

## **about the impact of the raf**

andreas baader, note for statements at the stammheim trial, july 1976

about the impact of the raf -

we define it as a process of action and over-determined state reaction, through which the armed resistance of quantitatively small groups *becomes* anti-imperialist strategy.

domestically, this means:

an openly defensive military position on the part of the state apparatus;

a defensive position on the part of the u.s. military machine, such that the usa is and can be recognized as an occupying force;

a defensive position on the part of corporations;

the urban guerilla exposes the homogeneity of the federal republic/usa power structure and the role of this state and its politics in american strategy.

the impact of the raf in regard to the spd's foreign policy as an instrument of american foreign policy means that opposition develops against the frg and the spd based on contradictions between and within states in the ec and nato regarding the hegemony of west german imperialism – which does and will clarify that the domestic political process of the drift towards fascism is part of state security and the state's counterstrategy against the urban guerilla.

if, as a result of the urban guerilla forcing them to be openly repressive on a domestic level, the federal republic, and with it social democracy, has today lost the prestige it enjoyed in the pursuit of its imperial goals as a consequence of brandt's ostpolitik – (schmidt in der spiegel in late 1975: freedom of action – and it has been the objective of west german imperialism since 1949 to maneuver so as to not be identified with the old fascism, thereby neutralizing the old anti-fascism outside of the country) – and if its being unmasked by its reaction to the urban guerilla has generated the potential for resistance against the frg in other west european countries – and the disruption in helsingør is an expression of this – then that means that the urban guerilla strategy is an operational option for undermining the repressive anticommunist integration of western europe, with the offensive serving to transpose a front in the liberation wars from the periphery to the metropole.

in other words:

if these politics in opposition to the reactionary politics of western europe advanced by west german imperialism lead to the development of a perception of social democracy, and german foreign policy in particular, as a factor in the strategy of american capital, from which international and national resistance against the imperialist sub-center of the federal republic develops, that means that they can achieve and are achieving their tactical goals and that the armed resistance of quantitatively small groups can become strategically relevant in this process of action and reaction.