Dossier

Greens, terrorists, and the subversion of the German state

1. Green Party parliamentarians and other functionaries

Brigitte Heinrich, Member of the European Parliament since 1984; 1980 imprisonment for a year and nine months 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 student unrest of the end of the 1960s, more arrests and investigations. With other members of the Strassburg Rainbow Faction, especially active in Spain and Portugal, against "repression," including participation in the support campaign for the imprisoned leader of the Portuguese terrorist organization FP 25, Otelo de Carvalho. Contact to the "legal" arm of ETA, Herri Batasuna. December 1984 participation in a Middle East trip of a Green delegation. Delegation met with, among others, representatives of the PFLP, PDFLP, and the Syrian foreign minister. 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 autonomist scene. December 1984 (during the RAF hunger strike) advertisement for a European-wide "Jail Project" with clear reference to the terrorist scene; co-signers Michael Klöckner, Gerhard Albartus (jailed for membership in a Red Cell in the Ruhr region at the end of the 1970s) and Harry Stürmer (jailed for many years for membership in the Second of June Movement). Stürmer was one of Klöckner's "parliamentary aides."

Frank Schwalba-Hoth, Member of the European Parliament since 1984; poured 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, work with Schwalba-Hoth at the Frankfurt Information Bureau for the Proliferation of Blacked-Out News (ID). At that time, the ID was under official surveillance, as a "legal" hang-out of terrorists. . . . On Jan. 15, 1985, Schwalba-Hoth co-initiated an "urgent proposal" for a delegation of European Greens to be "mediators" for RAF terrorist hunger strikers. . . .

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 1970s. The first volume of *Agit 883*, in May 1970, soon after terrorists freed 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!

Schneider was for years 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. He called 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 Kommune I; numerous investigations, arrests, and convictions; a trial for attempted murder and arson led

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to a nine year and one month prison sentence, which was then lifted by the federal tribunal. Several years in jail for terrorist-related offenses such as falsification of documents and attempted arson, endangering human life. Kunzelman, in a radio interview in 1983, stated:

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 antiauthoritarian movement. From 1970 to 1975, I was in prison because of 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 Help, 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 thus the restriction of our democratic rights. (Prema Press Agency, June 28, 1983)

Gerald Klöpper, 1984, included "symbolically" in the Alternative List candidates for the Berlin House of Deputies; sentenced in 1980 to 11 years and 2 months in prison for terrorist crimes such as taking hostages, kidnaping, membership in a criminal association, etc. In 1975, Klöppner participated in the abduction of Berlin Christian Democratic Union chairman Peter Lorenz, which was carried out by the "2nd of June Movement."

Ulrich Fischer, Member of Parliament 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 Rote Hilfe [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 on a recommendation on fighting 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 48 college professors and lawyers who explicitly defended the infamous "Buback Obituary" written by a "Göttingen mescalero" shortly after the assassination of the Attorney General, 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 Parliament since 1985. While still in school, he was under the influence of the East Berlin lawyer Friedrich Karl Kaul, now deceased. Kaul was a senior lawyer of the East German Socialist Unity Party. Among other things, Kaul was personally involved in the international web of firms whose covert financial transactions are used by the East Berlin and Moscow leadership to finance disinformation projects and other intelligence initiatives. Kaul also turns up as Ströbele's lawyer. Ströbele made the following remarks on Tiedge, the West German intelligence official who defected to the East, on Sept. 3, 1985 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 applied to the subcommittee on espionage with a remarkable demand that they respond to a signal concerning Tiedge from the East German Ministry for State Security. He requested that Tiedge 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 for sabotage of the internal security of the Federal Republic of Germany. Ströbele's stock demand is the "abolition of the intelligence services," 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 for recruitment into the terrorist milieu.

Ströbele belongs to the hard core of the RAF's lawyers, who among other things operated the illegal "Info-System." In 1982, he was sentenced to 10 months on probation for assisting a criminal association. Among other things, he penned at least 19 circulars, camouflaged as legal correspondence, which went to 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 clearly emerged from certain passages in the document.

Otto Schily, Member of Parliament 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

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with Ströbele, Croissant, and Grönewold), is widely thought not worth mentioning anymore. He called the trial of Ensslin and other terrorist killers a "political instrument of war."

Schily's "Motion for Halting of the Stammheim Trial," which dates from that period, documents Schily's intense commitment at the time to the RAF and its ideology.

