

THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE

# Newsweek

May 26, 1975

## Terror On Trial



*Ulrike Meinhof  
and Andreas Baader*

Austria	20 Sch	Libya	350 mc
Belgium	37F	Malta	35c
Cameroon	250CFA	Netherlands	2.80 Fl
Denmark	5.50 Kr	Nigeria	65k
Ethiopia	2.50 ES	Norway	5.00 Kr
Finland	3.50 Mk	Portugal	22.50 esc
France	4.50 F	Rhodesia	70 c
Germany	2.80 DM	S. Arabia	4.50 riyals
Ghana	C. 1.00	S. Africa	75c
Greece	30 Drs	Spain	55 ptas
Iceland (incl. tax)	IKR 125	Sudan (incl. tax)	35 Ps
Iran	85 rials	Sweden	4.25 Kr
Ireland (incl. tax)	35p	Switzerland	3.10 F
Israel	3.00 IL	Tanzania	6.75 Shs
Italy	600 L	Turkey	15.0 TL
Jordan	375 fils	United Kingdom	35p
Kenya	6.75 Shs	Yugoslavia	14ND
Kuwait	350 fils	Zaire	60k
Lebanon	320 Ps	Zambia	75n
Liberia	1.00 \$	U.S. Forces	90 c



# Top of the Week



**Terrorist Holger Meins:** On his deathbed after a hunger strike

## The Baader-Meinhof Gang Page 8

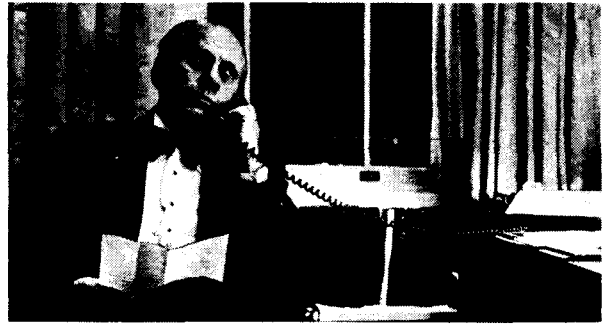
This week in a specially constructed \$5 million concrete fortress billed as "terror-proof," Germany will begin its most celebrated court proceeding since Nuremberg—the trial of a band of political terrorists known as the Baader-Meinhof gang. **Anthony Collings** and **Alan Field** reported for **Susan Fraker's** story on the urban desperados. In a companion piece, **Daniel Chu** profiles terrorist leader Ulrike Meinhof and in the back-page interview **Edward Behr** talks with an earlier revolutionary, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, leader of the 1968 French student uprising. (Cover photos by Mihaly Moldvay—Stern/Black Star, AP, and dpa. Mezzotint by Martin J. Weber.)

## Galloping Toward Chaos? Page 12

Economic doomsayers are having a field day in Britain—and with good reason. The pound continues to slide, inflation is roaring and public confidence in the future is eroding fast. European Regional Editor **Edward Behr** discusses the causes of Britain's march toward chaos and columnist **Bernard Levin** offers a possible cure.

## The Mayaguez Rescue Page 18

On the surface, it was simply a swift and surgical military strike to rescue the crew of an unarmed U.S. merchant vessel seized by Cambodian gunboats on the high seas.



**Ford:** Summoned from dinner to consult on the Mayaguez

Marines were landed to snatch the sailors from their captors and an American warship towed their merchantman to safety. But the Mayaguez affair had far broader ramifications. Its underlying theme was geopolitical, a demonstration of U.S. power and purpose to a world that had begun to doubt both in the wake of the recent debacles in Indochina. And despite some sobering morning-after questions, the over-all success of the operation left the Ford Administration almost giddy with euphoria. With files from **Bruce van Voorst**, **Thomas M. DeFrank**, **Lloyd H. Norman**, **Henry W. Hubbard**, **Paul Brinkley-Rogers**, **Bernard Krisher** and others, **Peter Goldman**, **Milton R. Benjamin** and **Kim Willenson** describe the Mayaguez drama and related events last week in Indochina.

## The World of Computers Page 36

In the last three decades, the use of computers has radically altered the way people conduct their business and live their lives, yet the men who are shaping this technological revolution are virtually unknown to the general public. With reporting from a number of Newsweek bureaus, **Kenneth Labich** discusses who's really who in the world of computers. In a companion piece, based on reporting from **Seth Goldschlager** in Paris and **Frank Maier** in Chicago, Labich describes a merger of French and American computer companies that could portend a major shake-up in the industry.

