POLAND; SNATCHING DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY

The Polish working class has provided the world with a remarkable example of how to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. The events in Poland can therefore only instruct working people in the fatal consequences of ignoring their own strengths, compromising with their enemies and failing to conceive of a truly different world without masters.

The magnitude of this collective failure is all the greater because of the Poles’ accomplishments, without trade unions, without a “vanguard party”, without access to state-owned radio, television, or newspapers, the Polish workers were able to initiate a general strike. This strike spread through the length and breadth of the nation, paralysed foreign commerce and effectively brought the economic life of Poland to a standstill. These feats were attained notwithstanding the total domination of Poland by the Communist Party and the Russian Army since the end of the Second World War.

HYPOCRISY

The Polish workers compelled negotiations and apparent concessions from their rulers caused the premature retirement of a significant portion of the entrenched leadership (including Prime Minister Gierer) and obtained, at least on paper, rights which are unprecedented in the Eastern Bloc. Yet for all their accomplishments (and the story is certainly not complete in that respect) they should not fail to observe how and why they have fallen so short of the mark of their own freedom. In making an analysis of the situation in Poland, it is important to try and avoid the trap of seeing only what fits neatly with a pre-existing viewpoint. We have no use for the self-serving hypocrisy of mainstream politicians like Carter and Thatcher who praise the “heroic Polish worker” for acts which would bring swift and violent denunciation if undertaken by American or British workers. Nor do we have any use for the politicians of the left such as the Communist Party who see only the work of “anti-socialist elements” in Poland. Neither should anarchists try to explain away such disconcerting phenomena as Catholic masses in the Gdansk shipyards or choose to dismiss the entire event as insignificant because of the workers’ reformist demands. The whole picture must be seen, warts and all; we should not be blind to either its weaknesses or strengths because they are not in accord with our own theories.

What is remarkable about the last three months in Poland is that certain sections of the working class, primarily the transportation workers, dockers, shipyard workers, workers in heavy industry and mining, spontaneously occupied their places of work, halted production, threw out management, tried to set up new machinery to co-ordinate this self-activity throughout the country. Delegates were sent to Gdansk from various striking factories. Frequently they were rotated to permit new people to participate in the deliberations and negotiations and to avoid, or at least to limit, the growth of a new representative bureaucracy. The actual negotiations

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8
The "new and staggering" deficit will, we hope, come down a bit so that we get some cash in for the previous issue, but, despite some good support, we are still going to struggle heavily in the red. A regular supporter writes to ask us why the Black Cross doesn't do anything to help German prisoners. The answer is simple - we are restricted by our lack of funds, and the first to go is always somewhere where a local organization exists. The Black Cross has only one source of income; we are entirely dependent on Black Flag. May we repeat our appeal that those receiving the flag who don't want to receive it should write to us. Those who are subscribers and have changed their address (and wonder why they don't get it) cannot reach; but if you know anyone pass the message on.

STATE OF PLAY AS AT 1st OCTOBER

PRINTING 225.00
POSTAGE (MAILING) 124.25
STATIONERY 23.50
SALES AND SUBS 149.25
DONATIONS 50.00
BAGS 204.97
LOSS ON ISSUE 247.37
DEPBT BROUGHT FORWARD 2708.15

NEW AND STAGGERING DEFICIT £3,028.53

DONATIONS:
GA, E7; LONDON: £6.46; IT; E7; RB, E7; COSHAM: £8.11; LONDON: £0.71; LONDON: £0.47; LONDON: £0.10; LONDON: £0.67; CROYDON: £7.17; BIRMINGHAM: £0.50; TOTAL £9.50

Thanks to our two regulars who send cash faithfully. Thanks to those who have sent off aid to the addresses supplied, particularly Aldenham and Holloway, who have sent us their last English money and were on holiday in Greece who gave £50 direct to an anarchist prisoner's family, saying it was from the Black Cross.

The poster which was printed as a centre spread in the last issue of "The Irish Prisoner" is now available in a larger version printed on good quality white paper. Under the slogan "Inside and Outside, Support Prisoners' Resistance", the poster's photo-montage depicts a group of Black Cross supporters fancying the attack on prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs in August 1979. Smaller pictures are of M. Polio on the roof of the Scrubs in 1975, Hull prisoners on the roof in 1976, and a joint Prisoners Indemnity Committee picket of the Scrubs in 1979. The text describes the attack by Mufti squad forces on us in November 1978, using quotes from prisoners and their relatives.

