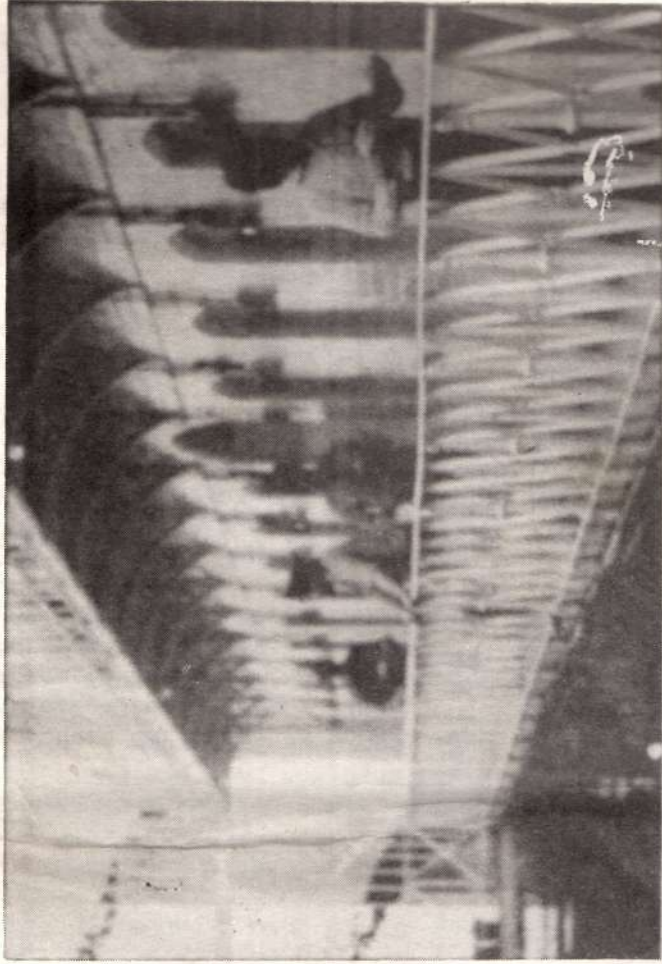




Barry Prosser.
Murdered by prison officers.
His killers go free. See page 1.



cont'd from p.7

circumstance over which we have little control at the moment to end the hungerstrike."

"...at present five strikers have been taken off their fast. We accept that it is almost a physical and psychological impossibility to recommence a hunger strike after intervention. Also, two men ended their fast to avoid a premature, non-hunger striking death."

"The situation exists at present that a considerable majority of present hunger-strikers' families have indicated they will intervene and under these circumstances we feel that the hunger strike must, for tactical reasons, be suspended."

"It was the Catholic clerics, more than anyone, who were involved in the back-door and public pressuring of families to intervene."

"We believe that the Dublin bloc of Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and Labour are accessories to the legalised murder of ten true and committed Irishmen who died heroically in the long tradition of Republican resistance to British occupation, oppression and injustice in Ireland."

They are accessories to murder

by virtue of the fact that they sat idly by and thus encouraged the British to continue with their death policy."

"There were several reasons given by our comrades for going on hunger strike. One was because we had no choice and no other means of securing a principled solution to the four year protest."

"Another, and of fundamental importance, was to advance the Irish people's right for liberty. We believe that the age-old struggle for Irish self-determination and freedom has been immeasurably advanced by this hunger strike and therefore we claim a massive political victory."

"the hunger strikers by their selflessness have politicised a very substantial section of the Irish nation and exposed the shallow, unprincipled nature of the Irish partitionist bloc."

"Lastly, we reaffirm our commitment to the achievement of the five demands by whatever means we believe necessary and expedient. We rule nothing out."

"Under no circumstances are we going to devalue the memory of our dead comrades by submitting ourselves to a dehumanising and degrading regime."

The prisoners have won the right to wear their own cloths at all times in place of prison uniform, and will have half of their lost remission restored (provided they conform for three months). They will be able to associate with prisoners in adjacent wings during exercise and recreation periods. The issue of prison labour is still undecided, though there is some talk of viewing education as prison work. These are welcome reforms, though they fall short of meeting the prisoners' full five demands. The question of 'political status' has still to be decided.

The prisoners have gone beyond the limits of courage and resistance in their determined struggle. Ten of their comrades have died. As they say in their statement, the hunger strike has been a "victory" in the sense of its effect on the nationalist community. But it is a victory only in that sense. No one can ask more of the prisoners. The deaths of these ten hunger strikers demand of us all that we resist oppression wherever we find it, with whatever means we have, for however long it takes. That is the simple lesson to be learned from the struggle in Long Kesh.

'Rocinante'

BLACK FLAG

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

Vol. VI/No. 9, November 1981.



Republican hunger striker Francis Hughes, badly wounded after a shoot-out, shortly after his capture on 17 March 1978. (See "THE STRUGGLE TO BE POLITICAL", centre pages.)

BLACK FLAG

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

Vol. VI/No. 9, November 1981.

CARL HARP MURDERED

CARL HARP, AN ANARCHIST PRISONER WAS MURDERED IN HIS CELL AT THE WASHINGTON STATE PENITENTIARY ON 5TH SEPTEMBER. THREE WEEKS PREVIOUSLY CARL WAS MADE AWARE OF A CONTRACT OUT ON HIS LIFE.

Harp made moves, distributing an open letter exposing the contract and checking into protective custody because he was too tired after all these years of fighting back, to adequately protect himself. A week after entering protective custody he felt confident enough to be released back into the general prison population. He was found dead with his wrists slashed and hung by a telephone wire.

Here are some of the facts so far:

1. The cause of death has not yet been assessed.
2. No explanation has been given as to how his wrists were slashed.
3. Both his close friend and his wife who saw the suicide note declared it a fake.
4. All who knew Carl Harp were aware of his ability to stay balanced. he had a lust for life.

5. On his last visit on 28th August he was looking forward to the future.
6. Carl died alone. He had vowed that if ever he would give it all up and commit suicide he'd take a pig with him.

Carl Harp was born in Vancouver, Washington, in 1949. He went to prison for the first time at 15. By the time he was 23 he had been round the world three times, been in 5 more prisons in Mexico and Washington, spent time in Vietnam and had become a junky who kicked the habit.

At the age of 23 he was convicted and sentenced to four consecutive life terms for murder and rape. The history of the trial and proceedings clearly show he was railroaded by a State that needed a conviction, after blowing its case against the guilty party. Harp, enraged at his convictions, decided to fight back.

He evolved through constant and often intense struggle with the state into a revolutionary anarchist. He developed remarkable skills to not only sustain his strength in the fight but also enhance his love of life. He was hated and feared by the state because of his effectiveness confronting authority and educating others.

While many inmates would try to do "easy time", Carl never took life for granted. He did his time by churning out letters and articles to the outside, launching suits against the prison, helping other prisoners, painting and drawing, and reading and discussing political theory. He participated in the intense strikes and rebellions Walla Walla prisoners waged against their captors; co-founded the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective - an underground political group inside, and their publication, which is still continuing, the Anarchist Black Dragon.

Two years ago, Harp and two others seized the Classification Building and took ten staff hostages to force publicity and action on the dire lack of justice and human rights prisoners face. Harp refused to plead guilty demanding a public political trial. He was then viciously beaten and raped with a riot baton by guards. After spending two weeks in hospital, he was transferred to San Quentin, where he was told he would be killed. News of his beating and transfer was publicized by outside supporters and he launched suits seeking damages and a return to Walla Walla.

What followed was a slow parade of victories. Last year a judge declared Walla Walla "cruel and unusual".

Wishing to avoid being put on trial again the state dropped the hostage charges against Harp. Then he was awarded \$7,000 for being illegally kept in segregation for 14 months. He then won his transfer back to Walla Walla recently and was preparing to go further, when the pigs killed him.

"D" IS FOR DARING. THAT'S WHAT IT TAKES TO BE FREE.CARL HARP.



CONTENTS:

The Detention of Jose Ros & Luis Edo p2.

Comments on the riots: "The Cost of Living" & "Less Violent Than Starving" p3.

Anarchist Clubs p4.

Roon n' About p5.

Ireland: "The Struggle To Be Political" p6 & p7.

International News: Italy, Portugal, Greece, West Germany, Guatemala, Ukraine, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Finland, USA. P. 8,9,10.

"1917": a poem by Dennis Gould p.10.

Book Reveiws: "The Coup To Come" p.10 "The Laird's Tale p11

PROSSER'S KILLERS FREED

Three prison officers responsible for kicking and beating to death Barry Prosser in a strip cell of Winslow Green's hospital wing (see last issue) were set free on 30 September at their com-

mittal hearing by Birmingham stipendiary magistrate Frederick Hatchard.

the next day a spokesman for the Director of Public Prosecutions said, "As far as we are concerned the matter is closed."

The white-wash verdict was anticipated by a prisoner in Winslow Green. On 27 sept., Michael Waite (24), serving life for armed robbery, attacked two screws and climbed onto the prison roof in protest at Prosser's murder. Prisoners in Long Lartin have also been refusing food and prison labour in protest.

Barry Prosser was being held on remand for medical reports for the terrible crime of damaging a door handle when he was murdered...his killers, charged with murder, were given bail and sent on fully paid leave. Now they are free. The true nature of British justice could not be made any plainer!



BLACK FLAG

Vol. VI/No. 9 Nov. 81.

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

STATE OF PLAY AT 20TH AUGUST 81.

Flag	
Printing costs paid to date	325.00
Postage	89.00
Stationery	20.50
TOTAL SPENT	434.50
Sales received	253.47
Subs*	24.00
TOTAL IN	277.47
LOSS :	£157.03
deficit carried forward	3519.73
TOTAL DEFICIT	£3676.76

*Donations: London: OC £2; JG £2; PT £5. Essex: DAJ £3; Cork: RC £10. Stoke: JG £2. Total: £24.

