

been shown widely, is screened at a women's conference of 6,000 in Hamburg. The women respond immediately by marching on the local TV & radio station demanding that the film be shown on TV.

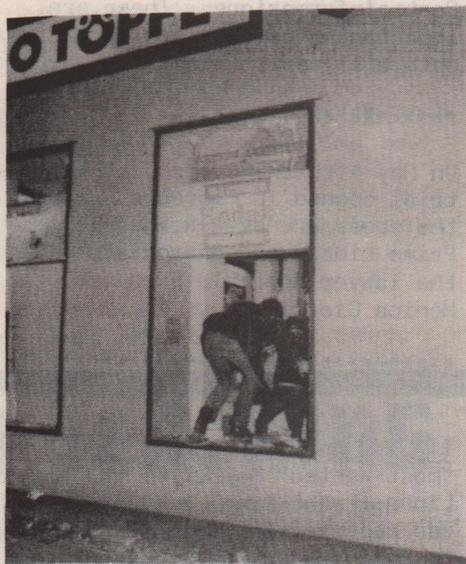
29th March: Bomb attack on the US security office at Giessen causes extensive damage (£22,000)

13th April: a US troop train is sabotaged near Hanover by a cable placed across the line, and police battle with rioting looters in West Berlin. Both actions are in support of the hunger strikers. 28 people arrested.

15th April: Bomb in Hamburg university wrecks the site of a proposed Psychological Institute intended as a laboratory for the perfection of torture techniques. Slogans are left painted on the wall in support of the hunger strikers: "Solidarity with the Starving".

3 fires are started in Luenberg (a flour mill, a snack bar & a carpet shop) in support of the hunger strikers.

17th April: Following the death of hunger striker Sigurd Debus, a 6 kilo bomb explodes in front of the Max Plank REsearch Institute in West Berlin. Hunger strike supporters smash windows and battle with the police in 3 cities in protest at Debus's death.

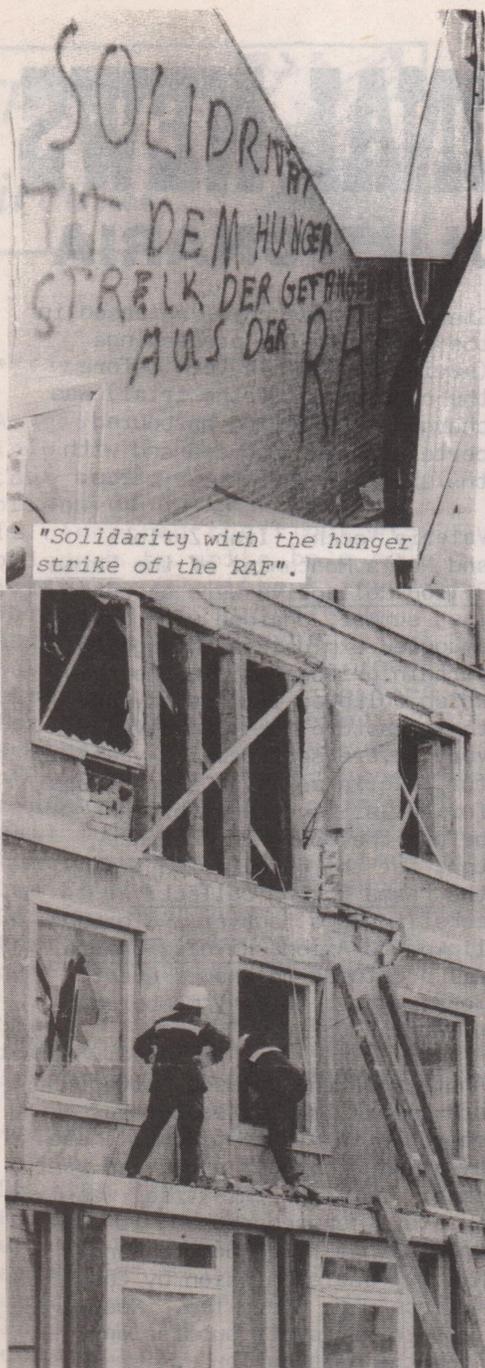


Hungerstrike supporters looting in Hamburg.

The Ministry of Interior is attacked with Molotov Cocktails.

A bomb explodes in front of the Ministry of Labour in Lubeck.

25 bomb threats are made to shops police stations and court buildings against the "Imperialist pig state of West Germany".



"Solidarity with the hunger strike of the RAF".

Wrecked torture institute after a visit from hunger strike supporters at Hamburg University

1st May: Vienna City councillor & Minister for Energy and Transport, Heinz Nittel, is shot dead by someone using a Makarov pistol.

11th May: Heinz Karry, Economics and Technology Minister and Deputy Premier of Hessen is shot dead in his Frankfurt apartment. 6 shots from a .22 high standard pistol were fired through his bedroom window by someone on a ladder outside as Karry lay in bed.

14th May: 350 squatters battle with police in West Berlin after 13 squatters had been arrested during a raid.

27th May: More than 100 police and several demonstrators injured during street battles between squatters and police in West Berlin.

INSTANDBESETZUNG

- or how to get hold of a decent roof over your head.

