

UPHEAVAL IN EASTERN

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East Germany's Wolf: The Spy Who Came

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Foreign Service

11/19/84

EAST BERLIN, Nov. 18—Even in the heady atmosphere of anti-Communist dissent and popular appeals for democracy now overwhelming this Stalinist-founded state, it seems amazing for the former head of East Germany's vaunted intelligence service to emerge as one of the most outspoken critics of the old regime.

Yet Markus Wolf has indeed come in from the cold and is now a staunch advocate of dismantling the repressive state security force that for decades sowed paranoia among East Germany's 16 million citizens.

The East German master spy, whose skills in planting agents in the West purportedly made him the role model for Karla in John Le Carre's espionage novels, said that new Prime Minister Hans Modrow asked him this week to come out of retirement to revamp the security services. Wolf said he declined to take any government post but will serve as "an unofficial consultant" to Modrow, whom he called "a friend."

"We must turn our backs on the old doctrine and dramatically reduce the size of this apparatus," Wolf said in an interview. "People with different opinions but who were not enemies of the state got arrested

and persecuted, and this dangerous ideological perversion must stop."

Recently, Wolf joined the New Forum opposition leader Baerbel Bohley, much to her shock and initial alarm, to address street demonstrators and promote the cause of free elections. An artist and prominent dissident, Bohley has fought for years against the "Stasi," or state security service, and was allowed back in the country last year after being expelled for "anti-state" activities.

Discussing his celebrated career, Wolf for the first time revealed that the sensational operation 20 years ago that infiltrated the spy Guenter Guillaume into West German chancellor Willy Brandt's

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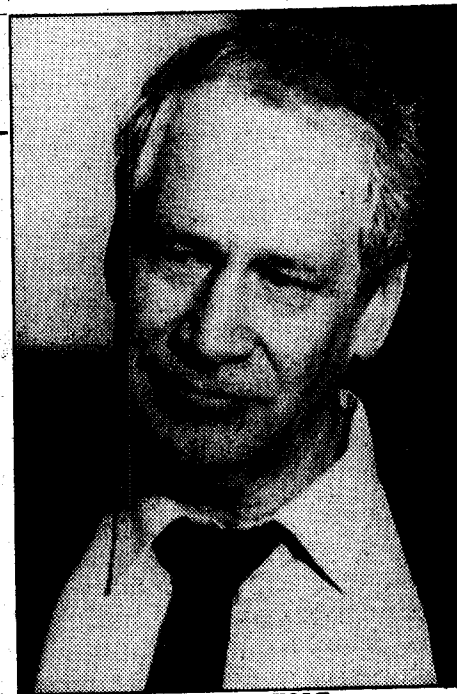
Into the Fold

office was a political mistake that badly damaged his own country's interests.

"It was a fluke, something we did not want, and it turned out to be a serious political blow to the German Democratic Republic because it ruined chances for better relations between East and West Germany," Wolf said in the two-hour interview.

Wolf said he wished to express his regrets personally to Brandt for the affair, which led to the Social Democratic leader's fall from power in 1974. But he wryly noted that a warrant for his arrest was published recently in West Germany.

See SPY, A32, Col. 3



MARKUS WOLF
... "perversion must stop"

Former Spy Criticizes

SPY, From A31



Youngster atop demonstrator's shoulders participates in anti-government rally that drew more than 10,000 people in East German city of Leipzig yesterday.

Wolf has been giving public readings of his new book "Troika," which describes the odyssey of three youths—an East German, a Soviet and an American—who learn to become friends despite their differences. He said he wrote the book after years of contemplating the East-West conflict and repression in his own country.

"I realized how the absence of tolerance toward different opinions had hurt my country," he said. "It is so necessary to speak the truth; there must be no taboos."

Before the street demonstrations in the past two months ripped open this society, Wolf said, "There were two realities: the reality of lies found in the official government positions and reflected in the media, and the reality of reality, which until last month could only be expressed in art."

Wolf, 66, retired three years ago because, he said, he could no longer tolerate the corruption and abuse of privilege under party leader and chief of state Erich Honecker and his own boss, State Security Minister Erich Mielke.

Wolf was scathing in his criticism of both men, suggesting Honecker should be put on trial for crimes against the people. "I think he may need his bodyguards more now than ever before," he remarked. As for Mielke, now 82, Wolf said, "it's hard to find a good word to say for him."