Fortunately we have no wages to pay or fees to contributors or artists or they would all have starved long ago.....yet if only everyone who received the Flag would pay for it (or say they didn't want it) we'd almost be a viable proposition..... notwithstanding the deficit we carry around like an albatross. We accept the blame for not sending out reminders of subs (one day we'll work it all out)

MARTIN PAGE

WE REGRET TO REPORT THE DEATH OF OUR COMRADE MARTIN PAGE, ACTIVE IN THE LONDON ANARCHIST MOVEMENT SINCE THE SIXTIES. ALWAYS SELF-EFFACING AND MODEST, MARTIN WAS THE BACKBONE OF MANY DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS, AND HE WAS THE SORT OF PERSON WHO THOUGH HE NEVER GETS THE LIMELIGHT, IS ALWAYS THERE TO KEEP THE SHOW GOING.

MARTIN WAS THE SECRETARY OF THE OLD LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP, AND HELPED THE WORK OF THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS AND WAS A VIGOROUS ANTI-NUKE CAMPAIGNER. WE ARE THE POORER FOR HIS PASSING.

THE HULL GROUP HAVE TAKEN OVER THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NORTH EAST ANARCHIST FEDERATION; ANYONE WANTING TO CONTACT THEM CAN WRITE c/o 5 DE GREY STREET, HULL - OR CALL IN.

"ANARCHY" No. 32 now on sale. War in Ireland; Irish prisoners in English jails; Saint, Self-Sacrifice & Pink Heroic; 28 pages of fun, frolic and falming controversy. £1.60 for 4 issues from Anarchy Mag, 37a Grosvenor Avenue, London N5.



All right, stop grovelling, you can read my copy of BLACK FLAG, but next time SUBSCRIBE!



but help us keep ourselves bureaucracy-free by paying or cancelling....

SOLIDARITY/MUTUAL AID FUND

i/h £40.52. Dons: Guam S.S. £41.90. London: O.C. £10.89. Mary B £2; K.B. £2. Total: £97.31.

The larger amounts represent regular contributions which mount up. We are appreciative too of the large amounts sent direct to some of the addresses which we publish from time to time. It is hoped to make a report on comrades in prison in Spain and elsewhere in our next issue.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What could still be lying in the mud of the river Thames at Wapping - perhaps just opposite to the new Autonomy Club?
2. In 1952 plans were revealed showing the possibility on the Zenith and other systems for scrambling radio and TV signals, which could be unscrambled at the reception point on payment, thus making "subscription" broadcasting possible. Why was the idea considered favourable for TV but opposed vehemently by vested interests to this day as regards radio?
3. What dishonest trick, involving force and fraud, was used to raise money for building the Mansion House in the City of London, where, among other affairs of finance and state, the Lord Mayor dispenses "justice"?
4. How did Michael Collins become leader of the Irish revolution during the first World War (according to De Valera)? How did De Valera rise to pre-eminence after (according to Michael Collins) and which of them had the last laugh?
5. It is often said that during the Spanish revolution "even the prostitutes" collectivised the brothels in Barcelona. True or false?
6. How did an Irish Government deal with a mass hunger strike of all the Irish Republican prisoners?

answers on page

ROS & EDO

THE DETENTION OF JOSE ROS PONCE AND LUIS ANDRES EDO.

At a time when the Calvo Sotelo government is stepping up the pressure on the French socialist government to grant the extradition of the Basque activists in detention in France, and purports to be doing so out of a concern for the "new Spanish democracy", the courts in Spain continue to furnish proofs of their arbitrariness and political discrimination.

The continuing detention of comrades Jose Ros Ponce and Luis Andres Edo constitutes today one of the most flagrant examples of that. Not just because the retention of the pair in custody represents a brazen violation of magistrates' rules, as well as of the Constitution itself, but also because the "grounds" cited by the judge to justify his line in their case throws into relief the political and police chic-anery of which these two libertarian comrades have been the victims.

Let us examine the facts. In the wake of the arrest of four young anarchists in Valencia [the police charged that they belonged to a so-called "armed anarchist gang"] agents of the Barcelona Regional Intelligence Squad proceeded to arrest twelve people in Barcelona. These arrests were justified by references to the items discovered in several homes that had been searched. Those items were: 124 blank National Identity Cards; 63 foreign identity cards; 1 Swiss

driving licence; 2 counterfeit, blank, Spanish passports; 5 forged identity cards; 1 .44 'Armi Javer' revolver; 1 .38 'MG' revolver; 128 travellers' cheques; a "manual" on the forgery of documents and assembly of explosives and a complete dossier on the buildings of Fuerza Nueva in Catalonia. [Fuerza Nueva is a right-wing organisation]. Among the twelve people arrested were several militants from the CNT in Catalonia including Luis Edo, Jose Ros, Galo Sanchez, Lourdes Martinez, Pilar Polo, Immaculada Ventura Llobet and Jordi Briones.

One week later, in the presence of the police commissioner, civil governor and other officials from the state, the authorities held a press conference in which they announced the arrests and, in an effort to justify their "anarchism equals terrorism" equation, they added that they had arrested "the alleged culprits of the outrage which cost the life of Don Jose Marques" although they did say that these were "two terrorist groups unconnected with each other". This press conference ended around 1 pm and at 1.45 pm the twelve detainees were produced in court for a remand hearing. Half of them, that is, 6 of the twelve, were instantly released without charges being preferred. and without

For a long, long time the agents of the Regional Intelligence Squad (and most especially the "No 4 Group") had been attempting to ensare these comrades in a police operation, all to no avail. Despite over 4 years of the strict st surveillance

they had failed to detect the commission of any act which might have justified arrests. The instigators of the operation obviously thought that they might be able to extract statements from one of those involved in the group arrested in Valencia. And so this unleashed the arrests in Barcelona. When the implementation of the Anti-Terrorist Law and interrogations under threat and maltreatment failed to produce anything, the authorities mobilised their propaganda and set to work to portray the anarchists as having connections with the alleged culprits in the case of Don Jose Marques.

Thus the preparations for the hearing in Barcelona have continued. Since October 1980 comrades Jose Ros and Luis Edo have been kept in prison - the other four comrades having since been released. As the police frame up has failed they have had to rely on the co-operation of the judge: and today the intransigent attitude of Judge Flors Maties is the keystone to the operation mounted against Ros and Edo, since only this intransigence can account for their continuing detention.



photo: Luis Edo

The first attempt to implicate Ros and Edo in "the crime of collaboration with armed gangs" failed. So did the second attempt to charge them with an alleged scheme to attack the premises of Fuerza Nueva. Lately an attempt is being made to "pin on them" ownership of certain forged documents, discovered in the course of the house searches.

Following international protest, both are now free. Luis is once more secretary of the CNT in Catalonia. The trial will be later....

SOCIALIST BOOK FAIR

Friday 6th Nov
12.30pm to 6.30pm
Saturday 7th Nov
11.00am to 5.00pm

CIENFUEGOS
PRESS and
BLACK FLAG
stall.

Camden Town Hall
Euston Road
London NW1



The friendly British bobby:
"evening all...."



THE COST OF LIVING

"We live in extremely difficult, extremely interesting times, but if we are going to have a country which is liveable and bearable we must overcome these differences." (Commander Fairbairn, police chief of Lambeth district, GUARDIAN 25/7/81).

"These differences", the riots that hit Brixton, Toxteth and the inner-city areas in other English towns during the spring and summer, go towards making the most politically unstable situation that we have seen here since the war. This is not to say that the Revolution is upon us, but many of us thought it was ten years ago when there was much less likelihood of it. Governments are well aware of the dangers inherent in a class divided society, and their police chiefs, like Fairbairn, see the implications of the build up in social tensions clearer than most people. Their job is to protect the established order from attack. Without making a battle-royal out of a whiff of grapeshot, the fact needs to be faced: one

lurch too far in any one political direction could utterly transform the situation in this country overnight. Ten years ago -faced with the Industrial Relations Act and much less than one million unemployed, with a police force that had only begun to arm and equip itself for counter-insurgency operations and an army that still had ten years experience in Northern Ireland in front of it - there was widespread and organised resistance. The anarchist movement re-discovered the old maxim of "if you want peace, prepare for war" (and in most respects was probably better prepared to defend itself than now!) and a section of it put the slogan to the test under the umbrella name of the 'ANGRY BRIGADE'Today - with 45,000 people in prison and three million unemployed, with the increased power of the state and growth in state security and the deliberate confrontation policies of the Conservative government-

the breakdown in consensus in all areas of daily life and the increased alienation of people from the processes of decision making have begun to explode into the sphere of violent protest.

When someone goes berserk in their private life and suddenly begins breaking up the furniture or attacking people (or seeking escape through drink or drug addiction) we don't applaud and shout for more, but see it as a problem that has causes and requires solutions. Irrational behaviour only appears as such because an explanation is not readily apparent; it is not to say that there is no explanation. None of us exists in a social vacuum. If our actions are intolerable, it is a fair bet that they are the result of an intolerable situation. If we wish to understand the recent riots and draw the necessary conclusions, then the mindless sloganising of "Berlin, Belfast, Brixton..." should be knocked on the head and some attempt at considering their real implications made. People are not moved to the sort of drastic action, like the Toxteth riots (or social revolution for that matter) without something being very wrong in society. If we want revolution it is not out of any abstract dilitantism or love of chaos, but because one is needed - it is the only answer to deeply rooted social injustices. A drastic, violent, complete overturn of the political and economic system is the only cure for an intolerable way of life that is incapable of reform. People are frightened, angry, frustrated, desperate. The feeling of powerlessness pervades every aspect of life.

Revolution is the outcome of economic, psychological and moral causes beyond the comprehension of those who defend the established order. It is the eternal illusion of the ruling class to think they can remove the effects without getting rid of the causes. Hessletine visiting Toxteth is just about on the same level of understanding as the little Dutch boy holding his finger in the dam. No amount of wallpapering over the cracks will avail when the walls themselves

have long since caved in. The government's attempts to reduce social protest to the level of "public order" is the same counter-insurgency strategy which has been tried and failed in Northern Ireland over the past 12 years.

