



zi:igen the same strand. - I think the opposite is the case. I do not consider paedophiles to be a misunderstood minority that needs to be liberated, but rather the welcome mouthpiece of a male society that has always understood well how to propagate unequal relationships as "equal" - in order to be able to rule all the more unchallenged ... "60

Schwarzer was not at all wrong in her observation that the world of children's feelings is neglected in most discussions of paedophilia in left-wing contexts.⁶¹ But she indirectly denied children and adolescents themselves any capacity for sexual enjoyment and - not unlike the radical paedos **in her** dogmatism - rose to the position of the omniscient guardian of minors. This affirmation of childlike innocence stood **in** stark contrast to her goal in abortion, where she conceded to adults (women) the sole right to define the life and death of the unborn child. In a conversation with the sexologist Gunter Amendt, Schwarzer stated that she considered any form of sexual libertinage emanating from men to be a danger and fundamentally rejected the possibility of positive feelings of adolescents in the arms of adults.⁶² With regard to her commitment, she remarked that women felt that children were in danger.

"traditionally particularly close".⁶³ Amendt's attempts to see sexuality as a dynamic, age-independent concept were vehemently blocked by Schwarzer.⁶⁴ In a series of letters to the editor, Schwarzer was accused of wanting to discover healthy popular sensibility for herself, of completely excluding female paedophilia,⁶⁵ and of interpreting sexuality in a pleasure-free way:

60) Alice SCHWARZER: Emancipated Paedophilia? In: *Emma* 1980, No. 4, p. 5.

61) *Ibid.*

62) How Free Does Paedophilia Make You? Alice Schwarzer in conversation with Gunter Amendt. In: *Emma* 1980, No. 4, pp. 26-31, here p. 26.

63) Ibid p. 31.

64) Ibid p. 27-28.

65) C. M.: Letter to the editor. In: *Emma* 1980, No. 6, pp. 38-39; Fred
KARST:

"Did you actually have to endure all sexual experiences? You A.rmste, what did you have to suffer, no wonder you are like this today. "66

A little later, representatives of gay and gay emancipation attacked Alice Schwarzer and Gunter Amendt for their pathologization of padophilia (compulsive character),⁶⁷ arguing that Schwarzer was "heteroterrorist" and sexist.⁶⁸ The sex researcher Helmut Kemler also intervened in the public discussion and emphasized the one-sidedness and profanity of Schwarzer's theses.

It seemed as if gay/pado movement and women's movement were The women's movement had finally found a topic that appealed to "bourgeois" women as well. The women's movement, after overcoming its radical tendencies in the political debates of the 1970s, had finally found a topic that also appealed to "bourgeois" women and had discovered in a comprehensive maternity protection campaign, which was at the same time anti-male, the decisive topic with which women could win long-term support across party lines. If the protagonist of the debate, Alice Schwarzer, decided to support a party as a matter of priority, then the party could hardly do without this broad group of women as an electoral potential, and would probably rethink its own sexual policy positions in return. This happened just at the time when the entire political scene was in a state of

Letter to the editor. In: Ebenda p. 40; Monika ZIMMERMANN: Leserbrief. In: Ibid p. 41.

66) Hans-Peter HARTLEB: Letter to the editor on "Padophilia - Love with Children. In: *Emma* 1980, No. 6, p. 38.

67) Horst KIRCHMEIER/ Olaf STUBEN / Wolfgang ZANDER: Alice und Gunter im Kinderland. In: *Homosexuelle Emanzipation* No. 8, 1980, pp. 4-7, here p. 5.

68) AG Lesben und Schwule: Notizen zum Amendt/Schwarzer Gespräch über Padophilie. In: *Homosexuelle Emanzipation* No. 8, 1980, pp. 8-10, here p. 9.

Spectrum left of the SPD the desire for its own political representation became loud....

In 1979/80, the last utopias of the inter-nationalist left were shattered: Ayatollah Khomeini, who had returned to Iran, did not unleash a socialist revolution, as many had hoped, but led his country back into the social Middle Ages.⁶⁹ And the USSR, which was ostensibly peaceful compared to the "war-loving" NATO, intervened in Afghanistan, which was shaken by uprisings. If there was to be a change of any kind in conditions in the Federal Republic of Germany, it could only come about by means of a "march through the institutions" (vaguely envisaged by Rudi Dutschke as early as 1968). Because of the failure of their own utopias, on the one hand, and the social relevance and broad impact of ecological and pacifist issues, on the other, social movements of various political orientations now pushed into the Griinen, which were forming as a federal party. From the left, socially and economically emancipatory, dogmatic and anarchist groups (K-groups, women's movement, gays, anti-nuclear power, Spontis) joined almost completely, while from the right, CDU/CSU renegades (Herbert Gruhl, August Haumeitner, Baldur Springmann) as well as anthroposophists with their followers joined in the formation of the new party. As a result, even before the party "Die Griinen" was formed, which lasted from October 1979 to June 1980, there were intensive debates about which social minorities should be entitled to support. These multiple efforts at exclusion were criticized by several representatives of the undogmatic left, who also feared that the adherents of a party affiliation could lose their heritage:

69) See, among others, We want to fight in Khorramshar . . . In: *taz* 10. 10. 1980, S. 1, 19.

