

Lyubava Shatokhina

Social Foundations of the Emergence of
Leftist Radical Groups Using Violence in
Germany in the Second Half of 20th Century
(a case study of the German Red Army Faction)

WP 2009-03

Bielefeld University



St. Petersburg State University



**Centre for German and
European Studies (CGES)**



CGES Working Papers series includes publication of materials prepared within different activities of the Center for German and European Studies both in St. Petersburg and in Germany: CGES supported educational programmes, CGES research clusters and scientific dialogue. In accordance with the CGES mission, the Papers are dedicated to the interdisciplinary studies of different aspects of German and European societies.

The paper contains the MA Thesis submitted in the framework of the MA Programme “Studies in European Societies” taught at the Faculty of Sociology, St. Petersburg State University with the support of the Centre for German and European Studies. This MA thesis was written under supervision of Dr. M. Kaiser and defended with distinction in the MA “Studies in European Societies” in June 2009.

Lyubava Shatokhina graduated from Faculty of Philosophy of St. Petersburg State University in 2007. After that she entered MA Programme “Studies in European Societies”. The area of her research interests is represented by the phenomenon of European counterculture and protest activity of the second half of 20th century. In 2009 she graduated from the faculty with distinction. She works as a coordinator of the social art festival for gender equality held in St. Petersburg Art -Sobes 2009

Contact: ursula.stella@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION	3
THE RED ARMY FACTION EMERGENCE	10
HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL SETTINGS OF THE 1960ES IN WEST GERMANY AS A PART OF THE RAF SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS.....	10
THE DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE POST WORLD WAR II PERIOD	12
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SETTING OF THE RAF EMERGENCE	15
NATIONAL POLITICAL SETTING OF THE RAF EMERGENCE	20
IDEOLOGICAL CONSTITUENT OF RAF EMERGENCE	25
<i>Marxism – Leninism</i>	26
<i>Neo – Marxism</i>	30
<i>Revolutionary Ideas of the Third World</i>	35
<i>Ideological Trends Connected with the French May of the 1968 Events</i>	38
CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE <i>ROTEN ARMY FRACTION</i> EMERGENCE	42
SOCIETAL EMBEDDEDNESS OF THE RED ARMY FACTION FORMATION	43
SOCIAL MILIEU CONCEPTS	43
THE 1968 GENERATION PERSPECTIVE	44
<i>The Phenomenon of 1968 Generation in the World Settings</i>	45
<i>The West German 1968 Generation</i>	48
THE SOCIAL SPACE OF THE RAF EMERGENCE.....	52
<i>The theory of Bourdieu</i>	52
<i>The implementation of Bourdie’s theory in analysis of the RAF formation</i>	54
THE INDIVIDUAL SPACE OF THE RAF EMERGENCE	58
<i>The Life History Analysis</i>	58
<i>The Hypothesis on the RAF’s Authoritarian Family Background</i>	59
<i>Psychoanalytical Perspective on the Biography of the RAF Members</i>	61
CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE SOCIETAL EMBEDDEDNESS OF THE RED ARMY FACTION FORMATION ..	67
THE RAF SELF PRESENTATION AND ARGUMENTATION OF THE REASONS BEHIND THE GROUP’S TERRORIST ACTIVITY	69
INTRODUCTION TO THE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE RAF TEXTS	69
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE SEVEN RAF’S COMMUNIQUÉ	71
<i>Communique as a Sample of Political Communication</i>	71
<i>The Structure of the Communiqués</i>	72
<i>The Analysis of the RAF’s Communiqués Content</i>	73
<i>A Perception of the State and Existing Political Order by the RAF Members</i>	74
<i>B RAF’s Self-Perception and Identity</i>	75
<i>C The Main Goal of the RAF</i>	77
<i>D The Issues of Tactics and Strategy of the RAF’s Activity</i>	78
<i>E The Baader-Meinhof Group’s Position on German and Global Political Situation and Concrete Historical Events</i>	80
<i>Concluding Remarks on the RAF’s Communiqué Content</i>	81
CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE RAF’S STATEMENTS	82
<i>The structure of the RAF Statements</i>	83
<i>A The Issue of Self Identity in the RAF’s Statements</i>	83
<i>B The Issue of the State System in the RAF’s Statements</i>	85
<i>C The Issue of Tactics in the RAF’s Statements</i>	86
<i>D The Issue of Political Goals in the RAF’s Statements</i>	88
<i>Remarks on the Style of the RAF’s Statements</i>	89
CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE GENERAL STRUCTURE AND IDEAS OF THE RAF TEXTS	90
CONCLUSION	92
BIBLIOGRAPHY	97

Introduction

Political terrorism is increasingly recognized as one of the topical problems of modernity. The very notion that goes back to the French Revolution is one of the symbols of the last century and does not lose its position of the burning problem in academic debates till nowadays. As a result one can notice the growing awareness of need for profound research of the phenomenon. That is why the activity of terrorists, their goals and means, structure of their organizations and their motivations has received increasing attention within scholars of different branches of science. Literature in this area has dealt with the number of matters related to the phenomenon of political extremism, including the moral, tactical, political, social and historical aspects of the rather broad term of terrorism. This work is a part of a larger body of research on extreme cases of political participation, which in order to be less abstract deals with the specific type of political terrorism – the leftist radicalism of the second part of the 20th century.

The very notion of political terrorism or usage of violence for political purposes is of the discrepant nature. A number of writers were trying to determine and describe the category of terrorism, its core and main features (Tilly 2004, Laqueur 1977, Gibbs 1989, Crenshaw 1981, Oberschall 2004) but generally came to the conclusion with controversial and unclear definitions, even sometimes stumbling in defining the basic categories of violence, power etc. For example, Charles Tilly distinguishes several groups of political terrorist from which comes out the notion of *autonomist* as “all those politically active groups whose members sometimes launch terror attacks on authorities, symbolic objects, rivals, or stigmatized populations on their own territories without becoming durably organized specialists in coercion” (Tilly 2004). It can be taken as the most relevant for the present investigation.

Jack P. Gibbs in his article *Conceptualization of Terrorism* (1989) is not able to give straightforward definition of terrorism but puts it as multivariable phenomenon that could be articulated only within the framework of the interpretation of the situation with the gradation and variety of expressions of

terrorist activities. The scientific definition hesitation could be understood as the matter of using violence for political purposes goes far from pure scientific sphere to the area of ideology, politics and law where the mere ambiguity of the term can be crucial and could have far reaching consequences. Various investigations have confirmed the activity that in one case is labeled as terrorism and violation of law, in other case could be described as a heroic deed and struggle for peace and liberation.

On the most abstract level of dealing with the issue of political terrorism one can distinguish two basic and opposite points of view, plainly speaking, the one that approves the use of violence for achieving political goals, and the opposite view that perceives terrorism as an attribute of mental illness and/or criminal activity, hiding under the mask of revolutionary activity. This ethical stumbling block gives a way for the two different major courses of terrorism studies both dealing with the issues of terrorism outbursts, ways of its functioning or the strategies of terror, actors it involves, state and public responses it awakes and other relevant topics. The scientific activity of the two based on the opposing ethic attitude camps is equally represented by the attempts to describe, classify, explain and predict or prescribe, with one side mostly concerned with the problem of legitimization of terrorism (Marxism as an example) whereas the other – with putting an emphasis on the idea of prevention of terrorist activity (Liberalism as an example). The pro – contra division of this kind is rooted in the scientific paradigm that enforces certain worldview. From the history of science perspective these two tendencies have their own development in time. From the middle of the 19th century Positivism and Marxism can be distinguished as clear paradigms of opposing tendencies: of studying and marginalization of the phenomenon and studying and its legitimization. As concerning today's most general post modern and liberal or modernist paradigms this division can also be distinguished but not to the very high degree of discursive purity for approving or disapproving political terrorism. "The terrorism is an act to restore identity which can not be eliminated in the system of total exchange"(Boudriard J. 2001). The highest level of philosophical abstraction or, as we put it, the ethical dimension,

can not cast light upon the understanding of the political terrorism phenomenon but is a crucial analytical tool in dealing with the theories studying it. The first step of a scientist who entered the field of political terrorism studies should be in the direction of the delimitation of these two major standpoints.

Another lens through which one can look at the phenomenon of political terrorism is approaching the question from the perspective of different scientific disciplines. Undoubtedly, the issue of political terrorism lies in the sphere of interest of various humanities. The interdisciplinary nature of the phenomenon gives space for historical, political, sociological, psychological, cultural approaches and explanation strategies. The historical way of dealing with the problem of terrorism is mainly connected with the method of description and reflection of the temporal development of the phenomenon. The strong point of this strategy is connected with gathering a great amount of data that could be used as valuable sources for analyzes. However, this type of approach lacks the analyses of the core of terrorism and can hardly provide an explanation on the large group of issues connected with political terrorists' activity. Political disciplines and especially comparative politics have their own interest in the study of the issue of terrorism. The questions that the political scientists give major priority are the issues of legitimacy and government role and position in the situation of terrorism's outburst and existence, the connection between types of rule and possibilities for terror outbursts and so forth. The application of sociological discipline for description, understanding, classification, setting norms and attempts to make predictions about the phenomenon of using violence for gaining political goals mainly places emphasis on social structures, social system, networks, role models in order to understand the emergence and functioning of terrorism, and the reasoning behind it. Sociologists can perceive political terrorism, as Lukach (2003) does it, as the social change force, or the negative and disturbing factor of social development. To put it plainly, this approach will tend to observe primarily the socio-cultural dimension of phenomenon of terrorism.

A highly specific way of dealing with the question of political terrorism is exemplified by psychology. In this scientific area the subject of the study will be the individual human being. A reaction of the person to the environment, his or her reasoning and type of thinking are the basis for the analyses of terrorist activity. The specific interest in this sphere of scientific knowledge attribution towards the question of using violence for gaining political goals is represented by the school of psychoanalysis of Freudism and Neo- Freudism or Neo - Marxism (Adorno, Fromm, Marcuse) and shisoanalyse (Deles, Gvattary). Not to mention the fact that the mixture of sociological concepts developed by Marxism and psychological ideas of Neo -Freudism became the ideological bases for a lot of left radical groups using violence in the time period after WWII¹.

One more perspective that can be used to consider the notion and understandings of the political terrorism phenomenon is a historical or temporal one. It deals mostly with the type of terrorism and specific connotations that are attributed to the notion that depends on the time period of the description of the phenomenon. For example, if we take into consideration the late 19th century ideas about political terrorism, it will, first of all, be about anarchical and revolutionary terrorism, while taking into consideration the after WWII time period, one will mostly speak about new leftist, youth groups or armies of liberation. Moreover, for the present period of time the top priority topic is concentrated on the issue of national separatism and fundamentalism. It is not unusual to be engaged with the problem that is connected mostly with the time period of the carrying out of research. Nevertheless it could be the crucial methodological fault to overlook the variety of dimensions of the phenomenon under investigation. The illustration of such a misunderstanding of the phenomenon could be the common mistake of modern public and even scientific debates to narrow down terrorism to the notion of fundamentalism.

All the approaches and perspectives mentioned above could be generally categorized as the view point from above. The one more scientifically valuable

¹ The example could be **The Union of Socialist Patients** in West Germany, the left radical group, struggling against the repressive system of psychological treatment. They claimed that the system has made them psychologically ill and in order to renew their mentality they should fight the system. See more in Бейр Т. Телемечтатели стр. 39-40.

position will be one from the inside. Within this perspective, biographical, ideological and even fiction literature written by the activists and supporters of a tactic of using violence for attaining political goals is the pearly source for analysis or a piece of self analysis and self perception in itself. As Walter Laqueur puts it in *The Interpretations of Terrorism: Fact, Fiction and Political Science*(1977) : “fiction holds more promise for the understanding of the terrorist phenomenon than political science”. The fiction by Savincov, ideological articles by Meinhof or fairy tales by Subcomandante Marcos could not be overestimated as material for scientific research as well as the way to explain and understand the phenomenon of political radicalism from the unique position of the insider or actor.

Finally, what one should not overlook when trying to get into the issue of radical political groups using violence is the perception of the problem in the so-called non- scientific areas such as the media and works of art. Despite the fact that it is extremely hard work in itself to gist the systematical and pure classification and analysis from this kind of writings or movies, it could be an alternative and promising approach to the question. Even if one can not agree with Heidegger’s understanding of piece a of art as the visitation of the *true Being*² the books of Dostoevsky, Sartre, Cartassar and others are the examples of way how the usage of violence by radical groups could be shown and explained by means of art. To this point Walter Laqueur (1977) do illustrate the importance of fiction on the topic for scientific approach and argues that it is one more way of dealing with the subject.

One question that has remained largely unexplored in these battles of definitions is the inner structure of “terrorist” groups, the social and cultural background of their members and the motivations behind the strategy of using violence for political purposes. All these were mostly left to the consideration of historians, journalists, novelists and plot writers. The aim of this study is to offer a preliminary investigation of these important issues. To this end, the research sought to analyze the problem of social and cultural capital of the Red Army

² Хейдеггер М. Исток художественного творения.(1935)
www.gumer.info/bogoslov_Buks/Philos/Heidegg/1st_index.php

Fraction core group in order to find out the reasons and motivations behind the use of violence as a political tool. Specifically, this study examines the historical and ideological setting, social background and individualistic features of the Baader – Meinhof group.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the methods employed in the study, the choice of the type of the political terrorism and concrete extremist group deserves brief explanation. At the theoretical level the phenomenon of leftist extremism presents an interesting problem for exploration because it stands on the position of ideology that strives for the idealistic and even irrational goals of fighting the System. The utopian nature of extreme leftists' ideas that is combined with the believe in brotherhood of people, solidarity and justice is evokes the sympathy of the general public, while at the same time the strategy of achieving these goals goes against the commonly held principles of morality and law. To take into consideration the concrete case study of present research - Germane Red Army Faction (self - name) or the Baader – Meinhof gang (media name) it is important to understand several striking facts about the group and its activity. First of all, there are the historical settings of RAF emergence and development and moreover a socio – cultural context in which the ideas of the group was formed. The case of the RAF could be labeled as typical and outstanding at the same time as it was the 'classical' project of the extreme new left which was realized under specific conditions. That is the point that is supposed to be described, investigated and analyzed in the present work.

In the current research one of the main problems of scientific investigation of the issue of leftist terrorism is to get rid of any kind of ethical judgments as far as it is possible when we assume that all the narratives of our culture are formed as the products of concrete paradigms. There are several possible ways to avoid being critical on the topic. One is, for example, presenting only historical facts, omitting all the interpretative work. That could be illustrated with the examples of chronologies of events. The other one - situated at the other end of the analytical spectrum can be purely interpretative and based on the discourse analysis of primarily sources. Here the point is to create the space of meanings without

marking them as “good or bad” or moral and immoral, but rather socio, culturally or historically embedded. This type of analytical tactics will be used in the present work for several reasons. Firstly, as it was mentioned above, in order not to get bogged down in the ethical problems instead of dealing with a specific phenomenon. Secondly, this is done for the sake of elaborating a new perspective on the problem of the left radical groups using violence. Thirdly, for avoiding repetition of data, facts and interpretations that already exist, taking into consideration the wide variety of books and articles on the topic of the RAF, its members and their actions.

Regarding the general methodological bases of the paper as discursive analysis of primarily sources, the whole body of work could be divided into three main parts. The first one is connected with the issue of RAF emergence as the left terrorist group and is based generally on the historical and cultural discourses approach of that time period. The analytical material will be based on the so-called generation of 68 artifacts, New Left ideology, newly appeared trends of student movements, liberation movements and the historical settings of all these phenomena. While the other important part of analysis will be based on the ideological background of the RAF emergence, that is Marxism, Neo – Marxism (Frankfurt school), Freudism, Structuralism, Situationism, Revolutionary Ideology (Lenin, Marighella, Gramsci).

The second part deals with the societal embeddedness of RAF members and is mostly based on the biographical and autobiographical writings that are taken into consideration from the sociological standpoint. The third part is connected with the topic of the RAF self representation and mostly deals with the texts produced by or attributed to the RAF members themselves: articles, communiqués and statements.

The methodology of discourse analysis of primarily sources is also chosen by the author of the research as a response to the existence of the huge body of writings on the topic that was mostly written and published in the German language and that is why could not be used in all completeness in the present work. Though it is worth mentioning the fact that the majority of writings dedicated to

the RAF can be attributed to the discourse of historical disciplines or 'story telling' narratives which in majority of cases could not be perceived as analytical. That can be generally summarized as the lack of profound sociological research on the problem of left radical terrorism using violence and in the concrete case of the Baader-Mainhof group studies. From this perspective, what can be done to enrich the knowledge we already possess on the issue of the RAF activity and activists is to incorporate the multidisciplinary and multilevel approach to the topic. That basically means to reveal the socio- cultural context of the terrorist group emergence and development, to combine it with the historical settings of place and time period, as well as to consider the single actor and group level of analysis.

From the very beginning of the research project the substantial challenges and cognitive traps should be understood and recognized in order not to fall into the wrong conclusions and for the sake of avoiding straightforward generalizations. In this type of work it is easier than elsewhere to go by the way of attribution of self understandings of researcher and his or her own narrations to the subject under the investigation. That is why the essence of the paper should be, first of all, of pure analytical nature without aspiration for new discoveries and setting norms. On the other hand, the type of the research proposed could be in many ways scientifically fruitful and justified especially in the context of further in-depth investigation of the matter.

The Red Army Faction Emergence

Historical, Political and Ideological Settings of the 1960es in West Germany as a Part of the RAF Social Foundations

In the case of sociological cognition of any kind of phenomenon in order to understand it in the fullness of its being one should put the subject of the research into the context of discursive process. From the sociological perspective socio-cultural settings, i.e. historical, political, ideological, economical background sometimes should be treated as the subject of the research in itself.

In this manner the background of the whole picture creates possibilities to understand the subject. That is why in order to come closer to the understanding of the 'terrorist group', *Roten Army Fraction*, emergence it is necessary to reconstruct general scenery of thoughts and events blossoming at that time period. Without any doubt it is absolutely impossible to create the all-embracing picture of the physical and ideological time and space that will encompass all the important details and constituents essential for the understanding of the phenomenon of the RAF emergence. However, the very attempt to have a glance at the context of the terrorist group formation being it sporadically and not complete is rather effective method to approach the real state of affaires.

The events and ideological trends that will be presented in this chapter are the ones that could be possibly marked as relevant and decisive for the appearance of the new authentic German left radical group. This assumption is based on the reflexive thoughts of witnesses and researches of the period. The basic presupposition of the present research is that there is no social phenomenon or historical event that is not rooted in the general context of epoch. More over when we are dealing with the recent past the amount and purity of the information and artifacts possessed is rather profound. In the concrete situation of the RAF emergence it is thick layer of information formed with the help of different discursive practices. The so-called 68 generation time period is reach on the formation of new ideas, philosophical schools, social trends, historical events. That is why one of the difficulties that is connected with analysis of this epoch is the tremendous density of signs, that refer to myriads of denotants. In this multitude of significance it is extremely hard to trace down, to distinguish and to choose the most relevant. In such a situation the only thing that is left to the researcher is not to become panic- stricken but to try to be reflexive about the analytical material that is being taken for the essential purposes of the investigation and to analyze not only the data under research but the selection process of the sample. For the present paper the data was chosen on the bases of the views of the history actors of the time period under investigation that present the motivation behind their actions, deeds and thoughts that were

articulated in the branch of interviews, articles, autobiographies- narratives of insiders. So that although the sample could be charged with the double reflexivity 'disease', nevertheless it supposed to be rather relevant, convenient and representative. The material the work is based on is also recognized in the academic circles as 'classical' and illustrative for the research work on the topic of the social movements, including left radical groups using violence for gaining political goals.

The Double Consciousness of the Post World War II Period

"These sixties paradoxes are part of the indisputable sense of division and rupture which pervaded the period" (Watts, 2001)

What one can distinguish on the most general level in the times of 60th -70th in West Germany was a tremendous gap existing between two generations, between fathers and sons, between those who have lived a part of their conscious live in the Nazi Germany and those who's childhood and adolescence were spent in the Nazi past salient country. From the perspective of cultural science the very situation of such a historical inversion when the generation of father has lost credibility, respect and possibility to share life experience is a crucial point for the development of new types of behavior and thoughts for the youth. The life stile evolutionary line was broken symbolically and physically that created the situation favorable in this respect for revolutionary or reforming behavior. Nevertheless the specific policy of German government and allies who preferred to forget and ignore the whole period of the German history prevented any tension from going outside. The psychological guilt complex that was hidden in the older generation gave birth to the denying position of the younger generation. People who were cut down from their past can not feel themselves comfortable in the present. What is more, the younger generation was of cause posted on the atrocities of the Nazi regime. That made their feelings of refusal

and disrespect even keener. The younger generation of Germans who lost the previous line of meta-narrations and identity was forced to find a new one. In the situation when the previous identity story was blamed for being one of the most immoral in the history of human being the only choice was to work out totally new one, one that should be the most contradicting to the 'great story' of the past. One more feature that was provoked by the official silence to the past was the feeling of suspicion, the feeling that made youngsters perceive the previous generation as those who still have the grain of fascism inside, to think about the conspiracy and atmosphere of lie everywhere. The attempt of those who had power to cover the guilt for the past with economic prosperity and political stability was more or less successful within the general population, the main reverse group were students. It could be easily explained by the fact that the last were the most educated, i.e. they know more facts, more information and they were inclined to analyze it, and moreover, they were young. The schemes of respect were broken, the authority of elderly was lost, the whole way of life was put under question, all, that was taken for granted through out history of generations, was the point for suspicion. Without doubt that was not that plainly black and white, but this only made the situation even worse. Both, the first and the second generation were psychologically depressed, they could not find common ground, their conscious was divided, ruined by the double standards of respect and obedience practices combined with desire to tell the truth, to rebel. All that was torturing both generations that created the schizophrenic situation, lack of identity and authority promoted the desire for catharsis. The back to the ancient times practice of overcoming tension through sacrifice. The RAF members were exactly those mediums who took the role of the public sacrifice. They took the role of power that should open the societal wounds in order to kill or to save. One can not affirm that their action of sacrifice was conscious, however acquainted with theory of Psychoanalysis and works of Nietzsche they could intuitively feel the hidden ancient symbolic meaning of their deeds.