Over the past year or so there have been occasional news items concerning violent, bloody clashes between the forces of "order" and groups of demonstrators, mainly young people. Which just goes to show that all is not well in the bourgeois paradises of old Europe. In Zurich, at Xmas time, hundreds of frustrated youths (frustrated in spite of the plenty) set about attacking and looting stores overflowing with what would appear to have been the most alluring consumer goods...and looting, not for the purpose of purloining them, but in order to destroy them. This was only yet another in a series of confrontations dating back to the summer in Zurich and the closure by the city authorities of a youth centre, which, allegedly, had been a drugs market and a "hotbed" of misfits.

Simultaneously in Berlin the worsening housing scarcity affecting the less privileged, as a result of the brazen property speculation in the older working class districts of the city, spawned a new social movement.. the *instanbesetzung* - or seizure of empty houses for the purpose of renovating them. The word is a play upon the supposed *Instandsetzen*, or renovation of old apartments, the pretext upon which landlords and large builders oust the old tenants so that they can "modernise" the old districts with generous government subsidies. The *instanbesetzung* is the people's reply to this: it means squatting in the buildings and doing the renovations oneself.

It is estimated that some 80,000 people are presently looking for somewhere to live in Berlin; 17,000 of these are deemed specially urgent cases. Each year the landlords of some 40,000 apartments refuse to renew the tenant's leases. The apartments are left empty to deteriorate so that there will be proff of the need to renovate and thereby claim the grant. Once modernised the flats can claim up to 200% the amount they fetched earlier. The real beneficiaries of the rehabilitation programme are the landlords, estate agents and building firms. Estate agents do a great business selling empty homes to builders who modernise them and sell the leases at exorbitant profits. On the other hand the building of new apartments is practically at a standstill at a time when the government is pouring huge sums of money into the construction of commercial premises. Legislation to protect tenants is not implemented and the authorities whose responsibility it is to see that

such legislation is observed stand back and watch the stampede to tear down the older quarters of the city.

One of the districts affected by this kiss of death "rehabilitation" scheme is Kreuzberg, beside the famous wall. As the inhabitants say, with typical Berlin humour, "what the war could not do, the rehabilitators have managed" i.e. devastate their district. It is not simply a question of cheap accommodation; what is at stake is something equally important. ..the quality and style of life in the old districts. Neighbours know one and other and there is a very lively community life. Whenever the old tenants are compelled to leave Kreuzberg, driven out by the landlords, the alternative, if any, is to move into some concrete ghetto on the outskirts of the city, where they not only live in utter isolation but in areas where the rents are usually higher.

It has been in Kreuzberg over the past year that the first *Instanbesetzung* took place: empty houses were spontaneously occupied usually by young people determined to fix them up and live in communities. In December 80 there must have been 20 occupied houses in Kreuzberg but the movement has spread like wildfire to other adjacent districts, like Neukoelln, Moabit etc. It is presently estimated that in all there are about 50 occupied houses with around 500 residents.

Kreuzberg has also been the scene of the first confrontation with the powers that be. On 12th December the police, in defence of property rights, attempted to dislodge the squatters. But they met with resistance. There is a massive police presence but there is no shortage of support for the squatters.

Wisely anticipating official reprisals, the occupiers had set up a telephone alarm network by means of which they were able to mobilise friends and sympathisers at short notice. Fleets of taxis crammed with people raced to the scene. Barricades were thrown up...the police made baton charges. Squatters & friends retreated, the stonethrowing began and the first casualties were the plate glass windows of the new Kreuzberg shopping centre and the banks and the police (of course). The destruction was not mindless. They were attacking the symbols of the "rehabilitators alliance" between speculators, the banks and the police. *page 7*



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

AZIONE RIVOLUZIONARIA

Meanwhile more cars were arriving bringing whole families, young people, workers. Although many of the residents steered clear of the battle there can be no doubt of the groundswell of sympathy and solidarity with the squatters, since the others too, might at any time come up for the eviction treatment from their landlords.

After 6 hours fighting the tally was 200 injured (some of the injuries among the squatters were serious) several arrests and the aborting of the attempted eviction. The extent of police violence and the manipulation of the media, which sought to explain away the confrontations as the result of the presence in Kreuzberg of Kraakers (as the Amsterdam squatters are called) did not succeed in stopping the movement or dividing it.

The movement is a spontaneous reaction, like its counterparts in Zurich and Amsterdam and elsewhere in Germany, against the rampant deterioration of living conditions in the larger cities. The numbers effectively occupying houses and actively participating in confrontations are small but solidarity is much more widespread. A week after the confrontation at Kreuzberg there was a peaceful demonstration of 10,000 people demanding legal recognition of squats and release for those arrested.

The demonstration wound its way around the city centre and finished at Moabit prison. Only recently (early February) the police evicted 15 squatters in Goettingen. Later some of the demonstrators set fire to the local housing offices and smashed the windows of the Christian Democrat headquarters. That same week, in Berlin, there was a further demonstration in support of the squatters. Also in Berlin, in January, the Social Democrat government was forced to resign and a political crisis sparked by a financial scandal aggravated by the Instandbesetzungen. The movement continues to spread and the new administration overwhelmed by spontaneous direct actions. Verena Stolcke.

