



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 (dis)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, declared: "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*.

The threatening illegality of the "Spontis" must be averted. This would require not only a new discussion of the question of violence, but also further goals for the peaceful reformation of society, e. g. in the area of the patriarchy discussion.³

"We keep running headlong into the wall," wrote Peter Schult in December 1976, "lying there unconscious for a while, then picking ourselves up again and taking off on a new approach. That is probably our situation. We simply can't help it, otherwise we would lose the last bit of identity. I guess that's it." ⁴

Those who now dared to look for ways out of the ideological dead ends could gradually count on approval within the left, for even the dogmatic K-groups, after their powerful participation in anti-nuclear demonstrations, had come into the sights of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and some public prosecutors.⁵ Thus, as early as mid-1976, the retreat of large sections of the organized left from the direct environment of the armed struggle began. What remained were limited utopias for the implementation of narrowly defined reforms within the existing system, the foundations of which had proven impossible to overcome. It was unclear how these reforms could be achieved and which parts of the broadly diversified left spectrum would not get a "piece of the pie."

Materialien gegen die Fabrikgesellschaft No. 5, 1977, pp. 53-64, here. S. 54.

3) Ibid pp. 60-61.

4) Berlin, private archive Volker Schlondorff: 2.12.1976, letter, typed, Mi.inchen / JVA Stadelheim, Peter Schult to Volker Schlondorff.

5) Gerd KOENEN: *Das rote Jahrzehnt. Our Little German Cultural Revolution 1967-1977* (Koln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 2001).

S. 416-417.

At the same time, the "women's debate" became more heated. Both the K-groups and the anarchists and Spontis regarded women's rights only as a partial aspect of the socialist revolt; they refused to emphasize them. The journalist Alice Schwarzer, however, who had been dismissed by the radical left, wanted to bring the women's movement to the fore in an ideology-wide way. She had first tried to do this in 1974 with a large-scale "We had an abortion" campaign. The old sexual self-determination formula of the left was to be used in a new way that transcended class, with women from all strata declaring their support for abortion. Although Schwarzer achieved great popularity and the abortion issue occupied all political groups from that point on, this campaign did not bring her any closer to her goal of sustainably improving the lives of women in the present. Her book "Der kleine Unterschied und seine großen Folgen" (The Small Difference and its Great Consequences), published in 1975, served as a new lever, which was widely received within the left and gave rise to counter-campaigns, some of which were widespread. In the view of several members of the Communist League (KB) in Hamburg, Schwarzer suggested that the breaking of the male sexual monopoly in late capitalism could only take place through a lesbian relationship.⁶ This was exaggerated without limits and excluded from any questioning of power structures.⁷ In addition, the communist women criticized Schwarzer for lacking a fundamental critique of the system of the Federal Republic of Germany and for joining forces with "capitalist press corporations" (Gruner & Jahr) against socialist women in order to launch her own publication.

6) Arbeitsgruppe Frauen KB/ Gruppe Hamburg: Der "kleine Unterschied" zwischen bürgerlicher und sozialistischer Frauenbewegung. In: *Arbeiterkampf*/Nr. 87, 23. 8. 1976, pp. 10-11, here p. 10.

7) The "small difference" / Supplement. In: *Workers' Struggle* No. 91, 18. 10. 1976, S. 1.

("Emma").⁸ Schwarzer contributed to the further exasperation of the scene by not seeking direct discussion - contrary to the usual procedure in the left spectrum - but threatening her critics with consequences via lawyers.⁹ Finally, opponents of Schwarzer emphasized that it was striking how much Alice Schwarzer ignored child and adolescent sexuality.¹⁰ In this way, the representatives of the Communist League alluded to a "child protection campaign" that had been conducted by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Family Affairs since the spring of 1976 and had been criticized by the entire left-wing and left-liberal scene (with the exception of Schwarzer). The main point of criticism was the brochure "Hab keine Angst!" ("Don't be afraid!"), which was published in May 1976 with a circulation of 400,000 copies and whose distribution included the "BILD Zeitung" newspaper, which was abysmally hated in left-wing circles. The core thesis of the brochure was that sexual crimes did not occur within families and that almost exclusively girls were affected. This was opposed by some doctors, but above all by representatives of the political left. Basically, the campaign was aimed at defaming all unconventional lifestyles that did not conform to the accepted ideal of Christian marriage. At the same time, the "BILD-Zeitung" unleashed an agitation against sex education in schools, claiming that it only made "innocent children" sick.¹¹ The leading figure here was the child psychologist Christa Meves.

