

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

This is a fragment about the structure of the group, which Ulrike¹ insisted on presenting in Stammheim², in order to destroy the leadership theory around which the Federal Prosecution wanted to build this trial. Andreas³ was opposed, and we wanted to write it differently.

It is not very important, but I have put it out today anyway because it refutes the filthy assertions of Buback⁴ - "the contradictions" - and because this is what Ulrike was working on last.

*It is necessary that it be published **in its totality** and **with** Ulrike's last letters, the two to Hanna Krabbe and the one to the Hamburg prisoners⁵.*

-Jan⁶

Fragment Regarding Structure

Ulrike Meinhof
May 11th, 1976

From our point of view, the analysis developed by Habermas⁷ provides a starting point, **the** form that proletarianization takes in the metropolises; isolation due to alienation at all levels within a production process that is completely controlled by the State.

Isolation is the basis for manipulation.

Freedom, in the face of this system is only possible through its total negation, by attacking it in a fighting collective, which must become the guerrilla if it is to represent a real strategy, that is to say, if it is to be victorious.

Collectivity is a key component in the structure of the guerrilla, and once subjectivity is understood as the precondition for each person's decision to fight, collectivity becomes the most important element. The collective is a group which thinks, feels and acts as a group.

¹ Ulrike Meinhof - founding member of the RAF, "suicided" in prison on May 9, 1976.

² Stammheim - high security prison used to hold key RAF prisoners in isolation.

³ Andreas Baader - founding member of the RAF.

⁴ Siegfried Buback - Attorney General.

⁵ These letters can be viewed at <http://www.germanguerrilla.com/raf/documents/76-03-19-23-meinhof.html> and <http://www.germanguerrilla.com/raf/documents/76-04-13-meinhof.html>.

⁶ Jan Carl Raspe - founding member of the RAF.

⁷ Jürgen Habermas - Marxist professor of sociology in Frankfurt who influenced the German student movement of the late 60s and early 70s. Member of the German Marxist intellectual movement known as the Frankfurt School.

The leadership of the guerrilla consists of the individual or individuals who maintain the open and collective functioning of the group and who organize the group through their practice. Their practice, their struggle against imperialism, based on the self-determination and decision of each individual to be a component of the intervention; that is to say, starting from the moment when each individual understands that it is only collectively that he can achieve what he wants. Which is to say, it is a group within which everything is to be found: military capacity, politics, strategy. The embryo of the new society, through the group's complete involvement in the struggle against imperialism, is, in practice, in *truly* capable hands.

Everyone helps to develop the *line*, the strategy drawn from the logic and rationale of isolated tactical steps, the actions. Everyone's experience and knowledge contributes to the discussion process. As such, the line is developed collectively and thus becomes binding.

In other words, the line is developed in the course of practice, through the analysis of the conditions, through experience and anticipation. Unity is only possible because there is unanimity regarding the goal and the will to achieve it.

Once the line has been developed and understood, the coordination of the groups can operate as an order in the military sense. Its execution requires absolute discipline at the same time as it requires absolute autonomy, that is to say, an autonomous orientation and decision-making capacity for every situation and set of circumstances.

Which means that, at all times, the guerrilla consists of each individual's determination to carry on the struggle.

So leadership is a *function*, as such, that needs to be operational. This leadership cannot be usurped. It is exactly the opposite of what is described by the manipulators engaged in psychological warfare. Andreas is not the leader of the RAF. If Andreas was, as the Federal Prosecution claims, then there would be no RAF. There would not have been the political process of the last five years. Quite simply stated, we would not exist. If he assumes leadership of the RAF, it is because he has always had that which the guerrilla needs most: willpower, a clear idea of what we are fighting for, determination and a sense of collective practice.

When we say that the line develops in the course of practice - through analysis , experience and anticipation - what that means is that the individual who has the broadest vision, the greatest sensitivity and the greatest power to coordinate the collective operation assumes leadership. For this individual, the goal is the independence and the autonomy of each of the members, in the military sense: the unique fighter.

This process can't be organized in an authoritarian way. No group works this way, and leadership in the form of a ring-leader is thus impossible.

The goal of the Federal Prosecution's smear campaign against Andreas is clear; they are trying to prepare for the demobilization of public opinion in the event of his assassination. They present the entire affair in this way: it is only necessary to snuff out this one guy, Andreas, and the problem of the urban guerilla is solved. For according to Maihofer⁸, the guerilla is the only problem this State does not have under control.

We doubt that. Over these past five years, we have noticed that Andreas - because he was for us the model, someone we could learn from - struggled, still struggles, always struggles.

Because within what he does, and, as such, within that which we do, there is nothing irrational, nothing which can be obtained by force or by torture.

One reason why the Prosecution hates Andreas is because he fights effectively and uses all available weapons. It was from him that we learned that there is no weapon that we can't turn back against them. That is the tactical principle. This is founded on a grasp of the processes by which capital develops its own revolutionary contradictions. And so Andreas is the guerilla about whom Che said, "He is the group." He is the one of us who, for a long time and forever, has attempted to free himself of all property. That is *the* behaviour of the guerrilla fighter who anticipates the group and can lead their development. Because he understands that they must exist and because he understands that isolation is the form that proletarianization, based on total dispossession, takes in the metropolises, he has developed the metropolitan form of the guerilla by taking the power of subjectivity, of willpower, as the motor force of the construction of a guerrilla organization in the Federal Republic⁹.

Once again, we must not forget that all revolutionary initiatives - and we are thinking of the massive strike movements which Russia knew in 1905 and of the October Revolution¹⁰ - were born of the determination and willpower of individuals. It is through their mediation that an objective, organic process finds an orientation, a duration, a coherence, a strategy, a continuity and, as such, becomes a *political* force.

For Gramsci¹¹, willpower is a condition *sine qua non*; steadfast determination constitutes the motor force of the revolutionary process in the course of which subjectivity is of practical importance.

⁸ Werner Maihofer - Federal Minister of the Interior, member of the Free Democratic Party (FDP).

⁹ Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), West Germany.

¹⁰ October Revolution - the Bolshevik. (Russian Communist Party) takeover of power in Russia in 1917. 1905 is sometimes referred to as the first Russian Revolution of the Communist period.

¹¹ Antonio Gramsci - Italian Socialist, founder of the Italian Communist Party in 1921, arrested in 1926 and sentenced to twenty years in prison - because of ill health, he was released after ten years and died a few days later, on 27 April 1937.