

PROTECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION IN BRANDENBURG

Democracy guarantees such rights as the freedom of expression, the freedom of speech, association and assembly. It grants the right of the citizens to elect and to deselect a government. Many Europeans take these rights for granted, but in fact democracy has often been violated in the history. The consequences that followed were disastrous: not only have people lost their freedom of self-determination but also their lives.

The German history of the last century has taught us lessons about anti-democratic political systems. This is why the open society in Germany is organised in a way that enables it to defend itself, a concept that is described by the German word "wehrhaft". The "wehrhafte Demokratie" (alert / ready for action democracy) is an integral part of the German political system, as are the concepts of federalism and the rule of law. "Wehrhafte Demokratie" means that the state does not only guarantee constitutional rights, but that it can also withdraw these rights from organisations who aim at the abolition of the democratic system.

The Verfassungsschutz (VS, Protection of the Constitution) is the German interior intelligence service and, as such, part of the "Wehrhafte Demokratie" system. Historically, it used to be part of the police system in Germany. However, particularly because of the experience with the Gestapo during the Third Reich, police and intelligence powers split up. Verfassungsschutz is now purely an information service with no executive powers at all.

Like the police, Verfassungsschutz is managed by the Länder (states), and not by the central government in Berlin. Therefore, the Verfassungsschutz Brandenburg is only one of 16 Verfassungsschutz authorities in Germany. The cooperation between the individual authorities and the collaboration with other intelligence services is coordinated by the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV, Federal Authority of the Protection of the Constitution) in Cologne.

What and Who is under Verfassungsschutz-Surveillance?

According to the Brandenburg Verfassungsschutz Act, the agency has the duty to gather information about structures, which aim at destroying the liberal and democratic order of open society in Germany. Particularly "when they pursue their aim using violence or

when they show an aggressive attitude against principles of a democratic society”, they are likely to become subject to Verfassungsschutz-surveillance (§3,1).

These principles have been laid out in two rulings of the federal constitutional court in 1952 and 1956. The court at that time had to settle the legal problem of distinguishing between a democratic and an intolerable anti-democratic political organisation. According to these rulings, the following principles are not to be undermined or aggressively antagonised by a political party or movement:

1. The Human rights
2. The right of the people to elect its representatives
3. The rule of law
4. The right to form and execute a parliamentary opposition
5. The possibility of relieving a government of its duties
6. The independence of justice
7. The exclusion of tyranny and despotism.

Structures which work against one or several of these principles are described as being “extremist”. Extremist groups are subject to Verfassungsschutz surveillance.

The Responsibilities of the Verfassungsschutz

According to the Brandenburg Verfassungsschutz Act it is the agency’s duty to inform “the government of the Land along with other responsible authorities about threats to freedom and democracy, the existence and the safety of the Federation and the Länder” (§1,2). The information provided is to help, for example, the police forces to proceed actively against those threats.

In addition, the agency is responsible for assisting with security clearance checks of personnel granted access to classified information or of persons actually employed in, or recruited for, security-sensitive posts within essential civil or military establishments.

Another important function of the Verfassungsschutz – to inform the public about extremist movements – is put down in §5 of the Brandenburg Verfassungsschutz Act. The agency fulfils this duty by issuing its annual report. But there are more public

relations activities carried out by the Verfassungsschutz Brandenburg which should be mentioned. Employees of the Verfassungsschutz teach in schools or universities, participate in panels or give speeches. There is also a Verfassungsschutz website (www.verfassungsschutz.brandenburg.de) and a series of publications on several issues.

Every citizen has also the right to be informed as to whether information has been gathered about him / her by the agency. According to §12 of the Brandenburg Verfassungsschutz Act, this information has to be given by the Verfassungsschutz upon request.

Acquiring and Evaluating Information

The Verfassungsschutz primarily gathers information needed to fulfill its task from publicly accessible sources. If this is not possible or effective, it may, within the limits of clearly defined legal powers and in accordance with the principle of proportionality, use intelligence methods for covert information accumulation. These resources include informants, surveillance, video and audio recordings, and interception of correspondence, mail and telecommunications.

Supervision of the Verfassungsschutz

The activities of the Verfassungsschutz Brandenburg are subject to supervision by the Brandenburg parliament. The "Parlamentarische Kontrollkommission" (PKK, Parliamentary Control Commission) established for this purpose is regularly provided with comprehensive information on the general activities of the Verfassungsschutz. Upon request, this body must also be permitted to inspect records and files.

Different factions of the Brandenburg Parliament appoint the independent G-10 Commission which, in advance of any tapping of phones or interception of mail communications, considers the permissibility and necessity of this restriction of the privacy of correspondence, post and telecommunications in accordance with Article 10 of the Grundgesetz (Basic Law, i.e. the Constitution).

The Brandenburg Commissioner for Data Protection has broad rights to control the administration of personal data by the Verfassungsschutz.

The Structure of the Verfassungsschutz in Brandenburg

The Verfassungsschutz Brandenburg is an integral part of the administration of the Ministry of Interior (Section V), which is structured as follows:

Department 1: Legal issues, Data Protection, Technical issues, Security

Department 2: Verfassungsschutz through elucidation

Department 3: Observation

Department 4: Procuring of Information

Department 5: Analysis of Information

Department 6: Counter-Intelligence, Security Clearance Checks.

Personnel costs total 6.222,000 Euros. Another 1.411.000 Euros for nonpersonnel-related funds were at the Verfassungsschutz's disposal in 2005.

Extremists' Violence

Violence, particularly when its political intention is obvious, is an indicator of the potential lying behind extremist ideologies. In 2005, the amount of politically motivated violent offences declined compared to 2004. The figures gathered by the Brandenburg police show 97 right-wing extremist outrages in 2005 (2004: 105), and 17 left-wing extremist outrages (2004: 22). Therefore, right-wing extremist outrages remain the primary problem within the extremist violence in Brandenburg.

In spite of the decrease in figures of violent offences in Brandenburg, the number of all politically motivated offences increased from 1605 offences in 2004 to 1662 in 2005. The increase was due to the high figures of propaganda offences: 658 in 2004, 917 in 2005. The police could take account of such a high amount of propaganda offences because of the rising alertness in the population of Brandenburg as far as extremist symbols are concerned.

Right-wing Extremist Following ¹

	Bundesrepublik Deutschland		Land Brandenburg	
	2004	2005	2004	2005
Subculture-oriented, violence-prone right-wing extremist ²	10.000	10.400	580	570
Neo-Nazis ³	3.800	4.100	300	350
Political Parties				
NPD	5.300	6.000	130	190
DVU	11.000	9.000	230	300
Other right-wing extremist organisations	11.800	10.500	100	55
Total	41.900	40.000	1.340	1.465
After deducting multiple memberships	1.200	1.000	50	80

Left-wing Extremist Following

	Bundesrepublik Deutschland		Land Brandenburg	
	2004	2005	2004	2005
Violence-prone left-wing extremists ("Autonome")	5.000	5.000	330	310
Anarchists	500	500	single figures	20
Communists				
DKP	4.500	4.500	130	90
KPD	200	200	15	15
MLPD	2.000	2.300	25	25
Red Aid	4.600	4.300	130	160
Other left-wing extremist organisations	14.400	11.500	75	75
Total	31.200	28.300	710	695
After deducting multiple memberships	400	300	50	65

¹ Some of the figures have been estimated and rounded off.

² Most of the subculture-oriented and other violent right-wing extremists (mainly skinheads) are not organised in groups. The statistics list not only those with records as suspects or perpetrators, but also those right-wing extremists presumed to be prepared to use violence on the basis of pertinent and persistent indicators.

³ After subtracting multiple membership of groups within the neo-Nazi milieu. This figure includes only those neo-Nazi groups and those Kameradschaften that demonstrate a certain degree of structure and permanence.

Followings of Islamists and other Foreigner-Extremists

	Deutschland Bundesrepublik		Land Brandenburg	
	2004	2005	2004	2005
Islamists	31.800	32.100	50	50
Thereof IGMG	26.500	26.500	single figures	single figures
Left-wing extremists/	17.290	17.830	110	120
Thereof Kongra-Gel ⁴	11.500	11.500	90	100
Nationalists	8.430	9.500	30	30
Total	57.520	59.430	190	200

⁴ Banned organisations are also counted here.

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Right-wing extremists are self-declared enemies of the liberal and democratic order. They stand for a racist or nationalist concept of state and law and are thus opposed to the idea of human rights and democracy. Right-wing extremists might not appear in homogenous forms, but the following principles form a good general classification:

Ethnic or national identity is of principal importance to right-wing extremists. Other values are subordinate to these ideas. Thus, right-wing extremists oppose the ideas of equality for all and equal rights.

Their political beliefs also consists of anti-Semitism and xenophobia. They want to expel Jews and foreigners from Germany because they see them as aliens to German culture and identity. This idea urges them to break German law through inciting people to hatred. Violence against minorities is often based on this principle.

Right-wing extremists wish a government to be uncontrollably powerful. According to them, dictatorship is preferable to the balance of power found in democracy.

Right-wing extremists are revisionists. They claim that during the Second World War no war crimes took place and that the Holocaust is an invention of the enemies of the German nation. They deny and distort historical facts and instead prefer myths and tales of conspiracies.

Right-wing extremism adopts different social forms. According to the degree of organisation four different groupings can be identified:

Subculture-oriented and other violence-prone right-wing extremists

- Neo National Socialists (neo-Nazis)
- Members of political parties
- Members of intellectual circles

Right-wing extremism mainly addresses teenagers, who are subjects to right-wing propaganda e.g. during concerts of right-wing music bands or during demonstrations. Moreover, the subculture-oriented right-wing extremism is the most visible kind in Brandenburg. This does not imply that right-wing extremism can be looked at as a folly of youth that will pass with its followers growing older and wiser. On the contrary, right-wing extremism is a challenge to the democratic development of individuals and therefore attracts special attention of the Verfassungsschutz.