It is also striking, however, how much left-wing critics emphasized the right of adolescents and children to free sexuality, but praised adults having sex with this target group,

8) Working Group Women KB / Group Hamburg: The "small difference" p. 10.

9) The communist smiles: Alice Schwarzer sends counterstatement. In: Der "kleine Unterschied" / Supplement p. 3-4.

10) Working Group Women KB / Group Hamburg: The "small difference" p. 11.

11) Sex education. In: *Arbeiterkampf*Nr. 74, 16. 2. 1976, p. 29.

The people of the country were considered to be only the will-less victims of capitalism: "Capitalism drives people to the point where they can no longer cope with their sexuality. Capitalism, through its handling of sexuality (advertising, press, film, etc.), drives people to the point where they can no longer cope with their sexuality. It prevents children from satisfying their need for tenderness. The consequences of this impoverishment are to be made a private matter: The Wiistlings are to be put in jail, children are to be prevented from contact with people other than their parents. It's as simple as that."¹²

This thinking was not only widespread among the dogmatic K-groups, but also part of the thinking in many radical leftist contexts. At most, opposition to the women's movement could still generate solidarity with Padosexuals. This became apparent when Peter Schult was arrested. Whether by chance or not, just as the sexuality and patriarchy debate within the auger parliamentary left was boiling over, and at the same time state repression was contributing to the so-called "sympathizer scene" beginning to dissolve, Schult was accused of sexual abuse with a girl. Thus, the "Don't be afraid" campaign seemed to come true, especially with one of the most accomplished critics of the police repressive apparatus. The socialist-anarchist groups, which were at odds with one another, were called upon to follow up their fundamental criticism of state-imposed sexual ideas with constructive proposals of their own.

!asses. Had in the years before also only some socialist organizations represented or accepted a positive image of homosexuality, it would have been easy to invalidate the accusations against Schult with his homosexuality. The general, sometimes hidden, sometimes open sexual hostility of the auger-parliamentary left scene, whose protagonists stamped sexual life as a private matter, was, however, in its nonsensicalness and pre-modernity, not at all in keeping with the "Don't be afraid" campaign.

12) AG Frauen KB / Group Hamburg: "Sexual Misedevelopment

-life imprisonment. In: *Arbeiterkampf*Nr. 81, 31.5.1976, p. 11.

The campaign of the Federal Ministry of the Interior was in no way inferior to this. Although free sexuality was preached in general, its specific forms were not even discussed since the collapse of the commune movement in 1970. This had devastating consequences for Schult, for the radical left-wing groups surrounding him, and for the cohesion of the divergent political groups. The "Schult affair" began at the height of the debate on the women's movement and child protection in the summer of 1976. Because of the record freeze in the Miinchen State Archives, I am forced to rely primarily on the statements of Schult, his friends and antagonists. Involved in the prosecution of the case were the very prosecutors who had previously tried in vain to "stamp out the left-wing sympathizer scene" in Miinchen and had failed, among others, because of Schult.¹³ While in the former republic the left was on the run in its traditional fields of activity almost everywhere, Schult, together with his longtime partner Herbert Ri:ittgen, succeeded in a symbolic, but from a PR point of view important victory against state power. In his capacity as publisher and owner of the left-wing "Trikont" publishing house, Ri:ittgen had initiated the publication of the memoirs of ex-terrorist Michael "Bommi" Baumann.¹⁴ The book was banned, the publishing house searched, its employees criminalized. Now Schult, his lawyer Jurgen Arnold, and Ri:ittgen Unterstiitzer were collecting for a new edition; the action was joined by as many as 380 people from public life.¹⁵ Confronted with the compulsion to no longer publish the memoirs

13) Trial against bommi book editor. In: *ID - Informations dienst zur Verbreitung unterbliebener Nachrichten* No. 148, 23. 10. 1976, S. 3.

14) Michael "Bommi" BAUMANN: *Wie alles anfang* (Miinchen: Tri kont 1975). With an afterword by Peter Schult (pp. 138-141).

