



In their first statements, the members of the RAF still emphasized their direct ties to the "working class" and the disenfranchised subproletariat.⁵⁹ Schult immediately began to make the texts sent to him available to other prisoners, thereby creating something like a "revolutionary mood" in the Kaisheim prison, which until then had been isolated from all influences of the student movement.⁶⁰ However, this development was slow to get off the ground. Throughout 1972, Schult seems to have had no success in this regard. He may have withdrawn from the Red Aid for some time because he could not always agree with the organization's divergent ideas. Additional alienation could have resulted from the behavior of RAF subordinates in connection with the "Black September" attack. A commando of Palestinian terrorists had taken members of the Israeli team hostage during the Olympic Games in Munich and murdered them during a firefight with the Bavarian police. Instead of distancing herself from these events, the imprisoned mastermind of the RAF, Ulrike Meinhof, elevated the crime to a "revolutionary act". She wrote: "The action of 'Black September' in Munich made the essence of imperialist rule and the anti-imperialist struggle transparent and recognizable in a way that no other revolutionary action in West Germany and West Berlin has ever done. It was at once anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-internationalist."⁶¹

Schult, who had experienced the horrors and seduction of National Socialism at first hand, was not prepared for a

59) The Concept of Urban Guerrilla pp. 35, 42.

60) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 220.

61) Ulrike MEINHOF: Die Aktion des "Schwarzen September" in Miiinchen. Zur Strategie des antiimperialistischen Kampfes (November 1972). In: Rote Armee Fraktion pp. 151-179, here p. 151.

He was hostile to left-wing anti-Semitism. It was not until the beginning of 1973 that he apparently began to reconnect with the Red Help and spread his newfound knowledge within the prison. The prison administration then tried to discipline him by isolating him, but this only provoked an increase in public support for Schult. Fritz Teufel, for example, had encouraged the filmmakers Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta, who were just passing by, to contact Schult at an information booth of the Red Aid München in Leopoldstrasse. When Heinz Diirr, an SPD member of the Bundestag who had been acquainted with Schult since the 1950s, also began to speak up for him, he was immediately granted the same rights as all prisoners in Kaisheim. Schlöndorff and von Trotta regularly visited Schult in prison and corresponded with him. He remained on friendly terms with them until his death in 1984 and also shared his problems and political considerations with them. He was pleased to receive the support of Augen and returned the favor by providing his visitors with detailed information about everyday life in Kaisheim. The libraries, however, contained almost exclusively propaganda literature from the time of the "Third Reich."⁶² He also participated in the second hunger strike of RAF prisoners beginning in May 1973. In order to counter the growing unrest within the walls of the prison, where the council socialist Ernst Toller had already been mistreated, the prison administration tried to isolate Schult from the other prisoners. Schult was not impressed by this: "You must not allow yourselves to be influenced by riickschlag, however difficult it may be at times, I know that you will not let yourselves be influenced by riickschlag."

62) Peter SCHULT: Report on a prison bi.ly. In: *Neues Forum* 1973, no. 240, pp. 42-43.

that, and i understand that, i too am sometimes a 'torpedo kafer,' who lands wounded on the ground and gasps for breath and then waits until the wounds have healed in order to rise again to stiiir myself against the wall once more, because i know that one day it will collapse. "63

At the beginning of December, he even managed to smuggle a letter to drauGen in which he attacked the practice of prohibiting visits, withholding letters and alleged resocialization efforts by the prison administration.⁶⁴ Parts of this letter were reprinted many times, and at the turn of the year 1973/74, several members of the Red Help Munich celebrated the turn of the year outside the prison gates, triggering a prisoner uprising. In addition, the representatives of the prison administration were confronted with complaints from Schult and the lawyers of the Red Help. Ultimately, Schult triumphed over his tormentors,⁶⁵ who, however, remembered him in the hope that they would one day meet their adversary again.

As much as Schult was the poster boy for the Red Aid and he was at odds with his new friends, he always retained his own opinion. In view of the RAF's increasing self-declaration as the sole elite, he wrote to Schlondorff: "I have always had a horror of Christian ascetics, but we are developing a similar type: the Marxist ascetic and do not seem to realize that every asceticism has something inhuman about it.