Political Parties and Their Accompanying Organisations

„Deutsche Volksunion“ (DVU, German People’s Union)

Founded: 1987

Headquarters: Munich

Members in Germany: 9.000

Members in Brandenburg: 300

Important publications: “National-Zeitung” (“National-Newspaper”)

Website: www.dvu.de

The DVU was founded in 1987 following the downfall of the National Democratic Party (NPD). During the same year, the DVU was elected into the Bremen Parliament. In 2005 the DVU was represented in two Länder-parliaments, in Bremen and in Brandenburg. In 2004, the party gained six mandates in the Brandenburg parliament in the Länder-election (1999: 5).

The autocratic structures of the party stem from the groupings in the Länder directly to Munich and the party leader, Dr. Gerhard Frey. He makes decisions on political programmes, the posters’ design and the messages disseminated to the electorate. The regional structures have only very limited responsibilities of political decision making.

Dr. Frey’s important role within the party is also partly due to his enormous economic power. The party deeply owes to Dr. Frey who is said to be the richest right-wing extremist in Germany. He is the manager of a publishing company and an editor of numerous newspapers, journals and book publishing houses. He also makes a living out of selling devotional artefacts and objects, mainly from the Second World War.

There are three main possible sources of votes for right-wing extremist parties:

1. staunch supporters
2. voters who know their candidate personally; and
3. protest voters.

The DVU is most likely to attract votes from the latter, but hardly any of the first two. One of the recurrent slogans is “Sick to the back teeth? Vote for DVU this time!”.

DVU Party programmes are not very informative about the ideological standpoints of the party, as they generally aim at protest voter targets. The party's aims are formulated as accusations and demands while the demands comprise animal and ecological rights and a general "Germans first" policy. The "National-Zeitung" to which each member is automatically subscribed gives a more detailed insight into the party's lines of argument.

The DVU is anti-Semitic but hardly racist. Its political arguments can better be described as being nationalist. The anti-Semitic argumentation is subtle and gives only hints at a presumed worldwide "Zionist conspiracy". Jewish actors, politicians or authors are generally defined by their religious background, and they are mostly mentioned in a negative context.

The nationalist elements can also be found in the headlines of the paper: "Will Germany become a second Israel?", "Berlin must stop Jewish mass-immigration", "Open doors for criminal foreigners", "German employment for Germans first!" Immigration is described as being "folly" and a "threat" to Germans and their economy and culture.

In 2004, the DVU signed an agreement with the other major German right-wing extremist party, the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD). According to this agreement the DVU was to stand for election in Brandenburg alone whereas the NPD was to stand for the elections in Saxony, undisturbed by the DVU. As both parties subsequently managed to get elected into the respective parliaments the agreement was celebrated as a success.

It is very likely that the DVU owes its re-election into the Brandenburg parliament in 2004 to this cooperation with the NPD. Had the NPD stood for election, the DVU might have faced difficulties in getting the amount of votes necessary to achieve the 5% hurdle that bans smaller parties from getting into parliaments in Germany. By running the elections together with the NPD, the DVU polled 6.1% of the votes and therefore achieved seats in the Brandenburg parliament.

Further steps of collaboration were at that time taken, especially with regard to the Bundestag elections in 2005. The extremists called their cooperation "Bündnis für Deutschland" ("Alliance for Germany"). The "Bündnis" implied the NPD's sole electoral campaign for the Bundestag, while DVU members were incorporated in the NPD's electoral list. In return, the DVU will exclusively run for the elections to the European

Parliament in 2009 and the Länder elections in Bremen, Hamburg, Thuringia and Brandenburg with NPD candidates on its lists. As the NPD cooperated with neo-Nazis, the DVU opened up for neo-Nazi circles as well.

Like the NPD, the DVU discovered music as a means of promoting its ideas. It distributed audio-CDs at its electoral campaign in Sachsen-Anhalt in March 2006. The title of the CD was "Stolz und Frei" ("Proud and Free"). This shows that the DVU, like the NPD, tries to gain support among young people including subculture-oriented teenagers.

For the time being the DVU is the strongest right-wing extremist party in Brandenburg insofar as it consists of 300 members. Its activities are nevertheless very weak, which is partly due to the party structures that leave little freedom for individual opinions and activities of members. The regional alehouse and pub meetings are ill-attended.

"Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands" (NPD, National-Democratic Party of Germany)

Founded: 1964

Headquarters: Berlin

Members in Germany: 6.000

Members in Brandenburg: 190

Important publications: "Deutsche Stimme" ("German Voice"), "Zündstoff" ("Explosive Stuff")

Website: www.npd.de

The National-Democratic Party was founded in 1964. Many of the founders had previously been members of the "Socialist Party of the Reich" (SRP), the first political party to be banned in Germany in 1952. The NPD ideology still preserves the ideology of the SRP including the idea of "German Socialism" and a strong anti-capitalistic ideology. The NPD's primary aim is "the reconstruction of the full ability of the German Reich to act" as much as "the realisation of the community of the German people".

The party was elected to several Länder-parliaments in the 1960s, but failed in the Bundestag elections in 1969. The following crisis made the party lose up to 80% of its members. In 1996, with only 3,500 party-members remaining, Udo Voigt was elected chairman of the NPD. His concept of a threefold strategy called "The struggle for the

minds, the streets and the parliaments” made an integration of different right-wing extremist streams possible, and the party moved from internal divisions to attacks against “the system”, as democracy is often called amongst party members and affiliates.

“The struggle for the minds, the streets and the parliaments”

According to the NPD, “the struggle for the minds” aims at eliminating “the thoughts of our enemies”, by which the liberal and democratic order is meant. That implies propaganda and schooling for NPD members. The “Deutsche Stimme”, the NPD newspaper, plays a central role in this struggle. The “struggle for the streets” mainly aims at the non or hardly organised right-wing extremist youth culture. During such demonstrations and concerts these young people get affiliated to the party without necessarily becoming members.

The “struggle for the parliaments” means the quest for parliamentary seats. The “Bündnis für Deutschland” („Alliance for Germany“) is part of that struggle. For the Bundestag elections in September 2005, the NPD even hoped to get the 5% necessary to gain seats in a German parliament. But the party got already disillusioned by the results of the Länder elections in Schleswig-Holstein and North Rhine-Westphalia in January and May 2005. In addition, the NPD lost its credibility even among its supporters when the fact that it had its “Deutsche Stimme” printed in Poland became publicly known. Nevertheless, the NPD started a broad electoral campaign.

In its campaign the NPD especially tried to appeal to young voters by distributing its “Schulhof CD” (“Schoolyard CD”) titled “Here comes the horror to all babbitts and teachers!” The CDs came out in 200.000 copies and was handed in to young people. The lyrics of the songs were indisputably right-wing extremist.

Nevertheless, the NPD missed its objectives at the Bundestagswahl. It received only 1.6% of the votes, in Brandenburg it gathered 3.2%. The Brandenburg results show that the NPD is not able to mobilize all DVU voters to ballot for the NPD. Referring to its self-determined benchmarks, the NPD failed in its “struggle for the parliaments” in 2005.

Associations and Circles

The "Verein zur Rehabilitierung der wegen des Bestreitens des Holocaust Verfolgten" (VRBHV, Association for the Rehabilitation of Those Persecuted for the Denial of the Holocaust) was founded in Vlotho (North Rhine-Westphalia) in 2003 and is now based in Berlin. It was co-initiated by Horst Mahler, a former NPD lawyer and known anti-Semite who lives in Brandenburg. The association aims at the moral and financial support for persons denying the holocaust. Moreover, in order to arouse public attention, the club tries to incite legal procedures about the holocaust and its denial.

Mahler constantly repeats parts of his crude ideology: Hitler was an incarnation of the devine will, the German "Reich" constantly exists, Germany is ruled by the foreign "western powers" by which he means the democracies in Great Britain and the USA. For Mahler, the Federal Republik of Germany is illegitimate and governed by Jews acting in the background of all politics.

Generally, the anti-Semitic conspiracy theorist Mahler makes Jews responsible for all kinds of problems, even the commemoration of the death of millions of Jews in German concentration camps. Mahler names the holocaust a "great lie" created by Jews to keep Germany in leading-strings. In October 2005, Mahler and his network started to attack that so-called "great lie". They placed an outline of their thoughts on the website of the Australian "Adelaide Institute". It was titled "Those persecuted for the denial of the holocaust will become the persecuters now. They chase the great lie whose days are numbered." The plan behind this initiative was to induce several court procedures at the same time by denying the holocaust. However, this tactics was highly controversial within the right-wing extremist scene.

On the website of the Adelaide Institute, leading deniers of the holocaust discussed the eventual convening of an international conference of historical revisionsists in Teheran in late 2005. The revisionists guessed the situation was advantageous for their ends as Iran's president Ahmadinejad seemed to patronize anti-Semitic efforts. Since Horst Mahler's participation in such a conference would have jeopardized German foreign interests, Mahler's freedom of movement was restricted by the Brandenburg authorities for half a year on January 26th, 2006.

Neo-Nazis

Neo-Nazism differs from other kinds of right-wing extremism in its open commitment to the National Socialism of the past century. Many neo-Nazis refer especially to the 25-article-programm of Hitler's National Socialist Worker's Party (NSDAP) and to Hitler's "Mein Kampf". They view themselves as victims of the present "system", which representatives they want to extinguish after their "Machtergreifung" ("takeover of power". The German term "Machtergreifung" is usually used to relate to Hitler's takeover of power in 1933). For the time being, neo-Nazis abstain from the use of force, apart from single outbursts of violence against Jews, foreigners or Germans who are reckoned as aliens by the neo-Nazis.

