

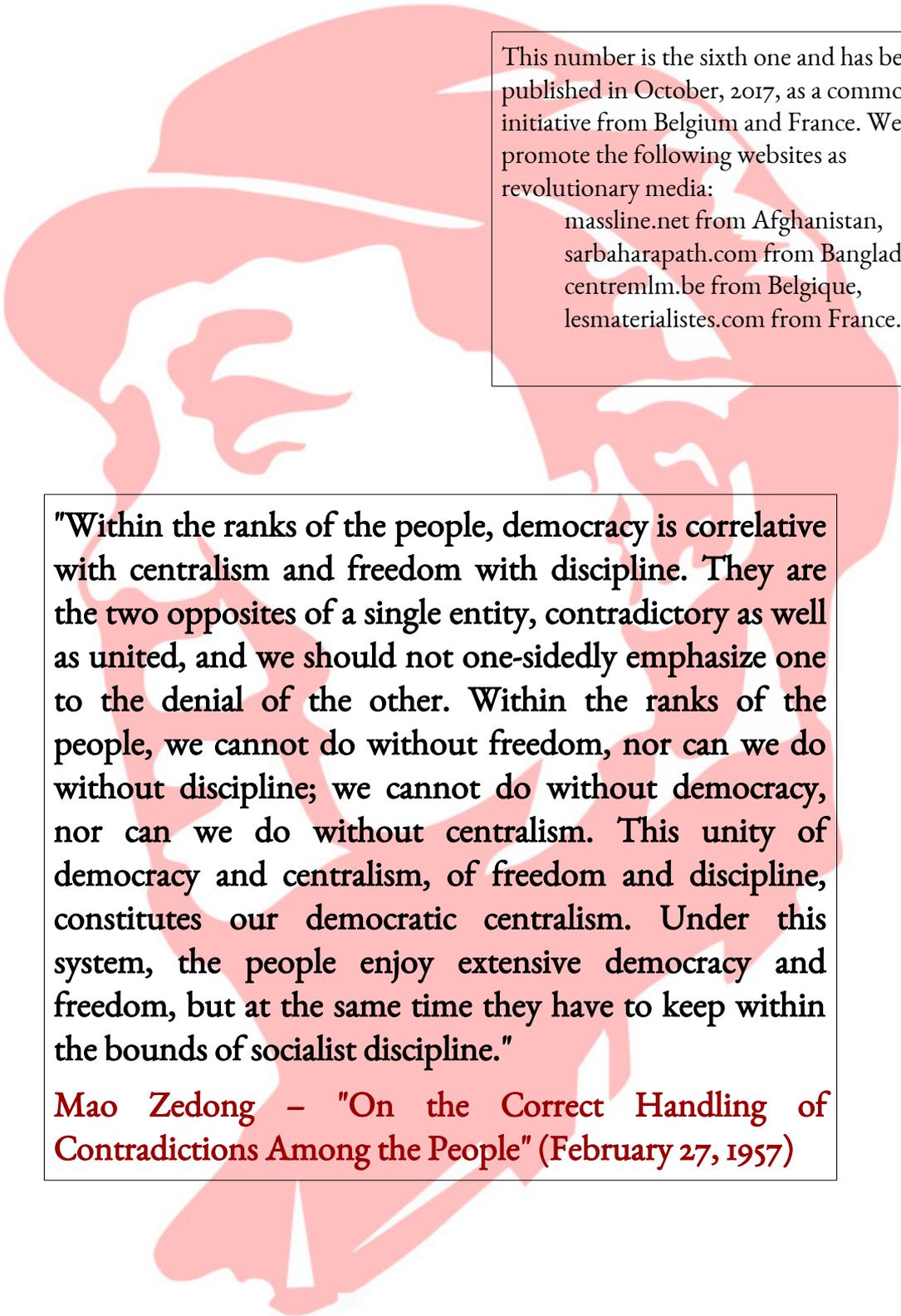
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**COMMUNISM**

#6 – october 2017

1977 : the German Autumn



- ▶ 18th of October 1977, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe
- ▶ Historical documents of the German Autumn



This number is the sixth one and has been published in October, 2017, as a common initiative from Belgium and France. We promote the following websites as revolutionary media:

massline.net from Afghanistan,  
sarbaharapath.com from Bangladesh,  
centremlm.be from Belgique,  
lesmaterialistes.com from France.

"Within the ranks of the people, democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism. Under this system, the people enjoy extensive democracy and freedom, but at the same time they have to keep within the bounds of socialist discipline."

**Mao Zedong – "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" (February 27, 1957)**

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## MLM Center (B), CPF(mlm) 18th of October 1977 Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe

Genuine revolutionaries don't commit suicide, they struggle for life, defending the revolutionary evolution of society, the dialectical development of matter. Full of joy and happiness, they carry a fighting spirit, the will of the upsurge, the revolutionary thought carrying a systematic criticism of the reactionary aspects.