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 as proof of 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."

There is not a word about the long list of 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 thrown down the stairs with five bullets in his body and was left lying there—still alive—for an hour before he was allowed to be treated. 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 fact, that this very action in Stockholm 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. The previously spurned exercise machines were 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 "Hanna"-Elise Krabbe—the "Hanna" named in Baader's note!

Schily's commitment to the left-extremist 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 heard from Schily about Mahler's infamous final statement at this trial ("You don't talk with the jailkeepers of capital; you shoot at them"). As Schily said at one point, "Allowing the client his own identity, is part of conducting a loyal defense."

Said Schily: "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 on another occasion, "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" (July 1986 interview).

Klaus Croissant, collaborator of the Berlin Alternative List and the Greens' European Parliament group; sentenced 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 permit communication between imprisoned and active RAF members, and thus further armed actions.

Raphael Keppel, "Assistant" to the Green faction within the Hesse state assembly. In September 1979, he attempted to hijack a Lufthansa aircraft, 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 "catalog of demands to professional politicians for more human living conditions". . . .

Thomas Wüppesahl, Green party district chairman in Lauenburg in the state of Schleswig-Holstein, told ZDF-TV's "Today's Journal" show in January 1975, concerning a terrorist sabotage attack on a high-voltage electric tower which temporarily incapacitated the Krümmel nuclear power plant, that he has to "clearly assert, that it is obvious that such activity is occurring at this time, since it offers the only opportunity to get the political movement accepted into the public discussion of nuclear energy." It was possible to "conceptually fully endorse" what happened 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 the Kommunistische Bund Westdeutschland (KBW—Communist League West Germany). Only a few days following the RAF murder of Attorney General Buback at the market square in Hanau, Barth-Engelbarth scorned the assassination victim as the "highest-paid criminal in the Federal Republic." In addition, he publicly approved of the crime, with the words, "The Buback thing is going right." Barth-Engelbarth was sentenced to six months in prison without probation, which after an appeal was reduced to three months without probation. When Christian Democratic spokesman Walter Kurzkurt demanded in May 1985 that the Green spokesman therefore resign from his post, he caught the following catcall from the Social Democratic

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The U.S. State
Department persists in its
"dialogue" with the
Greens, despite the
party's role in running
cover for terrorism.
Shown are (clockwise,
from the bottom) Green
leader Petra Kelly, during
a U.S. tour sponsored by
the State Department;
U.S. Ambassador to Bonn
Richard Burt; and
Secretary of State George
Shultz.

delegate, Anton Straub: "Is this Goebbels' son?"

Manfred Mombaur, former member of the state assembly in Lower Saxony. Mombaur was at the center of the militant campaign against the transport of radioactive waste in the county of Lüchow-Dannenberg. This campaign was especially intensive in 1984, was accompanied by numerous terrorist attacks, and was sustained by the Greens of Lower Saxony, with the slogan: "Day X—Halt the Transport of Nuclear Waste." By that time, there had already been over 4 million deutschemarks damage in Wendland from terrorist attacks against construction vehicles and machines, offices, and railroad tracks.

In late September 1984, the district courts in Göttingen and in Dannenberg forbade the distribution of leaflets and posters on "Day X," effective nationwide, since the printing plants would be guilty of publicly calling for the commission of criminal acts. The state offices of the Greens in Hanover were promptly searched by the police. But delegates Mombaur and Garbe publicly announced that the leaflets and posters would continue to be distributed, and furthermore, the federal executive committee of the Greens would take legal responsibility for the new printing. Numerous other pamphlets in a similar vein were distributed from out of Lüneburg, suggesting "attacks, all the way to bomb attacks"

and such measures as the smoke-bombing of nuclear waste transporters. The wave of arson and bombing attacks, dangerous disruptions of rail traffic, etc., has not ceased up to the present day.

Mombaur also declared his open support for the violent actions in the campaign against the construction of a new airstrip on the western edge of the Frankfurt airport. In a fulminating letter to the editor in *tageszeitung* in January 1985, Mombaur attacked the Green "realist" Joschka Fischer in the following terms:

While a couple hundred airstrip opponents are freezing their asses off on New Year's Eve, in order to bring attention to 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 more loudly and clearly . . . for those who, for example, sitting on the western airstrip on New Year's Eve, have also acted in your own emergency defense.

