



The Greens at the Kremlin. During their visit to Moscow in April 1986, the Green delegation agreed on "regular contacts" with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To the right of Gromyko is Rainer Trampert, spokesman for the national executive committee and Julia von Dittfurth.

## VI. The Greens and the Soviet bloc

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### 'Soviet agents'

The Green Party platform as well as the brutal rioting at Wackersdorf have demonstrated beyond doubt that the Greens, to quote the chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary faction, Alfred Dregger, are "Soviet agents" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 7, 1986). The Greens, together with Moscow's official representatives in West Germany, the German Communist Party (DKP), form the core of Moscow's Fifth Column of shock troops for destabilization and sabotage. Following this spring's DKP Party Congress, the DKP entered into an active, official joint "Election List" with the Greens.

Granted that the Greens' program has always read like a Soviet wish list: West Germany out of NATO, all U.S. troops out of West Germany, slash the strength of the Bundeswehr, close down all nuclear power plants in the Federal Republic, etc. What emerges, however, beginning in mid-April, is a series of public statements by the Green leadership, documenting that their program is not merely coincidentally in "objective" agreement with Moscow on all major policy questions pertaining to the Federal Republic. It is, rather, a conscious agreement and a close working relationship with the Soviet Union, to enact a program that would deliver the Federal Republic into the hands of the Russian Empire.

Beginning in mid-April, the Greens "came out of the closet," and openly proclaimed their party-to-party alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Greens and the CPSU formally established regular consultative inter-party relations and achieved a publicized wide-ranging agreement on cooperation and collaboration in many fields and on all key strategic issues. At the crux of the matter was the proclaimed Green-CPSU agreement to bring a Red-Green (Social Democratic-Green) majority to power in the January 1987 federal elections, and through this, to irrevocably transform the Federal Republic.

### Chaos, Inc.

Less than two weeks before the April 26 Chernobyl nuclear accident, and one month before the Greens engaged in mass violence against police at the nuclear facility at Wackersdorf, four executive members of the Green Party visited Moscow. The visit, declared Green executive member Lukas Beckmann, marked the first "official party-to-party contacts" between the Greens and the Soviet Communist Party. Thus, as of mid-April 1986, the Greens shared with the DKP the "honor" of having official party-to-party relations with the CPSU.

The Green delegation consisted of Jutta Ditfurth, spokesman for the

board of directors of the Greens, since 1976 in the "Socialist Office"; Rainer Trampert, spokesman for the board of directors of the Greens, and former member of the Communist Union; Norbert Kostede, "Socialist Office"; and Beckmann. The backgrounds of the members of this delegation, who form the present party leadership of the Greens, are not insignificant.

The Green delegation was accorded "Red Carpet" treatment by the Central Committee. The delegation was met at the airport by Central Committee member Ivan Frolov, and accompanied to the Central Committee's own hotel, according to an article in *Pravda*. Frolov is not simply a Central Committee member; he is the Central Committee's officially designated interface with the Club of Rome's zero-growth genocide crowd in the West, and has played a leading role in Moscow's operations to use the Club of Rome, and various irrationalist zero-growth movements spawned under the Club of Rome's "ecologist" ideology, to undermine the West.

During their one-week stay in Moscow, the Greens met with high-ranking officials, including President Andrei Gromyko, Moscow Party chief Boris Yeltzin (who subsequently attended the DKP party convention in Hamburg on May 2-4), Central Committee Secretary Zimyanin, Vadim Zagladin, chief of the Soviet Communist Party's "Comintern" International Department, and with the chairman of the Peace Committee, Zhukov, as well as with the editors of *Pravda* (Viktor Afanasyev) and *Kommunist* (Ivan Frolov), according to an article in *Pravda*.

While in Moscow, the Greens demonstrated in front of the U.S. embassy with signs: "No war—Nyet woynye."

The Greens refused to hold a press conference at the German Embassy, as is customarily done by party delegations visiting from the Federal Republic. They issued their proclamations on Soviet territory: in the Central Committee hotel and before the press committee of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. At the press conference, Lukas Beckmann, heading the Green delegation, came out in support of Soviet ally and Libyan terrorist leader Qaddafi, while denouncing, of course, U.S. "state terrorism."

The Soviet-TV evening news program, "Vremya," gave a detailed report on the visit and the press conference. According to "Vremya": "Both sides [the Soviet Communist Party and the Greens] most sharply condemned the aggression of the U.S.A." against Libya. Criticism was made of the "incorporation of the German Federal Republic and other West European states into the realization of the U.S. SDI plans," etc. None of the statements issued by the Greens during their stay in Moscow deviated in the least from the line of the CPSU, and, as can be seen from the above examples, their behavior was no different in the Soviet media coverage, than any visit to Moscow by any of the various "fraternal" communist parties of the West.