The poster, 16" x 22", is available in orders of not more than ten copies from:
PAC BOX 9, 20 ST. PAULS ROAD, LONDON NW1. PRICE £1 EACH, INCLUDING POST AND PACKING; £3 FOR 5 COPIES; £5 FOR 10 COPIES

ITALY

The 30th of June saw the release of Salvo Marletto, Alfredo Bonanno and Jean Charpentier after 100 days of detention, leaving one of the original 19 anarchist comrades arrested in the "blitz" operation carried out by various sectors of the Italian police in Sicily and North Italy at the end of March, still in prison. They were the first comrades to be arrested and it was around the accusations of armed robberies against them that the police constructed a big frame-up designed to draw members of the anarchist movement into the fire of the State's anti-terrorism apparatus. From the start the three comrades recognised the frame-up for what it was and refused to undergo any interrogations and only agreed to an identity-parade when the others were released and the frame-up was obviously crumbling. The comrades who are still in prison is Massimiliano Cappelletti, who worked on the atom bomb, in common with the MacGregors and others by Stepney, council to amend this state of affairs?

The cost of obtaining such a place (not to mention its upkeep once we get it) is extremely high and we will need your support if we are to open and stay open.

In order to do a proper cost evaluation it is essential for us to know how many people are likely to use the Centre, so we would welcome not only membership fees now, but also letters from people interested in the project who would be prepared to use it, help run it, or have some skill which might be useful. We also welcome any suggestions about what use the Centre can be put, any information about possible sites and how we can reach more people with news of the idea.

For those of you who are members or on the mailing list, the October newsletter has been printed and is on its way where was no September issue.

In the near future we intend to hold a meeting open to members and all those interested in the Anarchist Centre to discuss ways in which we can appeal things up. News of this meeting will be carried in Freedom and those on the mailing list will be notified.

Thank you for your support and help. For those of you who haven't already taken out membership but intend to eventually, please do it now. The more members we get the sooner we can open.

Membership: £15 for those in London, £10 for those outside.

Cheques payable to: "William Godwin Memorial Society" c/o Freedom Press, Angel Alley, 84th Whitechapel High Street, London E1.
On 30th August about 1,500 people attended a "Beyond the Fragments" conference. The conference was held at Leeds University and was organized for those sympa-thetic to the ideas expressed in the book by Lynn Segal, Sheila Rowbotham, and Hilary Wainwright "Beyond the Fragments". The book examines the possibilities for the "fags" or "autonomous" left to unite outside the major left groups, the Labour Party, the SWP, the IMG, and Solidarity groups, but extra-parliamentary rather than anti-parliamentary and complimentary to other left groups rather than in any real opposition.

Also present were approximately forty people involved in the London Autonomist milieu who attended for a number of reasons: firstly to observe this latest attempt to bring together the individuals and groupings which work primarily on local or single issue campaigns; to attempt to meet and talk with people with views similar to our own, and to present an active opposition to the leftist package deals presented for consumption; to intervene and disrupt this. A group of us who travelled by coach arrived late and no apart from a quick look at the gathering most of us did not feel like attending any of what was left of the morning workshops and went to a cafe instead.

We had previously decided to attend any workshops as a group to prevent any intimidation and to avoid being isolated voices which are generally ignored or quickly overwhelmed. As all the afternoon workshops were on organization we decided to attend the one chaired by some "fags" or "autonomous" left to explain how an anarchist and had previously described us as fascists in the letters page of the Communist Party and the Unions. The conference was held in the book by Lynn Segal, Sheila Rowbotham, and Hilary Wainwright "Beyond the Fragments". The book examines the possibilities for the "fags" or "autonomous" left to unite outside the major left groups, the Labour Party, the SWP, the IMG, and Solidarity groups, but extra-parliamentary rather than anti-parliamentary and complimentary to other left groups rather than in any real opposition.

The conference was held at Leeds University. An estimated 1,500 people attended.

