

# The formation of Moscow's Green column against the West

"The Soviet Union and the Greens have *congruent* conceptions on the question of the rearmament of NATO." So said Green parliamentarian Otto Schily on Oct. 28, 1983 at a press conference in Moscow. The proposals of then-Kremlin head Yuri Andropov were extravagantly praised by the Green delegation, while the allegedly warlike policies of President Reagan and "aggressive circles" in Bonn were sharply criticized.

It is really a truism to characterize the Greens as "Moscow's Green column," since they make no secret of it. Yet today it is easier to catch East bloc spies than "agents of influence," since the more influence they gain, the more difficult it is to stop them.

The Greens and the so-called peace movement which has merged with them arose out of organizations which are, virtually without exception, closely connected with the oligarchical establishment of the West, like the **World Wildlife Fund**, (WWF), the **Club of Rome**, **Friends of the Earth**, **Ecoropa**, the **Bundesverband Bürgerinitiative Umweltschutz** (Federal Union for Citizens' Initiative for Environmental Protection, BBU), the **Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation**, and so forth. Green leader Petra Kelly is half American and began her political career in the United States, where she lived until 1971. On her numerous trips to the United States, she is courted by American circles—particularly in the State Department—working for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe and the strategic decoupling of Western Europe and the United States. To those circles belong Henry Kissinger and his friends, along with former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark. In the mid-1970s, Clark gained notoriety when he intervened on behalf of jailed Baader Meinhof terrorists and traveled to West Germany as a "trial observer." Clark supported the Khomeini revolution in Iran, and, shortly before the fall of the Shah, he appeared prominently at a demonstration in Teheran.

Today, he is wildly enthusiastic about the Greens: "I hope they are the wave of the future. I am very impressed with them. . . . With their electoral successes, they have been able to establish a beachhead and I hope it will grow." A beachhead for whom? This question was immediately answered by Clark, as he took a stand against American armed forces in Europe: "I fear, [U.S. Defense Secretary] Weinberger can sleep peacefully for the moment in the hope that the troops will remain for a very long time. I hope not. We need more actions, more people in the streets in the Federal Re-

public, more people who will protest against the American presence."

Ramsey Clark is not the only spokesman for Soviet strategic policy in the United States. In the 1950s, the Soviet Union registered its first major successes with the Pugwash Conferences. There, the obsession of the Western oligarchy—to stop economic growth and technological progress in the United States and Western Europe—joined with the interests of the Soviet Union, in disarming the West, not merely militarily, but also economically. What followed was the famous "Pugwash Process," a series of conferences at which Soviet representatives sat opposite their Western ideological confederates, who had the task of turning the conclusions arrived at into the defense policies of Western Europe and the United States. The result was numerous "arms-control agreements," which always served only to "gain time" for the Soviet Union to break the treaties secretly as soon as possible. One spinoff of the Pugwash movement is the Club of Rome, which became the godfather of the Green movement. And so the circle has been closed: The Greens have now become the "beachhead" of Moscow's disinformation propaganda.

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## Soviet subversion: the Treholt affair

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The subversive activities of the Soviet secret service in the 1970s were primarily directed against politicians of the Socialist International, since in those days of détente there was as yet no Green movement. East German secret service (Stasi) agent Günter Guillaume was assigned as a top aide to West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, to direct his détente policies.

As Guillaume began his activities in the chancellory, in Norway a KGB agent also went to work: Arne Treholt, the KGB colonel, rose to the position of press secretary and departmental head in the foreign ministry before he was arrested in the Oslo Airport on Jan. 21, 1984 with a suitcase full of secret papers. Although Treholt had access to secret NATO documents, which puts him among those from whom the Red Army Faction (RAF) terrorists could have learned the locations of NATO supply pipelines, the activity of this master spy did not consist of mere espionage. According to Norwegian and Italian newspaper reports, Treholt confessed

that he had been responsible for guiding the peace movement in Scandinavia and in Northern Europe. He was the author of a proposal published in 1979 for the creation of "nuclear-weapon-free zones in Scandinavia." The purpose of this operation was nuclear disarmament of all of Northern Europe. The founding of the so-called Palme Commission stems from the Treholt proposal; after the arrest of Treholt, the commission did not even consider altering its policy of "nuclear-weapon-free zones"!

