

**Statement Regarding Monika Haas** (November 1995)  
*Brigitte Mohnhaupt and other prisoners from the RAF*  
*Defense statement read at Haas's trial*

It is necessary that we clarify a few things about Monika Haas.

Monika Haas has been the subject of an ongoing state security and media campaign for some years now. Initially to put pressure on her, but when that didn't work, because she defended herself, the justice system brought the hammer down: prison and charges for aiding an abetting in the Schleyer action.

We were all in the RAF in 1977, and we remember Monika's history. The way she is being framed is not only absurd in the extreme given the facts, but her life is to be destroyed simply because there must be a "Mogadishu" show trial, come hell or high water. There's no other reason for this trial! And if they have no one they can pass judgment on, then someone must be turned into a "key figure." That's exactly what's happening here.

There's another factor that plays an important role in this campaign. The media is overflowing with rumors, with *Spiegel* leading the pack. Monika was simultaneously a BND mole, a Mossad infiltrator, a CIA agent, a Stasi informer, and a "key figure in international terrorism" who tied it all together. Whether or not there's even a glimmer of credibility or logic to any of this is irrelevant. The main thing is that it serves its function: sowing confusion and preventing solidarity.

We underestimated the impact of this maddening nonsense. We hesitated to say anything about it, because doing so would mean that Monika would immediately confront the backlash – it would be used against her, with the next headline reading "Under the Wing of the Hardliners" or something of the sort. But in the current situation, that's no longer an issue. The most important thing now is to explain what actually happened.

We'll proceed chronologically.

**"The Connection with the RAF"**

After the Stockholm action, we went for training in a Palestinian camp to rebuild. Monika, who was living aboveground at the time, joined us, and during the training decided to marry a Palestinian comrade and remain behind, which amounted to choosing to operate in a different political and personal context. After parting ways, we had no further contact with Monika. Very occasionally, one or another of us crossed paths with her by chance. We chatted about her situation, the children, but not about anything political. The RAF, actions, or the relationship between different organizations was never discussed.

**"The Kenya Arrests"**

What we knew about Monika's arrest in Nairobi, we learned from Palestinian comrades in the organization's leadership. Briefly put, Monika was, above all, lucky. The Kenyan police let her go, because their key interest was in using Monika to get hold of a particular Palestinian comrade, whom they hoped she would lure into a trap. Monika pretended to go along with it, because that was the only way she saw of ever getting out

of Kenya. They had threatened to disappear her. It was difficult, but she was very lucky. The story she had concocted worked, and she was able to leave the country. The issue here is neither justifying Monika's actions nor repudiating them. We're just saying what happened and what didn't. The fact is that she neither betrayed nor sold out anyone – not in Kenya and not thereafter.

Following Monika's return, the comrades clarified everything with her. We have no doubt that that everything was addressed down to the smallest detail. It is not true that there were lingering doubts among the rank and file thereafter that Monika was a spy in the service of the Mossad. Everybody knew the Kenya arrest had been cleared up. So much for the "Mossad allegations."

After her experience in Kenya, Monika withdrew from any active involvement. It was now clear to her that that armed struggle or its support were not for her. That was in early 1976, a year and a half before the Schleyer action and the Lufthansa skyjacking.

After that, Monika lived in Aden with her husband and children – not in hiding, but openly in a house in a neighborhood with a lot of embassies, including Western embassies. Not in some secure palace, but in a building housing a number of Yemeni families. The West Germans snooped around often enough. She went everywhere openly. Her oldest son went to school in Aden. People knew her.

A lot of years have passed since then. Aden is far away. It has been destroyed and plundered and is controlled by the mullahs. It's easy enough to suggest something other than the truth, and then to repeat it constantly, until the truth no longer has a chance.

### **“Return to the FRG”**

In 1980, Monika decided to return to Germany with the children. We only found out about it later, and we were appalled. It was clear that given her history and the fact that she was married to a PFLP cadre, she would be of such great interest to state security that she'd never be left to live in peace here. Perhaps Monika thought that her actual situation would be the key issue; she was never part of the armed struggle, she had not been part of any milieu for years, and she had clearly lived a life entirely devoted to her family. That's why she felt she was "safe" and out of the reach of state security. She thought that that reality would make it possible for her to live here.