Rioting in the street is not revolution - but it could be a prelude to it. These could be the first skirmishes in a civil war - a CLASS war. Insurrection is not exactly the same thing as revolution. Insurrection is a rebellion, largely unconscious of where it is going. For it to grow into a social revolution the the revolt has to be imbued with a moral strength. The authority of the state has to cease being a living principle. The consent of those over whom it rules has to be replaced by a creative desire to destroy what is and replace it with something new and better. People need to see clearly what is wrong and who is to blame. And they need to know what to do about putting it right.

At the moment the riots are like a great iceberg being swept blindly along on the current. They may run aground or melt back into the flow of history. It is a minor tragedy that they have so far only lashed through poor, run-down working class areas of the inner cities, instead of taking the destruction and violence to where it belongs...to the corridors of Whitehall and the multinational corporations.

It is a major human tragedy that the riots have happened at all. When people finally overthrow this violent system and reorganise society on co-operative principles, there will be no more need for rioting.

Henry Black.



LESS VIOLENT THAN STARVING

Immediately the riots began, a few months ago, the police were quick to blame anarchists and the media put it out that it was something inspired by us. "Black Flag" was as usual blamed, yet so far were we from having started off the riots, lack of fore-knowledge prevented any mention in our last issue!

The conspiracy-mongers had a fine day almost as enjoyable for them in their way as the rioters smashing up Marks & Sparks and Tesco's had in theirs. The police theory aired in the London Evening Standard was that it was all a ploy by four masked men on motor cycles (whatever happened

to them?). But that is not to overlook the police's other fancy theories e.g. that it was all organised by the Italian Red Brigades, which vied with the Daily Mail's Russian diplomat that it was all the fault of putting back the school summer examinations too soon. The police pushed the outside agitators theory until it burst at the seam.

But the Conspiracy Theory could not stand up to the facts which stood out literally in black and white. This was a popular explosion and to those who would put down the events because they happened in Toxteth or

Bristol should not overlook the fact that more force and more people was involved, though without any fatalities, than was involved in the fall of the Bastille or the Boston Tea Party or the storming of the Winter Palace.

Had Thatcher's Britain been as centralised and concentrated as the Tsar's Russia, its power would have collapsed under such pressure as this summer's rioting; but it isn't.

That the riots were spontaneous is certain; but it sprang out of deep rooted causes. On the one hand the black youth finds itself

frustrated by lack of money more than by unemployment. They know how to enjoy themselves - they lack a lot of chances because they haven't the cash because they haven't the work. They have been harassed by the police and been made the subject of direct attack by the fascist groups, who obtain their recruits by provocative marches consisting of a few bully boys surrounded by hundreds of police. It is these police marches that have added most to the provocation. Nobody would object to fascist marches, if only they dared make them; it would give an opportunity to people to demonstrate their attitude to fascism - what they object to is the police presence.

cont'd over

page 3

ANARCHIST CLUBS

The opening of a new Anarchist club [the Autonomy Centre at Wapping in London] is more than an occasion for self-congratulation - though it certainly isn't every day that it happens. There has in fact not been one in this country since we had to close down the old centre at Haverstock Hill (apart from the Centro Iberico squat in Notting Hill). It is a time for appraisal of the purpose and aim of an Anarchist club, and its role in the past and for the future. Whether or not these aims are achieved by the present Autonomy Centre (or the projected Birmingham one) the establishment of a social centre must needs be a key factor in achieving a libertarian movement.

In the early days of the worker's movement, it was a revelation how all branches of what could have been the nuclei of a future society sprang up. Producers' and consumers' co-operatives, community efforts such as bakeries, trade unions, libraries, cultural centres. In all of them - except in the creation of a political side - reformers, radicals, socialists, Marxists, Anarchists, Republicans advocates of women's suffrage, co-operated. It was only when political socialism took precedence over everything else and divided the movement that everything but that fell apart or altered course. The trade unions fossilised, the co-op degenerated into a chain store with a democratic constitution, the other collectives for the most part vanished, the workers

clubs became drinking clubs, indistinguishable from any other. With the rise of the Communist Party bitter divisions were set in between sections of the socialist movement while the rise of State Socialism generally brought about the decay of the whole workers' network. The middle class took over the role of socialist leaders and eventually the Labour Party slid into the present era of backroom politics.

Yet that is not to condemn what it all was in its day, it is merely to mourn its passing. The newer left has over the past few years built up a network of social activity and particular interest: whether this is a new movement or the shepherding of those who still believe in social change into a special ghetto is a matter for debate. The Anarchist nucleus needs to look outwards and certainly for its militants to break away from - and its passive supporters to break out of - the limited and limiting ambience built up by the package deal left with its prescribed causes and built-in prejudices and total isolation from the community the more it describes itself as community politics.

In the thirties there was a theory put forward (which then seemed fantastic) that the battle for the future was between totalitarianism on the one hand - with centralism and direction part of the inevitable economic life of any country - and anarchism fighting a losing rear-guard action on the other. But, it was said hopefully, if we could not avoid totalitarianism (and economically we have it as

way of getting reforms that exists. For years the Government has been talking about deprived cities, alienated youth, the new slums, inner city decay... suddenly it

became real and showed the gap in the Welfare state. More than anything it showed the Thirties are dead, and how encouraging that is to veteran workers... In the Thirties there was much more privation and deprivation, there was actual starvation. The response was a cup of tea and an aspirin. The response today is to heave a brick. That is a lot less violent than meekly starving.

These riots were the writing on the wall. But the writing on the wall doesn't mean necessarily that capitalism and the State are finished. The counter-revolutionary backlash is not just increased police repression. It is also increased criminal backlash; the get-rich-quick element among the business-criminal fraternity cashing-in on popular protest, turning a significant movement into the side-streets of gangster enterprise with the escalation between fascists (white and black) assaulting everyone of a different race, more for personal gain than for even what they suppose to be the public good.

It is this element that supplies the informers for the police, which encourages the gangsters because they want to criminalise what there is of the working class

much in the democratic capitalist countries as in the state socialist ones) we could at least settle for anarchism in our leisure time, i.e. the state had our working lives but could leave us the rest of our time. We did not need to be regimented from cradle to grave in our lives outside the workplace, and maybe here, it was said, the anarchists had their opportunity. A neo-anarchism has made this its credo and "dropping out" by any rate for a given period (youth or weekends) became a cult. This overlooks the fact that totalitarianism in crisis always has need to assert itself over private living, but our own views on that are well known. It is important all the same that libertarian influence has been spread by music or through breakaway forms of social living, which gives us a new dimension to the anarchist nucleus.

The role of a club should be to provide a platform for all these diverse social elements - not necessarily at the same time - and to integrate anarchistic activities with the rest of the community, without do-gooding dominance via rate or state grants, funding itself and acting as a springboard from which other clubs can grow.

Ultimately, such clubs can grow into or foster labour halls. The labour halls of the Labour/TU movement have just decayed into dusty committee rooms. Ideally, a labour hall is the nucleus of a labour movement (which does not have to be state socialist) where people come to exchange jobs and to get them, to organise their activities at work and make it possible to go from one industry to another; where collectives and co-operative ventures can be formed out of a pool of diver-

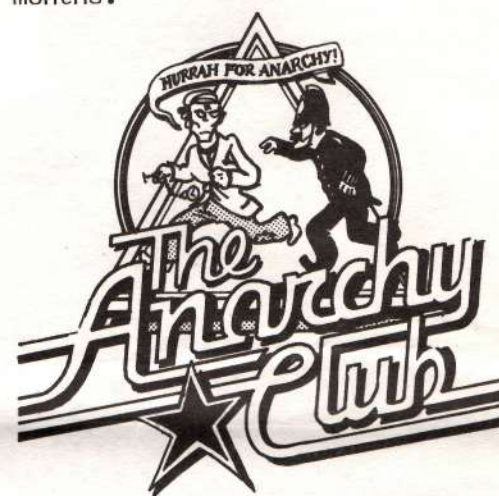
revolutionary movement. The totalitarian Right is over anxious to provide a "Belfast" solution to Britain's problems; it must be significant that they got in return a "Belfast" response.

Albert Meltzer



July 6, Policeman with shotgun used to fire the Ferret type of CS gas cartridge. John Sturrock (Network)

sified labour just as can strike committees or support units. This means a whole new libertarian labour movement. Is it impossible to achieve? Given the will and determination of only a few people - and such a movement is self-powering - it could be achieved in a matter of months.



"Hurrah for Anarchy!", that was the cry of the Birmingham anarchist Christopher Davis on 27 January 1893, when he was committed for trial before the Birmingham stipendary magistrate, charged with breaking the window of a jewellers shop with bricks wrapped in copies of the "Walsall Anarchist" and scattering the contents of the window into the street.

Davis, a brickmaker and gasworker had been deeply involved in the unemployed agitation in Birmingham. The message of his one man riot was clearly understood. An epidemic of window smashing followed. And Davis underscored the point at his trial: "If the whole army of unemployed workmen who had assembled outside the Council House during the month of January to demand work had gone and done in a body what I have done alone, it would have had more effect on society than all the agitation in the world." He appealed to the jury not to bring in any verdict at all and to walk out of the court, and finished, "Long live Ravechol! Long live the Walsall Anarchists! Anarchists!" The judge replied by sentencing him to 15 months hard labour...

A group of us have decided to take up Christopher Davis cry of "Hurrah for Anarchy" by attempting to establish an Anarchist Centre in Birmingham. Our aim is to provide a focus for libertarian activity; somewhere anarchists can meet regularly and find support. We hope to encourage the growth of a network of anarchist clubs around the country; a return to the traditional libertarian idea of a decentralised club movement, based firmly in the local community.

