

III. The Greens and the militant 'peace movement'

Facts under the rug

The fact that the predecessors of today's peace movement, the "Easter March" and "Fight Nuclear Death"-movement of the 1950s and 1960s, were part of the arsenal of "active operations" of Eastern secret services against the Federal Republic of Germany, was something assumed to be self-evident at that time among security experts and politicians (including the SPD). Nothing in terms of this basic fact has changed to this day. To the contrary, the tactics have been refined, and the control of the peace movement, of which the Greens consider themselves a part, by cadre of the East German Ministry for State Security ("Stasi") operating overtly and covertly, is more effective than ever. The fact is, German security authorities have systematically swept such facts under the rug.

As an exemplary case, we cite here only the example of the Stefan Pelyny, former vice-president of the Bundesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz (BfS, Office for the Protection of the Constitution, equivalent of the U.S. FBI), or the director of the Hamburg State Office of the Verfassungsschutz, Lochte. Both have demonstrated how facts known to the authorities are censored.

As the Bonn daily *Die Welt* reported in March 1986, Pelyny only provided Christian Democratic parliamentarian Jürgen Todenhöfer a censored version of the original report written at the BfS main office. Pelyny personally cut considerable sections of the report, removing all elements of the original which might be construed by the Social Democrats as compromising their future ability to enter a coalition with the Greens. Sentences in the BfV evaluation, such as, "Without any doubt, former and active leftist extremists have considerably promoted the left-wing drift of the entire party," were deleted by Pelyny.

Anyone who knows the facts about the Greens comes to one conclusion (which few dare to state openly), that the Greens are operating as "agents of Moscow," as the Christian Democratic politician Alfred Dregger recently asserted.

The role of the German Communist Party

The German Communist Party (DKP) and its front organizations, from the earliest formative phase of the Green movement, well before the establishment of a party structure, were always present for the larger operations or initiatives of the "anti-nuclear movement" against the "NATO arms build-up," or "state repression." DKP-influenced organi-

zations, such as the German Peace Society/Associated Draft-Resisters, the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation, the German Peace Union, and the Association of the Persecuted under the Nazi-Regime/Association of Anti-Fascists (VVN), were regularly represented in the larger operations in the period 1979-80 together with the Greens. In DKP-controlled operations such as the Krefeld Appeal or the campaign Down with Job Discrimination!, representatives of the Greens were organizationally involved.

In evaluating these connections, the sole and chief factor to be considered is the capability of the cadre of the East German Socialist Unity Party and the DKP to ensconce themselves in the peace-movement apparatus, and thus to direct and control it. The relatively small proportion of registered DKP-members involved in these operations or initiatives is irrelevant. That the "official" party line of the Greens has in the meantime also issued proclamations against the Warsaw Pact, or against the control of the Greens by the DKP, is similarly irrelevant.

The controlling and coordinating position of DKP-cadre in large operations of the peace movement were enhanced considerably over the period of two years. In the "Easter Marches" against NATO weapons modernization in April 1983, which were co-organized by the Greens, 250,000 people were mobilized. Logistics and coordination were under the strict control of the DKP and their front organizations—for example, all of the contact-offices for the large demonstrations belonged to the DKP or its front organizations.

The temporary peak of the mobilization was reached with the "Fall Action Week" of October 1983. From the onset of the preparatory phase, the DKP managed to occupy positions in other organizations via their work on the "Coordinating Committee" through the DKP youth organization, the Socialist German Youth Movement, and its front organizations DFG-VK, KFAZ, and the Democratic Women's Movement. They thus secured their influence over the other organizations involved by virtue of being the only organizational apparatus with military discipline.

The Greens were also members of the Coordinating Committee at this time. In the chief operation of the following year, the "Autumn Peace 1984," the Verfassungsschutz report of 1984 states: "The DKP and its front organizations were considerably over-represented as usual in the organizing and coordinating committees, and were able to assert a number of their policies—for example, at the nationwide 'Action Conferences of the Peace Movement' on 11-12 February and 5-6 May in Cologne." The DKP front organization VVN was also able to consolidate its position on the Coordinating Committee over 1984. The Greens remained members of the Committee, then as a "federal association." Nothing changed in the membership of the Greens when some protests were launched against the influence of the DKP, which had become "stronger than ever before."

One issue of *JW-Dienst*, a security information service published in Wiesbaden, adds, "In the deliberations on plans for action at a nationwide conference, and the following regional meetings, as well as in the Coordinating Committee on Oct. 20, the DKP and its base were able to obtain a nearly decisive influence. . . . In the 'Central Region,' the DKP was able to replace the original 'Appeal for the Formation of a Human Chain' . . . with a text more amenable to the DKP, and it was passed by the Coordination Committee. The plan of action for Oct. 20 in the 'North Region' is based on a joint proposal of the Hamburg chairman of the DKP, the DFU, and a member of the Young Socialists (the Social Democratic youth organization). In the regional 'Committee North,'

which has its office in the state office of the DFU, communists and officials of its front organizations occupy the most influential positions. For the central 'North German Peace-Information' of the 'Regional Committee North,' a DKP official signs as the person in charge. In the southern German Coordinating Committee, it is impossible to make any decisions against the will of the DKP and its base. . . ."

