

NOVICE IZ GOZDA

21ST CENTURY EDITION OF PARTIZANSKI DNEVNIK

Edition 300

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Partizanska Tiskarna Slovenija, Vojsko

NOVICE IZ GOZDA (News from the forest) is a collaboration project between the artist Hannes Zebedin and Miha Kosmač, director of Mestni Muzej Idrija. This newspaper was published in September 2022. An edition of 30 will be printed at the historic Partisan Printery Shop in Vojsko (Partizanska Tiskarna Slovenija). The aim of this publication is to reask the importance of Partizanski Dnevnik (Partisan Daily) in 21st century.

High watchtowers will become long bridges!

Dear reader of NOVICE IZ GOZDA!

If you are holding this newspaper in your hands, you are probably standing in the middle of a work of art. This work is a sculptural intervention in Graz, placed over the canal „Mühlgang“. With this project I want to remind of a situation that took place in October 1956. That was the time of the Hungarian Uprising, when people rebelled against the Soviet dominated politics in their country.

In the course of this uprising, more than 180 000 people fled from Hungary to Western countries. One of the possibilities to reach the West was the bridge of Andau, which also forms the border between Austria and Hungary. Almost 70 000 refugees took the route over this bridge. It was then blown up by the army to stop the escape movement. Committed refugees quickly converted a nearby border watchtower into a bridge in order to at least temporarily prolong the possibility of crossing the border.

This civil society commitment inspired me to create this work - a sculpture in the shape of a watchtower that serves as a bridge when placed horizontally. With this work, however, I do not only want to remind people of political events in the past, but also point to the present in Europe with its autocratic tendencies.



The idea for this work was first sketched in 2015, but it took until 2021 when I had the opportunity to apply for the Werner-Fenz-Scholarship with this project, which I titled „Die Brücke“ (The Bridge). Werner Fenz organised art projects in public space for decades, which inspired me a lot, as he always saw the meaning of art in public space in the political. In his memory, the Cultural Office of the City of Graz offers a scholarship that focuses specifically on political projects. So I felt very honoured to be the winner of this scholarship. When I started this scholarship in 2021, my intention with this work was to show the above-mentioned autocratic tendencies in Europe, therefore I wanted to use the cabin of the tower. Since the project is taking place in Graz, I wanted to focus on the current situations in Hungary, Slovenia and also in Austria. However, the setting-up of the project was delayed, mainly due to the covid pandemic, increased material prices and fully booked craftsmen. Together with the Cultural Office of the City of Graz we decided to plan the project for summer/autumn 2022.

Then 24 February 2022 happened: the Russian invasion of Ukraine. I was in Islamabad at that time for an artistic project and met on 22 February with a Moldovan artist who lives in Pakistan and who's research is about the development of post-Soviet republics. We were following the news and therefore also Putin's speech of that day when he claimed the independence of Donetsk and Luhansk provinces. My artist friend said: „This means war. It will probably only be weeks before the Russian army invades Ukraine.“ Two days later he wrote me a note saying that those weeks had turned into exactly 48 hours. The war has begun. Not believing that this could ever happen again in Europe, it was impossible for me to think about my artistic work. At the beginning of March, I took part in an exhibition in Lahore/Pakistan. A sculptural work of mine made out of bricks was shown there, entitled „When Freedom Exists There Will Be No State“. This quotation of Lenin is very important in my life, as my interpretation of conflicts is often based on conflicts between nation states or nations. During the construction, I questioned the quote several times without being able to form a concrete opinion.

After some time of shock, it turned out very clear that I had to include the current war-situation for „Die Brücke“. First because of my personal understanding of my position as an

artist and secondly also in the spirit of the project. I asked myself if there was any form of resistance in Russia against this war. Even if there was, it would be difficult for society to perceive, both inside and outside Russia, as freedom of speech and freedom of the press have been completely abolished and the country has undergone a regime change from autocracy to fascism. The „watchtower“ of control is very high and seems to immediately stamp out anything. In my opinion, it is very important for the development of the war to name even the smallest resistance movements, and to spread their activities. It is this resistance that can lead to growing sentiment against the Putin regime, and this can lead to a weakening of the chains of command and demotivation of the military the longer the war lasts. Therefore I want to present some of the activists against the Ukraine-War in Russia.