As a stepping stone to obtaining our own premises, we are organising a series of meetings, discos, benefit concerts, and other fund-raising events. We want to stimulate both interest in the centre and also serve as a springboard to local activity. Already we have raised £800. The ANARCHY CLUB is a reality. All this project needs to succeed is YOUR participation and support. Join the Anarchy Club now! Annual membership is open to all who agree with our aims, and costs £10 waged, £5 unwaged (easy terms available for anyone on the dole). Cheques should be

It needed only a few incidents to explode, for the police to be outnumbered and run away, for the whole cauldron to boil over, first in Bristol, then in Brixton, and then all over. Attacks were made on stores that displayed the loot capitalist society has to offer everyone, but not them.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that a vast section of the working class have conditions equal to the black youth. There is a white youth sub-proletariat, equally deprived of the means to enjoy life, similarly discriminated against in employment. A lot of the workers displaced from normal work or decent housing have turned to the anti-black feelings peddled by the fascist groups as an outlet - because no revolutionary movement exists; because the student-inspired left always falls back to boost the Labour Party; because their ideology and natural philosophy has been filched from them by the middle-class and they have none other to come up with at the moment.

But the sound of tinkling glass ended a lot of that race-feeling. Bowdlerising the protest song - it was 'black and white together everything for free' - the shop windows were smashed and there was no racial division when it came to handing out the goods!

This isn't revolution. Of course not. But it is the most militant

Room n' ABOUT



LOW-GRADE INTELLIGENCE

In June 1978 police raided a house in Highbury, North London. They battered down the door with a sledgehammer, ripped up floor boards, siezed three photograph albums, and questioned the occupants about faces in the the occupants (a young couple and their two young children) at gunpoint about faces in the photos, associations, etc. The raid was one of many carried out in London and around the country during the "Persons Unknown" case. The photos taken away by the police in this raid belonged to our cartoonist Phil Ruff, then in Gartree gaol serving a 7 year prison sentence. Phil was not involved in the "Persons Unknown" case (he was in prison throughout the period of the alleged conspiracy and the subsequent investigations and trial). He has never been questioned in relation to it, and no suggestion of any charges relating to it have ever been made to him.

made out to THE CHRISTOPHER DAVIS APPRECIATION SOCIETY. We meet every Friday, 7.30 upstairs in the White Lion pub, Horse Fair, Birmingham B1. Get to know us there or come to our autumn programme of events:

22 Oct. Video showing of two documentary films on THE ANGRY BRIGADE and PERSONS UNKNOWN. Introduced by Iris Mills and Ronan Bennett. 7.30, at the New Inn pub, Moseley Rd., B,ham B13. Admission, 50p to members, 75p non-members.

29 Oct. Fund-raising disco in aid of the Anarchy Club. Upstairs at the New Inn, Moseley. Admission 75p to members, £1 to non-members.

12 Nov. Fund-raising disco at the New Inn, Moseley. Admission as above.

Write for more details of these and other mind-bending events to Christopher Davis Appreciation Society, c/o the Peace Centre, 18 Moor St., Ringway, B,ham B4.

Leeds Anarchist Centre.

Comrades in the North are exploring the possibility of getting an anarchist centre off the ground in Leeds. Anyone intrested in helping or knowing more should contact Adrian by phoning (Leeds) 786-219.

The The excuse made by the police to Phil's solicitor for siezing the photo albums was that they were needed as evidence in the "Persons Unknown" case. The albums contained pictures of some of the defendants. But they were never used in evidence. Those against whom they were supposed to be used in evidence were acquitted. Three years after they had been siezed, the albums were finally handed over to Phil's solicitor. What purpose had they served? On inspecting then returned albums it was very obvious that 19 photographs were still missing...19 white spaces bore witness to their removal! No mention of the 19 missing photos were made by the police when they returned the albums. Why? One of the missing photos showed Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer at a public meeting in the Conway Hall! Are the police so desperate for a picture of Christie that they have to steal one? They would do better to look in the Radio Times!

What reason can the police have for handing back these albums but slyly keeping 19 up their sleeves, without a word to their owner or his solicitor? Low-grade intelligence gathering is getting pretty low!



Christie & Meltzer at the Conway Hall: WANTED BY POLICE! (Just the photo...)

ITS NOT ALWAYS THE MILKMAN HERE EITHER...

Once again, this time using the excuse of the then coming Royal Wedding, extreme Right Wing elements within the police used the occassion to launch an attack on the Anarchist movement. The "Anti" terrorist squad raided houses in the Leeds area, in one case also raiding and searching the house of a neighbour who had the temerity to come out and see what a posse of armed police with their guns trained on the raided house was doing. From three different addresses three men were taken - for no other reason than their political opinions



made them suspect. Perfectly legal printed material was taken, nothing relating to arms was found the people concerned were harassed and held in cells, without any charge being made - while the regular police denied knowledge of their whereabouts.



The control of the political police by right wing subversive forces is the most perilous situation Britain has faced on its road to dictatorship. The only "allegations" against those held that seem to have been made is that one went to Dublin - it seems nowadays that anything Irish is suspect...and that they were Anarchists - therefore it was more than likely that they were going to blow up the royal couple - a way of thinking which reveals the fascist mentality of those making the allegations.

Being held under the PTA no compensation is possible for their 2 1/2 days detention....but this type of kidnapping should be made widely known. The PTA is being used as freely as SUS. We repeat, yet one more time, that nothing like this is used against the fascist elements who are maiming, murdering and burning. Only against those who spread libertarian propaganda.

In another action the Leeds comrades have been fined £40 each, for selling libertarian literature, including Black Flag. Yet streetsellers have the law with them - the law of colportage was designed to allow street sellers of dissenting literature to sell freely. No licence for selling papers is possible - unlike any other commodity - precisely because it is perfectly legal. Magistrates simply ignore the law.

The Italian Connection.

Our comrade Patricia Giambi was caught up in police charge near her Brixton home on 11 April and charged with having an offensive weapon and using threatening behaviour and words. Her situation was similar to hundreds of others, police accusations resting on contradictory identification evidence in what was a crowded, narrow, unlit street.

The police jumped at the chance to trot out their conspiracy

theories when they found Patricia was an anarchist, foreign, and living in the same house as someone else they had arrested that night on whom they held a political file. The role attributed to Patricia was that of the Italian connection. Police, in court and through the press, have made repeated references and innuendos about alleged international terror links, Red Brigades, and so on.

Since her arrest she was given bail, and granted her passport to visit her sick father in Italy. She returned early in September to face trial, and now finds herself serving a sentence of 28 days in Holloway, facing deportation. This as a result of being found guilty of threatening behaviour under Section 5 of the Public Order Act.

When the deportation order was contested by her barrister, police overtly reinterpreted

EEC law by saying that she was not a bona fide worker (this expression does not appear in the act), or student, and therefore could benefit from no rights. Patricia has been working for over four months and studying at Westminster College in the evenings. She was also at one time part of the libertarian book collective at the Railton Road bookshop. This was presented by police as further evidence as to why she should be deported.

but we are glad to report that as we go to press, the appeal against deportation has been successful. It would have been an ominous precedent if deportation "for possession of anarchist literature" had been allowed to go through.

NECHAEV



PAR

THE REVOLUTIONARY HAS A DUTY TO SUBSCRIBE



"Instead of criminalisation we should talk about political genocide..." (Red Brigades).

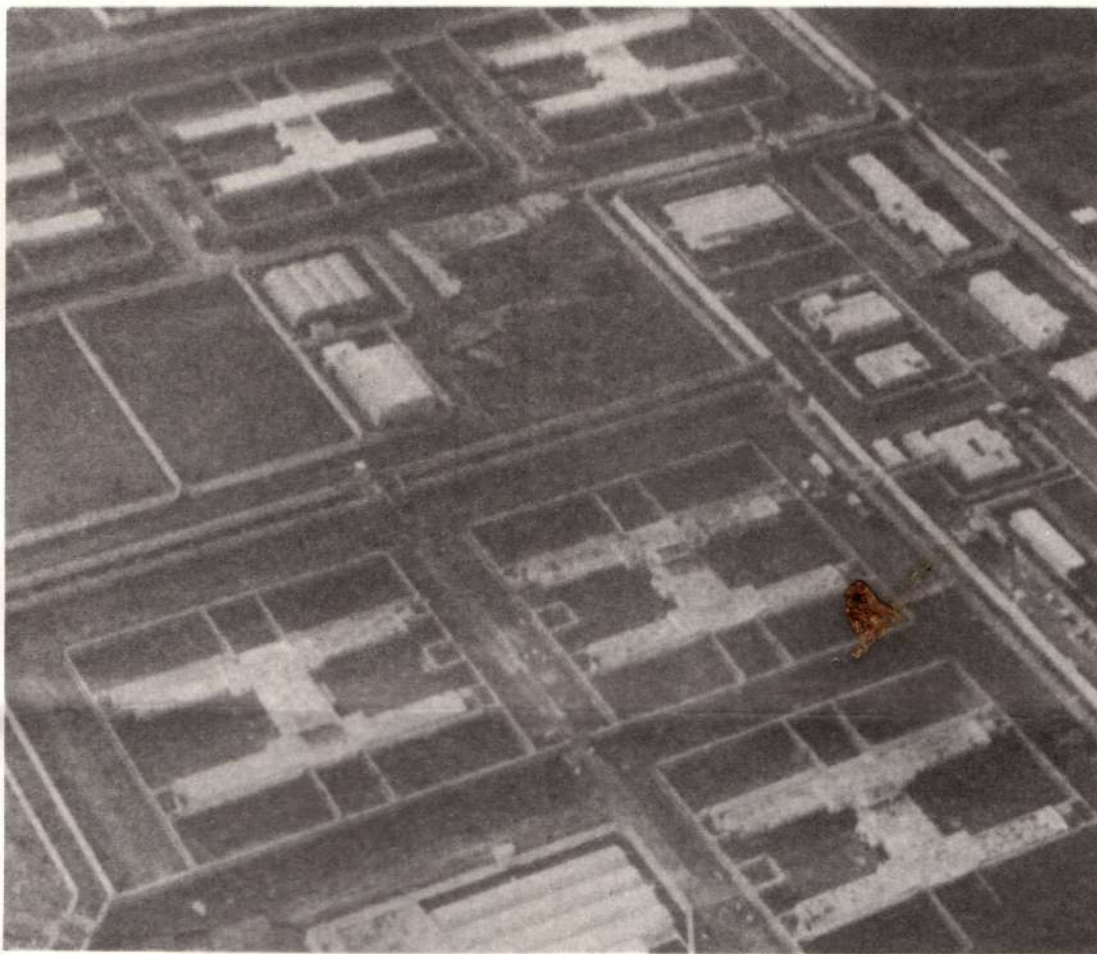
The Long Kesh hunger strike is not an isolated phenomenon, nor is it merely resistance to bad prison conditions. Unless it is viewed against the background of 12 years' armed resistance to British imperialism and the existence of the 'Orange' state (which has raised religious and political sectarianism to the level of an institution) then it will remain devoid of real significance. The prisoners struggle inside is a continuation of their struggle outside. Their resort to hunger strike has the same motivation as the actions of the RAF prisoners in West Germany:

"Disarmed, imprisoned and isolated as we are, the hunger strike is the only possibility left to us whereby we can employ our physical and mental abilities and our identity as human beings to see that the stone which the state has raised against us will fall back on its own feet". TO STRUGGLE IS TO TURN WEAKNESS INTO STRENGTH."
(RAF hunger strike declaration, Sept 1974).