The second less symbolical but more physical division or gap of that epoch was the situation of Cold War when the world was sharply politically and

ideologically separated. For those who lived in West Germany at that time it was especially evident. The country that was separated on two camps representing two major forces of the world politics was artificially created homunculus constantly suffering from bifurcations. In Germany of that time two rivals were meting each other creating the space of the gap. The previously existing entity was broken into two parts with the main aim to prove the difference of two strongest existing ideologies. The both parts were ideological projects, produced in semi-laboratorial conditions. While the USA was trying to implement the capitalistic doctrine in West Germany, the USSR took under its communistic patronage the Eastern part of Germany. The artificially created either or situation once again reminded to the German population duality of their being. This kind of misbalance and disturbance of time and space line has introduced new incentives for revising history project, for creating new 'better' one. The common history, memory, identity, praxis were rejected. People were feeling that their individual destiny is not only matter of their own choice but the power of immaterial constructions like ideology. For those who appeared to live in the West and those – in the East all the time there were an element of disturbance even if they have already been born in the capitalist or communist worlds. There was an uneasy feeling that those who lived behind the Wall have better life. Especially when they heard all the 'fairy tales' constructed by the government, authority, media about the Other Germans their unrest feelings became even stronger.

Though there are a lot of rumors about the GDR engagement in the activity of Baader- Meinhof group³, there are still no facts improving or disproving this. What one can more or less clearly state is that the very fact of existence of German Socialist neighbor has made an important impact on the emergence of the *Roten Army Fraction*. For them it was visual prove that the truth of capitalism is not the only one, that it could be an alternative and this alternative is true not only for the Third world countries, but for the Europe as well. The idea to have

³ One of these stories of connection between the RAF and GDR is vividly depicted in the film by Schlindorff V. *Stille nach dem schuss*. 2000

total revolution as the end of struggle was more plausible having in favor thinking neighbor. What is more the example of the GDR's trend of antifascist movement and Communist ideology inspired the RAF members in their ideological position. This is the argument against the statement of those scientists who perceived RAF as dreamers, even TV-dreamers⁴. Thus the historical setting of that time was playing a significant role in the formation of such a radical groups as the Baader- Meinhof 'gang'. Politically, ideologically, historically, psychologically the division of Germany to some extent predefined the emergence of the RAF. If those in power are able to incorporate two totally different ideological projects in the one country, why it is not possible to create and implement a third one that will unite all the people of the globe striving for equality and independence. The RAF members had their own political project in their heads but the strategies and tools of implementation were borrowed by them from the Third World fighters for independence.

International Political Setting of the RAF Emergence

The divided, marginal situation was not only prerogative of Germany at the time period, the world policy was involved in the 'creation' of settings for the emergence of the left radical groups all over the globe. The existence of bipolar world with strict division between Us and Them⁵, between Capitalism and Socialism created the atmosphere of tension and dichotomy. The two main ideologies were fighting for becoming the truth; the two main countries were fighting for hegemony. The fear of conspiracy, the fear of the nuclear war was the driving forces of international politics. The media, the public discourse in both camps were compressing these feelings of exposure, hostility, suspicion; the feelings that always create favorable setting for outbursts of terrorism (Crenshaw Hutchinson, 1972). One of the main goals of terrorism strategy is to create the conditions of social distrust, instability, fear, so when the world politics is balancing on the point of collapse it gives the extra incentive for the opposition

⁴ The title of the book dedicated to the RAF history and development by Tom Vague.

⁵ On the issue of boundaries and identity see more in Barth F. (1969)

group to emerge and to implement the argument of violence. Certainly it could be a mistake to exaggerate this general atmosphere of misbalance, especially in West Germany that was enjoying the newly obtain peace, security and prosperity. On the other hand, the well-being of the material world not always speaks for the 'well-being' of mind. What is more the prosperity and order combined with suppressed and bifurcate consciousness formats new attitude towards reality, conditions for officially unexpected deeds and ideas. What the people of the FRG were witnessing was the major changes in the cultural and daily life, but not in the world of politics.

The very idea of the Cold War was paranoiac in its nature: there were no concrete enemies that looked different, behave differently, have other names, the enemy was an idea, an ideology. So the enemy could be one of us, the enemy could be anywhere. The war of ideologies can turn one's own family, social group, state into the enemy. It is far more easy to fight French, Germans, Russians, even Muslims or Catholics than to fight communists, anarchists or fascists. Moreover the Cold War was the war of images. In the situation of Iron Curtain when the parts of the world, countries were cut off from each other by invisible, but inaccessible wall, those who were interested in the escalation of conflict were creating images of the enemy, constructing differences between us and them, forming insuperable gap between the two groups. Nevertheless those people who did not trust in media images, who can remember that only two decades before the Others were different, the another types of signs were sent, the other images were represented, could find themselves in the situation of total distrust for the official discourse. That is why feeling being fooled all the time, feeling themselves victims, but not winners, they could easily find the other enemy, the one that is supposed to be their 'Big Friend', that is the System. What the German media, especially those of Springer Concern⁶, were telling about to the average German citizen for the some groups of young man and women was unsound, prompting their dissatisfaction and disgust for the existing matter of

⁶ *Axel Springer – Verlag* AG is the publishing group of the FRG. It was founded in 1947 in Hamburg by Axel Springer. It publishes the daily newspapers "Die Welt", "Hamburger Abendblatt", "Bild Zeitung" etc., the total circulation of which exceeded 40% of all daily West German newspapers. The media products were mostly under the influence of chauvinistic and conservative ideas

facts, encouraging their anger and desire to change the situation. Instead of fighting the invisible enemy of communism they preferred to become guerrillas fighting with the invisible enemy of capitalism in its home fronts. The RAF was the collateral product of the war of ideologies, images and constructions that in the heart of capitalistic world identified themselves with the colonies of the Third World, with the position of the suppressed people fighting for equality.

Another worldwide trend of the epoch was the fight for liberation of the post colonial countries. In this respect the division of the globe was based not only on the bases of communist or capitalist ideologies, but as well on the bases of domination and suppression. That generally means the division on rich and poor, European and colonial world. The newly appeared consciousness of suppressed who identified themselves as being dominated, devoid of own voice and freedom marked the beginning of new era. The struggle for independence and equality became typical phenomenon for the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia. It was the class struggle combined with nation struggle that was encouraged by European ideas of democracy and socialism. The Europeans who were before relying on the strategy of double standards of Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood of all people at the same time considering people as only 'civilized Europeans' were extremely challenged by this new discovery of ex-colonies. The Cold War atmosphere played its role as well. The countries fighting for independence from metropolia oppression were destined to become tasty morsel for both camps at odds. Thus for those who could not help sympathize with innocent victims of world order the liberation movement of the Third World countries has become the symbol of the New Better World without oppression and slavery. The young people who lived their comfortable lives in Europe and US, who barely knew what the death from starvation or plain disease is, started feeling moral uneasiness for their replete life. As complex of responsibly grow along with awareness how unfair is the life of the rest of the world despite the very few living in prosperity and comfort grow the desire to help and even to identify oneself with those in need. In such a situation all the European way of live turned to the factor of irritation. Senseless and endless consumption as a typical behavior of man of

their civilization awaken the rage towards the system of capitalism that was from the point of view of so-called New Left the essence and driving force of such a life style.

In the middle of last century the so-called common people: unskilled workers, peasants were not already in the position of suppressed, of those who need and want help, so the young idealists found a new symbol, new victims, new object for solidarity. For the members of the RAF group well off proletariat of their own country was not the driving force or target group of New World Revolution, they prefer to identify themselves with the people from Cuba, Algeria, Palestine, Nicaragua etc. Though they did not have a lot in common with these people, they were trying to find all the common ground with the liberation movements of the world of that time. Moreover they adopted their main tactics – guerrilla warfare. The liberation movements for them were not only symbolically exemplary, but tactically irreproachable in the situation of urban settings struggle. The concept of urban guerrilla warfare that appeared in the Third World's fight for freedom in the conditions when the forces of enemies were very unevenly distributed was of the great use for the small terrorist group fighting the whole state defense apparatus. In "the war of six against six millions" they have been perceiving themselves as the real guerrillas struggling for their ideas in the stone jungles.

The national liberation movements were no the only one in the struggle for the freedom against oppression. At that time period the recognition of their dignity and right for freedom and equality came to the mind of different social groups al over the globe. The movements against sexism, racism etc. were appearing and spreading in so-called First World countries. The pioneering role was taken by the range of New Left movements of the United States of America. The idea of women emancipation was not at that time new but it took the most serious steps towards its goals. Women who superficially were treated like equals but a priory were perceived as invaluable members of society began to be not only aware of their humiliated position, but started their activity for obtaining new status. That epoch faced the new kinds of movements: not more reactive, but proactive. A lot of public persons, social movement's members, historical

actors of that time were women. That is not surprising why almost the half of the *Roten Army Fraction* members were women. It was the first time in the history of Modern Europe when women were so aware of their own status in society and feeling at the same time the strength to change something, to be full part of history driving forces. The young women, the RAF members, were not 'girls' of male comrades, not only rear service, they were 'soldiers' of the Revolution. It was a utopian equality of the same responsibilities for men and women, the sex did not matter, they shared responsibilities on the bases of personal qualities. For the female members who created or joined the Baader- Meinhof group it was the physical manifestation of their unwillingness to follow the destiny of 'ordinary' women of modern world. For West Germany with its three K⁷ attribution to the traditional role of women it was the real revolution in itself. Maybe these women have understood that the time of polemics has gone so that the only opportunity for changers was to take active position, to refused to play the role that was constructed for the women for ages of the European history. They were not converted by the supreme authority into the man warrior as the Jane d' Arc was, that was not the travesty subject, it was their deliberate choice.

The other type of the movements for the equality of rights was the movements for ethnic minorities' emancipation. The Black Panthers group was master copy for the majority of the other groups and movements. The Black Panthers was the symbol of authentic left radical group, cool and wild. They were very 'stylish', 'sexy' and appealing to the youngster's image of coolness. The Baader – Meinhof group members were rather often accused of using Black Panther's style imitation and it was basically the argument proving that the RAF was a small group of young men longing for fame and attention with the lack of own ideas behind. Nevertheless it is hard to see the point of this accusation because it is rather natural desire of human being to be rather cool guy than a maroon. What is more the Black Panthers were not simply fashion icons, they were revolutionist and their attractive military image was only a storefront of the ideas behind.

⁷ Kinder, Küche, Kirche - Children, Kitchen, Church

The atmosphere of anxiety, nervousness and hope was spread all over the world in the spring –summer of the year 1968, it was the period of new, fresh ideas and young actors. But after the acme point of revolutionary enthusiasm the opponent has taken the initiative. The uprising in US black ghettos were suppressed severely; police is extremely brutal in Chicago and all over America; the Red May has not resulted into the revolution in France; the extraparliamentary opposition in Germany is lost and panic; Americans were successful in taking Saigon; the students uprising in Spain are suppressed, while in Mexico they are just shot down; the “student revolution” in Belgium is successfully dispatched by the way of reformation and creation of “free gathering”; the “Prague Spring” is destroyed by the Soviet tanks; the students demonstration in Poland has led to the outburst of anti-Semitism.

National Political Setting of the RAF Emergence

The general historical and ideological settings of the RAF emergence are making the picture too abstract. There were of course concrete events that played the role of the cause for the appearance of the group. Speaking about the history of the Baader- Meinhof group there are a number of events and occasions that took place in West Germany in the end of 60th that are officially recognized as being the precondition and even reason for the RAF emergence. We won't speak now about the private life of the group members, but generally about the set of events that were an important part of the young leftists' movements' evolution. All of them are presented and commented in the 'konkret'⁸ journal, as well as in the whole range of the German media of the time period.

The first crucial event occurred in the summer of 1967. It was the official visit of the Shah of Iran and his wife to West Berlin. The Shah was a popular figure within the West politicians and common people, as he was known for the modernization of his country. At the same time the Shah was notorious for

⁸ "konkret" – was founded in 1955 by Klaus Rohl (later husband of Ulrike Meinhof) as the local social-democratic student's newspaper and was known firstly as "Final Pleadings". Then the bulletin was transformed into "Student's Messenger" and later in 1957 into the monthly journal "konkret" that was widely known for its rebellious and pro-socialist nature. In 1959 the journal has lost support of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and from that time on has become even more radical and famous. Since that time Ulrike Meinhof, future core member of the RAF, became editor in chief of the 'konkret'.

persecution any kind of political opposition in the country and for the tortures in the Iranian prisons. So when the Shah and his wife rode through the streets of West Berlin, they faced crowds of people who came to great or to condemn the Shah and his policy. It was not surprising that the pro and contra –Shah groups eventually ended with accusations and fights with each other. The German police and security service took the position of pro-Shah manifestants and started to making arrests of anti- Shah demonstrators who got hit with police truncheons. At some point during this mess and fighting the gun fired and one of the manifestants was perished. The man who was shot was the 26-year-old married college student Benno Ohnesorg. He was shot in the back of the head. It was the first political demonstration he had ever been. “Ohnesorg’s death became a rallying cry for many on the left”⁹. It was the even that lead to foundation of terrorist group called “2 June Movement”¹⁰. The even more resonance was made by the trial of the police officer Karl- Heinz Kurras who has killed unarmed student. He claimed that the gun had “just gone off” and was charged with manslaughter rather than murder. He was acquitted of this relatively mild charge on November 1967. This event became a starting point from which the West German State was accused of being still of fascist nature. The police state where people has no right to speak up and freely manifest their ideas and attitudes, and where police serve to repressive state apparatus rather than to its people. It was visible example of the collapse of democratic project of the West. From this event and on those in opposition were standing on the point to decide their future tactics: whether to go on their peaceful resistance or to take more hard measures. This unwise misdeed from the side of state representative was the first serious ground for the beginning the war against the stigmatized state system.

Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Torwald Proll and Horst Sonlain have set on fire the multistoried shopping mall “Kaufhaus Shnaider” in Frankfurt at night between the second and third April 1968. Despite the damage from fire was

⁹ Denise Noe http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/terrorists_spies/terrorists/meinhof/biblio.html

¹⁰ “2 June Movement” was founded and existing separately from the Baader- Meinhof Group, although it could be allied with it.

minimal and there were no victims the act was considered to be a terrorist revolutionary one. In fact it was one. Though the deed was mostly symbolic one the people who committed it automatically became social dropouts. The big shopping mall was associated with the culture of consumption, with the whole range of Western civilization values, with modern way of life. Having chosen the supermarket as the target for the terror act the group of young people were opposing themselves to the system, to the existing order. Regardless of the comparative harmfulness of the deed it was equal to the assault on the all the sacred basis of society. At the fourth day of the court trial of the case Gudrun Ensslin has made an official statement that the arson was the protest against the indifference towards the war in Vietnam: ‘ We have understood – she said – that without the real actions the words are useless’¹¹. It was the first time that when those in opposition turned from riposted action to proactive deeds, they took the initiative in their hands, now they stopped waiting for the occasion and ground to show their dissatisfaction, they began their attack. From that time on this group of four was destined to go further out of society. It was their first attempt at putting the system under the question. All the four dependences were condemned to four years of prison. While at the same time all West Berlin was shackled by the street clashes of policemen and young rebellions.

At the 11th of April 1968 the next crucial event has happened in Berlin. This time it was also a gun short, but the choice of the victim was not accidental. That day the crazy neo-Nazi painter from Munich, Josef Bachmann, shot at the leader of the Socialist’s Students Union¹², Rudi Dutschke¹³. Luckily, thought being seriously wounded, Dutschke has staid alive. Nevertheless the event was decisive for that moment. The assault on Dutschke’s live a stimulus for the mass

¹¹ Вэйг Т. Телемечтатели. Фракция Красной Армии 1963-1994. ГОУП «Гродненская типография». 2004г., стр. 17

¹² SDS- was founded 1946 in Hamburg as the students organization of the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany). In the 1950s the tensions between the SDS and the main party surfaced, particularly over the issue of the party's support of German rearming. In 1961 the SPD excluded all members of the SDS from the party. After its exclusion from the SPD, the SDS became the leading organization in the APO or *Extrparliamentary Opposition*. See more in Shell K. article “Extrparliamentary Opposition in Postwar Germany” (1970).

¹³ Alfred Willi Rudi Dutschke (1940-1979) –the most prominent spokesman of the left-wing German student movement of the 1960s.

demonstrations in Berlin and Bonn, that was followed by strikes and capturing of almost all universities in West Germany.

There were two issues so important for this concrete event. Firstly, it was the figure of the victim himself as Rudi Dutschke was a remarkable personage in the German left movement's sphere. The follower of the Antonio Gramsci's ideas and the Frankfurt school of Neo- Marxism, was one of the most famous figures in that days German political opposition circles. He joined the German SDS¹⁴ Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund in 1965 when it has become the center of the student movement that at that time was involved in organization of demonstration and acts of protests against the war in Vietnam. Dutschke advocated not the revolutionary but the transformational way of changers in Western societies. He was opposing the radicalization of German youth and claimed that it would cause the dissolution of the student movement.

Secondly, it was the role of the Axel Springer publishing empire in the course of events. While Bachman was shooting at Dutschke he was having the article cut from *Deutsche Nationale Zeitung* with title "Stop Dutschke now!". Not surprisingly Springer's publications inclined in conservative, philistine and even neo- Nazi way have launched a campaign against communist and Jew, Dutschke. Thus all who were shocked and filled with indignation about assault on the leader of the Socialist's Students Union were convinced that the Springer's provocation role was the main in this case. Having gone to the streets the young people stated: "*Das Bild* was shooting at Dutschke as well". At that time the future member of the RAF Ulrike Meinhof was in Berlin. She has came to demonstration near the Springer's building and as the fates decreed were the part of those who blocked the building and showed the sighs of disobedience towards the power representative. At that time she was not at the forefront of demonstration, no did she use any strategy of violent or armed resistance. Nevertheless in the "konkret" May issue Ulrike wrote her famous article "From the protest to resistance". While the other part of the future famous left radical group, Baader and Ensslin, were not taking part in the event as they were under the

arrest for the burning of the supermarket trial, has written to their comrades from Commune 1¹⁵: “When Bonn falls, leave the NATO for us...” (Том Вейр, 2004)

The event with Dutschke assault was the next stage of the beginning of the cold war between the state or conservative power and young idealists, discontent with the matter of facts, or revolutionaries. The sphere of symbolic interaction of the third power of public media discourse intruded into real life people’s behavior. The confrontation that was going on between Springer’s press and “konkret”, between state official conservative newspapers and magazines and student’s socialist free press, leaflets and underground publishing was thrown to the streets of German cities, multiplying the scope of victims and thus the amount of anger on the both sides. The events of that years of media struggle has shown the grate potential of the third power to manipulate and to instigate, that for the obvious reasons resulted into the desire of the group of people to take direct action strategy. Having understood their vulnerable media position, when their audience came to the very narrow group of students and youngsters while their enemies influenced on the consciousness and behavior of millions of average German citizens, they came to war of the armed struggle.

In West Germany of that time the new law about the state of emergency¹⁶ was set as an agenda for major political discussions. This law that was eventually introduced at 30th of Mai 1968 and it was the step after which extraparliamentary opposition¹⁷ was forced to either radicalize its actions or just

¹⁵ Kommune 1 was among the first politically motivated leftist communes in West Germany. It was founded in 1967 in West Berlin. It was one of the projects of extraparliamentary opposition (APO) of the German student movement (SDS) of the 1960th. It was designed as a counter-model against the nucleus middle class-family. Kommune 1 was famous for its eccentric performances very provocative and satiric by their nature. It posed itself as a house for all kinds of counter-cultural practices and alternative individuals.

¹⁶ A state of emergency is a governmental declaration that may suspend certain normal functions of government, alert citizens to alter their normal behaviors, or order government agencies to implement emergency preparedness plans. In the postwar Federal Republic of Germany, the Notstandgesetze state that some of the basic constitutional rights of the Grundgesetz may be limited in case of a state of defense (war), a state of tension (uprisings), or an internal state of emergency or disaster (catastrophe). These amendments to the constitution were passed on May 30, 1968 despite fierce opposition by the German student movement. (The information is taken from Wikipedia). See more in Diederich R. article of 1965 The West German Emergency Laws

¹⁷ The extraparliamentary opposition was the students organization in the West Berlin that was founded as an alternative to the major parties in Bundestag. See more in Shell K. article “Extraparliamentary Opposition in Postwar Germany” (1970).

disappear. For the majority of leftist intellectuals this law was a clear illustration on the Fascist type of the FRG political system that has nothing to do with officially proposed democracy model.