From 11th February to 19th March Florence Assize Court heard charges against 27 comrades, alleged members of an "armed gang" (the state's way of describing a guerilla group) called Azione Rivoluzionaria. The indictments also referred to "subversive association", possession of weapons, participation in hold-ups etc. Of the 27 accused, 13 were in prison (only one, Giampaolo Verdecchia, has just been set free) whilst the others are still at large. One, Rita Cinto, surrendered herself to the Court whilst the trial was in progress, having been on the run before. The comrades concerned were arrested at different times and their arrests were unconnected.

Rocco Martino, Carmela Pane, Willy Piroch and Gaby Hartwig were arrested on 20th February 1979 after police uncovered guns and explosives in their car. Whilst facing a trial on charges for possession, they admitted their membership of the clandestine anarcho-communist organisation Azione Rivoluzionaria. As the trial progressed, they refused to answer questions and dismissed their lawyers.

Juan Soto Paillacar, a Chilean refugee (Pinochet's government unsuccessfully sought his extradition) was charged with membership of A.R. and with possession of weapons, participation in a hold-up and other offences. At present he has a serious leg wound which may require amputation as the jailers are known to neglect the health of prisoners. During the trial, he too refused to reply to questioning and stated simply: "I am an internationalist militant. I do not recognise this court. I dismiss my lawyer. I do not wish to answer your questions. Long Live the Social Revolution!"

Renato Piccolo also arrested in March 79 faced the same charges as Paillacar. So did Davide Fastelli, who was charged with aiding and abetting Paillacar. When captured, Fastelli was in a sanatorium undergoing treatment for nervous problems. After a few days in prison he was transferred to the asylum for the criminally insane where he was given treatment consisting mainly of sedation. His condition has somewhat improved now as he has been returned to prison.

Roberto Gemignani faced the same charges plus forgery of documents. Rita Cinto who was still on the run when the trial started was charged with having maintained contact with members of A.R.

Nicoletta Martella, who was arrested then freed, is now back in prison following the invented testimony of one Vincenzo Oliva who has sought to profit from recent legislation promising reduced sentences to any who co-operate with the courts. Oliva has accused Martella with having smuggled explosives into prison.

Giampaolo Verdecchia, released in the course of the proceedings (having served his term before the conclusion of the trial) was charged with having harboured certain of the accused and with the theft of 5 identity cards.

Valeria Vecchi, Ivan Zerlotti and Nella Montanini of the Parma Prison Collective were arrested last summer, charged with having smuggled explosives through to certain prisoners. In the trial which followed immediately on their capture, they received very severe sentences: 8 years for Valeria and Ivan and 5 years for Nella. They were brought before the court in Florence too, for the judge ruled that the Parma Prison collective constitutes a "subversive group" linked to Azione Rivoluzionaria. All 3 refused to answer questions, except to deny membership of A.R.

Another of the accused Salvatore Lepera implicated several comrades in his testimony, thereby earning himself a reduced sentence. As usual this trial was carefully choreographed, it was only a sham fixed before hand. All but one submission by the defence were overruled. Needless to say every submission from the prosecution was sustained; even the prosecution's request for sentences were granted by the court.

ON AZIONE RIVOLUZIONARIA.

from "CONTRIBUTI ALLA CRITICA ARMATA LIBERTARIA", Edizioni Anarchismo, 1980.

Azione Rivoluzionaria came into being in 1976 and claimed a variety of attacks. Among them ones against the Vatican-owned, Edizioni Paoline; the La Spezia fashion house; "Luisa Spagnoli" because it exploited prison labour; the construction sites of new prisons at Florence and Livorno and others; a job agency in Turin; Michelin plant in Turin; the IPCA company in

Cirie, known as the "cancer factory" on account of its work hazards; the premises of the Milan daily Corriere della Sera; the Bank of Roma & Ferrari in Rome; the Christian Democrat HQ in Aosta; IBM in Turin....

The attacks which made the greatest impact in the media have been those directed at individuals. The wounding of Dr Mammoli (31st March 1977) a Pisa prison doctor who allowed Franco Serrantini to die, untended, of a brain haemorrhage on 5th May 72. Serrantini had been savagely beaten by the police in a demonstration. Brought to trial Dr Mammoli had naturally been found not guilty.

A.R. has other things to its credit, for example, the distribution of a phoney tract purporting to come from the 3 biggest union groupings (the CGIL, CISL and UIL) calling for a general strike "against torture, special prisons and the reactionary course which some would foist upon the labour movement."

The comrades of A.R. have not left it to the mass media to handle their propaganda. They have issued several theoretical documents and appeals to the movement at large, some of these have been published by the Anarchist press - Anarchismo, A Rivista Anarchica, CDA - and the marxist Controinformazione. These are important documents and up to date analyses.

On May 11th this year another trial opened in Florence. Before the court are ex-A.R. people (now Prima Linea) and anarchists like the lawyer Gabriele Fuga and Monica Giorgi.

ITALY: Maurice Bignami (29), "most wanted" member of the Prima Linea (Front Line) guerilla group, was captured in Turin on 5th February in a gun battle, after a robbery of a jewellery store. Bignami, who is wanted in connection with at least 4 assassinations carried out by Prima Linea, declared himself to be a political prisoner when he was arrested. 2 of his comrades managed to hijack a car and escape.