The 'Political status' of imprisoned guerillas (whose actions are defined as 'criminal'), though officially disavowed by the state is actually recognised in practice. By making claim to being at war with the state, they are singled out for special treatment ("emergency" legislation, special holding powers, special interrogations, special juryless courts, special prisons, longer sentences): criminals yes, but special criminals! Their identity is what interests the state above all else. Their different treatment in all its stages aims at one thing: to liquidate that identity. It is this struggle to assert their political identity in the face of repression (as the only means to go on fighting) which is at the centre of the Republican hunger strike. Political status is not an aim in itself, but a battle to be won in a political war. In denying this political dimension to the struggle, the state seeks to destroy it.

"The British government are responsible for the hunger strikes in Long Kesh. The ending of special category status was a political tactic used by the British government in its attempt to criminalise the republican attack on British imperialism in Ireland."

The existence of special legislation, special courts and



THE STRUGGLE TO BE POLITICAL

special interrogation, plus the British administration's refusal to acknowledge a special category of prisoners, all contribute to the placing of responsibility on that administration's shoulders."

(Statement of the H-Block prisoners, 4th July).

The experts in counter-insurgency reduce collective action to the sum of individual disorders in behaviour, separating them from each other and from their political motivation: thus attempting to deny their actions any meaning. Criminalising and psychologising them to destroy them.

The imprisoned members of various German and Italian guerilla movements have been divided in their attempts towards a special category of 'political' prisoners. In Spain the political prisoners have always been treated as such, usually meaning their being singled out for worse treatment, but with the implicit acknowledgement by the prison authorities that they are not 'common' criminals. But the anarchist prisoners, whilst accepting what amounts to political status, have never looked down on the ordinary prisoners. The prisons were amongst the first targets for disgust to be pulled down during the Spanish

Revolution of 1936. The prisoners thus freed were welcomed with open arms into the anarchist militia columns to take up the fight against fascism. Today, the anarchists are the only political grouping to fully support and participate in the struggles of the ordinary prisoners in Spain. The German hunger strikes have always aimed at breaking the isolation of the political prisoners by demanding equal treatment with the ordinary prisoners, and integration back into the main prison population away from the isolation of the 'dead units'. Where this has not been granted, they have demanded to be put into association within the units in bigger groups (not less than 15). They have done their utmost to politicise the ordinary prisoners with whom they have come into contact and to encourage them to challenge their position and fight for better prison conditions.

The Irish prisoners in English gaols have taken a similar line of action - dictated by the fact that they are in a minority within the prisons - and recognised in common struggle an identity of interest between themselves and the other prisoners (contributing greatly to the radicalisation of the prison struggle in the process). This has been done without abandoning their demands to be recognised as political prisoners of

war. The practice of solidarity does not demand that individuals or groups lose sight of their political identity. Prison resistance has repeatedly united republicans, anarchists, marxist-leninists, politicised and non-politicised prisoners, black and white together in action. The politicals are rarely the 'leaders' of prison resistance as some would claim for them outside - or as the prison authorities maintain, blinkered by the common authoritarian belief in the conspiracy theory of history, the "ring-leaders" - but they can be the yeast in a good brew. For this they pay a high price: repeated long periods in solitary, continual 'ghostings' from one prison to another without warning and heavy losses of remission.

Political status in everything except name effectively exists in the Irish Republic. In the North of Ireland (where it was only withdrawn in 1976, and where prisoners convicted of "terrorist" offences before that date still have "special category status") the situation is complicated by the existence of political sectarianism. As the H-Block prisoners pointed out in their statement of 4th July: "It is unrealistic to expect loyalists and republicans to integrate satisfactorily together. Forced integration, or the deliberate creation of a confrontation between those who bear arms in respect of their highly conflicting political ideologies is wrong and can only lead to trouble."

Though there have been isolated examples of inter-sect solidarity they are the exception to the rule. The UDA deserted their own prisoners rather than be seen to support the demand for political status, which it and the other Loyalist organisations view as only furthering the aims of the IRA. When the loyalist prisoners staged their 'five-day wonder' of joining the first hunger strike for political status, it was because they imagined a settlement to be imminent and wanted a piece of whatever was up for grabs. They jumped off the bandwagon as quickly as they jumped onto it as soon as it was apparent that things might take longer to come to a head, and that some would have to die before victory was grasped. Their demand was for segregation from Republican prisoners, not for any united front against the system. Unlike the Republicans however who have at least proved they are prepared to die for their ideals, the loyalists didn't even have the courage of their own convictions.

It must also be remembered that



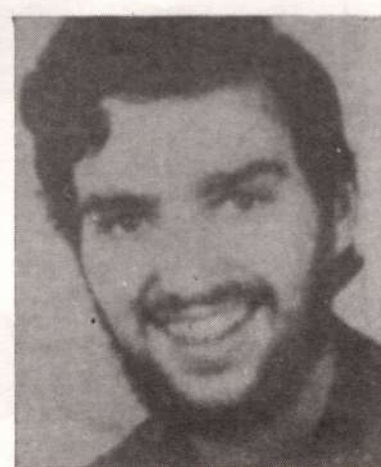
Bobby Sands,



Francis Hughes,



Raymond McCreech,



Patsy O'Hara,



Joe McDonnell,

in Northern Ireland the 'political' prisoners are in the majority. They are not a small group asking for special perks denied to the majority of prisoners. And as the H-Block prisoners have pointed out:

"It is wrong of the British government to say that we are looking for differential treatment from other prisoners. We would welcome the introduction of the five demands for all prisoners." (4th July statement)

There are fine distinctions to be made here, and it is all too easy to blur the dividing line between maintaining a political identity which is under attack, and defending the idea that all prisoners are political prisoners. The campaign for political status is not necessarily a put-down of 'ordinary' criminals. Villians are as revolutionary, or reformist, or reactionary as anyone else. They include those who see crime as business by other means, to be exploited for profit and power, just as there are some who rob banks as an alternative to exploiting or being exploited. Martin Sostre in America has already pointed out that whilst all prisoners are political prisoners, not all are politicised. The one is an objective fact, the other a consciously adopted stance. As the statedemonstrates in its differential treatment of those who break its laws, it is not what you do, but who you are that counts.

A frequent assertion in the press has been that the hunger strikers are being 'manipulated' or 'ordered to die' by their organisation outside. It is the old chestnut of evil Godfathers taking idealistic youth for a ride. Where they can not be discounted altogether phycops dictate that political motivations be discredited. But this glosses over the fact that the hunger strikes began in clear contradiction (one might even say 'insubordination'!) to the wishes and 'orders' of the Republican Movement outside. Until the hunger strikes began to polarise the situation, the Republican Movement neither sought nor wanted the prison protests. They viewed the blanket and dirty protests as an unwanted diversion from the main struggle: the campaign of armed resistance being waged outside. Everything possible was done to bring about an end to the prison protests as quickly as possible without losing face. That the blanket protest dragged on for 4 years before escalating into the hunger strike is largely due to the efforts of the IRA leadership in repeatedly 'persuading' the prisoners not to refuse food. It is the prisoners themselves and nobody else, who called the hunger strike. It

is they who forced the pace - unable to endure the daily hell of existing in the H-Blocks without any sign of change, and frustrated by the foot dragging of their organisations outside. Turning round to their leaders they asked just who was the IRA! As far as the prisoners are concerned they are the IRA. In this respect the hungerstrikes mark a grass-root revolt against the Republican leadership. It is an expression of innate libertarianism breaking through against all odds the rank and file forcing their leaders to endorse a certain course of action, not, as the press would have it, the other way around.

Undoubtedly the Republican leaders have displayed a certain degree of political opportunism (bordering on the cynical) in their last minute conversion to backing the hunger strikes. They have milked the situation for all the propaganda value it is worth; but then they have been left very little choice unless they want to lose all political credibility with their own members and supporters in the nationalist community. One can hardly blame them for making the best of a bad situation. Where they are open to real criticism is in the forms their support for the prisoners has taken, or rather not taken. The National H-Block Committee, Sinn Fein and the IRSP have all displayed a

spontaneous attacks on the security forces. It is for more than ideological disdain of electioneering that anarchists have to criticise the channeling off of support for the prisoners into safe and respectable avenues of legal protest. As the Belfast Anarchist paper "OUTTA CONTROL" said in its August issue: "To convince the ruling classes of Ireland, who daily exploit and manipulate us, to support the prisoners, is to ask them to attack themselves...the Big Three (Catholic Church, SDLP, & Eire government) won't back the prisoners, unless they can sell them and us out."

It is certainly not for want of arms or men that the IRA has until now largely left the prisoners undefended. Only after INLA members began making actions in Belfast in support of the prisoners were the IRA shamed into calling off what amounted to an unofficial cease fire. Instead of electioneering and calling on the SDLP, Catholic hierarchy and Eire govt to intercede with the British govt on the prisoner's behalf, the IRA should do what it does best. You can only bargain from a position of strength. The prisoners have done all they can - now it is up to those outside to up the ante.

