

Antifascists vs. anti-fascists: the 'strategy of tension'

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When American KKK terrorists visited Germany in 1991 in order to build neo-Nazi cadre groups, *Neue Solidarität* took this signal very seriously, because ultimately, neither left nor right terrorists can possibly exist without covert ties to the logistical structures of government intelligence services.

It is also well known to the German authorities that for decades, the KKK in the United States has been infiltrated to a high degree by the FBI and other American security agencies. But the German federal government has imposed on itself a mental prohibition against inquiring why the KKK has been activated at this time in Germany. We do not share that reluctance, especially given that American authorities have done nothing against these international KKK activities.

Especially the events of the last few months have shown that the deployment of these neo-Nazi terrorists has negatively influenced Germany's international position and its ability to act as a sovereign nation. We must ask: *Cui bono?* Who benefits?

The further escalation of the internationally orchestrated "black propaganda" characterizing the lawfully constituted state of the Federal Republic of Germany as a new "Fourth Reich," comes on top of Germany's complete domestic paralysis domestically in the face of great economic and security problems. This has produced a situation in which Germany could indeed regress toward "Weimar conditions." The large-scale deployment of left-wing and right-wing terrorist gangs, who are out to infest the country with tiny and unpredictable grouplets whose ambush tactics will spread panic throughout the country, is creating a dynamic best described as a "strategy of tension."

This dynamic can only be halted if German politicians break with several taboos of the past 40 years.

An investigation has now finally been launched against the German section of the KKK, on suspicion that it has formed a terrorist association. Here it should be pointed out once again, how little the U.S. authorities appear to have done to put a stop to the doings of the KKK in the United States. It is to be hoped that the German investigations will not draw back out of fear of possible conflicts with "friendly

intelligence services," and will succeed in uncovering this American racist group's organizational structure in Germany.

It is known that the KKK has become especially active in Germany's new eastern states. A growing body of evidence indicates that the organizational and social milieu of the Stasi, the former East German intelligence service, is at the center of the KKK recruitment activities. This includes both formal and informal Stasi collaborators, as well as a family milieu of former Stasi people.

Conspiratorial KKK cells have been intimately involved in the coordination of attacks on foreigners and their dwellings, attacks which have led especially in the U.S. media, to outrageous portrayals of all German citizens as neo-Nazis. The Nazi-skinhead scene is becoming increasingly dangerous, aggressive, and brutal, and is organizationally tying itself into the militantly racist secret society. Both feel committed to the "battle for the white race." The KKK cells meanwhile are also building their own "anti-fascist" structure, which promises to further escalate the spiral of violence between left and right. In KKK publications, the first lists have turned up, bearing names and addresses of political opponents.

Left and right have similar 'scenic structure'

Both the right-wing and left-wing extremist "scene," as it is called, utilize essentially the same logistical means, including modern computer technology and information systems. In order to evade the grasp of federal investigators, their central logistical components, such as publications and bank accounts, are being shifted into foreign countries. For example, on the left, the underground tabloid *radikal*, and on the right, the newspaper and bank account named *Cothinkers of the New Front*, have been moved to Holland.

In May 1989, *radikal* reported that "there is hardly any area more deeply rooted in the autonomous movement, than anti-fascist work," where "autonomous organizing and concrete alliance work have progressed so far." Their demand at the time was: In order to be prepared for future battles, streetfighters should "train their own bodies and arm themselves."

The anti-fascist groups consciously borrow from the

successful model of the autonomous antifascists. The goal of the right-wingers is to answer the violence of the autonomous groups with counterviolence. Neo-Nazi leader Christian Worch is intent on setting up a "scenic structure" for the nationalists according to the model of the left autonomists, a structure which would be difficult for security authorities to monitor.

One autonomist in October 1991 described to *radikal* this "scenic structure," whose "actions" (he used the English word) operated on three levels: "The first level refers to com-

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ing along with many others to demonstrations, to organize political campaigns, i.e., to do fully legal political work. As the second level, I understand letting loose with many others at night, jamming locks—a kind of mass militance. And a third part . . . are then the clandestine militant actions, such as planting firebombs, etc."

