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*Restless Youth*

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6  
NLJ 96-08  
By us, NARA Date 6-26-97

APPROVED FOR RELEASE  
DATE: FEB 2001

SEPTEMBER 1968  
No. 0613/68

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The Syndicalists

The foremost example of efforts by the IUS to maintain a channel to the dissidents has been its recent attempts to woo the Syndicalist movement of Western Europe. The idea of the French students in the mid-'50s, was that "young intellectual workers" should participate fully in the political process and enjoy living allowances, free tuition and other amenities commensurate with their position. This had little to do with the revolutionary syndicalism of fin de siècle Europe, and even less to do with latter-day corporativism. If anything it had a Trotskyite tinge. The notion found favor elsewhere in Europe in the early 1960s and gave rise to the European Syndicalist Student Organization (CESE). CESE has an international secretariat in Amsterdam for the purpose of coordinating the activities of its national affiliates and exchanging information on mutual problems. It has affiliates in Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, England, The Netherlands, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Switzerland, as well as exile groups purporting to represent Portugal and Spain.

The IUS shunned CESE with its Trotskyite-idealist bent until 1967, when there evidently was a decision by the IUS or in Moscow to attempt to gauge the nature and extent of student unrest in the West by infiltrating CESE's rather loose organizational structure and, perhaps, to seek some voice in CESE's national affiliates.

There is evidence to suggest that at least part of whatever coordination and/or liaison there has been among European dissidents has been channeled in some way through CESE. On 17-18 February 1968 CESE sponsored a two-day meeting on Vietnam in Berlin. 



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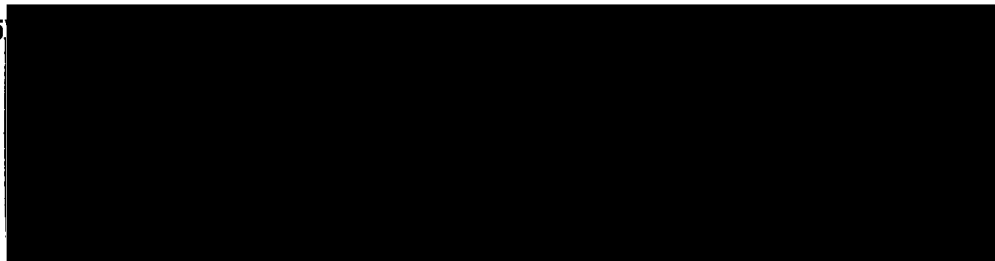
"A real cultural revolution working through a new dynamic educational system led by "critical universities" in ferment, a freed television, new experiments in other communications media, including literature and the theater, could lead to a rapid evolution in mass consciousness of the social situation, to the point where the gap between the "real" country and the "governmental" country becomes too wide, the lack of representivity of present-structures and leaders too patent, new solutions and new leaders appear on the left, and the explosion, either peaceful or violent, follows."

Given these views, the New Left's rejection of traditional electoral politics is not surprising. After De Gaulle dissolved the National Assembly and called for a plebiscite on 30 May, the radicals described the elections as "treason" and printed ballots which read "I have already voted at the barricades."

The Gaullist parliamentary victory in June which wrote an end the crisis of May further increased their dissatisfaction with all forms of peaceful political change, and it is unlikely that the radicals will be brought to accept--in the foreseeable future--democratic methods of attaining their goals.

Outside Influences

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[redacted] there are indications that the Deutscher Sozialistische Studentenbund, the West German radical student group, played a minor role. Cohn-Bendit has contacts in this organization, members of it traveled to France to take part in the demonstrations (apparently on their personal initiative), and the organization made at least token financial contributions.

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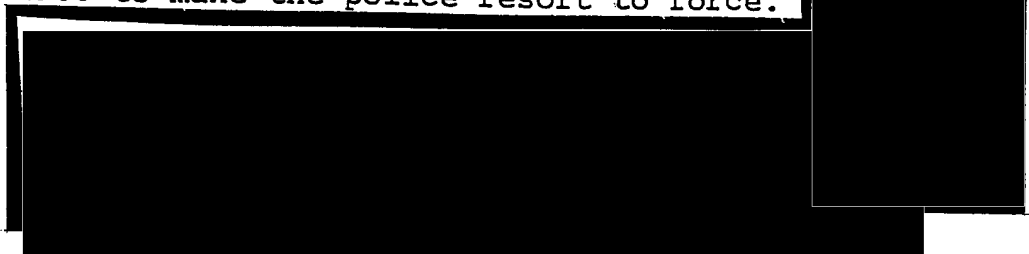
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Rudi Dutschke