Ballots or bullets?



singular distrust of independent protest amongst the nationalist community. None of them supported the four-day march from Newry to Dublin (culminating in 12,000 people bringing the city of Dublin to a halt on 25th July) as fully as they should have. And they have repeatedly discouraged street rioting and

It is no coincidence that the return of the only four Republican prisoners to Ireland from England (Gerry Kelly, Hugh Feeney, Marion & Dolours Price) was achieved shortly after the kidnappings of Thomas Niedemayer and Lord & Lady Donoughmore. Others were on hunger strike with them: one (Frank Stagg) died in Wakefield

after the promise from the British government to repatriate him was broken and he was forced back onto another hunger strike. Why some and not others? The precedent had been set and no greater loss of principle would have been involved. The answer is simple: the state was threatened with the taking of political hostages. When the threat was deemed over, halt was called to sending any more Irish prisoners home. In the same way Stuart Christie did not escape a twenty year sentence in Spain just because his mother made a tearful appeal to Franco. He was released because of the intervention of the First of May Group, who threatened political kidnappings and other reprisals.

If the Republican prisoners are fighting for political status it is because the state is denying it to them as part of a NATO conceived counter-insurgency strategy of 'isolate and destroy' that is being applied throughout Western Europe. In itself, 'political status' will not be of any revolutionary significance within the prisons until it is applied to all prisoners. As anarchists we do not seek to erect barriers between one group of prisoners and another. But the fact that on an ideological level we may have differences of opinion concerning 'political status' should not cloud our judgement of the issues involved, nor act as an obstacle to our making a contribution to the struggle against imperialism in Ireland as anarchists. If we say that "all prisoners are political prisoners", we can not quibble when some demand to be treated as such. The Republican hunger strikers are entitled to our complete support and solidarity. There are no fences left to sit on in a battlefield. You can only fight, or not fight. It is as easy (or as difficult) as that.

'Rocinante'.

Postscript.

Since this article was written the hunger strike has ended. The prisoners issued a lengthy statement on 3 Oct., explaining their decision and drawing some political lessons from it. The following are only extracts:

"We, the protesting Republican prisoners in the H-Blocks, being faced with the reality of sustained family intervention, are forced by this
cont'd on back cover



Martin Hurson,



Kevin Lynch,



Keiran Docherty,



Thomas McElwee,



Michael Devine.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



ITALY

On 27th April the Red Brigades kidnapped Christian Democrat politician *Ciro Cirillo* in Naples, killing his driver and bodyguard. On 20th May industrialist *Giusseppe Talercio* was taken from his home. On 3rd June an Alf-Romeo executive, *Renzo Sandrucci*, was kidnapped. On 10th June they got hold of *Roberto Peci*, brother of the Red Brigades "supergrass" *Patrizio Peci*.

Six communiques were issued by the Red Brigades after the abduction of *Talercio*, in which he was condemned to death. On 6th July an anonymous phone call told police they would find his body in a car. He had been shot 14 times. *Sandrucci* was released unharmed in Milan eight days later.

Cirillo and *Peci* were both sentenced to death but *Cirillo* was eventually released unharmed after payment of a £700,000 ransom. *Peci* was executed on 3rd August and his body was dumped on a rubbish tip just outside of Rome. The Brigades claim that *Roberto Peci* was responsible for his brother's arrest. The brother, *Patrizio*, was arrested 18 months ago and immediately joined a group of those who collaborated with the police. Information given by *Patrizio Peci* was responsible for the arrest of many people and the seizure of arms and ammunition.

On 16th June in Milan police arrested 26 year old anarchist *Agostino Mariotti*. He is charged with membership of the 'Lo Muscio Brigade', an explicitly marxist, armed group. This he vehemently denies.

The trial in Livorno of 15 libertarians accused of terrorism ended on 13th July with 'not guilty' verdicts against the lawyer, *Gabriele Fuga*, and six others. *Fuga* was promptly re-arrested on the basis of statements made by the "repentant" prisoner, *Michele Viscardi*.

For those found guilty, in all the sentences passed totalled 38 years. The heaviest sentence was passed on *Monica Giogi* (12½). This came as a surprise for the trial had exposed the inconsistencies of the evidence offered against her by *Enrico Paghera*

and *Vincenzo Oliva* who had turned state's evidence. An identification parade also went in *Monica's* favour. Why the sentence then? *Monica* has been an active anarchist since 1970, active in prisoners support groups and in propaganda. On 23rd June a fascist attack burned out *Monica's* mother's flat and that of a neighbour.

PORTUGAL

PORTUGUESE PRISONER: JOSE TAVARES.

As a youth *Jose Tavares* joined the UEC -the student organisation of the CP in Portugal. Around 1975 he became an anarchist, founding the local anarchist group in *Leiria* (the *Puig Antich* group) and the *Libertarian Athenaeum*. He established the paper "Revolta" and joined the Portuguese anarchist federation *FARP*.

Tavares was extremely active in a variety of capacities and used the alias *Miguel Silva* on occasions. He was arrested at the end of May 80 and charged with a raid on a post of the *Guarda Fiscal* along with three Spanish anarchists of the *FAI*, one of whom, *Agustin Valiente*, was shot dead by the police during a bank robbery. The others, *Fernando Roman* and *Alejandro Camacho*, were also arrested. *Jose Manuel Tavares* is still in prison and untried today.

GREECE

The same day of the discussion in the Greek parliament on a new anti-terrorist law, the security police arrested two young anarchists: *Philip* and *Sophia Kyritsis* who had in their home many political books, magazines and anarchist leaflets. *Sophia* (then 18) and *Philip* (21) were presented by the media as blood thirsty terrorists who would have blown up half of Athens and had in mind to burn down the other half. The evidence for this was the discovery of eight bottles filled with gasoline found in the commonly used basement of their house. The tenant of the ground floor room had said to the police that these bottles had been put there by *Philip* and *Sophia*. On the basis of this accusation, which was never accepted by the accused, and without any other evidence *Philip* and *Sophia* were taken to court. There they were convicted and sentenced to 9 years (for *Philip*) and 5 years (*Sophia*).

The same court convicted *Yannis Scandalis* to 5 years imprisonment. The reason for his conviction was the justification for the murder by the police of well-known militant, *Dr Vassilis Tsironis*, who was a comrade of *Scandalis*. *Dr Tsironis's* organisation *O.E.M.* (Neutral Greek Front) was presented as a "terrorist organisation, although

O.E.M.'s struggle was legal and known to everyone. The day that *Tsironis* was assassinated at his home (10th July '78) *Yannis Scandalis* was arrested and tortured at security police headquarters.

When a protest and solidarity movement was created (this movement organised a massive meeting of 6,000 people) the state replied by imprisoning some of the young students who participated in the movement. One of these students was *Kyriakos Miras*. *Kyriakos* had taken part in a demonstration against police brutality and resisted, with others, when the police attacked the demonstration. He was arrested together with four others (students aged 15 - 20) and the anarchist *Kyriakos Vassiliades*, ex-editor of an anarchist journal. All of them were presented by the media as members of a terrorist band who wanted to burn down Athens. The evidence for this was posters, anarchist books, empty bottles etc. *Kyriakos Miras*, at that time 17 years old, was tortured by being hung from a post with his hands tied behind his back; lack of sleep, food and water, beatings etc. At his trial he was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.



WEST GERMANY

Early in the morning of 18th August bombs exploded simultaneously outside the US Army Barracks in *Lichterfeld* and *Churchill House* in *Charlottenburg*. No one was injured in the attacks.

On 31st August a bomb exploded under a car parked outside the HQ of the US Air Force in Europe (*USAFE*) and the Allied Air Forces in Central Europe (*AFCE*) at *Ramstein*. 18 US airmen and 2 West Germans were hurt in the blast, including *Brigadier General J.D. Moore*, assistant deputy chief of operations of *USAFE* and a Lt. Colonel. The blast caused extensive damage to the base.

Ramstein has recently become a focal point of growing opposition to the proposed deployment of American nuclear missiles in West Germany. The base is the home of the 86th US Tactical Fighter Group. Their job is to monitor troop movements within the Warsaw Pact countries. The nearby depots at *Miseau* and *Weil-erbach* house nuclear weapons. The RAF claimed responsibility for this action in a 3 page communique. The communique said the action was part of the RAF's strategy of "war against imperialist war".

Also on 1st September 7 cars were set ablaze and destroyed in an American housing area in *Wiesbaden*. No one was hurt in the action. On the same day, in *Frankfurt*, a conference hall belonging to *Chancellor Schmidt's* SDP was burned to the ground.

Street fighting erupted in West Berlin on 13th September between demonstrators and police as the US Secretary of State, *General Alexander Haig*, visited the city. Up to 80,000 protestors came out onto the streets to show their disgust at *Haig's* visit. About 1,000 of them were repelled by police water cannon and teargas when they tried to break through to West Berlin's town hall where *Haig* was signing the book of honour. The demonstrators ripped up cobblestones and threw smoke bombs. Others burned an American flag, and at least two shops were looted. Parked cars were overturned in the fighting. 178 people were arrested. War criminal *Haig* had been the target of an attack by the RAF 'Andreas Baader Commando' in Belgium in June 1979, when 20kg of plastic explosive was detonated under his motorcade. *Haig* who escaped unhurt was NATO supreme commander at the time.

In *Frankfurt*, also on 13th September, three firebombs were thrown at the home of the US Consul-General. No one was hurt in the attack, and damage was reported as being slight.

