

Attack Against Hans Neusel (July 29, 1990)

“People who refuse to give up the struggle – either they win or they die, rather than losing and dying.”
(Holger Meins’ Last Letter)

José Manuel Sevillano is dead. After 177 days on hunger strike, he was assassinated in May by the Spanish government.

For eight months the comrades from GRAPO and the PCE(r)¹ have conducted a long and difficult strike for association.

The prisoners must win their demands, and that’s why they need the solidarity and the efforts of all those who are serious about radical change and the struggle for a humane society. So far, the Spanish state has maintained a hard line and conditions of torture against the prisoners. They are responsible for their own decisions, but this approach was developed on the level of NATO and West Europe, and that is why the FRG, as the leading European power, is equally responsible for the death of José Manuel Sevillano.

On July 27, 1990, with the José Manuel Sevillano Commando, we attacked counterinsurgency expert Hans Neusel, Secretary of State for the Ministry of the Interior in Bonn.

We failed to achieve our military objective: the explosion was meant to cause certain death, but at the same time to ensure 100% protection for innocent people. As a result, we underestimated the explosive charge required.

We wanted Neusel to pay for his crimes. He prepared and waged war against all those who struggle for freedom, self-determination, and a dignified life for human beings, and who struggle against the destructive nature of this social system.

Since 1985, Neusel has been a key figure at the many TREVI meetings.² Neusel was behind numerous initiatives intensifying and consolidating the counterinsurgency project in West Europe, as well as policies hostile to refugees’ human rights.

The fact that since 1987 “terrorism experts” have regularly participated in the G7 is the result of a joint initiative by Neusel and the French Minister of the Interior.

Neusel turns up as a member, and sometimes even the chairman, of crisis groups that fight against the resistance (for instance, the kidnapping of managers of German multinationals in Lebanon, and coordinating research into our actions...) and as a member of secret service commissions.

In early 1989, when the prisoners were on hunger strike for association, Neusel was to all intents and purposes in charge of the Ministry of the Interior, more so even than Schäuble who held the post. It has been some time since Zimmermann stopped unofficially playing that role. It was during this period that the Ministry of the Interior began to aggressively put forward the slogan, “The state has no right to give in to the prisoners’ blackmail.”

Neusel was there to represent the Ministry of the Interior’s position at the meeting of representatives of the Länder Interior Ministries.

As far as the hunger strike is concerned, it has always been clear that Neusel is part of the faction that wants to step over the corpses of our comrades if the government hard line is not defeated by the prisoners and everyone who supports their demand for association.

Neusel is the federal government’s representative currently promoting this rigid NATO line in West Europe’s diabolical attack on the revolutionary prisoners in Spain.

If only indirectly, Neusel personally embodies the continuity between the German fascist Third Reich and “Greater Germany,” which is heading towards a Fourth Reich. For many years he advanced his

¹ PCE(r) is the Spanish acronym for the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted). In 1976, with the death of Franco, the PCE(r) reorganized itself into commissions, including an armed wing known as GRAPO, the Spanish acronym for Antifascist Resistance Groups October First. October First refers to the date of the first PCE(r) armed action, the killing of 4 Spanish police officers on October 1, 1975. On July 18, 1976, GRAPO carried out its first armed action, a series of small bombings throughout Spain.

² Terrorism, Radicalism, Extremism, International Violence; in existence since 1976 as common body of European Interior Ministers, which prepared the way for EUROPOL. The Europol website says, “Europol is the European Law Enforcement Organisation which aims at improving the effectiveness and co-operation of the competent authorities in the Member States in preventing and combating terrorism, unlawful drug trafficking and other serious forms of international organised crime.”

political career working alongside the old Nazi and former federal president Carstens,³ presenting his thoughts and his fascist ideas in public statements without even trying to dress them up in democratic garb.

In 1987, when he attended the reception for fourteen imprisoned Chilean revolutionaries who had been sentenced to death by the fascist military regime,⁴ Neusel insisted that “even if they had been cleared, they were still under heavy suspicion” – which amounted to a call for their execution.

Neusel decides on GSG-9 interventions and participates in decision-making regarding the training of such death squads, for example the Turkish special units that are massacring the people of Kurdistan today.