This is also the reason why Gonzalo, as he reconstituted the Communist Party of Peru, rejected the principle of hunger strike. The proletariat does not commit suicide ; it is the future of the word !

There is never no reason for any capitulation – the struggle continues until victory !

For this reason, we wish to stress here the historical signification of the murders of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe, political prisoners of the Red Army Fraction, in the night of the 17th of October, 1977. Those murders form a major political event in the frame of the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution in the imperialist metropolises.

It was a major reactionary blow against the upsurge that appeared after the anti-revisionist struggle which followed the movements of the year

1968 in France, in Italy, in Germany, in the United States, for the retaking of the revolutionary path with the goal of overthrowing the bourgeoisie.

The Red Army Fraction contributed in a major way to this process, putting the revolutionary identity at the center of the struggle. No acceptance of the daily imperialist order can be made by the Communists ; the hostility against the values of the capitalist system is a duty.

Even if the Red Army Fraction went too far in this question of identity and fell in subjectivism, it understood the nucleus of something really important when it said in 1972 :

“The exploitation of the masses in the metropole has nothing to do with Marx’s concept of wage labourers from whom surplus value is extracted.

It is a fact that with the increasing division of labor, there has been a tremendous intensification and spread of exploitation in the area of production, and work has become a greater burden, both physically and psychologically.

It is also a fact that with the introduction of the 8-hour workday—the precondition for increasing the intensity of work—the system usurped all of the free time people had. To physical exploitation in the factory was added the exploitation of their feelings and thoughts, wishes, and utopian dreams—to capitalist despotism in the factory was added capitalist despotism in all areas of life, through mass consumption and the mass media.

With the introduction of the 8-hour workday, the system’s 24-hour-a-day domination of the working class began its triumphal march—with the establishment of mass purchasing power and “peak income” the system began its triumphal march over the plans, desires, alternatives, fantasies, and spontaneity of the people; in short, over the people themselves!

The system in the metropole has managed to drag the masses so far down into their own dirt that they seem to have largely lost any sense of the oppressive and exploitative nature of their situation, of their situation as objects of the imperialist system. So that for a car, a pair of jeans, life insurance, and a loan, they will easily accept any outrage on the part of the system. In fact, they can no longer imagine or wish for anything beyond a car, a vacation, and a tiled bathroom.

It follows, however, that the revolutionary subject is anyone that breaks free from these compulsions and refuses to take part in this system’s crimes. All those who find their identity in the liberation struggles of the people of the Third World, all those who refuse, all those who no longer participate; these are all revolutionary subjects—comrades.”

This vision is one-sided and the Red Army Fraction orientated itself in the direction of Third-Worldism instead of taking the direction of a

general criticism of capitalist everyday life. The RAF didn't understand, for example, the contradiction between cities and countryside, the ecological signification in the relationship between humankind and nature, the importance of the animal question.

Nevertheless, the reason for this is of course lying in the historical situation then, as a main aspect. Moreover, the RAF leaders were murdered really quickly, having not the time to develop their reflections about imperialism.

In fact, the West-German state didn't do anything else than proceeding of the physical liquidation of revolutionary cadres and leaders. The thesis of "suicide" was, accompanying those murders, an operation of psychological warfare, to negate the political identity of the RAF prisoners, to block the formation of a revolutionary line.

Another very important revolutionary figure, Ulrike Meinhof, was already killed in her prison cell on the 9th of May, 1976, with the West-German state already speaking of suicide to mask its counter-revolutionary murderous activities.

The murders of the 18th of October 1977 followed this liquidation line, in a tradition which is the one of National-Socialism against the democrats and the revolutionaries. And it is to note that the RAF prisoner Irmgard Möller was found stabbed by a knife in that night ; she always denied that she tried to suicide herself.

There are also many facts underlining the absurdity of the West-German thesis : Andreas Baader was killed by a fireweapon from a distance of between 30 and 40 centimetres, there was no gunpowder traces on Jan-Carl Raspe's hands, there were neither no fingerprints on either Andreas Baader's or Jan-Carl Raspe's gun, etc.

Moreover, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe were subjected at that time to a total isolation in the the Stammheim Prison near the city of Stuttgart, in West-Germany.

This difficult situation followed the kidnapping by the Red Army Fraction, at the beginning of September, of Hanns Martin Schleyer, former SS Untersturmführer, main secretary of the president for the economical integration of the "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" into Nazi Germany, then President of the Confederation of German Employers' Associations and the Federation of German Industries.

This kidnapping was itself followed with the hijack of Lufthansa Flight 181 from Palma de Mallorca to Frankfurt by a Palestinian armed group on the 13th of October, 1977, which led to a military failure ; Andreas Baader,





Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe are pretended to have killed themselves following this, this even if they were in total isolation and placed under total supervision.

But, as we said, genuine revolutionaries don't commit suicide. They fight because they know that the New become more powerful, the Ancient weaker. This is a law of history, the law of matter itself in its dialectical movement.