Neo-Nazis see themselves as elitist avantgarde and political fighters for the erection of a "Fourth Reich". Within the "New Order" of the neo-Nazis, society ought to be regulated according to racist principles as neo-Nazi ideology is characterized by racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia. In the new "Reich" of the neo-Nazis, German culture is the directing culture for all other nations and a "Führer" (leader) commands the country in an authoritarian style and without any control of power.

In spite of such anti-democratic aims, neo-Nazis try to appeal law-abiding and respectful towards authorities. But this appeal misleads. In fact neo-Nazis refuse the constitutional state and its liberals and democratic order. For instance, they reject the idea that all people equally enjoy human rights as they expel Jews and foreigners from these rights. They furthermore dismiss the whole idea that the individual is a holder of inalienable rights opposite the state. Instead they view the "Volksgemeinschaft" (folk's community) as highest value for the nation to which the individual has to submit unconditionally.

Conspiracy theories are characteristic for the neo-Nazi's conception of the world. They perceive themselves as being in a constant struggle against the allegedly omnipresent and omnipotent Jews, also referred to as "Usrael" or "ZOG" ("Zionist Occupied Government"). Besides Israel, the USA is the major enemy of neo-Nazis because it typifies the multiethnic society that neo-Nazis hate. Anti-americanism, partly induced by anti-Semitism, is typical for most neo-Nazis.

Neo-Nazis perceive themselves as leaders of a right-wing extremist social movement. They, therefore, underline their differences to political parties on the one hand and unorganised subculture oriented streams of right-wing extremisms on the other hand. They argue that the NSDAP preferred to call itself "Hitlerbewegung" (Hitler-movement instead

of Hitler-party) and that they follow its example. This also implies that their organisational structures are rather weak, but stronger than those in subculture oriented right-wing extremism. The word "Kameradschaft" (comradeship) which describes somewhat centralised small organisations essentially represents neo-Nazi structures. Demonstrations and public propaganda are the backbone of such comradeships' activities and express their aspirations of forming a social movement.

Neo-Nazi Comradeships

The Verfassungsschutz authorities define "Kameradschaft" as a quality that includes:

A recognizable centre of activists which tries to keep the membership fluctuations of the group as low as possible,

- a local or at most regional stretch,
- first steps towards organisational structure and discipline,
- readiness to carry out political work together on the basis of neo-Nazi convictions.

Ban of the comradeship "Hauptvolk" / "Sturm 27"

On April 6th, the Minister of Interior of the Land Brandenburg banned the comradeship "Hauptvolk" (Master People) and its sub-organization "Sturm 27" ("Storm 27"). Both organisations were considered to fight against the constitutional order of Germany and the idea of "Völkerverständigung" (understanding among nations). Moreover, the activities of those comradeships were rated as what in German legal terminology is called "Volksverhetzung" (act of incitement). The ban is legally binding.

The comradeship "Hauptvolk" had been the biggest and most active comradeship in Brandenburg. The core of its members numbered 35 persons with a total membership of 60 persons. It had mainly been located in the region around Rathenow (Havelland) in west of the Land Brandenburg. Its appearance and its publications showed a clear affiliation to National Socialism. The youth-group "Sturm 27" was called after the SA brigade 27 that had been active in the region around Rathenow during the Nazi era. Soon after its formation, it subordinated itself to the "Hauptvolk". Its 25 members were even younger, more aggressive and more action-seeking than those of the "Hauptvolk".

The ban generated a clear signal in the struggle against right-wing extremism. It left a lasting impression on the right-wing extremist scene in Rathenow and beyond, not only on the effected persons but also on the affiliates and camp followers. They lost

confidence in right wing extremism and were thus discouraged. The ban therefore successfully disrupted the activities of the former comradeship members and had a deep impact on the whole scene.

Ban of the comradeship "ANSDAPO"

"ANSDAPO" was the name of a comradeship in Strausberg, a small city east of Berlin. The comradeship that had about 20 members was banned on July 4th, 2005. Its name "ANSDAPO" officially stood for "Alternative Nationale Strausberger Dart, Piercing und Tattoo Offensive" but it was obvious that the name had been chosen as a tribute to Adolf Hitler's NSDAP.

The logo of the ANSDAPO was a "Black Sun" with "ANSDAPO" placed above it. The members of the comradeship wore the "Black Sun" on T-shirts, pullovers and vests. Within the right-wing extremist scene, the "Black Sun" serves as a substitute for the banned double-sig rune, the former emblem of the much feared national-socialist "Schutzstaffeln" (SS, Protection Squads). The "Black Sun" particularly underlined the SS' self-conception as elite of the "Third Reich". The ban of the "ANSDAPO" is not legally binding yet as the "ANSDAPO" sought an appeal procedure. Apart from that, the local right-wing extremist scene was strongly shaken by the ban.

Consecutive Organisations of the "Bewegung Neue Ordnung" (BNO)

The "Bewegung Neue Ordnung" (BNO, New Order Movement) splitt off the NPD in 2004 because the party was not "racist enough" for one faction of young members. The organisation drew up a 25-point programme that in many parts was similar to the NSDAP programme of 1920. The programme is essentially racist and demands the supremacy of the German state in economic, cultural and social affairs.

Since the beginning of 2005 the BNO's activities ceased. However, two succeeding groups could be identified, the "Schutzbund Deutschland" (Union for the Protection of Germany) which is active in the west of Brandenburg, and the "Gesinnungsgemeinschaft Süd-Ost Brandenburg" (Community of Alignment South-East Brandenburg) which acts in the South-East of the Land. Both comradeships concentrate their activities on the distribution of flyers and the publishing of websites (www.schutzbund-deutschland.de; www.ggsobb.tk). On July 4th 2006, Brandenburg's Minister of the Interior banned the comradeship "Schutzbund Deutschland".

Neo-Nazi Networks

For their organisational and structural order, neo-Nazis no longer solely choose the model of comradeship, but they gather in networks with inter-regional or even international dimensions. Apart from the "Märkischer Heimatschutz" (MHS) and the "Nationales Bündnis Preußen" (NBP) there is a third network active in Brandenburg since 2005, the „Lausitzer Aktionsbündnis" (LAB). The aim of such networks is the combination of personnel and logistic forces. But first and foremost, the neo-Nazis want to appeal as a strong and forceful movement.

The "Märkischer Heimatschutz" (MHS) was founded in 2001 in an attempt to group several "Kameradschaften." The network is particularly active in the northeast of Brandenburg. It has approximately 50 members who are organised in the local sections of Angermünde, Barnim, Berlin, Märkisch-Oderland, Oberhavel, Prenzlau und Strausberg. The chairman ist Gordon Reinholz, a neo-Nazi from Eberswalde who leads the network in an authoritarian style.

The main activity of the MHS is propaganda. In its publications the organisation openly takes the NSDAP ideology as its model. It asserts that the NS state did not fail because of its crimes but because of the unfaithfulness of some Germans. As nationalists the MHS-members seek to "preserve the German people in the biological sense" and to enforce "the freedom and self-determination of the German people" in this biological sense. By this the MHS means that humans shall be put in a hierarchy according to inborn features. The MHS therefore propagates a political and economic order without the rights of the individual. It postulated a state that rules the economy as much as social and cultural life by autocratic and arbitrary means.

Furthermore, the MHS-propaganda enters into political discussions and designates them towards the arguments and concerns of the organisation. Social reforms are defined as anti-German, the war on Iraq is compared with the "imperialistic occupation" of Germany after the Second World War and EU-enlargement is being described as being "national suicide" undertaken by German politicians.

The actions of the MHS were unequivocally right-wing extremist in 2005. As holidays, the neo-Nazis especially observe the following dates: the anniversary of the air attacks on Dresden (February 13th), the day of death of Horst Wessel (February 23th), the end of the Second World War (May 8th), the day of death of Rudolf Hess (August 17th) and the "Heldengedenktag" (commemoration day for the "heroes" of the First and Second World War in November). On these days, the MHS shows itself in public, commemorates NS leaders and falsifies historiography.

The MHS is also engaged in the "National and Socialist Action-Committee Mid-Germany" (NSAM), a network of right-wing extremists and neo-Nazis in Eastern Germany which coordinates the activities of the neo-Nazi scene in Eastern Germany.

On the one hand, the MHS wants to remain nonaligned to any political party, on the other hand, the MHS leaders cooperate with the NPD. They accept the NPD as speaking tube of all "nationalists" and support the party during election campaigns. The MHS-leader Gordon Reinholz was put forward on the electoral list of the Berlin NPD for the elections to the Bundestag.

The "Nationales Bündnis Preußen" (NBP, National Alliance Prussia) is a small association of about 20 people. It has the aim of gathering right-wing extremists in Barnim, Uckermark and North Berlin. There is a continuous contact between NBP members and the National Democratic party (NPD). The NBP is not a party, but neither does it distance itself from right-wing extremist political parties. This uncertainty has made it rather unattractive for neo-Nazis over the last few years.

The "Lausitzer Aktionsbündnis" (LAB, Action-Alliance of the Lausitz) is a network of unorganised right-wing extremists and neo-Nazi comradeships in the south of Brandenburg. It integrates for example the "Gesinnungsgemeinschaft Südost Brandenburg" (GGSOBB), the „Lausitzer Aktionsfront Guben“ ("Action-front of the Lausitz") and the „Sturm Cottbus“ ("Attack Cottbus"). The leader of the network is Sebastian Richter, a neo-Nazi from Hoyerswerda.