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# Terror

**T**he building looks oddly out of place in the quiet turnip fields near Stuttgart—a concrete-and-steel fortress surrounded by a 10-foot fence, monitored by closed-circuit TV and illuminated at night by dozens of spotlights. Aside from the guards who constantly patrol its perimeter with police dogs and sub-machine guns, the slit-windowed edifice boasts other features not normally found in German buildings, including anti-aircraft defenses and bomb nets over the roof. Security is so tight in the area, in fact, that local farmers must carry passes just to get to their fields.

The object of these phenomenal precautions is a \$5 million made-to-order courthouse, designed—hopefully—to be terrorist-proof. This week it will be the site of opening arguments in Germany's long-awaited Baader-Meinhof trial, and for the 200 spectators who will be allowed past the guards, the trial of the political terrorists promises to be Germany's most celebrated court proceeding since Nuremberg. In the dock will be the gang's ringleaders—32-year-old Andreas Baader, a university dropout, and 40-year-old Ulrike Meinhof, a onetime journalist turned terrorist. Together with two of their comrades-in-revolution, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe, they face charges which could take up to two years to try and bring them maximum sentences of life in prison.\*

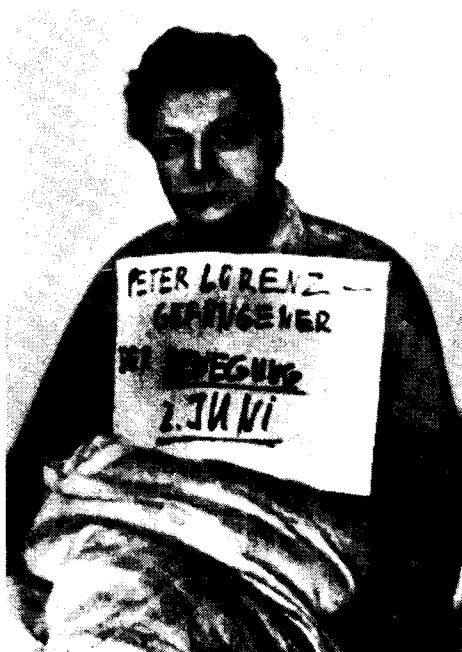
**Frantic:** The list of crimes attributed to the terrorists is nothing short of remarkable. During their all-out war against "the rotten institutions" of German capitalism, Baader, Meinhof and their two co-defendants threw bombs, robbed banks and shot policemen at such frantic pace that they stand accused of crimes covering 354 pages. "We could charge them with other offenses," explained one prosecutor recently, "but then the trial would go on forever."

Adding to the courtroom drama is the vow of gang members still at large to prevent the trial from going on at all. As far back as February, Baader-Meinhof supporters began plotting to force the release of the defendants. To that end, they kidnaped a West Berlin politician, seized twelve hostages in Stockholm and threatened the life of Sweden's Princess Christina. Most recently, they warned of an attack on Stuttgart with Soviet-made SAM-7 rockets unless the whole gang is turned loose.

For Germany, however, far more will be at stake during the trial than the threat of another guerrilla raid or the fate of the four principal terrorists. Politically, five years of urban anarchy have prompted



Photoreporters



AP



Photoreporters



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The Baader-Meinhof legacy: Burning German Embassy in Stockholm (top); kidnaped politician Peter Lorenz; injured German Ambassador Dietrich Stoecker after Stockholm holocaust; bomb-damaged U.S. Officers Club in Frankfurt

\*Germany outlawed the death penalty in 1949.

# on Trial

demands for a return to old-fashioned German law and order and the long and controversial trial could conceivably produce an even sharper right-wing backlash. Moreover, the trial of Germany's first urban guerrillas has become a symbolic event for the government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt—an undisguised effort to affirm the authority of the state. "This trial will show the state takes seriously its defense of the constitutional order," Federal Attorney General Siegfried Buback declared. And the significance of the case goes well beyond the borders of the Federal Republic, raising disturbing questions about how modern

ion-states cope with political terrorism and how societies that pride themselves on reason and democracy can produce such self-destructive desperados as Baader and Meinhof.

**Revolt:** Like many of the revolutionary gangs that sprang up during the turbulent '60s and early '70s (the Tupamaros in Uruguay, the Zengakuren in Japan, the Weathermen in the U.S.), the German terrorist movement grew out of student revolt. But unlike the U.S., where rebellion fed on the Vietnam war, or France, where a temporary link between students and workers supplied the rationale for the May '68 uprising, the German movement languished in rhetoric and theory. Then, in the spring of 1968, terrorists set two Frankfurt department stores on fire. "From that time on," said a Berlin sociologist, "there was no more theoretical discussion. Violence was in." From the ranks of the *linke* (left) emerged the *ultralinke* (ultraleft).