And the murdered prisoners of the Red Army Fraction were at that time leading a very aggressive defence strategy on trial. This is precisely what was considered as a main danger by the West-German state.

It was the strategical proposal of the revolution that the West-German state tried to kill with the murders of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe.



We wish to precise here that it doesn't mean that we endorse the totally erroneous hijacking of a plane and the killing of the pilot Jürgen Schumann. Such an action has nothing to do with genuine proletarian politics ; it is an expression of the non-correct third-worldism vision of the world, which we already criticized in a joint document.

And this is also an argument against the counter-revolutionary thesis of suicide : the Red Army Fraction was always very proud of the support made by a Palestinian armed unit by hijacking of the plane, and this until the end in 1998 ; the RAF understood it as a convergence of the world revolutionary struggle. In this sense, even a military defeat wouldn't be a reason to considered as a significant blow on the side of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe.

This was indeed a subjectivist error ; the RAF tried to find at another level what was to search in the national frame, moving from Proletarian Internationalism to subjectivism. But this tendency to subjectivism should not hide its contribution about the question of underlining the revolutionary identity in the imperialist

metropolises!

Marxist Leninist Maoist Center of Belgium

Communist Party of France (marxist leninist maoist)

18th of October 2017

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## I.

### *Chronology of the main events of the “German Autumn” of 1977*

February 8, 1977: Brigitte Mohnhaupt leaves prison. She later became the RAF leader.

7 April 1977: The Ulrike Meinhof commando of the RAF executes the federal prosecutor Siegfried Buback, responsible for the conditions of detention of prisoners of the RAF, while they are on hunger strike. He is also considered responsible for the deaths of prisoners.

28 April 1977: After two years of trial, the Stuttgart court sentences to life imprisonment Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe.

30 April 1977: end of the hunger strike in exchange for the promise of the regrouping of prisoners.

July 11, 1977: the lawyer of the RAF Klaus Croissant asks political asylum to France, whereas it has been forbidden to exercise. The next day, an arrest warrant is issued against him in Germany.

20 July 1977: The Düsseldorf court sentences to life imprisonment the members of the hostage-taking operation to the German embassy in Stockholm: Karl Heinz Dellwo, Hanna Krabbe, Lutz Taufer and Bernhard Rössner.

July 30, 1977: Jürgen Ponto, President of the Dresdner Bank, is executed by a RAF commando.

August 8, 1977: A provocation by the prison guards leads to the regular beating of the eight prisoners of the RAF, who are handed over to



ERKLÄRUNG DER GEFANGENEN  
AUS DER RAF IN STAMMHEIM VOM 30.4.1977

in den letzten tagen sind alle versuche, den hungerstreik von zuletzt über 100 gefangenen durch zwangsernährung - in hamburg, holstenglacis mit hüster brutalität - zu brechen, gescheitert, nachdem die gefängnisärzte in stammheim und die zugezogenen anästhesisten sich gestern geweigert haben, psychodrogen bzw. zwangsnarkosen gegen die gefangenen einzusetzen, teilte der gefängnisdirektor in stammheim uns heute, 30.4. 1977 um 12 uhr die "verbindliche erklärung des justizministeriums" mit, daß "unter berücksichtigung der forderungen der medizinischen gutachter sofort eine konzentration politischer - d.h. gefangener nach § 129 - auch aus anderen bundesländern in stammheim und eine vergrößerung des haftraumes in die wege geleitet wird."

die entscheidung geht auf einen kabinettbeschluss zurück.

damit wird die zentrale forderung des hungerstreiks erfüllt, die gefangenen aus der raf beenden den streik.

"wer keine angst vor vierteilung hat,  
sieht den kaiser vom pferd."

Gudrun ensslin für die gefangenen aus der



solitary confinement and responds by a hunger strike, which ends a month later.

5 September 1977: Siegfried Hausner of the RAF takes command of the German employers leader Hanns Martin Schleyer, demanding that the prisoners of the RAF be taken to an airport and leave the country for a direction of their choice. The West German state places 72 prisoners in total isolation, without external contact.

12 September 1977: The German daily newspaper Frankfurter Rundschau publishes the photograph of Hanns Martin Schleyer holding a sign where he is said to be a "prisoner of the RAF".

22 September 1977: RAF activist Knut Folkerts is arrested in the Netherlands and then deported.

30 September 1977: Klaus Croissant is arrested in Paris following an international arrest warrant.

October 13, 1977: The Palestinian commando Martyr Halimeh hijacks a Boeing from the Lufthansa linking Palma de Mallorca-Frankfurt and transporting German tourists.

The organization claiming the action is the Struggle Against World Imperialism Organization, but it is in

fact the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Is demanded the satisfaction of the RAF demands, the release of two Palestinian prisoners in Turkey, fifteen million dollars and a transport to a country to be either Vietnam, Somalia or the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

17 October 1977: Intervention by a German anti-terrorist unit against the aircraft stationed in Mogadishu, Somalia, after passing through Rome, Larnaca, Bahrain, Dubai and Aden. Three of the four members of the commando are killed, the passengers released.

