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THE NEW LEFT
IN
EUROPE

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THE NEW LEFT IN EUROPE

A series of incidents in recent years has brought attention to bear on the activities of that amorphous, self-contradictory radical movement loosely called the New Left. This memorandum attempts to identify in at least a preliminary listing those organizations which might be called the European New Left.

The listing is based both on the statements of members of the movement and on the subjective judgments of its author. We stress the preliminary and tentative nature of what follows, and hold any of it open to challenge and comment. This is not a summary of all available information; it is an extract of material readily at hand.

One of the problems in discussing the New Left is the obscurity and uncertainty of the movement itself. The introduction to this paper is an attempt to identify the sub-currents of the movement. This too is in no sense a complete picture. It is rather a tentative description in which several central facets of the New Left are briefly examined: its 'atmospherics' and origins; its parent influences; its theoretical arguments; and its position as against other leftist currents.

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PART ONE

THE NEW LEFT

AS A MOVEMENT

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The rising political significance of the left over the past century, based essentially on the Marxist materialist dialectic as both a philosophy and a technique for interpreting and making history, has also been accompanied by a constant process of evolution, split and polemic, among the groups which thought they had in this philosophy and political tool a single and unique solution to the problems of society and an efficient instrument for acquiring and wielding political power. To elaborate the position and enforce orthodoxy, four internationals were created one after another. But the process of dissent and internal change in the left continues to this day. The most recent of these currents is widely, if imprecisely, described as the 'New Left'. It began to take form in the post-Stalin period, but to this day still remains inchoate.

As a label applied to a sector of left-dissidence, the term 'New Left' is largely an analytic convenience. At its present stage, the New Left, varying greatly from one country to the next, admits of no single definition, no general approach, nor even common origins. It is as fruitless to seek a proper history of the New Left as to try to find in its conflicting statements a coherent declaration of program. But to conclude as a result that the New Left is a lot of emotion looking for a cause is a mistake. The cases, the issues, are present; what the New Left does not have is a theoretical framework of analysis and program capable of competing with those of established political movements.* There is a stirring of theory beneath the seemingly directionless 'transports of passion' so evident in the daily news. And while this new dialectic has not yet achieved a generally accepted synthesis, the weighing of antecedents, the sifting of experiences, and the arguing of theories continue.

What is described below is a phenomenon common to virtually every nation in the industrialized world. The pattern of response is found in Europe and the United States, in Japan and Australia, and in the

*.... as well as some solution to the movement's very ambivalent attitude toward organizational forms.

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Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; but it should be noted that the seemingly common threads are perhaps only analogous. Each center of New Leftist thought arose in response to conditions and patterns which vary from country to country, and more so from continent to continent. The focus of the present discussion is on Europe, with insights from the American movement. But passing mention must be made of the other sectors. Members of the Western New Left consider the young Soviet writers and artists as cut from the same cloth as themselves; and many of the superficial marks are the same. The ZENGAKUREN, the famous Japanese student organization, was a direct influence on the growth of student activism in the United States. Other examples are available, and it should be noted here that they are part of the larger picture.

The long-range goal of the New Left is to produce what is called a new politics: a new critique of the contemporary world and a new model for the future. The catalytic force which set in motion the search for new directions was a feeling of alienation, growing from an emotional reaction to the events of the past decade and a willful rejection of established political alternatives as inadequate to the future, erroneous at base and incapable of disentangling themselves from the compromises and corruptions of the status quo. The New Left feels that a solution to most of the world's problems is technologically and even politically possible, but that the incipient chance was missed (or possibly deliberately rejected) by the established governments of the world. There is also the feeling that the forces of history are running uncontrolled, that the citizen is so lost in the complexities of government that he can have no effect on decisions made in his name. They feel that their lives are controlled by mechanical forces (zip codes, cost accounting, Keynesian economics) which seem carried by momentum, if not by conscious direction, toward permanent international instability and warfare, domestic economic and social dislocation and crisis, general intellectual or cultural squalor, and toward nuclear holocaust.

The status quo is repellent. To document his argument, the New Leftist would point to a series of dates, finding in recent history a cause and effect which seems to damn established governments,

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ideologies, and political parties:

- 1956: Khrushchev's secret speech; Hungary; Suez.
- 1957: Federal troops in Little Rock; the Algerian War begins to heat up.
- 1961: Bay of Pigs; the Berlin Wall; Soviet attacks on Yevtushenko and resumption of nuclear testing, including the explosion of the 50-megaton bomb.
- 1962: The Cuban missile crisis (variously interpreted as renewed evidence of the threat of nuclear warfare, as the end of the Cold War, and as another example of the imperialist tendencies of both sides).
- 1964: The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the beginning of major military escalation of the Vietnam War.
- 1965: American Marines land in the Dominican Republic; the U. S. first bombs North Vietnam; Julian Bond is denied a seat in the Georgia legislature.
- 1966: Riots in Watts; unleashing of the Red Guards; etc.

There is of course more that could be added to this chronology; each nation added its own: the force de frappe, the German question in the post-Wall period, the stress and strains of an 'empire' on the British economy, etc. Arguments from a contrary assessment of history are unacceptable to the New Left, largely because they don't believe that the present situation necessarily followed from the events of the past, nor that those events were 'Good versus Evil' in nature. It is perhaps gratuitous to point out that the generation which makes up the New Left's hard core was born for the most part during the forties; this generation has no real memory of the immediate post-War era, nor even of Korea. Their political awareness began around 1956, and their understanding of the earlier era is not drawn from participation but from an academic knowledge. It should not be surprising therefore that they could draw differing lessons from that history, and

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New Left academicians have begun the process -- as each generation is alleged to -- of rewriting and re-evaluating its past, particularly the history of the Cold War.* The search for new directions had begun.

II

The New Left was born of two influences which even today have not been able to sanctify their union in a reasonably coherent and encompassing ideology. The movement first began in the intellectual circles of universities and first expressions appeared in the analytical quarterlies of graduate students and junior faculty. Perhaps the first consistent appearance of a new critique (or at least the one that is felt to have had the major impact) was in New Left Review, published in the United Kingdom.**

An editor of NLR sets the DOB of this first influence exactly:

[It] was created in 1956, by the twin crises of Suez and Hungary The Hungarian Revolt led to a wave of resignations from the Communist Party, and the Suez Crisis suddenly galvanized many hitherto indifferent or apolitical members of the younger generation, especially in the universities. The convergence of the two phenomena produced the New Left, which initially defined itself as a simultaneous rejection of Stalinism and Social Democracy.

*The outlines of these "revisionist histories" were described in a recent article by Christopher Lasch in the New York Times Magazine (14 January 1968); Lasch is the author of another piece of historical research, The New Radicalism in America: 1889-1963. A longer summary of "revisionist" interpretations was written by David Horowitz (now associated with the Bertrand Russell Centre for Social Research) in Free World Colossus (available in paperback as From Yalta to Vietnam).

**The influence of NLR is acknowledged by the American New Left. NLR's influence on the continent is open to question, but at least Scandinavia seems to have read and understood NLR's gropings.

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The formulations for a new approach were eclectic: socialist at base; utopian and anti-establishment in tone; humanist in motive; Marxist in international analyses; and pacifist in tactics. The combination -- which has still not jelled -- was one which could not be categorized under the usual labels of communism, socialism, or other gradations on the left.

A second influence was student activism, which has in large measure determined the subsequent course of the New Left. For a myriad of reasons, and obviously different ones apply in each country, there was a rebirth of student political involvement in the mid-fifties -- a current which was never completely absent in earlier periods but which had been subdued in the immediate post-War era. And the form this renewed involvement took was as much determined by a rebellion against the institutionalized channels of politics as against the 'Establishment' itself. The student protested against the use of the university in loco parentis (in the United States), and sought to formulate theories which related the university and the student to society at large (an effort made throughout the West). The activist also frequently sought other mechanisms than the youth wings of established political parties or the national student union: the political parties were dismissed (almost a priori) for reasons mentioned above; the student unions, at least most of those in the United States and northern Europe, were constitutionally limited to questions of concern to 'students as such', not those pertinent to students as voters, as potential draftees or as members of society. Where it became possible for the new leftist to 'renovate' the student union (e.g., France), that instrument was used. Where that was not possible (e.g., in the U. S., Great Britain, and Germany), new outlets were created -- most frequently around single issues. These outlets are now familiar members of the leftist scene. The theories supporting and making legitimate direct student activism in the larger political sphere were found in the 'New Left' critique and 'radical' research then surfacing at the same time.

The marriage of new dissident critique and youthful energies was natural. They tended to rescue each other from their respective congenital failings: impotent intellectual exercises on the one hand, and undirected rebellion on the other. But if the New

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Left has not yet found the proper balance of critique and direct action, nor a synthesis of experience, theory and antecedents, it at least has some impact and a direction.

III

Much energy could be spent trying to isolate what is particularly 'new' about the New Left, and a number of possible answers have been suggested. For our purposes here it is enough to note that the New Left thinks of itself as new and derives therefrom a psychological attitude and energy which cannot be ignored.* On this assumption, it now seeks to define itself against the background of earlier forms of radicalism.

The cosmic glue of any theory of politics must be a view of what the future should be and a statement of the means of achieving that goal. In this respect the New Left faces major problems; it has not been able to articulate in any detail its vision of the future; nor has it settled upon the appropriate means. Its success or failure in answering these questions will spell its ultimate importance and future.