"What remains if we count the women, the children, the old people, the foreign workers, the gays, the Paderasts, the regionalists, the unemployed youths and rockers, the Verrickten, the prisoners, the thirteen free Wolfe from the Bavarian forest, the Pennbriiders, the Gypsies and many others? Not much, certainly not the majority. "70

The Padophiles had somewhat separated themselves from the gays in the context of this party development. Even if neither the majority of gays nor the other left-wing groups (with the exception of women) wanted to notice it at the time, the overwhelming majority of padosexuals were heterosexual and thus could only identify with the goals of the homosexual emancipation movement to a limited extent. In addition, several politically committed Padophiles recognized that the overwhelming majority of gays had come to terms with their "175 ghetto" and did not consider further reforms of sexual criminal law to be urgent.⁷¹ This development was also the subject of discussion within the gay movement: "It is not chalk that you die of suffocation, but of a lack of self-respect."⁷² In addition, many politically committed padosexuals were uninterested in a left-wing radical course and were often closer to bourgeois parties. In June 1979, joint representatives of the Pados founded the "Deutsche Studien- und Arbeitsgemeinschaft Padophilie" (DSAP) (German Study and Work Group for Padophilia) in order to fight for a reform of the penal code on the basis of the findings of university sexology.⁷³ In addition, other groups were formed, such as the "Deutsche Studien- und Arbeitsgemeinschaft Padophilie" (German Study and Work Group for Padophilia).

70) Herbert *RbTTGEN* / Florian RABE: Vulkantanze. Linke und alternative Ausgabe (München: Trikont 1979) p. 22.

71) Olaf STDBEN: Die Nationale Padofrage. In: *Rosa Flieder* No. 21/22, 1980, pp. 13-15, here p. 15.

72) Matthias FRINGS: In the mash of movement. A gay rant. In: *taz* 1. 10. 1983, p. 18.

73) Berlin, Archiv der Freunde eines Schwulen Museums: Bestand DSAP (unsorted), Satzung vom 6. 5. 1979.

Arbeitskreis Padophilie (AKP) in Kiel as well as Pado working groups around gay emancipation groups (Hamburg, Miinchen).⁷⁴

It was here that the imprisoned Peter Schult intervened in the debate. He still saw himself as an anarchist who also happened to be a padophile: "Just as being gay alone is no proof of revolutionary consciousness. But only those padophiles have a place in a padophile movement who reject authoritarian structures and affirm the concept of emancipation."⁷⁵ He rejected the idealization of padophiles as educators, saying that the padophile stands opposite the youth as an "equal partner. In an obituary for his longtime friend Juliane "Biene" Plambeck, Schult indirectly revealed why he was more in favor of the emancipation movement of gays and Pados than of the left:

"Bee is dead. For us she lives on. Not as a heroine of the anti-imperialist struggle, to whom we erect a monument, not under a forest of red or black flags, not with slogans that are only hype without content. She lives on in our stories that connected us, stories from the conspiratorial hustle and bustle of that time, little stories of everyday life, funny and sad stories, stories that will one day become our history.

74) Peter SCHULT: Zur Situation der Padophiliebewegung in der BRD. In: *ID - Informationsdienst zur Verbreitung unterbliebener Nachrichten* No. 321, 15. 2. 1980, pp. 24-30, here p. 26.

75) Peter SCHULT: The Padophilia Movement in West Germany. Rückblick und Perspektiven. In: Joachim S. HOHMANN (ed.): *Pado philie heute. Berichte, Meinungen und Interviews zur sexuellen Befreiung des Kindes* (Frankfurt am Main: Foerster 1980) pp. 15-28, here p. 27.

