of. And that's the beauty of it.



# urinella, freelax or a little help to piss standing

A device which helps women to urinate in a standing position. Not only helpful if closed in on an action by the police for hours at a time. Get in contact if you want one or make your d.i.y. disposable one out of plastic or paper, by using the following graphic. Fold along edge 1. than along edge 2. and glue the second edge to the opposite side.

Have fun practicing!!!!

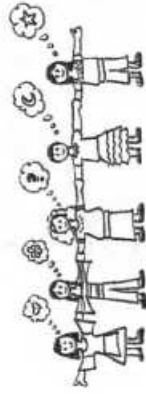


## Who we are

We are women who got to know each other in the Ya-Basta-Net in Germany ([www.ya-basta-netz.de.vu](http://www.ya-basta-netz.de.vu)). The idea for the european WomenLesbianGathering came up during the Second Meeting of the Zapatist Communities with the Peoples of the World. On this last meeting the zapatist women announced that they want to invite for a meeting around this New Year's Eve. The issue of this meeting is the struggles and the organizations of the zapatist women.

(for further information:  
<http://zeztainternacional.ezln.org.mx>)

Several women from different European countries decided to meet at the same time as the meeting of the zapatist women in a gathering in Europe. Because here as well we are stuck in the struggles against a patriarch and capitalist system we refuse. Thus it is important for us to organize ourselves where we live. Because this is the only way we as women can fight together worldwide.



*„Compañeras, we invite you to unite as we do and fight, for we together can build up a real autonomy, where we as women know, too, how we govern and how we govern ourselves; for it will be us to decide what we do.“*

*(Quotation of a zapatist Compañera during the First Meeting of the Zapatist Communities with the Peoples of the World in December 2006)*

## What do we want to do?

We want to work in workshops to various issues like feminist forms of resistance and women's movement in different countries, the situation and resistance of women in Mexico, anarchofeminism and the construction and deconstruction of gender. Moreover workshops with street theatre, film and radio, computer (security, layout etc.), welding, clowns, radical cheerleading and much more should make it possible to exchange and extend our abilities. Of course there's also a lot of space for creativity and cultural stuff!

The concept of the workshops is open: everywoman who's going to participate can and should contribute with her own ideas!

## Where and when?

The gathering is supposed to take place from the 29th of December 2007 till the 2nd of January 2008. The place of the meeting is not decided yet. We can propose the autonomous center KTS in Freiburg/Germany ([www.kts-freiburg.org](http://www.kts-freiburg.org)).

We decided for this place because it's well situated in the three Countries Corner France, Germany and Switzerland, the existing infrastructure and the people living there who want to help in the realization of the meeting.

## European WomenLesbian Gathering

Encuentro Europeo de Mujeres  
Европейская Встреча Женщин Encontro Europeo de Mulheres



Rencontre Européenne des Femmes delle Donne  
Europäisches Frauen Treffen

**29.12.07 - 02.01.08**

## Dear rebellious women,

We invite you

- to exchange our experiences in emancipatory struggles,
  - to discuss about possibilities and hindrances as well as the development, meaning and plurality of feminist forms of resistance,
- to exchange ideas of possibilities of international solidarity and support,
  - to learn and teach creative abilities,
- to enjoy ourselves as well as to have fun and pleasure!

Come to the European WomenLesbianGathering from 2007/12/29 to 2008/01/02!

## We need you!

We don't see ourselves as a closed group and look forward to everyone who wants to participate in the realization of the meeting in whatever way.

We need

Women, who are able and willing to do the translations (before and during the meeting),  
Women, who can do some advertising (Poster, distributing flyers, sending email invitations, ...),  
Women, who would like to prepare and do a workshop.

And of course we need creative ideas to figure out, how we can get some money for the gathering!

**Inspiration/ ideas/ criticism/ signing up for participation/contact:**  
[rebeldiademujeres@gmail.com](mailto:rebeldiademujeres@gmail.com)

# I refuse to be the second sex

by Andreea

I refuse to be subjected to the role forever played by the women around me. I refuse to be a child-breeding machine, I refuse to live as a slave, as a pretty parasite in the shadow of my father, of my husband, of my children, trapped in a marriage that wouldn't make me happy but that I would accept for the sake of tradition, of morale, of a paralyzing habit, forever hoping that the people around me, that the men around me will finally open their eyes and see me for who I really am - a human being, that they will stop taking me for granted.

I refuse to be judged by what I am not, as an "imperfect man", as St Thomas once described women - the quintessential expression of the narrow-mindedness that has always characterized the Church and its representatives.

I refuse, on the other hand, to accept a leading position granted for the sake of positive discrimination as a result of the years of feminist agitation and to identify myself with those very structures of power once dismissed as frustrating and tyrannical. Because women's access to power, be it politic, economic or cultural, has done nothing to change the nature and the structure of that power. Yes, I for one find it at least strange that a woman of color such as Condoleezza Rice has become the watch dog of a culture that has remained to this day essentially White Anglo-Saxon Protestant or that a famous and talented writer such as Amélie Nothomb limits herself to writing best-sellers that are more feminine than they are feminist, more funny and pleasant than they are powerful and memorable and that are really nothing above a more presentable version of the Cosmopolitan.

A lot has been written about the role of women in literature and politics, from Julia Kristeva to Elaine Showalter, but I think that the legitimate question is not what we do with the power that we might end up having, but simply what we do with who we are. What do I do with my identity as an "angry young woman" that has disowned

her anti-Semitic grandfather and her immature drunkard father? What do I do when I am served the all too famous line "You think like that because you are a woman" and I feel like crawling up the walls or making a scene like Madame la Colère? What do I do with my decision of always being nothing more but nothing less than myself, of never changing for the sake of the men around me? How do I use what I am in order to create the solidarity that never really existed among women?



Simone de Beauvoir once wrote that women always had the tendency of showing their adherence sooner towards men of their own race, social class etc than towards women of another race or social standing. This is as true nowadays as it has always been and it made me think of the labels that we use everyday in order to classify the women around us and to form forever smaller cliques that our empathy cannot transcend: the successful woman, the housewife, the punk, the intellectual, "the group of girls who drank too much still water with a tinge of lemon"...Do

we really need to define ourselves so strictly so as to be incapable of seeing beyond the meter that makes up our personal space?

I believe that only by transcending these self-imposed borders, we, the people whose identity number begins with a 2, will succeed in building what we desire: first and foremost, a society in which being a woman would be a purely physiological issue and not a criterion for discrimination, a society in which we would be not the second sex, but simply one of the sexes; secondly, a counterculture in which we wouldn't have to put up with cheap expressions of sexism and that would be a counterweight and a viable alternative for the status quo; and last but definitely not least, a personal life based on continual self-development, in which decisions would be fully ours and in which we would be our own masters.

# femicide - the dead women of Ciudad Juárez

Femicide is the mass murder of women simply because they are women. It is the term that has been coined in response to the murders of nearly 400 young women on the U.S.-Mexico border in the city of Juárez, just across the border from El Paso, Texas.



Ciudad Juárez is one of the 67 municipalities of Chihuahua, the largest state in Mexico. The city is situated in the desert and is separated from the United States, and the city of El Paso by the Río Bravo river. Today, with 1,220,000 inhabitants, it is the most heavily populated city in Chihuahua state.

In the mid-1970's, the Mexican State adopted the Border Industrialization Program (BIP) which created the conditions required to install so-called maquiladoras, assembly plants for export products, in the area. The benefits on offer to companies to set up factories in the area have meant that a large number of transnational companies have moved in to take advantage of the favourable conditions which include cheap labour, very low or non-existent taxes, political patronage and a minimum level of regulation.

The dramatic growth of the maquiladora industry in the area around Ciudad Juárez increased even further when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) established between Mexico and its northern neighbours came into force in 1994, spreading further into the country, including to the city of Chihuahua.

Within Mexico, the chance of work in the maquila industry is a strong magnet for many

people from other parts of the country stricken by poverty, looking for work or as a first step before trying to enter the United States.

For many years women have made up the majority of the workforce in the maquilas. According to official figures for 2000, 43 percent of the inhabitants of Ciudad Juárez arrived there as migrants, thus creating a very large floating population. This has resulted in a city of stark contrasts. At one extreme there are several wealthy enclaves and, at the other, very poor run-down areas.

For more than a decade Ciudad Juárez has been a killing field for young women, the site of nearly 400 unsolved murders and many more abductions. Since 1993 the number of murders in general has grown considerably in Ciudad Juárez, making it one of the cities with the highest rates of violence in Mexico. Although the general murder rate increased from 1993 onwards, the number of female murders quadrupled. Although murders of women can be attributed to many different motives and perpetrators, many cases share common features that indicate gender-based violence; that is to say, the gender of the victim seems to have been a significant factor, influencing both the motive and the context as



theatre and capoeira. This place got started when some squatters created a foundation with cheap affordable living for youth under 25. (that is you must be under twenty five when you move in, but then you can live there until the day you die, if you feel like it) and in relation to this there was also this cultural centre created with activity for and by young people.

see: <http://www.oranssi.net/ingles.phtml>

A couple of times i've done practices where i live. So if there's no other place to go. Why not at home?