Press coverage consistently treats the fact that Monika wasn't arrested immediately upon her return as a mystery. There was no arrest warrant. Why not? Because state security knew all of this. They knew how she had been living in Aden. Is that really so hard to imagine? The entire charge only works because fifteen years have past. Had they tried at the time to publicly present Monika, with her three small children, as a "key international figure," it would have been completely transparent and would immediately have made it clear that the whole thing was a fabrication. They had nothing on Monika, and they were more than happy to let her return to the FRG. It was a safe bet that because of the children she would remain in contact with her husband. They could keep her under total surveillance. They could bug her and observe her to find out who she knew, as well as being able to directly pressure her. That began soon enough.

In June 1981, Monika was accosted by a man who said he could prevent a trip she was planning to visit her husband. The next day, there was a threatening letter left at her door.

The letter toyed with the idea of a role in the Lufthansa skyjacking – “We both remember our time together in Palma.” It also alluded to Kenya and demanded that information be provided about Brigitte. Monika’s lawyer gave the letter to the police. There’s more, however; the letter included details, including names from passports, that had to have come from state security – they had been used for the Lufthansa action. Nobody besides state security could know these names.

This wasn’t the only attempt to frighten Monika and pressure her into cooperating. The next threatening letter came after the arrests of Heidi and Brigitte in November 1982. This one was sent to the *Frankfurter Rundschau*. The letter claimed that Monika was responsible for the arrests and that she had betrayed them. As a result either the RAF or the Palestinians would kill her. It was consistent with the first threat, kicking things up a notch: she should fear for her life and think that the threat was us and the Palestinian comrades. This second threatening letter was never published. It was apparently put in safe storage, and was considered an “internal” form of pressure.

To increase the pressure, the BAW searched Monika’s home in Frankfurt, based on an alleged suspicion that Heidi and Brigitte had slept there. Obviously, none of us had any contact with Monika after she returned to the FRG. And just as obviously state security knew there wasn’t any betrayal involved in the arrests. Animals had disturbed the depot, which happens often enough. The Offenbach site wasn’t well chosen, so it was discovered. As we made clear at the time: we were the only ones who knew about this depot. The similar stories of betrayal that continue come out until this day (most recently, the Stasi have been blamed) are all complete fabrications.

We’ve addressed this particular period in time so extensively, because it’s important to understanding what’s being done to Monika today. From the outset manipulation has been the means and the way. It was also clear that in the face of this Monika stood behind her life decisions, not allowing herself to be intimidated and turned.

Two years later, her husband was attacked in Madrid. He was seriously injured and remains paralyzed. Whether it was the Mossad or another agency, the attempt to pressure Monika into becoming an informer to gain access to her husband and his organization shows that there was shared interest behind it.

### **“The Current Campaign”**

It began with our pack of crown witnesses, with the 1990 arrests of our former members who had been living in the GDR. Not because they could say anything about Monika – they knew nothing. But the fact that state security got a hold of a whole bunch of people who were ready to make crown witness deals opened the floodgates. In the full flush of victory at this turn of events, they hoped to use the justice system to bury the political uprising that the RAF’s history is part of, once and for all. The ticket was the crown witness measure – a new round of convictions would “lay everything to rest.”

Everything, meaning: every attack on the FRG. They expedited the extradition of Carlos and Johannes Weinrich. They wanted to bring the 1977 Lufthansa skyjacking before the German state security senate, but three of the commandos are dead and the only survivor was convicted in Somalia. There was no one for them to charge. So they began their campaign against Monika.

In late 1991 and early 1992, the media was fed state security “revelations” about her. Newly discovered Stasi files allegedly proved her involvement in the Lufthansa action. Because all they had was allegations, she was targeted by an endless stream of rumors that almost no one could hope to overcome. Once again, Monika was said to have betrayed the depot in 1982. Furthermore, she was connected to Sieglinde’s 1980 arrest in Paris. She was with the Mossad. She was part of the BND. She was everywhere.