The offensive against the prisoners in Spain is being carried out with the complete support of the other West European powers. With this offensive the Socialist Gonzalez government is certainly proving itself to be a reliable partner to the states at the core of European power, particularly in the context of “Europe 1992.”⁵ This bloc, with the FRG at its head, has become a world power. Faced with the increasingly rapid development of contradictions that cannot easily be quelled, it must impose internal stability.

This is the context in which, in all West European countries, they are currently trying to aggressively suppress any thought of resistance and self-determination with the constant show of their immense power. This is why the success or failure of the Spanish prisoners’ struggle will be so very important for the entire next phase, the reconstruction of a revolutionary practice in West Europe.

Just as in the FRG the state attempted to use our defeat in 1977 to end the problem of the guerilla once and for all, and at the same time to drive the entire left into despair and a profound sense of powerlessness, it is hoped, with the attack against the GRAPO and PCE(r) prisoners, to do the same thing to the revolutionary movement and all progressive forces throughout West Europe.

The destruction of the prisoners’ collective and the isolation of the comrades are meant to drastically reverse developments of recent years. Specifically, to reverse the degree to which a shared consciousness has developed as to the need for common action on the part of revolutionary movements throughout Europe, particularly amongst the most advanced elements seeking radical change.

The current attempt to inflict this drastic reversal is a consequence of international developments: imperialism has won the Cold War. The dissolution of the Socialist Bloc and of its historic role in the liberation process on the Three Continents⁶ has produced renewed stability for imperialist power.

There is no question that the ultra-rapid developments of recent months and the annexation of the GDR have made the FRG the leading power in West Europe, and the entire West European bloc a world power. With this power as their starting point, they are attempting to reconquer terrain from all the revolutionary struggles and all the struggles for a better quality of life – using force where these objectives have already been achieved, in order to reverse the situation. Since the mid-1980s, when the international liberation process reached its limit, combatants everywhere have begun looking for new ways forward. The result has been that in many of the countries of the Three Continents, alongside the revolutionary liberation movements, movements struggling to improve inhumane and humiliating living conditions have developed and have begun to organize autonomously around issues related to daily life. Furthermore, in various countries a grassroots power structure has developed and now exists parallel to the reactionary state power (the Intifada in Palestine and the one in Kurdistan or the liberation movements in El Salvador and the Philippines).

This development also manifests itself in the metropole. The struggles that have developed here in recent years, bringing together different people, are struggles for immediate changes at home. While they are directed against imperialist destruction, we also have the struggles for self-determined lives, based on a realization of how destructive the competitive nature of everyday life under capitalism is, with its lack of interpersonal relationships and lives spent in isolation. It is on this basis, for example, that squatter movements have sprung up all over Western Europe.

³ Karl Carstens was born in Bremen in 1914. He studied law and political science at several German universities from 1933 to 1936. He received a Master in Laws degree from Yale in 1949. He joined the NSDAP in 1940, to avoid detrimental treatment in his career he claimed. He had, however, already joined the Nazi paramilitary organization, the SA, in 1933. In 1955, he entered the CDU, holding several key posts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defense, and the Chancellor’s Office, before becoming President of the Bundestag in 1976. In 1979, he was elected President of the FRG. In 1984, declining to run for the Presidency for a second time, he retired from politics. He died in 1992.

⁴ The Chileans had received political asylum in Germany.

⁵ In 1985, the European Commission proposed close to 300 reforms to be undertaken by 1992, with the goal of creating a unified European market. Some analysts felt the Europe 1992 programme would benefit the central European states, particularly Germany, to the detriment of peripheral states such as Spain, Greece and Portugal. See *Europe 1992: An Overview* at <http://ideas.repec.org/a/fip/fedder/y1991janp17-27.html>.

⁶ Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Wherever people's struggles have succeeded in creating self-determined spaces, there have also emerged new possibilities and new reference points for building a revolutionary movement. They want to reverse and roll back these developments.

The current counterrevolutionary projects: in succession, the destruction of the Spanish prisoners' collectives, prison revolts smashed in many countries, brutal evictions from houses that had been occupied for years, followed by prison sentences in Groningen, Holland,⁷ and the raids and harassment of Hafenstraße.

