

Federal Ministry of the  
Interior

Annual Report - 1998

Federal Office for the Protection of  
the Constitution

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# **O r g a n i z a t i o n a l   D a t a**

## **1.    Organizational Data in Accordance with Article 16, Paragraph 2 of the Federal Law for the Protection of the Constitution**

### **A.    Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV)**

The BfV subsidy from the federal budget for the year 1998 totaled DM 220,508,083.21 (1997: DM 220,454,508.41). The BfV had a total of 2,164 employees during 1998 (1997: 2,195).

### **B.    Military Counterintelligence Service (MAD)**

The MAD subsidy from the federal budget for the year 1998 totaled DM 113,287,000 (1997: DM 116,187,000). The MAD had a total of 1,250 employees during 1998 (1997: 1,300).

## **2.    Other Organizational Data**

At the beginning of 1999, federal and state level holdings in the Intelligence Data Network (NADIS) totaled 888,776 (beginning of 1998: 891,400) persons, of which 460,556 (51.8%) were for the purpose of security checks (beginning of 1998: 50.3%).

# **R i g h t - E x t r e m i s t E n d e a v o r s**

## **I. Overview**

### **1. Ideology**

#### **Nationalism/Racism**

Right-extremist ideology has its roots in nationalist/racist ideas. Nationalism and racism emerge from the idea that ethnic affiliation with a nation or race determines decisively the value of man. Since, according to right-extremist ideology, human rights are also to be put under ethnic affiliation, right-extremists refuse to accept the universal principle that all individuals are equal.

#### **Ideology of the "people's community"**

In addition, they propagate an authoritarian political system in which state and people amalgamate as an alleged natural order in unity (ideology of the "people's community"); thus the state's leaders consequently know the uniform will of the people and act correspondingly. In a state marked by right-extremist ideology, there is no room for the essentials of a liberal constitution such as the people's right to exercise power through elections, or the right to form and exercise opposition.

#### **Ideology not homogenous**

Right-extremism in Germany is not homogenous in terms of ideology: neo-Nazis strive for the creation of a totalitarian "Führer" state on racist fundamentals. From their point of view, German people are of higher value, and thus to be protected from "racial inferior" foreigners or Jews. A supreme priority is the prevention of a mixing of the races. On the contrary, right-extremist parties stand more for a nationalist position. They consider the nation the supreme principle, which indirectly downgrades human and citizens rights. In the end, this attitude aims at an authoritarian state in which the liberal constitution would be eliminated.

## **2. Developments in Right-Extremism**

### **No decrease in right-extremist endeavors**

Right-extremist endeavors continued to grow in 1998 and security officials registered a new increase in personnel potential compared to the previous year. However, the number of right-extremist motivated violent offenses decreased sharply compared to the previous year. Most such offenses continued to be committed in the new federal states.

### **Continued increase in the number of right-extremists willing to use violence**

The potential for violence by right-extremists is also concentrated in Eastern Germany. This potential has increased drastically through youths joining the right-extremist Skinhead scene. At the same time, the internationally active Skinhead movement increased its influence on the German Skinhead scene. A systematic integration of Skinheads in right-extremist organizations continued to be the exception.



The Skinhead music scene also showed a continuing upward trend. The number of right-extremist Skinhead bands, concerts, and distributors increased sharply. At the same time, security officials are working hard to find the locations where such music is produced and to clarify the distribution routes used by right-extremist Skinhead music distributors, both foreign and domestic. The first successes can already be counted: in 1998 several court proceedings were initiated against distributors, foreign and domestic, in particular in Scandinavia. Business offices of distributors of right-extremist Skinhead music were searched for alleged distribution of incitement of the populace propaganda materials.

### **Stagnation in the neo-Nazi scene**

The situation in the neo-Nazi scene remained unchanged: the intended informational networking of the camp was not successful despite the increased use of technical communications means. The tactical concept of the independent "comradeships", through which neo-Nazis intended to circumvent the effects of the bans, was also unsuccessful. Although there is now a large number of "comradeships", only a few of them intentionally attempted to gain political notice through demonstrations or their own publications. This included the "comradeships" who work together under the action motto "Free Nationalists."

They offer themselves as active partners to the "National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) and its youth organization "Young National Democrats" (JN). The NPD and JN give these "comradeships" the opportunity to participate in their demonstrations, during which the "Free Nationalists" appear together in a block, and to participate in the political work in their committees. However, through this close cooperation by the "Free Nationalists" with party functions, an internal competition grows with the remaining neo-Nazis who want to remain independent.

### **Stabilization in the right-extremist party spectrum**

Right-extremist party structures are now in the process of change. The "German Peoples Union" (DVU) is once again, as in 1993, the party with the largest number of members, even though it has not yet reached the membership strength it had then. During elections, the DVU and the "Republicans" (REP) continue to fight to become the leading party in the right-extremist camp. After surprising success in the state election in Saxony-Anhalt in April 1998, with 12.9% of the votes, the results of the election in the autumn once again returned the DVU to reality. Of the 3.3% of the votes received by the REP, DVU, and NPD parties together, the REP received the largest number.

### **Election success by the DVU in Saxony-Anhalt**

Nevertheless, the election results by the DVU during the state elections in Saxony-Anhalt showed that a right-extremist party could obtain notable election results under certain conditions without permanent regional party structures.

While the REP was able to consolidate during the past year, various internal party problems and consecutive election defeats led to a slight decrease in membership. Party chairman Dr. Rolf SCHLIERER and most of the party leadership continue to hold fast to their policy of demarcation to exclude right-extremist parties. After the election results in autumn 1998, however, the party leadership indicated it would, at least for a short period of time, refrain from competitive election participation between the REP and the DVU.

Even though previous attempts by the "Round Tables" to form coalitions were not continued, security officials will continue to be interested in how much the right-extremist potential will affect the REP and if new strategic coalitions will be created.

In contrast to the DVU and the REP, the NPD acts less as a political party, but places more emphasis on actions with numerous public events and demonstrations. Although the party continues to be of little importance during elections, its upward trend documents its increase in membership. For party chairman Udo VOIGT, the theme and action related cooperation with neo-Nazis continues to be of utmost importance. Because of its ability to carry out activities and a willingness to cooperate with neo-Nazis, the party increased its number of young members, especially in East Germany. The obvious success of its coalition policies could be seen at large events held on 7 February 1998 in Passau, on 1 May 1998 in Leipzig, and on 19 September in Rostock.

The leadership cadre of the "Young National Democrats" (JN) increasingly shifted its activities to the NPD sector. There was a sharp decrease in independent JN activities, or they were merged with events held by the NPD. Security officials will continue to monitor the close relationship between the NPD/JN and the neo-Nazi spectrum. There are indications that neo-Nazis are increasingly taking over leading positions in the NPD/JN and are exercising influence on the course of the organizations.

### **Emphasis of agitation activities**

Even with Nazis, historical national socialism has become less important for agitation activities. The theme rarely appears as a model for a future political order, but remains part of an ideological revision debate. Their protagonists, primarily from foreign countries, continue to push for a relief of the burden on German history and they attempt, through a down-playing of National Socialist crimes, to destigmatize nationalist ideology.

Right-extremists increasingly use certain problems from daily politics for their political goals. They attack the currency change to the "Euro" as giving up sovereign national rights, they stigmatize all foreigners and asylum applicants as criminals, or use the discussion on the controversial exhibition "War of Annihilation - Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941 to 1944" in order to gain access in the democratic discourse for their arguments.

### **"Re-education"**

An additional subject of right-extremist agitation is, as in the past, the contention that the German constitution has no legitimacy. After the war, the German people were forced to accept western parliamentary democracy through a planned allied "re-education" program. Under the impression of supposedly unique crimes by the NS system, the populace did not have the power to resist a state form which was alien to their nature.

### **Renaissance of national-revolutionary ideology**

A renaissance of national-revolutionary ideology can be seen in intellectual right-extremism. It can especially be seen, that ideology fragments of the political left are being accepted and joined with ethnic and national-collective ideas.

This phenomena articulates itself presently in the ideological order of social-political aspects, in which unemployment, economic globalization, and social crises are mentioned not only in the context of xenophobic agitation, but has received its own value.

## **INTERNET important means of communication**

New developments in the right-extremist scene can be seen, not only in the subjects chosen, but also in the use of suitable means of agitation. The monitoring of right-extremist contents on the INTERNET by internal security officials has become more challenging. Ideological activists have increased their presence in all areas of the INTERNET and presently, German right-extremists operate approximately 200 homepages on the World Wide Web (WWW). The ever-increasing quality mirrors the continuous attractive presentation of the homepages. In this way, it is possible to reach a large audience from one's own perspective relatively cost effective when compared to the normal printed media. At the same time, through the use of "links" (automatic connections), it is possible to gain access to the entire spectrum of pertinent publications on the INTERNET.

## **II. Overview in Statistics**

### **1. Organizations and Personnel Potential**

#### **Continuous increase in right-extremist personnel potential**

At the end of 1998, there were 114 (1997: 109) right-extremist organizations/groups in Germany. With approx. 53,600 members and non-organized right-extremists, the number was about 11% above the number a year ago (approximately 48,400).

#### **Violence-prone right-extremists**

The number of right-extremists willing to use violence has increased by almost 9% to 8,200 (1997: 7,600), which continues the upward trend seen since 1996. Included in this group, are those who support the use of violence, but so far have not committed any acts of violence. Right-extremist skinheads make up the largest group of such persons.

#### **Right-extremist political parties**

A total of 39,000 persons (1997: 34,800) was organized in right-extremist parties. This number includes members of the party "The Republicans" (REP), even though not every individual member of that party is considered a right-extremist. The increase of approx. 12% is mainly the result of increases in the "German Peoples' Union" (DVU) (3,000) and "National-Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD) (1,700). The REP, on the other hand, had a slight decrease in the number of members. Also, an increase to 65 groups (1997: 63) with 4,500 members/activists (1997: 4,300) was registered among other right-extremist organizations.

#### **Neo-Nazis**

The number of neo-Nazis remained the same at 2,400 members. A certain degree of organizational structure was found among 41 groups (1997: 40).

## Right-Extremist Potential \*

|   | 1996       |               | 1997       |               | 1998       |               |
|---|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
|   | Groups     | Persons       | Groups     | Persons       | Groups     | Persons       |
| Right-extremists willing to use violence**                      | 5          | 6,400         | 3          | 7,600         | 5          | 8,200         |
| Neo-Nazis***  | 48         | 2,420         | 40         | 2,400         | 41         | 2,400         |
| Parties   | 3          | 33,500        | 3          | 34,800        | 3          | 39,000        |
| to include:   |            |               |            |               |            |               |
| "The Republicans" (REP)****                                     |            | 15,000        |            | 15,500        |            | 15,000        |
| "German People's Union (DVU)                                    |            | 15,000        |            | 15,000        |            | 18,000        |
| "National Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD)                    |            | 3,500         |            | 4,300         |            | 6,000         |
| Other Right-Extremist Organizations                             | 52         | 3,700         | 63         | 4,300         | 65         | 4,500         |
| <b>Totals</b>   | <b>108</b> | <b>46,020</b> | <b>109</b> | <b>49,100</b> | <b>114</b> | <b>54,100</b> |
| <b>After subtraction of persons with multi-memberships*****</b> |            | <b>45,300</b> |            | <b>48,400</b> |            | <b>53,600</b> |

\* The figures listed are, in some cases, estimated and rounded off.

\*\* Most right-extremists willing to use violence are not organized in groups. The statistics list not only the persons who were determined to be actual/suspected perpetrators, but also such right-extremists for whom there are indications for a willingness to use violence.

\*\*\* After subtraction of persons with multi-memberships.

\*\*\*\* It cannot be assumed that each member of the REP supports or pursues right-extremist objectives.

\*\*\*\*\* The number of multi-memberships in political parties and in other right-extremist organizations were subtracted.

## **2. Criminal Offenses/Acts of Violence**

### **a. Overview**

#### **Decrease in number of acts of violence and other offenses**

In 1998, 11,049 (1997: 11,719) criminal offenses with proven or suspected right-extremist motivation were registered. Of these, 708 offenses included the use of violence (1997: 790), and 10,341 were other criminal offenses (1997: 10,929). Included in the right-extremist criminal offenses are those with xenophobic and anti-Semitic motives, and offenses with the use of force against a political opponent, and other right-extremist violent offenses. In 1998, the total number of criminal offenses decreased by 5.7% and acts of violence by 10.5%. The percentage of offenses with the use of violence of the total number of criminal offenses was 6.4% (1997: 6.7%). Sixty-three percent of all criminal offenses (1997: 67%) were propaganda offenses, such as the use of emblems of anti-constitutional organizations (Articles 86 and 86a of the Penal Code).

## Overview of Crimes Involving Violence and Other Offenses with Proven or Suspected Right-Extremist Motivation\*

|   | 1997          | 1998          |
|---|---------------|---------------|
| <b>Acts of violence</b>   |               |               |
| Murder  | 0             | 0             |
| Attempted murder  | 13            | 16            |
| Bodily injury   | 677           | 595           |
| Arson attacks   | 37            | 39            |
| Bomb attacks  | 2             | 3             |
| Breach of public peace  | 61            | 55            |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>790</b>    | <b>708</b>    |
| <b>Other offenses</b>   |               |               |
| Property damage   | 301           | 516           |
| Intimidation/Threats  | 371           | 276           |
| Distribution of propaganda materials and the use of anti-Constitutional symbols | 7,888         | 6,958         |
| Other offenses, in particular public incitement                                 | 2,369         | 2,591         |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>10,929</b> | <b>10,341</b> |
| <b>Total of all offenses</b>  | <b>11,719</b> | <b>11,049</b> |

\* The figures are based on data from the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (BKA). (DOI: 31 Jan 99) The overview includes crimes committed and those attempted. Each crime was counted only once. For example, if bodily injury was perpetrated during an act of breach of public peace, the crime appears only once in the statistics as a breach of public peace offense. If several crimes were committed at the same time, only the most severe crime was counted.

## Causes for the decrease in right-extremist acts of violence

The consequential measures taken by security officials against violence-prone activists have had a deterrent effect. A major part was played in this by the police "special units against right-extremism" which have been set up in the individual states, such as "Special Commission Right-Extremism" (SoKo Rex) in Saxony and the "Mobile Units against Violence and Xenophobia" (MEGA) in Brandenburg.

### b. Types of criminal offenses

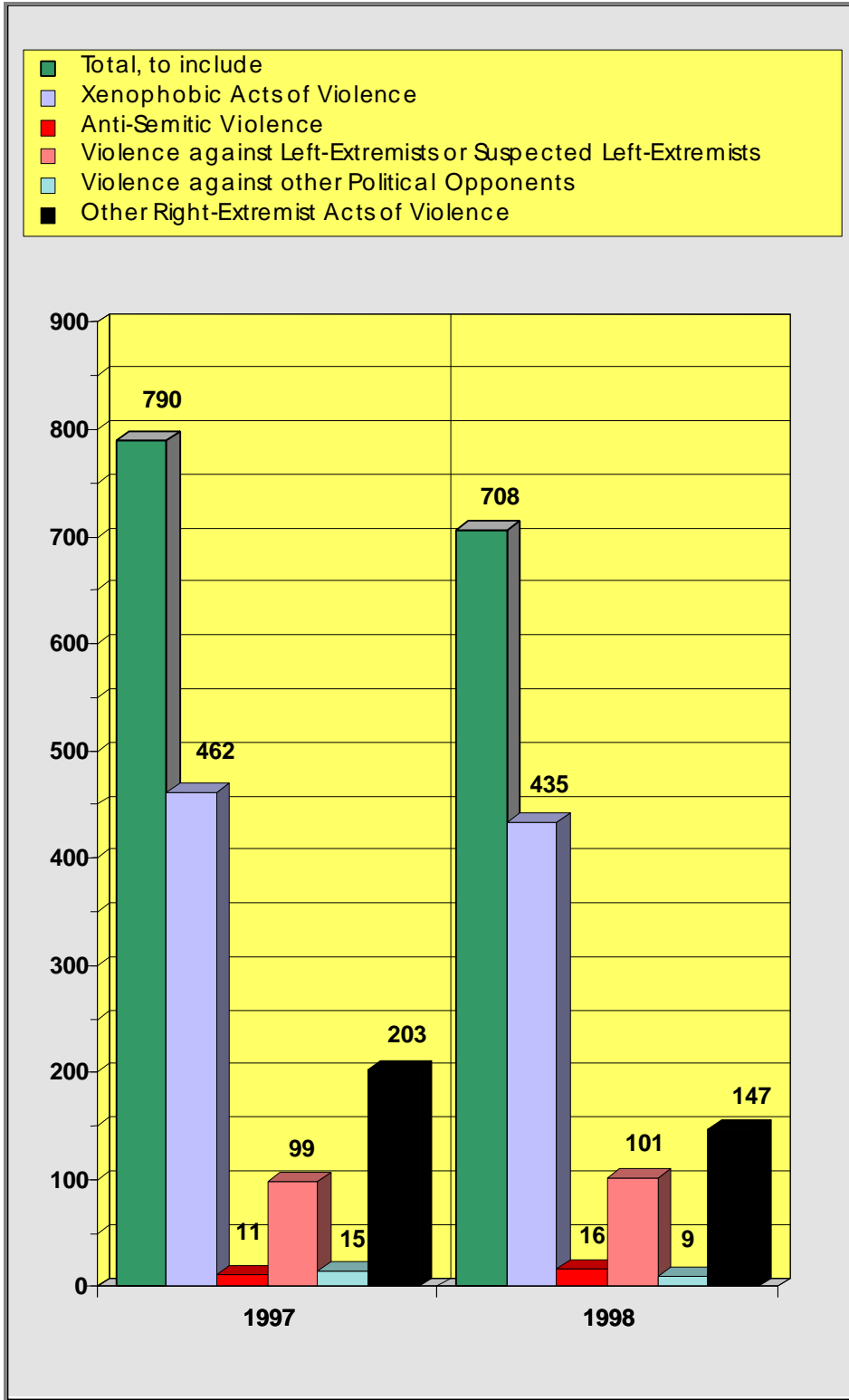
#### Xenophobic acts of violence remained at high levels

As in previous years, most acts of violence (435) were directed against foreigners (1997: 462), which is approx. 61% (1997: 58%) of all acts of violence.

| Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected Xenophobic Motivation |            |            |
|---|------------|------------|
|   | 1997       | 1998       |
| Murder  | 0          | 0          |
| Attempted murder  | 8          | 10         |
| Bodily injury   | 406        | 384        |
| Arson attacks   | 25         | 23         |
| Bomb attacks  | 1          | 0          |
| Breach of public peace  | 22         | 18         |
| <b>Total of Xenophobic Acts of Violence</b>                     | <b>462</b> | <b>435</b> |

The number of anti-Semitic motivated offenses and violent offenses against political opponents increased. In particular during the Federal Parliament elections, there was a marked increase in the number of violent offenses.

**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected  
Right-Extremist Motivation  
- Types of Offenses -**

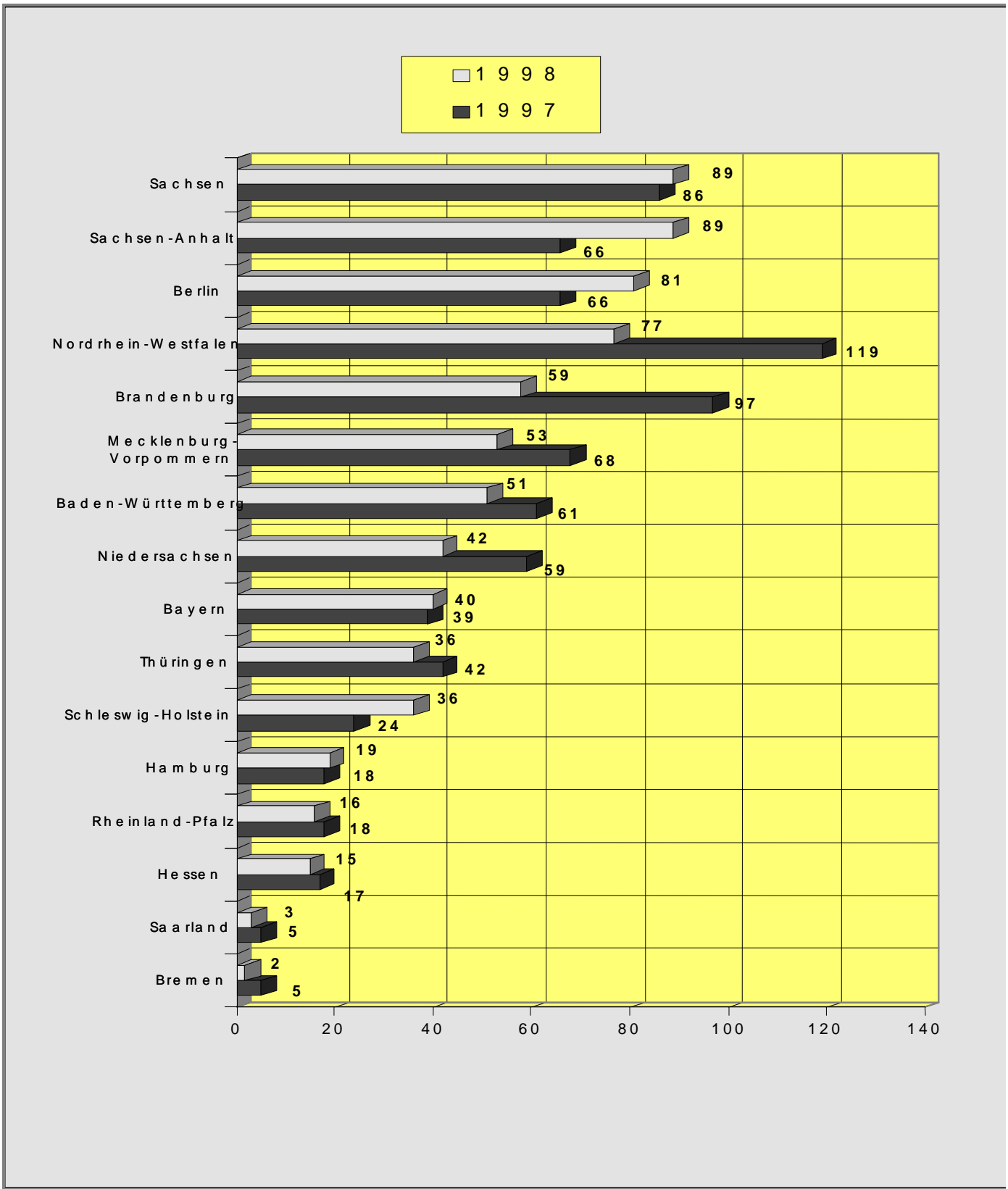




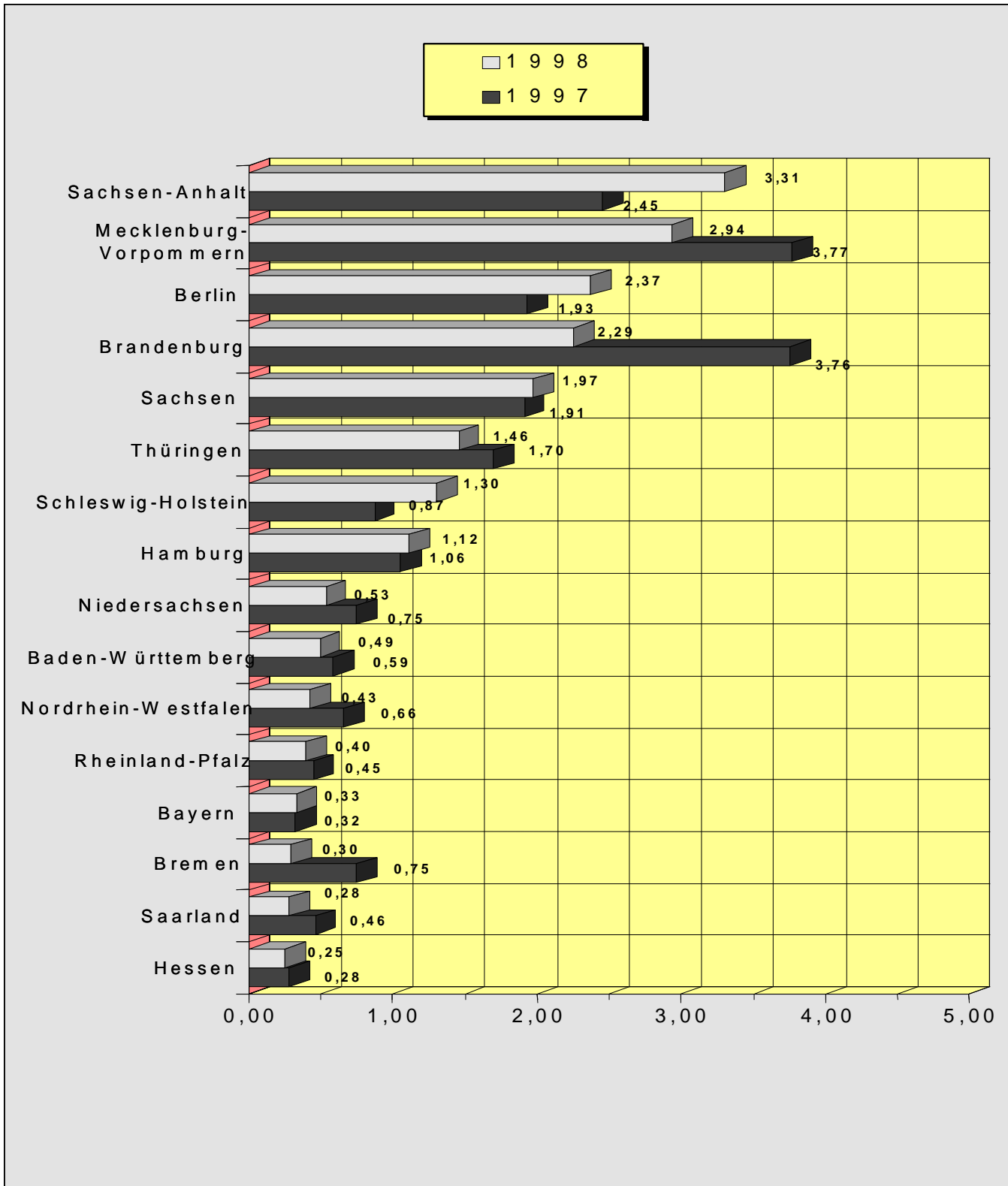
**c. Distribution of violent offenses among the federal states**

Approx. 46% of all acts of violence with proven or suspected right-extremist motivation occurred in the East-German states (1997: 45%). On the average, 2.4 violent acts per 100,000 residents were registered there, compared to 0.7 violent acts per 100,000 residents in the old federal states. The over-proportional percentage of acts of violence in Eastern Germany are probably related to the pronounced Skinhead groups there.

**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected Right-Extremist Motivation  
– by State –**



**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected  
Right-Extremist Motivation  
– per 100,000 Inhabitants – by State**



### **III. Violence-Prone Right-Extremists**

#### **1. Right-Extremist Violence Potential**

The number of right-extremists willing to use violence <sup>(1)</sup> increased again in 1998 and by the end of the year had reached approx. 8,200 (1997: 7,600); more than half of them lived in the new federal states. In comparison to the previous year, however, the increase in the number of new members within the violence-prone scene slowed down.

#### **No right-extremist terrorist groups in Germany**

There are no right-extremist terrorist <sup>(2)</sup> organizations or structures in Germany at the present time. The reason for this is a lack of a strategy for a violent overthrow of the system based on the present situation in Germany, and there is a shortage of suitable leaders and funds. There is also a shortage of a supporting scene and logistical prerequisites, which are essential for an effective battle fought from the underground. Most right-extremists distance themselves from violence as a political means, however, in many cases for purely tactical reasons. They fear terrorist actions would further strengthen the state, particularly if there is a wide public acceptance of executive measures taken against the "national camp."

#### **Neo-Nazis are often weapons fetishists**

There is a widespread interest in weapons and explosives among right-extremists, particularly neo-Nazis. For that reason, there exists a potential for violence among right-extremists who collect weapons and explosives and learn how to use them.

#### **Danger of spontaneous acts of violence**

These weapons fetishists present an incalculable risks to internal security. It cannot be eliminated that individuals with such weapons would use them for acts of violence, even without long-term goals and concepts.

#### **Weapons confiscated during house searches**

In January, the police confiscated four pipe bombs from neo-Nazis in Jena. It did not appear as if any definite attacks had been planned. Arrest warrants were issued for the three suspects who are now at large. In June, 21 locations used by neo-Nazis were searched in the Ingolstadt area. Five hand grenades, several sub-machine guns, a shotgun, weapons parts, ammunition, and a large amount of right-extremist propaganda materials were confiscated. Two of the five Nazis against whom the searches were carried out, are now in pre-trial confinement.

#### **2. Right-Extremist Skinhead Scene**

By far the largest group within the violence-prone right-extremist scene is made up of right-extremist Skinheads. Because of nearly a complete lack of organizational structures in the Skinhead scene, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Skinheads. Aggressiveness and a willingness to use violence are connected to a neo-Nazi, racist ideology, which is usually not programmatic-ideological, but rather confused.

From this motivation, spontaneous acts of violence by Skinheads often develop against foreigners of "leftists." Many youths are introduced to the right-extremist culture via Skinhead music and visits to their concert events.

### **Majority of Skinheads in East Germany**

The majority of Skinheads are located in the new states, in particular in East and South Thüringen, in South Brandenburg, and West Saxony, and in the major populated areas and large cities such as Frankfurt/Oder and Berlin. An increase in the number of new Skinheads was most noticeable in Saxony-Anhalt, Thüringen, and in Berlin where a strong presence has formed in the eastern sections, partially oriented on the "Blood & Honour" movement.

At various regional hot spots, there are now certain areas (such as youth centers) which are controlled by right-extremists; usually in the form of threats or bodily harm. The media frequently refer to such locations as "liberated zones." This designation first appeared in a strategy paper published in 1991 by the "National-Democratic High School Union" (NHB), the NPD student organization. <sup>(3)</sup> In the paper, the unknown author called for the creation of a "counter-power from below", which is supposed to grow from autonomous free areas for the right-extremist scene and displace state power. Because this concept received very little resonance in the right-extremist scene for years, neo-Nazis recently again took up the subject, partly because of media coverage. However, there is no indication that any attempts are being made to systematically displace the state power monopoly and to establish a counter-power by nationalists in Germany as called for in the paper.

In the old federal states, the Skinhead scene has supra-regional importance only in Allgäu (Bavaria). There are also larger Skinhead scenes in Baden-Württemberg, Hamburg, and Lower Saxony.

### **"Blood & Honour"**

The internationally active Skinhead movements "Blood & Honour" and "Hammerskins" were successful in increasing their influence on the structureless German scene. This is primarily because their leading members have for years been a part of the neo-Nazi Skinhead scene and have at their disposal organizational experience from the political work of neo-Nazis and connections in the Skinhead scene.

A common characteristic of "Blood & Honour" and "Hammerskins" is the neo-Nazi ideology, but less nationalistic and more racist. The "Blood & Honour" group was founded in England in the eighties with the objective of establishing its own independent structure for the Skinhead scene and to provide neo-Nazi influence to right-extremist music and publications. The focus of its ideology, is the belief that the white race is of a higher value. There are now "Blood & Honour Divisions" in numerous countries. In Germany, the group has been active since 1995 and has between 150 and 200 supporters. There are "sections" in nearly every state. Because of a weakening of the Saxony "section" due to internal organizational squabbles, the Berlin "section" has now assumed a leading role. "Blood & Honour" has become important to the scene because it regularly schedules Skinhead concerts. In addition, the German "division", along with the "Blood & Honour Division Germany - Voice of the Movement" , now publishes its own newspaper. Other "sections" also publish their own articles.

## **"Hammerskins"**

The "Hammerskins" have little influence on the German scene. Along with the USA, where "Hammerskins" were founded in the 1980's, they are also active in Switzerland, France, Italy, and in the Czech Republic. The goal of its elite, racist ideology, is the global unification of all white Skinheads in a "Hammerskin Nation." The "Hammerskins" are less interested in forming their own structures within the German Skinhead scene than the "Blood & Honour" movement. The "Hammerskins" also issue their own publications and fanzines and increasingly involve themselves in the distribution of Skinhead music.

## **Skinheads as mobilization potential for right-extremist events**

The systematical integration of Skinheads in right-extremist organizations continues to be an exception. However, the "National-Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD) and the "Young National-Democrats" (JN) continue to attempt to win over Skinheads for their purposes and to mobilize them for their events. This has been particularly successful where contacts between NPD/JN members and Skinheads already existed.

## **Participation in neo-Nazi comradeships**

These contacts also result in Skinheads giving up their aversion for integration into organizations and they willing participate in events by neo-Nazi "comradeships." However, most of them participate in only a few "comradeship meetings" and soon leave the groups. Usually, they dislike the ideology, the strict organizational structures, or an unwillingness to participate in acts of violence.

### **a. Skinhead music**

#### **Number of Skinhead bands increased again**

The number of right-extremist Skinhead music groups has increased sharply, with approximately 100 bands active in 1998 (1997: 70). There is a strong fluctuation because of new bands being formed, old bands being dissolved, and some being renamed. In many cases, during concerts and in the studio, band members from various groups often play together, sometimes under new band names.

#### **Music with lyrics inciting racial hatred**

Again in 1998, numerous music media were produced with punishable contents, usually incitement of racial hatred. In most cases, these were new versions or cover-versions of songs which had previously been recorded. For example, the CD "Halte durch Kamerad" (Hold out, Comrade) which appeared this year, had the song "Afrikalied" (African Song) <sup>(4)</sup> by the music group "Landser" which was on the CD "Republik der Strolche" (Republic of Rascals) in 1996.

Under the title "Deutsche Wut - Rock gegen Oben" (German Rage - Rock against the Top), "Landser" produced a new CD with incitement of racial hatred text; it was manufactured in the USA and covertly imported into Germany. In October, the police in Berlin confiscated 500 copies of the CD. On 18 December, the Berlin State Court sentenced five activists for incitement of racial hatred and the distribution of propaganda to prison terms of six to 15 months. The court decision is not yet legally binding.

## **State power seen as enemy**

There has been an increase in the number of CDs produced in which the democratic constitutional state or individual politicians are defamed. A glaring example of this is the CD "Gute Zeiten, schlechte Zeiten" (Good Times, Bad Times) by the group "Bonzenjäger". This CD has been declared youth endangering by the Federal Examination Office for Youth Endangering Publications. The song, with the title "Kein Freispruch" (No Acquittal) contains threats against leading politicians. The song "An alle Richter and Politiker" (To all Judges and Politicians) states"

"In the name of the German people, I give notice of the court decision: All politicians to the gallows, all judges up against the wall. The day for revenge has arrived, your fate is in our hands. You were bribed by the state, your sentences have been preprogrammed. You broke your oath a long time ago and Judas financed it all. Now the day of reckoning has arrived and your fate is in our hands."

## **Skinhead concerts**

Concert events have also not decreased in popularity. In 1998, 128 such concerts took place (1997: 106). The number of fans attending these concerts varied considerably; there were less than 200 fans at more than two-thirds of the concerts. Only a few concerts had more than 600 fans; all of them had well-known foreign bands.

Propaganda violations were committed at many of the concerts. This included the playing by the bands of songs with incitement of racial hatred texts, band members or fans greeting one another with "Sieg Heil" or giving the "Hitler salute."

Such concerts were organized not only by Skinhead groups ("Blood and Honour", "Hammerskins") and individual scene activists. The NPD and its youth organization, the JN, as well as individual neo-Nazi "comradeships" attempted to increase their influence on Skinheads through such events.

## **Right-extremist singers**

Right-extremist singers, such as Frank RENNICKE, who has been active since 1989, continue to increase their popularity in the scene. They are frequently invited by right-extremist organizations in order to get more participation in political events through a musical program. RENNICKE and seven other right-extremist singers appeared at 40 concerts in 1998 (1997: 23). The number of participants at such events was usually less than 100. Only RENNICKE, who is considered the model for other singers, was able to mobilize several hundred participants. The increasing interest in the singers and their songs composed in ballad style have led to an increase in sales of their CDs.

### **b. Marketing of Skinhead music**

#### **Increased marketing activity by leading neo-Nazis**

The number of dealers in right-extremist Skinhead music continued to increase. In 1998, approx. 50 businesses (1997: 30) offered music media and Skinhead articles on a large scale. The number of leading neo-Nazis involved in this business continued to increase. They not only use the sale of CDs as a source of income, but also for ideological influence.

## **Distribution of unlawful music media from foreign countries during meetings and concerts**

A few German dealers in Skinhead music have the music media they produce and sell checked for legality beforehand in order to prevent legal proceedings. Nevertheless, the list of items available always contain unapproved or illegal CDs and MCs. Foreign dealers play an important role in the distribution of such music media, for example the company "NS 88", located in Hillerod, Denmark and also other companies in Sweden. Middlemen sell the articles at Skinhead meetings and concerts. The manufacture, import, and distribution of the items are done covertly.

## **Executive measures against dealers of music with incitement to racial hatred texts**

In order to limit the sale of illegal music media, various public prosecutors have open numerous legal proceedings against dealers of right-extremist music. In July, searches were carried out in six states and several thousand CDs and business documents were confiscated. At the end of August and in early September, searches were carried out against the Skinhead music companies "Nord-Versand" and "Neuland-Versand", run by leading North German neo-Nazis. During the searches, approx. 1,600 CDs were confiscated. According to their sale's lists, both companies offered illegal music media. On 03 November, the police searched more than 70 locations of dealers of right-extremist Skinhead music throughout Germany. The searches were carried out in connection with an investigation against the distributor "Vincente Directori." On 26 November, the police carried out additional search measures against the owner of the "Nibelungen-Versands" and two other suspects and approx. 9,000 CDs were confiscated. The owner was required to pay a fine in an amount equal to the sales of the illegal CDs. In addition, numerous related parcels from foreign countries were confiscated by customs officials and investigations were initiated against the addressees.

### **c. Fanzines**

#### **Number of Fanzines increased drastically**

The number of right-extremist Fanzines (Fan Magazines) increased drastically compared to the previous year and has now reached approx. 50 (1997: 30). However, the degree of distribution varies considerably. The Fanzines with national importance include "Hass Attacke", "Blood & Honour Division Deutschland", "Foier Frei", "Doitsche Offensive" and "Gestiefelte Kater", published by a female right-extremist. Also of national importance are the following Fanzines published in the style of music magazines: "Rock Nord", "Neue Doitsche Welle" and "Unsere Welt." The Fanzines' reports on the right-extremist scene, interviews with popular bands, and readers' letters strengthen the community spirit within the scene.

#### **Neo-Nazi themes**

In some of the Fanzines, the majority of space is dedicated to articles on events and demonstrations by neo-Nazi groups (also the NPD and the JN), as well as articles on historical themes. In return, neo-Nazi publications such as "Hamburger Sturm" and "Zentralorgan" publish special articles or even inserts for Skinheads.



## **IV. Neo-Nazism**

### **1. Overview**

For neo-Nazis, 1998 was a year of stagnation and organizational failures. The scene was unable to increase its membership potential (2,400) from the previous year.

#### **Only limited networking of the scene**

The informational networking of the scene was only partially successful, despite the "National Info-Telephones (NIT) and the increased use of the INTERNET. The attempted networking had too much competition from personal and political difference of the individual leading persons. The concept of independent "comradeships", through which neo-Nazis wanted to circumvent the bans on clubs, was also unsuccessful. There exists approx. 80 "comradeships" in Germany. i.e., local or regional groups of usually 10 to 15 neo-Nazis.

#### **"Comradeships" differ in appearance**

The appearance of these groups differ not only in the degree of organization, but also in their political activities. "Comradeships" with permanent structures show a relatively binding functional order, levy membership fees, and often have their own emblems. Loose associations often have only regular meetings ("Comradeship evenings"), which are held primarily to increase the feeling of belonging together. Only a few groups make targeted attempts to achieve public attention through demonstrations or their own publications.

#### **National demonstrations unsuccessful**

The lack of organization among neo-Nazis can best be seen by the preparations for national demonstrations on the 100th anniversary of the death of Bismarck (30 July) and on the 11th anniversary of the death of Rudolf Hess (17 August). The memorial rallies on 4 July in Heidelberg (for Bismarck) and on 15 August in the Brilon, Nordrhein-Westfalen area (for Hess) intended as final events, were not successful. The reasons were not only the bans and measures by security officials, but also the poor ability of neo-Nazis to mobilize. Only approx. 200 (1997: 800) activists appeared for the Hess activities.

#### **Thomas WULFF and his concept of "Free Nationalists"**

Hamburg neo-Nazi Thomas WULFF is the most important player in the scene. He argues for a concept in which small groups of "comradeships" and individual neo-Nazis, in particular in the north German area, work together in "non-organized units" which can be mobilized at any time. These "Free Nationalists" are supposed to appear at rallies and be recognized as an independent group. Approx. 250 "Free Nationalists" and other neo-Nazis participated in the First of May demonstrations by the NPD in Leipzig as a closed "block." On 13 June, approx. 70 "Free Nationalists" participated in a demonstration against unemployment in Lüneburg (Lower Saxony). A neo-Nazi was successful in gaining access to an unemployment initiative and he registered the demonstration in its name.

## **No tow effect on the right-extremist scene**

Even though WULFF was able to increase his influence in the north German area and cause neo-Nazis living there to work closer together, the tow effect of his "Free Nationalists" on the entire spectrum which he had hoped for, did not materialize.

## **Agitation with current themes**

Historical National-Socialism continues to be pushed to the agitation background. Neo-Nazis increasingly instrumentalize current problems, frequently determined by daily politics, for their political goals. The following was published in the neo-Nazi publication "Zentralorgan" (ZORG) concerning social politics:

"The last chancellors in the FRG dared to dissolve the social state as one of the most important strongholds of the old Reich. The present chancellor wants to wrap his state in the unity of a utopic "total Europe" which has not yet been established, which means the de facto liquidation of Germany. There is a world of difference between Bismarck and his predecessors after 1949." They have no right to quote him." ("Zentralorgan", issue no. 2, page 14)

## **Increased cooperation with the NPD and JN**

There is close cooperation between neo-Nazis and the NPD and the "Young National Democrats" (JN). Leading Nazis, such as former chairman of the now dissolved neo-Nazi organization "The Nationals", Frank SCHWERDT, have since moved up to the federal chairmanship of the NPD and JN where they increase Nazi influence. However, for most neo-Nazis, the relation with the NPD remains a relationship of critical solidarity. They fear the NPD will take over the policy leadership within the "National Resistance" and could push neo-Nazis out. For that reason, other leading neo-Nazis support a continuation of their own "autonomous" structures. They do not desire any rapprochement attempts with the NPD, but would rather use the NPD for their own political goals and to carry out neo-Nazi agitation under the protective cover of a party. Occasionally, neo-Nazis use the NPD as a forum, in order to gain public attention. For example, Hamburg neo-Nazi Christian WORCH appeared as a speaker at an NPD election event on 19 September in Rostock and Manfred ROEDER, former right-extremist terrorist and chairman of the neo-Nazi "German Citizens Initiative" (DBI), was an NPD candidate for the federal parliamentary election on 27 September.

## **Few "anti-Antifa" activities**

"Anti-Antifa" activities against political opponents played only a minor role for neo-Nazi agitation in 1998. The surveillance of political opponents and the publishing of their personal data, along with the request to "give them your opinion on the telephone" will remain an important neo-Nazi agitation area in the future.

## 2. Neo-Nazi Organizations

### a. "Aid Organization for National Political Prisoners and their Families" ("Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige e.V.") (HNG)

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Created:      | 1979                                   |
| Headquarters: | Frankfurt/M.                           |
| Chairman:     | Ursula MÜLLER                          |
| Members:      | 450 (1997: 400)                        |
| Publication:  | "HNG News", approx. 600 copies monthly |

#### Another increase in number of members

The HNG was again able to increase its number of members, thereby remained the largest neo-Nazi organization in terms of the number of members. As one of the few remaining federal-wide neo-Nazi organizations after government banning measures, the HNG continues to be very attractive to neo-Nazis. However, the organization's importance within the scene is low because of a lack of its own political activities.

#### Documentation on the "political persecution" of neo-Nazis

In the "HNG News", the alleged "political persecution in the FRG" is documented, to include articles on "injustice and arbitrary measures taken by FRG justice officials against national dissidents, regime critics, citizens' rights supporters, and other politically persecuted persons." Through the regular publishing of brochures containing a "list of prisoners", contacts are supposed to be maintained with imprisoned "comrades", thereby ensuring that they remain in the right-extremist scene.