The question of goals is one which the movement is beginning to recognize as central to their purposes. They feel that the established political groupings offer no real alternative, but they have offered none

*There is a sociological pattern worth noting in this regard. It is argued that a common feature of industrial societies is a discontinuity of generations: that the fluidity of social structure, with a rate of change that increases as technology, affluence, and geographic mobility increase, leads to a break between generations. In writing of an earlier group of American radicals, Christopher Lasch comments, "though they talked of the tyranny of the family..., the freedom which they undeniably enjoyed made it impossible for them to conceive of enslavement to the uncomplicated categories of the old radicalism, the radicalism of Mill and Marx." This observation is if anything even more to the point today.

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themselves beyond a rhetorical espousal of an egalitarian, equitable, and socialist society. Utopianism has been dismissed by the New Leftist as a failing of intellectuals, but the problem of defining their goals remains. To some degree however the construction of a new model for the future is dependent upon answers provided by the fields of cosmology and metaphysics, of sociology and psychology, or of science and theology. Theoretical ferment in almost every field of abstract research and thought is clearly evident, and the New Left might be seen as at least one political expression of that more general seeking of new answers. It is, then, not surprising that the New Left has so far been unable to present a detailed program for the future: most of that program will follow from the as yet unanswered questions in other fields.

More properly within the realm of politics is the question of means, of defining the 'agent of change'. The traditional answer provided by Lenin over a half century ago, that the agent of change was the vanguard of the proletariat, the communist party, has never been comfortable in the post-World War II West. The working class quite clearly has not responded as Lenin predicted. And to the New Left, events since 1956 have demonstrated that parties of "labor" or "socialism", whether communist or democratic, were solidly entrenched in the status quo. The conversion of European revolutionary movements into reformist parties has if anything become more evident in the past five years. The Social-Democratic parties of Europe, aspiring to and ultimately achieving the control of governments, dropped their revolutionary trappings and became openly parliamentary, even non-Marxist. And, in the New Left's assessment, this occurred "precisely at the moment when the Communist Parties of Western Europe -- particularly the French -- hesitantly but uncritically entered the very same reformist road misled by their own parliamentary successes of the last few years".

In passing it might be worthwhile to quote one New Left analysis of the American Communist Party. Though, as explained later in this paper, the generation gap is felt particularly strongly in the United States -- and though the American radical is, consciously or not, defensive of his position vis-a-vis

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the American arch-devil, Communism, and thus seeks to make his distance more clearly understood -- the American New Left attitude toward the CPUSA is instructive. Change a few terms in the following, and make allowance for a continuation of the present parliamentary trend of European CPs, and the quotation serves equally as a scornful dismissal of European communists.

For more than thirty years the political strategy of the old left has been predicated upon the curious notion that the best way to combat the evils of capitalism is to strengthen the capitalist state. Whether it was a matter of demanding government 'regulation' of big business or government 'protection' of civil rights, the old left has consistently behaved as if the state were simply a neutral instrument which could be directed to either 'reactionary' or 'progressive' ends depending upon the relative strength of the 'monopoly' and 'antimonopoly' forces. Given this assumption, which owed as much to the legacy of American populism as it did to the Popular Front policies of the Comintern, the old left had no choice but to align itself with the liberal camp. Having hit upon the system of regulating big business by awarding it military contracts, the liberals then proceeded to purge themselves of their former allies, whereupon the old left decided that it had erred in not electing enough liberals. In order to correct this mistake, the old left has now arrived at the point where it abandons even the pretense of political independence for fear of embarrassing those very forces which have already destroyed it.

The CPs and Marxist principles having proven to be impotent, old and chair-ridden, the problem was then one of finding a group, a class or an element which could take up the revolutionary banner.*

*Most of the literature available here on this aspect of New Left thought is of American origin. Because any comparable European writing is not available -- if it exists -- the following account may not be reflective of the movement as a whole. Allowance must therefore be made for a certain prismatic distortion.

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Several suggestions have been made. The French student union, for example, defined itself as syndical and called the student an "intellectual worker". The British tried a combination of British liberalism (as expressed in the pacifism of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament), Labour Party left-wing socialism and a view of the affluent society adapted from Galbraith. And with perhaps more success: it was this element that once won (then quickly lost) official Labour Party approval of a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The American answer has been complicated beyond description by the cross problems of liberal dissent, black nationalism, poverty programs, and the American radical's "rediscovery" of Marx, but the key phrase on this side of the Atlantic is participatory democracy -- a slogan which has defied definition and implementation even after a minimum of seven years of currency.

For some, the liberation movements of the Third World hold revolutionary promise. This is the position of the Marxist left, at least as expressed in the publications of Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy (principally, the Monthly Review published now in Italy and Chile as well as in the U. S.). But not everyone can agree what that promise might be and what lessons should be drawn from it for the industrialized West. Some see capitalist 'exploitation of the working class' as the key to understanding relations between the industrialized West and the underdeveloped world (even if the processes of domestic economics are no longer as Marx saw them): they see the victory of the "new exploited", through the medium of the national liberation movements of Africa and Latin America, as having such economic impact on the West that alterations of a basic sort in Western economies would have to follow. Others, of more romantic, revolutionary or activist bent, see in the guerrilla bands a more direct model to be applied in urban guerrilla warfare.

Herbert Marcuse argues in broader terms. He sees four forces as having revolutionary potential: (1) the liberation movements of the underdeveloped world; (2) the political "labor movements" (the CPs) in countries like France and Italy which could extend labor's role in the management of key industries and in government

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through coalition; (3) in the United States, the underprivileged strata (the ghettos of race and poverty); (4) and the "oppositional intelligentsia". The American Students for a Democratic Society might argue a similar platform but -- when they can be pinned down -- they probably give primacy to the university as an institution which, being the laboratory and storehouse of knowledge, could guide and mold the world. This role for the university is one heard increasingly today in circles quite foreign to the New Left. There is an echo of this when Galbraith writes of the "technostructure", of "organized intelligence" replacing capital and labor as the most important economic element. With more direct relevance, this idea appears in articles on the "cybernetic revolution" and the importance of institutions of higher learning to the formulations of national purpose. It is this idea which provides the support to student protests against university defense contracts.

Others see the less precise forces of sociology, of urbanization and population growth having revolutionary implications; and still others see scientific discoveries, technological innovations and the concurrent nightmares of human automation, mechanical lives and nuclear warfare as being the platform for galvanizing broad masses toward a basic reform. Those of more doctrinaire and conspiratorial bent are attracted to the 'purity' of the Chinese version of Marxism-Leninism and to the Cultural Revolution (the overthrow of a party tending toward bureaucracy and reformism). Other admonitions, as for example those of the hippies to "turn off, drop out, tune in", are well known.

These questions, however distant they may seem from the daily headlines, are not wholly meaningless theoretic. And if the New Left is of interest or concern today, that concern is not solely a function of its theoretical potential: its energies are by no means completely expended in parlor debates and theoretical discussions.

What commends the New Left to more than passing attention is the fact that it is working among the voters for political change or revolution -- however improbable the chances for revolution are in the West. Directly

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relevant to the question of the New Left's present effectiveness and importance is that of its relations and alliances with other powers and groups on the left: the communist parties, the Bloc, the 'liberal-democratic left' and the left-socialists.

IV

Attitudes of attraction and revulsion are found on both sides over the general question of alliances. What confuses the issues here and makes broad generalizations tenuous is the differing relative strength of the two 'wings' of the New Left, giving different accents to the policies which themselves vary from country to country and situation to situation. To the degree that the theoretician of the New Left holds sway, the New Left tends to differentiate itself more clearly from other forces on the left and to attack with equal virulence all parts of the 'Establishment' (in which the New Left would count most CPs and the Soviet Bloc in general); but to the degree that the street activist calls the shots, there operates the principle of "my enemy's enemy is my friend". And, increasingly it appears that the radical activist -- not the theoretician -- is in the driver's seat with a policy of all-out 'confrontation' with the authorities (e.g., the liberal-democratic governments) and implacable opposition to the United States.

Relations with the Communist Parties were never great moral questions for the New Left. In the West, one of the formative influences was a revolt against 'anti-communism' as official policy and social dogma; the New Left adopted a position of non-exclusion: it allowed individual communists to join their organizations and allowed the CPs to associate themselves with New Left actions if they so wished. But the basic attitude was both patronizing and scornful: though aware of the money and manpower available from the CPs in most countries, the New Left views orthodox communist policies as too conservative and barely distinguishable from those of Western governments; there is also the hint of pity for a movement which after all these years still 'hasn't got it right'.

On the other side, the attitude of the CPs toward the New Left is almost equally ambivalent. The passions

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the New Left is able to stir in those under thirty both worry and attract the CPs. They want to take advantage of those energies and channel them on behalf of the Party, but they are as much worried by the risk of infection. The problems the French CP for one has had with its cells in Parisian universities were not lost on other parties. For their part too the CPs tend to be patronizing and scornful: patronizing with the hope that education will make the New Left see the light of reason and Marx; scornful to the degree that New Left radicalism begins to embarrass the party.

Rélations with and attitudes toward the USSR, for the New Left, began in an attempt to bridge the gaps between East and West, to end the Cold War. If all members of the 'Establishment' are to be condemned for the shape of the world today, they are equally guilty; the inverse of this proposition is that the USSR is only partially responsible for post-war history and that it perhaps was, to a certain degree, victimized by the crusades of the anti-communist West. More to the point for the activist is the feeling that even if the USSR is staid, conservative, and even at times reactionary it at least has managed to get on the right side on Vietnam, among other issues. But for the most part, the New Left does not consider the Soviets a factor; revisionism is as deadly a sin as liberalism, and the New Left sees little difference between revisionist communism and liberal democracy.