76) *Ibid.*

77) Peter SCHULT: Obituary. In: *Pflasterstrand* No. 86, 1980, p. 32 (reprinted in: *taz* 28. 8. 1980). At this time, Schult was also looking for new points of reference; he discovered Ernst Jiinger as an anar-

As the Griines took shape in the form of a federal party, representatives of all gay and padophile groups decided to support the new organization, despite some misgivings. Even radical left-wing padophiles, led by the "Indian Commune Niirnberg" led by Ulli Reschke, forced their way into the new party and occupied key positions in the individual state organizations in working groups on the reform of sexual criminal law. However, the extent to which the radical Padophiles in particular basically rejected party-political involvement in lieu of emancipation outside of parliament and thus outside of social norms became apparent in the run-up to the 1980 Bundestag elections. Most of the gay groups had refused to participate in a party in the Beethovenhalle in Bonn.⁷⁸ When this was The event actually took place, but the radical goals of the Indian commune remained outside the discussion. Youth the entire event.

Initially, however, a sexual emancipatory approach also seemed to be an integral part of the interests of the Green Party. The more conservative representatives of ecological social reform had left the party one after the other after a series of defeats or had concentrated on one state association (BadenWuerttemberg⁷⁹). In Berlin, where several veterans of the "Blues" had joined the Green Party, the Pados could hope for particularly good support. Thus

chists for themselves; see Peter SCHULT: Seismograph from a Distance. In: *Leaf* No. 203, 1981, pp. 17-19.

78) Manfred HERZER: Roll over Beethoven. In: *Homosexuelle Emanzipation* No. 8, 1980, p. 7.

79) The Conservatives. In: taz-Redaktion (ed.): *Die griine Gefahr. Eine Partei auf dem Weg zur Macht* (Berlin: taz 1998) pp. 26-27, here.

S. 26.

In 1981, the state association published a flyer describing paragraphs 174-176 as "legal monsters." ⁸⁰ A little later, a young man had his say in the "taz" newspaper and was allowed to describe his positive experiences as a minor with an adult:

"I was in no way seduced. I merely offered myself on my own." ⁸¹ Even the group of people that, according to the women's movement, should not even exist, dared to put forward their interests: female padophiles. ⁸²

However, the DSAP and the Pado groups were only assured of their freedom of action as long as two overriding factors were valid: a strong left-wing counterculture that had been dominant since the late 1960s and a federal government that was not too reactionary, at least formally, with a social democratic chancellor. The Pados shared these preconditions with several other groups. But when the ailing SPD/FDP coalition was replaced in the fall of 1982 by a CDU/CSU/FDP coalition led by Helmut Kohl, a sociopolitical rollback began in many German states, which Kohl himself called the "Wende. This included increased control of groups that seemed to threaten the foundations of a Christian-conservative worldview (family!).

At the same time, a new anarchist youth movement that had been developing since the late 1970s succeeded in breaking through. Steeled by years of "house fights," unemployment and social contempt, the "Autono men" succeeded in establishing themselves as an independent auger parliamentary force. ⁸³ They were skeptical of the Griines and the

80) Gay section of the Alternative List for Democracy and Environmental Protection in West Berlin: Ein Herz for Sittenstrolche (Berlin: o. V. 1981) p. 37.

81) Poetry and Paragraphs. In: *taz* 15. 5. 1981, p. 9.

82) STOCKEL: Padophilia p. 24.

83) GERONIMO: Fire and Flame. Zur Geschichte der Autono men, 5th edition (Berlin: ID-Verlag 1997) pp. 97-113.

The unimaginative relics of the '68 revolt also met with little approval. The autonomists were striving for a premature emancipation of youth from the parental home and traditional social norms.⁸⁴ But apart from the "Indian Commune" and the Frankfurt-based "Canal Rats," not a single padosexual group even managed to come into contact with the autonomists. The extra-parliamentary struggle was no longer an option for the overwhelming majority of those involved, many of whom had aged. They lacked not only a leader like Schult, but also a numerically strong group of supporters. Threatened by the state, isolated within the embattled gay movement and from the social trends of youth development, the DSAP rapidly lost importance as the coordinating body of all padosexual emancipation efforts and disbanded in March 1983. Remaining activists either turned directly to the Griines or joined the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft Humane Sexualitat" (AHS).

But the padophiles could still hope that both parts of the gay movement and of the sexual emancipation movements would at least be sympathetic to their cause. Other problems were hardly up for discussion; the reform of sexual penal law as a whole (i.e., for homosexuals, women/abortion, and padophiles) was the only relevant sexological topic among the Griines and the SPD until 1984. At the same time, a new, final scandal involving Peter Schult was able to re-strengthen the old biindnisstrange between pados and gays, which had already become briichig. Schult provided a reason for this in several respects, because in 1981-1984 there was once again a marathon trial about his person that attracted a lot of public attention.

84) GERONIMO: Feuer und Flamme p. 175; Thomas SCHULTZE / Almut GROSS: Die Autonomen. Urspr.inge, Entwicklung und Profil der Autonomen (Hamburg: konkret 1997) p. 56.