NOVICE IZ GOZDA (news from the forest) is an art project started in 2019 that publishes a newspaper. This newspaper refers to a historical newspaper, namely PARTIZANSKI DNEVNIK. This Slovenian daily newspaper was published during the occupation of Nazi Germany from September 1944 - May 1945. It was the largest illegal resistance medium in occupied territories during World War II. The print shop was hidden in inaccessible woodland. The printery is still there today and is still functioning. My idea was to bring this print shop back into operation due to the worrying developments of the last decade and beyond. This commissioning is done both on a symbolic level (NOVICE IZ GOZDA tries to get as close as possible to the original graphically) and on a real level (a small edition is printed with the historical printing machines). In 2019 I published the first issue, which deals with the increasing regressive politics in Europe. The second issue focusses on the current situation in Russia in connection with the work „Die Brücke“ in Graz.

In addition to my introduction and a historical overview on the Slovenian Partisan Printery by Miha Kosmač, Ilya Budraitskis describes Russia's dangerous shift to fascism, two Russian manifestos against the war are published, there are reports on partisan movements in Russia and the appearance of a resistance newspaper.

May the high watchtowers become long bridges! - Hannes Zebedin

History of Slovenian Partisan Printery, Vojsko (Idrija)

Slovenija Partisan Printery was a secret World War II printery run by the Slovenian partisans. It is located in the woods on the edge of the village of Vojsko (Municipality of Idrija). Open to visitors since 1947, it is nowadays under the patronage of the Idrija Municipal Museum. It represents unique cultural and historical monument of the European Resistance movements during World War II, promoting democratic values and importance of free press. Its printing presses are still operational.

Historical Background

After World War I ended in 1918, the Slovene-settled territory partially fell under the rule of the neighboring states Italy (Slovene Littoral – including Idrija), Austria and Hungary. Slovenes there were subjected to policies of forced assimilation. The other Slovene territory was incorporated into Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia (as part of Yugoslavia) was in April 1941 occupied and annexed into neighboring Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Independent State of Croatia and Hungary. During World War II Yugoslav Partisans resistance, as the leading force in the struggle against Nazi-Fascist forces, was organized.

From Managed Democracy to Fascism

Putin's Imposition of Obedience and Order on Russian Society

In just a month and a half since the outbreak of war in Ukraine, Putin's Russia has entered a new period in its history. The authoritarian regime built over the last twenty years, despite ever-increasing repression, has until recently allowed the existence of limited freedom of speech, party struggle within a so-called "managed democracy," and most importantly, the right for private life. The latter was a key element in the permanent depoliticization of Russian society: you might be unenthusiastic about government decisions or presidential rhetoric, but you always had a safe haven from "politics" in your daily business or your family circle. Today, with the letter Z, which has become almost an official grim symbol of the invasion of Ukraine, adorning the windows of public transport, schools and hospitals, the cosy space of private life has lost its right to exist.

The regime now requires unequivocal public acceptance of the war from every citizen. Any sign of deviation from this civic duty is condemned as treason, and any dissemination of information about the war other than official Defence Ministry briefs is treated as a crime. Since the war began, dozens of Russians – young and old, residents of Moscow and provincial towns – have been charged with new criminal offences of "discrediting the Russian army." Not only going into a square with an anti-war poster, but even a pacifist badge on a backpack or a careless comment in the workplace can be grounds for arrest or a huge financial fine. The persecution of dissidents is

During the national liberation struggle in Slovenia, the partisan press played an important connecting role. It propagated armed resistance against the occupying forces and represented a counterweight to widespread enemy propaganda. The need for the Slovene written language was all the greater due to 25 years of Italian, fascist pressures in the Slovene Littoral.