#### Agitation against the "system"

The publication also considers itself as "battle organ" against the "FRG regime." The following was said in the article "A few words about the protectors of the constitution and the system henchmen":

"With an orderly thought process, it is possible to recognize that protectors of the constitution, when they are against nationalist Germans, only serve to keep the Bonn system. In other words, to retain a place at the feeding trough for the Bonn system. When one sees how the "defensible democracy" must continually be the one to suffer in order to ban national organizations, parties, conferences, and demonstrations, to fire officials from their jobs, and generally to carry out terror against fundamental beliefs, then one must question against whom the "defensible democracy" is defending - against the enemy or democracy, or perhaps against a real ruler of the people." (HNG News, issue no. 204/98, page 14)

**b. "Free People's Block" ("Freiheitlicher Volksblock") (FVB)**

|               |                    |
|---------------|--------------------|
| Created:      | 1994               |
| Headquarters: | Nürnberg           |
| Chairman:     | Konrad PETRATSCHEK |
| Members:      | 100 (1997: 100)    |
| Publications: | "FVB-Spiegel"      |

The FVB, which calls itself the "Party of German Awakening", maintains state offices in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg, Sachsen-Anhalt, and Schleswig-Holstein. In other states, the party is represented by only a few members. Leading FVB functionaries are former members of the "Heimattreuen Vereinigung Deutschlands" (HVD), which was banned in July 1993 by the Baden-Württemberg Minister of the Interior.

**Stagnation in organizational developments**

The development of the FVB has stagnated and its activities decreased. Nevertheless, the FVB claims a leading role in the national camp as can be seen in the following excerpt from the FVB leaflet "Clear Fronts" concerning the parties NPD, DVU, and REP:

**Claim to leading role in the "national camp"**

"Down with the criminal, incompetent leadership in the national camp. This call to battle is intended for those who, through egoism, incompetence, and treason, have harmed German nationals for years. To those who are not willing to make room for the new generation, we say look out for us. We are advancing and are becoming stronger day by day. We are clearing out our own ranks. We demand that all comrades, as well as all national organizations and groups, who have noticed these shortcomings in our ranks, be heard and lead the difficult battle with us." (FVB leaflet "Clear Fronts", end of 1997/early 1998)

**c. Neo-Nazis around Frank SCHWERDT (formerly "Die Nationalen e. V.;" "The Nationals")**

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Persons continuing activity after self-abolishment in November 1997 of the alliance "Die Nationalen e.V." |  |
| Concentration:  | Berlin and Brandenburg   |
| Leader:   | Frank SCHWERDT   |
| Members:  | Approx. 150 (including influenced "brotherhoods") <sup>(*)</sup>                     |
| Publication:  | "Berlin-Brandenburger - Zeitung der nationalen Erneuerung" published on the INTERNET |
| <sup>(*)</sup> Estimate is based on the latest membership statistics of the "Nationalen e.V."             |  |

"The Nationals", the most active neo-Nazi club, whose reach goes beyond local-level activities, was disbanded in November 1997. The personnel structure remained and continued its activities in 1998. Worth mentioning, in particular, is the media project, whose activities are coordinated by a "Working Group Network Media" and the influencing of "comradeships" in the Berlin area.

The political effort concentrates itself on perceived government tyranny. Leading figure Frank SCHWERDT, has held numerous speeches on the theme "Justice as a Political Weapon," <sup>(5)</sup> in which he assails the German legal system of "bending the rules" as known only in dictatorships.

### **Imprisonment of leading figures paralyzes activity**

At this time, SCHWERDT was already facing imprisonment for inciting the population. Anticipating the beginning of his prison term on 24 June, he attempted to instrumentalize the upcoming imprisonment for further political agitation in order to bridge the gap of this inactivity phase. However, because ideological companion Christian WENDT was already in prison from May until December, the activities of these individuals practically came to a halt.

### **National Media Association**

The "Berlin-Brandenburger - Newspaper of National Renewal" (BBZ), published by SCHWERDT has not been circulated as hardcopy since 1998, including the regional version, and has only been posted sporadically on the INTERNET. Also, the press releases "BBZ-Current" which began in 1997, were stopped in March.

SCHWERDT was also involved in the "Vortrag-Buch-Reise-Verlag" (VBR) publishing house through which he offered recordings of various right-wing songwriters and skinheads. Because of executive measures carried out in connection with the sales of one of the CDs containing the glorification of violence, and because of the imprisonment of SCHWERDT, the publishing house ceased its activities.

After a one year ban on broadcasting, "Radio Germany" is now transmitting via "Open Berlin Channel." The person responsible for the program is Mike PENKERT, formally a member of the managing committee of "The Nationals" and leader of the "Kameradschaft Beusselkiez." The contents of "Radio Germania" are very similar to those announcements being made by PENKERT on the "National Information Telephone, Prussia", which has been operating since October 1997.

### **Activities by influenced "comradeships"**

The "comradeships" influenced by SCHWERDT showed little increase in the number of members. Effective public activities, such as the distribution of leaflets, were initiated primarily by the "Kameradschaft Treptow", established in 1995. The following was noted in leaflets handed out by this group in late February dedicated to deceased Horst Wessel:

"The numerous actions against us, should not prevent us from attaining the great goals, to which Horst Wessel was dedicated. The struggle continues until it is announced ' Sturm 5' is everywhere!"

The "Kameradschaft Schöneberg" circulated leaflets in their district of Berlin at the end of March. "Kameradschaft Prenzelberg/Mitte" has had its own homepage on the INTERNET since September. The homepage contains songs and texts with revisionistic, xenophobic, and nationalistic overtones.

### **Influence on the "National Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD)**

Former members of the "The Nationals" intensely attempt to gain influence in the NPD. SCHWERDT, who has been a member of the NPD since 1997, was nominated to be a chairman of the Federal NPD Committee during the Federal NPD Conference in January. Other former members of "The Nationals" also joined the NPD or the "Young National Democrats" (JN). In early 1998, several former members of "The Nationals" established the "Action Association of National Socialists in and outside the NPD" (AgNS).

## **V. Political Parties**

### **1. "The Republicans" ("Die Republikaner") (REP)**

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Established:       | 1983   |
| Headquarters:      | Berlin   |
| Federal Chairman:  | Dr. Rolf SCHLIERER   |
| Members:           | 15,000* (1997: 15,500)   |
| Publications:      | "Der Republikaner", 20,000 copies, monthly   |
| Sub-organizations: | "Republikanische Jugend" (RJ)<br>"Republikanische Bund der öffentlich Bediensteten" (RepBB)<br>"Republikanische Bund der Frauen" (RBF)<br>"Republikanische Hochschulverband" (RHV) |
|                    | *The party itself claims a higher number (i.e. 15,500-16,500)  |

#### **a. Goals**

Within the REP party, actual evidence continues to exist to indicate right-extremist endeavors. Even though federal chairman Dr. Rolf SCHLEIERE attempts to portray his party as a serious right-conservative party; at the same time, other influential groups/functionaries in the party clearly state their refusal to accept free democratic basic law. Their criticism regarding the existing system, cannot be considered a contribution to desired democratic debate, but rather displays fundamental rejection of the important principals of our constitution and is reflected in their hatred of foreigners, downplaying of crimes committed by the Third Reich, agitation against democratic principles, and cooperation with right-extremists.

#### **Hatred of foreigners (xenophobia)**

The REP spreads fears of "overpopulation by foreigners", speaks of "interchanging nations" and warns of an alleged "replacement" of Germans by a "multi-cultural mixed population."

REP federal business manager/deputy chairman Christian KÄS, announced the following at the "Republican Day" in Stuttgart on 3 October:

"When one speaks of threats facing Germany, there is one that cannot be ignored. I am talking about overpopulation by foreigners. I do not feel comfortable on the streets, when in the middle of Germany, I have the impression of being in Africa. <sup>(6)</sup> Now that Kohl has been removed from office, it is the nation's duty to remove other officials from their positions who work daily to have Germany exterminated. We only have one country where we are the masters. Therefore, Germany must continue to belong to Germans." <sup>(7)</sup>

On 15 October, federal chairman Dr. Rolf SCHLIERER made an official statement through the federal press office in reference to the red-green coalition agreement, regarding the reform of the naturalization rights as an assassination attempt on the German population. The new government is replacing those who have just elected them into office. Step by step, Germans are being replaced by a multicultural mixed-race population.

Xenophobic agitation by the REP frequently carries racist tones. In a leaflet distributed in 1998, opposing the opening of a central office to fight extremism in Thüringen, the REP Altenburger Land (Thüringen) district office compared foreigners to animals:

"Germans are being stereotyped as incompetent and as extremists. They are being trampled upon and even being forced to leave in order to make room for foreigners, asylum seekers, and animals."

Typical of the xenophobic agitation by the REP, frequently degrading human dignity, is particularly the use of the debasing term "Neger" for all colored people; also mentioned in the same context is a "messaging up" of different races. The REP deputy chairman for the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen Reinhardt WNENDT, <sup>(8)</sup> since then removed from office for other reasons, announced on his information telephone for his local/district party association:

"As so-called asylum-seekers, Neger (Negroes) have managed to gain access to our social-security funds while continuing to maintain their cultural background. <sup>(9)</sup> Sometimes one must be ashamed to be a Plettenberger. I often take the train home. The later one rides a train at night, the more Negroes he can see on the train." <sup>(10)</sup>

With inaccurate simplifications, the party connects economical and social issues, as well as internal security problems, with the immigration of foreigners, in particular asylum seekers. By spreading resentment against foreigners, the party distances itself from the model of human dignity in the constitution and shuts itself out from the principals of human dignity, equality, tolerance, and the protection of minorities. Endeavors to limit or eliminate such basic principles of the constitution are unconstitutional.

SCHLIERER described continuing immigration and naturalization of foreigners as the "slow acquisition of land", which endangers domestic and social peace in Germany. <sup>(11)</sup>

In an advertisement targeting "young voters" it was proclaimed:

"Through the massive intake of people from various ethnic groups, we will become a multicultural society, which will inevitably become a multi-criminal society." ("Junge Deutsche," 1/98, page 1)

By demographically equating multi-cultural with multi-criminal, the REP stereotypes every foreigner as a potential criminal.

### **Statements concerning German history**

The REP continues to attempt to downplay the crimes committed by the National Socialist regime and to relativize those crimes. For this, they also used the public debate concerning the mobile exhibit "War of destruction - Crimes of the German Armed Forces from 1941-1944." They accuse the initiators of defaming the entire nation and the memories of the war-generation by falsifying the facts and by lying.<sup>(12)</sup> The REP uses seemingly coinciding democratic criticism of the exhibition to make their claims of distortion of German history through historical research more credible. Once doubts are raised concerning the reliability of established history, the attempt is made to at least minimize the misconstrued perception of the National Socialistic dictatorship. With this method, right wing extremists attempt to escape ostracism by society, caused by their association, be it more or less animate, with the ideology of National Socialism.

The REP state association of Lower Saxony claimed in a resolution passed on 17 October at its annual party conference, that the German Armed Forces exhibition was a "means of ideological propaganda" which serves to distort the historical truth<sup>(13)</sup> and provide desinformation.

In a similar manner, the "Republikanische Jugend Hessen" (Republican Youth in Hessen) made calls in a leaflet for a protest rally on 6 June in Kassel against the German Armed Forces exhibition in order to unite "against the falsifying of history and general slander of the entire war generation."

During "Republican Day" in Stuttgart on 3 October, KÄS spoke out against a Holocaust memorial with the following words<sup>(14)</sup>:

"We do not desire, for generations, to be under the yoke of coming to terms with a false past history."

In the same manner, the "Republican Youth" of the Berlin REP state association agitated in a leaflet at the beginning of 1998. Under the headline "betrayal of German youth", the following was stated:

"No more excursions to so-called memorials, because this collective "coming to terms with the past" is a crime against the souls of the pupils. They must not be forced to accept a false picture of history."

### **Agitation against the democratic principle**

An ongoing theme of the REP is the so-called "reeducation" of the German population by the Allies after the end of World War II. The constant use of the term "reeducation" in reference to the renewal of German democracy under the influence of the occupying allied forces after 1945 and the slanderous remarks towards democratic parties and their politicians as a whole are not compatible with democratic principles as laid out in the constitution according to an upper court decision in Lower Saxony on 26 June 1997; here the opposition to a multi-party system is obvious<sup>(15)</sup>.



Accusations of a forced-upon, and therefore illegal constitution, places the legality of the free democratic German Republic in question. According to the REP, West parliamentarism could only be established because the Germans, facing dramatized war crimes committed by the Nazis, relinquished all political self-control and consequently were helpless in resisting further "reeducation."

Such was a statement by a Frankfurt REP city representative in the party's newspaper "Die Republikaner" under the title "The Republic in Schröder fever, an act from the madhouse":

"The slow Americanizing of German politics, the result of decades of feverish "reeducation" by the established political class, is bearing fruit. The constant degrading of all values, the horrendous undermining of all social rules by the left media cartel, and the old parties who cared only about themselves are now showing their heritage. ("Die Republikaner", issue 4/98, page 2)

The "Republican Youth" in the REP Berlin state association announced in a leaflet distributed in early 1998: "Ethics - classroom lessons against violence and xenophobia":

"Instead of the successful 'upbringing after Auschwitz', now the upbringing after Solingen?" The youth are supposed to be stimulated to relinquish all values that are of elementary importance for the continuation of any nation. Conflict-free coexistence with the entire world is supposed to be exercised, understanding for everything and anything, tolerating anything strange until oneself is in denial and relinquishes everything. Tolerance as a lubricant of the planned multicultural society. Misuse of the schools for a renewed "reeducation" - to this we Republicans say NO! An uncompromising NO!"

### **Agitation against institutions and representatives**

In a polemic, defaming, and slanderous way, the REP also attacks institutions and representatives of the free democracy. The democratic establishment is portrayed as incompetent, corrupt, against the will of the people, and not capable of being reformed. The conclusion is that the current liberal democratic constitution should be replaced by a "system" which does not meet the democratic requirements of the constitution.

The REP demanded in its "Program of the new states for the 1998 federal election", to no longer accept the "continuous repealing of written rights in our constitution" and insisted:

"Democracy and rights are in danger! Governments, parliaments, and authorities are being infiltrated by left-extremists. These persons are attempting, through abuse of power, to downplay current widespread corruption, and through propaganda and deception of the public, to prevent any real democratic opposition."

The following was said in a leaflet published by the REP state association of Nordrhein-Westfalen in January with the headline: "There is an upward trend in Germany."

"It cannot be expected, that the political forces responsible for the breakdown of Germany, can turn the situation around. The political system can no longer reform itself. We must now democratize democracy and reestablish freedom. In our country, a pernicious ideology has established itself."

## **b. Organization and development**

### **Defeats and quarrels**

While the REP was able to consolidate itself and increase its membership during the last two years (1996: 15,000; 1997: 15,500), it had a slight reduction in 1998 to 15,000 members. Responsible for the decrease in the number of members, was most likely the consecutive defeats in state elections in Lower Saxony in March, in Sachsen-Anhalt in April, in Bavaria and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in September, and during federal elections, coupled with quarrels within the party concerning the party's course.

In particular, SCHLIERER's demarcation policy (restricting right-extremist organizations from membership in the REP) was the cause of constant quarrels within the party. But most of all, the devastating results in the Sachsen-Anhalt elections caused friction within the party ranks. An increasing number of members criticized the course SCHLIERER was taking and demanded a change in direction. The party's deputy federal chairman Christian KÄS demanded in a press statement made on 29 April an end to the "pussyfooting" as well as more flexibility in dealings with political competitors. From the quarrelling over the correct tactics, KÄS attempted to seek personal gain and to profile himself as an alternative to federal chairman SCHLIERER.

### **Well-known neo-Nazis as speakers**

According to a statement by the "National Info Telephone" (NIT) Rheinland and Prussia <sup>(16)</sup>, KÄS, along with neo-Nazi Thomas WULFF, spoke out against the Wehrmacht exhibition during a protest rally by the "Republican Youth" in Kassel <sup>(17)</sup> on 06 June. By tolerating the official presence of a leading neo-Nazi during an REP event, KÄS violated SCHLIERER's demarcation policies. <sup>(18)</sup> At the "Republican Day" gathering on 3 October in Stuttgart, KÄS once again spoke out against SCHLIERER's demarcation policies and declared the "split party assembly in Ruhstorf" <sup>(19)</sup> had been a mistake. <sup>(20)</sup>

This public criticism was also supported by former REP deputy state chairman of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Reinhard WNENDT <sup>(21)</sup>. The REP Mark district association, led by WNENDT, demanded in the "Iserlohner Resolution" of 29 April, that the demarcation decision be rescinded and that the "Deutsche Volksunion" (DVU) (German People's Union) be included on a "national conservative basis."

The same arguments were made by leading opponents within the Sachsen-Anhalt REP state association. On 28 April, former REP state chairman Wolfgang HÖBER <sup>(22)</sup> distributed a leaflet to all state business offices titled "SCHLIERER - enough is enough."

In the leaflet, he declares that the REP in Sachsen-Anhalt would "support the DVU and those representatives elected by their people with all their power and with all their hearts" and added "should Dr. Frey reach out to us, we would not decline." According to a press release from 29 May, the DVU federal executive committee accepted the offering of the REP in Sachsen-Anhalt to work together under the umbrella of the DVU.

## **Leading right-terrorist as speaker**

The closeness of many members of the REP with right-extremism can be substantiated by many examples: According to the newspaper "Werra-Blitz" (24/25 January 1998), Peter NAUMANN, neo-Nazi and former right-terrorist, spoke at a meeting of the REP Werra-Meisner district association in January on the theme "Multicultural - Why?" Members of the REP have repeatedly published the same theme in right-wing publications. In such an article in the right-extremist newspaper "Nation & Europe", committee member of the REP Hessen state association, Erich FUCHS, accused federal chairman SCHLIERER of too quickly rejecting cooperation offers from the DVU.<sup>(23)</sup> In the right-extremist publication "Signal", the protagonist for a "United Right", Hans RUSTEMEYER, appealed, noting his REP membership, for a close relationship between the REP and the DVU.<sup>(24)</sup>

## **Re-election of SCHLIERER**

Despite this criticism, SCHLIERER was re-elected as REP federal chairman on 21/22 November at the federal party congress in Neufraunhofen near Landshut in Bavaria, receiving 81% of the votes. The only opposing candidate, Christian KÄS, withdrew his candidacy just before the election. With the second best election results, he was elected as one of the five deputies to SCHLIERER.

## **Meeting between FREY and SCHLIERER**

According to an REP federal business office press release on 23 November, SCHLIERER had met with DVU federal chairman Dr. Gerhard FREY on 17 November, prior to the REP federal party congress. They agreed to avoid unnecessary competition between the REP and the DVU during future elections in order to "increase the influence of national interests within German politics." SCHLIERER's tactic of formally maintaining his policy of demarcation and individual election agreements with the DVU, shows how much he had to appease his inner-party critics in order to integrate them into the collective party.

## **Participation in elections**

During the state elections in Lower Saxony on 1 March, the party received 2.8% (1994: 3.7%) of the votes. The election campaign for the state elections in Sachsen-Anhalt on 26 April was overshadowed by month-long feuds between leading representatives at the state and federal level. While officials at the state level, with former REP federal deputy chairman Dr. Rudolf KRAUSE as their leader, supported cooperation with right-extremists, particularly the DVU, federal-level leaders maintained their demarcation policy and pressed their demands for election ties by the REP with the "Deutsche Soziale Union" (DSU) (German Social Union) and the "Demokratische Erneuerung" (DE) (Democratic Renewal). However, the state election chief did not allow this list connection for formal reasons. As a result, only the REP had candidates and they received only 0.7% of the votes (1994: 1.4%).

Afterwards, the party concentrated its efforts on state and district elections in their "land of origin" (Bavaria) on 13 September. During the election campaign, REP leaders were confident they would clearly receive more than 5% of the votes and be elected to the Bavarian state parliament, hereby sending a "clear message"<sup>(25)</sup> in this "destiny election" for the upcoming federal elections.

Although the rival DVU did not compete in the elections, the REP received only 3.6% of the votes (1994: 3.9%). The federal executive committee blamed the renewed defeat on the CSU (Christian Social Union), which had taken over typical Republican themes for their own and on the strong competition from the "Free Voters Union." During voting in the Bavarian government districts, the REP received six seats (1994: 5).

Although the federal elections on 27 September resulted in further losses for the REP; with 1.8% of the votes (1994: 1.9%), they still remained the strongest party in front of the DVU and the NPD. In Baden Württemberg, the REP received 4% (1994: 3.1%) of the votes. The REP election campaign included slogans such as "German interests first", "Put an end to the EURO extortion", "German jobs for Germans first", "Stop immigration now", "Put an end to party politics and clique economics."

In reaction to the election results, federal chairman Dr. SCHLIERER announced <sup>(26)</sup> the REP would continue its course in the next election campaigns, but would intensify and pinpoint their themes.

During state parliament elections in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern on 27 September, the weak REP state association was able to capture only .5% (1994: 1.0%) of the votes against strong competition from the DVU and the NDP.

The communal elections on 27 September in Brandenburg, in which the REP participated only in certain areas, brought them one district parliament seat and three city council seats.

### **Legal proceedings**

On 12 August, the REP Bavarian state association applied for a temporary injunction at the Munich Administrative Court against the state of Bavaria. The injunction was to prohibit the state from calling the "Republican Party", and in particular the Bavarian association, a right-extremist party. As evidence, the REP presented the "Protection of the Constitution Information Report, Bavaria, First Half-year 1998." At the same time, the REP state association filed a law suit on the main action. Twelve court cases are pending concerning the law suit.

In a decision on 31 August, the Berlin Administrative Court prohibited the Berlin State office for the Protection of the Constitution (LFV) from continuing its monitoring of the REP state association through intelligence means. The court also ruled that naming the REP in the Berlin 1997 Protection of the Constitution Report was illegal. The verdict is not yet legally binding.

In a decision on 13 October, the First Armed Forces Chamber of the Federal Administrative Court stated that the transfer of a German military officer to non-sensitive duties because of his active REP membership was legal.

There is a risk to national security when indications are presented which give doubt about the commitment of a soldier to the free democratic constitution or his willingness to act to uphold it. Due to the fact that protection of the constitution authorities were monitoring the REP and the officer held a high position in the party, and because he identified with the goals of the REP, he must allow himself to be considered a personal security risk based on the questionable constitutional views of the party.

On 5 November, the REP state association in Baden Württemberg filed a suit against the state of Baden Württemberg with the goal of prohibiting the state from monitoring the REP state association through intelligence means.<sup>(27)</sup>

## 2. "Deutsche Volksunion" (DVU) (German People's Union)

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Established:            | 1987 *  |
| Residence:              | Munich  |
| Federal representative: | Dr. Gerhard Frey  |
| Members:                | 18,000 (1997: 15,000) **  |
| Publications:           | "Deutsche National Zeitung" (DNZ)<br>distribution: 37,000 (estimated) weekly editions;<br>"Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung/Deutsche Anzeiger" (DWZ/DA)<br>distribution: 20,000 (estimated), weekly<br><br>* The DVU was established in 1971 as a club, changed<br>to a party in 1987, 1987-1991 known as "DVU-list D"<br><br>** Dr. Frey's figures exceed the above |

### a. Goals

The DVU has again become the right-extremist party with the most members. It is dominated by federal chairman Dr. Gerhard FREY, who also publishes the newspapers "Deutschen National-Zeitung" (DNZ) (German National Newspaper) and the "Deutschen Wochenzeitung/Deutscher Anzeiger" (DWZ/DA) (German Weekly/German Herald),<sup>(28)</sup> which are the two right-extremist publications in Germany with the highest number of printed copies. Because of FREY's dominance in the DVU<sup>(29)</sup>, the newspapers are considered official press organs of the party and reflect the party's line. The newspapers operate on the basis of distorting daily political occurrences in order to use the events for the party's own purposes. Such is the case when the editors attacked the European Union, i.e. the "criminal currency union"<sup>(30)</sup> and disseminate the belief that Germany has been tricked into joining the European trap<sup>(31)</sup>, i.e. is being milked by the European Union<sup>(32)</sup>. The arguments are based on right-extremist propaganda that Germany is still being ruled by the victors of World War II, now in the form of the European Union, which is depriving Germany of its sovereignty and weakening it economically. For example, when writing about planned reimbursements to former forced laborers under the title "Is Germany being milked to death?"<sup>(33)</sup>, the DNZ combines the aspects of European policy and an appraisal of World War II.

### Xenophobia

The xenophobic ideology of the DVU is mirrored in the stereotypical newspaper articles on foreigners and criminal activity by foreigners. Aggressive titles, such as "Foreigners: the right to remain for all? What criminals get away with"<sup>(34)</sup>, or the tendency to report about "foreign criminal gangs" that are "taking over Germany"<sup>(35)</sup> label all foreigners living in Germany as criminals.

On the subject of politics towards foreigners and asylum seekers, the DVU repeatedly uses another stereotype - the supposed threatening "replacement of Germans" by other nationalities. They hereby appeal to defensive instincts, in particular by using sensational headlines; for example "This is how Germany is being overtaken by foreigners - by massive immigration from the east" <sup>(36)</sup> and "A minority in our own country? -This is what threatens Germans." <sup>(37)</sup>

## **Anti-Semitism**

In context with their general distaste for foreigners, DVU members use a subliminal anti-Semitism, typical of right-extremists. In a close sequence of headlines and articles, the DNZ and DWZ/DA spread their message in a subconscious manner. Accordingly, the German population is being hindered by the Jews from settling once and for all the German past and from becoming an equal member of the international community. The reporting is focused on persons of Jewish descent/beliefs involved in politics, economics, media, or the Jewish World Congress; criticizes German reparations and comments on Israeli politics in a polemic manner. The criticism of Jews is usually hidden between the lines, although the amount of such articles is intended to send the reader a clear message on the threat of anti-German Jews. For example, the reader is warned of " mass immigration by Jews from the east" and the "true consequences for Germany." <sup>(38)</sup>

Numerous articles attempt to arouse anti-Semitic feelings against representatives of Jewish institutions, i.e. against the chairman and deputy chairman of the "Central Advisory Board of Jews in Germany," Ignatz Bubis and Michel Friedmann.

Bubis never finds a word of compassion for the endless suffering by the millions of Germans who have been killed <sup>(39)</sup>; he constantly instructs Germans in higher moral values, a never-ending collective responsibility, and the advantages of a multicultural society. <sup>(40)</sup>

The DNZ and DWZ/DA emphasis lies in their interpretation of the national-socialist past. As such, the creation of Holocaust remembrance-memorials was severely criticized in both publications. The memorials were symbols of an apparently one-sided coming to terms with the past, and do not reflect the true history by manifesting the entire blame on the Germans. With headlines such as "Holocaust monument - a crazy monument? Guilt complex has no limits" <sup>(41)</sup>, the DVU accuses democratic politicians of attempting to give collective responsibility forever to the Germans by erecting these monuments.

## **Relativization of the Holocaust**

Documentation on the extent of the Holocaust is mixed with accusations of falsifications and historically misconstrued facts. The large number of victims mentioned is questioned. These articles question the basic credibility of historical reports and belittle the entire persecution of Jews, despite all evidence to the contrary and in such a way that they cannot be brought to court. It is claimed that those who express critical opinions about the events in connection with the historical mass murdering of Jews by the Germans and other Nazi crimes are being branded as criminals. The following was stated in connection with the number of victims of Nazi crimes:

"Ausschwitz experts give the number of Jews killed in Auschwitz to be 400,000. This incredible number of exterminated lives is practically unimaginable for any human being. The current state of research is so incredible that one must question what those people were thinking when they gave astronomical numbers of eight million, later six, then five, four, three, two, one million Jews killed in Auschwitz as the current truth. If the mental attitude towards criminal law a' la Kohl had been in effect back then, who can say if the historian would even have attempted to investigate further." (DNZ Nr. 6/1998, page 3)

### **Agitation against the democratic principle**

The DVU defames the democratic state and its representatives in order to minimize the value and trust in the constitution. In addition, they claim that democratic politicians insist on a collective guilt of the Germans for political power reasons: With this reigning instrument, they want to demoralize the nation, making it easier to rule, thereby securing their own power. Through such agitation, the DVU indirectly attempts to discredit democracy:

"With his chancellorship, Kohl has placed himself on the top of the list of those constant accusers, who are possessed to place the generation from the period 1933-1945 in collective responsibility for Nazi crimes, and to demand that Germans born long after the end of World War II and their following generations, are forever shamed by Hitler and that they should repent and pay for their sins." (DWZ/DA Nr. 15/1998, page 6)

## **b. Organization and development**

### **Organizational structure**

With the separation of the state associations of Berlin and Brandenburg in March, the DVU again has sixteen state associations at its disposal. In response to criticism of a poor organizational structure, the party reacted with the creation of numerous district associations.

After their success during the state elections in Sachsen-Anhalt on 26 April, the party experienced an enormous influx of members; the total number of members is now estimated to be approximately 18,000. The states with the greatest number of members are Baden-Württemberg, Hessen, Niedersachsen, and Sachsen-Anhalt.

The DVU concentrated solely on the state elections in Sachsen-Anhalt and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, as well as the federal elections. Approx. 3,000 people were present at the annual rally in the Passau Nibelungenhalle on 26 September, considered the final rally of the DVU federal election campaign under the motto "Germany, here comes the DVU."

### **Participation in elections**

During the state elections in Sachsen-Anhalt on 26 April, the DVU received 12.9% of the votes (did not participate in 1994) und entered the state parliament with sixteen representatives, thereby being the first right-extremist party represented in parliament in the new states. The DVU election campaign was carried out with large amounts of capital, particular use was made of posters and mailings, especially to the younger voters, using slogans such as "German money for German jobs", "kick out criminal foreigners," "vote in protest this time!," "create apprenticeship positions, reduce politician salaries."

The DVU was able to mobilize many young and protest voters. According to representative election statistics from the Sachsen-Anhalt State Office for Statistics, the DVU received 25.4% of the eligible votes from people between the age 18-25, the best results within this age group of all the parties.

The same election campaign strategy used by the DVU in Sachsen-Anhalt was also used for the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern state elections on 27 September. However, the party received only 2.9% of the votes (did not participate in 1994) which was far below the party's expectations.

The DVU also suffered a serious defeat during the federal elections on 27 September. Although they were able to place former leading party members of the REP, including independent former federal chairman of the REP Franz SCHÖNHUBER as their lead candidate in Bavaria, or the former deputy federal REP chairman Dr. Rudolf KRAUSE in Sachsen, they received only 1.2% of the votes. (1994: Did not participate).

The DVU saw the main reason for the failure during both elections as the "suggested head-to-head race" by the incumbent chancellor and the chancellor candidates. This led to massive voting by those normally having right-wing tendencies, for the chancellor candidate, considered the lesser of two evils. <sup>(42)</sup>

As reaction to the sobering election results, FREY repeated his offer to SCHLIERER to engage in talks. <sup>(43)</sup> In mid-November, a meeting was held between the two party chairmen in which a strategic agreement was reached concerning the alternating participation of the DVU and the REP during the state election in Hessen on 7 February and the Bremen elections in June 1999. After the DVU received 4.98% of the votes during the Hamburg elections in September 1997, thereby just missing representation in the Hamburg parliament, the DVU discussed the possibility of a coalition. However, initiatives to reach a consensus for an election coalition, or to make agreements with the REP and/or the NPD, failed because of the absolute leadership demands by FREY and SCHLIERER's REP demarcation policies concerning right-extremist organizations. SCHÖNHUBER assessed the election results of the DVU, REP, and NPD during federal elections as the final warning signal for "right-wing" parties. The party chairmen must, in viewing the Europe parliament elections in 1999, learn their lessons and eliminate competition between the parties.

### 3. "Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands" (National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD))

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| Established:       | 1964   |
| Headquarters:      | Berlin   |
| Federal Chairman:  | Udo Vogt   |
| Membership:        | 6,000 (1997: 4,300)  |
| Publication:       | "Deutsche Stimme" (German Voice) distribution 8,000, monthly <sup>(44)</sup>   |
| Sub-organizations: | "Junge Nationaldemokraten" (JN) (Young National Democrats), "Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund" (NHB) (National Democratic School Alliance) |



## a. Goals

### Against the existing constitution

The "National Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD) considers itself to be the national world-view party, whose actions confirm the "proper human life model." The party sees itself as a "basic alternative to the current party spectrum," professes a "German socialism", and supports the "creation of a new order" as the "alternative to the liberal-capitalist system of the FRG under western allies."<sup>(45)</sup> They demand the renewed "creation of the Third Reich,"<sup>(46)</sup> which is justified by the party newspaper "Deutsche Stimme" in the following manner:

"The new Reich will eliminate the chaos created by the 'multi-cultural society', which in reality is a multi-race society without culture, and replace it with civilized order. The new Reich will erect the 'European stronghold' with its neighboring peoples and defend it against attacks by the Barbarians of the modern era. Here again, history repeats itself!" ("Deutsche Stimme" Nr. 7/98, page 12)

The "new order", when formulated in such a manner, can only mean rejection of the free democratic constitution, because it confirms the party's commitment to nationalism and racism, thereby rejecting the basic right of equal treatment of all humans. In order to realize the new political order, the NPD wants to channel the "existing social-revolutionary spirit" into a unified force.<sup>(47)</sup> In the "Deutsche Stimme"<sup>(48)</sup>, the party defined its political struggle in three strategic areas: "Battle for the minds", "Battle for the streets", and "Battle for the parliaments."

### Consolidated society and "national resistance"

In this connection, the party's greatest effort is directed toward the youth, who are being told not to accept the present conditions in which they are living. A prerequisite for a unified future as a German is the recreation of the feeling of solidarity among the people in order to create the basis for the willingness to live together, namely the creation of a consolidated society. The NPD wants to lead the "uprooted person without hope" into a "philosophy of a meaningful future" within the consolidated society.<sup>(49)</sup>

In an appeal during the "Federal Election Congress" on 7 February in Passau, Holger APFEL, federal chairman of the "Young National Democrats" (JN) and member of the NPD federal executive committee, demanded "unity of the people with the consolidation of national resistance." With its goal of a "unified society", this concept shows connections to National-Socialist terminology, the party counters the human model of the constitution with a collective view, in which the value of the individual depends on his integration into the community.

### Increasingly aggressive tone

Statements made by the so-called functionaries displayed an increasingly aggressive tone: They demanded "absolute power" in Germany and a "German revolution", and/or spoke of a potential "eastern uprising." Party chairman Udo VOIGT explained that his party would soon ask the question of power<sup>(50)</sup> and even insisted on "taking up arms" to defend the fatherland.

A different functionary threatened those who endanger the movement with a "tribunal" <sup>(51)</sup> after the NPD takes over power.

In an election campaign speech aired by the Second German TV program (ZDF) in the show "Monitor" on 2 September, VOIGT declared the following in front of an audience of mainly Skinhead youths:

"Comrades, if Germany had been in danger, I would have defended my fatherland even as a fourteen year old if necessary. And this is what we expect of you. Germany is in danger! Germany is being attacked from all sides. The enemy is present in the heads of the established politicians."

The editors of the "Südwest Stimme" (Southwest Voice), the information paper of the NPD/JN state association of Baden Württemberg, released the following statement:

"We want absolute power in Germany in order to use our politics to realize the well-being of the German people and to replace the liberal-capitalist system with our national, solidarity peoples' economy. This, and nothing else, is the German revolution. (Südwest Stimme," 2/1998, page 3)

APFEL bragged about the NPD's animosity toward the constitution <sup>(52)</sup> in his speech during the NPD "Federal Election Congress" on 7 February in Passau:

"We, as the NPD, are proud of the fact that we are mentioned yearly in the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitutional reports as being against the constitution and its system. Yes, we are anti-constitution!"

The "Sächsische Zeitung" (Saxon newspaper) from 2 September, quotes the following statement from the business manager of the NPD district Sächsische Schweiz, Uwe LEICHSENRING:

"Of course we are anti-constitution. We want a new order within society, but it is also about creating new structures in order to be ready in case the eastern revolution arrives."

## **Xenophobia**

Articles in party publications and remarks by party functionaries reflect an aggressive stance against foreigners. Such was the declaration in the "Deutsche Stimme":

"We will not accept the fact that the imminent ethnic and cultural extinction of the German people and its replacement by a mixed society of random origin and various cultures is tolerated by the parties in Bonn." ("DS EXTRA", Nr. 2/98, page 2)

In their campaign program for the 1998 federal election, the NPD demanded a complete turnaround of politics to end the anti-human integration policy and to maintain the substance of German society. Thus, a return of foreigners to their homeland must be conducted. National democratic social politics apply only to ones own people. Foreigners are to be excluded from the German social security system; asylum seekers are not entitled to German social benefits.

The NPD further agitated in a leaflet distributed early in the year:

"Foreigners are temporary guests! Guests come and go. Only crooks want to stay forever. Berlin instead of Bürlin! Istanbul to the Turks. But Berlin for us Germans!"

The deputy NPD state chairman in Nordrhein-Westfalen Wolfgang FRENZ delivered in his book "The loss of fatherhood or the century of the Jews" <sup>(53)</sup>, a racist reasoning for the xenophobic stance of the party. In the book he explained:

"One requires a regenerated white race and a new leader in order to bring Europe to its old sparkle. <sup>(54)</sup> The single person who lives within his own racial community can survive the tensions caused by life's battle. But if his living space is invaded by foreigners of a different racial background, he will surely be isolated even though he has the material means to survive. Therefore, the phrase "all humans are created equal" is a crime to humanity." <sup>(55)</sup>

The racist agitation and related debasement of foreigners disregards human dignity and violates especially the constitution and its basic law of equality.

### **Anti-Semitism**

With anti-Semitic agitation, also based on racist foundations, the NPD attempts to call up anew images of a supposed Jewish ruling power. In right-extremist diction, Jews are removed from the role of victims and placed into the role of perpetrators by accusing them, indirectly, of starting the last World War for "religious and racist reasons." The Arian-Nordic race was to be eliminated, because they alone were in a position to prevent world rule by the Jews. Hitler's anti-Semitism had been a "lucky break" for the Jews, because by his actions, Jews were able to gain power through their Jewish network <sup>(56)</sup>. After Germany had paid never-ending reparations <sup>(57)</sup> on the insistence of Jews, other countries are now being required to pay through pressure by worldwide Judaism. <sup>(58)</sup>

### **Denial and relativism of crimes during the Third Reich**

The NPD applies relativism toward national-socialist crimes, even denies the Holocaust, and emphasizes perceived positive aspects of national-socialism. Thereby, the party attempts to improve the perception of the Hitler regime and to destigmatize the political system of the National-Socialists.

Accordingly, in the information paper "Deutsche Zukunft" (German Future) <sup>(59)</sup> published by the NPD Nordrhein-Westphalia state association, an author claimed that the "Holocaust legend" is being kept alive by philo-semitic humbleness. In a different edition <sup>(60)</sup>, another author referenced a so-called scientific evaluation ("Leuchter -Gutachten") <sup>(61)</sup>, in which the poison Zyklon-B was said not to be suitable for use in the industrial killing of people.

FRENZ described Adolf Hitler as the "personality of the millennium," who can be compared to the likes of Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon. The national socialism idea eliminated class structures and class power struggles <sup>(62)</sup>. In addition he declared <sup>(63)</sup>:

"The new century, with a 50-year time shift, will prove the National Socialists right and put an end to Jewish dominance in politics and finance. We Germans will spearhead Europe against the power claims by Asians and Orientals who threaten our continent."

### **Agitation against the democratic principle**

The NPD agitates against the democratic principle by claiming the reinstatement of parliamentary democracy was forced upon Germany by Allied influence after 1945 and therefore illegal ("reeducation agitation") and attacks all institutions and representatives of the liberal democracy in a polemic, defaming, and slanderous manner. This serves the goal of portraying the parliamentary system as illegitimate, incompetent, and corrupt, and not representing the interests of the people, thereby making the democratic state appear questionable as a whole in order to justify its removal and replacement with a different system. The party defames Germany as a "republic licensed by the victors" <sup>(64)</sup>, which does not represent sovereign German interests and talks about a "Jewish-American protectorate government in Germany." <sup>(65)</sup>

The information paper "Deutsche Zukunft", published by the NPD state office in Nordrhein-Westfalen, lists parliamentarians as a group especially susceptible to corruption, nepotism, embezzlement, treason, and other criminal activities. <sup>(66)</sup>

In an appeal to the NPD/JN during the demonstration in Leipzig on 1 May under the motto "We create jobs - Bonn does not create anything!" <sup>(67)</sup> it was said:

"The politics of the entire Bonn system are no longer tolerable. It does not matter if the CDU/CSU, the FDP, or the SPD and Greens party rule, the result is always the same, because the motives are the same: great positions, great allowances and pay. The system politicians and unionists are slaves of capitalism. The people are merely the means to reach their goals."

### **"People-friendly socialism"**

The NPD persistently places economic and social-political themes, wrapped in right-extremist explanations and solutions, in the center of their agitation. In this connection, the NPD demands a German "people-friendly" socialism.

The "Deutsche Stimme" <sup>(68)</sup> raised the question of a fair economic system as the center of national politics. International capitalism is effectively undermining national/state structures and societies, in the name of free markets and globalization. German nationalists must counter the inhumane, unlimited American style of capitalism with German socialism for the good of its own people. Only people-friendly socialism can guarantee the freedom of each individual.

VOIGT underlined the fact that the NPD must not only react to ever growing social conflicts, but must also actively carry out nationalistic economic and social political programs. In doing so, they must not be afraid to utilize the positive social-political aspects of the dissolved GDR (German Democratic Republic). The party must, especially in central Germany, make it clear that as factual successors of the communists, it is ready to represent the social interests of the German people. <sup>(69)</sup>

The NPD is currently experiencing its largest increase in members within the new states, and is anticipating becoming a "battle group dominating by members from central Germany" <sup>(70)</sup> in the next few years. They have been intensifying the theme socialist components in connection with the term "people's community." This way, they are able to tie in with anti-capitalistic resentment existing from the GDR period, and to utilize this resentment for right-extremist interests. <sup>(71)</sup>

### **"Solidarity of the people"**

According to an announcement in the "Deutsche Stimme" <sup>(72)</sup> by Per Lennard AAE, federal executive committee member, the people perception is not limited to a single people, but as a principle, has a higher value than any form of government or political ideology ("national primateship"). In conclusion, each country that defends its independence and dignity against the demands of power and repression by cartels of dominating financiers, such as the International Currency Fund or NATO, deserves the support of all national oriented political movements in the entire world (solidarity of the people). The countries currently under pressure by the so-called international community are in particular China, North Korea, Cuba, and Iraq.

The NPD considers North Korea a "nationalist oriented society", which is carrying out a "justified struggle against USA imperialism." <sup>(73)</sup> According to the "Deutsche Stimme" <sup>(74)</sup>, a delegation of the NPD federal executive committee and the Saxony NPD state association accepted an invitation by the ambassador of the "Democratic People's Republic of Korea" on 30 July to the embassy in Berlin. During the meeting, the NPD representatives supposedly handed over a note stating their "solidarity for the anti-imperialistic struggle."

### **b. Organization and development**

The upward trend of the NPD continued in 1998, primarily because of the willingness of the NPD and JN to cooperate with neo-Nazis. Thus, the party was able to gain numerous, mainly young, members within the new states. By far, the largest number of members are from Saxony (approx. 1,400 members), followed by Bavaria (approx. 800 members) and Nordrhein-Westfalen (more than 600 members).

For VOIGT, who was confirmed in office during the federal party convention in Stavenhagen (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern) on 10-11 January with 85% of the votes <sup>(75)</sup>, neo-Nazis continue to be a vital part of his coalition politics; the common themes and integrated activities with them therefore continue to receive priority. The execution of this program resulted in the placement of neo-Nazis Steffen HUPKA, Jens PÜHSE and Frank SCHWERDT, former chairman of the now dissolved neo-Nazi alliance "Die Nationalen e. V.," in the federal executive committee. This means that for the first time, leading neo-Nazis have established themselves at the top level of the party. The most successful public events by their coalition took place on 7 February in Passau (approx. 4,000 participants), 1 May in Leipzig (approx. 4,000-5,000 participants), and lastly in Rostock on 19 September (approx. 3,000 participants), where, for the first time, a leading neo-Nazi, Christian WORCH, was allowed to make a speech. The large number of neo-Nazi and Skinhead participants shows that former neo-Nazis are active in the NPD/JN as multipliers, in order to strengthen the party from these camps, for example, from the independent "comradeships." At the same time, they increase neo-Nazi influence within the NPD/JN.

Within the party, there was also criticism about the close cooperation with the neo-Nazis which could be harmful because it might create fear among the populace and cause potential NPD voters to shy away.

These considerations probably caused the absence of the NPD leadership during the demonstration (dominated by neo-Nazis and Skinheads), which was probably unauthorized, but registered by the Bonn district chairman to protest the exhibition "War of Destruction - Crimes of the German Forces 1941-1944" on 24 October in Bonn. Among the 1,000 participants, NPD/JN members were the minority.

### **Participation in elections**

The NPD continued to have no impact on elections. During state elections in Bavaria on 13 September, they obtained only 0.2% of the votes (1994: 0.1%). They were relatively successful during state elections in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern on 27 September, receiving 1.1% of the votes (1994: 0.1%). During federal elections the same day, they received 0.3% of the votes (1994: did not participate). At the district level in Stralsund-Rügen-Grimmen, the NPD placed convicted right-wing terrorist and neo-Nazi Manfred ROEDER as a direct candidate. He received 2.1% of the votes. During local elections on 27 September in Brandenburg, where the NPD was punctual for the first time in preparing for the elections, the party received three mandates for city representatives. The NPD mobilized itself with campaign slogans such as: "We are the true opposition," "Jobs for Germans first!" and "We are electing the resistance - Our struggle is national."