Ideological Constituent of RAF Emergence

In the controversy between materialists and idealist on the point of primacy of being or consciousness in this paper we will take intermediate position. That means basically that along with concrete historical events it is crucial to take into consideration the scope of ideas and ideological positions that can possibly influence on the decision of 'young intellectuals' to chose the idea of revolution and moreover the strategy of armed struggle. Defining the 20th century as the century of Ideology, sometimes it is even more reasonable for understanding specific socio-historical phenomenon to analyze not the line of the events and facts, but the narratives of explanation and legitimization of the last. The practices of understanding, identifications and labeling are the ones that could define the practices of everyday life behavior, groupings, actions and the manner in which they are done. Thus dealing with the construction of human worldviews and identities one should in general rely on the basic paradigms and meta narrations of the time that are represented in the 20th century by ideologies and schools of thoughts. Without any doubt it seems more that unrealistic to show the wide perspective and to make in-depth analysis of the whole bunch of ideas and ideological trends of the period of the time when the RAF has emerged, nevertheless it is scientifically justified to take into consideration the most crucial and relevant once.

This paper is dealing in the first place with four major ideological trends that could possibly be attributed as decisive for the formation and the appearance of the Baader – Meinhof group. All the four could be labeled as critic schools of thoughts with general revolutionary pathos. The scope and set of ideas and names chosen for analysis in this research can be factually justified attributing to

the list of literature¹⁸ that the RAF members were possessing during their last imprisonment in the Stammheim¹⁹. The following four ideological trends could be traced through RAF members' readings and writings: Marxism – Leninism, Neo-Marxism, Revolutionary ideas of the Third World and ideological trends connected with the French May of the 1968 events.

Marxism – Leninism

The Marx and Engels literary and ideological heritage can be determined as the most general ground for what nowadays is identified as leftists thoughts. Despite the fact that their ideas were of temporally nature as they presented it and were connected with special type of production and class formation they were and are still forming the basis for critical and revolutionary discourse. The ideas of class struggle, alienation, creation of new type of society and political system and the strategy of revolution are the standpoints of the majority of the latter leftists' schools of thoughts as well as political implementation tactics. The 'practical' nature of Marxism was and is a point for attraction for the very many direct action groups and revolutionary units.

The Marx and Engels philosophic heritage was the object of a special interest among the West German students in 1960s. Students were gathering in groups to read and to analyze Marxist writings. There was a clear revival of interest to the ideas that were proposed by Marx and Engels a century ago.

In the Manifest of Communist Party (1848) Marx and Engels putting that "...suppressing and suppressed were in the constant antagonism towards each other, were combating permanent sometimes opened, sometimes hidden

¹⁸This list of literature can be found in the internet - <http://labourhistory.net/raf/stammheimbibliothek.php>

¹⁹ Stammheim is a [prison](#) in [Stuttgart, Germany](#) that was built as a high security prison between [1959](#) and [1963](#) and taken into operation in [1964](#). Stammheim Prison became famous when it housed the leading members of the [Red Army Fraction terrorist](#) group during their trials, as well as the courthouse in which they were tried. The section in which the terrorists were kept was specially built in [1975](#) and at the time recognized as one of the most secure prison blocks in the world (the material is taken from Wikipedia)

struggle, that always resulted in the rearrangement of the social construction and the destruction of all of struggling classes” has shown the logic of all historical changes and the ways of future transformations. The contemporary for them formation represented by the power of bourgeoisie was marked by the lack of humanistic values and growing worship of profit. Moreover the bourgeoisie of European countries was imposing its way of production, norms and values to the whole world. The bourgeois formation created the conditions when the majority of population, so-called proletariat, became the “appendage of machine”. As proletariat does not have anything in their own possession they are destined to destroy the system of bourgeois exploitation and create the new previously nonexistent type of political system via socialism to communism. “Laws, moral, religion is only the bourgeois prejudices that are hiding the bourgeois interests” (Marx and Engels 1848). Thus the main point of oncoming revolution was the destruction of the private property. The important point of Marx ideas was the emancipation from the norms and values of bourgeois society they were incorporated in the people conscious by system of education, law and work relations. On the level of states and nations communism presupposed the end of exploitation and rivalry inside the nations and between them. Finally, the only possible way of transformation from one formation to other one was pointed as revolutionary uprising.

The next step in the development of Marxist ideas especially in the sense of revolutionary activity was represented by the Lenin’s ideological writings. Lenin presented his own interpretation of revolutionary materialism that was formed under the consequences of Russian revolutions of that time. The peculiarity of Lenin’s ideas was connected with the practical implementation of philosophic system into reality. For this reasons the writings of Lenin are not appraised by the theorists, but mostly by practical men of politics. Although Lenin has not created full – fledged philosophical system or theory his ideas were very popular among politicians and historical figures.

Lenin in his work of 1917 *The Doctrine of Marxism about the State and the Goals of Proletariat in Revolution* makes an emphasis on the unacceptable

nature of bourgeois democratic republic to the act of revolution and power system transformation. He points out that the so-called democratic system of elections is the tool for bourgeois domination. In the democratic republic Lenin distinguish freedom of choice limited by capitalistic exploitation, i.e. it is democracy of few that have money and power. From his perspective only the proletariat dictatorship, the period of transition towards communism, can provide the democracy for the majority of population with the requisite of the minority of exploiter's suppression. Lenin is constantly repeating that: "the bourgeois state can be 'destroyed' only by revolution" (ibid) and that the violence is the tool to end up with the previous political formation in order to create the new one. He is arguing that the compromise with the old power system is not suitable strategy, that the goal of proletariat is not to improve the existing political situation, but destroy it totally. Lenin comes out with the critique of any kind of opportunism. He agrees with Engels' idea that the revolution is one of the most authoritarian phenomena. From his part Lenin added the necessity of "rivers of blood" for the realization of revolution.

In his famous *Advice to an Outsider* (1917) Lenin gives characteristic to the armed revolt as "a specific type of political struggle" with its own rules. These 'advices' can be putted as: while starting the revolt to be prepared to go to the very end; the ability to gather the numeral superiority of supporters at the decisive moment; to be at attack, but not in defense; to have the moral superiority by the everyday small victories; to catch the enemy unawares. Latter all these items will become the postulates of revolution in praxis. The activity of RAF in their longing to the revolution was an example of these 'advices' implementation. Not surprisingly Lenin was one of the favorite figures among the RAF activists, whom they were citing in their political writings and on whose authority they were relying on.

The other interpretation of Marx ideas can be attributed to the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci. Being particularly interested in the multidimensional expressions of history and culture, Gramsci is enriching the Marxist ideology in a certain ways. He pays a special attention to the question of relationships

between working class and intelligentsia. In his Prison Notes he writes: “The common people representative ‘feels’, but not always understands or knows; the representative of intelligentsia ‘knows’, but not always understands and especially ‘feels’ ”. In this respect the task of intellectual in order to be helpful to revolution is to try to understand, to “feel”. That way intellectual is to overcome the gap that separated him or her from proletariat and peasantry. This idea was the consequence of the position of Gramsci towards the role of culture and spiritual development in historical process. From his perspective culture has a great potential and serves as the driving force of historical development. That is why intelligentsia that is by its origin connected with cultural process and education should play an important role in the act of revolution.

One of the crucial for our research points in philosophical writings of Gramsci was the issue of philosophy of praxis. The writer defines Marxism as the science and action at the same time – “the transition from utopia to science and from science to action” (ibid). Gramsci depicts the common ‘circle’ of philosophy, politics and economy that can not be considered separately. Thus philosopher tries to expose the concept of superstructure as more momentous fact than it was perceived before by all Marxists.

The ideas of Georg Lukasz as one of the most outstanding followers of Marxism played an important role in the interpretation of Marx ideology. One of the issues of Lukasz theory that could be relevant for our discussion of ideological background of RAF emergence can be the question of legality and illegality. In his book History and Class Consciousness Lukasz has an article dedicated to the problem that is titled Legality and Illegality. First of all in the introduction the author is trying to clear up the common prejudice about the tactics of illegal revolutionary struggle. While he assumes that the typical sign of opportunism in political struggle is keeping up with legality at any rate, Lukasz denies the fact that the position of illegality is the integral part of any truly revolutionary activity. He defines the romanticisms of illegality as the ‘child disease of communistic movement’. Nevertheless illegal tactics and the use of violence can be real tools of any revolutionary activity, but this illegality should be

understood in the certain way. The truly revolutionary illegality is not the romantic and heroic acts of braking the law, but the way by which the system of bourgeois law is undermined and destroyed. The bourgeois law should not be regarded as natural set of norms, but as the system of oppression created by the class in power. In this respect the tactics of illegality is the tool of great importance for the revolutionary purposes. As the acts of braking the law inspires the situation when the official power is forced to use the oppression apparatus, while this kind of activity creates the atmosphere of distrust from the general population to the system of power. The attitude of the people towards the power structure can be changed thus by the illegal activity of revolutionaries that it one if the main purposes of social revolution. Thought the revolutionary activists should take into consideration the fact that the general public can be frightened and psychologically oppressed when regarding their basic norms and values being undermined and destroyed. So the issue of legality and illegality becomes the problem of tactics in each concrete situation. As Lukasz puts it: “The simultaneous use of legal and illegal tools is the matter of necessity, because due to this it is possible to unmask the legal system as apparatus of brutal violence, capitalistic suppression...”(ibid). So one of the main purposes of revolution in this respect is to force the government of the country to break its own law order. This at the same time will distinguish all the party traitors who will speak about illegal activity as the breaking the law, but not as standing out of the existing law action. Lukasz finishes his article with piece of advice to European comrades: “To achieve the realization of its historic mission, the legitimacy of its power, it (proletariat) should learn to understand the purely tactical character of legality and illegality, repulse both the cretinism of legality and romantics of illegality” (ibid).

Neo – Marxism

Though the ideas of Marx and Engels and their classical interpretations were still popular and topical during the years presiding and following the events of the

1968, they were subjected to revision in accordance with a new socio political situation in the world. First of all it was the result of Fascist and Stalinist social projects, new division of the world power, new type of capitalism, appearance of new cultural discourses and practices. The dogmatic nature of classical Marxism did not meet all the conditions of that period of historical development. In the situation of the ruling ideas of consumerism, new type of imperialism, growing power of media the ideas of classical Marxism were put under question in several aspects.

The newly revised version of Marx' ideas was an attempt to combine ideas of class struggle, criticism of existing societal norms and practices with methodology of Psychoanalysis and pathos of Philosophy of Live. Proletariat due to its new conditions of existence was 'defrocked' of the role of the driving force for desirable change. The new heroes of struggle with the existing matter of facts were new marginals and outsiders – young people of Capitalistic World and the peoples of the Third World. One of the most outstanding representatives of the Neo- Marxism was the Frankfurt school. The names of Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Benjamin, Fromm were the signs of new type of socio cultural thinking, philosophy and praxis during the period from 40^{ies} till 70^{ies}.

Adorno's and Horkheimer's Dialectic of Enlightenment became the model of critic perception of the Project of the European Modernity. Taking as the starting point the atrocities of Fascist regime the authors go as far as declaring the collapse of reason with its attribution to the historical progress and ideas of constant development. The scientist paradigm of European Modernity has resulted in the situation of total domination: the domination of man over nature and the domination of man over man. The Enlightenment project, from their perspective, has resulted in deplorable dehumanization of modern 'civilized' society, in the process of insuperable alienation.

The authors of Frankfurt school have introduced the notion of *authoritarian person*. Basically they were interested in the psychological portrait of the person who was and is the potential adept of Fascist or other type of totalitarian ideology. Adorno has shown such a person as xenophobic, cynical, inclined to

violence, conformist. The problem was that authoritarian person is rather widespread phenomena in the Capitalistic World of today. Thus the potential threat of totalitarian regime was still possible even after the dreadful experience of Fascist project. That means that the modern society claiming for its civilized status and constant progress was the place that needs changes in the all spheres of human life, new ideas and ideals.

Herbert Marcuse the one of Frankfurt school representative who was taken by the student and new left movement's activists as an icon figure for the 1968 events²⁰ presented the notion of *one-dimensional man* as the symbol of modern civilization. The developed industrial society of our era is one-dimensional by its nature: in the economic sphere every thing is based on the profit motivation, economic rationality and consumerism, in politics – conformity, uniformity, manipulations, in culture – commercialization, the lack of spiritual and moral principles. Thus the newly emerged *one-dimensional man* is he result and at the same time the condition of this kind of society. As the majority of modern population can find features of *one-dimensional man* we are in the power of different individual complexes and mass psychos. The conformist type of behavior that is imposed by the modern civilization is oppressing the real nature of man, creating the colorless projection of sameness.

Being engaged in the student's movement ideology formation Marcuse in July 1967 has delivered a lecture at the Free University of West Berlin under the title *The Problem of Violence and the Radical Opposition*. In this lecture Marcuse has defined the position of the New Left movement that is created by the student and intellectuals as outsiders of the new production order. The target for opposing power in this situation is "a democratic, effectively functioning society that at least under the normal circumstances does not operate with terror" (ibid). Thus the opposition is in confrontation with majority, their norms and values, way of life, with their comfort and conformism. In this situation it is not fruitful to resist within the norms of existing society, the tactics is to go by the way of civil disobedience, "the idea that there is a right or law higher than positive law..." (ibid). This goes in

²⁰ The Paris students during the acts of protest in May 1968 were bringing the posters with three big M, that meant "Marx, Mao, Marcuse".

line with the concept of 'structural violence' proposed by Johan Galtung. Marcuse distinguishes two types of violence: the one of the established system and the violence of resistance and liberation. So the lecture refers to the concept of political violence as the matter of tactics. From the spectrum of existing opposition the only one engaged in the real revolutionary struggle are the one that are acting in the developing countries as national liberation fronts. The European revolutionary potential is on the moment at the preparation stage for "the possible crisis of the system". What is more the modern capitalist system of oppression can not be invulnerable due to the contradictions inherent to its nature.

The distinguishing feature of Frankfurt School theoreticians was the combination of ideas of Marxism and Freudism with an emphasis on the critical moments of both. Nevertheless each thinker of Critical Philosophy has his own interpretation of classical ideas; and while Marx concepts were understood and revised in relatively same manner, the ideas of Freud were the point for discussions and contradictions. Thus as mostly absorbed by the theory of Psychoanalysis Erich Fromm was standing on the special positions towards ideas of subconscious, complex, suppression, etc. The author of *To Be or to Have*, *The Anatomy of Human Destructivity*, *The Art of Love* and other books and articles introduces the notion of *social character*, the defensive mechanism of human psychic in response to frustrating situation of social milieu that does not give a person an opportunity for self realization. The *social character* is created by the system of education, religion, institutions of culture and family. The mechanism of *social character* imposing and regulation by the authoritative power structures leads to existential dichotomy, the dichotomy between the limited time of person's life and disability to realize all the mutual potential of personality. The idea behind this dichotomy is to understand the limited possibilities of human life period, thus overcoming the fear of the physical death and to try to realize oneself at the ongoing moment of time without hope for the future prospects.

In order to understand emergence and nature of Fascism Fromm proposes the concept of *social necrophilia*, the type of human character that is inclined towards destruction and death. In *The Anatomy of Human Destructivity* Fromm makes an analysis of types of character and behavior of Hitler and his associates and Stalin. He distinguishes in all of them hidden or visible tendencies for death and destruction, different combinations of sadistic or masochistic nature, prevailing rule of *Tonatos*, not *Eros*. Despite the few leaders of Fascism and any kind of Totalitarianism there is also so-called psychology of mass fascism. The representative of mass fascist psychology is sadomasochist by nature that due to the mechanism of *transfer* puts the inner aggression outside.

In *The Flight from Freedom* Fromm examines the phenomenon of conformism. The author speaks about the *person- automaton* as the result of the modern type of capitalism based on consumption praxis. This kind of people prefer to obey, not to think and decide for themselves, to perform easy and monotonous work, not to be set apart from the other. In the dilemma of *to be or to have* they prefer to consume. The kind of modern society is perceived by Fromm as defective and repressive. Any person who claim for ones own ideas, who prefer the modus of existence, but not appropriation, who behaves and looks as the Other, who disobey the existing, implemented form above norms, values and practices and tries to create once own drops out of the System of suppression.

In this way the ideas of Neo- Marxist were influencing the ideological foundations of the RAF. One of the important issues for the Baader-Meinhof group formation was the idea that Fascism still exist within the modern society and that it should be overcome by the rejection of the old bourgeois values and norms and implementation of the new type of consciousness and practice. The criticism of the Capitalist system and its superficial democracy is a theoretical ground for the formation of new type of social relations, new tactics of resistance in the cultural and political sphere.

Revolutionary Ideas of the Third World

Along with pure theoretical philosophical and sociological ideas of the time there were tendencies to translate the critical and even revolutionary thought into praxis. Thus according to the feeling of *direct action* necessity appeared several writings that were balancing between the critical concepts of modern society and concrete advices and strategies of fighting and destruction of oppression of capitalistic – colonialist system. While the critic thinkers of bourgeois world of Europe and United States were reviling contradictions and injustices of existing power system, their colleagues from the Third World were proposing the ways of this system destruction. Without any doubt the last were heard and accepted by the theoreticians of developed countries and what is more they were given the messianic role of civilization salvation.

Frantz Fanon was one of the leaders and icons of ideology and movement of decolonization. The combination of philosophy, sociology, cultural studies, psychology with revolutionary ideas and concepts of decolonization has made his ideas popular both in theoretic and practices camps. His works *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and mostly *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) as well as his participation in the Algerian FLN²¹ have helped him to become the leading anti-colonial thinker of the 20th century. Substantiating the necessity of the radical forms of political and revolutionary struggle for national liberation of suppressed people of the Third World, he influenced greatly the New Left and set of left radical movements of Europe and the USA.

From Fanon's perspective the situation of colonization is dangerous and frustrating for the both camps, suppressed and suppressers as there is no natural truth from the very beginning, as the role dictates that everything is "good as it is bad for the others". Thus decolonization can happen only in the way of

²¹ FLN (Front de Liberation Nationale) is a [socialist, political party](#) in [Algeria](#). It was founded on November 1954 as a merger of other smaller groups that were struggling to obtain [independence](#) for Algeria from France domination. The FLN's [ideology](#) was primarily Algerian nationalist.

total negation by the “program of absolute disorder” that is realized through the constant riposte violence. In the beginning of his scientific career Fanon presented the violence as the way of subverting the European culture form the nature of indigenous population, but later he perceived it as the armed struggle and political resistance. The core features of violence according Fanon are radicalism, lack of compromise and totality. In the struggle for liberation violence destroys and creates at the same time, its aim leis in obtaining its own self. The self realization of the man can be found only in the situation of risk and struggle, thus violence is becoming the source of catharsis.

Along with substantiation of violence Fanon proposes the new model of cultural and social development. Standing on the positions of European culture crisis philosopher suggests the liberation of spirit in the search for own mutual world. The gap with the previous system of norms, previous cultural experience, destruction of the notion of ‘Negro’ as the concept will lead to changes in culture and society. The future change is crucial not only for the colonized countries, but for the culture of Europe as well. The human kind feels the need for the new type of live, cognition and man.

The Brazilian guerrilla revolutionary and Marxist writer, the member of the Communist Party of Brazil and one of the leaders of ALN²², Carlos Marighella, have greatly influenced modern ideological activism. His famous writing the Mini-manual of the Urban Guerrilla (1969) has become the handbook of left radicals of the second part of the 20th century. As the active participant of Brazilian liberation movement, as the soldier and ideological leader of revolution, Carlos Marighella was an important figure for the left radicals all over the world. After he was expelled from the Communist Party for his criticism of reformist policies, Marighella started fighting military dictatorship of Brazil state via terrorist activity. Marighella became the apologist of the urban guerrilla warfare.

²² ALN was one of the two most important urban guerrilla movements of Brazil along with the VPR (People's Revolutionary Vanguard). The ALN, which was to reach a maximum strength of 200 members, was formed by Communist organizer Carlos Marighella in February 1968 after he was thrown out of the Party in August 1967. The first members of the ALN were radical students, intellectuals, and a few professional Communists who had followed Marighella. Throughout 1968 and 1969 these groups carried off a series of "expropriations," bombing attacks on army barracks and the offices of US companies, and selective assassination of members of the security forces. (the information is taken from Wikipedia)

In 'Mini- manual' Marighella gives the definition of urban guerrilla that later on became classical: "The urban guerrilla, however, differs radically from the outlaw. The out law benefits personally from the action, and attacks indiscriminately without distinguishing between the exploited and the exploiters, which is why there are so many ordinary man and women among his victims. The urban guerrilla follows a political goal and only attacks the government, the big capitalists, and the foreign imperialists, particularly North Americans". The tactics of urban guerrilla contains constant attacks on the representatives of repressive power in order to demoralize them and put on surface the oppressive and violent nature of state authority. The superiority of urban guerrilla in comparison with state military forces lies in the support of population and moral status of fighter for liberation.