This year there's been a lot of squatting in helsinki. there's been heavy pressure put on the city to give younger people a space where they can create their own way of going about things. An autonomous space.

see: <http://www.q-olio.net/valtaus/?q=taxonomy/term/1>  
(it should be on valtaus.org and then click "english" if the link above doesn't work)

Latest there's been a 1000 square metres building squatted, and it looks pretty promising. Even though there would be space, i wouldn't say that feminist separatist activities are welcomed with open arms. There were many voices raised against it at an earlier squat. I've also been called "sexist" against men a fair amount of times.

At one moment a woman had been writing "Once i thought i was a slut, but then i realized i was acting like a man" on the wall. A text showing the double standards we're constantly accepting and having. A woman with many lovers is considered to be bad while a man doing the same thing is seen as a real hero. One man who had behaved in a very dominating and disturbing way towards me, and also been calling me sexist, put a big red cross over her words, and wrote "No sexism in this house!" next to it.

In the alternative scene, which is pretty small in a population of only 5 million, there's also a website with political texts. the site claims not to confess to any "ism" but has clear references to pornography and also links to pornographic sites.

So i can't say that it's easy being a feminist in finland. We need to get organized in order to be able to fight this. We need to create our own alternative space. And feminist self defense is one way of making that happen.

**more infos  
on radical feminist self defense  
from milla at:**

**[http://www.myspace.com/  
feminist\\_sister](http://www.myspace.com/feminist_sister)**



- attention - attention - attention - attention - attention - attention -

**first anarcha-feminist web-page  
in russian language  
web-site [www.syobodna.org.ua](http://www.syobodna.org.ua)  
spread the word**



# feminist self-defense i'm worth defending

by Milla

We live in a world where someone with a cunt is seen as very different from someone with a penis. And the ones born with something in between (intersexed) are forced into an existence in either category, sometimes by getting their genitals mutilated at the hospital in order to "fit in" to the category of woman (low status) or man (high status). We all have hearts and stomachs and fingers and eyes and ears and heads and toes. But. The world has not yet accepted the humanity of women, and daily we're reminded of this involuntary inferior status forced upon us by mental, verbal and even lethal physical violence.

Even from before we are born there is violence and despise: sex-selective abortion and effects of battering during pregnancy on birth outcomes. Then there's female infanticide; child marriage; female genital mutilation; incest; child prostitution and pornography; dating and courtship violence (e.g. acid-throwing and date rape); economically coerced sex (e.g. school girls having sex with "sugar daddies" in return for school fees); sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; prostitution and pornography; trafficking in women; partner violence; marital rape; dowry abuse and murders; partner homicide; abuse of women with disabilities; forced pregnancy, forced "suicide" or homicide of widows for economic reasons and throughout life there is one threat that is constant: the threat of sexual, physical and psychological abuse. It's a miracle not more women break under this enormous pressure. Feminist self defense is there to support us in the idea that it's not we who are crazy but the world, and that none of us deserve any of this all too familiar abuse. It is there to give us the will and the means to fight back. It is a way to resist. Amongst the women practicing feminist self defense there are different thoughts on how this important powerful knowledge should be transferred and shared between women. I know persons who would strongly object to the idea of passing this on without "qualified" trainers being involved, or reject the idea of putting any information about this in places that are also available to men. An example of a bad place for information of resistance would for some women then be: the internet.

I disagree.

Feminist self defense has affected my life in an immensely positive way, and i want more women to know about it, and get a possibility to try it out. I think that all women already have the necessary know-how of surviving everyday abusive situations. I think we are all qualified to share our struggle. We are all qualified and capable of creating a feminist self defense group. So I want to give the women who are searching for something like this, the necessary information on how to get started. Open up a space where the constant flow of harmful misogynistic propaganda on the internet takes a break, and instead provide a solution, a way of organizing and resisting. A space telling that we are worth defending ourselves and that we have a right to fight back. The only thing you need is a group of women and place to train at. Some groups have been using the university's spaces. The latest group i was in was using an alternative cultural place, where there are other groups practicing things like

# Feministinen itsepuolustus

Elämä on vaikkakin feministinen seppästäkin  
voimista. Naiset joutuvat tavallisiin käyttäytymisiin  
tärkeä siviili, kunta selviää jokapäiväisestä  
misogynistisistä stereotyyppien ihailusta ja heikosta,  
samalla sekä fyysisiä puolustautumistaitoja  
sitäkin vastaan.



well as the type of violence suffered by the woman and the way in which the authorities responded to it. From the start, one of the aspects of the murders with sexual violence that have occurred in Ciudad Juárez is the fact that the characteristics of the victims and the manner in which they were abducted and killed, with their bodies left abandoned, have conformed to a pattern. More than half of the victims are women and girls aged between 13 and 22 although at least one case involved an 11-year-old girl. Two thirds of the victims were studying and working. Many were studying at night or at weekends after going to work. Despite their youth, some already had children and were heads of household. A significant number of victims work in maquiladoras. The physical and mental suffering of the victims indicates a form of violence based entirely on their domination and humiliation as young women. In most cases the bodies were abandoned on waste ground near the city or on the periphery.

Less known is that the femicide is a problem in whole Latin America:

- Guatemala: at least 1.188 killed women between 2001 and 2004
- Costa Rica: 158 women between 1995 and 1999
- El Salvador: 134 women between 2000 and 2001
- Puerto Rico: 337 women between 1990 and 1999

Both the perpetrators of violence against women and those who administer the criminal justice system - judges, prosecutors, police - often hold the pervasive view that women are responsible for violence committed. The perpetrators can often commit their crimes safe in the knowledge that they will not face any consequences. Impunity for violence against women contributes to a climate where such acts are seen as normal and acceptable.

Feminist groups in Juárez have to work in a climate of threats and defamation. One example is the feminist collective *Ira del Silencio* from Mexico, which fights with art against sexualised violence, machismo and the silence of society.

For more informations see:  
<http://lairadelsilencio.spaces.live.com/>

Another is *Nuestras Hijas de Regreso a Casa A.C.* (May our Daughters Return Home, Civil Association) which is a non profit organization composed of mothers, family members, and friends of victims of the femicide in Ciudad Juárez.

For more informations see:  
<http://www.muieresdejuarez.org/>



More informations can be found at:

The Truth Behind the Juarez Murders  
<http://www.borderechoes.com/>

Intolerable Killings - Ten years of abductions and murders in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua  
<http://www.chicanafeliz.com/Juarez/AMR4102703.pdf>

Mexico: Justice fails in Ciudad Juarez and the city of Chihuahua  
<http://www.amnestyusa.org/document.php?id=5AB197BCEE37D92D80256FB600689A74>

#### *Argentina*

Abuso de poder. Análisis de tres casos de violación y muertes de mujeres en Argentina.  
[www.isis.cl/Feminicidio/fdocumento.htm](http://www.isis.cl/Feminicidio/fdocumento.htm)

#### *Chile*

Las muertes ignoradas: Violencia contra trabajadoras sexuales en Chile. Del silencio a la denuncia.  
[www.isis.cl/Feminicidio/doc/doc/LAS%20MUERTES%20IGNORADAS.doc](http://www.isis.cl/Feminicidio/doc/doc/LAS%20MUERTES%20IGNORADAS.doc)

#### *Colombia*

Informe sobre violencia en contra de Mujeres, Jóvenes y Niñas en Colombia. 2005.  
[www.muierconflictoarmado.org/media/Informes/QuintoInformeEsp.pdf](http://www.muierconflictoarmado.org/media/Informes/QuintoInformeEsp.pdf)

#### *Latinamerica*

Feminicidio en la República Maquiladora  
[www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/07/17/mas-gargallo.html](http://www.jornada.unam.mx/2005/07/17/mas-gargallo.html)



# did somebody say sexism?

interview with an activist from  
anarchoresistance group - Bulgaria

made by the erinyen collective

*Maybe you can tell us in short something about the anarchist movement / groups / individuals active in Bulgaria?*

The anarchist movement in Bulgaria is small and not very organized. The main anarchist center is Sofia. There are 2 active groups based in Sofia- Federation of the anarchist in Bulgaria (FAB) and the autonomous anti-authoritarian group AnarchoResistance (AR). FAB is publishing a monthly newspaper called "Svobodna Misal" (Free Thought) which is mostly historical materials and a lot of classical anarchist articles about the capital and the state. FAB had also done a series of protests against the raising of the prices after we (Bulgaria) joined the EU. AR is a small group which is mostly putting out leaflets, doing some direct actions, video screenings and taking part in protests. AR together with the Anti-authoritarian Movement (Thessalonica - Greece) had organized the No Border Camp in Bulgaria/Greece in the 2005. AR also organized a couple of protests against NATO, the war in Iraq in the past years and has started doing free festival in Sofia this year which is something like a free market where the people share things they don't need. Some people left AR and joined FAB 2 years ago because of different views on the anarchism and there was a little conflict between some of the members. During the last year some anarchist activities has started in Razgrad. We have opened an infocenter called "Ecotopia" which is something like a free library/reading space with anarcho/eco/animal right/anti-sexist/anti-homophobic/punk/DIY materials. There are a lot of video screenings in the infocenter. We've started organizing diy concerts and discussion and hope to develop this project. We have also started doing a free festival twice an year and some graffiti stenciling and leafleting around Razgrad. I with the help of some friends also publish a zine called "Katarzis" which is more into the romantic anarchism and have articles on various subjects, some local news, direct

action guides and music interviews with anarchist bands. There are also some people running a couple of anarchist web pages. So this is how I see the situation right now.