The workshop debate was tedious and structured as to remain that way. We were presented with a duplicated sheet of paper with points to be discussed. The paper began: "How can we as socialists...", which implied the "fags" or "autonomous" left were basically socialists with perhaps a few disagreements. Various people argued that clearly there was no agreement and the basis of discussion cannot be allowed to assume that there was. Attempts were made to confront people with the concept of "socialists" working within capitalist institutions but all efforts in this direction failed to elicit any response at all. Others suggested that it was time to confront the state on selected terrain and to be prepared to meet (and to use) violence, but this was deemed to be outside the scope of the conference and anyway, "What do we mean by 'violence'?"

After being denied access to the microphone, one autonomist said: "I'm not going to put up with emptiness" which was applauded by a number of the spectators. The "autonomous" left prevented from speaking took possession of the microphone without permission from the chair and once again tried to speak. This time it switched off. It was obvious that he was deliberately kept from speaking, unlike the SWP, the IMG and the Right to Work people (so much for criticism of left parties) so he was forced to stand on the table and shout to be heard, which was, of course, largely ineffective.

The meeting broke up and people drifted away. We spent the remainder of the evening talking to individuals, one of whom told us that a week prior to the conference one of the organizers had contacted the Leeds Anarchist and "fags" or "autonomous" left and expressed concern at the possibility of an intervention by the "fags" or "autonomous" leftists and asked them to help Stewart the autonomists should they attempt to meet and talk with us.

My own feelings on this conference are that any attempt to continue this form of compromise must be interrupted and that insofar as the organizers clearly see some kind of new organization forming around "Beyond the Fragments" it must be resisted. I was sickened by the liberalism prevalent at the conference and the manipulative way that all real criticisms were silenced or ignored.

The present conference has been called in the face of the critical state of decom-partment that the left has reached. Its purpose is to launch some kind of new organization around "Beyond the Fragments" it must be resisted. I was sickened by the liberalism prevalent at the conference and the manipulative way that all real criticisms were silenced or ignored.

Continued on back page
THE SUPERGRASS STRATEGY

In 17th and 18th century London, before the organization of a central police force, shady characters existed who mediated in criminal matters between the people and the courts. They were the thief takers, thief and receivers, such as Jonathan Wild, the most notorious of all. They took to the profession with great skill, and many of them acquired a reputation for honesty and probity to the original owners for large sums which were then shared with the thieves. They controlled thieves under threat of informing on them and sought favour with the judiciary to which they had access. When Wild went in and had stayed out of prison, often these small thieves had a judicial position within the policing establishment. In 1752, the Highwayman Act allowed for a reward of £100 to anyone who informed on a highwayman or other armed robber. Given anyone who caught a thief and provided evidence which led to a conviction, the Act also allowed for anyone who informed on at least two other thieves and gained their conviction to be given a royal pardon.

This period of policing was one almost absent of order, in which the thief takers outwitted the police and the criminals. Divided into two relatively cohesive and secretive camps, the need to work effectively meant they both needed to infiltrate. Until 1753 the police officer was a figure on the fringe, a pathetic, morally ambivalent character who gained small financial rewards or small immunities in exchange for information. The time needed to gain the information they required was often longer than that needed to complete a detection deteriorated by the day, until the super-work effectively, they both need to infiltrate. Until 1753 the police officer was a figure on the fringe, a pathetic, morally ambivalent character who gained small financial rewards or small immunities in exchange for information. The time needed to gain the information they required was often longer than that needed to complete detection.

The transition from the idiomatic behaviour of Smalls to the institutionalisation of the many who have followed him, presents, and continues to present, a far ranging series of moral, political, and legal problems to the police, the judiciary and the criminal fraternity. Who, for instance, was to police and provide protection for the supergrass, and what form should that protection take? Could they all be given immunity from prosecution, and how long would that immunity last? When they had defected, and while they were under police supervision, how would they be treated? Were they to be given all the rewards due to a person who had embraced a new philosophy and repented, or were they to be seen just as criminals and traitors? Was the law and order game? With the growth in police power, it was necessary to explore the potential for new supergrasses, drawing attention beyond that only to such individuals, series of moral changes which had occurred in the nature of crime during the late 1960's.

Technological changes in the field of money security and transfer had displaced the old craftsmen villain who either worked on his own or with a small group of confederates. Changes in the criminal milieu itself, with the decline and disintegration of the armed gangsters, like those led by John Robbery. The invasion of a new culture, the era of the 'ad hoc' firm, a small team with interchangeable members, which came to replace the old techniques, and to become a new type of urban policing in the 1970's.

