

We are the ‘Antisexistische Aktion München’ (Antisexist Campaign Group Munich) and have been focussing on the right-wing terrorist attack by the self-proclaimed ‘Gruppe Ludwig’ in 1984 on the then ‘Liverpool’ club in Munich now for three years.

Today is not 7 January, nor is it the anniversary of the deaths of the victims of the ‘Gruppe Ludwig’, but, as one of the survivors of the Oktoberfest attack said at this commemorative event in 2020: for him, every day is 26 September. We also think that every day is the right day to remember the victims of right-wing violence, to name their names and, in this way, to make them the centre of the commemorative event. For this reason I would first like to list the names of those murdered by the ‘Gruppe Ludwig’.

- We remember **Guerrino Spinelli**, a 33-year-old Sinto who was attacked with incendiary devices while sleeping in his car in Verona on 25 August 1977 and succumbed to his severe injuries a week later;
- we remember **Luciano Stefanato**, a homosexual waiter who was stabbed to death in Padua on 19 December 1978;
- we remember **Claudio Costa**, a 22-year-old homosexual found stabbed to death in Venice on 12 December 1979;
- we remember the 51-year-old sex worker **Alice Maria Beretta** who was beaten to death on 20 December 1980;
- we remember the student **Luca Martinotti** who was the victim of an arson attack in Verona on 24 May 1981;
- we remember the two monks **Mario Lovato** and **Giovanni Pigato** who were beaten to death in Vicenza on 20 July 1982. Mario Lovato was 71; Giovanni Pigato 69 years old;
- we remember the 71-year-old priest **Armando Bison** who was beaten to death in Trento on 20 February 1983;
- we remember **Giorgio Fronza, Ernesto Mauri, Pasquale Esposito, Elio Molteni** and **Domenico La Sala** who were all murdered on 14 May 1983 in an arson attack on the ‘Eros’ cinema in Milan and
- we remember the 46-year-old doctor **Livio Ceresoli** who tried to help the people trapped in the cinema and became a victim himself;
- and we remember **Corinna Tartarotti** who suffered such severe injuries in the former ‘Liverpool’ club that she died three months later, on 27 April 1984, here in Munich. She was 20 years old.

Right-wing terror and its trivialisation and depoliticisation have been an integral part of the City of Munich’s history for more than 40 years.

We are here today to remember the victims of this violence and to demonstrate our solidarity with them because, all too often, the focus is still on the one-sided discussion about perpetrators. It is the alleged motives of the perpetrators, who are not seldom declared mentally unstable, that are the subject of reports and discussions. In this way their acts are depoliticised, relegated to the fringes of society, and a proper examination or even combatting them are avoided.

- That was the case – as we have heard today – with the Oktoberfest bomb attack. The investigating authorities ignored the perpetrator’s membership in the neo-Nazi ‘Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann’ (Hoffmann Military Sports Group). He, the alleged lone perpetrator, was also diagnosed as suffering from a personal crisis.

- That was the case with the at least ten murders by the National Socialist Underground, two of which were committed here in Munich. Habil Kılıç and Theodoros Boulgarides were victims of this right-wing terror here in Munich. It took more than ten years – until the NSU revealed its identity – for the right-wing character of the murders to be recognised by the authorities. They investigated the relatives instead of listening to them, believing them and following the evidence pointing to right-wing terrorism.
- That was the case with the act of right-wing terrorism on 22 July 2016, when a right-wing assassin shot nine people in the OEZ – Olympia shopping centre – in Munich before shooting himself. He selected his victims based on racist motives and he worshipped Hitler and the AfD. It was journalists, individual politicians, civil society and, above all, the victims' relatives who had expert opinions drawn up and saw that the murders were finally recognised as acts of right-wing violence.
- And that was the case with the attack on the 'Liverpool' club in Schillerstrasse near the main railway station in Munich that we are taking a closer look at in this speech today.

The 'Liverpool' attack was almost forty years ago but that is no reason to close the case on the right-wing terrorist activities of the 'Gruppe Ludwig'. Quite the opposite – as our knowledge on the victims of the attack is still sketchy and yet the victims should be at the centre of any discerning act of remembrance.

After the attack on the 'Liverpool' the Munich police initially only carried out investigations in the so-called 'pimp milieu'. That the attack could be motivated by right-wing terrorism only occurred to them when the perpetrators themselves claimed responsibility for the attack in Munich through the Italian news agency ANSA in Milan a few days after the attack.