The Soviets on the other hand seem to have definite plans for the New Left, even if they have not apparently found the proper approach. Their goals are virtually the same as those of the CPs: to use the New Left as an adjunct to orthodox communist policies at home and abroad. The Soviet Union does not however have to worry as much about the risks of infection. Though the young Soviet 'underground' of artists and writers is a part of the broader New Left movement, geographic distance alone reduces the danger of direct foreign influences on Soviet domestic matters. (It should be noted, however, that the European satellites are considerably less sanguine on this point. The East Germans in particular, looking across the Wall into West Berlin, one of the New Left's centers of strength, have definite reservations on the benefits of dealing with the New Left.) The ultimate goal of

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the Soviet Union must be the American New Left, including both its Vietnam protest and civil rights movement wings. To avoid giving the 'kiss of death' to this movement, the Soviets are surely apt to restrict the publicity given moves to channel and influence the Western New Left. For the present, the Soviets seem content to deal with student radicals through their international front, the International Union of Students. They are ready to send delegations abroad to New Left meetings (at least to those meetings which look 'safe' and are not so rabid as to embarrass them), and to solicit and accept visiting delegations in Moscow. The quieter hands of intelligence services must also be active, but little can be said at this point.

Toward Cuba and China there is less reserve in New Left attitudes. From its peculiar viewpoint, there is much that is attractive in the spectacle of a communist party (Chinese or Cuban) being overthrown or put on trial by the 'popular masses'. But they recognize that the Chinese Cultural Revolution may also be interpreted as a new form of party purge, smacking of the worst Stalinist tyranny and totalitarianism. There is concern for China's future between the lines of New Left praise. For Cuba there is more unqualified support. Cuba is 'where the action is' in Latin America. There is much in the New Left's outlook and jargon that is borrowed from the Cubans and the Chinese: the rhetoric of revolution, the uncompromising militancy, the charge that the Soviet Union and its attendant CPs are revisionist, the call for total NLF victory in Vietnam, etc. In the New Left book of heroes, Che, Fidel, and Mao rank at the top.

In its organized expression, however, only Cuba seems to be in position to capitalize on this newfound support. The pro-Chinese parties are dismissed by the New Left as vestigial organs of a dead communism; China itself is preoccupied with its internal politics, and dealing with Chinese these days takes a bit more servility toward the Great Leader than the New Left has been willing to grant anyone. Cuba on the other hand has no official parties in the industrial world to 'interpret' Cuban realities to the New Left; discipline is not demanded. Further, Cuba and its constellation of revolutionary movements are open and approachable: witness: Regis Debray; witness: Stokely Carmichael.

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What the New Left itself is doing to aid and abet liberation movements in Latin America is not clear, though numerous organizations and individuals have taken Latin American liberation as a holy vow. What Cuba has done for the New Left is also unknown, though allegations of training camps and financial assistance have been heard.

For the liberal democrats (of the U. S.) and the social-democrats (of Europe), the New Left has undiluted scorn. These parties control the governments of the Western world, and the New Left is most afraid of the abilities of the liberal center to take legal or police action against them and to coopt the best of their ideas and platforms as they did those of the dissenters of the twenties and thirties. This attitude is expressed in the refusal of the recent Chicago Convention for New Politics to enter a separate slate in the 1968 elections, a refusal to have anything to do with the political mechanics controlled by the ruling parties. It is likewise expressed in Europe in policies of total confrontation with the 'Establishment', as for example in the recent actions of the students of Berlin.

With respect to a final category of leftists, the dissident Marxists (e.g. the Trotskyists) and the left-wing socialists, there is a problem of delineating the old left from the New. And unfortunately there is no satisfactory filter that will separate the younger members of the old from the older members of the New: unhappily for those seeking clear-cut distinctions, the difference is at base one of motive.

In the United States, these motives are more easily seen; they appear in the form of a sort of generation gap. By the time the present generation stood on its political feet, the Communist Party, USA had become a burlesque figure. The transmission belt of ideas had virtually ceased to function, and the American leftist was able to "rediscover" Marx on his own without the made-in-Moscow blinders that would normally have been there. Being able to compare Marx's forecasts with history and Marxism with the communist present, the American

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radical most frequently came out at a point not consonant with that of the CPUSA. The New Left dismisses the CPUSA (and many of the other doctrinaire leftist parties*) as being little more than the "Marxist wing of the Democratic Party", as committed to electioneering and to the established political processes as other members of the 'Establishment'. Generational politics, the scorn heaped by the New Left on what they dismiss as the old left, is a unique factor on the American side.

The European dissenters -- at least in most countries -- are parts of societies with functioning CPs and a greater public tolerance for the left in general. It is natural therefore that they should blend in better with established political parties, and that they should seek alliances with others as actively as the American New Leftist spurns them. It is also unsurprising to find that the European New Left has a larger number of adult supporters. An analytical problem -- for which we have no easy solution -- does indeed arise in sorting out the old dissidence from the New in Europe.

The line between left reformists and the New Left is particularly hard to draw since much of the writing which inspires the New Left comes from the critics and dissidents within the established political order. In Europe they include not only the communist dissidents of the Trotskyist and Maoist variety but, as well, the writings of those associated with the French PSU, the Italian PSIUP, and the Scandinavian SFs.** Another complicating factor is the presence in many of the New Left's organizations of individuals, some of whom are quite influential, who are

*This applies certainly to the democratic-socialists of the League for Industrial Democracy (Norman Thomas) and the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. The pro-Chinese parties, the Progressive Labor Party, and CPUSA/Marxist-Leninist, are openly revolutionary but demand of their members the same sort of blind allegiance and discipline that the New Left has rejected in others.

**The French Unified Socialist Party (PSU); The Italian Socialist Party for Proletarian Unity (PSIUP); the Scandinavian Socialist Peoples Parties (SFs).

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simultaneously identified with one or another of the reformist left parties or factions. A fundamental problem here is determining whether these influential people are in fact basically with the New Left or whether they are essentially out-riders of the reformist left who are trying to gain control of the political force which the New Left represents.

At this juncture, fine distinctions of this order cannot be precisely made. It is first necessary to establish as best we can what groups, with what strength and political potential, merit classification in the New Left and who the individuals are in each of these groups who, either through force of personality, intellectual accomplishment or drive, dominate the group. Given the character of these New Left organizations, and the fact that they rise, fall, split, and merge with considerable ease and frequency, it may well prove in the long run that the individual is more important than either the doctrine or the group. Recapitulating what is known of these forces can at least give a frame of reference within which the evolving political significance and character of the New Left can gradually be assessed.

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PART TWO

THE NEW LEFT IN EUROPE

The organizations listed in the following sections are to varying degrees elements of the European New Left. Omitted are Greece, Finland, Portugal, and Spain; each in its own way is a special situation, and a New Left comparable to that found elsewhere does not publicly exist. Inchoate or semi-clandestine elements can be found (as for example, the radical youth of the Greek Center Union party or the Democratic Student Syndicate (SDEE) of Spain), but they operate in wholly different sorts of environments and respond to unique circumstances and pressures.

Overlapping the New Left is a larger community of protest on the Vietnam issue. Organizations and individuals actively opposed to American policies in Southeast Asia are of course found almost everywhere on the political spectrum from extreme left to moderate right. Many are well-known as arms or fronts of what the New Left regards as the 'Establishment' (especially including the peace fronts of the communist parties), but among the others some have close ties with the New Left and at times become indistinguishable as separate elements. Where there exist important or noteworthy protest groups of this type, a separate section is added to the national listings to identify them.

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FRANCE

PART I

1. Union Nationale des Etudiants de France (UNEF)
15 rue Soufflot, Paris Ve

UNEF occupies a central place in the development of a New Left in Europe if only for its historical influence. Of the major European student organizations (a list which would not include those controlled by the CPs), UNEF was the first to adopt a 'plague on both your houses' approach to the Cold War; it was among the first to seek a healing of East-West divisions at the student level and to quest after the impossible goal of world student unity. Under the impact of the Algerian war, UNEF was the first of the European national student unions to go into systematic and consistent opposition to its government on a radical (but non-communist) platform. These developments took place in the late fifties, and by 1958 had been codified in a "minorité" government of UNEF (that is, officers of the radical minority were elected, replacing those of the more apolitical majority).

UNEF's basis was a redefinition of the place of the student in society, placing stress on the necessity of an alliance with the working class. There were of course antecedents. The 1946 Charte de Grenoble which reestablished UNEF after the war defined the student as a "young intellectual worker", with rights and duties analogous to those of any other worker. But it was not until the leftist minority took power fully twelve years later that the full implications (or at least those implications following from Marxism) were drawn: thus, the syndicalist and pseudo-trade union terminology; thus, the demands for a student "pré-salaire", the student being as entitled to wages for his labors as any worker. In application, UNEF's analyses of the contemporary world and its policies in national and international affairs become almost unintelligible without a special dictionary. As long as the Algerian problem continued, what often bordered on a surrealist collage was held together. In the post-Algerian period, however, it has not been as easy for UNEF militants to convert emotional energies into a broader attack. UNEF congresses since 1962

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have been almost desperate searches for new issues, new approaches, and even new formulas; it has not yet succeeded. To this thumbnail sketch of UNEF, however, must be added the note that UNEF has not been completely an amalgam of sophomoric philosophical debate and street demonstrations. What cannot be omitted is a reference to its practical work toward the democratization of the French educational system, and its attempts to find solutions to the immense problems of the French universities. The real base of UNEF's strength is found in its tutorial programs, its study units for those unable to find seats in the classrooms and its reproduction and distribution of class notes and scarce text materials. UNEF publishes a national student magazine; it holds an annual cultural festival of some repute; it has several auxiliary units active in social welfare programs for students.