The LAB has about 30 members, some are single members and some are representatives of comradeships. But whenever the LAB organises events it can count on about 150 right-wing extremists to join them. The LAB's range of activity stretches from Lusatia (the region in the southeast of Brandenburg) to parts of Saxony.

For its propaganda, the LAB maintains a webpage (lausitztk.netzspeicher24.de). It circulates adverts of the NPD as well as the "Mitteldeutsche Zeitung" of the MHS and the "Schulhof-CD" which was originally released by right-wing extremist music publishers.

The "Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische Gefangene und deren Angehörige e.V." (HNG, Relief Organisation for National Political Prisoners) is the only nationwide nonparty right-wing extremist association active in Brandenburg. It has about 500 members in Germany including about 35 members in Brandenburg. The HNG is a melting pot of all

the different right-wing extremist strands. The only attribute that is common to all members of the HNG is the fact that they have been imprisoned or want to support right-wing extremist prisoners.

The HNG aims at keeping the prisoners in touch with the right-wing extremist scene in order to prevent them from quitting their affiliation to it. Therefore, it arranges visits for the prisoners, organises contact between pen-pals, sends presents and cares also for the prisoners' financial support. People get to know each other in the HNG network, and on-going political work sometimes results from these contacts. This makes the HNG important for neo-Nazi structures. As the HNG's work is quite successful, most prisoners return to their right-wing scenes after their dismissal from prison. The annual general meeting of the HNG took place in April 2005 in Gremsdorf (Bavaria), with 150 members attending.

The internet is an important tool of communication and propaganda for neo-Nazi networks. The initial boom of right-wing extremist websites has nonetheless slowed down and there are at present about 1000 right-wing extremist websites in the German language. The most revolting example of a neo-Nazi website is www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com. The person responsible for the site is Gary Lauck who has dominated the Third Reich nostalgia-business for decades, selling National Socialist items like Hitler busts and propaganda stickers.

Subculture-Oriented, Violence-Prone Right-wing Extremists

The danger for democracy emanating from subculture-oriented, violence-prone right-wing extremists is extraordinarily high because in those scenes, young people are exposed to an unhuman, undemocratic and violence-glorifying mindset. Teenagers often are not sufficiently informed about the crimes of historical Nazism nor are they consolidated in their personal development or their political orientation. Such teenagers can easily become influenced by peers to adopt a derogatory view on the democratic order.

When talking about subculture-oriented and other violence-prone right-wing extremists one implies, in most cases, youths and young adults. They often form peer groups in the first place, and their right-wing extremism is subordinate to that. Such young people meet in public places such as supermarkets, petrol-stations or bus-stops, and they enjoy "hanging out" with their friends. Sub-cultural codes like particular items of clothing, certain corporate brands and music play an important role in the lives of subculture-

oriented and other violence-prone right-wing extremists. These codes are points of orientation for the youths, which help to distinguish "outsiders" from "insiders". It is usually music that facilitates the initiation of (in most cases) young men to right-wing extremist ideology.

When subculture-oriented and other violence-prone right-wing extremists use nazi accessories like medals or parts of uniforms, they most often do so for fashion reasons. They rarely are real neo-Nazis when the term is understood to mean a political nostalgia for the Third Reich. It can in fact be said that subculture-oriented and other violence-prone right-wing extremists lack a political vision of a "different" society and are often unable to produce a concept of how society should be organised according to their views. Instead, they use alcohol, violence and music to create a social cohesion amongst themselves.

This lack of intellectual seriousness and thought does not give any reason to play down the problem caused by subculture-oriented extremists. On the contrary, it is just this category of extremists that commits most criminal offences as its lack of thought is paralleled by almost unforeseeable outbursts of violence. About 70% of the violent acts motivated by right-wing extremism are spontaneous and come out of subculture-oriented and other violence-prone fields.

Some of the subculture-oriented right-wing extremists are skinheads. Apart from a bald head, which explains the name of this stream, skinheads can be recognised by their dress-code (worker's boots, blue jeans with braces etc.) and their loud and aggressive music. Skinhead organisations are very much like cliques, and only a few of the skinheads who live in Brandenburg are formally organised. Some, like "Blood & Honour", which was founded in England in 1987, are followers of the "White Power" ideology according to which the "white master-race" is under attack. "Blood & Honour" produced a 25-point programme which in parts looks like the 25-point programme which Adolf Hitler drew up for the National Socialist Worker's Party (NSDAP) in 1920. Since 1994 there have been sections of "Blood & Honour" in Germany. In 2000, the organisation was banned by the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The use of the letters "B&H" nonetheless still forms part of the secret codes that are common amongst skinheads.

Even though the skinhead dominates the public picture of a subculture-oriented right-wing extremist, members of skinhead groups often look very much like their nonpolitical peers. Nevertheless they follow a certain dress-code which is usually inspired by certain fashion brands like Lonsdale, Conspdale, Fred Perry or Thor Steinar.

The latter is a relatively new brand from Königs Wusterhausen in Brandenburg. The brand was especially designed to appeal to young right-wing extremists. Thor Steinar's original logo is made out of runic characters and caused much debate in 2004 and 2005. The company's logo is composed out of a Tyr- and a Sig-rune. The County Court of Neuruppin banned the logo in November 2004, arguing that the logo could easily be mistaken as an NS-symbol. (After the Second World War, Hitler's National Socialist Party (NSDAP) along with all of its sub-organisations, was banned by the allies. Therefore, using NSDAP-party-logos, is as forbidden according to § 86a of the German penal code.)

The Higher Regional Court in the city of Brandenburg an der Havel contradicted the former decision in September 2005 and abrogated the ban of the Thor Steinar logo. It nevertheless stated that the logo "does especially appeal to persons belonging to the right-wing extremist scene". In fact, the logo was used as graffiti to signalise a right-wing extremist alignment. The example of Thor Steinar shows how political ideas and fashion merge in some right-wing extremist youth cultures.

Subculture-oriented right-wing youth groups can be found in Angermünde, Prenzlau, Schwedt, Templin, Belzig, Bernau, Eberswalde, Königs Wusterhausen, Lübben, in the region of Oranienburg, Perleberg, Pritzwalk, Rathenow, Wittstock, Rheinsberg, Cottbus, and Potsdam. This list is not complete, there are comparable cliques or rudiments of cliques in other towns and regions in Brandenburg.

The Right-wing Extremist Music Scene in Brandenburg

Due to its special emotional effect, music has always played an important role in political propaganda activities. Although there is no extremist music as such, almost all kinds of music can be used for political objectives. In the previous years, right-wing extremist music gained an ever increasing importance in the spread of right-wing extremist outlooks and the recruiting of right-wing extremist followers.

The most popular right-wing extremist music style is skinhead music. With its hard and aggressive beats it is especially appealing to teenagers. The texts of skinhead music deal with the self-image and the lifestyle of the skinhead-scenes, but they also defame foreigners, Jews, Israel, the USA, homosexuals, homeless persons, the press and the governmental authorities. Moreover, the texts often glorify National Socialism and call up for violence. Skinhead music often presents the first contact of youths with right-wing extremist ideology. It has a defining impact on the political and societal orientation of its listeners as its texts are much easier to understand than programmes of right-wing extremist political parties.

Apart from offering a political happening, the organisers of such concerts benefit financially from the concerts. In order to avoid the interdiction of concerts, they are often organised in conspiracy. Nevertheless, organising a skinhead-concert in Brandenburg has proved to be rather difficult. Whereas the number of skinhead concerts almost doubled in Germany in 2005, it stagnated in Brandenburg. Only eight concerts are known to have taken place.

Brandenburg nevertheless has an active right-wing extremist music scene. In 2005, the Verfassungsschutz registered 13 right-wing extremist skinhead bands: "Bloodshed" and "Burn Down" from Potsdam / Chemnitz, "Sturm und Drang" from Senftenberg, "Frontalkraft" from Cottbus, "Hope for the Weak" from Senftenberg / Lauchhammer / Dresden, "Kontra" from Eisenhüttenstadt, "Outlaw" from Ortrand / Lauchhammer / Dresden, "Resonanz" from Eisenhüttenstadt, "Sawdust" from Senftenberg, "Schwarzgraue Wölfe" from Nauen, "Silence" from Rathenow and "Volkstroi" from Fürstenwalde / Beeskow. All these bands are committed to National Socialist ideas. In their songs, they spread anti-Semitic, xenophobic, women-hating tirades and idealize violence. It frequently occurs in their concerts that "Heil Hitler" or "Sieg Heil" is cried out or the swastika flag is shown. The audience usually consists of neo-Nazis, NPD-adherents, and violence-prone skinheads.

The importance of music for the political development of youths can best be illustrated by "Projekt Schulhof" (Project Schoolyard), which was financed by about 50 different interest groups like right-wing extremist parties and entrepreneurs in the skinhead music business. The idea was to produce 50.000 CDs containing mainly skinhead music but with other styles as well, in order to promote right-wing extremist ideology – as the name of the project suggests – on German schoolyards. "Frontalkraft" from Brandenburg is one of 19 bands who appear on this compilation. The introduction to the compilation is particularly interesting, as it demonstrates how the editors of the CD have tried to bind young people emotionally to their ideological convictions. It includes for instance:

"Everyone who looks around in our cities, everyone who follows the daily news, cannot but speak of our time as being run-down and hostile. (...) Egoism rules. Everybody goes for money – there is no time left for real feelings. Trust and values fall by the wayside."