(PHOTO: Maurice Bignami)





(PHOTO: Mario Moretti, right, and Enrico Fenzi at their trial in Milan).

On 13th May, Mario Moretti, reputed Red Brigades leader, suspected of organising the kidnapping of Aldo Moro in 1978, was sentenced to 8 years by a Milan court for possession of arms.

2 JUNE MOVEMENT

Wanted 2nd June Movement member Hans Peter Knoll (31) was arrested in Australia on 28th February on information from the German police and secretly deported to West Germany.

On 16th May three members of 2nd June Movement, Gabrielle Rollnick (31), Angelika Goder (31) and Klaus Viehmann (26) were each sentenced to 15 years for involvement in the kidnappings of CDU politician Peter Lorenz (Feb 75) and Austrian industrialist Walter Palmer (Nov 77).

BOLIVIA

LETTER FROM BOLIVIA.

La Paz 20th January 81.

I write today with news of the massacre which took place on Thursday last. All the information available to date indicates that the government has made up its mind to physically eliminate all opposition. In addition there are strong indications that the Argentinian intelligence services were behind this latest butchery. Thursday's outrage was yet another phase in their plans.

How was the meeting place discovered? There are various explanations but no way of knowing. The fact is that 12 people were to have met and that could scarcely have gone unnoticed. What no one could have foreseen was the atrocity and depravity of the crime. Regretably the left thinks of fascism in terms of leaflets and cannot grasp its true nature. No one imagined that the fascists would so savagely put an end to a peaceful political meeting, with machine-gun fire and that people would be hacked and clubbed to death with knives, bayonets and rifle butts. One father was told that his son's body had been run

through countless times by a bayonet and utterly disfigured before they deigned to finish him off.

The statements of those few people brave enough to speak out all agree. They all say that they heard many shots followed by a momentary silence and that those inside the flat surrendered. Ricardo Navarro came out with his hands in the air. A burst of gunfire cut him down where he stood. They also say, despite the army's statement, there was no policeman killed and that in his place they buried a peasant from Caranavi, a leader of the MIR and a parliamentary candidate.

Already the COB has brought out a document entitled 'Massacre'. We must steel ourselves for further heavy blows for it seems that the soldiers found lists of names and telephone numbers. Apparently only 3 leaders of the trade union organisation managed to get away. The principle one arrived late for the meeting only to find the building already surrounded.

First the military police and town police surrounded the whole district. Then they singled out and cut off the block containing the targeted house. Finally the paramilitaries went into action, stormed the house and...massacre followed. We shall learn more later. The MIR has issued a complete list of the dead and sent it to Switzerland.

That is it basically: a bit confused, written in the heat of an exasperated anger and feeling of impotence. Many have surrendered to fear. Our main task now... is to set to work, calmly and seriously.

THE MASSACRE TOOK PLACE ON 15TH JANUARY. 2 MIR PEOPLE WERE KILLED ON THE SPOT. THEIR BODIES WERE PLACED ON A TRUCK AND TAKEN, ALONG WITH 6 LIVE COMRADES TO THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR. 8 HORRIBLY MUTILATED, DISFIGURED CORPSES EMERGED.

SPAIN

LUIS ANDRES EDO, secretary of the Regional Catalan Committee of the CNT and organiser of the Construction Union in Barcelona, has been in prison since October 1980. Of the several people arrested with him only one remains in prison: Jose Ros Ponce. It is clear that Roas is in jail to justify a charge of conspiracy against Edo, who could hardly conspire on his own.

Edo is accused of "common agreement to possess arms, falsify documents, manufacture explosives and propaganda of an anarchist character and maintain subversive contacts."

This is a very ambiguous and cloudy accusation. That Edo maintains "propaganda of an anarchist character" is patently obvious. Note of course that the police (as elsewhere) use the phrase in its fascist connotation - anarchism is criminal of itself.



The judge was prepared to grant bail on these charges but the police objected "because of his influence with the youth". The charge is clearly political directed against the union once the biggest trade union - almost the only one in Catalonia - and a thorn in the flesh of the rival socialist and communist unions.

It is almost certain that this is part of the drive to "purify" the trade union atmosphere and to reduce all unions to a tamed state.

Send protests to: the Spanish Ambassador (citing Juzgado de Instruccion num 7 of Barcelona, summary no. 165/80).

continued from page 5

Anarchists with the same abhorrence as it does the fascists? The answer is that the anarchists can hold meetings freely and without any attack by the public no matter what is said about them in the media. Reasonable juries can understand and even come to sympathise with anarchists when they are attacked in courts. The press may try to equate anarchism with murder and mayhem but the public knows from its own experience the fascists are the mass murderers.

Albert Meltzer.

SOVIET EDUCATION
(Impressions on a trip to Russia).

"Do you have any problems of drug-taking in the University?" asked one of the social workers in our party, of the Party official in the University of Leningrad. He answered, perfectly frankly, that the problem was unknown in Russia, adding that "maybe in a few years, we shall have the problem, now we have no experience". But he firmly rejected that there were any drop-outs among University students. "Such a thing is unthinkable", he said. "The students represent our elite. The brains of the country. They will have the best jobs, we shall certainly never waste what we have expended on them by letting them be unemployed. This shocks us most about the West."

