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Annual Report of the Office for Protection of the Constitution

1999

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Organizational Data

1. *Organizational Data pursuant to Section 16, para. 2, of the Federal Act on the Protection of the Constitution (BVerfSchG)*

1.1 Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV)

The BfV subsidy from the federal budget amounted to DM 224,264,345.47 in 1999 (1998: DM 220,508,083.21). The establishment of the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (BfV - Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution) in 1999 numbered 2,136 (1998: 2,164) staff members.

1.2 Military Counterintelligence Service (MAD)

The MAD subsidy from the federal budget amounted to DM 120,272,00.00 in 1999 (1998: DM 113,287,000.00). The establishment of *Militärischer Abschirmdienst* (MAD - Military Counterintelligence Service) in 1999 numbered 1,250 (1998: 1,250) staff members.

2. *Other Organizational Data*

At the beginning of the year 2000, the data holdings of the Federal Administration (*Bund*) and the *Länder* (federal states) in the *Nachrichtendienstliches Informationssystem* (NADIS - Intelligence Information System) totalled 908,328 entries of personal data (beginning of 1999: 888,776), of which 478,286 entries (52.6 %) were obtained in connection with security checks (beginning of 1999: 51.8 %).

Right-Extremist Endeavours

I. Overview

1. Ideology

Nationalism and racism as a basis

Right-extremist ideology has its roots in nationalist and racist ideas. It is based on the idea that ethnic affiliation with a nation or race decisively determines the value of a human being. Since, according to right-extremist thinking, human and civil rights, too, are to be accorded on the basis of this criterion, right-extremists refuse to accept the universal principle of equality applicable to every individual. In addition, they propagandize an authoritarian political system in which the State and an ethnically homogeneous people amalgamate as an allegedly natural order to form a unity (ideology of the "ethnic community") and where the state's leaders intuitively act in accordance with the people's uniform will. Starting from this premise, a state based on right-extremist ideology can do without the essential control elements of the free democratic fundamental order, such as the people's right to exercise state authority through elections, or the right to form, and to act as, an opposition.

Ideology of the "ethnic community"

Right-wing extremism is heterogeneous in terms of ideology

However, right-wing extremism in Germany does not form a uniform ideological framework; rather, its rationales and aims are quite different. Neo-Nazis strive for the establishment of a totalitarian *Führer* state on a racist basis. From their point of view, the German people is of superior value and therefore must be protected from "racially inferior" foreigners or Jews. Above all, mixing of different races must be prevented. By contrast, the right-extremist parties take a more nationalist position. They consider the nation the supreme principle - however, this again implies depreciation of human and civil rights. Consequently, their aim is an authoritarian state in which the free democratic fundamental order would be eliminated.

2. Developments in Right-Wing Extremism

Continuing high level of right-extremist violent acts

The development of right-extremist endeavours was not uniform in 1999: while the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution registered a decrease in the member/supporter potential, the number of acts of violence with a right-extremist background increased slightly as compared to the previous year. In geographic terms, the majority of such offences were, as before, committed in the new [East German] *Länder* (cf. Chapter II, section 2, below).

Further increase in the number of right-wing extremists prepared to use violence

Also in terms of numbers, East Germany was the focus of right-extremist skinheads and other violence-inclined right-extremists. This potential of participants has in 1999 again increased significantly with additional numbers joining the right-extremist skinhead scene - a trend that has continued for years.

Another cause for concern is the increasing number of statements - made by right-extremist skinheads and neo-Nazis alike - in favour of violence as a means for achieving political aims.

Within the German skinhead scene, the internationally active skinhead movement "Blood & Honour" has gained in influence. On the other hand, systematic integration of skinheads in right-extremist organizations continued to be the exception.

While the upward trend of the skinhead music scene, as observed over a number of years, did not continue in 1999, this scene has maintained a high level of involvement. The number of bands and concerts has decreased slightly; the number of distributors and fanzines was stagnant (cf. Chapter III, section 2, below). This trend reflects the successful efforts by the security authorities to prevent concerts of this type. Also, a large number of law enforcement measures taken against distributors of skinhead music and their customers rattled the scene.

Stagnation in the neo-Nazi scene

The number of persons tending to be involved in the neo-Nazi scene has slightly decreased. Most neo-Nazis joined "comradeships" which, however, engaged in political activities - in the form of demonstrations or their own publications - on a limited scale only. In instances, networking of the comradeships has further developed.

Thus, in Northern Germany, comradeships worked together under the action motto of "Free Nationalists". Together with the "*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*" (NPD - "National Democratic Party of Germany") and its youth organization "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National Democrats"), they held demonstrations which, in terms of agitation, focused on opposition to the travelling exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*, 1941 - 1944" and on the glorification of the Third Reich.

DVU has the strongest position within the spectrum of right-extremist parties

Within the right-extremist party structures, the "*Deutsche Volksunion*" (DVU - "German People's Union") held its position as the party with the largest number of members and with the greatest financial strength. It continues to be entirely dependent on its founder and chairman, Dr. Gerhard Frey. In the various elections in 1999, it was by far the most successful: it formed a parliamentary group in the Brandenburg *Landtag* and won a seat in Bremen's *Bürgerschaft* [city-state Parliament]. The election results

in Brandenburg, in particular, go to show that the DVU is considered the most acceptable protest party. During most of the elections in that year, the DVU and the Party "*Die Republikaner*" (REP - "The Republicans") gave each other a wide berth - only the DVU, however, profited from this approach. The two parties were neither willing nor able to form a closer alliance. The NPD disapproves of the DVU on account of its "mere orientation to capitalism".

REP losses

The REP were unsuccessful in the 1999 elections and lost members. On the one hand, they are too nondescript to present themselves as a protest party but, on the other hand, they are not accepted as a democratic party, either - an image which especially its Chairman Dr. Rolf **SCHLIERER** would like to get across. Another factor weakening the REP was the dissatisfaction, within the Party, with the course - perceived as too soft - which is pursued by the party leadership under **SCHLIERER**.

Action-oriented NPD

The action-oriented NPD, in combination with neo-Nazis, succeeded in carrying out some 60 - small and major-scale - demonstrations nationwide. Often its functionaries only posed as the applicants for demonstrations which actually were organized by neo-Nazi groups. Going by their outward appearance and the profile they project of themselves, it is hardly possible any longer to say who instrumentalizes whom. On the other hand, this party had no chances in the 1999 elections. An interesting feature were attempts by the NPD to pile up points, especially in the East German *Länder*, by means of a debate on socialism. After a succession of generations within its leadership, the JN, the NPD's youth organization, suffered a loss of autonomy in relation to the NPD and the neo-Nazi scene.

Current politics and relativization of National-Socialism as agitation themes

Current affairs, such as NATO's military intervention in Kosovo or the travelling exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*, 1941 - 1944", were in the centre of right-extremist agitation. Although historic National-Socialism scarcely features as a model for any future political system, it nevertheless continued to be a subject of the ideological debate on revisionism (cf. Chapter VII below). However, also in 1999 - often from abroad, by means of publications and entries on the Internet - revisionists sought to lift the taboo placed on nationalist ideology, by relativizing the crimes of National-Socialism.

Decline of intellectual right-wing extremism

Intellectual right-wing extremism repeatedly suffered setbacks. There was a decline in both the number and quality of theoretical contributions, for instance to publications, and in the scale of activities. This included the failed attempt to win new alliance partners by formally taking ideological fragments over from the political left wing (cf. Chapter VI below).

Increasing importance of the Internet

On the other hand, the Internet gained in importance as an agitation and communication means for right-wing extremists. The number of homepages operated by German right-wing extremists soared to about 330 (1998: approx. 200). Their content - which often was entered anonymously by U.S. Internet servers - was aimed not only at external agitation, but increasingly was used for in-scene communication. When making entries on the Internet, right-wing extremists made full use of the entire multimedia spectrum; radio and TV broadcasts, too, no longer were unusual activities.

Skinhead music in MP3 format

In addition to the use of criminalized symbols^{#)} and text inciting the people to hatred and violence, also skinhead music in the MP3 format ¹⁾, which is forbidden by law and has been put on the index, was often to be found on right-extremist homepages. This format enables an Internet user to load music down to his own computer and, if the proper technology is available to him, to produce and distribute his own CDs (cf. Chapter IX, sub-section 3.1, below).

^{#)} referring mainly to "insignia of unconstitutional organizations", such as flags, badges, uniform parts, passwords and salutes [Translator's Note]

II. Overview in Statistics

1. Organizations and Member/Supporter Potential

Slight decrease in right-extremist member/ supporter potential

At the end of 1999, there were 134 (1998: 114) right-extremist organizations and associations of persons in Germany. The number of their members and of non-organized right-wing extremists - about 51,400 - had decreased by approx. 4 % as compared to the previous year (1998: 53,600).

Right-wing extremists prepared to use violence

The number of subculture-oriented^{*)} and other violence-inclined right-wing extremists has gone up, by nearly 10 %, to 9,000 persons (1998: 8,200). Thus the upward trend, observed since 1996, of the number of right-wing extremists prepared to use violence continues. Included in the violence-inclined category are those right-wing extremists who support the use of violence, but so far have not committed any acts of violence. The by far largest - some 85 % - of these groups are right-extremist skinheads who by their subcultural orientation clearly differ from other right-wing extremists prepared to use violence, e.g. those from the neo-Nazi camp.

Neo-Nazis

The number of neo-Nazis has fallen by about 8 % to 2,200 (1998: 2,400). A certain degree of organizational structure was found among 49 groups ²⁾ (1998: 41).

Right-extremist political parties

About 37,000 persons (1998: 39,000) are organized in right-extremist parties. This number includes members of the party *"Die Republikaner"* (REP - "The Republicans"), but it should be noted that not every individual member of that party is to be considered a right-wing extremist. The decrease by about 5 % is due to membership losses of the REP and of the *"Deutsche Volksunion"* (DVU - "German People's Union") (approx. 1,000 each).

As regards other right-extremist organizations, their number has increased to 77 groups (1998: 65 groups); on the other hand, the number of members/activists affiliated with this spectrum has decreased to some 4,200 (1998: 4,500).

^{*)} The willingness to use violence and acts of violence are present not only among skinheads, but also - to a minor extent - among neo-Nazis and - to a still smaller extent - among the members of right-extremist parties. Therefore, willingness to use violence cannot be the only criterion of distinction between the skinhead and the neo-Nazi scenes. Much more important is the subcultural component, by which skinheads disassociate themselves from society's general standards. This includes, for instance, a martial appearance, aggressive music and excessive consumption of alcoholic drinks.

Right-Extremist Potential ¹⁾						
	1997		1998		1999	
	Groups	Persons	Groups	Persons	Groups	Persons
Subculture-oriented and other violence-inclined right-wing extremists ²⁾	3	7,600	5	8,200	5	9,000
Neo-Nazis ³⁾	40	2,400	41	2,400	49	2,200
Parties	3	34,800	3	39,000	3	37,000
of which:						
<i>"Die Republikaner" (REP) ⁴⁾</i>		15,500		15,000		14,000
<i>"Deutsche Volksunion" (DVU)</i>		15,000		18,000		17,000
<i>"Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands" (NPD)</i>		4,300		6,000		6,000
Other right-extremist organizations	63	4,300	65	4,500	77	4,200
Total	109	49,100	114	54,100	134	52,400
After deduction of multiple membership ⁵⁾		48,400		53,600		51,400

1) Some of these figures are estimated and rounded off.

2) The majority of subculture-oriented and other violence-inclined right-wing extremists (mainly skinheads) are not organized in groups. The statistics not only list the persons who were registered as actual/suspected perpetrators, but also include those right-extremists in whose case there are indications of their willingness to use violence.

3) After deduction of multiple-membership cases within the neo-Nazi scene.

4) It cannot be assumed that all REP members pursue or support right-extremist objectives.

5) The 1999 multiple-membership cases (1,000) in political parties and other right-extremist organizations were subtracted from the overall number.

2. Criminal Offences / Acts of Violence

2.1 Overview

Increase in the number of violent crimes

In 1999, the total number of registered criminal offences with proven or suspected right-extremist background was 10,037 (1998: 11,049); of these, 746 (1998: 708) were acts of violence, and 9,291 (1998: 10,341) other criminal offences. Thus, the total number of criminal offences dropped by 9.2 %, while the number of acts of violence increased by 5.4 %. Right-extremist acts of violence include, *inter alia*, violent offences with xenophobic and anti-Semitic motives and acts of violence against political opponents. The share of acts of violence in the total number of criminal offences was 7.4 % (1998: 6.4 %). 66.9 % (1998: 63 %) of all criminal offences were 'propaganda offences'^{#)} (under Sections 86 and 86a of the Penal Code).

Presumed causes for the increase in acts of violence

The continuing trend of subculture-oriented and other violence-inclined right-wing extremists to join the scene was reflected in a growing number of acts of violence in 1999. The aggressive lyrics of right-extremist skinhead music are likely to have also contributed to an increase in the propensity to use violence.

^{#)} referring to "use of insignia of anti-constitutional organizations" (cf. "criminalized symbols" above) and "dissemination of propaganda material of anti-constitutional organization" [Translator's Note]

Overview of Acts of Violence and Other Criminal Offences with Proven or Suspected Right-Extremist Background ^{*)}

	1998	1999
Acts of violence:		
Homicide	0	1
Attempted homicide	16	13
Bodily injury	595	630
Arson	39	35
Causing a detonation by explosives ^{#)}	3	2
Breach of the public peace	55	65
total	708	746
Other criminal offences:		
Damage to property	516	373
Coercion/threat	276	220
Dissemination of propaganda material of anti-constitutional organizations, and use of insignia of anti-constitutional organizations	6,958	6,719
Other criminal offences, especially incitement to hatred and violence	2,591	1,979
total	10,341	9,291
Total number of criminal offences	11,049	10,037

^{*)} The figures are based on data provided by the *Bundeskriminalamt* (BKA - Federal Office of Criminal Police)
(Situation as of: 31 January 2000)

This overview includes both committed and attempted criminal offences. Every offence was counted only once. For instance, if during a breach of the public peace, bodily injury offences were committed at the same time, only the breach of the public peace is shown as an offence in the statistics. If several criminal offences were committed, only the more serious offence was counted.

^{#)} technical term used in the German Penal Code (Section 311); colloquial term: "bomb attack"
[Translator's Note]

Completed homicide

In 1999, for the first time after three years, a completed act of homicide motivated by right-wing extremism motives was recorded *):

On 29 September, a Mozambican died of the sequels of the serious injuries inflicted upon him six weeks earlier by a 31-year old man. On 15 August, in front of a pub in Kolbermoor near Rosenheim (Bavaria), the German attacker had seriously injured the victim by punching and kicking him in the course of a brawl in which other persons were involved as well. During his interrogation by the police, the German did not disguise his anti-foreigner hostility. A warrant was issued for his arrest.

*) The incident of 13 February in Guben/Brandenburg in which an Algerian national died of the injuries he had suffered when fleeing from a group of skinheads chasing him, is classified by the criminal prosecution authorities as a violation of the public peace. The perpetrators are standing trial; the sentence is still pending.

There was another offence which the criminal prosecution authorities did not classify as voluntary homicide: On 9 August, two right-extremist skinheads in Eschede/Lower Saxony forcefully broke into the home of a 44-year old German who previously had made critical comments regarding the xenophobia of one of the accused persons. The offenders, who were under the influence of alcohol, hit the man whom they had knocked to the ground, kicked him with paratrooper boots and stabbed him with bits of broken glass, causing him serious injuries, *inter alia* to his head, of which the victim died the following day. On 25 January 2000, the Juvenile Division of the Lüneburg *Landgericht* [Regional Court] sentenced the two defendants to five years' youth custody each, for grievous bodily injury with fatal outcome.

2.2 Targets of Acts of Violence

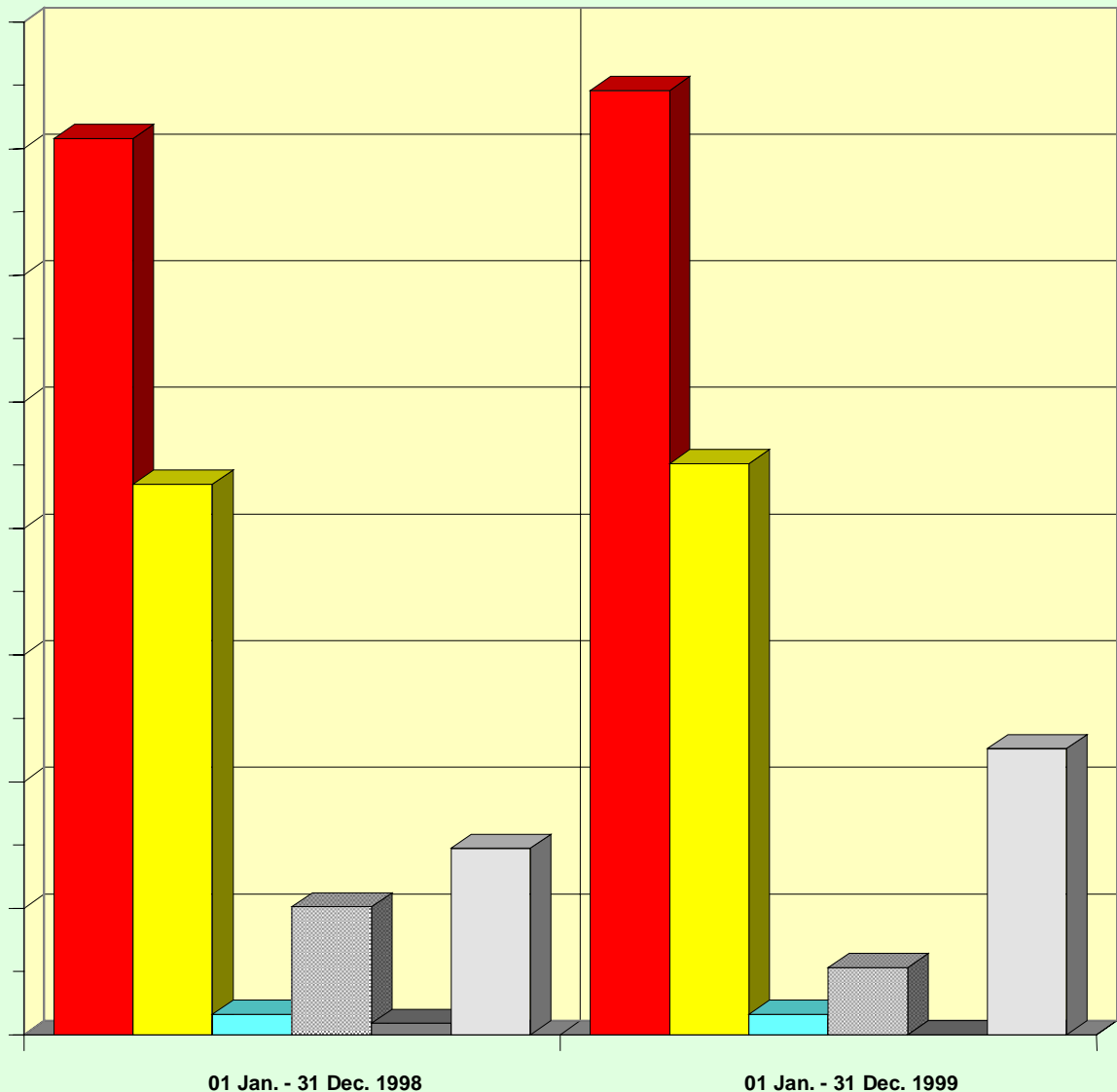
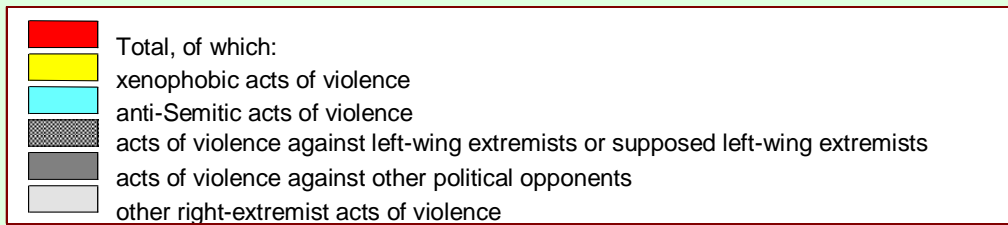
Anti-foreigner violence staying at a high level

In 1999, as already in previous years, the major part of violent crimes (451) were directed against foreigners (1998: 435). Thus, about 60 % of all acts of violence in 1999 had xenophobic motives (1998: 61 %).

Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected Xenophobic Background		
	1998	1999
Homicide	0	0
Attempted homicide	10	11
Bodily injury	384	386
Arson	23	29
Causing a detonation by explosives		0
0		
Breach of the public peace	18	24
Total of xenophobic acts of violence	435	451

Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected Right-Extremist Background ^{*)}

Targets



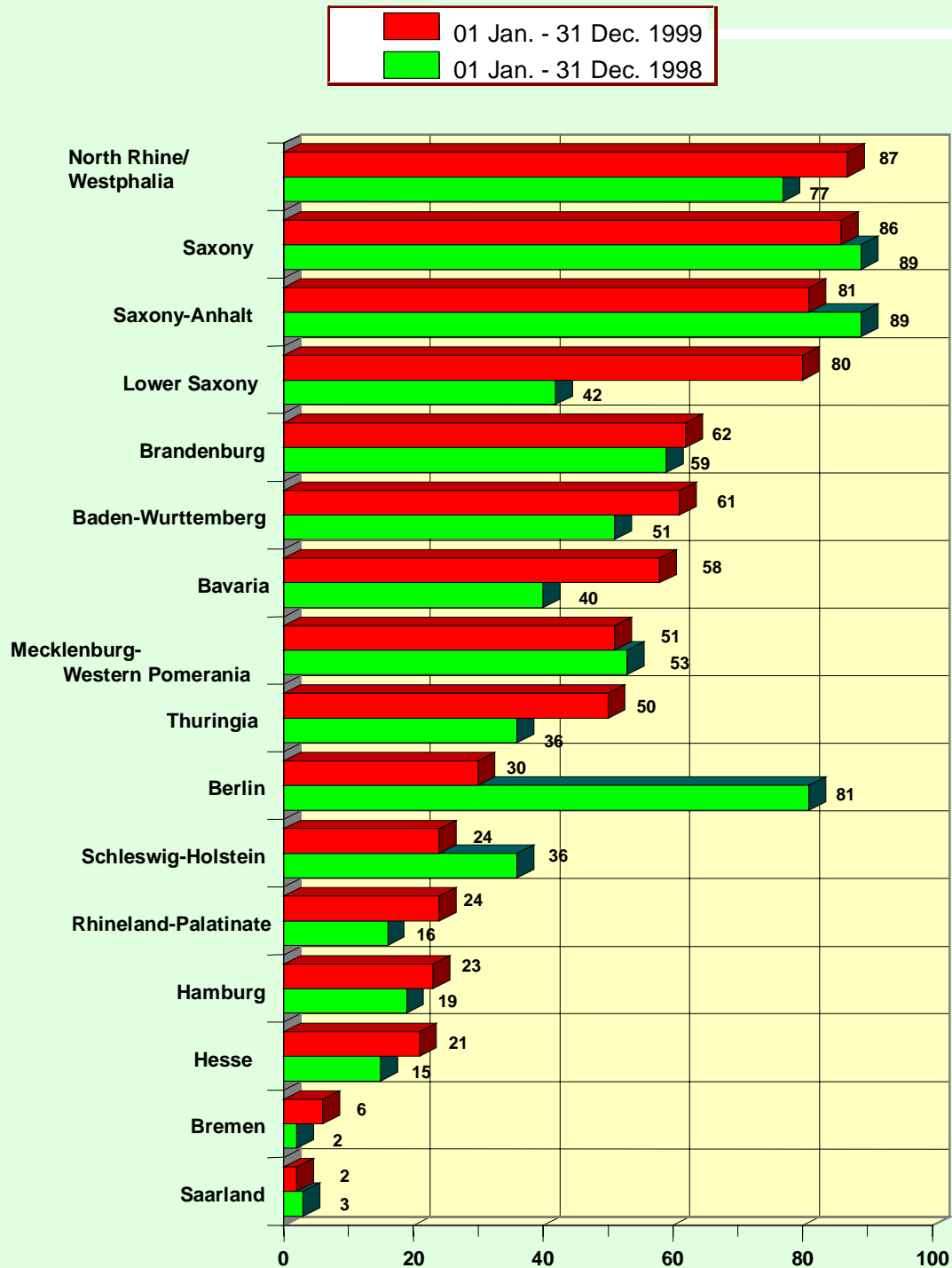
^{*)} This breakdown is based on the overall number of xenophobic criminal offences/violent crimes although only part of the xenophobic criminal/violent acts had a right-extremist background. Right-extremist motives are involved, in particular, in many xenophobic acts of violence. However, xenophobic criminal offences are specifically rooted also in militant aversion to asylum-seekers and in-migrants, and in a vague fear of "foreignization" [excessive proportion of foreigners].

2.3 Breakdown of Violent Offences by *Land*

[federal state]

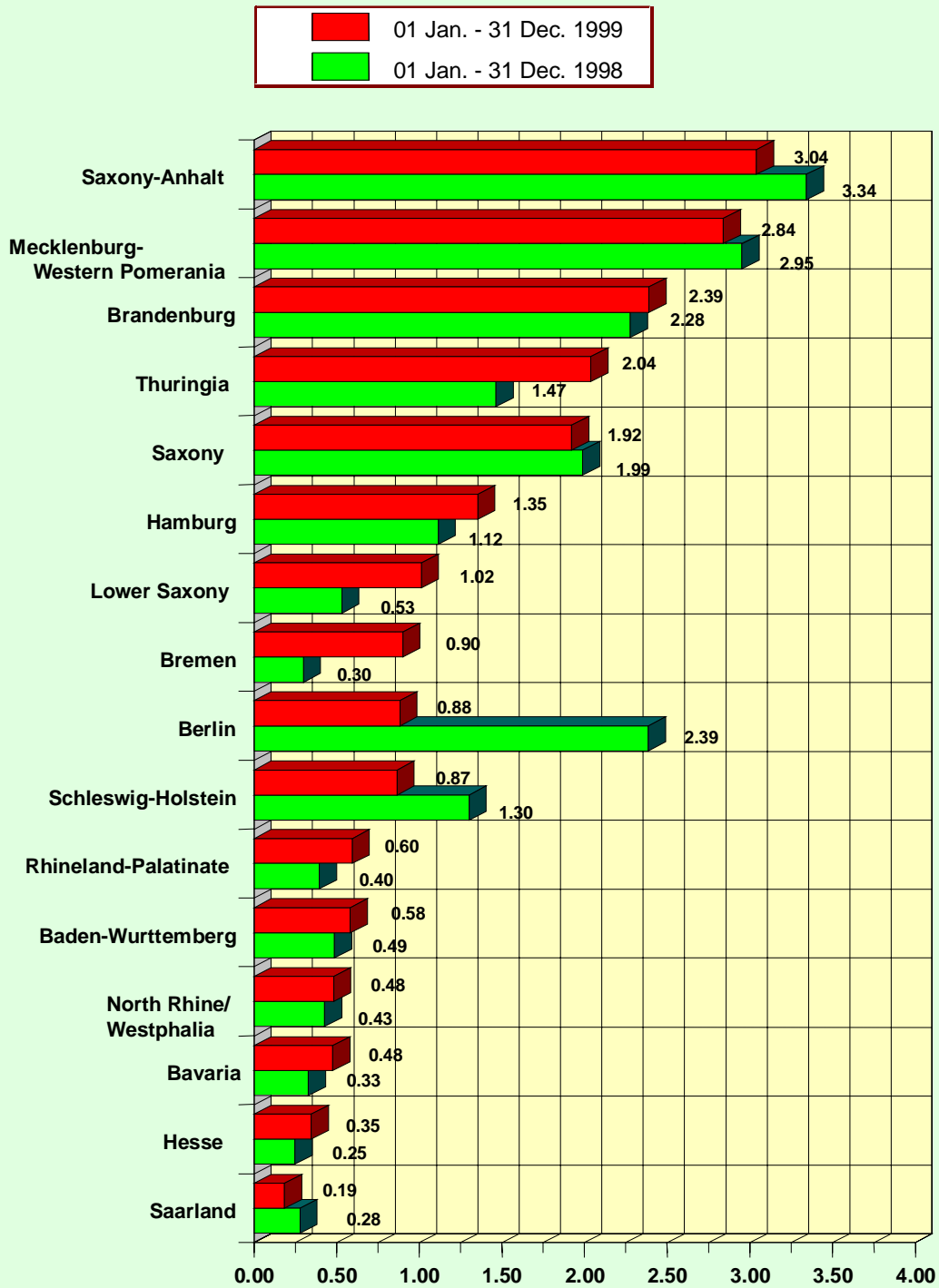
In 1999, most acts of violence with a proven or suspected right-extremist background occurred in North Rhine/Westphalia, the *Land* with the highest population figure. When the number of acts of violence is correlated with the large population, this *Land* ranges among the last quarter of the statistics of acts of violence per 100,000 inhabitants. On the other hand, the high incidence of such acts continues unabated in the East German *Länder*. On an average, the rate of acts of violence per 100,000 inhabitants was 2.19 in East Germany, and 0.68 in the West German *Länder*.

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



Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected Right-Extremist Motivation

per 100,000 inhabitants - by Land



III. Right-Wing Extremists Prepared to Use Violence

1. *Right-Extremist Violence Potential*

Further increase in the member/supporter potential

The number of right-extremist skinheads and other violence-inclined right-extremists has risen again in 1999. At the end of that year, it amounted to about 9,000 (1998: 8,200). This number includes both violent offenders and individuals who display a positive attitude towards the use of violence.

Tactical reasons for objecting to targeted violent actions

For years, there have been indications of weapons and explosives within the right-extremist scene; however, there has been nothing so far to indicate any intention to use them for specific attacks. Most right-wing extremists - at least for tactical reasons - are against terrorist attacks. They fear that such plans might come to the knowledge of security authorities and consequently might result in increased criminal prosecution measures.

Re-orientation of individual activists

Nevertheless, individual activists in 1999 called for a violence-oriented strategy for the achievement of political aims. This change of mind was triggered, *inter alia*, by domestic affairs, such as the debate on the reform of the law of nationality and citizenship and the acts of outrage committed by militant supporters of the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK). Fuel was added to public debate also by the two bomb attacks, not yet cleared up, on 19 December 1998 in Berlin on the grave of Dr. Heinz Galinski, the former President of the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* (Central Council of Jews in Germany), and on 9 March in Saarbrücken on the travelling exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*, 1941 - 1944". Especially the Saarbrücken attack met with approval among the right-extremist scene. It was deplored that scarcely any harm had been done to the "vile exhibition".

"Hamburger Sturm"

Use of violence as a means for achieving political aims is also being justified in neo-Nazi publications. Thus, in the neo-Nazi publication "*Hamburger Sturm*" (no. 20) of May 1999, a group calling itself "national-revolutionary cells" introduces itself in an interview: "Our path is that of the activist acting from the underground. ... One mustn't forget that we are waging war against this system, and this simply means that bulls [coppers] and other enemies will kick the bucket." Militant actions are also justified in

"Reichsruf"

issue no. 6 of the neo-Nazi publication "*Reichsruf - Mitteilungsblatt für Revolutionäre Nationalsozialisten*" ("*Reichsruf - Bulletin for Revolutionary National-Socialists*") which reached the general public in October 1999. It said that, if revolutionary national-socialists took up armed struggle, they would train their sights on the enemy, and radical action would be taken to get

down to the root of the trouble. It merely was a question of time for a resistance movement under Section 129a of the Penal Code^{#)} to be formed and to take action.

Risk of copycat offences

As before, there are no terrorist structures capable of action and no political concept for an armed struggle. However, in view of statements advocating the use of violence and in view of the weaponry of the scene, individual revolutionaries or small groups might feel inclined to copycat bomb attacks which met with a keen response among the media.

2. *Right-Extremist Skinhead Scene*

Since the 1990s, right-extremist skinheads and their periphery have formed the largest group, in terms of numbers, of activists prepared to use violence. Time and again, they entered the picture with spontaneous acts of violence and with their aggressive right-extremist music, which in instances also incites to hatred and violence. On account of the high fluctuation in the violence-inclined scenes and of the lack of structure, it is not possible to quantify the share of right-extremist skinheads as a percentage of the number of activists prepared to use violence, but it may be assumed to amount to about 85 %.

Majority (of skinheads) in East Germany

The member/supporter potential is particularly high in the East German *Länder*. Representing a share of about 21 % ³⁾ in the population, more than half of the right-extremist skinheads live in East Germany. Large scenes operating at a supraregional level are to be found, *inter alia*, in the Southern and Eastern parts of Thuringia, in Western Saxony and Southern Brandenburg. A large number of groups which mostly operate only at the local or the regional level are distributed throughout the smaller towns of all East German *Länder*.

A similar East-West disparity exists in Berlin where groups of right-extremist skinheads are to be found especially in the eastern city districts.

In the West German *Länder*, sizeable skinhead scenes with supraregional contacts exist, in particular, in various regions of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria and Lower Saxony and in the Greater Hamburg area.

The importance of the skinhead scene in the Allgäu - where, however, various cliques continue in existence - has greatly de-

^{#)} the Penal Code speaks of "terrorist associations", and not of "resistance movements"! [Translator's Note]

Dominant position of young right-wing extremists in social hot spots

creased. A decisive factor would seem to have been the ban imposed in July 1996 on the group "*Skinheads Allgäu*"⁴⁾.

In a number of hot spots in East German regions, young right-wing extremists hold a clearly dominant position - especially at the classical meeting places of young people, such as youth centres, the premises of railway stations, or market-places.

Publishing and distributing firms as "liberated zones"

Media reports often call these places "liberated zones" and thus put them into relation with a strategy paper issued by the "*Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund*" (NHB - "National-Democratic University/College Union"), which became first known in 1991. The unidentified author of that paper called for the creation of a "counter-power from below" which should grow from autonomous free areas for the right-extremist scene and from the ousting of state power. By now, the term is increasingly employed also within the scene. Thus, for instance, publishing or distributing firms operated by right-wing extremists are also called "liberated zones". Nevertheless, there has been nothing so far to suggest systematic implementation of this strategy paper. One reason would seem to be the fact that the unstructured violence-inclined scenes lack the leaders who would be able to initiate the relevant processes or to co-ordinate them on a long-term basis.

Relationship with neo-Nazis and right-extremist political parties

As before, the relations of right-extremist skinheads with neo-Nazis and with right-extremist parties are pursued on a varying scale, ranging from integration efforts to mutual rejection. In 1999, there was an increase in the overall number of persons who were affiliated both to the skinhead scene and to neo-Nazi groups or right-extremist parties, especially the "*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*" (NPD - "German National Democratic Party") and its youth organization, the "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National-Democrats"). This is also due to the fact that individuals who have been members of the skinhead scene for many years - often these are regional leaders - engage in political activities with growing commitment and join the NPD or the JN or one of the neo-Nazi 'comradeships'. Members of their former clique will then follow them, but nevertheless will stay attached to the subcultural setting. In addition, the activities of NPD or JN activists have an effect at the local level: they provide rooms for meetings of skinhead groups, stage song recitals or concerts after electoral campaign events, and organize the travel of participants to demonstrations, and these activities are perceived by skinheads as an experience conducive to building a sense of community.

In relation to the overall potential, however, the proportion of skinheads who enter into close and sustained relations with

right-extremist parties or neo-Nazi 'comradeships' continues to be low.

"Blood & Honour"

The internationally active skinhead movement "Blood & Honour" - which adheres to a predominantly racist ideology oriented to national-socialism - continued to gain in importance with regard to the skinhead subculture.

The focus of their activities is on the right-extremist skinhead music, especially the organization of concerts. "Blood & Honour" concerts appeal greatly to the scene. They draw an audience from all parts of Germany. The structures within the group were consolidated in 1999, and new members were recruited. "Blood & Honour" is assumed to have a membership of over 240. On account of this number, its activists are increasingly present in the regional scenes. The organization's publication *"Blood & Honour Division Deutschland"* now appears on a regular basis. For the major part, the articles come from members of the so-called Sections of the organization. The content is not confined to the usual subjects of fanzines [fan magazines] such as interviews and reports on events or reviews of sound recordings; this publication also reports about members of the [former] *Waffen-SS* ["armed defence echelons", elite combat troops under Hitler], leading national-socialists, national-socialist organizations, and the Nazi racial doctrine.

"Hammerskins"

"Hammerskins", who also have a predominantly racist orientation, were not able to establish themselves to the same extent. Their member/supporter potential - mainly individual activists and smaller groups - stayed at a level of some 120 persons. As before, the "Hammerskins" had little influence.

The rivalry of "Blood & Honour" and "Hammerskins" in the music business occasionally leads to clashes between individual supporters and to the mutual boycott of concerts. In the last analysis, however, the two groups regard each other as parts of a common subcultural and political camp, and respect each other.

2.1 Skinhead Music

Slight decrease in the number of right-extremist bands

By contrast to previous years, the number of right-extremist skinhead bands did not increase in 1999. The number of active music groups was about 93 (1998: 100).

Skinhead music with lyrics inciting hatred and violence

The aggressiveness of the lyrics disseminated by right-extremist skinhead bands continues unabated. While the majority of the bands residing in Germany refrain from making sound recordings of lyrics with punishable content, hate-mongering versions, or versions of songs with punishable lyrics by well-known bands, e.g. the band named *"Landser"* ["foot soldiers"], are quite often

played at concerts. During such performances, criminal offences are frequently committed by members of the audience.

Individual bands and projects focus their activities on the recording of pieces of music with unlawful content. Since autumn, for instance, a CD by the new band *"Die Härte"*, entitled *"National-Deutsche Welle"*, has been on offer both on the Internet and through "Blood & Honour Scandinavia", the successor of the distributing firm "NS 88". The CD combines popular tunes with mostly hate-mongering or anti-Semitic lyrics.

Thus, for instance, the following words were set to the tune of *"Hurra, hurra, die Schule brennt"* ["Hurrah, hurrah, the school is burning"]:

"It's getting dark; the time for it has come again; there's a meeting of the Ku-Klux-Klan. The petrol cans are full; the little niggers from their beds now pull! Now go and fetch the cross to please the Klan and please their boss. Let's play bonfire games, and that swine goes up in flames. A son is sung with a snicker. How great, hurrah, hurrah; let's roast a nigger!"

Skinhead concerts

By contrast to the previous years, the number of skinhead concerts in which right-extremist bands took part did not increase in 1999. There was a total of 109 events (1998: 128). This reflects the effectiveness of an uncompromising approach to the imposition of bans. On the other hand, the average number of concert-goers increased. While in 1998 more than two thirds of those performances drew an audience of less than 200, this was the case with only half of the concerts in 1999: the number of events drawing more than 600 fans went up significantly. The by far largest concert took place in Garitz (Saxony-Anhalt) on 4 September, with an audience of more than 2,000. What actually drew this large audience was a skinhead band from the U.S. which is popular among this scene. The great popularity of foreign right-extremist music bands is also reflected by the fact that concerts given by such bands - about a third of all events - drew an above-average number of fans.

Foreign skinhead bands as a magnet drawing audiences

Right-extremist singer-songwriters

Right-extremist singer-songwriters gave performances alongside, or after, events staged by right-extremist parties, and at ballad-song concerts. One of the best known singer-songwriters is Frank **RENNICKE** who was invited to many NPD-sponsored events. His appearance at events organized by the party "The Republicans" (REP) gave rise to controversy within that party.

2.2 Marketing of Skinhead Music

The number of dealers in right-extremist music media - often offered alongside scene-specific articles of clothing and jewellery

- has stayed at the level of about 50 (1998: 50). Apart from mail-order business, there are also significant sales by a number of individual suppliers doing business at the time and place of skinhead concerts.

**Enforcement actions
against distributors and
customers**

The scene was rattled by numerous enforcement actions - during which several thousands of sound recording media were seized - against distributors of right-extremist skinhead music and their customers and against members of right-extremist bands. As a result, the scene has become even more cautious as regards distribution of unlawful music media. Mail order sale of these media, which are mostly produced in foreign countries, declined. Now they are being distributed on a growing scale from hand to hand by distributors personally known to their customers.

During searches of the premises of the operator of a distributing firm for right-extremist music media on 31 March and 26 May in [the Baden-Wurttemberg town of] Ulm, the police confiscated more than 5,000 CDs with unlawful content. On 25 October, the Ulm *Amtsgericht* [Local Court] gave a distributor an 18-months' unsuspended sentence for incitement to hatred and violence and for distribution of insignia of anti-constitutional organizations.

On 28 September, the Lingen *Amtsgericht* [Local Court] sentenced Jens **HESSLER**, one of the leading distributors of right-extremist sound recording media, to two-years' imprisonment (suspended on probation) for incitement to hatred and violence and for use of emblems of anti-constitutional organizations.

In the summer of 1999, the distributing firm "Vincente Directori" in Glinde (Schleswig-Holstein) announced that it would close its business. The reason given for this decision was that, *inter alia*, the many judicial enquiries concerning the firm and its customers made continuance of the business impossible.

Internet competition

Producers and distributing firms face increasing competition by MP3 ¹⁾ files (sound data files) which are available on the Internet in increasing numbers. They are provided by scene members on their Internet homepages and can be downloaded, free of cost, by users and be copied on their own self-made CDs (cf. Chapter IX, sub-section 3.1, below). The provider runs a low risk of criminal prosecution, especially if such offers are posted on the Internet anonymously by foreign providers. This might develop into a competition harmful to the market for skinhead-music CDs and to mail-order business.

2.3 Fanzines

**Fanzines for in-scene
communication**

Right-extremist fan magazines (fanzines) continue to be very important to in-scene communication. At the end of 1999, 50

(1998: 50) magazines of this type were known. They provide information on scene-related events, especially concerts, new sound recordings, and current publications, and cover interviews with bands, distributors and other fanzine publishers. In 1999, there was an increase in the reports about demonstrations staged by the NPD/JN and "*Nationaler Widerstand*" ("National Resistance"). The sense of community within the scene was fostered by fanzines of nationwide importance, such as "*Blood & Honour Division Deutschland*" or "*Der gestiefelte Kater*" ["Puss in Boots"], as well as publications with only regional coverage.

IV. Neo-Nazism

1. Overview

"Comradeships" as an organization model for neo-Nazis

In 1999, the neo-Nazi member/supporter potential increased to some 2,200 activists (1998: 2,400). Following the bans imposed on associations over the past few years, neo-Nazis mainly get organized in "comradeships" which by now number some 150 (1998: 80). These groups of neo-Nazis, which in most cases number 10 to 15 members, operate independently of each other and, as a rule, do not have any association-type structure or, at best, have a very loose structure. They mostly call themselves "comradeships" (for instance, *"Kameradschaft Treptow"*), but also use designations such as "circle of friends", "front" or "home guard"; others do not give themselves a name.

"Karlsruhe Comradeship"

Exemplary of the neo-Nazi groups which also deploy outward-directed activities is the "Karlsruhe Comradeship". On 20 March, under the motto of *"Von 'Terrorist' zu 'Terrorist'"*, it organized an event with the former right-wing extremist Peter **NAUMANN** and with Horst **MAHLER**, a former member of the *"Rote Armee Fraktion"* (RAF - "Red Army Faction"). With its multifaceted activities, this group has become a driving force within the neo-Nazi scene in Baden-Württemberg.

"Free Nationalists" as an example of successful regional networking

Networking of the neo-Nazi scene was further developed and consolidated at the regional level, with the main centre in Northern Germany. The leading Hamburg neo-Nazi Thomas **WULFF** propagandizes a concept for the co-operation of "comradeships" and individual neo-Nazis within "non-organized units" which can be mobilized at any time. These "Free Nationalists" are supposed to show up at rallies and to be recognizable as an independent group. North German "Free Nationalists" call themselves *"Nationales und Soziales Aktionsbündnis Norddeutschland"* ("National and Social Action Alliance Northern Germany"); they succeeded in organizing a number of demonstrations. Thus, for instance, some 400 neo-Nazis, among them **WULFF**, held a demonstration in Ludwigslust (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania) on 5 June. With slogans and posters, they agitated against NATO and its operation in Yugoslavia, the alleged U.S. imperialism, and the travelling exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*, 1941 - 1944".

No centrally organized "Rudolf Heß Memorial March"

Classical neo-Nazi agitation themes - such as foreigners, denial of [Germany's] war guilt, or adoration of leading representatives of the Third *Reich* - receded into the background, at least in their manifestation to the outside world. Thus, in 1999, no central march was organized in commemoration of Hitler's deputy Rudolf Heß; the scene only succeeded in organizing smaller regional

Anti-Americanism as a dominant ideological element

rallies, most of which were stopped by the security authorities already in the early stages.

Instead, one of the central agitation themes was the Kosovo conflict. NATO's military action in Kosovo against Yugoslavia and, in particular, the participation of German soldiers met with opposition not only by the right-extremist parties, but also by the entire neo-Nazi scene. It was argued that, with this military strike, the U.S. had clearly shown their claim to imperial power, with the NATO nations giving their subservient allegiance.

To quote from the Hamburg neo-Nazi publication "*Zentralorgan*" (ZORG - "Central Organ"):

"The US used Yugoslavia's internal affairs as a pretext to enforce, also in Europe, and with all means available, their self-elected claim to leadership within the 'new world order' proclaimed by them. Thanks to the subservient vassalage of the NATO nations, it is not particularly difficult for the US to achieve their end. ... Consequently, the separatist endeavours of the Kosovar Albanians and their underground army UÇK suit the One World strategists perfectly. They aim at solidarity with a racial minority on the Serbian territory in order to be able to undermine the Serbian nation-state."
("*Zentralorgan*", no. 6, p. 16)

In addition to agitation against NATO's military action in Kosovo, protest against the travelling exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*, 1941 - 1944" was the predominant theme among the neo-Nazis. Participation in demonstrations against this exhibition revealed the close co-operation between neo-Nazis and the "National-Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD) and its youth organization "Young National Democrats" (JN).

Demonstrations against the so-called *Wehrmacht* Exhibition are evidence of the co-operation of neo-Nazis with the NPD/JN

Thus, for instance, NPD/JN members notified the public authorities of demonstrations which, however, were organized and carried out mainly by neo-Nazis, e.g. in Kiel on 31 January and in Hamburg on 10 July. The neo-Nazis used the NPD's status as a political party in the hope of thus avoiding a ban of the event. In its turn, the NPD frequently relied on the neo-Nazi supporter potential to make "its" events look larger and more impressive. Most neo-Nazis, however, do not see the relationship with the NPD as one of continuous solidarity. They fear that the NPD might assume the role of opinion leader within the "National Resistance" and shove them aside.

Spying on, and dissemination of, the addresses and activities of the political opponent continue to be a neo-Nazi field of action. The aim of these "*Anti-Antifa*" ["anti-antifascist"] activities is to launch verbal attacks against their opponents and to unnerve them by actions such as telephone calls. Thus, in late August, it

"Anti-Antifa" activities designed at least to unnerve the opponent

became known that the "*Anti-Antifa Kurpfalz*" ["Anti-Antifa of the Palatine Electorate"] had sent a list of the names and addresses of some 40 political opponents from Berlin to neo-Nazis in Berlin. In November, a so-called "*Antifa im WAW*" ("Anti-fascists within WAR" (White Aryan Resistance)) published a pamphlet entitled "*Der Wehrwolf*"[#] calling upon the readers to stop the "terror campaign of red-front members, dementocrats and Zionists". *Inter alia*, the pamphlet contains the names and addresses and photos of *Bundestag* MPs, and the addresses of Jewish institutions. In "*WEHRWOLF*", the "*Anti-Antifa-Saarpfalz*" ["Anti-Antifa Saarland/Palatinate] which is identical with the "*Anti-Antifa Kurpfalz*", demands that resistance be put up against the "ideological terror by political cops, public prosecutors, judges and other members of the FRG's judicial prosecution^{##}) authority".

2. Neo-Nazi Organizations

2.1 "*Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige e.V.*" (HNG - "Aid Organization for National Political Prisoners and Their Families (reg'd)")

Founded:	1979
Headquarters:	Frankfurt/Main
National chairperson:	Ursula MÜLLER
Members:	500 (1998: 450)
Publications:	" <i>Nachrichten der HNG</i> " ("HNG News") circulation: about 600, monthly

The "*Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige e.V.*" (HNG - "Support Organization for National Political Prisoners and Their Relatives") by now is the only nationwide neo-Nazi organization. Although the HNG is not very conspicuous in public life and its influence within the scene is minor, the organization is of importance as a connecting link between various right-extremist, particularly neo-Nazi, groups. Thus, their annual general assembly is also attended by leading activists of various neo-Nazi groups, who make a show of unity

[#] wordplay on *Werwolf* ("werewolf") and *Wehr* ("defence", "resistance", "armour") [Translator's Note]

^{##}) in this context, the German word "*Verfolgung*" - "prosecution", "persecution" - is likely to be intended to convey both connotations [Translator's Note]

and mutual support; however, no programmatic agreements are made beyond the association's stated purpose of "prisoner welfare".

Care for "national political prisoners"

The purpose of "national prisoner welfare work" is not so much of a charitable nature, but rather serves to tie the imprisoned 'comrades' to the right-extremist scene. This purpose is also served by the "List of Prisoners" which is published regularly in "*Nachrichten der HNG*" ("HNG News") and is designed to enable detainees to establish and maintain contacts.

"HNG News" wish to document "political persecution" of neo-Nazis

At the same time, "HNG News" intends to document the "arbitrary persecution of national citizens by the ruling establishment"⁵⁾; in this context, the paper also attacks the democratic constitutional state:

"The fight against the political opponent with means pertaining to the judiciary apparatus is the last step on the path to establishing a police state and ideological dictatorship."
("Nachrichten der HNG", special edition, early 1999, p. 23)

Since January, after his release from prison, Hans-Christian **WENDT** has again been appointed editor of "*Nachrichten der HNG*". He declared that, in a time in which German patriots were increasingly harassed and deprived of their civil rights⁶⁾, he would focus his activity on providing legal advice to the comrades; brochures and instruction sheets, dealing with the usual tricks and nastiness of the political persecutors and their helpers from the penitentiaries of the FRG judiciary, were designed to make everyday life in jail easier⁷⁾. In addition, with the title "Important legal guidance for political prisoners", **WENDT** announced that he would establish a 'counter-public(ity)':

"[Our] reports about the FRG jails are intended to publicize, time and again, the recurrent arbitrary acts of the law enforcement system against national prisoners."
("Nachrichten der HNG", special edition, early 1999, p. 29)

2.2 "*Freiheitlicher VolksBlock*" (FVB - "Free People's Bloc")

Founded:	1994
Headquarters:	Nürnberg (Nuremberg)
National chairman:	Thomas SCHARF
Members:	70 (1998: 100)
Publications:	"FVB-Spiegel" ["FVB Mirror"] (not published in 1999)

Participation in elections
as a long-term aim

Membership of the "*Freiheitlicher VolksBlock*" (FVB - "Free People's Bloc") include leading functionaries of the neo-Nazi "*Heimattreue Vereinigung Deutschlands*" (HVD - "Patriotic Association of Germany") which was banned in July 1993 by the Minister of the Interior of the *Land* of Baden-Wurttemberg. In its paper "Strategic Guidance Free People's Bloc 1999-2000", the FVB - which also calls itself "*Partei des deutschen Aufbruchs*" ("Party of German Awakening") - names participation in parliamentary elections as a long-term aim. At present, however, the only remaining *Land* Associations of the FVB are in Baden-Wurttemberg, Bavaria and Saxony-Anhalt. The Bloc failed in its attempt to expand to other *Länder*; instead, the erosive process has progressed.

Heavy membership losses,
and isolation within the
scene

As a result of heavy membership losses and lack of acceptance in the neo-Nazi scene, the FVB has become more or less incapable of action. Unlike in previous years, the Bloc did not appear in public; its Schleswig-Holstein *Land* Association no longer exists.

2.3 "*Neonazikreis um Frank Schwerdt*" ("*Neo-Nazi Circle around Frank Schwerdt*") (formerly: "*Die Nationalen e.V.*")

Founded:	a group of persons who continued the activities of the registered association " <i>Die Nationalen e.V.</i> " which disbanded in November 1997
Headquarters:	Berlin and Brandenburg
National chairman:	Frank SCHWERDT
Members:	about 50 (including "comradeships" under its influence)
Publications:	" <i>Berlin-Brandenburger - Zeitung der nationalen Erneuerung</i> " (BBZ - "Berlin-Brandenburg Newspaper of National Renewal")

Relationship with the NPD

The Neo-Nazi Circle around Frank **SCHWERDT** sees itself as a reservoir for organized and non-organized neo-Nazis in the Berlin-Brandenburg region. In the first quarter of 1999, in particular, its activities were impaired on account of **SCHWERDT**'s arrest; he had served a nine-months' prison term since June 1998, *inter alia* on a charge of incitement to hatred and violence. During that period, the group lost a considerable number of members (1999: about 50; 1998: about 150). But even after his release, the work of this group got started only sluggishly. **SCHWERDT** mainly concentrated on his function as a member of the National Executive

Committee of the "National-Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD), and on the NPD's campaigns prior to the *Landtag* elections in Brandenburg and the elections to the Berlin Chamber of Deputies.

SCHWERDT's co-operator Christian **WENDT**, who until then had taken a rather critical attitude towards the NPD, has in the meantime become engaged in - at least part of - this party's activities. In the September issue of the NPD organ "*Deutsche Stimme*" (DS - "German Voice"), he was listed as the "chief sub-editor".

Fight against "repression exerted by the state"

SCHWERDT and his periphery continued their attempts at stigmatizing the Federal Republic of Germany as a despotic state in which nationally minded citizens were exposed to severe oppression.

In connection with the alleged announcement by an industrial undertaking in the *Land* of Brandenburg that in future steps would be taken under labour law against "right-wing violent offenders", **SCHWERDT**, in an article in the party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*" of the "German National Democratic Party" (NPD), made the following comment:

"With the slogan of 'anti-foreigner hostility', attempts are being made in the FRG to repress absolutely normal national sentiments. This has even been carried to the point where people are threatened with losing their jobs. ... If those innumerable action alliances against the right wing do not have an effect, then the nationally minded citizens should, at least in the workplace, be made acutely aware of what way the wind is blowing. The justified question as to what on earth this has got to do with the much-invoked principles of democracy and the rule of law, will almost get stuck in the observer's throat in view of such machinations."

(**SCHWERDT** in "*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 5/99, p. 4)

In the summer, during the *Landtag* election campaigns in Brandenburg and Thuringia, the "*Berlin-Brandenburger - Zeitung der nationalen Erneuerung*" (BBZ - "Berlin-Brandenburg Newspaper of National Renewal") and "*Neue Thüringer Zeitung*" were circulated as hardcopy for the first time in two years. Both publications, together with four other newspapers, have formed a "*Nationaler Medienverband*" ("National Media Union"); for the first time they designated themselves as regional issues of the NPD party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*" (DS).

National Media Union

"Radio Germania" also on the Internet

After a temporary ban on broadcasting imposed repeatedly by the *Medienanstalt Berlin-Brandenburg* (MABB - *Land* supervisory authority for private broadcasters), "*Radio Germania*", for which **SCHWERDT's** follower Mike **PENKERT** is responsible, in January re-

sumed broadcasting of its programmes once per month or every second month over the so-called Open Channel Berlin. The programme is also distributed over the Internet. Its texts reflect underlying xenophobia and have a revisionist orientation, and often their drift is similar to that of the announcements on the "*Nationales Info-Telefon Preussen*" ("National Info Telephone Prussia") which is also operated by **PENKERT**.

SCHWERDT arrested again

The "comradeships" under **SCHWERDT**'s influence did not deploy any significant publicity-effective activities. On 30 November, **SCHWERDT** had to serve another prison term: on the basis of a conviction of October 1998 carrying an unsuspended sentence to six-months' imprisonment on the charge of having glorified violence in connection with the publication of a CD by the Thuringian skinhead band "*Volksverhetzer*" ["hate-mongers"].

2.4 "*Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten*" (KDS - "Combat Union of German Socialists")

Founded:	1 May 1999
Headquarters:	Berlin
National chairmen:	Thomas BREHL , Michael KOTH
Members:	about 30
Publications:	" <i>Der Gegenangriff</i> " ("Counterattack"), " <i>Wetterleuchten</i> " ("Heat Lightning")

Co-operation of "right-wing" and "left-wing" socialists

The "*Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten*" (KDS - "Combat Union of German Socialists") regards itself as a discussion and fighting forum, independent of any party or organization and basing its activities on the commitment to the people and to the home country. Its programmatic basis is the "Langen Declaration" which is signed, *inter alia*, by Thomas **BREHL**, a follower of the neo-Nazi symbolic figure Michael Kühnen (died in 1991), and Michael **KOTH**, a former functionary of the "*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands - Ost*" (KPD-Ost - "Communist Party of Germany - East"): After the "rapprochement which in the meantime had taken place between 'right-wing' and 'left-wing' socialists", the aim of the KDS was

"to bring about the concentration of revolutionary, socialist energies and ideas and, as a combat union, to achieve what would be unattainable for each of us on his own: becoming a political factor in this country!"

"*Langener Erklärung*" ("Langen Declaration") of 14 February 1999, p. 1

In an issue of the publication "*Der Gegenangriff*" ("Counter-

attack") ⁸⁾, which was published on the Internet, **BREHL** specified these aims:

**A 'fighting community' and
a 'forge for ideas'**

"The Combat Union must ... on the one hand, provide a discussion platform where there must be no taboos regarding the measures to be taken - with the exception of violence! ... It is designed to be a forge for ideas and a fighting community at the same time, thus becoming dangerous to all those who wish to have our people perish in a multi-cultural mush. ... The transformation into a multicultural chaotic society of 'One-World dogmatists' must be stopped before it becomes 'irreversible'."

So far, public appearance of the KDS has been scarce. An anti-'G8 Summit' demonstration notified and scheduled to take place in Cologne on 5 June was prohibited.

V. Political Parties

1. "Die Republikaner" (REP - "The Republicans")

Founded:	1983
Headquarters:	Berlin
National chairman:	Dr. Rolf SCHLIERER
Members:	14,000 *) (1998: 15,000)
Publication:	" <i>Der neue Republikaner</i> " ("New Republican") circulation: 20,000 monthly
Subsidiary organizations:	" <i>Republikanische Jugend</i> " (RJ - "Republican Youth") " <i>Republikanischer Bund der öffentlich Bediensteten</i> " (RepBB - "Republican Union of Public Sector Workers") " <i>Republikanischer Bund der Frauen</i> " (RBF - "Republican Women's Union") " <i>Republikanischer Hochschulverband</i> " (RVH - "Republican University/College Union")
*) The Party itself gives higher figures (16,000)	

Permanent defeat at the polls and the resultant squabbling about the Party's proper course characterized the REP's situation in 1999. The Party scarcely entered the picture as the organizer of demonstrations and public actions.

1.1 Goals

With regard to the party "*Die Republikaner*" (REP - "The Republicans"), there are, as before, indications of its right-extremist endeavours even though it must not be assumed that every single member would pursue anti-constitutional aims. While its national chairman, Dr. Rolf **SCHLIERER**, strives to establish a respectable right-wing/conservative image of his party, influential groups and functionaries of the REP show their unchanged rejection of the free democratic fundamental order: overall, the nature of their criticism of the existing state of affairs reveals a fundamental opposition to the notion of the status and rights of the human person, as enshrined in the Basic Law, and is reflected, in varying degrees, in xenophobia, anti-Semitism, relativization of the crimes committed under National-Socialism, agitation against the

principle of democracy, and co-operation with right-wing extremists.

The incapability and reluctance of the Party to take part in argumentative democratic discussion and analysis became obvious in the context of the travelling exhibition organized by the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (BfV - Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution) under the motto "*Demokratie ist verletzlich - Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland*" ("Democracy is vulnerable - Right-wing extremism in Germany") in the lobby of the *Landtag* building in Stuttgart: alongside the opening ceremony on 13 October, REP delegates created a disturbance, used physical force and tore up an exhibit.

Rejection of the Basic Law's notion of the status and rights of the human person

An author writing in the party organ "*Der neue Republikaner*" ("The New Republican") reveals his rejection of the Basic Law's model of human dignity and civil rights by referring to equal rights, tolerance, solidarity and antiracism as "pseudo values" which had watered down traditional spiritual values in the course of the past decades:

"Surely everybody knows that our much-praised 'Western community of shared values' is sagging to ever greater and more hopeless depths: ... After all, during the past decades of the East-West conflict, traditional idealistic values - ranging from piety and love of our country to the devotion of mothers to home life - have been watered down by pseudo values such as equal rights, tolerance, solidarity and antiracism, etc." (*"Der neue Republikaner"*, no. 6/99, p. 7)

Similarly, the Berlin *Land* Association of the REP encourages intolerance, especially *vis-à-vis* foreigners:

"Friends. This policy diminishes our chances to survive. ... Germany is not to be ours any longer. ... Forget your teachers' confused lectures about tolerance! Tolerance means mutual respect. But you are to be robbed of your homeland, to be deprived of your self-assurance and self-respect; above all, however, the intention is to break your spirit of self-assertion. ... Don't let them confuse you: There is no right to immigration. Nowhere. But there is a right to a homeland. And that is being taken away from you." (*"Krefelder Echo"*, Bulletin for members of the Krefeld *Kreis* Association of the REP, no. 1/99, p. 3)

This is a manifestation of a mental attitude that is diametrically opposed to central values of the free democratic fundamental order - such as human dignity, equal rights, tolerance, and protection of minorities.