Despite their immediate victory, aided by Smalls, in the resolution of the way in which police have been used in recent years. The group was formerly called Justice for All, the word Smalls工业. This was the case of 'ad hoc' firms, a small team with interchangeable members, which came to replace the old techniques, and to become a new type of urban policing in the 1970's.

In order to pursue one of the first of these ad hoc firms, which had successfully carried out a series of armed attacks on banks, taking money at the last point of transit as it was handed over to the bank staff, the Metropolitan Police set up the Robbery Squad. The growth and consolidation of this type of armed robbery and the consolidation of the Robbery Squad, the struggle which ensued between the two, describes a new type of urban policing in the 1970's.

Despite their immediate victory, aided by Smalls, in the resolution of a series of robberies which culminated in the Wembley bank job, the concept of a robbery squad was essentially flawed. The policing of the professional criminal in an advanced urban metropolis has come to entail the same lack of higher professional skills which the policing of civil disorder demands from a riot squad. Throughout the 1970's, the detective work gave way quickly to mass paranoia and entrapment, both of which are inevitable in a large scale, unprecedented and entrapment of hand, in which the end inevitably justifies the means. When it became apparent that Smalls had information to recount on a large scale, the focus of the investigation had become more and more the group of Public Prosecutions. A strategy of exception had to be conjured up and it was found in a gentleman's agreement between Smalls, his solicitor and the DPP. It was an agreement to try Smalls on a charge of aiding and abetting the Robbery Squad in the form of a typed contract. Essentially it gave Smalls complete immunity from prosecution for any crime he admitted to with the reservation that the DPP could not sanction murder.

In 1975 the Appeal court recognised this contract for the unhealthy bargain that it was: "We hope", said Lord Justice Lawton, "that we will not see the uncontrolled sight of the DPP making agreements with professional criminals again." As time went by the Smalls Agreement was to become as frequent as the claims that the Robbery Squad had been involved in a "vehicular" pursuit, or that they had been "paid to fix" bank notes, rigged identification parades, done deals with the underworld, planted evidence... the super-work effectively, they both need to infiltrate. Until 1973 the police officer was a figure on the fringe, a pathetic, morally ambivalent character who gained small financial rewards or small immunities in exchange for information. The time needed to gain the information they required was often longer than that needed to complete a detection.

The supergrass phenomenon is not simply another aspect of criminal activity but something precipitated by an onslaught from the police upon the criminal community. The phenomenon can only be seen clearly in certain large American cities. The success, from time to time, of police in forcing the recall of the old ad hoc firms, drawing attention beyond that only to such individuals, series of moral changes which had occurred in the nature of crime during the late 1960's.

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In determining this policy, the police, the judiciary and the Home Office have worked closely with the press. While Gilbert Kelland’s statement appeared in one part of the centre spread of the Daily Mail in July 79, the rest of the page carried a picture of David Wilson in a supergrass suit and a report of £30,000 contract on his life. Before giving evidence Smith apparently spent some time in hospital, on a female ward, being treated for hepatitis and a slipped disc. He later described this as a ploy to protect a police officer who warded off the long queues of underworld hit-men waiting to pick up the mythical £30,000. Despite all this security a Daily Mail photographer was allowed to attend his bedside for a quick picture with the hero. When Smith had been sentenced to five years in 1979, Detective Inspector Tony Lundy, apparently acting as his impresario as well as investigating his statements, verified a story which gained the front page of the SUN (February 27th 1979). Not only was Smith in danger of his life but he had been “hurriedly moved from Finschley police station a few months ago when police heard that an armed gang were planning to attack the station and silence him”.

At the height of the intrigues involving Charlie Lowe, in 1976, the Daily Express claimed that there was a £40,000 contract out on him, the Sun put the imaginary sum at £20,000 and £10,000, while the Guardian said the Telegraph shunned the dramatic populism and only offered £8,000.

In July 1978, the Daily Express ran a front page supergrass story on Eddie Martin, who would be “subjected to an oblique light on an aspect of terrorism”.

The unhegemonic structure of London’s professional criminals, their tendency towards ad hoc organization, their lack of centralized coordination and their separation from political organizations all militate against corporate action being taken by them against the supergrasses.

constable Ian Mitchell and Reserve Constable Laurence McClure were each given two year suspended sentences.

