

Violence Provokes Wide Debate in West German Society

By ELLEN LENTZ

Special to The New York Times

BONN, Oct. 23—"We have the freest constitution that ever existed in this country, and yet we have allowed a large segment of the young to drift into an attitude of hostility against the state," said Heinz Galinski, a prominent Jewish leader, who, since terrorists began their bloody attacks on prominent West Germans, has had two armed police bodyguards at his side whenever he leaves his home or office.

Mr. Galinski, the spokesman for the Jewish Council in Germany and the leader of West Berlin's Jewish community, is concerned with security, but like thousands of other Germans, he is even more concerned to discover why left-wing terrorism has reached such proportions in West Germany.

The 64-year-old Mr. Galinski, who survived the Auschwitz concentration camp, said he felt the lack of democratic traditions in Germany played an essential role in making the country more vulnerable to violent unrest than others.

"The Germans did not fight for democracy, they were given it," he said, adding that the older generation "has failed to convey to their children a sense of history, has failed to make the difference clear between democracy and dictatorship."

Debate About Terrorism

The debate over the roots of terrorism in German society and how it can be overcome is going on in virtually every segment of the population. Opinions are often tinged with fear and abhorrence. And doubts are growing even among young leftists.

"These guys are worse than hardened criminals," said Hans Hulsman, a Bonn cab driver, suspiciously eyeing the luggage of his youthful passenger. "They all should be shot on sight," said another cab driver, an elderly man.

A young woman working in a West Berlin drug store, Astrid Steuernagel, said she had called off a holiday trip to Spain for fear of a new hijacking after terrorists seized a Lufthansa airliner on a flight from the Spanish island of Majorca. "I told my boyfriend to pick me up at night, because I am afraid of going home alone," she said.

For the average citizen, who has enjoyed relative prosperity and political stability since the end of the war, the violence from the left is all the more incomprehensible because it does not seem to be based on glaring social ills or injustices.

'Too Much Money'

"They are not killing people to improve my lot," said Bernhard Weigel, a factory worker. "They are like monsters who grew up with too much money and learned about terrorist tactics while hanging around the universities."

West Germany urban guerrilla groups grew out of the radical student move-



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The only surviving member of a group of terrorists that hijacked a Lufthansa jetliner on Oct. 13th being carried on a stretcher from the plane in Mogadishu, Somalia. She was wounded in attack by West German commandos.

ment of the late 1960's. But the brutality of their crimes seems to be giving pause even to other radicals.

"For a long time there was a feeling on the left that we owed some kind of solidarity to the fighters of the Red Army Faction," said Rudolf Schmidt, a Berlin University sociology major. The Red Army Faction is the name of the guerrilla group responsible for most of the recent acts of terrorism in West Germany.

"The new Al Capone tactics of just killing people and spreading terror has changed the situation," the student said. "There is growing awareness that from a leftist position one can no longer condone such crimes. They hurt our cause."

Prison Deaths Discussed

At Frankfurt University, confusion and bitterness prevailed on a recent evening as more than a thousand leftists discussed the deaths in prison of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe and the wave of terrorist crimes that led up to their deaths.

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who won fame as "Danny the Red" in the Paris student rebellion of 1968 and who has since emerged as a leftist leader in Frankfurt, told the crowd he no longer knew "whom or what to support." His remarks drew calls of "Go and join

the police pigs!" and one youth stormed the platform to attack him. In the end, after a long and bitter debate, the meeting dispersed quietly.

"I have no explanation of how those pistols got into Stammheim Prison," Mr. Cohn-Bendit said, "but from a logical view it must have been suicide." He said he did not believe that the Bonn Government would have "killed the prisoners at the moment of its greatest triumph, the freeing of the airline hostages."

The prison deaths have caused a storm of indignation and concern, and not just among the young. The two men were found dead or dying with bullet wounds in their heads, and Miss Ensslin was found hanged, apparently ending her life in the same way as Ulrike Meinhof, the radical leader who with Mr. Baader gave her name to the Baader-Meinhof gang, a predecessor of the Red Army Faction. She was found dead at Stammheim Prison, a maximum-security institution near Stuttgart, in May 1976.

'Divorced From Reality'

Peter Glotz, a 37-year old Social Democrat who is a West Berlin university official, expressed concern about the situation in the country's institutions of higher learning, where he said 15 to 20 percent of all students "live

in a leftist subculture, completely divorced from reality and the normal concepts of the rest of our society."

Like Mr. Galinski, Mr. Glotz said he felt mistakes of the past, the experience with fascism and the late arrival of democracy had made matters worse in Germany than elsewhere. "Young people here have no positive figures with whom to identify," he said.

If Mr. Glotz's assessment is right, a radical community of 140,000 to 170,000 youths has built up among the colleges and universities.

"We must do all we can to renew an open discussion," he said in an interview, "to try and end those pathological conditions. We cannot afford to lose an entire generation."

Mr. Glotz warned of the possibility of a rightist backlash, noting there already were voices in West Germany "that want to drown out all intellectual criticism and speak of 'cleaning up the swamp.'"

He and his Socialist and liberal colleagues in the states of Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia have called on students "not to intensify your isolation through new thoughtless actions." At the same time, the university officials pledged "to see to it that students are not pushed into the void of an outsider position in society."