

[Please note that all the footnotes in this document have been added by the translator & editor – none of them appeared in the original document]

# Andreas Baader's Statement at the Stammheim Trial<sup>1</sup>

June 18th 1975

*This statement was made after the testimony by Henck (the psychiatrist connected to Stammheim prison), who concluded by declaring that isolation enhances torture and, as such, constitutes a "philosophical problem". Prinzing<sup>2</sup> and the Federal Prosecution interrupted Andreas seventeen times to prevent him from developing a coherent argument, which connected torture by isolation to his political conception, to which it was directly related. This explains the blanks. This shows clearly what it was like every day.*

Events unfolded exactly as follows: dead-wing<sup>3</sup> - and when that didn't work as they desired, when she did not repent, but the effects of isolation were apparent - they locked Ulrike<sup>4</sup> in an isolated psychiatric unit for eight weeks, "for observation," as Gotte<sup>5</sup> said, at the request of the Federal Prosecutor. And when that didn't work either – they tried forced drugging and a forced scintigraphy, the Federal Court's idea of opening the head to

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<sup>1</sup> Andreas Baader - leading figure in and one of the founders of the RAF.

Stammheim- high security prison. A special courthouse was built within the prison complex specifically for trials of RAF prisoners (For more on Stammheim see <http://www.germanguerilla.com/raf/stammheim.html>).

<sup>2</sup> Theodor Prinzing – Chief Judge in the Stammheim trial.

<sup>3</sup> Prisoners from the RAF were held in "dead wings" - complete isolation, being held alone in an entire section of the prison. Not only their supporters, but many human rights observers and medical professionals maintain that this constitutes a form of torture. As Dutch psychiatrist Sjeff Teuns stated in 1973 ("Isolation/Sensorische Deprivation: Die programmierte Folter," in *Ausgewählte Dokumente*): "Sensory deprivation – because it can only be produced through human manipulation – is at once the most human and inhuman method for the protracted degradation of life. Applied for months or years, [it] is the proverbial 'perfect murder' for which no one – or everyone, except the victim – is responsible." (quoted in Jeremy Varon's *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*, p. 218)

<sup>4</sup> Ulrike Meinhof was a founding member of the RAF, one of those who liberated Andreas Baader from prison on May 14th 1970 and thought by many to be a key author of the Urban Guerilla Concept (see [http://www.germanguerilla.com/raf/documents/71\\_04.html](http://www.germanguerilla.com/raf/documents/71_04.html)). On June 15th 1972 she (along with a supporter) was arrested in an apartment outside of Hannover - police were tipped off by "left-wing" trade unionist from the "progressive" wing of the Social Democratic Party. Meinhof was subjected to isolation torture and was finally killed in prison in 1976, although the State insists to this day that she committed suicide.

<sup>5</sup> Bernard Gotte - Psychiatrist connected to the Cologne-Ossendorf prison. He developed and applied the brainwashing program against Astrid Proll and Ulrike Meinhof, both RAF prisoners.

see where human thought comes from; the Federal Prosecutor's concrete project was stereo-tactical intervention in the brain. Witter<sup>6</sup> was to be in charge of the drugging and scintigraphy; Low<sup>7</sup> was proposed for the surgical intervention into the brain - note both are at the University of Hamburg-Sarre. After the mobilization prevented the project, the dead-wing was again used. The hunger strike, the mobilization campaign. As a reaction to the campaign, the law that makes it possible to exclude lawyers and to carry on discussion in the absence of the accused, which signifies the elimination of what remains of public control. Because the "hearing" which establishes the inability to appear isn't public, the tribunal is moved **into the special section**, as in Stammheim.

It was proven last week in Zwerbruecken, in the case of Manfred Grashof<sup>8</sup>, that it is possible to stop prisoners from appearing by means of a forced medical examination.