The extent to which the Greens are willing to follow the propaganda line and the thrust of the Kremlin is demonstrated in the anti-American provocations launched by the Greens at every possible opportunity, in accord with Soviet strategic interests. In one leaflet distributed during the President's visit to Bonn for the economic summit meeting in May 1985, Reagan was compared to Adolf Hitler:

"Especially because of propaganda to calm the population, today we have to give a clear signal and make clear to everyone how dangerous the current American President is. It is his declared intention to impose the largest conceivable militarization upon humanity, a program he is trying to sell as a 'defense initiative.' This president's anti-communism is just like the German anti-Semitism of the '30s; many people didn't take seriously Hitler's threats then. . . ."

This leaflet was signed by parliamentarians and federal executive committee members of the Greens, among others. The first signer was "peace researcher" Alfred Mechttersheimer, who has become a parliamentary candidate for the Greens in the state of Baden-Württemberg.

The Soviet-run campaign against SDI

Another example of how closely the thrust of the peace movement and the Greens is coordinated with the Soviet Union's strategic interests is provided by the communist-directed campaign against the "militarization of space." A paper published by the federal ministry of the interior in May of this year describes in detail the centralized orchestrated shift of Soviet "peace propaganda" from campaigns against the modernization of NATO armaments toward the priority propaganda formula: "Fight Star Wars." After President Ronald Reagan's television address in May 1983, slogans against "armaments in space" pushed the campaign against NATO missiles far into the background. Following a series of conferences by leading officials of Warsaw Pact states, a rapid shift was orchestrated in the winter of 1984-85 in the international apparatus of communist parties and their front organizations. The interior ministry's study says:

"The chronology of the shift of focus of communist 'peace propaganda' to its concentration against 'militarization of space' provides a number of insights—how the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the aid of its 'fraternal parties' and their international 'front organizations' instigated campaigns worldwide and how the German Communist Party (DKP) implemented political directives of the CPSU for agitation in the Federal Republic of Germany, exploited this agitation against the Alliance, and mobilized their front organizations for the 'popularization' of the aims of the Soviet Union."

Three major meetings formed the launching pad for the propaganda shift:

- The meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Warsaw Pact states on Dec. 3-4, 1984, in East Berlin.
- The meeting of the Committee of Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact Dec. 3-5 in Budapest.
- A meeting under the leadership of the CPSU with the "non-governing fraternal parties" Dec. 4-6, 1984 in Prague, at which representatives of 91 communist, workers, and "revolutionary" parties met.

The major speech at the Prague meeting was given by Boris Ponomaryov, then Director of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

After the directives had been issued from such top authorities, their implementation by the international front organizations followed immediately. The decisive meetings were:

- The "Pan-Union Meeting of Soviet Peace Committees" on Jan. 23, 1985 in Moscow. Boris Ponomaryov also appeared at this meeting, and he conveyed a message of greetings from the General Secretary of the CPSU Konstantin Chernenko, which again appealed for action to "prevent an arms race in outer space." Another prominent speaker at this conference was the president of the directly CPSU-controlled World Peace Council (WPC), Romesh Chandra. Also present were German representatives of the KFAZ, a sub-organization of the World Peace Council and the Deputy National Chairman of the Young Socialists, Olaf Scholz.

- The "Third Vienna Dialogue—International Conference for Disarmament and Détente," sponsored by the WPC-suborganization International Forum of the Forces for Peace, Jan. 25-28, 1985 in Vienna, at which 400 cadre from 72 countries participated.

- The expanded meeting of the WPC-Presidium March 22-25, 1985 in Moscow, where *Pravda* editorialist and chairman of the "Soviet Peace Committee," Yuri Shukov, participated.

The interior ministry study points particularly to the role of the Vienna Institute for Peace (IIF) in providing the "scientific back-up" for the propaganda campaign of the World Peace Council.

The IIF, in turn, is closely connected to the East Berlin Institute for International Policy and Law (IPW), which is evaluated by security experts to be an important branch of the Stasi.

The concrete organizing of this campaign on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany is at the other end of this command-structure. The following conferences are noteworthy in this connection:

- The international conference, "Responsibility for the Peace—Scientists Warn Against Militarization of Space," on June 7-8, 1984, in Göttingen. This conference was the first large meeting on this subject. It was intended to mobilize scientific circles into the Soviet propaganda line. The aim of the conference was to create "the most intensive campaign ever launched by the peace movement, in order to stop the militarization of space." In addition to the Soviets, speakers at the conference came from the left-wing of the U.S. Democratic Party and other Americans belonging to the peace movement, among them Linus Pauling, who has come to be a living component of the Soviets' propaganda inventory, and representatives of the *Okolo-Institut* in Freiburg, *Ecoropa*, and the E. F. Schumacher Society, which functions as "scientific adviser" to the Green delegation in the Federal Parliament, and former Green parliamentarian Erika Hickel. The Göttingen conference was controlled from the beginning of its preparations by DKP bureaucrat Rainer Braun. Braun is in charge of "peace initiatives" aimed at specific professional groups, which the Soviets have especially cultivated since the beginning of 1985. Among others, Prof.-Dr. Rolf Bertram, an activist at the E. F. Schumacher Society and *Ecoropa* participated in the preparations for the conference.

- The "International Conference on the Military Use of Space" Sept. 9, 1985 in Hanover. The group of speakers was similar to the Göttingen meeting. One speaker was ex-U.S. Attorney-General Ramsey Clark, an

aggressive opponent of the Reagan administration, who has been promoted in the meantime to the status of "legal adviser" to Green Party founder Petra Kelly. A large number of Green activists attended the conference.