The poor results of the party during the elections may have strengthened the position within the party, that the NPD does not consider winning elections a priority, viewing itself rather as an opposition outside of parliament and prefers to cooperate with the neo-Nazi camp. As early as June, VOIGT declared that not until his party has finally won the battle for the streets could the struggle for parliament be successfully carried out. <sup>(76)</sup>

#### **c. "Junge Nationaldemokraten" (Young National Democrats) (JN)**

|                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| Established:      | 1969            |
| Headquarters:     | Dresden         |
| Federal Chairman: | Holger APFEL    |
| Membership:       | 400 (1997: 350) |
| Publications:     | only regional   |

As the only right-extremist party, the NPD possesses a strong and influential youth organization. The JN is an "integral part" of the NPD. The JN federal chairman, because of his position, is also a member of the NPD executive committee.

In their ideological basis, the 1998 revamped "thesis papers" <sup>(77)</sup>, the JN professed a "new national community", in which the "contradictions and shortcomings of the current political and economical system" are overcome. Within this completely developed national community, the elite ("rule of the best, which puts an end to rule by the inferior") is a necessity. The "new empire," which the JN is attempting to attain, must be a state possessing strong and central power to be able to secure the empire and the German national community.

The JN views the "cadre principle" <sup>(78)</sup> as the most suitable organizational model in the current phase of the political struggle. <sup>(79)</sup> Their political efforts are not solely to be utilized toward national-state but also "national-European" interests. During the creation of a European national unity front, it is important to create a European network. <sup>(80)</sup> Accordingly, the JN participated in the right-extremist "5th European Youth Congress" in Thessaloniki (Greece) on 24 October.

Since Udo VOIGT took office as the NPD party chairman in March 1996, the previous often tense relationship between NPD and the JN has improved significantly. The JN developed into a buffer zone between the NPD, neo-Nazis, and other right-extremist groups and profited as a collecting point for banned neo-nazi organizations. As was the case with the NPD, several neo-Nazis were able to attain leading positions within the JN and now have considerable influence. Such is the case with Steffen HUPKA, Jens PÜHSE and Sascha ROSSMÜLLER who are members of the federal executive board, the latter even being one of the three deputy federal chairmen.

The executive cadre of the JN increasingly moved its activities to the NPD area. In addition to Holger APFEL, Steffen HUPKA, and Jens PÜHSE, deputy federal JN chairman Jürgen DISTLER and JN federal executive board member Klaus BEIER, as federal press speaker, also belong to the NPD federal executive board. Six JN functionaries are members of the editorial staff of the NPD party newspaper "Deutsche Stimme." As a result, independent JN activities decreased significantly and were overshadowed by NPD activities.

## VI. Other Organizations

### 1. "Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat" (German League for Nation and Homeland) (DLVH)

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Established:  | 1991  |
| Headquarters: | Coburg  |
| Chairmen:     | Jürgen SCHÜTZINGER<br>Ingo STAWITZ<br>Andre' BEIERSDORF |
| Members:      | 500 (1997: 700)   |
| Publication:  | "Freiheit durch Wahrheit" (Freedom through truth)       |

The DLVH, operating without party status since October 1996, pursues the goal of "maintaining Germany as the country of Germans" and to realize the "proven community of people principle of order in the national state." As a "broad movement of democratic patriotism", the DLVH attempts to bring "those with similar views together beyond party and club borders and to concentrate these forces." <sup>(81)</sup> However, the DLVH was unable to accomplish this. On the contrary: personnel strength and interest among its members for events and activities increasingly waned; plans to expand its own base in the new states failed. The election of two DLVH federal executive board members into the executive committee of the right-extremist "Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik e.V." (GFP) (Society for Liberal Journalism) did not effectively increase cooperation between the two organizations.

However, the DLVH continues to possess influence in the journalism sector, due primarily to its closeness to the two leading right-extremist publications ("Nation & Europa-Deutsche Monatshefte" and "Signal") whose editorship is intertwined with the DLVH. With the exception of the quarterly "Freiheit durch Wahrheit", the DLVH does not issue any other of its own publications.

## 2. "Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik e. V." (Society for Free Journalism) (GFP)

|                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| Established:      | 1960   |
| Headquarters:     | Munich   |
| Federal Chairman: | Dr. Rolf KOSIEK  |
| Membership:       | 450 (1997: 450)  |
| Publications:     | "Das Freie Forum" (The Free Forum)<br>Number of copies: 1,500, published quarterly |

The GFP, which also has editors, writers, and publishers as members, is the largest right-extremist "cultural union." Its members maintain close contacts with various right-extremist organizations and publishers. Former NPD "chief ideologist" Dr. Rolf KOSIEK is the leader. The GFP follows the goal of supporting freedom of the press and freedom of opinion which they contend is being limited <sup>(82)</sup>, and to correct the supposedly distorted presentation of history. <sup>(83)</sup>

Under the motto "courage to be free -1848-1998; 150 year struggle for self determination and unity", 300 members met during the annual GFP congress on 24-26 April in Gera (Thuringia).

Speakers, to include functionaries belonging to other right-extremist organizations, complained, among other things, about criminal persecution of those that politically think differently. <sup>(84)</sup> KOSIEK insisted that the "Orwell" government had nearly been completed, in which only a few persons behind the scenes determine what is to be believed and meant. The average citizen does not know that he, in an apparent free state, is living under dictatorship conditions in some ways. <sup>(85)</sup>

## 3. "Heide-Heim e.V. / "Heideheim e.V."

The associations "Heide-Heim e.V." (Hamburg) and "Heideheim e.V." (Buchholz/Lower Saxony), founded in 1984 by lawyer Jürgen RIEGER, were banned on 11 February by the Lower Saxony Interior Ministry. Until then, they were the primary organizers of the "Hetendorfer Conference Weeks" since 1991. The meetings, in which prominent right wing extremists of various groups participated, combined right-extremist political themes with pseudo-Germanic rituals, with the intent of enhancing the community feeling between the various groups. By being banned, all possessions, including the retreat in Hetendorf which also served as a meeting point for neo-Nazis, were confiscated. Two constitutional complaints filed by RIEGER in the name of the banned organizations were rejected by the Federal Constitutional Court, which advised him of administrative legal recourse. These legal proceedings are still pending.



In place of the "Hetendorfer Conference Week", RIEGER, and right-extremist groups steered by him, "Nordischer Ring" (NR) (Nordic Ring) and "Gesellschaft für biologische Anthropologie, Eugenik, und Verhaltensforschung" (GfbAEV) (Society for Biological Anthropology, Eugenics, and Behavioral Research), held the "1. Mitteldeutschen Vortragstage" (First Central German Lecture Days) in Ostritz (Saxony) from 16 to 21 June. The number of participants, 70, was considerably less than at Hetendorf where 200 attended the last meeting there.

## **VII. Intellectualism of Right-Extremism**

Contrary to wide-spread belief, right-extremist ideology is not solely articulated in hollow, populist paroles. At a minimum, formal intellectual articulation takes place where right wing extremists attempt to defend their positions during political discussions. In doing so, they ideologically orient themselves toward antidemocratic movements during the Weimar Republic, such as the "young conservatives" and their perception of a strong state or the "national revolutionists", who strive for a collective, nationalist society. The ideological initiative of the Weimar anti-democrats was discovered in the seventies and developed even further by the French intellectual "Neue Rechte" (New Rights). Now German right-extremists are attempting, as a sort of reimportation, to connect with the right-extremist intellectual development in the neighboring country and to use the cultural sphere as the means for political confrontation. Through a "counter-revolution from the right", i.e., through defamation or reinterpretation of democratic values, the moral leadership is to be attained, and finally, a change to the political system. The representatives of these endeavors have so far had little success because a connection to the French model could not be established, neither ideologically nor organizationally.

### **"New Rights" unable to reach the masses**

In particular, they were unable to establish an impact on public politics. Most of the right-extremist intellectuals were independent authors who wrote for various publications, maintaining personal contact with each other, but not possessing a unified ideology or a binding strategy.

Exceptions are found in three small coalitions of persons. This includes the "Thule Seminar", which, after a creation phase in the first half of the eighties, could not maintain its continuity. For that reason, the group was not able to publish another edition of its newspaper "Elements of Meta-Politics concerning the Rebirth of Europe" until 1998. The previous edition was released in 1990. Another right-extremist intellectual group, existing since 1972, is the national-revolutionary oriented "Deutsche-Europäische Studien Gesellschaft" (DESG) (German-European Studies Society), which monthly disseminates the small information newsletter "DESG-inform" and publicizes the theory newspaper "Young Forum" at irregular intervals. Since 1997, the DESG has worked closely with the "Synergon Deutschland" (Synergic Germany), the German section of the European-wide, likewise national-revolutionary oriented "Europäischen Synergien" (European Synergics). During the annual "summer universities", the German representatives, to include participants and lecturers alike, are greatly under-represented, which reflects on the qualitative and quantitative deficiencies of the German section.

## **National revolutionary ideology**

The DESG and "European Synergics" support a renaissance of the national-revolutionary ideology within right-extremism. Ideological fragments of the political left are picked up and coupled with ethnic-collective ideas. Thusly, social political problem areas, such as unemployment, globalization, and social crises, are no longer used only in the context of xenophobic agitation, but receive their own values.

## **Anti-capitalism**

In this context, Thor von WALDSTEIN, former federal chairman of the "Nationaldemokratischen Hochschulbundes" (NHB) (National Democratic High School Association) and now a member of the "New Rights", demanded in the newspaper "Staatsbriefe"<sup>(86)</sup> (State letters), the political-strategic acceptance of anti-capitalism. The main question for the political right will be, if it is successful in separating anti-capitalism from the traditional inventory of grandfather government officials and reloading it with nationalistic contents. Either leftists finally will come from the right, or nobody will come from the right. Former federal chairman of the REP, Franz SCHÖNHUBER, also argued similarly in his contribution "Macht mir den linken Flügel stark!" (Make the left wing strong for me") in the newspaper "Opposition."<sup>(87)</sup> A third way must be chosen between capitalism and communism; in no case, must one be content that along with the workers, there is also greedy capitalism. The origin of such ideas can be found, also explicitly mentioned in SCHÖNHUBER'S remarks, among the so-called "left wing" supporters of the former NSDAP, Gottfried Feder and Gregor and Otto Strasser. The slogan "working and greedy capital" used by the author, was given an anti-Semitic tenor by NSDAP economic theorist Feder. The NPD took up the theme anti-capitalism within the party.

In addition to the above mentioned German representatives of the Weimar "Young Conservatives" and "National Revolutionaries", right-extremist intellectuals are copying ideas from sympathizers of Italian fascism, for example, from the elite cultural philosopher Julius Evola (1898-1974)<sup>(88)</sup>. On his 100th birthday on 19 May, various right-extremist publishers and publishing houses honored the Italian theorist. German translations of Evola's works have been on the market for some time and are published by "Arun-Verlag" and "Hohenrain-Verlag." The writings are offered by most right-extremist distributors such as the book service of the newspaper "Signal" and also on the INTERNET.

## **Blurring of the demarcation line**

Not all right-extremist intellectuals formulate the rejection of the democratic constitutional government concisely and openly. As protagonists of an intellectual movement, which is hardly noticed in the public opinion spectrum, some of them present their positions tactically moderate and seemingly in compliance with the constitution, by blurring the demarcation lines between conservative and right-extremist ideas. This explains why right-extremists often emphasize commonalities with democratic conservatives during discussions of various topics. This was the case during criticism of the politics of European integration, the rejection of the so-called "German WWII Forces exhibition", or reservations against a multi-cultural society. An indication of the successful use of this tactic can be seen in various books with contributions by conservative and right-extremist authors.

Examples include books published by "Hohenrain-Verlag" titled "Europe yes - but what is to become of Germany?" and "Arndt-Verlag" "Dare to be true - Historians in handcuffs." The effect of such books is the questionable erosion of the borders between democracy and extremism. Contributing to this effect is also the Berlin weekly newspaper "Junge Freiheit" (Young Freedom) which publishes contributions from democrats as well as those from right-extremist from within and outside Germany.

## **VIII. Revisionism**

### **Differentiated relativism of the NS**

One of the central themes of right-extremist agitation is the politically motivated reinterpretation of the past, through which the NS regime is supposed to have its guilt removed or be declared innocent altogether in order for right-extremists to utilize NS ideology as a basis for their own political goals. This strategy, called a revision of history, uses various declarations and methods. It begins with the denial of mass murdering by the NS regime or German guilt of initiating World War II, continues with the relativism of NS crimes and the perceived, or real crimes of other governments, ending with the idealization of the Third Reich. After countless criminal proceedings for denying NS crimes, revisionist editors are now more careful in what they formulate. In addition, many of their declarations were obviously so contradicting of historical reality, that they could no longer insist upon this position in order to maintain their own credibility and their hopes to realize a broad effectiveness.

### **Question of war guilt**

This is illustrated in the article "Returned fire? in the newspaper "Deutschland in der Geschichte und Gegenwart" <sup>(89)</sup> (Germany - Past and Present Time) concerning the question of guilt of World War II according to facts that are commonly known.

The author does not attempt to deny Hitler's goal of exterminating all "Bolshevism and Jews" or the acquisition of "living space in the east" and the "final payback" with France. At the same time, he emphasizes that World War II was provoked by Poland, and that the NS regime did not want an armed conflict with England. Furthermore, the extent and timing of the military confrontation did not fit into Hitler's plan, and, from a certain point forward, he was basically reacting to circumstances.

Similarly one-sided is the argument by right-extremist publicist Wolfgang STRAUSS, considered to be an "eastern European expert", in an article in "Europa vorn" <sup>(90)</sup> (Europe up front). Under the headline "Summer 1941, the war of extinction was a war of liberation", he emphasizes the initial sympathy shown by much of the Soviet population for the invading troops and then points out that the German attack was a campaign against the totalitarian system of Stalin. Consciously, STRAUSS uses the thesis of "liberating war" in order to rebut historically proven concepts and practices of the German conquering, submission, and extermination war. He dismisses facts generally as anti-German mythology.

### **"Blackbook communism"**

Revisionist publishers often initiate public discussions on historical themes in order to distort the truth through arguments to fit their needs. A typical example are discussions concerning "Schwarzbuch Kommunismus" (blackbook communism). The book was created by French historians who wanted to prepare a list all crimes committed in communist countries.

According to a review of the book by the right-extremist newspaper "Nation & Europa" <sup>(91)</sup> (Nation & Europe), it was stated that the public would encounter atrocities in the book that would pale, at least quantitative, everything else that was previously considered to be "singular." Through such agitation, right-extremists attempt to use the book for their own purposes. If it could be proven that National-Socialist mass crimes are comparable to other such crimes committed in the 20th century, in their view, it would mean a potential historical exoneration of national-socialism. Attempts to influence the readers' view of the "Black book" are not factual suitable: the book emphasizes the uniqueness of the Holocaust.

### **"Ausschwitz lie"**

Because denying mass murdering by the NS-regime (the Auschwitz lie) is a criminal offense (violations of Articles 130, 185, 189 of the Penal Code) and resulting confiscations and convictions in recent years, Holocaust-deniers in Germany have become more moderate in their punishable statements. This is true for the bi-weekly publication "Sleipnir", which in recent years has published relevant editorials under the guise of irrelevant titles, and sold a broad spectrum of literature concerning the "Ausschwitz lie." Currently, "Sleipnir" publishes translations of articles from well-known revisionists abroad, such as Robert FAURISSON or Serge THION, but does not include their denying views of the Holocaust. At most, the publications cite subliminal, revisionistic insinuations by the authors.

### **Revisionist propaganda from abroad**

Revisionist propaganda with the blatant "Holocaust lie" is disseminated in Germany mostly through publications and media from foreign countries. Of particular importance, is the association "Vrij Historisch Onderzoek" (VHO) ("Liberal Historical Research") located in Berchem (Belgium), which disseminates all contemporary publications, many of them subject to confiscation or identified as revisionist publications in Germany, in different languages. Included in the assortment offered by the VHO, is the brochure "A German answer to the Goldhagen and Spielberg lies", a brief summary of the most important revisionist conceptions, which was widely distributed and even mailed to public figures. The publishing house also prints and circulates the Holocaust-denying book "Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte" ("Cardinal Questions Concerning History") by Germar SCHEERER, maiden name RUDOLF, which was confiscated based on a verdict on 18 March by the Weilheim Administrative Court. In its second year, the VHO also published the newspaper "Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung" (VffG) ("Quarterly Issue of Liberal History Research"), which contained pseudo-scientific contributions by prominent German and foreign Holocaust rejecters such as Arthur R. BUTZ, Robert FAURISSON, Carlo MATTOGNO, Germar RUDOLF, Mark WEBER, and Ingrid WECKERT. Also included among the authors were both founders of the bi-weekly newspaper "Sleipner", Andreas RÖHLER and Peter TÖPFER. The VHO also uses the INTERNET to access similar articles on homepages from other revisionists. These include, along with German neo-Nazi Ernst ZÜNDEL, who lives in Canada, the Australian "Adelaide Institute" and both American institutions "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust" (CODOH) and the "Institute for Historical Review" (IHR).

## **IX. International connections**

For various reasons and with different goals, German right-extremists maintain contact with persons with similar ideology in foreign countries. In the Skinhead scene, this consists primarily of concerts involving famous musicians who bring German and foreign fans together. On the periphery of such events, there is usually an active selling of fan articles, to include music media with instigation of the public contents, the sale of which is prohibited in Germany.

German Neo-Nazis often meet in neighboring countries in order to escape the pressure of German security officials. They use the meetings to discuss strategies and to plan activities, or to consolidate participation in demonstrations with their foreign counterparts.

During internal events, right-extremist parties often demonstrate solidarity with foreign organizations, which is intended primarily to increase their own prestige.

### **1. International Meetings**

Although the number of visitors at international meetings generally decreased, a few central events remained attractive for right-extremists:

- On 14 February, the Neo-Nazi party "Ungarische Nationale Front" ("Hungarian National Front") (MNA) held a rally in Budapest together with the Skinhead group "Hungarian Skins" who belong to the international movement of "Blood & Honour." Under the motto "Day of Honor", 500-600 activists assembled, some of them dressed in black uniforms and included approx. 150 German right-extremists, in commemoration of SS units who attempted to break out of the occupied city in February 1945.
- Approx. 140 right-extremists from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Germany assembled on 15 August in Greve (Denmark) for an "International Rudolf Hess Memorial March." Initiator of the demonstration was the chairman of the "Dänischen Nationalsozialistischen Bewegung" (Danish National Socialist Movement") (DNSB) Jonni Hansen. In anticipation, the German Federal Border Police refused to allow 110 persons to travel to Denmark.
- On 29-30 August, the 71st "Ijzerbedevaart" of Flemish patriots with approx. 7,000 visitors, took place in Diksmuide (Belgium). In conjunction with the event, a right-extremist "comrades meeting" was held, drawing 150 activists from several countries, among them approx. 50 from Germany.
- The "Freundeskreis Ulrich von Hutten e.V." (Ulrich von Hutten's Friendship Club) and the "Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft Österreich" (German Cultural Society of Austria) met from 12-19 September under the supervision of Austrian right-extremist Lisbeth GROLITSCH in Altenberg (Saxony) for the "Twenty-second Guest Week." Approx. 190 persons from Germany and Austria participated in the opening ceremony.
- The annual party festival "bleu-blanc-rouge" ("blue-white-red") sponsored by the French "Front National" (FN) was also popular among German right-extremists in 1998. Among the 10,000 participants who gathered in Paris on 19-20 September, was a delegation of twenty from the "Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat" (German league for Nation and Homeland) (DLVH), led by Jürgen SCHÜTZINGER, one of three DLVH federal chairmen.

- Right-extremists from various European countries met in conjunction with the traditional "Ulrichsberg-Treffens" (Ulrichberg Meeting) on 4 October in Klagenfurt (Austria). They attempt to use and influence the official commemoration for Austrian soldiers killed in action during both World Wars for their own purposes. Approx. fifteen German right-extremists participated in the event this year.
- On 24 October, the JN participated with a small delegation in the "5th European Youth Congress" in Thessaloniki (Greece). The JN accepted an invitation from the Greek right-extremist organization "Golden dawn", which organized the event.
- Only a few German right-extremists participated in the celebrations for the anniversary of the Spanish Dictator General Franco's death from 20-22 November in Madrid. In 1997, nearly 100 persons from Germany participated in the celebrations, primarily members of the NPD and the JN, but also members of the neo-Nazi "Freiheitlichen Volks Blocks" (Free Peoples' Block) (FVB).

## **2. "National-Socialists German Workers' Party/Foreign and Development Organization" (NSDAP/AO)**

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Established:  | 1972   |
| Headquarters: | Lincoln, Nebraska, USA                                 |
| Chairman:     | Gary Rex LAUCK   |
| Publication:  | "NS Kampftruf" (NS Battle Cry), at irregular intervals |

The activities of the NSDAP/AO practically came to a halt (in 1998); only two issues of the former bi-monthly brochure "NS Kampftruf" were released in the German language. Mail with neo-Nazi propaganda material sent to Germany by the NSDAP/AO was practically non-existent. The "propaganda director" of the NSDAP/AO, Gary Rex LAUCK was sentenced to four years imprisonment in 1995 and his appeal for an early discharge from prison was denied; his sentence ends in March 1999.

## **X. Propaganda and Communications Media**

### **1. Periodic Publications**

The number of right-extremist publications increased from 106 to 110, with a total circulation of 6.9 million copies (1997: approximately 5.4 million). Seventy-three of the publications appeared at least quarterly (1997: 68).

### **2. Independent Publishing Houses and Distributors**

In 1998, independent publishing houses and distributors marketed a broad variety of books, newspapers, CDs, music cassettes, and videos with right-extremist contents. In addition to a few larger publishing houses offering a wide variety of books and newspapers, there were numerous smaller publishers with limited offerings.

## **"Grabert Publishing House"**

Belonging to the first group is the "Grabert Verlag", whose books deal with various topics (such as The Third Reich, early history, globalization, art) or political theories, usually with a right-extremist point of view. In addition, the publishers issue several of their own publications, such as the quarterly "Germany in History and Present" (Circulation: approx. 3,000 copies) and the newsletter "Euro Kurier" (European Courier). The "Hohenrain publishing house", a sister company of "Grabert publishing house", attempted, on the other hand, to target a broader public by publishing books with less political implications. Also belonging to the larger publishing houses, is the "Nation Europa Verlag GmbH" (European Nation Publishing House, Inc.), whose theory and strategic publication "Nation & Europe - German Monthly" (circulation approx. 16,000 copies), has been published for 48 years. In addition, the book service of the corporation has its own book program. The smaller publishing houses include the one belonging to Manfred ROUHS, who publishes the bi-weekly newspaper "Signal - the Patriotic Magazine" (title until May "Europe Up Front") with a circulation of approx. 5,000 copies, and in addition to a relative small independent book program, is dedicated in particular to the distribution of CDs containing Skinhead music. A small publishing house is also the "Castel Del Monte-Verlag" (Castel Del Monte Publishing House). Their sole publication is the theory newspaper "Staatsbriefe" (State Letters) (monthly circulation approx. 1,000 copies).

## **Reprints of National-Socialist literature**

The "Faksimile-Verlag" (Facsimile Publishing House) and "Verlag für ganzheitliche Forschung und Kultur" (Publishing house for Complete Research and Culture) are focused on reprinting national and National-Socialist literature from the period between 1918 and 1945. Such reprints include the 1941-1942 published newspaper "Weltkampf. Die Judenfrage in Geschichte und Gegenwart" (World struggle. The Jewish Question in History and Present Time.)

## **"Opposition - Magazine for Germany"**

As a new periodical, the quarterly magazine "Opposition - Magazine for Germany" appeared. By their own statements, a theory and strategy publication which contains, for example, contributions on the basic principles of the ideological orientation of right-extremism. The articles are mainly from known right-extremists such as Karl RICHTER, Christian ROGLER, or Franz SCHÖNHUBER, who have long been regular authors of "Nation & Europa" or "Signal." "Opposition" is printed by the "Berg Publishing Society, Inc", considered one of the larger publishers. This company has its own broad book program and also prints the annual publication "Deutsche Annalen" (German Annals) and the bi-monthly newspaper "Deutsche Geschichte" (German History) (circulation approx. 10,000 copies).

## **Contributions to internal strategy debates**

Along with daily political reporting and related right-extremist interpretations, the publications are devoted primarily to internal debates on party-political strategy. Most organizational-independent newspapers and magazines criticized the competition among election candidates from the DVU, NPD, and REP and, at the same time, stated the need for cooperation or even a merging of the parties.

Especially "Nation & Europa" pleaded, in accordance with its long-time editors' platform, for unity among the parties. This would supposedly create the basis for election successes, as was done by the idolized French "Front National" (FN). Contrary to "Nation & Europa", "Signal" called for a certain party to be put up for election.

### **Appeal to elect DVU**

Regular authors such as Christian ROGLER and Manfred ROUHS demanded, despite remaining uncertainties, that all patriotic publishers support the DVU in order to elect its members to parliaments as the patriotic opposition. <sup>(92)</sup>

### **Anti-Americanism**

The general defaming of the USA is the dominating theme of foreign politics since the early nineties, a development that replaced the mainly criticized Soviet Union before its demise. Right-extremists view the American democratic system as an expression of cultural decadence and economic imperialism. Accordingly, the first issue of the newspaper "Opposition" <sup>(93)</sup> carried the main theme "The challenge of Americanization." Several articles viewed "Americanization" as a grave danger for all who valued their elementary way of life and national culture and declared "the American way of life" as an existing threat to the identity of peoples.

### **Perceived censorship**

Another important theme of right-extremist publications is the complaint over the perceived loss of free speech. This is targeting against governmental confiscations and indexing of incitement of the populace literature or literature which denies the Holocaust, but also the banning of neo-Nazi marches and demonstrations. In this connection, right-extremists speak of "GDR light", "ideology dictatorship" or "censorship system", thereby equating the democratic legal state to dictator systems. An example is the book "Opinion Dictatorship - How 'Democratic' Censorship Restricts Freedom" by publicist Jürgen SCHWAB. Within the same category of literature, is the work of Dr. Claus NORDBUCH titled "Are Thoughts Still Free? Censorship in Germany." By stylizing themselves as the victims of "opinion dictatorship", right-extremists attempt to immunize themselves against criticism, which they themselves consider to be censorship.

Right-extremist publicists also use memories of historical events for an ideological change in meaning for their needs. An example is the honoring of Bismarck on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death in "Nation & Europa". <sup>(94)</sup> Under the headlines "We need a new Bismarck!" they praise his anti-liberal policies and emphasize his authoritarian decisions. The historical accomplishments of Bismarck lie in the fact that he did not capitulate under the liberal tendencies of the epoch, but successfully integrated them into an astoundingly modern social network, often against parliamentary majorities; he despised political parties, but knew how to use them with great virtuosity. The anti-liberalism that surfaces here is not directed against a single party, but against the democratic state and its liberal democratic constitution as a whole.



### **3. New Communications Media**

The INTERNET, "National Info Telephones" (NIT), and mailboxes have become a permanent inventory of right-extremist strategy. Leading right-extremists see the cumulative efforts of this electronic media as the chance to solidify the disconnected regional, organizational, but also ideological scene, and at a minimum, to consolidate them information wise. The INTERNET serves as a worldwide forum to disseminate right-extremist propaganda. Activists coordinate meetings and announcements and mobilize the scene via the NIT. Within disguised mailbox networks, right-extremists carry on internal debates on the goals and strategy of the movement.

#### **a. INTERNET**

##### **Increased usage of INTERNET services**

Right-extremists have increased their presence in all areas of the INTERNET. The scene is increasing its use of the medium for individual communications via e-mail, as well as small group discussions in the Newsgroup and IRC areas.<sup>(95)</sup> Above all, the INTERNET allows right-extremists to present themselves and to make calls for promotional events.

##### **More than 200 right-extremist homepages**

German right-extremists operate more than 200 homepages on the World Wide Web (WWW) (1997: approx. 100). This quantitative increase parallels the continuing improvement in form and technical quality of the homepages.

##### **Use of sound and video sequences**

Increasingly, operators are incorporating sound and video sequences in their homepages, thereby increasing the information available, but also making their propaganda more appealing. The NPD, for example, in connection with their federal election campaign, presented their TV-spots on the party's own INTERNET homepage. On other homepages, there are "radio broadcasts", a mixture of right-extremist songs and related commentaries.

##### **Organizational-transcending use**

In addition, information on the INTERNET can be called up that would allow an organizational-transcending direction. Of particular importance, is the "electronic issue" of the "Berlin-Brandenburger-Zeitung der nationalen Erneuerung" (Berlin-Brandenburg Newspaper of National Renewal), which formerly was published in regional versions, because of its apparent serious reporting and its broad coverage. After Frank SCHWERDT and Christian WENDT, the persons primarily responsible for this newspaper project, were imprisoned, the newspaper's contents have been updated only sporadically. Another organizational-transcending homepage, the "Nationaler Widerstand" (National Resistance), offers, along with excerpts of the "Zentralorgan" (Central Organ), which is also available in printed form, the publication "Perspektive" (Perspective), which is only available on the INTERNET and which contains current information, information on upcoming events, as well as in-depth reporting on completed activities.

These relatively inexpensive (when compared to normal printed newspapers) "electronic newspapers", make it possible for right-extremists to reach persons outside the right-extremist scene because of their widespread availability. At the same time, through the use of "links" (automatic connections), a wide spectrum of such related INTERNET publications is made available.

### **Simplified mobilization for events**

The INTERNET simplifies mobilization for the right-extremist scene: Calls for participations and information on upcoming events can be printed as finished leaflets. In this way, the logistical effort that would be required for each local activist to write, arrange, and print each informational paper is avoided.

### **Dissemination of material with illegal contents via foreign providers**

In order to escape criminal prosecution in Germany, right-extremists increasingly place their texts and pictures anonymously on the INTERNET through North American providers. By doing so, illegal propaganda material from forbidden organizations, for example, Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" (My Struggle), is made available to the public, just as anonymous appeals to the scene to prepare for the struggle as the political underground. For instance, on the homepage of the right-extremist mailbox system "Thule-Netz", the reaction to the results of the federal election was:

"Go underground! The time to follow democratic game rules is over. Prepare yourselves for day X."

"Der arische Ansturm" (The Arian Attack) is a homepage also belonging to this category. In addition to offering detailed instructions on the construction of explosive devices, it includes mostly illegal right-extremist propaganda. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution was able to identify the person responsible for the homepage which had been on the INTERNET since February. Based on this information, the police were able to confiscate right-extremist propaganda and various materials for the construction of explosive devices at the 17-year old suspect's home in Cologne.

#### **b. "National Info-Telephones" (NIT)**

### **NIT as an effective instrument for agitation and control of events**

The "National Info-Telephones" have increased in importance because of their simple, as well as effective, form of disseminating information. Much room on the recordings is devoted to commentary on daily political events. The NIT, however, becomes very important to the scene when information on upcoming events is supposed to be announced on short notice and an immediate mobilization is desired. Many of the NIT's provided up-to-date information on planned rallies on 1 May or during the "Rudolf Hess Week of Activity" in August, keeping their sympathizers informed on restrictions imposed by officials and recommended alternate strategies.

## **Twelve NIT's active**

A total of 12 NIT's were active in 1998. These included "NIT Hamburg", "NIT Schleswig-Holstein", "NIT Mecklenburg-Vorpommern", "Mecklenburg", "NIT Rheinland", "NIT Preussen", "NIT Bayern", "NIT Mitteldeutschland", "Bündnis Rechts", "VSB Baden-Württemberg", and up to mid-May, "Deutschland-Sturm" and up to December "NIT Westdeutschland."

### **c. Mailboxes**

Mailbox networks have lost importance within the right-extremist scene. The level of discussion is limited to verbal attacks among the users and personal defamation.

#### **"Thule Net" and "Nordland Net"**

The disintegration of the "Thule Net", which has existed since 1993, continues. At the present time, of the 14 connected mailboxes, only one, the "Propaganda.BBS" is active. The "Nordland Net", which separated from the "Thule Net", now has only two mailboxes.

#### **Mailboxes as a forum for discussion**

The approx. 100 connected users, among them only a few leading activists in the group willing to use force, or in the neo-Nazi area, discuss themes such as the interconnection of the neo-Nazi scene, activities of the "Anti-Antifa", or the meaning of revisionism. In addition, relevant dates for actions, demonstrations, or radio broadcasts are announced.

## VI. Overview of Other Publications

| Organization<br>-including location-                            | Publication<br>(including frequency and circulation<br>-partially estimated)  |
|---|---|
| "Arndt-Verlag"<br>-Martensrade/Plön district                    |   |
| "Castel del Monte-Verlag"<br>-Munich-                           | "Staatsbriefe"<br>-monthly-<br>-1,000-  |
| "Europa vorn Verlag"/<br>"Verlag Manfred Rouhs"<br>-Cologne-    | "Signal"<br>(formerly "Europa vorn")<br>-quarterly-<br>-5,000-  |
| "Grabert Verlag"<br>-Tübingen-                                  | "Deutschland in<br>Geschichte und<br>Gegenwart"<br>-quarterly-<br>-3,000-<br><br>"Euro-Kurier"<br>-bi-monthly-<br>-unknown- |
| "Nation Europa Verlag GmbH"<br>-Coburg-                         | "Nation & Europa - Deutsche<br>Monatshefte"<br>-monthly-<br>-15,000-  |
| "Verlag der Freunde" (VDF)<br>-Berlin-                          | "Sleipnir"<br>-bi-weekly-<br>-1,800-  |
| "VGB Verlagsgesellschaft Berg mbh"<br>-Berg am Starnberger See- | "Deutsche Geschichte"<br>-bi-weekly-<br>-10,000-<br><br>"Opposition"<br>-quarterly-   |

# Left-Extremist Endeavors

## I. Overview

### Left-Extremist developments

Left-extremists are in strict opposition to a free, democratic social order in Germany, defamed by them as capitalist, imperialist, and racist. Their efforts are directed to the "revolutionary" elimination of this order, in order to establish a socialist/communist system and a "society free from rulers" ("anarchy") instead.

All left-extremists basically advocate "revolutionary violence." Whereas some, due to tactical considerations, use "legal" means during ordinary confrontations and attempt to exacerbate political controversies by engaging in anti-democratic agitation and propaganda, others express their irreconcilable hatred for the state through pre-meditated militant activities.

### Militant left-extremism

Also in 1998, the internal security of the FRG was threatened again by violent left-extremists, especially from the anarchist-oriented autonomous scene. This is reflected in the numerous clandestinely prepared and implemented arson attacks, as well as the large number of attacks against the railroad system. Through such protest actions by left-extremist violent perpetrators, property damage amounting to millions of Marks was caused. The number and brutality of physical attacks against right-extremists, or against alleged right-extremists, increased; often left-extremists take out their hate on police officers and security forces employed at events and sites.

### Dissolution of the RAF

In April, an eight-page letter, dated March 98, from "Red Army Faction" (RAF) members living underground, was made public in which they declared the dissolution of the RAF. In reaction to the letter, comments were made in the militant left-extremist scene that the end of the RAF would, in no way, indicate the end of the "armed struggle" and the option for such actions would be explicitly maintained.

In a Göttingen scene publication it was stated:

"As long as there are social conditions, 'in which the human being is a humiliated, enslaved, abandoned, disdained being' - as long as the heart of the beast is still beating, producing new capitalist barbarism every day, there will continue to be the struggle for liberation. The radical left will not allow any of its opponents to dictate the means for this." ("EinSatz" issue 31, July 98)

### Action themes

The most important action areas for militant left-extremists in 1998 were again "anti-fascism" (actions against right-extremists and alleged right-extremists and their organizations), "anti-racism" (asylum problems, "open borders for all"), resistance against the use of nuclear power and against gene research, the campaign against the "re-structuring" of major cities and concentrated centers (catchword: internal security, Berlin's consolidation to a government and service metropolis; activities against the scheduled world exposition "EXPO 2000" in Hannover), and "internationalism."

In connection with the allegations made by militant left-extremists that the FRG allegedly strives for a superpower role, the protest was expressed through agitation and actions against events staged by the Federal Armed Forces (Bundeswehr), such as public swearing-in ceremonies, grand tattoos, and (international) conferences of politicians and the military. The EC and the G8 summits in June 1999 were also the targets of such activities.

### **Autonomous scene**

The threat from violent left-extremists will continue to exist. Most militant actions, to include the planning of terrorist attacks, will originate from autonomists. They will adhere to the practice which they consider "proven", that is to carry out no attacks under permanent group names ("trade marks") they have held for longer than one year. but, instead, to carry out attacks under alternating action designations ("no-name variants"). Through this, they hope for increased protection from "state suppression". The scene, which increasingly represents itself as un-united and always moving, might become even more obscure while its willingness to use force will remain. The structure among revolutionary-Marxist parties and other groups has changed little.

### **Revolutionary-Marxist organizations**

Traditional revolutionary-Marxist organizations, such as the "Deutsche Kommunistische Partei" (DKP) (German Communist Party), and Trotzkyite groups were, for the most part, able to maintain their member potential. However, organizational problems and a lack of motivation among its members could be seen in some groups. Nevertheless, they stick to their classical concepts (class struggle and revolutionary break with existing conditions), and continued to attempt, however, with little success, to increase starting points for social resistance and to influence existing protest movements.

### **PDS**

The "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) has settled in the federal party scenery. For the first time, the party was successful in gaining seats in the Federal Parliament at faction strength. In the eastern states, it still is, despite a decrease in membership, the strongest party. Its appearance remains ambivalent: the party cooperates on panels of the parliamentary democracy, but also allows extremist structures in its ranks. It works together with German and foreign left-extremists. As stated in the party program, the PDS strives for an overcoming of the existing social order.

## **II. Overview in Statistics**

### **1. Organizations and Member Potential**

In 1998, the structure of organized left-extremism did not change compared to the previous year. The total membership showed a slight increase. After multiple memberships are deducted, at the end of 1998, approx. 34,700 persons belonged to organizations and other groups of persons where left-extremist endeavors are noticeable (1997: 34,100). Included in these figures are also the followers of the "Communist Platform" (KPF) of the PDS, which is estimated to have up to 2,000 members. In addition to open left-extremist structures, the PDS, as a party, shows signs of actual endeavors to eliminate the free, democratic constitution, as indicated in Articles 3 and 4 of the Federal Law for the Protection of the Constitution. According to their own information, the PDS has approx. 96,500 members.

As during the previous year, the spectrum of left-extremists willing to use force, mainly in anarchical oriented groups, consisted in late 1998, of more than 7,000 persons, to include 6,000 who usually called themselves autonomists.

In the case of Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyite, and other revolutionary-Marxist groups, development proceeded in various ways: some groups enjoyed increases in members while others had to log decreases. In all, these organizations had approx. 28,400 members. In some areas, they received support from left-extremist influenced organizations <sup>(96)</sup>, that numbered approx. 18,000 members at the end of 1998.

| <b>Left-Extremist Potential *</b>                        |            |                       |                       |            |                       |                       |            |                       |                       |
|--|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
|  | 1996       |                       |                       | 1997       |                       |                       | 1998       |                       |                       |
|  | Groups     | Persons               |                       | Groups     | Persons               |                       | Groups     | Persons               |                       |
| Left-extremists willing to use force**                   | 74         | 7,000                 |                       | 69         | 7,000 ***             |                       | 66         | 7,000***              |                       |
| Marxists-Leninists and other revolutionary Marxists **** |            |                       |                       |            |                       |                       |            |                       |                       |
| Core and secondary organizations                         | 47         | 28,900                |                       | 43         | 27,800                |                       | 43         | 28,400                |                       |
| Influenced organizations                                 | 40         |                       | 14,000                | 37         |                       | 19,000                | 34         |                       | 18,000                |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>161</b> | <b>35,900</b>         | <b>14,000</b>         | <b>149</b> | <b>34,800</b>         | <b>19,000</b>         | <b>143</b> | <b>35,400</b>         | <b>18,000</b>         |
| <b>After deduction of multiple memberships</b>           |            | <b>approx. 35,200</b> | <b>approx. 10,500</b> |            | <b>approx. 34,100</b> | <b>approx. 14,500</b> |            | <b>approx. 34,700</b> | <b>approx. 13,500</b> |
| "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) *****              |            | approx. 110,000       |                       |            | approx. 105,000       |                       |            | approx. 96,500        |                       |

\* The figures listed are, in some cases, estimated and rounded off.

\*\* The statistics list not only the persons who were the actual perpetrators, but also such left-extremists who show a willingness to use violence. Included are only groups which have permanent structures and who were active over an extended period of time.

\*\*\* The mobilization potential of the "scene" includes an additional several thousand persons.

\*\*\*\* Including the "Communist platform of the PDS" (KPF). They are complemented by members of other left-extremist groups in the PDS.

\*\*\*\*\* The PDS is listed in a special column because of its ambivalent appearance. It cannot be assumed that all members of this party pursue or support left-extremist objectives. KPF members, who are not required to also be members of the PDS, are listed under the figures on Marxists-Leninists.



## **2. Criminal Offenses/Acts of Violence**

Again in 1998, left-extremists carried out major criminal offenses, to include arson and bomb attacks, and property damage in the millions, in order to attain their political goals. The number of criminal offenses in which left-extremists were identified as perpetrators or co-perpetrators, or were suspected as perpetrators because of the offense circumstances, increased to 3,201 in 1998 (1997: 3,079), an increase of 3.9%. This included 783 offenses with the use of force (1997: 833), a decrease of 6.3%.

The number of criminal offenses with the use of force in the course of the campaign against nuclear waste transports decreased considerably to 65 (1997: 213). This may be traced to the fact that the sole CASTOR transport in 1998 was carried out in advance of the date scheduled.

On the other hand, the number of militant actions against right-extremists, or alleged right-extremists, had doubled with 261 cases (1997:130). Along with an increase of violent offenses, an increase in brutality was also noted.

The following overview reflects only an incomplete picture of the actual extent of violence carried out by left-extremists; a comparison with criminal offenses in the right-extremist area can only be made to a limited extent, due to the often incomparable extent on the use of force, which means street militancy by left-extremists, right-extremist attacks against individuals in many cases. Also, there are no extensive criminal regulations in the area of left-extremism, as is the case with right-extremist propaganda offenses.

