

*THE TRIAL STATEMENT OF*



**DANIELA KLETTE**

*we can only be truly free when everyone is free*

*armthespiritforrevolutionaryresistance.wordpress.com/  
2026/05/18/danielas-plea-from-may-12-2026/*

*with whatever weapons at hand*



*Daniela Klette is on trial for a specific period in the history of the Red Army Faction (RAF), which disbanded in 1998. She is alleged to have participated in two RAF actions: the shelling of the US embassy in Bonn in February 1991 in protest against the illegal invasion of Iraq by the US military, the attack on the still-unfinished Weiterstadt prison in March 1993, and the attempted attack by a combat unit on a Deutsche Bank computer center in Eschborn in February 1990. Daniela lived underground for well over 30 years before her arrest in Berlin at the end of February 2024. Membership in the RAF is subject to a 25-year statute of limitations.*

## *The Trial Statement of Daniela Klette*

Now this first lengthy trial against me is coming to an end. During the course of the proceedings, the assessment that existed from the beginning has been confirmed, and it has become abundantly clear: the investigation and the proceedings are politically motivated. The aim here is to enforce domination and subjugation at all costs. The prosecution underscored this once again in its closing arguments. It's not about individual acts, and not so much about me, but about delegitimizing a history of radical left-wing resistance and punishing it with deterrent force.

I thank everyone who has shown me solidarity, here in the courtroom, from outside, beyond the prison walls, with letters, cards, and thoughts. And also my lawyer, Ulrich von Klinggräff, who unfortunately became very ill and therefore can no longer be here.

What I am about to say today is addressed to all of them, as well as to that part of the public that is interested in it.

I'd like to briefly share my story, which is also the story of many other comrades. Many who have written to me are so young that they didn't experience the period from the early 1970s to the 1990s in West Germany. Or they grew up in East Germany or elsewhere in the world. I've written this without claiming to be exhaustive, but I hope it will be clear from what I've said why I'm searching for a better world in which capitalism, racism, and patriarchy have been overcome, and why I defend the struggle for it.

And that's why I'm also defending the right to build and maintain a life illegally, even if it's "only" about evading state

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repression. This is completely independent of the fact that the latter ended for me more than two years ago. Therefore, it's my responsibility to do all of this from here, as far as possible.

As a teenager, I sensed that a life lived according to capitalist rules is destructive. Humans are social beings, inherently geared towards cooperation. But submission to the constraints of isolation and competition produced by capitalism undermines this and creates alienation and distance between people. The pressure to function without questioning what for, and the relentless pursuit of conforming to images and norms created by this system, fosters a sense of alienation from oneself.

Of course, I didn't yet have a term for it or a precise explanation. But I felt crushed by the pressure and despondency that all of this created, and my resistance to it grew. That's why I was preoccupied from an early age with questions about a different life, one that surely must be possible.

That was the case, even though I was very lucky at home. My parents were open-minded people. My mother had probably always been that way. My father, who joined the Hitler Youth as a boy and fought on the Nazi side as a teenager in the war, grappled intensively with the crimes of National Socialism after 1945 and drew his own conclusions. Both wanted to instill human values in their children. So I was able to have friends from all over, in terms of countries, skin color, and social standing. In the early days of labor migration, some of them were from Spain, Italy, and Portugal. Through contact with these friends, I had the opportunity to experience very different ways of life. That was something special. Only one of my school friends was allowed to go out on the street with us. As everywhere, racist attitudes toward migrants were widespread in our neighborhood. So my parents had to withstand criticism from teachers who watched my

“associations” with concern. I also witnessed how dismissive and exclusionary the treatment of migrant workers was. I saw containers where Turkish construction workers were crammed together, forced to work themselves to exhaustion. They were expected to be squeezed dry at work, but never to become equal members of society. These injustices outraged me. At school, it wasn't about getting along with others; no, we were indoctrinated with the idea that it was always about being “better,” better than our best friend. And about keeping up, about achieving a career that would allow us to participate in the supposedly desirable consumerism. A consumerism that isn't geared towards real needs, but rather where needs are artificially created to increase corporate profits. It's still the same today: you're led to believe that what matters isn't who you are, but what you own, how you look, and what you achieve. For the ever-growing profits of capital, that's what determines your worth. Back then, I often wondered what was wrong with me, because I felt absolutely no urge to keep up. On the contrary, every attempt to submit to it drained all the energy from my very being. This feeling of being crushed only lifted when I met friends from the spontaneous, or rather, undogmatic left. We engaged with texts from the socialist patients' collective, such as the book “Making Illness a Weapon,” which deeply impressed me.