Xenophobia (anti-foreigner hostility)

The REP's xenophobic agitation is essentially centred around the threat of elimination of the German people. The existing social

problems are dramatized as representing an existential issue, thus implying the requirement for drastic measures. At the same time, foreigners are defamed aggressively and indiscriminately. The REP foment fears of "foreignization" [excessive proportion of, and control by, foreigners], speak of a forthcoming "replacement of the German nation by *Multi-Kulti* ^{#)}", and conjure up the spectre of threatening "destruction of our country and our people". Especially its xenophobic agitation against dual nationality reveals that the Party's notion of the German nation, which it wishes to preserve as a racial entity, is exclusively oriented to the principle of descent [citizenship by blood] and not based on political arguments. This is accompanied by discrimination against foreign races and ethnic groups.

In a bulletin of local elected representatives, the REP emphasize:

"So far, the *jus sanguinis* principle ["citizenship by blood"] has ensured that the character and identity of our people have been preserved at least to some extent. By abandoning this principle, the Federal Government not only gives in to the phenomenon of immigration by birth ['immigration' by foreigners' children born in this country], but it also lays the foundation for the destruction of our country and our people! ... Germany is becoming Everybody's Country - a multicultural settlement area permeated with ethnic patchwork. Greetings from the Balkans!"

("Groß-Gerauer Kreis Report", Bulletin of the REP parliamentary group of the Groß-Gerau (Hesse) *Kreistag* (Kreis Council), no. 1/99, p. 1 seq.)

Also National Chairman Dr. Rolf **SCHLIERER** stated in his speech at the REP's Ash Wednesday meeting in Geisenhausen (Bavaria) on 17 February:

"What we do *not* need is such a multicultural mush which is conflict pure and simple. ... Insidious conquest of the country, as we are now experiencing, must not be accepted any longer by the German people."

SCHLIERER announced that, in order to avoid becoming "foreigners in our own country" ⁹⁾, there would be opposition against the "progressive displacement of the German nation by *Multi-Kulti*" which allegedly was entailed by the amendment of aliens legislation and of the law of citizenship and nationality, and against "progressive foreignization". On the other hand, the REP wish to promote "the national integrity of peoples in their natural settlement areas" ¹⁰⁾.

In a pamphlet on the election to the Berlin Chamber of Deputies on 10 October, the Berlin *Land* Chairman of the

^{#)} colloquial abbreviation of *multikulturell* (multicultural) [Translator's Note]

"*Republikanische Jugend*" (RJ - "Republican Youth") declared: "Here it can be seen that 'multicultural society' in reality is a multicriminal society". By demagogically equating 'multicultural' with 'multicriminal', the REP indiscriminately stamp all foreigners as potential lawbreakers.

The Party disparages the in-migration of foreigners as a special form of 'environmental nuisance', by demanding in an election pamphlet:

"Instead of eco-dictatorship and excessive belief in progress: protection of our basis of existence. Anybody wishing to preserve nature and the homeland must prevent in-migration."
(Pamphlet on the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia on 12 September 1999: "*Wir bringen frischen Wind in die Rathäuser*" ["We'll bring the wind of change to the townhalls"])

In the course of its xenophobic discourse, the Party also agitates against Islam. In doing so, it not only attacks Islamic fundamentalism, but also - indiscriminately - all its supporters and government measures designed to achieve integration of Muslims. Thus, the Party claims:

"Islam is a political religion that is contemptuous of human beings and anti-democratic. Whoever admits it to our classrooms, favours the establishment of a parallel Islamic society, the ultimate aim of which is to set up Islamic theocracy."
("Der neue Republikaner", no. 9/99, p. 3)

In particular, the REP's xenophobic agitation jeopardizes inviolable principles of human dignity and of equal treatment.

Anti-Semitism

In accusations against the then President of the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* (Central Council of Jews in Germany), Ignatz Bubis (who died in August 1999) - accusations which, in the last analysis, are directed against Jews in general - the REP reveal signs of anti-Semitic thought patterns. They try to give the impression that it is especially the Jews who prevent the German people from coming to terms, once and for all, with the past and from joining the international community as a member of equal rank. Thus, the Hesse *Land* Association of the REP demanded that Bubis retire from office, and directed the following reproach at him:

"Anybody tightening the thumbscrews of the moral obligation to continue the discussion and analysis of the past and striving to reduce Germany to Auschwitz, will generate opposition and will pave the way for a new anti-Semitism in Germany. Monstrous monuments, collective legal suits against companies and the daily overdose of moralizer pills of the 1933/45 formula are the reasons why the call for closing that chapter once and for all is getting louder by the day."

(Press release by the REP Hesse *Land* Association of 4 August 1999)

In this context, **SCHLIERER** declared the following on 17 February at the REP's Ash Wednesday meeting in Geisenhausen (Bavaria):

"I do not want to have to excuse myself for having been born a German. I will not allow myself, and all present and future generations, to be blackmailed in any way by these people."

Anti-semitic attitudes of the REP also emerge in connection with the public debate on the construction of a central Holocaust Memorial in Berlin.

"The fact alone that the Jewish clientele in Germany makes special claims to have a permanent memorial erected exclusively for their dead reflects an underlying racial fanaticism. What about the other victims of that war who had to sacrifice their lives?"

("Der Republikaner", no. 8/1999, p. 6)

Comments on the German past

As before, the REP are trying to make light of the wrongs of the Nazi [National-Socialist - NS] regime, especially by making relativizing comparisons between Nazi crimes and the crimes committed by other nations. Right-wing extremists are using this method in order to escape social ostracism resulting from their - more or less close - ideological affinity to National-Socialism. To this end, the REP made use of the public debate on the construction of a central Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. In a press release by the REP National Executive Secretariat, their National Chairman, Dr. Rolf **SCHLIERER**, declared that Germany did not need a memorial for its daily self-abasement; Berlin must not become the capital of repentance. According to **SCHLIERER**, there were enough memorial sites in Germany to recall and commemorate Nazi crimes - but there was no central memorial for the millions of victims of expulsion and of the air-raid war. He therefore demanded that the "one-sided discussion and analysis to come to terms with the past" should at long last be ended. Anybody who violated his own people with ever more monstrous confessions of guilt and, at the same time, swept the crimes committed against Germans under the carpet, produced the very opposite of reconciliation.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the "Anglo-American terror attacks" on Dresden on 13/14 February 1945, **SCHLIERER** declared that this unprecedented war crime had remained unpunished until this day; not even an attempt had been made to give adequate indemnities to the victims of this deliberate act of barbarism, or to their dependants ¹¹⁾. **SCHLIERER** said it was a "disastrous signal" if new indemnification arrangements would be enforced for victims of the Nazi regime while the victims among

the German people would be quite forgotten, and added:

"For millions of Germans, the alleged 'liberation' in reality was being 'freed' of physical integrity and life, of their possessions, of their homeland, and of irreplaceable cultural assets. It is high time that independent experts make a complete and objective stock-taking of all of these losses, and that negotiations be taken up about adequate reparation."
(Press release by the REP National Executive Secretariat of 12 February 1999)

Agitation against the principle of democracy

The REP defame the democratic rule-of-law state and its institutions and representatives in order to detract from their reputation and to shake - or at least aim at shaking - people's confidence in the value system of the Basic Law. Thus, in its election platform for the *Landtag* elections in Thuringia on 12 September, the "*Bündnis 99*" ("Alliance '99") ¹²⁾ which is dominated by the REP alleged that rights anchored in the Basic Law were progressively and insidiously being invalidated.

According to press reports of January, **SCHLIERER** accused the Federal Government and, in particular, the Federal Minister of the Interior, of having repeatedly pulled off a "top-down coup d'état" ¹³⁾. In a speech given at the *Land* Party Convention in Horb-Rexingen (Baden-Württemberg) on 8 May, he addressed the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs as a "self-styled *Reich* Minister of War".

In a publication of the "Republican Youth" (RJ), the Federal Republic of Germany - as a system deserving to be abolished - is put into the same category with the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) which had to be opposed:

"There won't be any men like Le Pen and Haider in Germany as long as this people engages in in-fighting. The people must again keep together and oppose whatever they cannot agree to. Also in the GDR, people have marched in the street and thus brought about the fall of an entire system."
("Jugendreport Saar" ("Saarland Youth Report"), newspaper for the members of "*Republikanische Jugend Saar*" ("Saarland Republican Youth"), 2nd quarter of 1999)

1.2 Organization and Development

In 1999, the REP suffered a further loss of members whose number dropped to 14,000 (1998: 15,000). The causes would seem to be - as already in 1998 - the series of defeats in *Landtag* elections and in the European elections and the resultant flare-up of the squabble about the line to be taken by the Party.

Apart from electoral campaigns, public appearance of this Party was limited. About 750 persons (1998: 1,100) took part in the annual Ash Wednesday meeting of the REP in Geisenhausen, Landshut district (Bavaria), on 17 February. A public rally in Berlin on 12 June, on the occasion of the former 17 June memorial day^{#)}, also was attended by some 750 persons, among them many skinheads.

The Party's situation was characterized by in-fighting which resulted from the continuing defeat of the REP in this year's elections and which focused on **SCHLIERER**'s course of demarcation *vis-à-vis* other right-extremist organizations. Even within the party leadership, **SCHLIERER**'s line continued to be controversial. Thus, a joint list of candidates for the European elections, as proposed by the "German People's Union" (DVU), was approved by the REP presidency but was rejected by the majority of the REP National Executive Committee ¹⁴⁾. In any case, the agreement reached by **SCHLIERER** already in November 1998 with DVU National Chairman Dr. **FREY** to the effect that unnecessary REP/DVU competition should be avoided during elections was actually put into practice. Thus, the REP ran in the *Landtag* elections in Hesse and Berlin while the DVU stood for elections in Bremen and Brandenburg. These electoral arrangements show that the REP and the DVU aim to appeal to the same category of voters with more or less similar right-extremist political concepts.

In protest to the preparatory talks between REP and DVU functionaries in Schleswig-Holstein about a joint list of candidates for the *Landtag* elections on 27 February 2000, Burghard **SCHMANCK** who only in October had been elected chairman of the North Rhine/Westphalia *Land* Association of the REP and was a member of the REP National Executive Committee and the RepBB Chairman, in late December resigned all his offices and gave up his party membership.

SCHLIERER's tactics - formal adherence to the 'demarcation' decision, and various election agreements with the DVU - shows, for one thing, that he had to make concessions to his critics within the party so as to retain them as members and, on the other hand, that he obviously regards co-operation with the DVU as less harmful with regard to the REP's stigmatization as a right-extremist party than, for instance, with the "National Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD).

The intra-party opposition nevertheless called for a change of course. Thus, the Hesse *Land* Executive Committee of the REP

^{#)} formerly (before FRG/GDR unification) an official national holiday commemorating the day of the uprising in the GDR on 17 June 1953 [Translator's Note]

at its meeting on 25 June criticized the Party's lack of public profile and demanded that a special party convention be held at which the REP's future position should be clearly defined ¹⁵⁾. The meeting of the *Kreis* Chairmen of all Hessian *Kreis* Associations in Bad Nauheim on 6 November demanded the resignation of **SCHLIERER** and of all members of the National Executive Committee, condemned the course of demarcation *vis-à-vis* other patriots and also called for convening a special party convention ¹⁶⁾.

Looking for ways out of the REP's deep crisis, the Hessian "*Republikanische Jugend*" (RJ - "Republican Youth"), in a resolution addressed to the parent party and to the "national movement in Germany", shows parallels to the NPD's strategic-ideological orientation (cf. Chapter V, sub-section 3.2 below): the REP had a future if they would see themselves as a spearhead and a forum of a national movement determined to penetrate all spheres of life so as to achieve what alone would be capable of ensuring the existence of the German people in the 21st Century: "the national cultural revolution". The Party's future course was to "be more than just a party - to be a movement!" This would be usefully complemented by parliamentary work ¹⁷⁾.

Looking for an alternative to **SCHLIERER**, part of the intra-party opposition set their hopes on Harald **NEUBAUER**, the co-editor of the right-extremist publication "*Nation & Europa - Deutsche Monatshefte*" and the former Secretary General of the REP. Since a ban to appear at REP events, imposed on **NEUBAUER** by the REP national leadership on 9 May, was disregarded by the party grassroots level he appeared, as a prominent supporter of a "United Right Wing", at REP events in Bavaria, Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse, Thuringia, North Rhine/Westphalia and Hamburg. The Altenburg (Thuringia) *Kreis* Association of the REP elected him an honorary member. In some instances, the REP national leadership imposed disciplinary sanctions against the REP functionaries responsible for events in which **NEUBAUER** participated.

Co-operation with right-wing extremists

There is further evidence of the lack of distance kept by many REP members *vis-à-vis* right-wing extremists in 1999:

- According to a press release of the Hesse *Land* Association of the "Republican Youth" (RJ), a large RJ delegation participated in the 1st of May demonstrations, in Paris, of the right-extremist "*Front National*" (FN) wing around Jean Marie **LE PEN** and of the FN split-off "*Front National - Mouvement National*" (FN-MN - "National Front - National Movement"). In its June issue, "*Nation & Europa*" reported that a meeting of the RJ delegation had taken place, alongside the demonstration, with the former REP National Chairman and protagonist of a "United Right Wing", Franz **SCHÖNHUBER**.

- On 25 August, the Deputy Chairman of the Hesse *Land* Association of the RJ, Peter **SCHREIBER**, made an appeal for participation in a "European Comradships' Evening" in Diksmuide (West Flanders, Belgium) on 28/29 August on the occasion of the 1999 "*IJzerbedevaart*" ^{#)} (cf. Chapter VIII, section 1, below).
- The October issue of "*Nation & Europa*" carried a report on an event staged in Neustadt-Glewe (Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania) on 18 September by the "*Deutschlandbewegung*" ("Movement for Germany") initiated by the right-extremist Dr. Alfred **MECHTERSHEIMER**. This event, the publication said, had been convened at the invitation of the registered association "*Nation Europa Freunde e.V.*"; apart from the publication's editor **NEUBAUER**, the speakers included the members of the Hessian REP *Land* Association, Hans **HIRZEL** and Gottfried **BURISCHEK**, and the deputy chairman of the Hamburg *Land* Association of the REP, Jan **PIGORS** ¹⁸⁾.
- According to a press release by the Baden-Wurtemberg *Land* Executive Secretariat of the NPD of 23 September, the REP and the NPD in Karlsruhe presented a joint list for the local elections in Baden-Wurtemberg on 24 October. In an interview with the broadcasting station *Südwestrundfunk*, the local REP frontrunner justified the candidacy of NPD members on the REP List - NPD membership did not play any role in his view. On the same broadcasting programme, the Chairman of the Karlsruhe *Kreis* Association of the NPD pointed out that this co-operation had been initiated by the REP ¹⁹⁾.
- The Hessian *Land* Association of the "*Republikanische Jugend*" (RJ - "Republican Youth") on 26 September reported that the RJ, in co-operation with the Biblis (Hesse) Local Association of the REP had on 24 September organized a song recital by the right-extremist singer-songwriter Frank **RENNICKE** (cf. Chapter III, sub-section 2.1, above) ²⁰⁾.
- In an interview with the NPD party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*", the Chairman of the Bergstraße (Hesse) *Kreis* Association of the REP, Hans-Peter **FISCHER**, declared that the November issue had stated that co-operation with the NPD not only was expedient, but also vital for all national and democratic forces from the so-called right-wing camp.

Participation in elections The REP took part in the elections to the European Parliament,

^{#)} the annual "Diksmuide pilgrimage" in August (to the *IJzertoren* (Iron Tower) in Diksmuide): a gathering of far-right groups and nationalist movements [Translator's Note]

in five *Landtag* elections, and in the local elections of nine *Länder*. In line with the agreement between **SCHLIERER** and the DVU National Chairman Dr. **FREY**, the REP refrained from participation in the elections to the *Bremer Bürgerschaft* [Bremen City Parliament] and in the Brandenburg *Landtag* elections.

In the Hesse *Landtag* elections on 7 February, the REP did not profit much from the DVU's non-candidacy. Although they participated *Land*-wide in all polling districts with a *Land* list and direct candidates, they only won 2.7 % of the second votes (1995: 2.0 %).

In the elections to the European Parliament on 13 June, the REP only won 1.7 % of the votes (1994: 3.9 %). The Party lost votes - altogether more than 900,000 - in all of the *Länder*. It suffered the heaviest loss - minus 4.7 per cent - as compared to the previous elections, in its 'homebase' *Land*, Bavaria.

In September, the series of disappointing election results of this Party continued. In *Landtag* elections, it won 1.3 % (1994: 1.4 %) in the Saarland, 0.8 % (1994: 1.3 %) in Thuringia, and 1.5 % (1994: 1.3 %) in Saxony. In the elections to the Berlin Chamber of Deputies on 10 October, the REP did not succeed in profiting once more from the DVU's non-candidacy. As in the 1995 elections, it won only 2.7 % of the votes. As a result, the REP continues to be represented, at the *Land* level, only in the Baden-Württemberg *Landtag*.

In the local elections in their 'homebase' *Land*, Baden-Württemberg, on 24 October, the REP suffered heavy losses. They lost almost half of their previous votes and more than one third of their seats (1999: 59; 1994: 96 seats). In *Kreistag* (*Kreis* Council) and municipal council elections, the Party won 23 seats in Rhineland-Palatinate and 17 seats in North Rhine/Westphalia. After the elections to the local-government District Assemblies in Berlin, the REP won eight seats in five of the 23 local councils. In Saxony, the Party won three electoral mandates, and in Saxony-Anhalt it won two. In Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, in the Saarland and in Thuringia, the REP won no seats in the local elections.

During 1999, the REP did not succeed in any of the elections to establish itself as a right-wing alternative. Even its fiercer agitation during the campaigns did not help in this respect ("Strike! People of Berlin: defend yourselves with your ballot-papers!" - "*Multi-Kulti* is a thing of the past - Lebanese and Turks get out and go home!"). The Party had to rely largely on the small numbers of its regular voters. In addition, both members and supporters lost motivation as a result of the lack of success in elections and on account of the resultant squabbles within the Party.

By decision of 21 and of 24 September, the Bavarian Higher Administrative Court denied the motions submitted by the REP Bavarian *Land* Association for leave to appeal against the decision of the Munich Administrative Court of 25 March, and declared that references to the REP, as contained in the Bavarian Reports on the Protection of the Constitution for the years 1994 through 1997 and in the report "*Verfassungsschutz-Informationen Bayern, 1. Halbjahr 1998*" ["Information on the Protection of the Constitution - Bavaria, 1st Semester of 1998"], were in conformity with the law.

By decision of 10 September, the Coblenz Higher Administrative Court confirmed the admissibility of the surveillance of the REP *Land* Association of Rhineland-Palatinate by means of intelligence methods.

By decision of 26 June 1997, the Lüneburg Higher Administrative Court had declared that surveillance of the REP *Land* Association of Lower Saxony by means of certain intelligence methods (collection of information by undercover agents, and covert investigations and questioning) was admissible. By judgement of 7 December, the Federal Administrative Court (BVerwG) confirmed that the facts established by the Higher Administrative Court sufficed for warranting the suspicion that the REP engaged in anti-constitutional endeavours since they used patterns of argumentation typical of right-extremist anti-democratic associations and constantly launched generalizing and polemic attacks against the institutions and representatives of democracy. The lawsuit was returned to the Higher Administrative Court for clarification of the question as to whether, and to what extent, use of intelligence methods against the REP conformed to the principle of proportionality.

In addition, there are pending suits filed by the REP against their surveillance by means of intelligence methods in North Rhine/Westphalia, Berlin and Baden-Wurttemberg.

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

Founded:	1987 ^{*)}
Headquarters:	Munich
National Chairman:	Dr. Gerhard FREY
Members:	17,000 (1998: 18,000) ^{**)}
Publications:	
up to no. 35/99:	<i>"Deutsche National-Zeitung" (DNZ)</i> , circulation: 33,000 (estimated), weekly <i>"Deutsche-Wochen-Zeitung/Deutscher Anzeiger" (DWZ/DA)</i> , circulation: 17,000 (estimated). weekly;
beginning with no. 36/99:	<i>"National-Zeitung/Deutsche Wochen- Zeitung" (NZ)</i> circulation: 48,000 (estimated), weekly
^{*)}	the registered association <i>"DVU e. V."</i> was founded in 1971, constituted as a political party in 1987; 1987 - 1991: <i>"DVU - Liste D"</i>
^{**)}	estimated

The *"Deutsche Volksunion"* (DVU - "German People's Union"), which continues to be the right-extremist party with the largest membership, is led in a centralistic and authoritarian way by its National Chairman Dr. Gerhard FREY ²¹⁾. FREY is the editor of the weekly *"National-Zeitung" (NZ - "National Newspaper")*, with the sub-title *"Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung"* ("German Weekly"), which on 3 September appeared for the first time after the merger of the weeklies *"Deutsche National-Zeitung" (DNZ)* and *"Deutsche Wochenzeitung/Deutscher Anzeiger" (DWZ/DA)* ²²⁾.

2.1 Goals

The DNZ and DWZ/DA - and now NZ - are the right-extremist publications with the largest circulation in Germany. On account of FREY's unrestricted dominance within the DVU ²³⁾, these "national-libertarian" newspapers are regarded as the press organs of the Party and reflect its programmatic line. Current affairs

serve as a peg for constant repetition of distorted presentations for purposes of agitation. Often the articles end in advertisements for pertinent books from FREY's publishing houses. FREY therefore has a major interest in maximizing sales and profits through political agitation.

This agitation also mirrors the DVU's xenophobic ideology, in one-sided and distorting reporting about abuse of asylum and criminal activity by foreigners. Another focus of DVU newspapers is on biased and downplaying articles related to the discussion of the National-Socialist [Nazi] past. With stereotyped headlines, they also foment resentment against Jews and defame representative personalities of the democratic constitutional state. The large number of such articles patterned on traditional right-extremist agitation proves that the real concern is not to solve problems or to engage in democratic discussion and analysis, but that sweeping judgements and defamation are to be used as a well-directed lever; the underlying thrust is for attacks against essential principles of the free democratic fundamental order.

Xenophobia (anti-foreigner hostility)

The xenophobic ideas in FREY's weeklies are reflected by the one-sided reporting about foreigners and about crimes committed by foreigners. Constant repetition of aggressive headlines, such as "Criminal Activity by Foreigners: - Influx of Increasing Numbers of Criminals" ²⁴⁾ and "Do we have to let criminal foreigners stay in the country?" ²⁵⁾, is designed progressively and increasingly to give the impression that foreigners are criminals in general. This is the voice of xenophobia. Often these weeklies will use their own diagrams in order to give slogan-like overemphasis to such generalizations.

Another stereotype used by the DVU in dealing with asylum and aliens policies is the inclusion of the term of "*Umvolkung*" of Germans ["replacement of Germans by other nationalities"; a non-existing German word like "repeopling"] in their anti-foreigner articles. With sensationalist headlines, such as "Germans: foreigners in their own country? - The ultimate outcome of 'Multikulti' [multi-ethnic society]" ²⁶⁾ and "Balkan Gypsies: hundred thousands are coming to this country! - What Germany is in for" ²⁷⁾, it appealed to defensive instincts and tried to foment fears of "foreignization". Often such articles end in advertisements for the book "*Ausländer. Die wahren Fakten*" ("Foreigners. The True Facts") - including the hint that this new publication of the publishing house "*FZ - Freiheitlicher Buch- und Zeitschriftenverlag GmBH*" (short title "*FZ-Verlag*"), which was founded by FREY, could be used as a trenchant weapon in any battle of words to unhinge any advocate of 'foreignization' and 'Multikulti' [multicultural/multi-ethnic society] ²⁸⁾.

Such views are based on intolerance and discrimination. In this

Anti-Semitism

way it is intended to erode the inviolable principles of human dignity and equal treatment.

In addition, the DVU advocates an underlying anti-Semitism, which is typical of right-wing extremists. In headlines and articles appearing in close sequence, the weeklies disseminate messages with anti-Semitic undertones, which suggest that the German people was being prevented by the Jews, in particular, from coming to terms, once and for all, with the German past and from joining the international community as a member enjoying equal rights. The publications dealt with the alleged over-presentation of persons of Jewish faith or of Jewish descent in politics, in trade and business and in the media, and with Jewish organizations; they condemned German payments of reparations, and gave polemic comments on events in Israel. While the derogatory criticism of Jewry usually is subtly hidden between the lines, the abundance of pertinent articles clearly shows that the reader is to be made aware of a threatening influence exerted by anti-German Jews, in the sense of a conspiracy theory. An article entitled "The costs we have to pay for Jews from the CIS" warned against their "mass immigration" ²⁹⁾.

Numerous articles fomented anti-Semitic manipulatory propaganda against representatives of Jewish institution, e.g. against Ignatz Bubis, the President of the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* (Central Council of Jews in Germany), who died in August 1999, and against the member of the Presidency of the Central Council, Michel Friedman ³⁰⁾.

After the death of Bubis, the DNZ and NZ carried a serial in six parts, entitled "Who was Bubis really? - Facts concealed from the German people", which in concentrated form continued past attacks:

"What Bubis was most concerned about, however, was to place the burden of 'collective responsibility' and 'collective liability' for the historical NS [Nazi] wrongs on all future generations of Germans, and to keep the German people in a state of original sin for all time to come. ... In order to have national masochism proliferate further, Bubis directed his apprehensive attention to the emergency of German [nationalist] trends and parties in Germany."
(NZ, no. 37/1999, p. 12)

"Whenever the question of additional reparation payments came up, Bubis was on the spot at once. He was dead set against discontinuing payment of such tribute in the foreseeable future. ... In addition to the more than 5000 existing memorial sites for the victims of German atrocities, he kept demanding new memorials of this type to commemorate our disgrace. He wouldn't think of making such demands on

Relativization of the Holocaust

Israel, the U.S. or any other country."
(DNZ, no. 34/1999, pp. 3 seq.)

There repeatedly is fierce opposition to the planning and establishment of Holocaust memorials which are seen as a symbol of an allegedly one-sided approach to coming to terms with the past. With headlines such as "The Insanity of the Holocaust Memorial" ³¹⁾, democratic politicians were accused of being obsessed by a guilt complex ³²⁾ and of trying, with the erection of such memorials, to burden the German people with a long-term form of collective responsibility.

Documentation on the extent of the Holocaust was mixed by the DVU with accusations of falsification and with facts which have been refuted by historical research already for a long time but nevertheless are (misre)presented as topical findings; the large number of victims was questioned. In this way the articles in the papers radically question the credibility of individual persons and of historical reports and thus - notwithstanding protestations of different intentions, and in a way dodging criminal liability - indirectly deny the persecution of the Jews in its entirety. It is claimed that critical opinions about the historical events in connection with the mass murdering of Jews by the Germans and about other Nazi crimes were criminalized. The following was stated with reference to the number of victims of Nazi crimes:

"This was preceded by a nearly twenty-fold increase of the number of Auschwitz victims, i.e. to 8 millions, which later was halved to 4 millions, and then further reduced to 3, 2, one and a half, and one million. The horrific number of '470,000 to 550,000' murdered Jews, given by the French - recognized - Auschwitz expert Pressac, of the *Klarsfeld-Stiftung* [Klarsfeld Foundation] which certainly is above suspicion, reflects the current state of research."

(DNZ, no. 9/1999, p. 1)

Time and again it is alleged that "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal had forged a photo showing Germans shot dead by Americans, to present a picture of tortured and murdered concentration camp prisoners ³³⁾.

Denial of war guilt

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II on 1 September, the DNZ and NZ from mid-August until mid-September ran a six-part serial entitled "What led up to World War II?". Their treatment of the subject implicitly gave the impression that the outbreak of the war had been a settled matter in the United Kingdom and the U.S. By contrast, they claimed, Hitler had been ready to negotiate until the very last moment. By reprinting public statements by the Hitler Government, the DVU publicized the view of Nazi propaganda, depicting the Nazi regime as a peace-desiring victim of war-mongering adversaries.

**Agitation against
reparation claims**

These weeklies also exploited the public controversy about the travelling exhibition "War of Extermination. Crimes of the *Wehrmacht*, 1941 - 1944". In numerous articles, they presented polemics against the exhibition and dismissed it as a hate and horror show ³⁴⁾ which abounded with manipulations and false representations and nevertheless roamed around Germany and Austria ³⁵⁾. The articles were almost regularly combined with advertising of the books *Die Wahrheit über die Wehrmacht. Reemtsma's Fälschungen widerlegt* ("The Truth about the *Wehrmacht*. Reemtsma's Falsifications Refuted") and *Bilder, die fälschen. Dubiose 'Dokumente' zur Zeitgeschichte* ("Pictures that falsify. Dubious 'Documents' on Contemporary History") edited by Prof. Dr. Dr. Klaus **SOJKA**, a member of the DVU National Executive Committee, and published by the *FZ-Verlag*.

Numerous articles in these newspapers agitated against what the DVU considered excessive and perpetual demands on the State and on German companies for reparations for Jews and former forced labourers. Victims of National-Socialism were attacked with aggressive headlines, such as "Paying for Hitler to the end of time - New Jewish demands for billions of *deutschmark*" ³⁶⁾ and " 'Nazi-Era Forced Labourers': Playing poker for thousands of millions" ³⁷⁾ In parallel to the criticism of the reparation claims and of the negotiations conducted by the Federal Government with the victims' lawyers, it was deplored that no reparations were paid for the wrongs suffered by Germans:

"The negotiations, which have been conducted in a downright extortionist manner, about the enormous increase of German reparation payments, which anyhow have already reached astronomical amounts, threaten to end in the largest financial redistribution of all history. ... Let us recall: the Federal Republic of Germany - that is, the German taxpayer - has by now paid gigantic sums of reparations amounting to nearly 200,000 million *deutschmark*. Fifty-four years after the end of the war, there is no end in sight to these expiation payments - on the contrary: ever new and higher claims are being construed. But for German victims of the victors' terror, there was, and is, no indemnification or reparation whatsoever, not even an excuse."

(DNZ, no. 35/1999, pp. 1 seq.)

**Agitation against the
principle of democracy**

The DVU launches polemic and defamatory attacks against the democratic constitutional state and its representatives. The aim is to detract from their reputation and to shake confidence in the value system of the Basic Law. In particular, they claim that, for reasons of power politics, democratic politicians insisted on the collective guilt of the Germans regarding the mass extermination of Jews: by means of this instrument of power, they intended to

demoralize the nation and facilitate control over the people, so as to consolidate their own power.

Irregularities committed by individual politicians are generalized and constantly recalled so as to give the impression that all politicians and top officials are corrupt. This is intended to suggest the requirement for replacing the existing State by another system.

In connection with the discussion about old-age pensions, the DVU defamed representatives of the democratic constitutional state as mercenary:

"It's the same as before: While impudent political bigwigs, with ever increasing emoluments and ever new benefits, continue to develop their money-raking land of milk and honey, the ordinary citizen is subjected to merciless bleeding and pillaging. The more helpless and poorer the victim, the more merciless the attacks launched by the political robber barons." (NZ, no. 37/1999, p. 10)

Politicians' emoluments which were the subject of critical public debate provided FREY's newspapers with an opportunity to brand Germany as a haven for political profiteers since the politicians in Bonn were record-holding money-rakers³⁸⁾.

2.2 Organization and Development

Organizational structure

Nationwide, the DVU has 16 *Land* Associations. While many *Kreis* Associations exist at the lower level, the interest of many members in developing firm regional party structures carrying out independent political work was thwarted, above all, by FREY's dominating position. His position was confirmed by his re-election, by the vast majority of votes, as the National Chairman at the National Party Convention in Munich on 16 January.

The increase in membership resulting from the election success in Saxony-Anhalt in 1998 (12.9 %) did not continue in 1999 although additional electoral mandates were won in two *Land* Parliaments. Their party even suffered a loss of 1,000 members so that the total number of members may be assumed to have dropped to about 17,000. Its *Land* Associations with the largest membership are those of North Rhine/Westphalia, Bavaria and Baden-Wurtemberg; in the East German *Länder*, the *Land* Association in Saxony-Anhalt continues to have the largest membership and the most developed structure.

The most publicity-effective DVU event, the annual mass rally in the *Nibelungenhalle* in Passau, which on 25 September took

place under the motto "We love Germany!", was attended by only 2,000 persons (1998: 3,000).

Participation in elections With a high investment of funds, but with varying success, the DVU ran in the elections to the *Bremer Bürgerschaft* [Bremen city-state parliament] and in the *Landtag* elections in Brandenburg and Thuringia. In these elections, the Party did not nominate any direct candidates, and submitted only one *Land* list of candidates. In mid-November 1998, the National Chairman of the party "The Republicans" (REP), Dr. Rolf SCHLIERER, and Mr. FREY had agreed to avoid "unnecessary competition" in future elections to the extent possible. Thus, the DVU did not run in the *Landtag* elections in Hesse and in the elections to the Berlin Chamber of Deputies, while the REP did not put up candidates for the elections to the Bremen *Bürgerschaft* and for the *Landtag* elections in Brandenburg.

Bremen In the elections to the Bremen *Bürgerschaft* on 6 June, the DVU won 3 % (1995: 2.5 %) of the votes within that *Land*. On account of its election results in Bremerhaven (6 %), the DVU obtained a seat in the *Bürgerschaft* ³⁹⁾. The Party used the election campaign strategy which it had applied successfully already in 1998: with a campaign budget of more than one million *deutschmark*, use was made, in particular, of large-scale advertising by means of placards and direct mailing, especially to young voters. In addition to the slogan "vote in protest", the Party's aggressive slogans focussed on unemployment, limited social security benefits, crime, and the absolute priority of German interests in all respects.

Brandenburg In the *Landtag* elections in Brandenburg on 5 September, the DVU won 5.3 % of the votes (1994: no candidature), and took five seats in the Potsdam *Landtag* ⁴⁰⁾. Together with Saxony-Anhalt and Bremen, this makes three *Land* Parliaments in which the DVU is represented. The strategy of *Land*-wide advertising by means of placards and direct mailing to all households was continued by the Party also in Brandenburg where it spent nearly three million *deutschmark* for this purpose. In order to counter the reproach of being a 'phantom party', the DVU for the first time focused its campaign on its two front runners by showing their photos on placards, fliers and election advertising spots. In addition, a number of campaign rallies were held, with a participation up to 300.

Thuringia The election campaign strategy which had proved successful in Brandenburg was adopted by the DVU also in the *Landtag* elections in Thuringia on 12 September. After its entry into the Brandenburg *Landtag*, it once more invested funds in the election campaign - to the amount of more than two million *deutschmark*. However, it won only 3.1 % of the votes (1994: no candidature).

The election results must be seen as a DVU defeat since **FREY** had expected a victorious entry also into the Thuringian *Landtag* and a return of up to 8 % of the votes.

Local government elections

In the local elections in Thuringia and North Rhine/Westphalia, where the DVU put up candidates only in selected places, it won three electoral mandates in each *Land*. In the elections to the Bremerhaven City Council of 26 September, the DVU won 5.2 % of the votes (1995: 5.7 %) and again had three deputies on this municipal council, where the DVU has been represented uninterruptedly since 1987.

European Parliament

Already in 1998, the DVU had announced its participation in the elections to the European Parliament, with Franz **SCHÖNHUBER** ⁴¹⁾, by now a non-party member, but formerly the National Chairman of the REP, as its front runner. At its party convention on 16 January, the DVU had submitted to the REP an offer for alternating participation in *Landtag* elections as well as in the European elections and in the *Bundestag* elections in 2002. At the same time, the DVU National Executive Committee had agreed to participate in the elections to the Bremen *Bürgerschaft*, and in the *Landtag* elections in Brandenburg, Thuringia and Saxony. After **SCHÖNHUBER** had withdrawn as the DVU front runner in the European elections ⁴²⁾ and the REP had opted for independent participation in this election, the DVU gave up its original plan of running in the European elections. Nor did the DVU participate in the *Landtag* elections in Saxony. This non-participation decision was announced indirectly in a circular of mid-June ⁴³⁾; in addition to competition by the "National Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD), which was feared to be very strong competitor in Saxony, the reasons for this - as well as for the Party's withdrawal from the European elections - may be assumed to be of a financial nature ⁴⁴⁾.

Leading position of the DVU

Thanks to the election success in Bremen and Hamburg, **FREY** - despite the defeat in Thuringia - has underpinned his claim to leadership within the camp of right-extremist parties. In a circular of mid-June, **FREY** reported that first steps had been taken to arrive at some normalization in relations with the REP under **SCHLIERER**'s leadership. The NPD was, however, a sworn enemy of the NPD under its present leadership; it was not acceptable for DVU members to make common cause with the NPD. After the election success in Brandenburg, **FREY** further declared his willingness to harmonize the DVU's course at the national level even more closely with the REP. But a merger with the REP was not being considered ⁴⁵⁾.

Conflicts in

The DVU parliamentary group of the *Landtag* of Saxony-Anhalt, which had numbered 16 deputies since April 1998, lost four

members in the spring of 1999. One of these members joined the small right-extremist party "*Vereinigte Rechte*" (VR - "United Right") (cf. Section 4, below). Following further fierce squabbles in the autumn, which had been triggered chiefly by the authoritarian style of leadership of the DVU parliamentary leader, the 12-member parliamentary group of the DVU re-organized itself. Its leader was replaced, and one of those deputies who had left the parliamentary group, was admitted as a guest. In December, two other deputies left the parliamentary group ⁴⁶⁾.

The deputy chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein *Land* Association and member of the National Executive Committee, Prof. Dr. Dr. **SOJKA** in autumn fell out with **FREY**. The reason for this was a controversy about the decision by the National Executive Committee not to participate in the *Landtag* elections in Schleswig-Holstein in the spring of 2000. In this context, **SOJKA** blamed the DVU for having made false political-strategic estimations.

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

Founded:	1964
Headquarters:	Berlin
National Chairman:	Udo VOIGT
Members:	6,000 (1998: 6,000)
Publications:	" <i>Deutsche Stimme</i> " (DS - "German Voice") monthly, circulation: 10, 000 ⁴⁷⁾
Subsidiary organizations:	" <i>Junge Nationaldemokraten</i> " (JN - "Young National-Democrats"), " <i>Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund</i> " (NHB - "National-Democratic University/ College Union")

The NPD attracted attention as the organizer of some 60 demonstrations and public actions, of which part were organized in co-operation with neo-Nazis and which often were accompanied by protests. In thematic terms, it has given more room to socialist subjects and concerns.

3.1 Goals

The NPD continues to focus its agitation on subjects of economic policy and policy in the social sphere; in this context, it provides right-extremist models of explanation and solution. It sees itself as a "socialist party" and considers "the highest form of the national community being achieved by national socialism" ⁴⁸⁾. As stated by its National Chairman Udo VOIGT, the NPD wishes, in Germany, to create an economic order which would provide for mandatory introduction of the right to work and would guarantee the same pay for the same work, and social security on a broad level. Nowadays, national policies, VOIGT continued, were the people's advocate against the arrogance of the mighty:

"With the NPD concept of a 'territory-oriented economic system' we will achieve that people, in their home country, will find the necessary jobs required by them to shape their personal future within the framework of the national community. ... We nationalists do not have any doubts that social justice can only be attained through national solidarity - by the national community ... -."

("Deutsche Stimme", no. 9/99, p. 2)

In the party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*" ⁴⁹⁾, Sascha ROßMÜLLER, the National Chairman of the "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National-Democrats"), the NPD's youth organization, declared that national and social liberation could be achieved only by means of a revolutionary concept. What was required was not a dividing, but a uniting philosophy which strove to create a national community embodying the only viable form of [so-called] 'real (actually existing) socialism'. In Communist thinking, the term of socialism was used in a completely wrong way and thus was misunderstood by the public as well.

Against the existing free
democratic fundamental
order

The NPD sees itself as a "social-revolutionary movement" ⁵⁰⁾, as the "party of the new order" and as the "national alternative for a better Germany" ⁵¹⁾. It intends to "build a new Germany on the ruins of liberal capitalism" ⁵²⁾. The party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*" (DS) claims that true government by the people would become a reality only when the Germans had recuperated their national identity after having shaken off political, economic and spiritual-cultural foreign rule. The prerequisite for this was a radical change in the existing conditions:

"However, this can only be achieved by a nationalist and socialist fundamental opposition which takes up the political fight against the bourgeois 'centre' which champions all those causes which we, out of mere self-preservation, must hold in utter contempt. Our nationalism sees itself as unselfish service for Germany; our socialism is unselfish service for the community. From these two elements arises the new spirit which will cast the conventions of the 'centre' aside and will

establish the German national [ethnic] community."
("Deutsche Stimme", no. 4/99, p. 1)

In this context, the neo-Nazi Steffen HUPKA, who is a member of the NPD National Executive Committee, launched the appeal to respect the "laws of the take-over of power" and to follow the inescapable sequence of revolutionary steps". Nationalists would have to go to the people and explain what they understand by ethnic community. A priority task was to create liberated zones both as a physical basis and as a source of intellectual, moral and spiritual strength. The initial prerequisite for this was the acquisition of property for living spaces, workshops and cultural work ⁵³⁾.

Ethnic community and national-socialism

The close affinity of the ethnic, or national, community [*"Volksgemeinschaft"*], to which the NPD aspires, to national-socialism is shown by a definition given in the party organ *"Deutsche Stimme"* ⁵⁴⁾: national-socialism was a form of socialism based on the foundation of Germanity ... as a shaping factor of the German ethnic community.

The "new order" for which the NPD strives, with its collectivist model of the "national/ethnic community", which has been borrowed from National-Socialism, is aimed directly against the free democratic fundamental order which places the individual at its centre. The fact that the Party's aims are diametrically opposed to the notion of human dignity and civil rights as enshrined in the Basic Law is evidenced by the words of the then Deputy Chairman of the NPD *Land* Association in North Rhine/Westphalia, Wolfgang FRENZ ⁵⁵⁾, agitating against human rights:

"Do human rights turn your stomach? ...

Last year, on 10 December, the UN commemorated the 50th anniversary of the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights'. What has been presented as a big step forward in man's history, really is, as a closer look reveals, a step towards the 'One-World'. This is the path of misdirected egalitarianism which destroys deeply rooted organic ties and has Marxist liberal roots."

("Deutsche Zukunft", no. 2/99, p. 13)

Xenophobia (anti-foreigner hostility)

Its ethnic-collectivist agitation which is directed against human rights is combined by the Party with xenophobia of racist motivation. This view implies that only ethnically homogeneous peoples ("communities of the same people, sharing the same will and aims and having developed over time") can properly represent the interests of individuals as the "national-social overall interest". The individual's value thus primarily depends on his integration into society. The following is an example of such statements:

"Ethnically homogeneous peoples derive their poise and harmony from their identity and, through an organized will, can at all times represent their national and social overall interests both internally and externally. This is in contrast to multiracial and multicultural societies who have neither a sense of fellowship and solidarity nor any will that could be organized in any way or a national-social overall interest and therefore are the easier to be subjugated by the big capitalists."

("Deutsche Stimme", no. 1/99, p. 6)

The aggressive, racism-based xenophobia of the NPD is expressed by an author in the Bulletin of the North Rhine/Westphalia *Land* Association:

"The race includes the spiritual/mental attitudes of a people in its race's soul. Whoever wants to enforce the multiracial concept, will also wish the insidious genocide of peoples. Whoever wishes to achieve this, aims at a society destroying, and contemptuous of, the race, at the destruction of racial unity, and thus commits a horrid crime against the peoples of our Earth. ... Another consequence of multi-culturalism is to rob peoples of their territory. Man has a bond with his territory - if you take also this away from him, ethnic existence will perish as well. ... With their intrusion in foreign territories, foreign immigrants take a valuable asset away from the people: namely land! This triggers defensive reactions which will result in civil strife and in civil wars!"

("Deutsche Zukunft", no. 3/99, pp. 16 seq.)

The NPD provides racist reasons even for its warning against "threats posed by Islamic fundamentalism", as exemplified by the comments of an author in the party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*":

"Anybody who turns against Islam ... defends himself against intellectual/spiritual foreignization which implies the planned invasion by still another foreign religion of sons of the desert, which - like Christendom - is characterized by intolerance and thus is diametrically opposed to the Germanic-German principle of intellectual liberty and freedom of conscience. ... The primary threat to Germany is not, however, posed ... in the area of society and religion, but in the area of biology where irreversible developments are set in motion."

("Deutsche Stimme", no. 1/99, p. 9)

The depreciation of foreigners, as evidenced in racist agitation, violates human dignity and infringes the principle of equality as guaranteed by the Basic Law.

Anti-Semitism

According to the NPD's anti-Semitic agitation, it is especially the Jews who prevent the German people from making a clean break

with the past and from joining the international community as a member enjoying equal rights. Moreover, the Party tries to revive notions of an alleged Jewish predominance and denounces "new Jewish claims" ⁵⁶⁾. In the party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*", an author states the following with reference to the central Holocaust Memorial planned to be erected in Berlin:

"The Memorial ... is designed as a perpetual denigration of the Germans, a memorial to the people's everlasting collective liability - what is more, a moralistic cudgel, a star for the innocent descendants so that they shall never think about history freely and independently. The barbaric memorial is meant to fool us into believing that we are living in a country of potential criminals where Jews have to monitor the morals of Germans placed on probation. ... In fact, a clean break should and must at last be made with the persecution of the Germans. Thus, anybody who - after 50 years of democratic development of the FRG, after undergoing a chastening process and re-education by U.S. Americans, after reparation and redress (amounting to more than 100,000 million *deutschmark*) - ... calls for a central memorial, manifests hatred, and not the will to build peace."
("*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 2/99, p. 12)

Denial and relativization of atrocities committed in the "Third Reich"

In addition, the NPD relativizes Nazi crimes - and even denies the Holocaust. Thus, it provided an individual convicted of Holocaust denial with a forum in its party organ ⁵⁷⁾. In this way, the Party tries to morally exonerate the Hitler regime in order to clear the tarnished image of right-extremist ideology discredited by the Nazi regime.

In the Bulletin of the North Rhine/Westphalia *Land* Association, "*Deutsche Zukunft*" ("German Future"), an author once more made reference to the allegedly scientifically based "Leuchter Expertise" ⁵⁸⁾ claiming that the *Zyklon B* poison could not be used for industrial-scale killing of human beings ⁵⁹⁾.

With reference to the night of the November 1938 pogrom ["Crystal Night", of 9 November 1938], an author stated in "*Deutsche Zukunft*":

"While not wishing to downplay the atrocities of that night of 9 November, we should recall the findings of revisionist research which provide good arguments and evidence that this event had been planned by Internationalists with the aim of destroying the growing prestige of National-Socialist [Nazi] Germany - and this aim was indeed achieved. ... The leading Nazi politicians were unaware of what was going on and were horrified, and Hitler who at the same time spoke to Nazi veterans in Munich ... next to a synagogue which was not in flames, evidently had no knowledge of all this. It is a pity that

German historical research is not allowed to deal with these matters, and that those who do so nevertheless, are the victims of merciless persecution by the System and by a political judiciary system"
("Deutsche Zukunft", no. 1/99, p. 3)

In "*Deutsche Stimme*", the right-extremist journalist Jürgen **SCHWAB** ⁶⁰⁾ reviewed revisionist agitation and concluded that the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of science and research which, due to censorship laws, was no longer ensured in this field of contemporary history in the FRG and elsewhere, could

only be restored through the reversal of the political power system ⁶¹⁾.

**Agitation against the
principle of democracy**

With its agitation against "re-education", the NPD stigmatizes the re-establishment of parliamentary democracy in the Federal Republic of Germany after 1945, under the control of the Allied powers, as imposed and illegitimate. It launches indiscriminating - polemic, defamatory and disparaging - attacks against the institutions and representatives of libertarian democracy. In this way it is trying, on the one hand, to present the parliamentary system as illegitimate, incompetent and corrupt and as acting against the people's interests, and, on the other hand, to question the democratic constitutional state in its entirety with the ultimate aim of abolishing and replacing it with a different system. The NPD speaks derogatorily of a political system given to us by the Allied victors ⁶²⁾, and in this context refers to "System politicians" ⁶³⁾ and "licensee parties". Thus, in "*Deutsche Stimme*", an author declared:

"Re-education enters its last and decisive stage. While 're-education' initially was an instrument of the victorious powers, it has meanwhile become a self-propelled force, helped along by obsequious agents of the *new world order* in politics and the media. ... Half a century of loss of sovereignty, cultural pollution, re-education, national masochism, primacy of economy, degeneration and decadence - in short: half a century of liberalism."
("Deutsche Stimme", no. 2/99, p. 4)

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Basic Law, the NPD organ "*Deutsche Stimme*" contended:

"50 years after the proclamation of the provisional Basic Law, this Constitution - although a partial unification of the FRG and the GDR has taken place in the meantime - has not yet been legitimized by a plebiscite. And today's Enlarged FRG is just as far away from German sovereignty as it was at the time of its foundation. German participation in NATO's war of aggression against Serbia shows that the German licensee

parties continue to see themselves as the poodle of their U.S. master."

("Deutsche Stimme", no. 5/99, p. 9)

3.2 Organization and Development

When Udo **VOIGT** in March 1996 took over the party chairmanship, the NPD experienced an upward trend which, however, came to a halt in 1999. While the Party, with some 6,000 members, was able to maintain its membership level (1998: 6,000), a number of split-offs and withdrawals of members from the Party resulted in regional membership losses, which in instances were significant. Thus it lost about 200 members in its Saxony *Land* Association which, however, with about 1,200 remaining members, continues to have the by far largest membership; second and third places are taken by Bavaria (about 900) and North Rhine/Westphalia (more than 750), respectively. In Munich on 27 November, the NPD celebrated its 35th anniversary under the motto "*Alles Große steht im Sturm*" ["Greatness will stand firm in any storm"].

Co-operation with Neo-Nazis

VOIGT's strategy is to put the NPD on the broadest basis possible in terms of personnel and to bundle a large variety of trends and movements of national resistance. In this respect, priority continued to be given in 1999 to co-operation with the neo-Nazis with regard to themes and actions. This was also shown by the fact that the neo-Nazis **Steffen HUPKA**, **Jens PÜHSE** and **Frank SCHWERDT** were members of the NPD National Executive Committee. Within the neo-Nazi ranks, the NPD's roping-in policy met with widespread criticism, claiming that the NPD and its youth organization "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National-Democrats") were eager to profit from the neo-Nazis' action strength and from their infrastructure, but ultimately were not ready to take up closer thematic co-operation. On the other hand, there were many instances in which neo-Nazi action groups succeeded in using NPD members and their periphery as the organizers notifying demonstrations to the public authorities and as participants in such demonstrations. In terms of their statements and their outward appearance during such events, it is hardly possible any longer to distinguish neo-Nazi from NPD members/supporters.

The greatest publicity success with regard to their policy of alliances was achieved by the NPD and JN at a rally held in Kiel on 30 January (about 1,000 participants) under the motto "the soldiers' honour is our honour as well", and at a rally held in Magdeburg on 27 February (about 800 participants) against dual nationality. On the other hand, they failed with their attempt to

repeat their successful rally of the previous year in Leipzig (4,000 to 5,000 participants) by holding a central demonstration in Bremen on 1 May 1999 under the motto "jobs go to Germans first". In addition, the NPD held more than 50 smaller demonstrations throughout the Federal Republic, which, however, met with little response. The focus was on Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania and Brandenburg.

The Three-Pillar concept propagandized by the party leaders and referring to the strategic elements of (1) "fight to win the street" (i.e. demonstrations and public events), of (2) "fight to win the minds" (i.e. argumentation to convince outsiders and indoctrination of supporters) and of (3) "fight to win the parliaments" (i.e. participation in elections), in practice often entailed adverse effects caused by friction among the parties involved. While traditional, mainly older, national-democrats continue to give priority to the NPD as an election party and therefore tend to be rather sceptical about extra-parliamentary actions and forms of struggle, other NPD members - mostly younger supporters of neo-Nazi ideology, see the NPD primarily as a *Nationale Außerparlamentarische Opposition*" (NAPO - "National Extra-Parliamentary Opposition") and, consequently, prefer the action-based extra-parliamentary "fight to win the street".

Considerable irritation was also caused by the national-Bolshevistic orientation of the NPD. This ideological orientation, which is propagandized, mainly in Eastern Germany, by the Party's deputy chairman Dr. Hans-Günther **EISENECKER** and individuals such as Prof. Dr. Michael **NIER**, a former GDR university professor for dialectical and historical materialism, sees the NPD in the role of an anti-imperialist party in the tradition of the revolutionary German labour movement. This even met with criticism by the party leadership. In particular, there was clear rejection of the appraisal of the former GDR as the "better Germany".

For quite some time, Party Chairman Udo **VOIGT** has succeeded in achieving integration and in conciliating the various trends within the Party. By now, however, the NPD seems to have come to the limit of its integration potential, as a result of the multifarious trends tolerated by it in the interest of member recruitment.

Visible signs of this developmental trend are heavy losses of members in Saxony and split-offs in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania and Thuringia. Thus, following criticism of the new "socialism course" of the NPD, a *"Soziale Volkspartei"* (SVP - "People's Social Party") was founded in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania in early 1999. At some time it had a membership of about 50, but no longer engages in any activities. In Thuringia on 23 January, some 20 members of the Thuringian right-extremist

scene founded the "*Bund Deutscher Patrioten*" (BDP - "Union of German Patriots"). The BDP - which recruited its few members mainly from among the supporters of the former NPD *Land* Chairman - also discontinued its activities.

Participation in elections

The NPD continued to have no impact as a participant in elections. It took part in the elections to the European Parliament, in six *Landtag* elections and, in seven *Länder*, in local elections. In the European elections on 13 June, the Party only won 0.4 % of the votes - this share, however, was twice as much as in 1994 (0.2 %). In the *Landtag* elections, the NPD only achieved a certain *succès d'estime* in Saxony on 19 September, where its *Land* Association won 1.4 % of the second votes and thus took the 1 % hurdle required for state-provided partial funding for political parties ⁶⁴⁾. In the elections to the *Land* parliaments of Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hesse and the Saarland, the Party only won between 0.2 % and 0.8% of the votes. At the local level, the NPD stood in elections only in a number of cases. It achieved its greatest success in the local elections in Saxony on 13 June, where it won a total of nine mandates in eight municipal councils; its absolutely best result were 11.8 % of the votes and two seats on the Municipal Council of Königstein. In addition, the NPD won a small number of local-government mandates in the elections in Saxony-Anhalt on 13 June and in North Rhine/Westphalia on 12 September.

After the *Landtag* elections in Saxony, Party Chairman Udo Voigt declared that especially two prerequisites had been missing for the Party's breakthrough: *Land*-wide representation by direct candidates, and sufficient funding which should have amounted to about two million *deutschmark*. Now, Voigt said, the aim was to develop the organization further and to lay greater emphasis on activities related to local government politics. The NPD had become an eligible party only in those places where it was presented by acceptable candidates ⁶⁵⁾.

3.3 "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National-Democrats")

Founded:	1969
National Executive Secretariat:	Oberhausen (Bavaria)
National Chairman:	Sascha RoßMÜLLER
Members:	350 (1998: 400)

An integral part of the NPD

As the only right-extremist party, the "National-Democratic Party of Germany" (NPD) has a youth organization with a significant membership potential. The "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National-Democrats") are considered an integral part of the NPD. The JN National Chairman is an *ex officio* member of the NPD Executive Commission. In Mitterskirchen/Rottal-Inn *Landkreis* (Bavaria) on 13 March, the JN celebrated their 30th anniversary with a jubilee congress under the motto "30 Years of

Young National-Democrats - 30 Years of Fight - Action - Resistance".

In their ideological policy document, i.e. the so-called "*Thesen-papiere*" ("Tenet Papers") ⁶⁶⁾ which were revised in 1998, the JN lay down their commitment to a "New National Community" in which the contradictions and shortcomings of the existing political and economic system would be overcome. Within this fully developed national community, élites would be an indispensable element ("rule of the best, which puts an end to the rule of the inferior"). The JN sees itself as the "revolutionary spearhead of the NPD" with the mission to break "old and, in part, obsolete patterns of thought" and to give life and dynamic impetus to the Party ⁶⁷⁾.

Change in leadership

At the JN National Congress on 10 April in Klingenberg (Bavaria), a succession of generations took place. The majority of long-time JN functionaries such as Holger APFEL who had been the National Chairman for many years, his deputy Jürgen DISTLER and several members of the Executive Committee, including the neo-Nazis Steffen HUPKA and Jens PÜHSE withdrew from the JN bodies in order to continue their political work, in organizational terms, exclusively within the NPD. APFEL was succeeded by the neo-Nazi Sascha ROßMÜLLER patronized by the NPD leadership. He was the winner of a divisive voting between himself and Achim EZER. EZER - who, like ROßMÜLLER, unrestrictedly supports co-operation with the neo-Nazi camp - did not succeed in obtaining acceptance of his dogmatic course which favoured the cadre principle and aimed for greater autonomy *vis-à-vis* the NPD. On 5 June, in response to his electoral defeat, EZER - together with JN members from North Rhine/Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg and Saxony - founded the "*Bildungswerk Deutscher Volksgemeinschaft*" (BDVG - "Educational Association of the German National Community"). It has a membership of about 50, who did not deploy any

significant activities.

The JN wish to orient their political work not only to "nation-state" concerns, but also to "national-European" interests. Along the way to establishing a European nationalist united front, they plan to build up a European network ⁶⁸⁾. This aim was also pursued at the "6th European Youth Congress" in Falkenberg (Bavaria) on 30 October, in which some 500 persons participated, including guests from several foreign countries.

As a result of the growing involvement of leading cadres of the JN in NPD activities, the JN suffered further losses of autonomy. At events organized jointly by the NPD and the JN, it was largely the NDP which was noticed by the general public. In 1999, the JN suffered a loss of profile, and their role as an interface between the NPD and the neo-Nazis diminished.

4. Small Right-Extremist Political Parties ⁶⁹⁾ and Associations of Voters

Unabhängige Arbeiterpartei e.V. (Deutsche Sozialisten) (UAP)

The oldest of the small right-extremist parties is the "*Unabhängige Arbeiterpartei e.V. (Deutsche Sozialisten)*" (UAP - "Independent Workers' Party, reg'd (German Socialists)") which was founded in 1962 and at present has 120 members. It has *Land* Associations only in North Rhine/Westphalia, Bavaria and Hesse. The UAP publication "*Reichs-Arbeiter-Zeitung*" ("*Reich Workers' Newspaper*") speaks out in favour of the continuance of the German *Reich* [Empire] of 1871 ⁷⁰⁾ and agitates against the democratic rule-of-law state and its institutions ⁷¹⁾. The UAP's participation, in a number of electoral districts, in the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia on 12 September was unsuccessful.

Vereinigte Rechte (VR)

The youngest small party is the "*Vereinigte Rechte*" (VR - "United Right") which was founded in late 1998 and has 50 members at the most (cf. subsection 2.2 above). While small *Land* Associations formed in Baden-Wurttemberg, Bavaria, Brandenburg and Saxony, the Party only had *Land* commissioners in other *Länder*. Many of the VR functionaries are active or former functionaries/members of the REP, NPD, DLVH and DVU ⁷²⁾. The VR programme covers nationalist goals ⁷³⁾. It did not succeed in achieving even part of its objective to unite all national-conservative parties of Germany on a joint list of candidates ⁷⁴⁾. The Party had no success in the *Land* elections in Saxony.

Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat (DLVH)

The "*Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat*" (DLVH - "German League for the People and Homeland"), which was founded as a political party in 1991 and registered as an association in 1996, has tried for years to become a collecting point for the "right-wing

camp". Its efforts failed because of the unwillingness of the other right-extremist parties to give up their autonomy. At present, the DLVH has a membership of only some 300. Its activities are mainly initiated by Jürgen **SCHÜTZINGER**, a member of the Executive Committee, who has initiated a "German Peace Party" to provide against the event that the DLVH might disband ⁷⁵⁾. The DLVH participated unsuccessfully in the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia, with its Cologne front runner Manfred **ROUHS**, the publisher of "*Signal*", (cf. Chapter VI below). In the local elections in Baden-Wurtemberg on 24 October, **SCHÜTZINGER** retained his municipal council mandate in Villingen-Schwenningen by winning 4.4 % of the votes.