We certainly can't agree with the argument regarding torture as it is developed by Schily<sup>9</sup> in his petition. That is to say, we won't make ourselves into his object. For the torture victim to arrive at a conception of torture is an ambiguous and impossible endeavour, because we can only refer here - pointlessly - to the indignation that those with a liberal conception of the State are faced with when their State becomes deformed, a necessary deformation because it is conditioned by the contradictions of the movement of capital itself. In its reaction, faced with revolutionary politics, not knowing what to do except torture, the State has shown itself to be an imperialist state. The indignation of degenerate bourgeois anti-fascism only masks this. The latter is already so weak, corrupted by Social Democracy and locked in revisionism, that it can no longer articulate itself in a meaningful way.

An example of this old misery. So bourgeois anti-fascism puts itself at the service of the State in the hope of changing it, and is itself instead changed by the State, turning into a State instrument insofar as it is useful in preventing radicalization, and finally it becomes an expression of bourgeois ideology, of bourgeois humanism, of traditional bourgeois liberties, and loses its ability to disturb the broader process of capital reproduction in the sphere of the State ideological apparatus.

We can't talk about torture without at the same time talking about the perspective and strategy that will abolish it, that is the strategy of **revolutionary** politics. From the point of view of bourgeois anti-fascism, the blather about this very subject ends up denouncing the torture victims themselves.

Isolation is torture; that is for certain. No matter how those who suffer it experience it, it is a process of slow destruction that provides the time to reflect about revolutionary identity, more terrible than any physical pain that we have experienced. Political consciousness falls into the trap of the consumer society, the trap of the reality of

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<sup>6</sup> Hermann Witter - professor of psychiatry and director of the Institute of Legal Psychology and Psychiatry at the University of Hamburg-Sarre.

<sup>7</sup> Low - Surgeon and brain specialist at the University of Hamburg-Sarre.

<sup>8</sup> Manfred Grashof - RAF prisoner.

<sup>9</sup> Otto Schily - one of the defense lawyers for RAF prisoners.

alienated production and alienated consumption, with all its complex cultural and psychological mediations. It is **against** these factors that one's identity can be developed; this is always a process that we realize in struggle. In the agony of isolation, it is this process that they want to break down by depriving us of that which the process depends on, the praxis, the conscious social interaction; the prisoners are deprived of their political history.

It is the end of one's personality.

To the degree that history is the process which constitutes the personality, if history is lost the personality is lost. Not because one loses one's memory (even if that is one manifestation), but because the ability to reconstruct it, to reflect upon it, to **explore** it, is destroyed. One becomes unable to refer to what has been accomplished and what one has accomplished within oneself.

It is the apparatus which creates the relationship. One regresses and struggles to the death amidst the mystifications of bourgeois socialization that overtake and attack one, because one is - **alone** - to the degree that one can no longer comprehend the total power of the enemy.

One becomes a **void**, as we have said, a victim (and, in this way, maybe one becomes innocent as well) as of the moment when one ceases to fight - **can no longer** fight.

One's misery is essentially connected to that which one sees in the future for a very long time and to the fact that one knows that years of isolation is the equivalent of being shot, but harder to see - that is also part of the method, the invisibility - and much more cruel.

**“Man is, in the most literal sense, a ‘zoon politikon;’ he is not only a social animal, but an animal THAT CAN ONLY ISOLATE HIMSELF WITHIN SOCIETY. To conceive of the production of isolated individuals outside of society - a rare phenomenon, which can strictly lead to an individual who ends up by chance in the wild, but who already possesses within himself, potentially, the social forces – is as absurd as to conceive the development of language outside of individuals living TOGETHER and talking TOGETHER.”<sup>10</sup>**

It didn't take us very long - in the dead wing - to recognize the method and the goal of isolation. I am saying that the measures have their logic within the perspective of the entire system; the necessity for which it is produced, to react to the contradiction that it itself created with extermination, because it includes within itself its own definitive extermination. Because one who can be "re-educated" is destroyed in the dead wing. It isn't a project of forced socialization, given that it can't resolve the problem that it reveals, the social dissolution, other than by the destruction of the prisoners.

