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Outline of Basis of Discussions in Wash.

While ~~it is clear~~ <sup>is clear,</sup> what we hope to achieve with the covert part of KMPRUDE, and the implementation is largely a field problem, it is by no means clear — in the circumstances now existing — what the proper objectives are for the growing KMPRUDE overt organization.

The overt organization has much to its credit, and the operation to date has certainly been successful in achieving certain short-range objectives that were set for it. In particular, overt KMPRUDE did excellent work at the time of the Soviet Zone elections, and certainly played a major part in frustrating the FDJ plan to achieve command of the streets in certain big cities, a plan that was more than a threat in the late fall of last year.

The Communists clearly do not underestimate the threat that overt KMPRUDE constitutes to their operations. They have exhibited considerable shrewdness in combatting KMPRUDE and have allowed the brunt of the fight to be carried by left-wing SPD youth leaders (who may themselves be Communist ringers); partly owing to these lower level Communist efforts, overt PRUDE now finds itself at loggerheads with the higher SPD leadership.

This conflict with the SPD (being fought on issues where there is, in fact, a real difference between U. S. and SPD policies) is not in itself of major consequence, provided that it forms part of the pattern of a well-considered long-range policy for overt PRUDE. In other words, PRUDE's policy and lines of activity should be fixed by us for our own purposes, and should not be dictated by the development of a quarrel with the SPD, especially as this quarrel undoubtedly forms part of the Communist plan for combatting the popularity

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While it is true that, in accordance with its invariable practice, the SPD will not give active support or endorsement to any organization it does not control, it is nevertheless perfectly possible for the SPD to refrain from attacking anything of which it does not most positively disapprove. With KMPRUDE there appears to be real SPD distrust and uncertainty regarding PRUDE's longer range purposes. It could hardly be otherwise since the present discussions will be the first time that the matter has been ~~raised~~<sup>tackled</sup> on a long-term basis within the agency; furthermore, despite constant pressure for the past four months by PBMICHT upon [ ] , and by him upon the PRUDE leadership, overt PRUDE is still without any public program or published definition of what it stands for.

It is my feeling that the current discussions should aim at achieving an agreed field/agency paper on the two points raised above:

- (a) What does FJCAPE aim to create out of overt KMPRUDE on a long-range basis?
- (b) What should be the published program of overt KMPRUDE?

The fundamental decision involved in both these points is whether overt PRUDE is to be a political youth organization (in the German sense) and thus endeavor to take its position alongside the other organizations that form the Ring Politischer Jugend, or whether it is to be a non-political youth organization, outside the Ring Politischer Jugend, in the same manner as the Deutsche Union and the Erste Legion.

Since, on the basis of German definitions of political and non-political youth, the decision to form a political youth organization would involve — eventually — either an association with an existing political party or the creation of a new one, it is my belief that the correct decision is to have

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overt PRUDE remain non-political in the technical sense and, as such, not attempt to enter the Ring Politischer Jugend. This will inevitably associate it, in the public mind, with the Erste Legion and the Deutsche Union. In fact, however, very real differences can be maintained (as will be shown below); this is advantageous since both the Erste Legion and the Deutsche Union are frowned upon by the SPD.

(The Erste Legion,) as is apparent from deFalco's excellent report, is a semi-mythical organization supported by, and dedicated to the support of, those political parties which at present form the German government coalition.

(The Deutsche Union is) a pressure group which aims to swing its political support, in the concrete form of a delivered block of votes on election day, to those candidates or parties which come closest to adopting its somewhat unorthodox, but certainly not SPD, political tenets. In other words both these "non-political" youth organizations have political aims opposed to those of the SPD. It is my belief that overt KMPRUDE, both in its published program and in its activities, can avoid direct provocation of the SPD if we wish it to do so; and in this way will be, to the SPD, a devil of lesser degree than either the Erste Legion or the Deutsche Union.

The advantages of developing KMPRUDE, through its published program, as an organization that is not on its face an opponent of the SPD are manifold:

- (a) SPD opposition is undoubtedly damaging to KMPRUDE both in terms of general support, and in terms of PRUDE's public relations with LCLAVER. We must accept as a fact, whether we like it or not, that the SPD's views are much listened to in the parts of LCLAVER that impinge on KMPRUDE.
- (b) SPD opposition, since the SPD is accepted by Germans as the strongest internal opponent...

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internal opponent of internal Communism (leaving foreign policy out of account), is damaging to KMPRUDE in terms of its campaign against Communism in Germany.