63) Berlin, private archive Volker Schlondorff: 1. 10. 1973, letter, typewritten, JVA Kaisheim, Peter Schult to Volker Schlondorff and Margarethe von Trotta.

64) Reprinted in: SCHULT, *Visits to Dead Ends* pp. 228-232.

65) Private archive Volker Schlondorff: 7. 1. 1974, letter, typewritten, JVA Kaisheim, Peter Schult to Volker Schlondorff.

66) Ibid 25. 3. 1973, letter, typewritten, JVA Kaisheim, Peter Schult to Volker Schlondorff.

Schult was released from Kaisheim Prison on February 21, 1974, and picked up by Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta. They immediately took him to Knorrstra:Be 32, where the headquarters of the Red Help were located at the time - in the Milbertshofen district center. Schult received a warm welcome and now participated from outside in revolutionizing the prisons, engaging in civil disobedience in many ways. A number of opportunities presented themselves at the beginning of 1974. A few days before Schult's release, the first (and last) squat in München was held.

<l>has been terminated by a police rolling squad.⁶⁷

In the following three years, Peter Schult published a large number of political essays, especially in the newly founded city newspaper "Blatt". In them, he drew on his own experiences at the Barlocher chemical plant, whose closure he vehemently demanded. Time and again, he made environmental pollution public and thus made a decisive contribution to raising ecological awareness within the local left.⁶⁸ In addition, he was involved in the rediscovery of historical figures of the political left, especially in the field of anarchism.⁶⁹ In this way, he oriented himself to the ideas of Italian socialists, who propagated a "militant historiography" for the historical justification of the present struggle.⁷⁰ In addition, he wrote

67) Occupation of the Gasteig Hospital. In: *ID - Informationsdienst zur Verbreitung unterbliebener Nachrichten* No. 25, 4. 3. 1974, p. 1.

68) See, for example, Peter SCHULT: Der Fall Barlocher ... or from München to Marckolsheim and back. In: *Blatt* No. 50, 1975, p. 4; DERS.: bleiALARM in München. In: *Blatt* No. 58, 1975, pp. 6-7.

69) Peter SCHULT: What is Anarchism? In: *Blatt* No. 101, 1977, pp. 12-14; DERS.: Destroy the State! History of Anarchism, Part 2. in *Blatt* No. 102, 1977, pp. 17-21; DERS.: Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand. History of Anarchism, Part 3, in *Blatt* No. 103, 1977, pp. 17-20.

70) Sergio BOLOGNA: Eight theses on a militant history-

Schult criticized the treatment of political prisoners in the Federal Republic of Germany. He was responsible for several Red Aid campaigns on behalf of imprisoned persons (e.g. Karl Heinz Roth).⁷²

However, his rejection of dogmatic Marxist social theories, which he had already cultivated during his imprisonment, soon led to a tangible dispute with correspondingly ideologically oriented members of the Red Help. After the latter were defeated, they launched a campaign against Schult and his friends: "For months a fierce struggle had been raging in the Red Aid movement to enforce the correct line. Anarchists, Trotskyists, revisionists had banded together against the vanguards of the proletarian line, against the party, to split Red Aid ... What are these elements who deny the class struggle with the demand 'freedom for all prisoners' and at the Bochum conference insult the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, in unashamed words?"⁷³

schreibung (circa 1975). With an introduction by Bernd HDTTNER and notes on a re-lecture by Sergio BOLOGNA. In: Bernd HDTTNER / Gottfried OY / Norbert SCHEPERS (eds.): *Vor warts und viel vergessen. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung neuer sozialer Bewegungen* (Neu-Ulm: AG Spak 2005).

S. 159-172.

71) Peter SCHULT: 1280.- fine. In: *Blatt* No. 59, 1975, p. 13.

72) Red Hille Miinchen: K. H. Roth. Author in solitary confinement.
In:

Sheet No. 57, 1975, p. 10.