Generally Mini-manual of the Urban Guerrilla is dedicated to different tactical and strategic aspects of urban guerrilla warfare. Marighella depicts the personal qualities of the urban guerrilla, his or her technical preparation, logistics of guerrilla warfare, the initial advantages of the urban guerrilla, types and nature of actions for the urban guerrilla, even "the seven sins of urban guerrilla". Summing up Marighella writes: "Attacking wholeheartedly this election farce and the so-called 'political solution' so appealing to opportunists, the urban guerrilla must become more aggressive and violent, resorting without letup to sabotage, terrorism, expropriations, assaults, kidnappings, executions, etc. " (Marighella, 1969).

The ideological leader of the urban guerrillas defines the social basic of groups for engagement in the revolutionary struggle as workers and peasants, students, intellectuals and priests. For this research it is important what role is played by the intellectuals in the process of revolutionary struggle. In Mini-manual of the Urban Guerrilla it is put like this: "The intellectuals constitute the vanguard of resistance to arbitrary acts, social injustice, and the terrible inhumanity of the dictatorship of the gorillas. They spread the revolutionary call and they have great influence on people,"(Marighella, 1969).

For the RAF members the ideas of Third World liberation movements were particularly inspiring. As it was stated before (See the part dedicated to International Political Setting of the RAF Emergence) they were identifying themselves with the suppressed people of the Post-Colonial countries and were supporters of the urban guerrilla tactics in practice. The ideological position of the liberation movement of the Third World as well as their tactic standing were the master copy for the RAF own activity and position.

Ideological Trends Connected with the French May of the 1968 Events

The events of the year 1968 and especially of so-called French May Revolution were crucial for the following course of European opposition and left radical movement as it was mentioned before. The ideological standings of those events were destined to become the ground for the ideas of New Left, radical left and revolutionary and liberation movements. As the May 1968 was mainly the product of French thought of that period it is not without reason to try to look in more details to the philosophical and ideological trends that were underlying the historical events. Though the spiritual and philosophical life of French opposition was manifold and wide concerning the range of ideas, this paper will focus on three major trends: Existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre, Structuralism of Michel Foucault and Situationism of Guy Debord.

Michel Foucault as one of the leaders of French May 1968 not only as an ideologist, but as a first – hand participant of the events has created a number of writings vividly criticizing the reality of the modern capitalistic world. Along with his major books dedicated to discourse formation practices and the notion of discourse itself Foucault has written series of political articles about the role of intellectuals within the discourse of power. Several of these articles were published in three volume book *The Intellectuals and the Power* (2002). For the reasons of validity this paper is taking into consideration those articles and interviews made in the beginning of 1970th.

In the interview about people's justice (Foucault 2002) Foucault advocates the struggle against state apparatus of justice. He defines the last as the mechanism of suppression and implementation of bourgeois morals. This state apparatus controls the people's understandings of such categories as legality and illegality, crime and punishment. Foucault suggests the replacement of existing juridical bourgeois norms and processes by the new type of justice coming from people with the gradual disappearance of the institution itself. At some point Foucault also advocates the guerrilla activities against the system of state justices as the intermediate process of fighting the system before its collapse.

In his conversation with Deleuze²³ that took place in March 1972 Foucault speaks about the role of intellectuals and their attitude towards power and the special position of intellectual after the events of May 1968. The philosopher claims that in the present situation masses do not need intellectuals as knowledge providers, "and now the role of intellectual is not about stepping forward or a bit aside to speak up the silent truth, but on the contrary, about fighting all kinds of power, where he represents himself both as the object, and the tool: in the very order of 'knowledge', 'truth', 'consciousness', 'discourse' (Foucault 2002, p. 69). In his turn Deleuze goes on confirming that in the setting of total power control intellectuals should attack, take active and preventive position, when the hardest but the most important task is to make connections with people's on the bottom of society.

One of the inspirers and 'ideological' leaders of the French May was Guy – Ernst Debord, the founder and theorists of Situationist International²⁴. In 1967 Debord has published his most famous work *The Society of Spectacle* that was aimed at criticizing the modern capitalism, the power of the mass media and

²³Gilles Deleuze was a [French philosopher](#) of the late 20th century. His most popular books were the two volumes of [Capitalism and Schizophrenia: Anti-Oedipus](#) (1972) and [A Thousand Plateaus](#) (1980), both co-written with [Félix Guattari](#). Deleuze, following Marx, welcomes capitalism's destruction of traditional social hierarchies as liberating, but inveighs against its homogenization of all values to the aims of the market.

²⁴SI – Situationism is a political and cultural current of the Western Marxism that appeared in 1957 as one of the trends of Maoism. This current became especially prominent during the French May of 1968. The founding fathers of Situationism were proposing the revolution of minds. The audience was mostly consisting of young intellectuals. Their main document, Situationist International, was calling to direct action tactics within the opposition to the Capitalist regime.

industry of entertainment in the life of modern society as well as state capitalism of the USSR and China. While a huge amount of Situationist ideas were taken by the student rebellions of the May 1968, Guy Debord and his colleagues were not really active and enthusiastic about the ongoing events. Lately reflecting about the May 1968 Debord stated that the society of spectacle has turned the uprising against it in the spectacle.

The main point of Debord's book *The Society of Spectacle* is that the life of modern people has nothing to do with first-hand experience, but it is a mass of performance. Spectacle is a model of life, type of attitude and way of behavior in the modern world. "The form and the content of performance constitutes the total justification of conditions and objects of existing system"(Debord 1967). That means that spectacle in the conditions of developed capitalism is the bases for the modern mode of production as well as the ultimate goal of the production itself. The existing relationships in the spectacle society are based on mutual alienation and passive receiving. The modern society in its way from being to having (Fromm E. *To Have or to Be*) goes now even further- from having to seeming (Debord). The state mechanisms are directed to enforce division and alienation within society in order to obtain total control and domination. The economic model of dominance is based on the total nature of goods and services. In the situation of "humanism of production" the worker is treated with the proper to the consumer attitude.

Along with modern society Debord is criticizing the Marxism' and Anarchism' ideas for the compromise in the face of Capitalism and its ways of production and reproduction of society. The present in the beginning of the 20th century worker's revolutionary movement was annihilated by the Stalin's bureaucracy and Fascist totalitarianism. Thus got into the trap of the mode of capitalist production proletariat has become the force that is granting and enriching the system, but there is still the hope for the change. "When the anti union struggle of the western worker is suppressed, first of all by the unions themselves and when the rebelling youth movements are entering their first and still not well formed protest that nevertheless contains the rejection of the old specialized politics, art and ordinary

life, these become the two new features of new spontaneous struggle that started under the new image of *criminal*.” (Debord, 1967). The revolutionary organization from Debord’s point of view should reject and deny all the foundations and practices of existing system in order to have chance to resist it. Debord concludes his book with the proclamation that “to get ride of the material basis of the reverted truth is a core of self –liberation of our epoch”.

The name that could not help mentioning while speaking about the French May is the name of J. P. Sartre. Thought the figure of this philosopher could not be reduced to the revolutionary or critical thought, the general pathos of his philosophy was one of the determining in the spiritual portrait of the time period. While Sartre supported student’s rebels he was pointing the nature of responsibility and humanism lying behind any kind of struggle. At the same time the youth itself was mostly fascinated by the anarchical and all-denying nature of the protest.

In his article Existentialism is a Humanism, written in the year 1946, Sartre claims that the core of his philosophy lies in the full responsibility of man for his existence. The anxiety the Existentialism defined as a constant predicate of a person is connected with the direct responsibility for the others and longing for the deed. The man is forming his or her personality by own style of life and way of acting. The reality exists only in actions, “the man exists as he accomplishing himself”. Thus the general gist of Sartre’s ideas is to take one’s own life in one’s own hands and to be proactive and responsible for own actions in the face of all humankind.

The general pathos of the ideological standing of the French May 1968 corresponds in the majority of aspects with the ideas of the RAF formation. The desire for change, the feeling of the ‘right’ moment and the potential of intellectuals in the revolutionary struggle are the common places for both French thinkers and West German radical leftists. At the same time done to the wide experience of the spring 1968 revolts has pushed the Baader-Meinhof group to the extremes of the terrorist activity.

Concluding Remarks on The *Roten Army Fraction* Emergence

So to sum up the thought of the epoch, the theories that were popular and claimed, the ideas that were the driving force for speeches and deeds, the ideologies behind the historical events and political movements had general pathos of criticism of modern society and revolutionary impulse for the change. If one is to make abstract and general conclusion about the mode and way of thinking on the juncture of the 60th and 70th in Europe and the USA it can be presented as critic of Capitalistic system of production and formed by it society accompanied with disillusionment in Communist model of the USSR. Moreover one can speak about the Fascism past 'heritage' with the general dissatisfaction in the human nature. One the other hand, it is the striving for the struggle with the past, the desire to get ride of unfair and unbearable for the spirit conditions of society of mass consumption. What is more, it is the time for values and norms revision with the general idea of total destruction of the previous basis of live and thought. In this kind of discourse the use of violence for the purposes of radical change is justified and sometimes even claimed to be the only existing possibility. All the critical thinkers of the world were speaking about the necessity of action in the direction of praxis and ideology realization.

That is why the emergence and the actions of RAF were not surprising or incredible in such ideological conditions. If one takes into consideration the critical discourse that was existing in the end of 60th and the beginning of 70th the idea of RAF creation was in line with the ideas flying around. The Baader – Meinhof group emergence has deep roots in the ideological atmosphere of the time. It is out of question to separate RAF from the general issues, trends, understandings, value settings of so-called youth or critical or revolutionary culture of that time. The atmosphere in which the RAF members were brought up, educated, in which they were mentally plunged into has played the crucial role in the phenomenon of Baader – Mainhof group emergence.

Societal Embeddedness of the Red Army Faction Formation

Explanations range from the psychopathologies of the individual members, to the internal dynamics of the group, to the specter of Hitler returned in the RAF as his deprived children.

J. Varon, Bringing the War Home. 2004

Social milieu concepts

In order to understand the logic of the RAF formation it stands to reason to trace down, point out and analyze the social basis of the phenomenon. It means to shed light on the socio-cultural settings of the group's emergence including the investigation of the social embeddedness of individual group members. While the previous chapter was dedicated to the brief review and analysis of ideological discourse that was one of the crucial aspects for understanding the RAF emergence, this chapter will explore the aspects of social milieu, biography and individual actor motivations. Thus, we will make an attempt to shift the object of the investigation from the sphere of thought patterns to the sphere of social space. This relocation of emphasis in the current research will help to broaden the scope of explanations and will provide the enlargement of the perspectives of possible understandings. Though the present chapter's research subject is mostly connected with the social settings, social interdependence schemes and social models the explanation strategies are not reduced only to the relevant social theories.

The methodology that is chosen in this chapter is based on the principle of narrowing down the social circles that influenced the process of the Baader – Meinhof group formation. The way from the broadest phenomenon of the 1968 generation through the theory of *habitus* to the individual actor model is the strategy chosen to prevent this research from being fragmentary. The general overview of the phenomenon and concept of the German 1968 generation helps to reveal the specificity of young activists' in opposition social space and *habitus*,

while it, in its own turn, helps to outline the sphere of historic actor motivations when we are speaking about the individual biographies of the RAF members. Consequently this chapter deals with the examination of the 1968 generation as the German socio–historical project, as well as with the consideration of the New Left as specific social group that is forming its own social space and *habitus* and, moreover, with the reconstruction of biographies of three RAF ‘founding - fathers’.

The 1968 Generation Perspective

To start with the definition of the so-called 1968 generation most plainly means to name those who were born between 1938 and 1948²⁵. One more definition of this generation stratum is *the children of the war* those whose childhood occurred during the World War 2 and who on account of their young age were not taking active part in the military operations but were still storing in their memory some vague or clear recollections of the atmosphere of that time. A lot of them had lost family members or had to leave one city for another as a result of the war and division of Germany. Though for the whole of Europe the situation was more or less the same, for Germany, and partly Italy, there was a trace of dissatisfaction and guilt complex. In the countries that were guilty of unleashing the war and the war time atrocities, the children of the war generation occupy their rather specific position, their own understanding of the past and their own role in the present.

Nevertheless, the German 1968 generation could not be examined separately from the overall situation in the world, as the generation of 1968 is, without doubt, not a uniquely German phenomenon. The general atmosphere of the world’s year 1968 events can be observed in the two major trends of the so-called civilized world that are defined as the Eastern year 1968 and the year 1968 in the West. While the first visible signs of the youth political rebellion in the Western

²⁵ This definition is taken from Heize Bude *The German Kriegskinder: origins and impact of the generation of 1968.* in Hanna Schlisser *The Miracle Years: a Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968.*

world were emerging in the USA, in Europe it was Poland which showed the signs of disobedience and dissatisfaction with the existing legitimate political discourse. While in the West the young protesters were feeling fed up with the consumer society and fake mask of democracy, their comrades in the Eastern Block were urging for more democracy and freedom of expression. While the stronghold of the Western 1968 was Paris, in the East it was Prague. The events in both cities were unique in their own way and at the same time they both have shown the aspiration and hopes of their societies and society they were symbolically representing as the lack of possibility and potential to resist the established power order in both blocks. As the famous Czech writer Milan Kundera puts it: "Paris's May 68 was an explosion of revolutionary lyricism. The Prague Spring was the explosion of post- revolutionary skepticism."²⁶

As the Germany of that time period was divided into two parts it is out of question that both these countries were absorbed by their own type of struggle with their own goals and hopes. For the East Germans the events that were happening in Prague, with their courage and great potential were even more important than the events that took place in the Germany itself²⁷. At the same time, the West German rebels were fascinated by the figures and events in the USA and France. However, after all, the two major rebel trends have in common something essential. The crucial core feature of the events of the year 1968, despite the differences between countries and political formations they were taking place was the spirit of novelty, the desire to get ride of the old-fashioned and rotten order of the system that did not correspond to the reality, alternative way of thinking and acting and, of course, the power and the spirit of the young generation.

The Phenomenon of 1968 Generation in the World Settings

For the comparatively considerable part of the researchers or persons reflecting on the events of the year 1968, the revolution that was not destined to take place in politics took place in people's minds and behavior. Though the

²⁶ Milan Kundera Preface to *The Achievement of Josef Skorecky*, ed. by Sam Solencki, University Toronto Press, 1987, pp. 25-35.

²⁷ See more in documentary film by Hava Beller *Burning Wall*, 2002

course and the results of the 1968 political protests provoke a great deal of debates with sometimes totally opposing findings, the fact that this epoch has created the new style of behavior, of representation, new way of thinking is undeniable. For those who are not sure or even aware of the political changes that occurred round the year 1968, the obvious changes were taking place in art and music, fashion and style, sexual relations and conventional patterns of behavior. The youth as the driving force of those changers became a model for imitation. From this time on the whole world has been captured by the cult of youth that up till now is effective in setting norms of style and behavior. The ideas of liberation that were withdrawn from political discourse by the official representatives of legitimate power were transferred to the so-called space of leisure. The potentially risky counterculture was shaped to different less 'dangerous' subcultures.

Despite the fact that not all academics, political or public figures admit the importance and decisive role of the 1968 events for future political development, the scale of these events could not be overestimated. As it is traditionally to distinguish three geopolitical spaces²⁸ where the year 1968 was marked with longing, striving or implementing of the great changes the nature of them thus could be called international. "But 1968 was global in another regard, namely, it was characterized by the committed internationalism of the movements which were indisputably multicultural in orientation and transnational in aspiration," (Watts, 2001). In this manner, it is historically justified, while speaking about the emergence of a concrete national radical group, to put into the setting the international context, the global oppositional discourse and the line of the world events. Nevertheless, interestingly, if one traces down the nature of national hybrids of tactics and ideology, the specificity of Western counter culture of political protest will to find its reflection in two major trends: the first one is revising the ideology of the Socialist block, the second- revising the strategy of the Post-colonial block.

²⁸ The Western or capitalist block, the Eastern or socialist block and the Southern or post-colonial block.

To narrow down the scope of all the events that took place during 1968, it is necessary to shift from the level of the national historical events to the level of the abstraction that represents the cause and effect schemes. “Freedom, justice and self-determination – a complete disaffection with ‘the system’, with a program of human relations...” (Watts, 2001) are attributes that can be ascribed to reasons for almost all spectacle events of the year 1968. Nietzsche-like appeal for reevaluation of the old values and norms, dissatisfaction with the past and present socio – political project demands the break away from traditions and need for innovations. This is also true for tactics of political struggle with its categorical nature. The new praxis demands the new tactics. That could be one of the attempts to explain the new type of political activity, political violence in the form of terrorism. From the 60s of the last century it became justified to talk about the new type of political terrorism, highly symbolical and spectacular. The symbolical nature, along with the aspiration for dramatic vividness and general lack of common sense and rationality, became the trade mark of European left radical terrorism of the second half of 20th century. The activity of the Baader – Meihof group could not be an exception to the rule. As Watts (2001) pointed out some results of the 1968 events: “soon enough the vitality of the student’s movements had either soured or drifted into violence and terror signaled by the Weathermen, the Red Army Faction, Front Line and the Red Brigades”. Though there is a tendency to ascribe the outburst of political violence in the West to some rather exceptional malignant trends within the protest activity, it is also possible to see the causes of leftist terrorism in the core ideas of counter culture - with its idea of illegitimate nature of the existing state.

The year 1968 with its abundance in crucial events all over the globe makes it possible to define this period as the transition stage that made an impact on the following historical development. It is especially true for the phenomenon of counter culture and alternative ways of political participation. Rendering the huge scope of political opposition examples and scenarios for the new generation of radicals the events of 1968 influenced the creation of the new possibilities and political projects for the recently emerged New Left. It seems legitimate to speak

about the spirit of 68 that to some extent gave birth to the phenomenon of RAF and the others alike.

The West German 1968 Generation

“Sixty-eight was unequivocally global and regional yet it was necessarily, and irreducibly, local too,” (Watts, 2001). Accordingly, without any doubt, the German 1968 was of a very distinctive nature. Heinz Bude in his article *The German Kriegs Kinder: Origins and Impact of the Generation of 1968*²⁹ writes: “We are forced to conclude that it was only in 1968 that the Federal Republic became a Western, liberal country”. Though this understanding of the role and importance of the year 1968 in West Germany could not be perceived as an ultimate truth, this phrase helps to estimate the amount of attention that should be paid to the events that took place at that time in the country. For all that, West German 1968 is not mentioned especially often within the discussions of political and cultural movements of protest of that epoch, the records of Berlin events could be perceived as not that dramatic and ‘picturesque’ as the events which took place in Paris or Prague, all that was going on in Germany round 1968 is worthy of rapt attention.

According to the Michael Metes (2008) point of view “from the German perspective, the numbers combination ‘1968’ symbolizes the period between the June of 1967, when in West Berlin at the demonstration organized against the Shah of Iran arrival policemen shot down the student Benno Ohnesorg, and the October of 1969 when Willy Brandt who was the first social democratic chancellor during the history of the Federal Republic of Germany in his speech to the government articulated the following winged words: “We by no means have arrived at the end of our democracy but we have grounded its proper beginning”³⁰.

It could be useful for understanding of the specificity of the German 1968 that was most of all famous for its student’ movement within the anti –war context, to look into the most important events of the decade that could be interpreted as the

²⁹ Published in the book *The Miracle Years: a Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968* (2000) ed. by Hanna Schisser, 2000

³⁰ Translated from Мертец М. 1968-й как миф.// Неприкосновенный Запас.

prerequisites or results of the oppositional youth actions. In this way, the 1958 emergence of the anti-nuclear movement could be seen as the starting point. In 1960 the minister of cultural affairs of *FRG* took a decision to pay more attention to the period of Nazism in Germany in the school course of history. The year 1961 is commemorated in the history as the time of construction of the Berlin Wall. In June 1962 the public disorders provoked by the young man took place in the Munich region with the active involvement of police forces. In fact it was the end of Adenauer rule in 1963. The year 1964 can be interesting for the foundation of extreme right party - the National Democratic Party of Germany. In 1965 the sentence was passed on the chief warders of the concentration camp Auschwitz. The year 1966 was marked by the protest activity against the State of Emergency Act and war in Vietnam, while at the end of the year Rudi Dutschke urged for the extra-parliamentary opposition formation. The first of January 1967 is the date of the Commune 1 foundation in West Berlin. The most sticking event of 1967 was the killing of Benno Ohnesorg. The year 1968 that was connected with the series of protest acts, including open clashes with the police, was also the year of the State of Emergency Act. The year 1969 was marked by the creation of the social-liberal coalition (1969-1982) that was led by Federal Counselor Willy Brandt. The year 1970 was especially remarkable for the Red Army Faction creation and the announcement made by the German Social Students Union about its self dissolution.

Despite the doubtless historical facts of the events occurred in 1968, the image of the 'decade' is a matter of perceptions and interpretations of those events. Michael Mertes in the article "1968 as a Myth" reveals two major ways of German 1968 representation practice. He calls these two traditions 'light' and 'dark' myths.

According to the 'light' myth, the year 1968 marked the end of the German authoritative traditions that were so deeply rooted in the very nature of the German population. All the events that were connected with that year lead to the liberalization of the country. The antifascist nature of the West German state was revealed and established. The German society became free, open, tolerant and

democratic. The new ideas that were connected with youth were effective for political, cultural and societal activity. The new generation managed to introduce the new values and norms that were more relevant to the modern challenges than the conservative beliefs of the previous generation. This understanding of history makes an emphasis on the emergence of the citizen initiative, grassroots movements and participatory democracy among all the other achievements of the 1968 generation.