*As anti-sexism is not just about fighting overt forms of sexism - violent rape, domestic violence, overtly sexist words - but also about challenging our relationships, the ideas that create a rape culture, the way people are socialized, etc.. How would you describe growing up in current Bulgarian society makes with people regarding the idea how women and men 'have to be'?*

Nowadays the people say that women and men have equal rights but most of the people still live in patriarchy. The people still see the woman as "housewife", "mother" or a sexual object. They think that the woman should do the house work (cooking, cleaning, etc.) and care for the children. Most of the Bulgarian families are living like this.

*Do you see thoroughly challenges to these ideas in the 'anarchist movement', in the different aspects of live and work, not to let these ideas allow to flourish in the behaviour?*

It's stupid when society pushes you to walk the beaten path they follow. It's pity that most of the people don't challenge these norms of behavior. Even in the anarchist movement subjects like sexism are not very popular. I also think that we need more women in the anarchist movement, because now it's mostly consisted of men.

*What is the approach of anarchist collectives towards patriarchy, homophobia, sexism and so on?*

I am very anxious because some people who call themselves anarchists act as sexists and homophobes. I don't wanna offend FAB because most of the people are good but there are 2-3 bad apples among them. Recently there were some crazy statements

# NO



- LECHING
- TOUCHING
- STARING
- GROPING
- PASSING REMARKS
- PINCHING
- STALKING
- LOOKING

## EVE TEASING

THE BLANK NOISE PROJECT

On June 11th 2000 over 56 women were assaulted, stripped and molested by a large group of men in Central Park NY. The assaults happened after a crowd of men, started dousing women passing by with water and then escalated to pulling off the women's clothes and sexually molesting them, after and during the Puerto Rican Day parade. They then proceeded to assault in this way any woman passing through the area.

Virtually every woman has experienced street harassment - whistles, sexual remarks, or touching by strangers in public places. It is an abuse of power, the social and economic power that men hold over women. When men use their power to treat women sexually in a non-sexual context, they interfere with women's right to walk on the street without fear, and to be treated as an equal in public life.

To fight street harassment of women by men in all of its forms, the Street Harassment Project was initiated on June 15th 2000 in NY...

BECAUSE women are terrorized daily in public spaces, our personal space violated by men who block our paths, stand too close, use an intimate and insulting language toward us...

BECAUSE this behaviour is implicitly menacing and threatening and often becomes overtly threatening when a woman expresses her anger at these affronts...

BECAUSE the line between verbal harassment and physical menacing is often crossed...

For their actions, graphics, street theatre, bike patrols, interruptive actions... see <http://www.streetharassmentproject.org>.

When a woman is harassed on the street, she's often made to feel like she asked for it, like it was her fault. "Were you wearing a short skirt?" or "Were you out late?". But so what if you were?

The Indian Blank Noise Project is working on the project "Did You Ask For It". They're asking for clothes that people were wearing when they were harassed. They're collecting all the clothes people send in and all the personal notes and memories that accompany them. It is planned to built everything into an enormous 1000-piece installation to be constructed at public intersections in Mumbai, Bangalore and Delhi.

Hitting people with the reality that street sexual

harassment exists, there is no such thing as asking for it!



The collective also organizes actions as this one in Brigade Road in Bangalore, India.

On many streets women look down at the ground, avoiding eye contact, avoiding people



reaching out to grope them. There are many different ways and means to tackle that guy who talks to your breasts or the eyes which seem to be ripping your clothes apart. The Blank Noise Project is organizing 'Staring Back' actions all over India.

<http://blanknoiseproject.blogspot.com/>





# Mujeres Creando

(Eng: Women Creating)

Mujeres Creando is a Bolivian anarcha-feminist collective that participates in a range of anti-poverty work, including propaganda, street theater and direct action. The group was founded by Julieta Paredes, María Galindo and Mónica Mendoza in 1992 and members including two of Bolivia's only openly lesbian activists.

Mujeres Creando publishes *Mujer Pública* (Eng: Public Woman), produces a weekly radio show, and maintains a cultural café named Carcajada (Eng: Laughter).

Founder Julieta Paredes describes Mujeres Creando as "a 'craziness' started by three women from the arrogant, homophobic and totalitarian Left of Bolivia during the 1980s, where heterosexuality was still the model and feminism was understood to be divisive."

Mujeres Creando gained international attention due to their involvement in the 2001 occupation of the Bolivian Banking Supervisory Agency on behalf of Deudora, an organization of those indebted to microcredit institutions. The occupants, armed with dynamite and molotov cocktails, demanded total debt forgiveness and achieved some limited success. Julieta Ojeda, a member of Mujeres Creando, explains that "in reality the financial institutions were committing

usury and extortion, cheating people and exploiting their ignorance, making them sign contracts that they didn't understand."

On August 15, 2002 members of Mujeres Creando and supporters involved in the

una lectura no-autorizada de  
un pedazo de nuestra historia



production of an educational film dealing with violence in relation to women's human rights were beaten by La Paz police.

For more information in Spanish <http://www.mujerescreando.org/>

## rag dublin

### revolutionary anarchafeminist group



The RAG is a magazine produced by a diverse group of anarcha-feminist women in Dublin.

This first issue of the magazine has taken over a year to produce. The first RAG magazine is 42 pages of content inside a colour cover.

It contains topics as guerilla girls; unschooling: let's get free; unionising sex work; women and anarchism; rape culture; sexual violence in our communities; anger: birthed and transformed; feminist health etc..

The second issue just come out now at the end of october.

The collective remains committed to non-hierarchical structures, with revolving facilitators, skill sharing, group editing, mutual support and respect, and, whenever possible, consensus decision making.

<http://ragdublin.org/>

from these bad apples about gay people. We put some news on the Bulgarian IMC about protest of our Romanian anarchist friends that defended the gay parade from the nazi skins in Bucharest. And then there were too many homophobic offends and even threats that if there is such a "faggot" festival in Bulgaria they (the bad apples) will give beer to the nazi skins to kick the "faggot" asses. There were also some stupid and homophobic statements about the issue of "Abolishing the borders from below" about patriarchy. May be they consider themselves a real macho revolutionaries and think that problems like sexism, homophobia and especially nationalism and environmentalism (which are very serious right now in Bulgaria) are not important and this is not the aim if

anarchism. I am really upset and nervous because all of this. I don't wanna call myself an anarchist if this means being like them.

*How to go on further?*

I think it is very important to smash this dogmatic behavior and create new forms of relationship where the people are tolerant and help each other to do what they want. It's first our behavior and way of acting to others. We must learn how to treat the others as equals no matter of their sex, race or sexual orientation. We must be the change we want to see in the world.

*Thanks a lot and all the best!*

# how free are autonomous/free spaces?

by a berlin activist

On a house wall in Berlin is sprayed: 'autonomous spaces for free people!' What I think sucks about this graffiti is the implicit statement, that we are all already free from authoritarian relations and that people can develop and move freely in left places. This is not at all existing in reality, even if we would wish so. Nonetheless is in Berlin the word autonomous space used synonymous with left projects. In general are open and hidden hierarchies in the left and women/lesbian/transgender scene a taboo. It is just assumed that we would be able to act non-hierarchical with each other. But we screwed up with this: on the only women/lesbian/transgender wagon place in Berlin.

We where around 15 to 20 people, all living in wagons and referring to women/lesbian/transgender. And we had the

wish and demand to be able to solve problems in different patterns than dominant in our current society. Something we didn't achieve, we failed in our discussions. Our problems have grown more acute almost until insanity. We have brought ourselves to a psychological and physical incredible shitty point. As a consequence approximately the half of all people moved to other different wagon places. An analysis about what went wrong, we could and cannot make together anymore. Anyway I want to draw up a conclusion and give some impulse to avoid the same mistakes next time. That we as a women/lesbian/transgender context automatically have a free space from patriarchal and hierarchical behaviour and don't have to deal with our own structures was a false estimation. We should have given to one cornerstone of feminist policies much



more importance: the private is political.