**Overview of Crimes Involving Violence and Other Offenses with Proven or Suspected Left-Extremist Motivation\***

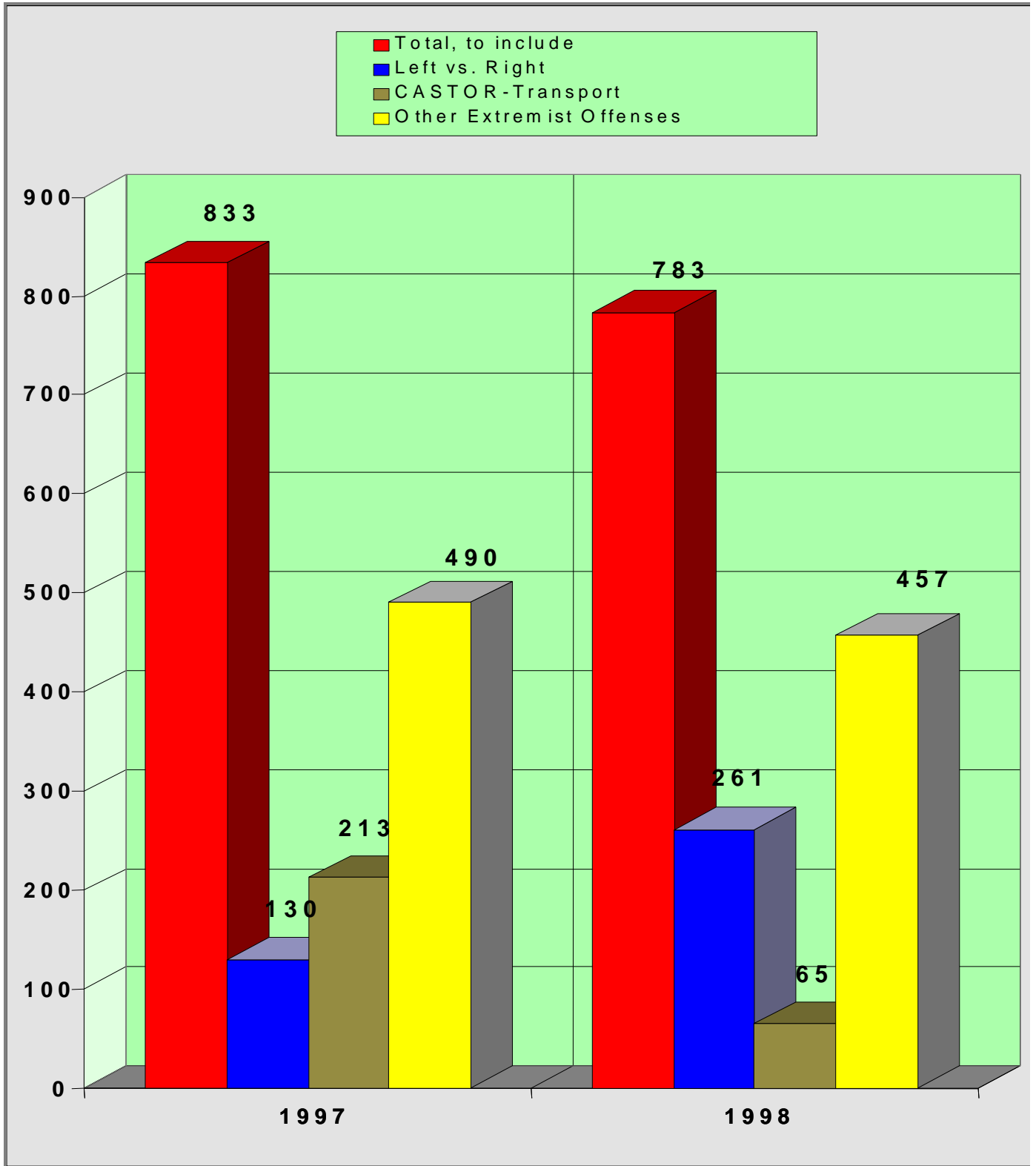
|  | 1997         | 1998         |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| <b>Acts of violence:</b>   |              |              |
| Murder   | 0            | 0            |
| Attempted murder   | 0            | 4            |
| Bodily injury  | 165          | 227          |
| Arson attacks  | 77           | 47           |
| Bomb attacks   | 1            | 1            |
| Breach of public peace   | 299          | 289          |
| Dangerous attacks against railroad, air, ship, and vehicle traffic | 154          | 58           |
| Resisting arrest   | 137          | 157          |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>833</b>   | <b>783</b>   |
| <b>Other offenses:</b>   |              |              |
| Property damage  | 1,090        | 1,166        |
| Intimidation/Threats   | 93           | 111          |
| Other offenses   | 1,063        | 1,141        |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>2,246</b> | <b>2,418</b> |
| <b>Total of all offenses</b>                                       | <b>3,079</b> | <b>3,201</b> |

\* The figures are based on data from the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (BKA). (DOI: 31 Jan 99)

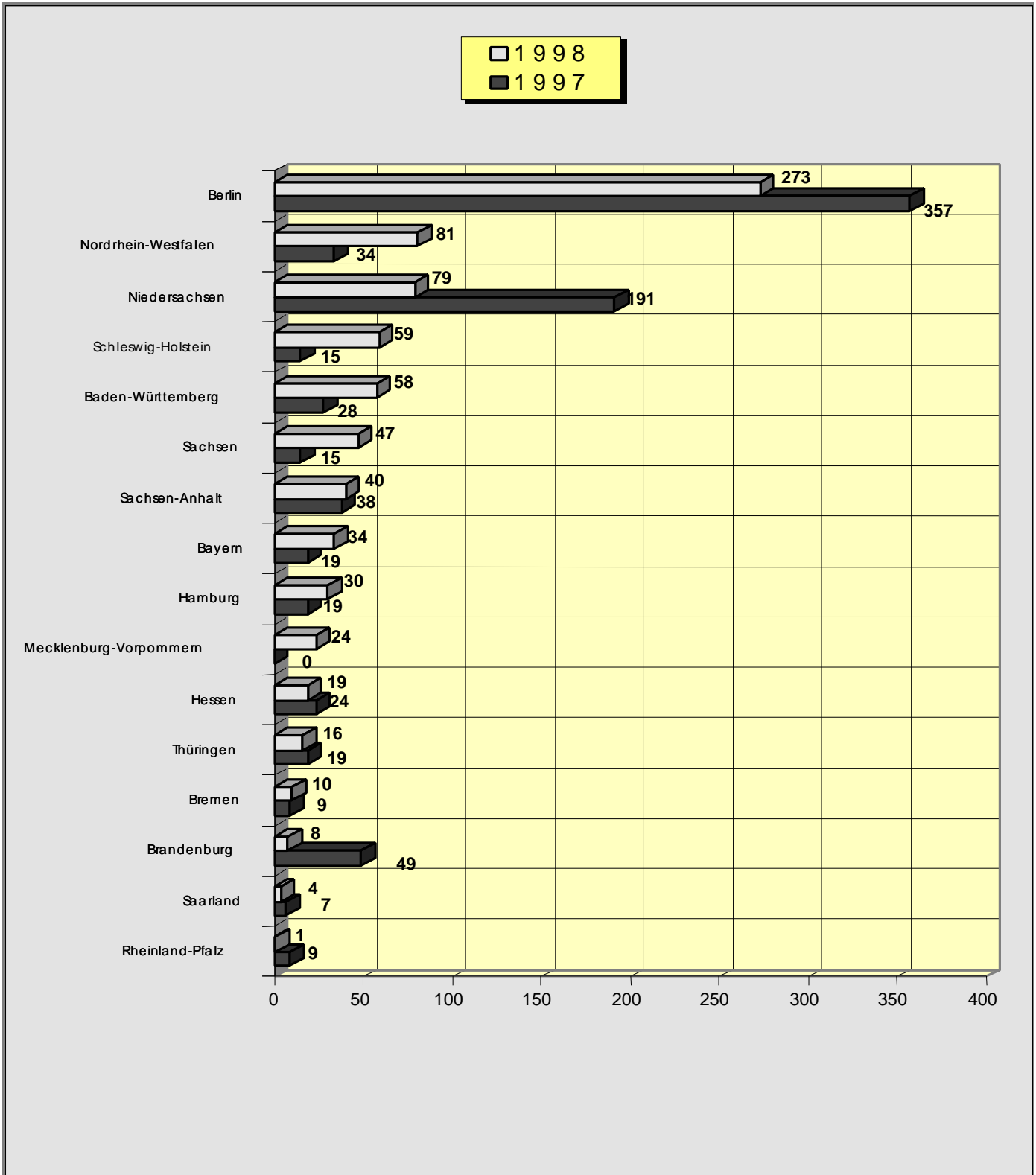
The overview includes crimes committed and those attempted. Each crime was counted only once. For example, if bodily injury was perpetrated during an act of breach of public peace, the crime appears only once in the statistics as a breach of public peace offense. If several crimes were committed at the same time, only the most severe crime was counted.



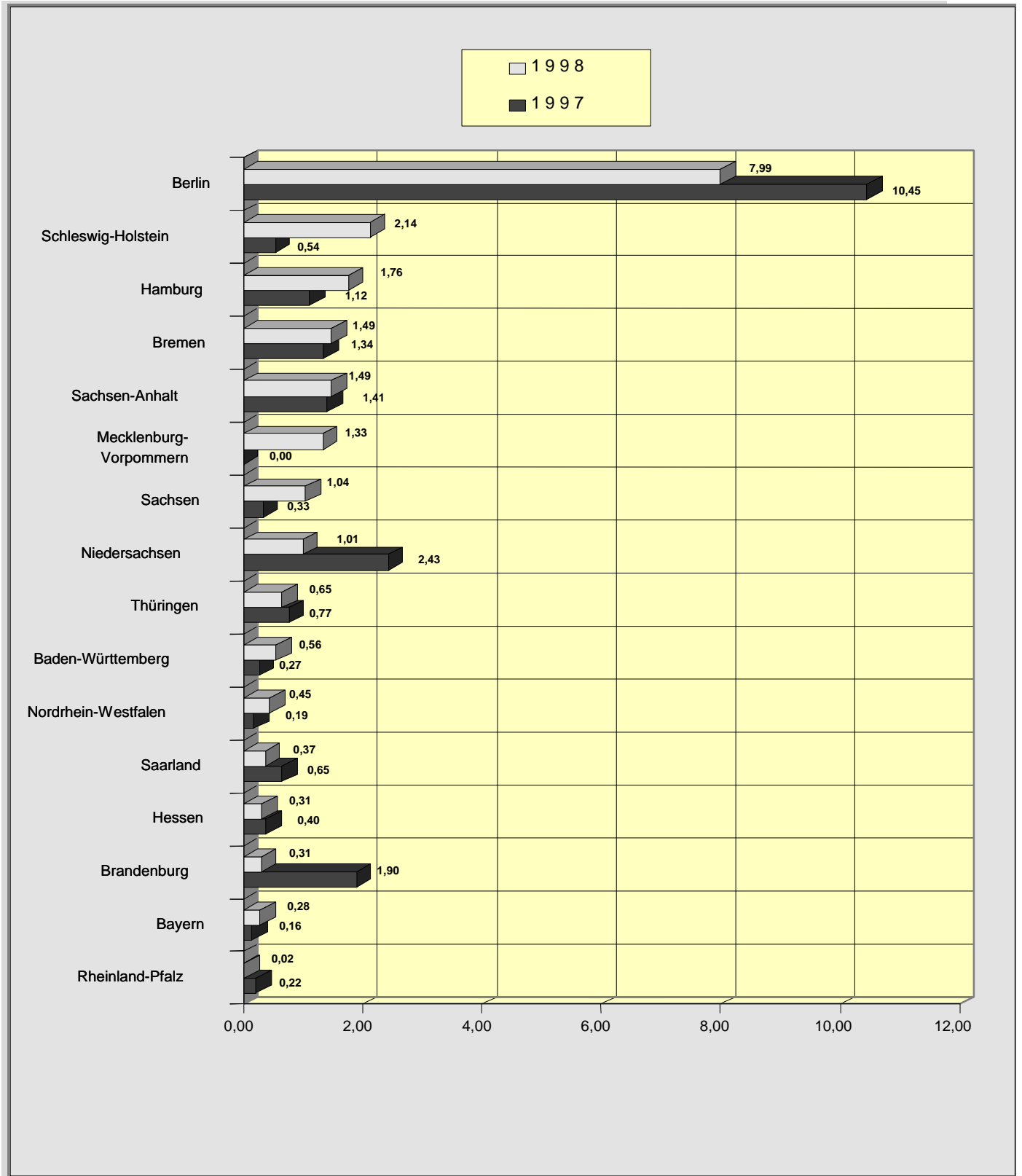
**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected  
Left-Extremist Motivation  
- Types of Offenses -**



**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected  
Left-Extremist Motivation  
- by State -**



**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected  
Left-Extremist Motivation  
-- per 100,000 Inhabitants -- by State -**



**Overview of Violent Crimes by Left-Extremists against Right-Extremists or Assumed Right-Extremists\***

|  | <b>1997</b> | <b>1998</b> |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| Murder   | 0           | 0           |
| Attempted murder   | 0           | 3           |
| Bodily injury  | 75          | 141         |
| Arson attacks  | 5           | 15          |
| Bomb attacks   | 0           | 0           |
| Breach of public peace   | 46          | 85          |
| Dangerous attacks against railroad, air, ship, and vehicle traffic | 2           | 5           |
| Resisting arrest   | 2           | 12          |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>130</b>  | <b>261</b>  |

\* The figures are based on data from the Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (BKA).  
(DOI: 31 Jan 99)

### **III. Violent Left-Extremism**

As before, the internal security of the FRG is threatened by violent left-extremists, primarily from the anarchic oriented autonomous scene. There are more and more indications that small groups carrying out acts of terrorism <sup>(97)</sup>, who constantly change their names when making statements pertaining to attacks ("no-name" militancy, "no-name" terrorism), have replaced the common terrorist groups, who operated under a uniform name ("trade-mark name") for longer periods of time.

#### **1. Left-Extremist Terrorist Groups**

##### **RAF declares its dissolution**

In April, the "Red Army Faction" (RAF) was heard from again for the first time since its last declaration of November and December 1996 with an eight-page letter. In the letter, dated March 1998, the so-called "illegals" announced the end of their "project", the "city guerilla in the form of the RAF" is now history.

"From now on, like others in this group, we are former RAF militants."

However, the "illegals" did not question the legitimacy and necessity from their point of view, of the revolt; their decision to fight in the RAF to overturn capitalist conditions had been correct. The end of the project only shows the RAF was not able to successfully achieve its goals through its chosen way. The effect of military actions had been overestimated.

"In no phase of our history, had a political organization become reality beyond the political-military struggle. The RAF's concept knew only the armed struggle, with the political-military attack in the center."

The statement marked, now formally, the end of the RAF as a terrorist organization.

Reactions from the militant left-extremist scene on the statement indicated a fundamental agreement with the termination of the "RAF project". On the other hand, the insufficient self-criticism by the RAF concerning its extended ignorance toward constructive suggestions from the scene was criticized, as well as the superficial analysis, which supposedly does not fulfill the requirement of a serious judgement.

##### **Militant left-extremists demand the "armed option" be maintained**

In open statements and internal discussions, it was demanded that the so-called "armed option" as incorporated by the RAF be maintained; the editors of the scene publication "INTERIM" wrote the following to the RAF:

"Your political struggle was always important for us, as a radical option of political dealings, which must not get lost as an option." ("INTERIM" no. 449 of 30 Apr 98)

An article in the underground periodical "radikal" of May 1998 (issue 155) was also aimed in the same direction:



"In view of the circumstances, the option of covert organization and action must remain. It need not necessarily be the RAF." <sup>(98)</sup>

## **Suspected AIZ members admit to participation in attacks against politicians' homes**

The trial against two members of the "Anti-Imperialist Cell" (AIZ) before the Düsseldorf Supreme Court, for attempted murder and membership in a terrorist organization, was continued. In several partial confessions, to include two written statements, one of the defendants admitted he participated in AIZ attacks, including the bomb attacks against the homes of two CDU parliament members in April and September 1995.

In 1998, the terrorist organization "Revolutionary Cells"(RZ)/"Red Zora" did not carry out any attacks and gave no statements.

## **2. Militant Left-Extremists**

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Structure:    | Groups exist in almost all major cities, especially in the concentration centers of Berlin, Hamburg, and the Rhein-Main area, but also in small university cities such as Göttingen |
| Supporters:   | more than 7,000 (as in 1997)  |
| Publications: | more than 50 scene publications;<br>Of special significance are the Papers "INTERIM" (Berlin), "SWING" (Rhein-Main area), and "RAZZ" (Hannover)                                     |

The situation in the militant left-extremist scene becomes increasingly un-united and obscure. Structures are breaking up and previously clear ideological separations have become fuzzy. Communications and the capability for alliances, to include non-militant left-extremist and non-extremist groups, are increasing.

### **a. "Anti-Imperialist Resistance"**

The camp of "Anti-Imperialist Resistance", which emerged from splittings in the former RAF organization during the years after 1992, continued to lose importance in 1998. The lack of concrete objectives prevented a consolidation, especially in the "Anti-Imperialist Resistance" camp. Noticeable activities were primarily staged by the initiative "Libertad", a group of persons with an internationalist orientation, in which members of the Frankfurt group "No Peace" were engaged.

### **Primary emphasis of "Anti-Imperialist Resistance"**

In addition to the mobilization for the annual nationwide action day on 18 March, the so-called "Day of the Political Prisoners", "Libertad!" made particular efforts for the realization of an international work conference under the topic "Freedom for all Political Prisoners Worldwide" on Easter 1999 in Berlin <sup>(99)</sup> in cooperation with other anti-imperialist and autonomous groups, also from abroad.

## **The "prisoner question"**

For "Libertad", the "prisoner question" represents a definite starting point for the creation of an international network of "radical and revolutionary powers from basis and liberation processes." The following statement is an excerpt from the "Libertad" INTERNET homepage:

"The question about the establishment of actions and activities pertaining to human rights questions depends on us, it must be tackled by radical forces directly from the bottom. This cannot be a special area for human-rights groups, but must be an integral component of revolutionary movement in a conception about the establishment of a movement from below, a basis movement."

## **"Internationalism"**

Additionally significant were the activities of German left-extremists in support of the so-called liberation struggle of the "Workers Party of Kurdistan" (PKK). A discussion developed in scene publications between individuals, mainly women, who are or were involved in combat in Kurdistan as "internationalists", and militant left-extremists in the "metropoli."<sup>(100)</sup> The motives and objectives of German Kurdistan activists are intensely represented in such papers:

"We welcome the discussion about internationalists participating in liberation fights, which has now started, because through this we are able to give other women access to our experiences. Some went to stay forever, most of them to return, in order to develop the struggle here. Thus it has always been our objective, to go to the mountains for only a short period of time, primarily to learn there, to get to know the revolutionary struggle. We viewed it as a great chance, that the PKK makes its options, the mountains, their training sites available, so that internationalists, who are anxious to learn, can be part of this collective process there." ("Amazora" issue 12/98 of September 1998)

### **b. Autonomists**

Among autonomists, the search for new ideological and action concepts and modified organizational forms was in many cases accompanied by a critical assessment of the current situation. A tendency developed to form small groups, which often existed only for short periods of time, of persons, who, in some cases, showed a considerable willingness to use force.

#### **(1) Potential/self-perception/action forms/media**

Again in 1998, the number of persons belonging to the militant scene (nationwide more than 6,000) remained constantly high compared to previous years. They form, as before, by far the largest share of the violent left-extremist potential. The majority of violent offenses with left-extremist motives (to include bodily injury, covertly prepared arson attacks) was again carried out by the militant scene.

The autonomous group movement is not a homogenous framework. It does not have a uniform ideological or strategic concept. Many autonomists orient themselves on diffuse anarchic and communist ideology fragments, or are satisfied with the basic feeling of being "militant anti-state", or with a rebellion against authorities and hierarchies, the rejection of regulations and "work for wage", or by getting out of the "capitalist exploitation process". The precondition for them is an "anti-fascist", "anti-imperialist", and "anti-patriarchal" attitude.

### **Autonomists justify militancy as "necessary counter-violence"**

Autonomous groups also are united in the use of force to accomplish political goals. This is allegedly justified as a "liberating force" against the "structural force" of the state and society.

Former co-workers of the underground periodical "radikal" declared:

"In contradiction to the situation of leftists, the ruling circumstances have become stable, and as 20 years ago, we cannot imagine today, how these circumstances could be overcome without weapons and militancy. Even if it is only a question of pinpoint targets, such actions against fascist cadres and installations, in practical solidarity with refugees, the direct attack is indispensable." ("Former Co-Workers of radikal, 13.6.1995, Before and After", Oct 1998)

The use of force by autonomous groups is expressed in various forms: planned spontaneous or covertly on the long term, against objects or persons (e.g. "Faschos", or against police officers defamed as "bulls").

### **Types of action by militant autonomists**

In a special issue of "INTERIM" titled "Movement - Militancy - Campaign" (March 1998), the following was mentioned as "militant classics" generally accepted in the scene: "ordinary militancy" (according to the author, who wrote under a pseudonym: piercing tires, putting glue into locks, graffiti, throwing paint-filled eggs, smashing windows, attacks with stink-bombs and butyric acid, actions with buckets filled with feces and blood), attacks against "Nazis" and their infrastructure, militant anti-nuclear power plant actions (according to the author: destruction of railroad tracks and roads, grapnels, sawing through power masts), militant demonstrations with "rocks and other things to throw, Molliis (Molotov cocktails), barricades, pyro-technical devices, setting cars on fire", and eventually the "big things", such as arson and bomb attacks.

### **Street riots**

During their attacks against selected targets, autonomous groups normally proceed with a plan and more carefully than right-extremists as a rule. Spontaneous attacks under the influence of alcohol are not typical. A special form of violence, as described by the "INTERIM" author, are street riots, where autonomous groups show up as "streetfighters", frequently uniformly dressed in "combat gear", as the "black block" and wearing facial protection covers ("hate caps"). Street riots often break out during protests against right-extremists, and regularly on the "Revolutionary 1st of May" demonstrations in Berlin. During violent actions staged by autonomous groups on the "Revolutionary 1st of May 1998", considerable property damage was committed and 129 police officers were injured.

Prior to major militant demonstrations with the participation of autonomous groups, there are often nationwide, regional, or local preparatory meetings and "Plena". At the end of such events, there are normally no formal conclusions, but it is stressed that "all action forms", in other words also militant ones, are acceptable. Informal agreements are made, such as who is in charge for radio and cell-phone contacts, intercepting police radio transmissions, installation of "investigation committees" and "medic groups", gluing of posters. The development of demonstrations is not planned in detail and it depends on spontaneous decisions, and on the assessment of the strength ratio with the police.

Autonomous groups from Hamburg complained that, during a demonstration against the NPD on 19 November in Rostock

"any room to act had been taken from them by a perfectly managed and employed major police force. This applied to militant activities by small groups, as well as for the demonstration itself."

### **Priority targets during "Antifa-Demos" include "faschos" and the "bulls" (cops)**

It was different during protest actions against the NPD on 01 May in Leipzig:

"What happened there was obviously calculated by the cops: dozens of damaged Nazi buses, and a large number of battered Nazis thanks to the police conception, in the best case, to organizational miscalculation by the cop apparatus."  
("INTERIM" issue 462 of 29 Oct 98)

Autonomous groups from Berlin and its periphery complained that during an antifascist demonstration on 14 March in Saalfeld (Thüringen), the options for a decisive, militant advance had not been sufficiently used:

### **Modern information technology aids covert activities and mobility**

The autonomous scene has its own jargon and its own media. In addition to the "proven" and "classical" methods of exchanging information through scene publications <sup>(101)</sup>, mailbox networks, and so-called info-shops (approx. 80 throughout Germany), autonomous groups increasingly use the worldwide INTERNET <sup>(102)</sup>, as well as mobile telephones. Regarding their vastly clandestine behavior, they profit from the options offered by the new media technology for encoding information and /or protected by passwords from undesirable acquisition by third parties.

Concerning the security aspect, it is significant that modern information and crypto technologies considerably improve the capability for left-extremist perpetrators to maneuver; they contribute to the dissolving of conventional structures; the worldwide network provides new options to act.

## **(2) "Traditional" autonomists**

The attribute "traditional" can be applied to the majority of the militant autonomous groups. "Traditional" autonomous groups do not carry out any targeted recruiting of new members, unlike most other left-extremist groups. Anyone wanting to be part of the scene must make the effort himself to obtain contacts or to be accepted and, at least in the case of "semi-open" or "closed" groups, has to accept "security investigations" on his personal life.

## **Oppose organizations**

"Traditional" autonomous groups basically oppose hierarchies and organizations. They have no obligating decision-making structures, no establishments from which actions could be centrally decided. However, this does not exclude the planning and coordination of mutual violent actions. Such "actions" are usually carried out under the protection of small anonymous groups - deliberately "incalculable and uncontrollable":

"through inconspicuous groups of four or five, banks and big stores can easily be smashed. By the time the cops realize what has happened, the scene has long been abandoned."  
("INTERIM" issue 450 of 14 May 98)

The militancy does not necessarily follow a theoretical fundament. An example is the statement given by two members of autonomous groups in an "interview" during a swearing-in ceremony of recruits in Kiel on 18 August:

"Then there are the autonomous groups, who have already shown an interest to spit into the soup, but without being linked with a social-theoretical vision, which means the motto is: everything that gets on the nerves of the rulers is good."  
("INTERIM" issue 458 of 03 Sep 98)

### **(3) "Organized" autonomous groups**

Since the early nineties, criticism of the non-commitment of autonomous structures increased the tendency to test organizational models, also within the autonomous camp. The short-lived autonomous policy, the reflex-type hurrying from campaign to campaign, according to critics, allegedly prevents the formation of a continuous theory and practice, which on the long term results in insignificance.

#### **AA/BO continues to be the most influential organized group**

The most influential organization with the greatest capability to act, is the "Antifascist Action/Country-Wide Organization" (AA/BO), created in 1992. In late 1998, eleven groups from nine cities/regions belonged to the AA/BO, to include the "Antifascist Action Berlin" (AAB), the "Autonomous Antifa (M)" of Göttingen, the "Antifascist Group Hamburg" (AGH), and the "Antifa Bonn/Rhein-Sieg".

Also in 1998, groups from the AA/BO participated in numerous, sometimes violent, demonstrations. The AA/BO continued its intensive program, training, and media work, and staged regular meetings of delegates.

In addition, typical of AA/BO "politics" was "youth work" that reached into the schools. For this work, the AA/BO utilized "young-Antifa" groups under their control, as well as publications which they influenced.<sup>(103)</sup>

In early July, the AA/BO staged an "Antifa-Camp" in Witzenhausen/Hessen with several hundred participants under the motto "Organize the Revolutionary Resistance."

Another organization, in addition to the AA/BO, however, with a less fixed organizational structure, the "Country-Wide Antifa-Meetings" (B.A.T.), created in 1993, lost significance; their capability for mobilizing supporters has obviously decreased.

#### **(4) Autonomous structures with terrorist characteristics**

##### **Militancy as an expression of extra-legal resistance**

Terrorist components have been established for years within the autonomous camp. Following the example of the "Revolutionary Cells" (RZ), most such members did not go underground. As protection from state measures, they give permanently changing action names in claim statements pertaining to attacks. For them, militancy plays a decisive role as an expression of "extra-legal" resistance. In a claim letter pertaining to arson attacks and other property damage committed during the night of 04 June in Berlin, the perpetrators, they called themselves "militant groups", specified the following:

"Campaigns can create a particular public impact only if different action fields (public/legal rallies, symbolic political acts, militant/covert actions) are concentrated, are connected to each other, and come together practically this way. Militant policy can start at three points, it can, which is the most frequent case, be aimed at causing (permanent) damage to the material infrastructure of a certain object; it can stress the symbolic core of a militant action, in other words, it can document the fact that ruling structures are susceptible to attack; or it can put more emphasis on the persons in charge, and can hold individuals in charge of decisions or profit-makers of suppression and exploitation structures even more liable." ("INTERIM", issue 452, 11 June 1998)

Attacks carried out by violence-prone autonomous groups (arson and bomb attacks, attacks against communication and data networks, against high voltage power lines, and grapnel attacks against German railroads) caused property damage and economic damage totaling millions of DM during the past few years. These cases showed terrorist characteristics. The threat against human lives is accepted, depending on the circumstances of such attacks.

##### **c. Areas of activity**

###### **(1) "Anti-fascism"**

The activity area "anti-fascism" maintained its significance for mobilization, structuring, recruiting, and organization in the left-extremist scene also in 1998. The activists clearly stated the character of their "struggle" in proclamations as the struggle against democracy and the constitutional state:

"The only power with an interest in fighting fascism is traditional anti-fascism. This is also directed against the roots of fascism, against the capitalist system. Strike back! Organize the defense!" ("FIGHT BACK! - anti-fascist (youth) info, Braunschweig", issue 6, Jan/Feb 1998)

The "Anti-fascist Action Berlin" (AAB), member organization of the AA/BO, stated:

"Fighting fascism means fighting the imperialist system!" ("INTERIM", issue 456, 06 Aug 1998)

"Our concept is 'revolutionary anti-fascism'. 'Revolutionary' means aiming for a basic fundamental and radical change of the existing circumstances of life. Included hereby is the refusal to accept the rules of the existing (system)." (Brochure "The Antifa Concept", preface "Anti-fascism is the fight for the entirety", September 1998)

Militant "antifas" systematically spied on "faschos" (right-extremists or suspected right-extremists) and published the results of their efforts as "wanted posters" ("spotting anti-fascism"). Frequently, these posters made appeals to the scene to become "active" and to carry out "anti-fascist self-help".<sup>(104)</sup>

### **Attacks against right-extremists**

The results of anti-fascist research, were numerous attacks on right-extremists and attacks against their property and their meeting places ("commando anti-fascism"). Militant "antifas" in Berlin repeatedly attacked "Nazi hangouts" and "fascho bars." In claim letters, they made threats with slogans such as:

"Fire and flame for fascho bars."

and

"Nazis have names and addresses!"

During the night on 08 January, unknown perpetrators destroyed window panes and the entrance door of a hotel in Esslingen/Baden-Württemberg; the attack was justified because the party "The Republicans" (REP) planned to stage a party with their national chairman there. In a claim letter they warned:

"All organized Nazis should be aware that they will have to expect militant resistance, wherever they dare to show up in the public. For the fascist REP bastards, this means that, if Le Pen shows up here, we will destroy the site of the event - sooner or later."

The number and brutality of attacks with "anti-fascist" motives increased. The following cases from September are examples:

- On 04 September, a member of the right-wing scene was insulted by "antifas" in Magdeburg (Sachsen-Anhalt) and he suffered life-threatening injuries when hit on the head with a full bottle.
- During protest actions staged by "antifas" on 05 September in Göttingen against an NPD demonstration, a "right-wing" demonstrator was hit on the head by a rock weighing approx. two kg and suffered life-threatening injuries. In a statement disseminated on the INTERNET, the AAB praised the protest action as exemplary, because the NPD supporters were covered with a "hail of bottles, cans, eggs, and rocks."
- On 11 September, three masked individuals attacked a campaign helper of the "German People's Union" (DVU) in Fellbach (Baden-Württemberg). One of the perpetrators fired tear gas several times at the victim's face from a short distance. The other two perpetrators struck the victim's vehicle with clubs.

Whenever right-extremists announce public meetings/demonstrations, militant "antifas" normally react with calls to counter such meetings with all necessary means available. Major riots broke out during protest actions on 31 January and 14 March against the right-extremist "Alliance of Rightists for Lübeck". Violent left-extremist perpetrators erected barricades and blocked streets with burning garbage containers. They pelted police officers with rocks and bottles and fired flares at them.

### **Major riots during protests against NPD rallies in Leipzig**

Also accompanied by aggravated riots were the protest actions against a rally staged by the NPD on the 1st of May in Leipzig. Violent left-extremist perpetrators pelted police officers and NPD supporters with rocks and bottles, and fired flares at them. Garbage containers and construction vehicles were set on fire. More than 300 police officers suffered injuries, some of them serious. Considerable property damage was committed throughout the city. Numerous travel busses and cars were damaged, to include 36 police cars. On the same day, more offenses with the use of force were committed, including arson, against the property of right-extremists in Nürnberg-Gostenhof, Bochum-Günningfeld, and Hannover-Langenhagen.

On 07 May, unknown perpetrators committed property damage against a travel agency in Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg; the company had transported NPD supporters to Leipzig. The slogan "No buses for Nazis" was also sprayed in the area. In its issue number 457 of 20 August, "INTERIM" published a detailed list:

"The following bus companies transported 98 Nazis to the NPD rally in Leipzig on the 1st of May:" (NFI)

#### **(2) "Anti-racism"**

In 1998, asylum policy was again a "high-priority topic" for militant left-extremists. Attacks were directed against alleged profiteers of racism, and alleged white-collar perpetrators in parties, government, and media offices; these were often publicly defamed by listing their names, addresses, and telephone numbers.

### **Large amount of damage during "anti-racist" attacks**

On 08 January, unknown perpetrators set a motor yacht on fire in Berlin-Reinickendorf. The yacht belonged to a group of firms, which maintains stores and hotels in Berlin where asylum seekers are housed. The property damage amounted to several hundred thousand DM. In a claim letter, the perpetrators charged the firms with "making repulsive deals in connection with refugees."

During the night on 29 March, unknown perpetrators carried out arson attacks in Schenefeld/Schleswig-Holstein against vehicles of a grocery store chain, causing property damage totaling approx. DM 1 million. During the same night, the home of the chairman of the board of the aforementioned chain was painted with graffiti and pelted with paint eggs. In a claim letter, the perpetrators accused the chain of participating in the implementation of "special racist laws" by providing foodstuffs to stores for asylum seekers.



### (3) Left-extremist influence on the campaign against nuclear energy

#### Instrumental character of the struggle against the use of nuclear energy

The struggle against nuclear power, through an "engaging" with the anti-nuclear energy movement, made up primarily of non-extremists, remained an important action field for many militant left-extremists. Overtly, they revealed that for them the engagement in the anti-nuclear power movement is a means to get closer to their anti-constitutional goals:

"Our concern is much more than preventing this Castor. The nuclear state is just an expression of the ruling circumstances. With this social order, which is based on competition, the striving for power and profit, and thereby not caring for anything, there cannot be any peace with us, even if the rulers decide one day to close down all nuclear facilities. We would continue the struggle, on other levels, in other relationships."  
("INTERIM" No. 450, 14 May 1998)

"As autonomous/left-radicals, we do not view ourselves first of all as opponents of nuclear power plants. We fight for objectives beyond this and convey this struggle into the anti-nuclear power movement. The fights carried out by autonomous groups are not directed against the machines in question, e.g. nuclear power plants, but against system behind them. A system, which is based on violence, cannot be terminated just through reason, how nice this would be. From this point of view, we continue to consider counter-violence as necessary and legitimate." ("anti atom aktuell", issue 95, October 1998)

The underground periodical "radikal" dedicated a part of its issue no. 155 (May 1998) to the militant anti-nuclear energy resistance movement. In an illustrated article, a so-called "autonomous development group" (AEG) presented a manual for the construction of simplified grapnels:

"After looking at the construction of conventional brand grapnels, we want to present here the new A-Class in a simple, light-weight model. The advantages are obvious: can be manufactured everywhere, no welding, no sawing, no dirt. In addition, the new A-class is friendly to the environment, as well as cost-effective and explicitly nice in its shape. The parts can be purchased at any hardware store. We wish you a lot of fun and success with this innovative AEG project."

Militant left-extremists participated in the "Spring Conference of Nuclear-Power Opponents Movement" between 17 and 19 April in Erfurt (Thüringen, with approx. 170 participants), a "Special Conference" on 20/21 June in Marburg (Hessen, approx. 120 participants),<sup>(105)</sup> and in the "Autumn Conference" between 16 and 18 October in Berlin (approx. 300 participants). At the "Autumn Conference", topics were discussed in work groups, such as "militancy" in the anti-nuclear power movement (autonomous AG), "Antifa and Anti-Atomic", and "the next CASTOR".

Viewing the change of government, autonomous groups from Göttingen feared that

"the anti-nuclear power movement could loose its momentum."

Simultaneously they stressed:

"A red-green CASTOR may not be confronted with less resistance than a black-yellow one. As the main focal point of protest, should the CASTOR shipments be stopped due to decentralized storage despite further operation of the nuclear power plants, or even be abandoned as a vision at the intermediate term, there are the energy supply enterprises and the Siemens nuclear power group ready to become new suitable focal points of protest." (Flier with invitation for an "Anti-Atomic Party" on 31 Oct 1998)

#### **(4) "Struggle against restructuring"**

The main field of activity for militant left-extremists in Berlin, the "stronghold" for the autonomous scene in Germany, continued to be the "struggle against restructuring." Acts of protest against changing Berlin into a government and service metropolis, against a Berlin of "cops, big wigs, and bankers", as well as against the "cleansing of the inner cities of non-welcomed groups of persons" were increasingly linked with attacks against alleged growing "repression by the rulers":

"We try to attack the state from the inside, thus we deal with the ruling repressive domestic policy. In Berlin, we call this campaign 'Away with the Schönbohm principle', because the rulers did not appoint an ex-general to be Senator of the Interior for nothing, and tasked him with the pacification of the new, old Reich capital." ("INTERIM", issue 444, 19 February 1998)

The campaign against the Senator of the Interior was accompanied by numerous cases of property damage and graffiti actions and even overt murder threats.

During the night on 04 June, unknown perpetrators deposited incendiary devices with delayed fuses at the Berlin-Wedding district administration office, and on a police building in Berlin-Reinickendorf. In the community rooms of a charitable society for social services, also in the Wedding district, they sprayed butyric acid and squeezed glue into the lock of the entrance door. In a claim letter, the perpetrators connected their violent acts with the "struggle against restructuring."<sup>(106)</sup>

#### **(5) Protest campaign against "EXPO 2000"**

##### **"EXPO 2000" is increasingly becoming a focal point for militant left-extremists**

Militant left-extremists, particularly in Niedersachsen, increased their agitation against the scheduled world exhibition "EXPO 2000" in Hannover, denounced by them as a "propaganda show of capitalism" for the "restructuring" of the region. Initial arson attacks and property damage were registered in this connection.

In its issue no. 451 of 28 May, "INTERIM" published an appeal titled "Attack EXPO" (without imprint). In this issue, the authors stated "EXPO 2000" will become the most important symbol of neo-liberal global capitalism during the coming years. Hannover and its environment will allegedly be significantly destroyed by the exhibition:

"It's time for clear actions against the Expo."

"Direct actions", such as occupations and sabotage, are particularly suitable because:

- the "EXPO" construction site is large, many buildings will be erected at the same time.
- the time schedule of the "EXPO" is limited, delays will question the project.
- loss of image by protest actions will create additional problems because efforts are being made for more states to participate.
- the "EXPO" center and many persons in charge, like the minister president and the VW group, are in the vicinity.
- actions can be carried out everywhere in Germany, because there are numerous decentralized "EXPO" projects.

### **Grapnel attacks by militant EXPO opponents**

During the night on 28 July, unknown perpetrators carried out grapnel attacks against the railroad lines Hannover-Bremen and Haste-Hannover. In a claim letter, they justified their actions as a protest against the "EXPO 2000" (literally: "Attacks against the express railway network constructed in the framework of the EXPO"), and stressed:

"We want to attack the EXPO as the representative festival of capitalist ideology and imperialist dominance." ("RAZZ", issue 104 of August/September 1998)

During the night on 02 October, unknown perpetrators carried out an arson attack against vehicles of a car dealer in Hannover-Linden, causing property damage of approx. DM 200,000. In a claim letter, they criticized the official celebration on the "Day of German Unity" and against "EXPO 2000":

"Regarding 'German Unity' as well as the project of a world exhibition in the year 2000, the word for us is: **There is nothing to celebrate!**"

### **(6) "Internationalism"**

Also in 1998, militant left-extremists engaged in "internationalist" actions. Members of the autonomous scene, particularly of the anti-imperialist scene organized in local "Kurdistan solidarity groups", and in the cover organization "Information Office Kurdistan" (ISKU) in Cologne, continued with the campaign to lift the ban against the "Workers Party of Kurdistan" (PKK). They took care of suspected PKK supporters imprisoned in Germany, organized "human rights delegations" bound for Turkey, and agitated against the German government for its alleged support of Turkey in the fight against the PKK.

### **German "Internationalists" continue their engagement for the PKK**

As before, individual German left-extremists remain in the Middle East for training or for combat deployment with PKK guerrillas; in some cases they accept very high personal risks:

- a German left-extremist has been held in custody by the KDP since he was captured in late 1997 during fights between the PKK and the "Kurdish Democratic Party" (KDP); he suffered serious injuries when he was taken prisoner.
- In September, a female German left-extremist was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment by a federal security court in Turkey for membership in the PKK.
- According to media reports and statements from the PKK area, German "internationalist" Andrea WOLF, a former member of the RAF periphery in Frankfurt/Main who went underground in mid 1995 and later was considered a member of the "Anti-imperialist Resistance", lost her life under still unclear circumstances during fights between PKK activists and the Turkish military in Eastern Turkey. The scene reacted with consternation in mourning statements and obituaries, but also aggressively.

While some of these German "internationalists" only want to support the PKK with their engagement, others view the PKK as an ideal from which one can learn for the own revolutionary struggle in the cities, even in Germany.

Female "internationalists", who stated they had been in the Kurdish combat area over a long period of time, declared the following:

"At the moment, the PKK is the strongest power in the world successfully fighting imperialism. International awareness, the awareness that the struggle is conducted against a mutual enemy, gives us the power to conduct the struggle also here, and to view attacks against the PKK also as attacks against us, and to realize the PKK's success also as our success."

"Comrades" fallen in combat are praised as martyrs:

"Next to us, many friends have fallen, how could we ever forget them? We have a great responsibility because of their deaths, to carry on the fight until victory; wherever we are, to engage and conduct fighting, so that their sacrifices were not in vain. This is a promise to continue this struggle." ("Amazora", issue 12/98, September 1998)

### **Discussions on the creation of new revolutionary structures**

Mainly from statements like this, indications are given that persons from this spectrum are definitively involved in discussions concerning a step-by-step creation of new revolutionary structures in Germany.

Another focal point of "internationalist" activities was the preparations for the international work conference "Freedom for all Political Prisoners Worldwide" planned for April 1999 in Berlin under the motto "Pacification or Liberation?"

In view of the current imminent execution of former "Black Panther" member, Mumia ABU-JAMAL, who received the death penalty in the USA for the murder of a police officer, (another of several appeals for a new trial was rejected in October), the number of protests increased at the end of the year, primarily by support committees.

#### **IV. Parties and Other Groupings**

##### **1. "German Communist Party" (DKP) and Periphery**

###### **a. "German Communist Party" (DKP)**

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Established:    | 1968   |
| Headquarters:   | Essen  |
| Party Chairman: | Heinz STEHR  |
| Membership:     | 6,500 (1997: 6,200)  |
| Publications:   | "Unsere Zeit" (UZ), circulation approx. 10,000 published weekly, additional local publications |

The major event for the DKP was its 14th party convention from 22 through 24 May in Hannover. The paper titled "Socialism, the Historical Alternative to Capitalism", already discussed in 1997, was not approved, but based on a decision at the convention, was to be used as an "important programmatic element" during the preparation of a new party program.

#### **Tensions between the party leadership and DKP members in Eastern Germany**

Primarily responsible for the non-approval of the paper, were the obvious tensions between the party leadership and new DKP members in Eastern Germany, who were concerned about a lack of sufficient appreciation for the "achievements" of the GDR in the "socialism ideas", thereby doubting the ideological competence of the party leadership. A motion proposed by the Sachsen-Anhalt DKP contained the following:

"Questions such as preparing the people for revolution, the way and means of establishing the political power of the workers class, the destruction of the old state, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the state of the workers' class, and the defense of the revolution, also by military means, have not been answered".

As during earlier party conventions, the resonance was again large with foreign Communists: 29 "brother parties" and "liberation organizations" from 27 countries sent representatives; in addition, 38 had sent greetings letters.

#### **6,500 members; party not satisfied with organizational and membership developments**

The approx. 6,500 members of the DKP are combined in more than 230 party groups, 110 district organizations, and 14 county organizations, one each of these in Berlin and Brandenburg. According to their own statements, 4% of the members (approx. 260) live in Eastern Germany. Concerning organizational development, re-elected party chairman Heinz STEHR stated during the party convention that growth in the number of party members is developing too slowly. A positive trend could not be seen everywhere, and in some cases, more work was being performed with fewer members; primarily in Eastern Germany, the organizational strengthening of the party has made considerable advances.

## **Searches for new sources of funds**

The DKP continued to have problems financing its political work. According to its own statements, there was a shortage of up to DM 100,000 for central party work. For that reason, the party leadership attempted to set up additional sources of funds, such as the donation to the party of commissions earned by party members in the insurance and real estate businesses. In addition, the central revision commission encouraged all party members to make more effort to ask older party members to bequeath their estates to the DKP upon death.

## **Increase in SDAJ members**

In addition, the DKP continues to make efforts to set up a "cadre reserve", which is supposed to bring new, young members to the party. The "Socialist German Workers' Youth" (SDAJ), officially an independent group, but closely tied to the DKP, now has approx. 300 members (1997: 200).

Chairman Michael GOETZE defined the relationship with the DKP during the 14th National Convention of the SDAJ on 04/05 Apr in Frankfurt/M as follows:

"We have a lot in common in our struggles: a mutual ideological basis, the mutual goal of a socialist society."

During the traditional Whitsunday camp in Bottrop with several hundred youths and guests, the SDAJ celebrated its 30th anniversary.

## **Support by the DKP for the new "Association of Marxist Students" (AMS)**

A new "Association of Marxist Students" (AMS) was created on an initiative by DKP-oriented students at the end of 1997/beginning of 1998. The name and organizational symbol of the AMS show a connection to the earlier organization of the same name, the DKP's former student organization "Marxist Students Alliance Spartakus" (MSB, created in 1971, disbanded in 1980). According to the DKP, the AMS has established connections at a dozen universities, and is supported by the DKP. <sup>(107)</sup>

## **DKP opposes "EU-Europe"**

In the course of its "internationalist" activities, the DKP developed relationships with communist and socialist "brother parties", particularly in Europe, with the intent of contributing to the formation of a communist revolutionary policy against "EU-Europe." <sup>(108)</sup>

DKP functionaries met also with representatives from the communist parties of Portugal, Austria, and Iraq, and with the faction "Confederation of United European Leftists/Northern Green Leftists" in the European parliament. Based on past tradition, DKP delegations also attended press festivals by central organs of the communist parties of Luxembourg, Austria, France, Portugal, and Spain.

Solidarity with communist Cuba continued to be of particular significance to the DKP. During preparations for the third solidarity project (setting up a medical practice) after 1995 and 1997, talks took place with representatives of the Cuban embassy in Bonn and with members of the politburo of the Cuban Communist party in Havana.

**b. "Marx-Engels-Foundation" (MES)**

|               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| Established:  | 1979          |
| Headquarters: | Wuppertal     |
| Chairman:     | Richard KUMPF |

**Attempts made to gain acceptance at public institutions of learning**

The "Marx-Engels-Foundation" (MES), established in 1979 with funds from the "Socialist Unity Party of Germany" (SED) of the former GDR, remained an important instrument for revolutionary Marxists in their "ideological struggle". Its "promoter organization" meanwhile reached 640 members, mostly scientific cadre from the DKP and the PDS. The MES cooperated closely with friendly institutions such as the History Commission of the DKP, the Historical Commission of the PDS, and the Marxist Working Group for Research of the German Workers' Movement in the PDS Historical Commission. During public events, the MES continued its attempts to consolidate its communist history of German-German development during the first years after the war. The MES attaches special status to a convention carried out mutually with the Bergische University/Wuppertal on 09/10 May to celebrate the 180th birthday of Karl Marx, and 150th anniversary of the Communist Manifest. The DKP central organ honored this as a "symptomatic event" <sup>(109)</sup> for a successful alliance policy.