73) Excerpt from an article in the Maoist journal *Rater Morgen*, April 27, 1974; reprinted in: SCHULT, *Besuche in Sackgas* sen p. 242. The "Bochum Conference" refers to a meeting of all Red Aides in West Germany and West Berlin, which took place in spring 1974. The attempt to organize a common strategy failed because of the unüberbrückbare differences between the undogmatic and dogmatic groups.

He was accused of not revolutionizing the prisoners sufficiently and instead of wanting to transform Red Aid into a kind of "left-wing Caritas. Schult, on the other hand, accused his antagonists of being unworldly and recommended that the separation of political and criminal prisoners be abolished, since they were all victims of the system. In this way, he moved closer to the ideas of the anarchist "Black Help" from Berlin and gradually distanced himself from the ideas of the RAF supporters. He rejected the instrumentalization of the Red Help as a human spare parts warehouse for the weakened cadres of the RAF.⁷⁴ Instead, he planned a more active, general public relations work and the establishment of help activities in the prisons by trained prisoners. However, he was unable to gain acceptance for this in the torn Red Aid, which was embroiled in its own flügel fights.

It was not until the organization was reorganized in late 1974/early 1975 that Schult was able to implement his ideas, at least in part. Despite all the criticism of the RAF, Schult supported the "armed struggle in Western Europe" both journalistically and <lurch the organization of the prison work. He invited the lawyers of the prisoners (Schily, Croissant, Strobele) to discussion events and "prison parties. He was far from distancing himself from the violence. He saw himself as part of a revolutionary movement and was fully accepted as such - for the first time in his life.

While Schult immersed himself in political work, his sex life practically fell by the wayside. He was so involved in the work in the city, in the "Blatt" and in the Rote Hilfe cooperation that he hardly noticed the sexual discourse within the anti-authoritarian left that was once again swelling. Yet it was precisely here that the question of the revolutionary character of padophilia was increasingly at stake. In 1973, the most important padagogic journal of the West German left, "b:e" (i.e., "be-

74) SCHULT, Visits to Dead Ends p. 244.

meets: education"), the issue No. 4 under the motto "Padophilia - Victimless crime". With the help of experts (Frits Bernard, Eberhard Schorsch), the fundamental necessity of a depathologization of sexuality was recognized. Schorsch, in particular, emphasized the implausibility of age limits and the separation of adult and adolescent sexuality.⁷⁵ Bernard referred, among other things, to the glorification of boyhood love in world literature.⁷⁶ Other authors named the theses in sex education in Christian and secular schools, which were disseminated free of any social reality.⁷⁷ However, critics also had their say, such as the criminal lawyer Gunter Kaiser of the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, who pointed out that the advocates of decriminalization of sexuality used dubious methods. Also, it is not sufficiently explained that padosexual contacts do not harm only those young people who come from secure backgrounds.⁷⁸ Finally, the complete exclusion of physical violence from padophilic sexual relations was criticized.⁷⁹

75) Eberhard SCHORSCH: Liberalitat reicht nicht. In: *Betrifft: Erziehung* 6 (1973) No. 4, pp. 23-26, here p. 26.

76) Fritz BERNARD: Paedophilia - a disease? Consequences for the development of the child's psyche. In: *Betrifft: Erziehung* 6 (1973) Nr. 4, S. 21-23, here S. 21.

77) Peter JACOBI: Sexualpädagogische Bürgerhetze. In: *Betrifft: Erziehung* 6 (1973) No. 4, pp. 26-27; Jürgen ROTH: Zurn Beispiel Kin derheime. Kindersexualität. Hunting Scenes from West Germany. In: *Ibidem* pp. 31-36.

78) Gunter KAISER: Inaccurate, Questionable, Doubtful. Bernard's Methodological Accuracy. In: *Betrifft: Erziehung* 6 (1973) No. 5, pp. 29-30, here p. 30.

79) Hans BOHRINGER: Paedophilia and Violence. Kummer- und Krup pelformen des Liebeslebens. In: *Betrifft: Erziehung* 6 (1973) No. 5, pp. 27-28, here p. 28.