The experiences of social worker Wolfgang Bartsch, who worked in Hamburg with disoriented youth inclined toward right radicalism, were described in the German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* in the following key passage: "Often Bartsch was even successful in turning these *Rabauken* completely around [i.e., converting them from skinhead to antifascist types]. For youth in search of comradeship, the extremes were often interchangeable." A new observation of the Verfassungsschutz, Germany's domestic security police, is that the skinheads are changing their outward appearance, letting their hair grow, etc. Because of the increasingly violent altercations with the left extremists, the outward signs of identification (shaven heads, leather jackets) have become too dangerous for the skinheads. In the "scene" it will soon become difficult to distinguish between the left and right street fighters. One cartoon from *radikal* shows that this seems to have already led to some mixups. Depicting an angry, bald-headed young man carrying a baseball bat, the cartoon says that if the reader thought this was a skinhead, he was wrong; the person depicted was actually an antifascist, one Holger from Schwarzenbeck, who at an antifascist

rally was mistaken for a "fascho" and was clubbed by his own comrades, sending him to the hospital with severe head wounds.

'Pleasure in violence and murder'

The skinhead magazine *Fanzines* and the heavy metal records with their fearsome, inhuman texts which go all the way to inciting people to murder, are largely produced abroad, and are then brought into the country and passed from hand to hand around the "scene." New supplies continue to pour in. Whatever think tank this "culture" was created in, and whether for the right or the left street fighters, it is all based on the same nihilistic world outlook of Friedrich Nietzsche and of Hermann Hesse, who in his book *Steppenwolf* described the mental state of the left or right radical "street-fighter" as follows: "Then there flares up inside me a wild hunger for intense feelings, for sensations—a fury at this gray, flat, normalized and sterilized life, and a raging fury to beat something to pieces, perhaps some store or a cathedral, or myself; to commit reckless pranks. . . . To seduce a little girl, or to wring the necks of a few representatives of the bourgeois world order." The streetfighter mentality is exactly the same for the member of the Nazi Sturmabteilung (brown-shirts) of the 1930s, as it is for the skinhead and the autonomist of the 1990s.

Police reports containing the confessions of right-extremist perpetrators of violence, show that often what was involved was simply "pleasure in violence and murder." Regarding "militant small groups" that do not eschew terror attacks, Heinz Fromm of the the Hesse state Verfassungsschutz reports: "At the 'Werewolves—Senftenberg Hunting Unit,' for example, a weapons cache was uncovered, which included hand grenades. The German National Party in Erfurt holds regular military exercises. Something is coming up on the terrorist front in Saxony. And it's certain that it's more than what is known at this point." In extensive police raids over the recent period, entire weapons stockpiles have been seized. In mid-December, among the members of the underground organization National Offensive, police also found objects which were intended for the production of bombs. Over the last few years, Russian barracks have functioned as "supermarkets" for the purchase of weapons.

Left autonomists get more violent

Faced with the last few months' developments, several officials have become justifiably worried. In mid-December, Berlin Verfassungsschutz chief Annussek, interviewed in the *Berliner Morgenpost*, urgently and accurately warned about this escalation of left and right extremist violence. He stressed that "the left extremist scene, which the public has forced into the background, still remains quite dangerous." The so-called antifascist struggle remains the focus of the 1,200 hard-core autonomists. According to Annussek, there are now "announcements that the struggle against the fascists

is to be waged with even more militance. The specific actions are: searching out the meeting groups, groups, and individuals on the right-extremist scene, and the publication of that information in brochures, leaflets, and so-called warrants." These left terrorists' motto is, "Beat their bald heads, till they're down!" (*Haut die Glatzen, bis sie platzen!*).