According to the 'dark' myth, the New Left like fierce barbarians destroyed the old system of traditional West German values and virtues. The courage and high spirit of the generation that was able to reconstruct West Germany after the atrocities of World War 2 and, moreover, to make it one of the most well -off countries of the world during a couple of decades, was undermined by the young generation of good-for-nothing. The truly democratic state of West Germany was attacked by the group of youngsters who did not have any constructive ideas about how the should state function except the desire for revision and destruction. Thus, 1968 gave a way to anti-liberal sentiments and attempts at violence. For the supporters of this type of mythology the activity of the Baader-Meihof group was a clear example of all these destructive trends. Until now the argument of the Red Army Faction emergence continues to be the most glaring in the debates about the 1968 generation and their legacies within the circle of negative 1968 attitudes.

For the present research the attitudes towards the West German 1968 generation is not of such great interest as the context of this cohort formation and its distinctive features. To speak about the general setting of the 1960s in West Germany, one can mention the gradual decline of public respect for self-discipline and growing aspiration for self -expression. The values of independence and freedom of personality took the leading positions taking it from the long established German value of obedience to authority. As a result of the 'economic miracle' of the 1950s the FRG became a witness of the diffusion of individualism and hedonism.³¹

³¹ See more in Michael Mertes article 1968 as a Myth.

From the societal perspective, the generation of 1968 or the events of 1968 in West Germany was not an all-embracing category. First of all, the phenomenon of 1968 is connected with a rather narrow social group represented by students and some part of intellectuals. The hope of the students that their goals and values would become relevant to the working class and wide population of West Germans had failed. Though the events of 1968 were of outstanding and important nature they were far from being total or national.

As to define the destiny of the student' movement after the famous events along with the author of "Joschka Fisher and the Making of the Berlin Republic: An Alternative History of Postwar Germany" (Oxford University Press, 2008) one can distinguish reformists and revolutionary path of the development of the German's young protesters cohort³². Not surprisingly, the majority of the young opposition preferred the reformist way. As the major part of them were more or less satisfied with Willy Brandt's line of reforms, they participated in the official Social Democratic Party campaigns, while those with more critical attitudes towards the official policy got involved in grassroots initiatives and groups and keeping to the DIY concepts. 'Just a handful – a tiny minority of a tiny minority' (Hockenos, 2008) chose the path of armed resistance. Of course, the most prominent among those West German revolutionists were the members of the *Rote Armee Fraktion*.

Speaking about the positive and negative mythological narratives whose aim was to give the all-comprehensive picture of the epoch that can not be done with absolute neutrality of the position of the narrator. The common trend in such kind of writings is to take into consideration certain events and to pass in silence the others. In majority of cases the RAF emergence and activity were used as an illustration of the 'dark' myth. Thus, the book by Götz Aly *Unser Kampf: 1968 – ein irritierter Blick zurück* (2008) is among the brightest examples of the creation of the negative myth about the German generation 1968. In this book, the author shows the common spirit of two generations – those of 1968 and 1933. He claims that the rebellions of 1968 were simply not a very "good" followers of their

³² From Hockenos P.(2008) article in Open Democracy 2-05-2008 article The 1968 debate in Germany.

parents that were guilty of the Fascist regime establishment. The 68-ers, in his opinion, with their worshiping of Mao and lack of interest in the major trials against the Nazis, if they only had had a power would have been eager to put new Hitlers on the political stage. “Hitler’s children, Schleyer’s children, Lenin’s children, Nixon’s children, Guevara’s children: such were the labels that were explicitly or implicitly attached to the RAF during its early history” (Varon, 2004, p.200). Researches interested in the reasons of this left radical group emergence were very eager to find these reasons in the symbolic political and psychological heritage and to connect the events of the present with similar ones in the past. A bright illustration of this theory is the RAF activity and image, especially the history of the ex- RAF member Horst Mahler that nowadays is a famous neo-Nazi. The one more general example of Götz’s and others ideas can be the fact that in Italy and Germany, in the countries that were the cradles of Nazism and Fascism, the year 1968 was marked by the emergence of two famous violent extremist groups – the Red Brigades and the Red Army Faction.

Beyond any doubt the spirit of 68 be it harmful and vicious or fertile and virtuous, was one of the major factors in the formation of new legacies and values that made possible the emergence of such left radical political groups as the Weatherman, the Red Brigades and the RAF. Often called the by-products of the 1968 events these groups can not be imagined out of the context of the 60s political, cultural and social struggle and changes.

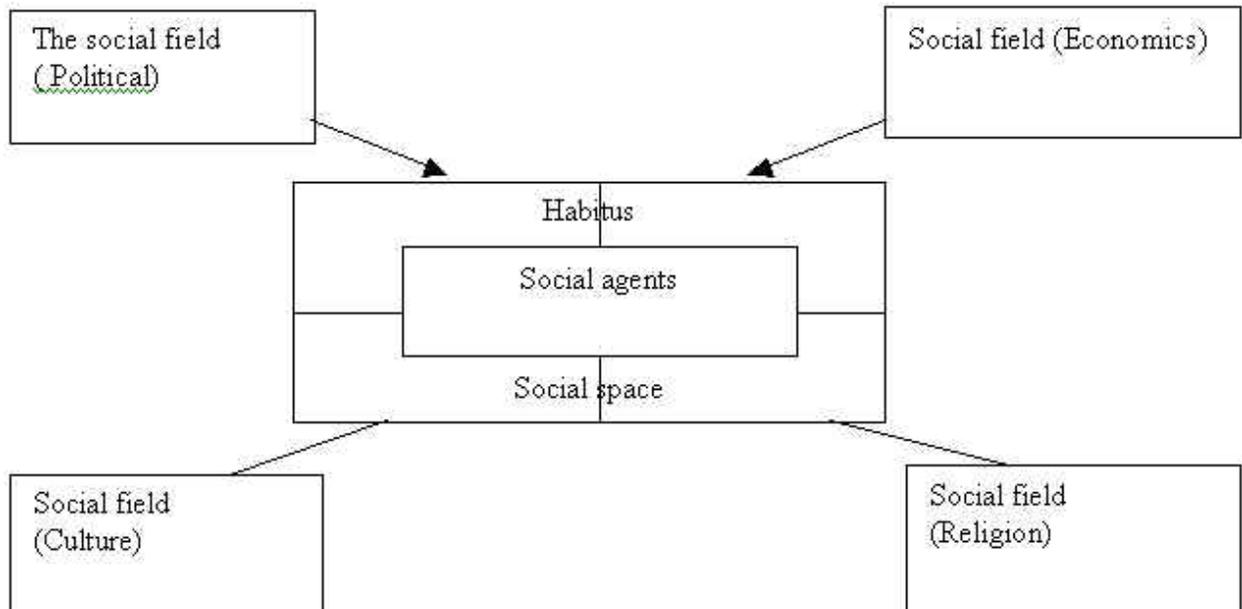
The Social Space of the RAF Emergence

The theory of Bourdieu

It could be of some analytical value to try to implement Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus*, social space and four major fields that are forming the set of possibilities for a social agent, while considering the social embeddedness of the RAF members. Though each theory has its own limitations and weak points, the idea of *habitus* that underlies any human action and provides reason and motivation for the choice of life projects and strategies is of doubtless scientific importance

for the present research. While we are making examination of the ‘middle level’ group such as social group, not the whole generation or single actor, the theory of Bourdieu could help to analyze the social milieu of the German left radicals.

Habitus is a “structuring structure” that is, in its own way is structured by the so-called fields.



First of all, it could be possible according to Bourdieu’s theory, to present the members of the RAF as social agents whose actions are determined by the *habitus* which, while being structured itself, is structuring the behavior of the agents. *Habitus* is a system of dispositions that were incorporated through the previous practices. This scheme is a model of so-called typical behavior, the one that is being officially sanctioned as appropriate within certain conditions. These models are perceived as norm. Thus the schemes of behavior incorporated by *habitus* are produced in order to eject extreme models. *Habitus* creates conformity within the typical situations and this conformity is formed by the process of socialization. *Habitus* is not a common determining structure for the whole of society. The set of positions and behavioral norms formed by the *habitus* depend on the social class. According to Bourdieu, the category of social class represents a group with the common *habitus*. This is the situation when for the representatives of one class it is more likely to face certain situations within

their class group than for the representatives of another social class. These typical situations and the way of their reflection, reaction and action is an example of the work of *habitus*.

As to take into consideration the concept of the *social space*, it could be explained as the space that is constructed as the space of meanings and models of possibilities. The *social space* in a way corresponds to the notion of social class as the 'place' of this kind of grouping. *The social space* is created as a combination of a set of *social fields* and represents the space above the physical one that, nevertheless, could structure the real dispositions of an agent within society. The *social space* that mostly deals with the sphere of abstractions is structuring the 'real' division within the society. Though the boundaries between social groups, i.e. classes, are in most cases of the 'imaginary' nature, they serve as effective guards for the homogeneity and closed character of these groups. As *habitus* simultaneously is shaped and shapes the social nature of the agent and his or her social space since childhood and especially during the incorporation of values and norms in family and educational practices it creates stable and constant division within society. However, the social world can not be define as a totally structured and stable entity, like, for example, the caste scheme of Indian society, as *habitus* is not a given model but an ongoing process of structuring.

According to Bourdieu's theory, the way to change the world lies via change in the way it is being structured. This, basically, means a change in the perception of reality and practical tactics of the construction and reconstruction of groups' formations. The power to form the ruling norms and values belongs to the group which accumulates *symbolic capital*. The amount of any type of capital possessed by the group marks the social position of the group, i.e. the degree of possibility by which it can change or maintain the norms that are perceived as the most appropriate according to the group's *habitus*.

The implementation of Bourdie's theory in analysis of the RAF formation

Now it seems possible to apply Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* and *social space* to the analysis of the Red Army Faction formation. From the perspective of sociology, it is important that the members of the Baader- Meinhof group can be

attributed to the common social group with more or less common family, education, cultural background. Also, it is noteworthy that the major part of West left radical groups were of fairly the same social space.

Firstly, the fact that should be put in the front line of the discussion of the RAF social milieu is the attribution of its members to the middle class bourgeoisie. It is one of the items of the intensive interest of the research preoccupied with left wing extreme radicals of the West in the second half of the 20th century. The situation when a political radical group is, on the one hand, represented, which means that it is formed and acts within the logic of certain social class, and, on the other hand, is struggling against this class and against its basic norms and values. The principal patterns of *habitus* and *social space* of the West German middle class strongly contradict the behavior and reasoning of the Baader–Meinhof group. If one is to give general characteristics of Western bourgeoisie of the middle of the last century, it should be said that it was the class that by its nature was a stronghold and basis of the existing power order. Virtually, the middle class was the entity that legitimized the ideology of capitalism and democracy inherent to the West German society of that time period. The very existence of bourgeoisie created the situation of stability for the System. The main attribute of the middle class was its moderateness and conformity without any hint of extremity. Representatives of the middle class were in their majority destined to ‘normal’ life and were the most unlikely candidates for marginalization. The deviant behavior of the Red Army Faction members was even more astonishing if one defines them as ‘typical’ representatives of the bourgeois social space. According to Bourdieu’s logic of *habitus*, Meinhof, Baader and the others as representatives of the middle class should present and represent the set of values inherent to their social space, while in reality these people not only broke up with their social milieu but put its existence into question.

The issue of the RAF members’ educational background could be a rather interesting thing to examine. Generally all of the Baader- Meinhof group, with the exception of Andreas Baader himself (this special case will be considered later

on), as well as the majority of big part of the Western left radical groups of the middle of the 20th century were very well educated. In most cases, they were pupils and students that had an opportunity for making brilliant career and were demonstrating clearly outstanding cognitive abilities³³. From the perspective of Bourdieu's theory, they, due to their effective participation in the educational process should have been well incorporated into the structures of their social space. Even if one leaves behind the logics of the *habitus* formation, it is clear that the system of education as one of the main agents of socialization and formation of an individual is to create conformity and continuity of social space and practices. What is more, the relatively high level of education of the members of the radical group created the situation in which with such a degree of the cultural and symbolic capital, the future legal political career of these young people could be defined as rather promising. Despite this fact they preferred to expel the possibility of 'normal' and 'traditional' practice of political participation and went the way of deviation from the norm.

If one takes into consideration the case of Andreas Baader 'educational history and mental outfit' from the first glance it stands apart from the line of 'typically' well educated and mentally gifted members of the RAF. Being perceived at school as a not stupid but lazy and naughty boy, and seeing no reason in future higher education, Baader, nevertheless, obtained a remarkable cultural and symbolic capital through some other types of practices. Being involved in the life of the so-called bohemian circle of West Berlin, not even by virtue of artistic activity but by the style of life, his symbolic capital was tremendously enriched by the conventional attitude of veneration on the part of bourgeoisie towards the sphere of art.

The common high spiritual 'capital' can also be an interesting feature that characterizes the members of the RAF. The attitude of Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin, for example, to religion and even their desire to serve God in their childhood and adolescence lies within the framework of Bourdieu's theory. Christian dogmas and respect for high moral values are typical features of the

³³ These information was taken from the pieces of the RAF member's biographies represented in different sources, for example Stefan Aust *Der Baader- Meinhof Komplex*, Richard Huffman *The Gun Speaks* and the others.

Western middle class. In that way such extreme rupture that occurred later when these young people formed the Red Army Fraction can still be an enigma. Brought up in Christian families or plainly speaking within the framework of the Western cultural norms based on Christianity the way members of the RAF were acting bore by far more semblance to pagan believes, with the ideas of revenge and the cleansing nature of bloody sacrifice.

To speak about the political positions of the future RAF members, all of them were in line with the 'normal' position of young bourgeoisie representatives – participatory democracy, liberalism, pacifism. The only feature that was not that typical for the majority of the young well-educated middle class was their active, not passive stand. But this could be said about the whole generation of the 1968, as was previously argued. Thus the point of interest in this case is that at the moment of the Baader- Meinhof group formation they changed dramatically as they radicalized their political views and were criminalized by the West German state and this was that point that separated them from the typical representatives of the 1968 generation and that contradicts Bourdieu' s theory.

The last thing that is worthy of mentioning is the economic position or capital of the RAF members. Being generally well off people with the prospect for future financial stability and comfortable life in a conventional way, they preferred to occupy an extremely marginal position. Not speaking about the fact that part of them had children, which from the position of 'common sense' or tradition should be a huge obstacle on the way of political participation they chose.

Thus, having taken into account all these facts, the well based and profound theory of *habitus* can not give proper explanation to the phenomenon of the RAF emergence. If one is to follow the logic of Bourdieu's ideas, it is hard to explain not the fact that young men decided to struggle for better world, for being instance that is legitimate to set the rules of the game or for implementing new practice, but to explain the way they chose terror as their tactic. The perception of the concept of the 1968 generation falls in line with the Bourdieu's ideas of agent formation and the role of symbolic capital, but the revolutionary in its nature the Baader- Meinhof group could not be explain taking into consideration

the extremity of its methods and goals. If one is to compare the *habitus* and social space of young leftists in the Western World of that time, they would appear not to differ greatly from those that are inherent to left radicals, nevertheless, the one were acting according the legitimate, 'normal' for their social background rules while the others preferred to break the rules, deny traditional line. The example of the RAF formation could be explained in terms of the case of deviation but does not explain the causes of an extreme nature of this phenomenon.

The Individual Space of the RAF Emergence

The Life History Analysis

The present research deals with the phenomenon that lies on the margins of accepted social and political practices. As the RAF case is related to the sociological theories as the example of exception from the main stream theories and even is defined as an extreme case of political participation, it could be reasonable to examine the emergence of the RAF through the lens of the life history analysis or biographical method. According to the previous analysis made in this chapter, it is more or less clear that the phenomenon of Baader- Meinhof group formation was not a trivial event and, though the similar radical leftist groups were present in the world political arena, each case is interesting in its uniqueness. While it is hardly possible from the perspective of historical analysis, generation gap rhetoric or any social theory concept like Bourdieu's to explain the phenomenon of left radicals using violence for the political purposes in the second half of the 20th century it could be scientifically fruitful to use explanation tactics in examining the single actor level. So it is not surprising when the authors interested in the phenomenon of the Red Army Faction consider individual biographies of the members of the Baader- Meinhof group as the clue for understanding the reasons and motifs behind the choice of guerrilla warfare tactics.

“With the assistance of the biographical method a different or new light can be shed on certain issues” (Renders). The specificity of this method is presented by

its weak and strong points. From the perspective of personal motivations, individual features of character and predispositions of the person under investigation this method is one of the most effective for the researcher. On the other hand, it leaves too much time for process of gathering the 'valid' data and too much space for the incorporation of personal connotations of the researcher into the other person's life experience. But despite certain drawbacks of the method, in some cases it can be the only one relevant for the purposes of the given research. For instance, the years of infancy are considered by many as the most important period for the development of a person's world views and attitudes to different events. Moreover, some theories state that the future behavior of an adult depends in the majority of cases on the childhood experience. The concept of socialization, so important when we consider theories concerning the phenomenon of deviation, is connected with the investigation of personal biography as well. The biographical method increases our chances to understand nonstandard or marginal situations within conventional settings and to deal with not a norm but an exception.

In the present research we are dealing with the phenomenon represented by the activity and ideas of a small group of people whose life histories are not buried under layers of years. So, it could be interesting to look at the phenomenon of the Red Army Fraction emergence via the examination of the early life experience of its members. As we are mostly interested in the activity of the so-called first generation of the RAF known as Baader- Meinhof group, we will take into consideration the biographies of this cohort of West German terrorists. Moreover, in order not to get bogged down in a variety of details of the individual life history, we will take the theory of Psychoanalysis as the tool for our research. Thus, the period of personal biography will be narrowed down to the childhood experience as one of the most important stages of the psychic formation.

The Hypothesis on the RAF's Authoritarian Family Background

"On one level, the German New Left's increasing militancy stemmed from political frustration and moral outrage, but exogenous factors do not explain why

frustration and outrage led some students to disavow *zweckrational* strategies of social change, and to embrace *Aktionismus*... not to change society but to draw revolutionary fervor from the crucible of battle. The social psychological model of rebellion may provide a clue to understanding how their moral righteousness was transformed into terrorism” (Lichter, 1979). This suggestion was the result of the survey under the name “A Psychopolitical Study of West German Male Radical Students” conducted in West Germany and the US from 1971 to 1973. This research was an attempt to understand the fact why “upper-middle-class pacifists like Ulrike Meinhof suddenly – and seemingly inexplicably – transformed themselves into violent revolutionaries”(Lichter). The main hypothesis that is tested by the survey is that the reasons for the inclination to the violence in the practice of political participation originate from the childhood experience of life in the family. The theoretical assumption of the author comes from Fromm’s theory of authoritarian roots of Nazism (See the Chapter I of the present paper). From the Lichter’s perspective, the idea of cruelty cultivation and inclination to violence in authoritarian families could have been the reason not only for the right terror but for the left terror as well. He suggests that “Pseudorevolutionary behavior could stem from an outlook created in childhood, an outlook ruled by power relations rather than affective ties”. The author goes that far as to say that tactics of violence chosen by the group of New Left is a gesture against the paternal authority and participation in the acts of terror is the way to get rid of the situation of oppression and dependence in the family.

The results of the survey shown that “radicalism is not unrelated to a pattern of authoritarian rebellion, particularly among activists”(Lichter) and that though these data can not be called implicit the hypothesis could be valid for further investigation. For the present research it is an issue of significant importance to prove or disprove these results.

To begin with the formal drawbacks of this survey it should be mentioned first of all, that Lichter’s research has rather abstract and hypothetical nature. The matter is that there is no data gathered from the real terror group activist, but from the students who have inclinations to the political activism using illegitimate

strategies and so could be only potential terrorists. Secondly, as the author of the research openly puts it, the respondents could possibly be reflective during the survey and could easily incorporate their knowledge about the authoritarian nature of the bourgeois family into their own responses. Thirdly, “for the lack of an adequate distribution on the dependent variable, females were dropped from the analysis”(Lichter). Thus, in the attempt to understand the reasoning behind the RAF violent tactics the information of female representatives is not considered despite the fact that women composed the half of the Red Army Faction. What is more, and it will become clear in the next part of the paper, the psychological atmosphere in the families of the future RAF members were far from being authoritarian. These families could be characterized first of all for the liberal spirit and democratic educational strategies. Taking into consideration all these facts it is obvious to reject Lichter’s hypothesis of the authoritarian education roots of the future left terrorist activity.

Psychoanalytical Perspective on the Biography of the RAF Members

Being on better position than the author of the survey (having more information about biographies of the RAF members due to the time past) we will propose the other hypothesis and will try to illustrate it on the examples of life histories of the members of the core of the RAF’s first generation. We will also take the methodological tools of Psychoanalysis theory in more classical Freud’s variant.

According to Freud, the reasons of the specific features of an individual type of character and behavior are grounded in the early years of individual’s life. Trying to put plainly Freud’s theory one can say that the specific experience that person gets in the childhood especially that concerning relations in a family motivates the actions of a man during the whole life. That could be practically illustrated on the example of psychologically traumatic situations that were experienced by the individuals in the childhood and which became latterly the reasons for deviant behavior, psychosis and complexes. The traumatic events that occurred during the unconscious period of infancy leave the traces on the mental lens through which person is looking at the world around. These signs

that go back to the early life experience are hard to trace down, i.e. to find the real reasons for the individual's actions. As the protective mechanism of the human mentality tries to replace the painful experience of the past, it is nearly impossible for a man to realize on his own the reasons of his behavioral inclinations rooted in the childhood.