As UNEF's domestic position has eroded, its international influence has increased. UNEF was the mentor of a large number of national student unions in the French-speaking Third World, many of these unions' leaders having gone to school in France. Its influence in the contiguous French-speaking areas of Belgium, Luxembourg, and Switzerland had a direct product in similar syndical student unions for those regions. After attempting to further East-West cooperation in annual European Student Meetings (which began as a regular bilateral meeting between UNEF and ZSP, the Polish student union), and having these forums blocked by East-West tensions, UNEF joined the communist-front International Union of Students in 1964 and accepted a seat on its Executive Committee. Its tactic in so doing is to work for a "democratization of the IUS" from within (that is, the conversion of the IUS from an old-line Soviet front into a more democratic assembly of, at least, leftist student unions). -- though it must be admitted that UNEF has not pushed this campaign so far as to antagonize the Soviets. UNEF's latest tactic is the Conférence des Etudiants Syndicalistes Européens (CESE).

Returning to UNEF domestic politics, it should be noted that its internal political divisions are not separate from the adult party structure. The PCP's student group, the Union des Etudiants Communistes (UEC), was among the leading supporters of the minorite

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government; the PCF obviously hoped to add UNEF to its cluster of fronts. But there is a real question of who penetrated or subverted whom. It would appear from the long-standing difficulties the PCF had in keeping the UEC in line that UNEF's line was not without influence in the ranks of the presumed ideologically pure. And more recently, the PCF had to take the unhappy step of expelling several sections, principally that section at the Sorbonne. (it also appears that a good deal of the PCF's headache in the UEC was due to 'trotskyoid' and pro-Chinese influences which are not absent from UNEF either.) At last report, the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) was credited with 'control' of UNEF -- which we would tend to doubt if 'control' is meant in any sense that would tie UNEF to PSU policies and programs.

One of UNEF's assets has always been the number of articulate and talented leaders it could recruit. Their names are far too numerous to list, but note should be taken of the following:

Jean-Louis PENINOU	UNEF International Commission
Pierre VANDENBURIE	General Secretary
Alain GROMBEQUE	International Commission
Roland DEMARCY	Representative to the IUS

2. Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR)

After the PCF's purge of the UEC a number of new organizations appeared, two of which deserve mention. The JCR collected the Trotskyist wing of UEC dissidents. It was formally created in April 1966 on the basis of 250 members (claimed), having a national committee of 37 and a national bureau of 11. Its major figure is Alain KRIVINE, once an officer of the UEC. The JCR publishes Avant Garde Jeunesse. It is a member of the "Brussels Conference" of avant-garde youth organizations, and claims continuing contact with others: the German SDS (see in particular P. 12) Swedish Clarté, Belgian Etudiants Socialistes, the PSIUP youth of Italy, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, the (Trotskyist) Young Socialist Alliance in the USA, and the American Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

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3. Union de la Jeunesse Communiste (Marxiste-Léniniste)

One group of pro-Chinese tendencies joined the more or less 'official' Marxist/Leninist Party of France (the pro-Chinese party headed by Jacques Jurquet). But a second which refused to bow to the discipline of a militant party began to collect around the Centre d'Etudes Marxist-Leninistes in Nancy. After a change of names as it expanded into Paris and other French university towns, the Union exists now as a small, radical association cooperating with the Jurquet party under conditions of a truce. Its numbers and power should not be overestimated; it amounts to an extremely small minority of political activists. But it is nonetheless able to collect a fairly impressive number of signatures to a rather radical appeal on Vietnam, including those of Jean Baby, K.S. Karol, Prof. Charles Bettelheim, and two UNEF militants: Bernard Schreiner (past President) and Jean-Louis Peninou (mentioned above).

PART II

VIETNAM PROTEST COMMUNITY

4. Comité Vietnam National (CVN)
 6 rue Lalande, Paris (headquarters of the Union of Jewish Students of France)
 11 rue Jean de Beauvais, Paris (Paris region office: headquarters of the Federation of Christian Student Associations)

The germinal idea that eventually became the CVN was a project to establish a Center of Coordination Against the War in Vietnam, an idea which was blocked by orthodox Communist refusal to submit to non-party coordinating instruments. These energies were then translated into a more formal entity which, its activists hoped, would be able to coordinate and expand the anti-war effort. Thus, the Comité Vietnam National was established in October 1966. Its leaders are by and large the ultra-activists for whom the caution and comparative conservatism of the PCF's Vietnam actions border on 'betrayal' of the Vietnamese 'patriots'. (This same quarter of activists was a

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little over five years ago at loggerheads with the PCF over its self-serving caution on the Algerian war issue.) These activists have variously been described as Trotskyists, pro-Chinese, and Fidelista (and a few of them are in fact members of parties of these orientations), but the CVN cannot be listed as a front for any single tendency.*

At last reading, CVN claimed the affiliation of 250 local committees (all with separate names and various orientations) and the formal collaboration of a number of national organizations. Among the latter, the leading supporters of the CVN appear to be UNEF, the PSU, the Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique (MCAA), the Paris 'secretariat' of the International War Crimes Tribunal, and the Mouvement du Milliard pour le Vietnam. A notable absence in this list is the Mouvement pour la Paix, the official PCF peace front. The PCF has by and large attempted to ignore the CVN, hoping it will go away and, when forced to mention it, dismissing it as insignificant. The PCF feels that the CVN is adventurist, irresponsible and little more than a nest of opponents whose unstated goal is to embarrass and isolate the party, and the PCF is not too far from wrong. But for tactical reasons alone, the PCF has not burnt its bridges with the CVN, and after an incredibly complicated minuet, decided to sit down with the CVN in the Etats-Generaux pour la Paix au Vietnam, a general conference of French peace organizations held in May 1967. This attempt to keep its left-skirts reasonably clean did little to unify the anti-war movement under the Party's influence.

CVN's first national conference was held in April 1967 in Paris, 350 delegates participating. The program approved by the conference included:

- pairing of French and bombed North Vietnamese towns and universities;
- collecting blood;
- forming an International Vietnam Committee on the basis of the Tricontinental Conference decisions;
- aiding American draft dodgers and military deserters;
- boycotting American products.

*It is worth noting that members of the semi-official Maoist party came to the CVN's founding conference, found no support for its Peking-approved line, and left.

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The CVN has reportedly created two sub-units; one headed by Denis Berger is a 'Committee for the Defense of the Arab Countries'; another is an 'Organization for Support of the Latin American Revolution'. The conference elected a National Board and a larger National Committee. The names of some of the more well-known activists are:

Laurent SCHWARTZ	Professor; CVN President
Jean-Marie VINCENT	PSU member; CVN Vice President
Paul CLAUDEL	student; Vice President
Denis BERGER	Trotskyoid/PSU; Secretary
Serge DEPAQUIT	ex-UNEF officer; Treasurer
Claude BOURDET	PSU; from MCAA; member of National Board
Jacques GRIMBLAT	Trotskyist; National Board
Jean-Pierre VIGIER	PCF; National Board*
Roger PIC	War Crimes Tribunal; National Board
Henri BARTOLI	National Board
Jean-Paul SARTRE	National Board

5. Mouvement du Milliard

The name of this enterprise comes from its objective, to collect 1,000,000,000 (old) Frs (\$2,000,000) for Vietnam. This goal was announced in a closely-typed four-page appeal signed by fully 1,000 professionals of all stripes: PCF, PSU, UNR-WDT, SFIO, pro-Chinese, and Trotskyist. The original idea was a campaign, but its organizers fell prey to the natural bureaucratic tendencies of man and sought to establish an organization. This change of emphasis was, to the PCF and several others, a violation of earlier agreements and a period of acrimony and tension set in. The PCF eventually withdrew from the Coordinating Committee of 41.

*While Vigier is still technically a PCF member, he is completely in the dissident camp and is probably tolerated by the party only because it believes public expulsion would risk too great a scandal; they would rather try to contain whatever damage Vigier is doing as a PCF member.

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6. Paris Secretariat: International War Crimes Tribunal
22 rue Etienne-Marcel

Originally known as the Association of French Friends of the Russell Peace Foundation, this group was founded in November 1966. After the first session of the International War Crimes Tribunal, it became responsible for the Tribunal's work and future sessions. The National Board of the Paris secretariat consisted of:

Jean-Pierre VIGIER	President
Jean-Louis VINCENT	Secretary
Claude CADART	Treasurer

Many other individuals mentioned above were tied in with the Paris office: Denis BERGER, Roger PIC, Jean-Michel KRIVINE, Giselle HALIMI, Abraham BEHAR, etc.

* * * * *

Beyond these groups are of course others active on the Vietnam issues. They include such as the Inter-Union Action Group (established by UNEF and sections of the teachers' unions), the Vietnam Information Center (created by the pro-Chinese Marxist-Leninist Party of France), the Franco-Vietnam Medical Association (in which figure the names of Jean-Michel KRIVINE, Francis KAHN, and Abraham BEHAR), and the Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique (headed by Claude BOURDET).