**c. "Work Group for Peace Advice" (AfriRa)**

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Established:  | 1996                                    |
| Headquarters: | Kassel                                  |
| Membership:   | 50                                      |
| Publication:  | "Peace Policy Correspondence" (FRIKOOR) |

Also in 1998, left-extremists made efforts to reestablish their former influence on groups engaged in peace politics. Since 1994, annually "Peace Political Advice" conferences are held at the Kassel university on initiative of the DKP and its mostly disbanded supporter organization "German Peace Union" (DFU). In 1996, the functionary group "AfriRa" was created from this circle in order to improve the continuity of the "Advice" movement as well as its connections with other "peace initiatives." AfriRa is run by former DFU functionaries and by members of DKP and PDS. On the invitation to the "Peace Advice 1998" (05/06 December in Kassel), the group gave a self-perception of itself:

"Schröder and Fischer are not getting tired of stressing the 'continuity' of their government in terms of foreign and security politics. It would be disastrous, if in this field the 'consensus of all democrats' would be re-established, which made the Federal Republic one of the best armed countries in the world in the sixties and seventies. One thing we know: without pressure from below, to increase the pressure from the peace movement on the new federal government, there will be no political success in terms of peace and disarmament in this country. This extra-parliamentary pressure needs to be increased and organized."

## **Classical areas of activity by the communist "Peace Struggle"**

The AfriRA attempts to take over the instruction and coordination functions in the classical action fields of the communist "peace struggle", such as the "Easter March Movement" or during actions against modernization and armament measures of the Atlantic alliance and the Bundeswehr. In doing this, this organization is particularly supported by the "German Peace Council" (DFR) which emerged from the former "Peace Council of the GDR."

### **d. "Union of Victims of Persecution by the Nazi-Regime - Alliance of Anti-Fascists" (VVN-BdA)**

|               |                               |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| Established:  | 1947                          |
| Headquarters: | Frankfurt/Main                |
| Membership:   | 6,500 (1997: 7,000)           |
| Publication:  | "antifa-rundschau", quarterly |

The "Union of Victims of the Nazi Regime - Alliance of Anti-Fascists" (VVN-BdA) remained the organization within the left-extremist "anti-fascist" spectrum with the largest membership. The coalition, consisting of various leftist and left-extremist forces, is controlled, as in the past, by the traditional orthodox-communist wing. Active and former members of the DKP continue to dominate the committees and structures of the organization.

## **Non-acceptance of the anti-totalitarian character of the Constitution**

On 13/14 June, in Braunschweig, the National Convention of the VVN-BdA approved a "declaration against any criminalization of anti-fascist activities." The declaration also condemned measures carried out by the police and justice officials against "anti-fascist" perpetrators. Because of time constraints, the convention was not able to discuss papers with "fundamental statements" pertaining to topics, such as "Neo-fascism", "anti-militarism", or "social human rights"; they were only confirmed as position papers of the VVN-BdA. These papers, and the brochure "Neo-fascism in the Federal Republic of Germany - Neo-fascist Ideology", published in 1998, are evidence of the unchanged left-extremist orientation of the union. In the brochure, it refuses to accept the anti-totalitarian consensus of the constitution, which is directed equally against right-extremism as well as left-extremism. In a passage pertaining to the history of the Federal Republic in the fifties, the authors wrote:

"Once again anti-communism formed the common ground between conservatives and fascists. Even the ban against the Socialist Reich Party (SRP) in 1952 was not only a consequence of its open fascist endeavors, but also provided pre-justification for the ban against the KPD in 1956."

The VVN-BdA continues with the presumption that conservative and right-extremist politics are related in character due to their mutual "capitalist" roots:

"Neo-fascism is a component of the right-wing forces and can only be defined and engaged while observing the alternating effects. Thus, anti-fascism can fight neo-fascism successfully only if it is also directed against developments in the society, which facilitate and promote it." (Paper for the National Convention of the VVN-BdA in 1998, quote from "antifa-rundschau" issue 34, Apr-Jun 1998, page 5).



For their agitation, functionaries and members of the VVN-BdA, in some cases using pseudonyms, continued to utilize left-extremist and left-wing publications, such as "Unsere Zeit" (UZ), "Neues Deutschland" (ND), "junge Welt" (jW), "Der Rechte Rand", and "Antifaschistische Nachrichten."

## **VVN-BdA does not distance itself from militant "Anti-fascists"**

The VVN-BdA participates, sometimes as leaders, in numerous events, actions, and alliances together with left-extremist groups. It repeatedly renewed its "open alliance policy" toward anti-fascist groups willing to use force.

Cooperation with partner associations in the new federal states, such as the "Interest Association of Former Participants in the Anti-Fascist Resistance, Victims of Persecution by the Nazi Regime and Surviving Dependents" (IVVdN), and the left-extremist "Association of Anti-Fascists" (BdA) (umbrella organization) remained close. The VVN-BdA welcomed the close interaction with IVVdN and BdA as the first step towards a mutual nationwide organization.

## **2. "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS)**

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| Established:                 | 1989/90 (renaming of the SED into PDS)  |
| Headquarters:                | Berlin  |
| Chairman:                    | Lothar BISKY  |
| Membership:                  | 96,500 (1997: 105,000), approx. 2,500 in the old federal states   |
| Publications:<br>(Selection) | "DISPUT", monthly<br>"PDS-Pressedienst", weekly<br>"Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS", monthly<br>"Marxistisches Forum", irregular;<br>"PDS International", quarterly |

Again in 1998, the PDS presented an ambivalent image. It does not represent itself as a classical revolutionary-Marxist party. On one hand, it conforms to the democratic, political discussion style in its political language, and takes part in the parliamentary work on all levels. On the other hand, the PDS confesses that extremist structures exist and act openly in the framework of the party. The PDS also works together in various forms with German and foreign left-extremist parties and other groups. In addition, statements made by important PDS representatives reveal a conflicting attitude in terms of the parliamentary democracy, particularly when its own position is defined as "system opposition", and the declared goal of "another republic" is stressed. <sup>(\*)</sup>

<sup>(\*)</sup> During the federal parliament elections, the PDS, with a second-vote percentage of 5.1 (1994: 4.4%), was able to exceed the 5% hurdle for the first time and enter the 14th German Parliament with 36 representatives. PDS candidates in four Berlin election districts also received direct mandates.

### **a. Tradition and extremist structures**

The acknowledgement of its tradition remains an essential component of the identity of the PDS, and also influences decisively its current ideological/political self-perception. This includes the fact that the PDS openly accepts and supports left-extremist structures in its own ranks.

Without a doubt, the German system had allegedly been forced on the GDR; the opportunity for an independent political renewal of East Germany was wasted:

"Instead of a hoped for democratic self-determination, the dictate by the ruling political and economical class of the Federal Republic came." ("DISPUT" no. 4/1998)

The Rostock Manifest, supported by the majority of the delegates of the PDS election convention (03-05 April), describes the historical process of German reunification.

For party chairman Lothar BISKY, the first decade of German unity has produced an "East German identity in a unified Federal Republic with two partial societies." <sup>(110)</sup> The time passed makes painful insights possible, but would also open a more objective view on the positive goals and ideals, on the ongoing values of the socialist attempt, <sup>(111)</sup> legitimate from the point of view of the PDS, which failed with the GDR in 1989.

More than 80 % of today's PDS members previously belonged to the "Socialist Unity Party" (SED) in the GDR. <sup>(112)</sup> Current chairman of the PDS faction in the German parliament, Gregor GYSI, admitted that there is a certain rejecting attitude toward the democratic system in the FRG. GYSI spoke out against "purges", and against an exclusion of the "Communist Platform of the PDS" (KPF), but demanded simultaneously that party members accept the constitution. <sup>(113)</sup>

### **Communists as a component of the party**

Other PDS functionaries also repeatedly stressed that Communists are members of the party. Federal business director Dietmar BARTSCH stated in a TV program:

"As a party, we have a history, we are not a new creation from 1989, we came from the SED. The PDS will remain a pluralist party, it is also a home for Communists." (Quote from WDR TV "Bonn am Rohr", 08 Oct 98)

In the "Berliner Morgenpost" daily newspaper of 16 August, party chairman BISKY emphasized that he knows many members of the platform who he does not want to leave. They feel like Communists, but they work on the basis of the statutes and program of the PDS. Members should only be judged by this.

### **"Communist Platform of the PDS" (KPF)**

The KPF continues to adhere to the revolutionary tradition of communism.

KPF spokeswoman Ellen BROMBACHER, one of the main speakers at a conference titled "150 years of the Manifest of the Communist Party" staged by the "German Communist Party" (DKP) on 21 February 1998 in Berlin, determined that at the present time, Communists were not on the offensive, but just surviving. Even Lenin had stressed that one must be able to retreat and then legally work even in the most reactionary parliaments, in the most reactionary unions; she further quoted Lenin:

"It is important that one understands how to use these tactics in a way that it will contribute to raising and not lowering the general level of proletarian class consciousness, which affects the revolutionary spirit, and the capability to fight and prevail and that politicians of the revolutionary class who do not understand how to 'maneuver and know how to make agreements and compromises', are not worth a thing." ("Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS", issue 3/1998)

### **"Marxist Forum of the PDS"**

Also the "Marxist Forum of the PDS", an amalgamation of orthodox-Communist oriented members and sympathizers of the party, is accepted as a firm component of the PDS. This was explicitly stated by Wolfgang GEHRCKE, one of the vice party chairmen, to the daily newspaper "junge Welt" of 10 November 1998. During the election party convention in Rostock, representatives of the "Marxist Forum" demanded that the PDS stick to a "consequential Socialist opposition policy". In a motion, the forum declared:

"Critically reasoning, in the understanding of a thorough analysis and consequent debate with errors, mistakes and with injustice, the Socialist attempt conducted in the GDR encourages one to also attach socialist standards to the contemporary society along with general democratic standards. In the struggle for social equality and a behavior in solidarity with each other, we defend today and in the future, the eligibility and lawfulness of social development on German soil that goes beyond capitalism." (Party convention documents, motion V.2.4.23)

Leading members of the "Marxist Forum" demonstrated their refusal of democratic principles. In the KPF "Mitteilungen" (Announcements), issue 7/July 98, Gerhard BRANSTNER explained that the "slavish adoption into socialism of bourgeois elections was an ahistorical shortsightedness. He added:

"Another error is to want to achieve Socialism through democratic means. The victims of the Paris Commune, the October revolution, and the revolution of the Sandinists, the napalm-burned people in Vietnam, and the anti-personnel mine cripples in Angola make it clear, what kind of democracy capitalism grants to the Socialists."

### **Use of violence as "counter-violence" legitimized**

Also the use of violence in political disagreements, legitimized as "counter-violence", is not rejected by members of the forum. As an example, a member of the forum, Professor Dr. Kurt PÄTZOLD stated in a lecture given on 14 Jan 98:

"It is disputed, whether this violence by militant groups from the 'right-wing border' needs to be countered with the same, and naturally superior, counter-violence. The attitudes range from the outspoken or only the practiced resumption of the slogan 'Beat the fascists wherever you meet them', up to the clear refusal of any counter-violence. The truth is obviously in the middle, it is not a general defense applicable to all cases, but it must be prepared, or conducted acutely, planned, or also spontaneously from case to case." ("Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS" issue 2/1998)

## **"Workshop Young Comrades in and with the PDS"**

The "Workshop Young Comrades in and with the PDS" (AG Junge GenossInnen) remained the largest group for young members and supporters of the party, however, their work was obviously marked by organizational problems; no national conference was held and some national groups were no longer active. From 20 - 22 February 1998, a "Youth Basis Meeting" was held in Erfurt for all sympathizers and young members of the PDS, in which approx. 300 persons took part. In the call to participate, signed by a spokeswoman of the AG Junge GenossInnen, propaganda was made for PDS policy, which fights for a socialist alternative and for a break from ruling circumstances.<sup>(114)</sup> A restriction stating that "ruling circumstances" did not mean constitutional and legal order, was missing.

### **b. Cooperation with German left-extremists outside the party**

A cooperation with representatives or subdivisions of the PDS with left-extremists outside the party was also conducted in 1998 in many forms, e.g. through active participation in action alliances, talks between representatives from the executive committees of the DKP and PDS, close contacts between the "Communist Platform of the PDS" and the DKP, history review together with the DKP and the "Marx-Engels-Foundation", and through the creation of voting lists during elections.

## **Relationship to DKP**

A critical solidarity connects the PDS with the DKP. During the 14th DKP Party Convention (22-24 May) in Hannover, the PDS was represented by a member of the board, a KPF spokesman, and by the honorable chairman of the PDS, Hans MODROW. This marked the first time in years, that a leading PDS functionary (MODROW) gave a speech at a DKP party convention. In connection with the decisions made at the PDS Schwerin Party Convention (17-19 January 1997 (prohibition of double memberships, and exclusion of candidates from other parties on the "open lists" of the PDS), MODROW stated:

"I am aware that the election decision, made by the majority of the PDS party convention in Schwerin, has triggered painful consternation among you. However, this should not rule out a search for options of a cooperation among leftist groups. To exchange experiences here (in local government politics), and to strive for joint concepts at the basis level, could clear the way for further interacting." ("PDS-Pressedienst" issue 24 of 12 Jun 98)<sup>(115)</sup>

In an interview with the daily newspaper "Neues Deutschland" on 28 Sep 98, DKP chairman STEHR gave a statement on relations between the PDS and DKP:

"I view the PDS more as a partner, because there is cooperation in essential political questions. This is simply required by the circumstances. But in the struggle for heads, we are of course competing. DKP and PDS are different in strategy and tactics."

Contrary to the decisions made during the Schwerin Party Convention, 16 DKP members ran for candidacy for the PDS in the old federal states: three on state lists, among them a member of the Hamburg DKP district board, Thea RANN, and 13 members as direct candidates.

In preparations for the federal parliament elections, various organizations and individuals drafted appeals to vote for the PDS, the DKP, and the "Alliance for Socialist Politics" (VSP). The VSP appealed:

"We encourage giving the decisive second vote to the PDS, because anti-communism must not be victorious in Germany, and because it has to be considered normal that a party with communist tradition is represented in the Federal Parliament." ("Sozialistische Zeitung" issue 10/98 of 14 May 98)

### **c. Relationship to parliamentary democracy**

#### **"System opposition"**

Participation in parliamentary elections and the discussions, to some extent controversial, on options to participate in the governments of individual states in various forms, did not cause the PDS to change its self-perception as "system opposition."<sup>(116)</sup> As before, it views itself as opposition in and towards the society of the FRG.<sup>(117)</sup> For instance, national business director Dietmar BARTSCH stated in a WDR TV interview on 08 October 1998:

"Nevertheless, it will stay that way, even if we participate in a coalition, we will remain a social opposition as the PDS. Our point of view is that many of today's problems cannot be solved with society's current structure." (WDR-TV "Bonn am Rohr", 08 Oct 98, quote)

The structure of the society in the FRG, the shaping of the society in general, developed on the fundamentals of the liberal democratic constitution. Whoever desires to be in opposition to this social order, nurtures doubts, whether or not he follows the liberal democratic constitution.

Faction chairwoman of the PDS in Sachsen-Anhalt, Petra SITTE, was quoted about "splits between program and pragmatism", for which she supposedly had been methodically-scientifically well educated.<sup>(118)</sup> Before delegates of a state party convention, she stated the party should really be suspicious about how long and how deeply it gets involved with this parliamentary system. Resistance power is supposed to grow and not be absorbed.<sup>(119)</sup>

#### **Turning away from the sovereignty of the people and parliamentarism**

Even the up-dating of the party program from 1993 scheduled for the coming years will not bring about "conformity" with the "society with a grown and still growing capital dominance", party chairman BISKY stressed. Concerning the significance of the extra-parliamentary struggle, which he approves, compared with the parliamentary work, he emphasized:

"The statement in the party program remains. 'The PDS considers the extra-parliamentary struggle for social changes as decisive.' The primary mission of the parliamentary presence of the PDS is to initiate and to strengthen emancipatory movements." ("PDS-Pressedienst", issue 7 of 13 Feb 98)

According to BISKY's interpretation, the constitution of the FRG allows much room for alternative social designs; according to BISKY, one could almost set up a socialist republic based on the constitution.<sup>(120)</sup> Statements by other leading PDS functionaries also indicate the party is striving for "an other republic."<sup>(121)</sup>

## **Revolutionary right**

PDS honorary chairman Hans MODROW emphasized during his opening speech at the party conference in Rostock (3-5 April) the "revolutionary" right of the PDS:

"This country needs, for its political future, a leftist party which does not walk quietly and which is well-behaved, but rather represents itself as a revolutionary socialist party and as such, acts conspicuously and lively." ("DISPUT", issue 4/1998)

In an interview with the DKP central organ "Unsere Zeit" (UZ) on 17 April, MODROW stated that the name "reform" deserves only transformation, which would open the way to progress and carry it forward "because of its world and society changing effects of a revolutionary character."

### **d. International connections**

According to their self-perception as an international party, the PDS maintained many contacts with foreign Communist and left-socialist parties and movements. Progress in the left sector, in the socialist meaning, is not possible without internationalism, according to a member of the PDS organizational committee. <sup>(122)</sup> A modern understanding of progress includes the fight by all forces, this also includes the PDS, not only for changes in the capitalist order, but also the defeat of capitalism as the consequence of the battle for progress.

These international connections are maintained through mutual visits at party congresses, press festivals, and conferences, as well as through greetings and bilateral talks. According to their own statements, the PDS maintained contacts in 1998 to the Communist parties in France, Russia, Iraq, India, Cuba, Austria, Italy, Belarus, Chechnya, and Vietnam. <sup>(123)</sup>

As a member of the "Forum of New European Leftists" (NELF), a coalition of "left-socialists, leftist-greens, and Communist" <sup>(124)</sup> parties, the PDS organized the meeting "Europe Left & Live" on 06 June 1998 in Berlin. At the meeting, PDS chairman BISKY announced an intensification of international cooperation. <sup>(125)</sup>

### **Solidarity work with Cuba**

The primary performer of PDS solidarity work for socialist Cuba was the "Working Group Cuba Si" (AG Cuba Si). This included collection of funds and articles for support of aid projects in Cuba. In the end, such actions promote the present state order in Cuba. In a presentation on the AG homepage on the INTERNET, it was stated:

"Our AG carries out concrete international solidarity with the Cuban people, their revolutions, and government. With the various activities of political and material solidarity, as well as development projects in Cuba, "Cuba Si" was able to make a small contribution to the survival of the Cuban revolution."

## Solidarity work for the PKK

Another indication of this "internationalism", is the solidarity work by the PDS for the "Kurdish liberation struggle." The party involves itself with concerns of the "Worker's Party of Kurdistan" (PKK) and supports it politically. In an interview in "Kurdistan Report" (issue 92, September/October 1998), whose reporting represent the interests of the PKK, PDS Federal Parliament member Ulla JELPKE stated:

"Yes, members of the federal parliament group, the PDS state parliament faction, and also the party, participated in delegation trips. I also took a few trips to northwest Kurdistan. I was deeply impressed by the talks and meetings with Kurdish male and female friends. The woman carry most of the burden of this dirty war. Today they are proud when their sons and daughters join the Kurdish liberation movement."

### 3. "Association of Anti-Fascists (Umbrella Organization)" (BdA)

|               |                     |
|---------------|---------------------|
| Established:  | 1990                |
| Headquarters: | Berlin              |
| Chairman:     | Heinrich FINK       |
| Membership:   | 6,000 (1997: 6,000) |

The BdA, derived from the "Union of Victims of Persecution by the Nazi Regime - Alliance of Anti-Fascist" (VVN-BdA), in the tradition of orthodox-communist anti-fascism, remained, according to its own words, an umbrella organization for "anti-fascist" groups. Individual memberships by persons are not possible in it. The BdA continued its efforts to create an all-German "anti-fascist" organization. For this purpose, it pushed forward its fusion with the "Interest Association of Former Participants in Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi-Regime and their Dependents" (IVVdN). Meanwhile, both associations became corporate members of the other organization. On 21/22 January 1998, BdA functionaries participated in a regular IVVdN convention of delegates for the first time. The chairman and two members of the executive board of the BdA were elected to the new IVVdN board. BdA and IVVdN state associations in Thüringen merged in October. Ludwig ELM (PDS) was elected joint chairman.

### Integration of violence-prone "anti-fascists"

Local antifa-groups also belong to the BdA, whose personnel structures, self-perceptions, and work methods resemble coalitions of autonomous anti-fascists. Particularly active were the youth group "R.O.T.K.Ä.P.C.H.E.N in and with the BdA", and in Berlin the club "BdA - The Prenzlbergers" (BdA-P). Functionaries of the BdA repeatedly advocated the integration of young "anti-fascists" willing to use force. For this reason, the BdA staged the "3rd Antifa Youth Meet" in Berlin on 06 June 1998 with approx. 70 participants, to include members of the VVN-BdA, PDS, and autonomous groups.

The BdA participated in numerous "anti-fascist" alliances, such as the "Antifa-Work Camps", "Antifascist/Anti-Racist Advice", "Alliances against Rightists", and in demonstrations and calls for action in which democrats were involved in addition to other left-extremist and left-extremist influenced alliances.

#### 4. "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany" (MLPD)

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| Established:    | 1982 (formed from the "Communist Workers' Union of Germany" - KABD)  |
| Headquarters:   | Gelsenkirchen  |
| Party Chairman: | Stefan ENGEL   |
| Membership:     | 2,500 (1997: 2,500)  |
| Publications:   | "Rote Fahne" (RF), circulation approx. 7,500, weekly;<br>"Lernen und Kämpfen" (LuK), circulation approx. 1,000, quarterly. |

#### Party crisis continues

According to their own statements, the Maoist-oriented MLPD struggled with a purpose and identity crisis in 1998.

As before, the MLPD tried to solve its financial problems through increased pressure on its members. In connection with its "political offensive", the party called for a donation campaign in which a set minimum of DM 600,000 was to be collected. Of this amount, DM 562,000 had allegedly been collected by early November 1998.

The participation of the party in federal elections documented its vanishing power: it campaigned only in Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Nordrhein-Westfalen and Berlin with state lists; 41 direct candidates were registered in the other federal states.<sup>(126)</sup> Due to alleged disadvantages during the media campaign, the party's leadership expected just a moral victory.<sup>(127)</sup> However, the MLPD did "not want to only stand and watch while the monopolies, in connection with their state and the Bonn parties, used the federal election campaign to undermine class-awareness."<sup>(128)</sup> Overall, the party received 4,971 second votes, which was a decrease to only half of the results achieved in the 1994 federal parliament elections.

The MLPD support organizations, women's alliance "Courage",<sup>(129)</sup> and "Solidarität International"<sup>(130)</sup> remained active, however, without noteworthy public impact.

#### International connections

The MLPD continued to maintain its international relations, particularly with the approx. 20 Maoist "Fraternal Organizations", with which it staged an "International Conference" every second year since 1988. In order to prepare the "6th International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations" scheduled for early 1999, the party carried out an "European Regional Conference" at the party-owned "Workers Education Center" in Gelsenkirchen with participants from France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Turkey. There special significance was given to the long planned, but not yet realized, creation of an "International Fighting Alliance for Liberation to Coordinate and Revolutionize the Struggle."



## **5. Trotzkyite Groups**

The typical tendency among Trotzkyite groups to argue, split, and form new formations among their groups, continued in 1998. Meanwhile, there are approx. 25 groups and circles with Trotzkyite orientation in Germany. Most of them attribute themselves to one of the competing international Trotzkyite umbrella organizations.

### **"Socialist Workers' Group" (SAG)**

The "Socialist Workers Group" (Sozialistische Arbeitergruppe/SAG), the German section of the umbrella organization "International Socialists" (IS) (headquarters in London), conducted a well-directed and successful infiltration program, primarily against Young Socialists in the SPD, with its 1994 founded covert organization "Linksruck-Netzwerk/LR" (Left-Swing Network).

### **Entrism strategy shows success**

It utilized the so-called "entrism strategy", developed by Trozkyists in the thirties: Trozkyists join competing left-wing, but also democratic groups, try to anchor their policy in these groups, recruit members, or to bring whole organizations under their control. This concept was successful. After gaining many new members, the LR now has more than 900 members; the organization is present in more than 40 locations and is organized in five districts. Other participants of demonstrations and events were impressed by the discipline and organization of the LR cadre.

### **"Socialist Alternative Forward" (Sozialistische Alternative VORAN) (SAV)**

The SAV, the German section of the "Committee for a Workers International" (CWI) (headquarters in London) remained the second strongest Trozkyist formation in Germany. However, despite new memberships, it was not able to maintain its number of members from the previous year. Approx. 300 supporters are still active in 18 cities. The SAV took part in the elections at its residence in Cologne, as well as in Aachen, Stuttgart, and Siegen, with a direct candidate. It appealed to its followers to give the second vote to the PDS. The work of its organization "Youth against Racism in Europe/Youth Offensive" ("Jugend gegen Rasmuss in Europa/Jugendoffensive") (JRE/JO) received much internal criticism. Meanwhile, the SAV has been making efforts at some locations, in some cases successfully, to rebuild JRE/JO groups.

The "The Party for Social Equality, Section of the Fourth International" ("Partei for Soziale Gleichheit, Sektion der Vierten Internationale") (PSG) also participated in the federal parliament elections with a few of its own candidates. Others, such as the "Revolutionary-Socialist Union/4th International" (RSB), and the "Union for Socialist Politics" (VSP), or the "Group Workers Power" (GAM) encouraged their followers to vote for the PDS. VSP member Winfried WOLF, who has also joined the PDS in the meantime, again received a seat in the German Federal Parliament through a state list.

## 6. "Rote Hilfe e.V." (Red Aid) (RH)

|               |                             |
|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Established:  | 1975                        |
| Headquarters: | Kiel                        |
| Membership:   | 3,000 (1997: 3,000)         |
| Publication:  | "Die Rote Hilfe", quarterly |

The RH, in its own view, a party-independent, movement-oriented, leftist, protective, and solidarity organization, continued to support primarily German and foreign violence-oriented left-extremists by providing reimbursement support of trial and lawyers' fees. Among the recipients of regular financial transfers from the RH was the pro-Kurdish aid organization AZADI. During an RH national delegates assembly on 20/21 June in Göttingen, a solidarity campaign for the release of imprisoned members of the "Red Army Faction" (RAF) was announced. In the organization, which is mainly focused on violent left-extremism, the question whether the "prosecution" of former MfS members and SED functionaries could also be a subject of reimbursement transfers from the RH remained controversial.

## V. Propaganda and Communications Media

### 1. Publishers, Distribution Companies, and Periodic Publications

Also in 1998, approx. 40 left-extremist controlled publisher groups and distribution services distributed left-extremist newspapers, magazines, and books. The total number of periodicals issued in the area of left-extremism decreased to approx. 230 (1997:250). The total number of copies decreased to approx. eight million copies (1997: approx. 10 million); primarily because of the decrease in distributed copies of the left-extremist daily newspaper "junge Welt" (Young World) <sup>(131)</sup>.

### 2. Independent Left-Extremist/Left-Extremist Influenced Publications

Revolutionary Marxists continued to issue organization-independent publications with various ideological orientations. Most of these papers intended to feature current political topics from the extremist point of view, and then classify them ideologically. In addition, they offer forums for theory discussions on left-extremist strategy and tactics, and on actions areas for revolutionary-Marxist politics. In addition, they also provided a service function by publishing dates of events and meeting dates of the left-wing scene. Some of these publications specialized on particular topics, such as improving revolutionary theories, or "anti-fascism". Others reported in detail on a particular ideological-political trend. Many of the publications were originally organs of revolutionary-Marxist groups; after the disbanding of these groups, the publications were continued by their former publisher groups/editors.

#### "Young World" (junge Welt) (jW)

The organization-independent publication with the highest number of copies and the most extensive one, is the left-extremist daily newspaper "Young World", until 1989 organ of the central council of the "Free German Youth" (FDJ) of the former GDR. The paper, which has been managed since 1990 on a private enterprise basis, experienced several changes regarding staffing and political contents. An escalation of internal arguments resulted in the split off of the expressively "anti-German" oriented wing of the editorial staff in May 1997.

The wing with a party-Communism orientation around former DKP functionary Dietmar KOSCHMIEDER (manager of the jW) was able to dominate. It orients itself primarily to the political line of the Communist Platform (KPF) of the PDS, and clearly promotes a GDR nostalgia because the majority of its readers are from eastern Germany. At the same time, the newspaper also made efforts to get readers from the violent left-wing spectrum. For that reason, it covers topics such as "anti-fascism", right-extremism, "anti-repression", protest against the use of nuclear energy, and armed "liberation movements" in the Third World. The spectrum of editors and authors ranges from DKP supporters and the KPF of the PDS, former supporters of German left-terrorist organizations, up to former unofficial members of the "Ministry for State Security" (MfS) and "scouts of peace" of the former GDR. The number of sold copies of the jW decreased from 17,000 to approx. 14,000 copies. According to statements made by the manager, this is not sufficient enough to cover expenses.

### **"konkret"**

The left-extremist monthly "konkret" (number of copies approx. 30,000), published in Hamburg, has been issued since 1972 by Herman Ludwig GREMLIZA. Being the most important publication for "anti-German" and "anti-national" left-extremism, it still attempts to prove that almost all political activities in Germany are founded on fascist roots and motives. The focal point hereby is the idea that the united FRG allegedly follows the Third Reich in direct continuity, and that it is heading, with regularity, toward a third world war. Political opponents of the paper are often defamed in an undifferentiated way as "Nazis", and if these opponents make critical statements on "konkret", the publisher group frequently files civil actions against them. In numerous articles and comments, "konkret" authors deal with the "Black Book of Communism" <sup>(132)</sup>, usually attempting to make Communist mass crimes look better or to deny them.

### **"Der Rechte Rand" (The Right-Wing Border)**

The paper "The Rechte Rand - Informationen von und fuer AntifaschistInnen" (The Right-Wing Border - Information from and for Anti-Fascists), published six-times per year in Hannover, attempts to report on actual and assumed right-extremism. In doing so, it concentrates mainly on individuals: portraits of right-extremist functionaries are published, personal data on political opponents are printed in bold letters.

### **"Anti-Fascist News"**

Also obligated to the "anti-fascist struggle" of left-extremists is the "Antifaschistischen Nachrichten" (Anti-Fascist News), published biweekly in Cologne. The paper emerged from a sub-organization of the "Bund Westdeutscher Kommunisten" (Union of West German Communists), which has mostly been integrated into the PDS. It is now called "Forum of Communist Working Groups in and with the PDS." For several years, this organization has used a wide spectrum of publishers to which persons from various revolutionary-Marxist organizations belong.

## **3. New Communications Media**

For presenting themselves, and for agitation and mobilization, left-extremists increasingly used electronic communications media such as the INTERNET and mailboxes, however, with different intensity.

## **a. INTERNET**

The significance of the INTERNET, with its various services, continues to increase for left-extremists. Left-extremists frequently appear as their own providers, or use providers abroad, mostly located in the USA.

Almost all major left-extremist organizations, such as the "German Communist Party" (DKP), the "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany" (MLPD), and the "Socialist German Workers' Youth" (SDAJ), Trotzkyite Groups, the "Linksruck-Netzwerk", and the "Party for Social Equality" (PSG), but also autonomous groups, among them the "Autonomous Antifa (M)" of Göttingen, continue to be represented with their own homepages on the INTERNET. Homepages from like-minded foreign groups can also be accessed via a large number of links (automated connections).

The "nadir" project, set up by members of the autonomous scene in Hamburg, with its archives, updated information, and numerous links, plays a leading role in the left-extremist INTERNET area.

As an example, the "Antifascist Action Berlin" (AAB), a member of the "Antifascist Action/Nationwide Organization" (AA/BO), uses the "nadir" project to disseminate calls for demonstrations and fundamental texts.

New projects have been created based on the "nadir" project. This includes the "Partisan.net" ("Projekt Archive Radikaler Theorie Info System Alternativer Nachrichten") ("Project Archives of Radical Theory Info System Alternative News"), managed by individuals from the Berlin autonomous scene. "Partisan-net" views itself as a "trend-overlapping group inside the leftist and radical spectrum." It views the "provision of webspace for the dissemination, networking, and storing of news, opinions, and theoretical work for a non-commercial network use as part of a leftist and radical political practice."

Through the new communications media, left-extremists primarily disseminate reports and calls for demonstrations regarding the "antifascist struggle". Other focal points include reports and calls in connection with the "Anti-Nuclear Power Plant Campaign", information on the "Kurdish liberation struggle", and the situation of "political prisoners" worldwide. Information and agitation material is increasingly being entered on the INTERNET in connection with the planned world exposition "EXPO 2000" in Hannover.

Left-extremists place a high value on encryption programs and techniques, especially in the personal e-mail area. They always encourage others to use suitable programs, and offer help when programs need to be installed.

## **b. Mailboxes**

The mailbox network "SpinnenNetz" (Spiderweb), installed by members of the autonomous/anti-imperialist scene, has factually lost its significance, although formally it still exists. On the other hand, "Foederverein 'Libertad'" (Promotion Club 'Libertad') began to expand the 'Libertad' mailbox. Initiator of the club is the Frankfurt-based group from the "Anti-Imperialist Resistance" called "No Peace."

Heart of the mailbox is an archive, in which information on the situation of "political prisoners" throughout the world is collected, processed, and made available to other interested groups. The group plans to set up an independent mailbox network with political friends, called "LIBNET".

A large number of left-extremist groups continue to use commercial mailboxes as in the past.

**Extremist and Security-Endangering**

# Activities By Foreigners

## I. Overview

Internal security in Germany continues to be endangered by extremist and terrorist groups of foreigners of all ideological shades. With their activities in Germany, they react primarily to political events in their respective home countries.

In the past few years, Islamism <sup>(133)</sup>, which is frequently called Islamic fundamentalism, developed into a social challenge and threat, not only for the Arabic world and Turkey, but increasingly also for West European countries with a high Moslem population. Extremist-Islamic (Islamistic) groups of Turkish and Arabic origin, which are active in Germany, want to replace the social systems of their home countries with an Islamistic political system based on the Koran and the Sharia (Islamic judicial system). While many smaller Islamistic groups of Arabic origin advocate the use of force as an instrument to enforce this political goal, the Islamistic Turkish group with the highest membership, the "Islamic Community Milli Görüş e.V." (IGMG), is counting mainly on political activities to change the social system in Turkey. In addition, the IGMG and several other Islamistic groups also try to establish a society based on the Koran and the Sharia for their sympathizers in Germany. Islamistic organizations assume that with the Koran, the Sharia, the principles of life of the prophet Mohammed (Hadith), and the practice of the Moslem primary community (Sunna), an Islamic social system is presented which is indispensable for the true exercise of Islam. Essence of the Islamistic ideology is the premise that state rule must not be left to the arbitrariness of human beings, but is the right of Allah alone, whose will has been revealed in the Koran as the only truth valid for everyone. On this basis, an Islamistic social system denies the fundamental principles of the free and democratic constitutional order laid down in article 20 of the Constitution, e.g. sovereignty of the people, majority rule, or the right to an education and a parliamentary opposition.

Left-extremist foreigner groups pursue the goal of replacing the existing state and social system in their respective countries of origin with a socialist or communist social system. Independent of their concrete ideological orientation, some groups cling to orthodox Marxist-Leninist positions, others are influenced by Maoist positions, all left-extremist foreigner groups represented in Germany continue to advocate "revolutionary force" in order to attain their political goals. In some cases, a strongly developed "anti-imperialism", directed mainly against the United States, can still be observed. Nevertheless, discussions on whether the communist course still makes sense, are frequently found in left-extremist foreigner groups. With some foreigner groups (mainly those of Kurdish and Tamil origin), the previous strongly developed socialist orientation has now been pushed aside for ethnic-motivated demands for independence or autonomy. Left-extremist foreigner groups and German left-extremist groups often form action alliances.

A distinguishing feature of extreme-nationalist foreigner groups is an exaggerated national consciousness, which sees one's own nation as the greatest good, and makes the value of man dependent on his ethnic affiliation with this nation. In the case of Turkish nationalists, this attitude is increasingly combined with Islamistic ideology.

The increase in the member and sympathizer potential of extremist foreigner organizations, which has been observed for years, continued in 1998. However, compared with 1997

(58.200 members/sympathizers), the number of members and sympathizers increased only slightly to approx. 59,100 persons. The number of acts of violence, on the other hand, again decreased.

Threats to internal security continued to emanate mainly from sympathizers of left-extremist Turkish organizations. On 13 August, the Federal Minister of the Interior (BMI) banned the Turkish organizations "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP-C) <sup>(134)</sup> and "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front – Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C – Devrimci Sol). <sup>(135)</sup> Both groups sprang from the Turkish left-extremist organization "Devrimci Sol" (Revolutionary Left), banned by the BMI on 27 January 1983, and adopted its political goals and ideological ideas. The bans were based on the fact that the activities of both organizations violated German penal laws and endangered internal security and law and order in Germany. While struggling for a successor to "Devrimci Sol", the two organizations engaged in armed wing fights which resulted even in the loss of lives. During the latest confrontation of this type, which occurred in Hamburg on 29 January, two DHKP-C sympathizers were shot at and seriously injured.

Attempts for coalitions were again observed within the left-extremist Turkish and Kurdish spectrum. In early June, the "Worker's Party of Kurdistan" (PKK) and seven revolutionary-Marxist organizations, to include the "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party" (MLKP), both wings of the "Turkish Communist Party/Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML), and the THKP/C-Devrimci Sol agreed on an action alliance for the revolutionary struggle. As of July, the alliance organizations also conducted events in Germany under the name "Platform of United Revolutionary Forces" (DBGP). At the end of 1997 and in the beginning of 1998, DHKP-C, which did not participate in this alliance, made its own efforts to build a "revolutionary front" of all left-wing groups, to include the PKK. In the opinion of Dursun KARATAS, secretary-general of DHKP-C, this operation failed because of rivalries and the formation of cliques.

PKK sympathizers largely complied with the course to commit no more acts of violence in Germany, which was proclaimed by PKK secretary-general Abdullah ÖCALAN in 1996. However, the PKK attempted to dodge the ban on activities imposed on it, which prohibits any kind of activity, by controlling or at least participating in numerous demonstrations and other events.

The PKK's ability for mass mobilization was demonstrated at the end of the year, when the organization conducted numerous actions of solidarity and demonstrations for PKK chairman ÖCALAN, who was arrested in Italy in November. The outstanding organizational ability of the PKK and its readiness to use force, which can be activated at any time, continue to be an undiminished threat to internal security.

The "Islamic Community Milli Görüs e.V." (IGMG) continues to make efforts to outwardly present itself as being moderate, and demonstrates willingness to enter dialogues with dissenters, so as to counter being classified as "extremist-Islamic". Nevertheless, it continues its anti-integration line and tries to indoctrinate primarily young people. This indoctrination is not oriented at the values of the basic constitutional law.

According to an article in the (Turkish) daily newspaper "Milli Gazette" (National Newspaper), IGMG chairman Ali YÜKSEL stated in the scope of his visit to Moslem students in Mons

(Belgium) that his organization had declared 1998 to be the year of indoctrination. In an environment with a different religion and culture, Moslem children ought to be protected from the traps of foreign culture and from vice. For this reason, the IGMG also conducted numerous indoctrinations for youths in 1998. According to an article in "Milli Gazette" on 02 October, the traditional summer holiday courses concentrated on the conveyance of religious contents, the strengthening of "national consciousness", and the preservation of "one's own identity and culture" which, according to the organization, means to integrate political regulating principles of the Koran and the Sharia into Western society. In the past, the IGMG backed the Turkish "Welfare Party" (Refah Partisi, RP), banned in Turkey on 16 January, and now is closely affiliated with the RP successor "Party of Virtue" (Fazilet Partisi, FP).

Functionaries and preachers of the "Caliphate State" (also known as "Association of Islamic Clubs and Communities e.V., Cologne", ICCB), headed by their leader and self-appointed caliph Metin KAPLAN, become increasingly aggressive in their polemics against all dissenters.

On 16 March, the Local Court (AG) of Augsburg sentenced a functionary and preacher of the "Caliphate State" to three years imprisonment for calling for murder. In response to police searches directed against the association, KAPLAN increasingly agitated against German interests, in spite of the ban on political activities imposed on him back in 1996. In statements from 23 July and 06 August, he urged his sympathizers for a militant religious struggle, and demanded Germany reconsider its attitude toward Islam. If the hostility toward Moslems did not stop, the German nation would expose itself to Allah's anger, and would have to be prepared for being razed to the ground.

The tensions in the Serb province of Kosovo, especially the violent quashing of an Albanian large-scale demonstration by security forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) in Kosovo's capital Pristina on 02 March, also led to protest demonstrations by Kosovar Albanians living in Germany. Sympathizers of the "People's Movement from Kosovo" (LPK) with residence in Germany, financially support the "Liberation Army from Kosovo" (UCK), which conducted terrorist operations in their home country.

## **II. Overview In Statistics**

### **1. Organizations and Member Potential <sup>(136)</sup>**

At the end of 1998, approx. 7.5 million foreign nationals were living in the Federal Republic of Germany. The vast majority of them respects our legal system and is willing to contribute to integration. Only a minority (less than one percent) has joined extremist foreigner organizations. <sup>(137)</sup> The entire member potential of the 65 extremist foreigner organizations active in Germany toward the end of the year, to include three organizations banned under the law regulating clubs, increased slightly to 59,100 (1997: 58,200) members. The number of non-organized sympathizers and persons who can be mobilized for purposes of the organization at short notice, however, is much higher.

With approx. 31,000 (1997: 30,800) members, Islamistic organizations have the highest member potential. The Turkish "Islamic Community Milli Görüs e.V." (IGMG), which has approx. 27,000 members, <sup>(138)</sup> is the organization with the largest membership.

The member potential of left-extremist foreigner groups decreased slightly to approx. 19,300 (1997: 19,400). While most left-extremist groups had difficulties keeping up their



membership level or even lost members, the "Worker's Party of Kurdistan" (PKK) again gained a small number of new members. It now has approx. 11,500 (1997: 11,000) members.

The member potential of foreign nationalists increased slightly to approx. 8,500 (1997: 8,000).

| Nationality<br>and/or<br>Ethnic Group |             | Left-Extremists |               | Extreme<br>Nationalists |              | Islamists |               | Total     |               |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
|                                       |             | Groups          | Persons       | Groups                  | Persons      | Groups    | Persons       | Groups    | Persons       |
| Kurds**)                              | 1998        | 23              | 11,900        |                         |              |           |               | 23        | 11,900        |
|                                       | 1997        | 22              | 11,800        |                         |              |           |               | 22        | 11,800        |
|                                       | 1996        | 22              | 10,800        |                         |              |           |               | 22        | 10,800        |
| Turks**)                              | 1998        | 12              | 5,110         | 1                       | 7,500        | 5         | 28,400        | 18        | 41,010        |
|                                       | 1997        | 9               | 5,400         | 1                       | 7,000        | 5         | 28,100        | 15        | 40,500        |
|                                       | 1996        | 9               | 5,300         | 1                       | 6,900        | 5         | 28,300        | 15        | 40,500        |
| Arabs                                 | 1998        | 4               | 200           |                         |              | 11        | 2,740         | 15        | 2,940         |
|                                       | 1997        | 4               | 300           |                         |              | 11        | 2,500         | 15        | 2,800         |
|                                       | 1996        | 8               | 750           |                         |              | 11        | 2,300         | 19        | 3,050         |
| Iranians                              | 1998        | 1               | 900           |                         |              | 1         | 150           | 2         | 1,050         |
|                                       | 1997        | 1               | 900           |                         |              | 1         | 200           | 2         | 1,100         |
|                                       | 1996        | 1               | 850           |                         |              | 1         | 300           | 2         | 1,150         |
| Others                                | 1998        | 4               | 1,250         | 3                       | 950          |           |               | 7         | 2,200         |
|                                       | 1997        | 4               | 1,000         | 3                       | 1,000        |           |               | 7         | 2,000         |
|                                       | 1996        | 4               | 900           | 3                       | 900          |           |               | 7         | 1,800         |
| <b>Total</b>                          | <b>1998</b> | <b>44</b>       | <b>19,360</b> | <b>4</b>                | <b>8,450</b> | <b>17</b> | <b>31,290</b> | <b>65</b> | <b>59,100</b> |
|                                       | 1997        | 40              | 19,400        | 4                       | 8,000        | 17        | 30,800        | 61        | 58,200        |
|                                       | 1996        | 44**)           | 18,600        | 4                       | 7,800        | 17        | 30,900        | 65        | 57,300        |

\* The figures are estimated and partly rounded off.

\*\* In contrast to previous annual reports, banned groups have been counted since 1997 in this report. Thus, comparative figures deviate from those in the 1996 report.

