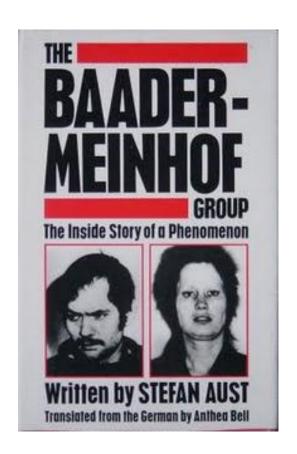


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The end of the Baader Meinhof Group

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Zaragoza, 16-17 November 2010

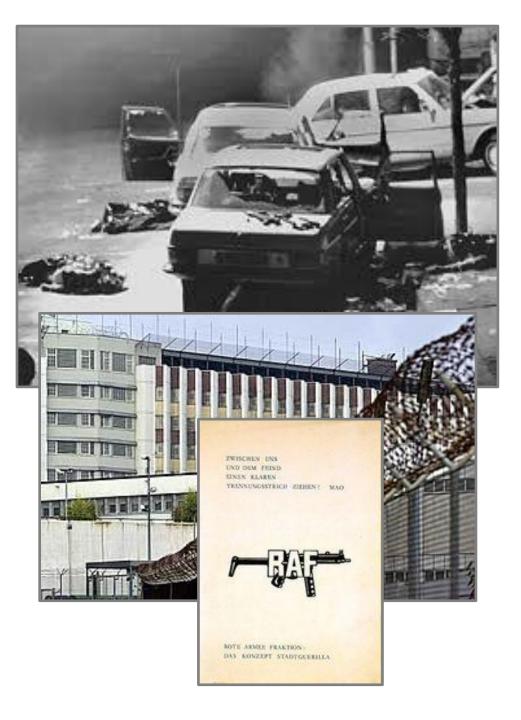
Baader Meinhof?

- Social-revolutionary urban guerrilla organization
- Offspring of 1960s
 Protest Movement
- Leadership:
 - Andreas Baader & Gudrun Ensslin
 - Ulrike Meinhof
 - Horst Mahler
- Rote Armee Fraktion, RAF (Red Army Faction)



Short History

- Three generations:
 - I. 1968/70-1972 (-77)
 - II. 1975-1982 (-2008)
 - III. 1984-1998 (-now)
 - Two Fronts:
 - Terror attacks
 - Prison Struggle
 - Publicity:
 - Pamphlets, Brochures
 - Collective Hungerstrikes



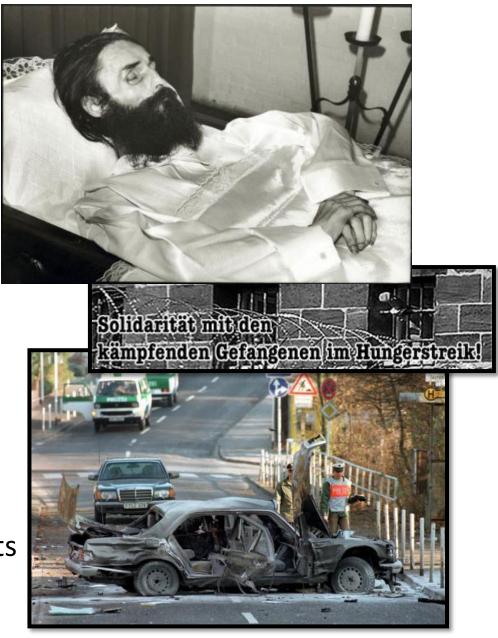
The End

- Declarations:
 - 1992 Unilateral Armistice
 - 1998 Dissolution
- What led to the end?
 - Three parties involved:
 - 1. RAF: "Illegals" & Prisoners
 - Support Base: (parts of the) Radical Left in Germany
 - State: Federal govt. & State governments



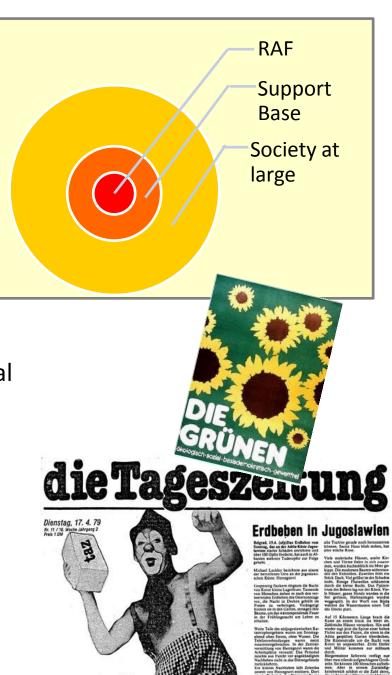
1. The RAF

- Prisoners:
 - Hunger Strikes
- "Illegals":
 - Anti-Imperialist Front
- Goals:
 - Concentration of "Political" Prisoners
 - Mobilization of New Supporters and Recruits



2. Support Base

- Radical Left in West Germany:
 - Very Diverse "Umfeld"
 - Animosity towards State
- Position towards RAF:
 - First Sympathy and Solidarity
 - Growing Criticism of RAF and of Political
 Violence in General
- Parliamentarism from ± 1977
 - Green Party
 - "Tageszeitung" Newspaper
- Amnesty Campaigns from 1984



3. The State

- Legalism
 - Counter-Terrorism
 - Legislation
 - Scrutinizing the "Umfeld"
 - Severe Punishment
 - Harsh Prison Regime
- Some Pragmatism
 - More Openness towards
 the Left from ± 1978



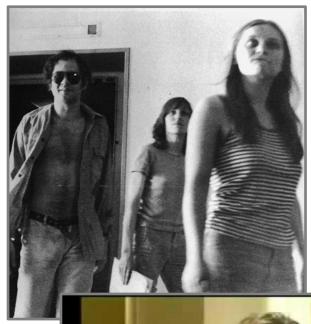
Turnaround Years 1989-1992

- International Scene 1989:
 - Fall of Communism & End of Cold War
- The State and the RAF:
 - 10th Hunger Strike
 - First Negotiation, Resistance
 - New Attacks
- Kinkel-Initiative 1992
- Armistice Declaration



Disunity and Dissolution

- Prisoners Argue:
 - Hardliners
 - Brigitte Mohnhaupt a.o.
 - Family and Friends
 - Negotiators
 - Karlheinz Dellwo a.o.
 - "Illegals": Break with History
- Prisoners Set Free from 1994
- 20 April 1998: Dissolution





Lessons for govt. agencies?

- Imprisonment might not be the end of the fight with terrorists, but a new start
- Find a balance between legalism and pragmatism in counterterrorism, display sovereignty
- Differentiate between groups in the Support Base, and between SB and the terrorist
- Break the stalemate situation, create fluidity and dymanics



The RAF's last attack, 1993: bombing a prison still under construction, no casualties