- (c) It is a waste of KMPRUDE's energies to have <sup>be</sup> it fighting on two fronts, against the SPD and against Communism.
- (d) If a suitable program were developed, and corresponding assurances given by  to Schumacher, it would be in keeping with COIVE's Odeum experience that the SPD, without approving of overt PRUDE, would in practice ignore its existence.

✓ The disadvantage, to be weighed against the above points, is that avoidance of conflict with the SPD would limit FJCAPE use of overt PRUDE as far as certain lines of propaganda are concerned. The pros and cons of this should be weighed in the current discussions, bearing in mind that our voluntary restriction of PRUDE's propaganda to certain lines does not mean that other lines, excluded from PRUDE, cannot be projected through other and more covert operations. In general, we would — in these assumed circumstances — be limiting overt PRUDE to the domestic fight against Communism and keeping it out of foreign policy; the question to be resolved is whether the avoidance of a second front (against the SPD) in the fight against Communism is, or is not, worth restriction on the use of overt PRUDE for other purposes.

→ It is my view that overt PRUDE should stick to the internal fight against Communism in Germany and should adopt a program that (like most political programs) is both vague and high-sounding. Points such as the following should be included:

- (a) PRUDE stands for the freedom of the individual, and opposes political and economic enslavement in all its forms.

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- (b) PRUDE opposes fascism of both right and left. It stands for free expression of the will of the people, for the rule of law, and the preservation of the constitutional rights of the individual.
- (c) PRUDE stands for national pride without nationalism. PRUDE is ready for the curtailment of national sovereignty for the benefit of a federation of free nations in Europe and the world.
- (d) PRUDE supports world security through a world police. Armed national security is supported only as a provisional necessity.
- (e) PRUDE will unmask the forces of Bolshevism and tyranny wherever they attempt to hide. Those who support such forces out of cowardice or temporary personal interest will be exposed. To enforce political honesty, PRUDE demands a law to make public all political contributions and force the publication of financial accounts by all political parties and public groups.
- (f) PRUDE believes that democratic rights (Burgerrechte) should be accorded to all who believe in such rights. All who join in the fight against tyranny are PRUDE's allies, and PRUDE will treat them as such.

A program such as the six-point program above would do much to allay existing doubts about PRUDE among Germans and Americans in Germany. It would give individual PRUDE members and the lower echelon offices of PRUDE a yardstick by which to judge the individual and collective actions which they take, sometimes spontaneously, in PRUDE's name. It would further enable the top level of PRUDE to discipline the lower echelons in terms of violation of a specific document; until a program exists, actions such as the Hamburg chapter's open letter to McCloy on the Landsberg executions can only be condemned on the basis of lack of good sense.

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The longer adoption of a program is delayed, the harder it will be to have a reasonable one adopted without recrimination (because certain hard and fast policies and attitudes will have arisen in practice). Adoption of a program, however, must be delayed until the other fundamental points raised in this paper have been settled in the current discussions.

We come, finally, to the point about which there has already been some preliminary long-distance discussion between the field and the agency: that is the question as to a plausible cover for the origin of PRUDE funds. The Communists have only temporarily, and implausibly, taken us off the hook with their tale of Coca Cola's seven million marks. The problem, however, becomes more simple if PRUDE can remove itself from its present position as an object of controversy within the anti-Communist camp.

Once that is done PRUDE can be supported openly either from within the FJCAPE family (i.e. by DTGRAZE) or from outside through some such opportunity as is presented by Drew Pearson's desire to extricate himself from his current personal dilemma. Discussions as to source of funds should therefore follow, rather than precede, discussions of the other points within the body of this paper.

A further point of discussion should be the part to be played by overt PRUDE in the campaign to provide anti-sabotage protection to industrial plants in Western Germany. This campaign is supported both by PBBANAL and by DTLINEN (the latter probably to win the former's support and favor). It is also supported by the Erste Legion, and seems to tie in well with what PRUDE should be called upon to do.

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Let me say, in concluding, that I do not believe that avoidance of battle between PRUDE and the SPD means a surrender to the SPD. To my mind the conflict between the two has been largely forced upon them by the Communists, who are the mutual enemies of both, and is not inherent in either the nature or the work of KMPRUDE. It has not been our policy in Germany to combat the SPD itself, but rather to frustrate its attempt to assemble enough malcontents to form a working coalition and thus to come to power in Federal Germany (which is probably impossible on the basis of a strictly doctrinaire Socialist program).

JSG.

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