The "emergency defense" to which Mombaur refers, consisted of three hours of violent attacks on the police with flare-guns, steel pellets, and stones. Nineteen cement struts from the protective wall were "trashed" and one gate broken through.

2. Support of terrorist actions

The Frankfurt Airport

Begun in 1980 and still sustained by the Greens, the campaign against the Frankfurt airport's western airstrip has become a national Mecca for the milieu of violent disrupters, ever since the escalation of violence in November 1981. Up to the present day, violent attacks on police and the airport property regularly occur in connection with the famous "Sunday strolls." The airstrip has developed into a sort of "military training grounds" for the terrorist milieu.

The events of November 1981 should once again be referenced, because of their immediate relation to the Greens. On Nov. 15, 1981, one day after a mass demonstration by the Green-supported AG Volksbegehren und Volksentscheide—Keine Startbahn West (People's Will and Decision, Inc.—No Western Airstrip), massive altercations occurred after the spokesman of the Citizens Initiative, Alexander Schubart, 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 in the vicinity of the airport terminal, where all traffic came to a standstill. Subway service to the airport was broken. 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. The squad leader described the situation:

He said he was surprised by the "aggressiveness of the confrontation." Immediately after landing, the officers were "attacked frontally" by demonstrators with a hail of projectiles—sticks, stones, and bottles. Five to 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 a landing site for the second helicopter. "Militant individuals" were so close to the machine that an officer, "in order to create some breathing space," set off a smoke bomb. Only then was it possible for the officers to leave the helicopter.

The fire brigade deployed against the burning barricades were obstructed from putting out the fires. Two additional federal roads were blocked; torn-down barricades were im-

mediately set up in other locations.

In the wake of these events, there was a nationwide series of terrorist attacks and violent clashes:

- Nov. 14: Demonstration with 700 individuals in Bremen; store windows smashed.
 - Nov 15: Fire bombing of a police car in Marburg.
- Nov. 16: Stone throwing caused 20,000 DM damage to store windows in Freiburg.
- Nov. 15-16: American automobiles in Frankfurt are defaced with graffiti with slogans such as "No NATO Runway," "Yankees Fuck 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: 20,000 DM in damages from painted graffiti in Giessen and environs with slogans such as "If You Cut Down the Woods, We Will Ice Gries and Börner."
- Nov. 18: 15,000 DM in damages from firebombing the offices of the Züblin company in Stuttgart.
- Nov. 18: Two paving stones were thrown through the living-room window of the co-publisher of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Robert Held. An "apology" for previous articles was demanded, and "harsher attacks" threatened.
- Nov. 18: 2,000-3,000 hoodlums gather in the construction area at Frankfurt airport and damaged the site 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 inquiry against Schubart concerning use of force against constitutional institutions. There was a broad expression of solidarity within the left-extremist spectrum and among the Greens for the "criminalized" Schubart. A good half-million deutschemarks were mobilized for many full-page ads with "proclamations of solidarity" and with lists of signatures. Among the signators were Green leaders Petra Kelly and Rudolf Bahro, the Green Alternative List (GAL) deputy Bettina Hoeltge, Ulla Jelpge, and Thea Bock.

In the trial that followed, Schubart was sentenced to two years in prison on probation. 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 the individuals involved were upheld. The Hessian Greens then proposed Schubart, shortly after the announcement of the judgment of the first trial, as a candidate for 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, 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.

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Greens and the 'squatters'

Leading Greens belonged to the "Founding Fathers" of the militant house-occupiers or squatters movement, which developed at the outset of the 1980s into an important collecting place and recruitment field for violent autonomous groups and terrorists. The project, "Network Self-Help—Funds for Political and Alternative Projects," played a significant role. The "network" had previously supported (1980) such "projects" as the Hanover *UJZ Kornstrasse*, which today is part of the RAF-Red Cell periphery and functions as a rendezvous place for punkers and autonomists. Among the backers of the "Network" in 1980 were the following Greens: Martin Mombaur, Otto Schily, Roland Vogt, and those in the narrower founding circle in 1978-79, Hans Christian Ströbele and Dirk Schneider.

The intensity of the violent attacks that emanated from these illegal "squatters" is still vividly in the memory of all Germans. Equally 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 reveals that the signing of agreements between owners and squatters of the houses brought no "real reduction of criminal activities." At that time, 75 houses were legalized, 50 in Kreuzberg. Security forces said one of the reasons for the continuation of criminal actions was the fact that the squatters who profited from the legalization were individuals "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 collectivist mode of operation, their spatial proximity to one another, and their negative attitude toward the state."