Treholt, a member of the Soviet secret service for 15 years, received his orders from KGB Gen. Genadii Titov, who had been deported from Norway in 1977 because of his secret-service activities. Treholt's direct superior was Col. Leonid Makarov, the KGB *resident* in the Soviet embassy in Oslo. Previously, in the maritime-law conferences between Norway and the Soviet Union, Treholt had rendered his superiors a great service. As negotiator for Norway, he contrived the "gray-zone agreement" of 1977, in which the Soviets were given outrageous concessions, including fishing rights in the Barents Sea—the only possible outlet for Soviet nuclear submarines into the Atlantic!

The tactic of bringing Western politicians into line behind the policy of "nuclear-weapon-free zones" was, however, more than rights in the Barents Sea, and had two goals: the establishment of a denuclearized belt along the western border of the Warsaw Pact, and the decoupling of Europe from the United States. Europeans would be manipulated to refuse to station American intermediate-range missiles, while in the United States arrangements would be made to make sure that American troops would be withdrawn from Europe. Not everything went according to plan, but this Soviet gameplan is still very much alive.

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## Bahro goes West

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In order to destroy the Social Democracy from within, Palme and Brandt were not sufficient; a new mass movement was necessary, the Greens. They were at first simply a movement against nuclear power plants, which became increasingly militant. Their first phase ended with the founding of the Green Party in 1979 and the merging of the anti-nuclear and environmentalist movement with the violent Berlin "house squatters" and the so-called peace movement. Before 1980, the Greens had been only marginally concerned with questions of military strategy. During 1979, at the latest when NATO made its "double track" decision on the stationing of intermediate-range missiles, another decision was made in Moscow, among other places: to retool the Green environmental movement as a "peace movement" in the Soviet sense. Precisely at this time, a new star appeared for the Greens in the eastern sky: Rudolf Bahro left the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.) and quickly became the Greens' chief ideologue.

Bahro had been a loyal member of the East German

Socialist Unity Party (SED) for over 20 years, since 1952. But he disagreed with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and in 1975, when East German officials rejected his doctoral dissertation because of its "inadequate scientific basis," he became an official "dissident." He smuggled a manuscript of *Die Alternative: Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus* (*The Alternative: Toward a Critique of Objectively Existing Socialism*) into the Federal Republic of Germany (F.R.G.), and was arrested in 1977 when *Der Spiegel* published an interview with him and announcements of the book began to appear. At his trial, he was accused of illegal and treasonous dissemination of information for which he had been paid 200,000 deutschemarks. He was sentenced to eight years in prison, but after only two years' imprisonment in Bautzen, he was granted amnesty in 1979 on the 30th anniversary of the G.D.R. and released—not only from prison, but also from East Germany.

It would be naive to think that this event stemmed merely from the desire of G.D.R. officials to be rid of Rudolph Bahro. We must proceed from the assumption that the G.D.R. leadership and the Ministry for State Security (Stasi) quite consciously formulated a plan for a tactically "productive" deployment of their dissident into West Germany. For that reason, a deal was made with Rudi: Since an exchange of Bahro for Stasi agents in the Federal Republic would have failed because of Rudi's non-cooperation and a presumed lack of Western interest, he was allowed to go free without a tradeoff. In a February 1979 letter from Bautzen to admirers in the West, Rudi wrote: "I intend to leave the G.D.R. but without hostile feelings. . . . I too am certain that there is a job for a convinced Marxist and Communist such as myself in Western Europe and especially in West Germany."

And so it was. Bahro not only promptly joined the Greens, but immediately went to work to broaden their perspective, from environmentalism to "the nuclear disarmament of Europe."

In the spring of 1982, on the basis of a 1980 appeal from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Bahro wrote, with Michaela von Freyhold, a Charter for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Europe, which was to be discussed at a European Conference for Nuclear Disarmament in July 1982 in Brussels. Bahro's demands were exactly the same as those of KGB Col. Arne Treholt:

An atomic-weapon-free Europe, from Poland to Portugal, that withdraws from bloc confrontation. . . .