15) Peter SCHULT: *Bommi Baumann. A Book and the Left*. In: Jurgen ARNOLD / Peter SCHULT (eds.): *Ein Buch wird verboten. Bommi Baumann Documentation*. With contributions by Heinrich

as before against a few scattered left-wing radicals, but against university professors, filmmakers, members of parliament, and lawyers, the Munich judicial organs capitulated. Baumann's book was printed, Schult triumphed and wrote elegiac introductions and commentaries.¹⁶ Thus, both local and national authorities were very interested in criminalizing Peter Schult and in breaking up his environment in many ways. In a broad discussion of his private life, they could hope both to damage his reputation and to discredit the circles that supported him, leading to a breakaway movement that was bound to result in a loss of credibility for large sections of the left.

Schult had been accused in June 1976 of taking an 8-year-old girl ("Ramona G.") home for the purpose of sexual abuse and putting her back on the street after the abuse. The trial began in the fall and was accompanied by a press campaign by the prosecution. After the expert witness Reinhard Lempp had challenged the prosecution's witness as untrustworthy and the alleged abuse, the public prosecutor's office immediately presented a new expert opinion penned by the psychologist Germanus Grundlich. Critics commented on his findings with scorn:

"Result: there are no doubts about her (i.e. the witness, F. M.) credibility. The expert, who quoted a lot of literature, which obviously dates back to the time of his studies, spins a web of speculations and insinuations.

BOLL, Luise RINSER, Volker SCHLONDORFF, Daniel COHN-BENDIT, Klaus BRIEGLEB et al. (München: Trikont 1975) pp. 127-137. Alice Schwarzer also signed for the new edition of the Bommi book.

16) Ibidem; Peter SCHULT: Wanted: Baumann: In: *Blatt* No. 57, 1975, pp. 9-10.

The child tends to be a liar, but the expert need only exhort him to the truth in order to be able to assume that what he hears is also true. The child tends to be a liar, but the expert need only 'exhort him to the truth, in order to be able to assume that what he hears is also true; the scientific problem of children as witnesses is simply wiped away and it is stated that 'children can sometimes be better witnesses than adults.

Schult was found guilty and sentenced to two years and three months in prison. Shortly after the trial began, tumultuous discussions broke out in the left-wing scene in Miinchen, as well as in Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg and Berlin. In Miinchen, representatives of the women's movement stormed the editorial office of the city newspaper "Blatt" and demanded that Schul be expelled and banned from writing. Former "comrades" plundered his private archive. His friends, on the other hand, accused the pliinders of having adopted the prosecution's ideas without considering Schul's homosexuality, which actually contradicted the accusations of the indictment.

But how could communists, who had hitherto considered sexuality per se unworthy of discussion, positively instrumentalize a comrade's homosexuality? The staff of the "Blatt" generally criticized the passing of judgment and the prejudice caused by silence within the left.¹⁸ As a result, not only was the relevant issue confiscated, but a comprehensive discussion took its course. In a letter to the editor, a heterosexual man described his lustful contacts with a man aged eleven,¹⁹

17) Peter Schult is free! In: *ID - Informationsdienst zur Verbreitung unterbliebener Nachrichten* No. 160, 15. 1. 1977, p. 2.

18) Leaf collective: 2 years + 3 months for Peter Schult. In: *Leaf* No. 79, 1976, pp. 10-11.

19) Zurn Paderastie article ill. In: *Blatt* No. 80, 1976, pp. 4-5, here S. 5.

On the other hand, one woman reported completely different experiences.²⁰ Other women accused the padophiles of degrading young people to sexual objects through their anti-emancipatory authoritarian behavior.²¹ A real sexual emancipation would make padophilia disappear.²² The argumentation of the Communist League clearly shines through here.

Other women, on the other hand, argued that the padophilia taboo and the oppression of women were part of the identical capitalist machinery, which is why a common struggle was necessary.²³ Peter Schult himself objected to being seen only as a "padophile" and considered his homosexual pado sexuality to be an expression of his leftist Lebensgefühl, which is why he was convicted.²⁴ He vehemently denied sexual contacts with a girl, as he was accused of by the prosecution:²⁵

"To state it once again with all clarity: in my case, this is not primarily about a sexual problem
- because I did not commit the sexual offenses of which I was accused - but only for my political activities, for my activities in the Red Help, for my

20) Uta / Editor / Inge HEINRICHS: Living with Children. 3 Contribution to the Paderasty Discussion. In: *Blatt* No. 82, 1976, pp. 12-14, here.