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GERMANY

PART I

1. Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS)
Wilhelm Hauff Strasse 5; 6 Frankfurt/Main I

SDS was established in 1945 as the student arm of the German social-democratic party (SPD), but was expelled from the SPD in 1959 for having taken positions too far to the left of party policy. SDS has since existed as an independent, leftist student association. In 1965 it achieved control of the student government committee (AstA) at the Free University of Berlin, giving it for the first time since 1959 an established political base of operations.

SDS' goal is the "transformation of the present society in West Germany into a socialist society", that reality being variously defined. SDS is not an organization unified in ideology: within it are democratic socialists to the left of the SPD, semi-clandestine members of the (illegal) West German CP, undisciplined Maoists, Marxists, and trotskyoids. Among its present programs are: 1/ a policy of confrontation with 'the establishment', to "demonstrate the repressive nature of the German state"; 2/ opposition to American presence in Germany, and especially, to American policies in Vietnam; 3/ aid and assistance to U. S. military personnel wishing to desert their posts; 4/ creation of a "critical university", a Free University on the American model; and 5/ opposition to the Springer publishing empire (a program which has received substantial financial assistance from Rudolf Augstein, publisher of Der Spiegel). SDS publishes Neue Kritik and SDS-Korrespondenz.

Among SDS' leaders are the following:

Karl-Dietrich WOLFF	SDS Federal Chairman, 1967-68
Reimut REICHE	SDS Federal Chairman, 1966-67; student in Frankfurt
Peter GANG	Deputy Chairman; from Berlin
Erich EISNER	Councilor; from Munich; member of KPD (Communist Party)
Wolfgang LEFEVRE	Councilor; from Berlin
Lothar WOLFSTATTER	Councilor; from Mannheim

Other than Wolff, the names of the '67-'68 officers are

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not available; they were elected at a meeting in September 1967 in Frankfurt. Of SDS' 27 campus units, Frankfurt and Berlin are probably the most active and influential: the former because it is the site of the national office of SDS; the latter because of Berlin itself, of the character of Berlin SDS leaders and because SDS/Berlin is able to take advantage of the city's unique status to hold sway over SDS' international policies. Among the Berlin leaders are:

Erik NOHARA	former activist, ideological mentor and <u>eminence grise</u>
Rudi DUTSCHKE	leader of the <u>Maoist wing</u>
Juergen HORLEMANN	Marxist and major activist

SDS/Berlin has spawned a number of allied communities such as the Kommunen (Dieter KUNZELMANN, Ulrich ENZENSBERGER, Rainer LANGHANS, and Fritz TEUFEL), a secondary school student association (UGS - Unabh angige Schuelergemeinschaft - of which Peter BRANDT, son of Willi BRANDT, is a member; Peter apparently has adopted Trotskyist views), and an "old boys" club, the Republikanischer Klub (Erik NOHARA and leftist lawyer Horst MAHLER).

SDS, through its control of AStA, is an important faction within the Verband Deutscher Studentenschaften (VDS, the German National Union of Students) which it seeks to draw into more radical positions. SDS also works closely with a number of other German youth and student organizations, some of which are listed below.

SDS' attitude toward the KPD is generally one of scorn, though it does allow KPD members to join SDS; but it also supports a lifting of the ban on the KPD. Relations between the SDS/Berlin and the (legal) SED/West Berlin are in a similar vein, though the SED is worried that SDS will draw strength from SED youth cadre and thus it tends to keep SDS at more of an arm's length than the KPD does. In general there is no evidence to indicate that orthodox communist strength amounts to much in SDS, nor does it seem likely that the Chinese have been able to control or guide SDS' Maoist wing.

SDS leaders have had for several years contact with Soviet authorities in East Germany and with Soviet youth/student organizations, such as the Committee of Youth Organizations (CYO) and the Komsomol. Erik NOHARA in particular is usually cited as having the best contacts with the East. The attitude on the Bloc's part is one of

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attraction-revulsion: they hope to make use of the new student radicals (particularly to create problems for Allied military authorities in West Berlin) but at the same time are aware of the ideological gulf between SDS and the communists. The East German SED is especially worried that West Berlin "Maoism" and free-thinking will infect their youth organization, the Free German Youth (FDJ). Contacts thus between FDJ and SDS are controlled and semi-clandestine (the East Germans also do not want to give the kiss of death to SDS by too close or public an association). The Soviet Union, at greater geographic distance and thus not worried about infection, is more eager to establish bilateral relations with SDS, but they still found it necessary to walk out of the last SDS congress in protest against what they felt to be slandering of the October Revolution. SDS relations with China appear to be confined to periodic visits by Berlin Maoists to the Chinese Embassy in the East. Some financial assistance and, more surely, propaganda has been made available to Kunzelmann and Dutschke.

Within Europe, SDS is a member of two regional youth organizations: the Brussels Conference of avant-garde youth, and the European Student Syndicalist Conference. The full extent of SDS' bilateral contacts is not known (over and above, of course, those also members of the two regional groups), but the following appears in the files:

Austria:	Socialist Youth (VSS)
Holland:	Provos
Belgium:	Ernest Mandel (well-known Trotskyist)
Sweden:	Swedish Vietnam Committee; probably <u>Clarté</u>
France:	an unidentified "Marxist/Leninist" group (pro-Chinese); Etudiants Socialistes (PSU)
USA:	Students for a Democratic Society

One recently announced SDS initiative may be of more than passing importance, an institute for documentation and research on 'radical' subjects. Among the planned assets of this institute will be personality dossiers on 'scientists', politicians, and persons in the public information field, with special attention to their

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cooperation with secret services and with firms which profit from the Vietnam war'. A monthly bulletin is planned to "expose persons, campaigns, and programs". The center will be directed by a council made up of an unidentified Frenchman, an unidentified Ethiopian, Bahman Nirumand (Iran), Ulrike-Marie Meinhof (German columnist) and three SDSers, Juergen Horlemann, Christian Semler, and Peter Gagg. In its first specific task, the Institute is to help organize a summer camp in Cuba to be named after Che Guevara for 5,000 Europeans and unknown numbers of Latin Americans and Vietnamese. USBER Berlin notes that this camp was originally to have been organized jointly by SDS and the French Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire.

2. Sozialdemokratischer Hochschulbund (SHB)

To replace SDS as the party's student organization, the SPD created the present SHB. That this move did not solve the problem of student activism on the left is indicated by a statement made to an SDS congress in 1966 by SHB's Federal Chairman: he declared that "both the SDS and SHB have a common task: 'to make bourgeois society susceptible to new developments'." Though SHB remains within the SPD, and SDS outside, the presumed differences between the two have disappeared or have been shelved for all practical purposes in pursuit of joint programs and demonstrations. (Relations between SHB and SDS do however seem to vary from area to area.)

The names of current SHB leaders are not available.

3. Liberaler Studentenbund Deutschlands (LSD)

Though affiliated with the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and theoretically beholden to the adult party leadership, LSD tends to follow in SDS' wake. Relations between LSD and SDS, according to at least one assessment, seem to be better than those between SHB and SDS.

The names of current LSD leaders are not available.

4. Humanistische Union

(No solid information on this organization, though it too is part of SDS' entourage.)

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5. Die Falken

Another SPD youth organization, Die Falken has its own history of leftist tendencies (including some accents of 'Trotskyism') and contact with Eastern youth/student associations. Relations between Die Falken and SDS are reportedly excellent. Prominent among Die Falken are Wolfgang HOMANN, Peter BISCHOF, and Heinz BEINERT.

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NETHERLANDS

PART I

1. (The Provos)

The Provos*, young pseudo-anarchists who come closest to being the epitome of the New Left's anti-establishment currents, became active in Amsterdam in June 1965. Their 'ideology' where it can be defined is not the philosophical anarchism of an earlier period. It is one of active opposition to authority: parental, military, police, and governmental authority. Its hallmark is the 'happening', which the Provos transformed from an avant-garde art form into a method of political action. Though no small number of youth were attracted to the provo pattern, their numbers never were an accurate measurement of their destructive potential. The Provos have now disbanded (July 1967). The only sin recognized by the movement was Organization. When leaders of a 'provotariat' began to emerge; when affiliation with other groups became a question; when their activities (such as assisting American deserters) demanded they open an office -- when their Eve began to eye the apple of bureaucracy, they elected to take the novel step of casting out their Eden.

The international activities of the Provos were very much loose sorts of endeavors. Provo leaders were sent to England (for a 'Destruction in Art Seminar'), to Berlin to 'train' the Maoist communes (from which they reportedly came home in disgust, feeling that the Berliners weren't really serious), and even to Eastern Europe. A First (and presumably the last) International Provo Congress was held in November 1966, attended by delegates from Belgium, the United States, England, and among others, one delegate from Prague.

*Capital 'P' provos is commonly meant as reference to the provo movement as a political and social fact of life; lower-casë 'p' provo refers to the life style.

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Among the names associated with the Provos are:

Irene Donner VAN DER WEETERING (usually goes by her maiden name, DONNER)	visited Czechoslovakia in July 66
Peter BRONKHORST, and Enrico RIJKS	visited Prague to "lecture on the Provo movement"
Roel van DUYN	the ideologue of the movement
Rob STOLK	an active member of PSJW (see below)
Luud SCHIMMELPENNINK	inventor of the major Provo campaigns
Bernard de VRIES	elected to the Amsterdam City Council
Hans METZ	'secretary and fundman' for the Provos

The comparative youth of these individuals insures that, though the 'capital P' Provos may be officially dead, the 'lower-case p' provos will remain around awhile. Bronkhorst was born in 1946; de Vries in 1941; Metz in 1945; van Duyn in 1943; Stolk in 1946.

