



## 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 feminate 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 On the other hand, representatives of the conservative wing of the Griines, who had either left the party or withdrawn during the Griind phase, returned to the leadership.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.

institutions of the republic to persuade them to commit themselves to liberalizing the law on sexual offenses. This energetic struggle was supported by parts of the sex research community, in particular by the pederast Joachim S. Hohmann, the sociologist Rudiger Lautmann and the sex researchers Helmut Kentler, Eberhard Schorsch and Volkmar Sigusch. In petitions to the Bundestag, newspaper articles and interviews, they emphasized the possibility that padosexual contacts would have no consequences as long as they were non-violent. Rape was covered by the penal code anyway, and additional criminalization seemed superfluous to them. However, after the deletion of § 175 in 1994, while retaining §§ 174 and 176, and a complete rewording of § 182, now under the heading

"Sexual Abuse of Adolescents" included four paragraphs with several case groups, these efforts began to ebb away. With the self-dissolution of the Bundesverband Homo sexualitat (BVH) and the Verein für sexuelle Gleichberechtigung (VSG) in Munich, organizations that had provided an emancipation platform for gay men collapsed. When the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Padophilie (AG Pado) at the BVH in its dissolution phase invited to its 14th meeting in May 1997, where it reconstituted itself as a professional group within the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Humane Sexualitat (AHS), resourceful journalists turned it into a "Sex-Kongre:B der Kinderschander" or "Padophilengipfel in Frankfurt".<sup>1</sup> The city of Frankfurt even believed that it should ban the meeting because the "views" of the Pados that could be read on the Internet were "not compatible with the prevailing ethical views" and because they were "not compatible with the prevailing ethical views".

"a danger to public order is pre-programmed".<sup>2</sup>

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1) *Express* (Diisseldorf) 9. 5. 1997; *Memminger Zeitung* 7. 5. 1997. See also: Am Rande. Padophile meeting forbidden. In: *taz* 12. 5. 1997, p. 5.

2) Agreement of the City of Frankfurt am Main (32.21 Wj/we) of 7. 5.

Protests by left-wing groups failed to materialize, as they did in 2003, when the Miinchen District Court summarily declared the "Pado Self-Help and Emancipation Group" to be a "criminal association" according to

§ Section 129 (1) of the German Criminal Code (StGB).<sup>3</sup>

When Gerhard Schroder (SPD) won the Bundestag election in the fall of 1998 and was replaced by Joschka Fischer (Biindnis90/Die

When a Red-Green coalition was formed in the Grisons, the few remaining advocates of a relaxation of the discourse on padosexuality hoped in vain for the beginnings of an emancipatory sexual reform policy. Instead, the advocates of padosexual emancipation suddenly found themselves in the same boat as the radical "urban Indians" and "sewer rats," whose utopias had also failed completely by this time.

In contrast to the homopolitically hopeful Pados or those operating on the gay fringe, the members of the Indian commune had made a fundamental change in strategy after their disempowerment and expulsion from the Griines in 1985. Instead of cooperating within the existing system, they sought to form authority-free zones around libertarian organizations. In West Berlin in particular, the urban Indians sought close ties with the Autono men, who were increasingly disenchanted with the Griines.<sup>4</sup> With their program of using the state schools as a

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In 1997, the city of Frankfurt did not respond to BVH's protests; BVH then filed a complaint with the Frankfurt Administrative Court (Case No. 5 E 2261/97), in which the city (on paper) revised its position.

3) In its first decision, the Bavarian Supreme Court merely stated that there were "insufficient concrete indications" (October 18, 2004, Ref.: 6 St OwWs 001/04), but finally made it clear that an arrest warrant with this designation was "already unlawful when it was issued" (March 29, 2006). Cf. Sebastian ANDERS, Nicht kriminell. In: Gigi. *Zeitschrift fur sexuelle Emanzipation* No. 43, 2006, p. 18.

4) GERONIMO: Fire and Flame. On the history of the autonomists, 5th edition (Berlin: ID-Verlag 1997) p. 175.