## 2. Criminal Offenses/Acts Of Violence

### **Acts of violence decreased**

The willingness of foreign extremists to use force threatened internal security in the Federal Republic of Germany also in 1998, even though the decline in acts of violence committed by foreign extremists, which has been observed since 1997, continued. A total of 258 acts of violence were committed (1997: 314), which is a decline by approx. 17.8 %. The total number of offenses went up from 1,608 offenses in 1997 to 2,356 offenses in 1998, which is an increase of 46.5 %.

The majority of extremist foreigner organizations continues to be involved in terrorist activities in their respective home countries. Tactical considerations continue to determine the willingness to respect the German legal system. Consequently, the restraint and/or renunciation in committing violent actions in Germany is closely affiliated with anticipated successes or failures in combat areas in native countries.

The decline in acts of violence is attributed above all to the small number of violent confrontations between the two, by now banned, hostile left-extremist Turkish organizations "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP-C) and "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front – Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C – Devrimci Sol). The extremely violent wing fights between these two organizations last claimed two seriously injured victims on the side of the DHKP-C in Hamburg on 29 January. Apparently, far-reaching measures by the security authorities, such as arrests and the ban the Federal Ministry of the Interior imposed on both groups on 13 August, contributed to an easing of the situation.

### **Acts of violence during fund-raising campaigns**

Nevertheless, most acts of violence are still observed during fund-raising campaigns by extremist Turkish and Kurdish organizations, and during quarrels between such organizations. An above-average increase was also observed in cases of breach of public peace. In 1998, acts of violence committed by foreign extremists in Germany again included numerous cases of serious bodily injury and attempted murder, as well as one case of murder in which investigations clearly indicate a PKK connection.

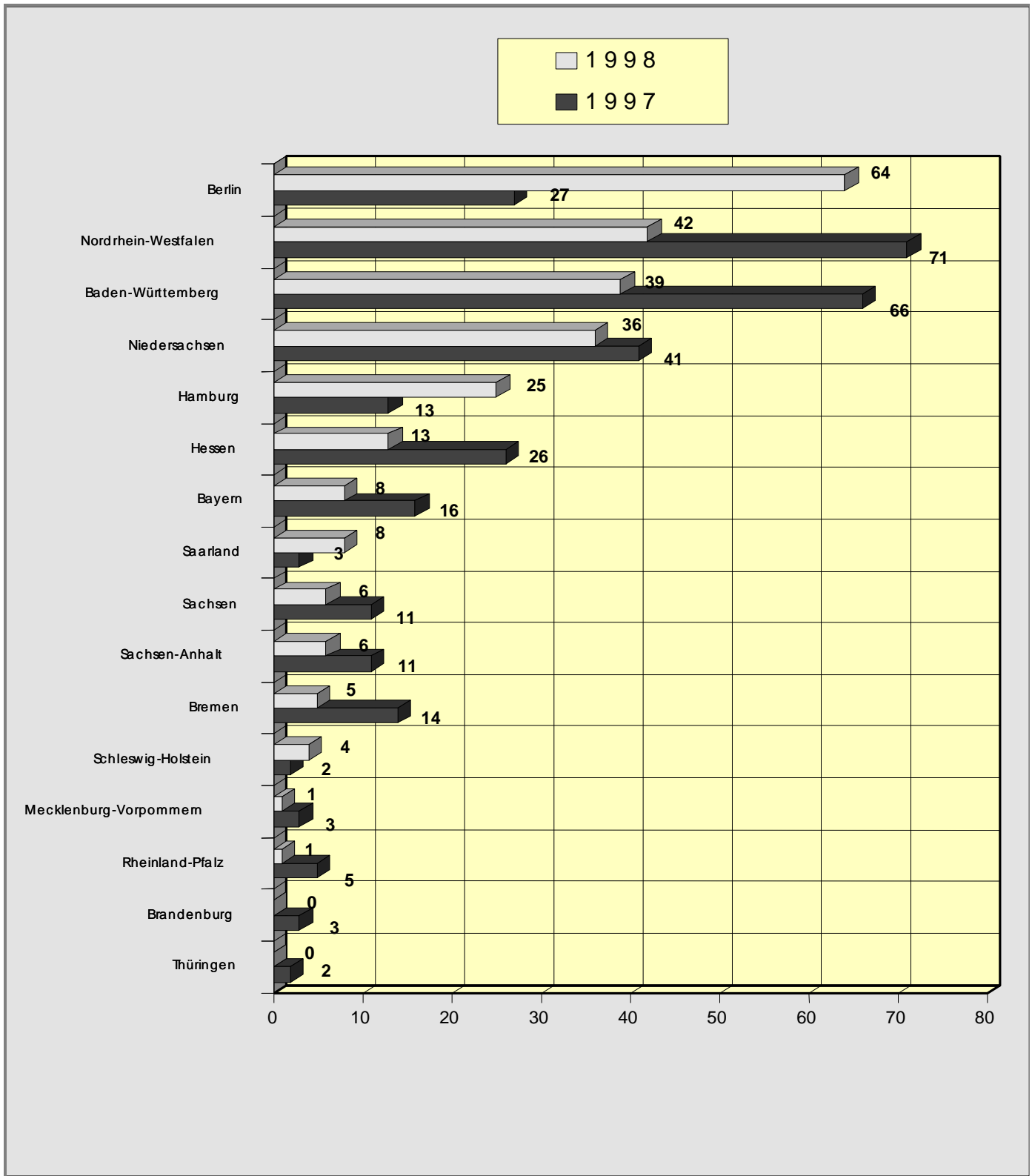
|                                   | 1997         | 1998         |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| <b>Acts of violence:</b>          |              |              |
| Murder                            | 2            | 1            |
| Attempted murder                  | 9            | 5            |
| Bodily injury                     | 98           | 66           |
| Arson                             | 18           | 5            |
| Bomb attacks                      | 1            | 2            |
| Breach of the public peace        | 7            | 36           |
| Kidnapping                        | 17           | 9            |
| Robbery/extortion                 | 162          | 134          |
| <b>Total of acts of violence</b>  | <b>314</b>   | <b>258</b>   |
| <b>Other offenses:</b>            |              |              |
| Willful damage                    | 166          | 141          |
| Duress/threats                    | 99           | 125          |
| Other offenses**                  | 1,029        | 1,832        |
| <b>Total of other offenses:</b>   | <b>1,294</b> | <b>2,098</b> |
| <b>Total of criminal offenses</b> | <b>1,608</b> | <b>2,356</b> |

\* Figures are based on data by the BKA (DOI: 31 Jan 99).

The overview includes committed offenses as well as those attempted. Every offense was counted only once. For instance, if a case of breaking the public peace was committed in concomitance with bodily injury, only the breach of the public peace shows in the statistics. If several criminal offenses were committed, only the more serious offense was counted.

\*\* For the most part, violations of bans under the law regulating clubs, most of which were committed by sympathizers of left-extremist Kurdish or Turkish groups.

**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected  
Foreigner-Extremist Motivation  
- by State -**



### III. Main Activities by Individual Foreigner Groups

#### 1. Turks (excluding Kurds)

##### a. Overview

Agitation subjects and types by extremist Turkish groups in Germany again were largely determined by political events in Turkey. In addition, inner-German subjects (e.g. unemployment, legislation concerning foreigners, dual citizenship, right to vote for foreigners) were picked up, and incidents related to international politics were dealt with. Because of their high militancy, threats to internal security emanate especially from left-extremist Turkish groups, which aim at the introduction of a communist system in Turkey, and conduct terrorist operations in their home country. The wing fights between the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP-C) and the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front – Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C – Devrimci Sol), which often include the use of firearms and were carried out in previous years, continued until January. The by far largest Turkish Islamic organization "Islamic Community Milli Görüş e.V." (IGMG) increasingly concentrated on recruiting and integrating mainly Turkish youths born in Germany. The "Union of Islamic Clubs and Communities e.V., Cologne" (ICCB), which exclusively calls itself "Caliphate State" in its announcements now, came more and more into the spotlight with increasingly aggressive statements, anti-Semitic remarks, and the alleged participation of some of its sympathizers in preparing acts of terror in Turkey. Extreme-nationalist Turkish organizations, which see themselves as declared opponents of communism and separatist Kurds, recently emphasized the high importance of the Islamic identity, thus following the trend in their home country.

##### b. Left-extremists

#### (1) "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP-C)

Basic data for Germany:

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Founded:      | 1994 in Damascus (Syria) after the split of "Devrimci Sol", which was founded in 1978 and banned in Germany in 1983 |
| Banned:       | on 13 August 1998 by the Federal Minister of the Interior   |
| Leadership:   | a group of functionaries  |
| Members:      | approx. 1,100 (1997: approx. 1,100)   |
| Publications: | "Kurtulus" (Liberation), published weekly, and others (the publication used frequently changing name supplements)   |

On 13 August, the BMI banned the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP-C), the so-called "Karatas wing",<sup>(139)</sup> in its capacity as replacement organization to "Devrimci Sol" (Revolutionary Left). The organization strives for disintegrating the Turkish state system by force and for establishing a "classless" society. DHKP-C preferably conducts terrorist operations with its "Armed Propaganda Units" (SPB) in larger cities in Turkey. Primarily, it attacks public figures, members of the security forces, state facilities, and occasionally Turkish commercial enterprises and their representatives.

Since February, there has been no continuation of violent rivalries for domination in Europe between DHKP-C and the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front – Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C – Devrimci Sol), the so-called "Yagan wing", <sup>(140)</sup> which occurred in Germany following the split in "Devrimci Sol" in 1992. The latest incident occurred in Hamburg on 29 January, and consisted of violent confrontations between sympathizers of the two camps, during which two DHKP-C sympathizers were shot and seriously wounded. Because of similar previous occurrences, three DHKP-C members, to include the representative for Germany who was arrested in Hamburg in September of last year, have to answer to the Hanseatic Superior District Court (OLG) of Hamburg for suspicion of attempted murder, membership in a terrorist association, and violations of the law regulating the possession of weapons.

### **DHKP-C continues to be heavily armed**

Police measures again showed that DHKP-C members are heavily armed. Nationwide searches of DHKP-C sympathizers' apartments in April resulted in the confiscation of several pistols and other items, while a submachine gun was found in the car of two leading functionaries during a vehicle spot check conducted in September.

The organization tries to remedy its difficult financial situation through annual fund-raising campaigns, which also serve the purpose of financing the armed struggle in Turkey. In the past, threats and even the use of force repeatedly occurred when Turkish fellow-countrymen were asked to donate funds.

In order to dodge bans and police controls in Germany, the DHKP-C again relocated larger events to neighboring European countries. On the fourth anniversary of its founding date and in memory of its "fallen revolutionaries", it organized a meeting in Genk (Belgium) on 21 March, in which approx. 4,000 persons from Germany and other bordering countries participated.

Actions by security forces in Turkey against DHKP-C members and sympathizers repeatedly led to public and in part massive protest actions by the DHKP-C in Germany. On 22 May, for example, a group of DHKP-C sympathizers forced their way into the building of the state parliament in Kiel and barricaded themselves. The demonstrators threatened to jump from a balcony and gave the impression that they intended to ignite an incendiary device. On 29 May, approx. 20 sympathizers entered the offices of the Turkish television station TD 1 in Berlin, and coerced the station to broadcast a political declaration. On 30 May, approx. 20 DHKP-C members and sympathizers illegally occupied the "Münster" in Ulm. On 04 June, eight DHKP-C sympathizers illegally occupied an office of "amnesty international" (ai) in Frankfurt/Main. In its publication, the DHKP-C announced further actions.

### **BMI bans DHKP-C**

On 13 August, the BMI banned the DHKP-C, which was called a replacement organization for the already banned "Devrimci Sol." According to the Interior Ministry, the group's activities contradicted German laws, endanger internal security, law and order, as well as other major interests of the FRG, in particular its interests in the field of foreign policy. The DHKP-C reacted to the ban by addressing appeals for solidarity of the remaining revolutionary organizations; acts of violence were not committed. The tenor of its protests was as follows:

"The DHKP-C is a liberation movement. Liberation movements cannot be banned. The struggle against fascism is legitimate."

The DHKP-C was badly hit by the fact that its main publication was also banned. In this context, it made the following statement on the INTERNET:

"The blow against the newspaper weighs all the heavier because its publication largely depends on its sales profits in Germany."

Likewise on the INTERNET, the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Front" (DHKC), which serves as military arm of DHKP-C, asked Italy in early December to immediately release PKK secretary-general Abdullah ÖCALAN, who was temporarily arrested there in mid-November. DHKC claimed that the arrest showed an imperialistic terror and annihilation policy. Following is a translated quotation:

"Imperialism thus makes clear that it can once more stain the world with blood, so as to be able to maintain its regime of tyranny and exploitation."

## **(2) "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front – Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C-Devrimci Sol)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Founded:      | in the mid-Nineties as a split-off from "Devrimci Sol", which was founded in Turkey in 1978 and banned in Germany in 1983 |
| Banned:       | on 13 August 1998 by the Federal Minister of the Interior   |
| Leadership:   | a group of functionaries  |
| Members:      | approx. 100 (1997: approx. 200)   |
| Publications: | "Devrimci Cözüm" (Revolutionary Solution), published monthly, and others  |

The THKP/C-Devrimci Sol follows the same ideology as the DHKP-C. Like the DHKP-C, it developed as a split-off organization from "Devrimci Sol" in 1992. In 1998, it carried out few public activities in Germany. In membership and organizational structures, it remains well behind the DHKP-C in Germany.

THKP/C-Devrimci Sol has joined the action alliance "Platform of United Revolutionary Forces" (DGBP), where it acts under the name "Dev Sol". The name THKP/C-Devrimci Sol is rarely used now on pamphlets and in other statements by the organization; instead, it uses the term "Devrimci Sol" with the supplement "Avrupa" (Europe) or "Güçler" (Forces). Following an armed confrontation with sympathizers of the DHKP-C, which occurred in Hamburg on 29 January, three suspected functionaries of this group have had to defend themselves at the Hanseatic Superior District Court of Hamburg since 28 October for suspicion of attempted murder, completed and attempted extortion, as well as membership in a terrorist association.



## **BMI bans activities by THKP/C-Devrimci Sol**

Simultaneously with the banning of the DHKP-C on 13 August, the BMI also banned activities by the THKP/C-Devrimci Sol because the organization was in contradiction of German penal laws, endangered internal security, law and order, and other major interests of the Federal Republic of Germany.

### **(3) "Turkish Communist Party/Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML)**

Basic data for Germany:

Founded: 1972 (in Turkey)

Members: approx. 2,000 (1997: approx. 2,000)

This organization is split into:

#### **"Partizan Wing"**

Leadership: a group of functionaries

Members: approx. 1,200 (1997: approx. 1,200)

Publications: "Özgür Gelecek" (Free Future), published bi-weekly and others

#### **"East-Anatolian Area Committee" (DABK)**

Leadership: a group of functionaries

Members: approx. 800

Publications: "Oncü Partizan" (Avant-garde Partizan), published monthly, and others

Since 1994, the TKP/ML has been split into the two rivaling wings "Partizan" and "East-Anatolian Area Committee" (DABK). Ideologically based on Marxism-Leninism, both wings aim at disintegrating the Turkish state by means of force, and at establishing a "democratic people's government." The "Turkish Workers' and Farmers' Liberation Army" (TIKKO), which conducts terrorist operations in Turkey, serves as the military arm. Both "Partizan" and DABK were involved in founding the action coalition "Platform of United Revolutionary Forces" (DBGF), with which "Partizan" broke at the end of 1998 because of PKK dominance and for other reasons.

### **Both TKP/ML wings continue to raise funds for the armed struggle in Turkey**

Both wings conduct annual, Europe-wide fund-raising campaigns to finance their political activities and the armed struggle in their home country Turkey, and have bases and grassroots organizations in Germany. The "Partizan" wing dominates with regard to activities and number of sympathizers. Through the "Confederation of Workers from Turkey in Europe" (ATIK) and the "Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany e.V." (ATIF), this wing has front organizations which, however, carried out only minor public activities. In its agitation, ATIK preferably dealt with the situation in Turkey, e.g. with the attack on the human rights activist Akin BIRDAL, agitated against "imperialists and their henchmen", and called the German laws governing foreigners racist and fascist.

Prior to the federal parliament election, ATIK made appeals in German-language pamphlets to vote for the candidates of the Maoist-oriented "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany" (MLPD). The "Partizan" wing was able to mobilize approx. 1,400 persons for a meeting in a hall in Filderstadt (Baden-Württemberg) on 31 January. An event in memory of party founder Ibrahim KAYPAKKAYA, conducted at the Cologne "Sporthalle" on 16 May, attracted nearly 6,000 visitors from Germany and neighboring countries.

The DABK apparently succeeded in preventing the split that showed in 1997. The tensions between the grassroots level and the European leadership appear to have been overcome. The DABK front organizations "Federation for Democratic Rights in Germany" (ADHF) and "Confederation for Democratic Rights in Europe" (ADHK) further strengthened their structures. On 02 May, the DABK likewise organized a commemoration for KAYPAKKAYA at the Cologne "Sporthalle", which attracted 3,000 visitors. In 1997, DABK had still been able to mobilize approx. 7,000 participants on the same occasion and at the same place.

#### **(4) "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party" (MLKP)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Founded:      | 1994 (in Turkey)   |
| Leadership:   | a group of functionaries   |
| Members:      | approx. 700 (in 1997: 700)   |
| Publications: | "Özgür Atilim" (Free Attack), published every other week, and others |

The MLKP also aims at a revolution in Turkey, and at the establishment of a communist democracy. Its military units, the "Red Commandos", again committed terrorist attacks in Turkey. Through the "Federation of Labor Immigrants from Turkey in Germany e.V." (AGIF), MLKP has at its disposal a nationwide grassroots organization for the recruitment of new sympathizers and for propaganda. The MLKP also tried to make propaganda use of the firearm attack on the chairman of the Turkish Human Rights Club, Akin BIRDAL, which suspected nationalist perpetrators committed in Turkey on 12 May; in this context, MLKP declared the following in a pamphlet:

"Even more than in earlier days, we now have to support revolutionary resistance in Turkey and Kurdistan financially and intellectually. We must attentively listen to appeals by revolutionary organizations and parties. Let's cry out our rage and hatred together. Responsibility for this attack lies with the MGK (National Security Council of Turkey) and the fascist state. Down with the fascist dictatorship!" (MLKP pamphlet from 14 May 1998)

**c. Turkish Islamists**

**(1) "Caliphate State", AKA "Union of Islamic Clubs and Communities e.V., Cologne" (ICCB)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Founded:      | 1984 in Cologne   |
| Headquarters: | Cologne   |
| Leadership:   | Metin KAPLAN  |
| Members:      | approx. 1,200 (1997: approx. 1,300)                         |
| Publications: | "Ümmet-I-Muhammed" (Mohammed's Community), published weekly |

The Union of Islamic Clubs and Communities e.V., Cologne" (ICCB) is headed by the self-appointed "Emir of the faithful and caliph <sup>(141)</sup> of the Moslems", Metin KAPLAN, who increasingly came into the spotlight through his aggressive statements. The designation ICCB has totally been pushed into the background within the organization, which by now calls itself only "Hilafet Devleti" (Caliphate State). KAPLAN uncompromisingly demands an Islamistic state system in Turkey, with the ultimate goal of Islam controlling the world. He propagates the overthrow of the laicist Turkish state system as a first step.

Statements by the "Caliphate State" reject democracy and pluralism of parties as totally irreconcilable with Islam. The Koran is also the only guideline for political actions:

"Islam is both religion and state: It is both prayer ritual and policy. Islam is a body and cannot be torn apart. Islam is irreconcilable with the laicist system. Islam rejects democracy. Islam has its own order of Sharia." ("Ümmet-I-Muhammed" issue 214, 19 Mar 98, pages 1, 3)

Publications by the "Caliphate State" continue to be interspersed with anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist inflammatory slogans. Referring to the Prophet, KAPLAN wrote the following:

"The time for a big war between Moslems and Jews will come. As long as Jews exist, the Day of Judgment will not come." We are ready for this war announced by the Prophet. If necessary, we are prepared to die, to die a thousand times for Islam, for the Sharia, and for the Caliphate." ("Ümmet-I-Muhammed", issue 243, 08 Oct 98)

"After anti-Islamic organizations and systems, for example missionaries, communism, and democracy, Zionism is another enemy of Islam. Zionism is not only the main plague of Islam, but is a plague to all mankind." ("Ümmet-I-Muhammed", issue 218, 16 Apr 98, page 5)

The "Caliphate State" tried to attract the attention of a wider public by distributing several pamphlets to newspaper editors and others. In a pamphlet from 30 July, titled, in German, "We announce and recommend the following to the German nation", KAPLAN agitated against Jews and "worshippers of idols" (he meant representatives of the laicist Turkish state). Prior to the federal parliament election, he addressed an appeal to the voters in Germany to check if their politicians conduct Islam-friendly politics.

In a pamphlet from 22 August, the organization called the U.S. air raids following terrorist attacks in Kenya and Tanzania "attacks on Islam itself" and threatened:

"Those who take up the cudgels against Islam and side with the United States become our bitterest enemies."

### **KAPLAN calls his sympathizers for the "Jihad" against the enemies of Islam**

In early May, KAPLAN announced a "general mobilization", and called his sympathizers for the "Jihad" (which basically stands for special efforts or holy war):

"The dictionary explains the meaning of Jihad as follows: to make verbal or practical efforts as long as one's strength lasts. According to the Sharia, this means kill the attacking unbelievers and smash their idols. Objective of the Jihad is to declare war on those who gave their word to contribute to spreading Islam and did not keep it, on dissenters, and on those who stand up against the Islamic state." ("Ümmet-I-Muhammed", issue 223, 21 May 98)

Totally overestimating his influence, KAPLAN declared the following:

"This appeal for the Jihad is meant above all for Moslems in Anatolia, but also for Moslems all over the world. Every Moslem should overthrow the bad regime in his country and build up an Islamic state. Your slogan reads: either the caliphate or death on the battlefield." ("Ümmet-I-Muhammed", issue 222, 14 May 98, page 4, and issue 231, 16 Jul 98, page 4)

KAPLAN prefers to propagate his Islamistic positions via the publication "Ümmet-I-Muhammed" and his television station "HAKK-TV", which is broadcast into Turkey via satellite. The organization is also now represented on the INTERNET.

KAPLAN's massive agitation, directed above all against Turkey, increasingly supplies evidence for the danger that sympathizers of the "Caliphate State" will take this as guidance for concrete actions. The arrest of several individuals in Turkey points in this direction. The persons in questions were accused of having participated in planning and preparing terrorist activities by the "Caliphate State" in Ankara and Istanbul in late October. Among the arrested, were sympathizers of KAPLAN who previously had their residence in Germany. Reportedly, sympathizers of the "Caliphate State" had planned to commit a suicide attack by crashing an airplane full of explosives into the Atatürk mausoleum in Ankara on 29 October, the 29th anniversary of the founding date of the Turkish Republic. At the same time, the Fatih mosque in Istanbul was to be illegally occupied and be defended with arms against Turkish security forces. KAPLAN had polemized against the Turkish national holiday and had declared that it was the duty of every Moslem to protest with his heart, in words and deeds, against the tyranny which has been going on for 75 years.<sup>(142)</sup>

On 28 April and 02 December, the police searched several properties of the organization in the scope of criminal investigations which the Federal Attorney General had initiated against KAPLAN and other leading members of the "Caliphate State" for suspicion of jointly committed murder (of the "counter-caliph" Ibrahim SOFU in Berlin on 08 May 1997), for suspected involvement in planning acts of terror in Turkey, and other offenses. KAPLAN called this measure an attack on Moslems and their mosques, and claimed the right of retaliation.<sup>(143)</sup>

Approx. 4,000 persons attended the annual central meeting of members and sympathizers of the organization on the occasion of the Islamic New Year's Day, held in the Cologne "Sporthalle" (sports hall) on 03 May. Some of the participants even came from bordering countries.

### **"Caliphate State" isolated among Moslems in Germany**

The organization continued to be isolated among Moslems in Germany. As a rule, sympathizers of other Moslem and Islamistic organizations avoided using facilities of the organization.

### **City of Cologne fined KAPLAN for violated the ban on activities**

The aliens' registration office of the city of Cologne fined KAPLAN for having violated the ban on political activities, which had been imposed on him in 1996. By means of renewed enactments, the latest one from November, he was forbidden, especially to advocate in public the use of force, and was threatened with additional fines in case of non-compliance. KAPLAN had already reacted to the first fine imposed on him in September with the statement:

"Such fines can never intimidate us, can never make us deviate from our route. A fine of a million DM or even a billion DM, even the death penalty could not stop us from continuing to make known our cause!" ("Ümmet-I-Muhammed", issue 240, 7 Sep 98, page 4)

### **(2) "Islamic Community Milli Görüs e.V." (IGMG)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Founded:      | 1985 (as "Association of the New Ideology in Europe e.V." (AMGT) in Cologne) |
| Leadership:   | chairman Ali YÜKSEL  |
| Members:      | approx. 27,000 (1997: 26,500)  |
| Publications: | "Milli Görüs & Perspective", published monthly, and others                   |

With approx. 27,000 members, the IGMG continues to be the largest extremist foreigner organization in Germany. According to its own statements, it maintains more than 500 mosques and other Islamic facilities in Germany, as well as facilities in other European countries and in North America. In 1995, the "European Community for the Construction and Support of Mosques" (EMUG) was founded just for administrating and expanding the large real estate property. The IGMG makes propaganda among Turkish fellow-countrymen living in the Moslem Diaspora in Germany and other countries by offering assistance in religious and social matters.

### **IGMG demands Islamic state and social order**

In public statements, IGMG functionaries declare that the organization appreciates the German legal system and abides by the principles of parliamentary democracy and the values of the basic constitutional law.

Nevertheless, the IGMG demands the abolition of the laicist state constitution in Turkey and the introduction of an Islamic state and social order, a system that leaves no room, for example, for the fundamental right on the unrestricted unfolding of one's personality and for the basic principle of Western democracies, the sovereignty of the people as the source of state power, in countries where it is being practiced (Iran, Sudan, and Afghanistan). IGMG functionaries call the fundamental right of freedom of religion (Article 4 of the basic constitutional law) (Grundgesetz - GG) exemplary; it saves the organization from interference and restrictions, as they would be conducted by the laicist Turkish state. At the same time, IGMG concludes from the fundamental right laid down in Article 4 GG, a claim not only on being able to live in accordance with the religious convictions of Islam, but also on integrating an "Islamic culture" as part of a multicultural society which should be developed in Germany.

### **Instrumental understanding of the protective function of Article 4 GG**

Statements by leading IGMG functionaries indicate that the organization wants to make use of the protective function of Article 4 GG. In the long run, it does not want to be content with the coexistence of other religions and cultures, but strives for dominance of Islamistic ideologies in Europe. During a meeting held in a hall in Forchheim (Bavaria) on 01 June, IGMG chairman Ali YÜKSEL declared:

"We must also fight for Islam taking over Europe. However, this cannot be done by means of violence and war, but only by using one's brains and by a line of action that makes sense. But the most important thing is that we first repress opposition within our own organization and must stop all disagreements."

The following was said in an IGMG paper titled "Strategies and methods that can be used during talks at home:

"Our activities and methods of 'bringing-into-power and predominance of the Islamic law', our most important goal and task, are to be explained in the nicest and systematic manner."

### **Islamic education**

Also in 1998, the IGMG devoted considerable time and effort to Islamic educational work. In this context, the internal training of its own leading cadres as multipliers of the Islamistic ideology increasingly gained importance. According to its own statements, the "IGMG leadership academy" started training in April, even though it does not yet have a building of its own. The IGMG offers a wide range of spare-time activities and possibilities for further education for Turkish youths as the most important target group. According to its own statements, it is thus able to withdraw young people from the influence of Western society and to introduce them to the organization.

Obviously trying to improve its reputation, for the first time, the IGMG openly spoke in favor of an Islamic-Jewish dialogue in 1998. Secretary-general Mehmet Sabri ERBAKAN took the view that especially nowadays, believers of all religions should cooperate, and that IGMG wanted to talk to Jewish communities. These remarks are in contradiction to numerous earlier statements which publicly defamed Jews.

IGMG personnel and financial support of the Islamistic Turkish "Welfare Party" (RP) with the objective of bringing about political changes in Turkey was discontinued for the time being, after RP was banned in Turkey on 16 January. IGMG functionaries strongly criticized this ban, and compared the responsible bodies in Turkey with the "fascist Hitler regime". The IGMG stayed in touch with RP functionaries and the RP successor, the "Party of Virtue" (FP). Numerous former RP representatives, the majority of whom had joined FP after the ban of RP, attended IGMG events in Germany.

The IGMG again conducted a series of large-scale events. Approx. 500 persons attended the "Fourth Day of Students", held at the "Stadthalle" (municipal hall) in Hagen on 18 April. On 02 May, the IGMG conducted its "Third European Day of Youths" with approx. 10,000 participants at the "Philips Hall" in Düsseldorf. On 09 May, the "Day of Women" with approx. 4,000 visitors from Germany and abroad took place in the same hall, where Ali YÜKSEL declared, among other things:

"We are a community that represents the law. Our opponents represent injustice. The systems defended by them were doomed to failure then and today." ("Milli Gazette", 12 May 98, page 3)

The large-scale events culminated in the annual meeting at the stadium of Amsterdam (Netherlands) on 20 June, in which approx. 20,000 IGMG members and sympathizers participated. The former chairman of the banned RP, Professor Necmettin ERBAKAN, and other persons from Turkey, Egypt, and Sudan were seen among the guests.

Since spring, the IGMG has been represented on the INTERNET with a homepage of its own. This homepage includes the assertion that the association has over 1,000 "branch offices", approx. 700 youth organizations, and 400 women's associations worldwide.

## **2. Kurds**

### **a. Overview**

Approx. 500,000 Kurds, for the most part from Turkey, live in the FRG at present. The majority of them respects our legal system; only a minority of approx. 12,000 Kurds has joined extremist Kurdish organizations from Turkey and Iraq. The most active organization with the highest number of sympathizers in this field still is the "Workers' Party of Kurdistan" (PKK), which continues to be a considerable militant threat potential to internal security in Germany. The PKK can mobilize up to 50,000 participants during demonstrations or major events.

On 22 November 1993, the BMI banned the PKK and its internationally operating political arm, the "National Liberation Front of Kurdistan" (ERNK), as well as additional secondary and subsidiary organizations, because of the numerous acts of violence in Germany for which the PKK was responsible. As of spring 1996, PKK secretary-general Abdullah ÖCALAN repeatedly declared in public that the PKK wanted to renounce violence in Europe and especially in Germany. Since then, few attacks and violent demonstrations have occurred. Nevertheless, the organization's concept continues to include a latent willingness to return to violent actions, but at this time not in Germany.

## b. "Workers' Party of Kurdistan" (PKK)

Basic data for Germany:

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Founded:      | 1978 (in Turkey); banned in Germany in 1993   |
| Leadership:   | leading functionaries of the "European Front Center" (who are Subordinate to PKK secretary-general Abdullah ÖCALAN) |
| Sympathizers: | approx. 11,500 (1997: 11,000)   |
| Publications: | "Serxwebun" (Independence), published monthly, and others   |

### (1) General situation

With the help of its military arm, the "Popular Liberation Army of Kurdistan" (ARGK), the PKK has been waging a guerilla war against Turkish security forces in southeast Turkey since 1984. The goal of their armed struggle, and in recent years also of increased political efforts, is to obtain state autonomy in a "free" Kurdistan. In this context, the PKK has for years been banking on the support of organization structures in Europe, especially in Germany. It receives large amounts of money from its members and sympathizers in Germany, which are collected during annual fund-raising campaigns.

### PKK makes efforts to be accepted as political partner

Another emphasis of support lies in propaganda, as PKK secretary-general Abdullah ÖCALAN is hoping to influence political decision-makers in Europe through these activities. According to ÖCALAN, he had traveled to Italy on 12 November, hoping that political forces in Europe might contribute considerably to settling the Kurdish problem in the interest of the PKK. Following massive pressure from Turkey, the Syrian government deprived him of previously granted support, thus causing him to give up his exile in Damascus. After a failed attempt to find shelter in the Russian Federation, ÖCALAN flew from Moscow to Rome. He was arrested upon his arrival at the airport of Rome, and was placed under arrest for several days. ÖCALAN requested political asylum in Italy, so as to avoid being deported and/or extradited to Germany or Turkey. Both countries issued arrest warrants against him. In Germany, the Federal Attorney General is investigating ÖCALAN for ringleadership in a terrorist association, joint murder, and arson.

In contradiction to PKK statements that it wanted to comply with German laws, it continues to unfold a multitude of illegal activities among the Turkish population, which includes the use of force to a considerable extent. The PKK sees violence as a legitimate instrument to enforce party interests. The PKK acts mainly in a conspiratorial manner and primarily against Turks and Kurds living in Germany, among whom it creates a climate of fear and intimidation. The PKK still has to be held responsible for criminal activities in the course of raising funds. In 1998, over 70 cases of extorted funds became known; a high number of unknown cases has to be assumed in this connection. The PKK also uses force to discipline its sympathizers. Using the example of Marxist-Leninist cadre organizations, it claims disciplinary and punitive power over its sympathizers.<sup>(144)</sup>



To this date, this claim of power remains. Also in 1998, the PKK conducted at least seven acts of punishment. As a rule, the victims were physically maltreated for "behavior detrimental to the party", such as refusing to attend party events (meetings and demonstrations), refusal to buy PKK publications, or critical comments on the PKK. This field also shows a high estimated number of unknown cases.

In addition, indications increased in 1998 that the PKK takes Kurdish minors from parental care in order to train them as "party cadres" or for war missions in Turkey. Although no youths under 16 years are to be taken to training camps against the will of their parents, in accordance with "official" guidance by the PKK leadership, there are indications that the opposite is being practiced.

By doing so, the PKK abuses the juvenile love of adventure and the fire of youth for its so-called liberation struggle. The PKK thus prevents the integration of Kurdish youths in Germany. In addition, it removes youths from their social environment and deprives them of the chance for a secure development in school and training.

## **(2) PKK propaganda**

On the occasion of ÖCALAN's arrest in Italy, the PKK made Europe-wide appeals for actions of solidarity to its sympathizers. Immediately after the arrest, thousands traveled to Rome to demand the release of their chairman and demonstrate against his extradition to Turkey. Also in Germany, demonstrations and manifestations of solidarity took place in numerous cities, e.g. in Hamburg with approx. 2,500 participants on 27 November, in Bonn with approx. 11,000 participants on the same date, and once more in Bonn on 19 December, when over 30,000 Kurds from all over Germany and neighboring countries came together for a centralized demonstration. They demanded a right to stay in Italy for ÖCALAN, and a political settlement of the Kurdish conflict in Turkey.

In numerous statements, ÖCALAN tried to present the PKK in a new light. Repeatedly, he massively criticized ARGK military leaders, whom he accused of having a lack of discipline and reason. He announced a restructuring of the organization in accordance with democratic principles, and even hinted at his willingness to withdraw from his position as secretary-general.

Nevertheless, concrete steps for realizing such announcements were not taken. Efforts were merely made to present the PKK as an organization functioning in accordance with democratic rules, whose emphasis no longer lies in the armed struggle but in political work. This corresponds to ÖCALAN's repeated announcements that, for the time being, the PKK on principle wanted to stick to the one-sided truce it had declared on the Turkish security forces at the end of August. However, in a speech broadcast on 31 December by television station "MED-TV", which the PKK uses as propaganda instrument, ÖCALAN indicated that he has not given up the option on violence. He declared that the armed struggle against Turkey could be intensified if no progress was made in the peace process he was striving for. Such a development would also have detrimental consequences for Europe.

## **Indications of control of events by the PKK**

Already **prior to** ÖCALAN's arrival in Rome, the PKK had attracted attention by numerous events and campaigns in Germany, thus violating the ban on activities. Especially in the planning and preparatory stages, the organization tries to disguise the fact that it organizes and/or participates in these actions.

On the occasion of "Newroz", the Kurdish New Year's Day celebration on 21 March, numerous PKK initiated or influenced events took place nationwide, as had been the case in previous years. Between 100 and 1,000 persons respectively participated in torch processions; events in halls were attended by a total of up to 9,000 persons. PKK sympathizers repeatedly showed banned banners and flags with PKK symbols, handed out pertinent fliers, and shouted PKK slogans. The celebrations, which also attracted German sympathizers, were peaceful for the most part. In Heilbronn and Kassel, however, participants attacked and injured several police officers.

Another large-scale event with approx. 40,000 participants took place in Dortmund on 06 June; among the participants were Kurds from all parts of Germany and neighboring countries, sympathizers of left-extremist Turkish organizations as well as German sympathizers. Two members of the Northrhine-Westfalen state parliament had registered the event with the local authorities. The head of the PKK "committee for foreign relations" was involved in planning the large-scale event, during which a speech by ÖCALAN was played back via loudspeaker.

In early August, the PKK launched a Europe-wide "anti-drugs campaign" under the motto "heroin kills you – save human life". Events and info stalls on this subject, linked with propaganda attacks on the Turkish state, took place in numerous cities. As in previous years, the PKK again conducted a campaign calling for boycotts of tourist trips to Turkey.

For the fourth year, the PKK has been using the television station "MED-TV" for its propaganda, in addition to publications imputed to the PKK. "MED-TV" reports in different languages and Kurdish dialects on activities by the PKK and other Kurdish organizations in Turkey and other Kurdish areas of settlement. It broadcasts interviews, speeches, and declarations by ÖCALAN and leading PKK functionaries. Persons from the party leadership participate in special broadcasts and/or panel discussions as studio guests or via telephone. "MED-TV" reaches an audience throughout Europe and in the Kurdish areas of settlement.

### **(3) Organizational situation**

The illegal PKK structures, operated from the underground under violation of the ban on activities, consist of a strict hierarchy and are subject to ÖCALAN's orders. They presumably comprise seven regions and approx. 30 districts. The PKK is now also present in the new federal states, where it has set up its first club structures. In many places, the PKK is trying to make contact with Kurds living in shelters for asylum seekers and to recruit them for the organization. PKK sympathizers in the new federal states increasingly participate in nationwide events in Germany and other Western countries.

### **(4) Financing**

The PKK requires considerable financial means for its party apparatus, its propaganda work,

and its terrorist activities in Turkey. This money comes from membership dues, selling brochures and newspapers, proceeds from events, and from conducting at least one big fund-raising campaign per year. The fund-raising campaign launched in autumn 1997 was prolonged several times, before it was terminated with proceeds of approx. DM 20 million.

The PKK continues its efforts to prevent its sympathizers from participating in drug trafficking. However, in 1998 there again were indications that the organization profits, at least indirectly, from drug trafficking.

#### **(5) PKK coalition policy**

##### **PKK and seven other left-extremist Turkish organizations formed an action coalition**

In June, the PKK and seven other left-extremist Turkish organizations, to include the "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party" (MLKP), both wings of the "Turkish Communist Party/Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML) and the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front – Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C – Devrimci Sol) agreed on an action coalition "Revolutionary United Forces" (DBG), aiming at the political and military struggle against the Turkish state. As of July, sympathizers of the involved organizations conducted info events and panel discussions under the name "Platform of the United Revolutionary Forces" (DBGP) in several German and west-European cities in order to introduce the new coalition and its planned actions, to include a campaign against military service in Turkey. Larger activities did not take place.

#### **(6) Bans**

##### **Additional clubs banned in Bremen and Hesse**

On 09 April, the Bremen Senator of the Interior (Translator note: equivalent to a minister of the interior) banned the "Kurdish-German Solidarity Club e.V." in its capacity as replacement organization of the "Kurdish-German Club for International Friendship – HEVALTI ", which had been banned on 01 November 1995 for supporting the PKK. On 25 August, the Hesse Ministry of the Interior banned the "International Civic Center Frankfurt/Main e.V.", which has to be regarded as the replacement organization of the "Kurdistan Information Center Frankfurt/Main e.V.", which had been banned on 30 November 1995.

#### **(7) Criminal proceedings against leading PKK functionaries**

On 11 February, the Celle Superior District Court (OLG) sentenced the former European spokesman of ERNK to seven and a half years imprisonment for malicious arson in three cases and other offenses. On 14 October, the Celle OLG sentenced a functionary of the PKK youth organization "Union of Youths from Kurdistan" (YCK) to three years and four months imprisonment for three cases of attempted arson.

On 12 November, the Stuttgart OLG sentenced another PKK functionary to three and a half years imprisonment for membership in a terrorist association and serious bodily injury. Among other things, this functionary had participated in punishing PKK dissenters in Baden-Württemberg.

On 18 November, the Frankfurt/Main OLG sentenced a former PKK regional head to 39 months imprisonment for membership in a terrorist association and other offenses.

On 17 December, the Celle OLG sentenced a female PKK functionary to one year and nine months imprisonment for attempted arson and other offenses.

According to the findings of security authorities, PKK functionaries operate in a highly covert manner. Their structural behavior corresponds to what is also known about the apolitical field of organized crime. With regard to these activities and results of police investigations, which prove that PKK activists and leaders continue to be responsible for a multitude of criminal offenses, the Federal Attorney General initiated criminal investigations for suspicion of membership in a criminal association, i.e. the existence of criminal structures within the PKK leadership in Germany since the middle of 1996. The investigations were initiated under Article 129 of the German penal code (founding of or membership in a criminal association) on 13 November 1997.

### 3. Arabs

#### a. Algerian Islamistic groups

##### **"Islamic Salvation Front" (FIS)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Founded:      | approx. in 1989 (in Algeria)                               |
| Leadership:   | head of the "executive instance of FIS abroad"             |
| Members:      | approx. 300 (1997: approx. 300)                            |
| Publications: | "Al-Ribat" (Bond/Connection), published weekly, and others |

##### **"Armed Islamic Group" (GIA)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Founded:      | 1992 (in Algeria)  |
| Members:      | included in the figures on FIS, as a clear association is not possible in most cases (estimated at approx. 50) |
| Publications: | "Al-Gamaa" (The Group), published monthly, and others  |

Polarization between the Algerian Islamistic groups "Islamic Salvation Front" (FIS) and "Armed Islamic Group" (GIA) continued during 1998. While FIS and its armed instrument, the "Islamic Salvation Army" (AIS), adhered to its one-sided truce from October 1997, GIA sympathizers committed, at the beginning of the year, the most cruel massacres on the civil population in Algeria since the outbreak of violent confrontations between the regime and the Islamists in 1992. Consequently, splits-off from GIA occurred. Some smaller groups joined the truce announced by FIS/AIS. Another group, that originally belonged to the GIA, continues to disapprove of a truce, but strongly criticizes the massacres on the population. Headed by their leader Hassan HATTAB, sympathizers of this group, which now calls itself "SALAFIYA Group for the Mission and Struggle", continue to commit terrorist attacks on members and facilities of the army and security authorities.

Most FIS sympathizers in Germany advocate the new, more moderate line of the organization. Opponents to this line, who teamed up as "FIS Coordination Council Abroad" (CCFIS) <sup>(145)</sup> in October 1997, have to date been unable to influence FIS sympathizers in

Germany.

Some of the Algerian Islamists living in Germany are still integrated into the logistics support of armed Islamic groups in Algeria. This includes, among other things, the procurement of money, vehicles, forged identification documents, suitable clothing, and even military equipment. On 26 May, the Federal Office of Criminal Investigations (BKA) searched the premises of Algerian Islamists in the scope of criminal investigations against suspected GIA sympathizers. As a result, GIA documents, numerous video cassettes, computers, and fax machines were confiscated, and warrants of arrest were issued for two individuals. In August and/or October, these two were extradited to France, following a pertinent request by French authorities. Simultaneously with the police measures in Germany, the responsible authorities in Italy, Belgium, France, and Switzerland conducted executive measures.

#### **b. Egyptian Islamists**

##### **"Al-Gamaa al-Islamiya" (GI) (Islamic Community)**

Basic data for Germany:

|             |                          |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| Founded:    | 1971 (in Egypt)          |
| Leadership: | a group of functionaries |
| Members:    | approx. 10               |

The Egyptian Islamic organization "Al-Gamaa al-Islamiya" (GI) apparently has been discussing its future structure for months. Influential leaders of this organization reportedly agreed to discontinue armed violence against the Egyptian government and tourists. For instance, prior to the attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Daressalam on 07 August, GI had declared its withdrawal from the "International Islamic Front for the Jihad against Jews and Crusaders" of Usama BIN LADEN, which is held responsible for these attacks. GI functionaries living in European countries were also included in the discussion on stopping the acts of violence.

Up to now, there have been no indications that GI functionaries and sympathizers living in Germany or other European countries are included in planning or carrying out acts of terror.

#### **c. Other extremist and terrorist groups from the Near East**

##### **(1) "Islamic League of Palestine" (IBP)**

Basic data for Germany:

|             |                                 |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| Founded:    | 1981 (in Munich)                |
| Leadership: | leading functionary             |
| Members:    | approx. 250 (1997: approx. 200) |

The Sunnite-Palestinian "Islamic Resistance Movement" (HAMAS) again committed bomb attacks in Israel, killing several people and injuring numerous others. Purpose of a bomb attack on a school bus full of Jewish children, committed in the Gaza Strip at the end of

October, during which an Israelite soldier was killed, apparently was to make clear that HAMAS disapproved of the Wye Plantation Agreement of 23 October.