2. Studentenvakbeweging Student Syndical Movement (SVB)

About SVB we have little information at hand. It was founded in 1963, the first outside of French-speaking Europe to adopt the syndicalist ideas formulated by UNEF. SVB is an influential minority in the Dutch national student union (NSR), whose moderate leadership it hoped to overthrow. It has lent its numbers to many of the radical, non-communist Vietnam protest groups mentioned below, and many of its members are also members of other groups which range on the political spectrum from the Provos to the 'orthodox' Communist Party of the Netherlands (which, one hastens to add, is not typical of European CPs*).

SVB is a member of CESE, the European regional group of syndicalist unions, and it is the current host-union

*The CPN at the moment has no hold on the SVB Executive, nor on the SVB/Amsterdam Executive; SVB-CPN relations have deteriorated markedly.

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of the CESE' secretariat. Franciscus Van HAAFTEN was its representative to the founding CESE meeting in Brussels. Maartin ABELIN is currently the head of CESE's secretariat in Amsterdam. The names of current SVB officers are not available; Ton REGTIEN is a principal leader and one whose name should be entered here.

* * * * *

On other members of the Dutch New Left community there is even less ready information. The more important are mentioned below in context of their participation in Vietnam protest organizations.

PART II

VIETNAM PROTEST COMMUNITY

3. Jongerencomite Vietnam
Youth Committee Vietnam

In June 1965 an Amsterdam leftist with close contacts in Trotskyist and Pacifist-Socialist Party circles, Han Meyer, called a meeting of many organizations on the left active on the Vietnam issue. The meeting agreed to form an initiative group which, in September, became the Youth Committee Vietnam. Its membership originally included:

General Dutch Youth Movement (ANJV) - youth league of the CPN

Organization of Progressive Student Youth (OPSJ) - student league of the CPN

Federation of Youth Groups/Amsterdam Section (FJG) - youth wing of the Labor Party (PvdA)

Pacifist-Socialist Youth Working Group (PSJW) - a youth wing of the Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP)

Kerke en Vrede - Dutch affiliate of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFoR)

Socialist Youth (SJ) - youth organization of left-socialist orientation

Socialist Meeting Groups (SOK) - Trotskyist Committee 29 November 1962

'Perikles' - communist student group

'Politeia' - left socialist student group

'Olofspoort' - a student group

the Surinamese Student Association of Amsterdam

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the Indonesian student group in Holland

Almost immediately the different tendencies in the Youth Committee began to tear at the fabric of unity. The communist ANJV took exception to the appointment of Huib RIETHOF of SVB as President of the National Board, despite the fact that their candidate from ANJV, Paul GEERLIGS, was named Secretary. The Labor Party (PvdA) organizations went through a period of on-and-off affiliation, first withdrawing and setting up new committees with the communists, then reaffiliating. The Provos were admitted to membership in the Youth Committee, to which the communists again took exception. The net result was a somewhat tenuous communist hold on the Youth Committee. Though a large number of the original organizations are still on the books as members, a few of the more radical founded a collateral committee.

4. Actie Groep Vietnam
Action Group Vietnam (AGV)

From all evidence it is the Action Group Vietnam which has been in the forefront of most of the more violent demonstrations and more illegal actions of the Dutch Vietnam protest community. The Action Group was established in April 1966, representing the undiluted radicalism of the Provos, the radical-socialist SJ, the pacifist-socialist PSJW and of the Pacifist Socialist Party itself. The communists are not members. The Action Group -- or at a minimum, its Pacifist-Socialist members -- has its more sensational reputation from its assistance to American military deserters, a program which began in the amorphous Provo quarter and which has been taken up by the PSP. O.M. BOETES, a PSP Senator, has publicly announced his activity and unqualified support for this program (which is targeted against the Dutch military as well); Herman HOENEVELD, an SJ official, has also been identified in the press as being actively involved in this effort.

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GREAT BRITAIN

PART I

1. New Left Review
7 Carlisle Street, London W1

If the intellectual wing of the new radicalism had a birthplace, it was probably in the pages of two journals which first appeared in 1957: Universities and Left Review, and The New Reasoner. These publications two years later merged into New Left Review, but separately they neatly symbolize two of the more important resources of the New Left: Universities and Left Review was the voice of the college intellectual; The New Reasoner drew its strength from the Communist intellectuals who left the CP as a result of the 20th CPSU Congress, Poland and Hungary. These were soon joined by some of the less sectarian Trotskyists. NLR was a half-way house between left-socialists and dissident communists, and it still reflects the ambivalence of its origins. About NLR's history we have little ready information, but its influence on the development of new radicalism outside of England has been noted by several commentators.

NLR's Editor, Perry Anderson, provided some background to the course of the movement in Great Britain in an article in NLR (#29, January-February '65):

The New Left had begun a handful of intellectuals; it gained a certain -- minority -- middle-class audience; it never touched any section of the working class. The hope of becoming a major political movement haunted it, and ended by dissipating its initial assets. The existence, in the CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament], of a genuine mass movement with a base, but without any articulated ideology, seemed to offer a vacuum designed for the New Left to fill. It tried to do so, in 1960-61, and paid the price.

The price was that the New Left "had lost the virtues of intellectual energy without gaining those of political efficacy;" it had got down into the arena of political maneuvering, had had a certain success but, when the tide in favor of policies of unilateral

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disarmament ebbed, the New Left was stranded. The ad hoc alliance of the Left dissolved, and the three components of its 1960-61 period of strength separated. "The Labour [Party] Left had ceased to provide any serious opposition to party policy. CND was visibly disintegrating. The New Left was volatilized. The inheritor of the crises had another name: Wilson." (Notes on the Labour Party Left and on CND follow.)

As for the New Left -- or at least NLR -- it was "volatilized" toward Trotskyism and/or 'Fidelismo'. Perry Anderson is a member of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and of the Nottingham Group of Trotskyists; Robin Blackburn, a member of NLR's Editorial Committee, and Quintin Hoare, managing editor, are also members of both. Alexander Cockburn of the Editorial Board attended the '68 Havana Cultural Congress (as did Blackburn); and Anderson is a member of an 'investigating committee' to support Regis Debray. On the current masthead of NLR are the following: Perry ANDERSON (Editor), Quintin HOARE (Managing Editor); (Editorial Committee) Anthony BARNETT, Robin BLACKBURN, Ben BREWSTER, Alexander COCKBURN, Ronald FRASER, Jon HALLIDAY, Nicolas KRASSO, Branka MAGAS, Julien MITCHELL, Roger MURRAY, Tom NAIRN, Lucien REY, Bob ROWTHORN, Gareth STEDMAN JONES, and Tom WENGRAF.

2. National Association of Labour Student Organizations (NALSO)

The extremist wing of the Labour Party's following among younger members of the left appears to be concentrated in NALSO, about which we have little information. The direction of NALSO's drift may be indicated by the matriculation of a NALSO officer, Nigel Harris, into the ranks of the Trotskyists; he is now the editor of International Socialism, a Trotskyist journal. A clue to the current relations between NALSO and the Labour Party was found in a report dated January '67 that NALSO was to be officially read out of the Party.

3. Radical Student Alliance (RSA)

What the intellectual New Left sought in the CND (and

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did not find) was an activist core; RSA has seemingly -- and perhaps quite accidental to NLR's efforts -- provided that core. RSA's origins are somewhat murky. Though formally established only in January 1967, it was earlier planned and represented in a group of student activists, some of whom were members of or closely connected with the CPGB. There was some suspicion that RSA was originally conceived as a CPGB front, and that the communist International Union of Students was aware of its planned appearance before the British student was. But whatever its origins, it is not so easily dismissed as a tool of the CPGB. Its line contains elements of American goals of participatory democracy and of French formulae of student-workers and a student syndicalist movement. It seeks a unity of intellectual and 'practical' work (theorizing and political organizing), and defines itself as "the potential vehicle for a student movement on a national level".

An immediate question for RSA is its policy toward NUS, the British national student union (officially titled, National Union of Students of England, Wales, and North Ireland; Scotland, for a variety of reasons, has a separate national student union). Whether it will remain as a radical caucus seeking to take command from within NUS, or withdraw to become a radical alternative, has not been finally decided. For the present, RSA remains within, but its most recent effort to unseat the moderate leadership failed.

Among the names associated with RSA are the following:

Fergus NICHOLSON	National Student Organizer of the CPGB
David WIDGERY	journalist; possibly fronts for the CPGB
David ADELSTEIN	leader of a Berkeley-styled student 'revolt' at the London School of Economics
Marshall BLOOM	American student at LSE (now in Washington) who had a major role in the student 'revolt'

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4. Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (BRPF)
3-4 Shavers Place, London SW1

The Russell Foundation was founded in September 1963 along with a companion outfit, the Atlantic Peace Foundation, to provide a "permanent structure for the peace movement" and to be devoted to the investigation of "the causes of war and to pursue such measures as may eliminate or diminish the risk of war". Beneath this meritorious language, of course, is a more obvious commitment to an ill-defined ideological position bearing many of the marks of the New Left -- simultaneously also bearing the marks of dissident communist (e.g., Trotskyist) orientation. The Foundation's major effort to date was the highly touted International War Crimes Tribunal, the history and intricacies of which we do not propose to delve into here. The Foundation is not however limited to Vietnam and the Far East alone. It has an evident and active interest in the national liberation movements of Latin America, in the Arab-Israeli problems of the Near East, and in developments in the United States. An allied unit is the Bertrand Russell Centre for Social Research which plans a series entitled "Studies in Imperialism and the Cold War". The first volume published under the Centre's auspices is a collection of essays, Containment and Revolution, (Beacon Press, 1967) edited by David Horowitz. It contains analyses written by such diverse individuals as Isaac Deutscher, William Appleman Williams (University of Wisconsin), Todd Gitlin (American SDS) and John Gittings (formerly of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and now with the Institute of International Studies, University of Chile).

