

V. Green personnel and international terrorism

Parliamentarians and other functionaries

Brigitte Heinrich. Member of the European Parliament since 1984; sentenced to a year and nine months in 1980 for violation of laws governing weapons and explosives. In the mid-1970s, active as a courier for the **Red Army Faction (RAF)**, supplying weapons and explosives. Close ties to **Ilse Jandt**, the former communist and co-founder of the RAF's **Second of June Movement**. Since the late-sixties student unrest, more arrests, and investigations. With other members of the **Strasbourg Rainbow Faction**, especially active in Spain and Portugal against "repression," including participation in the support campaign for **Otelo de Carvalho**, imprisoned leader of the Portuguese terrorist organization **FP 25**. Contact to **Herri Batasuna**, the "legal" arm of the Basque **ETA**. December 1984, participation in a Middle East trip of a Green delegation. Meeting of the delegation with, among others, representatives of the **PFLP**, **PDFLP**, and Syrian Foreign Minister **Mustafa Tlas**. Israel banned her from entering.

Michael Klöckner, Benedikt Härlin. Members of the European Parliament since 1984. March 1984, sentenced to two-and-a-half years in prison for inciting illegal acts and advertising for a terrorist group. The two were publishers of the Berlin anarcho-terrorist underground newspaper **Radikal**, which still functions as the communications organ of the **RAF**, **Red Cells**, and the autonomists. December 1984, during the **RAF** hunger strike, co-signed an advertisement for a European-wide "Prison Project," with clearly pro-terrorist references; also co-signers: **Gerhard Albartus**, jailed for membership in the **Red Cells** in the Ruhr region in the late seventies, and **Harry Stürmer**, jailed for many years for membership in the **Second of June Movement**. Stürmer is one of Klöckner's "parliamentary aides."

Frank Schwalba-Hoth. Member of the European Parliament since 1984; notorious for pouring blood on American General Williams on Aug. 3, 1983. One of his "parliamentary aides" is **Rudolf Raabe**, veteran of the terrorist **Red Cells**, who fled to Ireland under threat of criminal prosecution, took refuge with the **IRA**, returned in 1979, and was jailed.

Since 1976, Schwalba-Hoth worked at the **Frankfurt Information Bu-**

reau for the Propagation of Suppressed News, or ID. At that time, the ID was under official surveillance as a "legal" hang-out of the terrorists. On Oct. 25, 1984, Schwalba-Hoth commented on the particularly brutal IRA attack in Brighton, England: "I believe, that these actions are more an expression of the lack of something, and of the lack of the right to self-determination." On Jan. 15, 1985, Schwalba-Hoth co-sponsored an "urgent proposal" for a delegation of European Greens to act as "mediators" to the RAF terrorist hunger strikers. On the same day, his Dutch colleague Verbeek held a meeting, where spokesmen for the RAF and IRA terrorists were able to propagandize for their goals.

Dirk Schneider. Member of the Bundestag from 1983-85; co-founder of the Berlin underground's *Agit 883*, which heavily influenced the budding terrorist movement at the beginning of the seventies. The first volume of *Agit 883*, in May 1970, soon after the escape of Andreas Baader, included the following, under the headline, "Build the Red Army":

"Could any pig really believe, that we can talk about the unfolding of the class struggle, the reorganization of the proletariat, without arming ourselves?"

"Could the pigs really believe, that we could do without Comrade Baader in the struggle against American imperialism for two or three years?"

"To unfold the class struggle? Organize the proletariat! To begin the armed resistance? Build the Red Army!"

For years, Schneider was the deputy chairman of the Berlin *Newspaper Cooperative*, the publishers of the illegal underground newspaper *Radikal*. As a Green, he remained true to his old views. During the high point of the political conflicts around the 1984-85 RAF hunger strike, he criticized the Greens' declaration of support for the RAF terrorists as not sufficiently direct, calling it "the annoyance of an established party" over the fact that "some people are still revolutionaries."

Dieter Kunzelmann. In 1978, the co-founder of the Berlin *Alternative List (AL)*, city parliamentarian since 1983; co-founder of the infamous *Kommune I*; numerous investigations and convictions: A trial for attempted murder and arson led to a nine-year one-month sentence, which was then lifted by the federal court. Several years in jail for falsification of documents, attempted arson, and endangering human life. Kunzelmann stated in a June 28, 1983 radio interview:

"I was already active in the 1962 confrontations in Schwabing. And then in 1966 I went from Munich to Berlin and was very active in the SDS and the anti-authoritarian movement. From 1970-75, I was in prison for alleged terrorist acts. Of the five years I spent in prison, the court had to admit that I was not guilty for three of those years. And I got out in 1975 and fell in with one of the Communist groups, the KPD. I was active in the Red Aid, and then in the summer of 1978 I co-founded the *Alternative List*, in which I have been active ever since, particularly in the field of democratic law, where we have to deal with the justice ministries, the police, computerized data files, and therefore the restriction of our democratic rights."

Gerald Klöpffer. In 1984, included "symbolically" in the *Alternative List* candidates for the Berlin House of Deputies; sentenced in 1980 to 11-years 2-months in prison for serious terrorist crimes such as taking hostages, kidnapping, membership in a criminal association. In 1975, Klöpffer participated in the abduction of the Berlin Christian Democratic Union

chairman Peter Lorenz, which was carried out by the Second of June Movement.

Ulrich Fischer. Member of Bundestag since 1985. According to his own resumé: "1970-71, under investigative arrest for 13 months concerning an attack on the Amerika-Haus in Berlin following the American invasion of Cambodia." In 1973 he was legally absolved of this accusation. "1970-73, prison work as a member of the Red Aid in West Berlin." The Red Aid groups were, at that time, part of the RAF's support apparatus. The Christian Democratic Union's document, "The Green Cadre," also notes that Fischer was the only delegate to abstain from voting on a recommendation to fight terrorism passed at a parliamentary gathering of the European Council on Jan. 30, 1986.

Ulf Preuss-Lausitz, run by the Berlin Alternative List in 1984 as a candidate for the Berlin House of Deputies. According to Berlin press reports, Preuss-Lausitz belonged to the group of 48 college professors and lawyers who explicitly defended the infamous "Buback Obituary" written by one of the "Göttingen Mescalero Apaches" shortly after the terrorist assassination of Attorney General Siegfried Buback, which read:

"I was struck by a few things about this Buback story; these belches ought to go down on paper; perhaps they'll contribute a little to a public controversy. My immediate response, my 'gut reaction' to the shooting of Buback can be quickly described: I could not, and would (and will) not deny my secret rejoicing. I've often heard the rantings of this guy; I know he played a prominent role in the persecution, criminalization, torture of leftists."