The NPD also comprehended the manipulating effect of extremist music and reacted by inviting extremist bands and singer-songwriters to its summer festivals. Meanwhile, the DVU arranged musical events as well: In 2005 two concerts and five lieder recitals took

place on the premises of a DVU activist in Seefeld (Barnim). The NPD additionally picked up the idea of a "Schulhof"-CD: The party published another three versions of a "Schulhof"-CD and distributed some hundred pieces of those CDs to teenagers. While all these CDs did not violate the penal laws, they were, unambiguously, to be categorised as right-wing extremist.

LEFT-WING EXTREMISM

Left-wing extremists oppose the free, democratic constitutional and societal system, which they vilify as being "imperialistic" and based on racist and fascist ideas. Therefore, left wing extremists are in favour of revolutionary change in German society and intend to overthrow the political order.

Left-wing extremism comprises anarchists and Marxists. The aim of anarchists is to establish what they call a society without rulers, based on the principle of self-government. Marxists strive to create a socialist / communist society, bringing about a "dictatorship of the proletariat". The Marxist notion of the state as dictatorship cannot be reconciled with the fundamental principles of the German Basic Law, such as the balance of power between parliament, judiciary and executive authorities, pluralism of parties, the majority vote, the freedom to form an opposition and the freedom of expression in general. The anarchist ideal of a society without rulers is offensive to the liberal democratic order whenever the use of violence is justified by this aim.

The left-wing extremist spectrum consists mainly of two groups of persons:

- members of left-wing extremist political parties and associations and
- violence-prone left-wing extremists: unorganised autonomists and structures with terrorist approaches.

In contradiction to the anarchist idea of an autonomist lifestyle, anarchists do frequently form organizations. The autonomists (Autonome), which represent a German form of anarchism are on the other hand very reluctant in forming organisations. They represent the largest share of left-wing extremists with a propensity for violence.

Left-wing extremists try to depict themselves as representatives of an enlightened, fundamentally democratic movement, as the spearhead in the "anti-fascist struggle". According to the left-wing extremist ideology, the term "fascism" does not only refer to right-wing extremist persons, institutions and tendencies but also the alleged origin for those, identified with the liberal order of the economy including the guarantee of ownership. In addition, virtually all official institutions are regarded as part of "fascism".

Political Parties

"Deutsche Kommunistische Partei" (DKP, German Communist Party)

Founded: 1968

Headquarters: Essen (North Rhine-Westphalia)

Members in Germany: 4.500

Members in Brandenburg: 90

Important Publications: "Unsere Zeit" (UZ, Our Time), "Roter Brandenburger" (Red Brandenburger, local DKP newspaper), "Trotz alledem! " (In spite of it all) (DKP newspaper for Potsdam)

Website: www.dkp.de

The German Communist Party (DKP) represents the traditional Marxist faction within the left-wing extremist spectrum. After the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) had been banned in 1956, the new party was founded by former KPD party officials in 1968. Until 1989, the DKP served as a lever of SED politics (Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the ruling communist party in the GDR) in former West Germany. After the downfall of the socialism practised in the GDR, the party suffered a dramatic loss in attractiveness to young people.

Being a West German party, the DKP struggled to set foot in the former states of the GDR. Nevertheless, it could only be established in a few towns, for example in Frankfurt (Oder), Potsdam, Barnau (Barnim) and Cottbus. The main problem of the DKP-sections is the old age of its members. The DKP hardly succeeds in acquiring young followers. Nowadays, the average age of a DKP member is over 60 years. This problem increasingly jeopardises the party's existence.

The party has been furthermore weakened by the intense struggles going on between its different wings. Therefore the party did not reach an unanimous agreement in its lengthy debate about a new draft party programme (the current version dates back to 1978). The "state and democracy issue" has not yet been resolved between DKP comrades in Eastern and Western Germany – a euphemism to describe the fact that those sections of the party originating in the former GDR advocate using terms like "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the programme text. Another issue is the question of whether or not the party should agree to tactical alliances with Stalinist parties like the KPD or MLPD (see below). The decision to break formally with Stalinist tendencies is in line with the DKP's

tactics of adhering strictly to the principle of legality since its "reconstitution" in 1968. These tactics are now quite controversial within the party organisations in the five Eastern German states. The Brandenburg party seems to belong to the more leftist factions within the DKP. The party did not take part in the Bundestagswahl 2005, instead it called to vote for the PDS/WASG.

"Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands" (KPD, Communist Party of Germany)

Founded: 1990

Headquarters: Berlin

Members in Germany: 200

Members in Brandenburg: 15

Publications: "Die Rote Fahne" (The Red Flag), "Trotz alledem" (In spite of it all)

Website: www.kpd-online.info

In 1990, the KPD was formed mainly by former members of the Eastern German communist party (SED) in Berlin which at the time was still the capital of the GDR. It sees itself as the only legitimate successor to the original KPD, founded in 1918/1919 by famous left-wing politicians as Liebknecht, Thälmann and Pieck. The party strictly adheres to the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and glorifies the living conditions and the political system of the former GDR. The activities of the GDR Ministry for State Security and the GDR border guards are openly justified as necessary for suppressing counter revolution. In spite of his crimes, Stalin is still venerated as hero of socialism. The KPD did not take part in the Länder-parliamentary elections 2004 and the Bundestag elections in 2005.

"Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands" (MLPD, Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany)

Founded: 1982

Seat of Central Committee: Gelsenkirchen (North Rhine-Westphalia)

Members in Germany: 2.300

Members in Brandenburg: 25

Publications: "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag)

Website: www.mlpd.de

The MLPD, founded in 1982 in West Germany, is committed to the doctrines of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. By a revolutionary change, the MLPD wants to replace the "dictatorship of the monopolist capital" by the "dictatorship of the proletariat". Because of its Maoist positions, the MLPD has become largely isolated within the left-wing spectrum and has developed traits of a sect. It can only take part in political alliances through camouflage organisations.

In the last years, the MLPD focused its energies on problems concerning reforms of the welfare-system. The party played an important role organising demonstrations against those reforms of the labour market. This role provided the MLPD with a certain public presence and helped the party to get a wider acceptance in Brandenburg. Nevertheless, there is no party branch in Brandenburg. The MLPD took part in the Bundestag elections in 2005, but it could only win 3.512 (0,2%) votes in Brandenburg.

Trotskyist Groups

Trotskyists refer to the Russian revolutioner Leon Trotsky. They believe that communism in the Soviet Union failed because Trotsky's conception of a "permanent revolution" was overruled by Stalin's idea of "socialism in one country". As Trotskyists are not accepted by other communists, they resort to a special political tactic called "entryism". Entryism means that Trotskyist organisations encourage their members to infiltrate left-wing extremist or even democratic organisations in an attempt to gain recruits or take over entirely and define the political agenda of the organisations penetrated.

The group "Linksruck" (Left Turn) is the largest and most active Trotskyist organisation in Germany. It has up to 400 members nation-wide, while there are only few adherents in Brandenburg. The "Linksruck" organisation, whose headquarters are based in Berlin, publishes an eponymously titled newspaper and a magazine called "arguments". "Linksruck" is the German section of the London-based international Trotskyist umbrella organisation, "International Socialist Tendency" (IST).

Every year "Linksruck" organises its so called "Rosa-Luxemburg-Days". The event (which in 2005 took place between May 13th and 16th) was directed at members of "Linksruck" as well as people interested in issues like anti-globalisation, the anti-war movement, social politics and other typical left-wing topics. The 2005 congress showed once again how "Linksruck" tries to infiltrate the left-wing organisation "Wahlalternative Soziale

Gerechtigkeit" (WASG, Electoral Alternative for Social Justice) by applying its entryism tactic.

"Rote Hilfe e. V." (RH, Red Aid)

"Rote Hilfe e. V." (RH, Red Aid)

Founded: 1975

Headquarters: Göttingen (Lower Saxony)

Members in Germany: 4.300

Members in Brandenburg: 160

Publications: "Die Rote Hilfe" (Red Aid), "newsletter"

Website: www.rote-hilfe.de

"Rote Hilfe" (Red Aid) provides political and material support to members of the left-wing extremist spectrum who regard themselves as being victims of political persecution. The organisation gives support to people with a left-wing extremist background who are held in custody. It helps choosing a lawyer, preparing the legal process and even paying amendes. The Red Aid's personal service continues during imprisonment. All of these measures can strengthen a defendant's or prisoner's notion of being the victim of a politically motivated judiciary.

In Brandenburg it is mostly autonomists who work for Red Aid. They have groups in Potsdam, Strausberg (Märkisch-Oderland) and since 2005 in Frankfurt (Oder), and they have a contact address in Rathenow (Havelland). The Potsdam group is the most active one in Brandenburg.

Traditional Anarchists

Traditional anarchists have an estimated number of 20 followers in Brandenburg. Public activities are very rarely known of.

Violence-Prone Left-Wing Extremists

Autonomists

Autonomists form a special German branch of anarchism. Ideologically, they are closer to anarchists than to revolutionary Marxists. They reject fixed forms of organisation. Their major enemy is the state and any kind of authority. Unlike most European anarchists, autonomists consider violence a legitimate means to achieve their political goals. Autonomists seek to practice politics freely and spontaneously, this is what they consider as "autonomy." As they regularly accuse state institutions of favouring right-wing extremists, they feel justified to take repressive measures against "fascists" themselves. What they do in fact is to disguise their propensity for violence as a fight against right-wing extremism.

As they advocate the use of violence, autonomists differ from all other groups who aim at a society without rulers or at an alternative lifestyle. As they take violence for a legitimate means of dealing with a political conflict, they undertake a wide range of militant action, including incendiary and bomb attacks, bodily injury, militant protest against nuclear power plants, dangerous disruption of road and rail transport, and violent demonstrations where stones and other missiles are thrown. While committing those actions, they deliberately jeopardise the health of policemen, peaceful demonstrators or noninvolved bystanders. Some groups of autonomists bear resemblance to terrorist groups.