An early list of Directors of the Foundation named the following. (Those marked with an asterisk are members of the Nottingham Group of Trotskyists.)

Bertrand Russell	
Hamza ALAVI	(Pakistani)
*Perry ANDERSON	Editor of NLR
*Robin BLACKBURN	NLR Editorial Committee
*Kenneth COATES	(Leader of the Nottingham Group)
Emile de ANTONIO	(American)
*Christopher FARLEY	
*Quintin HOARE	Managing Editor, NLR
*David HOROWITZ	American; more recently resigned from this post

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Mark LANE	American; author of <u>Rush to Judgment</u>
Dennis PHOMBEAH	Tanzanian
Lucien REY	(French?)
*Ralph SCHOENMAN	American; Lord Russell's private secretary

More recently the staff has been pared down and is more clearly of Trotskyist orientation.

PART II

VIETNAM PROTEST COMMUNITY

5. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament/Committee of 100/Peace News

The 'great moral issue' of the late fifties and early sixties (at least until Vietnam displaced it, though it had begun a decline earlier) was the nuclear arms race and disarmament. Its organized expression was the CND, which sprang into prominence after the famous Aldermaston peace march of 1958. CND was at its height a combination of Christian pacifism, anarchism, and British liberalism (a movement of direct lineage from earlier campaigns against the slave trade, the Boer War, etc.). Its failure was that it proved to be limited to a single issue; it was a movement of protest, not a coherent and comprehensive ideology of protest: the energies of the CND were not carried over into attacks on and alternatives for other issues. It was this failure that the New Left recognized and sought to cure. The momentary adoption of a platform of unilateral disarmament by the Labour Party was perhaps the high-water mark of the CND community. When that policy was rejected, CND began to disintegrate.

A more radical wing of Christian pacifists and 'Christian Marxists' separated out and was responsible for the Committee of 100. But this too has failed to jell into an opposition of influence and breadth on the left -- despite the many well-known names associated with the entire disarmament campaign structure -- and the Committee of 100 has recently begun to

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disband and fall apart as a national organization. Perhaps the sole surviving expression of the once powerful CND approach is Peace News, about which Perry Anderson comments: "represents an interesting attempt to transcend the traditional limitations of pacifist and anarchist thought in the direction of greater concreteness. The result still lacks coherence." (N. B.: Anderson's branding of Peace News as being in part anarchistic must be taken lightly. It is apparently used in a defamatory sense. Anderson's group of Trotskyists is at war with another group which has access to the pages of Peace News -- though in the above quote the word 'Trotskyist' should not be thought a replacement for 'anarchist'.)

6. British Council for Peace in Vietnam
374 Gray's Inn Road, London W.C.1

Among the many 'peace in Vietnam' committees (that is, other than the CPGB's British Peace Council), two collections merit a brief mention. Foremost is the Lord Fenner-Brockway group with which is associated a large number of impressive names and titles. We will not attempt to list these names, nor to divine the shades of difference in approach between this organization and a myriad of others. The British Council's basic orientation can be surmised from a list of its affiliated organizations:

Parliament	MP's Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in Vietnam
Universities:	Universities Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in Vietnam
	Cambridge University Committee for Peace in Vietnam
	Student Christian Movement (observer-member)
	Union of Liberal Students
	Colleges and Universities CND
	National Association of Labour Student Organisations
Churches:	Anglican Pacifist Fellowship
	Baptist Pacifist Fellowship
	Christian Action
	Christian Socialist Movement
	Fellowship of Reconciliation
	Friends Peace Committee (observer-member)

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Churches: Pax
Unitarian and Free Christian
Peace Fellowship

Liberals: National League of Young
Liberals

Labor Movement: A.S.S.E.T.
Association of Scientific
Workers
Amalgamated Union of Foundry
Workers (no. 6 Div. CLS)
Fire Brigade Union
Cooperative Party (observer-
member)
D.A.T.A. (observer-member)
Independent Labour Party
LCS Educational Committee
LSC Political Committee
London Typographical Society
Tobacco Workers Union
T & GWU (Taxi Section)
(observer-member)

Youth: Youth CND
Youth for Peace in Vietnam

Peace: CND
Consultative Committee for
Peace Organisations
Labour CND
Labour Peace Fellowship
National Peace Council (observer-
member)
Peace Pledge Union
Russell Peace Foundation
Teachers' CND

Medical: Medical Aid for Vietnam

Women: Socialist Medical Association
Liaison Committee for Women's
Peace Groups
Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom

Other: British Vietnam Committee
Committee of 100
Movement for Colonial Freedom

7. War Resisters/Fellowship of Reconciliation/
Peace Pledge Union

The sub-world of Christian pacifism is a definite force in the British Vietnam protest community, and in the British New Left. Most of the international organizations

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to which British pacifist groups belong are mentioned in the International section; they are cited here because of their influence, both within the domestic community and as the single most important voice in the internationals.

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BELGIUM

1. Mouvement des Universitaires Belge de l'Expression Française (MUBEF)/Vereniging der Vlaamse Studenten (VVS)/Studenten Werkbeweging (SVB)

The national student union of Belgium is split into French- and Flemish-speaking units, MUBEF and VVS respectively. Both have tended to follow the lead of the French UNEF and both call themselves syndicalist. VVS is a member of the secretariat of the International Union of Students (IUS), holding the position of secretary. Its representative in Prague is Josef WELLENS.

Within the VVS there is an influential conservative element, and Flemish leftists have created a counterpart in 1967 to the Dutch SVB (q.v.) to unify and increase their influence. The European syndical minority now apparently views the Belgian SVB as the legitimate syndicalist unit in Belgium and has established relations with it, thus causing a bit of acrimony between VVS and other European student unions. Some of the individuals associated with the SVB include:

Paul GOSSENS
 Willy LEMMENS
 Ludo MARTENS
 Frans LEMAIRE
 Guy MICHEL
 Waller DE BOCK
 Herwig LEROUGE
 Louis VAN DIJCK
 Johan PHILIPPEN
 Marko FRANCO

2. Revos

The Revos are the Belgian equivalent of the Dutch Provos. They do not appear to be nearly as important as the Provos, nor are they particularly active.

3. Fédération des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes (FJGS)

The FJGS is one of the socialist youth wings which

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have severed their ties with the orthodox socialist parties. The FJGS was expelled -- or withdrew -- from the Parti Socialiste Belge in 1965. It is a member of the 'Brussels Conference' of avant-garde youth organizations and served as the host for the first meeting of this regional collection. From all evidence its leadership includes a substantial Trotskyist element which has at least been able to move it further toward the left.

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AUSTRIA

1. Verband Sozialistischer Studenten (VSS)

VSS is the student arm of the socialist party (SPOe). It has tended for some time toward the left, and in 1966 VSS members elected a "radical" slate into office. Its junior version for secondary-school students, Verband Sozialistischer Mittelschueler (VSM), has had a separate and longer history of leftist control. VSS publishes Die Alternative; VSM, Die Rote Tafel.

Though its relations with the SPOe are, understandably enough, strained, VSS has had some encouragement and support from the SPOe/left. In general, though, it goes alone. Communist Party (KPOe) strength in VSS seems to be minimal. One source commented, "It is most unlikely that the Communists are actively giving regular guidance to the VSS and VSM leaders, who incidentally disagree with each other frequently and show little evidence of central direction. The KPOe has had little success among young people and is not believed to have many reliable cadres which it could infiltrate into the socialist youth organizations. A number of the intellectual elite of the far left, among socialist youth, moreover, are strongly opposed to Communism."

The radical slate voted into office by VSS in 1966 consisted of:

Gunter REHAK	Chairman
Walter PAPOUSEK	Deputy Chairman
Gunter BLECHA	Deputy Chairman
Erich SCHMIDT	Secretary
Hans NASCHEK	Treasurer

In VSS' Vienna center, a particular source of leftist strength, figures the name of Peter KREISKY, the son of the former Foreign Minister and current leader of the Socialist Party.

The only continuing foreign contacts shown in current material on VSS are with SDS Germany. This isolation is unlikely to remain true for long. VSS and VSM sent delegates to the Frankfurt meeting of European Student Committee on Vietnam (see below).

2. Young Revolutionary Marxists

A small group which split off from the pro-Chinese

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Marxist/Leninist Party of Austria (MLPOe) sometime around January 1967, this organization is listed as a question mark. Not enough is known. It apparently decided that Franz Strobl's MLPOe was too staid and tended toward revisionism, and broke away. It publishes Funke.

This group's apparent leader is Helmut HRONEK (b. 28 May 1941).