S. 12.

21) Ibidem p. 13. Zurn Paderastie-Article I. Letter to the editor. In: *Blatt*

No. 80, 1976, p. 4.

22) Uta / Editor / HEINRICHS: Living with Children p. 14.

23) A few women: Women and Paderasty p. 10.

24) Peter SCHULT: Declaration. In: *Blatt* No. 80, 1976, pp. 6-9, here

S. 7.

25) How this witness became a pawn in the interests of the prosecution is described by Jurgen ARNOLD: Justiz-Gutachten-Justiz Gutachten-Justiz. In: *Autonomy. Materialien gegen die Fabrikgesellschaft* No. 5, 1977, pp. 72-76.

Articles and essays against the justice system, against the penal system, against prison in general. That's why I was punished, and these people don't seem to have understood that yet. It is only secondarily about sexual things, more precisely, about my homosexuality, which I hope will not be reproached by leftists. But I am also willing to take a stand on this, especially and above all against the spies from the left.

Schult was supported by his friend Herbert Rottgen, head of the Trikont publishing house, and Karl-Heinz Roth, a physician and journalist who had been imprisoned for participating in an exchange of fire with police officers. The latter accused Schult's antagonists, who used moral phrases, of making common cause with the state's repressive apparatus.²⁷ Rottgen also found clear words for the different thought patterns within the left:

"How deeply rooted, how penetrating, even how sticky our one-sidedness is, how difficult it is to accept the contradictory nature of an existence - was already evident in the campaign we started for Peter. The political were quick to see only the political, to illuminate only his existence as a committed writer, to portray him only as a victim of political justice. The homosexuals were quick to see him only as a homosexual who had succeeded in sneaking into the left.

26) Statement by Peter Schult on his conviction. In: *ID - Information service for the dissemination of omitted news* No. 150, 6. 11. 1976, pp. 6-8, here p. 8.

27) Karl Heinz ROTH: Open letter to the comrades from Munich! In: *Autonomie* No. 5, 1977, p. 71.

28) Herbert R6TTGEN: Morals. Our morals, their morals, right? In: *Autonomy* No. 5, 1977, pp. 69-71, here p. 71.

In this way he alluded to the efforts of numerous representatives of the gay movement to detach the emancipation of homosexuals from the other projects of the far-flung and divided left. 29 In fact, the behavior of many "comrades" in the Pado debate seemed to confirm the fears of the protagonists of gay emancipation that any socialist revolution would stop at the bedroom doors. Since Peter Schult was no longer seen as a left-wing rebel and comrade in the course of the debate that flared up around his person, but rather like a reincarnation of the seducer in the Fritz Lang classic "M. Eine Stadt sucht einen Marder,"³⁰ the staff of "Schwuchtel" believed that it was time to emancipate themselves from the "heterosexual" leftists:

"I am happy that I no longer support your Marxist revolution. It will not bring freedom to me, nor to women. In your communist social order, I would still be considered a gay - with their blinkers, you would never recognize me as someone else. A revolution that does not recognize patriarchy and the existing gender roles as enemies does not change my situation. Nationalize the industry and I'll still be a gay pig."³¹

Members of the "Homosexuelle Aktion Miinchen" (HAM) accused the judiciary of criminalizing Schult also because he stood by his ~~deed~~ and showed no remorse.³²

29) Red Dreamland Collective: Before the Revolution. In: *The Fag 2* (1976), special issue p. 4, 15.

30) Reinhard VON DER MARWITZ: Die Legende von Ursache und Wirkung. In: *Him-Applaus* 1979, No. 4, pp. 14-17, here p. 15.

31) Red Dreamland Collective: Before the Revolution. In: *The Fag 2* (1976), special issue 4, p. 15.

32) Peter Schult - Documentation 1977 (Miinchen: E. i. S. 1977) S. 15.