The attempt to understand things in this way and to justify this machine and the torture that it practices comes from Klug, who has become, in the meantime, the Justice of the

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<sup>10</sup> Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*.

Province of Hamburg. This is entirely predictable because it is a corrupt **liberal** mask, which hides its filthy work with the illusion of **values**, which re-education also demands, values that this society no longer has at its disposal.

Its fundamental problem, even in this antagonistic detail, is that re-education or brainwashing, as projects, demand legitimization from the apparatus. That is to say, to subdue, the system must create the subject. But the thing shared by the repressive State apparatus and the revolutionary (prisoner) is that **both** know very well that they are, in their irreconcilability (as in their relationship), the expression of the process by which the bourgeois State's legitimacy is disintegrating. The signs of the extent of this disintegration lead to the development of the State's **extermination** strategy against us. Posser<sup>11</sup>, as a Social Democrat, thinks so - (and so lives concrete experience in the face of the uselessness of his panicked contradictions). What he has in mind is not, first and foremost, re-education, but the destruction of Ulrike and the propaganda value of the prisoner who is destroyed in the process, who repents: the collapse. As a Party bureaucrat who props up the State, he is more pragmatic; the ritual of power "**without bumps**" is the reality that he wants to negotiate to patch the hole that banishes him directly to the dizzying abyss of his clique.

When problems arose, because the discretion the affair demands has been broken thanks to the lawyers' mobilization, he had the idea, in a way very typical of Social Democracy - it cannot be forgotten that the entire leadership of the Brandt-Schumacher Party<sup>12</sup> was bought in 1945 by American capital to **oppose** the German proletariat - to buy a witness for the State. Certainly on the government echelon. ( ... "to oppose" ... that's not precise enough. The strategic function of Social Democracy is to assure the **initiative** of capital in the **crisis**).

As such, a "witness for the crown", a witness for the State. A typical institution amongst the totality of ideological justifications upon which rests the constitution of the legal State. To give evidence without doubt, but a sure blow for our politics. Even if it is only a secondary expression of the rupture on which our definition of the reaction of the state to armed politics should be based.

Because the strategic determination, in this phase, the crisis of capital and the economic crisis of the State, of which each action of the guerilla is the **political** interpretation, should be transformed by the continuing offensive, in a process which will certainly be both long and contradictory , into the final political crisis of the State, **into rupture**.

We will return to this subject.

Finally, I **cannot** talk about the one who is tortured. What is proven with him, via the liquidation, finally carried out in the open, about the fiction of his status as a subject,

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<sup>11</sup> Diether Posser - member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), Provincial Minister for Justice for Nordrhein-Westphalie.

<sup>12</sup> Brandt-Schumacher Party - reference to the Social Democratic Party (SPD) led by Willy Brandt and Kurt Schumacher after the Second World War.

because he is the object of State repression, is finally **only** that the values of the bourgeois ideology of law are outdated impediments for the imperialist State from the moment that they are no longer of use to Capital.

The one whom it is important to talk about is the one who tortures. The State. And the process within which the strategy of counterrevolution carried out by the State is reduced to torture and creates, at the same time, a new developing fascism **within the State apparatus** by its technology, its structures and, always lagging a bit behind, its laws (and finally, the structural and organizational conditions of mass communications - which neutralize the reflexes). In short, everything which torture presupposes on the institutional level.

We repeat here; torture **is not** a concept of revolutionary struggle.

Information about torture can have a protective function, but a mobilization that uses it can only turn against the very politics that are being targeted by State torture (and in the final analysis against the prisoners themselves) as long as its politics are based on the moral reflex of those who still feel comfortable in this State, and it is so because they want to take it on as revisionists. This means the mobilization **can only** direct itself against us if it isn't associated with propaganda for armed politics, if it doesn't propagate **its own** morals and **its own** strategy, which **always** means that it hasn't **itself** come to armed action.