Ab jetzt ... Bündnis für Deutschland

The political party "*Ab jetzt ... Bündnis für Deutschland*" ("As of now ... Alliance for Germany") which was founded in 1997 and is now led by Helmut **FLECK**, has about 150 members in ten *Land* Associations and various *Kreis* Associations. By making comparisons with the crimes committed by other nations and by presenting doctored figures, the Party relativizes the Nazi Holocaust. It persistently repeats revisionist demands for the restoration of Germany within the state borders of 1937 ⁷⁶⁾. In the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia, the Party won an electoral mandate in Siegburg.

Bund für Gesamtdeutschland (BDG)

The small party "*Bund für Gesamtdeutschland*" (BGD - "Union for All of Germany"), which was founded in 1990 and is led by Horst **ZABOROWSKI** and which formerly was closely connected to "*Ab jetzt ... Bündnis für Deutschland*", champions similar revisionist, antidemocratic and xenophobic views. The BGD labels democratic parties as "licensee parties" ⁷⁷⁾, invokes a Germanic "*Thing*" democracy, and warns against dissolution of the German people and its displacement by a "mixed population" ⁷⁸⁾.

VI. Intellectualization Efforts of Right-Wing Extremism

Low intellectual level of German right-extremists

From the beginning, the intellectual level of right-wing extremism in the Federal Republic of Germany, by contrast to the extreme right-wing camp in other countries, was low. Accordingly, the former National Chairman of the party "The Republicans" (REP), Franz **SCHÖNHUBER**, now working as a journalist, commented that, within today's right-extremist camp in Germany, intellectuals stood apart ⁷⁹⁾. This deficit, apart from being due to the historical incrimination of right-wing extremism in Germany, also explains the lack of a political theory developed in terms of substance, the low public esteem in which representatives of right-wing extremism are held, and the lack of an elaborate strategy for their political line. While intellectualization efforts are being made from time to time, they have failed to achieve any significant success. In the first half of the 1990s, first efforts were made - but later discontinued - to attain the aim of, and hope for, bringing about a "cultural revolution from the right" (Alain de **BENOIST** ⁸⁰⁾) which was intended ultimately to effect changes in political developments through public political discourse.

No "cultural revolution from the right"

"New Right" disappointed

By now, disappointment has spread throughout the camp of the "New Right Wing": the supporters of this intellectual trend - these are individual journalists who disseminate their views in various publications - are going on from the political ideas of the antidemocratic "Young Conservatives" of the Weimar Republic and, like these, call for an authoritarian state intended to dominate society unilaterally. Over the past few years, many of them at most only occasionally published a few texts. Therefore, there have been no appreciable programmatic discourses or anthologies which could have had any effect in the sense of a "cultural revolution from the right".

"Thule Seminar"

The only political organization which might be classed with the "New Right", i.e. the "*Thule-Seminar*" in Kassel (Hesse), has also remained largely inactive: its journal "*Elemente*" was no longer published, and its director Dr. Pierre **KREBS** only sporadically appeared as a speaker at meetings of right-extremist organizations such as the "*Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund*" (NHB - "National-Democratic University/College Union") of the NPD ⁸¹⁾.

"National Revolutionaries"

Similar trends are to be observed among the supporters of the "national-revolutionaries". They also want to continue intellectual models from the era of the Weimar Republic, but gear their thinking not so much to the state but rather to the people which they regard, from an antipluralistic stance, as ethnically and politically homogeneous. Many "national-revolutionaries" joined the "*Deutsch-Europäische Studien-Gesellschaft*" (DESG - "German-

European Studies Society"), already in existence since 1972, and the organization "*Synergon Deutschland*", founded in 1995 as the German section of the Europe-wide, national-revolutionary organization "*Europäische Synergien*" ("European Synergies"). The two organizations have co-operated for some time, but without success: for instance, due to its journalistic and organizational weakness, the monthly bulletin "*DESG-inform*" often appeared only every two, or even every three, months. Also, seminars in Germany and abroad were attended by very few members from Germany so that, in comparison to the other sections of "European Synergies", the German group is to be considered underdeveloped in intellectual, organizational and personnel terms.

The little interest shown by other right-wing extremists in national-revolutionary intellectuals is surprising in view of the increasing use made by them of terms and notions of this ideological variant of right-wing extremism - such as "anti-Americanism", "anticapitalism" and "liberation nationalism". Obviously - and this is also borne out by the low theoretic niveau - such concepts were taken over by the other camps of right-wing extremism without any direct influence by national-revolutionary intellectuals.

Decline of intellectual publication organs

Overall, the right-extremist camp continues to feel intellectually overtaxed by theoretic work. This is in part due to the development of a number of publication organs which are affiliated to intellectual right-wing extremism: the originally bi-monthly journal "*Signal. Das patriotische Magazin*" appeared only on a quarterly basis. Its editor Manfred **ROUHS** increasingly concentrated on Internet commentaries referring to current affairs rather than on theoretical work. Similarly, "*Sleipnir. Zeitschrift für Kultur, Geschichte und Politik*" ["Sleipnir. Journal for Culture, History and Politics"] and the monthly journal "*Staatsbriefe*" often appeared later than scheduled or only on a bi-monthly basis; its articles are written by regular authors whose number has rather dwindled in the meantime. None of these publications contributed towards ideological and strategic innovation.

Right-extremist activities by Horst MAHLER

To these trends towards decline, the personal commitment of the former left-wing extremist Horst **MAHLER** stands in remarkable contrast. He not only appeared as a speaker at events staged by the various right-extremist organizations, but also published interviews and comments in the various right-extremist publication organs, and did not even shun contacts with the neo-Nazi camp. Together with other former members of the "*Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund*" (SDS - "Socialist German Students' Union") of the movement of the generation of '68 - for instance Dr. Reinhold **OBERLERCHER** who in the meantime has

transformed into a right-extremist theoretician - **MAHLER** published a "Canonical Declaration on the Movement of 1968" in "*Staatsbriefe*". In that Declaration, the authors wished to make clear that this political movement had risen neither for the Eastern nor for the Western community of shared values, but had stood up for the right of every people to national-revolutionary and social-revolutionary self-liberation. The German "Sixty-Eight" had, after National-Socialism, been the second attempt at a revolution against the world rule of capital ⁸²⁾. With their "Canonical Declaration", the signatories intended to re-interpret the 1968 Movement in a national-revolutionary sense in order to mobilize former supporters of the "New Left" of that time for a swing to the "right". However, this suggestion, strange and unreasonable as it appeared, met with fierce objection. ⁸³⁾.

Failure to forge a first link with the "left wing"

Against this background, defeat must be assumed also as regards the hope formulated by other right-extremist intellectuals "to forge a first link with the left-wing" - as put forward by Jürgen **SCHWAB** in the NPD organ "*Deutsche Stimme*" and in the magazine "*Signal*" - as an opening in terms of a policy of alliances and ideology ⁸⁴⁾. While right and left-wing extremists have a number of common interests in terms of content and structure ⁸⁵⁾ as regards rejection of the democratic constitutional state, it may be assumed that the strong political reservations of "left-wingers" will also in future prevent a rapprochement between the two camps.

Demarcation

Also, there was no further erosion of the demarcation between democratic-conservative and right-extremist journalists/publicists. Over the past years, the process of blurring of that demarcation was credited as a partial success to right-extremist intellectuals. Only a very small number of democratic-conservative politicians, journalists and scholars appeared as authors in right-extremist publication organs and anthologies or included authors of the right-extremist camp in their concepts for anthologies. There are relatively few conservatives ready to engage in such co-operation.

"Junge Freiheit"

In this context, appraisal of the weekly "*Junge Freiheit*" ("Young Freedom") is problematic. In addition to democratic-conservative authors, also right-wing extremists are provided with a forum in the form of articles, interviews and commentaries. In "*Junge Freiheit*", Alain de **BENOIST** - listed as a permanent staff member in the weekly's masthead, and who is regarded as the "chief ideologist" of the French "New Right" - expressed his rejection of democratic constitutional states: he would prefer a national-communist regime to a Western-liberal system at any time ⁸⁶⁾.

VII. Revisionism

In right-wing extremism, the notion of revisionism is linked to a politically motivated re-interpretation of the past, especially as regards the era of National-Socialism. This is intended to bring about rehabilitation, or minimization of the wrongs, of the Third *Reich* and of Nazi ideology. Thus, the term of revisionism is given a totally different meaning than in scholarly discussion and research where it is understood as a correction of traditionally held views on the basis of new findings and interpretations. Here, an objective-scientific view confronts a political-ideological view. In their publications, authors deliberately try to blur this fundamental difference. In this way they want to convey the wrong impression that right-extremist revisionists actually are serious scholars who merely hold different views. This, for instance, is the approach taken by the publicist **NORDBRUCH** who, in the right-extremist journal *"Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart"* ["Germany in History and in Our Times"], insinuated that the term of "revisionist" was used for generalized defamation of respectable scholars as right-wing extremists ⁸⁷⁾. Actually, the persons defended by **NORDBRUCH** are right-wing extremists who are trying to rehabilitate the Nazi system, for instance by casting generalized doubts on the crimes committed in German concentration camps.

The "war guilt" issue

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II on 1 September, various right-extremist publications questioned that the Nazi regime was chiefly to blame for the outbreak of World War II. *"Deutsche National-Zeitung"* (DNZ) and *"National-Zeitung/Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung"* (NZ) (cf. Chapter V, section 2, above) published a series on "What Reasons led to World War II?" ⁸⁸⁾. This was a deliberate juxtaposition of selected documents with the aim of conveying the impression to the reader that the outbreak of the war had been a settled matter in the United Kingdom and the United States; Hitler had been forced to respond with war to the murderous persecution of Germans. Since this series, in particular, reprinted public statements by the Hitler Government, DNZ conveys the ideas of Nazi propaganda. The legend under a photo read: "The hazardous venture with which Hitler directly ran into the naked blade held out by the warring party was madness" ⁸⁹⁾. Here DNZ does not shrink away from presenting Hitler as a peace-loving victim of his war-mongering enemies.

A similar tone was struck in other publications of right-extremist publishing houses, such as the journal *"Deutsche Geschichte"* ["German History"] published by *"Verlagsgesellschaft Berg"*, which published an issue with the key subject of the "1939 Poland Campaign". It carries an article by the revisionist journalist Dank-

wart KLUGE with the headline "3 September 1939 - Who was responsible?" ⁹⁰⁾. He claimed that already the victorious powers of World War I had not only foreseen another war against Germany, but in many respects had even hoped for it. The tinder for kindling the next world war had been laid by the Allies alone, and not by Germany. Consequently, England and France to a large extent shared responsibility for the outbreak of that war. This, too, is a one-sided description of actual and alleged actions of what subsequently were Nazi Germany's enemies in the war - without even the slightest mention of Hitler's aggressive foreign politics as the true factor leading to the outbreak of World War II.

Upgrading of National-Socialism

In addition to such publications contributing to the denial of the political responsibility of the Hitler regime regarding the outbreak of that war, revisionist publications recurrently try to upgrade the events and institutions of the Nazi era. A case in point is the book *"Auf Teufel komm raus. Unwahrheiten und Lügen über die nationalistische Jugendbewegung"* ["Untruths and Lies about the Nationalist Youth Movement"], which was published by the right-extremist *"Kurt Vowinckel Verlag"* and written by Günter KAUFMANN who in that book presents himself as the last living official in charge of the *"Reichsjugendführung"* and former director of the *"Reichsinstitut für nationalsozialistische Jugendarbeit"* ⁹¹⁾. The author claims that, thanks to the National-Socialist youth movement, young people had been educated to exercise sound judgement and, in the *"Hitler-Jugend"* (HJ - "Hitler Youth Movement"), had not been drilled to adapt to the system. Esprit de corps and comradeship are invoked as positive values, while their incorporation and exploitation by a totalitarian system are denied or disregarded. In addition, the author propagandizes other revisionist claims, for instance that world Jewry had declared war on Nazi Germany.

Denial of the Holocaust

Revisionism in the narrower sense is understood to mean denial of the mass extermination of Jews in the gas chambers of the concentration camps ("Holocaust denial"). This is a punishable act in Germany (Sections 130 [incitement of the people], 185 [insult] and 189 [slandering the memory of the dead] of the Penal Code) and therefore is propagandized mainly from abroad. An important actor in this field is the right-extremist organization *"Vrij Historisch Onderzoek"* (V.H.O. - "Institute for Free Historical Research") with headquarters in Belgium, which distributes all current publications by adherents of the "Holocaust denial", which have been confiscated and put on the index in Germany. In addition, the Institute in 1999 disseminated a pamphlet entitled "Holocaust & Revisionism. 33 Questions and Answers on the Subject of the Holocaust". In a condensed form it presents the major revisionist statements on this subject and advertizes rele-

vant publications. The V.H.O. is also the editor of the "*Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*" (VffG - "Quarterly Review for Free Historical Research" now being published by "Castle Hill Publishers", Hastings (United Kingdom). This is a journal which presents itself as a scholarly publication to its readers, but which actually uses only certain formal elements (footnotes, structure, tables) so as to present the Holocaust as a process that allegedly was scientifically impossible. The editor-in-chief of the VffG has been, and still is, Germar **SCHEERER**, name at birth **RUDOLF**, who in 1995 had been sentenced to a 14-months' prison term for incitement to hatred and violence, and before going to prison, had sneaked abroad.

Controversy

It emerged that the V.H.O. and **SCHEERER** had divergent views on the strategic approach. While the editor primarily relies on pseudo-scientific publication, the Belgian organization tries to achieve an effect by means of superficial pamphlets. Also, a controversy - of a personal nature rather than based on the appraisal of the subject matter - developed among the leading exponents of the Holocaust denial: in the VffG, Robert **FAURISSON**⁹²⁾ attacked a publication of two other negators of the Holocaust, the Swiss Jürgen **GRAF** and the Italian Carlo **MATTOGNO**⁹³⁾. **FAURISSON** claimed that with the criticism levelled by those two authors at Ditlieb **FELDERER**, Fred **LEUCHTER** or himself, among others, revisionists for the first time maliciously and publicly fought against other revisionists. This reveals a division among the internationally active revisionist protagonists.

Revisionist propaganda on the Internet

The Internet makes it possible for this camp of right-wing extremism - with only a small risk of exposure to criminal prosecution - to disseminate views, such as denial of the Holocaust, which in Germany are forbidden by law. Quite a number of organizations and individuals make use of this form of propaganda, such as the German neo-Nazi Ernst **ZÜNDEL** who lives in Canada, the French "*Association des Anciens Amateurs de Récits de Guerre et d'Holocauste*" (AAARGH), or the two American institutions "Committee for Open Debate On the Holocaust" (CODOH) and "Institute for Historical Review" (IHR). The V.H.O. which has also posted an extensive revisionist presentation on the Internet, has the respective Internet addresses printed on special advertising cards. The director of the Australian "Adelaide Institute", Fred **TOBEN**, had to stand trial in Germany for his revisionist propaganda. On 10 November he was given an unsuspended ten-months' sentence, on the basis of the content of his homepage and open letters, for incitement to hatred and violence, for insult and for slandering the memory of the dead⁹⁴⁾.

VIII. International Connections

Different motives for international contacts

German right-wing extremists have many and various contacts with like-minded foreigners. In the skinhead scene, concerts with internationally known bands provide the main opportunity for meetings and exchanges of information. They are a preferred marketplace for sound recordings of right-extremist music and for fanzines.

Neo-Nazis hold demonstrations with like-minded foreigners in neighbouring countries in order to dodge any bans imposed by German authorities. But ideological indoctrination and maintenance of contacts are important to them as well.

The main concern of right-extremist parties seems to be to give the impression of well-functioning international co-operation by having foreign delegations attend their congresses. In this way it is hoped to enhance their profile in "foreign policy" terms and to raise their repute.

1. International Meetings

The overall number of participants in international meetings of right-wing extremists continued to decline. Nevertheless, some events drew an audience from various European countries:

Hungary

- As in the previous year, the neo-Nazi party "Hungarian National Front" (MNA) and the skinhead group "Hungarian Skins", who may be classed with the international "Blood & Honour" movement, held a rally under the motto "Day of Honour" in Budapest on 13 February. Some 500 participants - including 120 to 150 German right-wing extremists - commemorated the "*Waffen-SS*" who in February 1945 had attempted to break out of the besieged city. At a skinhead concert after the rally, clashes occurred between the right-extremist concert-goers and the Hungarian police. Twenty-six participants, of whom 15 Germans, were detained. Warrants of arrest were issued against three German skinheads; two of them were given prison sentences suspended on probation.

Belgium

- On 4 April, German right-wing extremists were prevented from participating in an anti-NATO demonstration in front of NATO Headquarters in Brussels. Previously 30 German right-wing extremists had been taken into custody by the police in the city of Brussels. The rally had been notified by a "*Komitee Europäischer Nationalisten gegen die NATO*" ["Anti-NATO Committee of European Nationalists"] which is master-minded by the Belgian right-extremist group "DEVENIR".

- Denmark**
- On 8 August, the Danish "Blood & Honour" division failed to hold an "International Rudolf Heß Memorial March" in the town of Svendborg on Langeland Island (Denmark). The assembly of some 100 persons, including about 40 German participants, was broken up by the police after a few minutes.
 - Another related demonstration was initiated at the headquarters of the *"Dansk National Socialistiske Bevægelse"* (DNSB - "Danish National-Socialist Movement") in Greve (Denmark) on 15 August. Since the march started already at 7.00 a.m., there were only small numbers of participants. Sixty to seventy Germans are reported to have been among the 120 demonstrators.
- Switzerland**
- On 14 August, some 150 neo-Nazis from France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany assembled in the vicinity of the German Embassy in Berne. The right-wing extremists did not succeed in getting near the Embassy. After a short speech regarding Rudolf Heß had been read, the police ended the action within a couple of minutes.
- Czech Republic**
- On 21 August, approx. 250 right-wing extremists, among them some 10 Germans, met in Prague to commemorate the same occasion. The police dissolved the prohibited meeting.
- "Ijzerbedevaart" [Diksmuide Pilgrimage]**
- Some 150 activists from several countries, including about 50 persons from Germany, travelled to Diksmuide (Belgium) to take part in a right-extremist "comradeship meeting" alongside this year's 72nd *"Ijzerbedevaart"* [pilgrimage to the *Ijzertoren* (Iron Tower)] of Flemish patriots on 28/29 August.
- Freundeskreis Ulrich von Hutten e.V., and Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft Österreich**
- The "23rd Guest Week" of the *"Freundeskreis Ulrich von Hutten e.V."* and of the *"Deutsche Kulturgemeinschaft Österreich"* was held, as a private meeting, in Altenberg (Saxony) during the period of 11-18 September, under the direction of an Austrian right-extremist woman. During the 'guest week', also a general assembly of the *"Notgemeinschaft für Volkstum und Kultur e.V."* was held. The opening of this meeting, held under the motto "The Life System of Preservation of Species in Nature and Civilization", was attended by some 150 Germans and Austrians.
- Austria**
- On 2/3 October, a small number of like-minded Germans took part in an international meeting of right-wing extremists, which was held in Klagenfurt (Austria) alongside the traditional *"Ulrichsberg Meeting"*.
- Junge Nationaldemokraten**
- The *"Junge Nationaldemokraten"* (JN - "Young National-Democrats") held their "6th European Youth Congress" in Falkenberg (Bavaria) on 30 October. The approx. 500 participants included a number of guests from Austria, France, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Lithuania, Romania, Sweden and the

United States. Speakers from various countries read papers on the motto "Europe's Nations - Heritage and Mission".

Spain

- Some 50 German right-wing extremists, including several members of the "German National Democratic Party" (NPD) and skinheads, attended the ceremonies commemorating the anniversaries of the death of the Spanish dictator General Francisco Franco and of Falangist leader José Primo de Rivera in Madrid on 19-21 November.

2. Increased Propaganda Activities from South Africa

**"Deutsche Büchergilde
Kapstadt"**

Agitation from South Africa increased in 1999. Thus, the *"Deutsche Büchergilde Kapstadt"* (German Book Club of Capetown), directed by Heinz MIGEOD, distributed samples of text from right-extremist publications as well as fliers of the Capetown-based *"Kampfbund gegen Unterdrückung der Meinungsfreiheit in Deutschland"* ["Combat Union against the Suppression of Freedom of Expression in Germany"]. In these - often revisionist and anti-Semitic - pamphlets, the authors label the Federal Republic of Germany as a "liar and oppressive system" that propagandized the 'gas chamber lie' and Germany's sole responsibility for World War II. Several citizens of the Federal Republic who received these unsolicited pamphlets transmitted them to the competent security authorities.

Claus NORDBRUCH

At lectures given during several stays in Germany, Dr. Claus NORDBRUCH, a publicist living in South Africa presented his books. On those occasions, he deplored the alleged lack of freedom of expression in Germany and equated the democratic constitutional state and its institutions with authoritarian-dictatorial systems. One of his lectures was transmitted live over the Internet on the homepage of *"Politische Hintergrund Informationen"* (PHI - "Political Background Information").

3. "Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei/Auslands- und Aufbauorganisation" (NSDAP/AO - "National-Socialist German Workers' Party/Overseas and Development Organization")

After serving a four-year prison sentence, the leader of the NSDAP/AO, Gary Rex LAUCK, was released from prison in Germany on 23 March and deported to the U.S. Since then, the propaganda activities of the NSDAP/AO have increased again; until November, five new issues of *"NS-Kampfruf"* have appeared under LAUCK's responsibility; *inter alia*, these issues announced that LAUCK, with the support of an American human rights or-

ganization, had taken up his "legal struggle" against the American Government:

"[In the course of this struggle] the machinations of Lauck's abductors and their helpers at home and abroad will be exposed, and considerable political damage will be caused to the political gangsters in Bonn and Washington. For effective coverage of the legal struggle in the media, various political actions are planned. The FRG, an abject police state which wrongly calls itself a democratic rule-of-law state, will now be confronted with a fight for which it is not prepared at all."
("NS-Kampfruf", no. 128/1999)

IX. Propaganda and Communications Media

1. Periodical Publications

The number of right-extremist periodical publications rose from 110 to 116. Their total number of copies were some 6.5 million (1998: approx. 6.9 million). 57 publications appeared at least four times per year (1998: 73).

2. Independent Publishing Houses and Distributors

Unchanged number of publishing and distributing firms

In addition to publishing and distributing firms linked to political parties and organizations, there were 44 independent firms of this type (1998: 45) within the right-extremist spectrum. By means of books, publications, sound recordings and videos they wish to disseminate their political views and contribute towards the development of a right-extremist "counter-culture". For this purpose, they also offer relevant devotional articles, clothes and jewellery. The reason for the increase in such offers is not to be seen only in financial interests of the suppliers; it was also due to the desire of right-wing extremists to establish their identity not only with regard to political views but also in terms of shared cultural interests.

Heterogeneous structure

On the other hand, there are a few larger publishing houses with a broad range of books and journal on offer, such as "Arndt-Verlag" in Kiel, "Grabert-Verlag" in Tübingen and "Verlagsgesellschaft Berg" in Berg am Starnberger See; on the other hand, a large number of small publishing houses have only limited publication programmes. In addition, there are distributing firms which do not publish their own books or publications, but offer products of other publishing houses for sale. The co-operation practised

by publishing and distribution firms for quite some time with regard to the production of advertising leaflets is in the mutual financial interest of these firms and cannot be seen as reflecting a close journalistic network.

Arndt-Verlag

The publishing house "*Arndt-Verlag*" in Kiel [Schleswig-Holstein] is one of the largest right-extremist publishers independent of any specific organization. In addition to publications on cultural and educational policy, its programme covers works of revisionist orientation which serve to morally upgrade historic National-Socialism. A special feature of the publisher's programme are video recordings of speeches and lectures given by well-known right-wing extremists, for instance the speech by the former left-wing extremist Horst MAHLER (cf. Chapter IV, section 1, and Chapter VI, above).

Grabert-Verlag

The "*Grabert-Verlag*" in Tübingen [Baden-Württemberg] has a relatively broad programme of books published by it, including works which deny the responsibility of the Hitler regime for the outbreak of World War II, or convey collectivist-ethnic ideas. Its sister company "*Hohenrain-Verlag*" also addresses a broader, non-extremist reading public with offers dealing with topical subjects, such as the introduction of the Euro or globalization. Its quarterly "*Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*" ["Germany in History and in Our Times"] comments on current affairs and subjects of contemporary history.

Verlagsgesellschaft Berg

The publishing house "*Verlagsgesellschaft Berg*" [referring to the town of Berg in Upper Bavaria] which is a merger of the firms of "*Druffel*", "*Türmer*" and "*Vowinckel*", also offers a broad range of revisionist publications of contemporaries about the *Hitler-Jugend* (HJ - "Hitler Youth Movement") or journalism during the Nazi regime. This company publishes the bi-monthly journal "*Deutsche Geschichte*" ["German History"] and the almanac "*Deutsche Annalen*" ["German Annals"]. 1999 was the second year of publication of the journal "*Opposition. Magazin für Deutschland*" which allegedly was so successful that it was changed from a quarterly to a bi-monthly publication. So far, it has not been able to meet its self-imposed claim to being an innovative new 'theory and strategy organ': since its authors are not different from those of other right-extremist publication organs such as "*Nation & Europa*", this magazine offers no innovation in terms of either form or content.

Strategy organ "*Nation & Europa - Deutsche Monatshefte*"

The publishing house "*Nation Europa-Verlag*" in Coburg [Bavaria] is worth mentioning not because of the small number of its own books, mostly of revisionist orientation, but because of its journal "*Nation & Europa - Deutsche Monatshefte*" ["Nation & Europe - German Monthly"] which is to be regarded as the leading publication dealing with right-extremist theory and strategy, on account

of its long existence, its circulation of 15,000 copies, and its importance within that camp. For years it has called upon the factional right-extremist camp to co-operate. Thus *"Nation & Europa"* euphorically commented the agreement between the chairmen of the *"Deutsche Volksunion"* (DVU - "German People's Union") and of the party *"Die Republikaner"* (REP - "The Republicans") who had agreed to avoid competition of candidacies in elections ⁹⁵⁾. However, contrary to the expectations of *"Nation & Europa"*, any longer-term co-operation or even organizational merger failed to materialize.

Attempts to arrive at a new strategic orientation

Other articles in *"Nation & Europa"* pleaded for a broader perspective, drew attention to target groups such as young people, students' societies/fraternities and subcultures, discussed potential new allies such as "leftist renegades", and outlined new fields of action such as the struggle between the Church and State (culture struggle) ⁹⁶⁾. The remarkable thing about such proposal was that the respective authors only formulated very broad strategic options and, what is more, did not name any actors and organizers for the suggested approaches and actions.

Anti-Americanism

Apart from that, *"Nation & Europa"* did not display any ideological innovation: in response to the participation of the Federal Armed Forces in NATO's military operation in Yugoslavia - which was vehemently objected to by the editors, often in the same form and with the same words as the pertinent Serbian position - there was growing anti-Americanism. Franz SCHÖNHUBER, a regular columnist, contended that this was an era of neo-colonialism and that the colonial lords stayed in America. He called for a "Detachment from America" movement which would also have to take up political left-wing argumentation patterns. Along these lines he also deplored that the *"Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus"* (PDS - "Party of Democratic Socialism") in the European elections had been able to bring in the harvest which should rightfully have been brought to the granaries of the right wing ⁹⁷⁾. In another article, SCHÖNHUBER even went as far as to invoke a "Eurasian Bloc", including China, against the U.S. ⁹⁸⁾. This demand clearly shows that even an alliance with communist dictatorships is not ruled out in the context of initiating a bloc against the United States.

GFP - largest right-extremist cultural association

A number of right-extremist publishers, editors and booksellers and authors were members of the *"Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik"* (GFP - "Society for Free Journalism") founded in 1960. With some 450 members, this is the largest right-extremist cultural association which has contacts with various right-extremist organizations and publishing houses. Its Chairman, Dr. Rolf KOSIEK, works for the publishing house *"Grabert-Verlag"*. By way of introduction to the 1999 GFP Congress on "Germany &

Europe - Renewal instead of Genocide", he dealt with the subject of the "people-murdering aliens policy" pushed by "German-haters". The speakers at this GFP meeting included Dr. Felix **BUCK**, Dr. Gert **SUCHHOLT** and Andreas **THIERRY**.

GFP activities have been stagnant for years. It did not give any stimulus to a rapprochement within the right-extremist party camp.

3. New Communications Media

The importance of the new communications media within the right-extremist scene has grown with regard to promoting the public image, mobilization and agitation. While there has been a marked decline in the use of mailbox networks, high rates of increase are to be noted especially on the Internet, but also with regard to right-extremist, non-party information telephones.

3.1 Internet

Increasing number of homepages

The number of WorldWideWeb (WWW) homepages operated by German right-wing extremists soared to more than 330 (1998: approx. 200).

Right-wing extremists have arrived at exploiting the entire multimedia spectrum: even sound and TV broadcasts over the Internet are no longer out of the ordinary. These broadcasts are intended to counterbalance the "System's media". Thus, for instance, the right-extremist press service "*Politische Hintergrundinformationen*" (PHI - "Political Background Information"), on its homepage, offers videos covering, for instance, a performance by the singer-songwriter Frank **RENNICKE**. "*NIT Radio*" and "*Radio Germania*" (cf. Chapter IV, subsection 2.3, above) present a mixture of music typical of the scene and spoken items in their programmes.

Increasing communication over the Internet

While the Internet has been an important agitation vehicle for right-wing extremists, it is now increasingly being used as a means of communication. For this purpose, right-wing extremists make increasing use of E-mail communications. In part, this form of communication has been automated by the inclusion of mailing lists on the respective homepages, where interested Internet users can enter their names in order to receive current information provided by the homepage operators over E-mail about current developments. Homepages establish an increasing number of so-called closed user domains which can be accessed only with a password. However, the main reason that such communication does not cover the entire scene is the fact that

**Dissemination of content
forbidden by law**

not all of the right-wing extremists are connected to the Internet.

Homepages of the skinhead scene, in particular, offer legally banned insignia and emblems and hate-mongering texts and, above all, unlawful music recordings in MP3 format ⁹⁹⁾. This software enables the Internet user to download such music to his computer, to copy it on his own CDs and to disseminate it. The intention is to bring right-extremist, and often hate-mongering, ideas to younger people interested in technology and fond of music.

Use of U.S. Web hosts

On account of the growing use of Internet service providers in the U.S. for the installation of homepages, and on account of cover-up of the operators' identity, for instance by employing anonymous remailers, many of these users felt safe from criminal prosecution and increasingly gave up their restraint as regards entry of unlawful content on the Internet.

Thus the homepage of the former right-extremist mailbox network "*Thule-Netz*" (cf. sub-section 3.3 below), provides its own list of "unlawful content" from which hate-mongering texts can be retrieved. In addition the *Thule* homepage has since May included an appeal to attend "Colour balls for nationalists. Paramilitary training offered quite legally", pointing out that 'colour ball' clubs, by providing contacts with foreigners, offered the opportunity for "keeping the enemy in view" and for training "with the living object".

**"Black Lists" and calls for
the murder of political
opponents**

For some time now, anonymous Internet sites present an increasing number of "black lists" or "hate sites" on which the names of political opponents and of other "disagreeable persons" are given and their addresses and telephone numbers published. In this context, the operators encourage use of violence often explicitly or at least implicitly.

**Successful BfV action to
identify anonymous
homepage operators**

In mid-1999, the Internet for the first time disseminated two specific appeals to murder a member of the left-wing spectrum, for a head money of 10,000 DM each. Responsibility for this lay with the operator of an anonymous homepage entitled "*Davids Kampftruppe*" ("David's Combat Force"); within a short time, the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (BfV - Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution) succeeded in identifying the operator.

3.2 Non-Partisan Right-Extremist "Info Telephones"

Increase in non-partisan right-extremist information telephones

Despite the enormously fast expansion of the Internet, the right-extremist info telephones have not lost any of their importance. This inexpensive medium continues to be very popular among right-wing extremists. With the *"Nationale Info-Telefon"* (NIT) *"Mannheim"*, *"Karlsruhe"*, *"Schwaben"* [Swabia] and *"Hessen"* and with the *"Freies Info-Telephon"* (FIT) *"Norddeutschland - Regionalanschluss Hamburg"* ["Northern Germany - Hamburg Regional Line"], a total of five new non-partisan info telephones were provided in 1999, bringing the number of those in active operation to 16 (1998: 12).

Operators increasingly post their offers on the Internet

The Info Telephones differ in respect of topicality and content. While individual operators only sporadically up-date their announcements and limit themselves to providing information on events, other providers disseminate detailed information and commentaries. *"NIT Hamburg"* is also represented on the Internet where, since mid-1999, it has installed the *"NIT-Forum"* which is used for extensive discussion. An increasing number of operators, for instance *"FIT Norddeutschland"*, follow this example.

3.3 Mailboxes

Dissolution of *"Thule-Netz"* and of *"Nordland-Netz"*

The two right-extremist mailbox networks, *"Nordland-Netz"* ["Northland Network"] and *"Thule-Netz"* ["Thule Network"], discontinued operations. The operating agency of the leading mailbox of *"Nordland-Netz"* declared that it considered the underlying concept to have failed; it had not been possible to accomplish the original aim, i.e. the built-up of structures for achieving specific political results.

4. ***Annex: Right-Extremist Attempts to exert an Influence within the "Dark Wave" Music Scene***

By referring to shared interests in terms of form or content, right-wing extremists try to win supporters and influence also in democratic or apolitical areas so as to overcome their marginal position in society. This includes the scene around the "Dark Wave" music, which is not oriented to mainstream rock and pop music and is characterized by gloomy and plaintive keynotes and lyrics.

Around this form of rock music which emerged in the 1980s, a youth subculture developed which is characterized by the follow-

ing features, *inter alia*: intensive preoccupation with the end of all existence, mystically transfigured acceptance of death, a preference for the colour black, imitation of medieval clothes, interest in occult phenomena and in pagan religious ideas. Overall, this is an apolitical youth subculture on which the right-wing extremists nevertheless want to exert an influence by referring to their shared adoption of neo-pagan views - which, by themselves, are not right-extremist.

The right-extremist actor most conspicuous in this regard was the publishing and distributing firm "*Verlag und Agentur Werner Symanek*" (VAWS) which has produced or distributed numerous right-extremist, especially revisionist, books since the mid-Eighties.

During the past few years, the VAWS shifted its focus to publications combining occultist and ethnical views (e.g. reprints of works by the occultist Guido von List who had an ideological influence on nationalism), to videos based on conspiracy theories, i.e. on the assumption that secret societies engage in conspiratorial activities (e.g. the video-cassette "*Geheimgesellschaften. Exklusiv-Interview mit Jan van Helsing*" ("Secret Societies. Exclusive Interview with Jan van Helsing")), and to publications paying tribute to the official culture of National-Socialism (e.g. volumes dealing with the work of popular sculptors such as Arno Breker and Josef Thorak from the era of the Third *Reich*). However, this trend was not matched by any fundamental political change - given that the director of this publishing house, Werner SYMANEK, in 1998 published the revisionist book '*Deutschland muß vernichtet werden. Der Nitzer Plan*' ['Germany must be destroyed' - The Nitzer Plan] in the right-extremist publishing house "*Tim Schattowitz-Witz-Verlag*", and in 1999, in his own publishing house, a reprint of the dramatic play "*Dunkle Wege*" ["Dark Paths"] by the writer Dietrich Eckart who is regarded as the political teacher of Hitler as a young man.

A remarkable development is the VAWS offer of sound recordings including music which is clearly in line with "Dark Wave" music. These include CDs from VAWS's own production, for instance samplers with titles such as "Riefenstahl" and "Thorak". These are dedicated to the memory of Leni Riefenstahl, the director of several Nazi propaganda films, and of Josef Thorak, a sculptor in the era of the Third *Reich*. The fact that this form of tribute paid to these persons by the VAWS cannot be seen as an apolitical homage to the esthetics of their works, is borne out by the nature of the aforementioned political and right-extremist programme of this publishing and distributing firm.

Production of the CD entitled *"Lüge wird Wahrheit, Frieden ist Krieg"* ["Lies become truth, peace is war"] by the group *"Unternehmen Dreizack"* ["Enterprise Trident"] must also be seen against this background. The VAWS information service *"Propaganda"* (no. 3/Feb. 1999) announced this CD as something "subversive", and it contains lyrics intended to support a minority's struggle against what is labelled as a surveillance state. Of similar design is the CD entitled *"Feindflug"* ["Combat Mission"] by the group of the same name; on this CD, extracts from martial Hitler speeches are, without an explanatory word, set to tunes of "Dark Wave" music.

In addition to these sound recordings, **Symanek** also distributes CD productions of his former VAWS colleague Josef **KLUMB** who, under the pseudonym "Jay Kay", published several CDs together with his band "Forthcoming Fire". These included the CD *"Illumination?"* of 1997; its lyrics are permeated by the message of a conspiracy of the "illuminists" to obtain world domination. This and references to the symbolism of the "pyramid" as a manifestation of the conspiracy build on traditional notions of a "Jewish-masonic global conspiracy" - this conspiracy has been propagandized in modern form, for instance, by Jan **VAN HELSING** in the two volumes on *"Geheimgesellschaften"* ["Secret Societies"] which were confiscated on account of their hate-mongering content and in which he also included other conspiracy elements. While the lyrics of the songs do not explicitly say who these "illuminists" are, **VAN HELSING**'s books provide the information that these were, in particular, many Jewish bankers. From the booklets of other CDs by "Forthcoming Fire" it can be seen that **KLUMB** was guided by the writer's views.

In 1998, **KLUMB** hoped to achieve greater publicity as a singer with a new band calling themselves *"Weissglut"* [this German word has the meanings of "white gold" and of "white heat" and, figuratively, implies "making somebody livid", "angering somebody to the point of rage"] who are under contract with a renowned publishing house. However, following critical media reports about **KLUMB**'s right-extremist connections, the band found it necessary to split with him.

Despite the attempts by right-extremist circles to exert an influence on the youth subculture of "Dark Wave" and "Gothic", this scene has continued to be primarily apolitical. Only a very small minority of this scene were receptive to right-extremist ideas.

X. Overview of Major Publishing Houses and Publications

Organization - including place of business -	Publications (including frequency and circulation - partially estimated)
"Arndt-Verlag" - Martensrade/Plön <i>Kreis</i> -	
"Castel del Monte-Verlag" - Munich -	" <i>Staatsbriefe</i> " - monthly - - 1,000 -
"Europa vorn Verlag"/ "Verlag Manfred Rouhs" - Cologne -	" <i>Signal</i> " (formerly: " <i>Europa vorn</i> ") - quarterly - - 5,000 -
"Grabert-Verlag" - Tübingen -	" <i>Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> " - quarterly - - 3,000 - " <i>Euro-Kurier</i> " - bi-monthly - - not known -
"Nation Europa Verlag GmbH" - Coburg -	" <i>Nation & Europa - Deutsche Monatshefte</i> " - monthly - - 15,000 -
"Verlag der Freunde" (VdF) - Berlin -	" <i>Sleipnir</i> " - bi-monthly - - 1,800 -
"VGB Verlagsgesellschaft Berg mbH" - Berg am Starnberger See -	" <i>Deutsche Geschichte</i> " - bi-monthly - - 10,000 - " <i>Opposition</i> " - quarterly - - not known -

"Verlag" = "Publisher, Publishing House [Translator's Note]"

Left-Extremist Endeavours

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Left-Extremist Endeavours

I. Overview

Left-Extremist Developments

Left-wing extremists are strict opponents of the legal and social order of the Federal Republic of Germany - which they defame as capitalist, imperialist and racist; consequently, they continue to strive for the "revolutionary", i.e. radical, upheaval of this order. In this regard, all left-wing extremists basically advocate "revolutionary violence". Depending on their respective ideological orientation, i.e. revolutionary-Marxist or anarchistic, their activities are aimed at establishing a socialist/communist system or a society "free from rulers" ("anarchy").

Militant Left-Wing Extremism

In 1999 the overall number of acts of violence of left-extremist motivation decreased; yet the continuing violence potential of left-wing extremists is clearly reflected in arson attacks clandestinely prepared and carried out, in dangerous interventions with rail transport, and in a relatively high percentage of bodily injury offences. Year after year, they cause property damage amounting to millions of *deutschmark*. In contrast to the total number of offences which decreased in the period under review, the number of acts of violence against right-wing extremists, or supposed right-wing extremists, continued to rise.

Also in 1999, the major part of militant actions, including the development of terrorist elements, originated with the anarchistically oriented autonomous scene. Overall, this scene presents a heterogeneous picture. What unites it, however, are the rejection of prevailing standards, especially of the State's monopoly of power, and the readiness to use force for the attainment of the respective political aims.

Revolutionary-Marxist organizations

The activities of traditionally revolutionary-Marxist organizations, such as the *Deutsche Kommunistische Partei* (DKP - "German Communist Party"), the *Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands* (MLPD - "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany") and the Trotskyite groups, were impaired by increasing numbers of old people among their members. They nevertheless stuck to their classical concepts - class struggle and revolutionary break with existing conditions. Their hopes to be able to exploit the participation of the *Bundeswehr* (Bw - Federal Armed Forces) in NATO's operations against Yugoslavia for a new, massive "peace movement" were dashed.

The *Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus* (PDS - "Party of Democratic Socialism"), due to its success in the European elections - it succeeded for the first time in jumping the 5 per cent qualifying hurdle (proportional representation barrier) - and also in the *Landtag* elections, has been able to reinforce its position within the party structures of the Federal Republic. However, notwithstanding its solidified outward image, its attitude towards essential elements of the free democratic fundamental order is still ambiguous in parts. The Party continues to adhere to the aim of overcoming the existing order. It makes it possible for openly extremist structures to engage in political activities and, as before, maintains contacts with German and foreign left-extremists.

Action themes

In the traditional action areas of left-wing extremists - "anti-imperialism", "antimilitarism" and "anti-fascism" - current events in 1999 provided for prominent initiatives and action priorities.

Particular occasions for the mobilization of left-extremist as well as other opponents of the "prevailing world economic order" and of "neoliberalism" were the EU summit and the G-8 Summit in Cologne in June. It was insinuated, with varying ideological stress and aggressiveness, that the participating politicians and the industrialized nations were instruments in the service of unbridled capitalism which exacerbated social injustices, exploited the countries of the Third World and destroyed the environment.

Left-wing extremists also claimed that Germany allegedly strove for a Great Power role. This was, as they see it, evidenced in the participation of the Federal Armed Forces in NATO operations against Yugoslavia. Protests were expressed, *inter alia*, by means of agitation and actions against military events, escalating in attacks on *Bundeswehr* facilities and party offices, and in bodily assaults.

An action theme of undiminished interest - for *all* spectrums of left-wing extremism - again was "anti-fascism" (actions against right-wing extremists and supposed right-wing extremists, and against their structures). Also, "resistance" against the use of nuclear energy and research in the field of genetic engineering continued. In addition, left-wing extremists continued their agitation against the world exhibition EXPO 2000 in Hanover; this was accompanied by militant actions against institutions and companies participating in, and/or supporting, the exhibition.

II. Overview in Statistics

1. Organizations and Members/Supporters

In 1999, the structure and manifestations of organized left-wing extremism did not change as compared to the previous year. Membership gains have not entirely set off the losses of individual groups; the overall number of members/supporters has slightly fallen.

At the end of 1999, after deduction of multiple membership cases, 34,200 persons (1998: 34,700) were reckoned among the membership of organizations and other associations which have been found to pursue left-extremist endeavours. This also includes supporters of the *Kommunistische Plattform* (KPF - "Communist Platform") of the "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) who are estimated to number up to 2,000. The PDS which - apart from a number of openly left-extremist structures - also as a political party, reveals endeavours against the free democratic fundamental order, as defined by Sections 3 and 4 of the Federal Act on the Protection of the Constitution (BVerfSchG), has - according to its own figures - some 94,000 members (1998: 96,500).

At the end of 1999, as in the previous year, the spectrum of left-wing extremists willing to use force - mainly in groups of anarchistic orientation - comprised more than 7,000 persons, of whom 6,000 usually identify themselves as autonomists.

In the case of Marxist-Leninist, Trotskyite and other revolutionary-Marxist associations, developments took a different course: some groups attracted new supporters while others had to face losses. Altogether, these organizations had about 27,700 members. In some sectors, they are supported by organizations under left-extremist influence ¹⁰⁰⁾, which numbered some 18,000 members at the end of that year.

Left-Extremist Potential *)									
	1997			1998			1999		
	Groups	Persons		Groups	Persons		Groups	Persons	
Violence-inclined left-wing extremists **)	69	7,000		66	7,000		65	7,000***)	
Marxists-Leninists and other revolutionary Marxists ****)									
– Core and subsidiary organizations	43	27,800		43	28,400		44	27,700	
– influenced organizations	37		19,000	34		18,000	34		18,000
Total	149	34,800	19,000	143	35,400	18,000	143	34,700	18,000
After deduction of multiple membership cases		approx. 34,100	approx. 14,500		approx. 34,700	approx. 13,500		approx. 34,200	approx. 13,500
"Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) *****)		approx. 105,000			approx. 96,500			approx. 94,000	

*) Some of these figures are estimated and rounded off.

**) The statistics do not only include identified perpetrators or suspects, but also those left-wing extremists in whose case there are only indications suggesting their willingness to use violence. Included are only groups which have firmly established structures and have been active for some time.

***) The mobilization potential of the "scene" includes an additional number of several thousands.

****) Including the "Communist Platform of the PDS" (KPF). To these are added the members of other left-extremist groups within the PDS.

*****) On account of its ambivalent appearance (cf. the Overview above), the PDS is listed separately in the above table. Also, it may be assumed that not all of its members pursue or support left-extremist aims. Members of the KPF - who do not have to hold PDS membership at the same time - are included in the figures on Marxists-Leninists.

2. Criminal Offences / Acts of Violence

In 1999, left-wing extremists again committed criminal offences in order to attain their political aims; such offences included arson and property damage to the amount of millions of *deutschmark*. The number of criminal offences in which left-wing extremists were identified - or, in view of the circumstances of the given offences, were suspected - as the perpetrators or as accomplices, decreased in 1999 by about 4.5 % to 3,055 (1998: 3,201). These included 711 acts of violence (1998: 783); this represents a decrease by 9 %.

On the other hand, the number of militant actions against right-wing extremists, or supposed right-wing extremists, showed another increase by nearly 15 % - to 299 - as compared to the previous year (261).

The following overview only conveys an incomplete picture of the actual extent of left-extremist violence; on account of the often incomparable forms and targets of violence - street militancy on the part of left-wing extremists, while right-extremist attacks are often targeted against individuals - a comparison with criminal offences in the right-extremist area can be made to a limited extent only. Also, the penal provisions applying to left-wing extremism are not as far-reaching as those regarding right-extremist propaganda offences.

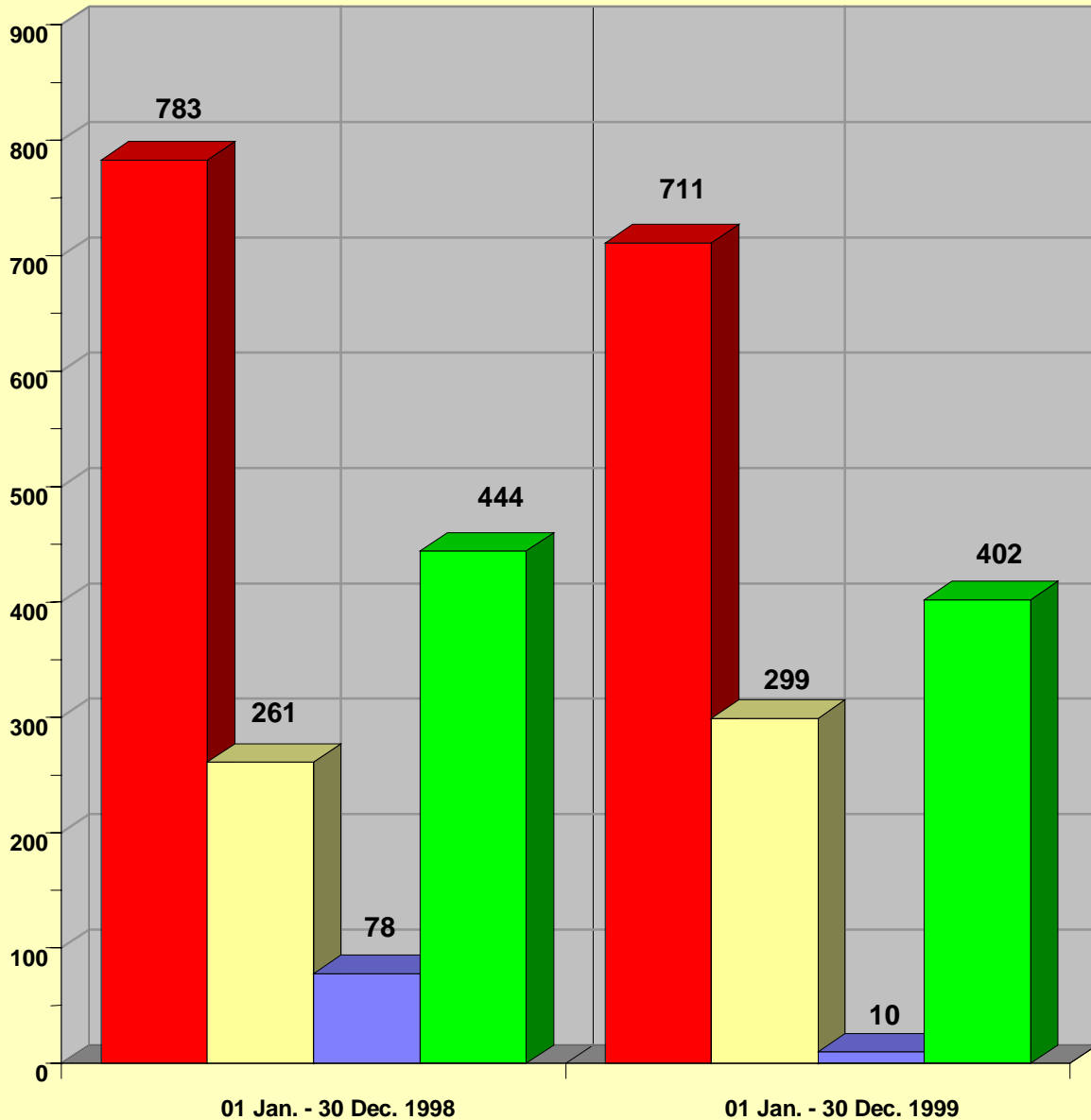
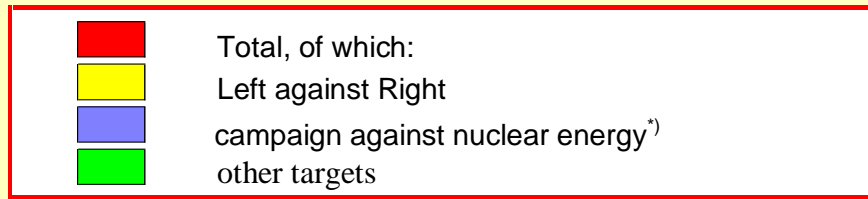
**Overview of Acts of Violence and Other Criminal Offences
with Proven or Suspected Left-Extremist Background ^{*)}**

	1998	1999
Acts of violence:		
Homicide	0	0
Attempted homicide	4	0
Bodily injury	227	215
Arson	47	68
Causing a detonation by explosives	1	0
Breach of public peace	289	269
Dangerous interventions with railroad, air, ship and road traffic	58	19
Resistance to law enforcement per- sonnel	157	140
Total	783	711
Other criminal offences:		
Criminal damage to property	1,166	1,246
Coercion/threat	111	73
Other offences	1,141	1,025
Total	2,418	2,344
Total number of offences	3,201	3,055

^{*)} The figures are based on data provided by the Federal Office of Criminal Police (Bundeskriminalamt - BKA)
(as of 31 January 2000).

This overview includes both committed and attempted offences. Every offence was counted only once. For instance, if during a breach of the public peace bodily injury offences were committed at the same time, only the breach of the public peace is shown as an offence in the statistics. If several criminal offences were committed, only the more serious offence was counted.

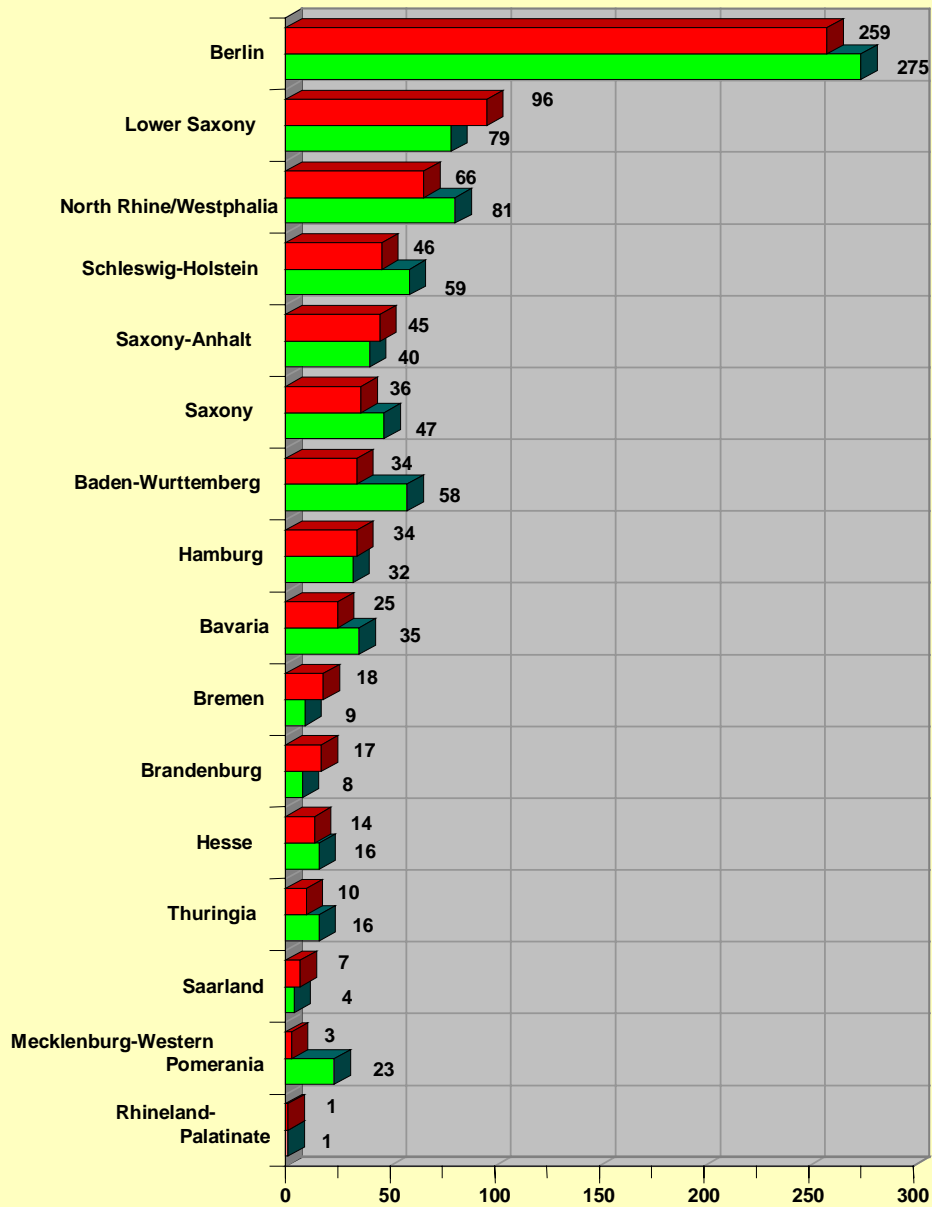
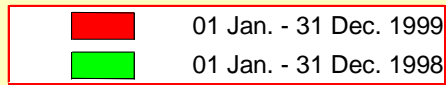
Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected Left-Extremist Background *Targets*



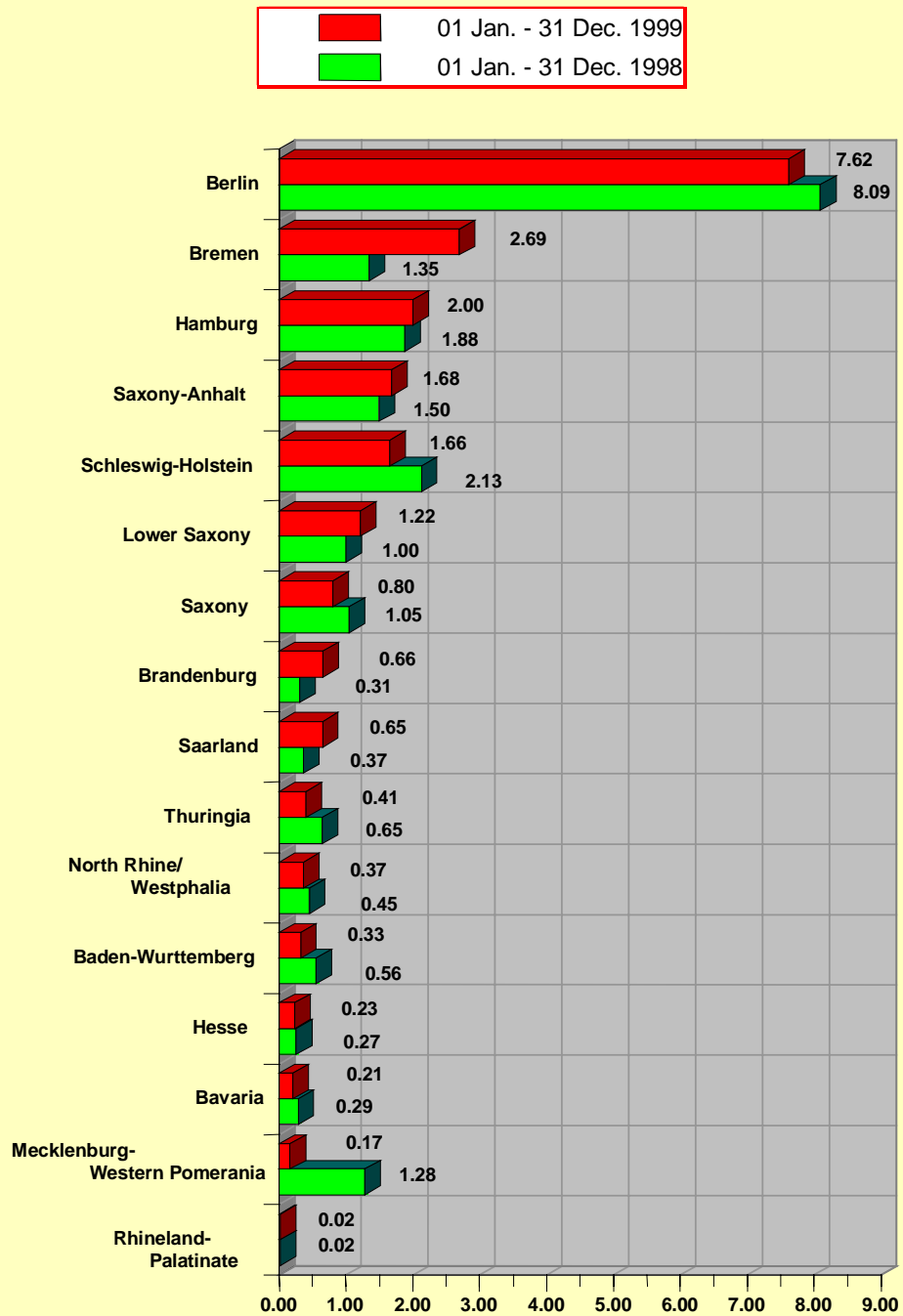
^{*)} includes figures concerning the Anti-CASTOR Campaign ("Cask for Storage and Transport of Radioactive Material")

Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected Left-Extremist Background

in the federal Länder



**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected
Left-Extremist Background**
per 100,000 inhabitants - by Land



**Overview of Acts of Violence committed by Left-Wing Extremists against
Right-Wing Extremist or Supposed Right-Wing Extremists ^{*)}**

	1998	1999
Homicide	0	0
Attempted homicide	3	0
Bodily injury	141	141
Arson	15	20
Causing a detonation by explosives	0	0
Breach of public peace	85	108
Dangerous interventions with rail-road, air, ship and road traffic	5	3
Resistance to law enforcement personnel	12	27
total	261	299

^{*)} The figures are based on data provided by the Federal Office of Criminal Police (Bundeskriminalamt - BKA) (as of 31 January 2000).

III. Violent Left-Wing Extremism

Since the dissolution of the *"Rote Armee Fraktion"* (RAF - "Red Army Faction") in the spring of 1998, no new left-extremist/terrorist structures capable of action ¹⁰¹⁾ have developed in Germany, which would have been able to plan and carry out serious attacks, including murder. Therefore, the internal security of the Federal Republic of Germany is threatened exclusively by violence-inclined left-wing extremists, especially from the anarchistically oriented autonomous scene. Within that scene, small groups have formed in the meantime, which - for reasons of protection against "repression" - no longer operate under a uniform "trade-mark name" and, instead, carry out attacks under constantly changing designations ("no-name" militancy, "no-name" terrorism; cf. sub-section 1.4 below).