Asked how he managed to stay in his intelligence posts for 33 years given his hatred of the political leaders and the system they imposed, Wolf said: "I could only survive [as foreign intelligence chief] as long as I was autonomous. I never mixed with the other services, and while I knew there were abuses I never knew they were so immense until much later."

He said espionage chiefs must do what they believe necessary to protect the interests of their country. Referring to George Bush's tenure as Central Intelligence chief in 1975-76, Wolf said, "I have not done anything different in the service of my country than your own president."

During the early Cold War years, Wolf said, he was motivated by personal revulsion toward West Germany's intelligence service, which he claims was rebuilt under U.S. protection after the war with old Nazis. A Jew whose family fled Nazi per-

Leaders

secution, Wolf spent the years during the war and its aftermath in the Soviet Union.

Despite the thawing of the Cold War, Wolf says his own profession of foreign espionage will continue to thrive. "If the military confrontation diminishes, then we can change the tasks of spies abroad," he said. "But that part of the East-West conflict has not yet ended because we are only at the beginning of real disarmament."

The overriding task of intelligence, he said, "is to prevent unpleasant surprises." He defended espionage even in the current climate of relaxed relations because "when one side believes it cannot develop a weapon or secret strategy without the other knowing about it, then this improves the chances for peace."

His own conversion to democratic values, Wolf said, occurred over many years as he pondered the problems of socialist countries and "why popular uprisings, like Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, ended so badly." He traced his doubts back to the 20th Soviet Communist Party congress in 1956, when Nikita Khrushchev gave a secret speech denouncing Joseph Stalin for brutalities committed in the name of socialism. The speech, Wolf said, "had a profound impact on my consciousness." Over the years, he said, he was able to mask his doubts about the system because of his espionage triumphs and the unusual leeway accorded to the foreign intelligence service.

"We always had more access to information abroad and were allowed to hold different opinions, but our influence over policy was very small," he said. "In the intelligence field, nothing is ever really black and white. You must open your mind; that's why our understandings grow quicker than among politicians, whose Cold War need for an enemy image limited their ability to think freely." Wolf contended that this habit of free thinking was vital in recruiting agents in the West. "We never tried to convert people to Marxism but instead worked with their own political convictions. To get them to do what we wanted we had to mesh their personal beliefs with our own political interests."

Even in cases involving money, Wolf said he instructed his agents never to treat their recruits as people who had been "bought" but rather to reinforce a view that "they had helped a moral cause." In early years, he said the most popular

cause in suborning Westerners was the goal of German unity but that more recently it was a desire to promote world peace.

In contrast to what he termed "the old espionage cliches," he said he does not put much stock in "such primitive methods" as blackmailing subjects with compromising material or seducing secretaries into passing along secret information. A successful operation, he said, can owe more to the correct analysis of available data than to the acquisition of top-secret papers.

In the Guillaume affair, Wolf said the intended espionage target was the West German labor union chief Georg Leber, who first became transport minister and later defense minister in the Social Democratic government under Brandt. Guillaume joined Leber's staff after moving to the West and became a friend and entrusted aide to Leber by successfully managing his election campaigns. When the Social Democrats came to power in 1969, Guillaume was appointed as the labor liaison man in the chancellery. Wolf said he was worried by the appointment because he assumed West German intelligence would quickly learn about Guillaume's intelligence background during the years he lived in East Germany.

"I really had mixed feelings when Guillaume was offered the job as personal aide to Brandt. He was too close for safety, yet the things he saw and passed on were so tantalizing. All papers went through him, including the highly classified telegrams between Nixon and Brandt."

Wolf said by the time he broke off contacts with Guillaume he realized West German authorities would finally learn about his background because they began investigating his wife, then Leber's secretary, in August 1973. In April the following year, Guillaume was arrested and charged with espionage. He was sent back to East Germany in a spy swap seven years later.

Brandt, whose government was already under fire, resigned shortly after Guillaume's arrest. Wolf said he regretted the impact not only on Brandt's personal career but also on his policy of friendly openings to Eastern Europe that soon foundered as the era of detente came to an end.

Asked about any resemblance to the Soviet master spy Karla, Wolf laughed and said he enjoyed reading "The Spy Who Came in from the Cold." While the description of the "Stasi" working conditions was fantasy, he said that Le Carre's version of political struggle and intrigue inside the organization was "close to the truth."