The Frankfurt fires marked the debut of Germany's Red Army Faction (RAF), the precursor of a band of middle-class terrorists collectively known as the Baader-Meinhof Gang. Its early leaders were Baader and his "revolutionary bride" Gudrun Ensslin (now 34), the daughter of a Protestant pastor.

Despite their revolutionary fervor, however, neither Baader nor Ensslin was a trained terrorist. Nor did they identify themselves ideologically with any political group. "Baader was just a reactionary terrorist posing as a revolutionary," explained Gerhard Müller, a fellow gang member who has been cooperating with police since his 1972 arrest. "He executed one girl who wanted to quit. He discarded people like squeezed lemons." But as German police tell it, both Baader and Ensslin had persuasive personalities that made it easy to attract followers from the ranks of *ausgeflipt* (flipped out) young Germans.

One of their first and best recruits was Ulrike Meinhof (box). A pious, serious young woman orphaned at 15, Meinhof



Photoreporters



Sven Simon—Katherine Young



Stern—Black Star



AP

The end of the affair: Captured Stockholm anarchist strapped to a stretcher (top); Ulrike Meinhof on her way to prison (left); a defiant Holger Meins with Frankfurt police; Andreas Baader hospitalized after Frankfurt shootout.

## A Truly Emancipated Woman

**T**hough they profess to see capitalism as an unmitigated evil, virtually all the members of the Baader-Meinhof Gang spring from middle-class backgrounds in one of the most materialistic societies in the world. And though they claim to be conducting armed struggle on behalf of the masses, their knowledge of the proletariat is almost exclusively intellectual. Their motivations, in short, are complex and baffling—and this is particularly true of Ulrike Marie Meinhof, the onetime journalist and pacifist who stands accused of being co-leader of one of the world's most violent terrorist groups. Psychologists and criminologists seeking an understanding of the urban-guerrilla phenomenon have been fascinated by her strange journey from a middle-class neighborhood near Bremen to a cell in Stuttgart.

As most psychologists see it, personal traumas may have played as large a role as social circumstances in shaping Meinhof's radical outlook. Born 40 years ago in the provincial industrial town of Oldenburg to parents who were both art historians, young Ulrike came to know tragedy at an early age. Her father died of cancer when she was only 6 and, perhaps significantly, his death occurred shortly after he had gone through a period of deep depression brought on by his wife's infidelity. "One can conjecture," says Prof. Friedrich Hacker, an Austrian-born American psychoanalyst who has studied the terrorist mentality, "that there may have been a connection in the mind of the child between her mother's marital indiscretions and her father's death."

**Gifted:** A pretty redhead, the youthful Ulrike was remembered as being alternately serious and tomboyishly mischievous according to her fast-switching

moods. After her mother's death she was reared by a foster parent, Prof. Renate Riemeck, an idealistic scholar who was active in ban-the-bomb campaigns of the 1950s. Ulrike attended a Roman Catholic parochial school and for a while even aspired to become a nun herself. But after compiling outstanding academic records at a variety of schools, she went on to prove herself to be a gifted writer. In Hamburg she met Klaus-Rainer Röhl, publisher of a radical-but-chic magazine called "konkret." They were married on Christmas Day in 1961 and, in time, became the parents of twin daughters.

As the star columnist for "konkret," Meinhof took passionate issue against all forms of violence. Outwardly at least, she



Stern-Black Star

Ulrike at age 6: Childhood traumas

seemed happy to be hobnobbing with the successful and the mighty. But there was turmoil within her. She was deeply disturbed by her husband's admitted unfaithfulness. But perhaps just as disturbing, according to her foster mother, was the fact that "she knew she was living a lie, cavorting with the rich and yearning to liberate the poor." The degree of this schizoid split was later revealed when Röhl admitted that the 1960s both he and Meinhof were secret members of the Communist Party.

One other factor during that period could have triggered the Meinhof personality change: in 1962 she had an operation in which a silver clamp was inserted into her brain to ease the pressure from a tumor. Inevitably some psychologists now see this as the main cause of her Jekyll-Hyde transformation.

Whatever the reason, Meinhof spurned her own past and plunged into the New Left milieu of West Berlin in the late 1960s, ultimately emerging as a street revolutionary trained in Lebanon by the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the firebrand ideologue of the "Red Army Faction."

Those who have studied the new German terrorists have noted that the women of the RAF are not merely tag-along groupies but actually make up about half the hard-core activists. To psychoanalyst Hacker, all that adds up to an extreme form of women's lib—what he terms "the Patty Hearst syndrome, in which one recognizes oneself as a truly emancipated woman only with a gun in hand." Munich criminologist Wolfgang Salewski agrees. "The members of the RAF are sad, lonely people, feeling an impotent rage against an anonymous state," he says. "And the women are more frustrated than the men."