Like the campaigns against NATO and the "Autumn Actions" in 1983 and 1984, the campaign against the "militarization of space" is organized and conducted jointly or in parallel by the DKP, its front organizations, and the Greens. Operations such as the *Scientists' Initiative: "Responsibility for Peace"* are influenced over transmission-belts such as the Krefeld Initiative, and the DKP-controlled "German Peace Union." The "Scientists' Initiative" uses the same telephones as the Krefeld Initiative, both of which, in turn, are located in the central national office of the German Peace Union. In spite of these obvious connections, in August of 1985 the Initiative succeeded in "landing" the signatures of a number of prominent Social Democratic Party officials. The DKP newspaper, *Our Time*, triumphantly listed the names of the "renowned politicians," who had signed the appeals of the Initiative: "SPD Chairman Willy Brandt, leading Social Democrats such as Egon Bahr and Erhard Eppler, old liberal William Born, Prof. Josef Ellsberg from the 'Christian Democrats for Steps Toward Disarmament,' Otto Schily of the Greens, and Prof.-Dr. Jörg Huffs Schmidt, a member of the DKP Executive Committee."

Old DKP bureaucrat Robert Steigerwald appropriately noted, that there had "never been any case" previously in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, where such an initiative was able to capture the signatures of people "ranging from Willy Brandt to Jörg Huffs Schmidt." Along with many people in the DKP "base," the following persons also signed the appeal: Prof. Günther Altner, Executive Committee spokesman of the Freiburg Öko-Institute; Torsten Lange, parliamentarian of the Greens, and Alfred Mechtersheimer.

Spying on military installations

By 1979-80, a new trend was observed in the combined "peace," "environmentalist," and "anti-nuclear" movements, following the large militant demonstrations against nuclear reactor construction sites in Brokdorf and Grohnde, operations concentrated increasingly on the "nuclear infrastructure." In the aftermath of the campaign against "nuclear waste," "talents" and "movements" were organized for systematic spying on transportation routes, nodal-points, and firms.

In the same period, a second major "information gathering" project of the peace movement was spawned: systematic spying against military installations. In 1979, the Federal Association for Citizens' Initiatives for Environmental Protection (BBU) began to assemble a "nuclear map of the FRG." The BBU at that time coordinated with the DKP-influenced DFG-VK, to formally "unify" the "peace movement" and the "environmentalist movement."

The federal government at that time made the following declaration concerning this project: "The systematic collection of information and its public dissemination with respect to objects which may be relevant for storage of nuclear warheads, would cause a severe infringement on the external security of the Federal Republic of Germany. It would constitute, in particular, a violation of the criminal code of law, paragraphs 95 StGB (revelation of state secrets), 96 par. 2 StGB (securing of information concerning state secrets), and 109 par. 1 StGB (taking photographs so as to endanger the security of the state)."

Legal prosecution, however, was merely threatened; serious steps were never taken by the authorities, which is not particularly surprising given

the leadership of the federal ministry of the interior at that time, Free Democrat Gerhard Baum and his State Secretary von Schöeler.

In 1980-81, the "Nuclear Map of the FRG" was then published by *tageszeitung* and *Stern* magazine, and served to instigate the most far-reaching campaign against military installations in NATO and the Bundeswehr's existence.

Hard evidence of the secret-service direction and control of such operations against the Federal Republic had existed at the very beginning of the formation of the anti-nuclear and peace movements. In 1977, the Federal Government had the intelligence service's evidence, that the government and secret service of East Germany was operationally involved in the development of the anti-nuclear movement. The minister-president of the state of Schleswig-Holstein at that time, Gerhard Stoltenberg, spoke of evidence that East Germany had devoted several hundreds of thousands of marks to the so-called citizens' initiatives.

The study issued by the ministry of the interior, "Active Measures of Eastern Secret Services—Attempts at Manipulation of German Politics and the Domestic Political Climate in the Federal Republic of Germany," published in February 1985, reports that the East German Stasi already had plans in the mid-1970s to deposit small amounts of radioactive materials in the vicinity of nuclear reactors. That was to fire off a mobilization of the German population against nuclear technology. The "target object" selected then was the nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Gorleben. The interior ministry's paper says explicitly: "Western defense and alliance-policy was and is the target of 'active measures' by Eastern secret services." The study cites a number of examples, such as the leaking of secret NATO documents to German journalists to create the impression that NATO was actively preparing a nuclear attack.

The Green movement and the peace movement are a particularly lucrative "treasure chest" for the Stasi to launch such operations. The secret-service "finger-print" on the mentioned "Nuclear Map of the FRG" is obvious. The idea of assembling such a "nuclear map" was first entertained at a joint conference in the fall of 1979 of the BBU environmentalist organization and the DKP-controlled DFG-VK. The chief advocate in this matter was then BBU-activist and later parliamentarian, Green Party Executive Committee member Roland Vogt.

According to reports of the Bundesverfassungsschutz from that time, the DFG-VK had already developed direct contacts to the "Peace Council" of East Germany and the Soviet "Peace Council," and DFG-VK bureaucrats repeatedly visited Moscow to "discuss current issues of maintaining peace" and "further cooperation." When the federal government threatened to legally prosecute the publication of such information as contained in the "nuclear map," Vogt answered: "In the future, serving a prison sentence will be part of the normal career of every serious peace activist." In addition to the public participation of DKP cadre in these deliberations, Vogt's role deserves to be stressed: He proved to be particularly agile, always happy to make contacts and travel, such as in the pilot-project of the Greens to develop contacts with Qaddafi, all qualities which characterize the professional "information gatherer for peace."