Were Europe not for the most part integrated into NATO and therefore the staging area for the United States, the Soviet Union would not hang onto Poland and the rest of East Europe in the way it does now. . . . We propose to the members of the peace movement that they demand of their municipal and regional authorities, and, above all else, of the governments of their countries, that those authorities declare the territories for which they are responsible to be nuclear-

weapon-free zones, without preconditions, merely on the basis of support from their populations. . . .

A nuclear-weapon-free zone is characterized by the fact that in those territories—on land and sea—all development, production, and stationing of national or foreign nuclear weapons . . . is discontinued. . . . Those territories will also not claim any protection through nuclear weapons from other powers. . . . The demand for the withdrawal of all ABC [atomic, biological, chemical—ed.]

consequence that all troops, including conventional troops of nuclear-armed powers, that is, powers committed to a nuclear strategy, are also withdrawn. . . . Civil-defense efforts against nuclear threats will cease, since such efforts . . . nourish the illusion that there could be protection against nuclear war and that there could be any sense to surviving a nuclear war.

[All this should be]

tutions of all European nations. . . . The obligation will be incorporated into the oath of all military officers that every breach of the declared and defined status of the nuclear-weapon-free zone and any justified suspicion of any such breach shall immediately be reported to the public.”

Bahro was a part of the same operation that Colonel Treholt was running in Scandinavia—a Treholt without the secret-agent packaging. It is striking that in every new turn of the Greens, it is always Bahro who acts as the pacesetter. Since arriving in the Federal Republic, he had gone through so many personality changes that either he is a schizophrenic or his schizophrenic behavior is the mask of an agent—or, most probably, both.

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## **The German Communist Party and the peace movement**

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After the anti-nuclear movement was remodeled into the “peace movement,” it was but a short step to the formation of the pro-terrorist anti-NATO movement. The influence of the German Communist Party (DKP) and its numerous front organizations continued to grow (see the command structure chart on the opposite page).

In an October 1983 interview with ARD television in West Germany, the president of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Heribert Hellenbroich, bluntly stated that the peace movement is controlled by the orthodox Communists of the DKP and its front organizations, and is largely financed from the East. He estimated the hard core of the militant peace movement to number 150,000 orthodox Communists and another 10,000 “autonomous” leftists.

In Spring 1983 the federal interior ministry ascertained that the DKP was receiving annually 100 million deutsche-marks from the East German Socialist Unity Party (SED),

representing an increase of 40 million DM from previous years. Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmerman did not hesitate to connect this with the Greens: “The Communists have incorporated into their program the explicit instructions that the Greens and all others who play a role in the so-called peace struggle, are to be infiltrated,” and that it was therefore quite likely that the Greens are being indirectly financed from the East via the Communists.