Hans Christian Ströbele. Member of the Bundestag since 1985. While still in school, he was under the influence of the late East Berlin lawyer **Friedrich Karl Kaul.** Kaul, as a senior lawyer for the East German Socialist Unity Party (SED), was one of the top people in the East German apparatus. Among other things, Kaul was personally involved in the international web of firms whose covert financial transactions are used by East Berlin and Moscow to finance disinformation projects and other intelligence operations. Kaul also turns up as Ströbele's lawyer.

Ströbele's remarks on the 1985 Tiedge spy affair, in which the head of West German counterintelligence (Tiedge) defected to the East, show how deeply he is still influenced by those earlier years. On Sept. 3, 1985 Ströbele said in *tageszeitung*:

"For the Greens, a spy is first and foremost a man who helps to carry state secrets abroad or to reveal them. And since we are fundamentally opposed to states having secrets, we have a certain sympathy for spies."

In March 1986, Ströbele submitted to the Bundestag subcommittee on espionage the remarkable demand that they respond to a signal from the East German Ministry for State Security, that Tiedge should testify either in Bonn or in East Berlin. Ströbele said he had knowledge of the "willingness" of both Tiedge and the East Berlin authorities, "to be available to make statements to the investigatory commission."

Ströbele is one of the Greens' chief spokesmen in their public campaign to sabotage the internal security of the Federal Republic of Germany. Ströbele's stock demand is the "abolition of the intelligence services" and the creation of a "transparent state." Ströbele is also author of the left-wing extremist handbook *Geheim (Secret)*, which is a call-to-arms against German and Allied security organs, and which is also used as a terrorist recruitment tool.

Along with **Klaus Croissant**, who again shares a law office with Ströbele, as he did in the heyday of the Baader-Meinhof Gang, Ströbele belongs to the hard core of RAF lawyers, who among other things operated the illegal "Info-System." In 1982 he was sentenced to 10 months, probation for assisting a criminal association. Among other things, he penned at least 19 circulars, camouflaged as legal correspondence, which went to the jailed RAF members. One of Ströbele's circulars was found in July 1973 in the cells of the prisoners Ensslin, Möller, Meinhof, and Baader. In the document, the incarcerated terrorists were kept up-to-date on the latest events around the hunger strike. Ströbele's operational participation in the RAF's plans at that point clearly emerges from certain passages in the document.

The terrorists' attorney

Otto Schily. Member of the Bundestag, 1983-86. The fact that Schily, who now passes himself off as a moderate, was a defense lawyer for **Gudrun Ensslin** only 10 years ago—along with Ströbele, Croissant, and Groenewold—is widely thought not worthy of mention nowadays. Schily's "Motion for Halting the Stammheim Trial," which dates from that period, documents Schily's intense commitment to the RAF and its ideology.

In it, Schily claimed that "a fair trial can no longer be guaranteed." His formulations are indistinguishable from the vocabulary of today's imprisoned RAF members, who wish to establish their status as "political prisoners." In Schily's original turn of phrase, the proceedings were taking place in a "military *cordon sanitaire*" and only a "miserable ruin" remains of the "façade of the constitutional state." Moreover, for the accused, "Article 6 of the Human Rights Conventions was abrogated," he continued; a "law by exception" was practiced against them, and the "presumption of innocence" was "destroyed" by the "organs for the protection of the state, in a more than three-year campaign of psychological warfare." Schily commented on the fact that the RAF was described by political figures as a "terrorist organization," "criminal association," or "Baader-Meinhof Gang": "One would think that many of these politicians must have been tutored by a certain Minister of Propaganda, namely, Herr Goebbels." Concerning the independence of the Court: "In the Federal Republic there remains virtually no oasis, where any sort of fair trial would be possible. Since this prejudicing of public opinion extends over the entire country, a fair trial is no longer possible before any court of the Federal Republic. . . . All defense counsels who have committed themselves to upholding the rights of the accused, have found themselves subjected to a growing flood of dirty tricks, defamation, discrimination, and intimidation." What occurred was a "verbal stoning of the lawyers." The "political prisoners" were "subjected to inhuman prison conditions," "isolation torture" would be the fitting description. The trial was a "political instrument of war."

As early as 1972, the Attorney General's office suspected Schily of having smuggled a note out of prison for his client Ensslin. In all, 70 pieces of evidence were gathered to prove his unprofessional conduct during the Stammheim trials. These included expressions of disdain for the authority of the court, such as "farce," "the law of Stammheim province," and "arguments from the cesspool."

Schily said not a word about the gruesome and cold-blooded crimes committed by the Baader-Meinhof terrorists. Schily put his "motion" into writing only eight weeks after the attack on the West German embassy in Stockholm, an action conceived as a means of liberating the RAF prisoners from Stammheim and carried out with unparalleled brutality. Two embassy workers were shot in cold blood; another was shot

five times and then thrown down the stairs, and left lying there—still alive—for an hour before he was allowed treatment. Seven hostages were injured when a bomb was detonated.

The utter hypocrisy of such tracts as Schily's "motion" becomes clear in light of the way this Stockholm assault documents the role of the RAF lawyers as a conduit for information between the terrorists in jail and those "in deployment." In early 1975, the long-drawn-out hunger strike of the Stammheim prisoners was finally broken. Previously spurned exercise equipment was suddenly used with great zeal, and the prisoners visibly took pains to get their strength back as quickly as possible. In mid-April 1975, Baader penned a cell-block circular containing a reference to "Hanna." The terrorists imprisoned in Hamburg packed up their things, and one even joked to a guard, "I'm leaving today." On April 21, 1975 there were a remarkable number of visits from lawyers. On April 24, the action in Stockholm began, with the participation of Elise Krabbe—the "Hanna" named in Baader's note.