The largest and technically best equipped partisan printery in the Slovene Littoral was the Slovenija Partisan Printery. Following the advice of a local inhabitant, a secret location was selected for the printery below the edge of the village of Vojsko above the Kanomljica River valley. In the summer of 1944, the cabins were assembled at the sawmill in Gačnik homestead, and then the numbered beams and boards were transported to the selected location at night. The facilities included an engine room, kitchen and dining room, composing room, bookbinding and an electric plant for supplying power to the printing press with an electric motor. The collaborators of partisan pressmen bought a large, modern electric fast-printing press in Milano and, despite many dangers, illegally transported it to Gorica and then to Vojsčica (surrounding of Vojsko). Here the press was disassembled and carried part-by-part

and with great difficulty into the engine room of the printery. A smaller, TIGL printing press was also purchased.

The Slovenija Partisan Printery began to operate on 17 September 1944, and the next morning 4000 copies of the Partisan Daily were already dispatched via the courier relay station at Hum. The Partisan Daily was the only daily newspaper in occupied Europe to be printed by a resistance movement. It was published regularly until the end of the war in a daily edition of 4000 to 7000 copies. 40 - 50 persons worked in the printery, which operated in Vojsko until 1st May 1945. During its operation, a total of 313 various issues were printed on 1274 pages and in 1,394,000 copies. Master engraver Jože Bergman made a considerable number of linocuts, and cut as many as 56 different stamps into linoleum or lead with more than 450 specimens.

The printery was never discovered by the Nazi-Fascist forces, not even during their last offensive in the spring of 1945, when fierce battles raged in the direct vicinity of the printery and as many as 305 partisan soldiers fell under enemy fire at the above-lying Vojsčica.

Miha Kosmač, Idrija Municipal Museum



gradually becoming not only a matter for the police, but also for "vigilantes" who are prepared to write a denunciation about a neighbour or a colleague. All this does not mean, however, that mass nationalist fanaticism has taken the place of depoliticization – on the contrary, propaganda and repression remain the exclusive monopoly of the state.

Support for the war is strictly controlled from above and does not allow for any form of self-organisation. For example, the authorities have banned right-wing radicals from organising independent marches in solidarity with the Russian army – such actions can only be carried out by local authorities according to a uniform script approved by the presidential administration from Moscow. Backing for the war can only come in the form of backing for Putin; it must reflect the complete identity of the national leader and his people,

and nothing else. Anyone who is not prepared to do so is defined as an abettor of the "Nazis." This maniacal fixation of official propaganda on the terms "denazification" and "Nazism" seems as if it specifically suggests the right definitions for the changed nature of Putin's regime.

I think it can already be stated that today's political regime in Russia is rapidly evolving towards a new form of fascism – the fascism of the twenty-first century. But what are its characteristics? What are its similarities and differences from the European fascism of the first half of the previous century?

A huge body of historical and philosophical literature on fascism of the past has provided a variety of answers about the nature of this phenomenon. I would focus on two largely opposing approaches, one of which can be described as a theory of "movement" and the other

as a theory of "move." The first approach (by historians such as Ernst Nolte, for example) saw fascism primarily as a mass movement aimed at suppressing a revolutionary threat from outside the state, which was too weak to protect the rule of the ruling elite. According to this approach, the fascist movement broke the state's monopoly on violence against political opponents and then, once in power, transformed that state from within. The fascist regimes in Italy and Germany were, therefore, primarily movements that radically transformed the state and gave it a form of its own.