However, leaving the "left boat" implied that gay emancipation and homosexual emancipation were inseparably linked; it was not only a matter of deleting the incommensurate § 175, but of liberalizing the sexual penal code as a whole. In addition, this reorientation of the gay groups aimed at distancing themselves from the women's movement. For the "faggot" workers, it had proved certain that many leftists had a real problem with individual lifestyles and thought only in terms of collectives or classes.³³ Sexuality appeared in the political discourse of the left only in the form of invective and appeared worthy of discussion only with regard to women.³⁴ In order to remedy a breakdown between the gay movement and left-wing emancipation, as well as the information deficits within the left-wing movements, the Frankfurt Spontis decided to initiate a teach-in on pedophilia. This took place on

January 28, 1977, in the Horsaal H VI of the Frankfurt University; about 800 people from all over the Republic attended. A few days earlier, Schult's arrest warrant had been suspended. The Munich public prosecutor's office - defeated before a higher court - suddenly saw no reason to detain Schult permanently for the protection of the general public. Perhaps the prosecuting authorities were so satisfied with their "success" in unsettling the left-wing groups that they were no longer interested in Schult's fate and his alleged crime. However, it is also possible that the competent judge, in contrast to his prosecutorial colleagues, only considered the case itself, and not any circumstances that might have arisen, in his renewed

33) Daniel COHN-BENDIT: *Der große Basar. Gespräche mit Michael Levy, Jean-Marc Salmon, Maren Sell* (München: Trikont 1975) p. 7.

34) Matthias BELZ / Klaus TREBES: *Selbstbefriedigung. Thoughts while reading the book Volker Elis Pilgrim - Der selbstbefriedigte Mensch* - München 1975 - Verlag Kurt Desch. In: *Autonomy. Materialien gegen die Fabrikgesellschaft* No. 3, 1976, pp. 77-79.

The court took into account the legal situation in the case in question and tried to assess the case objectively.

At the teach-in, Schult's subordinates emphasized that class solidarity is always most important "where it is difficult. They also raised the question of prejudice against homosexuals on the left. Schult himself explained the political nature of his condemnation:

"If a Mr. Muller or a Mr. Maier had stood in my place, he would have walked out of the courtroom a free man, a sure acquittal in his pocket. But I stood in that place, and I had forgotten that."³⁵

He went on to say that it had suited the women's movement in particular, on the basis of its experience with the mechanisms of oppression under capitalism, not to advocate a panicky pathologization. Instead, it hastily constructed a "new morality" based on the exclusion mechanisms of the "ruling class. In this way, forced heterosexuality, as well as forced homosexuality, remained as social classifications.³⁶ Large parts of the left had made use of a connection between rape and pado sexuality, thereby furthering the interests of the persecuting authorities.³⁷ Members of the gay movement emphasized the affinity of their goals with those of Schult, as well as the fears arising from this:

"If we gays don't want to see the leftist moral finger pointed at us and against us one day in a case similar to Peter's, then this discussion needs to be started again.

35) *The Left and Mannersexuality on the Case of Peter Schult*. In: *Pjlasterstrand* No. 4, 16. 2. 1977, pp. 18-20, here p. 18.

36) *Ibidem* p. 20.

37) *Ibidem* p. 19.

If the lack of confrontation means that leftist heterosexuals do not have similar taboo sexual practices and reified fantasies, then we would like to know how they feel about our sexuality. If, however, it is the case that such fantasies and practices are not permitted in order to conform to the leftist morality described above and to preserve the image of 'emancipated relationships' spreading everywhere, then the reopening of the debate is all the more important, see the case of Peter Schult. "38

During or shortly after the teach-in, there was allegedly a direct confrontation between Peter Schult and Alice Schwarzer, but no details are known. Schult, however, was more than angry about the treatment of his person and sexuality by alleged "comrades. So he wrote a written pamphlet entitled "Für eine sexuelle Revolution - Wider die linken Spießler" ("For a sexual revolution - against the left-wing players"), which was first published in 1977 in the magazine

"Autonomy" appeared.³⁹ In it, he accused his fellow campers of preaching anarchy but immediately going into shock at any sign of lived anarchy and adopting the arguments of the repressive state. He emphasized that he saw his boys not as sexual objects, but as "equal partners with equal rights. He shared a similar social situation with the young runaways, which was completely alien to the representatives of the biracial "left. As a result, the leftists did not even have the idea that the revolution had to begin with the destruction of the family.⁴⁰ But even the gays were not

38) Teach In. The Left and Male Sexuality using the Example of Peter Schult. 28. 1. 1977. University Horsaal H VI. In: *Pflasterstrand* 19. 1. 1977, S. 28.