Schily's commitment to the extreme left and terrorist milieu began as early as the late 1960s, when Schily represented his colleague **Horst Mahler** before the court. Shortly thereafter, Mahler played a leading role in the Baader-Meinhof Gang's first armed actions. Schily also ran the defense in the trial against Mahler for founding a criminal association and being an accessory to a bank robbery. Not a word of criticism was ever heard from Schily about Mahler's infamous final statement at this trial: "You don't talk with the jailkeepers of capital. You shoot them." As Schily said at one point, "Allowing the client his own identity, is part of conducting a loyal defense." Instead, up to the present day, Schily has high praise for his colleagues. "I am a little proud that today there are a lot of good leftist lawyers, some of them quite excellent fellows. And that certainly goes back to Horst Mahler, Klaus Eschen, Christian Ströbele, and myself." "We were the first," Schily said in a July 1986 interview. "One of them, who had declared he was joining the ranks of the RAF, and published articles about it and admitted it in court—Horst Mahler, a very intelligent, top-notch lawyer—has in the meantime found his way back into normal life. Hopefully, he'll soon be getting back his license to practice law! You know, I'd be the last person to hold his past against him."

Klaus Croissant. "Collaborator" with the Berlin Alternative List and the Greens' European Parliament group, convicted in 1979 to two-and-a-half years in prison for assisting a criminal association. Croissant was one of the hard-core RAF lawyers, who built up an illegal "Info-System" in order to pass communications between imprisoned and at-large RAF members, thereby facilitating agreed-upon armed actions.

Raphael Keppel. "Assistant" to the Green faction within the Hesse state assembly. In September 1979, he attempted to hijack a Lufthansa plane, and was sentenced to three-and-a-half years in prison. According to his own testimony, he had recognized "the impotence of parliamentary democracy" early in life, and "has no choice" but to work for "alternatives." He had hijacked the plane "out of my feeling of total impotence over this inhuman system," and had presented a "catalogue of demands to professional politicians for more human living conditions."

Keppel made liberal use of a decision by Hesse Justice Minister Günther that granted assistants of the Green faction a special right to hold unannounced and unmonitored visits with inmates of the Hesse penitentiary. The decision was only reversed after heated protests from the

Christian Democrats. During these "service visits," he became acquainted with the English rock singer Geraldine Blacker, who had been stopped in 1981 at the Frankfurt airport in possession of 1.8 kilograms of cocaine. The air hijacker and the cocaine dealer soon started up a relationship which made full use of the lack of any monitoring of conversations.

But his career soon went downhill. The "realist route" became unbearable for Keppel, and in winter 1985 he left the Green Party, while retaining his party faction post in order to continue his work with the Hessian prisoners. In mid-February, he mysteriously disappeared. According to some wild speculation, he turned up in Paraguay. Returning home in a confused and exhausted state, he then completely disappeared from the picture.

Thomas Wüppesahl. The Green Party district chairman in Lauenburg in the state of Schleswig-Holstein, told ZDF-TV's "Today's Journal" show in January 1975, after a terrorist attack sabotaged a high-voltage tower and temporarily incapacitated the Krümmel nuclear plant, that he has to "clearly assert, that it is obvious that such activity is occurring now, because it offers the only opportunity to get the political movement accepted into the public discussion around nuclear energy." It was possible, he said, to "conceptually fully condone" the incident at the Krümmel nuclear plant.

Hartmut Barth-Engelbarth. Spokesman of the Green faction on the county board of Main-Kinzig, formerly a member of the **West German Communist League (KBW)**. Only a few days after the RAF murder of Attorney-General Buback in the market square in Hanau, Barth-Engelbarth scorned the assassination victim as the "highest-paid criminal in the Federal Republic," and publicly approved of the crime, saying, "The Buback thing is going right." Barth-Engelbarth was sentenced to six months in prison without probation, which was reduced on appeal to three months without probation. When the Christian Democratic spokesman Walter Kurzkurt justifiably demanded in May 1985 that the Green spokesman therefore resign his post, he caught the following catcall from Social Democratic delegate Anton Straub: "Is this Goebbels' son?"

Manfred Mombaur. Former state assemblyman in Lower Saxony, Mombaur was at the center of the campaign against the transport of radioactive waste in the county of Lüchow-Dannenberg. This campaign, especially intense in 1984, was accompanied by many terrorist attacks and was supported by the Lower Saxony Greens with the slogan, "Day X—Halt the Transport of Nuclear Waste." By that time, terrorist sabotage of construction vehicles and machines, offices, and railroad tracks had already caused over 4 million deutschemarks in damages in Wendland.

In late September 1984, the district courts in Göttingen and Dannenberg nationally proscribed the distribution of leaflets and posters on "Day X," on the grounds that the printing plants would be publicly inciting criminal acts. The state offices of the Greens in Hanover were promptly searched by the police. But despite this, the delegates Mombaur and Garbe publicly announced that distribution of leaflets and posters would continue, and furthermore, the federal executive committee of the Greens would take legal responsibility for the new printing. Spokesmen for the Lower Saxony Greens, the pro-violence Lüneburg and Göttingen "Committee Against Nuclear Energy," and the "Lüchow-Dannenberg Citizens' Environmental Initiative," all gave support to blockade actions. The Lüneburg Committee, for instance, nationally distributed a so-called "sabotage concept," which called for the commission of felonious acts.

Many other pamphlets in a similar vein were distributed out of Lüneburg, suggesting “attacks, all the way to bomb attacks” and the smoke-bombing of nuclear waste transports. The trail of arson, bombings, rail transport disruptions, and so forth, has not ceased up to the present day, incurring damage running into the millions of deutschemarks.

Mombaur also declared his open support for the violent actions in the campaign to stop construction of a new runway on the western edge of the Frankfurt airport. In a fulminating letter-to-the-editor printed in *tageszeitung* in January 1985, Mombaur attacked the Green “realist” Joschka Fischer. “While a couple hundred runway opponents are freezing their asses off on New Year’s Eve, in order to focus attention on one of our most urgent problems; and while the Greens in Hesse seem to have finally realized that the expansion of Alkem/Nukem can’t be halted with shingle-Börner [a reference to Hesse’s minister president Holger Börner, who before he joined the environmentalist camp said he would beat the Greens with shingles], you talk so small in your Channel 3 show—and in vain! . . . Dear Joschka, I wish that in the future you would speak louder and more clearly . . . for those who, for example, sitting on the western runway on New Year’s Eve, have also acted in your own emergency defense.”

The “emergency defense,” he refers to consisted of a three-hour long violent attack on the police with flare-guns, steel pellets, and stones. Nineteen cement struts from the protective wall were “trashed,” and a gate broken through, through which a group of violent disrupters entered the airport property and had to be repulsed.