In their attempt to denigrate the "murder institutions" of children's souls, to free young people from patriarchal institutions at an early stage, and to educate them in subcultures in a revolutionary way, the urban Indians directly linked up with concepts of the "fringe group strategy" of the early 1970s.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the radical Pados linked up with other extra-parliamentary groups beyond the squatter scene. In this way, they tried to anchor their concept of freely lived child and youth sexuality as an aspect of the peace movement. Finally, the Urban Indians engaged in the fight against drug abuse/drug dealers, thus copying a similar campaign of the undogmatic left from the 1970s.<sup>6</sup> A truly new conception could not be discerned in the appearance of the Urban Indians. They ignored the effectiveness of the child protection propaganda of the women's movement and, in continuation of the utopias of the early 1970s, propagated an anti-authoritarian lifestyle that could best be compared to the failed theories of the Kinderladen and the commune subculture. Within the padosexual ideal world, work, leisure, and politics were to continue to be intertwined, with freely lived sexuality - from the point of view of the adults - being given a priority position.<sup>7</sup> However, even the opponents of these last communards could not overlook the fact that the urban Indians succeeded in gaining importance within the autonomous scene by the end of the 1980s precisely because of the simplicity and persuasiveness of their concept of life. However, the Indians continued to accompany certain events with their presence. If a discussion on youth

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5) Indian Community: Every Morning HaSS - School. Broschiire (Niirnberg - Berlin: Eigendruck o. D.).

6) Peter SCHULT: Drugs, Dealers and Comrades. In: *Blatt* No. 55, 1975, pp. 8-9.

7) Self-representation of the Indian community Niirnberg. In: *PinkLilac* No. 21/22, 1980, pp. 22-23.

sexuality was not to the liking of the uninvited guests, they always tried to break up the entire event, attacking speakers with their hands. Former participants remembered with a shudder: "The troop was led by a Padophile, on whose leather jacket was stamped in rivets: V ertilgt alle Erwaxenen,. They propagated free love for children, and when others corrected them and spoke of sex with deviants, they went berserk - spitting and biting included.

This appearance may well have pleased politically inexperienced youth and anarchists more interested in rioting than in serious politics, for example, when "Indians" clapped a cake in the face of Christa Meves, who was cozying up to the Grisons, during a party day speech. However, the autonomists involved in self-realization in the occupied houses showed little understanding for short-term, violent actions without a long-term goal, especially after the spring of 1987.

On the night of May 1, 1987, German and foreign youths, mainly from the autonomous scene, organized an authority-free zone in Berlin-Kreuzberg for a few hours. They beat a disorganized Berlin police force into flight, plied -business and dreamed of an anarchist state. A few hours later, not only was everything over, but the previously latent toleration of the radical left scene within the Kreuzberg district no longer existed. The overwhelming majority of the residents did not want to solidify themselves with the "vandals. In the following months, a strategic debate took place within the autonomous scene, which ended with the decision to classify groups whose actions were neither suitable to enable the implementation of autonomous goals per se,

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8) I as in Indians. In: taz-Redaktion (ed.): Die gri.ine Gefahr. Eine Partei auf dem Weg zur Macht (Berlin: taz 1998) p. 63.

The new system, which still fostered cohesion within the scene, no longer enjoyed any support.

Since the mid-1980s, the autonomous women's movement has been one of the most active factions within the radical left scene. Its members were at least as disenchanting with the Greens and the left as the Indians. They hoped to realize their utopia of a self-determined life beyond patriarchy, away from entrenched political debates. This included, in particular, the rejection of any form of male heteronomy vis-à-vis women.<sup>9</sup> From Alice Schwarzer, the autonomous women also adopted the idea that women, because of their centuries of oppression, were predestined to take on the role of protector of minors. The autonomous women enjoyed great prestige among both the moderate and purely anarchist factions, since a small group of women under the label "Rote Zora" carried out violent attacks in the style of the early "blues" groups of the early 1970s. The choice of targets was by no means haphazard, but was directed against specific institutions of state power and against persons who demonstrated misogyny through their actions.<sup>10</sup> Thus, members of the "Red Zora" carried out explosive attacks on the office of a women's merchant (1983) and on companies and biotechnological research institutes.<sup>11</sup>

The autonomous women were opposed to the concepts of the Indian commune as well as the paedophilic women among the sewer rats

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9) Thomas SCHULTZE/ Almut GROSS: Die Autonomen. Ursprünge, Entwicklung und Profil der autonomen Bewegung (Hamburg: Konkret 1997) p. 182.