Schult first caused a stir with an essay in which he addressed the problems of the "aging Paderast. It appeared in the Weilheim alternative magazine "Wahn und Sinn," which was immediately confiscated. Schult described the moment of sickness when one of "his boys" declared that he felt disgust at taking "the old fat man's dick" in his mouth.⁸⁵

"There was no tomorrow, no day after tomorrow, no weekend for me and Tom. Now I had been able to sneak around his house, ambush him after school, but one last pride kept me from doing so.

[...]

The Paderast ages, the permanent Sisyphus work gradually wears him out. The stone hurts him more and more often, until one day he is beaten to death by it. One should therefore stop in good time, at least when one realizes that the ice age is about to begin.

However, an immediately initiated investigation came to nothing; for the representatives of the judiciary, Schult appeared to be an unserious paderast who also turned his sexual life inside out. Schult was also criticized in the city newspaper "Blatt". One reader wrote that Schult was reducing boys to their sexual organs and thus violating them.⁸⁷

85) Peter SCHULT: Ice Age (1980). Reprinted in: Peter SCHULT, Gefallene Engel. Erzählungen, Essays, Streitschriften (Berlin: Bruno Gmiinder 1982) pp. 75-79, here p. 76, and in: Helmut STROBL (ed.): Der Fall Peter Schult. Ein Sittenprozess in Bayern (München: E. i. S. 1984) pp. 6-7, here p. 6.

86) Elsewhere, Schult had answered the question about his ideal partner: "I would rather see it in such a way that I basically love perhaps always one and the same boy. Only the faces change. I am permanently in love with the eternal boy." (Gerhard HOFFMANN: Interview with Peter Schult. In: *Him-Applaus* 1980, No. 11/12, p. 4-7, here p. 5).

87) Wolfgang: The Baal Priest and the Cross of Ahern. In: *Leaf* No. 189, 1981, p. 42

In June 1981, Schult was arrested for "three factually related" offenses against juveniles and taken to Bayreuth Prison. In November, he was charged with a total of five homosexual offenses and three counts of sexual abuse of children. Schult credibly declared that he had thought the boys were over 14 years old, so the 15th Criminal Chamber of the Miinchen I Regional Court sentenced him on February 1, 1982, to "only" two years and ten months in prison.⁸⁸ The presiding judge, Erhard Wawak, declared that Schult's political commitment had played no role in the verdict. ⁹ Apparently, representatives of the Bavarian judiciary, remembering previous trials, saw a need to emphasize this fact.

In its verdict, the court came to conclusions that a judge would hardly formulate today:

"For the defendant further spoke, class the children came to him for the sake of earning money. In the cases II 3 and 4 it was to be valued for him, class it did not concern particularly serious homosexual acts, and in all cases, class a damage in the development of the boys did not occur obviously." ⁹⁰

Schult had met the boys in the pinball room of the "Alte Kirche" restaurant in Munich's alternative district of Haidhausen and taken them home with him. After that, they came to him several times on their own initiative and even brought friends with them, mainly to earn money (DM 50). Despite intensive questioning of the youths who were questioned as witnesses, the exact course of events could not be reconstructed.

88) STROBL (ed.): Der Fall Peter Schult p. 3.

89) *taz* Miinchen: Paderast trial in Miinchen. Peter Schult sentenced. In: *taz* 3. 2. 1982, p. 6.

90) Miinchen, Gustl Angstmann Archive of the Forum
Homosexuality and History, Estate of Peter Schult, Lawyer's Mail
I, Judgment of the
15th Criminal Division of 1. 2. 1982, p. 20.7

"Then the defendant began to 'cuddle' with the boys and they with him; who started it - whether the defendant or one of the boys - could no longer be determined. Finally, the defendant, S. and P. completely undressed, Sc. partially undressed and lay down together on a mattress on the floor, which served as a bed for the defendant. All four alternately masturbated with each other. After the defendant had ejaculated and cleaned himself with a towel which he had laid out for this purpose, all four dressed again. "91

Although various prominent figures took a stand in favor of Schult during the trial, the circle of supporters was basically reduced to Volker Schli:indorff, Margarethe von Trotta, Brigitta Wolf, the editors of the "Blatt," the VSG (Verein für sexuelle Gleichberechtigung, Munich) and individual activists of the gay movement. In the "Blatt," Giorgio Rossi wondered why Schult was actually convicted if no lasting harm had been done to the boys. It was apparently only a matter of safeguarding the "prevailing morals".⁹² Rossi also referred to the case of a married couple who had raped and raped their daughter a few years earlier and were sentenced by the same court to only a suspended sentence. This act had occurred within the "Christian family. "⁹³ Schult himself ridiculed the wording of the prosecutor, who had rebuked a teenage witness when he said of the sexual practices that he had "obigewixt one until it spurted"; instead, the boy had to speak of "onanism to the point of seminal emission.