Through these conflicts, I learned that my sense of being lost wasn't rooted in an individual problem, but rather in societal conditions. Understanding this opened my eyes even wider to the injustice around us: the brutal imperialist exploitation and oppression in many parts of the world, and the wars instigated by wealthy capitalist countries. I absolutely refused to become complicit in this. I became convinced that overcoming these conditions holds the hope for a free and dignified life for all, a life that must be won.

entails. Because this war poses a fundamental threat to all positive approaches and ideas internationally.

Even if this power does not yet exist, it is all these struggles that at least make its development possible and give me hope.

This is also the hope for my and our freedom, and ultimately the freedom of all, and for a world that leaves all forms of oppression behind.

A world in which prisons no longer exist, neither in the form of diverse and intertwined power relations, nor in the form of concrete, stone and steel, in which people are simply locked away behind walls and barbed wire.

A world in which people can live in harmony with one another and with all other living beings in nature.

We can only be truly free when everyone is free.

...those who stand by our side, by the side of the prisoners, in the face of systems of repression and prisons, and who demand with us a perspective of freedom and ultimately the abolition of prisons,

...who, after decades of fighting to protect the life of Mumia Abu Jamal, who has been a political prisoner in the USA for 48 years, will not give up and, full of solidarity, will do everything to fight for his freedom.

These are by no means all of the diverse resistance activities that have developed today and in recent years in response to so many contradictions, or in some cases have existed for a long time – such as the feminist and now queer-feminist organizing against patriarchal violence, the many initiatives against the increasingly perfect repressive border control system to keep out refugees who urgently need help, the flotillas to Gaza and Cuba to break through the starvation and isolation, the port blockades against arms deliveries to Gaza and against militarization and solidarity strikes by Italian and Greek workers with the Palestinian population and their struggle against occupation and expulsion, the protests against the increasing number of police fatal shootings of black people, non-German or non-conformist people.

Even though I – thankfully – cannot list everything that is being done, I wanted to mention at least some of it, because it is so important to remember, to stay focused on the goals and ideas of liberation, and not to be silenced by the blatant brutality of those in power. Just as all the different initiatives are about taking concrete action against the respective crimes and about defending “oases of human cooperation” while simultaneously expanding and developing them within their own initiatives, it is equally crucial how everyone will come together to form a common force that can stop the development of World War III and all the consequences it already

This conviction has never left me since. Because every decade, every single year, and every day brings new evidence that humanity’s problems cannot be solved within capitalism. On the contrary: they are becoming increasingly acute.

Along with many others, I refused to submit to this system that alienates people from themselves. We wanted to be seen for who we truly are, without conforming to the lies and images imposed by consumerist, performance-driven society. We didn’t want to remain trapped in it and wanted to change ourselves and the capitalist society.

That was around the mid-1970s. There was still a whiff of the 1968 movement of rebellion against the institutions and political positions still, or newly, infiltrated by Nazis, and against the fascist-influenced ways of thinking in society.

There had been the emergence of an internationalist, revolutionary left, with huge demonstrations in solidarity with the Vietnamese liberation struggle against US aggression and with the struggle against the fascist Shah regime in Iran, which was then strongly supported by the revolutionary Iranian left.

But there had also been the first demonstrator murdered by the police during this period of upheaval. On June 2, 1967, student Benno Ohnesorg was shot dead by a police officer during a demonstration against the West German complicity with the fascist Shah regime.

The RAF’s attacks against the US headquarters in Frankfurt and Heidelberg, from where the US Army’s air strikes in Vietnam were coordinated, had already taken place. The June 2nd Movement and the revolutionary cells had also been founded at that time. And later, the women-organized Red Zora was added.

The school still held traces of the 1968 movement. Despite the professional bans, some teachers practiced alternative teaching

methods with us, methods that focused on collaborative learning rather than competition. We read books such as B. Traven's stories of resistance in Latin America and Heinrich Böll's "Katharina Blum." In religion class, we learned about liberation theology in Latin America and about priests who had joined the struggle for liberation there, like Don Helder Camara in Brazil and Camilo Torres in Colombia.

All of this, but also the fact that these teachers were disciplined and transferred right before our eyes, taught me more about global conditions and the role and reality of West Germany. We were also outraged that at that time, a comprehensive examination of Nazi fascism was not part of the curriculum, let alone the consequences that had to be drawn from it. In retrospect, this is no surprise, since no fundamental ones were planned.

We acquired our knowledge about this outside of school. I remember a ring binder compiled by left-wing female students. I think it was called "Learning from Below." From it, we learned about capital's responsibility for the rise of fascism and the full extent of the human catastrophe: the brutal persecution of the left-wing workers' movement and left-wing intellectuals, the cruel extermination policies against the Jewish population, Roma and Sinti, concentration camps and euthanasia, the annihilation of all opposition, the repelled war of annihilation against the Soviet Union, which cost the lives of more than 25 million Soviet citizens, invasions and occupation in Eastern and Western Europe, but also the Europe-wide anti-fascist and communist resistance against it.