Structure:	groups exist in almost all major cities, especially in the conurbations of Berlin, Hamburg and the Rhine-Main area, but also in smaller university cities like Göttingen
Supporters:	more than 7,000 (as in 1998)
Publications:	more than 50 scene publications; of particular importance are papers like "INTERIM" (Berlin) and "RAZZ" (Hanover), but also increasingly "youth journals" such as <i>"Antifa Jugendinfo Bonn/Rhein-Sieg"</i>

1. **Autonomists**

1.1 **Potential / Self-Perception / Action Forms / Media**

Autonomists: the largest potential of left-wing extremists prepared to use violence

For years, the number of persons considered to belong to the militant autonomist scene (nationwide more than 6,000) has remained at more or less the same level; losses resulting from "withdrawal to private life" are set off. Consequently, autonomists continue to form the by far largest share of the overall potential in the field of violence-inclined left-wing extremism, and are responsible for the majority of acts of violence with left-extremist motives (including bodily injury and covertly prepared arson attacks).

The autonomist movement is not homogeneous. Autonomists do not have a uniform ideological or strategic concept. They base their efforts on diffuse fragments of anarchistic and communist ideology and propagandize the resistance against public authorities, and disrespect of regulatory systems. An "anti-fascist", "anti-capitalist" and "anti-patriarchal" attitude is taken as the consensual basis. They find their "free private spaces", for instance, in flat-sharing communes of like-minded people, often in squats or "legalized" houses. In this regard, a flier of October 1999, entitled "The Leftist Resistance Needs Autonomous Rooms!" and dealing with an "autonomous housing and cultural project" on Köpenick Street in Berlin (referred to as "*the Köpi*" in scene jargon), commented as follows:

"By now it has become one of the last radical-left cultural and communication centres in Berlin. This means that it offers a free private space, unique in terms of size, for political events, 'solidarity parties' and leftist counter-culture. And we are in dire need of such free spaces!"

Agreement on the willingness to use violence

Despite all differences: autonomists are agreed on the willingness to use violence in enforcing their political aims. This is justified as the allegedly required counter-violence against the "structural violence" of a "system of coercion, exploitation and oppression".

Typical of the rejection, shared by all autonomists, of prevailing standards and, in particular, of the State's monopoly of power is the rationale given by an unknown author in the May issue of the publication "*Antifa Jugendinfos Bonn/Rhein-Sieg*".

"We do not adhere to rule-of-law norms because this rule-of-law state only has the function of preserving the existing ownership structure. We do not base our action on the 'free democratic fundamental order' because that order solely

refers to the freedom of the market. And we refuse to have our action confined to peaceful means because such peace solely means the peace enjoyed by those in power."

In issue no. 156 of the underground periodical "*radikal*" (June 1999), it was claimed that any debate on violence was pointless, if not superfluous:

"if we want to change this society radically, then it is essential to fight it, with all means available. ... these include fliers and sit-ins, as well as 'super glue' in key locks and burning carts. ... no means is good or bad per se. ... specifically targeted political actions against property and also against persons are entirely legitimate."

Types of action by militant autonomists

The forms of autonomist violence - against objects or persons (e.g. "*Faschos*" [Fascists], or police officers defamed as "bulls" [coppers]), either committed spontaneously or planned covertly on the long term - range from destructive acts directed at cars and buildings, attacks on "Nazis" and their infrastructure, militant anti-NPP actions, violent demonstrations involving the use of stones and other missiles, to arson and bomb attacks - the 'big jobs'.

For autonomists, an important criterion in selecting forms and targets of action basically is the extent to which the given action will mediate their intentions and meet with response and acceptance. Therefore, they often orient themselves quickly to changing issues of conflict and take up the concerns of social protest movements; they join current campaigns in order - as they claim - to bring the content of such campaigns to the centre of public awareness and to "accompany them with militant actions".

A special form of violence are street riots. On such occasions, autonomists often show up as so-called "black blocks", uniformly dressed in "combat gear" of martial appearance and wearing *balACLavas* (hatred hoods).

When planning major militant demonstrations with the participation of autonomists, account is increasingly taken also of an assessment of their relative strength as compared to that of the police forces. Especially during protest actions against right-extremist rallies, autonomous "anti-fascists" increasingly propagandize decentralized action concepts instead of "shuffle-along demonstrations" monitored by the police. Thus, autonomists admit that there is practically no legal possibility to prevent "Nazi marches"; during such events, it was hardly possible to get near the Nazis - because of the protection provided by the "coppers". The only way to act effectively was before or after marches:

"The aim should be to cause the Nazis the greatest material damage possible. ... An easily accessible target for this are private cars. ... Coaches are mostly hired; while they are

annoyed at having their coach damaged, it doesn't really harm them. The only success would be to achieve that at some future time coaches will no longer be hired to them. This also makes much more sense than trying to attack the Nazis directly."

("INTERIM", no. 467 of 14 January 1999)

Moreover, the unknown authors went on to say, anti-fascist actions need not be confined to the immediate surroundings of a march:

"There also is the option to become active at home, e.g. by visiting private homes or going for the cars left there by Nazis travelling by coach. This offers the advantage that stress created by copper presence is much more improbable than at the sites of such rallies."

A success, in the view of the scene, were the protests - controlled, in a way geared to the given situation, by means of "info centres" and mobile phones - against a demonstration organized by the "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - Young National-Democrats) in connection with the so-called "*Wehrmacht* Exhibition" ["The War of Extermination. The German Army's Crimes against War Prisoners, Jews and Other Civilians in the East 1941 - 1944"] in Kiel on 30 January. Autonomists threw stones, cans and bottles at JN supporters. With burning garbage containers and overturned cars, they tried to block the JN's path. They damaged several police patrol cars, a camera van of the TV station *Norddeutscher Rundfunk* (ndr), buses of the Kiel municipal transport company, a supermarket and two bank branch offices. Five police officers were injured.

Clandestine Actions

Clandestine militant action - i.e. attacks covertly prepared and carried out - is designed and planned much more methodically than mass militancy; such attacks - mostly directed against property - are often justified in letters claiming responsibility. An attack typical of this form of action occurred in Hamburg in the night from 14 to 15 February. Unidentified persons committed an arson attack on the official car of the Senator of the Interior, which was parked in front of the residential building. The car was completely destroyed; adjacent houses were slightly damaged. In a letter claiming responsibility, the perpetrators justified their attack with the approach taken by the Senate [city-state parliament of Hamburg] with regard to the migrants issue and the problems regarding dealers in the city's social hot spots.

For the procurement and transmission of information, the autonomous scene has always made use of its own media: in addition to the "time-tested" and, as before, major methods of exchanging information through scene publications ¹⁰²⁾, inter-

connected mailbox systems and "info shops", autonomists nowa-

days also make 'matter-of-course' use of the Internet ¹⁰³⁾ and mobile phones.

Modern information and cryptographic technologies are favourable to the largely clandestine activity of left-wing extremists, heighten their manoeuvrability and make intelligence operations difficult for security authorities.

1.2 "Traditional" Autonomists

Rejection of hierarchies and organization

The majority of militant autonomists can be assigned to the "traditional" category (as opposed to "organized", cf. sub-section 1.3 below). In line with their self-perception, "traditional" autonomists, as a matter of principle, display a hostile attitude towards hierarchies and organization; they reject authoritative decision-making bodies and powers to give instructions.

Unlike most of the other left-extremist groups, "traditional" autonomists do not engage in specific recruitment of new members. Newcomers to the scene must on their own try to make contacts and seek acceptance, subject themselves to "security clearance checks" or name scene members as "references".

However, the rejection of organization and hierarchies by this spectrum does not preclude planned and, in terms of substance, co-ordinated violent action - which is deliberately "incalculable and uncontrollable". Thus, for instance, a street party held in Berlin on 11 September under the [English] motto "If you want to change the city, you have to reclaim the streets!" entailed such outbreaks of violence as the following:

Some 100 demonstrators, including members of the autonomous scene, descended on a department store and kicked up a racket; they knocked shelves down, stole clothes and cosmetics, hurled bottles and stones and damaged the building. The police provisionally arrested a total of 29 individuals; four officers were injured. At varying sites, clashes between autonomists - using small-group tactics - and the police continued until the evening hours.

1.3 "Organized" Autonomists

In the early 90's, there was increasing criticism of the non-committal nature of autonomous structures and of the ephemeral approach taken by autonomous "politics". Subsequently various approaches were developed for testing so-called organizational

models within the autonomous camp.

AA/BO continues to be the most powerful organizational set-up

While other attempts very soon ended in failure, the organization which, until this day, has been the most influential one with the greatest capacity to act is the *"Antifaschistische Aktion/ Bundesweite Organisation"* (AA/BO - "Anti-Fascist Action/ Nationwide Organization") founded in Wuppertal in the summer of 1992. At the end of 1999, its members were eleven groups from nine towns/regions, *inter alia* the *"Antifaschistische Aktion Berlin"* (AAB - "Anti-Fascist Action Berlin"), *"Autonome Antifa (M)"* from Göttingen, the *"Antifaschistische Gruppe Hamburg"* (AGH - "Anti-Fascist Group Hamburg") and the *"Antifa Bonn/Rhein-Sieg"*. Three other groups had observer status.

"Antifa-Offensive '99"

Also in 1999, the AA/BO carried out intensive programme, educational and media activities; regular meetings of delegates were held to co-ordinate and further develop common political concepts. AA/BO groups, partly in a leadership role, participated in numerous demonstrations which in instances also were violent. Thus, in early 1999, the AA/BO had launched the campaign *"Antifa Offensive '99 - Stop the advance of right-wingers!"* with the aim of promoting "anti-fascist organizational build-up" and of planning and implementing regional and supra-regional actions against neo-fascism which allegedly was assuming threatening forms. The campaign was obviously also designed to counter the reproach that the scene did not show any initiative and merely responded to activities by *"Faschos"*, and to reverse this trend.

AA/BO policies continued to be characterized by "youth work" that reached into schools. To this end, it employed *"Jung-Antifa"* ("young anti-fascists") groups instructed by it and publications under its influence ¹⁰⁴⁾.

An emerging organization - existing side by side with the AA/BO, but with a less rigid orientation, the *"Bundesweite Antifa-Treffen"* (B.A.T. - "Nationwide Antifa Meetings") which was created in 1993 - strove, as in previous years, for continuity and greater acceptance, but had a problem with its lacking capability to mobilize supporters.

1.4 Autonomist Structures with Emerging Terrorist Elements

Fluid boundaries with terrorist action

Within the autonomous camp, terrorist components have been active for years, which cross the line to terrorist violent action. These small groups operate clandestinely, i.e. covertly, and pattern their operations on the terrorist *"Revolutionäre Zellen"* (RZ - "Revolutionary Cells"), i.e. from a basis of "legality" [instead of

going underground]; the traces left by them after attacks seldom lend themselves to evaluation and analysis, and in order to protect themselves against penal prosecution, they give themselves permanently changing names in their letters claiming responsibility for actions.

To them, militancy is the direct expression of their opposition to the "System". Thus, in a letter claiming responsibility for an attack of 24 March on an overhead-system pole of *Deutsche Bahn* AG [German Railways] near Dietersdorf (Brandenburg), "Autonomous Groups" stated that it was necessary

"to develop and expand counter-power to the ruling structures. ... The path to a liberated society is long and strewn with many stumbling blocks - success will only be attained if, apart from revolutionizing society, the individual takes pleasure in changing his own person and in experiencing such change. In pursuing this course, infraction of the rules et by the opposing side is inevitable."
("INTERIM", no. 473 of 8 April 1999)

Attacks by terrorist autonomous groups (arson and bomb attacks, attacks on communications and data networks and high-voltage pylons, grapnel attacks on railroad lines of *Deutsche Bahn* AG) caused material damage and economic consequential loss totalling millions of DM over the past few years. Severe damage to property is what the perpetrators regularly intend to cause. In this way, the price of certain processes or projects is to be raised to such an extent that they will be delayed or, for economic and/or political reasons, will no longer be feasible.

**Judicial inquiry instituted
against a terrorist
autonomous set-up**

As part of judicial inquiries into so-called grapnel attacks and on the basis of a decision by the investigating judge of the Federal Court of Justice (BGH), several premises in Berlin, Lower Saxony, Hamburg and Bremen were searched on 6 July. These law enforcement measures were based on investigations concerning several individuals suspected of having formed a terrorist association and having committed dangerous actions against railroad traffic and other offences. The accused persons are suspected of having taken part - at least in the years 1996 and 1997 in connection with CASTOR [Cask for Storage and Transport of Radioactive Material] transports - in sabotage against the railway network of *Deutsche Bahn* AG and of being affiliated with terrorist structures.

2. Other Militant Left-Wing Extremists

In addition to the militant autonomists, there is a second complex of violence-inclined left-wing extremists which comprises groups

and individuals - mainly activists coming from structures once near to the "*Rote Armee Fraktion*" (RAF - "Red Army Faction"), who see commitment to the cause of "political prisoners" and support for the militant "liberation struggle" of the PKK as their priorities for action.

Action priorities:

The set-up that for years has been the most active in this area is the initiative "*¡Libertad!*" which draws, *inter alia*, on the support of members of the Frankfurt group "*Kein Friede*" ("No Peace"). As "*¡Libertad!*" sees it, the "prisoner issue" is the starting point for building an international network of revolutionary forces. To this end, "*¡Libertad!*" co-initiated an international working conference on "Pacification or liberation? Perspectives of international solidarity" held in Berlin from 1 to 5 April. On this subject, a member of the Conference organization committee wrote the following:

"Prisoner issue"

"An international movement, yet to be developed, for the liberty of political prisoners, against torture, disappearances, and repression by the state will not exist in isolation from social resistance processes. ... Specific action must be taken to organize it; the capability for political action at the international level must be developed."
("Angehörigen Info", no. 219 of 16 April 1999)

In the summer of 1999, the newspaper "*So oder So*" which originally was intended merely to provide a forum for the preparation and follow-up of the Conference, was transformed by "*¡Libertad!*" into its own mouthpiece. The fourth issue of this irregular publication appeared in June - for the first time with the sub-heading "Newspaper of the '*¡Libertad!*' Campaign for International Co-operation and Solidarity for the Liberty of Political Prisoners Worldwide".

"Kurdistan Solidarity"

Another action priority in the anti-imperialist spectrum is support for the so-called liberation struggle of the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK). After the arrest of the PKK general chairman, Abdullah ÖCALAN, in mid-February and the death sentence passed against him at the end of June by a Turkish State Security Court, the efforts of German Kurdistan activists have been focussed on his release. Thus, in late March, an *Action Committee 'Liberty for Abdullah Öcalan'* was founded in Hamburg; as stated in a flier, the aim of these activists is

"to support the Kurdish struggle for liberation by publicizing German participation (shared responsibility, complicity) in the war in Kurdistan, the banning of the PKK, repression and deportations, and by demanding the release of Abdullah Öcalan."

In local "Kurdistan Solidarity Groups" under the umbrella of "*In-*

formationsstelle Kurdistan" (ISKU - "Information Office Kurdistan") - which in late January was moved from Cologne to Berlin - militant left-wing extremists looked after presumed PKK supporters detained in Germany, organized so-called human rights delegations to Turkey, and agitated against the Federal Government on account of its alleged support for Turkey in the fight against the PKK. To some of them - including individuals who, at a high personal risk, stayed in the Kurdish settlement area for training or for operations with the PKK guerrilla force - the PKK keeps its model role for their own revolutionary fight. Thus, also the *Action Committee 'Liberty for Abdullah Öcalan'* confirmed in a flier distributed in June:

"The struggle pursued by the PKK in Kurdistan, in Turkey and in Europe against the Turkish State and NATO imperialism is our struggle as well. ... thus, also in the FRG, our place is at the side of the Kurdish liberation movement. ... However, the main task facing us is ... to build up an anti-imperialist movement against all wars of oppression which are being waged or might be waged in future."

However, this spectrum failed to win members/supporters for the desired build-up of new revolutionary structures.

Law enforcement measures against presumed RAF members in Vienna

As expected, it was this spectrum that reacted most to the law enforcement measures in Vienna against two persons who since the 1980s had been wanted, under a warrant of arrest, for presumed RAF membership. On 15 September, Andrea **KLUMP** and Horst Ludwig **MEYER** were, after a short pursuit, apprehended by the police in Vienna. Local residents had previously alerted the police to the presence of a couple whom they had observed for some time and who had appeared conspicuous to them. In the course of a shoot-out, following the police's attempt to establish identities, Horst Ludwig **MEYER** was fatally injured while his companion Andrea **KLUMP** was arrested without suffering any injuries ¹⁰⁵⁾.

Long prison terms for AIZ Members

On 1 September, the State Protection Senate of the Düsseldorf Higher Regional Court of Appeal (OLG) sentenced the members of the "*Antiimperialistische Zelle*" (AIZ - "Anti-Imperialistic Cell"), Bernhard **FALK** and Michael **STEINAU**, to prison terms of 13 and nine years, respectively, on four charges of attempted murder, causing a detonation by explosives and conspiracy to commit an offence. Following extensive preliminary investigations by the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution, **FALK** and **STEINAU** had been arrested in Witzhave (Schleswig-Holstein) on 25 February 1996 ¹⁰⁶⁾.

Arrest of a presumed RZ member in Frankfurt/ Main

On 13 October, a presumed former RZ member was arrested in Frankfurt/Main. He is charged with having taken part in the preparation of the attack committed in Vienna in December 1975

on the Conference of Ministers of the OPEC members states. In that incident, three security officers had been killed; the six-man terrorist command had been able to fly to Algeria, together with the OPEC Ministers as their hostages.

The arrest was based on testimony given by the ex-terrorist and "drop-out" Hans-Joachim KLEIN when being questioned by the Frankfurt public prosecutor's office. KLEIN, who in September 1998 had been arrested in a village of Normandy (France) and extradited to Germany in May 1999, is also on trial for the assault on the Vienna OPEC Conference.

In the meantime, charges have been brought against both individuals for murder and jointly committed murder, respectively.

IV. Political Parties and Other Groupings

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

1.1 "Deutsche Kommunistische Partei" (DKP - "German Communist Party")

Founded:	1968
Headquarters:	Essen (North Rhine/Westphalia)
Chairman:	Heinz STEHR
Members:	5,000 (1998: 6,500)
Publication:	"Unsere Zeit" (UZ - "Our Times"), circulation: 10,000; weekly

Also in 1999, the "Deutsche Kommunistische Partei" (DKP - "German Communist Party") abided by its political orientation. Its chairman Heinz STEHR declared that his Party intended to "found all its work on today's conditions of class struggle, on the basis of the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin and of the creative application of these theories ¹⁰⁷⁾.

According to an internal stock-taking, membership numbers are significantly lower than so far assumed by the Party. The main factors contributing to this development were the increasing numbers of old members as well as the controversies within the Berlin regional organization, which proved to be harmful to the DKP's reputation. Within that regional organization, DKP mem-

Decrease in DKP membership

bers from the "new *Länder*" ^{#)} had, already at the end of 1998, expressed their doubts regarding the ideological competence of the party leadership. This resulted in considerable tension and the resignation of the then vice-chairperson of the DKP, Bruni STEINIGER.

The DKP members are organized in some 250 party groups, of which only a few are company and university groups. The *Kreis* organizations, numbering more than 110, are combined in 14 regional organizations. Four of the "new *Länder*" only have a number of basic organizations which have "Co-ordination Councils" to co-ordinate their work.

11th UZ Press Party

The 11th Press Party of the DKP's central organ "*Unsere Zeit*" (UZ - "Our Times") was held in the *Revierpark Wischlingen* in Dortmund from 27 to 29 August. Several thousands, mainly members or friends of the DKP, attended the event which took place under the motto "Join the party - Join the discussion - For a future of solidarity and progress!". The number of 40,000 participants reported by the DKP leadership was highly exaggerated. In eight forums, party members and traditional allies discussed issues of revolutionary politics; about 30 "brother parties" and other friendly organizations attended the party with their own stands.

Activities regarding internationalism

As in previous years, a priority theme of DKP activities in the field of internationalism was the promotion of solidarity with Communist Cuba. Following the establishment of a health centre (1995) and a rehabilitation centre (1997), the third solidarity project was a family doctor's practice in Cuba (Matanzas Province), which had been established with financial and material assistance provided by the DKP and in April was handed over in the presence of the DKP vice-chairperson. Some 50 party members had joined construction brigades to help with that project.

The DKP also pursued its relations with "brother parties". DKP functionaries met for an exchange of views with representatives of the Communist Parties of Russia, Greece, Italy, Chile, Yugoslavia, Kurdistan, Vietnam, China, Korea, Austria and the Sandinista Liberation Front of Nicaragua ("*Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional*" - FSLN), and others ¹⁰⁸⁾. In February, the DKP met with representatives of foreign Communist Parties having members in the Federal Republic of Germany. The participants agreed to put joint consultations on a permanent basis and to hold them regularly ¹⁰⁹⁾. Together with 15 "Communist, workers' and left-wing parties" from NATO countries, the DKP launched an appeal to intensify the protests against "NATO's aggressive intervention" in Yugoslavia ¹¹⁰⁾. In a joint declaration

^{#)} the six East German *Länder* after FRG/GDR unification [Translator's Note]

SDAJ continues close relations with the DKP

of March 1999, the DKP and "Yugoslav Communists" demanded, *inter alia*, discontinuation of all combat operations ¹¹¹⁾.

The DKP was also represented at an international meeting of 53 Communist and workers' parties from 44 countries on the subject of the development of "imperialism", which was held in Athens in May at the initiative of the Greek Communist Party ¹¹²⁾.

In keeping with long-standing tradition, the DKP again sent delegations or messages of greetings to party conventions and press parties of several Communist Parties (*inter alia*, the CPs of Norway, Lebanon, Italy, France and Portugal).

Close co-operation continued to be maintained by the DKP with the "*Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterjugend*" (SDAJ - "Socialist German Workers' Youth"), the Party's former "cadre reserve". Thus, the DKP supported the project carried out by the SDAJ and Communist youth associations from Greece, Portugal and Cyprus for the construction of an outpatients' clinic at Matanzas University (Cuba). For this project, the SDAJ collected donations and dispatched a number of construction brigades ¹¹³⁾.

In a "friendly" talk held in Düsseldorf in mid-May, to which the DKP had invited functionaries of the DKP Executive Committee and of the SDAJ National Executive Committee, the DKP promised to co-operate with the SDAJ on a partnership basis "wherever possibilities exist for such co-operation". SDAJ National Chairman Michael GÖTZE declared that his organization had stabilized; the average age of new members was 19 years. Nationwide, SDAJ membership may be assumed to have stayed at a level of about 300 ¹¹⁴⁾.

The four SDAJ Whitsuntide camps - which in 1999 were again organized on a decentralized basis - were attended by several hundreds of young people and guests ¹¹⁵⁾.

1.2 "Marx-Engels-Stiftung e.V." (MES - "Marx-Engels Foundation (reg'd)")

Founded:	1979
Headquarters:	Wuppertal (North Rhine/Westphalia)
Members:	about 35
Chairman:	Richard KUMPF

The "*Marx-Engels-Stiftung e.V.*" (MES - "Marx-Engels Foundation (reg'd)") continued to deal with the "research on the scholarly work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and its historical effectiveness". Its "Promotional Association" had a membership of 610

¹¹⁶⁾ - mostly scientific cadres of the "*Deutsche Kommunistische Partei*" (DKP - "German Communist Party") and the "*Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus*" (PDS - "Party of Democratic Socialism").

Together with the "*Marxistischer Arbeitskreis zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung bei der Historischen Kommission der PDS*" ("Marxist Working Panel for the History of the German Labour Movement, of the Historic Commission of the PDS") and the "*Geschichtskommission der DKP*" ("History Commission of the DKP"), MES organized two conferences in Berlin on the subjects of the "50th Anniversary of the Foundation of the FRG and of the GDR" (27/28 February) and "After the End of the Two-States Era - Where is Germany going?" (18/19 September).

Other discussion forums organized at the MES headquarters dealt with "Ecology and Marxism" (26 June, organized jointly with the group of editors of the DKP's theoretical organ "*Marxistische Blätter*") and with "The Twentieth Century - a Century of Wars. How will we arrive at peace?" (25/26 September). In addition, the MES was able to continue its "scholarly" co-operation with the university/college *Bergische Universität/Gesamthochschule Wuppertal*, where on 13/14 November it staged an event on the subject of "Late Capitalism without Ideology? Social Awareness in Our Days", in which more than 100 persons took part.

1.3 "*Bundesausschuss Friedensratschlag*" ("Federal Committee Peace Consultation")

Founded:	1996 (as " <i>Arbeitsausschuss Friedensratschlag</i> " - AFriRA ["Working Group Peace Consultation"])
Headquarters:	Kassel (Hesse)
Members:	50
Publications:	" <i>Friedenspolitische Korrespondenz</i> " (FRIKORR - "Peace Policy Correspondence"); " <i>Friedens-Memorandum</i> " ("Peace Memorandum"), yearly

The "*Bundesausschuss Friedensratschlag*" ["Federal Committee Peace Consultation"] (until the turn of the year 1998/99: "*Arbeitsausschuss Friedensratschlag*" - AFriRa ["Working Group Peace Consultation"]) is decisively influenced by left-wing extremists. The majority of its leading functionaries and initiators come from the

"German Communist Party" (DKP) and from the DKP's front organization "*Deutsche Friedensunion*" (DFU - "German Peace Union") which disbanded in the early 1990s. In its practical political work, it strives to continue the traditional orthodox-Communist "peace struggle" ¹¹⁷⁾. Its preferred alliance partners are organizations such as the "*Deutscher Friedensrat e.V.*" (DFR - "German Peace Council (reg'd)"), until 1990 called "*Friedensrat der DDR*" ("Peace Council of the GDR"), or the still active "World Peace Council" (WPC; formerly a "front organization" of the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union", nowadays largely controlled by the "French Communist Party"). In the spring of 1999, the "*Bundesausschuss Friedensratschlag*" published a "Peace Memorandum" which is intended to give a stock-taking of "peace policy" activities in 1998 and to provide a basis for the future work of the "peace movement" as an "extra-parliamentary lobby". This is an implicit reaffirmation of the Committee's claim to being a kind of umbrella organization of the "peace movement".

Opposition against NATO's military operations in Kosovo was seen by the Committee as a chance to promote an anti-Western protest movement and to expand its own influence within that movement.

For 5 June, it announced an extraordinary nationwide round of "Peace Policy Consultations" at Kassel University/*Gesamthochschule*. The purpose of that meeting was to co-ordinate the activities of the "peace movement" against NATO operations in Kosovo and to increase the "pressure ... on the Government" ¹¹⁸⁾. The 200 participants included many organizers of the earlier orthodox-Communist "peace struggle", members and functionaries of the DKP and the DFU and of the PDS and the DFR, as well as representatives of foreign Communist Parties and of ideologically like-minded "peace organizations". The meeting adopted "Twelve Points for Peace" which, for instance, call for resistance against the "aggressive new NATO strategy and militarization of the EU".

1.4 "*Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Nazi-regimes - Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten*" (VVN-BdA - "Union of Victims of Nazi Persecution - Alliance of Anti-Fascists")

Founded:	1947
Headquarters:	Frankfurt/Main (Hesse)
National Executive Secretariat:	Hanover (Lower Saxony)

Members:	6,200 (1998: 6,500)
Publication:	"antifa-rundschau", quarterly

The "*Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes - Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten*" (VVN-BdA - "Union of Victims of Nazi Persecution - Alliance of Anti-Fascists") remained the association with the largest membership within the spectrum of left-extremist "anti-fascism".

Within the bodies and groupings of this organization, which is supported by various left-extremist as well as non-extremist forces, the political tone is set, as before, by both active and former members of the "German Communist Party" (DKP).

No change in the ideological orientation of the VVN-BdA

The VVN-BdA orients itself by the classical orthodox-Communist fascism doctrine, according to which both "fascism" and "bourgeois democracy" serve to secure the supremacy of capital. It claims that present-day right-wing extremism has functions within the political system of the Federal Republic:

"However, any exclusively 'pure' fight against neo-fascist structures becomes dependent on the on-site presence of specific adversaries, and neglects the social standards pursued by anti-fascism. ... Notwithstanding the terror and individual suffering, the immediate threat posed by neo-fascism is not the assumption of dictatorial power by a neo-fascist party or movement. Rather, the much greater present-day threat posed by neo-fascism - much greater also because it is disregarded by many or not perceived as such - is its political function in a society that is moving to the right wing, in which social conflicts have aggravated, economic interests take precedence over social justice, and exploitation is growing."

(Reinhard HILDEBRANDT, member of the National Committee, of the Neo-Fascism Commission and spokesman of the Baden-Württemberg Land Association of the VVN-BdA, "*Funktion und Einfluss des Neofaschismus in der BRD*" ("Function and Influence of Neo-Fascism in the FRG"), in: "*AntiFa-Nachrichten*", October 1999, p. 16)

Taking up a perpetual element of its agitation since 1947, the VVN-BdA claimed that the Federal Republic was continuously moving to the right wing:

"This includes the long-term ideological re-orientation function of neo-fascism, continuously working towards an ideological-cultural change. And this in addition to a 'turnaround' which is nothing else but the return to conventional 'German' values and traditions which, already in the past, helped to foster the fascist reign of terror and preparing the ground for it. This

political function also includes the efforts aimed at 'revising' the appraisal of history - this revisionist tendency seems to grow with the lapse of time since Hitler's regime."
(Reinhard HILDEBRANDT in: *"AntiFa-Nachrichten"*, October 1999, p. 16)

The VVN-BdA took part - in instances, in a leading role - in numerous events, actions and campaigns carried out with left-extremist associations; on these occasions, it reaffirmed its "open alliance policy" *vis-à-vis* violence-inclined *Antifa* groups.

It supported, and became particularly involved in, "Easter Marches" and activities of the "Anti-War Movement"; in many instances, it joined forces with non-extremist groups. This was subsequently summed up as follows:

"The VVN was represented at many Easter March events - conspicuous with its flags and banners. ... The VVN has become an active part of the anti-war movement, and in some places has become a reference point for many opponents of war. In the process, it has gained in effectiveness."
(*"antifa-Rundschau"*, no. 38/1999, April/June 1999, p.2)

Efforts to build up a VVN youth organization

Activities at the national level included efforts to build up a "VVN Youth Organization". To this end, the VVN-BdA gave particular support to the "1st Nationwide Anti-Fascist Youth Congress" of young members of the VVN-BdA and the *"R.O.T.K.Ä.P.C.H.E.N"* [#] *im und beim BDA* in Niederkaufungen near Kassel in October.

The VVN-BdA continued its close co-operation with its "brother associations" in the new [East German] *Länder*, with the *"Interessenverband ehemaliger Teilnehmer am antifaschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Nazi-Regimes und Hinterbliebener e.V."* (IVVdN - "Interest Association of Former Participants in Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi Regime and Surviving Dependants") and with the *"Bund der Antifaschisten (Dachverband) e.V."* (BdA - "Association of Anti-Fascists (Umbrella Organization), reg'd"), which is influenced by left-wing extremism. The leadership level exchanged assessments and experience and agreed joint appeals, events and projects. Again, it was stated in public that the intention was to unite the associations within an all-German organization. Accordingly, the VVN-BdA welcomed the forthcoming merger of the IVVdN and the BdA; however, by delaying action, it resisted its own merger with the two East German associations. This is due, above all, to ideological differences with the IVVdN which is seen as

[#]) an acronym for ??; the German Word *"Rotkäppchen"* means the fairy tale figure of "Little Red Riding Hood" or, colloquially a (former) station master ("redcap"). The connotation intended by this group can only be derived from the full form of the acronym. [Translator's Note]

2. **"Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus" (PDS - "Party of Democratic Socialism")**

Founded:	1989/90 (the former GDR party SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) renamed "PDS")
Headquarters:	Berlin
Party chairman:	Lothar Bisky
Members:	about 94,000 (1998: 96,500), of whom about 3,200 in the "old <i>Länder</i> " [#]
Publications: (selection)	"DISPUT", monthly; "PDS-Pressedienst", weekly; "Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS", monthly; "Marxistisches Forum", published on an irregular basis; "PDS International", quarterly

The *"Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus"* (PDS - "Party of Democratic Socialism") does not show any serious intention to clear up its hitherto ambivalent stance regarding the parliamentary system and essential elements of the free democratic fundamental order. The PDS continues to tolerate the existence of extremist structures within the Party and co-operates with other left-wing extremists in Germany and abroad. As before, it strives for an "alternative society" ¹¹⁹⁾.

2.1 General Development

Party Conventions

While the first meeting of the 6th PDS Party Convention (16/17

[#] the West German *Länder* constituting the Federal Republic of Germany prior to FRG/GDR unification [Translator's Note]

January in Berlin) made a decision to revise the party platform applicable since 1993 ¹²⁰⁾, no decision was made on whether the platform should be modified in part or be completely revised ¹²¹⁾. The essence of this debate was described by Dieter KLEIN (member of the PDS executive committee) as follows:

"But the real problem ... is the question as to how an anti-capitalist, democratic-socialist minority party - outside parliament, as a parliamentary opposition, and even as a party in government - can in a constructive way help to shape a society which, after all, has a basic structure that quite obviously is determined by big banking houses and industrial concerns and thus is rejected by this Party."
("DISPUT", no. 1/1999, "PDS-Pressedienst", no. 3/4/1999, p. 35)

Leading functionaries denied any justification for the fear of "socialdemocratization", which was repeatedly expressed within the Party ¹²²⁾, and confirmed the Party's role as an "opposition within society". Thus, Party Chairman Lothar BISKY remarked:

"We have always, as an opposition within society, intervened also in current issues within a social and political system which we did not want in that form. ... For achievement of its political aims, the PDS is prepared and in a position to make use of the entire set of political instruments available in a democracy. So the most important requirement in this regard and at this time is for the definition of the political aims, for the preservation of the political identity of our Party. ... We continue to derive ... our political identity from the combination of social opposition and the claim to acting as a policy-shaping force."
("PDS-Pressedienst", no. 22 of 4 June 1999)

The perception of the politics of the PDS as being in political opposition to the system is illustrated by a letter to the editor sent by a spokesman of a PDS working party in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania to the daily "*Neues Deutschland*" of 28 May:

"Given our extreme impotence to bring about a positive change in conditions now and here, aren't we compelled to embark primarily on action in the field of political symbolism? This, of course, in the hope that more favourable social constellations will develop, for the humanization of today's capitalist conditions of life. But also - and this should be explicitly underlined - in the sense of a form of opposition to the system which does not flinch from crossing the line to the readiness, some day, to overcome this smart and, at the same time, cruel system of exploitation!"

At the "Europe Party Conference" (2nd meeting of the 6th Party Convention on 6/7 March in Suhl), the delegates - about 400 -

"Twelve Policy Tenets of Modern Socialism"

adopted the election platform and the PDS national list for the elections to the European Parliament on 13 June (cf. sub-section 2.3 below). Among the 14 elected candidates were a member of the DKP executive committee and one member each of the "Communist Party of Great Britain" and the "Party of Italian Communists".

In early August, top functionaries of the PDS presented "Twelve Policy Tenets of Modern Socialism" ¹²³⁾. In response to an abbreviated rendition in the media, Party Chairman Lothar BISKY made the following point:

"We do change - yet I do not think that there is much reason at all to fear that the PDS might become social-democratic."
(daily "*Die Welt*" of 21 September)

For the description of the [Party's] current sociopolitical concept, the authors of the Tenets fall back, *inter alia*, on the classical formula contained in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by Marx and Engels, namely that "every individual's free development is the prerequisite for the free development of all".

This concept, which is also incorporated in the PDS platform, presupposes radical changes in the existing power and ownership structures. As Michael BENJAMIN said on this subject in the daily "*Neues Deutschland*" of 20 August:

"When, in the "Communist Manifesto", Marx and Engels characterized socialist society as an association where everybody's free development is the prerequisite for the free development of all, they described this as the result of revolutionary elimination of capitalist production conditions."
¹²⁴⁾

While the Tenets declare that state socialism has failed, it is said to have provided important experience which should be critically analyzed instead of being denounced. On the other hand, modern capitalist societies are reproached with having designed their institutions as instruments of the most blatant oppression; they were responsible for the disasters of this century and for world wars, the Holocaust, genocide, misery, hunger, and destruction of the environment. Therefore the PPS works towards replacing the - socially restrained form of - capitalism of the post-war era, and:

"On our agenda is nothing less but the reconstruction of world society. Breaking up the structures of dominion refers to the precedence of capital utilization over society, society's destructive ambition to dominate Nature, domination by the 'North' over the 'South' and men's dominion over women."

In November 1999, the "Program Commission" of the PDS presented "Propositions for Programmatic Debate". As stated there, a big challenge was to use and transform the institutions of pres-

ent-day society in such a way, and employ such actors within it, that the result would not be perpetual prolongation of the existing status, but would open up chances for a new developmental logic. The aim of Socialists was to push back, and ultimately to overcome, the capitalist-type power structures that originated from ownership structures.

Regarding the PDS's self-image, its National Executive Secretary Dietmar **BARTSCH** confirmed that:

"The PDS must continue as a pluralist party. I am all for it that Communists are among the PDS members and that they intervene."
("Berliner Zeitung" of 29 November 1999)

2.2 Extremist Structures within the PDS

The programme and statutes of the PDS, as before, allow associations of varying Marxist orientation, including openly extremist groups,¹²⁵⁾ within the Party. In 1999, there were no indications of any serious intention to separate from these groups. Party Chairman Lothar **BISKY** once more stood up for the KPF and confirmed that there were no endeavours whatsoever within the Party to exclude the Platform ¹²⁶⁾.

"Communist Platform of the PDS" (KPF)

As before, the KPF adheres to the revolutionary tradition of the labour movement. On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Lenin's death, the KPF functionary Heinz **MAROHN** confirmed that [Lenin] was not commemorated as a mummy, nor as an icon; rather, it was a commemoration of the viable part of his revolutionary ideas ¹²⁷⁾.

With Michael **BENJAMIN**'s election to the party executive committee - by almost 40 % of the votes cast by delegates at the Party Convention in January (cf. p. 115 above) - and the representation of the KPF on important PDS bodies (*inter alia*, Programme Commission, Party Council), the Platform has a relatively large representation ¹²⁸⁾. During the introduction of candidates at the Party Convention, **BENJAMIN** declared that, to his mind, socialist politics by no means only implied waiting for the great social upheaval; as he saw it, socialist politics, under the existing condition, comprised the task of exploring the possibilities of this system to its extreme limits and, at the same time, identifying these limits and - rather than accepting them - pointing to goals beyond them ¹²⁹⁾.

"Marxist Forum of the PDS"

Also in 1999, the "*Marxistisches Forum der PDS*" ("Marxist Forum of the PDS") ¹³⁰⁾ continued the Marxist analysis of the

political situation and made inputs to the theoretical foundations for the PDS's work. Jointly with the left-extremist journal *"junge Welt"* ("young world"), the Forum on 9 October organized a symposium on *"Lenin in heutiger Sicht"* ("Lenin as seen today").

From remarks by members of the Forum it can be inferred that the Forum regards the Basic Law solely as a formal framework, while rejecting the Constitution's value system and thus its anti-totalitarian orientation. As stated by a member:

"From the Marxist point of view, constitutions - and thus the Basic Law - are the result of class struggles, but are also conventions regarding the approach to the confrontation of the classes. In a way, they lay down 'boundary marks' or 'cease-fire lines' for the struggle among the classes and social groups of capitalist society."
("Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS", issue 1/1999)

Central elements of the Forum's conception of itself continue to be the essentially positive attitude towards the GDR and the largely uncritical approach to the GDR's history. See the following statement in *"Marxistisches Forum 1999"*:

"Nobody has to apologize to anybody for the GDR's existence. The historical legitimacy of the GDR is beyond all doubt. ... It testified to the will of the majority of the population to bring about decisive social changes"

"Dictatorship of the proletariat" as "socialist democracy"

With reference to Lenin's theories, the delimitation of democracy from dictatorship is blurred. This is exemplified by the interpretation given by a member of the Forum:

"No heed is taken any longer of the observations, for instance made by Lenin, to the effect that 'dictatorship', in the first analysis, is nothing else but another designation for the existence of a reign, or rule (of one or several classes), and that this rule (dictatorship) can be exercised in both dictatorial and democratic ways. The task of exercising the rule apostrophized as the dictatorship of the proletariat, which referred to the 'Party of the Working Class', in the name of and to the benefit of the working population, is not even tentatively approached any longer as a specific attempt at democracy, namely socialist democracy."
("Marxistisches Forum 1999")

Youth structures close to the Party

In June, a socialist youth organization close to the PDS - "[solid]" - was founded in Hanover; so far, only the rudiments of its ideological-political orientation have become perceptible. The name is an acronym of **"sozialistisch, links und demokratisch"** ("socialist, left and democratic"). As a young, socialist left-wing organization, "[solid]" wishes to intervene in political debates

and controversies, with the topical aim patterned on Karl Marx's theories: "... to overturn all systems under which man is a degraded, an enslaved, a forsaken, a despicable being." ¹³¹⁾ While "[solid]" does not wish to be a cadre reserve of the PDS, it sees the Party as its "primary partner". The PDS Executive Committee assured this youth organization of political, legal, material and financial support ¹³²⁾. Under the umbrella of "[solid]", structures have so far been set up in at least seven *Länder* (in Hesse, Saxony, Brandenburg, Lower Saxony and Bavaria, and in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania under the name of "Rot(z)frech", and in Berlin as "Sojus") ¹³³⁾.

A "political platform" disseminated by "[solid]" over the Internet as a description of the association's contribution to "the upheaval of the ruling conditions", states, *inter alia*:

"In this regard it is important to emphasize that - despite all the changes that have occurred within society since Marx's times, the cause of all social ills, then as today, are the capitalist production structures. Only by subverting these production structures will it be possible not only to fight, but also to solve the problems existing in society."
 ("Wir haben eine Welt zu gewinnen - zur politischen Plattform von solid" ("We have a world to gain - concerning the political platform of solid")

"Arbeitsgemeinschaft Junge GenossInnen in und bei der PDS" (AGJG)

The "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Junge GenossInnen in und bei der PDS" (AGJG - "Working Party of Young Comrades within, and close to, the PDS") - being the Party's youth structure until that time - no longer pursued any activities at the national level; it survives, however, as a supraregional or local association in Berlin, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Baden-Wurttemberg.

2.3 Co-operation with German Left-Extremists outside the Party

As before, the PDS's relationship with the "*Deutsche Kommunistische Partei*" (DKP - "German Communist Party") has been characterized by a combination of critical attitudes and solidarity.

PDS-DKP top meeting

On 8 January and 13 September, the PDS chairman, Lothar BISKY, and the DKP chairman, Heinz STEHR, met with other top functionaries of their parties for leadership discussions at the PDS central headquarters in Berlin.

In addition to an exchange of views, the purpose of these meetings also was to reach agreement on the concrete form of the co-operation between the two parties ¹³⁴⁾. This also was the purpose of a PDS meeting with a DKP delegation headed by the DKP

chairman in Bonn in mid-February. Subsequently Leo **MAYER**, a member of the DKP party executive committee, was - as already in 1994 - accepted by the PDS Party Convention as a candidate for the elections to the European Parliament. The renewed candidacy of **MAYER** on a PDS party-ticket was seen by the DKP as the "practical cancellation" of the decision made by the 1997 PDS Party Convention in Schwerin that no candidacy of members of other parties be admitted on open lists of the PDS ¹³⁵⁾.

The PDS and DKP pursue their many-sided co-operation also during elections: as stated by DKP Chairman **STEHR** in an interview with the daily "*junge Welt*" of 22 October, the PDS Chairman **BISKY** thanked the DKP for its share in the electoral success of the PDS in the European elections. In those elections as well as in the *Bürgerschaft* [City-State parliament] elections in Bremen (6 June) and the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia (12 September) and Baden-Württemberg (24 October), DKP mem-

bers stood as candidates on open lists of the PDS or, in some instances, PDS members ran on open lists of the DKP ¹³⁶⁾.

2.4 Participation in Elections

In the elections in 1999, the PDS succeeded in consolidating its position within the spectrum of parties.

European elections

In the elections to the European Parliament on 13 June, the PDS won 5.8 % of the votes cast (1994: 4.7 %); thus, for the first time, it made its entry into the European Parliament where it took six seats. Its delegates joined the "Confederated Parliamentary Group of the Unified European Left/Nordic Green-Left" (GUE/NGL). This parliamentary group - in addition to the PDS delegates - consists of representatives of 11 parties, including the Communist Parties of France, Greece, Italy and Portugal, and the Communist-controlled "*Izquierda Unida*" (IU - "United Left") of Spain ¹³⁷⁾. As the second strongest element, the PDS, designating Sylvia-Yvonne **KAUFMANN**, provided one of the two vice-chairpersons ¹³⁸⁾.

Landtag elections

Also in the *Landtag* elections of Brandenburg, Thuringia, Saxony and Berlin, the PDS was able to increase its share in the votes and, in Thuringia and Saxony, even became the second strongest parliamentary group ¹³⁹⁾. In all East German *Länder*, with the exception of Saxony-Anhalt, the PDS has by now secured more than 20 % of the votes.

In the West German *Länder*, the PDS had less success. It was only in the local elections, especially on account of the non-ap-

plicability of the five per cent clause for parliamentary representation, that it won local council mandates ¹⁴⁰⁾.

2.5 International Connections

Network of international contacts

As stated by the PDS itself, it has, since 1990, built up a widespread network of bilateral and multilateral co-operation with a large number of parties and organizations ¹⁴¹⁾.

An essential element of the Party's internationalism work is its contact with Communist Parties. The PDS Executive Committee periodically reports on meetings and talks with functionaries and on the participation in party conventions and press parties of Communist parties ¹⁴²⁾. The PDS maintains particularly close contacts with the "French Communist Party" (FCP). Apart from co-operation in the field of trade-union politics, the two parties provide mutual support for election campaigns ¹⁴³⁾.

The whole range of their contacts was demonstrated by the PDS - for the first time after three years - at its Party Convention in January 1999. The 68 international guests from 52 parties and organizations from 40 countries included representatives of the Communist Parties of Armenia, Belarus, Bohemia and Moravia (Czech Republic), China, Colombia, Cuba, France, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Portugal, Russia, and South Africa; the Communist Parties of Finland, Nepal, (North) Korea, Slovakia, Syria and the Ukraine had sent messages of greeting ¹⁴⁴⁾.

Co-operation at the European level

At the European level, in particular, the PDS endeavours to consolidate its existing contacts and also to make use of existing international structures.

Thus, it is a member of the "New European Left Forum" (NELF), an association of 17 reformist-Communist, left-Socialist and green-left parties from Europe.

Solidarity activities for Cuba

An important subject of PDS activities in 1999 was support for Cuba which continues to adhere to Socialism. Thus, as reported by the party newspaper "*Granma*" of the "Cuban Communist Party" (PCC), the party chairman of the PDS, Lothar Bisky, pledged his Party's "solidarity and support for the Cuban Revolution" on the occasion of the ceremonies for the 40th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, which he attended in Cuba in January ¹⁴⁵⁾. A significant part of solidarity activities is carried out by the working panel "*Cuba Sí*" within the party executive committee of the PDS ¹⁴⁶⁾.

Together with the left-extremist daily "*junge Welt*", this working

panel was among the organizers of a "Rosa Luxemburg Conference" held in Berlin on 9 January under the motto "*Stört die neoliberale Internationale!*" ("Disrupt the Neoliberal International!"). The Conference announcement contained the following explanatory note: "80 years after the November Revolution, 40 years after the victory of the Cuban Revolution: Analyses and Counter-Concepts regarding Prevailing Conditions". Before an audience of a total of 800 participants, papers were read by representatives of the Communist Parties of France and Cuba and of "liberation movements" from Colombia and Guatemala.

The self-image of the working panel is reflected in a commentary by a "co-ordinator" of "*Cuba Sí*" on Cuba's human rights policy in the daily "*Neues Deutschland*" (ND) of 15 July: it was a fact that Cuba assigned the highest priority to the social and collective human rights over civil/individual rights. To follow any other course would, in view of today's human rights imperialism, inevitably amount to the renunciation of state sovereignty. The author continued:

"The 'association, in which the individual's free development is the prerequisite for the free development of all,' is a utopia in our and Cuba's view. It is dishonest, however, to expect Cuba to realize such a society on our behalf. The duty to take up this struggle is ours - and must be assumed here!"

3. **"Bund der Antifaschisten (Dachverband) e.V."** (**BdA** - "Association of Anti-Fascists (Umbrella Organization), reg'd")

Founded:	1990
Headquarters:	Berlin
Chairman:	Heinrich FINK
Members:	6,000 (1997: 6,000)

Like the "*Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes - Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten*" (VVN-BdA - "Union of Victims of Nazi Persecution - Alliance of Anti-Fascists"), the BdA claims to be in the tradition of orthodox-Communist anti-fascism.

It sees itself as an all-generation umbrella organization and feels particularly committed to the anti-fascist resistance fight:

"Young people are interested in the historic roots of fascism and thus of anti-fascist resistance. They often invite elderly

**Efforts to come to terms
with the Communist doc-
trine of fascism**

members of the BdA to attend their meetings as contemporary witnesses because they are important with regard to the Buchenwald^{#)} vow of 'Never again war - never again fascism'." (Heinrich FINK, BdA Chairman, in: "*Neues Deutschland*" of 29 March 1999)

A high-ranking BdA functionary strove for a self-critical analysis of the orthodox-Communist doctrine of fascism (cf. sub-section 1.4 above) and, above all, condemned its openly Stalinist orientation which had been the prevailing doctrine from the 1920s until 1956. In particular, he said, the "fatal blurring of the qualitative differences between bourgeois-democratic, liberal and social-democratic trends and policy concepts, on the one hand, and fascist and racist barbarism, on the other, must never be allowed again ¹⁴⁷⁾."

These remarks were not meant, however, to imply any convergence towards the antitotalitarian concept of democracy as em-

bodied in the Basic Law, which is directed against right-wing and left-wing dictatorships alike:

"It is an ahistorical approach, by pointing out subsequent undesirable developments, to characterize the anti-fascism of the KPD, SED or DKP, from the beginning, as questionable and as merely based on power politics. ... The main approach aimed at delegitimizing the GDR and its anti-fascist traditions and at denouncing them for reasons going beyond the required critical analysis is the so-called comparison of dictatorships, which on the basis of the concept of totalitarianism has been carried on for years, incessantly and unremittingly and with only minor variations."

(Ludwig ELM, in "*antifa*", October 1999, p. 18)

BdA membership also includes "Antifa Groups" which describe themselves as autonomous or resemble associations of autonomous anti-fascists; the youth group "*R.O.T.K.Ä.P.C.H.E.N.*^{#)} *im und beim BdA*" was particularly active. BdA functionaries qualified the events and meetings of these "Antifa groups" as an "important anti-fascist activity", and in this context once more spoke out in favour of the interpretation of violence-inclined anti-fascists.

Together with left-extremist groupings, the BdA took part in numerous events, demonstrations, public appeals and anti-fascist action alliances. For instance, jointly with the VVN-BdA, it organized the "IVth Antifa Youth Meeting" in Berlin on 9 January, in

^{#)} German concentration camp [Translator's Note]

^{#)} cf. Translator's Note on p. 114 above

**Progressive merger with
the IVVdN**

which 150 persons participated, including members of the VVN-BdA, the PDS, *"JungdemokratInnen/Junge Linke"* (JD/JL) and autonomous groupings.

The BdA continued its efforts to bring the anti-fascist associations closer to each other and to merge them. In this regard, its particular focus was on the *"Interessenverband ehemaliger Teilnehmer am antifaschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Nazi-Regimes und Hinterbliebener e. V."* (IVVdN - "Interest Association of Former Participants in Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi Regime and Surviving Dependants (reg'd)"); *Land* associations and grassroots organizations of the BdA were requested to apply for IVVdN membership by November 1999 with a view to forming the new umbrella organization named *"Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes - Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten"* (VVdN-BdA - "Union of Victims of Nazi Persecution - Alliance of Anti-Fascists") at a joint conference of delegates in March 2000.

In March 1999, the BdA grassroots organizations in Saxony joined the IVVdN which now calls itself "VVN-BdA Saxony"; al-

ready in October 1998, a merger of the BdA and IVVdN *Land* associations had been effected in Thuringia.

**4. "Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands"
(MLPD - "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany")**

Founded:	June 1982 (as a successor of the <i>"Kommunistischer Arbeiterbund Deutschlands"</i> (KABD - "Communist Workers' Union of Germany"))
Seat of the Central Committee:	Gelsenkirchen (North Rhine/Westphalia)
Chairman:	Stefan ENGEL
Members (nationwide):	approx. 2,000 (1998: 2,500)
Publications:	<i>"Rote Fahne"</i> (RF - "Red Flag"), MLDP weekly, circulation about 7,500; <i>"Lernen und Kämpfen"</i> (LuK - "Learning and Fighting"), circulation about 1,000, several issues per year; <i>"Revolutionärer Weg"</i> ("Revolutionary Path"), theoretical publication of MLPD; <i>"REBELL"</i> , magazine of the youth association <i>"Rebell"</i> , bimonthly

The "*Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands*" (MLPD - "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany") continued to adhere to the "teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong, and their active application to actual conditions" ¹⁴⁸⁾. The focus of its activities in 1999 was on a campaign aimed at a wide discussion of the draft of a new party platform. This was adopted at its VIth Party Convention in the second half of December and is to initiate a "fresh start of the fight for true Socialism after the turn of the millennium" ¹⁴⁹⁾.

The new programme does not comprise an ideological re-orientation of the MLPD. The Party wants to continue to win the "majority of the working classes" ¹⁵⁰⁾ and wishes to become a revolutionary party of the masses. As before, it will take account of unions with "lower middle classes" only if these will subordinate themselves to the MLPD's claim to ideological leadership: "The essential task in preparing alliances is systematic re-education in proletarian thinking" ¹⁵¹⁾.

As before, the focus of its ideological struggle is on the "doctrine of modes of thinking" which substantially serves to bring its own members into line and to fight any "dissent". In the process it emerged that it had difficulty in finding general acceptance among its own ranks and met with a lack of understanding on the part of the latter: the strength of the organization and the number of its members continued to decrease. Criticism of the MLPD's claim to ideological leadership was also expressed by MLPD-controlled organizations, such as the "*Frauenverband Courage*" ("Women's Association Courage").

International connections

The Party maintained its international contacts with like-minded Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations. Twenty-one organizations from 20 countries are said to have participated in a clandestine "6th International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations" in March - about which a first report was published in "*Rote Fahne*" ¹⁵²⁾. The MLPD chairman, Stefan ENGEL, was re-elected chairman of the "Joint Co-ordinating Group" (JCG) for the preparation of a 7th conference of this type. For its internationalism work, the MLPD can rely, as before, on "*Solidarität International e.V.*" ("Solidarity International (reg'd)") which it controls (more than 1,000 members).

5. Trotskyite Groups

Approx. 25 Trotskyite groups and circles are active in the Federal Republic; for the major part, they are directed by one of the numerous international umbrella organizations. On account of the

Successful recruitment of members despite the Trotskyite "*Linksruck-Netzwerk*"

small number of supporters and scarcity of resources, the majority of these groups kept a low profile.

Some of the groups made major efforts to make the general public aware of their organizations and to recruit new members; in instances, these efforts were successful. Overall, the number of German Trotskyites has risen to about 2,350 (1998: 2,200).

The "*Sozialistische ArbeiterGruppe*" (SAG - "Socialist Workers' Group") - the German section of the umbrella organization "International Socialists" (IS; headquarters in London) - again was the most successful group in recruiting supporters. With the help of its cover organization "*Linksruck-Netzwerk*" (LR - "Left-Swing Network") which was founded in 1994, it conducted a focused and successful infiltration programme directed primarily against "Young Socialists" in the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany). For this purpose, it made use of the so-called "entrism" tactics, which had been developed by Trotskyists already in the 1930s: Trotskyists will join competing left-wing, including democratic, groups, and try to anchor their policies in these groups, to

win over members or even to bring whole organizational structures under their control.

Some 1,000 participants attended its annual mass event "Rosa Luxemburg Days" (21 - 24 May in Frankfurt/Main). The organizers reported that recruitment of members had been successful. By the end of the year, the LR had between 1,000 and 1,100 (1998: 900) members working in more than 50 local groups (1998: 40) which form five regional divisions - North, East, West, Centre and South. During the second half of 1999, the LR made an abrupt turn away from the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany], which it had previously courted, by staging a campaign entitled "An End to Schröder's CDU politics!". It did not, however, give up the entrism tactics employed by it so far.

Also the second largest Trotskyite formation in Germany, the "*Sozialistische Alternative Voran*" (SAV - "Socialist Alternative Forward") - which is the German section of the "Committee for a Workers' International" (CWI; headquarters in London) - experienced membership gains. As in 1998, the SAV ran in *Landtag* and local elections. In some cities, for instance Aachen [Aix-la-Chapelle] and Rostock, it won up to 0.8 % of the votes, and managed to use the election contest for publicizing its organization and for recruiting new members.

The re-activation, begun in 1998, of the front organization "*Jugend gegen Rassismus in Europa*" (JRE - "Youth against Racism in Europe"; most recent membership figure: more than 1,000) met only with moderate success. By now, groups have been re-established in Göttingen, Cologne, Rostock, Dresden

and Berlin, with altogether more than 50 members who are devoted chiefly to the locally waged "anti-fascist struggle".

In Germany, two groups affiliate with the *"IV. Internationale/Secrétariat Unifié"* (with headquarters in Paris), which is the Trotskyite umbrella organization with the richest tradition. Of these two, the *"Vereinigung für sozialistische Politik"* (VSP - "Union for Socialist Politics") is facing dissolution; its political activities are confined to the membership of its cadres in the "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) and to its participation in the *"Bundeskoordination der Europäischen Märsche gegen Erwerbslosigkeit, ungesicherte Beschäftigungsverhältnisse und Ausgrenzung"* ("Federal Co-ordination of European Marches against Unemployment, Unprotected Employ, and Exclusion") (cf. Chapter V, section 1, below). The second German group close to the *"Secrétariat Unifié"* ("Unified Secretariat"), *"Revolutionärer Sozialistischer Bund"* (RSB - "Revolutionary Socialist Union", about 70 members), took part in the protests against the summits in Cologne and mainly concentrated on activities in plants and trade unions.

Like the aforementioned groups, other smaller Trotskyite groups, such as the *"Partei für soziale Gleichheit"* (PSG - "Party for Social Equality"), the *"Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands"* (SpAD - "Spartacist Workers' Party of Germany"), the *"Internationale Sozialistische Organisation"* (ISO), and the *Gruppe Arbeitermacht*" (GAM - Group 'Workers' Power'), devoted their propaganda and agitation to priority issues such as NATO's intervention in the Kosovo conflict or the fight of the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" for the release of their leader Abdullah ÖCALAN.

6. "Rote Hilfe e.V." (RH - "Red Aid (reg'd)")

Founded:	1975
Headquarters:	Göttingen (Lower Saxony) (executive secretariat)
Members:	about 3,500 (1998: 3,000)
Publication:	<i>Die Rote Hilfe</i> ("Red Aid"), quarterly

"Rote Hilfe e.V." (RH - "Red Aid (reg'd)") sees itself as a "protection and solidarity organization, independent of any party and cutting across various movements".

Despite gains in membership, the organization ended up in financial straits, due to growing expenses for its support of German and foreign violence-inclined left-extremist offenders. Through fund-raising appeals and a recruitment drive under the motto "5000 plus X", the organization tried to start the year 2000 with more than 5,000 members. The RH demonstrated its solidarity even with terrorist perpetrators of violence in a statement addressed by its National Executive Committee to the Austrian authorities with the request that Andrea **KLUMP** who was on the wanted list under a warrant of arrest for presumed membership of the "*Rote Armee Fraktion*" (RAF - "Red Army Faction") and arrested in Vienna, be not extradited to the Federal Republic of Germany.

7. "Jungdemokraten/Junge Linke" (JD/JL - "Young Democrats/Young Leftists")

Founded:	1992
Headquarters:	Bonn (National Executive Secretariat in Berlin)
Members:	12,000 (figure provided by the organization itself)
Publications:	" <i>tendenz</i> " ("tendency"), published on an irregular basis; various regional publications of the <i>Land</i> associations

The "Jungdemokraten/Junge Linke" (JD/JL - "Young Democrats/Young Leftists") have become a permanent partner of left-wing extremists within action alliances, but also in the context of militant disruptive actions against government-sponsored events. This organization which classifies itself as "radical-democratic", was constituted in 1992 by the merger of the "*Deutsche Jungdemokraten*" (DJD - "Young Democrats of Germany") and the "*Marxistische Jugendvereinigung Junge Linke*" ("Marxist Youth Association Young Left") from the new [East German] *Länder*. The JD/JL structure comprises a National (Federal) Association and eleven, relatively independent, *Land* associations. The membership figure of 12,000 given by the organization itself would seem exaggerated.