HAMAS sympathizers in Germany, represented by the "Islamic League of Palestine" (IBP), continue to disapprove of the Israelite-Palestine peace process. Its fund-raising club "Al-AQSA e.V.", located in Aachen, continued to raise funds in mosques and during events of Islamic organizations. There still were no indications that IBP members were involved in planning acts of violence. It is presumed, however, that family members of "martyrs", i.e. suicidal assassins, also benefit from these funds.

## (2) "Hizb Allah" (Party of God)

Basic data for Germany:

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Founded:               | 1982 (in Lebanon)                                   |
| Central meeting place: | Islamic Center of Münster                           |
| Leadership:            | a group of functionaries                            |
| Members:               | approx. 750 (1997: approx. 700)                     |
| Publications:          | "Al Ahd" (Commitment), published weekly, and others |

The Shiite "Hizb Allah" continued its struggle against the Israeli occupation in southern Lebanon. Its military arm, "Al Moqawama al Islamiya" (Islamic Resistance), engaged in numerous fights with Israelite security forces. Because of its military struggle and its wide-ranging social engagement, "Hizb Allah" has a large number of sympathizers, especially in impoverished areas of Shiite settlements. Against this background, "Hizb Allah" increasingly developed into a political representative of the interests of the Shiite population in Lebanon during the past few years. The primary goal of "Hizb Allah" no longer is to turn Lebanon into an Islamic state in accordance with the Iranian model. The organization rather demonstrated its willingness to integrate into the political system of Lebanon. The attitude of the organization, which continues to adhere to its close connections to Iran and to its Islamic orientation, by now is characterized by a political pragmatism which aims at bringing about social changes in Lebanon through political activities.

There has been no change in the attitude of "Hizb Allah" with regard to the use of force in its struggle against Israel. In early November, "Hizb Allah" secretary-general Sheik Hassan NASRALLAH said on the occasion of a demonstration in Beirut, that the agreement which Israel's Minister President NETANJAHU and Palestinian President ARAFAT reached at Wye Plantation on 23 October must be abolished. To this end, Israelite soldiers and settlers must be murdered. Palestinians were called upon to chop off the hand of their president, because he signed the agreement.

Developments in Lebanon has hardly led to reactions among "Hizb Allah" sympathizers in Germany. The "Islamic Center" (IZ) of Münster serves them as a central meeting place. They were primarily busy trying to get organizational and personnel problems under control.

Thus, activities were restricted to planning and attending religious celebrations, to raising funds which partly flow into Lebanon where they will probably be partly passed on to family members of killed combatants, to meetings in mosques, and to participating in

demonstrations. This year's demonstration on the occasion of "Ghods Day" (Day of Jerusalem) <sup>(146)</sup> took place in Berlin on 24 January. It attracted approx. 1,500 Moslems, to include approx. 150 "Hizb Allah" sympathizers.

#### **d. Arabian Mudjahedin (Fighters for Allah)**

Numerous Islamists from the Near East and North Africa participated in combat actions in Afghanistan in the eighties, meant to drive out Soviet armed forces. They passed through military training camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and waged the armed struggle against the Red Army and communists as a "Holy War" (Jihad). Later on, these so-called Arabic Modjahedin (also known as "Afghanistan combatants") fought in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kashmir, and Chechnya as mercenaries. They also fought with Islamistic groups in Algeria and Egypt. The "Arabic Modjahedin" forms loosely connected networks which stay in touch with each other, partly through Islamic charitable "non-governmental organizations" (NGO). Connections to this environment of the "Arabic Modjahedin" became visible in Islamistic motivated serious acts of terror committed during the past few years, last in the bomb attacks on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi (Kenya) and Daressalam (Tanzania) on 07 August. The terrorist Modjahedin milieu is financed mainly by the Saudi-Arabian multimillionaire Usama BIN LADEN, who lives in Afghanistan. The offices for the protection of the constitution have received several clues on individuals resident in the FRG, who either were fighting as Modjahedin in Afghanistan or other theaters of war or received military training in Modjahedin camps in Afghanistan or Pakistan. Some persons from this circle are tied into contact networks of the "Arabic Modjahedin" and are in touch with persons around Usama BIN LADEN. On 16 September, the Sudanese national Mamdoh Ahmed SALIM was arrested near Munich. U.S. authorities accuse him of playing a major role in financial transactions by Usama BIN LADEN. On 20 December, he was extradited to the USA.

#### **4. Iranians**

While sympathizers of the Iranian government hardly conducted activities in Germany, opponents to the regime continued their propaganda against the government in Teheran, among other things by conducting numerous demonstrations.

##### **a. Supporters of Iranian government**

##### **"United Islamic Students' Association" (U.I.S.A.)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Founded:      | approx. in 1976   |
| Headquarters: | Berlin  |
| Leadership:   | executive committee of four persons                               |
| Members:      | approx. 150 (1997: approx. 200)                                   |
| Publications: | "Qhods" (Jerusalem), published at irregular intervals, and others |

##### **U.I.S.A. sympathizers conducted few activities**

The German section of the "United Islamic Students' Association" (U.I.S.A.), an association of regime-loyal Iranian students, is the only Iranian organization in Germany that supports the goals of the "Islamic Revolution". The objectives of U.I.S.A., which is organized in local groups, include the "export" of the idea of the revolution, worldwide Islamization, and politically supporting the Iranian government in foreign countries, e.g. by influencing Moslem groups from other countries. Again in 1998, the organization was hardly active; only smaller internal events took place at the "Islamic Center of Hamburg e.V." (IZH), the largest Shiite propaganda center in Germany. Organization-related activities by U.I.S.A. in Germany continue to decrease. However, U.I.S.A. members participated in a demonstration on the occasion of "Ghods Day", in Berlin on 24 January.

## **b. Opponents of Iranian government**

### **"National Resistance Council of Iran" (NWRI) – Representatives of the People's Mudjahedin of Iran" (MEK)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Founded:      | 1981 (in Paris)   |
| Headquarters: | Cologne   |
| Leadership:   | German spokesman  |
| Members:      | approx. 900 (1997: approx. 900)                               |
| Publications: | "Mudjahed" (Religious Fighters), published weekly, and others |

### **"People's Mudjahedin" still demands the violent overthrow of the Iranian government**

The "National Resistance Council of Iran" (NWRI), the worldwide active political arm of the "People's Mudjahedin of Iran" (MEK), continues to be the only organization capable of actions within the Iranian spectrum of opposition. Although the Iranian population and, above all, Iranians living abroad obviously disapprove of it, NWRI claims during actions attracting publicity, such as press conferences and other appearances in the mass media, to be the "exile parliament" of the "only legitimate democratic alternative" to the Iranian government.

The MEK is a military oriented and strictly hierarchical cadre organization, characterized by a sect-like leader cult. In 1998, the organizations' leaders in Iraq resolutely demanded a "military abolition of the Iranian government", and began to concentrate its activities on strengthening the manpower of the "National Liberation Army" (NAL), an insurgent army of several thousand combatants stationed in Iraq. The head of MEK and NLA, Massoud RADJAVI, called on his sympathizers worldwide to join the NLA and participate in the upcoming "ultimate struggle against the Iranian regime." The MEK assumed responsibility for a series of terrorist attacks on governmental buildings and functionaries in Iran. NWRI sympathizers increasingly directed physical attacks against representatives of the Iranian government in Western foreign countries.

As in previous years, NWRI sympathizers in Germany concentrated their activities on, mostly illegal, fund-raising actions (street and door-to-door collections), conducted on the pretext of



wanting to support Iranian refugees. In addition, the organization organized numerous demonstrations against the government in Teheran, which attracted up to 400 participants. The NWRI used the worldwide mass media interest in the World Cup soccer game between Iran and the United States, which took place in Lyon (France) in 21 July, for a large-scale propaganda action with approx. 10,000 participants from numerous countries, to include Germany, who were taken to Lyon with great organizational expenditures. The NWRI succeeded at least in drawing the attention of the Western mass media to the political objectives of the organization. Sweeping safety precautions by the French authorities prevented the feared violent physical confrontations with sympathizers of the regime.

## 5. Sikhs

### **"International Sikh Youth Federation" (ISYF)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Founded:      | 1984 (in India)  |
| Headquarters: | Frankfurt/Main   |
| Leadership:   | split in three factions, each of which has its own federal executive committee |
| Members:      | approx. 600 (1997: approx. 600)  |

### **"Babbar Khalsa International" (BK)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |                                 |
|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Founded:      | 1978 (in India)                 |
| Headquarters: | Merzenich (district of Düren)   |
| Leadership:   | a federal executive committee   |
| Members:      | approx. 200 (1997: approx. 200) |

Terrorist Sikh organizations continue their efforts to establish an independent state of "Khalistan" on the territory of the North Indian federal state of Punjab. They try to draw attention to this goal and to destabilize the political situation in Punjab by means of calculated attacks in their home region.

Aside from moderate Sikh groups, "Babbar Khalsa International" (BK) and the "International Sikh Youth Federation" (ISYF) are especially active in Germany. During numerous meetings and "martyr commemorations" in religious Sikh centers, they raised funds which were also used to support activities by violent organizations, such as the "Khalistan Commando Force" (KCF) in India. Sikh groups try to make public propaganda for their goals by means of info stands and demonstrations. They denounce the politics of the Indian party in power, and call for supporting Sikh interests in India. On the occasion of Indian nuclear tests, the ISYF conducted a demonstration with approx. 80 Sikh participants in Bonn on 18 May. The demonstrators first rallied at the foreign affairs office, where a delegation of five handed over a memorandum. The demonstrators then moved on to the Indian embassy, where they

shouted slogans directed against the Indian government. On 17 August, approx. 100 persons, to include sympathizers of different extremist Sikh organizations, conducted a protest demonstration in Bonn, during which protesters called the Indian government a "terrorist regime" and demanded a free "Khalistan".

## 6. Tamils

### "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" (LTTE)

Basic data for Germany:

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| Founded:      | 1972 (in Sri Lanka)   |
| Headquarters: | Mönchengladbach   |
| Leadership:   | leadership cadre of the German section                                  |
| Members:      | approx. 700 (1997: approx. 700)   |
| Publications: | "Kalathil" (On The Battlefield), published every other week, and others |

Fights between government troops and Tamil LTTE separatists also continued in the north and east of Sri Lanka in 1998. By means of committing several bomb attacks, LTTE tried to draw attention to its goals and to put the government of Sri Lanka under pressure. The 25 January bomb attack on the temple of Kandy, the most important Buddhist sanctuary in Sri Lanka, resulted in the LTTE being banned in Sri Lanka. Another serious attack, committed in Sri Lanka's capital Colombo on 05 March, resulted in the death of 32 persons, while 230 persons sustained partly serious injuries. Also, the celebrations on the occasion of Sri Lanka's 50th anniversary of its independence (04 February) could only be carried out under strictest safety precautions.

The LTTE increasingly depends on funds from Tamils living in Germany to finance its "liberation struggle" in Sri Lanka. For this reason, it conducts fund-raising actions during numerous "hero memorial days" and cultural events, which are organized mainly by LTTE relief and cover organizations. In addition, it organizes door-to-door collections, during which cadres do not shrink from extorting money from their fellow countrymen. Such raised funds total a suspected several million German marks a year. The LTTE tries to win the population for its goals by means of demonstrations and info stalls. For instance, a protest demonstration was conducted in front of the "Stadthalle" in Bonn-Bad Godesberg on the occasion of a reception by the embassy of Sri Lanka on 04 February. A bomb threat directed against the ambassador of Sri Lanka was received during the event.

## 7. Kosovar Albanians

## **"People's Movement of Kosovo" (LPK)**

Basic data for Germany:

|               |  |
|---------------|--|
| Founded:      | 1982 (in Kosovo)                                     |
| Leadership:   | German section of the LPK abroad                     |
| Members:      | approx. 550 (1997: approx. 300)                      |
| Publications: | "Zeri i Kosoves" (Voice of Kosovo), published weekly |

The number of Kosovar Albanians living in Germany is by now estimated at over 200,000; most of them are refugees who fled from the civil war in the region.

All politically relevant Kosovar Albanian groups in the FRG strive for a "Republic of Kosovo", which is independent of Serbia. The international community disapproves of this goal. However, it demands the Serb government grant the Kosovar Albanians sweeping rights of autonomy, which they had completely lost in the course of the amendment of the Serb constitution, proclaimed in March 1989.

### **LPK makes propaganda for a struggle for independence**

The LPK advocates any form of struggle for the national unity and independence of Albanians in Kosovo and in all areas where Albanians are living in the former Yugoslavia. In its publication "Zeri i Kosoves" and during internal meetings, it calls for the political and financial support of this struggle, which is largely conducted by the "Liberation Army from Kosovo" (UCK). At regular intervals, the newspaper publishes fund accounts which the fund manager "Vendlindja therret" (The Fatherland Is Calling) established in Germany and numerous other European countries, as well as in Australia, Canada, and the United States. In Germany, the fund is managed by the LPK relief organization "Democratic Association of Albanians in Germany" (DVAD), which has its headquarters in Siegburg and a branch office in Bonn.

### **"Democratic League of Kosovo" (LDK)**

The LDK believes that the "pacifist line" of LDK <sup>(147)</sup> chairman Dr. Ibrahim RUGOVA, whom the Kosovar Albanians voted as "President" of the "Republic of Kosovo" on 24 May 1992, has failed. For this reason, he repeatedly gets attacked in the publication "Zeri I Kosovo". The publication also strongly criticizes "Minister President" Dr. Bujar BUKOSHI, who lives in Germany, because he has refused so far to support the UCK out of the LDK established "Fund of the Republic Kosova". According to LDK statements, the "government" in Pristina uses the worldwide raised funds for humanitarian purposes, and for political and social institutions, schools and universities that exist "parallel" to the Yugoslavian facilities. So far, there have been no concrete indications on statements occasionally circulated by the mass media that money out of the LDK fund also flowed into the UCK. A large part of raised funds is not transferred via accounts, but is collected by reliable persons and then taken to Kosovo (via Albania) by couriers.

The violent quashing of a large-scale demonstration which Albanians conducted in the provincial capital of Pristina on 02 March, and the expulsion of Kosovar Albanian families by

Serb security forces triggered protests also by Kosovar Albanians living in Germany. During demonstrations, they strongly criticized the violations of human rights in their home country, demanded an intervention by Europe and the United States, and a stop to deporting Kosovar Albanians. Some of the demonstrators carried banners with UCK inscriptions, and shouted slogans in support of the UCK. Approx. 40,000 Kosovar Albanians from all parts of Germany participated in a demonstration in Bonn on 25 March, organized by the LDK. Serb demonstrations under the motto "Kosovo and Metohija (subregions in the Kosovo) form part of Serbia" did not meet with the hoped-for resonance; each of these demonstrations attracted only a few hundred participants.

According to information from LPK circles, a larger number of Kosovar Albanians (estimated at several hundred) voluntarily returned to their home country to join the UCK.

## **8. Annex: Infiltration Activities**

Along with other Western European countries, the Federal Republic of Germany continues to be a much-favored target country for illegal migration and infiltration activities closely connected with it.

Illegal migrations are important for extremist foreigner organizations in several ways. Infiltration into the FRG enables, for example, functionaries and members to hide in safe areas of retreat. Guerilla units active in the respective home countries are reinforced by exfiltrating activists willing to fight there. Illegally traveling couriers act as links who logistically support the armed struggle by transporting, for example, money and material.

As a rule, extremist foreigner organizations infiltrate their functionaries and members through their own structures. In isolated cases, they also make use of "professional" infiltration organizations. So far, there has been no definite proof that extremist foreigner organizations participate in bringing foreign refugees into Western Europe, especially into Germany, for commercial reasons, e.g. in order to finance their party work or armed actions. However, some of these organizations attempt to participate in the lucrative profits of commercial infiltration gangs by demanding high sums of money from them as contributions.

### **Infiltration of PKK members**

In connection with infiltration, the PKK continues to be the most active organization. It infiltrates its functionaries and members mainly through an organization unit of its own, which operates in secrecy. The majority of infiltrations into the FRG are done by land, with infiltration routes in all East European countries, but also in West European countries. Nevertheless, primarily functionaries using forged travel documents, are infiltrated by air. Exfiltrations out of Germany are done in the same manner.

Infiltration activities are known to emanate from Turkish left-extremist organizations, such as the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP-C), the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front – Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C – Devrimci Sol), and the "Turkish Communist Party/Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML). Again, infiltrations into Germany are mostly done by land.

In addition, especially Algerian Islamic groups like the "Islamic Salvation Front" (FIS) and the "Armed Islamic Group" (GIA) have at their disposal international infiltration networks with

bases in different European countries, to include Germany. This also applies to the extremist-Shiite Lebanese "Hizb Allah" (Party of God).

Militant Sikh and Tamil organizations, in particular the "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" (LTTE), are also under suspicion of infiltrating not only their own members, but of infiltrating fellow-countrymen who are then committed to the organization and can be used as fund payers.

#### **IV. Propaganda and Communications Media**

##### **1. Periodic Publications**

In 1998, extremist foreigner organizations circulated a total of 74 (1997: 84) periodic publications. This includes 49 publications (1997: 58) by left-extremist foreigner groups, 21 (1997: 22) by Islamic organizations, and 4 (1997: 4) by extreme-nationalist organizations. Again, most publications were circulated by Turkish and Kurdish groups (23 and/or 15).

##### **2. New Communications Media/INTERNET**

###### **Extremist foreigner groups further increased their activities on the INTERNET**

In 1998, a further increase in extremist foreigner groups using the INTERNET was observed. A large part of the associations and organizations active in Germany are by now represented on the "World Wide Web" (WWW) with their own homepages. Some of these pages offer very detailed information, with emphasis on promoting the groups' public image, and propaganda. In connection with extremist foreigner organizations, first successful attempts to access the computers of some providers by means of "hacking" and to disrupt their operations became known. For example, in October a probably Serb hacker succeeded in attacking the hard disk of a server, through which the publication "Zeri I Kosoves" (Voice of Kosovo) by the militant left-wing oriented "People's Movement from Kosovo" (LPK) is fed into the INTERNET.

Contrary to a practice frequently employed in 1997, which consisted of storing the data of relevant INTERNET pages on computers abroad, German providers are now also used for feeding INTERNET information.

Among extremist foreigner organizations, it is mainly left-extremist groups of Turkish or Kurdish origin who make use of the INTERNET with increasing professionalism. Information on the PKK is currently fed into the INTERNET by its different auxiliary and secondary organizations. Of high importance with regard to information on the PKK continue to be the INTERNET pages by "Özgür Politika" (Free Politics), a magazine sympathizing with the PKK, and of the Kurdish television station "MED-TV". The material offered on the INTERNET by these mass media is updated regularly, and provides the latest news. The INTERNET pages by the "Kurdistan Circular" (Kurdistan Rundbrief) and the "Kurdistan Information Centre of Cologne" (Kurdistan Informationszentrum Köln, KIZ) are addressed specifically to German sympathizers. These pages publish information on events as well as fund-raising appeals and political statements in the German language, thus making propaganda for the goals of the banned PKK.

The European information office of the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front"

(DHKP-C) continuously expanded its INTERNET offerings last year. Among other things, this homepage publishes up-to-date press statements, estimations of the political situation, and translations of the organizations' central publication. As a rule, articles that can be retrieved are published in English and/or German. In addition, one can access comprehensive DHKP-C archives (e.g. news clippings, statements) in seven different languages. Offerings on the INTERNET by the banned DHKP-C consisted primarily of comments on the ban imposed on the organization in August.

Islamistic groups likewise use the INTERNET for propagating their goals. Not only the groups themselves are represented on the INTERNET with their own homepages, but sympathizers support the goals of Islamists with their own INTERNET pages, e.g. by providing addresses on Islamistic associations and institutions.

Since the beginning of 1998, the "Islamic Community Milli Görüs e.V." (IGMG) has also presented itself through a German provider with an extravagant homepage of its own, which offers information both in the German and Turkish language. This homepage includes, among other things, a detailed activity report for 1997, and a report on the 1998 IGMG annual meeting in Rotterdam. It also publishes press releases on topical incidents (e.g. on the bomb attacks on the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania), or extracts from the IGMG publication "Milli Görüs & Perspective". In addition, IGMG makes available a communication forum on subjects like "IGMG and loyalty towards the constitution", "fundamentalism", "Islam or democracy?", in which users can directly participate with their own comments.

The INTERNET page of the Algerian "Islamic Salvation Front" (FIS) was repeatedly changed in 1998. Following the latest changes, it is now possible to call up FIS offers in the Arabic and the French language. The latest issues of FIS publications, to include "Al-Ribat" (Bond/Connection), communiqués of current interest, and selected texts by the FIS spiritual leaders are also made available.

The Lebanese "Hizb Allah" (Party of God) and the Palestinian "Islamic Resistance Movement" (HAMAS) likewise have their own homepages. Both organizations use the INTERNET for the dissemination of political declarations. The Egyptian "Al-Gamaa al-Islamiya" (GI) (Islamic Community) is represented through the homepage of its publication "Al-Murabeton" (Garrisons). Aside from political comments by GI, a large number of picture, audio, and video files from current newspaper, radio and television offers from "Al-Murabeton" can be accessed on the INTERNET.

## **V. Overview of Other Noteworthy Organizations and Their Important Publications**

| Organizations<br>-including seat-  | Members/Sympathizers<br>(partly estimated)<br>1998      (1997) |         | Publications<br>(including frequency<br>of publication)                       |
|--|--|---------|---|
| <b>Turks (excluding Kurds)</b>   |  |         |   |
| "Federation of Turkish<br>Democratic Clubs of<br>Idealists in Europe e.V."<br>(ADÜTDF)             | 7,500  | (7,000) | "Türk Federasyon Bülteni"<br>(Bulletin of Turk<br>Federation),<br>- monthly - |
| "Federation of Democratic<br>Clubs of Workers from<br>Turkey in the FRG e.V."<br>(DIDF)            | 800  | (800)   | "Tatsachen" (Facts)<br>- every other month -                                  |
| <b>Kurds</b>   |  |         |   |
| Iraqi organizations  | 400  | (400)   |   |
| "Democratic Party of<br>Kurdistan/Iraq" (DPK-I)  |  |         |   |
| "Patriotic Union of<br>Kurdistan" (PUK)  |  |         |   |
| <b>Arabs</b>   |  |         |   |
| "Hizb Al DA'Wa Al<br>Islamiya" (DA'WA)<br>(Party of the Islamic<br>Call/of the Islamic<br>Mission) | 100  | (100)   | "Al Jihad" (Holy War)<br>- weekly -   |
| "Groups of Lebanese<br>Resistance" (AMAL)  | 200  | (200)   | "Amal" (Hope)<br>- weekly -   |

## Espionage and Other Intelligence Activities

## **I. Overview**

### **Expansion of NATO and European Union taking shape**

In 1998, the situation in counter-espionage was marked by several changes. NATO discussions to allow Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary to join the organization caused a parallel, new positive evaluation of the intelligence services of these countries.

### **Continuing activities by Russian intelligence services**

On the other hand, the intelligence services of some of the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) <sup>(148)</sup>, primarily the Russian Federation, continued their intelligence activities against Germany as in the past. The Russian services continued to have a large number of intelligence specialists in official and semi-official Russian offices in Germany.

### **Activities of intelligence services from the Near, Middle, Far East, and Africa**

German security interests were not only threatened by intelligence activities from countries of the CIS. Countries of North Africa, as well as countries from the Near, Middle, and Far East continued to pursue intelligence goals in Germany. In particular, the countries of Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Syria continued their interests by spying on and the infiltration of persons living in Germany who oppose the governments in their home countries.

### **Proliferation remains a major threat**

The proliferation problem <sup>(149)</sup> has once again become a theme of public discussion after the nuclear weapons tests in India and Pakistan at the end of May. The arrest of a German technician who had been sought for a long time on an outstanding arrest warrant also caused a furor. He has been accused of providing Iraq with plans for the manufacture of gas ultra-centrifuges. The investigation being carried out by the Federal Attorney General on suspicion of treason and violations of foreign trade laws will be tried by the Bavarian Supreme State Court.

## **II. Intelligence and Security Services of the Russian Federation**

### **1. Current Situation, Missions of the Services, Personnel Changes**

#### **PRIMAKOV can expect support from the intelligence services**

In the Russian government apparatus, the intelligence and security services have their permanent places and are once again an elementary part of Russian security strategy. Based on the background of an unstable economic and political situation in Russia, the security services reacted positively to the selection of PRIMAKOV, former foreign minister and previous chief of the SWR intelligence service, to minister president.

Primarily the civilian intelligence services of Russia can expect his support and they will support him in areas of their own interests. Interior Minister STEPASHIN, who was chief of



the domestic intelligence service FSB until 1995, also stated that the intelligence services and the police will be able to work well with PRIMAKOV.

### **Changes primarily at levels above the intelligence services**

In 1998, there were structural and personnel changes at the management level of the intelligence services and in the institutions above the services. In March, the Russian Defense Council, which up to that time had functioned primarily as a counterweight to the National Security Council, and the Military Inspectorate, which was newly created in October 1997 and has a control function in the Russian Armed Forces, were integrated into the National Security Council, which since mid-September has been headed by General-Colonel Nikolaj BORDJUSHA. In December, BORDJUSHA was also named chief of the Russian Presidential Administration. The combining of the position of Chief of the National Security Council, who is responsible for coordination and control of the activities of the secret services, with the Chief of the Presidential Administration, led to a concentration and centralization of government control and steering options in the immediate area of influence of the Russian president and strengthens his power.

The most important intelligence and security services in the Russian Federation include:

#### **SWR**

The civilian foreign intelligence agency SWR is concerned mainly with political, scientific-technological, and economic intelligence in the target countries. The SWR also spies on foreign intelligence and security services through counter-espionage. The service is still headed by General-Colonel Vjatsheslav TRUBNIKOV, who as successor to PRIMAKOV, appears to have much support from Russian government leaders. This was made clear in 1998, when he participated not only in talks between Russia and the USA on the reduction of strategic weapons, but also in talks with Yugoslav president Milosevic in Moscow to end the Kosovo conflict.

#### **GRU**

The military foreign country intelligence service, GRU, which celebrated its 80th anniversary on 5 November, is subordinate to the Russian Defense Ministry and is responsible for military intelligence of foreign countries. This includes gathering military-political, strategic, tactical, and geographical intelligence, as well as technological espionage in the armament industry and technical production with both civilian and military uses. Chief of the service is General - Colonel Valentin KORABELNIKOV.

#### **FSB**

The FSB is a domestic counter/security service primarily responsible for counterespionage and for fighting terrorism and organized crime. In special cases, and with the approval of Russian foreign country services, the FSB is authorized to carry out intelligence activities in foreign countries, for example, in countering economic espionage, international organized crime, or military counterespionage.

#### **PUTIN new FSB chief**

In July, the previous chief of FSB, Nikolaj KOVALJOV, was replaced by General Colonel Vladimir PUTIN. PUTIN was in the former Soviet state security service KGB until the early nineties in the department for foreign country intelligence and in this capacity, spent several years in the former GDR.

With the naming of PUTIN as FSB chief, his intelligence service career in the Russian state security system has been continued from the time of the Soviet Union.

## **FAPSI**

The Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information (FAPSI) conducts monitoring as well as counterintelligence operations. On one hand, the organization is responsible for the monitoring and deciphering of foreign communications traffic in Russia, and on the other hand, is responsible for setting up lines of communication and guaranteeing the security against monitoring of important government lines of communication, for example for the Russian government and the military. In addition, FAPSI is the approving authority for all commercial uses of communications technology.

The service was founded immediately after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, is directly subordinate to the Russian president, and had been headed since its formation by Army General Alexander STAROVOIJTOV. Without giving a reason, STAROVOIJTOV was relieved of this position by President Yelzin on 7 December and replaced by Vladislav Petrovitsch SCHERSTJUK, who previously headed the "3d Main Administration", which was responsible for monitoring of foreign communications/electronics.

## **FSO**

The protection service FSO is responsible for personal protection and safety of the Russian president and members of the government. The organization is also responsible for providing security for government buildings and living quarters for members of the government. A part of this service can also be assigned counterintelligence and intelligence gathering missions by the Russian president as he deems necessary. In this respect, one can speak of a presidential special service whose mission and authority is determined only by the Russian president. The organization is headed by Jurij KRAPIVIN.

## **FPS**

The "Federal Service for Border Protection" (FPS) is responsible for protecting the Russian state border. However, the FPS is also authorized, with the special intelligence gathering unit "Administration Border Troop Reconnaissance", to conduct foreign country intelligence gathering activities in the border regions with Russia's neighboring countries. In January, the command of the FPS was turned over to General Colonel Nikolaj BORDJUSHA, who held this position until named as chief of the National Security Council in mid-September. In early December, BORDJUSHA was also named chief of the Presidial Administration in the Kremlin and now holds both positions.

## **TOZKIJIH new leader of FPS**

The successor to BORDJUSHA as chief of FPS, is General Colonel Konstantin TOZKIJ, who was named to that position in mid-September. He graduated from the Moscow Border School, the Military Academy, and the General Staff Academy. His previous position was chief of the FPS Academy. One of the first measures in his new position, TOZKIJ announced that he would improve cooperation with the border services of the other CIS Republics.

### **Combining of FSB and FPS?**

The naming of BORDJUSHA to secretary of the Security Council is an indication for a possible upcoming combining of the FPS with the FSB, which apparently has been discussed by the Russian government since early 1998. The completion of this act would mean a drastic increase in the authority and control options for the FSB. BORDJUSHA declared in September when named as secretary of the National Security Council, plans to combine the FPS and the FSB have made considerable progress. This contradicts his own account in March, that the FPS would remain independent.

## **2. Activities of Russian Intelligence Services**

### **Continuity between the former Soviet intelligence services and the Russian services**

Despite all of the changes and reforms in the Russian security apparatus since the political change, it must not be overlooked, that the new Russian intelligence services are primarily direct successors to the former Soviet services KGB and GRU.

It can be clearly seen, that the Russian services with their facilities aimed against important target countries in the past, up until now have retained the "enemy profile", despite a reputed closing of numerous intelligence gathering bases in foreign countries and despite an alleged worldwide reduction of personnel. Also, the most important factors contained in the Soviet state security system, are now anchored in the Russian intelligence services. Included in this is, for example, the temporary discontinued executive authority for the domestic counterintelligence and security service FSB. In addition, many employees of the former KGB, who gained experience in intelligence, with its related ideological orientation, during the period of the cold war, are now employees of the Russian intelligence services.

### **Valuable inheritance for Russian services**

It must also not be forgotten, that the Russian services now have at their disposal a large intelligence inheritance from the time of the Soviet Union, of methodical knowledge and background information, as well as innumerable information on persons from throughout the world. This includes information about secret employees of the services in action throughout the world, as well as monitoring sites, and access options of all types.

With the takeover of the Soviet intelligence centers by the Russian Federation, these documents became the property of their services in their entirety. This presented the opportunity, without a break, to continue the intelligence working methods and with the intelligence people from the era of the Soviet Union for Russian interests. Up until the present time, the Russian services have been able to use this inheritance for their purposes.

#### **a. Intelligence targets and methods**

## **Germany remains a target country**

With the SWR, the GRU, and the FAPSI, the Russian Federation has at its disposal, basically three independent intelligence services able to carry out foreign country intelligence collection activities. Among the target countries for Russian intelligence collection/monitoring activities, Germany remains, as in the past, the preferred target country.

## **Intelligence targets**

The most important intelligence targets of the Russian foreign intelligence services include domestic, foreign, economic, and security policies, science and technology, as well as the military and military-strategic complex. The emphasis of the intelligence activities are changed to fit current events or certain developments, which are of special interest to the Russian government. The declared main target is political and military developments in connection with the growth of European unity. For this reason, Russian intelligence services continue to pay special attention to NATO and its expansion toward the East, and also the organizations WEU and OSZE concerned with the security of Europe. Also of similar importance for Russian intelligence services, is the further development of the European Union (EU), in particular as concerns its increasing political and economic potential.

## **Collection of information in the economics area**

The intelligence services have the mission of protecting Russian economic interests in their own country and on world markets, and to create the most optimum conditions for their ability to compete.

This includes the assistance of the intelligence services to promote the economy through foreign capital investors in Russia. For example, the FSB declared it intended to be "helpful" in the search by new investors for dependable business partners in Russia, and to provide personal protection and security for foreign capital investors. Such activities would primarily involve company representatives in the offices of foreign businesses in Russia and businessmen from western countries traveling to Russia. This circle of persons must therefore expect to be confronted with intelligence gathering conversations by the FSB.

## **Foreign country intelligence collection methods**

During the collection of information on target countries, Russian intelligence services continue to use the option of collecting intelligence information from open sources, general available to everyone, such as data banks, INTERNET, etc. On the other hand, the foreign country intelligence services SWR and GRU continue to collect information on interesting intelligence areas and targets in the classical way through covert spy activity with the help of secret co-workers or through their own intelligence officers who have been set up in the target countries using cover stories.

Espionage is aided by human sources using technical means to intercept communications and other electronic emissions.

The collection of intelligence information on foreign countries takes place, on the one hand, traditionally from Russian territory through activities controlled directly by intelligence services' headquarters in Moscow, and on the other hand, through the so-called legal

residences where undercover intelligence officers are active in Russian diplomatic or consular offices, as well as correspondent officers of Russian news services in the target countries. In addition, Russian intelligence officers are put in cover positions, both in Russian and in foreign countries, in state-owned companies, but also in private economic enterprises using cover stories.

### **Monitoring methods of the FSB**

The methodical techniques used by Russian intelligence services in monitoring and preparing target persons are based primarily on the experience and practices of the former KGB. As in "old times", the FSB works together with other Russian offices, which might be able to provide information on target persons, and maintains a network on informants and secret agents among the civilian populace, for example, in hotels in larger cities which house businessmen or tourists from the West.

Through direct monitoring of persons with their own agents, the FSB also attempts to locate interesting target persons and to find opportunities to talk with them on intelligence subjects. In addition, the FSB is very active in many areas in the intra-state sector through control and monitoring measures. An indication of this is a statement made by the former chief of the service, KOVALJOV, that all leading banks in Russia contain FSB agents. <sup>(150)</sup>

### **Employees of official German offices are targets**

German diplomatic and consular offices in Russia, as well as their employees and contact personnel, are all of interest to the FSB and are subjected to extensive personnel and/or site monitoring. Many of the Russians employed in such German foreign offices form a part of FSB monitoring activities.

### **Use of the INTERNET as a source of information**

According to a proposed law announced in July, the FSB would be allowed to monitor the INTERNET and electronic mail (e-mail). Russian INTERNET providers would then be required to install additional equipment which would make it possible for the FSB to control the activities of the user. Those who do not fulfill the requirements, would face revocation of their provider licenses. If this law comes into practice, foreign citizens or foreign enterprises, who use the INTERNET in Russia, would additionally be monitored by the FSB. The information collected this way, such as internal company policies and personal data of INTERNET users, could be used not only for countermeasures, but also for operational intelligence activities such as recruitment attempts.

### **Use of radio and communications electronic facilities to collect intelligence**

German security could also be affected by the domestic activities of the agency FAPSI. Their mission includes, in addition to the establishment of secure communications networks for banks and important economic enterprises in Russia, the granting of licenses in the area of communications and encryption technology, as well as granting permission for the commercial use of radio channels.

Through the far-reaching competence in the granting of licenses, as well as the establishment, maintenance, and control of intelligence communications in Russian industry,

the FAPSI is able to collect extensive information on national and international business connections, as well as the performance abilities and the reliability of "controlled" enterprises.

#### **b. Control of activities from Moscow**

##### **Numerous options for agent recruitment**

Intelligence connections directly controlled by the headquarters of the services in Moscow are usually set up over a long period of time. The options for establishment of such contacts are numerous. For example, persons who take business or pleasure trips to Russia may become of interest to Russian intelligence services and may be recruited for espionage activities. Resettlers from Russia continue to present a recruitment potential as in the past. This group of persons becomes of interest to Russian officials when they submit their resettlement applications and many of them are contacted by the services. If a resettler then visits relatives in the home country at a later date, another opportunity presents itself to again approach him to obtain intelligence information or to attempt to recruit him for intelligence activities. In addition, the headquarters of the services in Moscow control agents who have been recruited by intelligence officers from legal residences, or by illegal intelligence employees (persons infiltrated into the target country using false biographic information).

##### **The SWR attempts to continue former KGB connections or to reactivate them**

From the Russian side, it is always said that Russian-German relations have reached a new quality. However, in the intelligence service area, it must be said that the Russian reconnaissance service SWR continues its work in the same quality as its predecessor, the KGB, did. This is emphasized by the following case, which was directly controlled from Moscow:

##### **Public service**

Approx. 20 years ago, a former female employee of the Bonn Foreign Office met a foreigner who was a KGB agent and who recruited her for intelligence activities. After the agent married the employee (only in appearance, because he was still married to a GDR citizen) the employee quit her job when the second child was born. Ten years later, the SWR attempted to get this woman to return to her job at the Foreign Office. The SWR financed a trip for her to her last (foreign) duty location and then attempted to convince her to apply for a job through personal contacts at the German General Consulate at that location. In order to control her activities, her own radio communications network was set up, and she was told to report her progress on a regular basis. She was given secret code-writing material for this purpose. The SWR was particularly interested in the current procedures for the issuance of German passports at the General Consulate. More than likely, the woman provided assistance to the KGB while working in the Foreign Office in the 1980's in the preparation of false passports.

##### **Economic areas**

In another case, the Federal Attorney General filed charges with the Celle Superior State Court against a technical draftsman and a taxi owner. The defendants were charged with selling sensitive information to the former Soviet secret service KGB and later to its successor organization, the SWR. During the period 1983 to 1995, the technical draftsman supposedly sold documents and material tests from his job in the aircraft industry, first to the KGB and when it was dissolved, to the SWR. As contact person, both agencies used a taxi owner who is also being charged. The agents, both of whom were recruited for intelligence activities during visits to relatives in the former GDR, were being told by the KGB that the information was being delivered to the GDR. After the KGB was dissolved, the SWR continued connections to the taxi owner and had him invite the technical draftsman to Stettin, where SWR officers attempted to renew his intelligence collection activities. At this meeting in Stettin in October 1993, even a specialist for aircraft construction was present, in addition to Russian intelligence officers. The Russian service continued to call the former KGB agent to attempted to persuade him to renew his intelligence collection activities. <sup>(151)</sup>

### **c. Russian intelligence services' legal residencies**

#### **Legal residencies continue to be an important instrument in intelligence collection**

Legal residencies in the official diplomatic and consular offices of the Russian Federation in foreign countries play an important role in the intelligence concept of the Russian intelligence services. Despite the approach advances between the East and the West after the fall of the former East Bloc, Russia continues to be unwilling to forego the use of this instrument for foreign country intelligence collection.

In March, the press speaker of the SWR, General Jurij KOBALADSE, stated that members of the foreign intelligence collection services continue to be assigned to cover positions as diplomats or journalists. Although there were plans to remove all members of foreign country intelligence services from the foreign ministry, this has not yet been done because the services cannot operate without such cover. KOBALADSE further stated, that although Russia may no longer be seen as a super power, no one should attempt to ignore Russian's foreign country intelligence services.

Most of the work from the legal residences involves espionage activities by the SWR and the GRU in the operations area. Such locations offer the intelligence officers deployed there the possibility of covert missions in the target country along with a number of operational advantages. Because of their status and their supposed official functions, residence members have access to very privileged, intelligence interesting target persons from politics, the military, the economics, science, and society, as well as officials or diplomats from other countries and to develop closer ties with them. Numerous cases are known to counterespionage officials in which residence members attempted to cultivate standing contacts for intelligence use.

SWR and GRU legal residences are also preferred locations for those who have intelligence information or products to offer on their own. The motive to voluntarily offer intelligence cooperation, is usually the result of financial problems.

#### **Wide range of activities**

The intelligence activities initiated by legal residency members cover a wide range. In addition to the collection of intelligence through open conversations, in which unsuspecting persons are questioned in detail about their professional and private backgrounds, such activities also include the approach, recruitment, and control of agents. In addition, residency members are also used to support operations controlled directly by the headquarters of the services in Moscow. They make numerous preparations and carry out other assistance functions such as depositing and removing mail from so-called "dead-letter drops", previously set up at secret locations to exchange materials and/or money between the agents and the control office.

The legal residencies of Russian intelligence services in Germany continue to carry out their intelligence missions unabated with a large number of personnel, large expenditures, and a full range of activities. A few cases uncovered in 1998 in European countries again demonstrate the continuing espionage activities initiated from Russian foreign country offices.

### **III. Intelligence and Security Services of Other CIS Member States**

#### **Independent services in the CIS republics**

The remaining CIS republics established from the former Soviet Union, took over the Soviet intelligence services and put them under their own governments. In this way, the former service units of the KGB were not dissolved, but rather continued as services of the newly created CIS republics.

With the inclusion of Russia, the civilian services of the CIS states have already concluded several cooperation agreements among themselves to include an exchange of information and mutual support on the intelligence level.

A few CIS republics have added independent military intelligence services, comparable to the Russian GRU, to their civilian intelligence and security services.

#### **Germany is also a target of other intelligence services of the CIS**

Not only Russia, but the intelligence services of other CIS republics are interested in information on Germany. There are indications that the intelligence services of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Belarus, and Ukraine are active against the FRG. Their targets, for example, are persons assigned to diplomatic offices in these countries, or former citizens who have resettled to Germany. When these resettlers return to visit relatives, the opportunity opens up to attempt to recruit them as intelligence agents or to receive information from agents already active.

### **IV. Activities of Intelligence Services of Countries in the Near/Middle/Far East and North Africa**



## **Assortment of activities**

Germany is also an interesting intelligence target for countries from the Near and Middle East, as well as from North Africa. The reason is not only because of Germany's political importance and economic power, but also because of its liberal foreigner and asylum policies, which allows foreign citizens, particularly those in opposition to the regimes in their home countries, to live there, at least temporarily. As a result, the intelligence services of these countries have not limited their activities in Germany to the area of "classical" espionage, but are also involved in the observation and infiltration of existing opposition organizations in Germany. The activities against opponents can even result in the execution of (state) terrorist acts of violence. The following named countries are good examples of this.

### **1. Iranian Intelligence Services**

#### **Combating Iranian regime opponents continues**

The Iranian Intelligence Service is continuing its fight on a high level against activities by opponents of the regime, which is being initiated by Iranians living in Germany. In the forefront is the political neutralization of the violence-prone "Peoples' Mojahedin of Iran" (MEK) and its political arm, the "National Resistance Council of Iran" (NWRI). This includes the establishment of organizations which are disguised as "culture clubs", the distribution of MEK critical publications, as well as the activation of former MEK members for the Iranian government.

### **2. Syrian Intelligence Services**

#### **Syrian legal residencies well staffed**

The Syrian Foreign Country Intelligence Services, the civilian intelligence service IDARAT AL-MUKHABARAT AL-AMMA and the military intelligence service SHU'BAT AL-MUKHABARAT AL-ASKARIYA, continue to have well-staffed legal residencies in Syrian official and semi-official offices in Germany. The intelligence officers disguised there as diplomatic employees continued their secret service activities in 1998.

#### **Emphasis on the observation of opponents of the regime**

The emphasis of the mission continues to be on the observation, collection of information, and monitoring of persons living in Germany who are critical of the political system in the home country. In this connection, the preferred observation sites in Germany are the Islamic centers, mainly because political opponents often come together at these religious meeting places. In order to neutralize Syrian opponents, the Syrian Intelligence Service attempts to gather as much information as possible through source and informant networks, on living conditions, contact persons, as well as their political goals.

#### **By refusal to cooperate, repression is threatened**

If attempts to recruit for intelligence activities are refused, especially by Syrian citizens living in foreign countries, the responsible Syrian offices are notified. This usually results in the Syrian border authorities being notified, causing repression activities during return trips to Syria.

### **3. Libyan Intelligence Services**

Also in 1998, the attacks against the Berlin discotheque "La Belle" (1986) and against the PAN AM airplane over Lockerbie, Scotland (1988), both blamed on Libyan intelligence services, were once again in the public spotlight. The Libyan government showed a willingness in these two cases to provide help in preparing a court case against the perpetrators.

The emphasis of Libyan intelligence activities remains the observation and infiltration of persons living in Germany and groups that are in opposition to the government in their homeland.

### **4. Iraqi Intelligence Services**

#### **Increase in Iraqi recruitment efforts**

Iraqi intelligence services are continuously making efforts to enhance their intelligence activities. The few intelligence officers in residencies in Germany recruit Iraqis who meanwhile have become naturalized Germans, as well as asylum seekers. A potential also used by them for this purpose is the "Union of Iraqis Living Abroad", which, at regular intervals, is invited to attend a conference in Iraq. Objective of these events is to make those Iraqis living in foreign countries, independent whether they have acquired another citizenship or not, to stand up for Iraq's interests in their present country.