Murmurs of approval among the visiting teachers and social workers! He went on to explain why there was no vandalism, not even any graffiti, in the cities of Russia - a thing that is as striking to the Western visitor as the absence of advertising.

In the schools, "if a student is uncooperative, the teacher does her best with him (teacher being usually female because it is not a very well paid profession). If this does not work, she calls on the other pupils to gang up (his word was co-operate) to get the offender to see the light. If this does not work, the teacher will call on the headmaster (almost invariably male, we were told). The headmaster will do his best, bringing in the "influence" of older pupils, but may finally approach the trade union representative. Then father is seen at work and told he must help in rehabilitating the offender, or face the loss of bonuses and financial incentives at work. He may even lose time to go home and supervise the child's extra-school education. Mother, who depends on her job too, may even be told that she cannot work any more and must stay at home doing one job properly. Only in the last resort, we were told smugly, was the child sent to anything like a remand home. "And that is the only part of our educational system for which the parents must pay," he said. "But it rarely happens."

There were general smiles all round. Most of our excursion were liberals, but almost all were social workers and teachers. This was indeed utopia for them! Indeed, one of them, on the coach, misunderstanding my horror of the whole thing, said that "it probably isn't as good as that really, they must have some problems they won't admit. Not very likely, though."

A.M.

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THE RULE OF LAW OR:

HOW THE RICH EXPLOIT THE POOR
 HOW CAPITAL STEALS FROM LABOUR
 HOW PROPERTY REMAINS INTACT
 HOW THE DISINHERITED GET TRAMPLED ON.

Professor Lombrozo expressed a very straightforward view of crime in society, in his book "The Female Offender" (1897). An acknowledged expert on the topic, he maintained that criminality had no connection with "environmental" factors but was due to the evil doings of the "born criminal". Having established this principle, Lombrozo felt able to go further and isolate and identify the physical characteristics of the criminal type. Some of the characteristics he discovered were: thick, black hair; a receding chin; 'vacant eyes'; asymmetry in the face; a disproportionately large skull and so forth. The "incredibly ugly" featured prominently in his various works as being particularly prone to criminal behaviour.

Few criminologists would dare to repeat Lombrozo's view today, but fewer still would admit that crime and law enforcement is not so much concerned with morality, ethics or establishing a code of social behaviour based on 'moral' considerations but with the naked self-interest of the ruling class, with a device by which one class establishes and legitimises its rule over another. And this has always been so.

The development of the law in Europe was always crucially linked with the ruling class. Justice, dispensed at the courts of feudal kings in return for money, was sought by nobles, who wished to reinforce or claim particular rights over territory. Similarly the papal courts in the early middle ages did business on a strictly cash basis. The litigants came to the court (at Rome), paid money for their case to be heard, and went away after the adjudication. Needless to add, the peasantry, tied to the feudal manors were not given the opportunity to resort to the law, even if they had the money. For them justice was still the prerogative of the local lord who presided in his own court.

Another element of the development of law codes was the intimate connection between the secular authorities and the church. Mortal sins were, for example, capital crimes. Missing mass on Sundays was a criminal offence, as was swearing, adultery, blasphemy, heresy and so on.

How terrible this combination could be was established in the witch-craze of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The hunt for witches began in the mountainous areas of western Europe, which had their own cultures and languages and were most resistant to the encroachments of the absolutist and centralist state. These areas were therefore considered by rulers such as Francis 1 of France, and Pope Innocent VIII as potential threats to their political supremacy. Thus the hunt was not simply a matter of the Dominican friars persecuting people over issues of doctrine but was equally a manifestation of political and social intolerance. The law, religious and criminal, was used in a ruthless drive towards orthodoxy.

From this it can be seen that religious and cultural conformity was declared illegal because it was thought to contain inherent threats to the primacy of the state. A more direct and more articulate threat was made by the radical sects during and after the English Civil War (1642-49). Once again the law was used to suppress movements which called for law reform, the abolition of tithes, and the separation of wealth from power.

The difference between the 'witches' of the sixteenth century and the radicals of the seventeenth century illustrate the way in which the ruling class changed their perception of their enemies. But it also demonstrates a remarkable continuity. 'Witches' (and Jews) were seen as threats because of their religious and cultural non-conformity; radicals were also seen as non-conformists but with the difference that theirs was a political non-conformity. Common to both was the fact that they were both illegal, both outside the law.

No member of the ruling class in Hanoverian England, no gentleman or lord, would have bothered to deny that the draconian law code then in force was designed for anything other than the protection of their property rights from the lower order. Indeed, this was the rationale of the law, according to the spirit of the times. The Black Act was enforced in order to safeguard the

property rights of the rich. Poaching, taking from fish ponds and deer shooting were all made offences punishable by the severest penalties. The poor, hard hit by years of bad harvest and trade depression, were to be warned that they must not let economic desperation drive them to expropriate their better's property.