The Commander in Chief of the US Army in Europe, *General Frederick J. Kroesen*, was wounded in a gun and rocket attack on his car in *Heidelberg* in 15th September, as he drove from his home to visit

US headquarters at *Ramstein* after a visit from the RAF.



some of the 70,000 troops taking part in the NATA exercise 'Certain Encounter'. Kroesen's armour-plated Mercedes was hit in the boot by a rocket fired from an RPG7 launcher as it waited at traffic lights. The rocket blew a hole in the back of the car but the armour saved the General, his wife, and two US soldiers, from serious injury. A second rocket was fired from a position on a wooded hillside overlooking the road but it missed, striking the roadway. Eight shots were also fired at the car, before the attackers made good their escape.



Rolf Heissler at an earlier trial in 1972.

Rolf Heissler goes on trial...

The trial opened in Dusseldorf on 14th September of alleged RAF member Rolf Heissler (33) on charges of murder, attempted murder, bank robbery, and membership of a criminal organisation. Rolf Heissler is accused of killing two Dutch custom officials in 1978 and in attempting to kill two more. This last incident happened on 1st November 1978 when customs officials stopped a car on the Dutch/German border near Aachen. The occupants, a man and a woman, opened up on the customs men with a pistol and submachine gun before driving off back into Holland. Police searches at the time revealed no trace of the suspects.

Rolf Heissler's arrest is one of the few success's in tracking down 'terrorist' suspects that the police computer system can boast of. The official version is that the police fed into the computer all the electric bills paid by cash and compared the names and known details of the people with details of 'terrorist' suspects. (Only terrorists pay their bills promptly by cash it seems!)

Rolf Heissler has made no statement since his arrest in Frankfurt on 9th June 79 and remained silent when he appeared in court. First convicted, as a member of the 2nd June Movement, to eight years for armed robbery in 1972, he was amongst the prisoners released in exchange for the kidnapped CDU politician, Peter Lorenz, in March 1975. Since then his movement have been understandably sketchy but police claim to have found evidence linking him with RAF members Willi Stoll (murdered by police 10/9/78) and Elizabeth van Dyck (murdered by police 4/5/79). He took part in the recent mass hunger strikes of political prisoners in West German prisons. The trial continues.

ANOTHER RAF TRIAL

The trial of RAF member Sieglinda Hoffman (35) began in Frankfurt on 21st September, on charges of involvement in the attempted kidnapping of banker Juergen Ponto (in which Ponto was shot dead); and membership of a criminal organisation.

Ponto, head of the Dresdener Bank and board member of Krupps, Daimler-Benz, AEG-Telefunken and Thyssen, was shot dead by three RAF members as they tried to take him from his luxury home at Oberusal, near Frankfurt, on 30th July 1977. One of the three was identified at the time as Susanne Albrecht (30). She is still wanted by the police.

Sieglinda Hoffman is alleged by the prosecution to have been involved in planning the kidnapping, based on the evidence of former RAF member Hans Joachim Dellwo, who claims he saw her in Frankfurt with Albrecht and other RAF members a few hours before the attempt. She is not charged with complicity in the murder of Ponto, but merely "acquiescence" in his death, because the French authorities who allowed her extradition from Paris last year, described the evidence against her as insufficient.

She was arrested in Yugoslavia on 29th May 1978, with Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Peter Jurgen Boock (who has turned informer since his arrest in Hamburg 23/1/81) and Ralf Clemens Wagner. All four were held by the Yugoslav authorities as political hostages in an attempt to force the extradition of eight wanted Croat Nationalists from West Germany. However they were finally released on 17th November 78 when the West German govt. refused to hand over the Croats.

Since then police claim she was tracked down in South Pemen and followed to Paris, where she was arrested on 9th July 80 with Regina Nicolai, Karola Kamp-Nuennichow and Ingrid Barabass. Police also found 1,000 rounds of ammunition,



molotov cocktails and forgery equipment. Other sources claim that the Paris arrests were the result of a deal between the BKA (German special branch) and the PLO in Beirut, who were eager to prove themselves worthy contenders for recognition from the EEC and European parliament.

Sieglinda Hoffmann recently took part in the mass hunger strikes of political prisoners in West Germany. Her trial is expected to be a long one.

GUATEMALA

Since the massacre at Puzos when peasants were murdered because they demanded land, a series of events has transpired which demonstrates the lack of legitimacy of the Romeo Lucas government. In 1977 came the demonstration by over 100,000 people, protesting at the massacre of the peasants. The miners of Ixtahuacan marched 300 kilometers to the capital to protest at the abuses perpetrated by the mining corporation. In 1980 a group of peasants seized the Spanish embassy. The army moved in, leaving 39 dead. This year the Coca Cola workers have scored an impressive victory in their strike. Among their demands was one for the reinstatement of 31 colleagues who had been sacked. The firm was obliged to give in on this point. Another prominent event was the strike by 70,000 peasants demanding more pay. Finally there is the notable fact of the formation of the FDCR (Democratic Front Against Repression). Like the FDR in El Salvador, the FDCR is a bloc of organisations attempting to set itself up as the vanguard of the people's struggles which are "directed" by the Guerilla Army of the Poor (EGP); the Revolutionary Organisation of the People in Arms (ORPA); the Armend REvolutionary Forces (FAR); and the moscow-line Guatemalan Labour Party (PGT).

Against the backdrop of the current situation in Guatemala, the social democrats are scurrying to avoid being left behind in the revolutionary process. In order to retain the prestige they enjoy among sectors of the population in confrontation with the repression headed by Romeo Lucas and the Guatemalan Army, they have publicly stated their support for the Liberation Struggle. Of course that support is confined to "solidarity" rather than to actual participation in the fighting: that is left to the guerillas, workers and peasants. The social democrats are guided by their determination to remain a bourgeois faction within the popular movements, since at this point and for political reasons, they are denied access to the political power firmly in the hands of the military. Instead they hope that Guatemala, like any other country which rises up against its oppressors, may achieve democracy of a bourgeois kind, where exploitation does not rely on intimidation enforced by arms but rather on guileful laws whereby the workers are exploited under cover of the legal code.

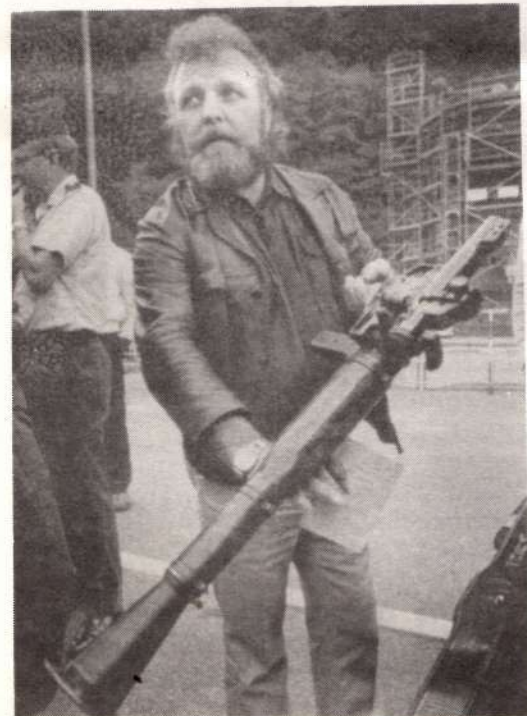
from 'Acracia', San Jose, Costa Rica, March 81.

UKRAINE

The young Ukrainian libertarian, V. Sitkcho, has been sent to one of the Gulag camps because of his refusal to be conscripted into the Red Army.

cont'd over.

page 9



A West German cop holds the RPG7 launcher used in the attack on General Kroesner.

The RAF later claimed the action in a three page communique to a Frankfurt news agency. The communique signed by the 'Gudrun Ensslin Commando' called for attacks on the "Centres, bases and strategists of the American military machine". Kroesen had been picked as a target, the communique went on, because he was "one of the US generals who control imperialist policies in Western Europe up to the Gulf". Police found the RPG7 rocket launcher, radio equipment, a tent and sleeping bags on the hillside from where the attack was launched.

The day after the attack on Kroesen, German police found two bombs, made from fire extinguishers each filled with 13lbs of explosives, on a railway line used by supply trains for the US Rhein-Main air base near Frankfurt. The bombs were connected by a cable and had a timing device. Both bombs were defused.



"The problem of destroying enemy armed groups and their supporters therefore consists very largely of finding them"-Kitson.



One can tell from the hostile vibes still zooming around "Towards a Citizens Militia" that it postulates a highly likely scenario with a solution from the people's point of view. But an alternative point of view is offered by Brig. Kitson, pillar of the establishment and apostle of authoritarian crushing of all resistance.

THE COUP TO COME

It is to Kitson's "Low Intensity Operations" that the latest Cienfuegos Press book-pamphlet "High Intensity Subversion", by Ronin, offers a devastating and witty analysis. It is an amusing blow-by-blow interpretation of Kitson's contribution to the national saga - which Kitson postulates as the goodies of State and Establishment being threatened by the baddies of subversion and terrorism, and which emerges as a bid for power by a section of the Establishment which seeks absolute power within the state.

It raises, however, an interesting question at the finish. "Towards a Citizens Militia" showed how it is possible to resist domination by a clique of army or police officers following a coup d'etat or foreign invasion; but what if the Kitsonian coup came first? A different scenario from "Citizens Militia" must be envisaged. Before the enemy invades or immediately the coup takes place, the Kitsonian coupists round up and intern all dissidents, or all those likely to oppose such a regime, alongside (in the case of foreign invasion) all who support the enemy, or who happen to be foreign born, or who don't support the enemy in a way unapproved by the state. (In 1940, not only fascists were detained but German anti-Nazis and Jews, and a few British anarchists, some socialists and pacifists and in France, a wide spectrum of the last three classes).

All were in concentration camps when the enemy came and in France were handed over to the conquerors tied up and labelled like parcels.

What to do when the state dissolves the tacit compact

that exists in a non-totalitarian society and acts in a clearly criminal manner, then becomes a matter of urgency. The point of struggle becomes the prison and the crashing down of the internment walls the first priority. The French state in 1940 maintained the walls of the anti-Nazi prisoners until they could safely hand them over. Few escaped. The internment centres in Germany, in 1933 were originally utilised only because there was no legal way of holding convicted prisoners, were transformed into death camps. Perhaps already there is planned internment camps on the Ulster model - "it is only for the terrorists" will come the bland assurance and so everyone who goes in, for whatever reason, will be labelled a terrorist.