Constable William McCaughy was immediately under investigation by the Special Branch, the British legal Establishment, entering virtually every country in the ‘Free’ world. As this book goes to press he is once again under investigation by the Special Branch, the British legal Establishment, the R.U.C. would be making a House of Commons report. "The Christie File: Enemy of the State, 384pp, photographs, 210 x 132mm, £8.95"

Gary Armstrong, also appeared charged with the kidnapping of a priest, Father Murphy, on June 18 1978. Apparently their plan was to “fit him up” on a similar charge. The gunman, Constable Wilmott up to 18 months for a “crime against corporate action being taken by them against the supergrasses.”

The literature of anarchism contains a number of fine autobiographical works. Emma Goldman’s Living My Life, and Alexander Berkman’s The Prision Memoirs of an Anarchist, Kropotkin’s Memoirs of a Revolutionist, Albert Meltzer’s The Anarchists in London are all good examples of a genre in which publicly notorious and vilified anarchists have been able to explain and defend their actions and beliefs, while at the same time dismantling the myths surrounding their private and public lives, a persecution created artificially by a rabid state apparatus with the connivance of a ‘bought’ press.

For libertarians and the general public alike, this personalisation of almost mythical figures from history is of singular importance. For those of us who carry on the struggle for a lifestyle and a society based on a cooperative ethic and personal freedom, we can recognise the continuity between these ‘legendary’ figures and ourselves in the same struggle of political survival, sagging freedom, fear, worries, good meals enjoyed with friends and comrades, fear and paranoia, and the ups and downs of each of us what anarchism could be in practice, in terms of personal and individual quality of life, are precisely similar in value to the passionate and self-consciously heroic, the justifiable denunciations of social injustice.

It is a sad commentary on the state of things in the world that despite the fact that anarchists and anarchists have been defined everything from the Italian fascists to the gandhian ‘revolution’ to crime in the streets, in our era there have been few, if any, anarchists outside of Spain with the personal notoriety, involvement, interest in self-expression, and a willingness to write a compelling personal history of modern anarchism.

For those unaware of Stuart Christie’s involvement with the modern anarchist movement — in spite of it having been trumpeted regularly in the international press for seventeen years — a few bare facts will suffice to establish the subject, times, context, scope, and places. The Glasgow anarchist first became a subject of controversy in 1964 when, at age 18, he was arrested in Spain in possession of explosives which were used to attempt to terminate the life of Franco. After three years in Spanish prisons, he was released and returned to Britain. The object of continuing investigation, harassment, and surveillance during the height of his active sixties, he was framed and imprisoned in 1971 for alleged involvement in the massive ‘Angry Brigade’ conspiracy trial. Britain’s first, and so far its last, communist. After a year and half in prison he left the trial a free man, exonerated on all charges. Continuing his political activities he’s since been responded to with police threats against his life and freedom. Moving first to Yorkshire, then, namely missing involvement in the infamous‘Pinkieوبن’ case, he moved to Orkney where he lives to this day. Since 1973 he has been excluded from entering virtually every country in the world. As this book goes to press he is once again under investigation by the Special Branch, the British legal Establishment, and Scotland’s ‘law and order’ establishment. As a result of today’s movement towards “Towards a Citizens’ Militia: Anarchist Alternatives to NATO and the Warsaw Pact.”

Stuart’s side of the controversial events which have surrounded him and the movement with which he so closely involved himself is a long time coming, and we suspect there may be another volume to be written before he can go to his chips, but in the meantime we are happy to be able to present The Christie File. We think you’ll agree it was worth the wait.

The Editors, Partisan Press
UK Order to: Cliftonref Press, Over the Water, Sunday, Orkney, KW17 2BL UK.
US Orders to: Partisan Press, PO Box 2193, Seattle, WA 98111, USA

An example of what happens when the law deals with its minions was given when five members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary stood in the Northern Ireland Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lowry, to be sentenced for the shooting of two terrorist offences.

Three of them were accused of an attack on a bar in Keady, Co. Armagh, on June 5, 1978. One customer was shot twice in the stomach during this assault. The gunman, Constable William McCaughy, made the ludicrous claim that he’re fired at his victim’s legs. This, coupled with the fact that the bomb he planted failed to explode enabled the lukewarm prosecutor to withdraw charges on what was obviously a primo facie case of attempted murder.