Rudi Dutschke was the most important SDS leader until he was severely wounded by a young rightist on 11 April 1968. It may be many months--if ever--before he can return to active politics. Dutschke is married to an American girl from a Chicago suburb, also a student at the Free University. He is 28, having grown up and received his first *Abitur* in East Germany. He was an athlete and a member of both the Communist and the evangelical youth organizations in Luckenwalde. According to Spiegel's report, probably stemming from Dutschke's own statements, he declined to join the East German army (at that time a "voluntary" matter), and largely for that reason was unable to go to an East German university. He began to commute to West Berlin and eventually got a second, Western *Abitur*, which permitted him to enter the Free University in November 1961. After studying the works of Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin he entered a radical group in West Berlin in 1963. His field is sociology and his professors say that he is highly gifted.

Dutschke emerged in 1966 as a skillful agitator. His chief weapon was provocation: the idea that the more he and his followers demonstrated and challenged the system, the more the governing elements in society would "unmask" their true character by resorting to naked force.

Dutschke made provocation a standard procedure for the SDS, using two demonstrations on 10 December 1966 to make the police resort to force.



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Ties With Other Groups

The SDS's chief lack has been a program capable of attracting the support of nonstudents. The SDS is,

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however, making some effort to gain contact with workers, and one of the organization's still-active "old grads," [redacted] claims that while the Berlin trade union federation is "ultrareactionary," the SDS has good relations with the metal, chemical, and transport workers. Many SDS members [redacted] are regular instructors in trade union schools. Two leaders of the left wing of the Berlin SPD, Harry Ristock and Erwin Beck, took part in a Vietnam rally in February, largely organized by the SDS. After the Dutschke shooting, the Berlin SDS became the major element in a coalition of the Berlin far left called the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition (APO).

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[redacted]

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An organization of secondary school students, the Action Center of Independent and Socialist Pupils, forms a sort of junior auxiliary. Peter Brandt, son of the Foreign Minister, has been a member of another school group affiliated with the SDS: the Independent Pupils' Union.

Contacts With East Germany

The *Kommune I* groups [redacted] [redacted] make regular visits to the Chinese Communist Embassy in East Berlin.

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Major SDS leaders are probably not controlled by the ruling East German Socialist Unity Party (SED), and the radical students can be expected to plan their own action programs, regardless of Ulbricht's wishes. The SDS worked with older West Berlin leftists, who were in touch with the SED, in planning demonstrations on Vietnam in February 1968 [redacted]

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[REDACTED] the SED has given Dutschke indirect financial support, paying for rentals of halls and for publicity materials.

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[REDACTED] Horst Mahler, who acts as a lawyer for the students, also has contacts in the East.

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West Berlin and West German students generally are not sympathetic toward the ultraorthodox SED. It should be noted, however, that, aside from its support of the West German Communist Party, the SED has for years been conducting a widespread infiltration and subversion effort aimed at West German parties and mass organizations; this program, the responsibility of the SED's West Department, also aims at students. Much of the West Department's work begins with guided tours, seminars, meetings, and "discussions" with groups or individuals traveling to the GDR, among whom are many students. SDS, Social Democratic SHB, and Liberal LSD members were, for example, invited to festivities in East Germany in October 1967 commemorating a historic student manifestation on the Wartburg in 1817. The West Department also contacts West German students in West Germany. East German Communist Youth (FDJ) representatives attended the SDS convention in Frankfurt in September 1967, and East German literature was freely distributed.

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[REDACTED] in September 1967, SHB leaders called for intensified contacts with the FDJ and with Soviet students.

West German students, including the less radical, are inclined to think that such contacts serve to promote German unity, and that they can elude SED influence and indeed weaken the hold of the SED on its own youth. They are not in every case mistaken. But the SED apparently hopes to develop a network of intermediate-level controlled contacts in student (as in other) organizations, and then to use these contacts to manipulate the organizations. Where the students are largely anarchist or Maoist, as in Berlin, the SED will have difficulty in gaining influence.

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