This Kitson utopia is not only dreamed of by authoritarians to solve a revolutionary crisis but is even wistfully thought of as a means to end rioting, or even to solve unemployment. "National service - reintroduce the rigours but don't let them have guns!" is the dream. The answer to it has got to be good, more it has got to be heavy.

A.M

(international News-Contd.)

IRELAND

Noel Murray is no longer the only 'political' prisoner in the Curragh military camp. He has now been joined by 16 members of the IRSP transferred from Portlaoise. Meanwhile Marie Murray is reported to be working hard at her English studies and is turning into a very promising authoress.

Des Keane, who has been unheard of since his conviction in February 1980 for larceny, is now in 'D' wing of Mountjoy prison.

All three comrades would appreciate letters and cards. Even if they are not allowed to receive them the extra mail will remind the prison authorities that they have not been forgotten by the movement outside.

FRANCE

French police announced on 12th July that Inge Vielt (37), one of the 15 "most wanted" West German guerrillas, had been identified as the woman who had shot and seriously injured a Paris cop the week before.

Inge Vielt was a founder member of the 2nd June Movement. Arrested in July '72 on charges of bank robbery, she escaped from prison in August '73. She was re-arrested on 9th Sept. '75 in West Berlin, with Ralf Reinders and Julianne Plambeck, and charged with participation in the kidnapping of CDU politician Peter Lorenz. Her name was amongst those of 53 prisoners whose release was demanded during the hi-jack of a



Inge Vielt.

French airliner by the PFLP in June 76, which ended with the Israeli raid on Entebbe. Inge escaped again from Moabit prison in West Berlin on 7th July 76.

Forty people took over the offices of the Paris daily newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS and forced staff to print an item in the 30 September issue publicising the hunger strike of political prisoners in Fresnes prison. We hope to carry a full report of the hunger strike in our next issue. Militants of Action Directe took part in the strike, including former MIL-GARI member Jean Marc Rouillan.

SWISS

Barbara Augustin (31) was convicted by a Swiss court on a charge of attempting to

smuggle explosives to West-Germany on 28 September. As an alleged member of the RAF she was sentenced to 3 years.

FINLAND

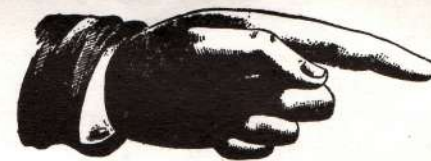
Kosti Lakus, died in Hesperia Hospital, Helsinki, on 19 July, after a heart attack in prison on 23 June. He suffered from a rhythm disturbance in his heart. He was buried beside his Mother in Helsinki on 30 July, in the presence of relatives, two pigs from the central crime police with cameras, and press photographers. His son was given his father's belongings, including a suitcase full of anarchist newsletters and other mail which had been withheld from Kosti by the prison authorities, and which he never saw. Kosti Lakus will be well known to regular readers of BLACK FLAG. Comrades wishing to send messages to his son should do so c/o Corrie Courtens, PO Box 22523, Fazantenhof, Amsterdam, Bijlmermeer, Holland.

USA

George Blue was freed from prison on 24 September after 13 years inside for bank robbery. Half of George's time inside was spent in solitary. He was co-founder of the National Prisoners Association, and won several cases against the state, including winning the right for all prisoners in Atlanta to receive communist literature and to see a copy of their prison file. He was proclaimed a political prisoner at the Helsinki World Peace Congress.

1917

for Grandad Wilkinson & Guillaume Apollinaire



a year for deserters from the frontlines
a year for men not obedient boys when soldiers walked away from death into cities and spat on officers pips and squeaks

they were of course foreigners who walked away with dignity for a joke for laughter for having had a bellyfull of national crap gentlemen of no mean rank - privates & troopers sappers & gunners pioneers & corporals even odd officers who hid their rank smelling uniforms put on denims encouraged soldiers to become civilians then walked away to be shot or to live another day by day.

(From "ANARCHIST POEMS" by Dennis Gould. Freedom Press. Price 25p.)

page 10

THE LAIRD'S TALE

STUART CHRISTIE "THE CHRISTIE FILE".
Cienfuegos Press, 1980.



Stuart Christie: "I much preferred to be known as one of the founders of the Black Cross than one of the many who didn't manage to kill Franco."

Born as recently as 1946 what can Stuart possibly have to relate?. A Scot from a poor family he began to take an interest in socilaism from the age of about 14. He flirted with Labour and Trot skyite groups and was especially attracted to Solidarity ... "but I wanted action - not just to understand the capitalist system but to fight against it. This is how I began to move towards anarchism".

Later he joined an anti-nuclear committee on which anarchists were active. He took part in 'Spies for Peace' operations (locating the secret government anti-nuclear bunkers) and was arrested by the police. During an apprenticeship as a dental technician he was forced to choose between the wearing of CND and anti-war badges and talking politics during tea breaks, or collecting his cards. So he collected his cards. Even then Christie showed signs of his bold nature.

1963 was the year that saw the Spanish CP member Grimau die before a firing squad, and the anarchists Delgado and Granados garrotted. Stuart became interested in Spain and contacted Spanish comrades of the FIJI (Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth) who were about the only faction among the Spanish exiles who engaged in attacks against the Franco regime, after Sabate was killed. Christie resolved to go to Spain on a mission on their behalf.

As an anarchist Stuart advocates direct confrontation with the state and of a break between libertarians who are "liberal-pacifists" and others who are revolutionaries. He even argues that people cannot be anarchists if all that they do is "protest against the inequities within the system" This accounts for the traps that the British police have set for him.

On his departure for Spain he was given explosives and

told where to rendezvous in Madrid. Knowing not a word of Spanish he was picked up in Madrid, having been, evidently, trailed all the way from Paris, "thanks" to assistance from British Police to their colleagues in Franco's Spain. Carballo was arrested too, later. In 1964, at the age of 18, Stuart was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment, while Carballo for 30. The fact that Stuart was the first Briton arrested for anti-Francoist activities, and this at the height of the tourist boom, saved him from more savagery.

Stuart gives us a detailed account of his 3*years in the prisons [*he was later reprieved] of Carabanchel and Alcala de Henares and of his contacts with other libertarians, including Luis Andres Edo and Miguel Garcia. Later back in Britain, Stuart came up with the idea of reviving the Black Cross - a prisoners aid body set up in 1906 to help Russian anarchists. With the help of Albert Meltzer, who was instrumental in obtaining Stuart's release, and a veteran anarchist, the Black Cross was set up to help libertarians in Spain and elsewhere.

Early in 1970 the Black Cross secured the release of Miguel Garcia (who had served 20 years and a day in captivity); Garcia moved to England to help with the work of solidarity with prisoners. Also in 1970 the social crisis in Britain became starkly apparent. The home of employment minister Robert Carr was damaged by a bomb. The ruling class was aghast at this. So were many "leftists", who were eager to hail anything somewhere else as the very acme of pure heroism but who, faced with this instance nearer home, chose to label it as "adventurism". The attack signalled the beginning of a series of (unbloody) actions claimed by the ANGRY BRIGADE.

Stuart was arrested along with others. There followed 18 months in prison, during which Stuart found that the prisoner was worse off in Britain (in terms of the cells the food and the treatment) than in Spain. Then came the trial. The jury was out for 2 days and then returned a verdict of not guilty on Stuart and three others; 4 other comrades however were given 10 years. Stuart notes that in 1979 a fascist charged with having firebombed and blown up the homes of immigrants and community bookshops was sentenced to three years.



While in prison Stuart had translated Antonio Tellez's book "SABATE" and he searched for a publisher. On a trip to Italy he called in on Franco Leggio in Sicily and, seeing Leggio at work as a publisher, it occurred to him to have a go himself.

Around 1974-75 Stuart, along with some other comrades launched the Cienfuegos Press taking the name of a Cuban libertarian and guerilla colleague of Castro's. [Stuart claims that Cienfuegos was murdered by the communists in 1959].

Stuart's narrative skips over pointless biographical details and stresses his dealings with people like Octavio Alberola and Giuseppe Pinelli and describes the Carrara congress of 1968 and, of course, the movement in Britain. By the end of the book we have at least the basis for some conclusions regarding the problem of action in a society like Britain and how to pursue the class struggle with the trade union movement in the grip of Labour and Communist reformists.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. It was there James II embarked on a boat fleeing from the country during the REvolution of 1688 (down a boarding passage still extant) and threw the Great Seal into the river, presumably having the idea that without it the new King wouldn't be legal.

2. The film companies can utilise paid TV for showing films direct to homes (an idea they still toy with) but with radio, this would have enabled radio listeners to have community programmes (as pointed out by the Radio Freedom League at the time) free from both Corporation monopoly and advertising alike.

3. In 1742, when the Mansion House was being built, the Corporation of the City of London imposed a fine of £600 on anyone who declined to serve as a sheriff. But to serve meant to first take communion in the Church of England. Wealthy Nonconformists were elected and if they stood by their religion, were mulcted of £600 apiece, until £15,000 was raised - when the bye-law was declared ultra vires.

4. Michael Collins was the only one to get out of bed early and write letters (said De Valera) hence his start on the others; De Valera, being American born and of Spanish extraction, was spared by the British Government in 1916 and got the glory of being a rebel without the penalty (as Collins rightly pointed out). De Valera had the last laugh - Collins was assassinated on his instructions - early one morning.

5. Certainly most of the prostitutes turned out against the Mafia types who were running the brothels, and denounced the pimps to the workers' militia but the story is basically untrue, comparable with the one that in the Bolshevik revolution in Russia brothels - or in some versions of the story, "women" - were nationalised (whatever that meant).

6. The Free State, which interned REpublican prisoners following its victory in the civil war after "independence" ignored the mass hunger strike for release until it collapsed and then the kitcehn staff demanded 24 hours notice before the resumption of food supply.

Frank Mintz