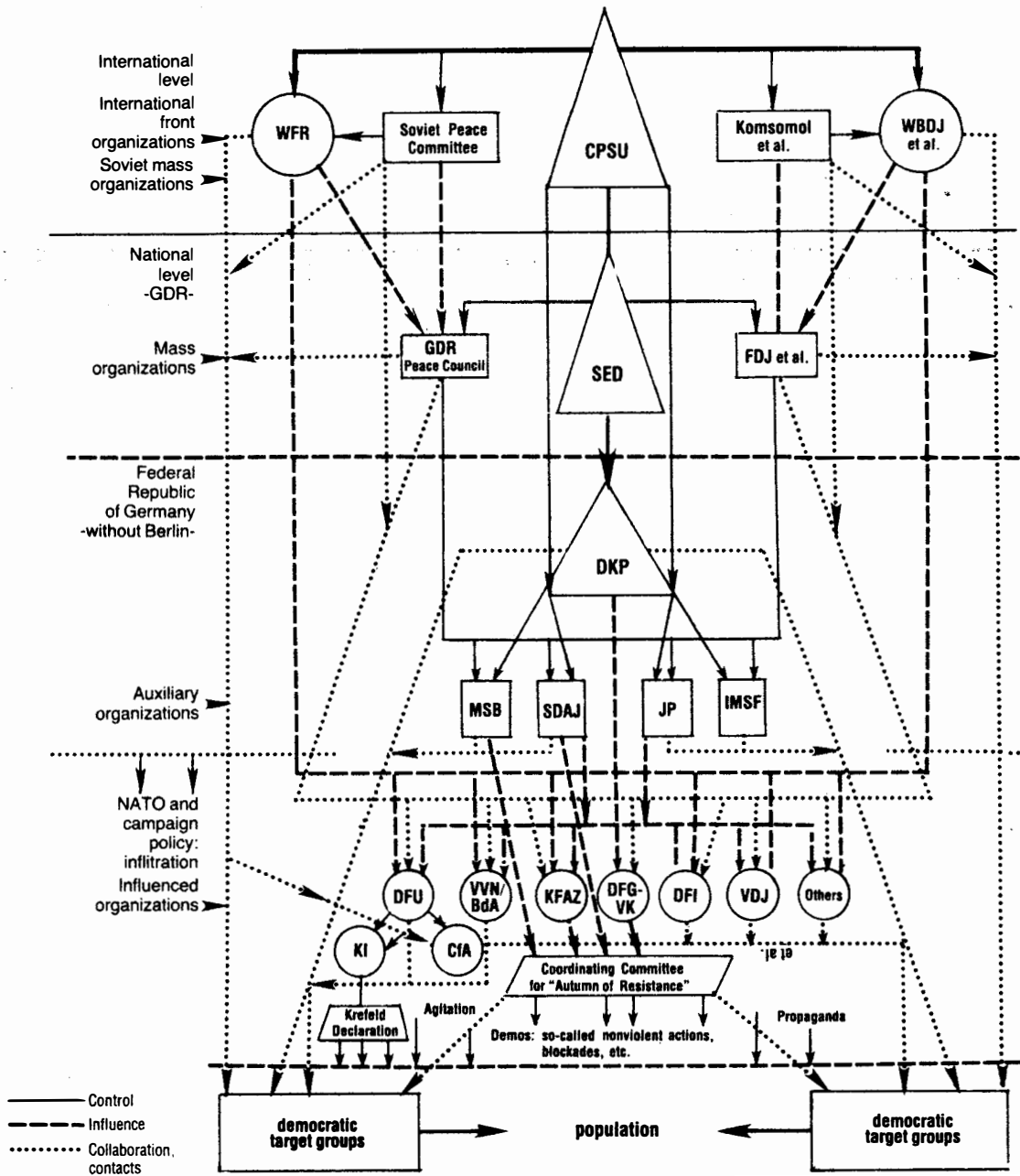
The end of 1982 marked a new phase in the metamorphosis of the Greens into Moscow’s “green column.” The East German SED initiated a shift in the East’s official policy toward the Greens, who in the meantime had entered many state parliaments and were on the march toward the federal parliament. Whereas the official East bloc press had previously labeled the Greens “petit bourgeois-utopian and enemies of progress,” the SED Central Committee’s new issue of its handbook for party workers stated that “the Greens have especially become a gathering point for young people who, although they hold heterogeneous views, . . . agree in their great dissatisfaction with the system and its lack of perspective.” The important elements of the Greens’ program, according to the SED, are their fight against NATO’s stationing of the Pershing missiles and their fundamental opposition to nuclear power plants.

Only a few months later, on Ascension Day 1983, the first delegation of Greens traveled to the G.D.R. Otto Schily, who had negotiated the trip in private sessions with the G.D.R.’s permanent representative in Bonn, Moldt, later said he felt “duped” when the Green delegation’s demonstration on Alexanderplatz in East Berlin was abruptly halted by startled East German police officers. But only days later, there arrived a letter from SED chief Erich Honecker, personally addressed to “Dear Mrs. Kelly,” in which he assured Petra Kelly that Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, as well as the G.D.R. government, are “in favor of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, will dedicate the entire territory of the G.D.R. to this purpose, and would welcome it, if the Federal Republic of Germany also assumed a positive attitude toward this and would participate in negotiations on the necessary agreements. As you know, the U.S.S.R. also supports these proposals. With best regards, E. Honecker.”