—DANIEL CHU with ANTHONY COLLINGS in Bonn

was a well-known left-wing journalist when she met Baader. Depressed by her marriage and disillusioned with her career, Meinhof abandoned her husband in 1968 and, with her children, joined Baader and Ensslin in West Berlin. "Writing is bullshit," she said at the time. "Now let's make a revolution."

Meinhof's chance came in 1970. By that time, Baader had been arrested again as an arson suspect and Ensslin convinced Meinhof to join in a daring raid to free him. On May 14, prison authorities naïvely let Baader visit a West Berlin library "for research on a book." No sooner had he entered the room than three masked women jumped up, shot and seriously wounded a library custodian and then fled with Baader. Eventually, they made their way along the terrorist underground to Lebanon, where they picked up some revolutionary pointers from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

After a summer of tutelage with the

PLO, the gang returned home and began terrorizing Germany with a brutal efficiency that belied their small numbers. Using weapons seized from a NATO munitions depot, and planning their strategy "like the Prussian general staff," they masterminded the simultaneous robbery of three Berlin banks, shot down two Hamburg policemen, blew up a watchman with a bomb. Explained Meinhof: "What we wanted to show was that armed confrontation is feasible, that it was possible to carry out actions where we win and not the other side."

**Army:** Meinhof, the intellectual of the group, acted as the gang's theoretician. Espousing an eclectic mixture of Marx, Mao, Lenin and nihilism, she urged the formation of a "people's army" to overthrow the state. "Unleash the class struggles. Organize the proletariat. Start the armed resistance. Build up the Red Army," read one of her tracts. Meinhof never said what the RAF intended to install in the place of German capitalism

and Brian Jenkins of the Rand Corporation, a U.S. think-tank, has characterized her plans for a new society as little more than a "mélange of ideology, emotion and old-fashioned romanticism." But the gang's exploits and its vague notion of a war against imperialism appealed to radicals put off by German materialism; thousands of youthful leftists carried pictures of Meinhof in their pockets.

By 1971 the three dozen or so RAF members had prices on their heads and their faces on wanted posters all over Germany. Still, police could not catch them. Using booty from their bank robberies, the gang rented high-powered getaway cars (their favorite was the BMW) and took luxury apartments under false names. They also enjoyed the support of scores of leftist intellectuals who let RAF members sleep at their apartments while on the run. As Müller explained it, "When one of us got shot [so far four terrorists have been killed doing battle with German police] there



Klaus Mehner

### inhof as revolutionary: Schizoid split

was always a new wave of sympathy."

In time, however, the gang grew more ruthless and, as it did, it began isolating itself with acts of meaningless terror. After two innocent bystanders died in a radical demonstration in Munich, RAF member Horst Mahler callously commented, "When I drive off in my car, I can't know beforehand if a tire will go flat." In May of 1972 the RAF began the wave of terror that led to its undoing—a series of bomb attacks on U.S. Army installations that killed four Americans and seriously wounded twenty. The bombings dampened all sympathy for the gang. "What had seemed merely a Robin Hood band quickly became isolated," declared a German policeman. "They violated the Maoist principle that armed guerrilla struggle is impossible without support of the masses."

In early June, acting on a tip from a nervous neighbor of the terrorists, police captured Baader and Raspe in a pre-dawn shoot-out in Frankfurt. A week later Ensslin was picked up in Hamburg after a salesgirl saw a Walther pistol protruding from her jacket. And on June 15, a young Hanover teacher who had previously sheltered a hodge-podge of political terrorists dialed the special Baader-Meinhof *Kommando* unit to report that Meinhof was in his house.

**Saga:** Ulrike's capture ended the criminal career of Germany's most-wanted woman. And with more than 30 other gang members also in jail, most Germans thought the saga of Baader-Meinhof was over. But even behind bars, the gang has managed to carry on its revolutionary crusade. Although they were held in a dozen different prisons scattered throughout the country, the terrorists established such a complex communications network that last fall they launched a simultaneous hunger strike to protest their solitary confinement. After persisting in a two-month strike that reduced him to 84 pounds, one gang mem-

ber—33-year-old Holger Meins—died.

