

For over 20 years now the Red Army Fraction (RAF) has waged armed struggle within Germany (and Europe as well) and in the course of this has had numerous members captured and imprisoned. The RAF prisoners have been subjected to severe repression from the German state which targets them as part of the counterinsurgency against the guerrilla. This repression has taken many forms with the most brutal being isolation/sensory deprivation in the form of the "Dead Wings" in Stammheim and other high-security prisons. This form of repression, also known as "iso-torture", consists of isolation from other prisoners in cells designed to achieve maximum sensory deprivation. During the last two decades the RAF prisoners have undertaken 9 hungerstrikes with the central demands being an end to iso-torture and being placed together in one or two large groups. Despite failing to achieve their main goals in the '89 hungerstrike (the 9th) they managed to get a number of small collectives formed in various prisons. One of these was in Köln-Ossendorf where Ingrid Jacobsmeier, Heidi Schulz, Christa Eckes and Sieglinde Hofmann were imprisoned. In June of this year they were accused by the BAW (Federal Prosecutor's Office) of an escape conspiracy which resulted in their transfer to another prison and the opening of an investigation against their lawyers. At the same time the BAW and BKA (Federal Criminal Investigation Bureau) initiated a renewed campaign of accusing the prisoners of directing RAF actions from their cells. We have translated and reprinted from the German autonomist paper *Agitare Bene* a letter from RAF prisoner Eva Haule (to her mother) and a letter from the RAF concerning these latest attempts by the German state against the guerrilla.



(L-R) Ingrid Jacobsmeier, Heidi Schulz, Christa Eckes, Sieglinde Hofmann

A Letter From The Red Army Fraction

AGAINST THE STATE'S LIES ABOUT THE "CELL PLANNING"
THE POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST NO LONGER BE USED AS HOSTAGES AGAINST US!

For a few weeks now, the federal government has been carrying out a campaign, designed by the reactionary elements in the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic parties - ed.], which has as its aim the total reversal of the very minimal gains of improvements in conditions and steps toward regroupment which were struggled after during the last hungerstrike campaign. The small collective in Ossendorf has been abolished. The criminalization of the lawyers is in full swing. There has even been talk of suspending visiting rights. The goal of all of this, in short, is to take captured guerrillas and political prisoners and to bury them alive in a concrete hell and to torture them in brutal isolation. With their hungerstrike in '89, the prisoners advanced a little ways toward their demand of regroupment. But even this minimal concession is now being over-turned, thanks to a propaganda campaign of lies from the State authorities. What they are trying to do with this campaign is to say that the hard struggle of the prisoners, and the wide support which this struggle had from both the resistance and from critical social groups, was not what resulted in, for example, the small collective in Ossendorf, but that this was all along a plan drafted by the State apparatus to break down the prisoners.

But the State could not succeed in falsifying the facts of history, because all of the various individuals and groups who had taken up the cause of prisoner regroupment and made it their own had not forgotten their reasons for doing so. They couldn't forget their reasons, because these were a result of their daily experiences with humiliation and oppression at the hands of the system - from this context, many people came to understand and act on the demands of the prisoners.

After various forces came together to work together with the prisoners during their hungerstrike campaign for regroupment, the State was not prepared to accept the fact the struggle of the political prisoners might be seen as a social reality and understood as such.

But '89 was also the year which saw an unprecedented growth in imperialism, both nationally and internationally, so much so that all conflicts could be settled with either the police or the military. This line, to just knock everything flat, has since then been pushed through: the annexation of East Germany, the murderous war against the Iraqi people, the prompt eviction of squatted houses, the complete lack of concern for the sufferings of millions of people in the former East Germany, State sponsorship of fascist attacks against

foreigners, refugees, and leftists, etc.

The prisoners, with their hungerstrike, were simply the first group confronted with this onslaught who could not press forward with their demands.

That's why this question, whether the State will be allowed to renew and escalate its attacks on the prisoners, or whether all those involved in '89 can make a renewed attempt to finally push through the demand of regroupment, takes on a new meaning during this period of the development of united, broad struggle here. Which brings up another problem, can we push through concrete questions so as to give these developments a human face, or is failure once again imminent?

One thing which always results in further repression against the prisoners is this: an action from us hits the State and its elites where it really hurts, such as the action against Rohwedder, and they respond by unleashing the full force of their anger and rage against our imprisoned comrades.

Fascist and reactionary regimes have a history of using prisoners as hostages against revolutionary and liberation struggles. The Nazis did this, just as Latin American military dictatorships do today, and even here

in Germany this tactic has been used for as long as captured combatants from the armed resistance have been held in captivity. But lately, the State has been using our actions as excuses to further wear down the prisoners, and they package all of this in propaganda which makes us seem like the cause for this State torture and brutality.

What they are basing all of this renewed terror and the escalation against the prisoners on is the notion of "cell planning" - a notion we would like to refute.

Our statement "The Actual Mission of the Prisoners" was cited in SPIEGEL, TAZ, WELT and other papers as evidence for the kidnap-plan against a Volkswagen director. In any case, this display of stupidity should allow anyone to see completely through the State's lies. If the authorities had had an actual or even a very vague hint beforehand of which actions we were planning, then they would have build up some special force to either arrest us or gun a few of us down.

**Push Forward The Regroupment Demand!
Open The Way For The Freedom Of The Political Prisoners!
Solidarity With Our Comrades From Action Directe,
Who Are On Hungerstrike!**

23.6.91

Red Army Fraction

Excerpts From A Letter From Eva Haule

(...) They claim that we are "planning a new hungerstrike", most of it is based on this (before: "attacks are planned inside the cells" and so on). Of that point you could have said quite clearly: that it's not like that. On the contrary, it is our intention to find solutions in other ways.

But that does not mean that some of us have had (and have) thoughts along these lines - and one can simply respond to all the screeching: after all not only has nothing essential changed with respect to our conditions but things have by now even turned for the worse! Isolation again, and more of it, even more control and censorship are being debated. Four of us in Ossendorf (Heidi Schulz, Ingrid Jacobsmeier, Christa Eckes, Sieglinde Hoffman - ed.) are to be separated ("a decided matter and only a question of when", they say), and no longer whether we will be brought together or not. That is the situation - and the question is, what possibilities are there to turn this development around and achieve change for us.

Of course we're thinking about this - what else. But our thoughts have nothing to do with what the State Security is harping on about in the media. They are reflections by individuals, part of a process of discussion and of clearing up, no more and no less.

It is very clear, the BAW and BKA are using these

thoughts (although they would find other thoughts in the stack of papers they hauled off which go against a hungerstrike...but that is of no interest) to push the whole debate around the prisoners back to the police and secret service level. We only appear as objects in the newest anti-terrorist concept.

So there is nothing to it, no hungerstrike is being planned, but intense reflection on initiatives to politically turn the situation around and get closer to association. Exactly what they want to stifle and prevent - by any means. We are not "planning" any "kidnapping/liberation action" - we consider freedom as only being possible as the result of a concrete political development within the context of association.

One thing no longer figures at all in this campaign: what we, the prisoners started in '88 with the letters on "dialogue", then continued in the strike and afterwards attempted to initiate publicly - what we actually want - no longer figures in the whole empty screeching on "terror".

It is as if the developments of the last three years and the possibilities which came to light never existed, as if the 21 years of killer-incarceration never were.

They want to throw everything back behind the development we got going with our initiatives from 1988 onwards together with the solidarity of many