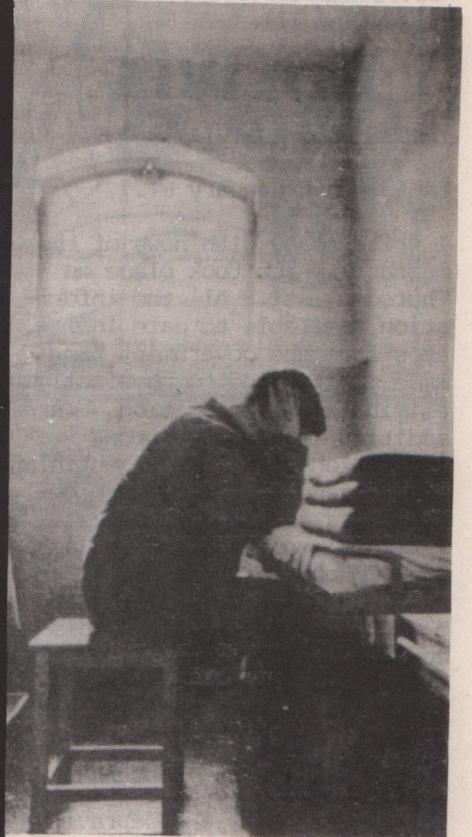
In modern society the police force has the role not simply of crime prevention or detection but also of surveillance. The metropolitan police force, the creation of Sir Robert Peel in 1829, was briefed to report on any sign of political unrest within working class communities. The gentry, suspicious of central government's attempts to displace the parish constables, only agreed to Peel's proposals for reorganising the police, because they felt particularly threatened by working class unrest at the time. They watched nervously as industrialisation and urbanisation broke down existing social bonds and concentrated large numbers of working people together. They expected that the new police force would be instrumental in retaining the status quo and securing their interests.

Things were simpler in the past. That the law and the law enforcement agencies were employed to ensure that there were no threats to the stability of the state was never in doubt. Everyone knew it; the ruling class openly admitted it. Now of course this element of law enforcement is played down in public. The police and the law are now 'non-political'. The role of the policeman is to ensure that citizens can go about their normal, lawful business without interruption from muggers, rapists and hoodlums. 'Humanity', 'consensus', and so forth are the watch words which have replaced 'repression' and 'intimidation'. But the fact remains that in the final analysis the police role has gone unchanged in all important respects, and the law still aims at safeguarding the rule of property and the security of the wealthy.

TIME OUT STRIKE

In May, this year, 64 workers at TIME OUT (a London weekly magazine) went on strike over the management's attempt to end an equal pay agreement which had existed since the magazine was founded. In June the owner of TIME OUT, Social Democratic Party member, Tony Elliott, sacked the strikers and had them evicted from the offices in Covent Garden, by some hired thugs.

Since the strike TIME OUT has not been printed and Tony Elliott is said to be losing a great deal of money but that has not deterred him from refusing to come to a settlement. Duncan Campbell, former news editor, says that a new publication is in the offing which will continue Time Out's tradition of combining politics and entertainments guide + equal pay for all workers. At the moment the sacked workers are looking for financial backing to get the new magazine on the road. We wish them well.



DON'T BE LIKE THIS POOR SOD! SUBSCRIBE NOW TO ENSURE YOU GET YOUR COPY OF BLACK FLAG!



LETTERS

Jose Ros Ponce & Luis Edo - from BARCELONA PRISON

Just received your letter; you should know already that I am never in poor spirits, no matter what the difficulties may be and I am not about to let things get me down on this occasion. Fortunately there are still many friends such as yourself to take an interest in the case, although you doubtless are aware that some have seized upon our difficulty to launch the usual attacks upon us. The attacks are nothing new but given our circumstances they have taken a more serious turn.

When first placed under arrest (on 8th October 80) the general impression we had (after police questioning) was that we should be freed in no more than 5 or 6 weeks. Of the 12 originally arrested, six walked free after a preliminary hearing, after spending nine days in custody, held under the provisions of the Ley Antiterrorista [similar to the Prevention of Terrorism Act in this country] At the end of last year (1980) another 3 were released; and one month later another one. We all expected that, in no time at all, it would be the turn of us two, who remained in prison, to walk free. However there has been no action over the last two months.

During all this time we took the view that there was no need to mount a campaign on our behalf, for that would only waste the energies of our colleagues who have other concerns and campaigns to contend with; and frankly, we took this view because we confidently expected that the wheels of the judicial process alone would regularise our position. Things have run completely counter to our expectations and, naturally we now find ourselves obliged to change our attitude.

Let this be stated clearly: at no time have we sought to hold the centre stage and hog the limelight by exploiting the fact that we were prisoners - quite the contrary. We did nothing which might make us the "centre" of the attention of militants, the Organisation or the Movement. Consciously and deliberately we opted to play it cool and quiet, lest we be thought to be making demands and bringing moral pressures to bear upon our colleagues.

Consequently, if our attitude has changed, it is not because of any lust for personal glorification (that lust is one we have never felt, unless the glory be that of being of service to fellow activists, the Organisation and the Movement).

In this respect we feel that the time has come when we must suggest that we mobilise all of our resources to mount a campaign of propaganda agitation in order to expose the nature of our detention in custody. The charges against us are, to be honest, laughable. Jose is charged with possession of an unloaded, turn of the century revolver; and I am charged with the possession of one blank passport and possession of a text (several duplicated pages long) on the manufacture of explosives, received through the post. By contrast much more serious charges were levelled against two of those already released.