91) Judgment of the 15th Criminal Chamber of 1. 2. 1982, p. 11.

92) G. ROSSI: Prosecutor Singer's Sex Slaves. In: *Blatt* No. 216, 1982, pp. 18-19, here p. 18.

93) *Ibid.*

94) Peter SCHULT: Not Only a Public Prosecutor Sees Red. Letter to the editor on Blatt 216. In: *Blatt* No. 218, 1982, pp. 4-5.

He would certainly have had more supporters on the left if he had denied all the accusations instead of admitting to his pedophilia.⁹⁵ He shouted heroically to his left-wing critics:

"The revolutionaries of tomorrow are in the arms of their pedophile friends of today."⁹⁶

Schult actually found himself in a dilemma. While his supporters in the gay movement were making shrill noises against the women's movement, he took pains to point out to his female critics in the "Blatt" that he was by no means "just" a pedophile, but had for years been undertaking far-reaching activities within the political left.⁹⁷

The campaign for Schult's release did not die down after his conviction and transfer to the Kaisheim correctional facility - his old "place of work. The reason was that Schult had been complaining of health problems since the fall of 1982, but these were ignored by the prison doctors and his superiors.⁹⁸ Previously, a suspected case of tuberculosis had proved to be false.⁹⁹ In a letter to Volker Schlöndorff, Schult reported high blood pressure, difficulty standing up, and numbness, but these complaints were ignored by the prison doctor. ¹⁰⁰ Overall, the prison system had become even worse than it had been eight years before.

95) Peter SCHULT: A prosecutor sees red. In: *Blatt* No. 214, 1982, pp. 6-9, here p. 9.

96) Ibid.

97) Peter SCHULT: Dear Mary. In: *Blatt* Nr. 228, 1982, p. 4-6, here S. 5.

98) Miko: Prosecutors as physicians. In: *Bulletin* No. 249, 1983, S. 13-15.

99) Peter SCHULT: Bayreuth - a Nightmare. In: Rudiger BERG / Jürgen KLAUBERT (eds.): *Wo Dornenlippen dich küssen. Ein Lesebuch* (Bielefeld: Pusteblume 1982) pp. 43-58, here p. 45.

100) Berlin, private archive Volker Schlöndorff: 6. 10. 1982, letter, typewritten, JVA Kaisheim, Peter Schult to Volker Schlöndorff.

Jiirgen Arnold repeatedly attempted to have his client undergo a thorough medical examination. Neither supervisory complaints nor Arnold's petitions to the competent penal chamber led to a positive result. At the same time, Schult succeeded in pointing out further deficiencies in the medical care of the prisoners by the prison physician who was also responsible for him. The prison doctor in charge had prescribed him a tube of "Labiosan" that dated back to the time before 1948.¹⁰² Visitors to Kaisheim immediately published Schult's problems in the "Blatt. Thus, the interested left-wing public quickly learned about the untenable conditions in the Kaisheim correctional facility.¹⁰³ Under the leadership of Schlondorff, von Trotta, Arnold, and Wolf, a subcommittee was formed.¹⁰⁴ However, it was not until the fall of 1983 that the committee was able to achieve greater success, when it could no longer be denied that Schult was suffering from lung cancer.¹⁰⁵ Schlondorff and Arnold in particular skillfully presented Peter Schult as a condemned writer whose books were condemned in Germany and who should "rot" innocently in prison. Now it was easier for many representatives of the liberal educational bias and the political left to support Schult by signing or even writing articles about him. Thus

Peter O. Chotjewicz, Klaus Croissant, Hans-Christian Strobele, Helmut Gollwitzer, Dorothee Solle, Alexander Ziegler and Peter Paul Zahl, among others, called for Schult's immediate release.¹⁰⁶

101) Ibidem 12. 7. 1982, letter, typewritten, JVA Kaisheim, Peter Schult to Volker Schlondorff.

102) 0.70 Reichsmark for an ointment. In: *taz* 15. 7. 1982, p. 5.

103) Peter Schult. In: *Blatt* No. 232, 1982, p. 14.

104) Cry for help. In: *Blatt* No. 238, 1982, p. 7.

105) Peter WURTH: Cancer sick. Prisoner sentenced to death. In: *Abendzeitung* No. 225, 22. 9. 1983, p. 14.

106) Miinchen, Gustl Angstmann Archive of the Forum Homosexuali tat and History: Estate of Peter Schult. Solidaritatsaktion 1984, vol. 2, Unterstiitzerliste.