Indications of left-extremist endeavours of JD/JL

Ideologically, the association is not homogeneous; it is a conglomerate of Marxist, Marxist-Leninist, "anti-German" or "antinational", autonomous and anarchistic-libertarian elements and trends of left-wing extremism. Common to all of them, however, is the rejection, for social-revolutionary reasons, of the free democratic fundamental order. For instance, the policy programme is based on the Marxist doctrine, according to which the political structure of the polity ("social superstructure") has only secondary importance as compared to the - allegedly decisive - economic structure ("socio-economic basis"). Therefore, the programme sees an "undemocratic balance of rule and power" as the result of free-market structures ("capitalist production conditions").

"Young Democrats/Young Leftists consider overcoming of capitalist production conditions to be a necessary step to achieve all-embracing democratization of society, and advocate nationalization of the means of production."

The Lower Saxony *Land* Association, the "*Junge Linke Han-*

nover", describes itself as a "Communist organization" interested in

"making other people aware of the capitalist mode of production and informing the bourgeois state so as to disseminate the insight that the State and capital can, and must, be abolished if people are to live together on a reasonable basis and without any self-produced social constraints."

("RAZZ - Zeitung für ein radikales Hannover" ("Newspaper for a radical Hanover"), no. 110, March 1999)

The main action issues and subjects of the JD/JL are "anti-fascism", "anti-militarism", "antiracism" and "state-imposed repression". In this regard, the organization offers "action camps" and weekend seminars as well as classical "Capital" indoctrination courses.

As priority issues, the JD/JL call for abolition of compulsory military service and of the Federal Armed Forces (Bw), and legalization of drugs. In addition, they are involved in the "anti-EXPO activities" and in the campaign "*Kein Mensch ist illegal!*" ("No person is illegal!") supported by left-wing extremists. One of the main fields of JD/JL agitation, "anti-militarism", gained new impetus by massive actions, meeting with considerable public response, to disrupt the public oath-taking ceremony of recruits of the Federal Armed Forces in Berlin on 20 July. Already in the appeal ¹⁵³⁾ to join counter-events, the resistance fighters of 20 July 1944 around Graf Stauffenberg were defamed as "National-Socialists by conviction" and as part of the "fascist *Wehrmacht* [the armed services of the German Third Reich from 1935 to 1945]". The JD/JL demanded disbandment of the Federal Armed Forces (Bw) since the "fascist *Wehrmacht*" also played a role in the cultivation of traditions as practised by the Bw. Already in the period preceding the oath-taking ceremony, the the *Kreiswehrrersatzamt* (*Kreis* selective service board) in Berlin-Treptow was occupied on 8 July; participants in this action included member of the JD/JL from Berlin.

V. Fields of Operation

1. ***Campaign by Left-Wing Extremists against the Council Meeting of the European Union (EU) and against the World Economic Summit in Cologne***

The "Double Summit" in Cologne - the meeting of the heads of government and Foreign Ministers of the EU on 3 - 6 June, and the meeting of the eight leading industrial nations (so-called G-8 summit or World Economic Summit) on 18 - 21 June - was at the centre of left-extremist campaign efforts during the first half of 1999. In view of the high profile of the participating politicians and on account of their "capitalist" background, both events in a way provided a "natural" occasion for mobilization of left-extremist as well as other opponents of the "dominating global economic order" and of "neoliberalism" ^{#)}. The allegation was put forward - with varying stress and aggressiveness- that both the EU and the leading industrial nations were instruments in the service of unbridled capitalism which exacerbated social injustices, exploited the countries of the Third World and destroyed the environment.

Left-wing extremists' planning oriented to earlier campaigns

Attempts to organize a protest campaign go back to early 1998. It was to be patterned on the campaigns against the World Economic Summit in Munich in 1992 and against the EU Inter-Governmental Conferences in Essen in 1994, Amsterdam in 1997 and Cardiff in 1998. An appeal against the "Double Summit" stated:

"When the state's executors of the capitalist world order meet in Cologne in June, we will put up resistance - resistance to the organizers of oppression and exploitation, resistance to the stout display of gory power, resistance to the fulsome praise lavished on the FRG."

Already in the run-up to the campaign it emerged that ideological, political and personal quarrels would make joint planning difficult.

Finally, three different protest spectrums prepared actions against the "Double Summit":

- the *"Bundeskoordination der Europäischen Märsche gegen Erwerbslosigkeit, ungeschützte Beschäftigung und Ausgrenzung"* ("Federal Co-ordination of European Marches against Unemployment, Unprotected Employ, and Exclusion"), organized mainly by Trotskyists from the *"IV. Internationale/*

^{#)} "principle of maintaining both 'order' (by necessary and sufficient government intervention) and 'competition' in a social free market economy" (the term defies precise translation; it is a tag attached to West German's peculiar post-war brand of neoliberalism, developed by the Freiburg school of economists) [Schäfer, *Wirtschaftswörterbuch*, 1987]

Secrétariat Unifié" (with headquarters in Paris) (cf. Chapter IV, section 5, above), and patterned on similar "Euro Marches" of the year 1997;

- a "*Linksradikales Anti EU-WWG-Plenum*" ("Radical-Left Alliance against the EU/World Economic Summit"), which is supported mainly by autonomists and functionaries of the extremist "*Ökologische Linke*" ("Ecological Left") and using the infrastructure of the "*Allgemeiner Studierenden-Ausschuss*" (AStA - "General Students' Committee") of Cologne University;
- a "*Bündnis Köln 99*" ("Alliance Cologne '99") - at first also called "*Antoniterkirchenbündnis*" after its venue, the Church of St. Anthony's Order - which consists mainly of non-extremist church-affiliated and development-policy groups, but is also, in terms of concepts, substantially influenced by left-wing extremists and was instructed by a functionary of the former "*Kommunistischer Bund*" (KB - "Communist Union").

Protest potential shows little homogeneity

The three spectrums were not able to agree on a joint approach and notified a total of three demonstrations and three "counter-summits". In addition, other action groups and associations, such as the international revolutionary network "Peoples' Global Action" (PGA) which was founded in 1997, planned their own actions, mostly described as "decentralized", with the aim of disrupting the summit meetings and of publicly discrediting the political concerns of these conferences.

Demonstrations with significant numbers of participants from other EU countries

The demonstration held by the Trotskyite "*Euromarsch-Bündnis*" ("Euro-March Alliance") in Cologne on 29 May was directed against the EU Council meeting and proved the continuous cooperation among organized left-extremist structures from all countries of the EU. More than half of the 11,000 participants (figure given by the organizers: 25,000) came from neighbouring EU countries, with the French and Italian participants - up to 2,000 persons each - having the largest level of representation.

In addition to the "*IV. Internationale/Secrétariat Unifié*" and its "Euro-Marchers", three other international Trotskyite umbrella organizations mobilized their European sections. From among the traditionally oriented Communist parties, supporters of the "German Communist Party" (DKP), of the "*Partito della rifondazione comunista*" (Prc - "Communist Refoundation Party"), and of the Spanish, Greek and Danish Communist Parties took part in these events. Anarcho-syndicalists ¹⁵⁴⁾ from almost all EU countries formed a large marching column, carrying black-red flags. German autonomists participated with two "black blocks" comprising a total of about 1,000 persons; subsequently, they contemptuously dismissed the demonstration as a "parade of a

motley collection of groups from all over Europe".

Also on the occasion of the EU Council meeting on 3 June, some 2,500 left-wing extremists from the violence-inclined spectrum took part, under the motto *"Widerstand gegen das Europa der Herrschenden! Stoppt den NATO-Angriffskrieg"* ("Resistance to the Europe of the Ruling Classes! Stop NATO's War of Aggression"), in a demonstration organized by the *"Linksradikales Anti-EU-WWG-Bündnis"* ("Radical-Left Alliance against the EU/World Economic Summit"). Like the event on 29 May, this march also took place without any major incidents: autonomists had, already in the preparatory stage, decided to forgo militancy in view of the massive police presence.

The mobilization was disappointing in terms of numbers; this was also the case with the "Summit assault demonstration" of the *"Bündnis Köln 99"* ("Cologne '99 Alliance"), held on 19 June against the G-8 summit. In order to fill the ranks, the organizer had also admitted associations whose main concern was not directed primarily against the global economic order. The procession of some 8,000 persons was made up, apart from Tamil extremists, mainly by 4,500 supporters of the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) who wanted to draw attention to the fate of their leader ÖCALAN imprisoned in Turkey.

The general public took no notice of the "counter-congresses" of the three protest spectrums. Alongside the "Double Summit", there were, mainly through the agency of supporters from the spectrum of "Peoples' Global Action" and "Reclaim the Streets", isolated cases of damage to property, obstruction of traffic and temporary demonstrative occupation, for instance of a Dutch loan-employment agency and - as protest against the participation of the Federal Armed Forces (Bw) in NATO actions against Yugoslavia - of the Cologne executive secretariat of *"Bündnis 90/Die Grünen"* [political party "Alliance '90/The Greens"].

Militant left-wing extremists assess the campaign as a failure

The actions against the "Double Summit" were assessed very differently by left-wing extremists. Trotskyists and anarcho-sindicalists, for the major part, arrived at a positive assessment, highlighting their structures' ability for Europe-wide co-operation. Militant left-wing extremists did not share these positive appraisals. In particular, they criticized the "broad reformist spectrum" of the protest alliances, which had distracted from the requirement for decentralized direct action. Also, the focus on counter-congresses and mass rallies had been a mistake¹⁵⁵). It was generally deplored that the security authorities had succeeded in controlling the course of the counter-activities and in effectively preventing militancy.

2. "Antimilitarism"

"Antimilitarism" - agitation and activities directed against war, NATO, the Federal Armed Forces (Bw) and military operations and/or against Germany's alleged great-power politics - was a major field of action in 1999 within left-wing extremism. In this regard, the action of left-wing extremists is not determined primarily by pacifist motives; rather, they see the antimilitaristic fight as an immanent element of the fight against imperialism and for socialism. In deciding whether military actions are acceptable or must be rejected, they base their judgment essentially on Lenin's doctrine of just and unjust wars ¹⁵⁶⁾.

Protests against NATO's military operations in Yugoslavia

The participation of the Federal Armed Forces in NATO military actions against Yugoslavia from late March until June triggered demonstrations and rallies, and also damage to property, occupations and attacks.

The "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) unconditionally opposed the NATO-led operations. At the level of domestic politics, it gave the impression of being the only uncompromising opponent of war among the political parties. It used the role thus assigned to it for initiating and/or supporting protest actions.

Already on 12 March, writing in the weekly "*Freitag*", the top functionary of the PDS, André **BRIE**, had made the following comment on the question of the alleged pacifist character of the PDS:

"No, that is not its [the Party's] nature. Nor does it have a pacifist basic consensus. This has never been really discussed. For instance, with regard to national liberation movements or the theory of just wars. Moreover, we have our roots in anything whatsoever excepting a pacifist tradition."

For protest rallies and demonstrations, the PDS sought to form "broad-based alliances" which, however, did not meet its high expectations. This was brought home with particular clarity when an event scheduled for 8 May in Berlin and for which 80,000 persons had been notified, ultimately drew only a few thousand participants.

In view of the elections to the European Parliament on 13 June, the PDS extended its agitation also to the European level. After talks held in March with friendly Communist Parties in Russia, Italy and France, "peace talks" took place in April with the Yugoslav President **MILOSEVIC** in Belgrade. In mid-April, Party Chairman **BISKY** was among the participants in international conferences of - mostly Communist - parties in Greece and on Cyprus. In a joint appeal, top functionaries of Communist Parties from all over Europe and of the PDS in mid-May addressed their demand

to the European Governments and to NATO that the bombings be discontinued.

Left-wing extremist groups and parties such as *Deutsche Kommunistische Partei* (DKP - "German Communist Party"), the Maoist *Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands* (MLPD - "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany") or Trotskyite formations essentially shared the PDS's view of the Kosovo conflict, but their agitation was more aggressive. Thus, for instance, the DKP and "Yugoslav Communists", in a joint declaration of 31 March, argued that the U.S. and its NATO allies revived the war of extermination waged by German fascism against the peoples of Yugoslavia. They called for resolute resistance to the "NATO as a brutal force intent on establishing American dominance over people and nations".

The violence-inclined autonomous scene shared the anti-imperialistic view of traditional Marxists, but expressed more outspoken reservations against the policy of the "MILOSEVIC regime" in Kosovo. Thus, the Berlin scene publication *"INTERIM"* (no. 473) of 8 April commented:

"As a left-winger, you cannot support any of the ruling parties in this war. We find Milosevic's regime and its supporters repulsive, and no justification can ever be found for so-called ethnic cleansing."

The agitation of this scene was, in particular, directed against one of the parties in government, *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*. Violent actions were targeted against events and offices of that party. Thus, a *"Bundesweites autonomes Antikriegsplenum"* ("Nationwide Autonomous Anti-War Plenary") launched an Internet appeal to blockade the Special Party Congress of The Greens in Bielefeld on 13 May:

"We call upon you to occupy the *Seidensticker Halle* in Bielefeld and to prevent the Green Belligerent Party Congress. There is nothing to legitimize a debate on the pros and cons of a NATO war of aggression."

Several hundred left-wing extremists blocked the entrances at the start of the Party Congress. Violence-inclined autonomists tried to overcome the protective barriers and threw paintbags and eggs at policemen and delegates. Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Fischer was injured during the Party Congress by a paintbag targeted at him.

After several occupation actions, militant left-wing extremists also caused damage to property at offices of the Party, for instance damage caused on 28 May to the *Land* Executive Secretariat in Stuttgart by a group called *"Antiimperialistischer Aufbruch"* ("Anti-Imperialist Uprise").

Protests against the solemn-pledge ceremonies of the Federal Armed Forces

Other violent actions by militant left-wing extremists with regard to Kosovo were attempted arson attacks on a Federal Armed Forces (*Bundeswehr*) exhibition in Berlin on 8 May and on the *Info-Box* on *Potsdamer Platz* (Berlin) on 18 May as well as an arson attack on the Tübingen local tax office in the night from 1 to 2 June.

In 1999, as in previous years, left-wing extremists directed "antimilitaristic" actions against the public oath-taking ceremonies for recruits, e.g. in Berlin on 20 July and in Stuttgart on 15 October.

The solemn-pledge ceremony in Berlin was accompanied by noisy and non-peaceful protests; non-extremist organizations ranging from revolutionary-Marxist groups to violence-inclined associations had launched appeals for action. An appeal disseminated on the Internet by an alliance called "*Gelöbnis-Bündnis*"^{#)} contained the following statement:

"With the solemn pledge, the soldiers thus sworn in promise to fulfil their task as an element of a future intervention army. With our protest, we oppose the self-adulation of future murderers. A threat is posed by whoever stands to attention when seeing a regimental standard, by whoever gets pious feelings when hearing the national anthem."

The appeal ended with the request for "imaginative" disruption of the oath-taking ceremonies.

During the closing rally, demonstrators used 'pea' whistles, drums and a public address system. Stones, bottles and beer cans were thrown at police officers. Ten persons stormed the assembly ground and tried to steal the flag of the military unit.

A press release disseminated on 20 July stated, *inter alia*, that - despite massive security arrangements - the antimilitarists of the "*JungdemokratInnen/Junge Linke*" ("Young Democrats/Young Left") had managed to express their protest also within the shielded premises. The perplexed guests and recruits had been forced to take note of the fact that Berlin still was the capital of conscientious objectors and antimilitarists. Also in future, there would be no oath-taking ceremony in Berlin undisturbed by protests.

^{#)} wordplay on the German words "*Gelöbnis*" ("promise", "pledge", "**vow**") and "*nix*" (colloq. for "nothing", "not"), carrying the connotation of "*disavow*"/"promise nothing" [Translator's Note]

3. "Anti-Fascism"

For the vast majority of the groups in the area of left-wing extremism, "anti-fascism" remained a focus of action. While the "anti-fascist" struggle of left-wing extremists purports to be a fight against right-extremist endeavours, its ultimate aim is to eliminate the alleged roots of fascism in the bourgeois "capitalist" system and thus to abolish the free democratic constitutional order of society - since right-wing extremism, according to the Communist doctrine of fascism, has its origin in capitalist class society, and both "fascism" and "middle-class democracy" serve to ensure the rule of capital.

Violence-inclined left-wing extremists candidly disclosed the instrumental character of their "anti-fascist struggle". Thus, a brochure by the "*Antifaschistische Aktion Berlin*" (AAB - "Anti-Fascist Action Berlin") stated:

"Our concept ... is 'Revolutionary Anti-Fascism'. 'Revolutionary' means the orientation to the basic, fundamental upheaval of the existing living conditions. This also includes the refusal to accept to play the game of the existing system. ... Therefore, uncompromising anti-fascism considers the fight against fascism to include the fight against the prevailing social conditions."

Publicly announced events of right-wing extremists often led to the formation of broad-range "anti-fascist alliances" in which militant autonomists, revolutionary-Marxist groups as well as representatives and bodies of the PDS and of non-extremist organizations worked together. In particular, demonstrations of right-wing extremists against the exhibition "*Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944*" ["War of Extermination - The German Army and Genocide. Crimes against War Prisoners, Jews and Other Civilians in the East 1941 - 1944"; short title: "*Wehrmacht* Exhibition"] in various instances provided an occasion for protest actions by left-wing extremists (cf. Chapter III, subsection 1.1, above).

In Osnabrück, on 9 October, up to 1,000 persons - including a large number of violence-inclined left-wing extremists - demonstrated against an anti-Exhibition rally of "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National-Democrats). Violent offenders massively attacked the police with stones, bottles and paintbags and fired aimed shots with signal ammunition. Three police officers were injured; damage was done to six service vehicles. A total of 21 persons were placed under provisional arrest. Already in the period preceding their planned demonstration, left-wing

extremists had encouraged use of violence.

"You know what this means. If you don't turn up, the Nazis won't get a thrashing, but will march. ... We will ... stage a rally which will offer an opportunity for getting together to take action against the fascists."

At mass events of right-extremist parties and organizations, autonomous "*Antifas*" are, above all, seeking direct confrontation with the "Nazis" in the street. However, since this - as some point out - was rendered increasingly difficult by "contingents of cops" disposing of increasingly better equipment and training, it was essential to develop new tactics (cf. Chapter III, sub-section 1.1, above). this includes attacks with the aim of making it difficult or impossible for potential participants in right-extremist events to travel to the respective venues.

Thus, in the night from 24 to 25 May, unidentified perpetrators committed an arson attack on buses of a private coach operator in Schenefeld (Schleswig-Holstein). As a result, three buses completely burnt out (damage: about 1 million DM). A letter claiming responsibility and carrying the [English] headline "Give the fascist buses firebombs" stated that this coach operator recently had repeatedly made money by driving fascists to their demonstrations; experience showed that resolute and militant action against such companies very quickly had the effect that they would withdraw from doing business with the Nazis.

"We consider this approach to be the right one. For this reason, our fire-bombs ... must be understood ... as a warning ... to all ... bus operators. ... Only in this way will they realize that giving support to fascist rallies will have consequences."

Militant "*Antifas*" systematically spy on "*Fachos*" (right-wing extremists, or presumed right-wing extremists) and on their activities and infrastructure. The intelligence thus obtained is often published as "WANTED posters" ("tracing-and-search anti-fascism"), often combined with the - at least indirect - call upon the scene to take action and to practise "anti-fascist self-help".

Since late August, a brochure entitled "*Hinter den Kulissen ... Faschistische Aktivitäten in Brandenburg - Update '99*" ("Behind the scenes ... Fascist activities in Brandenburg - Update '99") has been distributed within the left-extremist scene of Brandenburg; *inter alia*, the brochure covered articles on the history, ideology, organizational structure and strategy of "*Junge Nationaldemokraten*" (JN - "Young National-Democrats"), on the origins of the "*Deutsche Volksunion*" (DVU - "German People's Union"), and on the right-wing "sub-culture" in Brandenburg. In the preface, the editorial staff - calling itself "*Antifaschistisches AutorInnenkollek-*

tiv" ("Anti-Fascist Authors' Collective") - emphasized that, for effective anti-fascist and antiracist work, it was - as before - necessary to retrieve the protagonists of right-extremist ideologies and organizations from their anonymity, and to identify them by name:

"A key element of our work must be to prevent training/instruction, events, concerts and the organization of Nazis. ... This also includes direct confrontation with them. If we want to prevent their meetings, we consciously accept violence as a means of action."

In the night from 27 to 28 October, unidentified perpetrators in Northeim (Lower Saxony) committed an arson attack on the house of the former *Land* Chairman of the - banned - "*Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*" (FAP - "German Workers' Freedom Party"), Thorsten HEISE; the damage to property amounted to about 270,000 DM. A letter claiming responsibility stated:

"THIS IS A BLOW AGAINST THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE FASCIST FREE COMRADESHIPS. HEISE IS THE LEADER OF THE NORTHEIM COMRADESHIP AND THE LEADING ORGANIZER OF THE NAZI SCENE IN THE FRG. ... ALSO IN FUTURE, WE WILL NOT ALLOW THAT THE FASCISTS IN GÖTTINGEN AND ITS SURROUNDINGS WON'T GET A FOOT IN THE DOOR"

Already on 26 June, in Northeim (Lower Saxony), some 500 persons, including AAB members, participated in a demonstration under the motto "*Den rechten Vormarsch stoppen! - Weg mit der faschistischen Kameradschaft Northeim!*" ("Stop the advance of the right-wingers! - Abolish the fascist comradeship of Northeim!"). In particular, the militant "*Autonome Antifa (M)*" from Göttingen had mobilized people to participate in that demonstration. During the march, the following slogans, among others, were chanted:

"Chase the Nazis, and also beat them - destroy the entire bloody system!"; and

"Anti-fascist resistance: united stand - there is no untroubled hinterland!"

4. Campaign by Left-Wing Extremists against Nuclear Energy and the Use of Genetic Engineering

The campaign against nuclear energy continued to be the most important action field for militant left-wing extremists. In view of the developments after the [post-election] change of Government,

the Federal Government was blamed for the alleged fact that all measures agreed in the Coalition Agreement regarding the planned opting out of nuclear energy had "by and by ended up on the rubbish heap of unfulfilled promises" ¹⁵⁷.

"*Sägen am Atomstaat*" ("Giving the axe to the nuclear state") was the motto under which "Autonomous Groups", in a letter claiming responsibility for an attack on a powerline pole of *Deutsche Bahn AG* (24 March, near Dietersdorf/Brandenburg; property damage: about 500,000 DM), made clear what their anti-constitutional aims were:

"We didn't anyway indulge in the illusion that the announced opting out process would be pursued in a resolute manner. ... As before, it is the truth that only confidence in our own fighting strength and in autonomous action can set anything in motion. One of our major aims - and one of many others as well - continues to be the shut-down of all nuclear plants [NPP] worldwide, and make it *subito*!

With its various forms of action, ranging from sit-ins to militant attacks, the anti-NPP movement has built up significant pressure. We have the chance to decide the NPP issue in our favour. To achieve this, it is necessary to develop and expand a counter-power to the ruling structures. ... The path to a liberated society is long and strewn with many stumbling blocks. ... In pursuing this course, infraction of the rules set by the opposing side is inevitable."

("INTERIM", no. 473 of 8 April 1999)

The prevention of CASTOR (**C**ask for **S**torage and **T**ransport of **R**adioactive Material) transports, as well as of intermediate storage sites for nuclear waste, is seen by anti-nuclear activists as providing a lever for enforcing the shut-down of nuclear plants ("blockage strategy") ¹⁵⁸.

Another priority - and starting point - proposed for the anti-NPP movement was an intensified campaign against transports of uranium hexafluoride (UF₆) which is required as a nuclear fuel for nuclear power plants ¹⁵⁹. However, the propagandized "UF₆ Campaign" only met with little response in 1999. Nor did this campaign gain any new impetus from the serious accident which on 30 September occurred in the fuel element fabrication plant in Tokaimura (Japan) where also uranium hexafluoride is processed.

The activities of left-extremist groups against the use of nuclear power was clearly paralleled by the growing commitment to the movement against genetic engineering - which, however, is primarily organized by non-extremist action groups. Left-wing extremists respond with agitation and actions to the issue which is the subject of controversial public debate; however, as declared

by them, their resistance to the use of genetic engineering is part of their fight against the system existing in the Federal Republic. Forms of militant resistance are widely accepted among these groups. Thus, an article entitled "Genetic engineering - *Life can be magic*" in the scene publication "*Brücke - Linke Zeitung aus Kassel*" (no. 60 of April 1999) bluntly stated:

"By a combination of demonstrations, occupation of fields, field inspections, public harvesting before the proper time, sit-ins or blockades of companies, research institutions and decision-making bodies, broadly publicized actions in, and in front of, food shops, destruction of fields, and acts of sabotage, it is possible to keep the issue alive in public debate, to throw a spanner in the system's works, and to increase the pressure on the mighty in this country."

The priority target of militant opponents of genetic engineering were the field trial areas which are difficult to screen off. Destruction of transgenic seeds and plants resulted in damage to property and in economic consequential losses amounting, in instances, to several hundred thousands of *deutschmark*.

5. "Fight against EXPO 2000"

Left-wing extremists continued their agitation against the planned world exhibition "EXPO 2000" (1 June - 31 October 2000) in Hanover. However, efforts to indoctrinate various "sectoral movements" with this issue tapered off. Interest in nationwide "anti-EXPO meetings" organized primarily by left-wing extremists decreased.

The abbreviated slogan "*EXPO angreifen*" ("attack EXPO") became a catchword within the autonomous scene. Thus, in its issue no. 12 (February 1999), the Potsdam-based scene publication "*buratino*" published an article on the "anti-EXPO" campaign, together with a photo of street fighting and the appeal:

"attack EXPO!"

The scene publication "*RAZZ - Zeitung für ein radikales Hannover*", on the front page of its issue no. 116/October 1999, encouraged readers to carry out attacks. The legend under a stylized picture of an autonomist hurling a Molotov cocktail read as follows:

"they've got names and addresses
window panes and cars -
attack EXPO"

As in previous years, acts of violence were directed against in-

stitutions and companies which are involved in the planning and realization of the world exhibition or support the project in other ways, e.g. as so-called world partners or product partners.

During the night from 17 to 18 June, unidentified offenders - obviously as part of a co-ordinated action - threw paving-stones and smashed shop windows of two branches of the Hanover *Stadtsparkasse* [municipal savings bank] (world partner of EXPO 2000); the damage caused amounted to some 15,000 DM. The slogans "EXPO ATTACK" and "ATTACK EXPO!" were sprayed on the entrance doors.

In the period from 9 to 12 July, unidentified intruders destroyed window panes and headlights of six construction vehicles on the fair compounds of "*EXPO Park-Süd*" which are secured with chain-link fencing. The damage caused amounted to about 18,000 DM.

During the night from 13 to 14 September, unidentified persons intruded into the construction site for a multi-purpose hall of *Volkswagen AG* (world partner of EXPO 2000) in Braunschweig [Brunswick] and damaged two construction vehicles with concrete foam. At the site they left a flier with the slogan "attack on EXPO & VW hall" and the agitatorial statement:

"We will step up our attacks & call upon all like-minded people to resolutely attack the EXPO and similar targets!! For militant resistance!!"

Also in Braunschweig, and based on the same rationale, bank buildings were attacked with butyric acid on 19 September.

VI. Propaganda and Communications Media

1. Publishers, Distribution Companies, and Periodic Publications

In 1999, nearly 40 publishing houses and distribution companies serving a left-extremist audience disseminated newspapers, journals and books. The total number of their periodical publications - some 230 - and the total number of copies - about 8 million - have remained constant as compared to the previous year.

2. New Communications Media

Left-wing extremists also made use of electronic communication media such as the Internet and mailboxes for promoting their public image and for agitation and mobilization.

In this context, the Internet - especially the WorldWideWeb (WWW) - mainly serves to provide information intended to be generally accessible; for internal communications, use is chiefly made of mailboxes.

2.1 Internet

Almost the entire left-extremist spectrum is by now represented on the Internet.

Larger left-extremist organizations, such as the "German Communist Party" (DKP), the "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany" (MLPD) and the "*Rote Hilfe e.V.*" (RH - "Red Aid"), make use of the facilities provided by the Internet in the same way as is done by most autonomous groups, e.g. the Göttingen-based "*Autonome Antifa (M)*", the "*Antifaschistische Aktion Berlin*" (AAB) and the Stuttgart-based group "*AQuadrat*" ("A squared").

Also the "Party of Democratic Socialism" (PDS) is presented on the Internet. Its homepage offers, for instance, current press reports and press statements by the PDS parliamentary group of the *Bundestag* and a variety of publications. A comprehensive list of links refers to the Internet sites of (PDS) *Land* and district associations.

In addition to the "nadir" project which was set up by members of the autonomous scene in Hamburg and which continues to have a role model function for the left-extremist Internet sector, new projects have been developed as well. By now, a large variety of Internet sites publish appeals and announce event schedules which are of interest to the left-extremist scene.

Thus, the "*PARTISAN.net*" ^{#)} provided by individuals from the Berlin autonomous scene has expanded its offer. The "*Infopool*" of the "*PARTISAN.net*" provides current news of interest to the scene, which also can be obtained from a "mailing list" (automatic mailing service). In addition, the project "*Die Linke Seite*" ("The Left Side/Site") has made its appearance on the Internet since April. "*Die Linke Seite*" views itself as a "nationwide leftist communication and information media" with the aim of bringing about "better co-ordination of projects, initiatives and groups in their mutual relations". Their Internet sites offer detailed event schedules, a comprehensive list of links, and information on "political prisoners", among others.

The Internet was used mainly for the dissemination of reports and appeals for participation in demonstrations with reference to the "anti-fascist struggle". Other priority subjects were the "anti-NPP campaign", the participation of the Federal Armed Forces in NATO-led military operations, and the situation of "political prisoners", "disruptive action" against the public oath-taking ceremonies for recruits, and the "Kurdish liberation struggle".

2.2 Mailboxes

A large number of left-extremist groups continue to use commercial mailboxes and their networks. These closed user networks are, as before, of significance for the exchange of information among politically like-minded people.

Information intended for dissemination to a wider audience is entered openly on the Internet newsgroups, for instance, by means of gateways reaching beyond the mailbox system. Often appeals by left-wing extremists will first be published in mailboxes before being provided on homepages as well.

^{#)} acronym: "*Projekt Archive Radikaler Theorie Info System Alternativer Nachrichten*" ("Project Archives of Radical Theory Info System Alternative News") [Translator's Note]

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Security Endangering and Extremist Activities by Foreigners

I. Overview

Internal security in the Federal Republic of Germany continued also in 1999 to be endangered by supporters of politically extremist and terrorist associations of foreigners. With their activities in Germany, they reacted primarily to political developments and current events in their respective countries of origin.

In addition to the ideological concepts of left and right-wing extremism, also Islamism (Islamic fundamentalism) ¹⁶⁰⁾ has developed into a challenge to the free democratic society in the Federal Republic of Germany and in other West European countries with a large Muslim population. The extremist-Islamic (Islamistic) groups which are active on the territory of the Federal Republic no longer only wish to replace the systems of government and social systems existing in their home countries with an Islamistic social system based on the Qur'an [Koran] and on the *shari'a* (Islamic judicial system), but also increasingly to provide the conditions for their supporters to enjoy their appropriate form of community life also within the Federal Republic. According to Islamistic tenets, the *shari'a*, i.e. the Koran and Sunnah (the traditional social and legal practice of the early Muslims) and hadiths (the record of the words, actions and approbations of the prophet Muhammad) contained therein, *a priori* provides for an Islamic social system covering all spheres of life, which is to be established everywhere. On account of their divine origin, the socio-political concepts of Islamism are assumed to be the only social system which, in all aspects, fully corresponds to human nature. After the decline of Communism and the failure, as perceived by Islamists, of capitalism which is characterized by decadence and immorality, Islamism, as a system ordained by God and as the "third path", would continue its triumphant advance and establish the "civilized" society craved for by all people, in which state rule would no longer depend on man's arbitrariness, but would emanate exclusively from God. On account of their claim to absoluteness, the notions of Islamists collide with the fundamental principles of the free democratic basic order, such as the principle of sovereignty of the people, the principle of majority rule, or the right to education and a parliamentary opposition.

Islamistic political thinking also comprises a tactical attitude towards the use-of-force issue. In the view of many Islamist theoreticians, the "Jihad" (literally: war [with one's inner self], holy war), as an instrument for achieving the Islamistic social order, includes all means helping their cause to triumph. Thus, the majority of Islamistic groups from the Arabian region advocates the

use of force as a means for enforcing their aims. On the other hand, the Turkish "*Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V.*" (IGMG - "Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd)") which, in the Federal Republic, is the Islamistic group with the largest membership, relies on political activities for achieving transformation of the social order.

Left-extremist foreigner groups pursue "revolutionary disintegration" of the respective system of government of their countries of origin with the aim of establishing a socialist or communist system in those countries. These organizations adhere to Marxist-Leninist and, in part, to Maoist positions. Most of them engage in "anti-imperialist" agitation which is directed primarily in particular, against the United States of America. Within a number of foreigner groups (especially Kurdish and Tamil organizations), the original left-extremist orientation is increasingly superseded by ethnically motivated activities and demands for autonomy or independence.

A distinguishing feature of extreme-nationalist foreigner groups is an exaggerated form of nationalism which sees the own nation as the greatest good, both in political/territorial and in ethnic/cultural terms, and at the same time negates the interests and rights of other peoples. According to this thinking, a person's value is determined solely by his/her ethnic or racial affiliation. Thus, people's being different is reinterpreted as people's having a different value. Turkish nationalists increasingly combine this attitude with Islamistic ideology.

Extremist foreigner groups continued to be very popular also in 1999. The number of its members and supporters again increased slightly and with 59,700 (1998: 59,100), reached the highest level throughout the 1990s. After the downward tendency to be observed during previous years, the number of acts of violence showed a marked increase. This was due to the events surrounding the leader of the "Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)", Abdullah **ÖCALAN**. The PKK supporters Europe-wide responded with protests to his capture in Kenya on 15 February and to his transfer to Turkey. In addition to demonstrations, there also were occupations of diplomatic missions, including those of Greece and Kenya, and numerous arson attacks on Turkish installations. Pronouncement of the death sentence passed against **ÖCALAN** by the Turkish State Security Court on 29 June was followed by another wave of acts of violence committed by PKK supporters. Despite appeals by the PKK leadership to keep protests peaceful, arson attacks were committed on Turkish travel agencies, Cultural Associations and shops in a number of German towns and cities. Striving to preserve the PKK as a political force, **ÖCALAN** called upon the organization on 2 August to discontinue the armed struggle; the guerrilla units were to withdraw from

Turkey. Subsequently, Osman **ÖCALAN**, the brother of the PKK chairman and a member of the PKK Presidential Council, on 1 September declared the end of the PKK's armed struggle which had been going on for 15 years; this was to apply also in the event that the death sentence passed against his brother would be executed. In future, the organization would try to achieve its aims by political struggle.

However, the PKK sees its offer of peace as an advance concession to elicit subsequent concessions by the Turkish Government. As before, first place is taken by the expectation that **ÖCALAN** will not be put to death. In the event that the death sentence were executed, the responses of PKK supporters would be incalculable. In that case, Osman **ÖCALAN** said in October, it would be for the Kurdish people to decide on what should be done. He assumed that the Kurds would then fight with all means at their disposal.

Among the Islamist groups, the Turkish "*Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V.*" (IGMG - Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd)) is particularly important, especially on account of its membership (some 27,000 persons) and its organizational level (more than 500 mosque associations and other institutions in Germany). This organization supports the endeavours of the Islamist "Fazilet Partisi" (FP - "Virtue Party") to abolish the laicized state structure of Turkey. In Germany and other European countries, it tries to profit from the integration problems of Turks living in those countries and to tie them to the organization by means of religious and social support and care. On the pretext of wishing to preserve the "Islamic identity and culture", the IGMG's real objective is to obtain latitude for Islamic positions also in the social life of the Federal Republic of Germany and to enable its supporters to live an allegedly God-ordained life in compliance with the *shari'a* also in Germany.

"The Caliphate State", which among Muslims is quite isolated, calls upon the Turkish Muslims living in Germany to join the "*Jihad*" against the laicized Turkish state. Turkey was to be governed again by the Koran and the precepts of the *shari'a*. Even after the arrest of its self-proclaimed caliph Metin **KAPLAN** on 25 March, there has been no change in its agitation activities. **KAPLAN** is detained for trial, upon suspicion of having been a ringleader in a criminal association and having engaged in public incitement to criminal acts while in provisional custody. The criminal prosecution authorities also have instituted investigations against supporters of **KAPLAN** who have travelled from Germany to Turkey and are said to have prepared terrorist attacks in that latter country.

Some of the Algerian Islamists living in Germany continue to be involved in the logistic support for armed Islamic groups in their

home country. On 16 July, a presumed supporter of the Algerian "Armed Islamic Group" (GIA) was arrested in the Netherlands, who (together with two other persons) in Frankfurt/Main on 30 June had, during a vehicle road check, fired aimed shots at police officers. In the course of that shoot-out, two officers were seriously injured, and another two suffered slight injuries.

Supporters of Islamist organizations from the Near East - supporters of the Palestinian "Islamic Resistance Movement" (Hamas) and of the Lebanese "Hizbollah" (God's Party) - continued to criticize the Near East peace process, but confined their activities in Germany essentially to propaganda and occasional demonstrations.

As before, threats to internal State security are also posed by left-extremist Turkish groups. Although the factional fighting - which in Germany in former years had repeatedly involved use of firearms - between the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP-C)¹⁶¹⁾ and the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front - Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C - Devrimci Sol)¹⁶²⁾ has not been continued since February 1998, the two organizations, which since August 1998 have been banned in Germany, continue to show a high degree of propensity to violence. On 17 February, three DHKP-C functionaries were sentenced to long prison terms, *inter alia* for having been ringleaders in a terrorist association; criminal proceedings have been instituted against additional functionaries of this group.

It is not yet possible to make a reliable assessment of the impact of developments in Kosovo on the Kosovar Albanian groups in Germany. There are indications of disputes among the various groups about a Kosovo government that would be acceptable to them. Tied to these arguments was, *inter alia*, provided by the question as to which organization should have access to the funds donated by Kosovar Albanians in Germany.

II. Overview in Statistics

1. *Organization and Member Potential* ¹⁶³⁾

In 1999, 67 (1998: 65) extremist organizations of foreigners were active in the Federal Republic of Germany,¹⁶⁴⁾ of which many pursue their aims also with terrorist means. Bans under the Act regulating the Law of Public Associations (Vereinsgesetz) were imposed on three of these organizations. The member potential of all groups increased to 59,700 persons (1998: 59,100). With approx. 31,350 members (1998: some 31,300), the Islamistic organizations can rely on the largest number of supporters. As before, the "*Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V.*" (IGMG - Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd)), with about 27,000 members, was the organization with the largest membership ¹⁶⁵⁾.

The member potential of foreigner groups which follow left-extremist concepts or organizational principles slightly increased to 19,550 (1998: 19,350). Against the background of the events surrounding its leader Abdullah ÖCALAN, the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) gained additional supporters. At the end of the year 1999, it had approx. 12,000 members (1998: 11,500).

The member potential of foreign extreme-nationalists also showed a slight increase to 8,800 (1998: 8,450).

The ratio of extremist foreigners to the resident population (some 7.5 million) has, for many years, stayed under one per cent.

Member Potential of Extremist Foreigner Organizations^{*)}									
Nationality or Ethnicity		Left-Wing Extremists		Extreme Nationalists		Islamists		Total	
		Groups	Persons	Groups	Persons	Groups	Persons	Groups	Persons
Kurds ^{**)}	1999	23	12,400					23	12,400
	1998	23	11,900					23	11,900
	1997	22	11,800					22	11,800
Turks ^{**)}	1999	12	4,850	1	7,800	5	28,150	18	40,800
	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
Arabs	1999	4	150			11	2,950	15	3,100
	1998	4	200			11	2,740	15	2,940
	1997	4	300			11	2,500	15	2,800
Iranians	1999	1	900			1	150	2	1,050
	1998	1	900			1	150	2	1,050
	1997	1	900			1	200	2	1,100
Other	1999	4	1,250	4	1,000	1	100	9	2,350
	1998	4	1,250	3	950			7	2,200
	1997	4	1,000	3	1,000			7	2,000
Total	1999	44	19,550	5	8,800	18	31,350	67	59,700
	1998	44	19,350	4	8,450	17	31,300	65	59,100
	1997	40	19,400	4	8,000	17	30,800	61	58,200

^{*)} The figures are partly estimated and rounded off.

^{**)} Including banned groups.

2. Criminal Offences / Acts of Violence

Further increase in acts of violence

Also in 1999, the willingness of individual extremist foreigner organizations to use force threatened the internal security of the Federal Republic of Germany. For the first time since 1996, the number of acts of violence committed by foreign extremists increased again: 391 acts of violence were recorded (1998: 258); this amounts to an increase by about 51.6 per cent. The total number of criminal offences went up by about 7.6 % to 2,536 (1998: 2,356).

The increase in acts of violence is, for the major part, due to the actions taken by the supporters of the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) after the capture of their leader Abdullah ÖCALAN and his transfer to Turkey on 15 February and after the pronouncement of the death sentence passed against him on 29 June.

Violence in donation rackets

Acts of violence were again triggered by fund-raising campaigns of extremist Turkish and Kurdish organizations and by in-fighting among such organizations. In 1999, too, acts of violence committed by foreign extremists involved numerous cases of serious bodily injury and homicidal attempts.

Overview of Acts of Violence and Other Criminal Offences with Proven or Suspected Extremist Foreigner Background ^{*)}

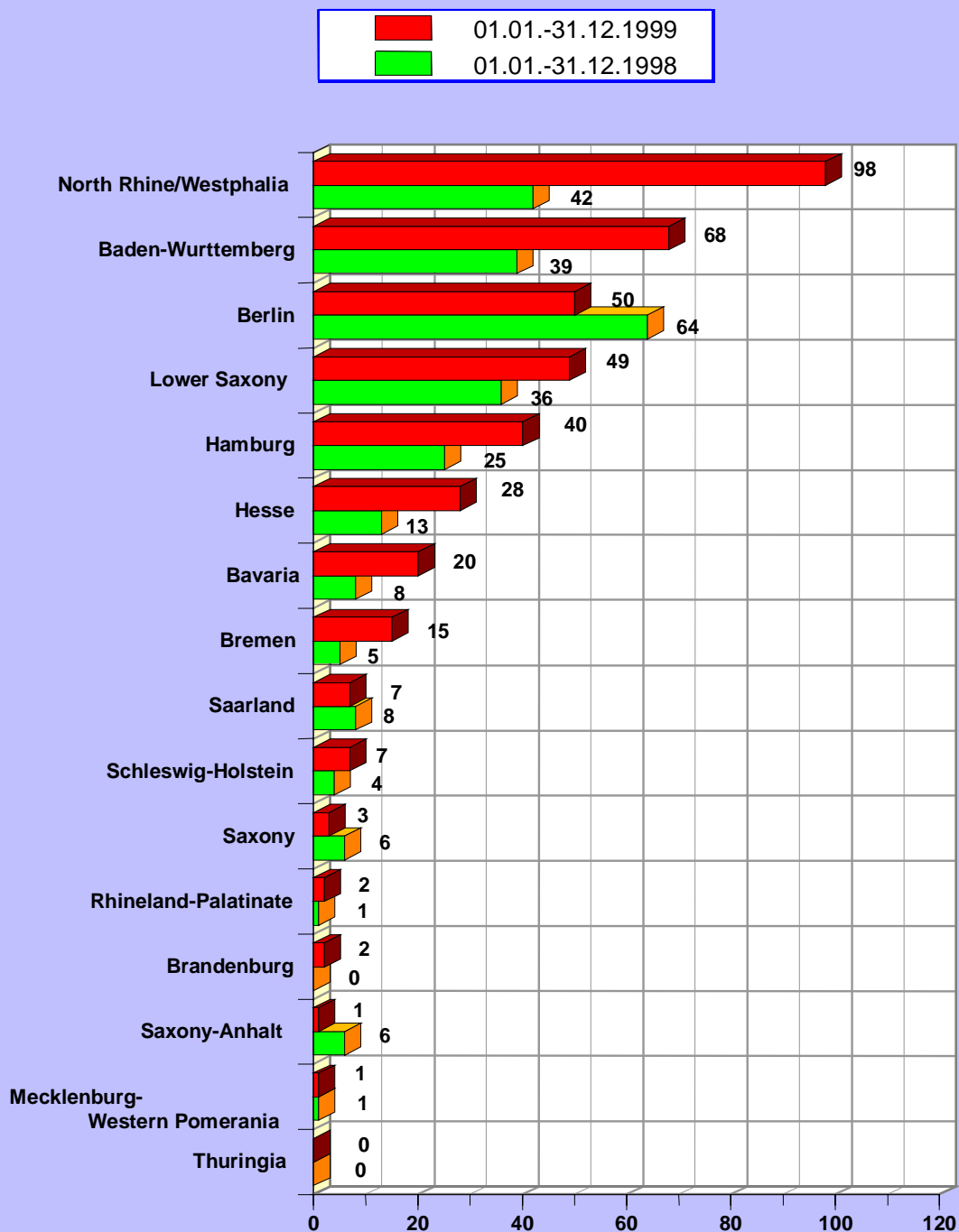
	1998	1999
Acts of violence		
Homicide	1	1
Attempted homicide	5	7
Bodily injury	66	83
Arson	5	101
Causing a detonation by explosives	2	3
Breach of public peace	36	103
Illegal restraint (deprivation of liberty)	9	20
Robbery/blackmail	134	73
Total	258	391
Other offences:		
Criminal damage to property	141	317
Coercion/threat	125	303
Other offences ^{**)}	1,832	1,525
Total	2,098	2,145
Total number of offences	2,356	2,536

^{*)} The figures are based on data provided by the Federal Office of Criminal Police (Bundeskriminalamt - BKA) (as of 04.02.2000).

This overview includes both committed and attempted offences. Every offence was counted only once. For instance, if a case of a breach of the public peace was committed in concomitance with bodily injury, only the breach of the public peace is shown in the statistics. If several criminal offences were committed, only the more serious offence was counted.

^{**)} For the major part: violations of statutory prohibitions under the Act regulating the Law of Public Associations (Vereinsgesetz), most of which were committed by supporters of left-extremist Kurdish and Turkish groups.

**Acts of Violence with Proven or Suspected
Foreigner-Extremist Motivation**
- by Land (federal state) -



III. Main Activities by Individual Foreigner Groups

1. Turks (excluding Kurds)

1.1 Overview

For years, membership of extremist Turkish organizations in Germany has amounted to approx. 40,000 persons. Also in 1999, the agitation subjects of most groups were largely determined by political events in Turkey. In late September, for instance, Turkish left-wing extremists reacted to mutinies in Turkish prisons with a nation-wide wave of protests in Germany. But also intra-German issues and decisions in the field of aliens policy triggered reactions by Turkish extremists.

The factional fighting - which in Germany in former years was violent and regularly involved the use of firearms - between the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front" (DHKP-C) and the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front - Revolutionary Left" (THKP/-C - Devrimci Sol) was discontinued.

The two wings of the "Turkish Communist Party/Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML), which carry out terrorist operations in Turkey, refrained from violence in Germany and confined themselves mostly to propaganda activities.

This was also the case with the "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party" (MLKP) which ceased its violent actions against members of its rival "Communist Party - Development Organization" (KP-IÖ).

The Turkish Islamistic organization "*Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V.*" (IGMG - Islamic Community Milli Görüs) made great efforts to recruit and integrate ethnic Turkish youths growing up in Germany.

The dominant issue within the organization "The Califate State", which in past years called itself "Union of Islamic Clubs and Communities (reg'd), Cologne" (ICCB), was the arrest of its leader Metin KAPLAN on 25 March. The supporters of the extreme-nationalist "Federation of Turkish Democratic Clubs of Idealists in Europe (reg'd)" (ADÜTDF) which functions as a reservoir for the Turkish party "National Movement Party" (MHP), see their position underpinned by the MHP success in the legislative elections in Turkey on 18 April.

1.2 Left-Wing Extremists

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

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1994 in Damascus (Syria), after the split-up of " <i>Devrimci Sol</i> " [Revolutionary Left] which was founded in Turkey in 1978 and banned in Germany in 1983
Banned:	on 13 August 1998, by the Federal Ministry of the Interior
Leadership:	group of functionaries
Members:	about 1,000 (1998: approx. 1,100)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , " <i>Devrimci Sol</i> " ("Revolutionary Left"), published at irregular intervals

The "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C), which was founded as the successor of "Devrimci Sol" and was banned in Germany in August 1998, strives for the violent disintegration of the Turkish state system and for the establishment of a classless society on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. For achievement of their aims, members of the organization committed terrorist attacks on government institutions in Turkey. Thus, in a statement published, *inter alia*, on the Internet on 10 September, the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Front" (DHKC), the armed wing of DHKP-C, claimed responsibility for bomb attacks on field offices of two Turkish ministries in Istanbul (Turkey); as a result, 20 people were injured. On 4 June, DHKC members attempted an attack with a rocket launcher on the U.S. Consulate-General in Istanbul; Turkish security forces succeeded in preventing the execution of this attack.

After the split-up of "Devrimci Sol" in 1992, the respective supporters of DHKP-C and of the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front - Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C - Devrimci Sol) have continued their feud; through joint campaigns and action alliances with left-extremist organizations, they marginalize each other. However, mutual violent attacks, sometimes involving use of firearms, which in former years frequently occurred also in the Federal Republic, have stopped. This probably is also due to the numerous criminal proceedings instituted against leading DHKP-C members.

German courts sentence

Thus, for instance, the Hamburg Hanseatic Higher Regional

Court of Appeal (OLG) on 17 February sentenced the organization's executive for Germany to ten years' imprisonment for ringleadership in a terrorist association and on two charges of attempted homicide, and a DHKP-C activist to life imprisonment on a murder charge. Also, other leading DHKP-C members were sentenced to long prison terms by German courts. The Public Prosecutor General (GBA) at the Federal Court of Justice has brought charges against several functionaries, including the former DHKP-C press spokesman, on suspicion of membership of a terrorist association. The DHKP-C executive for Europe was arrested in Switzerland in mid-October on the basis of an international arrest warrant issued by the investigating judge of the Federal Court of Justice (BGH). He was extradited to the Federal Republic of Germany on 17 March 2000. On 26 September 1999, weapons and forged documents were seized in a safehouse (clandestine apartment) of the DHKP-C in Knokke (Belgium).

In connection with the criminal proceedings and criminal investigation, the DHKP-C protested against the "persecution and criminalization of international liberation movements" and launched an Internet appeal for solidarity.

Also, the protest campaign was continued against the ban imposed by the decree of 13 August 1998, which became non-appealable on 1 February 2000. On the Internet, which is intensively used by the DHKP-C for propaganda purposes, the organization made the following statement:

"DHKP-C will achieve that all the demagoguery and bans on the part of German imperialism will come to nothing."

The pressure exercised by criminal prosecution authorities, but also financial problems, forced the DHKP-C to give up several apartments and offices which served as its bases; major events had to be moved to neighbouring countries. Thus, the central event celebrating the 5th anniversary of its foundation and dedicated to the memory of the "revolutionaries who died in combat" on 10 April was organized in Genk (Belgium), with the participation of some 5,000 persons.

Apart from Turkey, the focus of DHKP-C agitation is mainly on the U.S. This was evidenced, *inter alia*, by its Internet comments on the Kosovo conflict:

"What the U.S. imperialists - in other words: today's Nazis - ... wish to contrive with the occupation of Kosovo ... is to secure the imperialist hegemony in the Balkans."

Although the DHKP-C's relationship with the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) has been strained for quite some time - the current political PKK course (cf. sub-para. 2.2.1 below) was qualified as

betrayal of the revolution - the DHKP-C declared its solidarity with the Kurdish resistance movement.

When in late September jail riots broke out in several Turkish prisons, almost all of the Turkish revolutionary-Marxist groups in the Federal Republic of Germany, first of all the DHKP-C, organized solidarity rallies and protest demonstrations in front of Turkish consulates-general and the Embassy. On the Internet, with the slogan "Fascism's insatiable appetite for bloodshed", the group appealed to all "revolutionary" organizations and to the general public to stage protests and to support the prisoners.

1.2.2 "Türkiye Halk Kurtulus Partisi/-Cephesi - Devrimci Sol " (THKP/-C - Devrimci Sol; "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front - Revolutionary Left")

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	in the mid-90s, as a break-away group of " <i>Devrimci Sol</i> " [Revolutionary Left] which was founded in Turkey in 1978 and banned in Germany in 1983
Banned:	on 13 August 1998, by the Federal Ministry of the Interior
Leadership:	a group of functionaries
Members:	about 100 (1998: approx. 100)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , " <i>Devrimci Cözüm</i> " ("Revolutionary Solution"), monthly

Supporters of THKP/C - Devrimci Sol now pursue only few public activities

Since the ban of 13 August 1998 on its political activities, the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front - Revolutionary Left" (THKP/-C - Devrimci Sol) - which follows the same ideological line as the DHKP-C - has pursued only few public activities. As in the case of the DHKP-C, this development is likely to be due to the organization's dire financial situation and, in addition, to the criminal prosecution measures taken in Germany. Thus, on 26 January, a regional functionary of "THKP/-C - Devrimci Sol" was sentenced by the Hamburg Regional Court ("*Landgericht*") to a total of two years and eight months of prison for having violated the War Weapons Control Act ("*Kriegswaffenkontrollgesetz*" - *KWKG*), the Weapons Act, and the Explosives Act.

The focus of "THKP/-C - Devrimci Sol" activities was on journalistic work to bring out its revolutionary aims:

"With our revolution, we want to create a classless, free world ... At a time when imperialism, using all methods available, every day develops new attacks for the take-over of the world, it must be the revolutionaries' task to re-organize all forces ... and, wherever possible, to provide the basis for a common approach, for joint attacks."

("Devrimci Cözüm", no. 24 of February 1999, p. 3/4)

On April 11, the organization held an indoor meeting in Basle (Switzerland), for which it managed to mobilize some 1,300 participants.

After the arrest of the PKK leader Abdullah ÖCALAN, the group disseminated pamphlets in which it declared its solidarity with the Kurdish people. In a publication of September, it criticized the PKK's peace initiative and reproached the PKK with "breaking away from the revolutionary forces".

1.2.3 "Turkish Communist Party/Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded: 1972 (in Turkey)

Members: about 1,900 (1998: approx. 2,000)

The organization is split into

"Partizan" Wing

Leadership: a group of functionaries

Members: about 1,100 (1998: approx. 1,200)

Publications: "*Özgür Gelecek*" ("Free Future"),
biweekly;
"*Partizan*" ("The Partisan")

and

"East Anatolian Area Committee" (DABK)

Leadership: a group of functionaries

Members: about 800 (1998: approx. 800)

Publications: "*Halkın Günlüğü*" ("People's Diary"),
biweekly;
"*İsci Köylü Kurtuluşu*" ("Workers' and Farmers' Liberation")

The "Turkish Communist Party/Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML) is oriented to Marxist-Leninist and Maoist ideas.

The objectives of the organization, which in 1994 split into the two wings "*Partizan*" and "East Anatolian Area Committee" (DABK), are the disintegration of the Turkish state structure by means of a

TKP/ML propagandizes
massive violence for
achieving its aims

"democratic popular revolution" and the establishment of a Communist social system. For these purposes, the TKP/ML also endorses use of violent means. The party organ of the "*Partizan*" wing stated the following, *inter alia*:

"We are an organization which, together with our battle strategy, is devoted entirely to the democratic popular revolution, Socialism and Communism. We know that along our chosen path, a death toll will be inflicted upon us and we, in our turn, will kill ... We will smash the state of the capitalist bourgeoisie, of employers and big landowners, and introduce the democratic people's rule."
("Özgür Gelecek", no. 141 of 8 March 199, p. 12)

TKP/ML not only propagandizes violence but, with its military arm "Turkish Workers' and Farmers' Liberation Army" (TIKKO), which is dominated by the "*Partizan*" wing, it also carries out terrorist acts in Turkey. Thus, in a press statement, the organization claimed responsibility for a bomb attack made on the provincial governor of the Turkish town of Çankýrý on 5 March; three persons were killed, and the governor was seriously injured.

Some 5,000 persons from all parts of the Federal Republic were mobilized to attend an indoor meeting of the "*Partizan*" wing, which was held in Giessen on 24 April in commemoration of the deceased TKP/ML party founder, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, and on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the party's foundation. To mark the occasion, another indoor meeting, attended by some 4,000 visitors, was held by the DABK in Leverkusen on 15 May.

Both TKP/ML wings operate base organizations, which largely cover up their affiliation with the TKP/ML, in Germany and other European countries. However, at the events organized by them, their activity is geared to the organization's aims and they support it financially with the funds collected during such events. With the "Confederation of Workers from Turkey in Europe" (ATIK) and the "Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (reg'd)" (ATIF), the dominating "*Partizan*" wing disposes of base organizations which, however, developed only minor public activities. The focus of ATIK was on youth work and reinforcement of its grassroots organization. The two DABK base organizations, "Federation for Democratic Rights in Germany" (ADHF) and "Confederation for Democratic Rights in Europe" (ADHK) concentrated on propaganda; they, too, agitate against imperialism and call for the overthrow of the Turkish Government. Both federations dwelt on the subject of the arrest of PKK leader Abdullah ÖCALAN, and appealed to their supporters to show solidarity, out of a "revolutionary community spirit", with the Kurdish resistance.

1.2.4 "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party" (MLKP)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1994 (in Turkey)
Leadership:	a group of functionaries
Members:	about 700 (1998: 700)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , " <i>Politikada Atilim</i> " ("Political Attack"), biweekly

**MLKP agitates against
World Economic Summit in
Cologne**

The "Marxist-Leninist Communist Party" (MLKP) also aims at the disintegration, by force, of the Turkish state structure and at the establishment of a Communist social system in Turkey. Accordingly, the MLKP in Turkey also took violent action including attacks on candidates and polling stations of middle-class parties. In Germany, on the other hand, the organization focused on propaganda activities. Of the few public activities, the nation-wide meeting on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the party's foundation in Leverkusen on 13 November was a prominent event. With the "Federation of Immigrant Workers from Turkey in Germany (reg'd)" (AGIF), the party disposes of a nation-wide base (grassroots) organization. Its work priorities include the "fight against imperialism". Thus an AGIF pamphlet disseminated on the occasion of the World Economic Summit held in Cologne in June read as follows:

"At this so-called World Economic Summit, the richest representatives of the world will discuss their possibilities for further exploitation of the Third World countries. To the general public, this will then be propagandized as debt relief, but in reality this means ruthless over-exploitation of resources, more unemployment and misery for these countries ... If we do not want to pay the costs of the combines' and banks' greed for profit, we must say no to the imperialistic policy. For imperialism is nothing else but war, pauperization and oppression."

Violent reactions were triggered off by the killing of an AGIF supporter in Cologne on 1 July. The organization blamed this on supporters of the extreme-nationalist Turkish "National Movement Party" (MHP). During a demonstration march organized by the AGIF in Cologne on 2 July, in which some 300 persons participated, violent attacks on police officers took place.

There were no more reports of violent clashes between supporters of the MLKP and its break-away group and rival "Communist

Party - Development Organization" (KP-IÖ). On 30 June, the Duisburg Regional Court ("*Landgericht*") sentenced an MLKP member to imprisonment for life. As established by the Court, the convicted person had been involved in the murder of a KP-IÖ functionary in Duisburg in August 1996. His accomplice also had - already in March 1997 - been sentenced to life imprisonment for this crime.

1.3 Turkish Islamists

1.3.1 "The Caliphate State", formerly also: "Union of Islamic Clubs and Communities (reg'd), Cologne" (ICCB)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1984 in Cologne
Headquarters:	Cologne
Leadership:	Metin KAPLAN
Members:	about 1,100 (1998: approx. 1,200)
Publications:	" <i>Ümmet-i-Muhammed</i> " ("Muhammad's Community"), weekly

The organization "The Caliphate State" (*Hilafet Devleti*), which is led by the self-proclaimed "Emir of the Faithful and Caliph of the Muslims" Metin **KAPLAN**, strives for the abolition of the laicized Turkish state structure and social system and for the establishment of an Islamic State on the basis of the Koran and the *shari'a*, with world supremacy of Islam as the ultimate goal.

For dissemination of its Islamic tenets, "The Caliphate State" primarily relies on its organ "*Ümmet-i Muhammed*" ("Muhammad's Community"). This publication bluntly rejects democracy and democratic institutions as irreconcilable with Islam:

"The notion of political parties is alien to Islam ... Nobody can be a Muslim and a democrat at the same time ... Islam rejects democracy."