For Freud the real and symbolic figure of father for the psychological development of the individual plays a significant role. The complex of Oedipus or Electra is one of the main reasons for the future psychological uneasiness of a man. The desire to kill father in order to possess mother's love and body leads to the Oedipal complex or the desire to surpass the father thus symbolically depriving him of the right to be the first and the only man. The relations of a child toward his or her parents and their attitude to him or her in this manner will determine the future psychological development of a child and the line of his or her actions.

Handling with concepts of Eros as the longing for love and Thanatos as the longing for death, Freud tries to explain the whole motivational apparatus of a person. While the notion of Thanatos appeared only in the late works of Freud it will be one of the core concepts for our research. Among with Freud and his followers as Fromm or Adorno, it is necessary to mark that the longing for destruction and death is one of the core motivations deeply rooted in the human nature.

The hypothesis based on the Freud's ideas for the present research will be following: the longing for Thanatos manifesting in the explicit form in all the RAF members has its roots in the early childhood experience and especially connected with the relationships between future terrorists and their parents. The figure of father or mother in different cases and the attitudes of parents towards their children will be considered as potential path of explanation of the possibility of the RAF emergence.

The methods of Psychoanalysis in the set of researches dedicated to the Red Army Faction activity are rather popular once. Though the authors of the articles and books do not put their analytical tools implicitly, the concepts of the

‘whoever children’, the conflict of generation, the complex of guilt³⁴, symbolical level of terrorist activity and so on reveal the potential of Psychoanalysis theory for the Baader-Meinhof group analysis. This also lies on the surface concerning the famous film by Reiner Verner Fassbinder “The Third Generation” with the figure of Father as the clue for understanding the traumatic situation in the tragedy³⁵.

So taking into consideration the early life history of the three core members of the RAF’s first generation: Ulrike Meinhof, Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader, it is necessary to trace down the events or emotions that could possibly be within scope of the reasons for the decision to form the Red Army Fraction.

Ulrike Meinhof was born in 1934 just not long after Hitler came to power. Her father was Werner Meinhof who from the year 1936 became the director of the Jena city museum. He did not support the Nazi ideology and in order to show his oppositional views left the church he had belong to as it was bastion of Fascist ideas and joined Hessian Dissent denomination as it was clearly anti-fascist. Mr. Meinhof died from cancer in the year 1940 when his daughter Ulrike was only five years old. There is no evidence that Ulrike endured the grief of loss especially deep.

The mother of Ulrike, Ingeborg Meinhof, after the loss of her husband became the only breadwinner in the family. In order to earn more she started to study the History of Art. Ulrike’s mother was also a supporter of anti- fascist views. At this time the family leased the flat to young student Renate Riemeck who became the friend of Ingeborg and the second mother for her two daughters. When Ms. Meinhof died from cancer in 1949, Renate Riemeck became guardian and educator of Meinhof girls. The foster mother was an outstanding person: historian, pedagogue and peace activist, she was the author of one of the first democratic school text books of that time. Ulrike was full of admiration with her

³⁴ The book of J. Varon *Bringing the War Home* could be one that can serve as an illustration of the psychoanalysis approach in the scope of writings dedicated to RAF.

³⁵ Tragedy in the sense of an ancient Greek tragedies with the concrete allusion towards the plot of Oedipus.

foster mother and always tried to copy her in the manner of behavior, hair style and handwriting³⁶.

So the early years of Ulrike were connected with the line of events that made her an orphan but gave her the stepmother who was serving as an example of the person to be admired. It is hard to tell whether Ulrike was stressed by the fact of being deprived of father in such an early childhood. As the witness remembered it, she always was cheerful and positive girl with no signs of spiritual trauma. Her father being decent man with the clear conscience was not disturbing her imagination and feelings as she was a person with the aggravated notion of justice. As Werner Meinhof was not a Nazi follower, was well educated an intelligent man and did not leave to his daughter a lot of recollections, as he died when she was too small to remember something, the role of her father in her destiny was not the kind of Oedipus or Hamlet stories.

What were so special about the childhood of Meinhof are the feelings of strength and will power that came from the women around her. Firstly, her mother that was not subdued by husband's death and was eager to change her way of living, moved to the new city and started to study and to earn for her and her daughter's living. Latter on Renate Riemeck as a passionate peace activist, a person of high moral values and acts excited the young girl's imagination. Ulrike could be perceived as being under the pressure of such an examples of determination, will power, high moral spirit and positive attitude towards life. It is not surprising that she in her own turn was showing the signs of extraordinary power of the will, firm character, desire to improve herself and the world around. While being small girl she amazed everybody by the determined desire to take the veil, latter she changed her mind and decided to become a pedagogue like Renate Riemeck. Ulrike Meinhof's most outstanding features of character, the strong feeling for justices and the active position towards improvement of the world, were the part of the image of the strong woman she has obtained in her childhood. It is far from putting it in a straightforward answer whether the experience of the strong women in her family was a pressure or a positive

³⁶ All biographical information of RAF members is taken from Aust S. Baader-Meinhof Complex (2008), the articles by Denise Noe, web site www.baader-meinhof.com and from the Wikipedia

example for aspiration in her life. Nevertheless, one can not find especially psychologically traumatic moments of Ulrike early years of life that can be defined as a possible reason for the desire to enter the armed struggle, except the understanding it as the reasonable choice of strategy for improving the unjust world.

The biography of Gudrun Ensslin does not differ greatly from one of Ulrike Meinhof. She was born in 1940 in the family of local pastor Helmut Ensslin. She was the fourth of seven children in the big family of Ensslins. Helmut Ensslin was a pastor of the “Evangelical Church in Germany” known for its strong anti-Nazi position and pro-socialist spirits. Both, the mother and the father, were strong and gifted personalities, so pastor’s house attracted people involved into political and social discussions. The general atmosphere in the family was liberal and open minded. Their daughter Gudrun was a classically “good girl” who was studying brilliantly at school, was highly religious, good-tempered and helpful to her mother. As Ulrike Meinhof’s, the striking feature of her character was pungent feeling of social injustice and any kind of inequality. As Meinhof she was intelligent and active and of high moral values. Her parents behavior was for her the main example and stimulus for self development. The goal of improving the world around was as important for her as for the young Ulrike.

Both girls were brought up in the liberal atmosphere where their parents or mentors set an example for their future values, norms and goals. In both cases: peace activist Renate Riemeck and priest family of Ensslins were advocating the world improvement via mercy and love, denying violence as a possible tool for any kind of goal. Gudrun and Ulrike did not have generation conflicts within their families; moreover, the atmosphere in both families was mostly favorable for self development and openness. The two girls were target of their parent’s hopes and had great chances for future successes and ‘good’ position in society. It seems that they did not have any especially traumatic psychological experiences in their childhood and did not have any inclination towards violence as the tool for achieving their goals.

The early biography of Andreas Baader is of the other sort. In this case we are dealing with the classical example of ‘spoiled’ or naughty boy. Andreas was born in the family of historian and archivist Berndt Baader whom he could probably even did not remember as Mr. Baader was taken prisoner in 1945 in the Russian front. The boy was brought up in a household of women where his mother, aunt and grandmother were taking care about their only beloved Andi. From the early childhood he was perceived as a handsome and rather intelligent guy. Nevertheless, he was lazy, frequently rebellious and even aggressive boy. Andreas was far from being good at school, though some teachers marked his writing talent and vivid imagination. He loved to show off and attract attention of his coevals.

Latterly, in his youth, Andreas Baader was fond of creating ‘stories’ around his person. At a moment he pretended to be seriously ill with no hope for recovery and prospect of a close death. It is known that he also imaged himself as being the offspring of famous parents. Possibly the reason behind this fables were hidden in his biography with the father struggling for the Nazi regime as well as the boring life in the conservative south of Germany. The women in his family understood rather early that they did not have enough strength and authority to reeducate the young rebellion. His education was in most cases the matter of *laissez faire*. Andi was impatient boy who was often fighting and could go into the air over nothing.

The case of Andreas Baader in Psychoanalysis can be attributed to the classical example of narcissism. The lack of masculine prototype in the family and the exuberant care of female family members have lead to the situation when the boy found the object of love and concern in himself. The world around him and the feelings of others troubled him only in connection with his own personality. He became the object and the subject of his own pervasive love. Thus the desire to attract attention of others and longing for the admiration has lead to the boys inclination to the violent, brutal and deviant behavior. The motivations of his actions were not probably based on the idea to change the world around, but rather to make the world around take him into consideration. Of

cause, one can not claim that Andreas Baader was mentally ill or morally spoiled; it is not the matter of perceiving him as good or bad. The idea behind this kind of depicting his psychological portrait lies in the attempt to approve the hypothesis that the concrete case of Andreas Baader's early years of life, his family history and his mutual development could somehow serve as an explanation of his participation in the RAF.

The case of Andreas Baader could serve as a bright example of the importance of the psychological factor on the individual level of analysis of a group. Baader due to his 'wild' character, was the point of attraction for the other members of the group. His brutality, masculinity in a way he presented himself was alien and at the same time appealing for all the other members of the RAF's first generation. For them, who were representatives of the middle class intellectuals, he was the symbol of the 'wild force', of the 'true' libertine. This fact is especially relevant if we take into account interpersonal relations within the group³⁷.

These three cases of the childhood experience of the RAF members show that the hypothesis about the authoritarian family roots of the desire to use violence for gaining political goals can be seriously taken under question. Not any from the RAF core-founders could be called a victim of tough or authoritative education. The two cases out of three are the idealistic models of harmonic family relations where children are inspired by their parents and tutors to follow up positive social models of behavior. The case of Andreas Baader could be called a specific one where the boy was pushed by the atmosphere in the family to the Narcissus complex with all the ensuing consequences.

Concluding remarks on the Societal Embeddedness of the Red Army Faction Formation

To sum up, it is necessary to make conclusions of three level analysis of the RAF social milieu. Firstly, the phenomenon of the Baader- Meinhof group could not be taken separate from the world settings of the so-called New Left

³⁷ It is a well known fact that the RAF had several couples within the group, first of all the Baader –Ensslin couple.

and, in general, the generation of 1968. Though, the generational conflict, the shift in political and cultural paradigm, the emergence of new type of movements and social activity and radicalization of youth could not be defined as direct reasons or motivation behind the RAF group formation, it is out of question to put these events into the line of significant trends that created the background for the Baader-Meinhof group emergence.

Secondly, Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and social space help to shed a light on the several aspects of the question of the RAF emergence, but fail to explain the phenomenon in general. While the ideas of Bourdieu can be used to explain 'normal' social practices formation and existence, it is not that much on the surface for the analysis of models of social deviation and marginal political practices as the RAF's were.

Thirdly, the theory of Psychoanalysis could be marked as being rather promising for the analysis of motivations behind the RAF emergence as well as showing the individual level of analysis of the social embeddedness of the Baader-Meinhof group members. Despite this fact, the complexity of the method is based on the participation of the person whose behavior is under investigation. Thus this method could only give hints concerning the matter of the RAF first generation phenomenon.

What one can say about the social embeddedness of the RAF could be written down as a set of rather obvious and well known facts: world events of 1968, generation of 1968, Nazi-past problem in Germany, middle-class well educated youth, political inspiration from the countries of the Third World, the desire to change the existing matter of facts based on the bourgeois set of norms and values and so on. Nevertheless, the mass of these facts was critical for the creation of RAF. Now it is next to impossible to distinguish the core, or true, or crucial reasons, one can only make tentative suggestions of some answers and test them with facts and theories.

The fact that all the RAF members originated from middle class families, from the circle of intellectuals, the majority were well educated and 'gifted' could be explained from different perspectives, but is, without doubt, an important feature

of the left radical group. The year 1970 as the year of the RAF emergence could not be separated from the events of 1968 and so-called spirit of 1968. It was also not a coincidence that the RAF appeared on the territory of West Germany taking into consideration the complex of guilt after the World War 2. From the perspective of the Psychoanalysis there were also the distinct reasons for Andreas Baader participation in the activity of the RAF. Thus, the social settings of the time and space of the RAF emergence could be one of the possible reasons behind the group formation.

The RAF Self Presentation and Argumentation of the Reasons Behind the Group's Terrorist Activity

Introduction to the Discourse Analysis of the RAF Texts

In the situation of social isolation that was the result of the illegal activity of the RAF the issue that the group was concerned about was the ability to demonstrate their position to the world not only by using the strategy of military action but also by the tactics of communication. Thus the texts they were producing were of the equal significance for them in the same manner as the terrorist operations they were involved in. Moreover, being socially the part of intellectual circle they understood the importance for achieving their goals of not only actions but of the interpretations as well. As the targets for their direct military actions were thoroughly chosen, the texts they produced for public were written with great deliberation.

It will be taking it too far to state that the acts of terror were performed by the RAF members with the only purpose to have their opinion taken into consideration, though one can not overestimate the importance of their opinion representation via public official documents like communiqués, interviews or speeches during the court trials. The set of communiqués that were dedicated to the explanation of RAF views point and actions explanation to the general public are of outstanding scientific importance for those involved into the research

dealing with the RAF. These documents can shed light on the issue of RAF self-perception, their motivations and generally on their world view.

In the present chapter we are going to perform qualitative text analysis of the primarily sources such as communiqués, official statements, fragments of official speeches.³⁸ The data will be sorted into two groups according to the type of writing: the first one is seven official communiqués written by the RAF in the year 1972 and the second one – three different documents produced by the RAF including “Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe and Ulrike Meinhof’s Statement Regarding Their Identity at the Stammheim Trial”, “Statement Regarding The Freeing Of Andreas Baader”, “The Urban Guerilla Concept” and “Fragments Regarding Structure” by Ulrike Meinhof. The methodological principle of the qualitative content analysis is used as the most appropriate method for this kind of data. As the number of texts produced by the RAF can not be compared with the average Mass Media source and, at the same time, all the writings are extremely dense in meanings and connotations, it seems more reasonable to use qualitative analysis rather than the quantitative one.

The aim of this chapter is perceived as an attempt to find out the hidden motives and logics of the commitment of the Baader- Meinhof group to use of violence as the tactics for gaining political goals. As it is impossible to conduct interviews with the members of the group the opportunity to perform content analysis of their official texts is seen as a solution for the researcher. The premise of this analysis is the idea that the line of the RAF motivations and their attitudes to the current for them political and social situation will be clearly stated in the text or could be possibly found in it. The hypothesis is that members of the Red Army Faction perceived terrorism as the only one possible option for gaining their political goals and that they understood their terrorist activity as warfare, where their enemies were represented by the state official power.

The text analysis will be conducted separately for the communiqué and for the statements texts as they were produced for different purposes, have different structure and style. While the communiqués of the RAF were written all in the

³⁸ All the texts under research are taken from <http://www.germanguerilla.com/raf/documents> attached to the thesis paper.

same manner and at the same time period, the texts of the statements were written on different occasions, with different aims in view and at different time periods. What is also important to take into consideration is the different context within which these texts were produced. The communiqués were written during the year 1972, the year of the peak of their terrorist activity. The statements differ greatly from each other in style and general pathos because one of them was written in 1971 – the year of the RAF formation and the other ones were produced after the members of the Baader- Meinhof group had been arrested and put into prison.

Content Analysis of the seven RAF's communiqué

Communique as a Sample of Political Communication

First of all, one can define communiqué as 'a brief report or statement released by a public agency'. This means that this form of text should be intense in meanings, should have a clear message, should be comprehensible and short enough to be read by a wide audience if its purpose is to inform the general public. In case of the RAF's communiqués the goal was even more specific as the authors were working in the context of informational vacuum from their side and ambiguous and controversial perception of the RAF phenomenon from the mass media perspective. In the situation when the members of the radical group were striving for being understood and appreciated by the broad public masses the official texts that were produced by them were to be thought through with careful attention to all the details, to the general structure, to each word and sentence. That is why these pieces of writing could be manifestation of the core ideas, concepts and arguments of the Baader- Meinhof group.

Secondly, the unique and specific nature of these communiqués could be understood if one puts them into the context of the information war with the Springer media group that was mentioned before in this paper. Moreover, it was the matter of closed illegal group that has no other opportunities to give the 'appropriate' information about themselves and their action as in the way of

communiqué. The situation was even more complicated as the members of the RAF claimed that there were a huge number of false communiqués produced by their ‘enemies’ in order to defame the group. “The fake communiqués, given their contents, their purpose, their essence and their style, more likely come from the cops themselves” (72.05.29).

Thirdly, the fact that Ulrike Meinhof, one of the members of the RAF’s first generation core group, was a prominent and talented journalist should not be overlooked. As it is fairly obvious that it was she who wrote the major part of the RAF texts, it was professionally made media struggle. It is also the reason not to oversimplify the analysis of the content and the style of the texts produced by the RAF. The texts are rich in information and meanings due to the great amount of comparisons, polysemantic expressions and metaphors.

The Structure of the Communiqués

To start with the analysis of the structure of these seven texts, it is obvious at first glance that all of them were written to the common model. This fact can be interpreted in different ways. For example, the structure of the communiqué could be organized in this manner in order to make them recognizable and easily attributed to the Baader-Meinhof group as a certain ‘trademark’. Another explanation could be that the authorship of all the texts belongs to one and the same person. Or, in order not to complicate the whole matter, it was decided to organize all the texts in this way as it was perceived the most logical thing to do.

Generally, the structure of all the communiqués produced by RAF could be described for all the text identical. The head line in bold presenting the essence of the topic or an event that was the reason to write the text. Then stands the date when it was produced as, for example, all the communiqués in this analysis were produced in the May of 1972, but on different days.

The starting point is an event or a fact, be it “two bombs, with an explosive capacity of 200 kg of TNT, were detonated in the Heidelberg headquarters of the American Armed Forces in Europe” (72.05.25) or “Willy Brandt said in his television broadcast, on the 26th of May, that the bombings of recent weeks have no logical political basis and that innocent lives had been threatened by

them”(72.05.28). Interestingly, all the events that are described in the communiqués had taken place one or two days before the communiqués were written. This means that they were produced hot on the trail, so that the information supplied was the direct expression of the thoughts and intentions of the Baader-Meinhof group. The more outstanding fact is that they were all produced during a very short period of time - from 14th of May till 29th of May with two texts dated by the May 20th.

The next part of communiqués is dedicated to the interpretation of the events, terrorist or political acts from the point of view of the RAF members. In most cases it is build as a comparison between the official perspective and the ‘true’ vision of the facts. Later were appearing threats and demands on behalf of the group. At the end there were two of three slogan-like statements in the capital letters, for example: “SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE” (72.05.25) or “FIGHT FASCISM!” (72.05.29).

The amount of information given in the communiqués was exactly for one printed page of text. This could be perceived not only as a fact that the terrorist group was concerned with the convenient for reading and distribution format, but also about their clear understanding of the model of an effective message presentation to the wide audience. On the page the information was perfectly structured in separate paragraphs to make the text visibly memorizable and clear. The headlines and the slogans at the end expressed mostly the same most abstract and straightforward idea, thus they composed a kind of refrain to make the “central tune” more distinct and evident.

The Analysis of the RAF’s Communiqués Content

Overall, we will take into consideration the most important and relevant for the current research classification of concepts and notions. The most crucial for the paper will be the general position of the RAF towards their own identity, reasoning and the world view, the ideas that can reveal the motivation for the Baader- Meinhof group for entering the strategy of urban guerilla warfare. As the texts of the RAF’s communiqués are rather rich in meaningful units, as it was mentioned before, we will try to concentrate on main categories of the sample.

The main ideas can be presented in the following basic categories:

1. perception of the state, existing political order;
2. RAF's self-perception and identity;
3. main goals
4. issue of tactics and strategy of the RAF's activity;
5. Baader-Meinhof group's view of the German and global political situation and concrete events:
 - a. concerning Springer media group,
 - b. war in Vietnam,
 - c. German system of justice and police authority.

Without doubt, all these categories have clear interconnections but, nevertheless, in order to structure the content it is necessary to examine them separately, while in the conclusion it is necessary to trace down these interconnections to reunite the general picture.

A Perception of the State and Existing Political Order by the RAF Members

The gist of all the communiqués concerning the perception of the state and existing political order in Germany could be presented by the idea that the modern official authority and power is of the same nature as during the Nazi regime. The most recent attribution to the notion of state is the "Fascist" state. The general pathos of the state discourse in the RAF's texts is an idea that the West German state does not differ from the Fascist state of the Third Reich. The second main conceptualization of the state by the Baader-Meinhof group is that the German state was founded on 'capitalist exploitation' and it is a form of 'the oppression of the people'. These definitions create the image of the state as a vicious system that was not intended for the wellbeing of its people but for oppression and exploitation of them. "For capitalists profit is everything, and the people who make it for them are dirt" (72.05.20 springer) is written in the one of the communiqués. There is the clear equation between the existing political system, Capitalism and Fascism at the same time. The West German state is interested only the economic profit, while the people are perceived as cogs in the wheel which produce profit for those in power. At the same time, the nature of the

state based on the repressive apparatus, monopolization of all legitimate power and reinforcement of the existing political order is of a clearly Fascist type. It is rather easy to recognize in this passage the Marxist's rhetoric on the nature of the state. The motifs of repression and exploitation, the criticism of Capitalistic mode of production and its hypocritical nature go in line with the main ideas of Marxist theory.