On the Green delegation's return to West Germany, Lukas Beckmann, in an interview granted April 22 to the DKP daily, *Unsere Zeit*, endorsed the Soviet "peace proposals." "We greet them, including the most recent made by Gorbachov in Berlin at the [East German] SED Party Convention, as credible proposals without reservation that offer, with the Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapons testing, the chance for the first time for concrete steps for disarmament. . . . For that reason, and others, we invited Mikhail Gorbachov to a peace congress in the Federal Republic."

"We were received with much interest and attention. . . . Western European journalists told us that, with the exception of Brandt and Rau, who were also received by Gorbachov, essentially no Western party

## Green-Soviet 'agreements'

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delegations in recent years had meetings with such high-ranking officials," Lukas Beckmann said in an interview with *tageszeitung* (April 22, 1986). "The Soviet Union precisely in regard to the disarmament proposal has an interest in a new majority in the Federal Republic. The present government has reacted either negatively or with reservation to the new disarmament proposals."

The "agreements" the Greens concluded with the Soviets concern four areas:

1) Exchange of articles: Twice a year, lengthy articles on current themes in the U.S.S.R. and the Federal Republic will be exchanged and published in whatever newspapers or magazines are available at the given time.

One month later, on May 21, more revelations on the inter-party Moscow agreements emerged from Norbert Kostede, the Green's federal executive member. He announced that an exchange of experts and articles had also been agreed to. Kostede himself will be writing about the Greens' activities under the title "A Spectre Is Haunting Europe: The Spectre of the Greens," in the KGB-linked Soviet weekly, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, through the regular columns of its Bonn correspondent and KGB operative, Frenkin, has played a vanguard role in the Soviet media in extolling and praising the Greens. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* has on its staff a number of high-ranking KGB officers, including Jonah Andronov, a colonel in the KGB who wrote the official Soviet disinformation version concerning the attempt to assassinate the Pope in May 1981. Andronov, in a crude attempt to divert attention away from the Bulgarian and Soviet connection, in a series of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* articles during June and July 1983, accused the CIA of responsibility in trying to murder the Pope. The *Literaturnaya Gazeta* editor-in-chief, Alexander Chakovsky, has a special notoriety of his own. His writings, beginning in the late 1960s, mark the documented beginning of the Soviet campaign to rehabilitate and reglorify Josef Stalin.

The Greens also agreed to an exchange of articles with the ecology/peace magazine *Eko*. The Greens announced in Bonn that they would be able to publish articles in Soviet newspapers on "Marxism and Ecology" as well as on "Green economic policy." In return, the Greens will use their influence to make sure that Green-related alternative newspapers accept articles from *Eko*.

2) Regular exchange of visits: Each side will send a group of visitors comprising 20 people every year to the other's country to coordinate activities. That means, twice a year, leading officials of the Greens and the CPSU will meet to plan and coordinate activities and operations.

3) Exchange of speakers: Both sides have agreed to a speaker exchange on the questions of peace, security, environment, agriculture, economy, social policy, women, technology, and Third World policy. On the ecology front, in addition to Ivan Frolov, the Greens are in contact with the Soviet director of the state environmental committee, Mr. Israel, to discuss and "exchange views" concerning joint Soviet-West German ecology problems.

4) Promotion of "sister cities": Both sides agreed to support and promote sister cities between the U.S.S.R. and the Federal Republic. Also, those Green city-council and district government factions, who are part of the "opposition" in West German states and are in part excluded from sister-city and state contacts, should be integrated into any state-partnerships. Thus, for example, it was agreed that the Hamburg Green Alternative List (GAL) would soon undertake, in the context of the city partnership between Hamburg/Leningrad, a group trip to Leningrad.

## The shaping of the 'fifth column'

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After the Moscow visit, Lukas Beckmann admitted in an interview in *tageszeitung* that Rau and his Green friends are the Kremlin's candidates: "The Soviet Union precisely in regard to the disarmament proposals has an interest in a new majority in the Federal Republic."