During this time, older students also organized film screenings and discussions about the Vietnamese liberation struggle. We formed a school collective to be able to assert our demands in everyday school life. Until the age of 15, I had resisted the idea that people who wanted to fight for a better world had to enforce and

support of even the most terrorist policies of Israel has been established as German *raison d'état*, and all those who oppose it face exclusion and criminalization,

...to combat anti-Semitism and naturally assume that this is part and parcel of fighting racism in general,

...who, in the face of worsening inequality, poverty, exploitation, unaffordable rents, mass homelessness and unemployment, question the capitalist system and demand the immediate abolition of the profit-driven economy with home ownership.

...who oppose the politics of ongoing, promoted racism, nationalism, and the exclusion of those already left behind by social security with a policy of solidarity and the fight against social cutbacks; because the only way to prevent ever larger segments of the population from moving to the right and to stop the fascization of the declining old colonial states and the USA is to counter racist agitation and a politics that is generally based on division and the invitation to save oneself by kicking those at the bottom of society instead of fighting against power at the top with a radical left-wing perspective that brings tangible positive changes in the lives of the many.

...who are organizing to stop the gradual destruction and militarization of healthcare,

...those who directly oppose Nazis and organize protection, and who at the same time say that this is not enough, because fascism is rooted in capitalism,

...who oppose the ecological destruction of the world that is inevitable under capitalism and advocate for an organization of humanity that aims to enable sustainable ecological production and thus the survival of humanity and nature,

The trace of this lives on in all the various resistance activities of those involved.

They know that the youth, the unrich and powerful in the population are those who are supposed to serve as cannon fodder in the war for power and raw materials, and therefore oppose militarization, conscription and rearmament, i.e. against the war.

...those who refuse to give their lives or take the lives of others for the interests of capital, and who do not accept that resources should be used for weapons, the military, the police and the profits of corporations instead of for the population,

They will not accept militarization because they are aware that in a militarized society, violence against women, queer people, trans people and people with disabilities will inevitably increase further.

...who, as students, directly defend themselves against a future as cannon fodder through school strikes,

...who oppose imperial politics and crimes with their solidarity and internationalism, and who do not accept the state violence that the struggle for power and raw materials in capitalism requires and that is increasingly openly represented and ruthlessly used by the powerful,

...those who do not submit, even though, as Jews, they are massively attacked by the German state and media as allegedly anti-Semitic, because in times of international resistance against the extreme violence against Palestinians, they are to be deprived of the right to reject or even question Israeli settler colonialism and the apartheid policy against the Palestinian population, Zionism, and to name Germany's complicity in war crimes and genocide.

...who, as activists, demonstrators, journalists, artists and scientists, insist on their opposition, even though the unwavering

defend it with violence. My dream was non-violent change. Looking at history and the world around us made it increasingly clear that the powerful beneficiaries most entangled in the capitalist system would fight any fundamental change with the most brutal violence. The example of the US-backed fascist military coup and the assassination of Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973 had shown that the possibilities and the very existence of any elected socialist government would be crushed if it could not defend itself with arms.

"You will surely understand that you must defend yourself if you do not want to perish," was a slogan on many leaflets and on many walls at that time.

During my political awakening in Karlsruhe, I repeatedly encountered the RAF through slogans and posters on the walls. I also learned about the political prisoners' struggle against isolation torture and the solidarity shown with them. Soon, I was consciously following all of this, including their hunger strikes. I was deeply drawn to the fact that there were people who fought so resolutely against this system, by which I, like so many others, felt oppressed.

I was 16 when I learned that a man had been murdered in prison for fighting the torture of solitary confinement through hunger strike. It was Holger Meins, who had rebelled against the system and was killed in prison through deliberate starvation during state-mandated forced feeding and the denial of medical care.

I was 17 when the Vietnamese liberation struggle defeated US-led imperialism. This incredible victory was also achieved with worldwide solidarity. Despite napalm, despite the enormous military machine that opposed the liberation movement, and despite the massacres of the Vietnamese population perpetrated by the US military with the help and complicity of the West, especially Germany.

It was a time of liberation attempts and anti-colonial struggles in many countries: for example, the Black Panthers against racist oppression and for revolution in the USA, the fight against apartheid in South Africa, or the FSLN in Nicaragua against dictatorship. I began to understand what humanity could expect from capitalism and imperialism. Yes, I saw myself as part of the worldwide movements fighting for liberation from exploitation and oppression, against capitalism and patriarchy, and against war and militarism.

In 1976/77, I started visiting political prisoners. The first of them was Johannes Thimme, who was in prison for allegedly supporting the RAF and was immediately placed in solitary confinement. I wanted to express my solidarity with him and counter his isolation. In response, they began terrorizing me with surveillance. In 1977, plainclothes police officers were already waiting in their car at my front door early in the morning and followed me at a walking pace to the school.