("Ümmet-i Muhammed", no. 269 of 8 April 1999, p. 3)

Supporters of the "Caliphate State" continue their aggressive agitation against Israel and the laicist Turkish Republic

Moreover, that paper - as in previous years - disseminates anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist slogans. For dissemination of such statements, the organization again made use of a TV programme entitled "HAKK-TV" ("True Islamic Television") which is broadcast from abroad via satellite as far as into Turkey. Thus, a programme broadcast on 11 April stated, *inter alia*:

"For we - and our Caliph at the forefront - cannot and will not

accept that Zionist Israel, Israel the murderer, Israel the occupying power, will abusively exploit the entire planet, and the Near East in particular ...".

Time and again, the "Caliphate State" called for the overthrow of the Turkish Government. In connection with the legislative elections in Turkey on 18 April, the organization called for boycotting the elections:

"Will you go to the ballot box so that these injustices may continue? So you intend, by voting, to support these devils, thieves, robbers, brutes, murderers and traitors to their country?"

("Ümmet-i Muhammed", no. 264 of 4 March 1999, p. 7)

In his statements, **KAPLAN** repeatedly mentioned the "general mobilization" of his supporters, which he had already demanded in May 1998, and called upon these supporters to join the "*Jihad*":

"The *Jihad* is a means for teaching the enemy a lesson which he deserves. At the end of the *Jihad*, every Muslim will have two choices - both of which, however, are gratifying: Victory or a martyr's death!"

("Ümmet-i Muhammed", no. 257 of 14 January 1999, p. 2)

On 25 March, **KAPLAN** was arrested in Cologne under an arrest warrant issued by the investigating judge of the Federal Court of Justice (BGH). During protest actions against this arrest and the search of the Cologne headquarters of "The Caliphate State", **KAPLAN**'s supporters physically assaulted police officers; 14 policemen were injured, and some 40 demonstrators were arrested. Subsequently, supporters of this Association organized a number of rallies at the seat of the Public Prosecutor General (GBA) at the Federal Court of Justice in Karlsruhe and called for **KAPLAN**'s release; it managed to mobilize up to 3,000 persons from neighbouring European countries to attend this event. On 13 November, some 2,300 supporters demonstrated in Berlin against his detention. Turkey accuses **KAPLAN** of having planned a suicide attack by his supporters on the Atatürk Mausoleum in Ankara in late October 1998 and the occupation of a mosque in Istanbul. An extradition request by Turkey was declined by the Federal Government in the summer of 1999 in view of the death penalty likely to be imposed in Turkey. By indictment of 20 August, the Federal Public Prosecutor General (GBA) accused Metin **KAPLAN** in the Düsseldorf Higher Regional Court of Appeal (OLG) of having been a ringleader of a criminal association and of having engaged in public incitement to criminal acts. Another two functionaries of the Association were accused of having formed a criminal association. The trial was opened on 8 February 2000. As stated by the Prosecution, **KAPLAN**, together with other functionaries within "The Caliphate State", has since 1995 -

Federal Public Prosecutor General accuses KAPLAN on the charge of ring-leadership in a criminal association

at which time he assumed leadership of the Association - formed

a criminal association in order to enforce his claim to leadership *vis-à-vis* deviationists.

After **KAPLAN's** arrest, other functionaries took over the organization's leadership. Also his son **Fatih KAPLAN** has assumed a major role within the Association and, following his father's course, already launches appeals to supporters to join the "*Jihad*".

1.3.2 "Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V." (IGMG "Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd)")

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1985 in Cologne (as "Association of the New Ideology in Europe (reg'd)" (AMGT))
Leadership:	Dr. Yusuf ISIK , interim chairman
Members:	about 27,000 (1998: 27,000)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , " <i>Milli Görüs & Perspektive</i> ", published on an irregular basis

With some 27,000 members and a still larger number of visitors, the "Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd)" (IGMG) continues to be the organization with the largest supporter potential among the extremist foreigner associations in Germany. In the meantime, the number of mosques maintained by IGMG associations in Germany has risen to more than 500. The organization is also represented in many other European countries and in North America. Responsibility for the management and expansion of the considerable real estate property lies with "*Europäische Moscheebau- und Unterstützungsgemeinschaft e.V.*" (EMUG - "European Community for the Construction and Support of Mosques (reg'd)").

On 8 April, the long-time IGMG chairman, Ali **YÜKSEL**, stepped down from his office. There had been criticism of him from the IGMG grassroots ranks for quite some time already. After **YÜKSEL's** resignation, Dr. Yusuf **ISIK**, managing director of the Turkish daily "*Milli Gazete*" ("National Newspaper") - the IGMG's mouthpiece - became the *ad interim* chairman.

Although the IGMG, in public statements, pretends to adhere to the basic principles of Western democracies, abolition of the laicist government system in Turkey and the establishment of an Islamic State and social system are, as before, among its goals. To this end, the IGMG supports the "*Fazilet Partisi*" (FP - "Virtue

Party"), the successor of the Islamic Turkish "*Refah Partisi*" (RP - "Welfare Party") which in Turkey was banned in January 1998. Prior to the Turkish legislative elections (18 April), many FP delegates attended events staged by IGMG in Germany. The aim of these appearances was to persuade Turkish compatriots living here to cast their vote for the FP in Turkey. The IGMG supported these efforts by offering cheap flights to Turkey. These efforts had only a limited impact on the election results. With approx. 15 % of the votes, the FP only became the third largest parliamentary group in the Turkish Parliament and is not part of the Government. After the elections, former RP delegates and present FP members of Parliament continued to attend regional events and mass events of the IGMG as guest speakers.

The IGMG's Islamic educational work prevents the integration of young Turks

According to its statutes, the focus of IGMG activities is on the social, cultural and religious support for its members in the local mosque associations. Under the guise of Islamic educational work, IGMG's particular aim is to prevent Western pluralist society from influencing young Turks and, instead, to indoctrinate these youngsters with Islamic thinking oriented to the *Koran* and the *shari'a*. In this way, the Association works against social integration of the Turkish Muslims living in this country.

The idea of having Islam also penetrate the political sphere is evidenced, *inter alia*, by the following statement of the then IGMG chairman Ali YÜKSEL on the Balkans conflict:

"Although last year's clashes are presented as disputes between Albanians and Serbs, the real wirepullers are Western fundamentalists who, although forming the minority, nevertheless retain control over things. They are against the formation of a Muslim government in Kosovo."
 ("Milli Gazete" of 19 January 1999)

In this context, an Internet homepage of IGMG-USA/Canada of early 1999 contains the following statement:

IGMG supporters propagandize a "theocracy"

"We, the young soldiers of *Milli Görüş*, were brought into the world to establish a new world order, to smash the links of the chain (of slavery), to overthrow the tyrant's throne. ... Our guide is the Koran, our leader is the Prophet; all state authority emanates from Allah. We, the young soldiers of *Milli Görüş*, are here as the successors of conquerors, to carry out new conquests."

One of the IGMG's work priorities is Islamic educational work within its associations. The most important target group are Turkish youngsters who are brought under the IGMG's influence by means of a large variety of recreational activities and further education offered, in particular, in summer courses. According to IGMG figures, some 16,260 youngsters participated in such courses in 1999. As stated in a self-portrayal of the Association, education (training) is dedicated to the:

"... protection of the third generation and ... preservation of their identity and culture ..."

For the IGMG, this is to be understood as conveying its Islamistic interpretation of the *Koran* and *shari'a*, which in its view is not ensured by Islamic religious instruction at publicly maintained schools:

"Even if Islamic lessons are given at all State schools, the summer schools and summer courses will be continued ... the summer school project (is) indispensable."

("Milli Gazete" of 22 September 1999)

In the view of IGMG functionaries, the basic right to freedom of religion and to practise one's religion (Basic Law, Art. 4) is exemplary. However, from this they derive their conviction that their perception of Islam and thus their Islamistic endeavours come under the protection afforded by the Basic Law [Constitution] to the practice of religion. The ultimate purpose of their invoking Article 4 of the Basic Law is to achieve recognition, as lawful and constitutional, of endeavours directed at establishing a State which would be patterned decisively upon the rules of the *Koran* and of the *shari'a* and would have to reject a free democratic fundamental order.

Where the constitutional provisions do not meet the concerns and demands of the IGMG, this is declared by IGMG functionaries, in line with their perception of the Basic Law, to constitute an unacceptable encroachment on the free practice of one's religion. The IGMG secretary-general, Mehmet Sabri **ERKABAN**, wrote in January, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

"The human rights situation of Muslims in the West is not acceptable. Muslims have a human rights problem. While they are not threatened by torture or death, they still have to fight before the courts to obtain elementary rights, especially as regards the free practice of religion, and are subject to widespread discrimination in daily life."

("Milli Görüş & Perspektif", January 1999 issue, p. 33)

As in previous years, the IGMG organized a number of mass events. On 1 May, "Women's Day" was celebrated in the Düsseldorf *Philipssthal*, with the participation of some 4,000 women from Germany and from abroad. The highlight of the events was the annual meeting which was held in the Cologne-Müngersdorf stadium on 22 May. About 40,000 IGMG supporters attended the 5th General Assembly which was publicized as a "Culture and Peace Festival". The former chairman of the banned "Welfare Party" (Refah Partisi - RP), Prof. Necmettin **ERKABAN** ¹⁶⁶⁾, who in former years had attended in person, participated over a special telephone line. Among the guest speakers was the former Justice Minister of the **ERKABAN**/Çiller Administration, Sevkettin

KAZAN. Also in the Düsseldorf *Philipshalle*, the "4th Youth and Culture Festival"

of the IGMG was held on 16 October, which was attended by approx. 6,000 visitors.

2. Kurds

2.1 Overview

The background of the Kurdish conflict, which has been going on for decades, is the cultural, social, political and international-law situation of about 25 million ethnic Kurds, the majority of whom live in areas of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Their integration into the respective society of those countries, which is considered inadequate by the Kurds, is a breeding ground for the formation of extremist Kurdish groups, but also arouses sympathy among some of the non-extremist Kurds for these groups.

Of the approx. 500,000 Kurds living on the territory of the Federal Republic - mostly Turkish nationals - only a minority of some 12,400 individuals have joined extremist Kurdish organizations from Turkey and Iraq. Of these, the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) continues to be the most active organization with the highest number of supporters and with an undiminished mobilization capability which is of relevance to internal security. After the arrest of its leader **ÖCALAN** and the passing of the death sentence against him, the Kurdish "struggle for liberation" in Turkey might face a reversal of policy. At its 7th Party Convention which ended on 23 January 2000, the PKK decided that its armed struggle was to be replaced by a strategy of "democratic/political struggle". Whether the new concept will be accepted by all organizational divisions of the PKK is not yet foreseeable. So far, opposition forces have not managed to get their way.

2.2 "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK - Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1978 (in Turkey) banned (in Germany): in 1993
Leadership:	leading functionaries of the "European Front Centre" (who are subordinate to the PKK Chairman Abdullah ÖCALAN and the "Presidential Council")

Supporters:	about 12,000 (1998: 11,500)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , "Serxwebun" ("Independence"), monthly

2.2.1 General Situation

All efforts by the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) were focused on achieving cultural recognition and, ultimately, political autonomy for the Kurds living in Turkey. With the aim of enforcing these goals, armed PKK units have, since 1984, been waging guerrilla warfare against Turkish security forces, with the South-east of Turkey as the centre of main effort. In the course of 1999, a radical change emerged in the PKK's strategy. The organization's leadership declared that they intended to give up armed struggle and, instead, pursue their aims in future only with peaceful means, acting in agreement with Turkey to the extent possible. The demand for political autonomy has been replaced by the demand for cultural autonomy in the sense of preserving a Kurdish identity.

In Germany, the PKK can rely on large numbers of supporters, with whose help it has for years developed large-scale propaganda activities. Thus the PKK can mobilize up to 80,000 participants in demonstrations.

The organization, which has a hierarchical structure and is led by undercover functionaries, is assisted by its supporters in Germany with large amounts of money which, for the major part, are donated during the annual fund-raising campaigns. The PKK in Germany makes great efforts to recruit young Kurds: especially for participation in its political work, but also for the fight in the home country, which previously had been an armed struggle.

ÖCALAN's capture and conviction trigger waves of violence

In Germany, attacks and violent demonstrations by the PKK had scarcely occurred since 1996. The situation changed on 16 February, after PKK Chairman Abdullah **ÖCALAN** had been transferred by force from Nairobi (Kenya) to Turkey. **ÖCALAN** had, after his departure from Syrian exile in October 1998, tried in vain to obtain admission in other countries, and had last stayed at the Greek Embassy in Nairobi. Immediately after the news of **ÖCALAN**'s arrest had spread, PKK supporters responded with a wave of protest demonstrations, part of which were violent. They assembled for demonstrations, especially in front of diplomatic and consular missions of Greece, Kenya and the U.S.; in some instances, they forced their way into the missions, caused damage to property, and kept Embassy members or adjacent residents in their power. On 17 February, there also were actions to occupy premises of German political parties. On the same day, four Kurdish demonstrators attempting to occupy the Israeli Consulate-General in Berlin were shot dead by Israeli security

forces. High-ranking PKK functionaries had, *inter alia* via the television station "MED-TV" which is used by the organization as a propaganda instrument, laid the blame for ÖCALAN's arrest on the U.S., Greece, Kenya and Israel, in particular. Another wave of violence set in after ÖCALAN on 29 June had been sentenced to death by a Turkish court on a high treason charge. This was followed by several dozens of arson attacks and acts of malicious damage committed by ÖCALAN supporters against Turkish facilities.

Members of the PKK Presidential Council which after ÖCALAN's arrest had been constituted as the organization's leadership body consisting of high-ranking political and military functionaries, appealed to supporters in Europe to refrain from violence at their demonstrations. However, there are indications suggesting that at least the militant demonstrations and squatting actions on 16 and 17 February had been ordered and controlled by PKK functionaries.

After ÖCALAN, already during his trial, had offered to "get the PKK fighters down from the mountains within three months" if he would be spared the death penalty, he continued, even after the death penalty had been imposed on him, to speak up for a moderate course aimed at a peaceful settlement with Turkey. In August, he declared that the guerrilla units of the PKK would, by 1 September, not only cease their armed struggle but would also withdraw from Turkey. A little later, his brother Osman ÖCALAN, a member of the Presidential Council, confirmed this to apply even in the event that the death penalty passed against his brother would be executed: the 15-years' struggle was ended; they would lay down their arms for good and pursue the PKK's aims only with political means. As a further step, the PKK Central Committee announced an extraordinary party convention ¹⁶⁷⁾ at which the PKK was to be transformed into a political force. As confirmation of this course by a symbolic gesture, an eight-men PKK group "for peace and a democratic solution" surrendered, with their arms, to the Turkish military at the Iraqi-Turkish border. The delegation which was arrested after having crossed the border presented a "peace message". Another delegation consisting of PKK representatives living in Europe who had flown from Vienna to Turkey on 29 October, were interrogated, upon their arrival in Istanbul, by the police under strict security precautions. Also in its statements issued in Europe, the PKK repeatedly pointed out that it now considered itself a purely politically oriented organization and saw its detained chairman as a key figure in the context of the peace process. In return for the steps taken by it, the PKK expects concessions by Turkey with regard to the Kurdish issue.

In future, PKK intends to fight only with political means

2.2.2 PKK Propaganda

As in previous years, PKK supporters in Germany, with many and various demonstration activities, drew public attention to the organization's aims ¹⁶⁸. The focus was on ÖCALAN's fate. Especially on the occasion of the Kurdish new year's celebration, the *Nevrots* festivity (21 March), PKK supporters organized numerous meetings and demonstrations, often in the form of torchlight processions. Some of the events drew a crowd of several thousands. For the largest *Nevrots* festivity, which was held in Hamburg, 6,000 Kurds assembled in the local sports hall. For the major part, no violence was used during the festivities. In Cologne, the police intervened when participants burnt Turkish flags.

PKK controls mass event in Bonn

More than 80,000 Kurds from all parts of Germany and European neighbouring countries, supporters of several Turkish left-extremist organizations, and persons affiliated to the German "Kurdistan Solidarity Movement" demonstrated in Bonn on 17 April, under the motto "Peace for Kurdistan, and Democracy in Turkey". Participants displayed PKK flags and banners, on which they demanded "Freedom for ÖCALAN", *inter alia*. At the main meeting, speakers called for an international peace conference, the suspension of ÖCALAN's trial, and the repeal of the ban on political activities of the PKK.

Under the motto "NO to the death penalty - peace now - freedom for Abdullah ÖCALAN", the "7th International Kurdistan Festival for Culture and National Unity" was held at the *Westfalen-Stadion* in Dortmund on 28 August. Some 50,000 persons from the Federal Republic of Germany and other European countries took part. In a speech, the chairman of the PKK-dominated "Kurdish Parliament-in-Exile" (PKDW) declared that the Kurds had fought because this had been necessary at the time; nowadays, however, they strove for "honourable peace". Over the public address system, a recording of a speech by Osman ÖCALAN was played, in which he declared that the course aimed at a political solution would be maintained because it led to democracy and to victory. In a message of greeting by the detained PKK leader, which was read in the stadium, A. ÖCALAN appealed to all Kurds to take part in the peace process.

In Frankfurt/Main, on October 9, some 20,000 persons - mostly PKK supporters from various European countries - manifested their solidarity with Abdullah ÖCALAN. This demonstration was held on the occasion of the opening of his appeal proceedings on 7 October. On their way through downtown Frankfurt, demonstrators displayed pictures of ÖCALAN and chanted "Freedom for ÖCALAN". Flags and other banned symbols of the PKK or of the ERNK were scarcely in evidence. At the final meeting, a letter from ÖCALAN was read to the participants.

On 4 December, 9000 - mostly Kurdish - demonstrators in Cologne demanded reversal of ÖCALAN's death penalty. A few days earlier, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in Strasbourg had granted an urgent motion submitted by ÖCALAN's lawyers for suspension of all measures regarding enforcement of the death sentence which just before had been confirmed by a Turkish court of appeal.

PKK tries to present itself as a democratic force

For years, the PKK has endeavoured to present itself as a democratic political force. In that regard, the "Kurdish Parliament-in-Exile" (PKDW) - initiated by the PKK in 1995 and ever since under PKK control - played an important role as its mouthpiece. In addition - again with decisive PKK involvement - the "Kurdish National Congress" (KNK) was founded in Amsterdam (Netherlands) in late May; the Congress is constituted by Kurdish parties and organizations from Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. The KNK thus represents a wider spectrum of Kurdish groups than the PKDW. The Congress sees itself as representing the interests of all Kurds with the aim of providing a political forum for raising the awareness of the international political community and of the general public as regards the Kurds' interests. On 26 September, the PKDW decided to integrate itself within the KNK. The reason given for this step was that the PKDW had achieved its aims with the constitution of the KNK. Its members should in future participate in the activities of the National Congress.

PKK uses "MED-TV" station for presenting its aims

Another important PKK propaganda instrument was the television station "MED-TV" which started operations in 1995. The competent UK supervisory agency in March withdrew the licence from the station, with particular reference to the appeals launched by the latter to use violence in connection with ÖCALAN's arrest. Accordingly, "MED-TV" ceased its broadcasting activity. Instead, the Kurdish television station "MEDYA-TV", which can be received via satellite, has since 31 July been on the air with programmes in the Kurdish and Turkish languages. Its political programmes are largely devoted to issues of PKK interest. In addition, this TV station - by means of live interviews - provides leading PKK functionaries with an opportunity for disseminating their comments and assessments to a large audience.

For its propaganda activities, the PKK also relies on the Turkish-language daily "*Özgür Politika*" ("Free Politics") which is also available in Germany. This newspaper, too, publishes regular interviews with PKK functionaries, reports on statements by the PKK executive bodies, and provides information on PKK events.

2.2.3 Organizational Situation

On the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, the PKK organization is structured into seven regions and approx. 30 districts. The hierarchical structures are headed by undercover functionaries who are replaced on a regular basis. For its activities, the PKK can rely on twelve mass and front organizations¹⁶⁹⁾, and on a large number of committees and local associations as well. Also in the East German *Länder*, the PKK has meanwhile established associations at the local level. PKK functionaries locally concentrate on recruiting new members, especially among Kurdish asylum seekers living in reception facilities.

2.2.4 Funding

For the financing of its armed struggle and its party machinery, the PKK has opened up various sources of income. In addition to the monthly membership dues, its income derives from the sale of publications and of tickets for mass events. The major part of its income, however, comes from the annual fund-raising campaign. Usually this campaign starts in late summer; in instances, the PKK will also try to extort money by means of threats. The campaign's duration depends on whether the envisaged sums will be collected within the originally set period of time. The proceeds from the 1998/1999 fund-raising campaign amounted to at least 20 million *deutschmark*.

There has been no intelligence suggesting that the PKK obtains funds also through organized participation in drug trafficking. There are, however, recurrent indications that it is indirectly involved in the drugs trade through skimming profits off Kurdish drug dealers.

2.2.5 PKK Coalition Policy

In June 1998, the PKK and seven other left-extremist Turkish organizations - including 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 alliance with the aim of conducting their joint struggle against the Turkish state; this coalition has had no major external impact. There have been no large-scale activities, especially in response to ÖCALAN's arrest and his forced return to Turkey. The mutual reservations - existing since the very beginning of the alliance - resulted in the withdrawal of the TKP/ML "*Partizan*" wing and, later, also of the PKK.

2.2.6 Criminal Proceedings against Leading PKK Functionaries

On May 5, the Düsseldorf *Oberlandesgericht* (OLG - Higher Regional Court of Appeal) sentenced a former member of the Central Committee of the "National Liberation Front of Kurdistan" (ERNK) to serve one year and nine months in prison (suspended on probation), *inter alia* for his membership of a terrorist association.

One day later, the Düsseldorf *Oberlandesgericht* also ordered the former (female) director of the PKK Westphalia Region to serve two years and eight months in prison for instigation to several arson offences.

On 28 September, the Stuttgart *Oberlandesgericht* sentenced the former Mannheim Region director to imprisonment for one year and six months (suspended on probation) for membership of a terrorist association.

Another 1½ years' sentence (suspended on probation) was passed on 4 October by the Lüneburg *Landgericht* (Regional Court) against the former Hanover Region director, *inter alia* for membership of a criminal association and for child-stealing.

On 13 December, the Frankfurt/Main *Oberlandesgericht* ordered the former PKK Giessen Region director to serve two years and nine months in prison, for membership of a terrorist association. Proceedings have been instituted at the Stuttgart *Oberlandesgericht* and the Lüneburg *Landgericht* against another three PKK functionaries, on charges of membership of a criminal association.

3. Arabs

3.1 Algerian Islamistic Groups

"Islamic Salvation Front" (FIS) (*Front Islamique du Salut*)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	in March 1989 in Algeria, banned in that country since 1992
Leadership:	chairman of the "FIS Executive Authority Abroad", Rabah KEBIR
Members:	about 350 (1998: approx. 300)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , "Al-Ribat" ("Bond/Connection"), weekly

Abdelaziz Bouteflika, newly elected Algerian State President in April 1999, strives for a peaceful settlement of the political conflicts in Algeria. Part of these endeavours is an Amnesty Act

which is to apply to all Islamic extremists who did not take part in massacres or other outrages. The aim of the Act is to re-integrate Islamic extremists into the Algerian society. In a referendum held on 16 September, the large majority of the Algerian population pronounced themselves in favour of Bouteflika's reconciliatory course *vis-à-vis* the Islamic extremists.

In a communiqué of 21 September, the head of the "FIS Executive Authority Abroad", Rabah **KEBIR**, essentially agreed with the political solution initiated by Bouteflika with regard to the Algerian crisis. At the same time, however, he put forward the demand that the FIS or a successor party should again be included in the political and social life of Algeria in conformity with the Constitution.

The Amnesty Act is endorsed by most FIS supporters in Germany. At many information meetings, they present the substance of the "National Reconciliation" to their Algerian fellow-countrymen as an ultimately positive effort. As before, opponents of this course, e.g. the "FIS Co-ordination Council Abroad" (CCFIS) which was founded in 1997, were not able to exercise any significant influence on FIS supporters in Germany.

"Armed Islamic Group" (GIA)
(*Groupe Islamique Armé*)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded: 1992 (in Algeria)
Leadership: Antar **ZOUABRI**
Members: included in FIS figures above

"Salafiya Group for the Mission and Struggle" (GSPC)
(*Groupe salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat*)

Founded: 1997 (in Algeria)
Leadership: Hassan **HATTAB**
Members: included in FIS figures above

Both GIA and GSPC are trying to overthrow the Algerian Government by terrorist means to pave the way for an Islamic State. By contrast to the FIS, the GIA and GSPC reject any compromise with the Government. In the course of 1999, the GSPC emerged as the stronger one of these two groups. The GIA obviously is increasingly becoming an amalgamation of dispersed small groups.

Hassan **HATTAB** obviously tries to tie Algerian Islamists living in Europe to the GSPC, and increasingly attempts to mobilize these Islamists - who often are also joined by other North Africans - for

his cause. This also covers logistic support for groups pursuing violent activities in Algeria, by providing them with material supplies, e.g. communications equipment. In particular, such activities include forgery of ID documents in order to make illegal travel or a 'legitimate' residence status, especially within Europe, possible for members for the groups. In 1998 and 1999, sentences were passed in France and Belgium against several supporters of the GIA and the former so-called **HATTAB** Faction.

In June, GIA supporters disseminated threat letters against France and Belgium, in which they announced "bloodbaths" in Belgium, among others, if Islamists convicted in that country would continue to be held in custody and be deported to other countries. During a road vehicle check in late June, presumed supporters of the GIA - including one Moroccan, one Tunesian and one Algerian - opened fire against police officers in Frankfurt/Main. Four officers suffered shot wounds. The main suspect was arrested in the Netherlands in July.

The de-escalation of the conflict in Algeria and, in addition, the increasing incidence of executive measures against Algerian Islamists in various European countries over the past three years might have as a consequence that the activities of violence-inclined Algerian Islamists in Europe will be detached from Algeria as the focal centre of the conflict and will gain a thrust of their own. A development to be observed in this context is that the organizational delimitations among the Arab Islamists in Europe tend to dissolve and that multinational networks are being formed in which the "Arabian Mujahiddin" (cf. para. 3.4 below) play a central role.

3.2 *Egyptian Islamists*

"Al-Gama'a al-Islamiya" (GI) (Islamic Community)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1971 (in Egypt)
Leadership:	a group of functionaries
Members:	only a few in Germany

In 1999, the GI did not commit any spectacular attacks in Egypt. Its leadership adheres to its decision to abstain from the use of force and from attacks on Western targets. There have been no indications that GI supporters or functionaries residing in Germany or in other European countries might be involved in the execution of terrorist activities.

This also goes for the supporters, in Germany, of another Islamic group from Egypt, the "Islamic Jihad" (*Jihad Islami* - JI). Both organizations, however, persevere in their aim to abolish the Egyptian Government and to establish an Islamic State. It is to be assumed that the violence option will not be abandoned.

3.3 Other Extremist and Terrorist Groups from the Near East

3.3.1 "Islamischer Bund Palästina" (IBP - "Islamic League of Palestine")

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1981 (in Munich)
Leadership:	a leading functionary
Members:	about 250 (1998: approx. 250)

The Palestinian wing of the "Muslim Brotherhood" (MB), the Sunnite "Islamic Resistance Movement" (HAMAS), continues its terrorist activities in Israel and the territories under Israeli occupation. Thus, its military arm, the "Izz A-Din Al-Qassam Brigades", claimed responsibility for the murder of an Orthodox Jewish student couple on 13 September. As compared to previous years, however, the number of attacks and victims has decreased. In Germany, the aims of Hamas are supported by "*Islamischer Bund Palästina*" (IBP - "Islamic League of Palestine") which was founded by MB members in Munich in 1981. Its members who, as before, disapprove of the Israeli/Palestinian peace process, have so far not been involved in violent actions. The fund-raising club "Al-Aqsa (reg'd)" in Aachen [Aix-la-Chapelle] - which probably is part of the funding and propaganda network of Hamas, and is headed by a long-time IBP member - continues to raise funds in mosques and during events of Islamic organizations. It must be assumed that part of the donations - allegedly destined only for social institutions of Hamas - also goes to the organization's military arm.

3.3.2 "Hizbollah" (Party of God)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1982 (in Lebanon)
Central Encounter Centre:	<i>Islamisches Zentrum Münster</i> (Münster Islamic Centre)

Leadership:	a group of functionaries
Members:	about 800 (1998: approx. 750)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , "Al Ahd" ("Commitment"), weekly

The Shi'ite "Hizbollah" (Party of God) in Lebanon made its appearance both as a political interest group for the Shi'ite population and as an armed organization ("Al-Moqwana al-Islamiya" - Islamic Resistance) fighting against Israeli occupation of South Lebanon. On account of its military fight and its broad range of social work, the organization has many supporters, mainly in the impoverished Shi'ite settlement areas. Against this background, the organization has for some years sought to achieve its Islamic aims not only by armed actions, but increasingly also by political activities. As part of these efforts, it has in the meantime achieved its integration into Lebanon's political system. Lebanon's transformation into a state modelled upon Iran is no longer propagandized as a central aim; the close relations of the "Hizbollah" with Iran continue, however.

Even after the election of Ehud Barak as the Israeli Minister President, the hostile or negative attitude of the organization's leadership towards Israel and the peace process has remained unchanged. Thus, in an interview, Hizbollah's secretary-general Hassan **NASRALLAH** commented on the chances for peace with Israel as follows:

"He (Barak) will only get fire and lead from us. Our fight will be continued until the last Israeli soldier has vanished from Lebanese ground. I want as many Israelis as possible to die in combat. (...) Israel must give up all occupied territories and allow all Palestinian refugees to return to their home country. Palestine must become Arabian again ..."
 ("Der Spiegel" [German weekly], no. 24 of 14 June 1999)

The public activities of "Hizbollah" supporters in Germany are confined to participation in demonstrations. Thus in Berlin on 16 January, on the annually celebrated Qods Day ("Jerusalem Day"), about 1,800 Muslims - including many "Hizbollah" members - demonstrated against Israel's claims regarding Palestine and Jerusalem. Another focus were activities carried out within the framework of religious feasts and fund-raising campaigns; part of the proceeds will go to Lebanon and there presumably will also be passed on to surviving dependants of killed fighters, including suicide bombers. The central contact point for "Hizblollah" supporters is *Islamisches Zentrum* (IZ - "Islamic Centre") in Münster.

3.4 "Arabian Mujahiddin" (Fighters for Allah's Cause)

Also the Federal Republic of Germany is home to people from the Near and Middle East and from North Africa, who are tied into the international network of "Arabian Mujahiddin" and who, for the major part, were trained in training camps in Afghanistan or Pakistan and took part in combat operations as part of the international *Jihad*, e.g. in recent times in Bosnia-Herzegovina or Chechnya. In instances it has been possible to obtain information about relations with the organization "Al-Qaida" ("The Basis") of the Saudi-Arabian multimillionaire Usama **BIN LADEN**. The latter is the presumed wirepuller behind the bomb attacks on the U.S. Embassies in Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) on 7 August 1998.

"Arabian Mujahiddin" try to recruit young Muslims of varying origin for religious and/or military training in Afghanistan. The organization of training events and the transfer are in most cases arranged through bases in Pakistan. Those who have successfully completed such training courses are planned to take part in combat operations (e.g. in Kashmir or Chechnya), or return to their home countries to serve as multipliers passing on their acquired knowledge. Recruitment attempts are also being made in Germany. During the Bosnia conflict and the Kosovo war, "Arabian Mujahiddin" smuggled volunteers into the affected areas for the conduct of the *Jihad*.

In support of their activities, "Arabian Mujahiddin" obviously can rely on the organizational apparatus of various Islamic "non-governmental organizations" (NGOs). Several Islamic NGOs are known whose regional representatives employ, or support, Mujahiddin. In this way, there are many and various opportunities for camouflaging travels, money transfers and courier services as part of the regular work of relief organizations. Often Mujahiddin also use false or forged identity documents in order to be able to move freely in Europe or as a prerequisite for obtaining a residence title.

4. *Iranians*

The efforts of the Iranian State President Khatami to bring about some tentative liberalization of the political and social life in Iran, and the opposition to this by conservative circles around the revolutionary leader **KHAMENEI** were clearly mirrored by the activities of Iranian dissidents in Germany, which showed a marked increase as compared to previous years. Especially the killing of intellectuals by members of the Iranian secret service, the ban on

anti-regime publications, and mass arrests of students in Iran provided the occasion for numerous demonstrations in front of Iranian missions in Germany.

"Nationaler Widerstandsrat Iran" (NWRI - "National Resistance Council of Iran")

- Representation of the "People's Mujahiddin of Iran" (MEK) -

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1981 (in Paris)
Headquarters:	Cologne
Leadership:	Speaker for Germany
Members:	about 900 (1998: approx. 900)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , "Modjahed" ("Religious Fighter"), weekly

As in previous years, the most active element within the spectrum of opposition was "Nationaler Widerstandsrat Iran" (NWRI - "National Resistance Council of Iran"), the world-wide political arm of the "People's Mujahiddin of Iran" (MEK). Highlights of its propaganda activities were several demonstrations and rallies held by up to 4,500 supporters of the organization from Germany and abroad on the occasion of the World Economic Summit in Cologne in June. With chanted slogans and on posters, demonstrators called upon the representatives of the G8 countries to stop "the appeasement policy *vis-à-vis* the terrorist mullah regime" and to break off all economic and political relations with Iran. At the central event on 18 June, also a speech by Maryam **RADYAVI** (whom the NWRI in 1993 had elected the "future (female) President of Iran") was transmitted live from the MEK headquarters in Iraq. For the first time for years, violent clashes with police forces occurred alongside a meeting that, contrary to legal provisions, had not been notified to public authorities.

NWRI supporters continued their systematic fund-raising activities (house-to-house and street collections) carried out on the pretext of providing refugee aid.

Despite its extensive propaganda activities and contrary to its own statements, the NWRI is losing ground. This is due, in particular, to the policy of the Khatami Government, which is popular with the Iranian population and even further reduces the little popularity enjoyed by the MEK among Iran's population and Iranians living abroad. Within the Iranian opposition-in-exile, the MEK has had an isolated position for years since it disparages all other groups as "agents of the regime" and claims to be the "only democratic alternative" to the Iranian regime. In reality, however, the organization itself has a considerable democracy deficit, which is coupled with a heightened propensity to use violence. This is evidenced by the strictly hierarchic cadre structure, in conjunction with a sect-like leadership cult centred around the couple Massoud and Maryam **RADYAVI**, by the propagandization

of violence as a legitimate means for overthrowing the Iranian Government, and by the execution of terrorist attacks in Iran on State representatives. Thus, in 1999, MEK units, *inter alia*, murdered a high-ranking officer and committed grenade attacks on the headquarters of the Iranian secret service and the **PASDARAN** Revolutionary Guards.

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 national (federal) executive committee
Members:	about 600 (1998: approx. 600)

"Babbar Khalsa International" (BK)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1978 (in India)
Headquarters:	Merzenich (Düren district)
Leadership:	a national (federal) executive committee
Members:	about 200 (1998: approx. 200)

"Kamagata Maru Dal International" (KMDI)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1997 (in the U.S.)
Leadership:	a national (federal) executive committee
Members:	about 50

Within the religious community of the Sikhs, violent organizations continue their efforts to establish an independent Sikh State named "Khalistan" on the territory of the Punjab province of India. By committing bomb attacks and other terrorist acts, mainly against members of government agencies in the Punjab, they try to achieve destabilization of political conditions and exploit this for their own purposes.

Aside from moderate Sikh groups, the main organizations active in Germany are the "Babbar Khalsa International" (BK), the "International Sikh Youth Federation" (ISYF) and the "Kamagata Maru Dal International" (KMDI). The KMDI was founded in the U.S. in 1997 and on an increasing scale is also active in Germany. At "martyr commemoration events" and other meetings at the Sikhs' religious centres, all organizations collect donations which are also used to support activities by violent organizations such as the "Khalistan Commando Force" (KCF) in India. In public, the groups often act jointly and publicize their aims at information stalls and rallies. Thus on 16 July, to celebrate the Indian Independence Day (15 July), 120 Sikhs demonstrated in front of the Indian Embassy in Bonn; another meeting held in Frankfurt/Main was attended by 80 persons. The prominent event for Sikhs living in Germany was the visit of the former leader of the religious community at the Sikh Temple in Frankfurt/Main on 11 July. This event was attended by nearly 8000 persons, including numerous functionaries of extremist groups. The participants chanted slogans against the acting Minister President of the Punjab, whose death they demanded.

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:	about 750 (1998: approx. 700)
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , " <i>Kalathil</i> " ("On the Battlefield"), biweekly

Fighting between the LTTE Tamil separatists and the Sinhalese government troops in the north and east of Sri Lanka also continued in 1999. Apart from their military actions, the LTTE tried to destabilize the situation in Sri Lanka with discriminate attacks. The targets of suicide bombers were, in particular, politicians, security forces and alleged collaborators. Thus on 29 July, a functionary of a moderate Tamil party was the victim of a suicide attack committed by the LTTE. Also, an explosive attack, carried out on 18 December 1999 on the Sri Lankan President, who was injured as a result, is attributed by the Sri Lankan Government to the LTTE.

LTTE continue fund raising In order to finance their armed actions in Sri Lanka, the LTTE

depend on funds which are also contributed by Tamils living in Germany. For this purpose, support organizations and front groups of the LTTE organize a large variety of "days of commemoration of the fallen heroes" [remembrance/veterans days] and cultural events in which often thousands of Tamils take part. In addition, house-to-house collections are carried out, where the "fund raisers" do not shy away from extorting money from their compatriots. The fund-raising income amounts to several million *deutschmark* every year. Also, the LTTE try to reach the general public through demonstrations and information stands. Thus, on 19 June, several hundred Tamils demonstrated during the World Economic Summit in Cologne; they called for suspension of German development aid to Sri Lanka. At similar events in the past, appeals were also made to the German public to refrain from tourist travel to Sri Lanka.

7. Kosovar Albanians

"People's Movement of Kosovo" (LPK)

- Basic data for Germany -

Founded:	1982 (in Kosovo)
Leadership:	until summer 1999: German Section of LPK-Abroad
Members:	about 500 (1998: 550)
Publications:	" <i>Zeri i Kosoves</i> " ("Voice of Kosovo") its last issue appeared on 20 September

For the Kosovar Albanian groups politically active in the Federal Republic of Germany, the focus, until the end of the war, was on fund-raising. Overt collection for the armed resistance is carried out by the extremist LPK. Since the first public appearance of the "Kosovo Liberation Army" (UÇK) in the spring of 1996, the LPK had repeatedly pointed out that it would provide political, moral and financial support to the UÇK. Especially in its organ "*Zeri i Kosoves*" ("Voice of Kosovo"), the LPK regularly launched appeals for the "*Vendlindja therret*" Fund ("The Fatherland Is Calling"). The fund was administered by the LPK aid organization "*Demo-kratische Vereinigung der AlbanerInnen*" (DVAD - "Democratic Association of Albanians in Germany") which had an office in Bonn; the office was shut down after the Kosovo war. The "*Vendlindja therret*" Fund also was closed in late July. In its place, the "Caretaker Government of Kosovo" under Hashim THAQI, which was founded by the UÇK in early April, established the "*Fondi i Kosoves*" ("Kosovo Fund") and called upon its com-

patriots to transfer their contributions, as of 1 August, to a Stuttgart account for donations; the new Fund also has an office in Stuttgart.

In late March, the UÇK called upon all Kosovar Albanians aged between 18 and 50 to join the general mobilization against the Serbian offensive in Kosovo. An exemption applied only to Kosovar Albanians "conscripts" who financially supported the struggle for liberation in the home country. Thousands of Kosovar Albanians from Germany complied with the recruitment appeal. The main recruitment bureaus were set up in a discotheque in Solingen and at the office of *"Albanischer Verein für bildende Künste und Theater - Aleksandar Moisiu - e.V."* in Stuttgart-Feuerbach. No cases of compulsory enlistment were reported.

Even during the war in Serbia and its Kosovo Province (24 March until 10 June), functionaries of Kosovar Albanian and Serbian organizations declared themselves against military action in Germany. The Kosovar Albanians generally took the view that the struggle for liberation must be carried out in the home country. Germany was seen as a resting area and funding basis for the support of the struggle. Also the Serbs who have mostly been living in the Federal Republic for many years already, did obviously not wish to jeopardize the bases of existence which they have built up here, by conducting militant actions. Nevertheless, at numerous demonstrations held from the start of NATO air strikes on 24 March, feelings both among the Serbs ¹⁷⁰⁾ and among the Kosovar Albanians ¹⁷¹⁾ ran high, with aggressive undertones. However, there were only few instances of direct confrontations between Kosovar Albanians and Serbs.

In early July, in Pristina (the capital of Kosovo Province), the LPK was transformed into a political party named "Party of Democratic Union" (PBD); Bardhyl MAHMUTI who formerly had lived in Switzerland and there had acted as the UÇK's spokesperson was elected its chairman. On September 20, the Kosovo (Peace) Force (KFOR) and the UÇK, represented by its political leader Hashim THAQI and the "Chief of Staff" Agim CEKU, agreed to set up a "Kosovo Protection Corps" (TMK) after THAQI and CEKU previously had consented to the self-directed dissolution of the UÇK. The head of the UN Mission to Kosovo appointed CEKU as the provisional chief of the Protection Corps. As the political successor organization of the UÇK, the "Party for Kosovo's Democratic Progress" (PPDK) - into which the PBD was incorporated - was founded jointly by THAQI and MAHMUTI on 15 October. The organization's new chairman is THAQI, with MAHMUTI as his deputy. In Zurich on 28 November, the PPDK Foreign Mission was founded in MAHMUTI's presence.

In Germany, there are - as before - residual structures of the LPK which take a passive and wait-and-see attitude towards their possible affiliation with the PPK.

The impact of developments in Kosovo on the Kosovar Albanian groups in Germany cannot yet be assessed. The willingness of Kosovar Albanians living in Germany to contribute donations to national funds has distinctly decreased. They preferably provide direct assistance to their families and relatives in the home country.

8. *People-Smuggling Activities*

Also in 1999, the Federal Republic of Germany was a preferred country of destination for illegal migration and for related people-smuggling activities. Illegal migrant trafficking is of great importance to the capacity to act of extremist foreigner organizations. Party functionaries and other members are to be removed from the persecution pressure in the respective home countries and be taken to safe withdrawal areas. Outward bound smuggling of activists willing to join the fight provides the guerrilla units operating in the crisis regions with augmentation forces. Money and material required for the armed struggle are transported by illegal couriers. In many instances, extremist organizations try to recruit new supporters from among the illegal migrants.

For secrecy reasons, most extremist foreigner organizations carry out their own smuggling of functionaries and members. It is only in specific cases that they will rely on the services of "professional" migrant trafficking networks. So far, there have been no indications that extremist foreigner groups in Germany carry out migrant smuggling for commercial reasons, e.g. for financing their activities. There are, however, numerous indications that, by calling in donated funds, they try to get their share of the profits earned by commercial illegal migration networks.

For infiltration/exfiltration of members and/or functionaries, the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) continues to be the most active extremist organization. It maintains its own - clandestine - organizational unit, the "*Ülke-Büro*" ("Homeland Bureau"). The Bureau's staff travel throughout Germany and neighbouring countries to carry out logistics tasks; they organize travels by party cadres and couriers and procure and falsify the identity documents required in this context. In February and October, the German police arrested several presumed members of the "*Ülke-Büro*".

Migrant smuggling activities are also carried out by Turkish left-extremist organizations, such as the "Revolutionary People's Lib-

eration Party-Front" (DHKP/C) and the "Turkish People's Liberation Party/Front - Revolutionary Left" (THKP/C - Devrimci Sol), and the "Turkish Communist Party/ Marxists-Leninists" (TKP/ML). For the smuggling of immigrants to Germany, these groups mainly use overland routes. These organizations, too, dispose of means for falsifying passports. This is often done by merely replacing the respective photos; for falsification purposes, preference is given to Turkish passports comprising a long-term residence title.

Algerian Islamistic groups like the "*Front islamique du salut*" (FIS - "Islamic Salvation Front") and "*Groupe islamique armé*" (GIA - "Armed Islamic Group"), but also the Lebanese extremist-Shi'ite "Hizbollah" (Party of God) have built up international migrant trafficking networks and operate bases in various European countries, including Germany.

Militant Sikh and Tamil organizations - especially "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" (LTTE) - smuggle their functionaries and members from Sri Lanka and India to Western Europe. There is information suggesting that they smuggle their fellow-countrymen to the Federal Republic of Germany or neighbouring European countries and only there tie them into the organization and/or use them as "donors".

IV. Propaganda and Communications Media

1. Periodical Publications

In 1999, extremist foreigner organizations published a total of 76 periodicals (1998: 74). Of these, 50 (1998: 49) championed left-extremist aims, 21 (1998: 21) Islamistic aims, and 5 (1998: 4) ultra-nationalist aims. Most publications are circulated by Turkish left-wing extremists (26; 1998: 23), Arab Islamists (14; 1998: 14), and Kurdish extremists (13; 1998: 15).

2. New Communications Media / Internet

In 1999, as before, extremist foreigners organizations made increasing use of the Internet for promotion of their public image and for publicity and agitation. In addition, at least a few groups used the Internet for world-wide internal and unmonitored communication.

The Internet activities related to the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK) were dominated by ÖCALAN's arrest and his subsequent trial.

Already shortly after his arrest, and also during and after the end of his trial, a large variety of current news was disseminated, in particular, by "*Kurdistan Informations-Zentrum*" (KIZ - Kurdistan Information Centre) in Germany and by "*Koerdistan Informatie-Centrum*" (KIC - Kurdistan Information Centre) with headquarters in Amsterdam. The information offered by KIZ on the Internet includes statements by ÖCALAN, by the "Presidential Council" of the PKK and by leading representatives of the organization.

In the course of the judicial proceedings against ÖCALAN, a number of Internet sites were introduced, which dealt exclusively with the trial. The most comprehensive information source on this subject was the Internet site entitled "The ÖCALAN Trial" which is supposed to be operated by ÖCALAN's lawyers.

The Internet offer of the European information bureau of the "Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front" (DHKP/C) was continuously expanded. Its homepage disseminated, *inter alia*, political situation assessments and topical press statements which ranged from admissions of responsibility for bomb attacks in Turkey to appeals to continue the Kurdish resistance fight. In addition, the DHKP-C continued its polemics via the Internet against the ban imposed on it under the German Act regulating the Law of Public Associations [Vereinsgesetz] in 1998.

Islamistic organizations, too, increasingly use the Internet for promoting their public image. In addition, sympathizers not involved in those organizations in many instances also supported the Islamists' objectives with their own Internet sites.

The "*Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V.*" (IGMG - "Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd)"), until October, edited its Internet offers only on a limited scale. The Information available was updated only to an insignificant extent, or with major delays. However, intensive use was made of the forum, offered on its homepage, for mutual exchanges of information. Since mid-October, the IGMG has been restructuring its Internet offers. The intention is to increase the volume of information offered and to present it in several languages. Great importance is to be attached to the further development of the forum and to providing opportunities for the use of *chat rooms* (real-time dialogues by typing messages to one another).

The Internet homepage of the "Caliphate State" ("Association/ Union of Islamic Clubs and Communities (reg'd), Cologne") offers extensive information on the Association. The offer comprises statements on its conception of itself, responses to topical issues, extracts from the Association's newspaper "*Ümmet-i Mohammed*" ("Muhammad's Community"), and references to books, brochures and the Association's television station "HAKK-TV". The focus of current affairs reporting was on the arrest of the spiritual leader of the "Caliphate State", Metin KAPLAN. At regular intervals, appeals

demanding his immediate release from detention are published on the Internet. Also, the homepage regularly disseminates statements reaffirming **KAPLAN's** claim to the spiritual leadership of the Muslims.

The Internet activities of the "Islamic Salvation Front" (FIS) were, for the major part, limited to changes to the form of presentation of the homepage of its publication "*Al-Ribat*" ("Bond/Connection"). In this case, too, priority has in the meantime shifted to presentation in the Arabic language. As regards contents, only older communiqués are offered for retrieval.

"Hizbollah" (Party of God) is represented on the Internet with an elaborately designed homepage, through which Hizbollah's press office disseminates, *inter alia*, political declarations and references to publications in the Arabic language and, partly, in English. In addition, pictures of Israeli bomb attacks, for instance, are included in the offer as well.

Also the "Islamic Resistance Movement" (Hamas) has a very elaborately designed homepage. It provides announcements as well as large archives containing communiqués, statements and documents.

The "Muslim Brotherhood" (MB) presents itself on the Internet on many and various sites. Thus, in an "Information Center", it provides an overview of statements and interviews. Other sites give a brief description of the MB's development and organizational structure and of its major objectives and their implementation. A question-answer dialogue contains statements on the organization's perception of its aims and principles.

The Group "*Al-Gama'a al-Islamiya*" (GI) revised its homepage, and now presents itself on the Internet with a broadly diversified choice of image, audio and video files from the current newspaper, radio and TV broadcast offer of "*Al-Murabeton*" ("Garrisons"). In addition, access is provided to comprehensive archives of earlier editions and to research and study reports. Also, current political comments by GI and cross-references to newspapers, journals and other Islamistic Internet sites are offered.

The Kosovo crisis led to the emergence of a large number of homepages. The majority of these new Internet sites has set itself the task of providing the latest news from Kosovo to the general public. At this time, the Internet in many places constitutes the only opportunity for an exchange of news. Some of these sites were developed by groups which had to go underground or whose work was hampered by harassment.

In the course of the Kosovo crisis, a Serbian group of hackers repeatedly attempted system hacking via the Internet. Their targets were, in particular, the Internet sites of the Governments participating in NATO's operations against Serbia.

The Tamil liberation movement "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam" (LTTE) uses various sites on the Internet for information about its interests and aims. At irregular intervals, current LTTE statements can be found, for instance, on the homepage "Tamil Web International" or on the "Tamil Eelam Homepage". In addition to current information on meetings or other events, this includes comprehensive reporting on Sri Lanka and the "struggle for liberation" in that country.

V. Overview of Other Noteworthy Organizations and of Their Major Publications

Organization - including HQs -	Members/ Supporters (in part, estimates)		Publications (incl. frequency)
	1999	(1998)	
Turks (excluding Kurds)			
"Föderation der türkisch-demo- kratischen Idealistenvereine in Europa e.V." (ADÜTDF) [<i>"Fed- eration of Turkish Democratic Clubs of Idealists in Europe (reg'd)"</i>]	7,800	(7,500)	<i>"Türk Federasyon Bülteni"</i> (Bulletin of the Türk Fed- eration) - monthly -
	800	(800)	<i>"Tatsachen"</i> ["Facts"] - bimonthly -
"Föderation der demokrati- schen Arbeitervereine aus der Türkei in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland e.V." (DIDF) [<i>"Federation of Democratic Clubs of Workers from Turkey in the FRG (reg'd)"</i>]			
Kurds			
Iraqi Organizations	400	(400)	
– "Democratic Party of Kur- distan-Iraq" (DPK-I)			
– "Patriotic Union of Kurdis- tan" (PUK)			
Arabs			
"Hizb al-Da'Wa al-Islamiyya" (DA'WA) [<i>"Party of the Islamic Call/of the Islamic Mission"</i>]	150	(100)	<i>"Al-Jihad"</i> ("Holy War") - weekly -
"Groups of the Lebanese Re- sistance" (AMAL)	200	(200)	<i>"Amal"</i> ("Hope") - weekly -
Iranians			
"Union of Islamic Students' As- sociations" (U.I.S.A.)	150	(150)	<i>i.a. "Qods"</i> ("Jerusalem") - published irregularly -

Espionage and Other Intelligence Activities

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Espionage and Other Intelligence Activities

I. Overview

Accession of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary to NATO

As a result of the efforts aimed at achieving a durable peace order in Europe, a number of formerly political and tradecraft adversaries turned into allies. After the accession of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the spring of 1999 ¹⁷²⁾, these countries have, in the meantime, entered into negotiations on their accession to the European Union (EU). Other countries - e.g. Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia - intend to follow suit.

Germany continues to be the preferred intelligence target

However, the end of the Cold War and the positive developments in some countries of the former Eastern Bloc must not blind anybody to the fact that, as before, Germany continues to be a preferred target of the intelligence services of a number of foreign nations. This is exemplified, for instance, by the following current intelligence:

Russia

In late July, intelligence acquired by counterespionage services led to the arrest of two German nationals - a self-employed businessman and a diploma'd engineer - in Lower Saxony and in Bavaria, respectively; they are accused of having provided a Russian intelligence service with documents from the defence industry sector against payment of large sums of money.

Following preliminary investigations by agencies for the Protection of the Constitution, another two German nationals were unmasked as agents; they had, for remuneration, supplied documents from their respective area of activity first to the KGB and, after its dissolution, to a Russian intelligence service. In mid-December, they were sentenced by the Berlin Higher Regional Court of Appeal to prison terms of one year and ten months and of eight months, respectively. Execution of the sentences was suspended (on probation).

Iran

Also in July, an Iranian national was arrested in Berlin. As established by counterintelligence agencies, he is said to have spied, on behalf of an Iranian intelligence service, on Iranians living in Germany who are in opposition to the regime of their country of origin. Most of these are reported to be supporters of the organization "People's Mujahiddin of Iran" (MEK).

Syria

Following investigations by counterintelligence agencies, a Syrian national was arrested in Northern Germany in May. In October, he was finally convicted by the Hamburg Higher Regional Court of Appeal to two years' imprisonment on the

charge of secret service activity as an agent for Syria; the sentence was suspended on probation.

In addition to a number of countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) ¹⁷³⁾, countries of the Near and Middle East (including Iran, Iraq, Syria, the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), in particular, pursue intelligence activities against the Federal Republic of Germany.

Wider spectrum of counterintelligence tasks

While the intelligence interest of Russia and of other GUS Republics essentially covers the "classical" fields of espionage - politics, the military, industry, science, and technology - the activities of other countries are also aimed at investigating persons and at infiltrating organizations in Germany which are in opposition to the regime in the respective home country, and at the area of proliferation ¹⁷⁴⁾.

Berlin, seat of Government

The move of diplomatic missions from the Cologne/Bonn region to the Berlin area also has an impact on the counterintelligence functional spectrum. While previously the intelligence footholds of the services of foreign nations at the official/quasi-official missions of these countries (legal residencies) were, for the major part, located in the Cologne/Bonn region, a shift to Berlin can be expected to occur in this regard. However, their move to Berlin will not have the result that in future legal residencies would be established in Berlin only. According to available hard information, the intention is to have already existing consular posts of foreign nations, which are not located in the Berlin area, and the intelligence staff employed at those posts, stay at their present locations. Moreover, after the relocation of Missions to Berlin, some countries plan to establish additional consular posts in other cities in Germany where - as previous experience has shown - also personnel of foreign intelligence services are employed on cover functions.

No precise estimates yet for the increase in the number of foreign intelligence personnel in Berlin

While, in the last analysis, it may be assumed that the presence of staff members of foreign intelligence services in Berlin will increase, the ultimate extent of this increase cannot yet be assessed.

II. Intelligence and Security Services of the Russian Federation

1. *Current Situation and Tasks of the Services; Personnel Changes*

Firm integration in the political system

The important status and the tasks of the intelligence and security services of the Russian Federation were uncontested in 1999. They are firmly embedded in the political system; no trenchant structural changes were made.

KGB as a role model

The Russian intelligence services are convinced of their qualifications and skills. The civilian services, as before, consider themselves the legitimate successors of the KGB of the former Soviet Union and thus see themselves in line with the KGB's tradition. Thus for instance, in mid-1999, on the birthday of the former KGB chief Andropov who died in 1984, flowers were laid at his grave, and tribute was paid to his contribution to the development of the Soviet state security system of that time.

Filling of important leadership posts in government and industry with intelligence service officers

Also, the fact that recently a number of top executive positions in important government agencies, in the defence industry and in government-controlled industrial undertakings and press agencies were filled from among the high ranks of the Russian intelligence services, can be seen as an indication proving that the political leadership of the Russian Federation places trust in the key personnel of the intelligence services and also credits them with political qualifications.

Russian intelligence and security services

In 1999, essentially the following intelligence and security services were available to the Russian Federation:

SVR (Russian: CBP)

- Foreign intelligence in the civil sector is the responsibility of the Foreign-Intelligence Service SVR which has a staff of some 15,000 and since January 1996 has been headed by Army General Vyatsheslav **TRUBNIKOV**.

The SVR's principal espionage targets are politics, science and technology, and the economic sector. In addition, its mission is - to the extent possible - to infiltrate intelligence and security services of foreign countries and to spy on them through counterintelligence.

GRU (АбВ)

- The military foreign-intelligence service GRU (Main Intelligence Directorate), which is subordinate to the Russian Defence Ministry, has a staff of some 12,000. This service, which since May 1997 has been headed by Colonel General Valentin **KORABELNIKOV**, is responsible for the collection of military intelligence in the targeted foreign countries. The fo-

cus is on military-political, strategic and geographical intelligence as well as on espionage in the sector of defence industry and technical products that can be used for military purposes.

In late 1998, the Chief of Staff of the Russian armed forces, Army General Anatolij **KVASHNIN**, published an article, entitled "80 Years in the Service of the Fatherland", on the importance of the GRU in the military journal "Krasnaya Zvezda" ("Red Star"). In that article, he took the view that "military intelligence was, and still is, the most important instrument of Russian military policy". Protection of Russia's national interests and its international position were not based on military and economic capabilities, but primarily also on a balanced and hard-line approach to foreign policy. Such an approach could only be defined by means of timely, precise, complete and modern collection of information with intelligence means.

FSB (ФСБ)

The Federal Security Service FSB is a domestic counterintelligence and security service responsible for civilian and military counterespionage and for the fight against terrorism and organized crime. To a certain extent - e.g. in the context of fighting industrial espionage, of military counterintelligence, or in cases of transfrontier organized crime - it also is authorized to carry out intelligence activities abroad. Its staff is estimated to number some 100,000.

PATRUSHEV, the new FSB chief

On August 9, the Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed Lieutenant General Nicolaj **PATRUSHEV**, previously Putin's deputy, as the new FSB chief. After his graduation as a ship-building engineer, **PATRUSHEV** had taken up service with the KGB of the former Soviet Union. Until early 1998 he was a state security officer of the KGB and, after its dissolution, of the FSB. After a short assignment to the Russian Presidential administration, he returned to the FSB in late 1998.

Restructuration in sectoral areas

In mid-1999, the organizational units of the FSB responsible for countering industrial espionage reportedly underwent a restructuration. At about the same time, Putin - the FSB chief at that time - announced that a 'protection of the Constitution' division had been established within the FSB. Its task was not to "keep the political opposition down", but to deal with left-wing and right-wing extremist groups. Moreover, measures have reportedly been launched, which might result in further re-organization of this service and in enhancing the effectiveness of its work.

FAPSI (ÔÃĨÈ)

- The Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information (FAPSI) is a special service conducting monitoring as well as counterintelligence operations. It is responsible, in particular, for communications intelligence [COMINT] and electronic intelligence [ELINT], and thus for the monitoring and deciphering of foreign telecommunications worldwide, and for setting up lines of communication and ensuring security against the interception of important government lines of communication, e.g. of the Government and the Army. In addition, the service is the approving authority for commercial uses of communications technology, and thus it is also responsible for the allocation of radiofrequency channels and for authorizing the use of encryption methods.

The functional spectrum of FAPSI which is said to have a staff of some 100,000, including the Russian [military] communications units, has continuously been widened over the past years. The technology used by it meets state-of-the-art requirements. In a speech addressed to executive staff of government organizations, the Russian President in July commended FAPSI for having managed to keep up with the secret services of the most developed countries, such as the U.S., with regard to [signals] intelligence measures.

Transfer of leadership to MATYUKHIN

In May, Vladimir **MATYUKHIN** was appointed the new chief of the Service, who succeeded Vladislav Petrovich **SHERSTYUK** who only in December 1998 had been made FAPSI's top executive. **MATYUKHIN** has been a member of the intelligence services since the late 60s and is considered a qualified and experienced expert for communications intelligence.

FSO (ÔĨÎ)

- The Federal Protection Service FSO is responsible for the personal protection and safety of the Russian President and members of the Government. This responsibility also includes physical security for government buildings and the homes of Cabinet Members.

This service which since June 1996 has been headed by Lieutenant General Yuri **KRAPIVIN** reportedly has a staff of some 40,000. Since this is a special presidential service, the Russian President may, at his discretion, also assign counterintelligence or intelligence tasks to the FSO.

FPS (ÔĨÎ)

- The Federal Service for Border Protection (FPS) is responsible for protecting and controlling the external borders of the Russian territory. For this purpose, the FPS has a military unit authorized to conduct foreign-intelligence collection activities on foreign territory - in the border regions with Russia's neighbouring countries.

Since September 1998, Colonel General Konstantin **TOTSKIJ** has been the head of the FPS which is said to have a staff of more than 200,000.