Because 50 "legalized" houses were in a small area in Kreuzberg, many squatters who had been cleared out of their houses by police moved into the "legalized" houses or into their immediate environs. Concerning this immigration of squatters from other regions of the city, "it was mostly former squatters from 'militant' houses."

The report continues: This "suction action" unleashed by the "legalization" led to this section of Kreuzberg becoming the gathering and dwelling place for punkers from throughout the nation and from 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." Carrying out police and judicial business, the identification, arrest, and prosecution of individuals allegedly guilty of criminal acts, was made more difficult by the many entrances and means by which to flee the legalized houses, for example, through holes and "runways" on the roofs. The legalized houses are thus a "favorable operational and retreat base for criminals, which in advance considerably restricts the police unit's prospects for success," according to the report.

"[It] is not known who actually lives in the buildings." This stems essentially from the fact that most of the houses are constantly kept closed. Strangers are allowed neither to enter nor to gain any information. On and in the structures there are neither name plates nor mail boxes. Official mail could "not be regularly delivered," except possibly through "contact persons."

Many of these houses are, for these reasons, "gathering places for criminals or individuals for whom there are arrest warrants, who go underground there." Because of delivery problems, warrants and court summons cannot be served, so that the transaction of legal affairs is either hindered or prevented altogether.

In regard to one house in Oranien Strasse, which was occupied on Oct. 10, 1980 and "legalized" on Aug. 26, 1983, a total of 78 crimes are cited in the security report; 170 other official investigations were initiated or pending against the occupiers there, for crimes including felonious disturbance of the peace, arson, illegal possession of weapons, felonious assault, grand larceny. The earlier occupiers returned to the house after legalization, and then there were more crimes: felonious assault, theft, resistance to court officials, drug trafficking.

The series of crimes alleged by security forces in formerly occupied and then "legalized" houses is long. According to the report, the legalization of the houses has "created [not only] a zone of protection but also a time of rest in which to analyze the experiences of the house struggle period and to draw the appropriate conclusions." The extreme 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."

The same conditions are found in Hamburg, where the Social-Democratic government has refused to take effective action against the occupied houses in Hafen Strasse, which has become a "lawless space" for autonomists, punks, and common criminals, from which massive crimes have been committed without the risk of criminal prosecution. Since the winter of 1984-85, there have been regular large-scale violent actions by the Hafen Strasse scene.

Even the director of the Hamburg office for protection of the constitution, otherwise hardly renowned for professional analyses of the security situation, felt it necessary in October 1985 to state, "RAF women have moved their residence there since summer."

Greens and imprisoned terrorists

For years, the Greens have made crystal 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

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The Lower Saxony election: a poster of the Patriots for Germany is defaced by the German Communist Party (DKP). The DKP's sign advertised the June 7 antinuclear demonstration at the Brokdorf nuclear site, one of the most violent assaults on nuclear power to date.

Republic are the following:

- "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 protection of the constitution"

That these otherwise absurd demands are to be taken as a declaration of "solidarity with terrorists," is shown by a whole series of events in which representatives of the Greens are prominent:

The RAF hunger strike of 1984-85

During the hunger strike, which was accompanied by waves of terrorist incidents, many leading Greens, including Michael Schroeren, Dirk Schneider, and Dieter Burgmann, showed where they stand most clearly. Burgmann stated that the Greens have never produced a proof that a nonviolent change of society is possible. In case it should 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."

Green organizations on all political levels showed solidarity with the demands of the hunger strikers. The Green's National Steering Committee, the Lower Saxony Greens, the "Jail and Justice Study Group," the Hamburg Green Alternative group, the Berlin Alternative List, 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.

During the high point of the terrorist attacks (five days after the murder of French Gen. René Audran), the Greens 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 it is now time that we have discussions with you." Further letters of the same sort followed. In July 1985, Bundestag deputy Udo Tischer offered an appointment for a discussion to the imprisoned RAF terrorist Christian Klar. Vollmer and Nickels wrote an "open letter" to the "Women of the RAF" in September 1985. In November, Nickels and Norbert Mann visited the imprisoned RAF members Wackernagel and Schneider.