The second approach, by contrast, viewed fascism primarily as a top-down coup by the ruling classes themselves. This position was most clearly expressed by the sociologist Karl Polanyi, who saw in fascism an aspiration for the final victory of capitalist logic over any form of self-organisation and solidarity in society. The aim of fascism, according to Polanyi, was the complete social atomization and the dissolution of the individual into the machine of production. Fascism was thus something more profound than a reaction to the danger of revolutionary anti-capitalist movements from below – it was inextricably linked to the final establishment of the domination of the economy over society. Its goal was not only to destroy workers' parties, but any element of democratic control from below in general.

Modern fascism (or, as the historian Enzo Traverso defined it, post-fascism) no longer needs mass movements or a more or less coherent ideology. It seeks to affirm social inequality and the subordination of the lower classes to the higher classes as unconditional as the only possible reality and the only credible law of society.

Russian society, after thirty years of post-Soviet authoritarianism and neoliberal market reforms, has consistently been reduced to a state of silent victimhood, a malleable material from which a full-fledged fascist regime can be built. External aggression, based on the complete dehumanisation of the enemy ("Nazis" and "non-humans," as Putin's official propaganda puts it), was the decisive moment in the "move" made from above. Of course, the Russian regime has its own unique features and was produced by a complex combination of specific historical circumstances. However, it is very important to understand that Putin's fascism is not an anomaly, a deviation from "normal" development – including in Western societies.

Putinism is a frightening sign of a possible future to which extreme right-wing parties striving for power in various European countries could lead. In order to fight for a different future, we all need to reconsider the very foundations of the capitalist logic, which is quietly but persistently preparing the ground for a "move" from the top, which could happen in a heartbeat. The old and somewhat forgotten dilemma of Rosa Luxemburg, "socialism or barbarism," has become an urgent reality for Russia and for the world since the fateful morning of the 24th of February.

Ilya Budraitskis writes regularly on politics, art, film and philosophy for e-flux journal, openDemocracy, LeftEast, Colta.ru and other outlets. Currently he lives at an unknown place.

Manifesto of the "Socialists Against War" Coalition

The Russian state's power was based on the promises of peace and stability, and eventually led the country to war and economic catastrophe.

Like any other war in history, the current one divides everyone into two parties: pros and cons. Kremlin propaganda is trying to convince us that the whole nation has rallied around power. And miserable ancestors, pro-Western liberals and mercenaries of the external enemy are fighting for peace. It's a completely untenable lie.

This time the Kremlin elders were in the minority. Most Russians do not want fratricidal war, even among those who still trust the Russian authorities. They close their eyes so as not to see the world drawn by propagandists fell apart. They still hope that what is happening is not a war, especially not aggressive, but a "special operation" designed to "liberate" the Ukrainian people. Terrible footage of brutal bombing and shelling of cities will soon destroy these myths. And then even Putin's most loyal voters will say: we did not give you consent to carry out this unjust war!

But already now, tens of millions of people across the country are horrified and disgusted by what Putin's administration is doing. These are people of different beliefs. Most of them are not liberals at all, as propagandists claim. Among them there are a lot of left-wing, socialist or communist people. And of course, these people – the majority of our people – are sincere patriots of our Motherland.

We are told falsely that the opponents of this war are hypocrites. That they are not against war, but only in support of the West. It's a lie. We have never been supporters of the United States and its imperialist policy. When Ukrainian troops shelled Donetsk and Lugansk, we were not silent. Let's not remain silent even now that Kharkiv, Kiev and Odessa are bombed on the orders of Putin and his camarilla. There are many reasons to fight against this war. For us, supporters of social justice, equality and freedom, several of them are especially important.

- It's an unfair, war of conquest. There was no and there is no such threat to the Russian state for which it was necessary to send our soldiers to kill and die. Today they don't "release anyone." They don't help any people's movement. It's just that the regular army is smashing peaceful Ukrainian cities by order of a handful of billionaires who dream of

maintaining their power over Russia forever.

- This war leads to innumerable disasters for our peoples. Both Ukrainians and Russians pay dearly for it with their blood. But even far away in the rear, poverty, inflation, unemployment will affect everyone. The bills will be paid not by oligarchs and officials, but by poor teachers, workers, pensioners and the unemployed. Many of us will have nothing to feed the children.