For too long was too much 'private'. Injuries emerged because of private letters and private discussions. Many private things are important for a group, because they have influence on the whole group-dynamic. It doesn't matter if it becomes better or worst, in any case the dynamic gets in-transparent for some people.

If for example sexual or love relations are not transparent, this can lead to a (group) problem: if injuries which occurred in a private setting are leading to anger, fear or incomprehensible solidarity or support in a public situation (like a plenum). If infractions are not clear and motivations not easy to see through a lot of times mock-discussions occur for hours. For example we had over months discussions regarding garbage and responsibility, where I allege that they had dishonest motives, others than the ones that were mentioned. On the other side a structure like the nuclear family developed paradoxically. With this I mean, that for example the social control rose up, the 'wanting-to-know' about things, that I don't regard important for my living project. This balancing act is not easy: A situation can



be seen as politicizing the private from one person and as social control from somebody else.

I think that a good and realistic self-evaluation is important, to decide which 'private matters' are necessary for the people in my group in order to understand my behaviour. The problem at this point, that this reflected self-evaluation, which I demand from people, often has still to be formulated and practiced in discussion. A difficulty is to learn to overcome the patriarchal self-overestimation ('I will be able to manage this just by myself').

The basic requirement to develop autonomous spaces is the attempt to find a non-hierarchical contact with each other. Neither labels as women/lesbian/transgender or left are helping us with this, nor good intentions (as for example I want to be anti-racist/patriarchal /... /so I am not). Much more important is the willingness to confront in an honest way our own hierarchical and repressive structures as well as establish a continuous and collective discussion about it!

NEVER GIVE UP!



ANTI-NATO

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In the name of Security -  
Making their own rules?

Since September 11, 2001 the US declared a "War on Terror", as it had done earlier with regard to poverty, crime and drugs. With this torture has been resurrected as a course of action and subject of debate. While Bush did state on 26 June 2004 that 'the United States reaffirms its commitment to the worldwide elimination of torture', this statement came after much evidence of behaviour and discussion that had appeared to contradict it.

Over the millennia torture has been used for four main reasons:



the elders and according to the old traditions against which communism didn't bother to do anything, the woman was the one to do all the house work. Besides the fact that the prohibition of the abortion was the main tool for woman's enslavement, this law has also damaged the relationships between people (especially the sexual relationships) and a full-control over society and mostly over the individual.

The change of the system in December 1989 has brought with itself the fall of this law that was forbidding the abortion, which was regarded in that time as a direct act against the freedom of human being. We have to keep in mind that in december 1989 people have died to win their freedom and the right for abortion implicitly.

Now, in the years 2000, in full ascension of "democracy" in Romania, there are many kinds of organizations (more or less terrorist) like ProVita - a sort of romanian ProLife, under the shield of the State and Church and directly supported and financed by politicians, parties and extreme right wing organizations (New Right, New Generation Party etc). Besides all these even the romanian society has begun to support more and more openly

the xenofobic and consevative ideas of right wing ideology. Many young people fall into this because of the intense media campaign which is being done directly or indirectly against abortion. In the sexual education classes in schools they show films and "terrifying" materials about how atrocious an abortion can be, insinuating the idea of torture and crime. The president of the country being concerned about the demografic decline of Romania has recently assembled a "team of experts" to handle, one way or another, the problem with the decreasing number of births.

In the same time I find it revolting that the Cannes Festival has awarded a film which tries to impress the spectators just like an anti-abortion propaganda documentary does. In this case "Palme d'or" has become a patriarchal palm (slap) towards every woman. The movie "4 months, 3 weeks and

2 days" is presenting the abortion as a big mistake, the suprem sin, and the woman who is committing it as the most dreadful human being on Earth. It is denigrating the image of woman through the two characters who embody the foolishness, ignorance, lack of sensitivity and lie. This film is shown all over Romania, being supported by the federal authorities, which under the mask of national pride, they reopen the cinemas that were closed for the last years in villages and small towns in every corner of the country. It is important to remind that the youth is encouraged to come and watch this movie. And the reaction of those who are in the cinema is first of all one of disgust

against abortion and then revolt and hatred against the stupidity and ignorance of the woman who is doing it. Concerning is the fact that the film seems to be a sample of feminine solidarity turning the revolt and hatered against this character into a despise against all the women.

In my opinion the film is doing nothing else except from proving and reinforcing the traditional preconceived ideas, according to which the woman is stupid, liar and hore through her nature.

These preconceived ideas will continue to repet history, to destroy harmony between people, to

turn family into a compromise based on constraint, materialism and self-lying, to be a barrier against the hapiness of humanity.

The fact that a handful of politicians, mostly men, decide what I may or may not do with my own body, is shocking. Neither the State, nor the Church has the right to restrain the freedom of the individual to decide over his own body! The only master over your life is yourself!

LOVEKILLS COLLECTIVE

3lovekills3@gmail.com



uncomfortable in the camp etc. The main idea was to attract attention to workshop of as many unconcerned people as possible and start to raise very basic questions, since we could see that many people don't see the difference between "gender" and "sex".

Many people came but most of them knew already what we wanted to say. We discussed these fundamental notions like sexism, sex, gender, intersex in small groups which took up most of the time. Therefore, a final discussion that should actually cover not only sexism theory as such, but also practical examples (in the camp, e.g.) was very short and not very confrontational. At least, the first seed was sown into the minds of people who didn't even think about it.

We should say more words about some positive moments. There were some men who were interested in the gender topic. They had also discussions with men having sexist behaviour, they fought for equality in everything, they took part in preparations of workshops on this topic, they made their own workshops. This support, understanding and empowerment was really important. Not only to see problem, but also try to do something to change it.

Also, a positive thing was that men were involved in different jobs like cooking, medicine, spending time with children etc. For somebody, it may sound like nothing special. But for some

people, it was a new experience. So that was not only good like an expression of equality, but also presenting possibilities for the others. And the same was to be seen with women who were building, carrying heavy stuff, digging etc. Those who still think that woman can't do it were if not surprised or shocked then inspired.

To sum it up, when talking about gender view and discussing sexism at the camp, the event was useful for many people who came. But not a big percent of them showed it. We saw the effect of our sometimes provocative words or acts. People were starting to think about it, maybe for the first time in their life.

Of course we would prefer more people, irrespective of their sex, to be involved in different kinds of activities, more people to understand the problem of sexism and more people to start to fight against it, not only verbally, but firstly, by changing themselves.

But it was our first experience in organising such an occasion and for many participants, it was their first participating in such an event. And of course, we (the organisers) had made many mistakes. But hopefully, this experience will not pass through us and people who visited camp and we believe that it will help all of us in the future.

And hopefully, more people will start to see around them not "genders" but personalities, those who we really are in reality.

## abortion is every woman's right!

### lovekills collective

Romanian communist system (1947-1989) just as the Nazi system developed the idea of "heroine mother" who has to give birth to at least 4 children for the social and economical development of the country. But in order that the woman accomplishes this role without objections, the abortion had to be forbidden.

The drama that came with the prohibition of abortion, in a time when women's equality was an idea met only in the state propaganda movies, is hard to imagine.

Those women who chose to have an abortion were enormously risking, just as those who chose to help them did. First of all the sentence was from 1 to 5 years in jail for the one who was doing the abortion as well as for the one who was having the abortion. If the woman who had an abortion was having a hemorrhage (bleeding) afterwards and was going to the hospital, the militia (police name during communism) was hearing about this and they would give orders so that the woman doesn't get any medical attention and even let alone to die if she would refuse to



denounce the one who did the abortion.

Because of the prohibition of the abortion many women wouldn't dare to make this decision, and this is why they were forced to abandon their newborn babies in orphanages. In the same time due to the unsucceded abortion there were children being born with different handicaps, and placed as well in the orphanages, but of course being treated much worse than those children considered normal.

The idea promoted by the church which said that the woman was a sinner and that she can overcome this curse only by giving birth, was still present in the so-called communist regime which was not admitting the legitimacy of the church, but it was silently aproving its existence and was using its power to control and manipulate people more easily.

During the communist regime the women were those who suffered the most; behind the false idea of equality between people and between sexes, the woman was bound to work as hard as a man in factories and agriculture, she had to take care and watch out after the children and



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- First, at many historical moments politics has acted on the belief that there is a category of sub-human. For example, in Greek and Roman times it was assumed that torture was the only means to ensure that slaves told the truth.

- Secondly, the place of confession (queen of proofs) as a means of establishing guilt has been strongly associated with the use of torture. In the absence of full certainty, a confession had to be extracted, most frequently through the use of torture. In the sense of the informal motto of the Saigon police, "If they are not guilty, beat them until they are".

- Thirdly, there is the relationship between torture and power. To display to the public the 'unrestrained presence', and the 'absolute power of life and death' through punishment that is 'both personal and public'.