Surveillance against each other

The latest issue of the newspaper *Antifaschistische Nachrichten* (*Antifascist News*) sounds the alarm: "Recently a new slogan is making the rounds in the neo-fascist scene: 'anti-antifa[scist].' Under this slogan, the reader is exhorted to do reconnaissance on the structures of the anti-fascist inner circle, to collect information about us, and to publicize it in publications of the Nazi scene."

In order to prepare themselves for attacks from the right, the left is discussing a "thoroughgoing improvement" of its structures through "modern communication structures" and regular meetings, at which the "possibilities for self-defense and measures which should make it more difficult for the fascists to spy on our connections," are discussed.

In August 1992, the neo-Nazi tabloid *Index* contained a comprehensive presentation of this "anti-antifa" concept. An impressive documentation of the meeting points of the leftists and anti-fascists had its intended effect. Just like the "antifa"-sheets, now the Nazi tracts are also issuing "warrants" for political enemies, with exact addresses and photographs. In Wiesbaden there is an "Anti-Intifada," the first right extremist information telephone, which gives out the latest news on on the "scene" and on the political enemy.

In Hamburg, neo-Nazi Christian Worch, who is nationally accepted as the leader of the "legal" wing of the neo-Nazi movement, has already planted an "anti-antifa" logistical network in many German states. This is supposed to make his fighters "better able to switch over from reaction to action."

These diverse right and left autonomous "commandos" have at their disposal comprehensive data banks on the German extremist scene. Worch's own "right-wing" information collection is already in the hands of the "left" autonomists. On May 20, 1989, a "Mobile Antifa Commando" (MAK) forced their way into his Hamburg home. A letter written by the intruders said, "On the night of May 19-20, we went to pay a visit to the Worchs at their home, in order to take possession of their documents. The fact that the Worchs sustained no bodily damage, can be ascribed to the fact that they strictly carried out our instructions. We knew that we would meet them both at this time, and we proceeded from the idea that about 40-50 files were there. But we had in no way expected that fascists like Christian and Ursula Worch, who had been in this business for such a long time, had hoarded so many personal papers, addresses, card catalogs, and name registers, and that they would turn over their 'comrades' to us, just like that. We took it, thanked them, and pocketed everything."

On Dec. 9, there appeared a "Rostock Declaration," in which a neo-Nazi "Taunus Front" spoke out against the arson attacks on the houses harboring foreigners seeking asylum in Germany. The authors, who characterized themselves as "radical, autonomous, nationalist, and socialist," wanted the declaration to be understood as a basis for discussion between parties, organizations, and associations of national resistance, and their political and philosophical enemies." Just like the "left," these "right-wingers" fear that that "an escalation . . . was provoked by the relevant interior ministries in order to produce the necessary pressure on the streets, in order to make possible the enforcement of new laws against asylum-seekers as well as against nationally minded Germans." Is this Taunus Front also a phantom, like the "third generation" of the Red Army Fraction (the Baader-Meinhof gang)? At any rate, the purpose of the Rostock Declaration is clear enough: Might it not be better for right and left extremists to fight together against the hated state?

Both the Republikaner party and what remains of the orthodox (West) German Communist Party (DKP) are already trying to form a "broad anti-capitalist protest movement from below," a "fundamental opposition." The "left and right" together are thus becoming a threat for the constitutional state. It should be recalled that in the final days the Weimar Republic, the Communists (KPD) and the Nazis (NSDAP), who had been fighting each other for years, smashed the republic in joint actions and paved the way for the catastrophe. In Joseph Goebbels's words, "the extremes are meeting."

But in this terrorist guerrilla war against the German republic, is there an "interested third party," who wants to use the destabilizing effect of this unprecedented crisis for their own strategic and/or tactical goals? Without at least asking the question "*cui bono?*" German politicians and investigators can indeed proceed to outlaw extremist organizations of various stripes; but in the end, unless they do so, they will not be able to get the upper hand over left and right terrorism, and will lose the battle in this "strategy of tension."

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