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Intervention In The Trial Of Commando Holger Meins¹

Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof²
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What is going on is that Social Democracy, by means of the enormous potential of West German imperialism under the hegemony of US capital, which controls *all* of the strategic industries in the FRG - electronics, chemicals, petroleum, automobiles, mechanical construction - is organizing the reactionary process in West Europe on two levels that serve as the intermediary for the development of Social Democracy. Credits which are tied to political conditions and which prepare for capital investments by imposing, through recourse to economic extortion, the militarization of politics. Brandt³ wrote, "Stability is anticipating catastrophe so as to avoid it" (in a letter to Olaf Palme⁴) to dictate - and this is his project on a larger political strategic level - his model of fascism to States subordinate to the FRG in the imperialist chain, that is to say, institutional strategy, counter-insurgency, organization of the State on the model of parliamentary democracy with, at the same time, the elimination of communist parties, so that the power bloc *can* in all cases only be that of US capital.

In West Europe the main enemy is the USA; within the FRG it is Social Democracy.

Because, as a result of its history, Social Democracy has the Socialist International and contacts with the unions at its disposal to impose the consolidation of new fascism in Europe.

As such, *any* attack against the presence of American capital here immediately confronts the imperialist State and, sooner or later, directly confronts those US military forces which operate openly. In *every* case, attacks against American installations here force the State to react in function of what, since 1945, it is: a branch of US capital *and* a piece of the system of States under US control, reflecting, in spite of institutional camouflage, the real status of the FRG as a territory militarily occupied by the USA.

This is also a line of mobilization. But what is essential is that Social Democracy, unmasked in *this* fashion by the attacks of small armed groups, finds itself placed in a

¹ Commando Holger Meins, a RAF Commando that seized the German Embassy in Stockholm on April 25th, 1975. They demanded the release of 26 political prisoners. Siegfried Hausner, a RAF member, and two hostages were killed when the police stormed the building.

² Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof - RAF prisoners and two of the founding core of the RAF.

³ Willy Brandt – head of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) from 1964, Chancellor of Germany from 1969-1972, head of the Socialist International (Second International) from 1976.

⁴ Olaf Palme - head of Swedish Social Democratic Party.

situation where it is impossible to organize West Europe in a bloc of military powers at the service of the strategy of US capital.

Because fascism has been rendered visible here, it will *necessarily* mobilize against the FRG all of the political feelings which exist in foreign countries against her, an old anti-fascism, and all feelings which exist against German imperialism, against her desire for hegemony, in all the groups of the spectrum from extreme-left to Social Democrats, as well as within the governments of each nation. And with the precise line: The main enemy is the USA. As such, with the strategic line, the primary demarcation - better still, the FRONT - the north-south conflict, which is the armed struggle, the world proletariat vs. US imperialism. From this comes the second line of demarcation in the metropolises, which is determined by the dialectic of repercussions within the metropolises of the wars of liberation at the periphery of the system, as such by the attempt at the reconstruction of US capital on the strategic level by retreating from these fronts towards the centers, on the ideological, political and military levels, but also on the *economic* level (which we will not clarify any further at this point). And this acts to transform it into one front, one politico-*military* confrontation, a process which defines the class struggle in the metropole as part of the war for liberation in the Third World, anticipating here that which is the proletarian politic today, the war of liberation.

That, in short, is the strategy that we have in view, taking into account our experience and what we have learned here.

That is the line along which capital and its State are obliged to *react*, and in an exaggerated fashion, to the attacks of small groups of revolutionaries, thus leading to the multiplication of such groups. That is to say, it is the mechanism of the apparatus itself which develops a front and, at the same time, its antithesis within the imperialist system. This is a process of polarization that is underway, in which the resistance, in its illegal structure, the guerrilla, can be and is understood as the cause of each and every person who has become conscious of their situation within the imperialist system.

There is something to be added here about organizational structure-guerrilla structure in the metropole, so as to struggle in this front. At this point we will obviously leave this aside.

Finally, it is necessary to analyze at some point the military project which the Americans developed through their servant Social Democracy, the integration of the internal and external security structures (that is to say, the integration of the police structures into the NATO structure), the transformation of the entire State apparatus, including the ideological institutions (schools, media, all administrative sections), into a gigantic information gathering network, a process which obliges all bureaucrats and employees to have a relationship with the Council for the Protection of the Constitution⁵. Only one newspaper has discussed this so far.