10) Interview with the Red Zora. In: Die Frichte des Zorns. Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der Revolutionären Zellen und der Roten Zora, 2nd edition, vol. 2 (Berlin: ID-Verlag 1993) pp. 598-605, here p. 600.

11) Ibid pp. 608-619.

critical of the women's movement. Initially, they behaved no differently than the women's movement in the 1970s. Lip service was paid to common goals in some cases, and autonomous women and radical Padophiles appeared at the same events. For the rest of the left, the Indians were no more than an occasional occurrence, but at best they were seen as a nuisance. One journalist commented on the Indian invasion at the "taz" anniversary party with the words: "As a criminal finale, an unplanned appearance by the Indian commune from Nürnberg, which ten years ago already had to manically and obsessively blow up every anti-nuclear power event in order to get rid of something about its underdricated sex life." <sup>12</sup>

When an incident of sexual abuse in 1993/94 gave them the opportunity to distance themselves, the autonomous women immediately seized the opportunity. A 1-year-old Turkish boy had run away from home in November 1993 and returned after some time, reporting that he had been "fucked." <sup>13</sup> The police and the public prosecutor's office discovered that the boy had been taken in by a Berlin Padophile group whose members openly admitted their involvement.<sup>14</sup> In the course of the subsequent trial, the self-confident defendants not only had to recognize that they received no support from their former political associates, but also found out that their confession of padophilia had a punitive effect on the part of the judge.<sup>15</sup> Critics of the left-wing spectrum were astonished at the self-effacement of the main defendant.

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12) A suitor at the party. Having a hangover or being hungover. In: *taz*

17. 4. 1989, S. 20.

13) What does Achmed mean by "fuck"? In: *taz* 3. 12. 1993, p. 23.

14) Ibid.

15) "Horror fuck story" not made up. In: *taz* 13. 1. 1994, S. 22.



plaintiff claimed to know best what form of sexual abuse would appeal to a minor.<sup>16</sup>

Even before that, the urban Indians had been rejected by parts of the autonomous movement: "There have been repeated reprimands from the alternative scene, which has no understanding of free sex when it comes to its own kids."<sup>17</sup> Now, however, the process of excluding pedophiles from the solidarity of the radical left scene took its course. At the Berlin Lesbian Weeks in October 1994, the organizers forcibly stopped a discussion event on the topic of pedophilia.<sup>18</sup>

In 1995, Berlin's Grünen were hit by their own pedophilia scandal, which many observers believe was only possible because the main suspect had for years been tolerated.<sup>19</sup> The toleration of pedosexual activities was no longer seen as an expression of liberal politics, but rather as a failure of health policy or party discipline. The local party leadership promised to banish pedophiles from the party in the future,<sup>20</sup> and the gays, in turn, began zealous dissociation movements and defended themselves against any affinity of male homosexuality with pedophilia.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, the formation of heroes

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16) "Horror fuck story" p. 22.

17) What does Achmed mean by "fuck"? In: *taz* 3. 12. 1993, p. 23.

18) Sonja SCHOCK: A Rope with Many Ends. In: *taz* 27. 10. 1994, S. 13.

19) Dorothee WINDEN: The Grüns and the Pado Question. Look away racht sich. In: *taz* 13. 2. 1995, p. 21; Gerd NOWAKOWSKI: Die Grünen und die Pedophilen. Nothing Learned. In: *taz* 18. 5. 1995, S. 21.

20) Julia NAUMANN: Child abuse was not an issue for Grüne. In: *taz* 13. 2. 1995, p. 21.

21) Jens RUBSAM: Like anal intercourse without lubricant. In: *taz* 20. 6. 1997, p. 23. Regarding the disputes in the autonomous scene

as part of the gay history and emancipation culture, especially in Berlin, is definitely connected with affinities to the padophile scene. 22

In the following years, it became clear that the female representatives of the autonomous or radical left subculture were not content with ousting radical left padosexuals from the decision-making bodies or the solidarity community of the scene, but aimed at the public stigmatization and physical combat of padophiles.