The Frankfurt Airport training ground

Begun in 1980 and still sustained by the Greens, the campaign against the construction of Frankfurt Airport’s western runway has become a national Mecca for disrupters ever since the escalation of violence in November 1981. Up to the present day, attacks on police and airport property regularly occur in connection with the notorious “Sunday strolls.” The runway construction issue has developed into a sort of “military training ground” for terrorists and autonomists.

It is useful to recap the events of November 1981, because of their immediate relation to the Greens. On Sunday, Nov. 15, 1981, one day after a mass demonstration by the Green-supported group, **People’s Will and Decision, Inc.—No Western Runway**, massive fighting broke out when **Alexander Schubart** of the Citizens’ Initiative, called for “paying a visit” to the airport. Up to 1,000 persons attempted to tear down the concrete wall at the construction site, and were able to seriously damage it. At the same time, blockades were erected at various points. This all occurred near the airport terminal, causing all traffic to come to a standstill, and halting subway service to the airport. Barricades of branches and logs were erected and some set on fire on the two highways in the immediate vicinity of the airport. When helicopters were deployed to break up the barricades, the troops and equipment were massively attacked.

One security officer described the situation. He said he was surprised by the “aggressiveness of the confrontation.” Immediately after landing, the officers were “attacked frontally” by a hail of projectiles—sticks, stones, and bottles. Five or six police were seriously wounded, and nearly half the unit received slight wounds. On “purely theoretical grounds,” he continued, the use of guns had been forbidden on that Sunday. Injured officers, who had wanted to pull back with the medics, were forced to draw their guns. “A fight was necessary to clear space” for the second helicopter to land; “some militants” were so close to the chopper that

an officer set off a smoke-bomb, "in order to create some breathing room." Only then was it possible for the police to leave the helicopter. The fire brigade deployed to put out burning barricades were obstructed from extinguishing the fires. Two additional federal roads were blocked. Torn-down barricades were immediately set up elsewhere.

All around these events were nationwide terrorist assaults and violence.

- **Nov. 14:** Demonstration of 700 individuals in Bremen turned to smashing store windows.

- **Nov. 15:** Fire bombing of a police squad car in Marburg.

- **Nov. 16:** Rock-throwing spree caused 20,000 DM damage to store windows in Freiburg.

- **Nov. 15-16:** Americans' automobiles in Frankfurt defaced with graffiti: "No NATO Runway," "Yankees F * * * Off," and "Ramstein and Kroesen Are an Example." Tires punctured on 11 trucks.

- **Nov. 17:** Tires on six police vehicles punctured during the night in Mörfelden.

- **Nov. 17:** Graffiti in Giessen and environs with slogans such as "If You Cut Down the Woods, We Will Ice Gries and Boerner." Damages amounted to 20,000 DM.

- **Nov. 18:** Züblin company in Stuttgart firebombed. Damages, 15,000 DM.

- **Nov. 18:** Two paving stones were thrown through the living-room window of Robert Held, the co-publisher of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. An "apology" for previous articles was demanded, and "harsher attacks" threatened.

- **Nov. 18:** 2,000-3,000 hoodlums gathered at the Frankfurt runway construction site and damaged the fence.

- **Nov. 19:** A construction truck of the Holzmann firm was set on fire in Frankfurt.

Immediately following the Frankfurt riots, the federal attorney-general's office began an official investigation of Schubart for suspicion of using force against constitutional institutions. There was a broad outpouring of solidarity within the left-extremist spectrum and among the Greens for the "criminalized" Schubart, raising a good half-million deutschemarks for full-page ads with "proclamations of solidarity" and with lists of signatures. Among the signers were Petra Kelly, Rudolf Bahro, the Green Alternative Slate (GAL) deputy Bettina Hoeltge, Ulla Jelpge, and Thea Bock; the Hesse Green state parliament members Gertrud Schilling, Dirk Treber, Jochen Vielhauer, and Frank Schwalba-Hoth; the Greens of Frankfurt, the Greens of Mörfelden-Walldorf, and other Green organizations.

Eventually brought to trial, Schubart was sentenced to two years in prison on probation for using force against constitutional institutions. The judgment stated, "It is not sufficient to preach non-violence, while simultaneously creating situations that lead to violence." Schubart sneered, "This kind of justice is fascist to the core." The judgment was later partially reversed by the federal courts, but the charges of disturbing the peace and using force against individuals were upheld. Shortly after the judgment in the first trial was made public, the Hessian Greens proposed Schubart as candidate for the election to the Hessian state court! Other demands of the Greens were retraction of Schubart's suspension as municipal director and the retraction of the damage judgment and trial and legal costs, which amounted to 500,000 DM. After participation in a blockade of the Wildflecken military training ground, Schubart was again fined for use of force.

The Greens and the squatters

Leading Greens belonged to the "founding fathers" of the militant house-occupiers movement, which developed in the early 1980s into an important gathering point and recruitment field for violent autonomous groups and the terrorist scene. The project "Network Self-Help—Funds for Political and Alternative Projects" played a significant role. In 1980 the Network had supported such "projects" as the Hanover **UJZ Kornstrasse**, which today is part of the RAF-Red Cell periphery and serves as a rendezvous site in the North Region for punkers and autonomists. Among the backers of the "Network" in 1980 were Greens Martin Mombaur, Otto Schily, Roland Vogt, and, from the 1978-79 founding circle, Hans Christian Ströbele and Dirk Schneider.

The intensity of the violence that emanated from this scene is still a vivid memory. Even more shocking are the published reports of what happened after the "legalization" of the occupied houses in Berlin.

A spring 1984 report of the Berlin Security Police is revealing. According to the reports, the signing of agreements between owners and squatters in the occupied houses brought no "real reduction of criminal activities." At that time, 75 houses were legalized, 50 in Kreuzberg. Security forces said one reason for the continuation of criminal actions was that the squatters who profited from the legalization were people "who, in order to carry out their political and private goals, are or have been willing to accept the risk of breaking the law, and derive their strength of action from, among other things, their collective mode of operation, their spatial proximity to one another, and their negative attitude toward the state." Because of the fact that 50 "legalized" houses were in a small area in Kreuzberg, many squatters from the houses that were in the meantime cleared out, moved into the "legalized" houses or into their immediate area. It was determined that the migration of squatters from other portions of the city, "was mostly former squatters from 'militant' houses."