The "nuclear map" was first published in *Stern* magazine, Feb. 19, 1981, and then in the Berlin edition of *tageszeitung* shortly thereafter. By mid-March, the Greens presented a full "nuclear map of the FRG." The map contained sites of nuclear power plants, the approximate locations of nuclear weapons storage depots, missile units, air-bases, and command-units. Roland Vogt again adopted the role of spokesman, and

commented on the map, that names specifying the locations on the map had been left out "for didactical reasons," although more precise information was available. Citizens' initiatives themselves, he said, should identify the targets, and provide more precise descriptions of them, so that it would be possible to publish an even more detailed map in six months. Vogt denounced the federal government's warning concerning prosecution as "perverse." The "threat potential" for the population, he said, was so great at such sites, that "only resistance, even at the price of being arrested," could hope to accomplish anything against it.

An "new edition" of the "nuclear map" was published by *tageszeitung* in a special issue for the Congress of the Protestant Church in June 1981, and massively distributed. The "German Overview Map of Nuclear Weapons," was assembled, according to *tageszeitung*, from "our own sources" and from reports of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). It showed positions of anti-aircraft missiles, special munitions depots, artillery rockets, missile batteries (Pershing Ia), U.S. Air Force, Royal Air Force, cruise missiles, Pershing II, Starfighters, nuclear mines, and missile launchers.

Following the publication of the "nuclear map" in *Stern*, the General State Attorney had initiated a judicial investigation for possible violations of paragraph 95 StGB (revelation of state secrets), but the investigation died a silent death. A handful of Christian Democratic parliamentarians pointed out that the line had already been crossed insofar as acts of treason were concerned. In this connection, the role of the DKP-influenced DFG-VK and the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation in producing and distributing the map, as well as expanding the campaign "on site," should be emphasized. Immediately following publication of the map in *Stern*, KFAZ circulars announced the "development of local and regional resistance against the construction of new military installations." "Resistance on site" would have to be increased, KFAZ said, and the population should be informed by use of "threat-situation maps."

Reports from a meeting of the DFG-VK state group in Baden-Württemberg in December 1980 show, that plans were made to assemble an "armaments map," with locations of military objects, installations, planned installations, military-technology firms, with recommendations for "peace actions." The transcripts of this meeting also mention actions such as "sit-down strikes in front of military installations," "blockades of all kinds, for example, against military transports of the German Railway," "sabotage," "refusal to pay taxes."

There is other evidence of the involvement of Eastern intelligence services in the completion of this map and launching of the campaign against military installations. The busybody activities of the "military expert" of the American "peace movement," William Arkin, is worth noting. Arkin is a former intelligence officer who regularly functions as an important source for detailed information on military installations for the peace movement. Arkin is an old activist of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), founded in 1963, which is well-known for its support of various left-extremist operations at the end of the 1960s.

The former Director of the Hamburg State Office of the Verfassungsschutz, Hans Josef Horchem, pointed out last year, that IPS "has been clearly identified as an apparatus of Soviet disinformation policy."

The founder of IPS, Richard Barnett, made a tour through the Federal Republic of Germany in March 1981 to incite the peace movement to actions against the stationing of NATO IRBMs. Arkin made a number of visits to the Federal Republic at the same time, and for the same

purpose, and publicly appeared with the Greens. In May 1982 the Green newspaper *Hessenzeitung* presented state parliamentarian Gertrud Schilling as the contact-person to Arkin. Arkin has repeatedly attempted in recent years to launch campaigns against the American armed forces stationed in the Federal Republic. Arkin's last such attempt was in January 1984, when *tageszeitung* published stories about so-called "back-pack bombs," nuclear mines employed by American Special Forces. The Special Forces Group stationed in Bad Tölz was identified as a "target object" for the peace movement's attacks. Subsequently, following the arrest of members of the Red Army Faction, material was found showing the identification of targets for terrorist attacks, among these targets being the units stationed in Bad Tölz.

In March 1985, the Social Democratic weekly newspaper *Vorwaerts* published a full-page article by Arkin, titled "U.S. Army wants to hit deep in the enemy rear with back-pack bombs—nuclear mines are becoming smaller and easier to use."

IPS itself is a co-founder of the *Center for Defense Information*, also based in Washington, D.C., which functions as one of the "think tanks" for the American and European peace movements, and cultivates regular contacts with the Greens.

The exposure of secret service agents

In connection with IPS, it is also necessary to reference the group around *Philip Agee*, which has launched attacks for years, through its research and publications, against Western intelligence services and security authorities. The activities of the Agee group began in 1973 with the publication of the magazine *Counterspy*. *Counterspy* became notorious for its systematic revelations and publication of the names of security officials. This tactic of "naming the names" led, in December 1975, to the murder of the CIA station chief in Athens, Richard Welch, by the terrorist *Group 17 November*, which is still active. Experts' evaluations are that Agee, an agent of the CIA from 1957-69, had defected to the Cuban intelligence service. Agee, who was expelled from England in 1977, has stayed in the Federal Republic of Germany since then, and at first traveled with a Grenada passport, more recently with a Nicaraguan passport.