Such a development was initiated by a series of scandals and crimes that occupied the public. In particular, the Dutroux scandal in Belgium (1998) should be mentioned, because since then the view that padophilia and violence are inseparable has been widely taken as fact, not only in so-called "leftist" circles. At the same time, the Dutroux case apparently revealed the existence of a male-dominated network for the commission of padosexual crimes, secured by the state administration and police authorities. Also of importance for the discussion in the left-wing public was the already mentioned controversy between professors in Bremen in 1994-1999. The sociologist Rudiger Lautmann had published a study on the reality of life for homosexual padophiles,<sup>23</sup> in which he also referred to the festering discourse on abuse: "The presently rampant willingness to brand every erotic signal that is given to a child as abuse confuses the concepts.

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see the debates in the magazine *Interim* No. 334, 336 and 351 of the year 1995.

22) Thus "Berlin's only soultunte," the revered Melitta Sundstrom, had experienced her gay socialization in the Indian commune; see "Die Diva hat es geschafft. In: *taz* 11. 9. 1993, p. 39.

23) Rudiger LAUTMANN: *Die Lust am Kind. Portrait of the Padophile* (Hamburg: Klein 1994).

24) *Ibid* p. 9.

tive and unscientific, gaining broad support within the same left-liberal spectrum that had not been insensitive to the legalization of nonviolent padosexual contacts in the 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>25</sup> In Bremen, however, gay men who saw themselves as "autonomous" attacked the "Rat&Tat" (counseling) center with butterscotch in protest against the toleration of a padogroup that had been holding open office hours there since 1986.<sup>26</sup> For the "Libertare Manner gruppe" (Libertarian Men's Group), which led the attack, it was clear that padophilia was only one form of patriarchal, sexualized violence and was always based on a breach of trust against the minor.<sup>27</sup>

In the meantime, the left-wing parliamentary scene considered pedophilia per se to be violent and always harmful to those affected, and thus could no longer even tolerate it. Such a world view was supported and confirmed by the <l>Through Alice Schwarzer's periodically repeated clarification campaigns, applied only to different public figures. If Woody Allen was a popular target in 1992, Helmut Kemler acted as a parade example of the "bi::ised man" in 1997; in 2001 he was replaced in this role <l by Daniel Cohn-Bendit. This form of reporting did not go far enough for some women who saw themselves as autonomous. They therefore used an unwanted tactic.

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25) See, for example, "Padophile propaganda". The subject of sexual abuse of children divides Bremen professors. In: *taz* 27. 11. 1996, S. 24.

26) SAMT (Ed.): Reader zur padosexuellen Tatergruppe im Rat&Tat-Zentrum für Homosexuelle in Bremen. Dokumentation von Stellungnahmen / Auseinandersetzungen 1990-1997, Stand Februar 1997 (Bremen: E. i. S. 1997) p. 11.

27) However, the discourse-friendly "autonomous" Bremen gays were unable to contribute any insights into the questioning of power structures and violence in gay relationships.

While representatives of the extreme left hardly missed an opportunity to criticize state surveillance mechanisms as a violation of individuality, to condemn biologicistic classifications, and to attack the chauvinistic incitement (not to say agitation) of the tabloid press, they showed themselves to be very imaginative in the public defamation of disliked pedophiles by adopting exactly these methods, which are otherwise always described as "fascistoid. Thus, in December 1997, a group called "Tauwetter" outed a 36-year-old man in the trendy magazine

"Interim" as "Paderasten", whereby the authors did not miss a precise listing of the man's activities, nor did they miss intimate details of his life.<sup>28</sup> The accused

"Pipo" had apparently made a name for himself in the radical left-wing house fight scene for decades and was excluded from his environment solely on the basis of sexual contacts with boys between the ages of 11 and 16. Exchanged noted

"Thaw": "Adolescents who had not clearly demarcated themselves from him or had not done so up to this point (after the first attempts at contact, F. M.) often later found it difficult to defend themselves when P started initiatives that made them uncomfortable and that had to be described as sexual assaults or sexual abuse. <sup>29</sup> Sexual contact with minors seemed to the authors to be abuse per se, although they could not name a single victim, but only wrote vaguely about it, <let the young people themselves - i.e. without the help of "Tauwetter" - do it themselves.

"Pippo's" career with the squatters.<sup>30</sup> "Thaw" noted with satisfaction at the end of the article,

<The defendant had largely withdrawn from autonomous contexts.

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28) Thaw: Attention! This man has sexually abused several children and adolescents! In: *Interim* No. 439, 11. 12. 1997.

29) Ibid.