Under the leadership of Herbert Rusche, the Green parliamentary group in the Bundestag joined this demand:

THE GREENS IN THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT are of the opinion that any prolonged imprisonment of Peter Schult is in gross disproportion to his criminal acts and to his short life. A person like Peter Schult, who is sick to death, cannot be denied what is usually granted to those imprisoned for other crimes. "107

Fritz Flath, a member of the Bavarian FDP, also joined the debate and bombarded the Ministry of Justice in Munich with submissions on medical care in Bavarian prisons in general and in Kaisheim in particular.¹⁰⁸ From the medical side, the Health Caucus of the Berlin Chamber of Physicians under Roland Bersdorf became involved and demanded that Schult be spared from imprisonment.¹⁰⁹ The left-wing journalist Peggy Parnass, recalling numerous court reports of her own, wrote: "Oh, if Peter Schult were a Nazi or a mass murderer, then slight circulatory problems and a little indisposition would have been enough to keep him out of jail. "¹¹⁰ In the gay press, there were also expressions of solidarity and calls for Schult to get involved.¹¹¹ He himself thanked the editors of the magazine "You & Me".¹¹²

107) Ibid: Resolution of the GRUNEN in the Bundestag of 8. 11. 1983.

108) Ibid: Flath's submission of 17. 10. 1983.

109) Ibid: submission of 14. 10. 1983.

110) Quoted from Rudi FINKLER: Unter die Haut. In: *Du & Ich* 1984, No. 2, pp. 52-54, here p. 52.

111) See, for example, Peter Schult in Kaisheim - ein Knast i.libt Rache. In: *Rosa Flieder* No. 28, 1983, p. 5; The editors: Peter Schult is terminally ill. In: *Rosa Flieder* No. 32, 1983, p. 24.

112) Peter SCHULT: Letter to the editor regarding Editorial 11/83. In: *Du & !ch* 1984, no. 2, p. 6.

Despite these extensive efforts, the Bavarian State Ministry of Justice, as the final authority, prevented Schult from being transferred to a hospital. Initially, the responsible officials claimed that Schult was not seriously ill and therefore did not need to be discharged. When the illness could no longer be denied, the resourceful jurists argued that Schult, precisely because he would not live much longer, was guaranteed to become ill and therefore posed a danger to Bavarian youth.¹¹³ Jurgen Arnold now proposed that Schult be released to freedom outside Bavaria. For this purpose, he presented the written assurance of Schult's former departure from the "Red Help," Bruno Gmiinder, who offered Schult a place to live in Berlin.¹¹⁴ Instead, however, Schult was transferred to the Heckeshorn Hospital in Berlin. Here he underwent surgery, which revealed that the cancer had become inoperable. At the same time, the Berlin doctors let it be known that this had not been the case a year earlier, when Schult had been refused the operation.¹¹⁵ The patient himself suspected that the misdiagnosis by the Bavarian prison doctors was intentional and told Volker Schlon dorff that he did not want to die in prison with a life expectancy of about 18 months.¹¹⁶ At least his general condition improved, but release from prison was still out of the question. The Bavarian State Minister of Justice,

113) See attorney correspondence in: Mi.inchen, Gustl Angstmann Archive of the Forum Homosexuality and History, Lawyer's Mail I.

114) Ibid: 29. 9. 1983, letter, typewritten, Berlin, Bruno Gmiinder to Ji.irgen Arnold/ Peter Schult.

115) Ibid: Correspondence Ji.irgen Arnold / Dr. Gebler in September 1983.

116) Berlin, private archive Volker Schli:indorff: 3. 11. 1983, letter, typewritten, Berlin / JVA Pli:itzensee, Peter Schult to Vol ker Schli:indorff.

August Lang, had decided definitively and without justification on February 22, 1984, in response to corresponding petitions: "The requests cannot be complied with.

In March 1984, Schult then took the initiative and fled. With the support of people from the long-defunct "June 2 Movement," Schult not only got out of the hospital, but also obtained a forged passport, which he used to travel to East Berlin. Here he boarded a scheduled Air France flight and, together with a friend, flew to Paris, from where they made their way to Nice and Marseille. Here he enjoyed his last weeks of life, but was always aware of his imminent death. He wrote to Volker Schlöndorff: "We are running out of air."¹¹⁸ In the meantime, the Berlin police and judiciary, which had been completely tripped up, had to admit that the liberty-free surveillance of a severely cancer-stricken person was not one of their core competencies.¹¹⁹ At the same time, Jürgen Arnold continued to try to have Schult officially released from prison. The Bavarian prosecution authorities now remained passive, so that Schult was able to return unmolested to Munich with Arnold in April 1984.¹²⁰ Schult's application for clemency, which had been submitted earlier, was finally granted.¹²¹ He died.