- Finally, with the modern statehood, political dissent - including the use of terrorist tactics and political assassination - led to torture's use for deterrent or intimidation purposes or to acquire information.

The history of torture points to several possible reasons for its resurrection in a more open form since 9/11. The designation of certain peoples as of lesser status, or as not fully human; the priority given to the security of the state; the types of conditions under which evidence is acquired which influences the means adopted for determining guilt; and the necessity to be seen to punish in order to demonstrate overwhelming power and to deter opposition to those in power have all played roles in keeping torture alive over the millennia.

#### *Torture, power and reputation*

A new and valued reputation is one of effectiveness in dealing with suspected terrorists, including the ability to pass regulations that strengthen the central authority of the state, police air, sea and land borders, arrest terrorist suspects, focus on their interrogation, and investigate more fully those seeking asylum or to migrate. Is that not the implication of the US release of photographs distributed around the world of those held captive at the US naval base at Guantanamo Bay, prisoners in cages in orange overalls crouching before US marine commanders, blindfolded and shackled? These prisoner photographs were not taken by a paparazzo camera commando, but by US Marine photographers for a home audience that wants to see the boot of retribution being applied.





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*Global consequences*

There is a growth in this rhetoric and behaviour, on the part of a number of governments. (In amended and new anti-terrorist legislation, for example, terrorism is frequently defined in dangerously wide-ranging ways.) For example, Uzbek security forces in May 2005 used indiscriminate force against civilians in Andijan, killing possibly between 200 and 700 people, on the grounds that these were groups linked with international Islamist terrorism. Subsequently, a widespread crackdown on those trying to expose the brutality led to indefinite detention and coercion of the families of those who fled the country. What is happening in different regions of the world is an indication of how unrestrained many governments believe themselves to be when the 'most powerful state' elevates counter-terrorist action above other values. Torture and other forms of abuse become commonplace.

*Us versus Them*

'We hold ourselves to humane standards of treatment of people no matter how evil or terrible they may be. To do otherwise . . . undermines our security, but it also undermines our greatness as a nation. We stand for something more in the world - a moral mission, one of freedom and democracy and human rights at home and abroad . . . The enemy we fight has no respect for human life. They don't deserve our sympathy. But this isn't about who they are. This is about who we are.'

Such a statement might have one effect in that it reinforces the 'us versus them' argument. On 6 September Bush acknowledged for the first time the existence of a secret CIA prison network. The same in the case of extraordinary rendition of detainees to locations where not too many questions will be asked about the conditions of their detention and interrogation.

Exhibitions and discussion workshops planned for the counter-summit in Bucharest will focus on several of these sections: general overview of actual war and conflict situations worldwide, with explanations to NATO structure and involvement; secret prisons / Guantánamo / Abu Graib / secret detention in Poland and Romania; torture, political killings, secret detention and 'disappearances' in Chechnya; the Andijan massacre in Uzbekistan; Transnistria; prison-industrial complex; ethnic cleansing in conflict, migration-regime of the fortress Europe; sexualised violence in conflict/war and everyday life. If you want to take part in the preparation or organize a workshop get in contact.

**No States - No Laws - No Wars**



commodity, like in case of pictures in the magazines, have these stereotypes (including fear, disgust against these not often seen images of women) in their heads. And we still haven't mentioned really sexist people who said very stupid things sometimes. People don't see personalities in each other, but only capitalist constructs that have constantly been enforced by the society and the state. Where their views on freedom/liberation had gone, was a secret for us.

We decided to organize a safe space for women during preparation. Our position has been that women have always been under the pressure of men and patriarchal behavior. Even in groups which claim antisexism as one of their main ideas, women just cannot feel safe enough. It's not because "feminists hate men and want to destroy all of them". We can explain it shortly in such a way: we were born and have been living in a patriarchal society, so even after we denounce

patriarchal stereotypes and, accordingly, in a society that promotes these stereotypes, we are still part of this system and the world. And

so, women, even though they are not directly harmed by the closest surroundings, still are under constant tension coming from our society based on a patriarchal rule. So if they were once e.g. beaten by a man, women feel some fear and anxiety based on the expectancy of the same behaviour. Either in or out of the activists' environment, majority of men cannot keep themselves from being hyperactive, loud, expansive etc. so that women don't have enough space for self-expression.

We need our closed safe space where we can be sure about our comfort, understanding of each other, opening of themselves.

The idea was mentioned on the registration form and already at that time, people started to react to it. They called this idea "sexism". Similar reactions appeared during the whole preparation period and the whole camp itself; mostly after they saw the sign "women only zone". Many people were just critically laughing at it or becoming angry just because by their point of view there simply was "no sexism at the camp", that is why there was not a necessity in it.

But some of them were trying to understand. They asked, talked, thought about it.

There was an idea to form a radical cheerleader group within the public performance. They had a performance at the camp area and in the city of Uzhgorod during the action day. Girls, as well as boys took part in this activity (boys comprised 2/3 of the whole group). All were dressed according to the common vision of women. Boys wore mostly dresses, skirts, slinky T-shirts. They had bright stereotypical make-up, prostitutes or transgenders often use. Apart from the original idea of the whole radical cheerleading, we perceived it as a mockery

of the style chosen by these groups. Also, guys who performed cheerleaders perceived all this as fun and a possibility to try to wear women's clothes. From one point of view, it could be viewed as gender bending, when you try to refute a traditional image of men and women and to mix generally accepted signs of femininity and masculinity, with an attempt to subvert them. But in this case, guys were just having fun and we doubt that any of them ever took this point of view into account. In fact, their behaviour was very similar to those embarrassing TV pop shows where a mere portrayal of women by men is a reason to laugh, whereas the dumbest stereotypical means (flaring make-up, high-heel shoes, hairy legs in the skirt, funny, ain't it?) are usually chosen.

We should say that a high level of antisexist and feminist activity was not observed in the camp. For example about 10-15 women took part in discussions about sexism in camp and preparing workshop on this topic. Men were even much less active.

However, there were several workshops dealing with a topic of feminism, sexism, homophobia in the camp:

- anarcho-feminism and revolution in everyday life. The first focused on putting anarchist and anarchofeminist ideas into everyday practice. The idea was to interchange our experience with other people and to discuss the ways how to put anarchist and anarchofeminist ideas into practice, where are our boundaries and how we can struggle with them.

- Feminist self-defense - mental, verbal, physical.

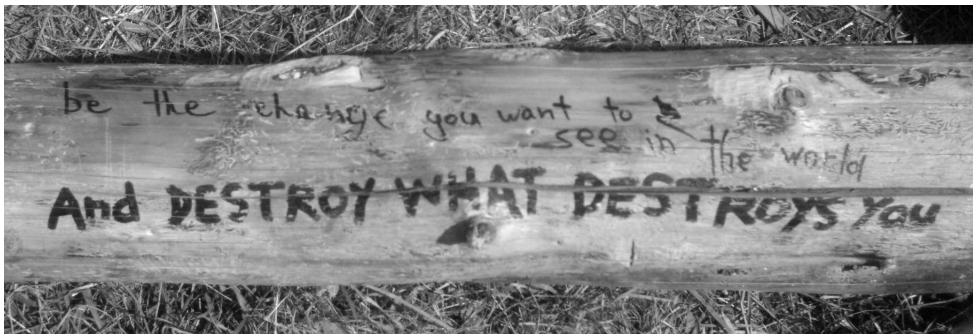
- Methods of domination. 5 ways through which one person can exert power over another person: making invisible, ridiculing, withholding information, double punishment, blaming & shaming.

- Sexism and homophobia in the activist scene

- Workshop about sexism and gender which was made by several activists like reaction on high level of sexism in camp.

Unfortunately, we did not visit every workshop. "Sexism and homophobia in activist scene" was made by people from Russia and mostly Russian speaking people participated. Naturally, the level of understanding of the topic was different. Some of them claimed: "I'm a sexist and a homophobe". But some were really deep into the topic. So in the end, the discussion was very interesting and useful.

The second workshop emerged, as we told before, as a reaction to the situation in the camp. Many of us felt these sexist relations, behaviour. So we firstly had few meetings and talked much about our feelings, experience and strategy to fight sexism in the camp. And we decided to make a simple basic workshop. To show people what sexism and feminism is, why women feel



provoked not only frustration, stress, dissatisfaction, discontent, but also different spontaneous discussions.

There was a situation when we had to unload truck of wood and carry it far to camp. When men



saw woman carrying big logs by their own they started to say that they are woman and that's why they shouldn't do it. And when I asked one guy whether he would make remarks, if there was a young man of the same age, body constitution and weight instead of a young 18-year-old woman. He answered: "Of course not.." But he was confused and he started to think about it. So mostly every conflict provoked people to talk about this "taboo" topic and think about it for themselves.