Ivan Frolov is a former professor at Moscow University and chairman of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science's Scientific Council on Philosophical and Social Problems of Science and Technology. He is a newly elected member of the CPSU Central Committee and current editor of the CPSU journal, *Kommunist*. He is one of the U.S.S.R.'s top specialists in the cultivation of anti-Western, anti-republican, fascist-environmentalist forces. Frolov and associates' policy prescriptions have become the basis of Europe's ecology-peace movements, including that of West Germany's Green Party. In 1974-75, Frolov devoted much writing of books and articles to the problems of "man and the scientific-technological revolution," "man and his ecology," and so forth. He called for "a new synthesis of man, science, and humanism."

Frolov and Dzhermen Gvishiani, son-in-law of the late Alexei Kosygin, are the two Soviet ideologues who have led in shaping the work of the Club of Rome-Global 2000 crowd in the West—Aurelio Peccei, Eduard Pestel, Alexander King, et al. It is their anti-science, environmentalist-cult outlook that is now the program of the Green-Red electoral configuration in West Germany.

After Ronald Reagan came to power in 1981, during the Soviet transition to the "post-Brezhnev era," the U.S.S.R. took a more open and active interest in the Greens, as a "fifth column" operation. In the Soviet journal *Social Sciences* (No. 1, 1981), Frolov hailed the work of the Club of Rome as the "stimulating factor . . . in the development of the world's material and spiritual life towards communism." That same year, in an interview with the KGB-linked Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Frolov identified the West German Greens as an "important phenomenon" reflecting the "spirit of the times," which "is ever more actively advocating a solution to global, including ecological, problems in the interests of society."

In November 1981, the Soviet ambassador to Bonn, Vladimir Semyonov, had refused a meeting with representatives of the Greens during the official visit of Soviet government and party head Brezhnev. The Soviet embassy, referring to the inclusion of East bloc "refugee" Milan Horacek in the Green delegation, declared that they would not meet with any "dissident from a socialist country" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, Nov. 10, 1981).

Later that same month, however, Semyonov held a meeting with a Green Party delegation, led by then-Green Party chairwoman Marion-Griesbach, on the premises of the Soviet embassy. As the embassy announced, Semyonov acknowledged the Greens' concern over plans for stationing American nuclear weapons in Europe, and proposed a halt by both sides on mid-range nuclear missiles "that target European sites" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nov. 17, 1981). This meeting began Soviet-Green planning of the "peace movement" campaign against the stationing of Pershing and cruise missiles in the Federal Republic.

Semyonov, who had been ambassador to Bonn since 1978, retired earlier this year at age 76. He had over 40 years' experience with German affairs. During the war, when he was accredited to the Soviet embassy in neutral Sweden, he played a role in negotiations of a "separate peace" between Russia and Nazi Germany. The actual negotiations with intermediaries from von Ribbentrop's foreign ministry, began in 1943. Se-

myonov was under the personal direction of then-Foreign Minister Molotov, Stalin's right-hand man on the Politburo.

After the war, Semyonov went to Germany, and served as a top Soviet occupation official. In this capacity, he oversaw numerous contacts with West German figures who were receptive to Soviet feelers on "reunification," on Moscow's terms, including the famous "Stalin Note" of March 1952.

After the first phase of close Green-Russian contacts through Semyonov's embassy came the first warnings by leading public officials that the Greens were operating as a Soviet fifth column.

In the summer of 1982, Bavarian Governor Franz-Josef Strauss, referring to members of the Hamburg Green Alternative List (GAL), told the press in Munich: We don't wish that a "Trojan Soviet cavalry" use their parliamentary role in the Federal Republic in order to make other parties submissive to the Soviets. The demands of the Greens, to construct no more airports or nuclear plants, Strauss said, would mean a "destabilization of our high-output industrial society" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, July 7, 1982).

In 1983, with former KGB chief Yuri Andropov then Soviet general secretary, a string of positive commentaries on the Greens in the official East German and Soviet press confirmed that a "shift" toward the Greens, characterized by open East bloc support, had taken place. The media in Moscow and East Berlin dropped their "semi-critical" approach and came out endorsing the Greens, e.g., "Green partners and allies for the German Communist Party (in new Germany)." "The Greens have clear and unambiguous positions" (*Pravda*).

Through early 1982, the East German media had categorized the Greens as "a new, pseudo-left variation" with "dangerous illusions." Under Andropov, the mask of "critical coverage" was dropped. In late January 1983, the East German party organ *Neues Deutschland* published an article giving extensive covering to statements by Green Gen. Gerd Bastian on the question of the "arms race" (*Neues Deutschland*, Jan. 28, 1982).

*Neues Deutschland* quoted Bastian: "That a policy is necessary that strives over the long run for a dissolution of the blocs, which sets for itself the goal of a return to normality in Europe, for it is essentially an abnormal condition that Europe and our country are divided between two distrustful, watchful military blocs, bristling with weapons. That really can't continue in all eternity."