117) München, Gustl Angstmann Archive of the Forum Homosexualität and History: Nachlass Peter Schult, Solidaritätsaktion 1984, vol. 2, 22. 2. 1984, letter, typewritten, München, August Lang to Jürgen Arnold.

118) Berlin, private archive Volker Schlöndorff: 29. 3. 1984, letter, handwritten, Vieux Port, Peter Schult to Volker Schlöndorff and Margarethe von Trotta.

119) Peter Schult fled abroad. He took a little bit of freedom with him. In: *taz* 20. 3. 1984, p. 1.

120) Jürgen ARNOLD: No obituary. In: *taz* 25. 4. 1984, p. 3.

121) Helmut STROBL: Peter Schult's petition for clemency granted. In: *Sheet* No. 269, 1984, p. 2.

here on April 25, 1984, in Neuperlach Hospital due to internal bleeding caused by a stomach ulcer.¹²² Until the end, Schult had hoped to unleash another "prison campaign" in order to spare other prisoners a similar fate.¹²³ His funeral at the Siid cemetery turned into a showcase for the left-wing alternative scene, for Padophiles, gays, and constitutionalists, who repeated the old rituals of solidarity and observation here for the last time.

His former comrades-in-arms and his colleagues commemorated friends of his life's work, although they do not fail to emphasize that "not only judges" were involved in Schul's many previous convictions.¹²⁴ His supporters emphasized that the "FRG system" had made an example of him because he positioned himself publicly as a Paderast,¹²⁵ because he did not want to condemn "armed struggle" as a possibility until the very end,¹²⁶ and because his death was at least not condemned by large sections of society.¹²⁷ But in other obituaries, the dismissal of former allies

122) I would like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Eisenmenger, who shared the contents of Schul's section protocol with me.

123) 26. 3. 1984, letter, typewritten, Marseille, Peter Schult to Klaus Vack; reprinted in: *Pflasterstrand*No. 183, 5. 5. 1984, p. 4.

124) Giorgio ROSSI: Judicial murder perfect. In: *Leaf*No. 267, 1984, pp. 6-7; Paul & Wolfgang: Dear Friends of Peter Schult! In: *Leaf* No. 273, 1984, p. 5.

125) Joachim S. HOHMANN: Why is Peter Schult a Criminal? In: *Die Aktion. Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur, Kunst*. Special issue for Peter Schult, No. 26/27, 1984, p. 350.

126) ROSSI: Judicial murder perfect. In: *The Action. Journal for Politics, Literature, Art*. Special issue for Peter Schult, No. 26/27, 1984, S. 345-346.

127) Brigitta WOLP: Justice without Mercy. In: *Die Aktion. Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur, Kunst*. Special issue for Peter Schult, No. 26/27, 1984, p. 345.

of Schul's goals clearly. Thus, the employee of the "Pflasterstrand" does not mention the 1977 Teach-In on Padophilia initiated by the Frankfurt Spontis.¹²⁸

Because of the great commitment of hundreds of people in favor of Peter Schult, and thus indirectly also of his life's work, which had been unfolding since the fall of 1982, even transcending party and gender boundaries, not even Alice Schwarzer had dared to oppose him. It seemed as if the suffering and death of Schult would still allow the Padosexual <hole> the status of a tolerated discriminated group. However, Schult's former political environment could no longer play a role in this: Only a few weeks after his death, the staff of the "Red Help" finally fell out, the "Blatt" went bankrupt and the gay movement was confronted with the epidemic combination "AIDS/Gauweiler."¹²⁹ Schult's old world had also virtually collapsed with his death.

With the advent of AIDS, the issue of the Padophile was completely pushed into the background in the context of gay emancipation. This was also the hour of the women's movement. When its protagonists, first and foremost Alice Schwarzer, after some hesitation took the side of the gays threatened by the state's omnipotence fantasies (compulsory registration), their representatives owed the women's movement a kind of debt of gratitude. This development had already been apparent since the spring of 1985. As a result, the members of the "Indian Commune" and the "Canal Council" felt they were under pressure to achieve a binding definition of their goals in the party program of the Griines,

128) Peter Schult is dead. In: *Blatt* No. 267, 1984, p. 4.