October 17-18, 1977: The West German state claims that Andreas Baader and Jan-Carl Raspe killed each other with a revolver in their cells, that Gudrun Ensslin hanged herself, that Irmgard Möller has lacerated herself her chest with stab wounds.

19 October 1977: The body of Hanns Martin Schleyer is found in the trunk of a car in Mulhouse, France.

12 November 1977: The West German state asserts that Ingrid Schubert hanged himself in his cell.

## 2.

### *Statement of the RAF, 7th of April*

*[At the beginning of April, 1977, the Red Army Fraction proceeded to the execution of the main tenant of the hardline in the state apparatus.]*

For “protagonists of the system” like Buback, history always finds a way.

On April 7, 1977, the Ulrike Meinhof Commando executed Attorney General Siegfried Buback.

Buback was directly responsible for the murders of Holger Meins, Siegfried Hausner, and Ulrike Meinhof. In his function as Attorney General—as the central figure connecting and coordinating matters between the justice system and the West German news services, in close cooperation with the CIA and the NATO Security Committee—he stage-managed and directed their murders.

Under Buback’s regime, Holger was intentionally murdered on November 9, 1974, by systematic undernourishment and the conscious manipulation of the transportation schedules from Wittlich to Stammheim.

The Attorney General calculated that they could use the execution of a cadre to break the prisoners’ collective hunger strike against exterminationist prison conditions, after the attempt to kill Andreas through the manipulation of force-feeding failed due to the mobilization of public pressure.

Under Buback’s regime, Siegfried, who had led the Holger Meins Commando, was murdered on May 5, 1975, as the MEK (Mobiles Einsatzkommandos) detonated the explosives at the German Embassy in Stockholm. While he was under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Attorney General and the BKA, he was delivered to the FRG and his life was put in danger as he was transported to Stuttgart-Stammheim, thereby assuring his death.

Under Buback’s regime, Ulrike was executed in a state security action on May 9, 1976. Her death was staged as a suicide to make the politics that Ulrike had struggled for seem senseless.



The murder was an execution; it followed the Attorney General's attempt to render Ulrike a cretin through a forced neuro-surgical operation, after which she was to be presented—destroyed—at the Stammheim trial, so as to condemn armed resistance as an illness. This project was prevented by international protests.

The timing of her murder was precisely calculated:

- before the decisive initiative in the trial, the defense motion that would have explained the 1972 RAF attacks against the U.S. Headquarters in Frankfurt and Heidelberg in light of the FRG's participation in the U.S.A.'s aggressive human rights violations in Vietnam;
- before Ulrike could be called as a witness in the Holger Meins Commando's Düsseldorf trial, where she would have testified about the very extreme form of torture that they used against her for 8 months in the dead wings;
- before her sentencing—at which point critical international public opinion, which had developed as a result of the Stammheim show trial and the cynical use of imperialist violence, would have been informed of the role of the federal government and its executive organs. This would have caused all of this to rebound against them.

Ulrike's history, in a way that is clearer than that of many combatants, is a history of resistance. For the revolutionary movement, she embodied an ideological vanguard function, which was the target of Buback's showpiece, the simulated suicide: her death—which the Attorney General used in propaganda to show the "failure" of armed struggle—was meant to destroy the group's moral stature, its struggle, and its impact.

The Attorney General's approach, which they have followed since 71 with manhunts and operations conducted against the RAF, follows the counterinsurgency strategy of the NATO Security Committee: criminalization of revolutionary resistance—for which the tactical steps are infiltration, disrupting solidarity, isolating the guerilla, and eliminating its leadership.

Within the imperialist FRG's anti-guerilla counterstrategy, the justice system is a weapon of war—used to pursue the guerilla operating underground and to exterminate the prisoners of war.

Buback—whom Schmidt called "an energetic combatant" for this state—understood the conflict with us as a war and engaged in it as such: "I have lived through the war. This is a war using different means."

We will prevent the Attorney General from murdering our fighters in West German prisons, which it intends to do simply because the prisoners will not stop struggling and the Attorney General sees no solution except their liquidation.

We will prevent the Attorney General and the state security organs from retaliating against the imprisoned fighters for the actions of the guerilla outside.

We will prevent the Attorney General from using the prisoners' fourth collective hunger strike for minimum human rights as an opportunity to murder Andreas, Gudrun, and Jan, which psychological warfare since Ulrike's death has been openly promoting.

Organize the armed resistance and the anti-imperialist front in Western Europe.

Wage war in the metropole as part of the international war of liberation.