Also revealing are incidents such as the appointment of Frankfurt lawyer **Rupert von Plottnitz** to the judicial electoral committee, at the initiative of the Hessian Greens. Plottnitz, like Croissant, Ströbele, and Grönewol, were part of the hard core of RAF lawyers in the Stammheimer trials of the 1970s. In a review of the film *Stammheim* in February of this year, Plottnitz wrote: "Stammheim stands for surveillance and spying, threats, and for carefully committed lawbreaking for the sake of the state. Stammheim stands for dead political prisoners, and unexplained causes of death."

When this incredible RAF-jargon-ridden formulation was attacked by CDU deputies, the Greens voted together with the SPD against the removal of the lawyer from his position.

In October 1985, a preliminary investigation was launched

against Erika Wojak, the Green faction executive in the Dortmund city hall, because of suspicion of support of a terrorist organization. Erika Wojak was among the signers of a statement in January 1985 giving support to the demands of the jailed RAF hunger strikers.

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

The Greens and Peru's Shining Path

Representatives of the Greens have repeatedly attacked the Peruvian government of President Alan García, but have remained silent on the incredibly brutal actions of the terrorist organization **Shining Path** (Sendero Luminoso)—certainly one of the most barbaric groups in the world.

In October 1985, Green Deputy Christian Ströble raised a parliamentary question concerning the "imprisonment without trial of a German citizen in Lima," Renate Hehr. According to Peruvian officials, Hehr had been part of Shining Path dynamite attacks and was in possession of weapons and explosives at the time of her arrest. Among other things, Ströble demanded that the German federal government intervene to secure her immediate release.

The former Green parliamentary deputy **Walter Schwenninger**, who has visited Peru many times, following a stay in April, demanded an end to the delivery of Germany military equipment to the Peruvian government. He repeated this demand during the bloody prison revolt of Shining Path inmates in June, in which more than 700 died.

3. The Greens and terrorist governments

Libya: The first contacts between Muammar Qaddafi and representatives of the Greens occurred in 1982 in meetings in Vienna and Tripoli. The Green representatives were Otto Schily, Roland Vogt, and Alfred Mechtersheimer. At the first meeting in Vienna, the Greens discovered a "partial identity of interests." The "European and American peace movements are the natural partners in dialogue" with Libya. After a trip to Libya, the Hessian Green Gertrud Schilling euphorically demanded the abolition of parliament. Despite some internal controversies over the open relationship with Libya, relations were not broken off. In the Libyan-backed Austrian magazine Moderne Zeiten in September 1985, Qaddafi expressed himself with enthusiasm concerning 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 Oaddafi and the Green movement, and are

even attempting to lock up individuals in the movement, in order to destroy this movement."

In January, after the announcement of American economic sanctions against Libya as a result of bomb attacks in Vienna and Rome, 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."

After the American air raids on Libya in April, the Green Deputy Annemarie 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 for world peace," and "playing with the fire of a superpower confrontation." There is no difference between "the U.S. Air Force attack on Libya and the terrorists' attacks on airports, airplanes, or discotheques—except that they are more comprehensive, bloodier, and carried out by a NATO army."

North Korea: The Greens put forward writer Luise Rinser as their candidate during the last German presidential election. Rinser, who is celebrated as a best-selling author, once rejoiced in Hitler, and idolatrously worshiped Stalin. Today, she is an agent of the government of North Korea. She has been received many times in Pyongyang by dictator Kim Il-Sung, whom she glorified in her small book, North Korean Diary.

Rinser has long sympathized with the RAF terrorists. In 1970, she received the RAF leaders **Andreas Baader** and **Gudrun Ensslin** in her "capitalistic" villa in Rome. RAF member **Ulrike Meinhof** once asked Kim Il-Sung for weapons. The telephone number of the North Korean embassy in East Berlin or Vienna has been found on many arrested German terrorists.

In June 1981, Green **Rolf Stolz** and his wife, **Ingrid Stolz**, traveled with Green **Reinhard Müller** to North Korea. In a press conference upon their return, the group praised the "astonishing construction achievements of [North Korea] that are largely unknown in the Federal Republic." In *Debatte* newspaper, Stolz lavished praise on North Korea.

In 1980, when the Greens first won seats in a state parliament (Baden-Württemberg), North Korea began to take a serious interest in them. Green **Rudolf Bahro**, an East German "defector," traveled to North Korea in the fall of 1981, and attended an "inner party convention" there. "It is a lot a 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" had a shrine in Rangoon bombed. Four South Korean ministers and 17 other South Korean and Burmese officials died in the blast.

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