After 1977, when the attempted liberation of 11 RAF prisoners failed, and of the Stammheim prisoners only Irmgard Möller survived the night of October 18, 1977, with severe injuries, I decided to move to Wiesbaden. There I had met comrades with whom I wanted to continue the solidarity with political prisoners. We saw this as an important and urgently necessary part of the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle.

It became a life full of resistance activities against isolation and for the reunification of prisoners, solidarity with the liberation struggles in Palestine, South Africa, Nicaragua and El Salvador, and with Turkish comrades against the NATO coup in Turkey.

Through the struggle in solidarity with political prisoners, further discussions and friendships developed with other comrades from Ireland, the Basque Country, Italy, Spain, and France. There were

will only leave this history of suffering behind us once we have overcome this system. At the moment, we are at an extremely destructive point in this crisis. The old, false world order is finally losing its hegemony because it is utterly unjust to the vast majority of humanity. But that is why it is lashing out so fiercely. For us, the immediate imperative is a reversal away from war-mongering and militarization, away from external aggression and internal repression and humiliation, from social coldness and complicity in global capitalist and imperialist crimes.

Stop the wars and imperial violence that violate international law! Stop the oppressive sanctions that result in devastation and millions of deaths!

Instead, the focus must be on ecologically sound production that is not geared towards profit for the few, but towards the well-being of all and the transformation of society in a way that allows people to live with international social security and in safety.

*“The alternative is our global task and is a socialism that could be rich in historical experience (and) also through overcoming the great and small mistakes of history, the great and small revolutionary attempts, the urban guerrilla movements, the anarchists, the communists, the social revolutionaries, and the anti-patriarchal and anti-colonial struggles and movements. Achieving this will ultimately decide whether life on this planet will continue to be possible and under what conditions. ...The question for all of us worldwide about the alternative to capitalism and the systemic processes leading to it, as well as our own processes, is existential and cannot be postponed.”*

— Burkhard Garweg in his greeting to the Rosa Luxemburg Conference in January 2026.

most brutal destruction caused by the war waged by Israel and the USA. It is the German government that, as is well known, supports this through arms deliveries, business relationships, and political appeasement, and persecutes those who oppose it. With a Chancellor who, even before the latest expansion of the war, which violates international law, remarked on Israel's aggressive warfare, saying it was "dirty work that Israel is doing for us."

So it's true, as the court states, that the streets are full of traumatized people; this is due to poverty, racism, patriarchy, police violence, and imperialist wars. Accusing me of this exploits misery and is intended to justify a long prison sentence.

Overcoming these widespread traumas requires immediate and profound changes, and these must be international. It is obvious that the extent of the trauma must be unimaginably more drastic in countries that have been ravaged by war for years, such as Sudan, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iran, and Ukraine, or in those strangled by sanctions, such as Cuba.

Everyone can see and understand that! Deep down, most people already know it.

Unfortunately, many are more afraid of taking steps towards a different, unfamiliar social system than of the widespread destruction of living conditions that clearly looms on the horizon if things continue as they are. A "system change" is urgently needed, because beyond competition, exploitation, and oppression, capitalism also contains fascism, racism, war, violent power dynamics within the political system and between people, patriarchal violence against women and queer people, against people with disabilities, and the destruction of nature.

All of this recedes more into the background or comes more to the fore, depending on the state of the capitalist crisis. Therefore, we

also contacts with the Iranian left-wing resistance.

For us, the international liberation movements also represented the global women's liberation struggle. Leyla Khaled of the PFLP in Palestine, Assata Shakur and Angela Davis from the Black liberation movement in the USA, and also the comrades from the armed groups in Western Europe were examples for us. They represented millions of women worldwide.

In recent decades, the example of the Kurdish liberation movement, especially in Rojava, has shown how much power is created for everyone when the liberation of women is a defining part of the struggle.

We lived and organized our daily lives together. There were squats and the struggle against the West Runway, against the deforestation, and against the expansion of Frankfurt Airport and thus the US Air Base. We went there for Sunday walks—some peaceful, some militant—to the runway wall, performed political theater, and participated in numerous resistance meetings and events against imperialist US and NATO policies. Together, we attended demonstrations in solidarity with the liberation movements in Nicaragua and El Salvador, against the state visits of Reagan, the then US President, and Haig, the then US Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, and in solidarity with political prisoners. The attacks carried out at that time by the RAF against Haig and Kroesen, as well as on the US military airfield in Ramstein as a base for their wars around the world, and the attempt in Oberammergau, were seen by us, in the context of the large mobilizations against the stationing of US intermediate-range missiles and the US counterwars against the liberation movements, as a strengthening of our resistance and vice versa.

During this time, the RAF and action directe also proposed the formation of a common resistance front in the fight against the formation of Western Europe into the imperialist bloc and in solidarity with the liberation movements.