The investigating authorities cannot implicitly be accused, of course, of investigating in this direction. Ultimately, all possible options have to be taken into consideration and followed up. However, what they can be accused of is that they have learned nothing from the investigative mistakes of the past decades. This can be seen, as already mentioned, in the racist investigations against relatives in NSU crimes or that, without any hesitation, the perpetrator of the OEZ attack was declared a victim of mobbing.

Not least of all their inability to learn can be seen in the depoliticisation of crimes involving gender or sexuality. In 1984, the 'Gruppe Ludwig' was very quickly dismissed as a couple of allegedly crackpot upper class kids. In so doing the deeds were not properly classified. This has not changed much to this day. Authorities tend to declare those involved in such acts with gender components, such as femicides, as mentally unsound. The consequence is that no social analysis takes place – which however, especially in the area of anti-feminism, would be so urgently needed to counter right-wing terrorism.

The fact that we still know so little about the 'Gruppe Ludwig's' victims is certainly also due to the fact that they were people who, in our society, have no lobby to this day. They were sex workers, drug users, Sinti*zze and Rom*nja and homeless people who are still excluded and discriminated against today.

Another reason why we cannot simply file the attack away is that we cannot rely on the state when it comes to commemorating the victims either. Neither at the scene of the crime nor anywhere else in Munich is there a memorial plaque to the arson attack of 7 January 1984 and its victims. To date, it has exclusively been anti-fascist groups that have championed the

subject of the terrorist attack at demonstrations, parades through the city or at the commemorative rally that we have organised every year since 2019.

Since that year, Corinna Tartarotti's grave has not been financed by the state for instance, but by the Antifaschistische Informations-, Dokumentations- und Archivstelle München e. V. (a.i.d.a.).

Without the commitment of this initiative and dedicated individuals, this attack would probably have completely sunk into oblivion today. The commemorative plaque at the scene of the crime in the station district in Munich requested by politicians at the beginning of this year is certainly a start in the struggle against forgetting. We sincerely hope that the Munich administration will meet the city council's request and that a commemorative plaque has become a reality by the coming anniversary of the arson attack in 2023.

From today's perspective, the 'Gruppe Ludwig' has been classified as a men's allegiance collective in which soldier-like masculinity was considered the ideal and in which men represented the elite of society. They, who associated femininity with weakness and therefore despised it, considered themselves destined for greater deeds. With the aim of restoring an allegedly natural order, they murdered those they held responsible for the imagined moral decay and impurity in society.

We cannot consider the series of murders and attacks by the 'Gruppe Ludwig' closed for the very reason that this view of the world and of humanity is still prevalent today in large sectors of our patriarchal society.

In this way, anti-feminism becomes an ideology that bridges the gap between the extreme right-wing and so-called 'mainstream' society. The brutality and violence with which extreme right-wing perpetrators such as the 'Gruppe Ludwig' confront their victims is shocking and generally finds little acceptance. However, public distancing from this violence is reduced to empty words if no effort is made, at the same time, to abolish patriarchy and male privileges and put an end to the countless hate-filled, anti-feminist campaigns of conservative parties, Christian fundamentalists and the extreme right.

Right-wing extremist and Islamist terror are merely the last step in a usually long history of radicalisation. Anti-feminist and misogynist feelings play a significant role in this process – these must be better analysed and recognised in society as a matter of urgency and effective measures taken against instigators.

The failure to recognise right-wing terror and its perpetrators, its trivialisation and its pathologisation, are a danger over and above terror itself. They prevent these violent crimes from being properly classified and processed.

So when the deniers of the pandemic sound the horn for an autumn of discontent, it means that words will be followed by deeds. What the consequences can be, have already been seen in Idar-Oberstein, where a 20-year-old was shot dead because he pointed out that it was obligatory to wear a mask. It has been seen in the death of the dedicated doctor Lisa Maria Kellermayer who had received death threats and hate messages in the social media. It has been seen in Malte's death because he courageously stood up to queer-hostile perpetrators at the CSD in Münster.

Our special thanks today go to the survivors, the relatives and the DGB-Jugend (Trade Union Youth Organisation) who have organised this commemorative event time and again against all odds. Thank you for your tireless work.

Just over ten years ago the National Socialist Underground (NSU) revealed its identity. The anti-fascist initiative 'NSU-Watch' appealed to us anti-fascists on the occasion of the anniversary with the words: "Don't let open questions and a lack of clarification make you feel powerless" and that we should not give up, but use the knowledge we have and act in solidarity.

We would like to pass this appeal on to you here and now, at the beginning of the new year. Gathering here together today commemorates a sad occasion but alliances of solidarity make us strong in order to counter all the resistance and to create a dignified memorial for the victims of right-wing violence.

Thank you.