39) Peter SCHULT: For a sexual revolution - against the leftist spießler. In: *Autonomy. Materialien gegen die Fabrikgesellschaft* No. 5, 1977, pp. 86-96.

40) *Ibid* pp. 94-96.

Schult also referred to Ernst Rohm.⁴¹ However, he found the behavior of many alleged friends from the left-wing circles in Munich completely incomprehensible as soon as the topic of "homosexuality" was on the agenda:

"If, on the other hand, I go into the left-wing scene with a boy today, there is once again an awkward silence, at best a willing tolerance. You have to have experienced that when one of the boys came along to an appointment, hardly any of the comrades dared to speak to him, probably for fear of not finding the right tone. Hardly anyone talked to him. For some, this icy silence was depressing, they did not come a second time. Or, when the HAM took part in a prison party, what kind of offensive remarks were made by comrades, of course, only when none of the gays were present. Apparently they did not know about me. For the left, homosexuality is still a phenomenon with which they cannot cope, and in any case it is not a self-evident variant of sexuality, not to speak of pederasty.

Despite all reservations, Schult returned to the Red Help, but the close ties within the left-wing scene in München that had existed before his arrest were broken. The women's movement that was forming outside the "Blatt" and the Red Help avoided contact with him and his friends. On a supraregional level, however, he continued to find supporters, for example within the Sponti movement in Frankfurt am Main. The predominantly male-dominated movement made it easier for Alice Schwarzer to leave the "big bazaar" of the left-wing camp and to make her own demands.

On the whole, however, the Pedophilia debate ebbed and flowed, with more important issues coming to the fore that affected the entire organi

41) SCHULT: Für eine sexuelle Revolution p. 92.

42) Ibid pp. 91-92.

sidered left-wing. The war between the RAF/movement In 1977, the confrontation between June 2 and state power reached its absolute climax, and all groups suspected of at least not condemning the "armed struggle" were threatened with comprehensive registration and criminalization. The lawyer Hans-Christian Strobele noted with concern: "Surveillance and spying took on unimagined proportions.

The spiral of violence turned quickly. On April 7, a "Kommando Ulrike Meinhof" shot Generalbund attorney Siegfried Buback,⁴⁴ and in August, banker Jurgen Ponto died in a hail of RAF bullets. The culmination was the kidnapping of the president of the employers' association Hanns Martin Schleyer by the RAF commando "Siegfried Hausner"⁴⁵ on

43) Hans-Christian STROBELE: The rule of law fell by the wayside. In: taz-Journal. 20 Years of the German Autumn. Analyses, Research, Interviews, Debates Documents from 1977-1997 (Berlin: taz 1997).

pp. 62-63, here p. 62.

44) Siegfried Buback had been in the public eye on the left since his controversial behavior as a prosecutor in Hamburg during the "Spiegel affair" in 1962. He was largely responsible for the increasing isolation of the RAF prisoners in the Stuttgart Stammheim prison. When, after his murder, an obituary appeared in a student newspaper in Gi:itting, the entire environment of the magazine was immediately criminalized; see Jurgen GOTTSCHLICH: Mescalero - ein Nachruf. In: taz-Journal. 20 Years of German Autumn. Analysen, Recherchen, Interviews, Debatten, Dokumente von 1977-1997 (Berlin: taz 1997) pp. 28-30. See also Peter SCHULT: Buback lasst die Katze aus dem Sack. In: *Blatt* No. 43, 1975, pp. 4-5.

45) Siegfried Hausner had been a member of the RAF commando that occupied the German embassy in Stockholm in April 1975 and murdered two hostages. Hausner was seriously injured during the occupation and subsequently extradited to the Federal Republic of Germany by the Swedish authorities. He succumbed to his injuries a short time later.