In the autumn of 1982, during Andropov's transition to power, the Agitation Department of the East German party's Central Committee released a document in the department's newsletter, which declared: "The Greens have especially become a collecting place of young people who—although having various views—agree in their great dissatisfaction with the system and the lack of perspective from which especially youth are suffering." The Central Committee now was reporting that the Socialist Unity Party's (SED) and Greens' views were "extensively in agreement," especially concerning the "struggle against the NATO missile, the principled rejection of nuclear power plants [in the Federal Republic, of course] and for defense of fundamental democratic rights." The SED's Agitation Department concluded by saying that for these questions, the Greens constitute "partners and allies for East Germany." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Jan., 29, 1985).

On Dec. 9, an article in the East German youth organization's (FDJ) newspaper, *Junge Welt*, which stated that the Greens belong "to the active core of the peace movement in West Germany." The FDJ was

then run by Egon Krenz, later elevated as Honecker's selected successor. On Jan. 20, 1983, the East German trade union newspaper, *Die Tribune*, carried exactly the same formulation: the Greens belong "to the active core of the peace movement in West Germany."

In February 1983, Petra Kelly admitted to close collaboration with the Soviets: "I received three phone calls one day from the First Secretary to the Soviet Ambassador in Bonn, Mr. Semyonov. He was present every day at our big meeting in Hagen. He told me he wanted to have a peace demonstration in the U.S.S.R. (*Le Point*, Feb. 19, 1983).

On May 12, 1983, Erich Honecker, in a letter to Petra Kelly, Bastian, and other Green Bundestag members, published front page in *Neues Deutschland*, endorsed the Greens:

"... The government of the D.D.R. [East Germany] totally and completely agrees with them, that both German nations ought to intervene in their consciousness of their duty for peace and détente in their alliance for a stop to re-armament and for disarmament. . . . The results of my most recent negotiations in Moscow with the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the U.S.S.R., Yuri Andropov, are a further sign of the fact that the Soviet Union, on the question of arms control and disarmament, shares the opinion that we should create a nuclear-free Europe. . . . We are for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, and for that offer the entire territory of the D.D.R., and would greet the Federal Republic of Germany's taking a positive position on that, and if it would participate in the negotiations on the corresponding regulations."

During that month—May 1983—Green leader and terrorist lawyer Otto Schily had private meetings with the East German permanent representative in Bonn, Ewald Moldt (*Unsere Zeit*, May 18, 1983).

All this back-and-forth culminated in October 1983, when a large 30-man Green delegation went to the U.S.S.R. and East Germany. In the U.S.S.R. the delegation, led by Petra Kelly, General Bastian, Otto Schily, Antje Volmer, Dirk Schneider, and the Czech "dissident" Horacek, met with Boris Ponomarev, then head of the Central Committee's International Department; candidate Politburo member Valentin Falin, then *Izvestia* commentator who was Semyonov's predecessor as Soviet Ambassador to Bonn; and Ivan Frolov, among others (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Nov. 2, 1983). Antje Vollmer, after meeting with Honecker, characterized the discussions as "extremely successful" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, June 12, 1984).

On Nov. 3, 1983, *Sovietskaya Rossiya*, reported that the Russians leaders told the Greens: "Good will, however, has limits," i.e., ordering the Greens to step up their activities.

After their return from East Germany and Moscow, the Greens began to push the Soviet line more openly than ever in the Bundestag (*Unsere Zeit*, Nov. 3, 1983). On Nov. 3, 1983, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* commented: "The Greens find the will to peace in Moscow credible. Said Schily: 'The aggressive sounds from America are not missed in the Soviet Union.'"

For the first time, Otto Schily revealed that he was working towards a "neutralization of Western and Finlandization of Eastern Europe," at the conclusion of a Green Party congress in Karlsruhe (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, March 13, 1984).

Another signal came out of the March 1984 Karlsruhe Conference, when unrepentant Nazi August Haussleiter, 79, the Greens' senior speaker, and Parliamentary Deputy Dirk Schneider called for "negotiations for the reunification of Germany on the basis of the Stalin Note of March 10, 1952." Both speakers described the Soviet Union as a "defensive

## Milestones in Soviet-Green collaboration

power," obsessed with the "fear of encirclement." Haussleiter called for establishing a "neutral belt" around the Soviet Union, stretching from Sweden to India. Haussleiter also declared that the way to remove the Pershing and cruise missiles from West Germany was through the 1987 federal elections, "if we then see ourselves strengthened with the SPD [Social Democratic Party] in parliament and overcome the Kohl system."