The report continued that the "suction action" unleashed by the "legalization" meant this neighborhood of Kreuzberg became the gathering and dwelling place for punkers from both all over Germany and foreign nations. According to the estimates of the security forces, there are around 1,000 people living in these 50 "legalized" houses. "Legalization" created an infrastructure, "from which they can act in the future in relative safety."

Police and legal measures against the situation there have been severely restricted, "if not totally impeded," in their actions.

Carrying out police and judicial business, the prosecution and identification of individuals accused of criminal acts, was made even more difficult, because the legalized houses had available many entrances and "emergency exits" such as holes in and "runways" on the roofs. The report even mentions "spider-web-type escape facilities." The legalized houses have become a "favorable operational and retreat base for criminals, which, in advance, considerably restricts the police unit's prospects of success."

It is not known "who actually lives in the buildings," because most of the houses are constantly kept closed, and outsiders are allowed neither to enter nor to gain any information. Name plates and mail boxes appeared nowhere about the buildings, meaning that official mail could "not be regularly delivered," except possibly through "contact persons." Many of these houses are, therefore, "gathering places for criminals or individuals for whom there are arrest warrants, who go underground there." Because of delivery problems, warrants and court summonses cannot be served,

so that the transaction of legal affairs is greatly hindered or prevented altogether.

For just one house in Oranien Strasse, which was occupied on Oct. 10, 1980 and "legalized" on Aug. 26, 1983, a total of 78 crimes were mentioned in the security report, along with a further 170 official investigations against the squatters there. The crimes they were accused of ranged from felonious disturbance of the peace to arson and illegal possession of weapons, from felonious assault to grand larceny. After legalization, previous occupiers had returned to the house. And then there were more crimes: felonious assault, theft, resisting court officials, drug trafficking.

The list of crimes alleged by security forces in once-occupied, and now "legalized" houses is long. According to the report, the legalization of the houses has created not only "a zone of protection, but also leisure time in which to analyze the experiences of the house-struggle period and to draw the appropriate conclusions." The extremist groups in Kreuzberg now "have a reservoir of people available who reject the state, from which they can now recruit like-minded individuals and can put their struggle against the state on a firmer footing."

These depressing conditions also perfectly describe the present situation in Hamburg, where the SPD government previously refused to take effective measures against the occupied houses in Hafen Strasse. These houses have now become a "lawless retreat" for autonomists, punks, and common criminals, from which monstrous crimes can be committed with virtually no prospect of risk or criminal prosecution. Since the winter of 1984-85, there have been regular large-scale violent actions by the Hafen Strasse occupiers.

Even the director of the Hamburg office of the Bundesverfassungsschutz, hardly renowned for professional analyses of the security situation, felt compelled in October 1985 to state in *tageszeitung*—clearly an important forum for progressive Bundesverfassungsschutz officials—that "RAF women have moved their residence there since summer."

The Hafen Strasse scene also took a leading role in preparations for the Frankfurt terrorist meeting in January-February. On New Year's Eve, a regional meeting took place there which included individuals from the periphery of the RAF and other militant groups, where one agenda item was preparations for the Frankfurt meeting. An RAF leaflet titled, "Reflections on the Congress in Hafen Strasse," stated:

"Moreover, we point to the Congress at the end of January in Frankfurt, where the possibility exists to meet together with comrades from the Federal Republic, Western Europe, the Near East, and Latin America, and to discuss the further development of the Front. For us, there is the possibility in the national meeting in Hafen Strasse to begin that now."

In the political discussions on Hafen Strasse, representatives of the Hamburg Green Alternative List obtained important positions for their protégés. In parliamentary debates in October 1985, GAL Deputy Edler ridiculed the Federal Republic as a constitutional state, comparing it to Jeremy Bentham's "Panopticon," and calling it "this sophisticated, refined system with its hundreds of safeguards against change, with its limited entry, with its fossilized rituals." Significantly, this GAL deputy used the Nazi-coined term of abuse, "the old parties." The statements of the CDU were characterized as "political blathering." As a result, the GAL and also the DKP were singled out for praise in Hafen Strasse leaflets. Speaking of a planned police clean-up action that was not carried out in December 1985, the Hafen Strasse squatters wrote triumphantly:

The Greens and imprisoned terrorists

"Today, we gained a victory, because the splintering and anti-solidarity campaign of the security police and their tools has completely failed. It was demonstrated quite practically tonight that people from the most varied groups, organizations, and circumstances—autonomists, people from the Blockade Plenum, GAL and KPD members, HWP students, dock workers from the HDW—people who fight with means different than ours, but who want to fight in common with us against attack."

For years, the Greens made crystally clear their attitude toward terrorist organizations in their catalogue of demands for "democracy and justice." Among the Greens' demands for sabotage of the internal security of the Federal Republic are:

- "Cancellation of the anti-terror law (Paragraph 129, 129a, Federal Penal Code)"
- "Abolition of life imprisonment and security confinement"
- "Dissolution of all special prison confinement and areas (for example, high-security wings)"
- "Police without guns"
- "Dissolution of special-duty police on alert status and of the border police"
- "Dissolution of existing Offices for the Protection of the Constitution [Verfassungsschutz]"

That this is not a matter merely of declarations that no one need take seriously because of their absurdity, but rather of a practically directed "solidarity with terrorists," is shown by events in which representatives of the Greens are prominent again and again.

Support for the RAF hunger strike

During the RAF hunger strike, which ran parallel to massive waves of attacks, leading Greens **Michael Schroeren**, **Dirk Schneider**, and **Dieter Burgmann** showed where they stood with statements of sympathy and support. Burgmann expressed himself most clearly: The Greens, he said, have never produced proof that a non-violent change in society is possible. Should it turn out that the Greens are unable to supply such a proof, then it must be accepted that "in a destructive society, armed struggle is also a means" of change.

Green organizations at all political levels showed solidarity with the demands of the RAF hunger strikers: the Green's National Steering Committee, the Lower Saxony Greens, the "Jail and Justice Study Group," the Hamburg GAL, the Berlin AL, the Bonn District Union of Greens, the State Union of North Rhine-Westphalia, the Cologne Council Faction of Greens, the Hessian Greens, and the Greens in the Stuttgart state assembly.