September 5, with the aim of freeing the RAF leaders imprisoned in Stuttgart-Stammheim. A short time later, a Palestinian group associated with the RAF hijacked the Lufthansa aircraft Landshut. The German government under Helmut Schmidt (SPD) refused to compromise and on October 18 the hijacked aircraft was hijacked in Mogadishu by the GSG 9. The terrorists imprisoned in Stammheim then committed suicide,⁴⁶ and the kidnapers of the employer-president murdered their hostage. Throughout the months, there was an almost complete news blackout in **the** daily press; journalists and newspapermen submitted to the "recommendations" of the federal government. Only a few independent, regionally affiliated alternative newspapers dared to oppose this, but they were unable to gain any major influence. ⁴⁷

The "German Autumn" of 1977 marked the complete failure of the left-wing groups that were totally at odds with each other outside of parliament. They had absolutely nothing to oppose the state power, which acted with roadblocks, waves of arrests, changes in the law and news blackouts. Attempts to spark a new old-style solidarity movement by creating legends around the dead terrorists and their deaths were doomed to failure. Instead, the old antagonisms within the left-wing groups broke out again. At the same time, however, many tried to discuss new forms of political presence and publicity. To this end, in January 1978 the

46) This sparked a long-running debate about how Andreas Baader and Jan-Carl Raspe had obtained firearms. Gudrun Ensslin was hanging herself. Irmgard Moller was stabbed several times in the chest, but survived and for many years spread the theory that the "Stammheimers" had been murdered.

47) Thomas HARTMANN: Sparks fly again. Censorship as a Ge burtshilfe. In: taz-Journal. 20 Years of the German Autumn. Analyses, Research, Interviews, Debates, Documents from 1977-1997 (Berlin: taz 1997) pp. 22-25, here p. 23.

"TUNIX" congress was held in Berlin, at which, among other things, it was decided to found a left-wing daily newspaper "taz" and to consider the possibilities of an ecological reorientation of the divided left. It was clear to all participants, however, that this implied, among other things, the exclusion or restriction of minorities whose goals were not in line with the majority. Thus, even before Tunix, a renewed sexuality debate began, initially centered on the women's movement. In the magazine "Pflasterstrand," the Frankfurt Spontis accused the women's movement of glorifying sexual hostility, which was explained by women's unwillingness to take men's interests seriously.⁴⁸ In this way, the authors of the article instrumentalized the statements of the women's movement against women themselves. In the same issue, however, criticism was also leveled. For example, the capitalist sexual morality had been perpetuated by the leftists, and this could even be seen in "Pflasterstrand."⁴⁹ Under the pseudonym "Saurier," a sponti explained that smooth sexuality between adult men and women was actually impossible because of the unwillingness of women. He then described his "seduction" by a 6-year-old girl:

"It was the only time I didn't get too excited. But that is not important now, to write a treatise about the pros and cons of Paderasty.

If the socialist and anarchist women were already not pleased with such elaborations, they were appalled by the essay of Siegfried Knittel in the following issue of the "Pavement Beach." He explained that women are best served by

48) Vi:igeln. In: *Pflasterstrand* 15. 12. 1977, pp. 26-32, here p. 29.

49) The eye is a hungry mouth that feeds the world. In: *Pflasterstrand* 15. 12. 1977, pp. 34-35; Fragments from Life. In: *Ibidem* S. 36-37.

50) Thoughts of a dinosaur. In: *Pflasterstrand* 15. 12. 1977, pp. 40-42, here p. 42.

sadism, so that they could serve the socialist revolt under guidance.⁵¹ As a result, about 40 women confirmed the editorship and interrogated the editors. Two special issues followed, in which only this topic was discussed (no. 23, 23a).⁵² The women's faction left the Spontis and merged with the women's movement, which was seen as the

"fascist" Knittel probably also intended.⁵³ At the same time, however, the sexuality debate began within the

left to grasp the pedophilia problem as well. Before Alice Schwarzer could agree on a common position with her new allies, Peter Schult presented his memoir

"Visits to Dead Ends" to the public. Reflexively, the Bavarian State Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs applied for the book to be indexed, which immediately triggered a broad wave of solidarity, much to Schwarzers' chagrin. "With this book it all began," grumbled Alice Schwarzer years later, referring to the renewed swelling of solidarity with boy lovers within the left-wing and also the griine movement.

⁵⁴ At this time, the women's movement was also shaken in its self-understanding by a fascism debate. This led to a dismantling of the thesis that had been propagated by many feminists until then, according to which women had been the actual victims of the National Socialist dictatorship and were free of any complicity.⁵⁵

51) Siegfried KNITTEL: Vom Ende der matriarchalen "Emanzipations" "Moral. In: *Pflasterstrand* No. 122, 12. 1. 1978, pp. 20-22.