There was really a higher level of caring behaviour from men towards women. Because many men think, if a person has a female identity, she is automatically weaker than a man and men should care more about women's safety. If you are a woman you always feel a distrust of your skills and knowledge. You always have to prove that you CAN DO IT. It's annoying at least.

To illustrate such a view of a particular man towards women, I will take the situation when we had to choose logs of a certain size, take them out of the pile of other logs. From some point of view, it could be a dangerous work, BUT both for women and men. I approached the pile to try to pull one log out of the pile and I was "kindly" asked not to do it and to step aside. The reason was that the man was worried I will hurt myself. And that is how one of the numerous discussions about the differences between men and women and limitations coming out of them began. Well, to reproduce the whole discussion would take up much space and, certainly, some of you had to face the arguments like "but men and women are not identical, women are weaker and more fragile that is why we should treat them carefully", "men have different system of orientation in space", "women have intuition". After this fiery discussion in which me, this man, one English speaking woman and a man took part (basically, me, English speaking woman and man formed somehow an alliance against this man, other people listened passively in the back), when we tried to explain that the world cannot be divided only into 2 boxes: women and men etc., this man was still unable understand the whole message, but at least, he was not trying to

ask us to step aside. Also, after this discussion, we - two women - who wanted to carry these logs had to listen to their ironical comments (not directly addressed to us). Apparently, we wounded their egos and self-confidence and this was their way of coping with the defeat in the discussion.

Similar discussions were on the daily agenda.

Of course not many people showed their views on some things happening around. And it seemed that many of them were OK with it. But in narrow circles, one could hear different opinions, often not really nice and sexist. One could hear jokes and as already mentioned, ironical comments on the women criticising their sexist behaviour.

One day during the morning meeting one woman from the UK said just one sentence: "we should not divide people by their sex". Many women and English speaking men supported her. Many Russian speaking men reacted on these words aggressively: "Where did she find sexism here?!".

Also, when we take a look at the sign which appeared above the box with condoms; there was a sign in English - "Fight unwanted pregnancy", whereas the sign in Russian said: "Don't leave kids after yourselves". At first glance, it is nothing significant, but it reflects the level of understanding the concept of sex and sexism. Both cases are a perfect examples of this very big difference between men and women, between people from different countries in realizing this problem.

As everywhere, the conception of many people about human body, its appearance (shaved/unshaved etc.) is full of stereotypes. Of



course, many people were shocked by unshaving and topless women. Again, for many Russian speaking activists, this was very unusual - to see so many unshaved women around. The discussions on this topic have still been vivid even after the camp in Kiev's activists circles. Like some guys said "they were stressed, shocked by it and couldn't bear it.". Even people claiming they see everybody equal and challenge the vision of human as a



ANTI-NATO

## 20th nato Summit 2nd till the 4th of April 08 in bucharest / Romania

This 20th NATO summit will be the largest one in the history of NATO, as all the 23 member states of the NATO Partnership for Peace will attend, besides 26 member states of the alliance. Approximately 3.000 high-ranking officials are expected to participate in the summit.

There will be a range of counter-events in Bucharest and others place. Those coming from the north, can for example stop by at the ANTI-NATO info-point in Iasi (at the Ukrainian and Moldavian border) before continuing their way to Bucharest. The city also held for a week in July the first squat 'Rebil' in Romania (an English report can be found at <http://de.indymedia.org/2007/07/188166.shtml>). If you are coming from the south you might be interested in joining the preparation for the ANTI-NATO bike tour and the critical mass, to be contacted over [katarzis@riseup.net](mailto:katarzis@riseup.net).

In Bucharest are plenty of opportunities to join into the ANTI-NATO week: a legal march, direct actions, probably the NoBorder from Timisoara seeking exile in Bucharest and many more.

Still you should keep in mind, especially if coming from the west, that the 'scene' is not as big and equipped as you might be used to. So try to be as self-organized as possible: bring a sleeping bag, try to organize food (dumpster diving is not so common, but you can still find some stuff) or even join the local FNB group (or bring in your local group for joint actions). Organizing legal sleeping spaces on mass still requires money, so every soli-action is welcome.

On <http://www.contra-doxa.com> you can find:

- our Anti-Nato Visitor Guide (in English, soon also in Polish, French, Bulgarian, Greek)
- the Legal Guide for actions in Romania
- our booklet Violence Against Women
- Soli stuff and announcement of Soli Actions
- Poster for mobilization in your area in english and romanian

Anyway stay updated on what will happen or be planned in the next months, as it will be announced over the webside.

For the anarcha-feminist mobilization get in contact with us.





# Unmarked Categories and the question of power

some anarcha-feminist notes

erinyen collective

This is an ode to a Berlin "anarchist" collective of my past. I am sure, many have made similar experiences of being in collectives which at one point don't meet the same ideas oneself would affiliate with anarchism and working together in collectives, which are supposed to be based on anti-authoritarian standards. Well it sometimes becomes quite disillusioning after all those years, seeing the same stuff happening again and again. People remain in collectives, becoming one of the subordinated parts (you know how it is - planning collective actions, where a part is always cooking, cleaning, carrying around the stuff, building up the tables, technical stuff, painting banners and so on, while some other enjoy much more, always just to arrive in time to present themselves, putting their person in 'scene' while others have built it up) or stay because of the benefits they assume from being part of a 'famous' collective. While becoming more and more frustrated, many people only get their anger and frustration about dominant people out, behind their backs, but remain in their damn subordinated position. Moaning about other peoples actions and behaviour, but not realizing that a great deal also lies with them. If you want to change the power relations in a certain collective, because people have the impression that it is unequal or dominating, it's not the only solution that people withdraw from their power (which is hard enough to communicate and achieve), it also needs people who are willing to take up responsibilities for themselves, without being fuckin lead by someone or ascribed work loads by others. Well in some collectives people become one of the silenced part, because questioning authority becomes a vital threat, if you are surrounded by people who rather put their heads down than confronting people who are insulting or silencing others. I started to write this text with a focus on power, as well as the connected issue of various

forms of constraint on human action, to put my personal experiences in a broader context. Of course, even if I tell myself, I don't surrender to your damn rules, assumptions, ego games and power seeking behaviour, it has a personal impact if oneself is getting insulted, intimidated and made shut up, for criticizing dominant behaviour or hidden hierarchies. Especially if the majority of a collective remains openly silent on this, rather making the choice of criticizing hidden behind the back of the person who is insulting others, not confronting authoritarian behaviour over and over again, or giving time and space for the explanation and excuses of this person, rather than considering to give at least the same time and space for the people who where insulted. So what does it make? It makes you feel insecure, loosing trust in people, avoiding places not to be confronted with the same people. It takes time to find your self-esteem, your place, your courage and your voice again in order to say, mean and live up to 'NEVER SURRENDER'.



So here it goes:

Power itself appears in a relational way: one cannot meaningfully say that a particular person 'has power' without also specifying the role of other people in the social collective. Also power very often runs reciprocally, but usually not with equal reciprocity. To exercise power over people, one must have control over things that others desire or need, but one can rarely exercise that power without a measure of reverse control. Of course in anarchist collectives power exists, which is not necessarily bad in itself. But we have to distinguish between the various forms of power and power as such. Unlike power, hierarchical power relations are always based on social systems of command and obedience, whatever



# No border Camp Ukraine 07

- sexism at the camp -

an analyse by Karina and Kristina

Karina: This event took place 10-20th of August 2007 in Ukraine in Transcarpathia. The camp was planned to deal mostly with the problem of pushing the borders further and creating the Fortress Europe, the problem of taking more severe measures against "illegal" immigration, to serve as a meeting point for Food not bombs, Indymedia group and not last to mention, it should have been



a place for meeting and building networks among activists, within post-Soviet space and in between the Eastern and Western activists.

First of all, I want to say that one of the main topics for me as an activist and a woman is feminism and antisexism. So even during preparation of No border camp, I put forward a goal of rising up such topic in it, to open it here, in a post USSR-countries activist scene. I see our scene sometimes very sexist in comparison to countries with older history of activism. Everyday behavior in between people is discriminative not only among common people. Still, there is a high level of this shit in activists' heads and in between them. But the problem lies not only in it, but also that people can't understand and don't want to try. So that's why I was really happy about few participants who announced workshops on feminism, sexism and other concerned topics.

Further is the analysis made by Karina (Ukraine) and Kristina (Slovakia).

To determine the degree of sexism, we necessarily have to talk about the structure of the camp and to mention some of its peculiarities, though we wouldn't really like to differentiate participants according to any characteristics: most of the participants were Russian speaking (60 - 70%) and concerning the presence of women and men, we had the impression that the men were prevalent.