Five days after the murder of French General René Audran, Green members **Christa Nickels** and **Antje Vollmer** wrote a letter to the RAF terrorists on hunger strike, stating that the Greens had "politically ignored the imprisoned RAF members far too long, and now it is, *a propos* of your continuing hunger strike, time we have discussions with you." Further letters of the same sort followed. In July 1985, Bundestag member **Udo Tischer** offered a definite appointment for discussions to RAF terrorist Christian Klar. Vollmer and Nickels additionally wrote an "open letter" to the "Women of the RAF" in September 1985. In November, Nickels and **Norbert Mann** visited imprisoned RAF members Wacker-nagel and Schneider.

Concerning this visit, Nickels explained: "I wish first to talk with as

many as possible of the RAF and wish to know what their situation in prison is like, but also, to see for myself what the prospects are in jail of former and present RAFers. I intend to find out for myself how the prospects for such people could appear for working again in society, of living and reaching, without violence, that which they consider to be necessary political change."

Also revealing is the choice for the judicial electoral committee of Frankfurt lawyer **Rupert von Plottnitz** on the initiative of the Hessian Greens. Plottnitz, like Croissant, Ströbele, and Groenewold, belonged to the hard core of the RAF lawyers in the Stammheim trials of the mid-seventies. In February 1986, Plottnitz wrote in a review of the questionable film *Stammheim*, "*Stammheim* stands for surveillance and spying, for threats, and for carefully committed law-breaking for the sake of the state. *Stammheim*, that stands for dead political prisoners, and unexplained causes of death." When this incredible RAF-jargon-ridden formulation was attacked by the CDU, the Greens voted together with the SPD against his removal from his position.

In October 1985, a preliminary investigation was launched against **Erika Wojak**, the Green faction executive in Dortmund city hall, who was suspected of supporting a terrorist organization. Erika Wojak was among the signers of a statement in January 1985 giving support to the demands of the jailed RAFers on hunger strike. Previously, in 1984, the Dortmund Greens had made their address available for the project "Action in Greeting of Political Prisoners," through which "information packages" including terrorist newspapers such as *Regenbogen*, were to be sent to jailed RAFers Klar and Mohnhaupt. At that time, the federal attorney general's office intervened with a judicial inquiry on the basis of Paragraph 129a.

In November 1985, the Hessian Green Party convention decided to guarantee the financing of "jail magazine subscriptions" for interested "political prisoners."

The Greens and terrorist states

Libya

The first contacts between Libya's Muammar Qaddafi and the Greens occurred at 1982 meetings in Vienna and Tripoli. The Green representatives were Otto Schily, Roland Vogt, and Alfred Mechttersheimer. At the first meeting in Vienna, the Greens discovered a "partial identity of interests." The "European and American peace movements are the natural partners for dialogue" with Libya. At the Tripoli meetings, Qaddafi stated that the Americans' "water and supplies" must be cut off. Euphoric after her return from Libya, Hessian Green Gertrud Schilling demanded the abolition of parliament. Despite some internal controversies over this open relation to Libya, the relations and mutual declarations of sympathy have never been broken off.

In the September 1985 issue of the Libyan-supported Vienna "Green alternative" monthly *Moderne Zeiten*, Qaddafi enthused over the Greens: "If the Green movement develops, it is the single hope for this world. We began this revolution, for we wished that peace and the color green should rule in this world, for green is the color of life and of nature. We shall support the Green movement, for it is our movement. Why? Because the imperialistic forces wish that the world not be changed for the benefit of the masses, and therefore are attempting to drive a wedge between Qaddafi and the Green movement, and are even attempting to lock up individuals in the movement, in order to destroy this movement."

The January 1986 edition featured the Libyan **Abdul Ghani Elmani**,

as editorial staff member, as well as the **Oko-Institut Freiburg**. Vienna Green member **Ali Gronner**, was billed as a "co-worker on this edition." Gronner is an activist with the Austrian "Alternative Slate" and representative of the group of old Trotskyites around **Michel Pablo**, a close friend of the Islamic fundamentalist circles of **Ahmed Ben Bella**. Libyan funding for *Moderne Zeiten*, ceased immediately after the April 15, 1986 American military retaliation against Libya.

In January, after the United States imposed economic sanctions against Libya for the bomb attacks at Vienna and Rome airports, Qaddafi announced that he wanted "to conclude an historical alliance with the European peace movement and with the alternative movement, in order to eliminate the American bases in Europe and the Mediterranean." America must be made to realize "that these alliances with the peace movement in Europe, with the Greens, and with all alternative movements that are opposed to the American presence in Europe are a thousand times more dangerous than our alliance with the Palestinians."

The implications of Qaddafi's pronouncement was amply demonstrated by the reactions to the April 15, 1986 anti-terrorist military operations. There were nationwide demonstrations and actions, at which SPD groups, the German Communist Party (DKP), and the Greens made statements calling President Reagan a "war-monger," a "state terrorist," and "murderer of children." At some of the demonstrations, groups of Libyans friendly to Qaddafi appeared and passed out leaflets. Green deputy **Anemarie Borgmann** called the American action a "military attack," carried out according to the "international law of the club" and the "law of the jungle." The "U.S. aggression against Libya" is a "danger to world peace," "playing with the fire of a superpower confrontation," demonstrating "gigantic irresponsibility." It is a matter of a "terrorist action," an "act of open state terror." There is no difference between "the U.S. Air Force attack on Libya and the terrorists' attacks on airports, airplanes, or discothèques—except that they are more comprehensive, bloodier, and carried out by a NATO army."

In spring 1985, an announcement is said to have been made as a result of the meetings of the Greens with the Libyan Peoples' Bureau (embassy) in Bonn, according to which the Green Party wanted to be active as a "mediator" between Libya, the United States, and Israel. Representatives of the U.S. embassy were supposedly interested in this experiment, but the Israelis flatly refused any such "mediation."

North Korea

It is hardly an accident that the Greens put forward the extremist writer **Luise Rinser** as their candidate during the last German presidential election. Luise Rinser, who, thanks to massive support from the left and terrorist scene, is acclaimed as a best-selling author, is in reality an important agent of influence in the West for communist North Korea. Rinser once enthused over Hitler and idolatrously worshipped Stalin. She has frequently been "graced" by audiences with North Korean dictator **Kim Il-Sung** in Pyongyang. Although described as a "super democrat, fighter for peace, and Catholic," she became the principal lobbyist for North Korean interests in West Germany. Not only does she glorify Kim Il-Sung in her little book *North Korean Diary*, but shows herself a diligent adversary of all critics of the North Korean regime.