The state security service cracked down hard with intensified repression. Several anti-imperialist comrades known to the state security service were arrested. By constructing the notion of a supposedly “legal RAF,” the Federal Prosecutor’s Office created a tool that made it possible to imprison comrades for many years through convictions without evidence of their alleged participation in militant actions.

Ever since our visits to political prisoners, we—and by “we” I mean many comrades—were under almost constant surveillance. They terrorized us with overt observation, with checks several times a day where we were addressed by name and asked to show our identification. On the street where we lived, they often set up checkpoints so that no visitors could reach us without registering. The other method was covert surveillance, which they didn’t want us to notice.

These surveillance operations were like contagious diseases, spreading from person to person. We always had to assume that the “Lords of the Dawn” were lurking somewhere. It took considerable effort to escape this surveillance, even for a few hours, whether to have a conversation without the fear of being overheard, or to spray-paint a few slogans or put up posters. It goes without saying that resistance could never be bound by such chains, which meant having every activity controlled by the state security service. And of course, we didn’t want to expose our feelings to our watchers.

Even in the 1970s and 80s, there were always comrades who noticed how the net around them was getting tighter and tighter, and

Today, the state oppresses through division, repression, and fear. This works at a time when thousands are threatened with the loss of their relative prosperity, and thus must fear soon finding themselves on the side of those labeled “parasites” and dependent on support that is already being cut back.

The question is whether this will lead many to allow themselves to be blackmailed or lured into producing any kind of rubbish for the war machine, or whether the conflicts surrounding this will finally give due consideration to those who have long developed proposals for a different civilian and ecological production system, and whether it will be possible to organize and implement these proposals collectively.

Young people are expected to accept a future as cannon fodder.

Although peace researchers have repeatedly refuted Russia’s war intentions or capabilities against NATO, these claims continue to be used as justification for the focus on militarization, the enormously increased spending on the military and arms industry, and the continued fueling of the Ukraine war through NATO’s immense arms deliveries.

The feeling of having no choice is spreading. When the only perspective is a “yes!” to war and impoverishment, a continuation of the status quo with environmental destruction and climate catastrophe, despair breeds. For two and a half years, the world has seen a brutal demonstration of how representatives of Western governments, which until recently called themselves “values-based societies,” treat people who stand in the way of imperialist and capitalist interests—namely, the ongoing genocide of the Palestinian population in Gaza, as well as the ethnic cleansing through outright terror in the West Bank and now also in Lebanon and Iran, with the

glorifying and patriarchal ideas are reinforced.

Since the dawn of time, femicides, rapes, and sexualized violence – including during police operations – have been omnipresent.

During the isolation period of the Corona pandemic, patriarchal violence within families increased.

These are quite obvious sources of trauma. Beyond that, so much is happening that is filling more and more people with great uncertainty and growing fear of the future. Every day, the mainstream media, and certainly the internet as well, spread the message that the money that should actually be used for social and environmental programs, for health, education, and culture, is now being poured into rearmament. Cold-blooded selection is becoming increasingly dominant in mainstream media discussions—the right to help and care is supposedly being denied to ever-larger segments of society. Those who can't afford private insurance are threatened with increasingly reduced medical care—and—expensive therapy for Grandpa? That's just not worth it anymore!

Refugees should be deported elsewhere or, even violently, kept out altogether, unless they are needed somewhere in the economy.

In times of crisis, capitalist Western states resort to aggression externally and, internally, to the brutalization of their societies. To this end, they propagate contempt for a growing segment of the population, who are defamed as useless.

Social demands, social treatment, inclusion, and welfare are attacked as detrimental to the economy—which in reality means detrimental to profit growth. The word “reform” today stands for government steps toward abolishing the welfare state.

who, out of fear and arrest, went underground, disappeared from the scene and – some for years – lived abroad.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was obvious that revolutionary politics needed to be redefined and fundamentally reflected upon. On the one hand, the international landscape had changed dramatically; on the other, it was crucial to come to terms with past experiences. At the time, I was one of many who refused to withdraw in the face of this epochal shift. We refused to accept the collapse of the Soviet Union as a final victory for capitalism. It was clear that this weakening of the global socialist movement would have catastrophic consequences. In West Germany, it led to the return of the Bundeswehr as an openly belligerent army and directly into the war against Yugoslavia, a war that violated international law. It led to the annexation of East Germany by West Germany, a process carried out even against the will of those who had begun their movement in East Germany with the goal of positive change both there and beyond the capitalist system and West German realities, and it brought with it the neoliberal assault on hard-won social achievements. And a racist mobilization, fueled by the CDU, served to redirect any anger and emerging resistance. At the same time, nationalist euphoria was celebrated. This was eagerly seized upon by the right wing and led to deadly arson attacks in both East and West Germany, such as those in Solingen and Mölln, and assaults on migrants, refugees, and left-wing individuals and their organizations. I need only mention Rostock-Lichtenhagen and Hoyerswerda, and the accounts of those currently on trial as antifascists who were exposed to this atmosphere in East Germany during their youth.