The other attribution of the state by the members of the Red Army Faction that is taken from Marxism is the imperialistic character of the West German state. The German government that shows absolute support for the other state's imperialistic tendencies is the enemy not only of its own citizens but of all countries suppressed by Capitalistic states. It is especially true of the West German official support of the U.S. in the war in Vietnam. The members of the RAF see the West German state as one of the participants of the capitalistic states conspiracy against other countries and their own people: «“We're all in the same boat” is the motto of the exploiters and fascists» (72.05.28).

The next point about the nature of the German state is that it is not better than any so-called dictatorships. “Chancellor's statement does not differ from similar statements by General Franco, General Patakos, von Howeida and the followers of Salazar, the Turkish military dictator“ (72.05.28). According to this statement the mask of the democratic regime covers the authoritarian type of power existing in West Germany. It corresponds to the idea of the fascist nature of the modern state. The way the German state treats the RAF group from their point of view in one of the demonstrations of its repressive nature: “to prepare new police actions and to drive the war of nerves to the extreme” (72.05.29).

B RAF's Self-Perception and Identity

The notion of “the united revolutionary guerrilla” (72.05.14) is the most frequently used by the Red Army Faction in the way of self-identification. This concept of the revolutionary guerrilla or urban guerrilla was analyzed in present paper in Chapter I while examining the Third World Revolution concept by Marighella. This kind of self-labeling implies a whole lot of connotations, for example, identification with national liberation fronts of Post-Colonial countries,

struggle against systems of capitalism and imperialism, representation of the interests of common people, tactics of guerrilla fight, absence of a clear subordinate structure in a military unit and so on³⁹.

The other identity tactics lies in the opposing the existing official instances of power: “their crimes against the Vietnamese people have created a new and bitter enemy for them” (72.05.14). So the self-perception of the RAF emerged as the anti- or contra- position. The destruction of the enemy thus will annihilate the position of the group itself. This kind of apathetic identifications is the result of total disillusionment with the legitimate and generally accepted norms. Moreover, the word combination “the hunt for the RAF” (72.05.28) reveals the other binary defining opposition: the Baader- Meinhof group as a victim, subject of oppression and the state as the chasing and punishing entity.

One can distinguish two major self presentations of the RAF members: one is of the positive type of attributions – identification with revolutionary guerrillas, the other is of the negative type of attribution – via the image of the common enemy. The terrorist group is better at explaining of who they are not, than who they are: “We are not responsible for the crimes of fascists” (72.05.29). They are the people who can understand their own nature by constructing a distance between them and the Others. They prefer to shape their self-identification mostly attributing themselves to their antagonists, rather than protagonists: “The actions of the urban guerilla are directed against the bourgeois State, imperialism and capital”(72.05.29).

The other point that could be relevant to the concept of self-perception is the question of how the RAF members think they are perceived by the others. In this respect there is a ‘strong’ phrase about official media presentation of the RAF’s image to the general public: “to create the impression that the bombers are brainless twits generating nothing but chaos in an effort to create uncertainty amongst the people regarding the actions” (72.05.28). This sentence shows the tremendous irritation of the Baader-Meinhof group with its image in the mass media. All these could be translated as implying the opposite: they perceive

³⁹ See more information in the chapter one of this paper.

themselves as intelligent people who via direct and concrete actions are trying to attain their own political goals.

C The Main Goal of the RAF

The majority of the goals that are proclaimed by the Baader-Meinhof group are stated in the last part of the communiqués, in the slogan-like form: they are short and precise. Typically, there are two or three of them and they sometimes repeat from text to text. They are the following:

VICTORY TO THE VIET CONG!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLA!

DARE TO STRUGGLE - DARE TO WIN!

BUILD TWO, THREE, MANY VIETNAMS!

RESIST THE POLICE EXECUTION COMMANDOS!

RESIST THE SS PRACTICES OF THE POLICE!

STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL EXPLOITERS AND ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE!

FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!

RESIST CLASS JUSTICE!

RESIST FASCISM!

EXPROPRIATE SPRINGER!

EXPROPRIATE THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE!

DESTROY AND OBLITERATE THE FORCES OF AMERICAN
IMPERIALISM!

VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

SERVE THE PEOPLE!

EXPROPRIATE SPRINGER!

FIGHT FASCISM!

DESTROY AND OBLITERATE THE POWER OF IMPERIALISM!

EXPROPRIATE SPRINGER!

It is easy to see that the slogan and the goal, at the same time, "EXPROPRIATE SPRINGER!" is mentioned three times. That could be explained with the fact that the three of the seven communiqués were dedicated to the

'issue' of the Springer's media concern. Nevertheless, it is not so obvious. It seems that in the situation of guerrilla warfare with the West German state the Springer was one of the major enemies, though factually it had nothing to do with the state. In this respect we can say that the RAF was fighting mostly not for the state power, but for the ideological power, and that is why the media concern was singled out as one of the main targets of the struggle.

The other goals could be classified into the three major categories. Firstly, those that call for solidarity with the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of the Third World oppressed by the Imperialist powers. Secondly, those aiming to resist the repressive apparatus of the state represented by police and judicial institutions that are equated under the common title of Fascism in the slogan "FIGHT FASCISM!". Thirdly, those that call for the struggle for the sake of the common people, those that proclaim the revolutionary guerrilla warfare for the establishment of the class justice. All of them, except those which are targeted at Springer could have been goals and aims of the international left radical movements all over the globe. All of them are about the injustices and crimes of the existing state and world orders and are calling for the fight, resistance and change.

There is also one distinguishing feature of these goals – the character of the appeal that is expressed through the meaningful verbs and nouns. It could be presented via the specific grouping as well. In one case the goals that are stated in the slogans are of destructive nature, those with verbs: resist, struggle, expropriate, fight and destroy. There are thirteen out of twenty. The second group is of the 'positive' or constructive nature expressed by the words: build, solidarity, freedom and victory. They are seven out of twenty. This, basically, means that the major pathos of the RAF's appeals is of destructive rather than constructive nature.

D The Issues of Tactics and Strategy of the RAF's Activity

For the issue of tactics that is chosen by the RAF members the main line is, of course, presented by their naming themselves urban guerrillas. "The tactics and means that we use are the tactics and means of guerrilla warfare"

(72.05.16). Nevertheless, there is a concrete connotation connected with this notion. For the Baader- Meinhof group their actions are perceived mostly as a response, as fighting back, as an answer to the policy and tactics of official institutions, be it military activity of the U.S. army in Vietnam, police and judicial activity of the West German state or media activity of the Springer group. They are to “be made aware that their attempts to “solve” the problems of this fascist country - by arming the police, by militarizing the class struggle, by the ruthless and vicious use of guns - will provoke resistance” (72.05.16).

The general rhetoric is mostly based on the concept of “resistance” but not on the idea of attack. Moreover, this way of struggle will continue “until they stop”, thus the RAF members claim that they have well-grounded reasons to start the guerrilla warfare and at the same time they know till what point they will continue to carry out their terrorist activity. There is no nihilistic pathos of the war for the sake of war. “We will stop our attacks against the enemies of the people if our demands are met.” (72.05.20-springer)

The tactic of the RAF is narrowed down by its members from the general idea of revolutionary guerrilla warfare to the war or struggle against a concrete group of people, certain institutions, well-known political regimes: “that the bomb attacks were exclusively against the enemies of the people, the enemies of the working class, the enemies of the Vietnamese people, the imperialists.” (72.05.28) They are emphasizing the fact that they fight the system, not the people.

As to the idea of using violence for gaining political purposes, the RAF members put it like this: “We have no other means to compel them to do so” (72.05.20). They are claiming that the violent nature of their tactics is forced by the state. In the general discourse of their texts they reiterate that they lack legal means for achieving their political goals. Thus, they were forced by the existing system to choose the path of armed struggle and direct actions, which means that the decision to use violence was not made of their own will but was forced on them being the only possible option in that situation.

E The Baader-Meinhof Group's Position on German and Global Political Situation and Concrete Historical Events

The global political situation and concrete historical events that are considered in the RAF's communiqués could be classified into four groups: those concerning the conflict with the Springer media group; those connected with issue of the Vietnam War and other 'imperialistic' wars; those that are about the system of justice in the West German state, and those concerning the police order of that country. As it could be noticed, this grouping is represented by the notions of different nature. While Springer's activity could be characterized as the attitude towards concrete enterprise, the Vietnam war – as a geopolitical global event, the topics of the system of justices and police order could be characterized as issues concerning the repressive nature of the West German state apparatus. Nevertheless, they all are the main themes of the RAF's communiqués and they all present the attitude of the group towards some events and matters facts that go against the official line, the legitimate discourse of that time. That is why, in the context of the present paper, they could be examined under the same title and within the common line of analysis.

The members of RAF are accusing Springer of a deliberate position against any kind of leftist initiative via "anti-communist hysteria", "the hysteria against liberation movements in the Third World", "his propagandistic support for Zionism" and reports "spreading lies about foreign workers here" (72.05.20-springer). From the Baader-Meinhof group's point of view the Springer media group is the stronghold of fascist ideas among the German public, all the information that is given by the media group is false. At the same time, the only value that is attributed to the Springer by RAF's communiqués is the search for profit. Thus, for the RAF Springer is the symbol of fascist by the ideology and corrupted by the nature organization. Everything that they are struggling against is represented by this media group. Basically, their communiqués are a response to the 'false' information given by the Springer group. That is why the issue of the Springer activity and the kind of information they give to the general public is a matter of specific concern in the RAF communiqués.

The war in Vietnam that was among the factors which caused the emergence of the RAF is a matter of another special concern for the Baader-Meinhof group. Being the part of the anti-imperialist struggle they perceive it as their own war. On their part, they try to do everything in order that “West Berlin shall no longer be a safe hinterland for the strategy of extermination against Vietnam” (72.05.14). From the RAF’s perspective this war is a “crime against the Vietnamese people”. “This is genocide, the slaughter of a people; this is “annihilation;” this is Auschwitz.” (72.05.25) While comparing the war in Vietnam with Auschwitz, the members of the Baader-Meinhof group are trying not only to stop the “genocide” but to show that they do not have anything in common with the Nazi regime of the Third Reich. Thus the Capitalist system of the U.S. and its aggression against Vietnam is for them an example of fascism. They also claim that the German population who “haven’t forgotten Auschwitz, Dresden, and Hamburg” (72.05.25) share their attitude towards the “crimes of American imperialism”. Thus, they are struggling not only to stop this war but against any possibility of a new type of fascism. In this feeling of solidarity with all the anti-war movement they find it possible to justify their own tactics of violence. They present the “mass murder of the Vietnamese people” (72.05.28) as the reason for their ‘sampling’ murders.

On the other hand, members of the RAF are preoccupied with the ‘unjust’ order within their own country. First of all, they perceive the police and justice system and institutions of the West German state as the repressive apparatus of those in power against their own people. They claim that their own state “by arming the police, by militarizing the class struggle, by the ruthless and vicious use of guns” (72.05.16) is provoking their military interference. Their definition of those who serve the system via repressive measures is “pigs”. Thus they suppose that they are not even murderers but rather those who are trying to ‘cleanse’ the society in which they are living.

Concluding Remarks on the RAF’s Communiqué Content

So to conclude all the above, what one can understand from the RAF’s communiqués is their clearly Marxist position. They present themselves as the

movement of solidarity with the oppressed people of the Third World and, at the same time, as those who are disillusioned with the existing political situation in their own country and, generally, with the capitalistic order. They set the clear boundary between them and the Others, while the last do not understand or ignore the 'truth' or 'reality' of the Baader-Meinhof group. Their struggle against the Springer media group is for them of significant importance as it is the struggle for the minds of common people. The general pathos of their actions as perceived from their texts is mostly of a destructive rather than constructive nature. They see the core of their tactics as a response or resistance that is forced on them by the system itself. From their perspective they are not provoking this warfare but rather fighting back. The issues of Springer's activity, war in Vietnam and repressive nature of the West German state are the main reasons for the Baader-Meinhof group's armed struggle. They see the reality in their own way, through the lens of class struggle and national liberation ideology.

Content Analysis of the RAF's Statements

As the members of the Baader- Meinhof group state in one of their communiqués: "Genuine communiqués of the urban guerrilla commandos can easily be identified as authentic by comparing their contents with other RAF statements"(72.05.29). Consequently, it is scientifically valid to conduct the content analysis of the RAF's official statements in order to enrich the picture of this group representation and their viewpoints. This will also give us the opportunity to verify the conclusions made in previous part of the chapter.

As the form of statements, as well as their content, differ from the form and content of communiqués, the application of the method of content analysis will differ accordingly. Since the statements are fuzzier in structure, it is more important to examine them in a slightly different manner from that of the communiqués, taking into consideration their peculiarity and the context they were produced in. This part of chapter will be dedicated to "Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe and Ulrike Meinhof's Statement Regarding Their Identity at the Stammheim Trial" (1975) – Text 2, "Statement Regarding The

Freeing of Andreas Baader” (1974) – Text 3 and “The Urban Guerrilla Concept” (1971)- Text 1.

It is clear even from the titles of the statements that they coincide with the major topics of the RAF’s communiqués, but due to the format they were written in they could help to open new horizons for the understanding the issues of special interest to the present research. The basic categories of the previous content analysis will be relevant for this part of the study and could probably be broadened with complementary information.

The structure of the RAF Statements

As the texts of the statements have less strict structure and are more broad in information given and topics raised, there is also more space for argumentation and explanation of their ideas. In majority they all are less dedicated to factual issues and more to conceptualizations and ideology. There is also a lot of citing inside the own texts of the RAF. The choice of the sources for citations are not without interest to the present research. The most recently used citations are taken from Mao and Lenin. The pathos of these quotations is based on the idea of practical implementation of the revolutionary theory. The ideas and personalities of Blanqui and Marighella are the topics of consideration in the statements as well. Even through the listing of these names one could obtain the general way of thinking of the RAF’s group. It is mostly about the idea of direct action, participation in the historical events rather than theoretical battles. The theoreticians of the Critical School, Structuralism, Situationism, Existentialism, so popular at that time in the official middle class intelligentsia discourse, are put aside. This fact demonstrates the position of the Baader-Meinhof group members as the men of action rather than the men of words. Nevertheless, if one takes into consideration the content, style, structure of their writings it is clear that these people are not only soldiers, but philosophers as well.

A The Issue of Self Identity in the RAF’s Statements

One of the main topics of the RAF’s statements is the identity of the group. It is not only an attempt to present themselves to the general public or the idea to

explain their activity and motivation but the whole historical and social project. The core of their new identity project formation lies in total annihilation of the legitimate or 'normal' project of capitalist society: "By personalization and the development of a psychological framework, they (imperialists) project the clichés of capitalist anthropology onto us, the reality of their character masks, of their judges, of their prosecutors, of their screws, of their fascists..."(Text 3). They perceive their identity as not just superstructure but a basis for the division between them and the enemy, the core of their political struggle. There are clear attributions of self representation in their texts, such as 'urban guerrillas' and 'communist', but the most valid identity is represented via the figure of the enemy, of the existing system of power of the Other. Their claim is that they are not part of society they live in, not part of the normative and value paradigm of the culture they belong to, they are those who form their own ideas, norms of behavior and life conditions.

The other line of self presentation in the RAF's statements lies in the concept of urban guerrilla as tactics. The tactics of terror sets them apart from the rest of the people, even from those who are supposed to be ideological comrades, with the common critical world view and attitude towards power structures. If in the previous case the identity is build on the idea of enemy, i.e. the state or the system, in this case the identity of the RAF is build on the idea of inertia, i.e. opportunism. The self understanding of the Baader-Meinhof group is not only in the critical attitude towards the modern capitalistic way of live but about the active position against this system. "We are a group of comrades who have decided to act, to break with the stage of lethargy, of radicalism in words only, of increasingly vain discussions about strategy, and to struggle. Not only the means, but everything, is still lacking; it is only now that we are discovering what sort of human beings we are" (Text 3). Thus it is possible to conclude that the RAF members' basic categories for identity creation were criticism of the existing order, plus the strategy of direct illegal action. In this manner they disavow both the official line of thinking and behavior.

From the RAF's perspective as expressed in their statements, it is the revolutionary struggle that gives them the opportunity to gain their genuine perception of self. "The guerrilla permits each person to determine where he stands, to find, often for the first time, where he stands and to find his place within class society, within imperialism, to determine this for himself" (Text 3). In this way members of the Baader-Meinhof group introduce the idea of their uniqueness which in turn imports the idea of mission. Although it does not lie on the surface of their statements, they justify the strategy of their political activity by the idea of the historical mission and the uniqueness of their role in the context of history. As a closed criminalized group they are aspiring to introduce their own 'mythology', the world picture and self perception in a way that does not correspond to the official lines of narration.

B The Issue of the State System in the RAF's Statements

As the RAF claim that their emergence, their tactics and their identity depend on and are built against their main enemy – the system, it is crucial to take into consideration in what way the members of Baader- Meinhof group are depicting the state, the power structures and the world order. The RAF members see "the depth of the contradiction at the heart of the rupture between society and the State" (Text 2) and in this context they strive to show the Federal Republic of Germany as a fascist state which is hiding its oppressive nature under the mask of fake democracy. In the RAF's statements the democratic basis of the West German state is questioned: "In itself, bourgeois democracy – constituted in Germany as a Constitutional State – has always found its fascist complement to the degree that it legalizes the liquidation, in a legal form, of the extra-parliamentary opposition, which tends to become antagonistic. In this sense, justice has long ago passed into the stage of class justice, of political justice"(Text 2). The FRG, as all the capitalist states, has nothing to do with the democracy as a 'rule of people' with the freedom of speech and self-expression. The Baader- Meinhof group members point out the clear link between the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and the Federal Republic Germany.

In the RAF's texts all the power system machinery that is based on the 'imperialist superstructure' is a construct that has nothing to do with reality. The principle of double standards that is embedded in all the institutions that the state is based on leads to class antagonism and creates conditions for class struggle and guerrilla warfare within the state. This rhetoric has a clear Marxist nature. The relations between society and the state in the context of the so-called capitalistic regime is by its origin a 'war', "within which the process of legitimization is reduced to camouflaging naked opportunist calculation"(Text 2). The construct of the nation state as an officially presented notion in the RAF members' perspective "has become a fiction" (Text 3). All the narrations that legitimize the nation state as a core unit of the world's political existence originates in bourgeois thinking. The members of the RAF perceive the world division in terms of class order that does not see nation states as 'natural' units. The political world order is based on the relationship between oppressors and the oppressed.

All in all, the 'degenerate society of the metropolises', i.e. the society that is based on the ideas of mass consumption, has "fallen into decomposition and stagnation" (Text 3). The official discourse that is introduced by the 'imperialist media' and 're-education' is a process of the tactical 'brainwash' produced by the power structures in order to monopolize and justify the existing system. The role of a 'little man' in this system is reduced to earning "his low income for protecting monopoly capitalism (Text 1). Thus "a people who has lost the dimension of revolutionary class struggle is forced to live in a state where they can no longer participate in their own history, where they are deprived of dignity"(Text 3). This leads to the idea of revolutionary fight as the only possible tactics in these circumstances.

C The Issue of Tactics in the RAF's Statements

As it was mentioned above (See parts about the Identity and the System), almost all the main ideas of RAF are in some respect connected with their choice to use guerrilla warfare and armed revolutionary struggle as their strategy. The most genuine feature of the RAF is not their Marxist ideology or the critical

position towards the existing political system, but the nature of their revolutionary activity. Since they identify themselves as the people of actions not words, all the rhetoric they produce is made in order to explain their strategy and tactics.

As the Baader- Meinhof group puts it: “We believe that the armed struggle as the “highest form of Marxism - Leninism” (Mao) can commence, and that without it, no effective anti-imperialist struggle can take place in the metropole”(Text 1). They follow the line of Marx, Lenin, Mao claiming that the ideology is nothing without revolutionary practice. From their perspective, it is perfectly clear that “the Red Army Faction is about the primacy of political practice”(Text 1).

The tactic of using violence that was chosen by the RAF could be understood in light of their position regarding the concept of legitimacy, when they claim that “legality is about power”(Text 1). Following the ideas of Lukasz (Sew chapter 1 of the present paper) the members of RAF perceive the ideas of legality and illegality as constructs of bourgeois consciousness. Consequently, by rejecting the bourgeois system of norms and values they fall out of the logics of dichotomic opposition of legality and illegality.

When writing about the strategy of their actions, the RAF members are considering their specific role within the international context of class struggle and liberation movements. They understand that the essential thing to do for the promotion and development of the war against imperialism is to “attack imperialism here in its rear base area” (Text 3). Their genuine contribution to the world war against class oppression in which they take active part is their opportunity to fight the enemy on the territory of the latter. They thus perceive their role of revolutionary opposition within the global context.

One of the main strategies of the RAF is to “unmask” the inner contradictions of the FRG. With the help of their texts and propaganda the members of the Baader – Meinhof group are trying to expose the existing gaps and contradictions between the state and society, between classes within the society and between individuals within the classes. With the help of armed struggle they are trying to

reveal the oppressive nature of the state, its monopolized violence and power. The tactics of violence thus puts the legitimacy of the state under question⁴⁰.