The publication *Geheim* (*Secret*) has been in publication in Cologne by the Agee group since the beginning of 1985. *Geheim* has the proclaimed aim of "bringing to light . . . things that should remain secret—the increasing omnipotence of the secret services and their anti-democratic sniffing practices." In the first issue of *Geheim*, Günther Neuberger and Michael Opperkalski gave their names as responsible for the contents under the press law. Opperkalski was editor of *Roten Blätter* (*The Red Pages*) until 1980, the publication of the DKP-linked organization *MSB Spartakus*. In 1978-79 Neuberger belonged to the staff of the newspaper of the Socialist University Association, which is also strongly influenced by the DKP. The person registered as editorially responsible for the January 1986 issue is Jürgen Roth, a journalist in the same milieu.

Federal Ministry of the Interior State Secretary Spranger remarked on the developing activities of *Geheim* in March 1985: "If it proves to be the case, that existing criminal law is not adequate to prevent the revelation of the identities of the officers of our secret services, the federal government will not hesitate to create the necessary legal instruments."

Journalists such as Stefan August, Eckart Spoo, Manfred Bissinger, and Werner Poelchau, float around the Agee group, and are known for their previous activities against security authorities. This group provides the Greens with their "security policy ideas."

Also noteworthy is the participation of the Stockholm International

Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) against the Soviet-directed campaign against the military-strategic interests of the Western Alliance. It is well-known, that the network of "peace researchers" is one of the Soviets' favorite targets for infiltration. SIPRI "peace researcher" Owen Wilkes, who provided the information for the "nuclear map" together with Arkin, was sentenced in February 1981 to six months in prison, together with the Norwegian Peter Gledich. On behalf of the Norwegian Peace Institute, they had gathered information on secret radar installations in Norway, and then published this information in a book. The state attorney, in his opinion on the case, stated that the book "looks more like a piece of intelligence-service work, and not political journalism and research." A detailed list of intelligence officers and leading military personalities was found in Gledich's apartment, with addresses and ranks. Wilkes was arrested in the summer of 1981 by Swedish police on suspicion of espionage, and his private home and his office at SIPRI were searched. The police stated that they had found file material on Swedish air defenses. This material was part of the information gathered for additional publications on military bases in Europe. Wilkes, for example, appeared at a peace movement conference in Frankfurt, and spoke on the subject of bases for nuclear weapons, "where they are, and how they can be recognized."

Additional examples of "information gatherers for peace" who have clashed with the authorities are the "alternative" newspapers *Hunsrück Forum* and *Monokel*. The *Hunsrück Forum* published construction plans for the cruise missile launch-bases in Hasselbach in its April 1985 issue. Immediately thereafter, there were large-scale police searches of apartments and offices of the editors and the print-shop of the DKP in the state of Rheinland-Palatinate. The state office of the DFG-VK was also searched, since the same edition of the *Hunsrück Forum* had published an illegal call to non-combat alternative service employees of the West German armed forces to quit their service prematurely. The DFG-VK information service *Southwest Contacts*, which was the origin of this incitement operation, had drawn the attention of security authorities in 1981 when it openly called for sabotage against military installations. Judicial investigations were initiated on grounds of "photographing objects so as to endanger the security of the state" and "incitement to commit crimes."

Monokel is an "alternative scene" newspaper published in Coburg, which had published information on the construction of munitions depots, and was therefore also under investigation.

In conclusion, we mention another Green-supported project for gathering information on "military infrastructure, military territories, and construction, maneuvers, observation of maneuvers, civil defense, biological and chemical weapons": the Dortmund-based Project and Research Office: "Military, Ecology and Planning" (MOP). This office was the publisher of the new edition of the *Military Atlas from Felsburg to Dresden*, issued by the Greens, which was an expanded version of the first edition, containing "additional research information and data-processing programs." It is no surprise, that the author and MOP-staffer, Burkhard Lubert, is a "studies director" in the notorious "International Friendship Home" in Bückeberg, a gathering nest for DKP and other left-extremists.

The role of the already-mentioned Lt.-Col. (ret.) Alfred Mechttersheimer and his Starnberg-based Research Institute for Peace Policy must be emphasized. This institute, led by Mechttersheimer, now a parliamentary candidate for the Green Party, proved to be particularly useful

for the Greens at their last party congress, where the marching orders were given: "The Greens particularly want to gather information on defense matters and publicly disseminate it." The 387-page book published by Mechtersheimer "is intended to provide needed information, and it will be shocking." According to Mechtersheimer, people in the Federal Republic of Germany live in an "over-militarized country," and live in the "combat-zone Federal Republic."

The book contains the most comprehensive and detailed "catalogue of military sites" to date on the Federal Republic: 73 pages are devoted to a complete listing of all military installations of West German and allied armed forces. Not only the "occasional spy" Sunday-stroller peace activist, but also the terrorist commandos of the autonomous groups and the Red Army Faction are eternally grateful to Mechtersheimer. As the case of the assassination of Professor Beckurts demonstrated, the terrorist scene studies the material prepared by experts on military installations and military-related personnel and firms very carefully—for example, on confidential strategy-meetings, published by the DKP-linked MSB Spartakus or the *Militarization Atlas* published by the Green Mechtersheimer.

'Direct action' against military installations

Following the formative phase of the "peace" movement, in which the "nuclear map," without any doubt, was a crucial instrument of the mobilization, the action-phase began with the "Autumn Actions" of 1983 and 1984 against the stationing of Pershing II and cruise missiles. In 1983 alone, there were 1,400 "actions" (demonstrations, blockades, sit-ins, human chains, etc.) against the Bundeswehr and NATO armed forces. The number of such actions increased slightly the following year, while the militant nature of the actions escalated considerably. In more than 80 cases, attempts were made to enter military security-areas. The greatest fear of security forces at that time was of a provocation with a "Benno Sorge effect" (the young demonstrator killed during a demonstration against the Shah of Iran in Berlin in 1976), by agent provocateurs who deliberately ran the risk of being shot at by military security forces—a result cold-bloodedly expected in the "movement."