In the autumn of 1984 came the creation of a Soviet wartime high command under the direction of Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov, and the Gorbachov transition to power. The next dramatic phase of Soviet-Green collaboration also began in earnest. Clearly, the goal had been set: to achieve a pro-Soviet Red-Green coalition for seizure of power in Bonn in 1987.

The Central Committee's resident "environmentalist guru," the above-cited Ivan Frolov, announced Moscow's full backing of the Green insurrection, in Moscow's international weekly, *New Times*. Writing in October 1984, under the headline "Environmentalists Sound the Alarm," he rushed to the defense of the Greens, who were then being accused of "subordination to Moscow's desire for supremacy." He declared: "Marxists have criticized the political platform of the Greens . . . yet they are prepared to cooperate with them in the overall democratic movement for the preservation of peace and environmental protection."

Frolov's 1984 directive for "Marxist," i.e., DKP cooperation with the Greens was implemented. At the latest DKP and Green conventions, both parties have officially endorsed their alliance, together with the left SPD, to form a strong coalition to oppose and dump the incumbent Kohl government.

Frolov, in his 1984 *New Times* article, also identified himself as an



Petra Kelly and August Haussleiter. The political past of leading Greens is "indifferent" to her, Kelly stated in an interview with *Der Spiegel*.



active member of a new international environmentalist organization, created by Moscow, called "Man and Nature," based in Varna, Bulgaria. This new "Green International" held its first international conference in Varna in August 1986.

After the Frolov "signal," the Greens invited Leo Tolkunov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation—and also a top KGB official—to lead a Russian delegation for meetings with the Greens in Bonn. The visit occurred from Nov. 20-23, 1984. The delegation included other members of this committee: Yevgeni Silin and Vitali Shaposhnikov, acting director of the Central Committee's international department, and section leader of the Central Committee international department, Viktor Rykin. The talks centered on planning activities of the "peace movement."

According to Western intelligence sources, Leo Nikolaevich Tolkunov, former editor-in-chief of *Izvestiya* and head of the Soviet news agency Novosti, is a KGB officer with the rank of major-general. Tolkunov was a trusted associate of Yuri Andropov, under whom he served in the early 1960s in the Central Committee department for relations with communist countries (1957-67). As head of Novosti, Tolkunov frequently visited West Germany. Novosti, since its inception, has been run directly by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, acting through its so-called information department. The present head of this is Leonid Zamyatin, former head of TASS who is answerable directly to the Politburo. It should be noted that, during the first 10 years of its existence, more than a half dozen Novosti "correspondents" in Western capitals were exposed and expelled as KGB agents.

The connection between running Novosti and running operations against the Federal Republic continues through the present. Recently, Gorbachov selected former ambassador to Bonn Valentin Falin, a contact of the Greens, to take over Novosti. We can assume that Tolkunov, now in charge of European Security and Cooperation, continues to play a major role in overseeing the decoupling and disarmament work of the red-green alliance.

One week before the Tolkunov talks with the Greens, Antje Vollmer, spokesman for the Green faction, as well as Dirk Schneider, the Green parliamentary deputy, were holding high-level meetings in East Germany. Vollmer, elected to the German Parliament in 1983, is a former member of the "Anti-Imperialist League," and is the author of a petition-letter to the terrorists of the Red Army Faction. In 1969-70, Schneider belonged to the editorial collective of the anarcho-terrorist *Agit 833*, which became the sounding board for Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof (*Der Spiegel*, March 25, 1985). Vollmer and Schneider met with Herbert Haerber, then politburo member of the SED and former director of the KGB-connected department of international policy and economy (IPW) of the Central Committee. (*Neues Deutschland*, Nov. 12, 1984):

"Herbert Haerber explained to the guests from West Germany the peace policies of East Germany. . . . There was agreement that efforts to stop the arms race must be strengthened, above all, to prevent the militarization of outer space, and to bring about practical steps toward disarmament in the East and West," according to *Neues Deutschland*, which added: "During the course of the discussion, which took place in a free and constructive atmosphere, further questions of mutual interest were investigated."

Bunther Rettner participated in the meeting. Rettner is the acting director of the IPW. The IPW is the "sister organization" of the Moscow-based U.S.A. and Canada Institute, whose director is the top KGB

official, Georgi Arbatov. Arbatov is one of two Soviet members of the Palme Commission—the other being GRU General Mikhail Mikhstein—who regularly meet with the leaders of the Socialist International and the SPD, to coordinate strategy for demilitarizing Europe to Russian advantage. It was officially through the Palme Commission that the Soviet scheme for a so-called nuclear-free zone and nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe, was formulated.