Ulrike Meinhof Commando

Red Army Fraction



### 3.

#### *Commando "Martyr Halimeh", 13th of October*

[*The Palestinian commando hijacking the Boeing published several Statements, one of which being addressed "to all revolutionaries in the world, to all free Arabs, to the Palestinian masses".*

*Here is this Statement, reflecting its vision of the world and its convergence with the RAF.]*

To all revolutionaries in the world

To all free Arabs

To the Palestinian masses

Today, Thursday, October 13, 1977, a Lufthansa 737 leaving Palma de Majorca en route to Frankfurt, flight number LH181, passed into the complete control of the Commando "Martyr Halimeh".

This operation has as a goal the liberation of our comrades in the prisons of the imperialist-reactionary-zionist alliance. This operation reinforces the goals and demands of the Commando "Siegfried Hausner" of the RAF, which commenced on 05-09-77.

Revolutionaries and freedom fighters of the entire world are confronted with the monster of world imperialism, the barbaric war against the peoples of the world, under the hegemony of the U.S.A.

In this imperialist war, the sub-centers like Israel and the FRG have the executive function of oppressing and liquidating all revolutionary movements in and on their specific national territory.

In our occupied land, the imperialist-zionist-reactionary enemy demonstrates the very high level of their hostility, of their bloody aggressivity, against our people and our revolution, against all the Arab masses and their progressive and patriotic forces. The expansionist and racist nature of Israel is, with Menachem Begin at the summit of this ensemble of imperialist interests, clearer than it has ever been.

On the basis of these same imperialist interests West Germany was constructed as a U.S. base in 1945. Its function was the reactionary integration of the countries of West Europe via economic oppression and blackmail. As far as the underdeveloped countries of the world are concerned. West Germany gives financial, technical, and military support to reactionary regimes in Tel-Aviv, Pretoria, Salisbury, Santiago de Chili, etc...



There is a close and special cooperation between the two regimes in Bonn and Tel-Aviv in the military and economic fields, as well as in the area of shared political positions.

The two enemy regimes work together against patriotic and revolutionary liberation movements in the world in general and in Arab, African, and Latin American regions in particular. This is manifested by their providing racist and minority regimes in Pretoria and Salisbury with arms and atomic and military technology, by delivering mercenaries and credits to them, by opening markets for their products, by breaking boycotts and

economic embargos surrounding them.

A significant example of the close cooperation between the Mossad, the German Secret Services, the CIA, and the DST is the filthy piracy of the imperialist-reactionary alliance: the Zionist invasion of Entebbe.

[Allusion to the raid led in 1976 on the Ugandan airport of Entebbe by an Israeli commando, without the agreement of the Ugandan President Amin Dada.

An Air France flight from Tel Aviv to Paris was hijacked at the Athens stopover by a commando of two members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and two members of the Urban guerrilla of the Revolutionary Cells, a West-German Organization.

The commando freed 148 passengers, but kept as hostage in a terminal one hundred Jewish passengers of different nationalities. This selective choice of Jewish passengers is at the origin of wide debate about antisemitism in the German radical left, launched by the self-criticism of the Revolutionary Cells in 1991.

It became a major element for the birth of an “anti-Deutsch”, “Anti-German” ideological current.]

Actually, the identical character of Neo-Nazism in West Germany and Zionism in Israel is in the process of becoming clearer in the two countries:

- reactionary ideology is dominant.
- fascist, discriminatory, and racist labor laws are enforced.
- the worst methods of psychological and physical torture and murder are used against fighters for freedom and national liberation.
- forms of collective punishment are practiced.
- all guarantees of international law, such as laws governing the humane treatment of prisoners, a just trial, and a defense are completely abolished.

While the Zionist regime is the most authentic and practical continuation of Naziism, the government in Bonn and the Parties in parliament do their best to revive Naziism and expansionist racism, especially amongst military personnel and within the other State institutions.

Economic circles and the magnates of multinational corporations play an effective role in these efforts. Ponto, Schleyer, and Buback are blatant examples of persons who have effectively served old Naziism and who now, in practice, execute the goals of the Neo-Nazis in Bonn and the Zionists in Tel-Aviv, both locally and internationally.

Part of the anti-guerilla strategy of the enemies is non-acquiescence to the legitimate demands with the goal of freeing our imprisoned revolutionaries, who suffer the most cruel forms of torture with the silent awareness of the international public. We declare that this will not succeed. We will force the enemy to free our prisoners, who daily defy them by fighting oppression, even in prison.

VICTORY FOR THE UNITY OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY STRENGTH IN THE WORLD

Struggle Against World Imperialism Organization  
October 13, 1977

## 4.

### *Statement of the RAF, 13th of October*

*[On the 13th of October, the RAF published also a document, stressing the identical character of its demands with those from the Palestinian commando.]*

We have given Helmut Schmidt enough time to choose between the American strategy for the extermination of liberation movements in Western Europe and the Third World, and the interests of the federal government in seeing that the most important industrialist alive today not be sacrificed to this imperialist strategy.

The ultimatum of the “Martyr Halimeh” Commando’s Operation Kofr Kaddum and the ultimatum of the RAF’s “Siegfried Hausner” Commando are identical.