Autonomists try to recruit young people who want to get involved in action groups and nonextremist associations against racism. This way, autonomists exploit teenagers' commitment to fight right-wing extremism. In addition, autonomists sometimes form coalitions with nonextremist groups, for example in order to organise a demonstration. Agreements to abstain from violence during those demonstrations are frequently ignored. During street battles (which they also call "mass militancy"), autonomists often cover their faces and dress in uniform "combat gear" to form what are known as "black blocks".

Autonomists often form loose and short-lived small groups with a high fluctuation of members and without a regulated structure of leadership. Differences in opinion often lead to the splitting of such groups.

Autonomist groups exist in the regions of Potsdam, Bernau (Barnim), Frankfurt/Oder, Königs Wusterhausen, Zeuthen (both Dahme-Spreewald), and Cottbus. Examples of well-

known organisations are the "AK Antifa Potsdam", the "Antifaschistische Aktion Potsdam" (AAPÖ), and the "Autonome Antifa Frankfurt (Oder)" (aaffo). All three can be assigned to the "anti-German" spectrum of autonomists.

Anti-Germans form a special segment within the autonomist movement. For them the word "German" does not refer to a nationality, but is rather a term denoting a general attitude, which can predominate in other peoples as well. For them "German" means a "suicidal" approach to social and political conflicts, which is based on the collective "use" of innocent scapegoats.

Typical anti-German slogans are:

"Nie wieder Deutschland" (Germany never again),

"Fight anti-Semitism! Delete Germany!",

"Bomber Harris do it again",

"Deutsche Täter sind keine Opfer" (German offenders are no victims).

Nowadays, Palestinians are regarded as being typical "German" in this sense of the word. Anti-Germans accuse Palestinians and jihadists of committing another holocaust in history, in which the Koran takes the place of Hitler's "Mein Kampf". For anti-Germans almost any political development is in one way or another linked to the holocaust. By seeing it happen everywhere they do not realise how much they contribute to making a unique historical phenomenon seem banal. Anti-Germans fervently support Israel and all the measures taken by Israeli security forces against Palestinians. They also defend the US- and British-led intervention in Iraq.

Structures with terroristic approaches

Since 2001 a terroristic group has committed more than a dozen incendiary attacks under the name "militante gruppe" (militant group). Most of the attacks took place in Berlin, but there were also three attacks committed in Brandenburg with an estimated material damage of 100,000 Euros.

Participation of left-wing extremists in sociopolitical actions and debates of civil movements

Left-wing extremists try to take part in sociopolitical actions and debates carried out by nonextremist citizens. They seek to achieve the highest possible influence on those actions and debates and to give them a left-wing extremist imprint. In this respect, the most important area of activity for left-wing extremists is "Antifaschismus" (anti-fascism).

Anti-Fascism

The "anti-fascism"-scope provides for the organisational and ideological cohesion within the different branches of the autonomist spectrum. Autonomists and other left-wing extremist "anti-fascists" regard right-wing extremism as a part of the capitalistic economic system, and the liberal democratic state as a guarantor of that system. Moreover, they allege a hidden alliance of the state and the right-wing extremists. According to these logics, the only way to fight right-wing extremism is to abolish capitalism and the state that patronises it – including that state's liberal democratic order. If other means fail, violence is regarded as justified to achieve this aim. It is this ideology that differentiates left-wing extremist "anti-fascism" from the struggle against right-wing extremism that the civil society conducts.

In 2005, the broad-based alliances of democratic organisations fighting right-wing extremism have often dominated the scene. In combination with appropriate police measures, this made it more difficult for left-wing extremists to make their mark in the field of anti-fascism. This led to both a reduction of general activities and a drop in the number of autonomists supporting civil protest against right-wing extremism.

On the "Tag der Deutschen Einheit" (Day of German Unity, October 3rd), the "AG Antirassismus" and other groups ran a demonstration in Potsdam in 2005. For those anti-Germans, hostility towards Germany is a part of "anti-fascism". Therefore, they postulated: „Polen muss bis Frankreich reichen, Deutschland von der Karte streichen“ („Poland must stretch to France, delete Germany from the map“) and "Deutschland entsorgen" („Dispose Germany“).

Anti-Racism

One needs to make distinctions between the desirable campaigns of citizens against racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism on the one hand and the ideologically loaded "anti-racism" of left wing extremists on the other. Left wing extremists understand racism to be an instrument of the capitalistic system, serving suppression. Following such logic, economic and state structures must be destroyed in order to allow a life without racism. This is obviously directed against the liberal democratic order.

Overall, the anti-racist movement has lost much of its ability to mobilise supporters in recent years. In Brandenburg, the "anti-racism" area of action played only a minor role within autonomist activities in 2005.

Actions against the transportation of nuclear waste

Many citizens' action committees fighting the use of nuclear power lost followers within the past years as their subject suffers from a loss of attractivity. Nevertheless, autonomists use such movements for their fight against the "capitalistic system".

About 3.500 people got involved in the protest actions against the transport of nuclear waste from Le Hague (France) to Gorleben (Lower Saxony) from November 19th to 22nd (2004: up to 5,000), among them about 200 left-wing extremists including 100 autonomists.

Campaign Against Genetically Modified Plants

Campaigns against genetically modified food are mainly organised by citizens and environmental pressure groups with no extremist intentions. They present their objections against the use of genetically modified plants peacefully. Nevertheless, left-wing extremists fight in this field as well. In contrast to the nonextremist citizens, they aim at a revolution against the "capitalistic system" which practically means that they want to annul the liberal democratic order. The protest against experiments with genetically modified plants is just an exchangeable starting point for their fundamental opposition against the constitutional order of the state.

For some years, the "Barminer Aktionsbündnis gegen Gentechnik" (BAgG, Action Committee Against Genetic Engineering) has been one of the most active Anti-Genetic-Engineering actions groups not only in Brandenburg but in the whole of Germany. It is influenced by left-wing extremists. In the past years, it did not manage to expand its

activities by instrumentalising environmentalists or other citizens. On July 12th, 2005 the BAgG started a bus tour heading for fields on which genetically modified plants were cultivated. 32 people took part in this action. Moreover, the BAgG organised a cycling-tour to some experimentally used fields.

Anti-Globalisation

To left-wing extremists, the anti-globalisation movement seems to offer an opportunity to gain public attention. The driving force of most of the movements criticising globalisation is a nonextremist one. However, left-wing extremists use the anti-globalisation movement as vehicle for their fight against the "capitalistic world order."

In 2005, the main starting point for mobilisation activities was the G8-summit in the Gleneagles Hotel in Perthshire, Scotland, from July 6th to 8th. But as only a few Germans traveled to Scotland for protest actions, a mobilisation for the G8-summit in St. Petersburg in July 2006 was not even initiated. Instead, the anti-globalisation movement – and within it the left-wing extremists – concentrate on the planned 2007 G8-summit in Heiligendamm (Northeast Germany). Left-wing extremist groups already offer to coordinate the anti-globalisation protest activities. In this way they hope to gain control over the broad movement and give a fundamental anti-capitalistic impetus to it.

Other groups do not confine themselves to nonviolent means. In 2005, two incendiary attacks were committed which were connected to the G8-summit in Heiligendamm. On July 28th, unknown persons burned down the official car of the chairman of the Norddeutsche Affinerie AG in front of his private house in Hollenstedt (Lower Saxony). In their confession to this act, the authors wrote: "By committing this act, we want to suggest a broad and militant campaign for the G8-summit in Heiligendamm." The second attack was an incendiary attack against the guesthouse of the Foreign Office on October 17th. Again, the confessors, the "autonome gruppe / militant people" (mp) referred to the summit in Heiligendamm. They claimed to protest against the "new German foreign policy which is a great-power policy in the economic and military sense."

Anti-Militarism

Scepticism towards the "Bundeswehr", the German army, is sometimes used by left-wing extremists to incite "anti-militaristic actions." In Brandenburg, a prolonged controversy about the use of parts of the Kyritz-Ruppiner Heide (North-West of Brandenburg) as a military training area was still ongoing in 2005. As nonextremist

citizens organise demonstrations, left-wing extremists use these events to put the Bundeswehr on a level with National Socialism and therefore demand its abolition.

In October 2005, unknown persons smudged the memorial for the soldiers killed in the Second World War in Halbe (Dahme-Spreewald). They wrote "German culprits are no victims", "No memorial for fascists" and "Here are only murderers."

Protest Against the Government Programme of Labour Market Reforms

With a topic like social welfare which left-wing extremists traditionally consider their own, autonomists were hoping to play a leading role in public protest in order to give them an anti-capitalistic undertone. Meanwhile, it turned out that left-wing extremists were not able to channel public protest into an organised revolt of the masses against the "ruling system". After the downfall of socialism as practised in the GDR, left-wing extremism remains in a deep crisis.

On October 20th, about 20 persons, among them autonomists, occupied the private garden of the chairman of the AWO Berlin (Worker's welfare organisation) in Falkensee. They called themselves "Die Überflüssigen" (The Superfluous), distributed flyers in the neighborhood and announced via megaphone: "This is the residence of the chairman of the Berlin AWO who exploits low-wage earners." According to its own statements, the group "Die Überflüssigen" consists of several left-wing extremists organisations, among them the "Antifaschistische Linke Berlin" (ALB), "Kritik & Praxis Berlin (KP, Criticism and Practice Berlin) and "Für eine linke Strömung" (F.e.l.S., For a Leftist Flux).