### **5. Algerian Intelligence Services**

#### **Increase of Algerian activities in Germany feared**

Absolute priority for the Algerian intelligence services is the collection of information about the foreign opposition, some of whom have connections with terrorist activities in Algeria. Responsible for this is the Foreign Service DDSE (Direction de Documentation et de Sécurité Extérieure), which acts from the center in Algiers, as well as from Germany.

## **V. Activities of Far East Intelligence Services**

Intelligence services from the Far East also continue to focus on Germany as an intelligence target. In this regard, the People's Republic of China and North Korea are the primary countries involved.

### **1. Chinese Intelligence Services**

With its efforts to develop into a world power, the People's Republic of China (PRC) continues to use all available options to catch up with the leading industrial nations in the areas of armament, economics, and science. For this purpose, the PRC utilizes its six intelligence and security services, and intensively conducts foreign espionage with a large number of personnel and with great expenditures, also in Germany.

### **Activities emanate from Chinese government offices and businesses**

The wide spectrum of activities by Chinese intelligence services frequently emanates from legal residencies at diplomatic and consular missions of the PRC in Germany. In addition, the Chinese intelligence services also use airline companies, foreign trade companies, press agencies, and Chinese or German-Chinese firms for their intelligence efforts.

## **2. North Korean Intelligence Services**

### **Intelligence officers assigned to Berlin "office"**

As before, the North Korea has no direct diplomatic relations with the FRG. The PRC continues to look after North Korea's interests, and acts as its political protection power. In the building in Berlin used in the past as the embassy to the former GDR, North Korea maintains an "Office for the Protection of the Interests of the Korean Democratic People's Republic", which has the largest staff of all North Korean missions in Europe. Members of the various North Korean intelligence services work in this "office" under diplomatic cover and regularly represent North Korean procurement and trade organizations.

### **The "Second Economic Committee" as procurement organization**

Of particular significance, are the representatives of the procurement and trade organizations of the "Second Economics Committee", as well as to the People's Armed Forces. The "Second Economics Committee", which is directly subordinate to the central committee of the North Korean "Party of the Workers Class", coordinates and controls in close cooperation with the organizations of the People's Armed Forces, the requirements of the entire North Korean armament industry, including the products and information required for the development and manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles. The "Second Economics Committee" is also responsible for the funding of these projects, which is done by exporting a wide variety of goods of all kinds. Against the background of making every effort to prevent proliferation, it is necessary that particular attention be paid to all procurement efforts made by representatives of these organizations in Germany.

## **VI. Proliferation/Sensitive Exports**

### **Overview**

Great international furor was caused by the atomic weapons tests by India and Pakistan in the spring of 1998. For many years, both countries have had the required technology to build nuclear weapons, and they are making efforts to improve the carrier systems required for the transport of such weapons. During the development of the Pakistani medium-range missile GHAURI with a desired range of 1,500 km, North Korea was involved by providing the technology of its own missile NO DONG to Pakistan.

The nuclear weapons tests in India and Pakistan again emphasized the necessity to prevent proliferation worldwide. At the same time, it must be noted that this problem is becoming

harder and harder to solve.

### **Changes to procurement behavior**

The procurement behavior, the way of acquiring the items necessary for the programs to develop and manufacture weapons of mass destruction and their carrier technology, continuously changed during the past years. Many aspects played a role in this: the countries in question made adjustments because of an intensification of the export control laws and more effective control in Europe, and now operate covertly. Disguising business correspondence, splitting the procured items into many, unsuspecting partial shipments, delivery to unsuspecting third countries, use of firms without previous violations, changing of company names into foreign language designations, or unidentifiable abbreviations, belong to this spectrum. The trend first seen in 1997, to achieve improvements in nuclear technology, and in the development of carrier missiles through procurements in former East Block countries, or by means of cooperation with countries involved in proliferation, appears to be continuing. It must also be taken into consideration, that many crisis countries have already covered their initial requirement for material, and are now looking to improve the systems, the establishment of manufacturing techniques, spare parts procurement, and know-how. This means that procurement requirements have changed.

### **Deliveries to Iraq through third countries**

The following example shows the means used to evade restriction measures by Western industrial nations:

In late 1997, a Jordanian company approached a German manufacturer of special metal processing machines and asked about the price and delivery conditions for individual components. However, during a thorough examination by the manufacturer, it was determined that the consignment was intended for delivery to Iraq via Jordan. Because of this, and because the components were also suitable for the manufacturing of weapons of mass destruction, the manufacturer broke off contact with the Jordanian company. A few months later, the firm received a letter from a small company in Northern Germany, which in a conspicuous way matched the request from Jordan. When the manufacturer did not react to this letter, the company owner from Northern Germany called him on the telephone and assured him that the machine component was really intended only for Jordan. Furthermore, he stated he was willing to personally pick up the goods and to pay cash. Later it was determined that this person had come from Iraq. In addition, it was also determined that Iraq was in need of exactly these machine components. The deal was not made.

### **Recognizable covert procurement methods**

This case involves some characteristics of covert, clandestine procurement methods:

- Jordan is the procurement center for countries in the Near and Middle East; it had already been determined that Jordanian firms were procurers for Iraq.
- Trade companies with an undetermined activity spectrum, such as "Import and Export of Goods of All Kind", with a small staff, often appear as interested parties; they are often

so-called "one-man companies."

- Direct pick-up and payments in cash are clear indicators of covert intentions.

### **"Transfer of knowledge" problematical**

Proliferation involves not only the procurement of products, but also the acquisition of knowledge and techniques for the development and manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and carrier systems. Universities, research institutes, and also firms are of interest to crisis countries as sources for training and further education. Opportunities are specifically offered to trainees to gain knowledge in Western countries, or to complement professional skills, in order to make both available in the home country upon completion of the training. Trained scientists can be employed in a similar manner who have participated in projects abroad. In this way, the crisis countries profit from the results of scientific work in Germany. The following example shows how the export of know-how can be prepared and carried out:

### **Recruitment attempt during home leave in Libya**

A Libyan citizen is employed in the central archive of a bio-technological research institute in Germany. He has access to all information from his employer's projects and the employer's cooperation partners. While this employee was on vacation in his home country, a suspected member of a Libyan intelligence service encouraged him to do his home country a favor. He received the mission to copy as many documents as possible of the research projects. He was supposed to hand over the copies to a contact person in Germany. This person would also give him further instructions. When the approached person hesitated, he was informed that his family in Libya could face possible trouble.

### **Iranian procurement efforts in the former East Bloc**

Iran reacted to the closure of the contact office of the Iranian defense industries "Defense Industries Organization" (DIO) in Düsseldorf, and is apparently very active meanwhile in Russia. In mid-year, Russian authorities in Moscow detained a member of an Iranian procurement office, who supposedly was a member of the Iranian intelligence service.

### **Emphasis on missile technology**

The emphasis of the Iranian proliferation program continues to be on the improvement of missile technology. Noteworthy, were tests with a missile, designated SHAHAB-3, which was designed for a range of approx. 1,300 km. There were indications that Russia provided help during the development of the missile, however, Russia denied it had violated international agreements on the control of carrier technology.

## **VII. Arrests and Convictions**

In 1998, the Federal Attorney General initiated 67 preliminary investigations for suspected intelligence agent activities. Prosecution authorities detained two persons, and a confinement order was issued against one person. Of the two detained persons, one worked for an Iranian, and the other one for an Iraqi intelligence service. During the same period, courts in the FRG sentenced 23 suspects for criminal offenses in the area "high treason and endangering external security" (Articles 93-101a of the Penal Code). One person was sentenced for treason.

## **Scientology Organization (SO)**

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| Founded:                  | 1954 in the USA; first branch office in Germany in 1970  |
| Headquarters:             | Los Angeles ("Church of Scientology International", CSI)   |
| Membership:               | in Germany estimated at approx. 5,000 to 6,000<br>(Note: SO regularly gives higher figures (30,000)) |
| Publications:             | "Freiheit" (Freedom) and others <sup>(152)</sup>   |
| Subsidiary organizations: | in Germany, eight "churches" and ten "missions" <sup>(153)</sup>                                     |

## 1. General Data

During its meeting on 05/06 June 1997 in Bonn, the Standing Conference of the Ministers and Senators of the Interior of the Federal States (IMK) decided, on the basis of a report written by a study group of the offices for the protection of the constitution, that actual indications for endeavors directed against the free and democratic constitutional order are present with the "Scientology Organization" (SO), and therefore the legal prerequisites for monitoring the organization by the offices for the protection of the constitution are met. <sup>(154)</sup> Monitoring results are to be reported to the IMK after one year.

To this end, another study group of the offices for the protection of the constitution delivered a report in which it advocated the continued intelligence monitoring of the organization, <sup>(155)</sup> based on the information on unconstitutional goals and activities of SO which has been available since June 1997.

During its meeting on 19/20 November, the IMK and the Federal Minister of the Interior decided to take into consideration this report with regard to the continued work of the offices for the protection of the constitution.

## 2. Fundamentals

The SO sees itself as a "salvation religion" <sup>(156)</sup> in the tradition of east Asian religions, especially Buddhism, which allegedly "wants to convey the status of full mental freedom from the endless cycle of birth and death to man, and to free him from his bonds in physical universe." <sup>(157)</sup>

The SO believes that the "person" and/or the "identity" of the person is not his body or name, but the "Thetan"; he has "no mass, no wavelength, nothing concrete." <sup>(158)</sup> In the ideal state as "operating Thetan", he was "cause of matter, energy, space, time and thinking", and "was not in a body". <sup>(159)</sup>

In order to reach this state, the first objective of Scientology is the "clear", i.e. the person who "shows neither active nor potential psychosomatic illnesses or aberrations as a result of the dianetics therapy." <sup>(160)</sup> For SO, the latter means "a deviation from rational thinking or behavior." <sup>(161)</sup> Deviations from rationality can originate in so-called "engrams". Scientologists describe an engram as "a mental picture which is a recording of a time of physical pain and unconsciousness." <sup>(162)</sup> These "engrams" can be discovered and their effects be eliminated through the so-called "auditing." <sup>(163)</sup>

The "auditor" ("someone who is listening"; a priest in the SO church or someone undergoing corresponding training) <sup>(164)</sup> is to help the "preclear" ("someone who is not yet "clear") <sup>(165)</sup>

through an established sequence of questions or instructions to discover areas of grief or pain.<sup>(166)</sup> As an aid, the "auditor" has at his disposal the so-called "e-meter". According to SO publications, this device is used to measure small changes in electrical current which – dependent on his thoughts – flow through the body of the "preclear", who holds both electrodes of the device in his hand during the auditing session.<sup>(167)</sup> Movement of the needle of the "e-meter", caused by the current flow, is supposed to indicate to the "auditor" if the correct areas of grief and pain were being discussed.<sup>(168)</sup>

Auditing courses and corresponding training materials are sold by the SO. Aside from the usual brochures, fliers and the like, the organization also uses the INTERNET for recruiting new members and for propaganda. The INTERNET provides information on SO subsidiary organizations, functionaries, and currently circulated publications.

### **3. Goals**

Publications and statements by SO founder Lafayette Ronald HUBBARD (1911 – 1986) and other SO publications, show actual indications of endeavors directed against the free and democratic constitutional order.

#### **SO pursues political goals**

In his basic book "Dianetik" (Dianetics, first published on 09 May 1950), HUBBARD already pointed to the political goals of his theory.<sup>(169)</sup> His theory of dianetics is supposed to enrich "different fields of sociology, politics, the military." Dianetics covered many disciplines, such as "political dianetics, which comprised the field of group activities and organization, with the goal of finding out the optimal conditions and procedures for the management of groups and their relationship."

#### **Actual indications of unconstitutional endeavors**

According to texts in other publications by HUBBARD, a "civilization" is to be created in which constitutional rights, especially the right on life and physical intactness were effective only for "honest persons" and "non-aberrated persons" in the sense of the SO, and no longer for all the inhabitants.<sup>(170)</sup> Existing police and prosecuting authorities as well as independent courts, were to be replaced by an intelligence service which is to avert danger, prosecute, pronounce, and execute sentences in the intendment of SO without being subject to law and order, and without the validity of fundamental rights at court.<sup>(171)</sup>

HUBBARD'S programmatic statements are irrevocable for Scientologists, the SO itself and its subsidiary organizations.<sup>(172)</sup>

#### **Restricted validity of human rights**

In Germany, the organization expressly supports this political program of its founder in its newer publications. Also in 1998, it was offering newer editions of his books, which claim the validity of rights, which includes fundamental and human rights, only for "honest beings"<sup>(173)</sup> as a long-term goal. In addition, "only non-aberrated persons are to be conferred civil rights in the distant future",<sup>(174)</sup> and only they will be allowed "to marry and have children."<sup>(175)</sup>

According to its current advertisement brochures, the SO even seems to be striving for a social system in which the existence and the protective fields of fundamental and human



rights are subject to arbitrary decisions by the organization, and are not granted to all "honest beings" as inalienable legal positions. According to these brochures, the goal of Scientology is:

"a civilization in which honest beings can have rights."  
(brochure by the "International Association of Scientologists" (IAS) from 1998)

Noticeable is the sharp tone the SO uses on its opponents. The "HCO policy letter from 16 February 1969" <sup>(176)</sup>, which, in the past, called the allegedly only passive "defense" against alleged attacks insufficient, contained the following statements:

"The important goals, for which we have to dedicate the largest part of our time, are: to deprive the enemy of popularity up to the point of complete annihilation."

An advertisement brochure by the "International Association of Scientologists" (IAS) from 1998 contains programmatic statements which prove adherence to this fundamental orientation. The brochure includes an application form <sup>(177)</sup> for membership in this SO subsidiary organization:

"I am aware of the fact that the association pursues the goal of promoting, supporting, and protecting the religion of Scientology, so as to achieve the purposes of Scientology, as stipulated by L. Ron HUBBARD."

"I support the destruction of all groups or organizations that pursue the goal of preventing the use of Scientology technology. I promise to stick to the rules, codes, and guidelines of Scientology."

### **Systematic disparagement of the reputation of the FRG**

Aside from a comprehensive promotion of its public image in several languages, SO has installed a page on the INTERNET under the name "About Scientology Hatewatch – The Home Page – HATEWATCH GERMANY: 1997", which contains "links" to other English-language pages on the "World Wide Web" (WWW). These pages contain claims that the state prosecution of Scientology in Germany resembled the National-Socialist prosecution of Jews. This was done, among other things, by a graphic comparison of statements leading National-Socialists had made on Jews with warnings of the SO by today's politicians. The general style of the propaganda likewise indicates that the SO wants to realize its goals aggressively.

## **4. Public Appearances**

Aside from making propaganda for its dianetics courses in exchange for payment and corresponding training material, the SO was attempting to protest its treatment in Germany, which allegedly was against human rights, by means of a demonstration in Frankfurt/Main on 10 August.

The event was staged as the closing rally in the scope of the "march for freedom of religion", which the SO had launched in East Grinstead (Great Britain) on 25 June. The club "Freedom for Religions in Germany" (FRG) <sup>(178)</sup> had registered the event, as had been the

case with similar demonstrations conducted in Frankfurt/Main on 21 July 1997 and in Berlin on 27 October 1997. The demonstration attracted approx. 1,500 participants, a number that clearly remained below SO expectations (approx. 10,000 participants). As had been the case with the events in 1997, most participants had come from abroad. Only a small number of German SO members could be induced to participate.

## **Protection of the Constitution through Knowledge**

The importance of political confrontation with anti-constitutional endeavors requires a thorough knowledge on the part of the citizenry regarding the type and scope of the dangerous threats caused by political extremism. Through the collection of information, the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) acts within its constitutional mission to protect free democratic basic order (Ref. NPD decision by the Federal Constitutional Court dated 29 October 1975). Even though our democracy is stable, acute and latent risks must be monitored: violence and extremism, intolerance and xenophobia, excessive nationalism and fundamentalism. The federal government places great importance upon preventive and offensive discourse with these phenomena. Therefore, it places high priorities on intellectual-political confrontation.

Intellectual-political discourse on violence and extremism must clearly explain, beyond normal teachings, that democracy requires basic values which everyone agrees upon.

Intellectual-political discourse also continued during 1998, primarily through brochures about extremism, violence, terrorism, xenophobia, through six seminars for teachers, youth care providers, police officials, law students, and members of the student press, as well as the continuation of the information campaign against extremism and xenophobia under the motto "FAIRSTÄNDNIS - Respect Human Dignity - Against Xenophobia." In the series "Texts for Internal Security," the volumes "Annual Report on the Crime Situation in the FRG" (Volume I/1998) and "Youth and Violence" (Volume II/1998), were published in 1998.

The mission of "protection of the constitution through information" at the federal level belongs to the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BMI) and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV), and at the state level to the interior ministries and the state offices for the protection of the constitution. The federal government and the states have formed a working group which coordinates the exchange of information on public and teaching efforts. (Federal Government/States Working Group "Public Relations Work by Protection of the Constitution Officials"). Emphasis in 1998 again concerned the question of a more intensive dialog with the citizens on the mission of protection of the constitution officials. The democratic constitutional state cannot be protected and maintained by government officials alone. The best protection of the constitution can be performed by a well-informed and engaged democratic citizen himself. For this, the public relations work by protection of the constitution officials offers information which should make it possible for each citizen to form his own opinion about the dangers which threaten our constitutional state from anti-constitutional forces. This also includes providing information on basic values of our constitution. Only those who know what is threatened, also know what can be lost.

The joint information campaign by the federal and state interior ministers against extremism and xenophobia, form a particular focal point within the framework of a intellectual-political discourse in the area of internal security. It was originated during the month of March 1993 under the motto: "FAIRSTÄNDNIS - Respect for Human Dignity, Against Xenophobia." The campaign has a dual function: it is supposed to inform and motivate. In particular youth, but also the entire public, are being informed about the origin, the background, and the scope of violence, xenophobia, and extremism.

Simultaneously, youths, in particular, are motivated to think about their actions concerning foreigners, and to seek possibilities to counter violence and xenophobia. Through the use of information and advertisement materials such as student brochures "Stop, No Violence", the

youth brochure "Basta - say no to violence," and related teaching materials (so far, issues 1994/1995, 1996/1997, and 1998/1999 have been published), the computer games ("Dark Shadows 1 and 2"), posters and other advertisements were produced and distributed, advertisements were published in youth publications, and TV spots against xenophobia were broadcast. The BMI was responsible for the conception and coordination of the program. Since the beginning of the campaign, more than 13.6 million DMs were spent by federal and state offices, each paying half. The information campaign will also be continued beyond the year 1998. Planned, is particularly the publication of a new issue of the booklet for youths "Basta - say no to violence", as well as a booklet with the title "Democracy live", in which the fundamental values of the constitution are emphasized, and the creation of a new computer game. This medium is particularly suitable in presenting the themes to youths.

During the reporting year, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) also provided current information in the framework of the public awareness program, through numerous publications, posters, advertisements, exhibitions, fairs, and an INTERNET homepage.

Through the brochure "Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution - Mission, Authority, Limitations", a new basic picture of the BfV was presented to the public. Several specialized analyses on individual aspects of political extremism, for example, on the themes right-extremism, extremism on the INTERNET, and Islamic endeavors, completed the brochure spectrum. Small brochures were also published on left-extremism and counterespionage/protection of classified material.

Additional information was also made available on the INTERNET ([www.verfassungsschutz.de](http://www.verfassungsschutz.de)). The BfV offered approx. 30 brochures on its homepage and much of the text can be downloaded. The INTERNET offerings originate primarily from German computers. The number of persons accessing the homepage increased compared to the previous year.

The traveling exhibition "Democracy is vulnerable - right-extremism in Germany", in existence since 1996, visited ten cities in 1998, primarily in Eastern Germany. The second traveling exhibition "Protection of the Constitution in a democratic liberal state", in existence since 1991, was shown in six cities. As in the past, a large percentage of the visitors were students because the schools were sent invitations for the exhibitions. School classes also frequently participated in presentations by members of the BfV at the schools.

For seven years, the BfV has been using booths at fairs to inform the public. An important group in this connection, are teachers and other persons in education. For the first time, the BfV participated in the CeBit-Home 98 computer fair in Hannover with the theme "Extremism on the INTERNET." Many INTERNET surfers were made aware of the INTERNET offerings of the BfV at the fair.

An important prerequisite for an effective fight against racism and xenophobia, is the research on causes. With the initiation and analysis of research programs on the theme internal security, political options could be obtained.

For that reason, the Federal Ministry of the Interior awarded a contract to the German Youth Institute in Munich to continue the long-term study "Analysis of xenophobic offenders" started in 1994. With the help of this study, information is supposed to be obtained on motives,

social conditions, and on the lives of the offenders and which preventative-strategic consequences could be concluded.

Even after the end of the "European Year against Racism (1997)" on 28 January 1998, the dialog between government and non-government organizations continued. For this purpose, the "Forum against Racism" was formed on 19 March 1998. Based on a background for the necessity of discourse on racism and xenophobia, the Federal Interior Ministry will sponsor an international conference on the theme "Religion, Ethnic Groups, State" during the German tour as EU president. The goal of the conference is supposedly to make a political statement for tolerance and against racism, in the sense of a peaceful coexistence of various ethnic groups and various religions in the framework of the democratic constitution of European states. The conference is also supposed to discuss the importance of efforts for a better integration of persons immigrating to Europe. The new federal government sees this area as a focal point, which is to be advanced by a basic reform of citizenship rights.

Through all of these measures, the vigilance of the populace, consequential intervention by the police, and applicable prosecution, Germany was successful, with the exception of the year 1997, to continually reduce the number of right-extremist and xenophobic motivated offenses since 1993. However, extremism, xenophobia, and violence continue to remain a threat. As specified in the coalition agreement, an effective political discourse with right-extremism will be a focal point of the new federal government.

Additional information on the FAIRSTÄNDNIS campaign, as well as on other materials mentioned above, can be obtained from the

**Bundesministerium des Innern  
Stichwort "FAIRSTÄNDNIS"  
Graurheindorf Straße 198  
53117 Bonn.**

Further information of publications by the BfV and the traveling exhibitions can be obtained from the

**Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz  
Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit  
Merianstrasse 100  
50765 Köln  
or by e-mail: [bfvinfo@verfassungsschutz.de](mailto:bfvinfo@verfassungsschutz.de)**

## **Explanations and Documentation**

- (1) Included among violence-prone right-extremists, along with right-extremist Skinheads, are those persons who have participated in right-extremist acts of violence and those who support acts of violence.
- (2) According to the definition by Protection of the Constitution officials, terrorism is described as the persistent struggle for political goals, which are supposed to be attained with the help of attacks against persons, life, and property of other persons, in particular through major offenses, such as those mentioned in Article 129a, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Code, or through other offenses which serve as preparation for such offenses.
- (3) "Vorderste Front - Newspaper for political theory and strategy" (Issue 2/Jun 91)
- (4) See BfV report 1996, page 106
- (5) Reported by "NIT Bavaria" on 3 June 1998.
- (6) KÄS repeated his remarks word for word on "Republican day" on 3 October 1997 in Stuttgart.
- (7) Speech manuscript, page 18-21
- (8) A party internal investigation was initiated in June 1998 (source: Info telephone of REP Mark district association on 7 June 1998). WNENDT declared his withdrawal from the party effective 31 Dec 1998. (source: Info telephone of REP Mark district association on 22 Nov 1998).
- (9) Info telephone of REP Mark district association on 5 April 1998.
- (10) Info telephone of the REP Plattenberg local association, 18 January 1998.
- (11) Press release by the REP federal business office on 19 August 1998.
- (12) According to federal deputy representative Christian KÄS on 6 June 1998 in Kassel during his speech of at a demonstration by the "Republican Youth" against the exhibition. Thereby single historical events are not relevant or criticized establishments, but the general opposition to this type of historical recollection and its exhibition.
- (13) REP resolution during REP State party day posted on the INTERNET on 17 October 1998.
- (14) Speech manuscript, page 18.
- (15) Lower Saxony Upper Admin Court, verdict from 26 June 1997, page 18 (20).
- (16) "NIT Rhineland" announcement on 10 June 1998; "NIT Prussia" announcement on 9 June 1998.
- (17) Among the participants were Neo-Nazis Friedhelm BUSSE and Thorsten HEISE (source: INTERNET magazine of national resistance "Perspective", May/June issue 1998).
- (18) Sanctions against KÄS were not made public.
- (19) During the REP federal party conference on 7/8 July in Ruhstorf, the decision was made not to allow anyone who participated in right wing extremist and anti-institutional organizations (i.e. NPD, DVU) to have a function within the party.
- (20) Speech manuscript, page 10.

- (21) See explanation no. 8.
- (22) An internal party investigation was submitted against HÖBER in early 1998 for a different reason. The outcome of the proceeding is unknown.
- (23) "Nation & Europe", issue June 1998, page 15.
- (24) "Signal", issue June/July 1998, page 17.
- (25) According to federal chairman SCHLIERER in the party newspaper "The Republican", issue 8/98, page 3.
- (26) Press release by the REP federal office on 28 September 1998.
- (27) A petition to prohibit observation by the counter intelligence agencies against the REP state office in Baden Württemberg was already rejected by the State Admin Court as unfounded on March 1994.
- (28) FREY is the owner of "DSZ Printings and Newspaper Publishers GmbH" (DSZ Verlag), his wife runs the "FZ Free Book and Newspaper Publishers GmbH" (FZ-verlag).
- (29) During a DVU event on 26 Sep in Passau, FREY gave an assessment on the DVU deficit, based on the figures given by an economic auditor, to be approx. nine million German Marks.
- (30) See DNZ, issue 15/1998, page 1 f.
- (31) See DNZ, issue 12/1998, page 1 f.
- (32) See DWZ/DA, issue 29/1998, page 1.
- (33) See DNZ, issue 30/1998, page 1.
- (34) See DWZ/DA, issue 18/1998, page 1.
- (35) See DNZ, issue 8/1998, page 8.
- (36) See DWZ/DA, issue 16/1998, page 1.
- (37) See DWZ/DA, issue 40/1998, page 1.
- (38) See DWZ/DA, issue 10/1998, page 1.
- (39) See DNZ, issue 5/1998, page 3.
- (40) See DNZ, issue 8/1998, page 3.
- (41) See DNZ, issue 3/1998, page 6.
- (42) According to the "DVU declaration concerning the election results" on 28 Sep 1998.
- (43) See DNZ, issue 41/1998, page 4.
- (44) In addition, a free advertisement brochure "DS EXTRA" has been issued since Jan 1998 with a monthly printing of up to 100,000 copies.

- (45) According to Udo VOIGT, federal NPD chairman in the party newspaper "Deutsche Stimme", issue 6/98, page 2.
- (46) As stated by VOIGT during an NPD federal party conference on 10/11 Jan 1998 in Stavenhagen (Mecklenburg Vorpommern); quoted according to: "Der Kamerad", information leaflet of the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern NPD state association, 1/98, page 1.
- (47) According to VOIGT in the Austrian magazine "Aula", issue 9/98, page 15.
- (48) See "Deutsche Stimme", issue 4-5/98, page 8.
- (49) Udo VOIGT, page 15.
- (50) Udo VOIGT, page 16.
- (51) Quoted according to "Sächsische Zeitung" from 2 September 1998.
- (52) From the program "Kennzeichen D" broadcast by the ZDF on 25 February 1998 on a extract from the speech by APFEL.
- (53) Wolfgang FRENZ: "The Loss of Fatherhood or the Century of Jews", P. Seidler Publishers, Solingen, 1998.
- (54) FRENZ, page 67.
- (55) FRENZ, page 81.
- (56) FRENZ, pages 15, 18
- (57) See "Deutsche Stimme", issue 6/98, page 1.
- (58) See "Deutsche Zukunft", issue 9/98, page 7.
- (59) See "Deutsche Zukunft", issue 9/98, page 22.
- (60) See "Deutsche Zukunft", issue 10/98, page 21.
- (61) Probably the "Leuchter Report" written in 1988 by the American Fred Leuchter to support the German indicted revisionist Ernst Zündel in Canada is meant, which denies that the industrial-like extermination of Jews during the Third Reich with Zyclon B ever occurred. This fulfills the requirements for committing incitement of the populace IAW Article 130 of the Penal Code.
- (62) FRENZ, pages 85, 31.
- (63) FRENZ, page 76.
- (64) See "Der Kamerad", issue 1/98, page 6.
- (65) See "Deutsche Zukunft", issue 10/98, page 24.
- (66) See "Deutsche Zukunft", issue 2/98, page 14.
- (67) See "DS EXTRA", issue 4/98, page 1.
- (68) See "Deutsche Stimme", issue 7/98, page 6.



- (69) See "Deutsche Stimme", issue 7/98, page 2.
- (70) VOIGT in "Deutsche Stimme", issue 7/98, page 2.
- (71) Anti-capitalism is not only an ideological characteristic of the political left. Right wing extremists have also declared their opposition to capitalism. Unlike Marxists, they do not intend to confiscate private production, but their goal being the creation of a national and social "peoples' community", which would be subordinate to economical liberty. Such positions were declared by left wing members of the "NSDAP", such as Gottfried Feder or Gregor and Otto Strasser.
- (72) "Deutsche Stimme", issue 9-10/98, page 13.
- (73) Jürgen SCHÖN, deputy NPD federal chairman, quoted in the "Spiegel" on 20 June 1998.
- (74) "Deutsche Stimme", issue 9-10/98, page 1.
- (75) In the March 1996 election for the position of federal chairman, VOIGT won by a slight majority, beating long time NPD federal chairman Günter DECKERT.
- (76) See "Deutsche Stimme", issue 6/98, page 2.
- (77) The JN federal executive board began releasing "Thesis papers" in 1991 as "elaborate theory statements" with a "compact world and human perception," which the JN to this day views as the "sole truth" (according to the introduction in the current thesis papers of July 1998).
- (78) The so-called cadre goes through four training phases: awaiting membership, member, cadre expectant, and cadre member.
- (79) See "Der Activist", issue 2/96, page 25.
- (80) See "Einheit und Kampf", issue 15/96, page 13.
- (81) "Manifest" of the DLVH from 1996, page 1 f.
- (82) Conference protocol 1998, page 7.
- (83) Conference protocol 1997, page 158 f.
- (84) Conference protocol 1998, pages 138, 143 f.
- (85) Conference protocol 1998, page 11.
- (86) "Staatsbriefe", issue 5/98.
- (87) "Opposition", issue 2/98.
- (88) "Opposition", issue 2/98, page 88 f., "Nation & Europa", issue 5/98.
- (89) See "Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart", issue 1/98, page 30 ff.
- (90) See "Europa vorn", issue 121-122/98.
- (91) See "Nation & Europa", issue 7-8/98.

(92) "Signal", issue 124-125 1998.

(93) "Opposition", issue 1/98.

(94) "Nation & Europa", issue 7-8/98.

(95) INTERNET Relay Chat

(96) Designated as left-extremist influenced, are those founded by left-extremists or infiltrated organizations that present themselves as independent or non-partisan, but actually are under extreme left-extremist influence. Usually some of the board members and the majority of members are not left-extremists, but the important positions, particularly in the organizational area, are usually held by left-extremists.

(97) See explanation no. 2

(98) A similar statement was made by an editor of the Berlin weekly newspaper "Jungle World", in issue No. 18, 29 Apr 1998 (issue 18). He wrote concerning resistance perspectives:

"In any case, with the increasing curtailment of democratic rights, resistance will continue in Germany and perhaps even increasingly revert to a anonymous organizing, to what the RAF called the underground. No terrain, to perhaps someday win a social majority, but a starting point in order to remain action and resistance capable. For this, there can be no abandonment."

(99) The conference, under the motto "Satisfaction or Liberation" was supposed to take place on Easter, 1998, but did not because of financial and organizational reasons. Invited participants included members of "liberation movements, solidarity organizations, and grassroots level movements", primarily of European and South American provenance. According to "Libertad", the conference was supposed to be a step toward a long-term international discussion and mobilization process because of the "internationalization of the struggle" which was considered necessary. (See "Angehörigen Info", issue 210 from 7 August 1998)

(100) In left-extremist language, "Metropole" described the western industrial countries; this designation is frequently used as contradiction to the word "Trikont", used to indicate the countries of the so-called third world that are supposedly exploited by the "metropolis countries."

(101) More than 50 scene publications, some of them covertly published and distributed, regularly make public declarations of offenses, position papers, calls for demonstrations, "construction instructions" (instructions for the manufacture of arson and bomb devices, for example), and other relevant articles for left-extremist discussion and practice. Most of these publications have mainly regional importance, such as "SWING" in the Rhein-Main area, or "RAZZ" in Hannover. Of national relevance, is the newspaper "INTERIM", published regularly in Berlin.

(102) Homepages from the left-extremist area are available on the INTERNET, but because of their illegality, are offered on purpose through providers in foreign countries and not in the FRG. The underground newspaper "radikal", for example, provides its texts and information on the INTERNET through providers in the Netherlands and the USA.

(103) These are distributed to students and youths, usually free; of importance are, for example, "BRAVO-Antifa" from Berlin, "FIGHT BACK" from Braunschweig, "Antifa Youth Info Bonn/Rhein-Sieg", as well as "BRAST" from Göttingen. These publications also overtly call for violence; it is also clear, that most youth groups, with their "anti-fascist" engagement, also have goals:

"We want to not only do something against Nazis as persons, but also against the causes of fascism, and they are always found in the capitalist system." ("BRAST", issue 14 from April 1998)

<sup>(104)</sup> In issue 441 from 9 January 1998, "INTERIM" published photographs, telephone numbers (official/private), as well as type of license plate numbers of automobiles belonging to right-extremists, in connection with the demand:

"Think about ways to attack boot and pin-stripe wearing fascists.  
No peace for fascists, ANTIFA means attack."

<sup>(105)</sup> Reason for the "special conference" was press reports from May on the determination of increased radiation from CASTOR containers.

<sup>(106)</sup> Protest against the program "Action Security Net", initiated by the Federal Interior Minister, against the establishment of community prevention councils, of which the district security council Wedding is an example.

<sup>(107)</sup> Activity report from the party executive committee at the 14th Party Conference, "DKP Information", issue 5/98 - July 1998.

<sup>(108)</sup> "DKP Information", issue 5/98 - July 1998, page 36.

<sup>(109)</sup> DKP central organ "Unsere Zeit" from 22 May 1998.

<sup>(110)</sup> "Neues Deutschland" (ND), from 6 November 1998.

<sup>(111)</sup> As mentioned above.

<sup>(112)</sup> "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", from 24 June 1998.

<sup>(113)</sup> "Neues Deutschland", from 10 August 1998.

<sup>(114)</sup> Also in "Marzahn links", February 1998.

<sup>(115)</sup> In a résumé on the party conference, DKP chairman Heinz STEHR stated that the opening statements given by the honorary chairman of the PDS was a challenge for more cooperation between the PDS and the DKP. This has been accepted by the DKP, and the opening statements should be used to intensify the cooperation. ("Unsere Zeit", issue 23 from 5 June 1998).

<sup>(116)</sup> Mecklenburg-Vorpommern PDS state chairman, Helmut HOLTER, emphasized that the party will remain, under all conditions, a "socialist, anti-capitalist, and system-opposition party" ("Tagesspiegel" from 11 October 1998). In answer to a question by a journalist concerning the meaning of this, he answered a few minutes later: "I will make no secret about it, that we want a different social order and that is what this means. However, it does not mean that tomorrow we will attempt to make changes through the use of weapons, but to make changes systematically through the use of democratic means. Entering the government here in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern is such a step." (ZDF TV program "Frontal" on 3 November 1998).

<sup>(117)</sup> In accordance with the decision made during the first session of the 4th Party Conference (January 1995) "Socialism is gone, methods, value orientation, and goals."

<sup>(118)</sup> "die tageszeitung" (taz) from 18 May 1998.

- (119) "PDS Press Service", issue 23 from 5 June 1998.
- (120) "Berliner Zeitung" from 7 May 1998: Former PDS Federal Parliament representative Uwe-Jens HEUER emphasized in the UZ on 6 February 1998 during the PDS conference "The Relationship of Socialism to Democracy and Constitutional State in History and the Present" on 17 January 1998 in Berlin, that the position received wide acceptance within the PDS that the constitution formed the necessary framework for the endeavors of the party and include its defense and democratic changes.
- (121) Federal business manager Dietmar BARTSCH concerning the coalition negotiations in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern: the PDS will basically remain a social opposition "because we want a different republic." ("Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" from 19 October 1998).
- (122) "controvers" publications: Harald NEUBERT, "Internationalism - Tradition and Current Requirements", published by the PDS platform committee, Berlin, May 1998.
- (123) According to extracts from a list of international contacts by the PDS party executive committee in "PDS Press Service", issue 32 from 7 August 1998. For its success during the Federal Parliament elections, the PDS also received numerous congratulatory messages from foreign communist parties with which it maintains contacts. For example, the secretariat of the Central Committee of the "Portuguese Communist Party" stated its willingness to increase "the existing good cooperation" between the parties. ("PDS Press Service", issue 41 from 9 October 1998).
- (124) PDS Homepage on INTERNET.
- (125) "Neues Deutschland", from 8 June 1998.
- (126) "Rote Fahne", issue 7 from 13 February 1998, page 12.
- (127) "Rote Fahne", issue 13 from 27 March 1998, page 12.
- (128) "Rote Fahne", issue 32 from 7 August 1998, page 10.
- (129) The women's club "Courage", founded in 1991 on initiative of the MLPD to increase its periphery, organized its "Second Women's Political Advisory" on 21/22 November in Solingen. ("Rote Fahne", issue 42 from 16 October 1998, page 16).
- (130) The periphery organization "Solidarity International", founded in 1996 by the MLPD, organized its "Second Federal Delegation Conference" on 18/19 April in Nürnberg, with support from Turkish Maoist groups, and attracted approx. 150 German and foreign participants. ("Rote Fahne", issue 20 from 15 May 1998, page 16).
- (131) For the first time, the issues of the "jungen Welt" were included in the 1998 publication totals. For comparison reasons, the totals for the previous year were changed to reflect this.
- (132) Stéphane Courtois, Nicolas Werth, and others, "Blackbook of Communist Suppression, Crimes and Terror", Munich 1998.
- (133) The term "Islamism" is derived from the term Islamist, a self-given designation by representatives of this ideological concept. In public, and particular in the media, this extremist ideology is also called Islamic Fundamentalism.
- (134) Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi
- (135) Türkiye Halk Kurtulus Partisi/-Cephesi - Devrimci Sol

- (136) The figures are based on estimations. Changes to member/supporter figures compared to the previous year could be the result of new information, but does not necessarily mean an actual increase or decrease.
- (137) This is understood to mean organizations of foreigners living in the FRG, whose endeavors, as outline in Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the Federal Constitution Protection Law are against the free democratic constitutional order or, because of political motives, are targeted against the security of the FRG or one of its states, or through the use of force, or preparations for such actions, would endanger the foreign affairs of the FRG.
- (138) It cannot be assumed, that all members/supporters of the IGMG follow/support Islamist goals.
- (139) Named after long-time chief ideologist and leader of "Devrimci Sol", Dursun KARATAS.
- (140) Named after the leader of the opposition group, Bedri YAGAN, who was killed by Turkish security forces in March 1993.
- (141) Caliph literally means "successor or assistant." In religious, historical context, it means successor of the prophet of God, the prophet Mohammed, the religious and world head of the Muslim community.
- (142) "Ümmet-i Muhammed", issue 244 from 15 October 1998, pages 1, 5.
- (143) "Ümmet-i Muhammed", issue 252 from 10 December 1998, page 1.
- (144) In its statutes it is stated: "To violate party discipline, to disobey the rules set up in the statutes, to speak out against or make propaganda against the party line, to fail to carry out the decisions and instructions of the party or to question their validity, to violate the official rules of the party, to divulge party secrets, or similar actions, are offenses against the party. Anyone committing such offenses will be turned over to the central disciplinary council by the central committee or the general presidium and this council will investigate and punish them."
- (145) Conseil de Coordination à l'Étranger.
- (146) The "Ghods" Day, initiated by Iranian revolutionary leader Khomeini in 1979, is celebrated by Muslims on the last Friday of the fasting month of Ramadan and is supposed to remind Muslims of the occupation of Palestine and the Al Akso-Mosque in Jerusalem.
- (147) In connection with the "Democratic Association of Kosovo" (LDK), there is no evidence presently available to indicate constitutional protection relevant endeavors as stated in Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the Federal Protection of the Constitution Law.
- (148) The following countries belong to CIS: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.
- (149) Proliferation - the further spreading of atomic, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction, as well as the carrier systems to deploy them.
- (150) Exclusive interview by the "NESAWISIMAJA GAZETA" with KOWALJOV from 19 December 1997.
- (151) On 26 January 1999, the Celle Superior State Court found both defendants guilty of espionage and sentenced them to prison terms of 21 months and 15 months respectively. Both sentences were commuted to three years probation. In addition, both defendants had to pay the government the money received for their espionage activities in the amount of DM 30,000 and DM 2,500 respectively.

The court stated that both defendants, during their more than ten years of espionage, always knew they were working for the KGB and the SWR, and not for the secret service of the former GDR. At no time did the GDR manufacture aircraft. After the sentencing, both defendants waived their right to appeal.

(152) The organization issues numerous publications. One of the most important in the German-speaking area is the publication "Freiheit."

(153) In a special issue of "Freiheit" (page 4) in connection with the "Marathon for Religious Freedom in Europe" in August 1998, the SO gave the addresses of ten "churches" and "missions." According to SO information on the INTERNET, they have nine "churches" and 11 "missions" in Germany.

(154) An exception is the protection of the constitution officials in Schleswig-Holstein because of a different legal situation.

(155) See "Report by the Federal/State Working Group on Scientology by Protection of the Constitution Officials IAW a Decision at the Conference of Interior Ministers/Senators from 05/06 June 1997." (DOI: 12 October 1998), page 102.

(156) According to a decision by the Federal Labor Court from 23 March 1995 (Neue Juristische Wochenschrift 1996, page 143), the SO in Germany is not a religious or ideological society in the context of the Constitution. Its religious or ideological teachings serve only as a front for its economic goals.

(157) See Article 3 of the standard statute of an SO mission.

(158) Concerning the term "thetan", see HUBBARD, Collection of Technical Terms for Dianetics and Scientology, 4th edition, Copenhagen 1985. (quoted: HUBBARD, Collection of Technical Terms), page 98; HUBBARD, Scientology - The Basis for Thinking, 2d edition, Copenhagen 1973, page 37.

(159) Concerning the term "operational thetan", see HUBBARD, Collection of Technical Terms, page 67.

(160) Concerning the term "clear", see HUBBARD, Dianetics - The Modern Science of Mental Health, 8th edition, Copenhagen 1984 (quoted: HUBBARD, Dianetics), page 215.

(161) Concerning the term "aberration", see HUBBARD, Collection of Technical Terms, page one.

(162) Concerning the term "engram" see HUBBARD, Collection of Technical Terms, page 27.

(163) Concerning the term "auditing", see HUBBARD, The Scientology Handbook, Copenhagen 1994, page XX.

(164) Concerning the term "auditor", see "What is Scientology?", Copenhagen 1993, page 156.

(165) Concerning the term "preclear", see "What is Scientology?", page 156.

(166) Concerning the procedure of "auditing", see "What is Scientology?", page 156.

(167) Concerning the term "E-meter", see "What is Scientology?", page 157.

(168) See "What is Scientology?", page 157.

- (169) See HUBBARD, Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedure, Copenhagen 1995, pages 20, 195 (newest known edition issued by the SO); concerning the date of the first edition, see L. Ron Hubbard - A Portrait, Church of Scientology International (CSI) 1995, page 107.
- (170) See "Freiheit", 1997, with the title "Time to Decide", page 57; HUBBARD, The Handbook for Honorary Priests, 2d edition, Copenhagen 1983, page 280; HUBBARD, Dianetics - The Modern Science of Mental Health, 8th edition, Copenhagen 1984, page 487 concerning limited granting of citizens' rights only to "non-aberrated persons" and page 378 concerning the limited right to marriage and children.
- (171) See HUBBARD, Handbook of Rights, Copenhagen 1979, pages one, three, eight.
- (172) See HUBBARD, Introduction to the Ethics of Scientology, Copenhagen 1989, page 303; Article five, no. three and eight, no. one, letter a, of standard statute of the SO for churches and missions in Germany, which was sent in 1992 to the Standing Conference of State Interior Ministers and Senators (IMK) by the SO; advertisement brochure of the "International Association of Scientologists" (IAS) from 1998; in which the IAS describes its organizational purpose "to unite, support, and protect the Scientology Religion and Scientologists from all parts of the world in order to realize the goal L. Ron Hubbard set up."
- (173) See HUBBARD, Scientology - The Basis of Thinking, Seevetal-Maschen 1997, page 153; HUBBARD, Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedure, Copenhagen 1995, pages 378 and 487.
- (174) See HUBBARD, Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedure, Copenhagen 1995, page 487.
- (175) See HUBBARD, Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedure, Copenhagen 1995, page 378.
- (176) The document came to light in 1998 during intelligence monitoring activities.
- (177) According to the SO, the form is supposed to be used until the end of February 1998, and then be replaced by a new form which no longer includes the obligation to destroy enemy groups or organizations.
- (178) According to an assessment by constitution protection officials, this is a sub-organizations of the SO.







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