30) Ibid.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the autonomous women often see themselves as representatives of an exaggerated anti-Americanism. The fact that in their fight against Padophile they rely on the argumentation patterns of Anglo-Saxon psychology and sexual medicine, which are strictly oriented toward the preservation of patriarchal family structures and conservative political domination, seems to be of little interest to the women.

The "autonomous thinking" representatives of the auperparliamentary left did not notice this. At the same time, however, it was precisely the autonomous women/lesbians who had to realize that the exclusion of the padophiles did not bring about an end to patriarchal relationships of subordination and rape within the radical left. Just as the image of the Padophile stranger, who threatened the "Christian family" and its "innocent children" from the outside and never from the inside, as propagated by the biased press, did not correspond to reality, the expulsion of the Padophiles did not bring about an end to female oppression. Rather, the radical left scene was shaken by a series of massive rape scandals in the 1990s, bringing the fragile alliance of divergent groups within the autonomous scene to the brink of collapse.<sup>31</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the padophilia debate served as both an outlet and a distraction.

At the beginning of the new millennium, it became clear to all representatives of radical left-wing groups that the assumption of power by politicians whom they had claimed for their own camp for decades or with whom they felt close did not lead to a change in existing mechanisms of subordination. Rather, the Red-Green federal government, under the leadership of former RAF lawyer Otto Schily, made possible

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31) GeorgKLAUDA: Comrade Rapist. Feminists in the Sight of the Left. In: *Gigi. Zeitschrift für sexuelle Emanzipation* No. 9, 2000, S. 16-24.

an expansion of police surveillance, data collection, and gender discrimination of the kind that the planners of the RAF fight in the 1970s could not yet have imagined due to a lack of technical possibilities. This happened especially after the attacks of September 11, 2001, under the pretext of a worldwide fight against terrorists. On the domestic front, the Red-Green coalition failed to implement almost all of its reform plans, especially in connection with the fight against unemployment and the economic crisis. As a result, it seems logical in retrospect that, in times of depression and terrorist hysteria, increased repression against sexually deviant groups was initiated. What was new was that there was almost no extra-parliamentary opposition to this. Instead, the situation in the radical left-wing scene can shed light on the direction in which the debate about sexual deviance will develop in the German public sphere.

A number of new sexual abuse cases were publicized in the tabloid press, with journalists using a modus operandi that had previously existed at best in "interim."<sup>32</sup> Private television stations and concerned family politicians participated in unleashing a new "The resulting public pressure led in the fall of 2002 to a rally of new draft laws aimed in particular at defining the "failure to report criminal offenses" (Section 138 of the German Criminal Code) so broadly as to open the door to a comprehensive system of block warrants.<sup>34</sup> Corresponding legislative plans were put forward by both the

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32) Reinhard MOKROS: Journalists as Investigators. In: *Gigi. Zeitschrift für sexuelle Emanzipation* No. 29, 2004, pp. 6-9.

33) Sebastian ANDERS: RTL II and its Sex Shops. In: *Gigi. Zeitschrift für sexuelle Emanzipation* No. 25, 2003, 10-11.

34) Ortwin PASSON: When the neighbor rings three times. In: *Gigi. Zeitschrift für sexuelle Emanzipation* No. 25, 2003, pp. 6-9, here p. 7.

The "leftist/green" coalition and the "conservative/liberal" opposition both considered this issue. The goal was and is the protection of the "holy family" and thus of institutions that had previously been a main concern of left-wing native life reforms. After a defamatory report in the women's magazine "Mona Lisa" (ARD) in October 2004, the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) also abandoned concepts aimed at amending sexual criminal law. The Federal Working Group on Sexual Politics (BAGS) was criticized in the program for tolerating discourse on sex tourism within its ranks. As a result, the party leadership initiated the formation of a new Federal Working Group Queer in the PDS (BAG Queer) - similar to the Grines after the 1985 scandal in North Rhine-Westphalia - which was only allowed to discuss sexualities and forms of life/love that are not affected by the existing sexual criminal law.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, we can only conclude that the attitudes and behavior of members of the various left-wing life cultures toward patophilia no longer differ even gradually from the ideas on the right of the CDU or CSU. This also applies explicitly to the autonomists operating on the edge of illegality. It is astonishing how a concept of sexuality originally developed for the protection of an imaginary "national community" could achieve such broad social approval while at the same time completely negating the state of scientific research. Obviously, many representatives of the once Marxist left have not only lost their faith in socialism on the long road through the institutions, but have also lost sight of the conception of sex as envisioned by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

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35) Martin LENTZEN: The Left and its Vice. In: *Gigi. Zeitschrift für sexuelle Emanzipation* No. 35, 2005, pp. 6-7; Dirk RUDER: Ein Parilehrjahr. In: *Ibid.* p. 8-9.