And that is precisely what is so puzzling...that we, the only two detained in custody, are precisely the two facing charges which usually result in the release on remand within several weeks. The fact is perfectly understandable once one is aware of the political activism of us two - the two who remain prisoners.

In 1969, under Franco, when just 18 years old, Jose Ros Ponce was arrested, tried and sentenced for illegal association and propaganda; subsequently he has been prominent in the general strikes in the construction industry in Barcelona province in 1975, 76 & 77. All of these things have brought him to the notice of the forces of repression, and he is distinguished as a labour militant of note.

Since 1976 Jose has shown himself as one of the foremost reorganisers of the C.N.T.'s construction syndicate in Barcelona. It must be borne in mind that the Barcelona Construction Union is the first union to have begun to advocate a break with the Convenios Colectivos, a model of labour relations set down by Franco and retained to this day. The union has also been prominent in the clash of tendencies within the C.N.T. in its advocacy of retaining the anarchist outlook of the C.N.T. For all of these reasons the forces of repression have been concerned to break the impetus of this union.

That accounts for why we are being kept in prison:

1. It serves as a warning to our colleagues.
2. It discredits us by alleging that we are terrorists.
3. As the police failed to implicate us in acts of terrorism, this is their way of taking revenge.

Jose Ros Ponce & Luis Andres Edo
Barcelona 7.5.81.

INTERVIEW

Interview with a former member of the Leningrad commune - in November 1978, aged 16, he was forced to leave the USSR.

Q. Certain of the main figures in the Left Opposition group have been active since February 76. What was going on at that time?

A. Well, on the occasion of the CPSU's 25th Congress some young people brought out some tracts. These tracts were pro-communist and took a stand in favour of communism with a human face. Then the KGB arrested Andrei Reznikov and Alexandr Skobov among others. Their tracts had closed with the words: "long life to communism" "Long live the new revolution" The group was pro communist and pro marxist but it also contained anarchists and others.

Q. What was the subsequent evolution of the group?

A.. After the 76 episode, Skobov set up a commune in Leningrad. Among the young there is a great fad for hitchhiking and we had a certain system to help us with it. If you wanted to go, say, from Leningrad to Odessa, we could let you have the addresses of people prepared to give you some food and a place to sleep. That way you would discover that there is a commune here and one there etc. So a network was built up.

Q. How did the commune come to be the focus of a political movement?

A. There was a lot of discussion in the commune. We talked about the situation in the country, the situation abroad etc. We sensed the extent of the system's hypocrisy. So many lies. One was only allowed to interpret history or literature according to the official line. We issued pamphlets - we customarily portrayed the USSR as non-communist and non-marxist, the CP not being a marxist party, in so far as all power was in State hands. Communism was to have been a free society.

Q. What were the main political persuasions of the group?

A. I would say there was three: marxists; anarchists; plus left democrats - they only got involved in the democratic movement, the human rights movement. We had tactical and strategic differences; there was a whole range of opinions.

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ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1) The spontaneous occupation of the London underground railway system as air raid shelters, later regularised and organised by the state despite its earlier opposition to the idea.

2) Though presumably any organisation, even one with which one disagrees, can call itself anything it was laid down by Lord Northcliffe in 1920, in a house "rule book" later adopted by all his newspapers and to this day by the right wing London "Daily Mail", that the

rightful name of the Industrial Workers of the World was the Independent Workers of the World. The intention was presumably to mislead, perhaps to hide, that it was a union organisation as distinct from a political body.

3) She was a pacifist as well as a Christian but went to Spain in 1936 and served in the C.N.T. Militia.

4) In its early days most, and after 1914, all, its members were women, and most were anarchists. Some lived in Woolwich but others came from elsewhere in London - first as an alternative to the women's suffrage movement women's suffrage (middle class) clubs, later because they became convinced anarchists.

5) General Ludendorff, arch-Junker reactionary and one of the founders of the Nazi Party, made the appeal, in pamphlet form, in the Yiddish language. It was distributed in W.W.1 in the Jewish villages appealing for aid for the advancing Germans. Nevertheless it did nothing for the German Army since the villages mostly consisted of non-combatants, others being conscripted to the front anyway. However it incited great massacres by the retreating Russians.

6) Ehrlich and Alter, leaders of the Polish Socialist Jewish Bund, escaped the Nazis and from Russia tried to organise the Jewish workers in Poland into an underground resistance. They were executed by the Russians - Stalin had no intention of allowing any underground resistance that was not controlled by the Communist Party.

PATSY O'HARA: MILITANT SOCIALIST

below: armed INLA Volunteers prepare to fire the final salute over the coffin of their comrade, Patsy O'Hara



I first met Patsy O'Hara in 1975. He had been arrested, while crossing the border near Derry, by soldiers. In his car was a stick of explosives which Patsy, a former internee and well-known as a republican in Derry, always maintained the army planted. He was remanded to Long Kesh which was then run on the cage system. Like myself, Patsy was a member of the recently formed Irish Republican Socialist Party and we were together in Cage 14.

Patsy came from a republican family in Derry. In 1971, when he was fourteen years old he was shot by British soldiers and spent several weeks hobbling about on crutches. His elder brother, Sean Seamus, was interned in the same year and, according to his family, from that time on life was never the same, there was always either one of them in prison or on the run.