Of course, we recognized this severe weakness of the left worldwide, and that's why we were driven by the desire to make every effort to find answers to the questions ahead and to continue existing

as a radical left-wing force. These conflicts took place alongside illegal activists. In the long run, it was too dangerous to repeatedly break away from surveillance and then return.

I decided not to look at these conditions any further and so I stayed away. That was the decision to make resistance the very center of my life, and the contacts and discussions with other comrades who shared the same thoughts about what to do next and the redefinition of revolutionary politics became my priority.

The RAF has not existed for 28 years. That the RAF played an important role in my life is evident from what I have written here. These comrades represented for me the possibility of breaking with this system and fighting for liberation through fundamental resistance.

Through the examination of the RAF's initial actions during the Vietnam War, we gained a better understanding of the role of West Germany and global power relations, and how international struggles can support each other.

Even from within the prison walls, the prisoners' struggle against isolation torture and for collectivity—the ability to be and act together with those who desired it—offered a glimpse of what the fight for liberation is truly about: a society where the focus is on “for all,” not profit, money, or power—not on possession, but on being together.

For a long time, this remained the case for me, regardless of the criticism I already had at the time regarding some of the actions and the underlying regulations. It also remained independent of the realization of the necessity to confront the mistakes of the history of the radical and militant left, including the RAF.

The idea arose that armed struggle would have to be politically and bindingly integrated into a counter-power from below.

It's also fitting that in this trial, the prosecution acts as if it's completely irrelevant how robbers behave. It even seems to upset them when it's mentioned that the robbers' behavior towards their victims was polite and reassuring. I find this appalling, because of course, no matter how someone behaves, it's a given for either the victims or the robbers. Following the prosecution's line of reasoning, the court intervened a few weeks ago when rejecting a motion by my defense, claiming that anyone who commits robberies factors in severe retraumatization, since it's well known that traumatized people can be found everywhere, from cash couriers and armored car drivers to cashiers, special forces, and any bystanders. It's also well known that soldiers and police officers have suffered trauma. The latter was actually already known to me, namely when they had come into situations where people, including colleagues, had died during operations, when they themselves were involved in massacres or witnessed them.

I wouldn't expect to find such traumatized individuals in the police force, nor as armed money couriers, but rather in psychological treatment or in positions conducive to recovery. But what is the point of this? It also implies the fatal assertion that it doesn't matter whether people act brutally violent and aggressively during such attacks or not, because if they encounter traumatized individuals, it's all the same anyway? How irresponsible and wrong such statements are! But beyond that: What does it say about the state of this society when we encounter traumatized and psychologically injured people at every turn today, not as a rare exception, but as an increasing norm? The constantly propagated war-readiness and militarization, the upholding of the law of the militarily stronger in international conflicts over power and access to resources and land, goes hand in hand with the rise of the right wing and the spread of fascist-like thinking. Violence-

Some time after this attack took place in Stuhr, Volker, Burkhard and I were publicly prosecuted for attempted murder.

For several years, the public prosecutor's office and the Lower Saxony State Criminal Police Office (LKA) apparently found no usable leads, which is why they relentlessly ramped up their efforts again after 2023. They interrogated countless old friends and acquaintances, conducted searches of parents' and other relatives' homes, made appeals on the television program "Aktenzeichen XY" and in other reports, and sent their teams after every lead. Unfortunately, that's how they came across me. Since then, the public prosecutor's office has brought terror to the lives of friends and siblings, parents in the neighborhood, and the residents of the caravan site with veritable marches, showing no regard whatsoever for the trauma they cause. But these are legal attacks, desired by the class-based justice system, and of course, they go unpunished. The prosecutors have no moral qualms about this. Throughout the trial, the public prosecutor's office has clearly demonstrated that it is in no way concerned about the well-being of the witnesses or the victims of these attacks. Why else would she have repeatedly pressed witnesses during interrogations when they testified that they weren't doing so badly after the attacks? She even pressed them quite rudely if someone said, "Well, it was obvious, it wasn't directed at me." The prosecution would have preferred to hear something different in every case. How great must their disappointment have been that the courtroom reserved specifically for numerous co-plaintiffs wasn't full? For them, the victims are merely a means to an end: to secure the harshest possible sentence against me and to continue the manhunt for Burkhard and Volker. She would clearly have much preferred several retraumatized, severely injured victims.

However, the overall political situation did not allow for that. I found the dissolution of the RAF and its justification to be entirely correct.

We as radical or militant leftists have certainly made many mistakes, but certainly not the mistake of shrugging off the misery of our time.

Of course, I would like to participate in a discussion, and preferably conversations, about this era of resistance. Burkhard Garweg was absolutely right when he wrote that at the end of his letter to Caroline Braunmühl.