It was also during the 1983-84 time period that the Greens, Antje Vollmer and Hennig Schierholz, as members of the "Anti-Imperialist League," established closer ties to the church of East Germany and its "peace" and "environment" organizations. In 1973, Hennig Schierholz was the co-founder of the Committees against the German Army College in Hamburg—committees formed mostly by communist organizations. From 1973 to 1976—and was a member of the steering committee of the "Union of Opponents of Military Service." Close connections were established to the East German Protestant Church's "research home" in Wittenburg. This "environmental" research institute, with close links to Frolov, held an exhibition entitled "Man and the Natural Environment" in December 1981. Their key "peace" contact in East Germany is the ecologist-theologian at the Protestant Theological Institute in Erfurt, Heino Falcke. Falcke has played a leading role with theologian-ecologist Gerhard Liedke (a leading coordinator for "grass roots" opposition to nuclear power) in planning low-intensity warfare, such as the Wackersdorf and Brokdorf riots against West Germany's nuclear industry.

While Tolkunov was in Bonn, Antje Vollmer, her predecessor Marie-luise Beck-Oberdorf, and also the "exiled" Horacek went to Bulgaria to hold extensive discussions on East-West "security policy" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nov. 16, 1984). Visits to Poland, Hungary, and the U.S.S.R. followed.

In December 1984, Petra Kelly led a group of Greens to East Berlin where she held discussions with approximately 30 individuals of the independent East German "peace movement," including Heino Falcke (*tageszeitung*, Dec. 8, 1984).

Shortly after this meeting, in February 1985, the KGB's *Literaturnaya Gazeta* wrote: "If we believe in colors, then we can actually speak of the



Roland Vogt (second from the left) was received in 1983 as a delegate of a delegation from West Germany by deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The delegation was led by Egon Bahr (Social Democratic Party).

Greens as a party of hope." The *Literaturnaya Gazeta* article, which appeared one month before Mikhail Gorbachov was installed as the new Kremlin ruler, was the crucial signal from the new Moscow leadership and the KGB that Soviet policy was directed at bringing an SPD-Green coalition to power in Bonn.

*Literaturnaya Gazeta* headlined its article: "Against American Rockets—the Color of Hope." Moscow's support for the Greens was never more clear.

*Literaturnaya Gazeta* praised the "clear speech" of the Greens on the issues of "Armaments and Military Budgets," hailing the Greens for calling the NATO-double track decision an "increase of nuclear armament," and calling NATO's strategy "the strategy of war." *Literaturnaya Gazeta* prominently cited the Greens for supporting "the peaceful Soviet initiative" to prevent "a militarization of outer space."

Most important of all, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* called on the West German Social Democratic Party (SPD) to unite with the Greens: "Then they could become a great, convincing force."

On April 17, 1985, the Green faction spoke with a delegation from the Supreme Soviet. During their one-week visit, the members of the Supreme Soviet under the leadership of Central Committee secretary Simyanin spoke with members of the Greens in parliament. Green participants included: Sabine Bard, Milan Horacek, Otto Schily, and ex-parliamentary deputy Jürgen Reents. Spokesmen for the Greens welcomed the moratorium on missiles announced by Gorbachov and expressed their concern over a new "spiral of world armament."

In September 1985, Otto Schily went to Moscow. After the discussions, the founding of the first joint commission between the Greens and the CPSU ("on Peace and International Problems") was announced—another milestone in the ever closer and more open Soviet-Green collaboration.

## The countdown to 1987

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The arrival of 1986 inaugurated the final countdown phase of the Soviet operation against West Germany, employing the Greens and the DKP as their core shock troops. The "signal" was provided by an article in the January 1986 edition of *Rote Blaetter*, the monthly of the DKP student youth organization, MSB Spartakus. The article was authored by DKP Chairman, Herbert Mies.

Mies stressed that the most important consideration concerning the 1987 federal elections was to make sure that the Greens' vote *did not fall below* the 5% required to gain parliamentary representation. Mies declared that the Greens could be ensured of getting above 5% through the help of the "peace slates" that the DKP are preparing for the 1987 elections. Mies outlined the DKP (read Moscow) electoral strategy for 1987, where the DKP will *not*, for the first time since it became a legal party, run its own slate of candidates, in order to ensure that the Greens—through the "peace slate" concept of joint candidates—acquire the added margin of votes required to make it into the Parliament.