I was struck by the fact that Patsy and I had been greatly influenced by the same two events. The first was the Civil Rights demonstration in Derry, in October 5th 1968 when Civil Rights marchers were beaten up by the police and then dispersed by water cannon. The same age as myself, Patsy was barely a teenager in 1968 but he saw at first hand the assault by the RUC on the marchers and it left a lasting impression.

The second event was the fire in Long Kesh in 1974. In October the prisoners set fire to the wooden huts of the camp and the next day we battled with the army who

saturated the camp with CS and CR gas and fired rubber bullets indiscriminately. Alsatian dogs were set on us even after we had surrendered. We were then beaten by soldiers and screws, forced to hold half-squats for hours on end and spreadeagled against the wire. For the next ten weeks or so we lived without proper shelter and with only a very inadequate diet - for the first fortnight it consisted of dry white bread and milk. Imprisoned in separate cages at the time, I didn't know Patsy but it left an indelible mark on him, as it did on me. He described it thus:

"We were given two blankets and mattresses and put into one of the cages. For the next two months we were on a starvation diet, no facilities of any kind and most of the men lying out in the open elements."

I remember Patsy as a militant socialist, someone who was deeply committed to establishing a free society in Ireland. He cared nothing for the theocracy of the Irish Republic, but was dedicated to a classless and secular Ireland.

Patsy was not untypical, by no means unique in Northern Ireland. His short life was characterised by poverty, harassment and deprivation but throughout he remained determined and strong. This was his strength and it is the strength of those fighting in the north.

Ronan Bennett.

SAVE LITTLE A

When anarchists are arrested we rightly see this as an attack upon the movement. Defence groups have repeatedly demonstrated the worth of solidarity (Stoke Newington Eight, Murrays, Persons Unknown, etc.). Now we are threatened with the imminent loss of not comrades but of PRINTING FACILITIES. Unless our printers at Little @ can find £10,000 in a hurry their press will be forced to fold and the movement will lose what has been the mainstay of its propaganda efforts over the past ten years. The anarchist movement in England badly needs Little @ to continue. A defence group is being formed to stop the movement being silenced in this way.

What would be your reaction if the POLICE seized or closed down an anarchist press?

What is your reaction now that lack of MONEY is about to close down an anarchist press?

Your reaction SHOULD be to try to stop this happening by supporting the campaign to save Little @. In the long term the press needs a constant flow of (paying) work if it is to continue. If you have something to print take it to Little@ NOT a commercial printer. In the meantime, send money, ideas for raising money, or offers of help to the Little @ Defence Group NOW, before it is too late.

Little @ Defence Group,
c/o Little @,
C1 Metropolitan Wharf,
Wapping Wall,
London, E1.



● Britain's militarist policy - shown here by the RUC in Bellaghy during Francis Hughes' funeral - is being increasingly actively opposed by the nationalist community

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PERHAPS NOTHING MORE VIVIDLY DESCRIBES THE ROLE OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY AS A PARAMILITARY SHOCK FORCE THAN A PHOTOGRAPH LIKE THIS. THE RUC WAS ALWAYS ARMED, EVEN BEFORE THE CURRENT "TROUBLES". ALWAYS THE ARMS AVAILABLE WERE THE MOST MODERN, THE MOST LETHAL, AROUND. NOT CONTENT WITH STERLING SUB-MACHINE GUNS AND WALTHER AUTOMATIC PISTOLS, THE RUC DEMANDED WEAPONS OF A MORE HEAVY CALIBRE. THEY WERE THEN ISSUED WITH MAGNUM PISTOLS, A GUN THAT MOST US POLICE FORCES CONSIDER TOO POWERFUL TO USE.

SOME OF THOSE WEAPONS HAVE BEEN USED BY RUC MEN TO MURDER UNARMED CATHOLICS IN SECTARIAN ASSASSINATIONS. SEVERAL ARE SERVING LIFE SENTENCES FOR THEIR PARTS IN SUCH ATTACKS. MORE RECENTLY ONE RUC MAN WHO SHOT AND KILLED A TEENAGE CATHOLIC IN THE REPUBLICAN SHORT STRAND AREA OF BELFAST WAS ACQUITTED OF THE BOY'S MURDER, EVEN THOUGH HE WAS SHOT IN THE BACK. THE BOY'S CRIME WAS TO HAVE DAUBED A SLOGAN ON A WALL.

Q. What were the contents of 'Perspektiv' [the pamphlet] like?

A. A great variety of articles, excerpts from books, some poems. No 2 contained an analysis of the current situation in the USSR and drew a few conclusions, for instance, that the most urgent need was for a revolution.

Q. Did the suggested conference ever materialise?

A. No. On 12th August, the militia arrived and broke up the apartment. After that the commune was no more.

Q. And what of the members?

A. Skobov was arrested in October 78 and sentenced to indefinite detention in a psychiatric hospital. Tsurkov was picked up and sentenced to 5 years in a concentration camp; plus 3 years of internal exile. Khavine was given 6 years. Reznikov and Fedorova have been banished to Altai and Victor Pavlenkov and myself were forced to leave.