Like so many other writers on the left literature scene, Rinser has long sympathized with the RAF terrorists. In 1970, she received RAF leaders **Andreas Baader** and **Gudrun Ensslin** in her "capitalistic" villa in Rome.

The RAF itself has flirted with North Korea, which, along with Libya, is one state that openly supports international terrorism and itself commits terrorist acts. The telephone numbers of the North Korean embassies in East Berlin and Vienna have been found on many arrested German terrorists. RAF founder **Ulrike Meinhof** even asked Kim Il-Sung for weapons.

Rinser was one of the instigators of an international conference on "The Ways to a Reunification of Korea, a Confederated, Non-Aligned, Nuclear Free Zone," that took place at the Cologne University Extension School. Thirty individuals from France, Scandinavia, and other nations participated.

Top activists in the sponsoring organization are again Greens: **Rolf Stolz** and **Willi Becker**. Until 1981, Stolz was a member of the Green national executive committee, and is also known as an active communist by security organizations. In the process of rotating Green parliamentary deputies, he has been subsequently retired, but is still an internationally active Green, especially in North Korean espionage organizations. In June 1981, Stolz and his wife Ingrid traveled together with Green member **Reinhard Müller** to North Korea. The group, which included other left-wingers, according to its own statements, was invited by the North Korean "Workers Party" (KP). In a press conference after their return, the group praised North Korea's "astonishing construction achievements . . . that are largely unknown in the Federal Republic."

In *Debatte* newspaper, Stolz heaped praise on North Korea, saying he had found something worthy of imitation, even in the area of environmentalism: Beginning in kindergarten, the children are educated to act in ways that take nature into account. Rather than killing insects with poison chemicals, they are attracted with oil lamps and then annihilated, in a way that is friendly to the environment.

It was in 1980 that North Korea began to take a serious interest in the West German Greens, at the time they had their first electoral successes, winning state parliament seats in Baden-Württemberg. Moreover, North Korea knew that there were a considerable number of former and active communists, Maoists, and other left radicals among Green elected officials and functionaries, as well as known terrorist lawyers and sympathizers.

It is hardly surprising that one of the first West German Green pilgrims to North Korea was **Rudolf Bahro**, who originally came from East Germany. Bahro stated, following his journey in fall 1981, that he had attended an "internal party convention" in North Korea. Despite the gigantic personality cult around Kim Il-Sung, Bahro declared on his return to Germany, "It is a lot of crap to put Hitler, Stalin, and Kim Il-Sung in the same bag. I believe that he is, in fact, a great man."

On Oct. 9, 1983, this "great man" ordered the bombing of a Burmese shrine in Rangoon as it was being visited by a large South Korean delegation and its Burmese hosts. Four South Korean ministers and 17 other South Korean and Burmese officials died in the blast. The "great man" wanted to kill his rival Chun Doo-Hwan, the South Korean President, in Burma's capital.

In spring 1982, **Petra Kelly** received an invitation to visit Japan from the "People's Conference for Restoration of Democracy in and the Reunification of Korea," the cover, as Japanese security services know, of a North Korean espionage organization. Kelly was to have participated in a "solidarity conference" to celebrate the second anniversary of the 1980 unrest in Kwangju, partly as the result of North Korean agitation. Only lack of time prevented the Green Lady from traveling to Tokyo.

On Sept. 2, 1983, the North Korean government press service KCNA announced that Green Party member **Klaus Timpe** "made a statement for his party on Aug. 29 in Pyongyang, in which he condemned the intention of the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppet clique to hold the 70th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union in Seoul:

"... The Green Party is of the opinion that holding the IPU Conference in Seoul, South Korea, is a provocation to the peace-loving peoples and the progressive democratic forces of Asia. Our Green Party demands that the meeting of the 70th conference be moved to another location. Simultaneously, we protest the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany supports the Seoul conference. The Bonn government continually gives political and material support to the South Korean government, and allows South Korean security forces to pursue their activities legally in West Germany. In contrast, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—a non-aligned state—is not allowed to carry on diplomatic activity in the Federal Republic. Our party demands that the Federal Republic of Germany immediately abandon its foreign policy, which follows the Reagan administration in global, militaristic, aggressive activities. Our Green Party, which has done its part for the peace movement, has the hope that Europe will never experience a nuclear holocaust like Hiroshima, but rather will become a peace-loving and independent region, free of nuclear weapons."

Obviously, the document was drafted by the North Koreans and signed by Timpe. But on Sept. 1, Timpe had to abandon his plans to hold a Bonn press conference on his return from North Korea, after the shocking news that Moscow had shot down Korean Airlines Flight 007, murdering 269 human beings. North Korea supported this mass murder—as did those Greens who so vehemently intervened for North Korea's policies.

Nicaragua

Green contacts with Nicaragua, which has recently developed into a second Cuba, have been intensively pursued for years. Nicaragua has been entrusted with 3,000 Cuban military advisers and 8,000-10,000 Cuban "development aides," and annually receives in economic aid \$260 million from the Soviets, \$35 million from East Germany, and \$20 million from Cuba. Its oil supply is entirely furnished by the Soviets.

The most active traveler to Nicaragua has been, up to this point, former Green parliamentary deputy **Gabriele Gottwals**, who in January 1986 called again for a "Weapons for El Salvador" campaign in a lengthy letter to *tageszeitung*. The Greens play an important role in the activities of over 100 Nicaraguan "solidarity committees" in the Federal Republic and their "workers' brigades" continually travel to Nicaragua.

As expected, a considerable number of the "brigaders" come from the left-extremist and terrorist spectrum, and have in the past participated in house occupations, "demos," or attacks against the Frankfurt air terminal Landing Field West. The reports from law-enforcement special commissions that were charged with investigating the Green-supported attacks during the actions in eastern Lower Saxony which have caused DM 4 million in damage since 1984, offer a characteristic example: One alleged principal in those actions escaped to Nicaragua in October 1984 after house searches turned up incriminating material. According to various reports, groups of Italian and German terrorists operate in Nicaragua, and many have taken positions in the military and security apparatus. In fact, eight German "construction aides," whom the Contras

The Greens and foreign terrorists

had kidnapped for a short time in May 1986, were armed with Kalashnikovs.