52) Stephanie HORN: Abschied vom Kollektiv. *Der Frankfurter Pflasterstrand* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel 1989) p. 28.

53) *Ibidem* p. 29.

54) Peter SCHULT: Long Live Fornication. On the new edition of my book. In: SCHULT, *Besuche in Sackgassen*, 2nd edition (Frankfurt am Main: Foerster 1982) pp. 266-269, here p. 266.

55) Johanna GEHMACHER: Feministische Geschichtsforschung und die Frage nach Antisemitismus von Frauen. In: Charlotte KOHN LEVY / Ilse KOROTIN (eds.): *The Feminist "Siindenfall"?*

But not all leftists were happy about Schul's public coming out. They appreciated Schul's essays in the city newspaper "Blatt" and in the "taz," welcomed his commitment to a new form of organization encompassing all marginalized social groups, and did not dare to criticize his "homo sexuality" per se. Yet the possibility of a sexual life beyond all conventions still transcended the imaginary world of men and women who, in outward politics, had elevated the break with social ma#rules to a substitute for religion. Schult's comment:

"They stared at me like Martians, that was such a stubborn reaction: Yes, now we have to grant him fool's freedom, too. They know that I'm on their side. But if I were only a paderast, then I would be done with them, too. Leftist morality is not much different from bourgeois morality."⁵⁶

Schult was responsible for reformulating the work of prison groups and Red Aids, especially in 1978/79; the so-called "Magna Charta of the Prisoners' Movement" (1980) was largely penned by him.⁵⁷ However, he was to turn again more strongly to the gay and lesbian movement when he again saw how little solidarity he experienced from his "comrades" when he himself was in prison.

In December 1978, Schult had once again taken in two young people and had sex with them. This became a matter of record in the spring of 1979.

Anti-Semitic Prejudices in the Women's Movement (Vienna: Picus 1994).

pp. 131-159, here p. 137.

56) Vice Squad on Duty. Interview by Niels Kummer with Peter Schult. In: *Blatt* No. 176, 1980, p. 12.

57) Kollektiv Rote Hilfe Miinchen: Entwurf einer Magna Chana fiir alle Internierten in Gefangnissen, psychiatrischen Anstalten, Fiir sorge- und Erziehungsheimen (Miinchen: E. i. S. 1980).

Trial. In the course of the trial, the young "victims" had testified in favor of Schult and emphasized that he had been the first adult whose contact they had not been afraid of. When asked by Schult's lawyer Jurgen Arnold, the expert witness, who was opposed to Schult's testimony, had to admit that she owed her findings solely to suggestive questioning.⁵⁸ Finally, the court agreed to a kind of compromise: Schult was sentenced to 7 months and 2 weeks' imprisonment on probation for two offenses involving minors.

While the criminal court was still in session, Griine politicians and Munich leftists as well as gays had started a campaign in favor of Schult's release. Within the gay movement, a new wave of solidarity for Schult began. This was initiated by Rosa von Praunheim's reports on padosexual substitute family constructs in the U.S.⁵⁹ At the same time, however, the women's movement, now dominated by Alice Schwarzer, launched a comprehensive attack on the padosexuals and their supporters. The women's movement did not confine itself to hushing up the problem, as had been the case in the past, but Alice Schwarzer, echoing the Schult process, made a fundamental statement about padophilia:

"More and more often, padosexuals are also mentioned in the same breath as feminists: as those who, after all, are actually working on the

58) Criminal Case Peter Schult. In: *Rosa Flieder* No. 10, 1979, pp. 56-63, here p. 61.

59) Rosa VON PRAUNHEIM: *Armee der Liebenden oder Aufstand der Perversen* (Miinchen: Trikont 1979) pp. 267-270. Praunheim also addressed the U.S. pado activists in his memoirs; see Rosa VON PRAUNHEIM: *50 Jahre pervers. Die sentimentalen Memoiren des Rosa von Praunheim* (Koln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch 1993) p. 240: "In his house we met some 14- to 18-year-olds, mostly from broken anti-gay families, who felt more lovingly treated and understood here."