Again, we have to say a word on the specific groups, not because we would like to label them, but because it is important for the whole understanding of the context. At the beginning, we should talk about two different types of division:

- vertical - between organizers and participants (unfortunately, we couldn't avoid existing of an invisible division line)

- horizontal division - the presence of skinheads, HC/punk community (which don't appear to be so macho-like, but anyway the level of sexism in their case was relatively high and the women in this group were quite passive), feminists and profeminists (women and men who are up to the topic and were active during the whole camp), representatives of various NGOs on the questions of human rights, immigrants etc. (English speaking people in this group were more active), pacifist activists (again, English speaking people were more educated in the topic), the people who came just for having fun.

A day-by-day life of the camp should have been organized through active involvement of every participant. All the decisions should have been taken after the discussions during the morning general assemblies. The decisions included everyday camp life (wood, toilets, cleaning etc.), camp security, food delivery, workshop agenda and problems arising during the camp.

We can say that the most active participants at the assemblies from the Russian speaking environment were men. On the contrary, if we take into account English speakers, especially women were very active.

Russian speaking participants were bent to more sexist behaviour than English speaking part of the camp. Under "Russian speaking" we mean mostly people coming from Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, while "English speaking" were from Europe, US, UK etc. (it's easier to explain situation using such grouping).

The problem started to appear during the



preparation time, i. e. before the start of the whole camp. Some of those who were involved in the preparation divided the work into easy and hard, accordingly, into female and male. For example it related to collecting and carrying of the woods and other heavy stuff, digging of the toilets. Not only verbally, but also physically, men tried to take the woods/logs out of the hands of women. It

presented the workshops, the vegan meals, the camping, the sunlight and the sunset, the "temporary autonomous bar", the party, the late night movies.

From the discussions we've had with people (especially those from Romania) who came and showed their interest on the workshops and group discussions, we think that the effort was definitely worthwhile and that all in all the festival had a quit strong impact on the scene. This made us think about the next year festival, having now a background we hope to avoid the aspects that made it so difficult (and sometimes unpleasant) this year.

Our perspective on how things developed around this festival is for sure 100% subjective and personal, but we preferred to present it this way since we definitely consider that our personal is and will always be political!!!

Bellow you have a short description of the festival: where, when and how it happened:

Lovekills festival took place on 6th and 7th July near Timisoara (West of Romania). The location was an airfield, 2 kilometers away from the city. It was a huge space where we had a big room from workshops, showers, camping and parking space and a huge space for outside activities. LoveKills festival was the first anarcha-feminist event where the focus was not on (punk) concerts, but on workshops and pragmatic discussions. This is maybe why not so many people showed their interest in this fest. There were about 50 people attending, coming from Austria, Germany, Croatia, Ukraine, Greece, UK and some from Romania.

In Romania people don't have a very positive reaction when they meet the word "feminism" in general but mostly when they see the word "anarcha-feminism", but maybe this is because people have missconceptions or don't know at all what's this about. This is in fact the aim of the festival: to make anarcha-feminism known in Romania. Very few people from Romania (especially from Timisoara) came for the workshops, most of them came for the after-party.

This is how the festival went on:

Friday, 6th of July. Most of the people who announced their participation arrived safely or with some strange experiences on their way through. The first day of the festival started just a little bit later than planned, but this was fine with everybody, since we are not at school! and don't have to keep up with a rigid timetable. So it all started around 13 o'clock with "UNMARKED CATEGORIES AND THE QUESTION OF POWER", after this first workshop we had a break for a delicious vegan meal and then continued with some JUGGLING activities outside and then the group discussion on "GLOBAL AND LOCAL SEXISM". The last discussion group was about: "STATE-MODERN FASCISM" but some other additional discussions on migration and institutionalized violence. For the first day we just skipped the movies because the last discussion finished around 22 o'clock. There were also a few workshops which were cancelled from different reasons. After a day full of information and

discussions people had fun at the party, dancing, changing experiences and opinions or just chatting around our bar.

Saturday, 7th of July. The second day started also later than previewed with the "MYTHS AND REALITIES: HUMAN TRAFFICKING" workshop, being followed by another delicious vegan meal. "EXPERIENCE AND POLITICS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE" was the next discussion group and the day ended with "BARBIE - SMILE IN PLASTIC" workshop. After all the workshops were finished, we took five minutes to say a good-bye word and to greet everybody and thank to all the people who were there and who made it possible to happen and also ask some opinions so that we can do it better next time. For the second night we thought that some good movies and documentaries would fit better than a party, and since people who were there expressed also their preference over the movies we just said ok then let's show movies all night long. But unfortunately most of the people were quit tired and we just had the chance to show "VAGINA MONOLOGUES" and a documentary about squatting in Amsterdam, the next one should have been a documentary about Emma Goldman (we were still having more interesting movies, besides these), but we stopped it since it was really late and people were already falling asleep.

During these two days, on the big hall we had tables for the anarchist distributions (from different countries which were present at the festival), with a lot of information on women issues in French/German/ English/Romanian... On the walls there was also an exhibition on animal rights.

You can find more info about the workshops, the groups/individuals who presented them and the distributions that were present, on our website: <http://www.aro.ecobytes.net/lovekills/>.

The importance of this festival will be seen in the future - if it will have continuity. People must be informed about women issues and about the struggle that must be done to solve these issues. It is impossible to be anarchist without being feminist! The struggle for women's liberation must be the fight against the State which is the guardian and shield of patriarchal society, of capitalism, of all hierarchy and injustice of the world. (This was the main idea of LoveKills Collective, when we decided to organize this fest).

**OUR GOAL IS A SOCIETY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM !!!**



concrete expressions these may take. Hierarchies are structures, where the dominant part enjoys a privileged and coercive position towards the subordinate part which according to this social logic must subdue their will and obey (however subtly or unconsciously).

Power may be held through social class, personal or group charisma, ascribed power (acting on perceived or assumed abilities), education (ability, skills), persuasion (direct or indirect), knowledge (granted or withheld, shared or kept secret), resources (financial, control of access to places), force (violence, coercion)... It could be also distinguished between 'power-over' (influence on other people) from 'power-to' (ability to perform).

The powerful comprise those people with easy access to resources, those who can exercise power without considering their actions. The unmarked category can form the identifying mark of the powerful. The unmarked category becomes the standard against which to measure everything else. One can often overlook unmarked categories. Whiteness forms an unmarked category, in many parts of the world, not commonly visible to the powerful, as they often fall within this category. Anarchist collectives quite often also fall trap to this view

of power to gender and disability: the able body is the neutral body; the man is the normal status. The marked body is outside of what is regarded as the norm: it is too thin, it is too fat, it is crippled, it is mad, it is unpredictable.

Because anarchism is purported to oppose all usage of power and forms of oppression the term anarchy-feminism should actually be unnecessary. All anarchists should, if they really meant what they said about being against all forms of oppression, work against, or at least not support, the oppression of women. That's theoretically. However, our reality is that we are all products of our social surroundings. It is also a fact that those who find themselves in a hierarchical position of power have a hard time accepting that a hierarchy even exists. Men do not recognise the oppression of women to the same extent or to the same degree that women do. Those who have power and privilege are in addition, often unwilling to abandon these. Or people who claim to support equality have not actively confronted others on their dominating or harassing behaviour. Many male anarchists have not activated themselves in the struggle against the oppression of women and it has become necessary for female anarchists to signify

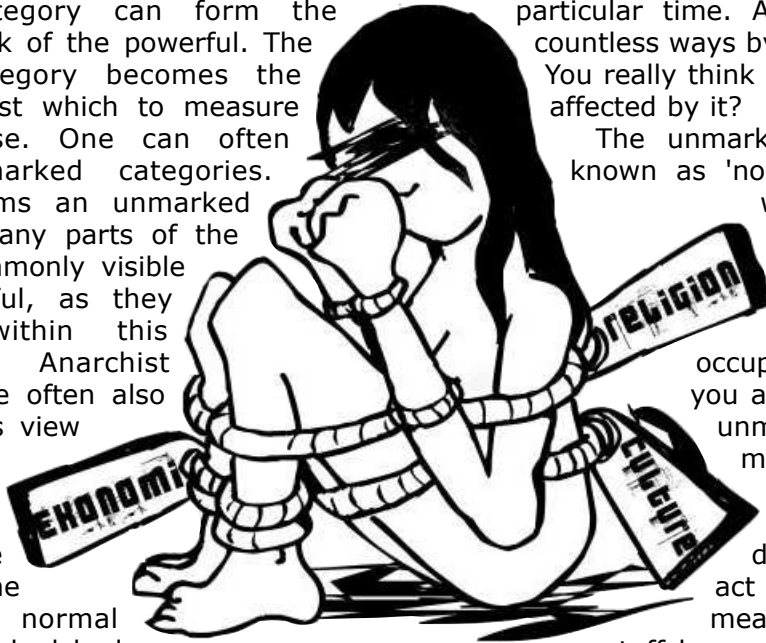
themselves as anarchy-feminists.