The new knowledge is based on the trust placed in the findings of the natural sciences.

For the future it is not obvious that this will change in the next few years. It seems to be too convenient to use sexual poses as a lynchpin for self-inflicted social crises.

to be held responsible. It is remarkable how especially the representatives of the political left always grant themselves the self-confident and within their own ghetto gliücklich experienced victim role under a political and social system denying individualities, but deny completely the existence of individual developments only with regard to pado sexualitat. Thus, analogous to the mania of typification of the eugenic

oriented psychiatry of past decades, a unified approach to the Establishment of van groups: "child perpetrators" and "victims". The possibility of a positively experienced padosexual contact by the minor, as well as the realization that sexuality does not always have to be connected with violence, is beyond the imagination of most people within the political spectrum, which is characterized by the term "left". The fact that non-violent padosexuality is probably the least that can be described as a component of patriarchy seems to have passed the predominantly female critics by. The way to this misconception was paired with negative experiences of the left scene with dis course-inaccurate representatives of the radical pado scene (var especially Indian commune). Thus, one can speak of a certain complicity of the Pados in their own isolation. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that the so-called "Pado

phile movement" was completely divided even at its best in the late 1970s, a joint action platform of all groups never materialized. The

Padophiles have always stood between the gay movement and the mainstream sexual reform movement, since the vast majority of padosexuals are heterosexual. However, it was the homosexual "padderasts" who shaped the public image of the padophile movement, whereas in the public



discussion were primarily heterosexual scandals.

Since no impulses in favor of a modification of the sexual criminal law are to be expected from the homosexual "civil rights movement", the committed pedophiles will probably no longer pursue the "gay track". At the moment it seems as if pedophiles can only hope for partial sympathy on the part of society, e.g. if they voluntarily undergo psychotherapeutic treatment and thus accept the role of the "sick" that was assigned to male homosexuals in the years before 1900. All the prejudices of the medicine of that time are today applied to pedophiles in a socially accepted way: Accusation of seduction, isolated character outside of society, psychopathic personality as a whole, and deficient expression of the gender norm (male/female).

A look at the aberrations of homosexual emancipation politics shows that it does not make sense to ask the question about the aetiology of the

"perversion" to the fore. Even the acceptance of the possibility of an endogeneity of homosexuality did not protect homosexuals from persecution and castration. Only the interaction of higher-level developments, clever commitment and long-term allies made possible a gradual depathologization and decriminalization, whereby the leading representatives of homosexuals always only partially questioned the traditional classification patterns of their persecutors (pathology) until their validity was generally doubted. However, as the example of homophilia shows, it is necessary for the emancipation of a social group not to present it as a gauze, but to divide it according to tactical necessity.

Thus, at best, pedophiles can hope to achieve decriminalization of nonviolent sexual contact with adolescents over the age of 13 in the distant future (in 15 years?), e.g., if the realization of the increasingly early onset of sexual activity with adolescents over the age of 13 becomes a reality.

The discussion about the frequency of female pedophilia, which is slowly swelling, has not only caused some female "child shooters" to think about it, but has also caused the male-centered classification of pedophilia. Also, the slowly swelling discussion about the prevalence of female pedophilia could not only make some female "child shitters" think twice, but could also water down the man-centered classification of pedophilia as part of broader sub driick mechanisms. A new, post-Alice women's movement could possibly challenge the "state-fixatedness of women's politics" again.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, defining the pedophile as a perpetrator outside of society becomes considerably more implausible when the role of women/midwives is opened up to broader discourse. The dogma of the sacrosanct "family" worth preserving naturally comes under further pressure.

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36) AK 217: ... 217 ... 218 ... 219 ... Feminism and population policy. In: *diskus. Frankfurter StudentInnen-Zeitschrift* 47 (1998) No. 3, pp. 21-25, here p. 21.