By the end of October 1983, the Greens were on their way to Moscow, and from there to East Berlin for a second visit with Honecker.

The Green delegation—Petra Kelly, Luise Beck-Oberdorf, Gen. (ret.) Manon Maren-Griesebach—was granted visas, along with exiled Czech Milan Horacek, and met with Central Committee members Boris Ponomarev and Vadim Zagladin and numerous other Soviet representatives. Schily had a special separate appointment with *Izvestia* commentator Valentin Falin, followed by a press conference in Moscow announcing that the Soviet Union and the Greens were in complete agreement that no American intermediate-range missiles should

# Channels of influence of orthodox Communists on the peace movement in the Federal Republic of Germany



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## Abbreviations

CFA—Christians for Disarmament  
 DFG-VK—German Peace Society—United Draft Resisters  
 DFI—Democratic Women's Initiative  
 DFU—German Peace Union  
 DKP—German Communist Party  
 FDJ—Free German Youth  
 IMSF—Institute for Marxist Studies and Research  
 JP—Young Pioneers—Socialist Childrens' Organizations  
 KFAZ—Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation  
 KI—Krefeld Initiative

Komsomol—Soviet Leninist Communist Youth Association  
 CPSU—Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
 MSB—Marxist Student Alliance Spartakus  
 SED—Socialist Unity Party (ruling party in GDR)  
 SDAJ—German Socialist Worker Youth  
 VDJ—Association of Democratic Lawyers in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin  
 VVN/BdA—Association of Victims of the Nazi Regime—Antifascist Alliance  
 WBDJ—World Federation of Democratic Youth  
 WFR—World Peace Council

be permitted in Western Europe, but that instead a “nuclear-free zone” should be set up and “both military blocs” dissolved. Manon Maren-Griesebach, speaking for the Green parliamentary fraction, stated on Nov. 2 that Moscow’s desire for peace was “more credible” than that of the United States. Schily went so far as to parrot the Soviet threats of a preventive nuclear strike against the West.

The next station was East Berlin. This delegation—including Kelly, Schily, Antje Vollmer, Bastian, Lukas Beckmann, Dirk Schneider, and even Gustine Johannsen (see article, page 50)—met with Erich Honecker, and the chairman of the state council signed a “personal peace treaty” with the Greens.

That was enough public relations for the time being, and the next year was devoted to unpublicized meetings. It was not until November 1984 that there was a new burst in the Greens’ East diplomacy, with Dirk Schneider and Antje Vollmer meeting with Herbert Häber, Central Committee member of the SED. The SED’s newspaper *Neues Deutschland* wrote: “Herbert Häber explained the G.D.R.’s peace policies to the guests from the F.R.G. . . . There was general agreement that efforts had to be strengthened toward halting the arms race [and] *above all, preventing the militarization of space* [emphasis added].” During the same period, Green delegations visited Bulgaria and Romania.

This activity recently reached a new peak of intensity

with the visit to Bonn of a high-ranking Soviet delegation in late November 1984. For three days, the Green caucus in the Bonn parliament conferred with representatives of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Central Committee. The delegation was led by an expert on “parties and movements in Western countries,” who was presumed to be an officer of the KGB.

One of the first spinoffs of these talks was the release of portions of the Greens’ party platform for their national congress in Hamburg, whose points included halting all military and civil defense efforts and the West’s unilateral disarmament, since, it claimed, any attempts at military resistance on West Germany’s part would lead to its certain destruction.

One Green delegate, August Haussleiter, was so inspired by the Soviet visit, that his discussion paper presented to the Hamburg party congress included the following crowning formulation: In order to ensure peace, all Allied armed forces should be withdrawn from West Berlin, and all of Berlin should be handed over to the United Nations and a joint East-West German committee. The draft also demanded the creation of a “European Security Council” consisting of all European governments, including the Soviet Union, with the United States having observer status only.

The author of this masterpiece of Nazi-communist propaganda was lavishly praised by *Pravda* and the Soviet news agency TASS as a fighter against “German revanchism.”

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