2. *Intelligence Targets and Methods of Russian Intelligence Services*

Intelligence targets essentially unchanged

The most important intelligence targets of the Russian foreign-intelligence services continue to be politics, economy, science and technology, and the military complex.

Changing priorities and permanent tasks

In April, the chief adviser to SVR chief **TRUBNIKOV**, the former SVR Lieutenant Colonel Aleksandr **GOLUBYOV**, gave his views on the tasks of intelligence services to the Russian military journal "Krasnaya Zvezda" ("Red Star"). He said that - due to the given political situation - there may be changes in intelligence requirements and shifts of priorities. Thus, the present intelligence focus was on the economic sector and on science and technology. Nevertheless, the intelligence sector had, in addition, the continuing and unchanged task of providing the Government, on a continuous basis, with information required for decision-making in all areas.

Intelligence target: industry

In late December 1998, the then press spokesman of the SVR, Yuri **KOBALADSE**, said to the Russian news agency "ITAR TASS" - with regard to economy as an intelligence target - that while the economic sector had become a preferred field of action of the Russian secret services, this had not been to the detriment of the other work priorities of the SVR.

In February, the new head of the SVR's public information office, Boris **LABUSOV**, also commented, in an interview with the government mouthpiece "Izvestiya", on SVR activities in the economic sector:

"The SVR is called upon to create favourable conditions abroad for asserting and enforcing Russian economic interests and to draw foreign investors to our country."

Intelligence target: NATO

Particular priority has been given by the Russian foreign-intelligence services to NATO as an intelligence target. The reasons for this were the admission of several countries of the Warsaw Pact to membership of the Atlantic Alliance, and NATO's activities in connection with the Kosovo conflict. The Russian intelligence interest focused on NATO's strategy for resolving the Balkan crisis; the differing views of NATO partner states on ending the Kosovo conflict; German participation in NATO operations, and the resultant tension within the German government coalition;

and the respective positions taken by the Federal Government at NATO summits.

Intelligence collection methods

The Russian intelligence services procure information both from open sources and covertly - i.e. by clandestine collection - and, in addition to human sources, also use technical means.

For overt collection, they make use, *inter alia*, of specialized information centres, libraries, databases, the Internet, or they go to fairs and exhibitions, lectures and symposiums so as to obtain information from conversations with unwitting sources.

Use of human sources

For clandestine collection - where the fact that the contact is exploited for eliciting information is to be concealed - use is often made of intelligence service officers who work, on cover jobs, with Russian diplomatic or consular missions, correspondents' offices of Russian media, state-controlled branch offices of firms, or companies with Russian equity participation or majority shareholding. To cover up their true intentions, these intelligence service officers will present a cover story to their target persons. In addition, many uncovered former or presumed former staff members of Russian intelligence services try to obtain entry visas for Germany - allegedly for private or business reasons. It can be inferred from available intelligence that at least part of these visa requests are based on intelligence motives. Also, Russian services recruit persons in Germany as agents who are to procure intelligence, and employ so-called illegals (deep-cover agents) who, using a false identity, are infiltrated into Germany to carry out intelligence assignments.

Use of technical aids

In investigation by means of covert spy activities, the use of technical means also plays a role, e.g. intelligence collection through radioelectronic and communication-electronic installations. Obviously, the GRU is particularly active in this field. This can also be inferred from statements by the Russian Chief of Staff **KVASHNIN** who described the GRU as the most secret of Russian intelligence services which uses satellites, spy ships (intelligence collection ships), aircraft and electronic monitoring/interception devices for intelligence collection. At the same time, however, he pointed out that the GRU agents continued to be the most important sources of the Service since information provided by people could be assessed as to their intrinsic value and authenticity in the most reliable and fastest way.

3. *Direct Control of Intelligence Activities from Moscow*

"Home advantages" on the Direct control, also on Russian territory, of intelligence activities

from the services' headquarters in Moscow provides the Russian intelligence services with an excellent opportunity for obtaining information of intelligence relevance without having to take any risks.

The central headquarters of the Russian intelligence services directly handles agents whose control in their countries of assignment, e.g. through legal residencies, does not appear necessary. This applies, in particular, to so-called illegals (deep-cover agents) who might be unnecessarily put at risk by any contacts made in connection with agent handling in the country of assignment.

Moreover, on their own territory, the Russian intelligence services can observe and monitor persons of interest to them, who stay in Russia on official business or for private reasons. Thus, for instance, the interest of the FSB is focused mainly on the staff of German diplomatic and consular missions in Russia, but also on individuals who, in their firms, have promising access to information or who, as businessmen, can procure products of intelligence interest. Since the Russian intelligence services are in an advantageous position as regards the targeted category of persons, they can take a focused approach to look for opportunities for recruitment approaches and single out individuals who appear suitable. It is in this area, in particular, that the Russian services do not mandatorily have to disclose their intelligence intentions but, instead, can veil their activities and develop them under the guise of business contacts.

In mid-December, the Berlin Higher Regional Court of Appeal sentenced a former employee of a company doing basic research, to imprisonment for one year and ten months (suspended on probation) for having engaged in secret service activity as an agent for the KGB and, after its dissolution, for a Russian intelligence service. The accused had been recruited in the early 1980s by a member of the Soviet Consulate-General in Hamburg. In the subsequent years, he passed material from his field of activity on to his handler at operational meetings in what then was East-Berlin, and later on in Prague.

A female codefendant, a former employee of a scientific institute for microstructure technology, was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment (suspended on probation); since 1989, she had provided material, from her workplace and from areas to which she had access, to that agent although she was aware of his intelligence affiliation. The agent passed that material on to the Soviet, subsequently Russian, intelligence service and paid her for the information provided. In 1993, at a clandestine meeting in Prague, he brought her to the Russian intelligence service which continued to handle her as an agent until 1995.

4. *Legal Residencies of Russian Intelligence Services*

Unchanged presence of large numbers of Russian intelligence service staff in Germany

As established by the counterintelligence agencies, the Russian intelligence services continue to use the official and quasi-official missions of their country in Germany as intelligence footholds (legal residencies). Large numbers of intelligence staff are employed on cover posts at these government offices of Russia on German territory. For the major part, they have diplomatic status and thus enjoy special rights, especially diplomatic immunity. Although a markedly larger number of intelligence service personnel have been assigned to legal residencies in Germany than to most other European countries, the Russian side endeavours to dispatch additional intelligence service officers to their diplomatic representations in Germany and in this way attempts to provide for even greater augmentation of the already existing legal residencies. The high percentage of cover positions at the Russian diplomatic representations in Germany underlines both the importance attached to legal residencies in the intelligence concept of Russian secret services and the significance of Germany as a target country.

Embassy's move to Berlin

Parts of the Russian Embassy moved from Bonn to Berlin already in the course of 1999 and were co-located there with its previous Berlin field office to form the new Russian Embassy (RE). However, with the establishment of a Russian Consulate-General (RCG), Bonn continues to be a diplomatic site.

Cover posts give access to target persons

Thanks to their supposed (official) functions, the legal residents serving with Russian diplomatic representations enjoy excellent conditions which enable them to perform their intelligence tasks or greatly facilitate performance of such tasks. Their diplomatic status and cover positions provide them with many and various opportunities for getting to know target persons of intelligence interest from all priority subject areas as well as representatives of public authorities, journalists or diplomats from other countries. Without arousing any suspicion, these residency members can then, through open conversations, elicit information from their (unwitting) contact persons on their professional scope for obtaining access and on their private backgrounds. In this way, intelligence service officers who give their interlocutors the wrong impression of having a mere exchange of views, will receive first-hand information, e.g. on development trends in industry or in the research and technology sectors and on opinion-forming processes in the fields of politics and security policy. Findings of intelligence relevance can then be selected from the overall information thus obtained.

Change from overt to clandestine contacts

Often, therefore, there is no need for residency members, in order to obtain information, to burden existing contacts with a conspiratorial manner which would be perceived by the interlocutor as an intelligence-oriented approach. However, the counterintelligence agencies have information indicating that often residency officers, despite their opportunities for overt intelligence collection, later will change over to clandestine continuation of contacts which they initially conducted in an overt fashion.

Major tasks of residencies

This approach is patterned on "classical residency work", and its ultimate objective is to approach, recruit and, if and where possible, handle new agents. In addition, one of the major tasks of legal residencies - apart from overt intelligence collection - is to support already existing intelligence contacts which, for instance, are controlled by the services' headquarters in Moscow. Cases in point are, for example, depositing and removal of mail from so-called dead letter drops (DLD's) which have been set up as caches (e.g. in the ground) to exchange material or transfer money between the agents and the controlling office. For DLD operations, legal residency members in instances even involve family members in intelligence activities as a cover-up. Since DLD's, for security reasons, can be used only for a short period of time and will then be replaced by new caches in other places, one of the basic tasks of residency members who are operatives, when travelling, is to be on the look-out for suitable caches.

III. Intelligence and Security Services of Other CIS Member States

New services in the other CIS Republics

Apart from the Russian Federation (RF), also the other CIS Republics have their own intelligence and security services which, as a rule, have developed from the earlier structures of what formerly was the Soviet KGB. By and by, the Russians still active in these newly established services have, at varying rates, been replaced by nationals of the respective Republic.

Close co-operation with Russia

The services of the other CIS Republics closely co-operate, in particular, with the Russian intelligence services and, through this co-operation which is laid down in a number of agreements, fully utilize the existing opportunities for enhancing the effectiveness of their work. For instance, a data exchange agreed by the CIS services covers mutual information on entries and exits of persons of intelligence interest. This may also concern Western businessmen and firms' representatives also engaged in Eastern

Europe business relations, whose data - obtained, for instance,

from visa applications - can be used for operative activities.

Co-operation with the Russian intelligence services also covers support measures, e.g. assistance given by Russia in the fields of technical equipment and training of staff. In addition, there are exchanges of official representatives. For instance, a high-ranking member of the Belorussian service is accredited as an official representative to the Russian domestic intelligence service FSB (Federal Security Service). Since the co-operation practised so far obviously yields positive results for the services of the CIS Republics, efforts were made in 1999 to intensify such co-operation. To this end, the heads of the Russian FSB and of the Ukrainian SBU in August signed a number of agreements designed to achieve even closer co-operation.

Situation of services in non-Russian republics

The services of the CIS Republics other than Russia seem, for the major part, to have overcome the difficult phase of consolidation. This is borne out by what the former head of the Russian security service FSB, KOVALYOV, said about the Ukrainian service SBU:

"The SBU is one of the most efficient services. We have very good co-operation with them; especially in countering the intelligence activities of foreign services operating on the territories of Russia and of the Ukraine. Prospects are that the SBU might be among the élite services in 10 to 15 years from now."

Different tasking of the services in the non-Russian CIS Republics

The assignment of specific tasks to the services in the non-Russian CIS Republics is laid down in the various - and quite different - national legal provisions.

Most of the non-Russian CIS Republics only maintain a domestic intelligence service responsible for counterintelligence and security. As a rule, these services have an intelligence collection component only to the extent that they monitor diplomatic or consular missions of foreign nations in their country and try to elicit intelligence from members of those missions or to recruit staff members as agents.

But various services of non-Russian CIS Republics also have their country's diplomatic or consular missions abroad included in the services' responsibilities and station their staff members at those missions.

Other non-Russian CIS Republics have, in addition to domestic counterintelligence, explicitly assigned statutory responsibilities regarding foreign intelligence to their services. Examples are the Ukrainian Act on the Security Service and the Belorussian Act on the Work of State Security Organs. Both Republics have an autonomous military foreign-intelligence service subordinate to the respective Ministry of Defence.

IV. Activities of Intelligence Services of Countries in the Near/Middle East

Also, the services of several Near/Middle East countries continue to pursue intelligence activities in, and against, Germany. Their intelligence interest covers the classical areas of espionage - politics, the military, industry, science and technology - and, to a particular extent, infiltration of, and spying on, organizations or persons in Germany which/who are in opposition to the government of their respective country of origin. In order to achieve these ends, they are also prepared to use force which may even include acts of (state-sponsored) terrorism. Also, they are interested in the subject of proliferation.

1. Iranian Intelligence Services

Priority aim: spying on regime opponents

As before, the priority aim of the Iranian Intelligence Service VEVAK (Ministry for Intelligence and Security) is to combat Iranian dissidents living in Germany. In departure from the violent approach taken until the mid-1990s - *inter alia*, attempts on the lives of leading opposition politicians in Western foreign countries, including Germany ¹⁷⁵⁾ - VEVAK activities were, as in the previous years, focused on the political neutralization of opposition groups and their anti-regime activities. The "People's Mujahiddin of Iran" (MEK) and its political arm which is active worldwide, the "*Nationaler Widerstandsrat Iran*" (NWRI - "National Resistance Council of Iran"), continued to be the focus of the intelligence interest of the Iranian intelligence service.

"Culture Associations" and anti-MEK publications

In its fight against the Iranian opposition-in-exile, VEVAK makes use of so-called "culture associations". These are cover organizations founded as directed by VEVAK and acting in accordance with Iran's interests and wishes. In addition, the Iranian service initiates anti-MEK publications which in part are published by former MEK activists and have the aim of persuading the readers of these publications to turn their backs upon this organization.

Severe harassment as a lever

For spying on the MEK, the Iranian intelligence service also recruits supporters of that organization and other Iranian nationals. Recruitment mostly takes place during visits by exiled Iranians to Iran. When in that country, they will be approached by VEVAK and, in instances, under threat of massive harassment against themselves or their relatives in Iran, are compelled to co-operate with the intelligence service.

On 24 November, the trial began in the Berlin Higher Regional Court of Appeal against a 36-year old Iranian national living in Germany for a number of years and arrested in Berlin in July. He was under strong suspicion to have spied, as a supposed MEK

supporter, on leading functionaries and activities of that organization in Germany on behalf of the Iranian intelligence service^{*)}.

2. Syrian Intelligence Services

Residencies control the source and informant network

Also the Syrian intelligence services continued their intelligence collection activities in Germany.

For the development and control of the source and informant network set up to this end, they run undercover bases established at the official and quasi-official missions (legal residencies). The latter include the Syrian Embassy.

The main tasks of the Syrian intelligence service officers operating from these missions under diplomatic cover are intelligence collection, and spying on and monitoring of compatriots living in Germany who are critical of the political system in their home country. The primary observation sites of Syrian secret services include the Islamic Centres and mosques whose frequenters are considered to be among the political opponents. With the help of sources and informants, the services attempt to gather information on the living conditions, contacts and political aims of these persons so as to induce them, by using the information thus obtained, to abandon their dissident stance.

A case in point concerns a 43-year old Syrian who, after his asylum application had been turned down in August 1995, as a walk-in volunteered co-operation with the Syrian intelligence service. Since then, he had maintained intensive intelligence contacts with the resident of the civilian Syrian intelligence service who held the cover post of attaché in the Consular Division of the Syrian Embassy. In this context, he procured, and delivered to his handler, personal data on a large number of ethnic Syrians and Lebanese living in Germany. For this purpose, he increasingly made use of clandestine methods and means.

This intelligence contact ended in May 1999 when he was arrested. In early October, he was sentenced by the Hamburg OLG (Higher Regional Court of Appeal) to two years' imprisonment (suspended on probation) on the charge of intelligence activity on behalf of Syria.

At the instigation of the Foreign Office, the agent controller of the Syrian Embassy left the Federal Republic of Germany on 24 July.

^{*)} On 19 January 2000, the Berlin Higher Regional Court of Appeal sentenced the accused to 18 months' imprisonment (suspended on probation) and to a fine of 5,000 DM.

Residency staff members and alleged asylum seekers spy on dissidents

3. *Iraqi Intelligence Services*

Spying on, and infiltration of, Iraqi dissidents living abroad continue to be the priority intelligence targets of the Iraqi intelligence service in Germany. Its primary interest is in obtaining information on the whereabouts, in other countries, of specific critics of the regime, officers having fled the country or other persons cleared for access to classified information. In addition to undercover intelligence-service staffers at the Iraqi Embassy in Bonn, it increasingly uses agents who, posing as asylum seekers, attempt to obtain information on the German asylum procedure and to infiltrate Iraqi dissident groups. For facilitation of entry, the Iraqi intelligence services make use of professional clandestine immigration rings which, against payment, smuggle the agents concerned from a neighbouring country to Germany.

As regards the direction and control of agents who have already been active for some time - so-called 'asset sources' - the Iraqi services increasingly channel their contacts with them either directly through the services' headquarters in Baghdad or through a residency in a neighbouring country of the German area of operations.

V. *Activities of Far East Intelligence Services*

Intelligence services from a number of Far East countries also continue to pursue intelligence activities in Germany. In this regard, the People's Republics of China and of North Korea are the primary countries involved.

Intelligence services are to contribute to the achievement of China's envisaged great-power position

1. *Chinese Intelligence Services*

The intensive espionage activities of the intelligence services of the People's Republic of China (PRC) continue to be based on the objective of drawing level with leading industrial nations economically and in terms of armaments technology.. In the political area, too, the PRC, as an emerging great power, wants to obtain all essential information. To this end, with major staffing and funding inputs, it has, for a number of years, been operating six intelligence and security services, of which primarily the "Ministry for State Security" (civilian intelligence service - MSS) and the "Main Directorate 'Intelligence' of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army" (military intelligence service - MID) are responsible for foreign-intelligence tasks.

Use of intelligence service staff as members of official missions and business enterprises

The primary base of Chinese espionage activities are the legal residencies at the diplomatic and consular missions where intelligence service officers work under cover. In addition, however, use also is made, for intelligence purposes, of airlines, import/export firms, press agencies, Chinese companies and German/Chinese joint-venture firms by Chinese intelligence collection agencies, where intelligence staffers are also employed as undercover agents.

"Vacuum-cleaning principle" and long-term source recruitment

The aim of the operational activity of the Chinese services - which, as available intelligence indicates, is often based on a long-term concept - is to elicit information from interesting people, to collect all information overtly available - "vacuum-cleaning principle" - and, ultimately, also to recruit sources. In this regard, the Chinese services traditionally take an ethnic approach. Primarily, they will recruit Chinese people living abroad, mostly students, scientists or businessmen.

2. North Korean Intelligence Services

On account of its chronically straitened financial condition, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (PRK) has, since 1998, closed down fourteen of its missions abroad and, as a result, has significantly scaled down its activities regarding procurement of goods of all types.

The "Office" has the largest staff of all PRK representations in Europe

While - as before - the PRK does not have diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, it has an interest group established in Berlin, the Office for the Protection of the Interests of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, for which the PR of China provides diplomatic protection. This interest-representing office also in 1999 had the largest staff of all North Korean representations in Europe - which goes to show Germany's importance as regards the North Korean procurement efforts in Germany and Europe, especially with regard to goods subject to export controls.

Existence of residencies at the "Office" confirmed by defectors

In early 1999, it was confirmed once more that North Korea operates intelligence residencies at its Protection of Interests Office in Berlin:

On January 13, a member of the North Korean intelligence service "Unification Front Department" ¹⁷⁶⁾ (UFD) who was accredited as Assistant Secretary at the Berlin "Office", and his wife entrusted themselves to the protection of the United States of America.

During the subsequent questioning, the defector confirmed that there had been such activities.

Procurement methods

As regards North Korea's intelligence collection methods, there were again efforts at covert transfer of goods subject to export controls via a third country to North Korea by means of manipulated declarations regarding the ultimate user or by their export via a third country.

Unchanged high priority is given to the procurement of goods for the Second Economic Committee and/or for the People's Armed Forces ¹⁷⁷⁾.

VI. Proliferation

Unabated interest in WMD and the related carrier technology

Various countries, primarily in the Near/Middle and Far East - e.g. Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, North Korea - for varying motives endeavour to provide their armed forces with nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction and with the required long-range vectors. India and Pakistan are at enmity with each other. Iran strives for hegemony in the Gulf region; other countries simply wish to avoid being relegated to the background in military matters. All of them, however, share the unabated strong interest in owning such weapons of mass destruction and the related launching systems.

Already decades ago, with the enactment of the War Weapons Control Act (KWKG) and of the Foreign Trade and Payments Act (AWG), the Federal Republic of Germany has provided instruments designed to prevent such countries from making use of German state-of-the-art technology (high tech) when implementing their armaments programmes. Both Acts are aligned to established international legal bases which are aimed at effectively countering proliferation.

Adjustment to strict export controls

However, countries interested in weapons of mass destruction have in the meantime adjusted to the strict European export control mechanisms. Therefore, it is to be expected that their purchases from Western markets will in future be confined to urgently needed material that cannot, in the desired quality, be obtained elsewhere. Also, the methods used in the purchase and transport of, and payment for, goods of proliferation relevance are getting more and more clandestine. Moreover, it is to be expected that the countries directing their efforts at proliferation will in the near future co-operate even more closely and provide mutual support. North Korea, for instance, has for some time presented itself as a co-operation partner in the development of carrier rockets. Iran is making efforts to build up its own industries for rocketry-related production - also with the aim of subsequently selling these products at a profit. For projects, the im-

Co-operation among the agencies involved in fighting proliferation

plementation of which exceeds a country's capabilities, assistance can be provided also by other countries, such as a number of republics of the former USSR, but also by the PR of China.

Proliferation can be fought effectively only by means of close co-operation among all agencies involved in anti-proliferation activities. These include the [Federal and *Land*] Offices for the Protection of the Constitution, the Federal Intelligence Service (BND), the Customs Criminological Office (ZKA), the Federal Exports Office (BAFA) and the Federal Office of Criminal Police (BKA). The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution endeavours to identify clandestine procurement methods also through exchanges of information with the intelligence services of foreign countries. Due to the narrow limitation of their statutory anti-proliferation responsibilities, involvement of the agencies for the Protection of the Constitution is possible to a limited extent only.

Conviction for treason on a proliferation charge

The problems related to proliferation in mid-1999 once more was increasingly in the centre of public attention. On June 29, the Bavarian Higher Regional Court of Appeal (BayObLG) sentenced a German entrepreneur to five years' imprisonment and to a fine of 60,000 DM on the charge of treason (against the external security of the State). The convicted person had in 1989 sold, to Iraq, design drawings for the construction of a gas ultracentrifugation plant required for uranium enrichment. This enabled Iraq to produce weapons-grade uranium.

VII. Arrests and Convictions

In 1999, the Federal Public Prosecutor General initiated 63 preliminary investigations for suspected intelligence agent activities. Criminal prosecution authorities detained five persons, and arrest warrants were issued against all of them. Of these persons, one had worked for a Syrian intelligence service, one is said to have worked for an Iranian service, and two of them are charged with having acted on behalf of a Russian service. The fifth detainee had, until late 1989, been a staffer of the "Ministry of State Security" (MfS, or "Stasi") of the former GDR. He is accused of having had contacts with a Russian intelligence service since the early 1990s.

During the same period, courts in the Federal Republic of Germany sentenced ten suspects for criminal offences constituting "treason [against the external security of the State] and endangerment of external security" (Penal Code, ss. 93 - 101a), of whom one was sentenced on a charge of treason.

"Scientology Organization" (SO)

Founded:	1954 in the U.S.; first branch office in Germany in 1970
Headquarters:	Los Angeles ("Church of Scientology International" - CSI)
Members:	in Germany, estimated at: approx. 5,000 to 6,000 (1998: 5,000 to 6,000) ^{*)}
Publications:	<i>inter alia</i> , "FREIHEIT" (Freedom), "IMPACT", "SOURCE", "INTERNATIONAL SCIENTOLOGY NEWS" ¹⁷⁸⁾
Subsidiary organizations: (selection)	in Germany, eight "churches" and ten "missions" ¹⁷⁹⁾
^{*)} SO regularly reports higher figures (30,000)	

1. General Data

At its meeting in Bonn on June 5-6, 1997, the Standing Conference of the *Land* Ministers and Senators of the Interior (IMK) noted - on the basis of a report written by a study group of the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution - that in the case of the "Scientology Organization" (SO), there was substantial evidence of endeavours directed against the free democratic fundamental order, and that therefore the legal prerequisites for having the organization monitored by the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution were met. ¹⁸⁰⁾ The monitoring results were to be reported to the IMK after one year.

To this end, another working group of the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution prepared a report in which the WG - in view of the information obtained since June 1997 on the aims and activities of SO - advocated continuation of the surveillance of this Organization by intelligence agencies ¹⁸¹⁾.

At their meeting on November 19-20, 1998, the IMK and the Federal Minister of the Interior agreed to take account of that Report in the further work of the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution. This has not resulted in any changes to the assessment made in 1997.

2. Basic Tenets and Practices

The Scientology Organization (SO) sees itself as a "salvation religion" ¹⁸²⁾ - 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 the human individual, and to free him from his bonds in the physical universe ...". ¹⁸³⁾

In the SO's view, anybody's "person" or "identity" is not his body or name, but the 'thetan' ["soul", "life energy"]; it has "... no mass, no wavelength ... that is to say, nothing concrete ..." ¹⁸⁴⁾. In its ideal state as an 'Operating Thetan' [OT], it is "... entirely the causative agent ... [controlling] matter, energy, space, time [MEST] and thought ..." and "... not in a body ..." ¹⁸⁵⁾.

In order to reach this state, the first objective of Scientology is the 'Clear', i.e. the person who "... as a result of the dianetic therapy, is free of any - either active or potential - psychosomatic illnesses or aberrations ..." ¹⁸⁶⁾. For Scientologists, the latter means "... a deviation from rational thought or behaviour ..." ¹⁸⁷⁾. Deviations from rationality may originate in so-called engrams. By 'engram', Scientologists understand "... a mental image picture which is a recording of a period of physical pain and unconsciousness ..." ¹⁸⁸⁾. By means of 'auditing', these 'engrams' can be discovered and their effects be eliminated ¹⁸⁹⁾.

Under this procedure, the *auditor* ("... someone who is listening ..."; a priest of the "Church of Scientology" thus designated or someone trained as such) ¹⁹⁰⁾ is to help the so-called Pre-clear [PC] ("... someone who is not yet Clear ...") ¹⁹¹⁾, through an established sequence of questions or instructions, to detect areas of grief or pain. ¹⁹²⁾ As an aid, the auditor uses the so-called E-meter [Hubbard electrometer]. This device is to measure "the body's resistance and its variations due to spiritual interaction" against an electric current of "about 1.5 V" while the Pre-clear, being questioned by the auditor during the auditing session, holds both electrodes of the device in his hands. ¹⁹³⁾ The movements of the E-meter needle which are caused by the current flow are supposed to indicate to the auditor whether the correct area of grief and pain has been addressed ¹⁹⁴⁾.

Auditing courses and the pertinent training materials are offered by the Scientology Organization (SO) against payment.

In addition to conventional material, such as brochures, flyers/ handbills and the like, the Organization also uses the Internet for recruitment and propaganda purposes. The Internet provides, *inter alia*, information on SO subsidiary organizations, functionaries and currently circulated publications.

3. Goals

SO pursues political goals

In his book "Dianetics", the founder of the Scientology Organization, L(afayette) Ron(al) Hubbard, already gave an indication of the basically political thrust of his ideas ¹⁹⁵⁾. Thus, his theoretical approaches and techniques for removing grief and pain - which he called "dianetics" - are intended to enrich "different fields ... of sociology, politics, the military".

He claimed that dianetics covered many fields of knowledge, such as "political dianetics which comprises the field of group activities and organization with the aim of identifying the optimum conditions and procedures for the management of groups and their mutual relations" ¹⁹⁶⁾.

The Scientology Organization unrestrictedly publishes Hubbard's publications and instructions which to SO and to the individual Scientologist are authoritative and irrevocable ¹⁹⁷⁾. They contain actual indications of political aims and endeavours directed against the free democratic fundamental order ¹⁹⁸⁾.

Also SO's currently leading functionary, David **MISCAVIGE**, "chairman of the Board" ¹⁹⁹⁾ of the subsidiary organization "Religious Technology Center" (RTC) ²⁰⁰⁾, made the Organization's political character clear when he, with reference to Hubbard, addressed a meeting of the "International Association of Scientologists" (IAS) in June, with the following words:

"We have achieved our technology objectives. Now we only will have to attain our ... social aims. This is hard work, but it is predictable."

("HCO-Informationsbrief" of 21 August 1963, Ron's Journal no. 6) ²⁰¹⁾

Actual indications of anti-constitutional endeavours

As stated in Hubbard's publications which also in 1999 continued to be offered for sale by SO "churches" ²⁰²⁾, the aim is to create a "civilization" in which the fundamental rights will no longer be granted to all inhabitants, but may be rightfully enjoyed only by "non-aberrant" persons as defined by SO doctrine ²⁰³⁾, i.e. persons who, after selection under the auditing procedure ²⁰⁴⁾, are considered "honest":

Restricted validity of basic rights

"A person's right to survival is directly linked to his honesty.... Freedom is for honest people. Personal freedom is available to those who are capable of being free."

(Hubbard, *Introduction to the Ethics of Scientology*, Copenhagen 1998, p. 46)

Statements to this effect can also be found in the journal "IMPACT" ²⁰⁵⁾ and in an IAS advertisement brochure ²⁰⁶⁾. These are in line with earlier SO statements according to which "in the distant future, only non-aberrant persons are to be granted civil rights ²⁰⁷⁾ and only they will be allowed "to marry and have chil-

dren" ²⁰⁸⁾.

In addition, an "HCO Policy Letter of 18 March 1965" written by Hubbard, which became public in 1999, shows that SO intends to introduce a legal order not bound by the human rights enshrined in the Basic Law:

"If, in our groups, we have the better law and if there is a high degree of order-mindedness, people will move among us and find greater security and certainty in us. ... All we have to do is to achieve expansion and supremacy in society."
(HCO Policy Letter of 18 March 1965", "Subject: Law")

What this "better law" might look like and what its implications might be for the constitutional order, can be taken from the "Handbook of Law" which was published already in 1959 (reprint 1979) and in which Hubbard gives his views on the role of Scientologist law and of the Scientologist legal system. The "Handbook" comprises a number of passages giving an indication of the aim of SO to establish a rule of force and arbitrary rule.

According to the "Handbook", no human rights or fundamental rights are to be included in the Scientologist social system as defensive rights of citizens *vis-à-vis* the State. There would be no independent courts under the Scientologist legal order. An 'intelligence service' not subject to law and order would collect information on the given facts and processes and would take preventive and repressive measures. This objective is evidenced by the following statements:

"The reason why we nowadays have stable organizations where we only had bits and pieces in the past, is that we are taking intelligence approaches for telling our friends from our enemies, and that we are taking prompt action ... We know our enemies before they strike. We are keeping them from important positions. ...

If we happen to get somebody in a key position and he then starts making mistakes, we will shoot quickly and administer justice afterwards. And we will sum up who his friends and associates were ...

If things go wrong and we do not already know the reason from our intelligence activities, then we will resort to investigating ..."

If there is an investigation, the suspect's guilt is established through the use of a so-called E-meter ²⁰⁹⁾ - in violation of the principles enshrined in the Basic Law, *i.e.* human dignity (Basic Law, Art. 1, para. 1), fundamental rights in court [*i.e.* hearing in accordance with law; *ex post facto* clause; *ne bis in idem* principle] (Basic Law, Art. 103) and the rule-of-law principle (Basic Law, Art. 20, para. 3):

"In the case of low morals, we think about who would be the most probable suspects and have them come see us. We will ask them why they talk the way they do. And anyway, what is wrong [with them]? We will call them in, one after another. We will use the E-meter. 'What did you do to us?' And things will get sorted out. For us in Scientology, investigation is a sophisticated art. It is like auditing. If somebody is not prepared to take an E-meter test, you will know that he is guilty ...".

4. Public Appearances

Brochures and Internet offers

For promotion of its dianetics courses, SO distributes publications, brochures and handbills in the pedestrian precincts of German cities. In addition, it makes use of the Internet for promotion of its image and for publicizing its message. On the WWW ²¹⁰⁾, the Organization presents multilingual comprehensive Websites, of sophisticated design, containing information on its political aims, subsidiary organizations and current publications. In addition, Scientologists - of whom about 600 German members - pursue promotional activities for the Organization on their own Internet sites where they declare themselves advocates of the SO's aims. Appeals and instructions for the design of such a Website, and order forms for a diskette with the appropriate software are contained in SO publications ²¹¹⁾.

Disparagement of the reputation of the FRG

For systematic disparagement of the reputation of the Federal Republic of Germany, the SO has installed the Internet page "Religious Freedom Alert: Germany 1999", where measures taken by public authorities are disparaged as "ethnic cleansing" and "religious apartheid".

No response among the general public

As a major open-air event with some 1,000 participants, mostly from abroad, a protest rally was held on 7 August 1999 against the "XIth Congress of the World Psychiatric Association (WPA)" in Hamburg by the SO subsidiary organization "*Kommission für Verstöße der Psychiatrie gegen Menschenrechte e.V., Bundesleitung*" [KVPM - "Commission on Human Rights Violations committed by Psychiatry"] ²¹²⁾. The general public showed little interest.

Protection of the Constitution through Information and Awareness-Raising

The importance of political analysis and discussion of anti-constitutional activities calls for intensive public education/information regarding the type and scope of the threats posed by political extremism. By providing such education and information, the Federal Ministry of the Interior (MOI) complies with its constitutional mandate to protect the free democratic fundamental order (cf. the NPD-related Decision by the Federal Constitutional Court [BVG] of 29 October 1975). Even though our democracy is stable, both acute and latent risks and threats must be monitored: extremism and violence, intolerance and xenophobia, ultranationalism and fundamentalism. The Federal Government attaches special importance to both preventive and offensive responses to these phenomena. Therefore, it places high priorities on the analysis and discussion of these phenomena.

Intellectual/political discussion of extremism and violence not only covers imparting of knowledge, but also implies the requirement to raise the awareness that democracy needs a set of basic values which are generally agreed upon.

The task of "protecting the Constitution through information and education" is performed at the federal level by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) and, at the *Land* [federal state] level, by the Ministries of the Interior and the *Land* Offices for the Protection of the Constitution. Co-operation of the Federal Government and the *Länder* is based on the "Concept for Public Relations Work regarding the Protection of the Constitution". This covers exchanges of experience with public relations work and public information/education, as well as co-operation within project-specific groups/ad hoc working groups, development of common concepts for information campaigns, publications, inputs to the media and film projects, co-ordination of public relations activities and their informal networking, and other activities. Special attention is focused on achieving an intensive dialogue with the citizens about the tasks of the agencies for the protection of the Constitution. A democratic state governed by the rule of law cannot be protected and maintained only by public authorities. The best protection of the Constitution is provided by the informed and democratically minded citizens themselves. For this purpose, the public relations sector of the agencies for the protection of the Constitution offers information on the pertinent findings and

insights which is to place everybody in a position to form his/her own judgment about the threats posed by anti-constitutional forces to our constitutional state. This also covers imparting the fundamental values enshrined in our Constitution (Basic Law). Only those who know what is threatened by whom, will also know what must be defended and preserved.

The joint awareness-raising campaign by the Federal and the *Land* Ministers of the Interior against extremism and xenophobia - which in previous years had been a particular focal point of intellectual/political analysis and discussion in the area of internal security - ended in 1999. It had been launched in March 1993 under the motto "*FAIRSTÄNDNIS*^{#)} - *Menschenwürde achten - gegen Fremdenhass*" ("Fairness and Understanding* - Respect for Human Dignity - Against Xenophobia"). The campaign had the dual function of information/education and of providing motivation. Young people, in particular, but the entire general public as well, were informed about the origin, background and extent of right-wing extremism, xenophobia^{##)} [anti-foreigner hostility; elsewhere in Europe, also the broader term of "racism" is used] and violence. At the same time, especially young people were motivated to think about their attitudes towards foreigners and to look for possible ways of countering violence and xenophobia. Within the framework of that campaign, educational and promotional materials - such as brochures addressed to pupils and teachers, entitled "*Halt! Keine Gewalt!*" ["Stop! No Violence!"], a youth brochure "*basta - Nein zur Gewalt*" ["That's it - NO to violence"] and related teachers' support material (editions 1994 and 1996; revised 4th edition 1998), computer games ("*Dunkle Schatten*" ["Dark Shadows"], series 1 and 2), posters and other promotional material - were produced and distributed, advertisements were placed in magazines for young people, and TV spots against xenophobia were broadcast. The Federal MOI was responsible for designing and developing the campaign and for co-ordination. More than 13.6 million DM were spent on this campaign by the *Bund* [Federal Government] and the *Länder* on a 50:50 basis.

During the year under review, the Federal Office of the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) also provided information within the framework of the public awareness programme by means of publications, posters, advertising media, exhibitions and an Internet homepage on current findings/intelligence.

In view of the great public interest, the BfV in the past year had to increase production of brochures significantly. Overall, 16 bro-

^{#)} wordplay on "**fair**" and the German word "**Verständnis**" (understanding), to form the new word "fairstanding" [Translator's Note]

^{##)} anti-foreigner hostility; elsewhere in Europe, also the broader term of "racism" is used [Translator's note]

chures were printed, numbering more than 95,000 copies altogether. In particular, analyses related to subjects of right-wing extremism met with great interest among the general public.

New publications dealt with various aspects of extremism, *inter alia*:

"Entwicklungen im Rechtsextremismus in den neuen Ländern" ["Developments in Right-Wing Extremism in the New Länder"^{#)}], *"Rechtsextremistische Parteien"* ["Extreme Right-Wing Parties"] or *"Sicherheitslage der Wirtschaft - Bedrohung durch Linksextremisten"* ["The Security Situation in Industry - Threats posed by Left-Wing Extremists"]. Small brochures on the subjects of 'right-wing extremism' and 'extremism pursued by foreigners' were specifically addressed to young readers.

Several publications were revised and up-dated, e.g. the policy brochure *"Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz - Aufgaben, Befugnisse, Grenzen"* ["Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution - Responsibilities, Powers, Limitations"], a publication about right-extremist skinheads, and a publication about "Extremism on the Internet".

Most of the brochures published by the BfV can also be downloaded from the Internet (<http://www.verfassungsschutz.de>).

In 1999, an offer specifically designed for Internet use regarding information/education about right-wing extremism was the first one of this type to be published: this was the project *"Geh Rechtssextremisten nicht ins Netz"* ["Don't get caught in the net of right-wing extremists"]. A number of links with other providers of information about right-wing extremism completed this offer.

Many Internet users made positive comments about the BfV sites; the Internet was accessed 10,000 times per month.

About 25,000 visitors, including many school groups, came to see last year's BfV exhibitions on *"Demokratie ist verletzlich - Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland"* ["Democracy is vulnerable - Right-wing extremism in Germany"] (in 9 cities) and *"Verfassungsschutz im demokratischen Rechtsstaat"* ["Protection of the Constitution in a democratic state governed by the rule of law"] (in 8 cities).

School classes frequently made use of the offer to have their visit to the exhibitions guided by staff members of the agencies for the protection of the Constitution.

On account of disruptive action by MPs of the political party "Die Republikaner" (REP - "The Republicans") at the opening of the exhibition on right-wing extremism, this exhibition even was the subject of a debate in the *Landtag* of Baden-Württemberg.

^{#)} i.e. the five Länder (in East Germany, previously the GDR) which acceded to the FRG when German unity was established [Translator's Note]

As in previous years, the BfV attended the *Didacta/Interschul* fair with an exhibition stand. The major target group were multipliers, especially teachers. The respective statistics recorded 6,000 visitors to the stand.

An important prerequisite to an effective fight against racism and anti-foreigner hostility is research into the causes. With the initiation and analysis of research programmes on internal security subjects, options for political action are obtained. Therefore, the Federal Ministry of the Interior commissioned *Deutsches Jugendinstitut* ["German Youth (Research) Institute"] in Munich to carry out a research project which, as part of a longitudinal-section analysis, is an update of the 1994 study *"Analyse fremdenfeindlicher Straftäter"* ("Analysis of Xenophobic Offenders").

The dialogue initiated, as a follow-up to the "European Year against Racism and Xenophobia" (1997), by the Government and non-governmental organizations in the *"Forum gegen Rassismus"* ["Forum against Racism"] was continued and expanded. It is envisaged that the *"Forum gegen Rassismus"* in future might also function as a "National Round Table" in the spirit of the principles laid down by the *"Europäische Stelle zur Beobachtung von Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit"* (EBRF - "European Bureau Monitoring Racism and Xenophobia"). The chairmanship and executive secretariat of the *"Forum gegen Rassismus"* are the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Given the requirement for the analysis and discussion of racism and xenophobia, the Federal MOI successfully organized the European conference on "Religions - Ethnic Groups - Government" during the German Presidency of the EU Council. The objective of that conference was achieved, i.e. to give new political impulses for tolerance and against racism, in the sense of peaceful co-existence of different ethnic groups and different religions within the framework of the democratic Constitutions of the European states.

Extremism, xenophobia and violence continue to be phenomena that threaten the democratic and social rule-of-law state. The unabated incidence of offences and acts of outrage, especially with a right-extremist, anti-foreigner and racist background, call for resolute commitment to the protection and respect of democratic rules, and for promoting tolerance and the respect due to other people and, consequently, for the uncompromising rejection of all forms of extremism, xenophobia, racism and violence in all sectors and at all levels of the state and society. This awareness united all the representatives from politics, of the Government, of non-governmental organizations, of the scientific community, from industry, of the churches and religious communities, of sports organizations, charitable associations, etc., who in 1999

were involved in the preparation and planning of the *"Bündnis für Demokratie und Toleranz - gegen Extremismus und Gewalt"* ["Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance - Against Extremism and Xenophobia"].

This is the message to be conveyed by the "Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance - Against Extremism and Xenophobia": our State and our society are not willing to accept, tolerate or even justify undemocratic, intolerant, extremist or xenophobic-racist behaviour. In addition to the groups and individuals who are actively involved in the planning and organization of the Alliance, its participants potentially are all those who feel committed to this cause, who are prepared to stand up for democratic and civilized forms of social intercourse and to rally round the Alliance. Measures for actively shaping the "Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance - Against Extremism and Xenophobia" will, in the near future, be the focus of the intellectual/political analysis and discussion of extremism, xenophobia and violence.

Explanations and Documentation

Right-Extremist Endeavours

- 1) Data compression technique for audio files, without any audible quality impairment. The memory size decreases to a rate of up to one twelfth.
- 2) Under "groups", only those associations are included which have a minimum of structure and continuity.
- 3) The population ratio refers to the *Länder* of Berlin, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia.
- 4) On 4 August, the ban was confirmed by the Munich *Verwaltungsgerichtshof* (Higher Administrative Court).
- 5) Special issue of "*Nachrichten der HNG*" [HNG News], early 1999, p. 29.
- 6) "*Nachrichten der HNG*" [HNG News], February 1999, p. 15.
- 7) "*Nachrichten der HNG*" [HNG News], January 1999, p. 18.
- 8) Published on the homepage of the "KDS", September 1999.
- 9) Cf. "*kurz & aktuell - Informationen für Funktions- und Mandatsträger*" ["short and topical - information for functionaries and holders of mandates"] of the REP, no. 32 of 22 January 1999.
- 10) Cf. the pamphlet entitled "Dual nationality jeopardizes social consensus and internal State security", distributed by the REP's Bavaria *Land* Association at their Ash Wednesday meeting in Geisenhausen (Bavaria) on 17 February 1999.
- 11) Cf. the press release by the REP National (Federal) Executive Secretariat of 12 February 1999.
- 12) *Bündnis 99* ["Alliance '99"] is formed by members of the REP and of the *Bund Freier Bürger* ["Free Citizens' League"] and by former members of the [political party] *Pro-DM-Partei*.
- 13) Press releases No. 2/98 of 13 January 1999 and No. 6/99 of 22 January 1999.
- 14) Source: homepage of the right-extremist publication "*Signal*", as of 11 March 1999.
- 15) Circular of the REP Hesse *Land* Association of 9 August 1999.
- 16) Press release by the REP Bergstrasse District Association of 8 November 1999.
- 17) Resolution of *Republikanische Jugend* (RJ - "Republican Youth"), Hesse Section: "*Die Zukunft der Nationalen Opposition in Deutschland*" ["The Future of the National Opposition in Germany"].
- 18) Cf. "*Nation & Europa - Deutsche Monatshefte*" ["Nation & Europe - German Monthly Periodical"], October 1999, pp. 3 seq.
- 19) *SWR-"Landesschau"* [a regional magazine broadcast by the (South German) station SWR], 20 October 1999 at 19.20 hours.
- 20) Cf. press release by the Hesse *Land* Association of *Republikanische Jugend* (RJ - "Republican Youth") of 26.09.1999; according to the press release, the RJ planned a further concert with **RENNICKE**, to be held on 8 Oc-

tober within the framework of the Berlin election campaign, but which later was cancelled (thus stated in the Internet issue of the daily "*Berlin lokal*" of 16 September 1999 and "*Tagesspiegel*" of 25 September 1999).

- 21) **FREY** is the owner of *DSZ - Druckschriften- und Zeitungsverlag GmbH* (short name: "*DSZ-Verlag*" - "Publishers of Printed Works and Newspapers"), and his wife runs the *FZ - Freiheitlicher Buch- und Zeitschriften-verlag* (short name: "*FZ-Verlag*" - "Independent Book and Periodical Publishing Firm").
- 22) In issue no. 33/99 of 13 August 1999, the publishing house *DSZ-Verlag* had for the first time announced the impending merger to the readers of both papers: it would lead to a concentration of forces and would introduce the readers to subjects which so far had only been dealt with in one or the other of the two publications. The new weekly comprises 18 pages (DNZ and DWZ/DA until then: 14 pages each).
The merger of the two papers presumably was effected for economic reasons. As stated by **FREY**, the weeklies have, for quite some time already, been subsidized with approx. 500,000 DM per year out of his private assets. Their respective circulation had steadily decreased since 1991; only in 1998, the circulation of DNZ had gone up. In 1998, the DNZ had a circulation of 37,000 copies, and the DWZ/DA of 20,000 copies.
- 23) Thus, **FREY** provides credits for the major part of the DVU deficit which, as stated by an auditor at the DVU mass rally in Passau on 25 September 1999, amounted to nearly 11.4 million DM and in the meantime is likely to have increased even more.
- 24) Cf. DWZ/DA ("*Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung/Deutscher Anzeiger*"), no. 6/1999, p. 1.
- 25) Cf. NZ ("*Neue Zeitung*"), no. 38/1999, pp. 1 seq.
- 26) Cf. DWZ/DA, no. 1-2/1999, pp. 1 seq.
- 27) Cf. DNZ, no. 34/1999, pp. 1 seq.
- 28) Cf. DNZ, no. 12/1999, p. 4.
- 29) Cf. DWZ/DA, no. 25/1999, p. 6.
- 30) Cf. DNZ, no. 4/1999, p. 6.
- 31) Cf. DWZ/DA, no. 28/1999, p. 5.
- 32) Cf. DNZ, no. 24/1999, p. 8.
- 33) Cf. DWZ/DA, no. 1-2/1999, p. 1, and DNZ, no. 10/1999, pp. 1 seq.
- 34) Cf. DNZ, no. 5/1999, p. 4.
- 35) Cf. DNZ, no. 4/1999, p. 1.
- 36) Cf. DNZ, no. 30/1999, pp. 1 seq.
- 37) Cf. DWZ/DA, no. 33/1999, p. 6.
- 38) Cf. DNZ, no. 29/1999, p. 7.
- 39) In the two separate electoral districts Bremen and Bremerhaven it won 2.5 % and 6 %, respectively. Under a special provision of the Bremen electoral law, a group can obtain a seat in the *Land* Parliament if it manages to jump the political 5 per cent qualifying hurdle in either of the two electoral districts. In 1995, the DVU missed a mandate in Bremerhaven by a very narrow margin.
- 40) The DVU repudiated the reproach expressed after the elections that the DVU had, contrary to the pertinent provisions, nominated the candidates for

its *Land* list not by secret ballot, but by inadmissible block voting (NZ, no. 40/1999, p. 4).

- 41) **SCHÖNHUBER** also was the DVU front runner in Bavaria for the election to the *Bundestag* on 27 September 1998.
- 42) As reported by the right-extremist newspaper "*Nation & Europa - Deutsche Monatshefte*" ["Nation & Europe - German Monthly Periodical"] (no. 2/1999) **SCHÖNHUBER**, in a letter to **FREY**, gave increasing journalistic duties as the reason for renouncing his candidacy.
- 43) After the electoral success in Bremen, **FREY** - in a circular of 16 June - informed the DVU members about a new decision by the DVU national executive committee: the Party wished to focus "all strength" on the *Landtag* elections in Brandenburg and Thuringia and, in addition, stand in the local elections in Bremerhaven. At the same time, referring to a diagram attached to the letter, which contrasted the "enormous" funds of the mainstream parties to the "modest" overall income of the DVU, **FREY** launched an appeal for donations for the forthcoming election campaigns. He himself set a good example by donating funds, he said, and he asked for "the greatest support possible".
- 44) The DVU electoral campaign budget for the three *Landtag* elections in 1999 alone may be assumed to have amounted to more than six million DM. In 1989, the party had, with the support of the NPD, participated in the European elections as "*DVU - Liste D*" and was left with a tremendous deficit after these elections. The declared goal had been representation on the European Parliament. As stated by **FREY** himself, he had invested 18 million DM in the electoral campaign for numerous spectacular actions in order to attain that goal. However, on the basis of the DVU's election result of 1.6 % of the vote, only approx. 3.7 million DM of its campaign expenses were reimbursed to the DVU. The process of the DVU's indebtedness which set in at that time has progressed until this day. The DVU did not stand in the 1994 European elections.
- 45) As reported by "*NIT-Blitz*" of 08 September 1999.
- 46) In January 2000, the parliamentary group split after renewed squabbling with Dr. **FREY**.
- 47) In addition, a free advertising leaflet "*DS EXTRA*" was issued from January to March 1999, with a monthly circulation of up to 80,000.
- 48) NPD press spokesman Klaus **BEIER** in [the party newspaper] "*Deutsche Stimme*" ["German Voice"], no. 2/99, p. 1.
- 49) Cf. "*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 12/99, p. 6.
- 50) The NPD Chairman Udo **VOIGT** at the NPD National Party Convention in Mulda (Saxony) on 23/24 January; quoted from the party organ "*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 2/99, p. 3.
- 51) **VOIGT** in "*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 3/99, p. 2.
- 52) **VOIGT** in "*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 7/99, special supplement "European Elections 1999", p. 3.
- 53) Cf. "*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 11/99, p. 18.
- 54) Cf. "*Deutsche Stimme*", no. 2/99, p. 9.
- 55) At the *Land* Party Convention of the NPD in North Rhine/Westphalia on 14 November, **FRENZ** was not re-elected to the party's *Land* Executive Committee.
- 56) Cf. "*Deutsche Zukunft*", no. 1/99, p. 5.

- 57) In *"Deutsche Stimme"*, no. 9/99, p. 3, Gernar **SCHEERER**, née **RUDOLF**, deplored the lack of freedom of expression and freedom of science and research in Germany.
- 58) This obviously is a reference to the *"Leuchter Report"* - written in 1988 by the American Fred **LEUCHTER** in support of the German revisionist Ernst **ZÜNDEL**, committed for trial in Canada - in which he denies that the factory-like mass extermination of Jews with Zyklon B during the *Third Reich* ever occurred. This denial constitutes an element of the offence "incitement of the people [to hatred and violence]" under Section 130 of the Penal Code.
- 59) Cf. *"Deutsche Zukunft"*, no. 3/99, p. 11.
- 60) As stated in the paper's masthead, **SCHWAB** has been a member of the collective of editors of *"Deutsche Stimme"* since issue no. 3/99. He also writes in other extreme right-wing journals such as *"Nation & Europa - Deutsche Monatshefte"* or *"Staatsbriefe"*.
- 61) Cf. *"Deutsche Stimme"*, no. 3/99, p. 11.
- 62) Cf. *"Deutsche Stimme"*, no. 7/99, p. 2.
- 63) Cf. *"Deutsche Stimme"*, no. 11/99, p. 2.
- 64) Regulation under the Political Parties Act, formerly known as "reimbursement of (election) campaign expenses".
- 65) Cf. *"Deutsche Stimme"*, no. 10/99, p. 2.
- 66) Cf. *"JN-Thesenpapiere"* ["JN Tenet Papers"], July 1998, pp. 5 and 11.
- 67) The outgoing JN Chairman Holger **APFEL** in the party organ *"Deutsche Stimme"*, no. 3/99, p. 3.
- 68) Cf. *"Einheit und Kampf"* ["Unity and Struggle"], no. 15/1996, p. 13.
- 69) In view of the ruling of 17 November 1994 delivered by the Federal Constitutional Court (BVG) on the *"Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei"* (FAP - "German Workers' Freedom Party"), it must be doubted that such groups qualify for the status of political party.
- 70) Cf. *"Reichs-Arbeiter-Zeitung"*, no. 2/1999, p. 7.
- 71) Cf. *"Reichs-Arbeiter-Zeitung"*, no. 2/1998, p. 2, and no. 1/1999, p. 1.
- 72) In the spring of 1999, a former member of the DVU parliamentary group in the Saxony-Anhalt *Landtag* joined the VR.
- 73) Cf. *"Vereinigte Rechte"*, Party Platform, undated.
- 74) Cf. *"Vereinigte Rechte"*, Circular no. 3/1998 of 06 December 1998.
- 75) As stated in the draft Party Platform of *"Deutsche Friedenspartei"* (DFP - "German Peace Party") of 16 June 1999.
- 76) Cf. draft Party Platform of August 1997, pp. 5 and 16.
- 77) Cf. the BGD publication *"Unsere Deutsche Heimat"*, no. 34/97, p. 2.
- 78) Cf. *"Unsere Deutsche Heimat"*, no. 38/39/98, pp. 0 and 43.
- 79) Cf. Franz **SCHÖNHUBER**, "Rechte, was nun?" ["What now, Right-Wingers?"], in: *Nation & Europa*, no. 10/October 1999, p. 23.
- 80) Alain **DE BENOIST** is considered the "chief ideologist" of the "New Right-Wing Movement" in France and is also held in high esteem as an ideologist and strategist among German right-wing extremists. The majority of the translations of his books was published by the right-extremist publishing house "Grabert-Verlag", Tübingen.

- 81) Cf. "Gleichschaltung durch das Christentum" ["Gleichschaltung" through Christianity], Dr. Pierre Krebs spoke to a nationalist students' organization; in: "Deutsche Stimme", no. 7/July 1999, p. 12.
- 82) Cf. Horst **MAHLER**/Günther Maschke/Reinhold **OBERLERCHER**, "Kanonische Erklärung zur Bewegung von 1968" ["Canonical Statement on the 1968 Movement"], in: *Staatsbriefe*, no. 1/January 1999, p. 16.
- 83) Cf., for instance, the disapproving statement by Gretchen Dutschke-Klotz, the widow of Rudi Dutschke, in: *taz* of 17 February 1999, p. 7. The re-interpretation of the 'generation of '68 movement' was rejected, *inter alia*, by the former SDS activists Heide Bernd, Peter Rambauseck, Bommi Baumann and Gisela Richter in the appeal "Nationalisten waren wi[r] nie!" ["We never were nationalists"] (cf.: "Junge Welt" of 3 February 1999).
- 84) Cf. Jürgen **SCHWAB**, "Vom deutschen Gemeinwohl. Nationalisten müssen heute Brücken schlagen und Gräben überwinden." ["About the German common weal. Nationalists nowadays must build bridges and negotiate trenches"], in: "Deutsche Stimme", no. 2/February 1999, p. 11; *idem*, "Vom deutschen Gemeinwohl", in: "Signal. Das patriotische Magazin", no. 127/1999, pp. 22-24.
- 85) The structural commonalities include claims to absolute truths and dogmatism or the perception of the requirement for society's homogeneity; in terms of contents, commonalities include "anti-Americanism" and anti-parliamentarism. For further details cf. Uwe Backes, *Politischer Extremismus in demokratischen Verfassungsstaaten. Elemente einer normativen Rahmentheorie* ["Political Extremism in Democratic Rule-of-Law States. Elements of a Normative Outline Theory"], Opladen 1989.
- 86) Cf. the controversy between Alain **DE BENOIST** and Luc Pauwels, in: "Junge Freiheit", no. 25/18 June 1999, p. 16.
- 87) Cf. "Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart", no. 2/1999, pp. 12-15.
- 88) Cf. DNZ, no. 33/1999, pp. 8 seq., no. 34/1999, p. 8; no. 35/1999, pp. 10 seq.; and NZ, no. 36/1999, p. 5; no. 37/1999, p. 6; no. 38/1999, pp. 6 seq.
- 89) Cf. DNZ, no. 35/1999, p. 11.
- 90) Cf. "Deutsche Geschichte" ["German History"], no. XXXIV, September/ October 1999, pp. 55 seqs.
- 91) Cf. Günter **KAUFMANN**, *Auf Teufel komm raus. Unwahrheiten und Lügen über die nationalsozialistische Jugendbewegung* ("Untruths and Lies about the Nationalist-Socialist Youth Movement"), Berg 1999.
- 92) Cf. "Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung" ["Quarterly for Free Historic Research"], no. 2/1999, pp. 209 seqs.
- 93) Jürgen **GRAF**/Carlo **MATTOGNO**, *KL-Majdanek. Eine historische und technische Studie* ("Concentration Camp Majdanek. A Historical and Technical Study"), Hastings 1998.
- 94) Decision is not yet final.
- 95) Cf. "Nation & Europa", no. 1/99, pp. 36-41.
- 96) Cf. "Nation & Europa", no. 3/1999, pp. 54-58.
- 97) Cf. "Nation & Europa", no. 7/8/1999.
- 98) Cf. "Nation & Europa", no. 9/1999.

* the enforcement of standardization and the elimination of all opposition within the political, economic and cultural institutions of a state [Collins English Dictionary 1998]

- 99) Data compression technique for audio files, without any audible quality impairment. The memory size decreases to up to one twelfth.

Left-Extremist Endeavours

- 100) The designation "under left-extremist influence" refers to organizations founded or infiltrated by left-wing extremists, which present themselves as non-partisan or independent, but which actually are under a significant left-extremist influence. In nearly all cases, some of the board members and the majority of the organization's members are *not* left-wing extremists, but the key positions - particularly in the organizational area - are usually held by left-extremists.
- 101) As defined by the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution, terrorism is the persistent struggle for political goals, which are to be attained with the help of attacks against persons, life, and property of other persons, in particular through serious criminal offences as defined in Section 129a, para. 1, of the Penal Code, or through other offences which serve as a preparation for such crimes.
- 102) More than 50 scene publications - some of them covertly produced and distributed - regularly publish letters claiming responsibility, position papers, calls for demonstrations, "do-it-yourself instructions" (instructions for the manufacture, *inter alia*, of incendiary and explosive devices), and other information relevant to left-extremist discussion and practice. Most of these publications - e.g. "RAZZ" (Hanover) or "EinSatz" (Göttingen) - are mainly of regional importance. Of nation-wide relevance are "Interim", published regularly in Berlin, and the underground periodical "radikal".
- 103) Homepages of the left-extremist community are available on the Internet but - for reasons of prosecution of criminal offences - are offered by providers operating in foreign countries. The underground paper "radikal", for instance, has its texts and information entered on the Internet by providers in the Netherlands and the U.S.A.
- 104) These are distributed - usually free of charge - to pupils and adolescents; of importance are, for instance, "BRAVO-Antifa" (Berlin), "FIGHT BACK" (Braunschweig [Brunswick]), "Antifa Jugendinfo Bonn/Rhein-Sieg" and "BRAST" (Göttingen). These publications, too, openly call for the use of violence; also, it is quite obvious that even the youth groups, with their professed commitment to "anti-fascist" aims, pursue farther-reaching objectives:
- "Based on our anti-fascist and ultra left-wing position, we will never accept conditions which are 'distinguished' by racist terror, exploitation of human labour, fascist pogroms and violence against women. The refusal to accept all these manifestations of capitalist rule as matter-of-course conditions, and the unrelenting will to eliminate them are the motivation for our political action."
(*"Antifa Jugendinfo Bonn/Rhein-Sieg"*, no. 26 of May 1999)
- 105) Horst Ludwig MEYER and Andrea KLUMP obviously had stayed in Vienna for quite some time. The inquiries into the reason of their stay and into the activities of these two wanted persons in Vienna were not yet completed at the end of 1999. There are, however, no indications that they had planned terrorist activities.

The major thrust of the responses by the scene to the action taken by police forces was agitation against the alleged continuous "kill search" conducted by public authorities. Thus, the left-wing extremist "*Kurdistan Solidarität Hamburg*" commented that MEYER - like many others - was a figure exemplary of the fight against the ruling system:

"At the centre of this odious system are profit and the power to secure profit. Everything else is of secondary importance. For the preservation and enforcement of this system, use is made of whatever means are available."

("Angehörigen Info", no. 225 of 4 October 1999)

- 106) The Court considered it a proven fact that **FALK** and **STEINAU**, as members of the AIZ ("Anti-Imperialist Cell"), were responsible for four explosive attacks made in 1995 on the homes of politicians; as established by the Court, another attack had been imminent. In committing these crimes, the two convicted persons had acted with contingent intent to kill; it had been due only to fortunate circumstances that nobody had been seriously injured or killed.