In the following issue of "b:e" Renate Blos criticized that all authors had forgotten that sexuality in capitalism was a commodity and that adults could hardly interpret children's feelings correctly.⁸⁰ Blos believed that a relaxation of the parent-child relationship, including sex education, would make any discussion of pedophilia superfluous.⁸¹

This created a new basis for discussion within the West German left. Pedophilia was now considered fundamentally acceptable, inconsequential, and emancipatory, as long as the adolescent boys were no longer regarded as "children" (under 12 or 14 years of age). This almost uncomplaining reception was <limited by what I have called "argumentation automatism" within the left, which applied equally to sexual ties, attitudes toward life, and ideologies and was largely maintained until the mid-1970s.⁸² Anyone who established a new emancipation direction within the wide-ranging left-wing groupings and at the same time had already preserved it within existing circles was automatically considered to be

"good". Bose, on the other hand, were all those institutions and people who served the "pig state" and tried to hinder the emancipation of the "good" with thousand-year-old laws and even older social views. Found the

If a crime was committed by the "wicked" somewhere in the wide-stretched realm of the "good," then this crime could not be a crime at all, but was almost automatically an emancipatory act, because the "wicked" were against it. Whoever objected to this interpretation was probably not quite "good" and rather something "wicked". The only rule that had to be observed by the newly formed minority, which was underprivileged but forming on its own, was that it had to respect the rights of others, of already existing minorities.

80) Renate BLOS: Letter to the Editor on "Freedom without Exploitation". In:

Betri/ft: Erziehung 6 (1973) No. 5, pp. 5-6, here p. 5.

81) Ibid.

82) See MILDENBERGER: Die Schultfrage.

the groupings of represented minority states was not threatened. Padophilia therefore had to be lived free of the mechanisms of subordination that had already seemed threatening to the women in the children's stores: "If the man presents himself as a 'sexual being' to the child, if he gives him practice, and if he does not block the child's pleasurable bodily urges directed at him, no compulsive instinct structures with complexes arise: When the man imagines himself as a sexual being towards the child, when he gives him practice, and when he does not block the child's pleasurable bodily needs - directed towards him - no compulsive drive structures with complexes, no Oedipus and castration complexes, which are the results of enmity and prevention, exclusion and oppression, arise."⁸³ The man can thus protect the (fundamentally bisexual) child from fears of onanism, societal punishment rites, and neurotic development.⁸⁴ This was also recognized by several representatives of the women's movement; the women's movement and padophilic emancipation were to be part of an identical development toward the reformation of the entire society and thus of the political system of the Republic.⁸⁵

Similar considerations had already been made at the "second emancipation meeting" of the Spontis in Frankfurt am Main in April 1974.⁸⁶ Such an argumentation

83) Volker Elis PILGRIM: Manifesto for the Free Man (München: Trikont 1977) p. 104.

84) Ibid p. 105. Volker Elis PILGRIM: Der selbstbefriedigte Mensch (München: Desch 1975) pp. 96-97, 119-120. On the ideal role of the man in "leftist" relationships see Vance PACKARD: Die sexuelle Verwirrung. Der Wandel in der Beziehung der Geschlechter (1969) (München: Droemer-Knaur 1972) pp. 313-317.

85) A few women: Frauen und Paderastie - das gabs nie. In: *Blatt* Nr. 81, 1976, p. 10. In addition, some representatives of women's emancipation commented positively on a joint emancipation of women and homosexuals as a whole, which is not explained in detail; see, for example, Simone DE BEAUVOIR: Über den Kampf zur Befreiung der Frau. Interview with Alice Schwarzer. In: *Kursbuch* No. 35, 1974, pp. 58-66, here p. 65.

86) Emancipation Meeting. In: *ID - Informationsdienst zur Verbreitung unterbliebener Nachrichten* No. 31, 22. 4. 1974, p. 4.

But, as would soon become clear, this could only function as long as lip service was paid to general sexual freedom and the representatives of the West German left were not forced to deal with a concrete case of padophilia in their own ranks. As long as padophiles only "ran along", their subversion was a "secondary contradiction in capitalism" and padophiles did not attract police attention, they could be tolerated. Since 1972, for example, this has been the case with the so-called "Indianer kommune Niirnberg," which, in continuation of the fringe group strategy, called for school dances and escape from the parental home. Its members tried to sensitize newly admitted young people to the revolution and to padophilic sexual intercourse.