The Greens, with their notion of "deliberate violation of regulations," their emphasized willingness to break laws, were the second driving force of the anti-NATO peace movement, together with the DKP-led "scene," into which Social Democrats and trade-unionists have been increasingly integrated.

The example of "Autumn Action 84," in which the tactic of "blocking maneuvers" played a central role, demonstrates especially clearly how the "movement," conditioned by the "nuclear map," etc., was increasingly pulled into militant mass actions against military installations, while the DKP and the Greens discreetly refrained from open acts of violence, but never disavowed the violence or undertook any steps against the violent groups they had mobilized. Instead, they formulated and controlled the campaign, such that acts of violence were programmed into the actions.

In one "appeal" of the "Coordinating Committee Maneuver Disruption," for example, which was responsible for planning the disruption of NATO maneuvers in northern Germany, the following "proposed action plan" was offered:

"Action proposal—How can a man/woman prevent a maneuver? The extent of our present information provides the following list of ideas: There are a number of troop units which do not frequently alter their positions—fuel depots (for trucks)/sanitation units/maintenance units/staffs (housed at farm houses, restaurants). By using 'flexible procedures'

(e.g., Wendland Blockade), they can be blockaded using convoys of cars or various materials. The idea is to pull such actions particularly where public attention is unavoidable, i.e., in larger towns, on bridges, etc.

“—There are many signs used as orientation for communications units, military convoys, etc., or which contain information about troop contingents. You can see to it that these signs are not to be found in their proper locations.

“—There are communications and command positions linked by cables. There is no electric current in these cables.

“—Car-convoys can be organized out of the camps, driving through the terrain, and then suddenly break down. Tank-convoys rely upon travel over open country roads and highways, because they cannot permanently drive through their exercise terrain.

“—A hint for amateur radio buffs: military radio communications run over the right side of the short-wave band.

“—Kites are a pain in the neck for maneuvering helicopters.

“—The form of disruption and the best place to set up a blockade will be determined on site based on the information of the maneuver-reconnaissance groups. Like in the Wendland blockade, we have to be flexible, taking down a blockade at one position, and then building it up again somewhere else.”

The autumn maneuver disruption

The Greens appeared in these “Autumn Actions” as part of the “independent” section of the movement, which did not want to settle for large demonstrations, but wanted to escalate the “on-site resistance.” The “Coordinating Committee Maneuver Disruption” cited the sub-organization of the Greens, Green Alternative Citizens’ Slate in Hanover, as their contact address. The outcome of this “maneuver disruption”—150 incidents of violent action against maneuvers and military installations—demonstrates the degree to which the militant peace movement was, and is, active as an espionage, reconnaissance, and agitational “troop” against military installations.

The following, incomplete, overview illustrates the extent of these activities:

31 August 1984: Arson against construction equipment employed for building road-mine caches near Giessen.

In the area of Malente-Neversfelde, the cover of a road-mine cache is sealed shut with rapid-setting cement.

9 September 1984: The fence of the U.S. depot in Mutlangen is cut in five places.

In Kalletal-Bavenhausen, Lower Saxony, copper wire is pushed into the cylinder locks of the doors to a NATO-pipeline pump-station.

In Gütersloh, parked U.S. military vehicles are smeared with slogans such as “No NATO War” and the Red Army Faction star symbol, and the tires of the vehicles slashed.

10 September 1984: a British Army locomotive driver in Gütersloh observes that a railway switch has been jammed with clamps and steel bars.

11 September 1984: In Oldenburg, four Molotov cocktails are thrown over the fence of a barracks between a number of Bundeswehr vehicles. It was possible to extinguish the fire. Warning signals were destroyed at a field air-base the same night in Warendorf.

13 September 1984: A freight train in the vicinity of Eberbach in Hesse runs into a barricade made of wood, strips of iron, and large stones built up on the tracks. This route was being used by military transport trains at the time.

14 September 1984: The exit ramp of a U.S. tank transport train from the railway station at Büdingen is blocked by 12 persons with logs and stones.

15 September 1984: A leaflet distributed by the Greens calls on the population to disrupt take-off and landing maneuvers of military aircraft by "flying kites." Instructions for construction of the appropriate kites were printed on the leaflet.

In Steinau in Hesse communications cables to a division command post are cut.

Near Dassel in Lower Saxony, a British soldier is slightly wounded by an air-rifle in the forest area.

An incident is investigated by American and German police, in which 10,000 liters of fuel had leaked out of three American fueling vehicles. It is observed that the drain valve on all three vehicles had been deliberately opened.

20 September 1984: Near Eddinghausen in Lower Saxony, the windshield of a Bundeswehr vehicle is shattered.

21 September 1984: A manned Federal Border Patrol (BGS) helicopter is stoned at a distance of 30 meters, but most of the stones fail to hit their target.

In Amleben in Lower Saxony, a Bundeswehr soldier is shot at with fireworks-rockets.

Near Detmold, a Bundeswehr tank unit is shot at from behind some bushes. The tanks were being driven with open hatches from the tower. A revolver was discovered at the site.