The grouping which later called itself AIZ had made its first appearance with a position paper; until the end of 1995, the group had committed nine arson, firearms and bombing attacks; it produced 17 letters claiming responsibility, and position papers comprising up to 24 pages.

- 107) The DKP official party organ "*Unsere Zeit*" (UZ) ["Our Times"] of 15 October 1999.
- 108) Progress reports of the Secretariat of the DKP executive committee, in: "*DKP-Informationen*", no. 3/99 - February 1999 - and no. 5/99 - June 1999.
- 109) UZ of 19 February 1999.
- 110) UZ of 23 April 1999.
- 111) "*UZ extra*" of 1 May 1999.
- 112) UZ of 4 June 1999.
- 113) "*DKP-Informationen*", no. 5/99 - June 1999, p. 7 - and UZ of 18 June 1999.
- 114) UZ of 28 May 1999.
- 115) "Position" 3/99, p. 28.
- 116) Invitation to events organized by MES in 1999, 1 June 1999.
- 117) Definition of "struggle for peace" (*Kleines Politisches Wörterbuch*, 1989 ed., pp. 285 seqs.)
"The struggle for safeguarding peace is directed primarily against the most aggressive and militaristic forces of imperialism."
"According to Marxism-Leninism, the issue of war and peace derives from class struggle, and wars ultimately have their roots in private ownership of means of production, in the class antagonism of sweater society, in the aggressive nature of imperialism. Under the conditions prevailing nowadays, safeguarding of peace must, above all, be accomplished in the hard fight against the most aggressive militaristic forces of imperialism."
- According to these concepts, the "struggle for peace" is not confined to pacifist efforts, but rather must "force peace" upon imperialism alleged to be inherently aggressive (pseudonym for Western constitutional States with free-market economies). This can be accomplished by political or directly military measures by waging a "just war"; as seen by Marxism-Leninism, peace was the more stable, the more heavily armed Socialism was.
- 118) Invitation dated 18 May 1999 "to an extraordinary nation-wide consultation on peace policies".
- 119) The honorary party chairman of the PDS, Hans **MODROW**, on the occasion of the opening of the PDS Party Convention on 16 January, in: "*Disput*", no. 1/99, "*PDS-Pressedienst*", no. 3/4/99, pp. 5 seq.
- 120) Cf. 1994 Report on the Constitution, pp. 64 seqs.

- 121) Representation on the Programme Commission set up by the Party Convention also includes two extremist structures: "*Kommunistische Plattform der PDS*" (KPF - "Communist Platform") and "*Marxistisches Forum der PDS*" ("Marxist Forum of the PDS") (cf. section 2.2).
- 122) In *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) of 15 September, Dieter Klein, a member of the party executive committee and chairman of the Policy Commission of the PDS, draws historical parallels to the alleged betrayal committed by social democracy in 1918, and gives the following reasons for the Party's front-line position in relation to social democracy: in 1918 the SPD ["Social Democratic Party of Germany"] had made the mistake of not taking a radical approach to the issue of power. It had made a deal with the rulers and thus had betrayed the revolution.
- 123) Press report by *Agence France-Presse* (AFP) of 3 August 1999.
- 124) The same issue also carried a reader's letter: "After Marx and Engels, this association is the result of the class struggle which was victoriously waged by the proletariat against the *bourgeoisie*."
- 125) For instance, "Communist Platform of the PDS" (KPF), the "Marxist Forum of the PDS", the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Junge GenossInnen in und bei der PDS* (AGJG - "Working Party of Young Comrades within, and close to, the PDS") and the organizations of the *Forum Kommunistischer Arbeitsgemeinschaften* ("Forum of Communist Working Parties") (formerly: *Bund Westdeutscher Kommunisten* - "Union of West German Communists").
- 126) "*Neues Deutschland*" and the daily "*Die Welt*" of 26 January 1999.
- 127) "*Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS*", issue 2/1999.
- 128) The member of the KPF Federal Co-ordination Council, Sahra **WAGENKNECHT**, declared that the Platform wished to exert greater influence on the Party. She said that the KPF had about 2,000 members (*dpa* of 12 January 1999).
- 129) "*Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS*", issue 2/1999.
- 130) Within the PDS, members of *Marxistisches Forum* ("Marxist Forum") hold influential positions. Thus, for instance, the Forum is represented on the party executive committee, on the Programme Commission, on the PDS "Council of Elders", and on the "Policy Commission of the PDS".
- 131) Foundation declaration by the socialist youth association "[*solid*] - die sozialistische Jugend" in: "*Grundsatzdokument*" ("Policy Document"), published by "[*solid*]", 28 May 1999.
- 132) "*PDS-Pressedienst*", no. 12/1999, p. 7.
- 133) As stated by "[*solid*]", it has 550 members in all of the *Länder* ("*PDS-Pressedienst*", no. 42/1999, p. 4).
- 134) Cf. "*DKP-Informationen*", no. 3, of 23 February 1999, and "*Unsere Zeit*" (UZ) of 8 January and 17 September 1999.
- 135) Cf. "*Unsere Zeit*" of 19 February, and "*Mitteilungen der Kommunistischen Plattform der PDS*", issues 4 and 7/1999.
- 136) For the elections to *Bremische Bürgerschaft* (Bremen City-State Parliament), the chairman of the DKP Bremen District Organization was on position 2 of the PDS list for the Bremerhaven electoral district. On four of the ten PDS lists for the Bremen *Beiräte* (city district councils), DKP members were placed as candidates. Two DKP members won a seat on Bremen *Beiräte*. After the *Bürgerschaft* elections, the Bremen *Land* chairman of the PDS took the view that it had not done the PDS any harm to have included a number of DKP candidates in its lists ("*Neues Deutschland*" of 12 April and of 28 June 1999).

- 137) PDS members ran as candidates also for other Communist parties. Thus, two PDS members were nominated on the open list of the "French Communist Party" (FCP) for the elections to the European Parliament (European election).
- 138) On 15 January 1999, 13 Communist, left-wing socialist and left/green parties - including the PDS as one of the initiators - adopted a joint proclamation concerning the European elections in June; the parties concerned stated their intention to define joint political objectives and to intensify their co-operation in future. As assessed by the PDS, this proclamation represents a new stage of the political co-operation among the European left-wing parties, in which the PDS participated not only on an equal footing, but also in a very active and initiatory way ("*PDS-Pressedienst*", no. 5, of 5 February 1999, and no. 9 of 5 March 1999).
- 139) Election results: Brandenburg (5 September) - 23.3 % (plus 4.6 %); Thuringia (12 September) 21.4 % (plus 4.8 %); Saxony (19 September) 22.2 % (plus 5.7 %); Berlin (10 October) 17.7 % (plus 3.1 %; East: 39.5 %, West: 4.2 %).
- 140) In the elections to "*Bremische Bürgerschaft*" [Parliament of the City-State of Bremen] on 6 June, the PDS won 2.98 % of the votes. In the elections to the *Beiräte* [city district councils] of the City of Bremen, which were held at the same time, the PDS won eight seats on seven *Beiräte*. In the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia on 12 September, it won 0.8 % of the votes in this *Land*. Notwithstanding, it managed to obtain a total of 49 local council mandates, due to the fact that the five per cent clause (5 per cent proportional representation barrier) did not apply.
- 141) Cf. "*PDS: Zur Transparenz der internationalen Tätigkeit*" ["PDS: Concerning the transparency of international work"], in: "*Disput*", no. 6/99, and "*PDS-Pressedienst*", no. 39/99 of 1 October 1999.
- 142) Cf. "*PDS-Pressedienst*", no. 9/99 of 5 March 1999, and no. 28/99 of 16 July 1999.
- 143) For instance, the candidacy of PDS members on a list of the French Communist Party (FCP) in the European elections on 13 June. For the local elections in North Rhine/Westphalia on 12 September, the PDS and the "Party of Italian Communists" (P.d.C.I.) in Wuppertal presented a joint list.
- 144) The Latin American contacts of the PDS have, since 1993, included regular participation in the yearly meetings of the "Forum of Sao Paulo", a discussion gathering of Latin American left-wing groups, including Trotzkyites, former urban guerrillas, anarchists, Communists and leftist socialists. The PDS - as it said, at the invitation of the Colombian guerrilla organization "*Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*" (FARC - "Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia") - took part, through an observer, in the starting peace talks between that guerrilla organization and the Government of Colombia ("*Neues Deutschland*" of 14 June 1999).
- 145) Quoted from "*Neues Deutschland*" (ND) of 4 January 1999.
- 146) As stated by the AG "*Cuba Sí*", it has 40 regional groups, mainly in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania and Thuringia.
- 147) Ludwig ELM, in: "*antifa*", October 1999, pp. 17 - 20, quotation p. 19.
- 148) (Draft) Platform of the "Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany" (MLPD), ed. by the Central Committee of the MLPD, January 1999, p. 39.
- 149) MLPD official party organ "*Rote Fahne*" ("Red Flag"), no. 8/99 of 19 February 1999, p. 9.
- 150) MLPD (draft) Platform, p. 41.
- 151) *ibid.*, p. 49.

- 152) Reports in "*Rote Fahne*", no. 22/99 of 4 June 1999, pp. 14 seqs.; no. 25/99 of 20 June 1999, pp. 12 seq.; and no. 26/99 of 2 July 1999, pp. 16 seqs.
- 153) Printed in "*blatt*", publication of JD/JL Berlin & Brandenburg, around May 1999.
- 154) "Anarcho-Syndicalists" strive to establish a self-governed. (anarchistically motivated) organization of the working classes through revolutionary trade unions ("syndicates of workers").
- 155) "*Autonome Ruhrgebietsgruppen*" ("Autonomous Ruhr Region Groups"), in: "*Interim*", no. 480 of 5 July 1999.
- 156) "Just wars" are understood to mean wars to defend socialist countries against imperialist aggressors, national wars of liberation against imperialist foreign rule and colonialism, and revolutionary civil wars against reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces.
- 157) <http://www.x1000malquer.de/jochen.html>, 22.09.99: "*x-tausendquer-überall, lagebericht* [situation report] 18.9.99"
- 158) Thus, at the "Spring Conference" in Heidelberg (9 - 11 April), some 250 anti-nuclear activists - among them left-wing extremists - agreed that CASTOR (**C**ask for **S**torage and **T**ransport of **R**adioactive Material) transports would continue to be seen as a "lever for enforcing immediate decommissioning" and that they remained "action targets".
- 159) "*Arbeitsgruppe Strategien (ASG) im Anti-Atom-Plenum Berlin*" ("Strategies Working Group (ASG) within the Anti-Nuclear Plenary Berlin"): "*Die Kampagne gegen Atomtransporte weiterentwickeln!!!*", in: "*Interim*", no. 470 of 25 February 1999.

Security-Endangering and Extremist Activities by Foreigners

- 160) The term of "Islamism" is derived from the word "Islamist", a self-given designation of representatives of this ideological persuasion. In public, and particularly in the media, this extremist ideology is also called "Islamic fundamentalism".
- 161) *Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi.*
- 162) *Türkiye Halk Kurtulus Partisi/-Cephesi - Devrimci Sol.*
- 163) These figures are based on estimates. Changes in member/supporter figures compared to the previous years may be due to new information, and thus do not always imply an actual increase or decrease.
- 164) In this context, this is understood to mean organizations of foreigners living in the Federal Republic of Germany, whose endeavours, within the meaning of Section 3, para. 1, of the Federal Act on the Protection of the Constitution, are directed against the free democratic fundamental order or - for political motives - against the security of the *Bund* [Federation] or of one of its *Länder* [States], or which, through the use of force or preparatory acts to such ends, jeopardize foreign-policy interests of the Federal Republic of Germany.
- 165) It cannot be assumed that all members/supporters of the IGMG follow or support Islamist goals. In an IGMG brochure, this Organization claims to have 250,000 supporters throughout Europe.
- 166) The Turkish Constitutional Court, on 16 January 1998, banned the "Welfare Party" (*Refah Partisi* - RP) for having violated the constitutional rule stipulating the separation of State and Church and ordered the confiscation of the Party's assets. The long-time party chairman Prof. Necmettin **ERKABAN** and five other RP parliamentarians were divested of their MP mandates and, for a five-year period, were forbidden to engage in any political activity.

According to press reports, the banned RP has about 4 million members in Turkey. Since the local elections in 1994, the RP has controlled some 400 municipal administrations of the country, including those of Ankara and Istanbul. In the general elections of December 1995, the RP obtained about 21 % of the votes. In the period from 25 June 1996 until 18 June 1997, the RP Chairman also was the Prime Minister of Turkey.

- 167) The Seventh Extraordinary Party Convention of the PKK took place at a secret place in the Iran/Iraq border region and ended on 23 January 2000.
- 168) All actions - whether violent or non-violent - constitute a violation of the ban on political activity, as imposed on 26 November 1993.
- 169) These are the following organizations:
 - "Union of Patriotic Workers from Kurdistan" (YKWK)
 - "Union of Young People from Kurdistan" (YCK)
 - "Free Women's Association of Kurdistan" (YAJK); was in 1999 changed to "Party of Kurdish Working Women" (PJKK)
 - "Islamic Movement of Kurdistan" (KIH)
 - "Union of Students from Kurdistan" (YXK)
 - "Union of Yazidis from Kurdistan" (YEK)
 - "Union of Kurdish Teachers" (YMK)
 - "Union of Alawites from Kurdistan" (KAB)
 - "Union of Kurdish Businessmen and Entrepreneurs in Germany" (A.K.I.B.)
 - "Union of Journalists from Kurdistan" (YRK)
 - "Union of Lawyers from Kurdistan" (YHK)
 - "Union of Writers from Kurdistan" (YNK)
- 170) Overall number in Germany: about 350,000.
- 171) Overall number in Germany: about 250,000 until the end of the war.

Espionage

- 172) The instruments of accession of the three States were deposited with the Truman Library of the American town of Independence (U.S. State of Missouri) on 12 March 1999. This library also is the depository of the NATO Treaty and Agreements and of the instruments of accession of the other NATO members. Independence is the home town of Harry S. Truman who, at the time of NATO's establishment, was the President of the United States.
- 173) The CIS consists of: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.
- 174) "Proliferation" is defined as the transfer, to an additional number of countries, of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction, and of the carrier systems required to deliver these weapons.
- 175) A case in point is the attack on the Berlin restaurant "Mykonos" on 17 September 1992 when four exiled Iranian-Kurdish politicians were shot to death. On 10 April 1997, after a trial of more than three and a half years' duration, the Berlin Higher Regional Court of Appeal sentenced the two main defendants on trial to life imprisonment.
- 176) In German: "*Abteilung Wiedervereinigungsfront*" ["Division Reunification Front"].
- 177) The "Second Economic Committee", which is directly responsible to the Central Committee of the North Korean "Party of the Working Classes", co-ordinates and controls, in close co-ordination with the organizations of the People's Armed Forces, the measures to meet the requirements of the entire North Korean defence industry - including the products and information

required for the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and of ballistic missiles. The "2nd Economic Commission" also has responsibility for the funding of these programmes which is achieved, *inter alia*, by exports of a broad range of goods of all types.

Scientology Organization

- 178) The Organization issues a large variety of publications. Of importance for the German-speaking area are the publications "*Freiheit*" ("Freedom"), "Impact", "Source" and "International Scientology News"; information on the respective circulation numbers is provided by SO only infrequently, e.g. with reference to special issues of "*Freiheit*".
- 179) SO provides varying information in its publications: in a "*Freiheit*" ("Freedom") issue of 1999, entitled "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), it gives the addresses of seven "churches" and eleven "missions". According to SO information on the Internet (as of 8 November 1999), they have eight "churches" and nine "missions" in Germany. "The Auditor - Issue 287", 1999, p. 12, refers to eight "churches in Germany".
- 180) An exception, on account of a different legal situation, was the Schleswig-Holstein Office for the Protection of the Constitution.
- 181) Cf. "Report by the 'Bund/Länder Working Group on Scientology' of the Offices for the Protection of the Constitution, to be submitted in accordance with the IMK Decision of 05/06 June 1997" (situation as of 12 October 1998), p. 102.
- 182) As stated in a decision by the Federal Labour Court of 23 March 1995 (*Neue Juristische Wochenschrift* 1996, pp. 143 seqs.), the SO in Germany was not a religious or ideological community as defined in the Basic Law. Rather, its religious or ideological teachings served only as a front for pursuing economic goals.
- 183) Cf. Article 3 of the model format for the statutes of an SO mission.
- 184) For the term of "thetan", cf. Hubbard, Glossary of Dianetics and Scientology Terms, 4th edition, Copenhagen 1985 (in the following quoted as "HUBBARD, GLOSSARY"), p. 98; Hubbard, Scientology - The Bases of Thinking, 2nd edition, Copenhagen 1973, p. 37.
- 185) For the term of "Operating Thetan", cf. "Hubbard, Glossary", p. 67.
- 186) For the term of "Clear", cf. Hubbard, Dianetics - The Modern Science of Mental Health, 8th edition, Copenhagen 1984 (in the following quoted as "HUBBARD, DIANETICS"), p. 215.
- 187) For the term of "aberration", cf. "Hubbard, Glossary", p. 1.
- 188) For the term of "engram" [mental image picture], cf. "Hubbard, Glossary", p. 27.
- 189) For the term of "auditing", cf. Hubbard, The Scientology Handbook, Copenhagen 1994, p. XX.
- 190) For the term of "auditor", cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), Copenhagen 1993, p. 156.
- 191) For the term of "Pre-clear", cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), *loc.cit.*, p. 156.
- 192) For the "auditing" procedure, cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), *loc.cit.*, pp. 156 seq.
- 193) For "E-meter", cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), *loc.cit.*, pp. 157 seqs. and pp. 165 seqs. [and footnote 109 below]

- 194) Cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), *loc.cit.*, pp. 157 seqs.
- 195) Cf. Hubbard, "Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedures", Copenhagen 1995, pp. 20, 195 (latest known edition published by SO).
- 196) Cf. Hubbard, "Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedures", Copenhagen 1995, p. 195.
- 197) Cf. Articles 5, para. 3, and 8, para. 1, sub-para. 1, of the model form of SO statutes for churches and missions in Germany, which in 1992 was sent by the SO to the Standing Conference of the *Land* Ministers and Senators of the Interior (IMK):
 "... dissemination of relevant writings about the Scientology religion. 'Writings' refer to the works of the founder L. Ron Hubbard about the Scientology doctrine and the Scientology Church in printed form, on audiotapes or on other media" (Article 5, para. 3); "To respect the aims, doctrines of faith, dogmatics, codes, Creed, directives and religious acts, as laid down by the founder of the Scientology religion, L. Ron Hubbard, in his writings and works, and summarized in Articles 2 - 5 of these Statutes" (Article 8, para. 1, sub-para. a).
 Cf. "Impact", no. 85, 1999, pp. 1 and 13; "Information Leaflet on Membership" of the International Association of Scientologists (IAS), quoted from "Impact", *loc.cit.*; in both publications, IAS states as its organizational purpose: "To unite, support and protect the Scientology Religion and Scientologists in all parts of the world in order to achieve the aims of Scientology as laid down by L. Ron Hubbard."
 Cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), Copenhagen 1998, pp. 405 seqs.: "They (SO members) know that they ... will, with hundred-percent certainty, attain the spiritual salvation stages to which they aspire if they precisely follow the teachings according to L. Ron Hubbard's writings. ... For the achievement of just this, the Religious Technology Center was established. ... in full accordance with the founder's original writings ...".
- 198) Thus, the SO's claim to a policy formation role was documented in a re-printed essay entitled: "Scientology: Philosophy of a New Era".
 "For the individual, Scientology is the passport to the new era; for the group, Scientology means the state's survival. Forget the traditions of old! ... And let a yesterday, that no longer exists, bury the philosophy of authority, of capital gains and of Communist psychological cults. ... We, the prophets of the tomorrow, know the path".
 ("Impact", no. 84, 1999, p. 5)
 See also: "International Scientology News", no. 10, 1999, p. 5, reading as follows: "However, before a new era sets in, there will always be a period of instability and of change, a period of brutality, a period defiled by the death of the old era and by the failed experiments of the new one. Such periods of change are brutal. Many things that many people might not survive."
- 199) Cf. "Impact", no. 85, 1999, p. 13.
- 200) The organizational purpose of the RTC is to "ensure the purity of Scientology" and "to ensure that the religious 'technology' of dianetics and of Scientology will stay in the right hands and will be appropriately applied" (cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), Copenhagen 1998, p. 976). To this end, the RTC also monitors compliance of the instruction documentation of SO with Hubbard's original writings; in addition, the Center is responsible for copyright and trade-marks matters of the Organization (cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*", *loc.cit.*, pp. 406 seq.).
- 201) Quote taken from "Impact", no. 85, 1999, p. 23.
- 202) Cf. for instance, the priced catalogue of *Scientology Kirche Frankfurt e.V.* ["Frankfurt Scientology Church, reg'd"] of August 1999.

- 203) Hubbard, "Dianetics - The Modern Science of Mental Health", Copenhagen 1995; cf. p. 487 on the restricted granting of civil rights exclusively to "non-aberrant" persons, and p. 378 on the limited right to marry and to reproduction.
- 204) Cf. Hubbard, "Introduction to the Ethics of Scientology", Copenhagen 1998, pp. 38 seq., in the chapter on "Honesty ...", regarding the answers of the audited Pre-clear during "auditing":
"in order to obtain assistance ..., a Pre-clear must be honest with his auditor. ... This is the path to mental health ... and true freedom ...".
- 205) "Impact", no. 82, 1999, p. 13.
- 206) IAS advertisement brochure entitled "The aims of IAS in 1999".
- 207) Cf. Hubbard, "Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedures", Copenhagen 1995, p. 487.
- 208) Cf. Hubbard, "Dianetics - The Handbook of Dianetic Procedures", Copenhagen 1995, p. 378.
- 209) As stated in publications, (cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), *loc.cit.*, pp. 165 seqs.), the so-called E-meter is used as an aid in the so-called auditing procedure. The device is to measure "the body's resistance and its variations caused by spiritual interaction" against an electric current of "about 1.5 V" while the person audited holds the two electrodes of the device in his hands and is interviewed by the so-called auditor. The E-meter is to tell the auditor whether, with the questions put to the audited person, he has addressed the proper areas of sorrow and pain.
- 210) As stated by the Organization itself, "... one of the largest Internet sites on the WorldWideWeb. On what are by now 40,000 pages, everybody can get information on any aspect of the Scientology Religion", cf. special issue of "*FREIHEIT*" carrying the headline "*3000 Kilometer für Religionsfreiheit*" ("3,000 km for Freedom of Religion"), 1998, p. 4.
- 211) Cf. for instance, "International Scientology News", issue no. 8, 1999 (Supplement).
- 212) As described by SO (cf. "*Was ist Scientology?*" ("What is Scientology?"), Copenhagen 1998, p. 1008), the KVPM ("Commission on Human Rights Violations committed by Psychiatry") is the "German local section" of the SO's subsidiary organization "Citizens' Commission on Human Rights" (CCHR) with headquarters in Los Angeles/U.S.A., which has set itself the aim of taking action against alleged human rights violations committed in modern psychiatry.

AA/BO	<i>Antifaschistische Aktion / Bundesweite Organisation</i>	Germany: Anti-Fascist Action / Nationwide Organization
AAARGH	<i>Association des Anciens Amateurs de Récits de Guerre et d'Holocauste</i>	France: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
AAB	<i>Antifaschistische Aktion Berlin</i>	Germany: Anti-Fascist Action Berlin
ADHF	Federation for Democratic Rights in Germany	Turks: base organization of *DABK; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
ADHK	Confederation for Democratic Rights in Europe	Turks: base organization of *DABK; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
ADÜTDF	Federation of Turkish Democratic Clubs of Idealists in Europe (reg'd)	Turks: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *MHD
AFP	<i>Agence France-Presse</i>	France: press agency
AFriRA	<i>Arbeitsausschuss Friedensratschlag</i>	Germany: Working Group 'Peace Consultation'
AGH	<i>Antifaschistische Gruppe Hamburg</i>	Germany: Anti-Fascist Group Hamburg
AGIF	Federation of Immigrant Workers from Turkey in Germany (reg'd)	Turks: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'; base organization of *MLKP
AGJG	<i>Arbeitsgemeinschaft Junge GenossInnen in und bei der PDS</i>	Germany: Working Party of Young Comrades within, and close to, the PDS
AIZ	<i>Antimperialistische Zelle</i>	Germany: Anti-Imperialistic Cell
AKIB	Union of Kurdish Businessmen and Entrepreneurs in Germany	Germany: Kurds; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Al Ahd	"Commitment"	Hizbollah publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Al Moqawana al Islamiya	Islamic Resistance	Near East: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'; armed organization of *Hizbollah
Allgemeiner Studenten-ausschuss	"General Students' Committee" (AStA)	Germany
Al-Qaida	"The Basis"	organization of Bin Laden; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Al-Ribat	"Bond/Connection"	*FIS publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
AMAL	Groups of the Lebanese Resistance	Lebanon: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
AMGT	Association of the New Ideology in Europe (reg'd)	Turkey: precursor of *IGMG
Anti-AKW-Kampagne	Anti-NPP Campaign	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also Anti-*CASTOR Campaign; NPP
Anti-Antifa	"anti - anti-fascist"	s. also left-extremism: * <i>Antifa</i>
Antifa	anti-fascist	term used in Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' see also *Fascho s. also right-extremist: * <i>Anti-Antifa</i>
Antifaschistische Aktion / Bundesweite Organisation	Anti-Fascist Action / Nationwide Organization (AA/BO)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Antifaschistische Aktion Berlin	Anti-Fascist Action Berlin (AAB)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Antifaschistische Gruppe Hamburg	Anti-Fascist Group Hamburg (AH)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Antimperialistische Zelle	Anti-Imperialistic Cell (AIZ)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'

APO	<i>Außerparlamentarische Opposition</i>	Germany: Extra-Parliamentary Opposition; cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' right-extremist: cf. *NAPO
APP	atomic power plant	also: *APS, *NPP
APS	atomic power station	also: *APP, *NPP
Arbeitsausschuss Friedensratschlag	Working Group Peace Consultation (AFriRA)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *Bundesausschuss Friedensratschlag
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Junge GenossInnen in und bei der PDS	Working Party of Young Comrades within, and close to, the PDS (AGJG)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *PDS
ASG	<i>Arbeitsgruppe Strategien</i> ("Strategies Working Group")	Germany: an anti-nuclear group
AStA	<i>Allgemeiner Studentenausschuss</i>	Germany: General Students' Committee
ATIF	Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany (reg'd)	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *TKP/ML
ATIK	Confederation of Workers from Turkey in Europe	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *TKP/ML
Atlantic Alliance	cf. *NATO	
Außenwirtschaftsgesetz	Foreign Trade and Payments Act (AWG)	Germany: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence' - "Proliferation"
AWG	<i>Außenwirtschaftsgesetz</i>	Germany: Foreign Trade and Payments Act
B		
BAFA	<i>Bundesausfuhramt</i>	Germany: Federal Exports Office
Basic Law	<i>Grundgesetz (GG)</i>	the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany
B.A.T.	<i>Bundesweites Antifa-Treffen</i>	Germany: Nationwide Antifa Meeting
BBZ	<i>Berlin-Brandenburger-Zeitung der nationalen Erneuerung</i> (Berlin-Brandenburg Newspaper of National Renewal)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' publication of " <i>Neonazikreis um Frank Schwerdt</i> "
BdA	<i>Bund der Antifaschisten (Dachverband) e. V.</i>	Germany: Association of Anti-Fascists (Umbrella Organization), reg'd
BDP	<i>Bund Deutscher Patrioten</i>	Germany: Union of German Patriots
BDVG	<i>Bildungswerk Deutscher Volksgemeinschaft</i>	Germany: Educational Association of the German National Community
BfV	<i>Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz</i>	Germany: Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution
BGD	<i>Bund für Gesamtdeutschland</i>	Germany: Union for All of Germany
BGH	<i>Bundesgerichtshof</i>	Germany: Federal Court of Justice
Bildungswerk Deutscher Volksgemeinschaft	Educational Association of the German National Community (BDVG)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' founded by *JN members
BK	Babbar Khalsu International	Sikhs: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
BAKA	<i>Bundeskriminalamt</i>	Germany: Federal Office of Criminal Police
BND	<i>Bundesnachrichtendienst</i>	Germany: Federal Intelligence Service
Bremische Bürgerschaft	City-State Parliament of Bremen	Germany: the *Landtag of the city-state of Bremen
Bund	Federal Government/ Administration	Germany

Bund der Antifaschisten (Dachverband) e.V.	Association of Anti-Fascists (Umbrella Organization), reg'd (BdA)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *R.O.T.K.Ä.P.C.H.E.N.
Bund Deutscher Patrioten	Union of German Patriots (BDP)	Germany: right-wing extremism, Thuringia
Bund für Gesamtdeutschland	Union for All of Germany (BGD)	Germany: small right-extremist party
Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz	Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV)	Germany
Bundesausfuhramt	Federal Exports Office (BAFA)	Germany: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence' - "Proliferation"
Bundesausschuss Friedensratschlag	Federal Committee Peace Consultation	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *AFriRA
Bundeskriminalamt	Federal Office of Criminal Police (BKA)	Germany
Bundesnachrichtendienst	Federal Intelligence Service	Germany: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence' - "Proliferation"
Bundestag	German <i>Bundestag</i>	Germany: Lower House of Parliament
Bundesverfassungsgericht	Federal Constitutional Court (BVG)	Germany
Bundeswehr	Federal Armed Forces (Bw)	Germany for Third Reich period: cf. *Wehrmacht
Bundesweites Antifa-Treffen	Nationwide Antifa Meeting (B.A.T.)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Bündnis 99	Alliance '99	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' dominated by the *REP
BVerfSchG	<i>Bundesverfassungsschutzgesetz</i>	Germany: Federal Act on the Protection of the Constitution
BVG	<i>Bundesverfassungsgericht</i>	Germany: Federal Constitutional Court
Bw	<i>Bundeswehr</i>	Germany: Federal Armed Forces
C		
CASTOR	Cask for Storage and Transport of Radioactive Material	Castor wagons used for HAWC (high-activity waste) transport cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' Anti-CASTOR Campaign: see also *Anti-NPP Campaign
CCFIS	<i>Conseil de coordination du FIS</i> FIS Co-ordination Council Abroad	Algeria: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *FIS
CCHR	Citizens' Commission on Human Rights	
Church of Scientology International	CSI (Los Angeles)	cf. 'Scientology Organization'; s. also *Scientology Organization
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States	s. also *RF, *USSR
Citizens' Commission on Human Rights	CCHR : subsidiary organization of *SO	cf. 'Scientology Organization' s. also *KVPM
CODOH	Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust	U.S.: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Committee for a Workers' International	CWI	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' German section: *SAV
CP	Communist Party	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
CSI	Church of Scientology International	
CWI	Committee for a Workers' International	

D

DABK	East Anatolian Regional Committee	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' a wing of *TKP/ML s. also *ADHF, *ADHK
Dansk National Socialistiske Bevægelse	Danish National Socialist Movement (DNSV)	Denmark: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
DA'WA	"Hizb al-Da'Wa al-Islamiyya" (Party of the Islamic Call/ of the Islamic Mission)	Arabs: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
DB	<i>Deutsche Bahn AG</i>	German Railways
DESG	<i>Deutsch-Europäische Studien-Gesellschaft</i>	Germany: German-European Studies Society
Deutsche Bahn AG	German Railways (DB)	
Deutsche Friedenspartei	German Peace Party (DFP)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Deutsche Friedensunion	German Peace Union (DFU)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *DKP
Deutsche Jungdemokraten	Young Democrats of Germany (DJD)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also JD/JL
Deutsche Kommunistische Partei	German Communist Party (DKP)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *DFU, *SDAJ
Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat	German League for the People and Homeland (DLVH)	Germany: small right-extremist party, since 1996: association
Deutsche Stimme	"German Voice" (DS), party organ of *NPD	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Deutsche Volksunion	German People's Union (DVU)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' s. also *JN
Deutsche Zukunft	"German Future", newspaper of the *NPD	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Deutscher Friedensrat e.V.	German Peace Council (reg'd) (DFR)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *Friedensrat der DDR cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Deutsch-Europäische Studien-Gesellschaft	German-European Studies Society (DESG)	
Devrimci Cözüm	"Revolutionary Solution"	publication of *THKP/C-Devrimci Sol; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi	Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP-C)	Turks; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *DHKC
Devrimci Sol	Revolutionary Left	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *THKP/C-Devrimci Sol
DFP	<i>Deutsche Friedenspartei</i>	Germany: German Peace Party
DFR	<i>Deutscher Friedensrat e.V.</i>	Germany: German Peace Council (reg'd)
DFU	<i>Deutsche Friedensunion</i>	Germany: German Peace Union
DHKC	Revolutionary People's Liberation Front	Turkey: armed wing of *DHKP-C; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
DHKP-C	<i>Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi</i>	Turks: Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
DIDF	Federation of Democratic Clubs of Workers from Turkey in the FRG (reg'd)	Turks: Germany: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
DJD	<i>Deutsche Jungdemokraten</i>	Germany: Young Democrats of Germany

DKP	<i>Deutsche Kommunistische Partei</i>	German Communist Party
DLB	dead letter box	cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
DLD	dead letter drop	cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
DLVH	<i>Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat</i>	Germany: German League for the People and Homeland
DM	<i>Deutsche Mark</i>	deutschmark (German currency)
DNSV	<i>Dansk National Socialistiske Bevægelse</i>	Denmark: Danish National-Socialist Movement
DNZ	<i>Deutsche National-Zeitung</i>	Germany: right-extremist newspaper of *DVU, cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
dpa	<i>Deutsche Presseagentur</i>	Germany: "German Press Agency"
DPK-I	Democratic Party of Kurdistan - Iraq	Kurds: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
DS	<i>Deutsche Stimme</i>	Germany: party organ of *NPD cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
DVAD	Democratic Association of Albanians in Germany	Kosovo: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *LPK
DVU	<i>Deutsche Volksunion</i>	Germany: German People's Union
DWZ/DA	<i>Deutsche Wochen-Zeitung/Deutscher Anzeiger</i>	Germany: right-extremist newspaper of *DVU; cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
E		
EBRF	<i>Europäische Stelle zur Beobachtung von Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit</i>	European Bureau Monitoring Racism and Xenophobia
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights	
EMUG	<i>Europäische Moscheebau- und Unterstützungsgemeinschaft e. V.</i>	European Community for the Construction and Support of Mosques (reg'd) Turks: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *IGMG
ERNK	National Liberation Front of Kurdistan	Kurds: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *PKK
EU	European Union	
Europäische Stelle zur Beobachtung von Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit	European Bureau Monitoring Racism and Xenophobia (EBRF)	
Expo 2000	World Exposition	Hanover, Federal Republic of Germany s. also Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
F		
FAP	<i>Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei</i>	Germany: German Workers' Freedom Party
FAPSI	Ôäääðäëüîä ääâïðñâî ïðääëðäëüñðääîîé ñâyçè è èïðïðàòèè ïðè ïðâçèääïðâ Ðîññèèñèîé Ôäääðäòèè (ÔÂÎÑÈ)	Russia: Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information
FARC	<i>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia</i>	Colombia: Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
Fascho	Fascist	term used in Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' see also *Antifa
FAZ	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	Germany: daily newspaper

Fazilet Partisi	Virtue Party (FP)	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
FCP	French Communist Party	France - cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information	FAPSI (ÔĀĬNĒ)	Russia: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Federal Protection Service (of the Russian Federation)	FSO (ÔÑĬ)	Russia: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Federal Public Prosecutor General	"Generalbundesanwalt" (GBA)	Germany: Public Prosecutor General at the Federal Court of Justice
Federal Security Service	ÔĀĀĀðĀĕŭĭĀŷ ñĒóĀĀĀ ĀĀçĬĭĀñĬĭñòĒ ĐĬññĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ ÔĀĀĀðĀĕĒĒ (FSB)	Russia: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Federal Service for Border Protection	FPS (ÔĬñ)	Russia: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
FIS	<i>Front Islamique du Salut</i>	Islamic Salvation Front
FIT	<i>Freies Info-Telefon</i>	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism': agitation media
FN	<i>Front National</i> (National Front)	France: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
FN-MN	<i>Front National - Mouvement National</i>	France: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Fondi i Kosoves	Kosovo Fund	Kosovo: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Foreign Intelligence Service	ÑĒóĀĀĀ âĬĀĀĬĀĒĒ ðĀçĀĀĀĒĒĒĒ (cf. SVR)	Russia: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Forum Kommunistischer Arbeitsgemeinschaften	Forum of Communist Working Parties formerly " <i>Bund Westdeutscher Kommunisten</i> "	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
FP	<i>Fazilet Partisi</i>	Turkey: Virtue Party
FPS	ÔĀĀĀðĀĕŭĭĀŷ ĬĀðĀĬĒĒĒĒĒ ñĒóĀĀĀ ĐĬññĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ ÔĀĀĀðĀĕĒĒ (ÔĬñ)	Russia: Federal Service for Border Protection
Free Women's Association of Kurdistan	YAJK , as of 1999: cf. *PJKK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei	German Workers' Freedom Party (FAP)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Freiheitlicher VolksBlock	Free People's Bloc (FVB)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany	s. also *GDR; s. also * <i>Länder</i>
Friedenspolitische Korrespondenz	Peace Policy Correspondence (FRIKORR)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Friedensrat der DDR	Peace Council of the GDR	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
FRIKORR	<i>Friedenspolitische Korrespondenz</i>	s. also *Deutscher Friedensrat e.V. Germany: Peace Policy Correspondence
FSB	ÔĀĀĀðĀĕŭĭĀŷ ñĒóĀĀĀ ĀĀçĬĭĀñĬĭñòĒ ĐĬññĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ ÔĀĀĀðĀĕĒĒ (ÔÑĬ)	Russia: Federal Security Service
FSLN	<i>Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional</i>	Nicaragua; cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
FSO	ÔĀĀĀðĀĕŭĭĀŷ ñĒóĀĀĀ ĬĀðĀĬĒĒĒĒĒ ĐĬññĒĒĒĒĒĒĒ ÔĀĀĀðĀĕĒĒ (ÔÑĬ)	Russia: Federal Protection Service
Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC)	Colombia: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
FVB	<i>Freiheitlicher VolksBlock</i>	Germany: Free People's Bloc
G		
GAM	<i>Gruppe Arbeitermacht</i>	Germany: Group 'Workers' Power'

GDR	German Democratic Republic	until German unity on 3.10.1999 s. also *FRG, *MfS
Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik	Society for Society for Free Journalism (GFP)	Germany: right-extremist cultural association
GFP	<i>Gesellschaft für Freie Publizistik</i>	Germany: Society for Society for Free Journalism
Ghod	(Arabic:) Jerusalem also: *Qod	
GI	<i>Gama'a al-Islamiya</i>	Islamic Community
GIA	<i>Groupe islamique armé</i> Armed Islamic Group	cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
GRU	Main Intelligence Directorate (АБД)	Russia: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Gruppe Arbeitermacht	Group 'Workers' Power' (GAM)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
GSPC	<i>Groupe salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat</i> Salafiya Group for the Mission and Struggle	Algeria: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
GUE/NGL	Confederated Parliamentary Group of the Unified European Left/Nordic Green-Left <i>Konföderale Fraktion der Vereinigten Europäischen Linken/Nordisch Grün Linke</i>	European Parliament
H		
HAKK-TV	"True Islamic Television"	Turks: TV programme of *ICCB; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Halkın Günlüğü	"People's Diary"	Turkey: *DABK publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
HAMAS	Islamic Resistance Movement	cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *MB
Heimatreue Vereinigung Deutschlands	Patriotic Association of Germany (HVD)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Hilafet Devleti	The Caliphate State	Turks: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *ICCB
Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige e.V.	Aid Organization for National Political Prisoners and Their Families (reg'd) (HNG)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Hitlerjugend	Hitler Youth Movement (HJ)	Germany: Third Reich
Hizbollah	Party of God	Near East: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *Al Moqawana al Islamiya
HJ	<i>Hitlerjugend</i>	Germany: Hitler Youth Movement
HNG	<i>Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige e.V.</i>	Germany: Aid Organization for National Political Prisoners and Their Families (reg'd)
HVD	<i>Heimatreue Vereinigung Deutschlands</i>	Germany: Patriotic Association of Germany
I		
IAS	International Association of Scientologists	
IBP	<i>Islamischer Bund Palästina</i> (Islamic League of Palestine)	Near East: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
ICCB	Union of Islamic Clubs and Communities (reg'd), Cologne The Caliphate State	Turks: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *Hilafet Devleti
IGMG	<i>Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V.</i>	Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd)

IHR	Institute for Historical Review	U.S.: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
IMK	<i>Innenministerkonferenz</i> (Standing Conference of the Ministers and Senators of the Interior)	Germany
Informationsstelle Kurdistan	Information Office Kurdistan (ISKU)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism', Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Interessenverband ehemaliger Teilnehmer am anti-faschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Nazi-Regimes und Hinterbliebener e.V.	Interest Association of Former Participants in Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi Regime and Surviving Dependants (reg'd) (IVVdN)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *VVdN-BdA
International Association of Scientologists	IAS	cf. 'Scientology Organization'
Internationale Sozialistische Organisation	International Socialist Organization (ISO)	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
IS	<i>Internationale Socialiste - Internacional Socialista</i> Socialist International (SI)	Engl. cf. *SI
Isçi Köylü Kurtuluşu	"Workers' and Farmers' Liberation"	tix *DABK publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
ISKU	<i>Informationsstelle Kurdistan</i>	Germany: Information Office Kurdistan
Islamic Community	<i>Al-Gama'a al-Islamiya</i> (GI)	Egypt: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Islamic Jihad	<i>Jihad Islami</i> (JI)	Egypt: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Islamic Movement of Kurdistan	KIH	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Islamic Salvation Front	<i>Front Islamique du Salut</i> (FIS)	Algeria: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *CCFIS
Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs e.V.	Islamic Community Milli Görüs (reg'd) (IGMG)	Turks: Germany: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *AMGT, *EMUG
ISO	<i>Internationale Sozialistische Organisation</i>	International Socialist Organization
ISYF	International Sikh Youth Federation	Sikhs: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
IU	<i>Izquierda Unida</i>	Spain: United Left
IVVdN	<i>Interessenverband ehemaliger Teilnehmer am antifaschistischen Widerstand, Verfolgter des Nazi-Regimes und Hinterbliebener e.V.</i>	Germany: Interest Association of Former Participants in Anti-Fascist Resistance, Persecutees of the Nazi Regime and Surviving Dependants (reg'd)
IZ	<i>Islamisches Zentrum</i> Islamic Centre	s. also *Hizbollah cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Izquierda Unida	United Left (IU)	Spain - cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
J		
JCG	Joint Coordinating Group	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
JD/JL	<i>Jungdemokraten/ Junge Linke</i>	Germany: Young Democrats/ Young Leftists
JI	<i>Jihad Islami</i>	Islamic Jihad
Jihad	Holy War	Islam: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
JN	<i>Junge Nationaldemokraten</i>	Germany: Young National-Democrats
JRE	<i>Jugend gegen Rassismus in Europa</i>	Germany: Youth against Racism in Europe
Jugend gegen Rassismus in Europa	Youth against Racism in Europe (JRE)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'; front organization of *SAV

Jungdemokraten/ Junge Linke	Young Democrats/ Young Leftists (JD/JL)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *DJD
Junge Nationaldemokraten	Young National-Democrats (JN)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' s. also *BDVG
junge Welt	"Young World"	daily; Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
jW	<i>junge Welt</i>	Germany: left-extremist daily; cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
K		
KABD	<i>Kommunistischer Arbeiterbund Deutschlands</i>	Germany: Communist Workers' Union of Germany
KABj	Union of Alawites from Kurdistan	
Kalathil	"On the Battlefield"	publication of *LTTE; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten	Combat Union of German Socialists (KDS)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
KB	<i>Kommunistischer Bund</i>	Germany: Communist Union
KCF	Khalistan Commando Force	Sikhs: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
KDS	<i>Kampfbund Deutscher Sozialisten</i>	Germany: Combat Union of German Socialists
KGB	State Security Committee Êïîèòáo ãñóääðñòääííé ääçïïãñíñòè (ĖĖĖ)	Russia: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
KIC	<i>Koerdistan Informatie-Centrum</i>	Netherlands: Kurdistan Information Centre - cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'; for Germany, s. also *KIZ
KIH	Islamic Movement of Kurdistan	
KIZ	<i>Kurdistan-Informations-Zentrum</i>	Germany: Kurdistan Information Centre cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'; for the Netherlands, s. also *KIC
KMDI	Kamagata Maru Dal International	Sikhs: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
KNK	Kurdish National Congress	Kurds: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *PKDW
Kommission für Verstöße der Psychiatrie gegen Menschenrechte	Commission on Human Rights Violations committed by Psychiatry (KVMP)	German local section of *CCHR; cf. 'Scientology Organization'
Kommunistische Plattform	Communist Platform (KPF)	of the *PDS; Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Kommunistischer Arbeiterbund Deutschlands	Communist Workers' Union of Germany (KABD)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *MLPD
Kommunistischer Bund	Communist Union (KB)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Kosovo Liberation Army	UÇK	Kosovo: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *PPDK
KPF	<i>Kommunistische Plattform</i>	Germany: Communist Platform
KP-İÖ	<i>Kommunistische Partei - Aufbauorganisation</i> Communist Party - Development Organization	Turks: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Krasnaya Zvezda	Ėðãñíàÿ Çãâçää - "Red Star"	Russia: military journal
Kreis	s. also *Landkreis	Germany: county-type administrative district
Kriegswaffenkontrollgesetz (Gesetz über die Kontrolle von Kriegswaffen)	War Weapons Control Act (KWKG)	Germany: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence' - "Proliferation"

Kurdistan Workers' Party	<i>Partia Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK)</i>	cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *PKDW, *ERNK, *KNK
KVMP	<i>Kommission für Verstöße der Psychiatrie gegen Menschenrechte</i>	Germany: Commission on Human Rights Violations committed by Psychiatry
KWKG	<i>Kriegswaffenkontrollgesetz (Gesetz über die Kontrolle von Kriegswaffen)</i>	Germany: War Weapons Control Act
L		
Land	federal state; constituent state see also plural: * <i>Länder</i>	Germany; Austria
Länder	plural of * <i>Land</i> so-called " old Länder ": the West German <i>Länder</i> constituting the *FRG prior to FRG/GDR unification so-called " new Länder ": the five East German <i>Länder</i> after FRG/*GDR unification	Germany: Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, North Rhine/Westfalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Saarland city states: Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania; Brandenburg; Saxony-Anhalt; Saxony; Thuringia
Landkreis	s. also * <i>Kreis</i>	Germany: administrative district, rural district
Landtag	<i>Land</i> Parliament	Germany: legislative assembly of a federal state for Bremen: s. *Bremische Bürgerschaft
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	LTTE	Tamils: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Linksruck-Netzwerk	Left-Swing Network (LR)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
LPK	Popular Movement of Kosovo	Kosovo: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' changed to *PBD; s. also *DVAD
LR	<i>Linksruck-Netzwerk</i>	Germany: Left-Swing Network
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	
LuK	<i>Lernen und Kämpfen</i> ("Learning and Fighting")	Germany: *MLPD publication; cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
M		
MAD	<i>Militärischer Abschirmdienst</i>	Germany: Military Counterintelligence Service
Marx-Engels-Stiftung e.V.	Marx-Engels Foundation (reg'd) (MES)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Marxistisches Forum der PDS	Marxist Forum (of the *PDS)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands	Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *KABD
Marxist-Leninist Communist Party	MLKP	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *AGIF
MB	Muslim Brotherhood	Palestinian wing of *Hamas
MED-TV		*PKK TV station; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
MEDYA-TV		Kurdish TV station; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners', s. also *PKK
MEK	People's Mujahiddin of Iran	Iran: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *NWRI
MES	<i>Marx-Engels-Stiftung e.V.</i>	Germany: Marx-Engels Foundation (reg'd)

MfS	<i>Ministerium für Staatssicherheit</i> ("Stasi") - Ministry of State Security (of the former *GDR)	Germany: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
MHP	National Movement Party	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *ADÜTDF
MID	Main Directorate 'Intelligence' of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army (military intelligence service)	China: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Militärischer Abschirmdienst	Military Counterintelligence Service (MAD)	Germany
Milli Gazete	"National Newspaper"	Turkey: daily newspaper
Milli Görüş & Perspektive		Turkey: *IGMG publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Ministry of the Interior	MOI	Germany: Federal MOI: <i>Bundesministerium des Innern (BMI)</i>
MLKP	Marxist-Leninist Communist Party	
MLPD	<i>Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands</i>	Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany
MNA	Hungarian National Front	Hungary: neo-Nazi party
Modjahed	Mudjahed; "Religious Fighter"	publication cf. *NWRI, *MEK; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
MOI	Ministry of the Interior	
MP3 format	This refers to skinhead music in the MP3 format, which is forbidden by law and has been put on the index; often to be found on right-extremist homepages. This format enables an Internet user to load music down to his own computer and, if the proper technology is available to him, to produce and distribute his own CDs	cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' Data compression technique for audio files, without any audible quality impairment. The memory size decreases to a rate of up to one twelfth.
MSS	Ministry for State Security (civilian intelligence service)	China: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
N		
NAPO	<i>Nationale Außerparlamentarische Opposition</i>	Germany: National Extra-Parliamentary Opposition
Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands	National-Democratic Party of Germany (NPD)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' s. also *Deutsche Stimme, *NAPO, *NHB
Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund	National-Democratic University/ College Union (NHB)	Germany: sub-organization of the *NPD cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Nationale Außerparlamentarische Opposition	National Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (NAPO)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' s. *NPD left-extremist: cf. *APO
Nationaler Widerstandsrat Iran	National Resistance Council of Iran (NWRI)	Iran/Germany: political arm of *MEK; cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei/Ausland- und Aufbauorganisation	German National-Socialist Workers' Party/Foreign and Development Section (NSDAP/AO)	Germany/U.S.: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (also called: *Atlantic Alliance)	
ND	<i>Neues Deutschland</i>	Germany: "New Germany"
NELF	New European Left Forum	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'

Neue Juristische Wochenschrift	(a law journal)	Germany
Neues Deutschland	"New Germany" (ND)	daily; Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
NHB	<i>Nationaldemokratischer Hochschulbund</i>	Germany: National-Democratic University/College Union
NIT	<i>Nationale Info-Telefone</i>	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism': agitation media
NPD	<i>Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>	Germany: National-Democratic Party of Germany
NPP	nuclear power plant	also: *APP, *APS see also *Anti-NPP Campaign
NSDAP/AO	<i>National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei/Ausland- und Aufbauorganisation</i>	Germany/U.S.: German National-Socialist Workers' Party/Foreign and Development Section
NWRI	<i>Nationaler Widerstandsrat Iran</i>	Iran/Germany: National Resistance Council of Iran
NZ	<i>National-Zeitung/Deutsche Wochenzeitung</i>	Germany: *DVU publication; cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
O		
Oberlandesgericht	Higher Regional Court of Appeal (±) for the Land of Berlin: "Kammergericht"; for Bavaria: "Oberstes Landesgericht"	Germany
OLG	<i>Oberlandesgericht</i>	Germany: "Higher Regional Court of Appeal" (±)
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries	
OT	Operating Thetan	cf. 'Scientology Organization'
Özgür Gelecek	"Free Future"	Turkey: *TKP/ML publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Özgür Politika	"Free Politics"	Turkish-language daily; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *PKK
P		
Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus	Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *KDF, *Marxistisches Forum
Partei für soziale Gleichheit	Party for Social Equality (PSG)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Partisan.net	<i>Projekt Archive Radikaler Theorie Info System Alternativer Nachrichten</i>	Germany: Project Archives of Radical Theory Info System Alternative News cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Partito dei Comunisti Italiani	Party of Italian Communists (P.d.C.I.)	Italy: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Partito della rifondazione comunista	Communist Refoundation Party	Italy: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Partizan	"Partisan"	Turkey: *TKP/ML publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Party of Kurdish Working Women	PJKK , before: cf. *YAJK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
PBD	Party of Democratic Union	Kosovo: successor of *LPK; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *PPDK
PCC	<i>Partido Comunista de Cuba</i>	Cuban Communist Party
PdCI	<i>Partito dei Comunisti Italiani</i>	Italy: Party of Italian Communists
PDS	<i>Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus</i>	Germany: Party of Democratic Socialism
Peoples' Global Action	PGA	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
PGA	Peoples' Global Action	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'

PHI	<i>Politische Hintergrund Informationen</i>	Germany: Political Background Information
PJKK	Party of Kurdish Working Women	
PKDW	Kurdish Parliament-in-Exile	Kurds: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *PKK, *KNK
PKK	<i>Partia Karkeren Kurdistan</i> Kurdistan Workers' Party	
Politikada Atilim	"Political Attack"	Turkey: *MLKP publication; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Politische Hintergrund Informationen	Political Background Informationen (PHI)	Germany: right-extremist press service
PPDK	Party for Kosovo's Democratic Progress	Kosovo: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners' s. also *UÇK, *PBD
Prc	<i>Partito della rifondazione comunista</i>	Italy: Communist Refoundation Party
PRC	People's Republic of China	
PRK	(Democratic) People's Republic of Korea	
PSG	<i>Partei für soziale Gleichheit</i>	Germany: Party for Social Equality
Public Prosecutor General	Germany: cf. *Federal Public Prosecutor General	
PUK	Patriotic Union of Kurdistan	Kurds: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Q		
Qod	(Arabic:) Jerusalem also: *Ghod	
R		
radikal	'radical'	underground periodical, Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
RAF	<i>Rote Armee Fraktion</i>	Germany: Red Army Faction
RAZZ	- <i>Zeitung für ein radikales Hannover</i>	Germany: newspaper; cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
RBF	<i>Republikanischer Bund der Frauen</i>	Germany: Republican Women's Union
RCG	Russian Consulate-General	cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
RE	Russian Embassy	cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Refah Partisi	Welfare Party (RP)	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Reichsruf	"Bulletin for Revolutionary National-Socialists"	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Religious Technology Center	RTC	subsidiary organization of *SO; cf. 'Scientology Organization'
REP	<i>Die Republikaner</i>	Germany: political party "The Republicans"
RepBB	<i>Republikanischer Bund der öffentlich Bediensteten</i>	Germany: Republican Union of Public Sector Workers
Republikaner (Die Republikaner)	The Republicans (REP)	Germany: political party, cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' see also *Bündnis 99, *RBF, *RepBB, *RHV, *RJ
Republikanische Jugend	Republican Youth (RJ)	Germany: youth organization of the *REP party; cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
Republikanischer Bund der Frauen	Republican Women's Union (RBF)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' sub-organization of the *REP
Republikanischer Bund der öffentlich Bediensteten	Republican Union of Public Sector Workers (RepBB)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' sub-organization of the *REP

Republikanischer Hochschulverband	Republican University/College Union (RHV)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' sub-organization of the *REP
Revolutionäre Zellen	Revolutionary Cells (RZ)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Revolutionärer Sozialistischer Bund	Revolutionary Socialist Union (RSB)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front	<i>Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Partisi-Cephesi</i> (DHKP-C)	Turkey: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
RF	<i>Rote Fahne</i> ("Red Flag")	Germany: *MLPD publication; cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
RF	Russian Federation	formerly: *USSR s. also *CIS
RH	<i>Rote Hilfe e.V.</i>	Germany: Red Aid (reg'd)
RHV	<i>Republikanischer Hochschulverband</i>	Germany: Republican University/College Union
RJ	<i>Republikanische Jugend</i>	Germany: Republican Youth
Rote Armee Fraktion	Red Army Faction (RAF)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Rote Fahne	"Red Flag"	*MLPD publication, Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Rote Hilfe e.V.	Red Aid (reg'd) (RH)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
ROTKÄPCHEN im und beim BdA		Germany: youth organization of *BdA; cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
RP	<i>Refah Partisi</i>	Turkey: Welfare Party
RSB	<i>Revolutionärer Sozialistischer Bund</i>	Germany: Revolutionary Socialist Union
RTC	Religious Technology Center	
RZ	<i>Revolutionäre Zellen</i>	Germany: Revolutionary Cells
S		
SAG	<i>Sozialistische ArbeiterGruppe</i>	Germany: Socialist Workers' Group
SAV	<i>Sozialistische Alternative Voran</i>	Germany: Socialist Alternative 'Forward'
SBU	Security Service Ukraine Ñöóæää ääçĩãêê Ôêďăžîè (ÑáÓ)	Ukraine: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
Scientology Organization	SO	cf. 'Scientology Organization' s. also *IAS, *RTC, *Church of Scientology International
SDAJ	<i>Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterjugend</i>	Germany: Socialist German Workers' Youth
SDS	<i>Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund</i>	Germany: Socialist German Students' Union
SED	<i>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands</i>	*GDR: Socialist Unity Party of Germany successor: cf. *PDS
Serxwebun	"Independence"	publication of *PKK; cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
SI	Socialist International	Fr/Sp: cf. *IS
SO	Scientology Organization	
Socialist International	SI	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' German section: cf. ^SAG^
Socialist International (SI)	<i>Internationale Socialiste - Internacional Socialista</i> (IS)	Engl. cf *SI
solid = ['solid'] - die sozialistische jugend	(abbrev. of) sozialistisch, links und demokratisch (Socialist, left and democratic)	Germany: socialist youth association cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
Soziale Volkspartei	People's Social Party (SVP)	Germany: right-extremist party, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania
Sozialistische Alternative Voran	Socialist Alternative 'Forward' (SAV)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *CWI, *JRE

Germany		
Union of Kurdish Teachers	YMK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Union of Lawyers from Kurdistan	YHK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Union of Patriotic Workers from Kurdistan	YKWK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Union of Students from Kurdistan	YXK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Union of Writers from Kurdistan	YNK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Union of Yazidis from Kurdistan	YEK	Kurdistan (religious sect): cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Union of Young People from Kurdistan	YCK	Kurdistan: cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
Unsere Zeit	"Our Times" (UZ)	*DKP publication; Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - the (former) Soviet Union (*SU)	cf. *RF, *CIS
UZ	<i>Unsere Zeit</i>	Germany: "Our Times"
V		
VdF	<i>Verlag der Freunde</i>	Germany: right-extremist publishing house
Vereinigte Rechte	United Right (VR)	Germany: cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism' small right-extremist party, Saxony-Anhalt
Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes - Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten	Union of Victims of Nazi Persecution - Alliance of Anti-Fascists (VVN-BdA)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism' s. also *IVVdN
Vereinigung für sozialistische Politik	Union for Socialist Politics (VSP)	Germany: cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
VEVAK	Iranian Intelligence Service	Iran: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence'
VffG	<i>Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung</i>	Quarterly Review for Free Historical Research
VHO	<i>Vrij Historisch Onderzoek</i>	Belgium: Institute for Free Historical Research
Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung	Quarterly Review for Free Historical Research	right-wing extremism: publication of the *VHO
VR	<i>Vereinigte Rechte</i>	Germany: United Right
Vrij Historisch Onderzoek	Institute for Free Historical Research (VHO)	Belgium: right-extremist organization; s. also *VffG
VSP	<i>Vereinigung für sozialistische Politik</i>	Germany: Union for Socialist Politics
VVN-BdA	<i>Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes - Bund der Antifaschistinnen und Antifaschisten</i>	Germany: Union of Victims of Nazi Persecution - Alliance of Anti-Fascists
W		
WAR	White Aryan Resistance <i>Weißer Arischer Widerstand (WAW)</i>	cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'
WAW	<i>Weißer Arischer Widerstand</i>	cf. *WAR
Wehrmacht	the German armed forces in the years prior to and during World War II	Germany for FRG: cf. *Bundeswehr
White Arian Resistance	WAR - <i>Weißer Arischer</i>	cf. Part 1: 'Right-Extremism'

	<i>Widerstand (WAW)</i>	
WMD	weapons of mass destruction	cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence' - "Proliferation"
WPC	World Peace Council	cf. Part 2: 'Left-Extremism'
WWW	World Wide Web	
YAJK	Free Women's Association of Kurdistan	
YCK	Union of Young People from Kurdistan	
YEK	Union of Yazidis from Kurdistan	
YHK	Union of Lawyers from Kurdistan	
YKWK	Union of Patriotic Workers from Kurdistan	
YMK	Union of Kurdish Teachers	
YNK	Union of Writers from Kurdistan	
YRK	Union of Kurdish Journalists in Germany	
YXK	Union of Students from Kurdistan	
Z		
Zeri i Kosoves	"Voice of Kosovo"	publication of *LPK, cf. Part 3: 'Activities by Foreigners'
ZKA	<i>Zollkriminalamt</i>	Germany: Customs Criminological Office
Zollkriminalamt	Customs Criminological Office (ZKA)	Germany: cf. Part 4: 'Espionage / Intelligence' - "Proliferation"