What one should also take into consideration dealing with the conceptualization of the RAF tactics is the issue of the strategy that is used against the Baader – Meinhof group by the state apparatus. The RAF calls it ‘psychological warfare’. The core principles of the ‘psychological war’ unleashed by the Federal Republic against the RAF is based on “exploiting people’s fear for their very existence and their irrational fear of forces they do not understand, thereby reinforcing structures that are necessary to assure domination” (Text 3). This could be defined as the media struggle between the RAF and the FRG, where communiqués and statements is the arms of the former and Springer’s populist press is the arms of the latter. The RAF members are trying to interpret this kind of war as a desire of the power discourse to attribute its own logic to the actions performed by the Baader – Meinhof group. While from the RAF’s perspective one of the main truths about their group is that they are out of that logic, they are not part of the mental bourgeois structures and they do not follow the rules of the existing system.

D The Issue of Political Goals in the RAF’s Statements

The concepts of identity, system and tactics in the RAF’s statements are closely related to their idea of the goals pursued by the group. One of these goals is connected with the liberation process. In the context of the RAF’s texts the term “liberation” is used mostly in the ideological not physical sense. That means the liberation from ‘alienation’ of the ‘consumer society’ of capitalism, liberation from the domination world picture of bourgeoisie, “collective liberation, life, human dignity, our identity” (Text 3). In the physical sense the goals of the RAF are “freedom from imperialist domination, freedom for the territories occupied by colonialism and neo-colonialism, freedom from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, freedom from military dictatorship, from exploitation, from fascism and from imperialism” (Text 3). Generally the members of the Baader-

⁴⁰ The issue of RAF’s provocations against the West German state is the main topic of the article by Linhardt D. A. ‘Wild Experiment’ on the State: the ‘Nature’ of the Federal Republic of Germany Put to the Test of Guerrilla Warfare.

Meinhof group claim that their goals are the counter- goals to the state imperialism and capitalistic regime.

If one considers the categories that are taken by the RAF for the definition of their goals, it will be the notions of 'liberation' and 'freedom' that are opposed by the notions of 'domination', 'oppression', 'alienation' and 'exploitation' attributed to the existing state system. It is noteworthy that almost all of them could be connected to both physical and mental phenomena. Nevertheless, as it was previously argued, the RAF mostly makes an emphasis on the mental world phenomena. With the help of concrete political practice, political terrorism, they mostly are conducting their war in the ideological space. With the help of armed struggle they are trying to uncover the nature of the "dead categories" of the existing order. That is why one can conclude that the struggle of the RAF with the System lies in the space of ideology. It is the reason why in an attempt to understand the choice of armed struggle we are constantly referred to the issues of ideology and conceptualization.

Remarks on the Style of the RAF's Statements

In order to see the all-embracing picture of the RAF's text it is necessary to pay attention to the style and manner in which the group envelopes its ideas. First of all it is the usage of straightforward and ultimate categories, variety of generalizations and comparisons. For example, the core category of the state is always connected with such attributes as oppressive, dominant, exploiting, injustice; while the category of guerrilla is related to the notions of freedom, justice and dignity. At the same time the synonym of the state is fascism, while of guerrilla warfare – liberation. This kind of substitution is a leading topic and is common for the majority of the RAF texts. There is also the typical trend to equate the modern West German state with the Third Reich regime and at the same time to equate the RAF with the all liberation movements around the globe.

It is possible also to distinguish one more common feature in the style of the RAF's texts -a mix of high literature style of ideological rhetoric with the low style of colloquial language. This insertion of spoken phrases makes the texts of the group more personal and understandable to the common people. The binary

opposition of 'pigs' as the representatives of the system and 'comrades' as the representatives of revolutionary guerrillas could be an illustration of this trend. In this case the slang word 'pig' presupposes the connotation of meanness, filth, cowardice and hypocrisy understandable for the general public; while the term 'comrades' denotes mutual support, adherence to the lofty ideas, courage and has clear ideological attributions.

The last noteworthy point about the style of the RAF's statements is the special meaning of the word 'bourgeois' or 'bourgeoisie' that presents one of the most negative notions in their text. These words could be equated to alienation, passivity and conformity. The most interesting thing from this respect will be that, according to their social milieu the members of the RAF were representatives of bourgeoisie. This fact could help to explain why the members of the Baader – Meinhof group are so extremely negative about the notion of 'bourgeois'. They simply want to make a distance from their factual social belonging and insist on their constructed identity. As they claim that bourgeoisie is, in fact, their enemy, they are trying to show that they have nothing in common with this social group.

Concluding Remarks on the General Structure and Ideas of the RAF Texts

The texts of the RAF are the inherent part of their political struggle. The way the texts are organized, the style they are written in, the message, the ideas they are presenting are marked by the deep consideration of the authors and the understanding of the importance of the role these texts play in the group's political activity. As this kind of one -direction communication is the only possibility for them to present their ideological standings, political goals and identity, these texts for the RAF in their position of illegality could be the only way of self expression. The message of the texts is dedicated mostly to the criticism of the existing power structures and relations, to the self presentation and justification tactic of violence for achieving political purposes.

The pathos of the communiqués and statements produced by the RAF goes along with the line of Marxist- Leninist Ideology and Liberation movements' of the

Third World rhetoric. The language they use in their texts, as well as the notions and the concepts, is strongly related to the tradition of the critical thought of the second half of the 20th century. All the texts are put down in the context of modern political situation with the reference to the past historical events, first of all of the Fascist and the Colonial regimes. The authors of the texts try with any possibility to distance themselves from the bourgeois cultural and political tradition.

In the communiqués and statements produced by the RAF there are a lot of passages on their identity and self perception. The members of the group pose themselves as the movement of solidarity with the all the oppressed and as an opposition to the existing political order of imperialism. The basis of their identity lies in the separation of the group from the existing society. Their strong feeling of belonging is based on the clear division between Us and Them.

In their texts the RAF members stress the importance of ideological and 'psychological' dimensions of their struggle with the system. The motive of the Springer media group public lies and deliberate attempts to distort facts in the RAF's texts goes in line with the RAF's struggle for the minds of ordinary people. The Baader–Meinhof group perceives the ideological discourse as a space for their ideas implementation and the main territory of their revolutionary struggle. At the same time, the RAF is strongly against expressing their ideas in the traditional bourgeois political and psychological discourse.

The tactics the RAF is implementing to gain of their political goals is based on the destructive rather than constructive strategy that is clearly seen from their writings. They present the nature of their struggle in their communiqués and statements as forced by the state. They claim that the system made them step on the path of revolutionary urban guerrilla war. Their terrorist activity is a response to the state's repressive apparatus. All they are doing could be described in the terms of fighting back and resistance. It were not them who attacked first, it were not them who produced the context conducive to the revolutionary struggle. What they basically do is the provocation aimed to reveal the 'truly' oppressive nature of the West German state.

The members of the RAF are certain about the fascist nature of the Federal Republic of Germany that tries to mask itself under the cover of a democratic regime. What the capitalistic state is promoting is the class justice and confrontation between social groups, as well as exploitation and oppression. The dominant and oppressive position of the state, from the perspective of the Baader–Meinhof group, has forced them to wage the war for liberation.

The RAF is striving for the goals of liberation and freedom in respect of ideology and class consciousness. From their point of view they first and foremost are struggling for the liberation of people’s minds, giving them an opportunity to be free to decide their future and their position as historical actors.

According to their perspective on the question of legality and illegality of political means, they claim that the concept of legality lies within the logic of the power structures they are striving to destroy. Thus, the activity of the RAF could not be examined through the lens of the categories of legality and illegality, neither through the lens of traditional bourgeois concepts and notions. The Baader-Meinhof group members see the uniqueness of their position in the present historical stage of development and for this reason they perceive their political and historical role as messianic.

Conclusion

The question of social foundations of the left radical group in West Germany could not be answered in a direct or categorical manner. The results of the research that is dedicated to this kind of topic could be presented in the process of analyzing different hypotheses that could be proved or disproved by the existing facts and newly appeared conjectures. What is done in the present research is an attempt to summarize a range of prerequisites for the emergence of the RAF that could be explained with the help of different approaches. This research gives different perspectives on the social, cultural, ideological and historical factors that gave rise to the German left radical group using violence to attain political aims - the Red Army Faction.

The difficulties that the researcher faced in the present work are connected with the lack of relevant information on the topic in English and Russian academic publications. The major body of works that exists on the topic of the RAF group emergence is written in German and presents in most cases the historical perspective on the issue. Thus, in the current research project the main focus is on the primary sources such as ideological writings, historical narrations and writings of the analyzed group itself. Along with the problem of scientific ambiguity and lack of exhaustive social research on the topic, the main challenge during the writing of the present paper was the preservation of the neutral moral and scientific position towards the analyzed data and the radical group itself.

In the first part of the present work the focus of investigation was on the historical and political background of the RAF's appearance, as well as on ideological settings to the group's formation. The main line of this analysis shows that there were certain historical prerequisites that could have been among the causes of the RAF group's formation. First of all, it was the issues of the Nazi past heritage and the 'double' consciousness of the West German population in the post World War II period. The historical events of the Third Reich regime and the outcomes of the war produced the context for the rupture in the consciousness of the German population. The majority of the German people irrespective of their age were feeling a complex of moral guilt for the atrocities of the Nazi regime. The younger generation of Germans or so-called 'war-children' were inclined to condemn their parents for their conformism and passive political position during the time when Fascists were in power. What is more, the German post-war generation has lost the trust for political decisions made by the people who were doomed to be part of the Fascist regime and who latter present the political power within the new democratic regime in the FRG.

There were also historical and cultural global trends that could possibly influence the RAF emergence. Above all, it was the situation of the Cold War when the world was divided into two parts that were associated with two major ideologies. This artificial division of paradigms pushed the followers of both ideologies to the extremes. In the situation of the FRG it was the policy of

'chasing and blaming' the supporters of Communistic ideas. Thus the German state which was influenced by the world political situation made an impact on the radicalization of political groups in opposition.

The other major global political trend that influenced the RAF formation was the struggle for national liberation of the Post-Colonial countries. Those who perceived the national liberation struggle as a fight against the imperialistic policy of the Capitalistic world saw the Western regimes as oppressive. That was the position of the future RAF members who treated their state regime as the enemy of liberation movements. There was also a succession of events within the Federal Republic of Germany that were among the possible reasons for the RAF emergence. Among those events one could name the killing of Benno Ohnesorg, the attempt at Rudi Dutschke's life, violent suppression of students' demonstrations in West Germany, etc. Young political activists in opposition were forced by the FRG state to radicalize their political tactics as a response to the harsh position of the state with regard to any attempt at political disobedience and criticism.

The other possible explanation of the Baader-Meinhof group formation could be prompted by philosophical and ideological trends of that time. Within the major schools of thought that made an impact on the RAF emergence one can mention Marxism –Leninism, Neo-Marxism, the revolutionary ideas of the Third World and ideological trends connected with the French May of the 1968 events. To sum up, the major part of representatives of these schools were staying on the positions of hard criticism of the Capitalistic regime. In most cases ideologies were claiming for the active political position and tactics of direct action. Revolutionary rhetoric was among the most popular trends. Moreover, the theoreticians of this movement were in favor of using extreme measures to fight the existing system of oppression.

In the second part of the present paper special attention is paid to the social context of the RAF formation. In this paper it is argued that the phenomenon of the 1968 generation in the world in general and in West Germany in particular was among one of the causes of the Baader- Meinhof

group emergence. As the generation of 1968 was famous for the introduction of new types of political participation, new types of ideological trends and the formation of new types of lifestyles, it would be logical to put the influence of these trends among the causes of the Baader- Meinhof group's formation. In particular, the German 1968 generation had even more reasons to rebel against their fathers and not to obey the legitimized practices of behavior due to the distrust of the values of people who subdued to the Nazi regime.

According to Bourdieu's concepts, it was clear that there were several preconditions for the young people of the West German 1968 generation and especially for the middle class group of students to enter the political opposition and to create and promote their own ideology, norms and values. But on the other hand, it was not clear what forced the future members of the RAF to decide to choose the tactics of armed struggle and to become revolutionary guerrilla. There was also an attempt to try to explain the choice of members of the RAF to become revolutionary guerrillas by studying their biographies. Firstly we rejected the hypothesis that the decision to use violence as a political strategy was an outcome of the authoritarian education in the families of the future members of the Baader-Meinhof group. The next hypothesis proposed in the present work was about possible psychological trauma that could occur during the childhood of the future members of left radical group. The analysis that was made on the basis of theory of Psychoanalysis has shown that only Andreas Baader had special conditions in his childhood that could possibly influence his choice to become a revolutionary.

The third part of the present research was dedicated to the content analysis of the texts written by the RAF- communiqués and three statements. The RAF as a close illegal political group was trying to gain public support for their actions, so their communiqués and statements were the only available source for communication with the general public as well as a matter of self presentation. The general message of the texts is mostly dedicated to the criticism of the existing power structures and relations, to the self presentation and justification of the use of violence for political purposes. The content of the communiqués

and statements produced by the RAF lies along with the line of Marxist-Leninist Ideology and the ideas of the liberation movements of the Third World. The members of the group pose themselves as the movement of solidarity with all the oppressed and as an opposition to the existing political order of capitalism that is imperialistic and oppressive in its nature. The RAF members are staying on the positions against the traditional bourgeois political and psychological discourse. In their communiqués and statements they present the violent nature of their struggle as forced by the state and as a response to the oppressive actions of the state apparatus. The members of the RAF are certain about the fascist nature of the Federal Republic of Germany that tries to mask itself under the cover of a people's democratic regime. The members of the RAF claim that the activity of their group could not be examined through the lens of the categories of legality or illegality as they belong traditionally to the bourgeois concepts and notions.

The phenomenon of the RAF is an outstanding example of the leftist radical group of the second part of the 20th century in Europe. Though their activity could be described as extreme and marginal, the core ideas of the group are symptomatic of the political, social and cultural sphere of that epoch. Thorough examination of the activity, emergence, development, ideological standings and identities of this group the RAF could be a pattern that can help to understand the political and cultural atmosphere of that time, as well as to shed light on the phenomenon of the left radical groups of other countries and epochs.

The issue that could be interesting for further investigation is a comparison between different left radical groups using violence in order to find out the common ground for the possible emergence of such kind of groups.

Bibliography

In English

- Barth F. (1969) Introduction to Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference. Boston: Little, Brown and Company
- Crenshaw Hutchinson, M., 1972, The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 16(3), 383–396.
- Crenshaw Hutchinson, M., 1981, The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics*, July
- Diederich R., 1965, The West German Emergency Laws. *International Socialism*, No.22 Autumn, pp.23-28.
- Dulffer, M., 2008, 1968 –A European Movement? *Eurotopics*. <http://www.eurotopics.net/en/magazin/geschichte-verteilerseite-neu/achtundsechzig-2008-03/debatte-1968-2008-03> accessed on 29.05.2009
- Fanon, F., 2005, The Wretched of the Earth. Grove/atlantic.
- Gibbs, J., 1989, Conceptualization of Terrorism. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 54 (June), 329–340
- Herf J. (2007) An Age of Murder. Ideology and Terror in Germany, 1969-1991., Opening lecture in a series on the “The ‘German Autumn’ of 1977: Terror, State, and Society in West Germany”, delivered at the German Historical Institute in Washington on September 27, 2007, <http://www.history.umd.edu/Faculty/JHerf/GHIterror4ms.pdf>
- Hockenos, P., 2008, Joschka Fischer and the Marking of the Berlin Republic: An Alternative History of Postwar Germany. Oxford Uni. Press
- Hockenos, P., 2008, The 1968 debate in Germany. *Open Democracy* 2-05
- Huffman, R., 2008, The Gun Speaks. <http://www.baader-meinhof.com>
- Jansen, P.-E, Student Movements in Germany, 1968-1984. http://www.datawranglers.com/negations/issues/98w/jansen_01.html
- Kundera, M., 1987, Preface to The Achievement of Josef Skorecky, ed. by Sam Solencki, University Toronto Press
- Laqueur, 1977, The Interpretations of Terrorism: Fact, Fiction and Political Science. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 12
- Lichter, R., S., 1979, Young Rebels. A Psychopolitical Study of West German Male Radical Students. *Comparative Politics*, October
- Linhardt, D., A ‘Wild Experiment’ on the State: the ‘Nature’ of the Federal Republic of Germany Put to the Test of Guerrilla Warfare.
- Marcuse, H., The Revival of Holocaust Awareness in West Germany, Israel, and United States. <http://www.history.uscb.edu/faculty/marcuse/publications/articles/1968.972.html> accessed on 15th January 2009
- Marcuse, H., 1970, The Problem of Violence and the Radical Opposition. *Five Lectures: Psychoanalysis, Politics, and Utopia*; trans. Jeremy Shapiro and Shierry Weber, Boston: Beacon, 62-81
- Marighella, C., 1969, Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla. www.geocities.com/phosphor2013/UrbanGuerrilla.pdf
- Oberschall, A., 2004, Explaining Terrorism: The Contribution of Collective Action Theory. *Sociological Theory*, 22:1 March
- Renders, H., The biographical method. www.rug.nl/biografieinstituut accessed on 25.05.2009

- Rupnik, J., 2008, 1968: The year of two springs. *Transit*. 35, Summer
- Shell, K.,L., 1970, Extraparliamentary Opposition in Postwar Germany. *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 2, № 4, July, - <http://www.jstor.org/stable/421535> accessed on 25.05.2009
- Schlisser, H., 2001, The Miracle Years: a Cultural History of West Germany, 1949-1968. Princeton, Oxford
- Tilly, C., 2004, Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists. *Sociological Theory*. 22:1, March, 5–13
- Varon, J., 2004, Bringing the War Home. University of California Press
- Watts, M., 2001, 1968 and all that... *Progress in Human Geography*. 25,2 <http://phg.sagepub.com/cqi/content/abstract/25/2/157> accessed on 13th April, 2009

In German

- Aust St. Der Baader- Meinhof Komplex. Goldmann, 2008
- Winkler W. Die Geschichte der RAF. Germany, 2008
- Götz Aly, Unser Kampf: 1968 – ein irritierter Blick zurück, 2008

In Russian

- Бодрийар Ж. 2001 Дух терроризма.
- Бурдые П.(1998) [Структура. габитус. практика](#) // *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии*. Т. 1. № 2. С. 40-58.
- Вэйг Т. (2004) Телемечтатели. Фракция Красной Армии 1963-1994. ГОУП «Гродненская типография».
- Грамши А. Тюремные Тетради. http://bookz.ru/authors/antonio-gramsci/turemnie_776.html accessed on 29.05.2009
- Дебор Г.(2000) Общество спектакля. М., Логос.
- Бодрийар Ж. (2001) Дух терроризма. Copyright Edition Galilee/ "Le Monde", www.inosmi.ru/translation/142061.html
- Ланцов С.А. (2004) Террор и террористы. Издательство СПбГУ,
- Ленин В. Советы постороннего. <http://www.zhurnal.ru/magister/library/lenin/lenin006.htm> accessed on 29.05.2009
- Лукач Г.(2003) История и классовое сознание. М. «Логос-Альтера»
- Майнхоф У. (2004) От протеста к сопротивлению. М., Гилея
- Маркузе Г. (1994) Одномерный человек. М.
- Маркс К., Энгельс Ф. Манифест Коммунистической партии. <http://www.marxists.org/russkij/marx/1848/manifesto.htm> accessed on 29.05.2009
- Мертес М. (2008) 1968-й как миф. *Неприкосновенный Запас*. <http://magazines.russ.ru/nz/2008/4/mm21.html> accssed on 29.05.2009
- Ньютон Х. (2003) Революционное самоубийство. М., Ультра.Культура
- Сартр Ж.П. (1989) Экзистенциализм – это гуманизм.// Сумерки Богов. М., Политиздат
- Хейдеггер М. Исток художественного творения.(1935) www.gumer.info/bogoslov/Buks/Philos/Heidegg/1st_index.php
- Фрейд З. (2006) Влечения и их судьбы // Психология бессознательного. М.

- Фрейд З. (2006) По ту сторону принципа удовольствия // Психология бессознательного.— М.
- Фуко М. (2005) Интеллектуалы и Власть. М., Праксис, Т.1
- Хоркхаймер М., Адорно Т.В.(1997) Диалектика просвещения. Философские фрагменты. М.-СП-б.
- Фромм Э. Анатомия человеческой деструктивности. <http://marsexx.narod.ru/fromm-anatomy-destr.html> accessed on 29.05.2009.
- Фромм Э. (2004) Собрание Сочинений., «Изида»

Filmography

- Beller H. Burning Wall, 2002
- Bellocchio M. Buongiorno, notte. 2003
- Fassbinder R. W. Die Dritte Generation. 1979
- Schlindorff V. Stille nach dem schuss. 2000

Web sites

- <http://www.baader-meinhof.com>
- <http://www.germanguerilla.com/red-army-faction>
- http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/terrorists_spies/terrorists/meinhof/biblio.html



ZDES Working Papers

Arbeitspapiere des Zentrums für Deutschland- und Europastudien

Рабочие тетради Центра изучения Германии и Европы

Universität Bielefeld – Fakultät für Soziologie
Postfach 100131 – 33501 Bielefeld – Deutschland

Staatliche Universität St. Petersburg – 7/9 Universitetskaja Nab.
199034 St. Petersburg – Russland

<http://zdes.spb.ru/>

info@zdes.spb.ru