Mies gave the example of the May 1985 North Rhine Westphalia State elections, where a DKP "peace slate" got 0.7% of the vote, while the Greens missed getting into the Landtag by only 0.5%, to show that if the "peace slate" teamed up with the Greens, then seats in the Bundestag would be assured. Thus, for the first time on record, Moscow was saying through their mouthpiece Herbert Mies, that their *key* consideration for the 1987 elections was ensuring that the Greens re-enter the Bundestag (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Jan. 28, 1986).

On Feb. 21, 1986, a Green delegation in East Germany, met with

Politburo member and President of the East German People's Assembly, Horst Sindermann. Greens attending the meeting included former Deputy Antje Vollmer, and Deputies Uli Fischer, Otto Schily, and Henning Schierholz.

Among the themes of the discussion were: possibilities and perspectives of European peace; disarmament policies; common ecological problems of both German countries.

Timed with the Mies electoral strategy article, the Soviet Central Committee's Green theoretician, Ivan Frolov, announced a vast increase in Moscow investments for promoting the Green "Ecology" Movement.

In January 1986 (in an article written for the Soviet publication "Priroda," No. 1, 1986) Ivan Frolov made it clear that the new Bulgaria Ecology Institute will be a major Soviet project on the European scene in the period ahead: "The interconnection of ecology and politics is becoming more and more evident, not only on a national, but on a global scale. . . . Various ecological and social movements are exerting a more and more tangible influence on world politics. Among them, great significance is attached to the new movement of ecologists in the struggle for peace . . . (the union of the "Peace" and "Ecology" movements) forming around the journal "Protection of Nature," published in Sofia, Bulgaria. In August of 1986, Frolov said, this East-West movement will convene a conference on "The Protection of the Environment and the Defense of Peace." The venue will be Bulgaria, the Soviet bloc's most notorious nexus for terrorism and dope.

Frolov, in the pre-election period in West Germany, has now taken a more active on-the-scene role to coordinate this operation. Immediately after hosting the Greens in Moscow, Frolov traveled to West Germany on invitation from the Social Democratic Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung, as head of a delegation of U.S.S.R. journalists. He was in the Federal Republic for one week, including the May 16-18 weekend when terrorists from the Greens and the DKP unleashed the violence at Wackersdorf. Among those accompanying Frolov was Soviet Central Committee collaborator Portugalov, who had made proposals during the 1984-85 period calling for a "neutral Europe." According to a source at the Fusion Energy Foundation, "Frolov had meetings with various SPD officials in Bonn, as well as the Greens."

The Green-Communist cooperation strategy was the theme of the international conference of most Western and Northern European Communist Parties, held in Vienna on May 17. The conference was sponsored by the Austrian Communist Party and the Prague based "Comintern" publication "Problems of Peace and Socialism"—literally on the eve of the May 18 Wackersdorf destabilization, in which the DKP and the West German Greens were in full battle array together. The attendees included representatives from the Soviet Union, the DKP, the Austrian CP, the Belgian and Netherlands CPs, and the Scandinavian CPs from Denmark, Norway, Sweden.

The Soviet official daily *Pravda* wrote that the Communist Parties of Europe, including the DKP, discussed the strategy of cooperation with "new social movements" on "ecological matters." The meeting condemned "state monopoly capital" as the culprit in scientific-technological failures, holding forth the promise that such failures would not occur under socialism.

## The DKP's May convention

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Soviet candidate Politburo member and Moscow City party boss, Boris Yeltsin, who had met with the Greens in Moscow in mid-April, in early May came to West Germany to attend the DKP Party Convention, held

in Hanover. Yeltsin was accompanied by the new Soviet Ambassador to Bonn, Yuri Kvitsinski.

The keynote speech to the DKP Congress was given by DKP Chairman Herbert Mies, who declared that the DKP hoped for an SPD-led federal government in 1987 that "will cooperate with the Greens in some form or other." Mies formally attacked SPD chancellor candidate Johannes Rau's statements that he would reject a coalition with the Greens: "That the SPD federal chancellor candidate Rau excludes a coalition with the Greens in advance we consider treacherous." Mies stated that the SPD and Greens must be supported "in common with and parallel to the principal thrust against the CDU/CSU." Mies reported to the delegates that the DKP's efforts to engage in a "dialogue" with the Greens had been "not fruitless," citing the "growing commonality between the forces to the left of the CDU."