Apparently Lord Lowry took the rest of his statement as being a confession when sentencing the accused. Constable McCaughy received only a year sentence, but it’s to run concurrently with a life term he’s already serving for a sectarian murder, a sentence which special is worse than a judicial slap on the wrist. Two of his accomplices, who were also treated very leniently,
Horst Mahler
FROM URBAN
GUERRILLA TO
STOIC

Malher leaving prison in Berlin last August.

Condemned to 14 years in prison, since last autumn he had been allowed out on work parole. During the day he worked in an architect's office. In the evening he returned punctually to the prison, "It wasn't surrounded by walls just a wire fence. And the rooms were not really cells." Mahler was benefiting from a rule for well-behaved prisoners. It had not been granted before to a political prisoner. However Mahler was a rather special prisoner. In February 1975, when he had been in prison for 5 years the '2nd of June Movement' had kidnapped the Christian Democrat deputy Peter Lorenz, in exchange for 12 political prisoners. Mahler was high on the list. He refused to go. Clearly and publicly. So he stayed in prison. At that time he became a member of a Marxist-Leninist group called the KPD. That did not last. He searched for a political prisoner, but always refused to collaborate with the judiciary. Mahler did not stop there, he denounced the propaganda made by the RAF around the conditions of detention of the political detainees. "What may or may not be destroyed in you by the conditions of detention, depends not on them but on yourself." - he said this in a statement which immediately earned him a shower of abuse from his old comrades and also from all of the extreme left. He was treated as an agent of "Counterinsurgency", and another detainee, the poet Peter-Paul Zahl, in whose opinion he had hoped to find an echo, responded by calling him a "ventriculoist" in the service of the "Masters of the RAF". But Mahler persisted - "this constant pushing of more young people into the guerilla must stop." His objective has not changed. He refused to collaborate with the judiciary but denounced the vicious circle of an armed struggle which had no more objective than to liberate its own members; "a guerilla to liberate guerillas" as he had one day ironically called Peter-Paul Zahl.

These are questions on which Mahler has had time to reflect: "It is an old dream," he said, "when I was arrested, it was possible, in a very indirect way, to communicate with Baader and Ennslin, who were still free." They proposed that he do a pamphlet on detention conditions. In vain. They represented Mahler for not taking account of the difficulties the group was in: for Baader: "you can only elicit the solidarity of the legal left by capitalising on the prisoners situation." This discussion became more war-like when two years later, Baader and Ennslin, in whose turn they were arrested. For the RAF their attempts were a mortal blow. "Without their energy, their decisiveness and their imaginative genius, we could imagine that the rest of the RAF could continue to fight." For the RAF "liberate Andreas and Gudrun" became one of their principle objectives. Mahler: "I well remember Oudrun saying "now we are inside, we have only our bodies to create conditions of solidarity favourable to the RAF." It was questionable - the motivations for recruiting and giving moral justifications for which could only end in bloodshed.

Thus was decided the campaign against torture. Without releasing the judiciary took a hard line to this campaign by imprisoning Oulide Meinhold and Pricill in isolated cells in the silent wing of the Cologne Gosendorf prison. It was essential to yet release it. So even in the RAF itself there was a reluctance to use the word 'torture' to describe the 'torture' to describe the misery of detention.

About his statement that the situation of a prisoner depended firstly on himself: "It can be a measure of the projection of a personal asceticism. In my cell I had read all that revolutionaries of the past had written of their different prison experiences, and I had found confirmation of my ideas. However terrible the conditions of detention may be the most important thing is how you comport yourself.

In true that the conditions of detention were illegal and inhuman; communication with others is part of being human. And that is why they must be changed. But it also is important that one must speak precisely without creating myths." This revolutionary without revolution has become a liberal stoic; some months ago he created a scandal by participating, for the big weekly magazine 'Der Speigel', in a discussion on terrorism with the Minister of the Interior, Gehard Baum. The meeting caused a new scandal.

Malher, pictured here with the West German minister for the Interior, Gehard Baum. The meeting caused a new scandal.

In 1975 Horst Mahler, already a stoic and still a Marxist- Leninist, exhorted the political prisoners to give up a hunger strike: "for a revolutionary" he explained "gains nothing in appealing to bourgeoisie pity.

In an open letter to another detainee, Mahler went further: "when children hurt themselves and cry, wise parents say to them 'indians don't cry'. If the left want to help RAF political prisoners, it must say to them: 'a revolutionary does not cry when the state treats them harshly.'"