It seemed as if the women's movement and the gay movement, which had expanded to include Padophiles, would act together in the future. But this frequently invoked symbiosis broke down after only a few years (1975/76). On the one hand, the lesbians sought to position themselves as an independent force within the women's movement,⁸⁷ and on the other hand, the emancipatory concerns of homosexual men and emancipated women were too far apart for lasting cooperation to make sense. The fight against two paragraphs of criminal law (§ 175 and § 218) alone was not sufficient as a basis for a biindisi. ⁸⁸ In this case, there were still

87) Cornelia GRONEMEYER / Ilse KOKULA / Margret MULLER / Anke PETERSSEN / Elis PILGRIM / Cordula ROEMER / Anne SCHMALBACH: Zur Sexualitätsdebatte in der Frauenbewegung. On the connection between politics, the oppression of women and female sexuality. In: *Asthetik und Kommunikation* 11 (1981) No. 40/41, pp. 55-64, here p. 58.

88) Wolfgang THEIS: Make your gayness public! - Federal Republic. In: Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Years of the Gay Movement. Eine Ausstellung des Schwulen Museums und der Akademie der Künste (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel 1997) pp. 279-293, here p. 282.

The women were able to cooperate selectively with the K-groups, whose social programs were largely homophobic.⁸⁹ At the end of 1975 *and the* beginning of 1976, the only thing missing was a concrete reason for the women's bii...cialists to be involved, The aim of the project was to bring about the collapse of the already ideologically divided, but constantly reaffirmed lip service biases between Padophiles/gays, the women's movement, Marxist splinter groups, Red Aid and anarchists. Because of the ever increasing momentum of the different groups and their different approaches, especially in the area of sexuality, it was almost unavoidable that the big break had to come in this area of human existence, which was always regarded as important by all participants, but which was never defined in terms of its boundaries. In addition, there was the external pressure of the growing surveillance and criminalization of the various extra-parliamentary groups, parallel to the terrorist activities of the RAF, the June 2 Movement and the RZ (Revolutio nare Zellen).

89) Michael STEFFEN: Tales of the Triiffel Fig. Politik und Organisation des Kommunistischen Bund 1971 bis 1991 (Gottin gen: Assoziation A 2002) p. 131; Los Angeles Research Group: Zur materialistischen Analyse der Schwulenunterdrückung (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel 1977) pp. 69-74, 81.

The years of decision 1976 - 1984

1976 was the year in which all future discourses on philosophy and party positions were to be determined for the following decades. The key person was Peter Schult. "Made possible", however, was the debate not only <by the divided (un)dogmatic left, but <by the external pressure exerted by the federal republican state power on its extra-parliamentary critics in an election year.

The entire extra-parliamentary left was on the verge of a major transformation in 1976. The 1972 Radical Decree had a lasting effect on the career hopes of many rebels. After the kidnapping of the top CDU candidate in Berlin, Peter Lorenz, in the middle of the 1975 election campaign and the successful ransom of several prisoners, as well as the misguided kidnapping of the staff of the German embassy in Stockholm in the same year, the authorities issued a series of new laws and decrees to combat left-wing terrorism.¹ The main aim was to dismantle the groups operating alongside or with the clandestine terrorists. The concept was aimed at splitting the underground scene through massive pressure: the radicals were to be driven into illegality, their numerically large numbers unsettled and induced to return to the bosom of the free democratic basic order. The street battles between squatters and police, which had been almost ritualistic until 1976, escalated, and the protagonist of the radical faction in the Frankfurt squatters' struggle, Joschka Fischer, realized: "We have nothing to lose but our frustration and a world to gain.

1) Herbert ROTTGEN: Politics and Life. In: *Autonomy. Materialien gegen die Fabrikgesellschaft* No. 4, 1976, pp. 8-11.

2) Joschka FISCHER: Vorstoß in "primitivere" Zeiten. In: *Autonomy*.