The ultimatum expires on Sunday, October 16, 1977, at 8:00 am GMT. If, at that time, the eleven prisoners specified have not arrived at their destination, Hanns Martin Schleyer will be shot. After holding Schleyer for forty days, there won’t be another extension of the ultimatum or any further contact. Any delay will mean Schleyer’s death.

To save time, it won’t be necessary for Pastor Niemöller or the lawyer Payot to accompany the prisoners. We will receive confirmation of the prisoners’ arrival even without confirmation from escorts. Hanns Martin Schleyer will be freed within 48 hours of our having received confirmation.

Freedom through armed anti-imperialist struggle!

Siegfried Hausner Commando



## 5.

### *Statement of the RAF, 19th of October*

After 43 days, we have put an end to Hanns Martin Schleyer's pitiful and corrupt existence.

From the moment he began his power play, Herr Schmidt gambled with the possibility of Schleyer's death: he can find him on rue Charles Peguy in Mulhouse in a green Audi 100 with Bad Homburg license plates.

As compensation for our pain and suffering over the massacres in Mogadishu and Stammheim, his death is meaningless. Andreas, Gudrun, Jan, Irmgard, and ourselves, we are not surprised by the dramatic and fascist methods the imperialists use to exterminate the liberation movements.

We will never forget Schmidt and the alliance that participated in this bloodbath. The struggle has only begun !

Freedom through armed anti-imperialist struggle !

Siegfried Hausner Commando

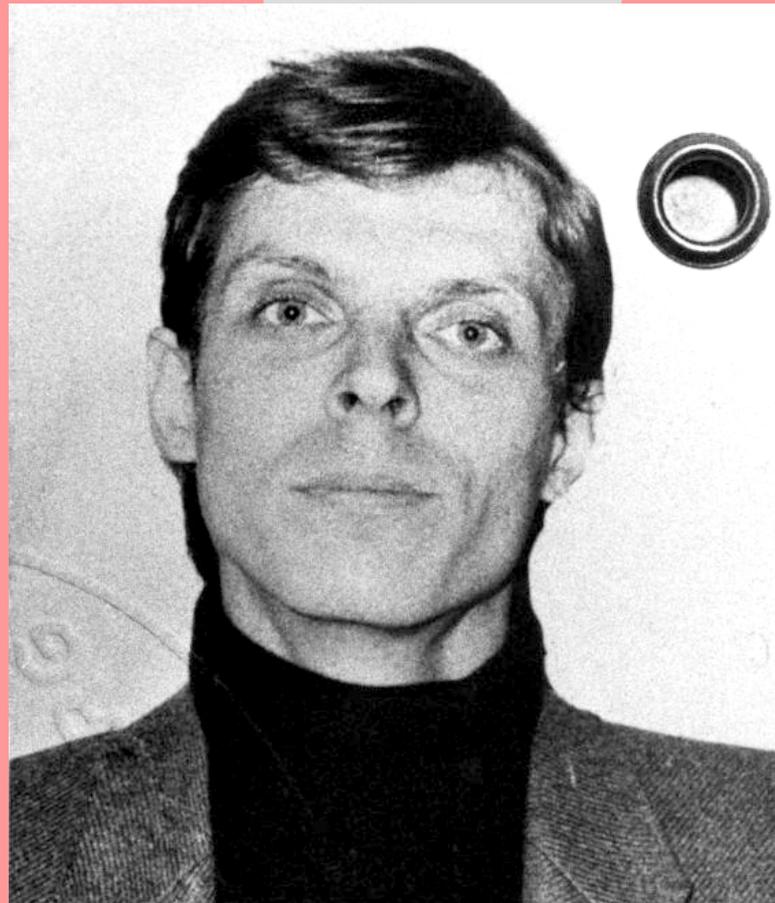


## 6.

### *Christian Klar on the signification of 77'*

[Brigitte Mohnhaupt and Christian Klar were both arrested at the end of the year 1982. Brigitte Mohnhaupt was considered as the leader of the second generation of the RAF, Christian Klar as its ideologist. They each publish a declaration on 1977 on the 4th of December 1984, considering that it was a key moment for the survival of the RAF as strategical proposal. Here are the main excerpts of the position of Christian Klar, explaining the context following his point of view and giving a great importance to social-democracy as essential element of the modern strength of the domination of capitalism.]

Following the arrests in '72 and the Stockholm action, the social democratic state hoped for a realignment that would put an end to the guerilla's complete negation of the capitalist system and the rupture it represents.





The guerilla was to remain an incident involving a couple of guys, historically connected to the situation around the Vietnam War, and perhaps to a critique of the old sterile antifascism—as if it was intended to be the latest form of treason—to prevent the possibility of revolutionary struggle here from serving as a reference point.