A discussion with those who were part of this resistance history at any point, and with all those who want to learn from the experiences gained for the future of resistance. I don't think the courtroom is the right place for an in-depth discussion on this topic.

This makes any discussion difficult for me from the outset. Visits from former prisoners of the RAF and the 2 June Movement were rejected with the most absurd justifications. Furthermore, every sentence uttered during these visits is recorded for state security, even before I've had a chance to discuss a single thought with the visitors.

The BAW confiscates every single one of my statements, even the most general ones, about the history of the resistance as "proof" of my involvement in the RAF, and they in turn interpret these statements as proof of my involvement in the actions they attribute to me.

I see this, as well as the increasing number of summonses being used to harass comrades from the 1970s and 80s, as a threat not only to me. Of course, the armed left-wing groups of that time didn't operate in a vacuum. Like me, they touched and influenced many comrades who had their own resistance practices, challenging their political and/or practical support, solidarity, and criticism. But now, 40

or 50 years later, to impose heavy fines and threaten people with coercive detention if they are unwilling to tell the Federal Criminal Police Office and the Federal Prosecutor's Office about their lives and name other individuals who are then to be summoned, and to completely disregard the health of individual comrades in these summonses, demonstrates the intention to punish comrades today, as a deterrent, representing the history of the resistance.

In the early 1990s, on April 10, 1992, the RAF declared that it would cease the deadly attacks on representatives of the state and the economy in order to allow for the necessary discussion process and would withdraw the escalation on its part.

At the same time, solidarity with the struggle of political prisoners grew, along with the desire to include them in the discussions of the radical left. It seemed as if the state was moving in a positive direction regarding the demands for improved prison conditions and the release of sick prisoners. However, as soon as the highest levels of state security learned that the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) had an informant, Klaus Steinmetz, with contacts to illegal activities, it immediately resumed its escalation strategy. The prisoners' demands were once again ignored. In March 1993, the RAF bombed the new prison in Weiterstadt, which was nearing completion. Simultaneously, the state prepared a large wave of arrests. Then they struck in Bad Kleinen. Wolfgang Grams was murdered and Birgit Hogefeld was arrested. The prisoners from the RAF and the resistance were subjected to new trials and lengthy prison sentences.

In 1998, the RAF dissolved itself of its own accord. Both the State Security Service and its frequently cited experts, such as Butz Peters and Alexander Strassner, spoke of up to 30 individuals who might have been part of the RAF in the final years of its existence.

From the statements of the driver in Cremlingen, Michael Sohn, I gathered that no one approached Kramer among his colleagues after the robbery. Even the press questioned his actions. I think he himself had doubts. After seeing the robbers' car drive away, he drove back to check on his colleague. It's easy to imagine how terrified he must have been when he couldn't find him anywhere. As I said before, I felt very sorry for him when I saw and heard how badly he's been doing since then. I hope he'll be better soon. I also felt very sorry for the driver Immes from Stuhr, because he felt his life was threatened and suffered from the shock for a very long time.

In capitalism, the property and money of the rich are protected from the public at massive expense. Conversely, in cases of "white-collar crime," such as the Cum-Ex affair, in which €30 billion was embezzled to make the rich even richer, the state and the justice system protect the criminals by obstructing effective investigations.

Certainly, there will always be situations where people, due to persecution or a lack of other means of survival, are forced to steal money as the destitute. This necessity has often existed in the history of the left. It has nothing to do with ease or adventure. In any case, all methods of obtaining money that minimize the risk to people are preferable. Ultimately, however, the goal is to create conditions in which people no longer need to obtain money in some way to survive—be it through exploitation in wage labor, illegal work, self-exploitation, or robbery and theft. We would much rather have invested our energy in so many meaningful things, in constructive endeavors, in political debates, in learning useful things together in friendships, rather than focusing on securing survival as the destitute. We all have many interests and skills that can be related to finding answers to the questions of our time, such as how to stop the frenzy of destruction and wars and build a different reality in its place.

service directive to leave the runner with the robbers if the driver could escape. However, I didn't take it seriously at first, but rather as a claim made by the company boss to publicly protect his driver, who had, after all, saved a considerable sum of money for the company. Initially, the regional press questioned the morality of his abandoning his colleague. Only after suspicions arose that the attempted robbery had been carried out by the invoked former members of the Red Army Faction (RAF) did the press ramp up its reporting, writing about ruthless and brutal robbers.

When I read about the post-traumatic stress disorder of the driver Immes from Stuhr in the files, it seemed plausible to me from the start. Although my lawyers have repeatedly emphasized that he wasn't targeted and that realizing that no one wanted to kill him was even part of his therapy, the fact remains that he perceived it that way and was deeply shocked, especially since he was in a situation that, for someone with claustrophobic tendencies, must have been horrific simply because of the confinement. Initially, I didn't believe a word Mirko Kramer, the driver in Wolfsburg, said when I read the files.