- This war will reduce Ukraine to ruins and Russia into one big prison. Opposition media are already closed. People are thrown behind bars for leaflets, harmless pickets, even for posts on social networks. Soon the Russians will have only one choice: between prison and the military registration and enlistment office. The war brings with it a dictatorship that living generations have not yet seen.

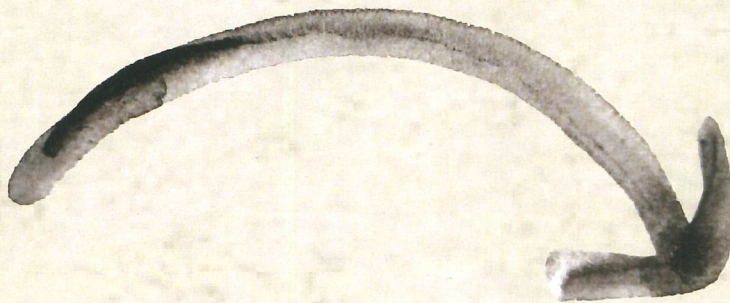
- This war significantly increases all risks and threats to our country. Even those Ukrainians who sympathized with Russia a week ago now enroll in the militia to fight our troops. With his aggression, Putin nullified all the crimes of Ukrainian nationalists, all the intrigues of American and NATO hawks. Putin gave them such arguments that new missiles and military bases would almost certainly appear along the perimeter of our borders.

- Finally, the struggle for peace is a patriotic duty of every Russian. Not only because we are the keepers of the memory of the most terrible war in history. But also because this war threatens the integrity and very existence of Russia.

Putin is trying to tightly link his own destiny with the fate of our country. If he succeeds, his inevitable defeat will be the defeat of the whole nation. And then the fate of post-war Germany can really wait for us: occupation, territorial partition, cult of collective guilt.

There is only one way to prevent these disasters. The war must be stopped by ourselves – men and women of Russia. This country belongs to us, not a handful of mad old people with palaces and yachts. It's time to get it back. Our enemies are not in Kiev and Odessa, but in Moscow. It's time to kick them out of there. War is not Russia. War is Putin and his regime. Therefore, we, the Russian Socialists and Communists, are against this criminal war. We want to stop her to save Russia

No intervention!
No dictatorship!
No poverty!



Sabotage of railway-tracks

We, Anarcho-Communists Combat Organization, sabotaged railway tracks (coordinates: 56 16'44"N 38 12'40.5"E) leading to the 12th Chief Directorate of the Ministry of Defense of RF – unscrewed a several bolts and dragged the rails apart.

We emphasize that we're not sure it's enough for a train to run off the track, it was just a test sabotage so to speak, we wanted try out this method ourselves, and also to make it less visible so the train wouldn't have time to slow down to a stop.

Nor was it certain that a derailment in such an unpopulated area would attract any media attention. And we have no way of seeing it through with our own eyes, so we decided to publish the results of our work "as is" – to share that experience with other partisans.

Some key aspects:

1) we targeted a railway leading to a military base so no civilian train would be at risk – to avoid innocent victims.

We recommend using wikimapia.org where you can find military bases not seen on a regular map. Also, using satellite maps one can visually estimate if the base is "active". For example, if any military vehicles or equipment can be seen accumulating in open areas.

2) based on the above, our operating methods were limited: military railways use diesel locomotives to pull trains so there are no signal control cabinets or power lines to damage. That left us only the railtracks as a main point of attack.