In '76, we had arrived at the goal of deepening the guerilla project and further developing an understanding of the rupture in the metropole by resuming the struggle—setting the revolutionary process in motion and making the rupture irreversible. The goal of restructuring the guerilla in '77 was connected to the prisoners' struggle.

The ongoing social democracy was an external condition under which we struggled in the '70s; against the strategy of

the SPD, which had broken the back of proletarian revolution many times since 1914—which had disarmed the working class in the face of fascism—which after '45, guided by U.S. capital, was again inserted into the class as a pillar of support for capital—which, as the modern form of imperialist rule, institutionalized all social contradictions, political struggles, and autonomous movements.

It was against these political conditions that we carried out the first RAF attacks. These actions were part of a practice that destroyed the “objective unity of the bourgeoisie”, that recreated the conditions for class consciousness, and developed the strategic political-military struggle.

The other condition: after the consolidation of the October Revolution, the national class struggle failed to develop anything that correctly clarified the current conflict between the proletariat and the capitalist system or showed how to overthrow it. Capital had further internationalized itself (...).

At the beginning of '77, the question here was whether things could continue to advance or whether they would suffer further reversals. Following the military solution to the guerilla struggle that was used against the commando in Stockholm, all those who chose not to leave were also choosing to not allow the revolutionary strategy to once again be pissed away in the states of the metropole.

It was a decision to oppose the Social Democrats' strategic intent, which was to annihilate the guerilla with depoliticization, rabble-rousing, and

repressive normality, using mass control and modern fascism to their full potential.

Brandt said that the counterstrategy must redevelop “society’s immune system,” something that social democracy represents more than almost anything else (...).

Because social democracy has its historical roots in the betrayal of the working class, they are particularly sensitive to the problem of legitimacy faced by the capitalist system. This was illustrated by the conflicts within the Crisis Management Team.

The SPD wanted to handle it as a state of emergency, without actually declaring such a thing. Wehner insisted that people stop talking openly about a state crisis.

The CDU/CSU was prepared to drop this line—for example, the CSU proposed allowing the prisoners to go free and then declaring a state of emergency to smash the mobilization that the situation had provoked.

Or Rebmann’s idea to institute martial law and shoot the imprisoned guerillas. Schmidt relied on the effectiveness not of traditional fascism, but of the institutional variety. He too wanted to use the prisoners as hostages, but legally, with the Contact Ban law.

He too wanted a military solution, but with the police waging the war, accompanied by the construction of the necessary ideological superstructure. The goal was the same.

As a result, everything was focused on the prisoners, because they couldn’t get at the commando.



## 7.

*Brigitte Mohnhaupt on the signification of '77'*

[Here are the main excerpts of the position of Brigitte Mohnhaupt, which in 1984 explains why, following her, the West-German state proposed in 1977 a modern counter-revolutionary model.]

In the Front Paper we state that the revolutionary strategy is the strategy against their strategy. With this we have proceeded forcefully, basing ourselves on our own situation, and on that which has characterized it since '77: the military offensive from which imperialism hopes to emerge as a world system.



It is a definition of fundamental importance, because war—the concept upon which our reality is based—is a concept that every revolutionary movement requires in order to be able to struggle.

“War is the key,” Andreas once said in this regard—the key to arriving at a practical perspective, as is the case now—yes, historically, we really are at the highest stage of imperialism—the key to finding a path to social revolution.

As such, it is the way we can struggle against the conditions we face.

We say that proletarian internationalism—the subjective connection between existing combatants and the strategy for those who collectively and consciously take up the goal of worldwide liberation and who oppose the imperialist project to establish global fascism—is the way those who desire a final fundamental

revolution and prefigure this and make it concrete through attacks, advance to destroy and wear down the system in every sector, together in a front.

That is the strategic goal and the political objective that determines our practice; internationally

and authentically, on the basis of the specific experience and function of the metropolitan guerilla (...).

More than anything, the first RAF action threatened the SPD's institutional strategy for domestic peace, and with it the political preconditions for the smooth integration of the West European states.

For this reason, as well as the fact that reformist politics in this state have only a very narrow field of maneuver, to get back on track the antagonism had to be liquidated—that is why the reaction against us sought to exterminate us.

This contradiction eventually broke the SPD's back. They couldn't resolve it. The only way they could have had victory over the guerilla would have been if we had given up the struggle.

The confrontation with revolutionary politics made the reintegration and depoliticization of the '68 left irrelevant. It exposed the SPD's institutional strategy for what it was: war tailored to the metropole.

It was not Model Germany as the most advanced form of imperialist rule that was exported, but rather the brutality of the national security state. In Italy this is known as "Germanization," and it is what the SPD state has been known for around the world since '77—revolutionaries know Germany as imperialism's most advanced tactical position, while reactionaries know it as the state with the most modern and pervasive repressive machinery."