He was only directly involved in the robbery for a few seconds. He even outsmarted the robbers and quickly got out of immediate danger. I only realized shortly before his testimony at the trial that something had truly thrown him off balance. The robbery was the trigger, because it was what forced him into this situation where he had to make a decision. To protect the bosses' money, he chose to follow the order to leave his colleague with the robbers. The colleague said that Mr. Kramer had acted correctly according to the order, but also said, in essence, that this order was not ethically sound. That's exactly what I think too. It's pure capitalism. He himself said, "I had to listen to people saying that money is more important than the person." That sums it up perfectly.

They often stated quite openly that they essentially had no idea. And that's how it should remain. A serious societal reckoning and debate about history is not about individual people, but about the political content of the debate.

After 1998, only Burkhard Garweg, Volker Staub, and I were publicly wanted. For no one, whether targeted by wanted lists or not, turning themselves in was out of the question. The state had clearly established the facts about what awaited us if they got their hands on any of us. They would have gladly celebrated their triumph over the RAF, and with it an important part of the fundamental resistance in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, by targeting us. This was evident even almost 30 years after my arrest, both in my treatment, my public appearances, and the media coverage of the entire affair.

We didn't want to expose ourselves to something like that. So it was practically imperative that we avoid getting caught under any circumstances. We didn't want to be subjected to the condemnation rituals that had been practiced for years. Nor did we want to receive long prison sentences for all sorts of unconvicted actions by the RAF and resistance, nor risk being shot if arrested.

Living underground gave us the opportunity to continue living freely as radical leftists, albeit within limits and in seclusion. Here we could live in self-determined, supportive relationships with comrades and friends and decide on our future path.

This state is not a friend of political solutions, but a friend of capital. Everyone must submit to it.

This story has led to such a long life underground. Not out of a thirst for adventure, and certainly not for personal gain. For decades, and even today, it has been a defensive position of resistance. Even though the life I was taken from meant a great deal to me, there was

no plan to try to escape the situation by force or gunfire. Therefore, nothing of the sort happened.

When I heard the prosecution's closing argument, I wondered how many contortions they had to perform to lie their way out of all this. Despite the trial, they're still clinging to the claim of a willingness to kill, using it as a weapon against me. All sorts of motives are at play here, some vindictive, but mostly driven by a desire for power. This contradiction reveals that it's about demonizing someone, further legitimizing the hunt for supposedly dangerous criminals, and making an example of them. I counter this with the demand: Stop the search for Burkhard Garweg and Volker Straub!

With regard to the psychological consequences for some of the victims of the attacks, which are being discussed in this trial, I fully agree with the statement made by Burkhard Garweg in his greetings from illegality in October 2024: "The trauma suffered by cashiers and money couriers is regrettable."

Having witnessed during the trial how badly some of the victims are still doing today, such as the driver Mirko Kramer from Wolfsburg or Ms. Ulmer from Bochum, a cashier, I must say that I feel very sorry for them because of such serious psychological injuries mentioned in the trial.

Before reading the court documents, I would have expected cashiers to be more likely to experience trauma from robberies than an armed cash courier. It's astonishing that cash couriers don't receive training that enables them to act calmly and rationally in such situations, instead of being left in utter shock. Especially since the job exists precisely because of the real threat of robbery. And it's remarkable that, in the event of a robbery, they have to wait for hours alone or in pairs in their vehicles, still to protect the money, even when the area is already swarming with police, instead of receiving any

psychological first aid. This trial is the first time I've encountered the fact that armored truck drivers and cash couriers are talking about trauma.

When my lawyers and I decided not to question the psychological consequences for the witnesses during the trial, there were two reasons. The main reason was to avoid doing anything that could contribute to retraumatization or a worsening of their condition. This also involves very personal matters, especially regarding pre-existing traumas from the individual victims' life histories. We felt it was inappropriate to publicly probe into these issues.

The second reason was that I consider it possible and generally justified if those affected by such a robbery or attempted robbery had taken the right to extended paid leave. That such things happen was demonstrated by the statement of the driver, Whitley, whose boss intervened immediately after the robbery in Duisburg to prevent such incidents. I'm not mentioning this because I would be implying that about any of the people affected. My point is simply to clarify the relationship: both cashiers and cash-in-transit personnel are working people, not enemies.

It is well known that working conditions in the cash-in-transit industry are poor and the work is not well paid. This aligns with the statement of driver Immes, who said that after the robbery in Stuhr, management's first concern was the condition of the vehicle, but not the well-being of the people involved. It is astonishing that some cash-in-transit crews still risk so much for "their" company, especially given the directive that they should not have to risk their lives for money.

The former soldier and driver, Whitley, testified that he might even have started a shootout had he had his weapon with him. I had already read in an article after the Wolfsburg incident that there was a