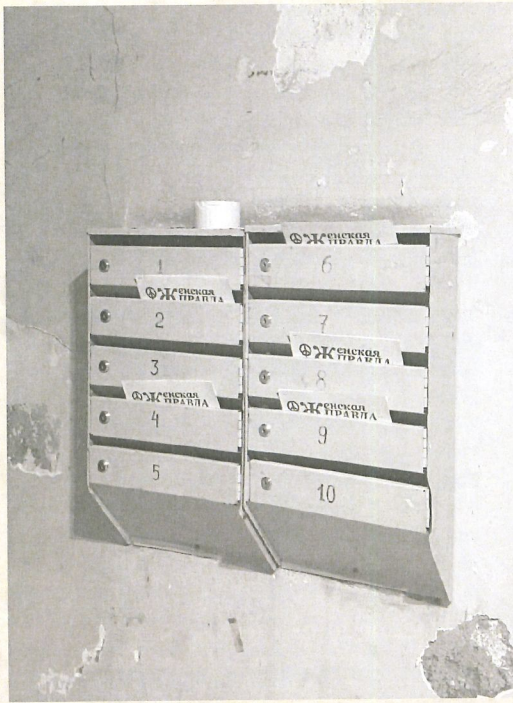
3) We've managed to disassemble the rail joint and unscrewed the nuts attaching rail to sleepers. As it happens, all it takes is a standard construction tools, adjustable wrenches with a handle > 0,5 m.

You're going to need adjustable (pipe) wrench because the rail is fastened by 2 types of nuts. We recommend having some type of lubricant to make it easier to unscrew nuts which are old and rusty.

4) So after all that, it became possible to lift and move the rail using leverages. The more nuts you unscrew, the easier you can move the rail.

This method proved to be effective and safe, while at the same time potentially leading to extensive damage to the Armed Forces of RF. Can only recommend!

The Combat Organization of Anarcho-Communists (BOAK) is a Russian underground anarcho-communist organization. It aims for social revolution and libertarian socialist society. The BOAK has become the most active subversive force in Russia since the start of the war.



Self-published newspaper *Women's Truth* (Zhenskaya Pravda)

The newspaper published by Feminist Anti-War Resistance comes out every two weeks. It serves as a way to break through the information blockade. The editors also try to make the distribution of the publication as accessible and safe as possible. „We try to be very careful in wording: we don't use the word war for example, so that if someone is detained with our newspaper, they won't be charged with a protocol on discrediting the Russian army“, shares one of the editors. This style was also chosen to ensure that the newspaper remains as neutral as possible and does not cause instant rejection among those to whom it falls into the hands.

Feminist Anti-War Resistance received numerous stories about how the newspaper provoked a dialogue about the war within the family. The activists also distribute it to mailboxes in their districts.

Manifesto by Feminist Anti-War Resistance

(excerpt)

Today feminists are one of the few active political forces in Russia. For a long time, Russian authorities did not perceive us as a dangerous political movement, and therefore we were temporarily less affected by state repression than other political groups. Currently more than forty-five different feminist organizations are operating throughout the country, from Kaliningrad to Vladivostok, from Rostov-on-Don to Ulan-Ude and Murmansk. We call on Russian feminist groups and individual feminists to join the Feminist Anti-War Resistance and unite forces to actively oppose the war and the government that started it. We also call on feminists all over the world to join our resistance. We are many, and together we can do a lot: Over the past ten years, the feminist movement has gained enormous media and cultural power. It is time to turn it into political power. We are the opposition to war, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and militarism. We are the future that will prevail. We call on feminists around the world:

- Join peaceful demonstrations and launch offline and online campaigns against the war in Ukraine and Putin's dictatorship, organizing your own actions. Feel free to use the symbol of the Feminist Anti-War Resistance movement in your materials and publications, as well as hashtags #FeministAntiWarResistance and #FeministsAgainstWar.

- Distribute the information about the war in Ukraine and Putin's aggression. We need the whole world to support Ukraine at this moment and to refuse to help Putin's regime in any way.

- Share this manifesto with others. It's necessary to show that feminists are against this war — and any type of war. It's also essential to demonstrate that there are still Russian activists who are ready to unite in opposition to Putin's regime. We are all in danger of persecution by the state now and need your support.