129) On the end of the paper and the significance of the end of this city newspaper for the situation of the left as a whole, see 20 Jahre radikal. History and Perspective of Autonomous Media (Hamburg - Berlin: Libertare Assoziation / ID-Verlag 1996) pp. 184-185.

in order not to lose influence and significance. At the same time, they did not hesitate to position themselves as the political heirs of Peter Schult, who was only moderately supported by the Greens and ex-leftists, in order to create a guilty conscience among their allies and party friends. Because of their self-image as anarchists and Pados, they were also ideologically very close to Schult. They still falsely believed that they could achieve success with the kind of political rituals that were common in the 1970s. In the run-up to the state elections in North Rhine-Westphalia, the radical Padophiles pushed through a series of program points at the party conference in Liidenscheid on March 9/10, 1985: Abolition of state alimentation of the patriarchal nuclear family, an anti-discrimination law for gays and lesbians, a distinction between "violence" and "delicacy" in the application of the penal code, abolition of §§ 175 and 182, and reorientation of sexual education and historical school instruction and psychology training.¹³⁰ This was followed by a smear campaign against the program in the bourgeois press, with resourceful journalists claiming that the Grisons were planning a complete abolition of the sexual penal code. But not even the city Indians dared to make such demands. Immediately, due to public and internal party pressure, the Griinen's state parliamentary committee cancelled the election manifesto, which led to the party's debacle in the state elections a few weeks later.

weeks later, however, was not prevented.¹³¹ The defeat

130) Documentation of child sexuality among the Griines. In: Angelo LEOPARDI (ed.): *The Padossexual Complex. Handbuch für Betroffene und Gegner* (Frankfurt am Main: Foerster 1988) pp. 248-254, here.

See Elmar KRAUSHAAR: "Nebenwidersprüche. Die neue Linke und die Schwulenfrage in der Bundesrepublik der siebziger und achtziger Jahre. In: Detlef GRUMBACH (ed.): *Die Linke und das Laster. Schwule Emanzipation und linke Vorurteile* (Hamburg: MannerschwarmSkript 1995) pp. 142-178, here p. 174.

131) I as in Indians. In: taz-Redaktion (ed.): *Die griine Gefahr. A*

However, this was always justified by the behavior of the Pados, who were now successively banned from the party's committees.¹³² At the same time, the Griines succeeded in positioning themselves as the party of the gays because of their fight against the state's paternalism of male homosexuals.¹³³ As part of this reorientation, the party leadership made efforts to de-radicalize the "Working Group of Gays, Paderasts and Transsexuals in the Griines. This was finally achieved in April 1987 with the reestablishment of a "Federal Working Group on Gay Politics" under the leadership of Volker Beck.¹³⁴ The concerns of the gay community no longer played a role in the Griines' political world of ideas at the federal level.

Party on the Road to Power (Berlin: *taz* 1998) p. 63

132) Gerd NOWAKOWSKI: The Griines and the Padophiles. Nothing Learned. In: *taz* 18. 5. 1995, p. 21. In my opinion, however, this was a prejudgement. If one examines the bizarrely haphazard appearance of the Griines in the state election campaign, one can certainly come to other conclusions.

133) Avant-garde of the warm bri.ider. In: taz-Redaktion (ed.): Die gri.ine Gefahr. Eine Partei auf dem Weg zur Macht (Berlin: *taz* 1998).

pp. 84-85, here p. 85.

134) Eike STEDEFELDT: The Minister of the Ri.ickwartigen. 40 Years of Volker Beck. In: *Gigi. Zeitschrift fir sexuelle Emanzipation* No. 10, 2000, pp. 10-14, here p. 11.

Griine, "Leftists" and the Padophilia after 1985 An Outlook

After the debacle in the run-up to the North Rhine-Westphalian state elections and the subsequent internal party purges, the politically committed Padophiles lost all influence among the Griins. The party itself changed from a fundamental oppositional organization critical of the system to an integral element of the West German party landscape. Not coincidentally, a feminine dominated the federal leadership of the Griinen at this time and determined the guidelines of party policy. This transformation implied the renunciation of sociopolitical upheavals; at most, cosmetic manipulations of existing realities still seemed possible. Minorities wishing to profit from this had to avoid any affinity with groups whose goals were rejected by the Greens as counterproductive to their own interests. Therefore, at the federal level, there was de facto a

contact ban, between homosexuals and padosexuals. In the Bundesverband Homosexualitat (BVH) and in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Humane Sexualitat (AHS), the Padophilen were just as involved as the flagship homosexuals of the Griines, but they could no longer exert any influence on their former comrades-in-arms. Integrationist politics dominated the Griines as a whole, so that numerous extra-parliamentary groups began to distance themselves successively from the Oko party or were pushed out. These included, in addition to the Fundamentalogens, the Autonomists and later the radical pacifists. On the other hand, representatives of the conservative wing of the Griines, who had either left the party or withdrawn during the Griind phase, returned to the leadership.

Thus, after 1985/87, the Padophiles began to search for new allies. In close connection with university research, joint representatives of a decriminalization of child and youth sexuality sought to influence the legislative process.