ISLAMISM

Islamism has to be distinguished from both Islam and terrorism. Whereas Islam is a monotheist world religion with more than a billion worshipers worldwide and a history of nearly 1400 years, Islamism is a political ideology of recent times. Islamism is not Islam, but rather a politicised version of the religion. Islamists pretend to fight for the re-erection of an Islamic state modelled on the early muslim community that was led by the Prophet Muhammad. This state shall unite all muslims in the world, it shall be based on the Koran, the traditon of the Prophet (sunna) and the Islamic law (shariah).

Islamists are no democrats. According to them, in a society that follows the rules put down in the Koran and the traditions (sunna), no balance of power or freedom of speech is necessary. They are convinced that the community of believers (umma) can easily live in peace and harmony, once the "true spirit of Islam" reigns in that society's political institutions and in the hearts of the individuals. Of course it is the Islamists who pretend to know what this "true spirit of Islam" is. In their Islamist state they wish to establish the inequality of muslims and nonmuslims as well as the inequality of men and women.

According to Islamists, the problems of Muslim societies are due to "Westernisation". Signs of "Westernisation" are seen, for example, in nation-building, Western life-styles, international co-operation and democracy. To them most of the actual political leaders in the Muslim world are "apostates", because they cooperate with "the West". Many Islamists are not only fierce enemies of what they call "the West" but are also convinced that the small political and economic importance of the Muslim world nowadays is the result of a Jewish conspiracy against Islam. The mere existence of the Jewish state is unsufferable for some Islamists.

One may not identify Islamists with terrorists. The vast majority of Islamists living in Germany seeks to achieve its political aims by the use of legal means and acceptance of the laws (legalist Islamists). These are predominantly Turks by origin who want to disestablish the secular order of the Turkish state.

Jihadist Islamists do in contrast feel legitimised to assert the "Islamic order" by force. The terrorist attack of September 11th, 2001, made it clear that Islamists who are prepared to use violence represent the most powerful threat to internal security worldwide. The Mujahedin (those engaged in Islamic holy war – jihad) interpret the Koranic word "jihad" as a duty to the armed fight against all "infidels". Their definition of

“infidels” includes not only Christians and Jews but also those Muslims who do not share their strict and political interpretation of Islam and are therefore accused of “apostasy”. In Iraq, jihadists have killed far more Muslims than members of the allied forces.

More than three million Muslims live in Germany, only one percent of which feel affiliated with the ideology of the Islamists. And among those, only very few can be classified as jihad fighters. Moreover, those jihadists living in Germany like members of HAMAS, FIS, Hezbollah and others exclusively use their activities in Germany for the logistic and financial support to the armed struggle in their native countries.

However, even single persons can clandestinely prepare to launch attacks in Germany. It is especially the internet that helps recruiting jihad fighters. The attacks in London proved that the internet can serve as a means to generate new jihadists via self-radicalisation and self-recruitment.

Jihadist Islamism

Independent terrorist cells of apparently integrated Muslims in Europe

The best known jihadist organisation undoubtedly is al-Qaida (“The Basis”). However, it seems that al-Qaida is no longer able to launch vast attacks itself because of the intensive prosecution that it has faced after September 11th, 2001, and especially after the removal of the al-Qaida operational basis in Afghanistan.

As a consequence of its operational disability, al-Qaida changed its strategy: Nowadays, it does not anymore supply jihadists with bombs, logistics and planning like it still did for the attacks of Istanbul, but its supply predominantly consists of its Islamist ideology. Al-Qaida’s ideology gets mainly spread via the internet and TV-video-messages. By posing those messages, al-Qaida tries to gain influence on Muslims worldwide and to recruit new jihad fighters.

Moreover, various websites run by al-Qaida followers offer basic information that one needs to prepare a terrorist attack. No Islamist has to take the burdensome way to Afghanistan anymore to become a jihad fighter. Young Islamists can nowadays join the al-Qaida-inspired terrorism without previously contacting a mujahedeen group. They just need to act in the spirit of al-Qaida.

The new generation of jihadists consists of small groups of assassins who grew up in the country they aim to attack. They draw their ideological orientation from internet messages as well as from a self-made patchwork-Islam, and they act independently. Therefore, these new types of jihadists are named "homegrown networks."

The attacks of Madrid (March 11th, 2004) and London (July 7th and 21st, 2005) clearly showed the dangers that can emanate from "homegrown networks." In both cases, the terrorists had grown up in the societies they attacked, both terrorist cells had no organisational connection to al-Qaida. The Madrid assassins were of Northafrican origin, they had been raised in Spain and some of them had the Spanish citizenship. They seemed to be integrated into Spanish society and until the attacks, they had no police record concerning any Islamist statements or activities. However, the authorities knew them as petty criminals. They were radicalised in an Islamist mosque and via private contacts.

The London assassins had similar characteristics. Three of them were British citizens of Pakistani origin, the fourth was a Jamaican who acquired the British citizenship. All of them seemed to be well integrated into the British society: Their families lived in the UK, they had enjoyed a British education, had jobs and were even engaged in social projects. No mosque or organisation was involved in their radicalisation, but they radicalised each other in a process of group dynamics.

There are further differences between the attacks of Madrid and London and al-Qaida assaults. The time that passed from radicalisation to the planning and launching of the attacks was much shorter. Al-Qaida had prepared its attacks for years, but the assassins of Madrid and London took only a few months for their plans. Moreover, they conducted the attacks with simple and cheap means which they could easily afford themselves. And they chose "soft targets": trains that thousands of people use every day. In contrast, al-Qaida always sought to hit targets with a symbolic content like the World Trade Center or the Pentagon.

Even though the attacks of Madrid and London clearly showed that there is an Islamist danger in Europe, most of the Islamist activity is still concentrated in Muslim countries. A majority of the Islamist groups originates in the Palestinian Territories (eg. HAMAS), the Levant (eg. Hezbollah) and Northern Africa (eg. Front Islamique du Salut).

The growing influence of converts within the militant Islamist networks is another reason to worry. German converts to Islam sometimes feel pushed to demonstrate their religious eagerness by force, for instance a young convert from the region of Ulm (Baden-Wuerttemberg) who died as a jihad fighter in Chechnia. Another German from the Ruhr district who converted to Islam is said to have close contacts to the al-Qaida leadership and to have had worked as an IT- and telecommunication specialist for al-Qaida. The case of Steven Smyrek, who was sent on a murderous mission to Israel by Hezbollah and who was subsequently arrested there, has also become famous.

Most of the websites that are visited by young Islamists in Europe are well-equipped with audio files or short films. They offer an introduction to the respective ideology of the groups, often glorifying violence.

Jihadist groups in Germany and Brandenburg

In the past, Germany mainly served as a space for background activities of jihadist groups. But in the meantime, Germany has become a major operational basis for terrorists in Europe. Various groups acquire money, falsify documents, plan attacks, smuggle persons and recruit new fighters for the war in Iraq or other sites of terrorism. Because of the conspirative proceeding of those activists it is very difficult for the authorities to convict suspects of such activities or of the affiliation to a terrorist group.

In a trial that started in April 2004, the Tunesian Ihsan Garnoui was sentenced to three years and six month imprisonment on April 6th, 2005. He was accused of having undergone a training for jihad fighters in Afghanistan and for the preparation of a terrorist attack in Germany. But both suspicions were not proved and therefore Garnoui was only convicted for tax fraud, forgery of documents and violation of the arms act and the aliens act.

On June 9th, 2005, the acquittal of the Moroccan Abdelghani Mzoudi became valid. Mzoudi was accused of having supported the assassins of September 11th, but was acquitted by the Higher Regional Court in Hamburg due to lack of evidence. The Federal Court of Justice confirmed the acquittal. After that, Mzoudi left Germany voluntarily and returned to Marocco.

In the "Al-Tawhid" case, the sentence was pronounced on October 26th, 2005. Four members of the German branch of the internationally acting terrorist network "Al-

Tawhid" received custodial sentences of between five and eight years. The Palestinians Ismail Shalabi, Ashraf al-Dagma and Mohammed Abu Dhess and the native-born Algerian Djamel Mustafa were sentenced for being members of a terrorist association and for falsification of official identity cards. The court ascertained that they planned attacks on Jewish-Israeli targets by 2001 / 2002, following orders from the head of the Al-Tawhid network, Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi.

Compared to the other Bundesländer in Germany, Brandenburg has a relatively low personnel potential of Islamists. At present, no structures of Islamist networks can be detected. Only individual members of different regional Islamist groups (as opposed to organised cells) live in Brandenburg. They usually seek to get involved in organisational structures existing in Berlin while their activities are reduced to collecting money or seeking ideological support for their brethren in their country of origin. Although there are some mosques in Brandenburg, no clear Islamist activities were to be observed in 2005 – in contrast to 2002 when a small Islamist cell in Cottbus was under suspicion of planning an attack, and in contrast to 2004 when Muslim clerics preached against "infidels" and Jews.

Concurrently, the Muslims of Brandenburg still do not clearly distance themselves from terrorism as many Muslim communities in Germany and Europe do. Besides, some Muslims in Brandenburg tend to deny the holocaust or to qualify the crimes committed by the National Socialists against the Jews. They additionally claim that Muslims are paramount compared to nonmuslims and that the shariah is paramount compared to the secular order of the basic law. Up to now, no persons from Brandenburg were recruited for the jihad in Iraq or elsewhere. But this cannot be excluded in the future.

Legalist Islamists

Most of the Islamists living in Germany are legalist Islamists which means that they obey the German laws while they depreciate the legal system at the same time. They claim that western societies are entirely corrupt and that they seek to destroy Islam. Legal Islamists foster a feeling of moral superiority among their followers and therefore agitate against the integration of Muslims into Western societies and against communication and dialog between the religions. Their propaganda often results in self-isolation of Muslims.