That is the strategy of this new fascism at the institutional level, which makes justice

⁵ Council for the Protection of the Constitution, German intelligence and counter-insurgency body.

policy into an instrument of counter-insurgency, while at the same time setting in place the State security machine, the BKA⁶, and within the BKA the terrorism division (T) in Bonn⁷, the BGS⁸, the mobile intervention sections, the development of barracked police, the homogenization of provincial police under the command of the BKA and the multiplying of police regulations. And the computer represents another qualitative leap; the manual file system is replaced by an electronic computer, which permits, for the first time, new repressive techniques, imprinted on the mass communication system, and the application of psychological warfare.

The strategy on the institutional level foresees, vertically and horizontally in West Europe, as such both between and within States, the creation of a military apparatus, which *penetrates* the societies and integrates the States under the Ministers of the Interior, thereby integrating the mechanisms of repression, without themselves being politically accountable. This signifies a total escape from public control. A structure of transnational power, which is, in the final analysis, under *Pentagon* control. A military machine, which is at the same time its propaganda organ for total manipulation using tactics of psychological warfare, and insofar as the system of obtaining and using information in psychological warfare constitutes a closed system, within which the manipulation and control, and, as such, the new schemas of manipulation can be and are developed, tested, and further developed.

What the official left has not understood at all is that clearly, within this totality, their containment has already been achieved by the BKA computers, as has that of their entire circle of friends and acquaintances. This is quite clear. If the BKA can grab 394 gun collectors in a single well-coordinated action, it would also be possible for them to take out the entire *official* urban left in *a single* action.

Urban guerilla warfare is a tactic that indicates the strategy that it anticipates; the reconstruction on the international level of proletarian politics and, as a consequence, the reaction its international development will entail.

On the level of revolutionary strategy, this means understanding that the nation State is an apparatus of internal repression, based on its function at the international level in support of US multinational capital.

The system of nation States within US imperialism's orbit is a system of divided fronts within a war that the repressive apparatus of US capital conducts on two fronts, along the divide between rich and poor in the North-South line of demarcation, and on the second line of demarcation, inside the metropole; in the latter case to prevent a massive proletarian counteroffensive.

It is important to add here that the State, at the service of capital, acts on the basis of constraints that the movement of capital, the material base of the whole affair, imposes on

⁶ BKA - Federal Criminal Bureau, played a key role in anti-guerrilla strategy.

⁷ Bonn was the federal capital, the site of parliament in the Federal Republic of Germany.

⁸ BGS - border police, played an important anti-guerrilla role.

it; it is a function of capital. But, on the other hand, capital can no longer develop, based on itself, any productive perspective, or, to use an expression from bourgeois economy, it is no longer capable of innovation. It has ceased to be the subject of the social reproduction of State activity.

It is clear to a man like Schmidt⁹ that, without finding a solution to the problems of the economy, of the crisis, of inflation, of unemployment, in a word, the problems of the world market, that the existence of the imperialist system on the level of the State is a giant with feet of clay.

But the new development, which is also new in this fascism, is that they don't only act to assure the domination of capital and of markets, and to consolidate them, but to form a military-economic power structure that can be imposed as a system of States, independent of their political base and the constraints of the movement of capital.

In this the State as an area of politics is no longer governed by rival factions of capital, but is the immediate expression of capital, because, under the hegemony of US capital, there is neither economic nor political autonomy from US capital.

It is necessary for us to here indicate that *a result of* the internationalization of capital is the dialectic by which nation States subservient to US imperialism are transformed into the new fascism. These nation States operate on the international level and, by so doing, indicate the new function of nation States resulting from the defensive strategic constraints that imperialism finds itself faced with since its defeat in Vietnam.

The central point that must be indicated is that from the moment when we recognize reaction to be *internationally* organized and planned, revolutionary strategy *must* be internationalist; that is to say, if we can say that the politico-economic conceptual schemata of Marxism coincides with the contemporary situation, then that signifies that the strategy of the Communist Manifesto, "*workers of the world unite*" has found new expression on the organizational level in the guerrilla, which anticipates the international reconstruction of proletarian politics. The organizational form of the international proletariat in the centers of capital is the metropolitan guerilla.

⁹ Helmut Schmidt - Social Democratic Chancellor at the time this text was written.