The DKP Executive Committee's report at the party convention elaborated the policy of joint DKP-Green action for the elections: "The DKP Executive Committee concedes that the exertions of the party to come to dialogue with the Greens has not been fruitless. On different levels there have been conversations and open discussions since the last party convention in 1984; leading representatives of the Greens are totally in favor of concentrated cooperative work with the DKP in the extra-parliamentary struggle; and in some state parliaments the inclusion of 'joint slates' has occurred." The DKP concludes that "the best" development would be an SPD-led government, with some form of Green cooperation. If the Greens fail to cross the 5% minimum required to obtain parliamentary seats, the DKP leadership will "in fact" consider that a "set-back."

Then came the Red-Green *pièce de résistance* statement of the DKP and Greens being but two sides of one coin: "We are ready to contribute whatever we can to prevent such a development, and we are *in total agreement* with the peace slates that the Greens proposed to come to an understanding on regional slates. . . ."

Mies elaborated on the theme of forging a Red-Green majority: "It is not without importance, but necessary for the securing of peace, that Communists in cooperation with Christians, Social Democrats, Greens, and many other forces contribute to the further work and strengthening of the peace movement."

Mies announced that the DKP would not run its own list of candidates, but work primarily with the Greens in building a so-called peace slate (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 3, 1986).

## The Green Party convention

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Despite Lukas Beckmann's admission, "In the area of civilian use of nuclear energy, there is in general no consensus," the Greens came out at their party convention calling for a "unilateral pull-out" from all nuclear energy and technology.

To sum it up, as one close collaborator to CDU Lower Saxony leader Ernst Albrecht, commenting on the Green Party political platform, put it: "The Soviets couldn't ask for anything better if they were to found their own party in Germany" (*Le Figaro* June 14, 1986).

The Greens demand a new German foreign policy of "weakening NATO as an indispensable precondition for securing peace in Europe." They demand: 1) unilateral withdrawal from NATO, dissolution of NATO; 2) immediate and unconditional dismantling of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles; 3) complete and unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops and equipment from West Germany; 4) no participation in the SDI or Eureka; 5) reduction of the army; 6) "social defense," based in dismantling of all

military and arms production; 7) insistence on suppression of the anti-terrorist paragraphs in German law; 8) suppression of the police and of counterintelligence; 9) stopping all Western nuclear plants (at the same time refusal to criticize Soviet nuclear plants), thus, total deindustrialization of Germany; 10) equality in the face of the law for homosexual unions and marriages; 11) total liberty of abortion.

Even some dupes—the KV-Main-Taunus delegation—inside the Green Party itself had to react to this saying that the Green party program represents “unilateral political positions in favor of the Soviet Union.”

The official Soviet daily *Pravda* (May 21, 1986) openly praised the Green party program in a commentary by its Bonn correspondent, Yuli Yakhontov, the author of many slanderous articles on the “rise of German revanchism.” Among other things, *Pravda* praises the Green platform for its demands that all U.S. nuclear missiles and weapons “be pulled out of the country,” for being against the SDI, against West German SDI participation, and for “unilateral disarmament and pulling out of the North Atlantic Bloc.” *Pravda*, after denouncing the “sharp attacks and criticisms” from West Germany’s ruling parties against the Greens, predicted that “the Greens will grow as a force.”

Greenie Eva Quistrop, in an interview with *tageszeitung*, on April 4, 1986, praised Gorbachov’s peace initiatives: “Along with the Anti-WAA campaign and the preparations for the peace actions in Hunsrueck in October, the beginnings of a new Eastern policy of the Greens are important. She announced that a “Different Europe” conference would be held in the fall.

## United against . . . ‘German imperialism’?

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“United against the right? How do we bring Kohl Down,” was the theme of discussions at the “Youth Festival,” organized by the DKP in Dortmund this spring. Representatives of the SPD, DKP, peace slates, the Greens, the MSB Spartakus, the peace movement, and the women’s movement met “to discuss the possibilities of the federal election struggle against present West German imperialism” (*Unsere Zeit*).

Shortly after, in June 1986, the SPD, Greens, and the peace slates officially presented their “Federal Election Initiative 1987.” DKP-associated Prof.-Dr. Walter Kreck and Prof.-Dr. Reinhard Kuenl, speaking for the group, declared: “We want no antagonism. The possibility of accomplishing something new in the coming federal election is at hand: There are chances for a new political majority and a new policy. That is what the democratic movements of our country stand for, the peace movement, changes of position in the SPD, and the growing influence of the Greens. . . . A further contribution to this can be an electoral agreement between the Greens and personal alliances of the peace slates. The Greens remaining in the Bundestag is important for us” (*Unsere Zeit*, June 20, 1986).