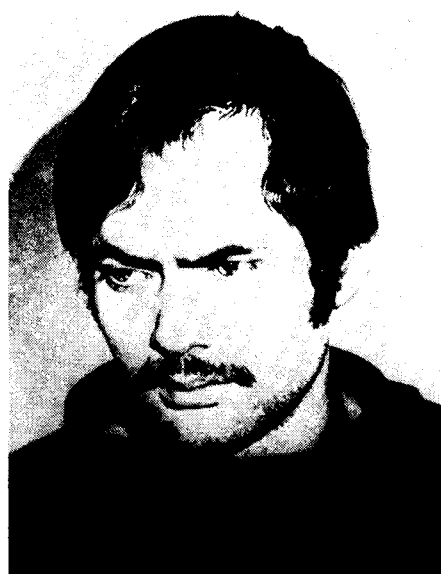
The Sunday after Meins's death, Baader-Meinhof sympathizers took their revenge. Carrying a bouquet of flowers, they called at the home of the President of the West Berlin Supreme Court, Günter von Drenkmann. The judge, who was celebrating his 64th birthday, had not presided over any Baader-Meinhof hearings. Nevertheless, when he opened his door the terrorists emptied their guns into his face at point-blank range.

Following von Drenkmann's murder, the gang disappeared without a trace. But in February it suddenly surfaced again with a calculated efficiency that shocked even the Germans. Three days before the West Berlin mayoral elections, Baader-Meinhof terrorists kidnaped the Christian Democratic candidate, Peter Lorenz. For 72 hours they threw the government into turmoil by demanding freedom for five fellow anarchists. Finally, after a series of crisis meetings with his Cabinet, Schmidt met their request in return for Lorenz's release.

Buoyed by their blackmail, the terrorists tried a repeat performance last month in Stockholm. Commandeering the West German Embassy there, they threatened a dozen hostages with death unless Schmidt released 26 Baader-Meinhof prisoners. This time around, however, Schmidt refused and in response, the gang touched off a holocaust that left two German diplomats and two anarchists dead. "The terror will go on," warned Müller. "As long as Baader lives the terror will never end."

Yet with Baader behind bars—and likely to remain there—Müller's warning sounded more like a prescription for the gang's destruction than a major threat to German society. No doubt other remnants of the group will touch off more *Götterdämmerungs* in the months to come. But with each fire storm of terror, the gang's hope of igniting the flames of revolution grows dimmer rather than brighter. Indeed, five years after Baader and Meinhof first consummated their revolutionary pact, the most striking fact about their exploits has been a singular inability to capture the psyche of most Germans. To be sure, a dwindling band of leftist intellectuals continues to protest the holding of Germany's Bonnie and Clyde in solitary confinement. (The most eminent of these sympathizers, Nobel Prize-winning novelist Heinrich Böll, at one point denounced the police search for the terrorists as "the hunt of 60 million against six.")

But, ironically, the gang's most important impact on Germany could be exactly the opposite of what it had hoped: each act of destruction has driven German society further to the right. Police report an upsurge in support for reinstating the death penalty. Centrist and rightist parties have consistently won more votes with their appeals for law and order. And after Schmidt reversed himself and got tough with the terrorists in Stockholm, his party did better than expected in



Keystone

### Baader: Leader of the *ultralinke*

crucial state elections in North Rheinland-Westphalia.

Despite all this, most German commentators warn against reading any long-term trend into this kind of backlash. Says Theo Sommer, the editor of Hamburg's prestigious *Die Zeit*: "The terrorists have had no lasting impact. There has been stricter law enforcement, but this has not led to right-wing fervor."

**Vulnerable:** Not everyone is as sanguine as Sommer. The Rand Corporation's Jenkins, for one, worries that Baader-Meinhof's trail of terror has only demonstrated just how vulnerable industrialized societies are to a handful of fanatically dedicated terrorists. "If 40 or 50 people can do what the Baader-Meinhof Gang did, then what can 300 do?" he asked. "Democratic governments are limited in their ability to deal with terror like this. If they resort to suspension of civil liberties, the terrorists would, paradoxically, win."

Yet even if viewed through this gloomy prism, there are some heartening conclusions to draw from the Baader-Meinhof affair. The fact that the gang never proved able to recruit even 100—much less 300—people to join its bloody games is striking testimony to the stability of the society that has been constructed in Germany since World War II. Perhaps even more important is the fact that throughout five years of wanton bloodshed and destruction, the German Government never evinced the slightest desire to suspend civil liberties to apprehend the terrorists. On the contrary, German authorities have shown themselves ready to spend interminable time and millions of dollars to establish with strict legality the guilt of known murderers, arsonists and bombers. And that, in a land where murderers once made the law, is a consummation much to be applauded.

—SUSAN FRAKER with ANTHONY COLLINGS in Bonn and ALAN FIELD in New York