Legalist Islamists try to win new adherents in mosques, at cultural events and wherever Muslims meet. Such events are not necessarily Islamist in nature but they offer an

opportunity for Islamists to get in contact to Muslim youth. In addition, many jihadists were members of legal Islamists groupings at first, legal Islamists therefore offer a multitude of potential recruits for jihadists.

Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs (IGMG, Islamic Community Milli Görüs)

Founded: Cologne in 1985 as "Vereinigung der neuen Weltsicht in Europa" (AGMT, Association of a New World View in Europe)

Membership in Germany: 26.500

Associated mosques in Germany: 300

Membership in Brandenburg: single figures

Publications: Milli Görüs & Perspektive amongst others, published at irregular intervals

Website: www.igmg.de

Among Islamist organisations, the IGMG has a special significance due to its large membership and following as well as its numerous mosques and facilities, some of which are in other European countries. The Europe-wide interests of the IGMG are also reflected in the organisation's structure: The headquarters in Kerpen, North Rhine-Westphalia, oversees 30 subordinate regions with several hundred local mosque communities. The IGMG-owned "Europäische Moscheebau und Unterstützungsgemeinschaft (EMUG, European Mosque Building and Support Society) is responsible for the administration of the 2000 mosques which the IGMG claims to have in Europe.

The organisation upholds the tradition of the Milli Görüs movement inspired by Prof. Necmettin Erbakan. The aim of this movement is to re-islamise society, the state and politics in Turkey. Erbakan has been politically active since the 1970s, attempting to implement his idea of a "just order" (adil düzen), in which all areas of life (education, trade, industry, legal system and state action) are based on the commandments and traditions of Islam.

Erbakan distinguishes between "batil" (void) societies based on force and "hak" (law) societies in which monotheist rule is prevalent and which, at its highest state, is Muslim. For Erbakan, an ongoing struggle between the two types of society is obvious. All bad things in the world according to this ideology are due to the "batil" societies and their political orders. Milli Görüs ideology stands for a universal response to all these problems.

IGMG can thus be called Islamist as it politicises Islam and sees it as a counter-ideology to Western democracy. Another typical Islamist attitude can be seen in the fact that IGMG claims to hold the "true spirit of Islam" which, according to its Milli Görüs ideology, has to be followed by the rest of the Muslim world in order to create a "just order". This totalitarian aspect has come to light particularly during the internal debates on the future course of the movement.

In Turkey a great number of followers of the Milli Görüs ideology have joined the "Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi" (AKP, Justice and Development Party), founded in 2001 and currently governing the country. The "Realpolitik" emphasised by some AKP-leaders has raised the question whether IGMG should distance itself from Turkish politics and concentrate on the concerns of Muslims in Europe.

In Germany, the IGMG strives to improve its public image. While in the 1980s, it expressed clear anti-Semitic and anti-German positions it now seeks to gain a moderate and pro-integration image. It is yet questionable as to whether or not IGMG is seriously interested in the integration of Turkish youths into European societies. The strong emphasis on the "wrong" Western life style and the "right" Milli Görüs ideology raises some doubts.

The IGMG is especially active in cultural and religious educational work for youth of Turkish origin. It offers a broad spectrum of leisure activities like holiday camps, computer training or sports. By this means, the IGMG tries to bind youth to its organisation and ideology.

ACTIVITIES BY FOREIGNERS THAT ENDANGER THE SECURITY OF THE STATE

Groups of foreign extremists can be differentiated in left-wing extremist groups and nationalist groups. Foreign left-wing extremists pursue a revolutionary change in their home countries resulting in a socialist or communist system that negates the principles of the liberal democratic order as the separation of powers, pluralism of political parties, decisions by majority, the right to form a parliamentary opposition and the freedom of opinion. In contrast, nationalist groups take racist views and reject the human rights. The security and the foreign interests of Germany are especially endangered when foreign extremist groups make use of violence or prepare the use of violent means. That is why the Verfassungsschutz takes such groups under its surveillance.

Some forms of extremism can be explained by regional conflicts in the respective homecountries. Some militant oppositional organisations use the peaceful and liberal atmosphere in Germany for the refreshment of their forces, political training of their members to make the political situation in the respective home-countries known to a European general public. Such organisations also collect contributions, some of them by blackmailing members of their communities.

In Brandenburg, only Turkish citizens are of significance in this field. The Kurds, an ethnic minority in Turkey, continue their struggle for an independent state. Their dominant organisation, the KONGRA GEL (People's Congress of Kurdistan) seeks an independent, socialist Kurd state. There are Turkish left-wing extremists in Brandenburg as well, but they are only single figures. In contrast, Turkish nationalists cannot be found in Brandenburg.

KONGRA GEL (People's Congress of Kurdistan)

Founded (as PKK): Turkey in 1978

Residence: North-Iraq

Activities in Brandenburg: since 1993

Membership in Germany: 11.500

Membership in Brandenburg: 100

Publications: "Serxwebun" (Independence), "Özgür Politika" (Free Politics) up to September 2005, followed by "Yeni Özgür Politika" (New Free Politics) by January 2006

Website: www.kongra-gel.org

Interdiction of any activities for the PKK and its subsequent organisations by the German Minister of the Interior by November 26th, 1993.

KONGRA GEL is the largest political organisation of foreigners in Brandenburg with regards to the number of members living here. It is the second renaming of the Kurdish Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK, Kurdistan's Workers Party). The KONGRA GEL uses terrorist means and its interior organisation is clearly undemocratic. The party leadership does not grant freedom of expression to party members and threatens dissenters of the party line with an internal penalty system. The Council of the European Union put the KONGRA GEL on the EU-list of terrorist organisations in 2002.

KONGRA GEL has 11.500 members in Germany of which about 100 live in Brandenburg. The Party was founded in 1978 by Abdullah Öcalan as a communist cadre party under the name "Kurdish Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan" (PKK, Kurdistan's Workers Party). Its aim was to create an "independent and democratic Kurdish state". From 1984 until 1999, the military arm of the PKK, the "Atesen Rizgariya Gele Kurdistan" (ARGK, People's Liberation Army Kurdistan), led a guerrilla war against Turkey. In 1993, Öcalan tried to open a second front in Europe: Particularly in Germany, PKK-activists made their cause known by blocking roads and burning barricades. They were also accused of terrorist acts, and the PKK was subsequently banned in Germany. In 1999, Öcalan was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in Turkey.

The name and structure of the organisation have changed several times since the arrest. On April 4th, 2002, the PKK renamed itself KADEK (Kurdistan's Congress of Freedom and Democracy), and on November 11th, 2003, KADEK announced its dissolution. Four days later, the formation of KONGRA GEL was declared. In fact, the party remained widely unchanged by structure, aims, activities and personnel. In 2004, Osman Öcalan, Abdullah Öcalan's brother, founded a new Kurdish party which, according to its announcement on the internet, will pursue the aim of independence with peaceful means, as KONGRA GEL has ended up in a dead-end street of violence.

In summer 2005, the Turkish media often reported violent clashes between Turkish security forces and guerilla forces of the KONGRA GEL in southeast Turkey. A series of bomb attacks in Turkish towns added to the tense security situation. Two terrorist attacks in the mediterranean resorts Cesme and Kusadasi killed five and left 20 injured in July 2005.

In spite of its internal difficulties, the KONGRA GEL cooperates with many Kurd associations in Germany and therefore maintains its efforts to demonstrate an unbroken fighting spirit. Fund raising makes up the most prominent part of its activity and

members are sometimes pushed into debt for "the cause". The second activity is the mobilisation of great numbers of members and followers. The annual Kurdistan festival that took place near Cologne in September 2005 had about 40,000 visitors.

In Brandenburg, there are no independent activities of KONGRA GEL. The few party's followers who live in Brandenburg are associated with structures centered in other Bundesländer, for example in Berlin, Saxony-Anhalt and Saxony.

Turkish left-wing extremists

The Turkish left-wing extremist parties "Devrimci Halk Kurtulus Cephesi" (DHKP-C, Revolutionary People's Liberation Front), the "Türkiye Komünist Partisi / Marksist-Leninist Partizan" (TKP/ML Turkish Communist Party / Marxist-Leninist) and the "Marksist-Leninist Komünist Partisi" (MLKP) have individual members in Brandenburg, but these do not conduct any publicly visible activities. The common aim of the parties is to overthrow the Turkish government in a revolutionary manner and to establish a communist society based on Marxism-Leninism or Maoism instead.

ESPIONAGE

The Federal Republic of Germany continues to be a primary target for the intelligence services of a number of foreign nations. In addition to intelligence services from a number of republics within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) – mainly those of the Russian federation – these also include services from countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

Varying numbers of intelligence staff are assigned to the official or semi-official missions of these countries in Germany. From their cover posts at so-called legal residencies, these “diplomats” engage in overt or clandestine information gathering activities, or support intelligence operations directed by the central headquarters of these services. If such “diplomats” are evidently engaged in activities incompatible with their status, they may be expelled from Germany.

The intelligence targets of foreign services range from “classic” espionage – for example, information-gathering activities in such fields as politics, trade, industry and the military – to the investigation and infiltration of organisations and individuals in Germany which oppose the currently ruling regime in their country of origin.

A number of countries continue their efforts to gain possession of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons of mass destruction and the related delivery systems, or to acquire the material and know-how required for producing such weapons and systems (“proliferation”).

In addition to its counter-intelligence activities, the Brandenburg Verfassungsschutz also assists with security clearance checks of persons who, in the public interest, are granted to gain access to classified information or of persons recruited for security-sensitive posts within essential civil or military establishments. These services are obligatory for state-owned institutions and can be delivered upon request to private institutions and firms.