If enough people accept 'common categories' based on unmarked categories learned through socialization, then these people exercise power by defining right from wrong and who, or what, is 'normal'. It is a subtle form of power: easier to overlook than power enforced by violence, hard to resist because it is all about 'normalization'. Many people simply do not seem to have any comprehension what it means to grow up as being different from the socially constructed dominant norm in society, which is largely hostile to your own sense of self and to your very existence. Even among anarchists it takes some effort to understand the experience of those who are different in some fundamental way, just to name gender, ableness, sexual orientation and/or ethnicity. We do not grow up or live in a vacuum; we grow up and live in a particular society at a particular time. All of us are influenced in countless ways by the world in which we live. You really think you are so special not to be affected by it?

The unmarked categories of privilege known as 'normal': If you are straight, white, able-bodied, mid-twenties to mid-forties person, you are as 'normal' as it gets. It also means you overwhelmingly occupy the main spaces, even if you are not falling in all of those unmarked categories. It also means, not always practiced active discrimination, but active inattention. What does it mean to speak and act as a privileged person? It means that you don't see a lot of stuff because you never experienced it or had to see it.

Often there is a 'masculinity' culture around anarchism that some people feel alienated from. Especially patriarchy teaches people, that they are entitled to other people's bodies, to take up space and to put their ideas and thoughts out there whenever they want to, without consideration for others. These issues bring about disempowerment not only for women, but for many men who cannot or do not want to live up to this 'masculinity' stereotype. This is a very different socialization than other people experience who are told to shut up, keep it to themselves, hide who they really are, get out of the way and to never forget how lucky they are to be allowed here.

Gender is a process of social construction, a system of social stratification, and an institution that structures every aspect of our lives because of its embeddedness in the current system, as well as in dominant sexuality, language and culture. Well even in anarchist/autonomous settings it is quite difficult for men and women to stay outside the discourse of heterosexual



masculinity/femininity. If a female with a Mohawk, tattoos, piercing, dressed in tight shirt, mini-skirt and boots, might be considered a rebellious person outside of the 'norm' from society, how do you think she might be interpreted when entering an illegalized bar in a squat, where she is not known? Maybe as displaying availability to males in an anarchist surrounding, ready for being 'checked out' or rather as a political activist for interesting political discussions? Did you ever wonder what functions some 'dress codes' have? Why are there still so many differences between female and male dressing in the anarchist 'scene'? How would a male anarchist be viewed if he chooses to wear mini-skirts? Why do some guys always have to take their shirts off, as soon as they are in public and it's not raining or full of snow? With enough experiences of women in autonomous places who have their personal space violated by men who block their paths, stand too close, use a too intimate and insulting language, crude remarks, hearing others rate women's bodies like "nice ass", being groped or rubbed up against..., you can imagine that it has an impact on their behaviour. For some it might be necessary to form autonomous female only spaces, in order to breathe freely for a change. For

others it means a constant fight against dominant gender assumptions, arguments and proving that you are equal in mixed surroundings. Privileges for men, whether they protect, threaten or aggress, are seldom analysed in a constant manner. Patriarchy is a dominant reality in our world, so much that many people cannot imagine any other way of organizing human life. Gender and sexuality are major components of structured inequality and discrimination. Of course the reality of family life is quite different from the sentimental ideal. Anarchists generally do not hold with conventional marriage. It is not acceptable that it is any business of the church or the State what people do with their sexual relationships. True emotional security for both children and adults is less likely to be found in a legally enforceable and artificially 'permanent' tie between two people of either sex, than it is in a wider network of relationships that may or may not have a sexual component. The dominant forms of socialization keep people at an emotional distance from other people. As such it creates also some intense forms of loneliness and separation, often viewed to be resolved in terms of romance. Nevertheless it permeates other realms of relationships as well, from families to friendships. The dominant course in the current society constructs loneliness and separation in terms of lack-of-romance, rather than as lack of mutual connection to others in general. It is put forward that romance (and/or sex) is something

that human beings ought to have, whereas other sorts of close emotional relationships people might have with others aren't valued as much. As a consequence relationships with friends may not feel the same as a romantic relationship, creating as well a sense of belonging, ownership, security and power (to be misused in many cases). The discrepancy between theory and practice, between alleged advocacy of equalitarianism and actually more conventional behaviour when it comes to relationships, can still be found everywhere in the anarchist 'scene'. The unmarked categories become the standard against which to measure everything else, of course also inside the anarchist 'scene'.

Anarcha-feminism means for me also, thinking things through, especially experiences which have forced a submissive role upon me. Experiences where I have been taught that



women are/should be weaker, that women should look a certain way and that women are just valued because of their bodies as well as sex. Yet how can we keep away how we've been taught throughout our lives and all those forces around us now from affecting us? How can we know if/when we're really free from our socialization, from what we've been taught, what had been ingrained in us, and the

pressure we feel socially, collectively or from the closest persons around us? What unmarked categories are still remaining around us - even 'masked' in the anarchist 'scene' - holding people back, dominating or silencing others? Calling yourself an anarchist/autonomous doesn't excuse you from responsibility over your own daily relationships with other people. How we choose to treat each other goes to the core of what we hope to accomplish. Must we always establish and follow new informal hierarchies in our collectives based on who is more popular or stronger versus who is unpopular and out of the 'scenes' mainstream? People cannot participate equally if they are not free to be and express themselves. Tolerance begins with the acknowledgement that people other than ourselves may see things differently than we do, and suspending judgment while those with whom we may disagree or whose point of view we may not understand are given a forum to explain their perspective and are actively listened to. The unmarked/marked categories need to be acknowledged more often, as well as the silences, protections and denials surrounding privilege/power/dominance.

The true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situations which we seek to escape, but the piece of the oppressor or the repressed which is planted deep within each of us.

# lovekills festival # 2 in Romania

## - report from the collective -

Organizing LoveKills Festival was by far the biggest challenge for LoveKills Collective until now. Considering the fact that the collective is split up in 3 different cities, putting our ideas in practice, coordinating and mostly communicating is quite difficult each time.

LoveKills Fest #2 was the greatest achievement for our collective and hopefully for the anarcho-feminist scene (though we believe there is no such scene, but maybe this will be a good start). Comparing to the first edition of LoveKills Fest, this year we have finally managed to organize a festival as we really imagined it to be. Meaning based on workshops and discussions, more info regarding feminist issues and not only on punk concerts, drinking, having fun and wasting your head with a bunch of posters on the wall, about the struggles of women around the world, and no body talking about this or giving a shit that this should be a space where no sexism/racism/macho-ism is accepted (aspect which we wanted to avoid this second edition).

The problems we have had during organizing the festival and its happening were somehow expected, we knew how the diy scene in our place is, but that's why we decided in fact that this kind of event would be really useful. One of the biggest "surprise" was that most of the boys in the scene not only that they didn't want to show up at the festival but they didn't show any interest on it from the begging. Instead they were very ignorant and considered it "a waste of time" (as the whole anarcho-feminist issue). We've met the same reaction from a lot of girls as well. Most of the girls not only that they are not close to anarcho-feminism, but paradoxically they disdain and despise it.

One very important thing to mention is the reaction of some girls/groups of girls who consider themselves close to feminism or even feminist. These girls showed no interest on the festival, or on what we are doing in general, because we didn't contact them personally, meaning we didn't send them the invitation naming them and asking them as a group/individual to come and take part to our festival. The same happened to other activists who were expecting a more direct/personal calling.

While organizing this festival (from the moment it was conceived through it's happening and till it

ended) we have met strange reactions from some of the people who got involved and intended to help us. Exercising their power, being arrogant, trying to intimidate us or ignoring our position towards how this festival should be from our point of view; all these when some of us were quite vulnerable due to stress and the pressure that was overcoming from everywhere.

It was the first time we were organizing a festival with international participation, so most of the experiences regarding organizing a festival were first-time experiences for us. Too many things were thrown on our shoulders, to many reproaches, to much criticism when it shouldn't



have been only "OUR" (the collective) responsibility, but it should have been the responsibility of every single person who was there (whether it was one of the organizers or participators or just visitors for short time)...if we still dare to say that we believe in

diy ethics! But it was not at all like this, we even had to ask people (from the local scene) insistently to help with different things like cooking, picking up people that were coming from other countries, cleaning up the place and so on....

We also had to deal at some point with some "manarchists" who under the influence of alcohol were disgustingly acting like total "dudes". It was the most obvious situation that the scene sucks! And still the ignorant ones refused to see it!!!

The really good parts are still having a greater impact. Fortunately there were enough positive aspects that came out of this festival in the end. Like seeing new people getting involved, younger ones who showed their interest in anarcho-feminist issues, having friends who traveled 16 hours just to show their support and sensitivity to the issue and to what we wanted to do just for a few hours and going back (because they had to), receiving so much energy and positive feed-back from the people from other countries who were completely not at all familiar with the scene in Romania, we really appreciated their support and solidarity.

We enjoyed very much the place, the atmosphere - most of the time, the connections that were established between people, the