22 September 1984: During a search of a "Peace Camp" near Edingen, knives, axes, and nut-cutters were found.

In the region of Hildesheim-Hamel-Hanover, civil and military traffic is disrupted by groups of 15-20 persons. Balloons filled with paint are thrown at military vehicles. Near Copenbrügge road-blockades are set up, vehicles set on fire, and tires slashed.

24 September 1984: The fences at the BGS shooting range at Alsfeld are cut open and the walls sprayed with slogans such as "Border Patrol and Bundeswehr Exercise for War."

In the region of Hanau, persons from the "Peace Camp" Maintal tear out the traffic signs in front of the U.S. maneuver grounds.

At the U.S. shooting range in Lehnerz, an active but undetonated incendiary bomb is found near a fuel tank.

At the Main bridge near Hanau, six covers of mine-caches are removed and two plastic pipes cemented shut. Nearby, slogans such as "Sabotage is Necessary" are sprayed in paint.

25 September 1984: A group of demonstrators forces its way into the grounds of the U.S. air-base at Finkenberg, and sprays the sensors of three HAWK missiles with paint.

At the railway station of Wildflecken, the break-lines of 40 Bundeswehr trucks are cut and slogans such as "Ami Go Home" and "Resistance Now—War Against War" are painted on them.

Near Orie in Lower Saxony, the crew of a Bundeswehr armored personnel carrier is attacked by 50 persons armed with knives and clubs. The vehicle's crew is forced to barricade itself in the vehicle, which is severely damaged from the outside.

Near the Hanau nuclear energy firm Alkem, the first of several clashes occur. At a demonstration in front of the factory, where 50 of the inhabitants of the "Peace Camp" participate, demonstrators steal a policeman's pistol while he is checking their identification papers. During a subsequent search, 20 masked demonstrators surround a police car, and

The Greens and Soviet irregular warfare

attack it. One policeman fires three warning shots to drive the group off.

26 September 1984: In a U.S. supply depot in the Grunewald section of Berlin, a guard post is attacked, and the guard forced at gunpoint to surrender his weapon and radio.

At a U.S. depot at Grebenhain, 300 demonstrators succeed in forcing their way in, and 45 persons are put under temporary arrest.

At the U.S. helicopter field at Fulda-Sickel, 60 demonstrators enter the base and spray a number of tanks and leave.

In the course of various actions in military security-areas, warrants were issued for the arrest of Green activists Schubart, Kerschgens, Luise Rinser, and Rudolf Bahro, for entering military grounds and disturbing the peace. The original planning group for the maneuver disruptions, the "Working Group Autumn Action 84 Fulda Gap," was controlled from the beginning by the "Peace Committee of the Hessen Greens" and "Peace, Inc." of the national Greens.

One notable thing stands out about their "peace" activities. *The actions were designed not simply to disrupt NATO maneuvers, but to practice aid of an invading Warsaw Pact force.* Actions such as those of the Frankfurt Greens, who demonstratively walled up the explosives chambers on a Frankfurt bridge, were typical, and characterized the climate for the last round of operations in "maneuver disruptions." Most bridges in West Germany have chambers where, if a military attack is expected, sufficient explosive charges are deposited to destroy the bridge if Western Allied forces must retreat, so that the bridge cannot be used by the advancing enemy. By sealing the explosives chambers, the Greens were acting out a "maneuver" of their own to keep the bridge intact for the subsequent use of enemy invading forces.

Green city-councilors in Frankfurt, Manfred Zieran and Jutta von Ditfurth, participated in the bridge operation. Following the "maneuver disruption" campaign, the Hesse Green state parliamentary delegation explicitly stated, that they openly confessed to participating in this violation of the law. Green parliamentary Gertrud Schilling stated: "We do it deliberately."

Another scenario of "direct action" against military installations is the campaign against military transports, called to life since 1983. At a "nationwide meeting of the group against military transports" at the beginning of June 1983 in Mainz, there were 250 persons. The various position-papers of this group explicitly stated the intent to educate the frustrated layers of the "peace movement" in the conceptions of modern irregular warfare:

"Disruption of supplies, conceived in military categories (and this is the issue with the transports in question), is a classical aim of an army in order to initiate the political and military defeat of the enemy. The unfortunately necessary military considerations entail the political demand for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Federal Republic. . . . To become a real political force, it is necessary that one become familiar with the totality of the political and military strategies, and the importance of NATO, and to look for its weak points, points against which we can develop a continuous and self-determined attack."

It is necessary "to point up and attack the entire military apparatus and its function. . . . We think that it is possible for us to develop practical resistance by attacking military transports, because we are not going to run up against militarily secured installations and institutions, but attack where we can really have an effect and throw sand into the

machinery. It is far more difficult for the U.S. army and the security forces of the FRG to protect all military transports than to guard individual depots and installations. The confrontation we are getting into with this campaign must be clear, as well as what it means for our approach to the campaign."

The most important demands were for the "collection and completion of our information on the entirety of military infrastructure in order to make its structure totally transparent" and "to take the stocking of the depots in the framework of the Wartime Host Nation Support Program as the jumping off point for direct disruption of transports."

Speeches were given on this topic by the Wiesbaden resident Rehberg, known to have been part of the terrorist scene at that time, and also in contact with Red Army Faction cadre such as Wolfgang Werner Grams. Two years later, these texts went into bloody practice. Members of the same Wiesbaden cell participated in the RAF attack against the Rhine-Main Air Base and the murder of American soldier Pimental. The police also sought members of the Wiesbaden cell in connection with the assassination of Siemens Board of Directors member Beckurts.