## 8.

### *The Red Brigades on the death of the RAF prisoners*

*[In Italy, the Red Brigades reacted to the 1977 events with the document « The struggle has just begun », a slogan which also the one put at the end of the Statement of the RAF announcing having executed Hanns Martin Schleyer.*

*They take over the same argumentation made by Brigitte Monhaupt a couple of years afterwards, in a very long pitch explaining the conception of the RAF.*

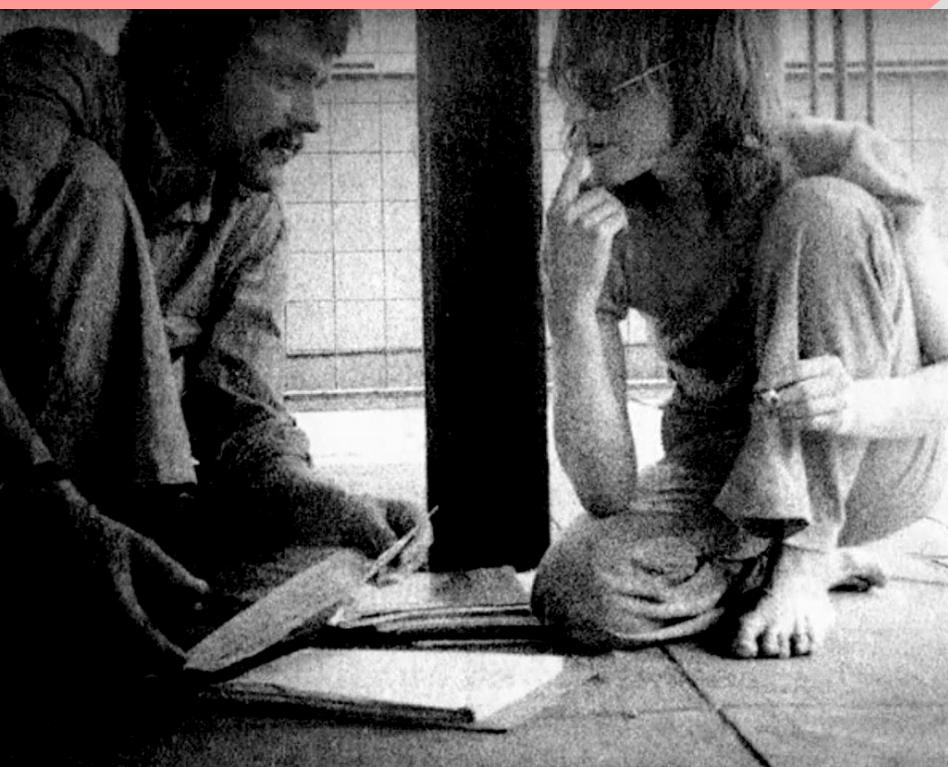
*Here are the main excerpts. It is to note that the document, in an explicit manner, asserts not to analyze neither the kidnapping of Hanns Martin Schleyer, nor the hijacking of the plane by the commando "Martyr Halimeh".]*

"The Comrades Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe of the Red Army Fraction died. Massacred.

Before them died in the prisons of FRG, murdered, Ulrike Meinhof and Holger Meins. Hostages in the hands of the imperialist state, they were suppressed because they did not stop fighting, because it was not possible to submit them.

"Those who refuse to finish with the struggle - they either win or die, instead of losing and dying," said Ulrike [Meinhof].

The German imperialist bourgeoisie and its political officials, Social Democracy and the Christian Democratic Union, the CDU, are responsible for this planned massacre. Schmidt, Kohl, Strass are the murderers.





We refuse to differentiate between two barbarities, one and the other remain our enemies to death. It is secondary to know who are the pigs who materially drugged the comrades and killed them, who took out the knife, who hit.

All the German imperialist bourgeoisie and its political representatives have blood on their hands and conscience.

The band of Social Democrats, under the leadership of Schmidt, was not satisfied with this terrible massacre: it has also undertaken more. It aimed at the destruction of the political identity of the comrades, that's why the official

thesis, made public at full speed by the government, speaks of suicide.

It is the same thesis that Buback, meanwhile dead, had launched after having murdered Ulrike. This is another proof that the German bourgeoisie can only catch up with brutality what is lacking in fantasy (...).

Since the early 1970s, the RAF has been a politico-military vanguard of the metropolitan proletariat of Europe. It is a fundamental point of reference for the revolutionary initiative throughout the continent.

It fights at the heart of imperialism and fights imperialism where it is the strongest, the best organized.

But their struggle is not an impossible, desperate revolt. And above all not a "German problem". The enemy, and this is the German section of the imperialist bourgeoisie, is also our enemy, because its counter-revolutionary project touches us directly because it is at the forefront of the imperialist bourgeoisie in its operation of redefining Nation-states within a structure of transnational centralized domination.

The RAF's contribution to the development of the revolutionary struggle in Europe is as great as the hatred of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Much of this contribution lies in the fact that it posed the problem of class war in the FRG at its real, continental level.

It is clear to all that this is the way to approach and overcome the subjective backwardness that characterizes large parts of the German proletariat."