African National Congress

For experts, it is commonplace that, because of its strategic importance, South Africa has been a major focus in Moscow's plans. The Soviets provide the **African National Congress (ANC)** with weapons and equipment. Since 1974, Qaddafi has supported the military wing of the ANC. The ANC's espionage section was trained by the East German state intelligence service. The personification of the strict control of the ANC is KGB officer **Joe Slovo**, who was active as early as 1963 as a behind-the-scenes manipulator, and is today the chief of staff of the military wing of the ANC responsible for terror and sabotage. Major bombings with numerous black victims and sabotage attacks on large industrial facilities can be credited to him. Part of this strategy includes planned attacks on the offices of German firms active in South Africa.

There has been extensive fraternization between the Greens and prominent SPD leaders and the ANC. At a Green press conference in August 1985, the ANC representative in the Federal Republic, **Tony Seedat**, threatened attacks on the South African branches of German firms. Since September 1985, the Greens have carried on a systematic support campaign for the ANC and SWAPO (Southwest African Peoples Organization). On Sept. 10, 1985, Greens Lukas Beckman, Petra Kelly, Hannagret Hönes, Uschi Eid, Eberhard Bueb, Ludger Vollmer, and Willi Hoss occupied the German embassy in Pretoria. "The federal government, with its current policy of goodwill toward South Africa, is involving itself in guilt for violence, terror, and murder against the black population"—precisely that in which the ANC itself is engaged!

Peru's Shining Path

Green Party members have frequently attacked the government of President Alan García and yet maintained silence on the terrible atrocities of Peru's narco-terrorist **Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso)**—certainly one of the most barbaric groups in the world. According to the one official Peruvian communiqué, 6,000 civilians, 500 police and soldiers, and 72 government officials have been the victims of Shining Path's terror. Together with the Colombian **M-19**, the Shining Path forms the most important contingent of "narco-terrorists"—guerrilla groups whose financing and logistics derive from narcotics traffic. Shining Path enjoys both Cuban and Nicaraguan support, and in January 1986, Shining Path leaders established contact with the Libyan regime.

During the savage, armed prison uprising of the Shining Path terrorists, the Danish ship *Pia Vesta*, sailing from the East German port of Rostock and hovered off the coast of Peru for a time, was stopped in Panamanian waters. The ship was loaded with 200 tons of weapons and military equipment—machine guns, mortars, trucks—all from the East bloc, apparently intended to supply the Peruvian insurgents. For unknown reasons, it had turned back toward Panama shortly before reaching the Peruvian coast.

The Shining Path belongs to an international alliance of Maoist terrorist organizations that calls itself the **International Revolutionary Movement (RIM)**, and is forming support groups in Europe—the Turkish **TKP/ML** represents a strong underground organization.

Bundestag Green Deputy Christian Ströbele raised a parliamentary question in October 1985 concerning the "imprisonment without trial of a German citizen in Lima," referring to German teacher **Renate Hehr**. Imprisoned since June, Hehr had participated, according to Peruvian officials, in Shining Path dynamite attacks and was in possession of weapons and explosives at the time of her arrest. Among other things, Ströbele demanded that the German government intervene to secure the immediate release of Renate Hehr. The government's answer was that Renate Hehr characterized herself to German embassy representatives as a "political prisoner" and a supporter of the Shining Path. According to press reports, Renate Hehr does not want to leave the country, out of loyalty to the "Peruvian revolution." Nevertheless, the Social Democrats could find nothing more important to do during the armed prison revolts than to pressure President García to inquire into the condition of the German "Senderista."

Former Green parliamentary deputy **Walter Schwenninger**, who has visited Peru many times, was compelled to admit after returning from Peru in April that the Shining Path terrorists were guilty of serious violations of human rights. But, he immediately added that the responsibility lay with the police and military, and the human-rights situation has not improved since García's coming to power. Additionally, Schwenninger demanded an embargo on the delivery of Germany military equipment to Peru—and thus attempted to sabotage the Peruvian government, which has dared to do more in the fight against narcotics and terrorism than any other in the world.

During the revolt of Shining Path prisoners, who made their assaults with guns and explosives from fortified positions, Schwenninger repeated his demand. According to Peruvian radio reports, the Greens also sent a telex to Willy Brandt, who was in Peru to chair the Socialist International congress, demanding that he pressure President García in order to have the "devastating massacre" investigated.

The Greens and the Kurdish Workers Party

The **Kurdish Workers Party (PKK)**, which is active in West Germany and has become known for brutally "liquidating" party dissidents, is closely allied with the Syrian government and the Palestinian **PFLP** organization. The integration of the PKK into the "West European front" of the terrorist scene has in recent months become more and more noticeable. Many papers from the RAF periphery have been confiscated which polemicize against the enemies of the notoriously strict orthodox-communist and Soviet sympathizing PKK. One PKK group actually appeared at the above-mentioned Frankfurt meeting.

The support for the October 1985 manifesto that protested the imprisonment of a PKK activist in Stockholm is remarkable. The following signed the proclamation:

- The Düsseldorf Greens
- The Hanover Green State Parliamentary Faction
- GABL Hanover
- Brigitte Heinrich, parliamentary deputy
- Lukas Beckmann
- The Saarland Greens
- The Hamburg Green Alternative Slate
- The Bielefeld Green Varied List

The Greens and various DKP sub-organizations found themselves in the company of the following:

- Sympathizers of the PFLP
- Sympathizers of the Palestinian National Liberation Front
- The Palestinian Battle Line (Nidal), Berlin
- DFPLF Sympathizers, Berlin

The New Caledonian separatists

The **Kanakan Separatist Movement** (FLNKS) of French New Caledonia is supported financially and with military training by Libya. New Caledonia is a strategically located French possession in the South Pacific, and as such has been targeted for destabilization by the Soviets. The Kanakas are the indigenous majority.

In May 1985, the Rainbow Faction of the European Greens launched a special support initiative on the Kanakas behalf. In an article in *Grünen Basis Dienst*, **Dorothee Piermont** called on the Green sub-organizations to donate money for the project "A Printing Press and a Radio Station for FLNKS." The electronic parts for the transmitter were to be sent overseas at the end of May through Radio Dreyeckland in Freiburg, a pirate station that has been the frequent target of official investigations. The shipment, however, was intercepted by the criminal police.