In 1983 and 1984, there were a series of actions against munitions trains and ship transports in the north German area. One of the Bremen groups involved, *Komitee gegen Bombenzüge*, appropriately adopted the acronym "KGB." That this acronym is coherent with the character of this movement is pointed up by an unusual advertisement by the DKP in its newspaper on June 14, 1984. It reads:

"The Word Is: Alarm Readiness

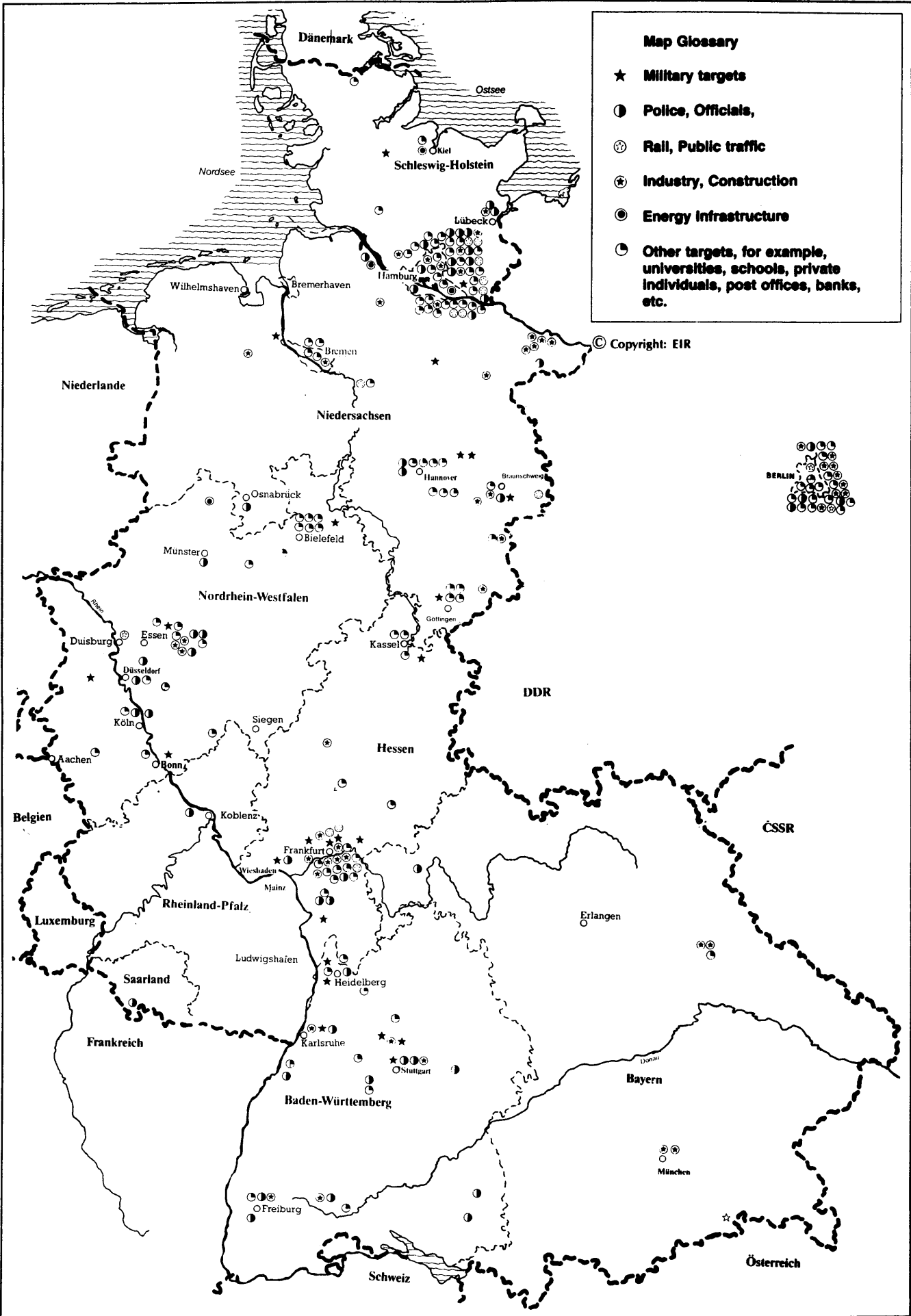
"Stop U.S. Bomb-Trains.

"Information and Action Advice of the DKP June 22, 1800 hours, DKP regional office. When the Alarm is sounded: we meet in the DKP center at Nordenham, Hafenstrasse.

"DKP District Executive Bremen, Lower Saxony-North"

This is remarkable in that, normally, the DKP takes great pains to cover up even the slightest appearance of illegal structures and tactics. Nevertheless, it has happened more often in recent years, that subgroups of the DKP have taken up contacts with circles of "autonomous" groups. The "working areas" in which the DKP found it useful to cultivate such contacts were the "anti-fascist campaigns" and actions against military installations and infrastructure.

One other person who functions as a contact and source of information for the campaign was a retired locomotive driver and Green activist. He was professionally in a most appropriate position for his new responsibilities: He had been a military transport driver!



Map Glossary

- ★ Military targets
- Police, Officials,
- ⊕ Rail, Public traffic
- ⊛ Industry, Construction
- ⊙ Energy Infrastructure
- ⊙ Other targets, for example, universities, schools, private individuals, post offices, banks, etc.

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