All these projects, such as, for example, Hafenstraße, show that it is possible to undertake countermeasures against the power structure and that a reality defined by the people can exist in opposition to the 24-hour-a-day capitalist way of life.

Faced with international developments – but, more precisely, faced with the rise of fascism and the FRG's new status as a world power, as Greater Germany – many comrades and others who previously revolted against this inhumane system now say that we have no chance of success, because the enemy is too powerful and the resistance too weak. And that is another factor: resignation and a certain degree of paralysis prevent many initiatives that could constitute steps forward in the reconstruction of a strong revolutionary movement.

One cannot decide whether or not to struggle against the imperialist system and for a world where people can live in a free, self-determined way based on whether our side or the enemy's side seems stronger during a particular phase, or on whether one thinks victory will come in the near future or will require a long struggle. The decision in favor of revolutionary struggle can only be based on an individual's own experience with the system and its brutality and violence, and on each person's own beliefs – that is to say, how he wants to live.

We think an important issue in many ways – including with regards to the next steps forward in building a counterforce from below – lies in consciously approaching this experience, a fundamental starting point in the development of each individual's consciousness. It is only possible to understand how destructive the system is through a conscious and definite decision to smash the dominant reality and live a self-determined, self-organized life. We must all understand this now and act as a united force. Our decision to carry out an action against Neusel in connection with the strike in Spain at this point is another step on the path towards building a counterforce together in the common struggle to enforce a demand that has become a critical focal point in the broader conflict.

Initially, we did not intend to intervene in the Spanish comrades' hunger strike. We only decided to prepare an armed intervention when it became clear that even after the death of José Manuel Sevillano and the intensifying contradictions in Spain itself, and in the face of the various initiatives supporting the demands in other West European countries, the Gonzalez government intended to maintain its hard line. Or, more precisely, our decision followed from the assessment that the West European bloc wants to reverse and roll back the developments and circumstances favorable to all the various struggles by destroying the Spanish prisoners' collectives and liquidating the prisoners.

Only an armed action could create a new opening in this completely closed situation. It could provide a new clarity to all the initiatives that have developed around the strike so far, and make it possible to regain momentum by opening up the necessary political space. At this point, every initiative is important!

That's the reality today, and that will continue to be the reality given the different conditions in different countries and the wide variety of themes that the combatants in these countries define as central for themselves. The fact is that the anti-imperialist front in West Europe is made up of a multitude of struggles.

We think that it is now possible to take a first step together towards reconstructing a strong revolutionary movement and to reach an agreement regarding the central themes in the confrontation between imperialism and liberation, in order to be able to intervene together.

As such, our action is meant to operate on two different levels. First, on a practical level, so that the prisoners' demands will be met and as a contribution to the reconstruction of a revolutionary counterforce in West Europe. Second, to open a phase of protracted struggle against the new Greater Germany/West Europe world power.

With Greater Germany, the FRG and the new power elite from the GDR have the same goals and imperial objectives that Nazi fascism had. This third act of aggression this century against the people of

⁷ On May 26, 1990, Dutch police attempted to clear the Wolters-Nordhoff squat, including workshops, apartments, grassroots kitchens, and cafés. Everyone arrested was charged with membership in a terrorist organization.

Europe by German capitalism is not being carried out militarily, but by economic and political means.

The subjugation of millions of people to market forces, the profit motive, and commodity structures brings with it new forms of suffering and misery. This time there won't be millions of deaths and the annihilation of entire peoples. Instead, there will be millions of oppressed people robbed of all dignity, people who plainly understand the destruction of their living conditions and their human relationships, people who are expected to embrace spiritual death. And based on the new power that this gives the FRG as the leading state in West Europe, they hope to carry out a new round of oppression and exploitation of the people of the Three Continents.

We will oppose this with all our strength, because our task in the international class struggle is to prevent them from carrying out their plans. We must oppose this step by the West European beast with our own step forward in the construction of a revolutionary counterforce!

Together we must force the re-collectivization of the GRAPO and PCE(r) prisoners and association for all political prisoners, and through this struggle arrive at a strategy for their ultimate liberation!

War on the FRG/West European world power!

Organize armed struggle!

Struggle together and we will win together!

José Manuel Sevillano Commando