In March 1992, Monika was arrested. In May, she was released. The reason: the Stasi files alone were not sufficient for an arrest warrant. Little wonder, given that they consist of nothing but conjecture, rumors, and stories about her, all of it clearly just cobbled together. The claims in these files were blown up into a big thing, because she’s always mentioned in connection with us, making it appear as if we provided the information and were behind the BND allegations. Nonsense. As far as the BND goes, and in general, we always kept to an absolute minimum the information we provided – to the Stasi and to all of our other contacts, even those close to us. We’ve always been clear about that.

The Stasi files are said to provide information about Monika in connection to two things: her participation in the Lufthansa action and her work for the BND while in Aden. Regarding Lufthansa: no one from the RAF knew the operative or logistical details, which also excludes the possibility of us concretely knowing who was involved. None of us could have passed information along about it. That’s the truth, even if Boock is now saying something else in the hope of winning some small handout. It’s obvious that we wouldn’t know these things. We’re talking about a Palestinian action. The Palestinians don’t know anything about our actions. No organization would behave that way.

To the second point: the BND allegations. It’s true that the Stasi suspected this. Although, “suspect” is too strong a word. They told stories, but had nothing solid. Besides, it didn’t affect us; our security was not threatened. It was the Palestinians’ problem. As a result, we blocked discussion of the issue with the Stasi and refused to get pulled into it. The fact that Inge Viett told the Stasi some stories doesn’t change anything. There still just stories.

Monika also had nothing to do with Sieglinde’s arrest. To lay this issue to rest: the entire intelligence service disinformation currently being spread by the media about Monika is a smear campaign, a precisely targeted one. The umpteen rumors and the contradictory noise are meant to gradually obscure her real life, to make it less and less present. The biggest obstacle to a conviction is the reality of Monika’s life for close to twenty years. The evidence of this reality has to be obfuscated if the planned day of reckoning with Mogadishu is to come off, and it doesn’t matter how.

When the arrest warrant was lifted in 1992, the BAW found itself standing there empty-handed. In spite of that, that they were not through trying became clear when the media campaign against Monika was revived. A few months later, *Spiegel* started a new round: Monika, the “Queen of Aden” – weapons transporter, key figure, all the old stuff. A thriller was spun to prepare the public for Monika’s renewed arrest. This time the BAW wanted to be on solid ground. In October 1994, they arranged for Souhaila Andrawes to be arrested in Norway. Souhaila is the only survivor of the Martyr Halimeh Commando and had been living in Oslo with her family for some years.

During her first interrogation, Souhaila made it clear that she knew nothing about the

weapons transport and that nobody had ever mentioned Monika to her. But the threat of being extradited to Germany and separated from her family had its effect. A few days later, she accepted the BAW's crown witness offer, now claiming that she had seen Monika in Majorca in 1977. That was enough for a new arrest warrant and the current charges.

State security justice can't be allowed to succeed in getting the desired political verdict every time, simply by using its crown witness measure. The critical public that prevented the crown witness law from passing for years has since lost its voice. After every crown witness verdict, in spite of a vague misapprehension, the predominant reflex is: gulp it up and wash it down. Why? Because it's legal now? Every trial makes it a little bit clearer: the crown witness measure is something they don't want to give up. You can use it to get whatever you want.

Now it's to be used against Monika. The facts, once again: in early 1976, Monika decided in favor of a life with her family outside of politics and the armed context. She arrived at this conclusion because of her prison experience in Kenya. In July 1977, her second child was born, and shortly thereafter, we are to believe, when the baby was quite ill, she reversed this decision and suddenly took part in an action like the Lufthansa skyjacking, transporting weapons to Europe, where she might get nabbed at the airport and ended up spending years in prison. Then, she subsequently returned here with her children and has been waiting to be arrested ever since. Even twenty crown witness statements can't make that plausible.

You don't need "insider knowledge"; all you need is sound common sense.

Monika Haas must be released! We call on everyone who hasn't given up on thinking to support Monika and act to win her freedom.