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SCANDINAVIA

The information available on Scandinavian New Left organizations is too sparse to permit solid judgments of its strength and extent in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.* The usual rock under which one finds evidence of a New Left, the national student union, is unrewarding. The national unions of Scandinavia are more or less solidly in the hands of moderates. It is in the quadrant occupied by the Socialist People's parties that a search for a New Left must take place. These parties are within the broad span of the dissident left to which the name New Left has applied, but they raise again the unsolved problem of distinguishing between the committed party militant and non-party radical.**

DENMARK

The Socialist People's Party of Denmark, and presumably its counterpart in Norway, has had some difficulty in keeping its youth arm (SUF, the Socialist

*Finland, as always a special situation, will not be considered here. In the opinion of a senior Finnish security official, the New Left has if anything only recently appeared there. And while it is distinct from the 'Teddy-boy' element, youthful anti-establishment dissidence has for the most part been contained within the established party structures.

**A recent paper on the left in Europe included these parties in the general classification of New Left, or "outsiders". As suggested elsewhere, this identification is not completely satisfactory -- but then no other alternative is any more satisfactory. The paper also suggested that in the Socialist People's parties the New Left was the "strongest and most united" in Europe. Whether there is this identity will not be debated here; but it could be argued that 'New Left' strength in Scandinavia is not found in its numbers and influence but in accidents of elections and parliamentary coalitions.

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Youth Forum) in line. Its original intent was to forge a unity of the radical left (SUF, the left-wing communist youth and left-socialist youth). While it 'allowed' itself to be affiliated to Aksel Larsen's adult party, there was apparently some opposition to this move. And its list of officers in 1964 included a few wearing the Trotskyist sweatshirt. Since 1964 it appears in fact to have moved away from anything resembling complete allegiance to the adult party. The same may be true of the student wing (SF).

Another Danish group, the Volunteers for Vietnam, is more easily branded as trotskyoid. The volunteer corps as an international collection is mentioned elsewhere in this paper. With respect to a third, the Clarté movement, we have no information readily at hand and can only raise the question.

NORWAY

However questionable the origins of the Norwegian Socialist People's Party may have been (being originally a splinter from the orthodox socialist party as compared to the Danish SF's having been a splinter from the pro-Soviet communist party), the support that party has gathered from those of anti-establishment bias is real. Norwegians, it must be borne in mind, are perhaps the most conservative in Europe. The Norwegian student union is rightist as compared to others on the continent, and the Norwegian SF's youth wing is small and, by comparison, undernourished. Perhaps closer to the normal New Left pattern is the semi-clandestine Radical Socialist Union (RSU), a faction working within SF which proclaims itself based on Marxist ideas with nationalist attitudes to the left of the SF and to the right of the NKP (Communist Party). RSU plans to remain secret until 1971, perhaps more to avoid public exposure of its thin ranks than as a policy of tactical efforts from within.

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SWEDEN

The Swedish Clarté, on the other hand, is usually included by other New Leftists as a member of the confrerie. But the charge is also made that Clarté "has not been able to live up to its traditions and to develop a coherent socialist consciousness. Furthermore, it is now deeply and bitterly split between a Maoist tendency, now in control, and others (Social Democrats and Hermanssonites [after the head of the ultra-revisionist Swedish communist party])". This bill of particulars seems to be correct, though the Maoists may have more recently lost control of Clarté.

Confirmed in the New Left congregation is another Swedish entity, Zenit. Its publisher, Goran Therborn, writes of Zenit with the usual egotism of the New Left: "Zenit was started in 1957 as a journal of the syndicalist youth, but has in later years been the main forum of the Swedish 'New Left'! Its circulation is smaller than that of the more famous Clarté, but it has been of crucial importance in deprovincializing the Swedish Left, presenting international Socialist discussion, and in contributing to -- in certain respects one might say introducing -- analytical and strategic thinking." Zenit has recently allied itself with the International Socialist Journal, published in Rome by the "PSIUPini" (of the PSIUP).

The remarks of the former chairman of the Swedish CP youth organization, Kjell Johansson, are amusing. In a recent article, Johansson wrote, "The [Swedish] new left is a socialist trend. Its political platform and profile is clearly Marxist. Its inspiration is taken from Marxist classics -- Gramsci, André Gorz, Perry Andersson, [Ernest] Mandel, and others"! Among the Swedish New Left, Johansson singles out Goran THERBORN, Gunnar OLOFSSON, C.H. HERMANSSON [head of the Communist Party!] and Christopher HOGSTEDT: among its publications, Zenit and Tidsignal. Johansson's appraisal may be taken with a grain of salt.

Though certainly not a member of the strictly-defined New Left, one particular Swedish peace organization must be mentioned: the Swedish Vietnam Committee, the latest in a series of names appropriated for the

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efforts of Bertil Svahnstrom (though it must be acknowledged that Svahnstrom is not without support; the Committee is not a facade). It is this Committee which now has charge of over twenty American deserters in Sweden. For this, its stature in the Vietnam protest community is excelled only by BEHEIREN, the Japanese peace group which found and exfiltrated the 'Intrepid Four'. Svahnstrom from all evidence is not a communist (at least in the sense of party membership). But before a large international World Conference on Vietnam in the summer of '67 (for which he was largely responsible), Svahnstrom demonstrated his eagerness to cooperate with and front for the apparatchiki of the old-line communist-front World Council of Peace.

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ITALY

The type of New Left found elsewhere in Europe does not seem to be present in Italy. Perhaps the primary reason for this absence is the PSIUP which has 'coopted' the left-socialist/Marxist area of the spectrum. Additionally, Italian political parties seem to be more permissive of internal dissension than counterparts in other countries -- and the stultifying discipline of a bureaucratic party, which is a major reason for the non- or anti-party rebellion of the New Left, is therefore less of a factor.

But while a 'proper New Left' does not seem to exist (unless of course the PSIUP is given that label), a number of Italian organizations are included by other Europeans in the New Left confrerie. These are:

1. Union Goliardica d'Italia (UGI)/National Union of University Students of Italy (UNURI)

UNURI, recognized as the national student union, contains four political factions, two of which in coalition have controlled the union since the early sixties: UGI (an amalgam of students belonging to the PCI, the PSIUP, and the PSI), and INTESSA (Christian-Democratic). In its international politics UNURI follows in UNEF's wake, tempered a bit by the moderating pressures of the Christian-Democratic INTESSA. But UNURI's internal politics have proven to be so volatile and its governing coalition so fragile that since 1964 it has more or less given up any participation in international events: it is a member of neither the communist-front International Union of Students nor of the non-communist International Student Conference.

UGI, the socialist/communist group, has maintained some contact with other European student groups, as for example with French student 'parties'. But it cannot be said to be a major force among European regional New Left organizations.

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2. (Provos)

Italy has a small counterpart to the more famous Dutch Provos, but compared to the Dutch it hardly merits attention. Its most recent effort was an attempt to dump LSD into the water system of a hotel used by Queen Juliana of the Netherlands during a state visit.

3. PSIUP Youth Federation (FG/PSIUP)

The FG/PSIUP is an observer-member of the Conference of avant-garde youth. It maintains an observer in the Budapest headquarters of the communist World Federation of Democratic Youth.

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SWITZERLAND

The only Swiss group which the European radicals seem to recognize as a member of the New Left is the Action Syndicale Universitaire (ASU), an association of French-speaking Swiss students (largely from Geneva, but with growing membership in Lausanne, Neuchatel, and elsewhere). ASU is small; it follows UNEF's lead.

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INTERNATIONAL

PART I

1. 'Brussels Conference' of avant-garde youth organizations

The 'Brussels Conference' grew out of an effort to coordinate the anti-Vietnam war activities of a number of radical leftist youth organizations. Its first meeting, held following a demonstration in Liège, was in Brussels in March 1967. Its membership consists of the following:

Members:

BELGIUM	Fédération des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes Union des Etudiants Socialistes/Bruxelles
NETHERLANDS	'Politeia' - left-socialist student group Pacifistisch Socialistische Jongerenwerkgroep (PSJW) - Pacifist-Socialist Youth Working Group Socialistische Jeugd - left-socialist youth group
GREAT BRITAIN	Young Socialists of Labour/'Rebel' Group Young Socialists of Labour/Mitcham Section
GERMANY	Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (SDS) Die Falken
ITALY	Falce Martello - described as the left-wing of the FGCI, the PCI's youth wing
FRANCE	Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire

Observers:

FRANCE	Etudiants Socialistes Unifiés (PSU)
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ITALY	Federazione Giovanile/PSIUP
CANADA	Young Socialist Forum
UNITED STATES	Young Socialist Alliance (Trotskyist)

At the Conference a program of demonstrations, posters, pamphlets, and bulletins was agreed to; a coordinating committee composed of one delegate from each member was established; a secretariat was, at least nominally, set up in Brussels in the care of the FJGS.

A second meeting, described as a meeting of the coordinating committee, was held during the SDS Congress in Frankfurt, in September 1967. This meeting adopted the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) as its own, and noting that since "those of Soviet and Chinese orientation were silent on the themes developed by that conference", it pledged itself to spread the Fidelista line throughout Europe. Another of its decisions was to hold in Berlin an international youth meeting on Vietnam, a plan which was received with some concern by the Berlin government and Allied military authorities (the meeting was successfully held in February). Among those attending the Frankfurt meeting were representatives of SDS Germany, ESU/PSU France, JCR France, FG/PSIUP Italy, Falce Martello Italy, FJGS Belgium, UES Belgium, and (a new addition) the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign/Youth Section of Great Britain. A list of individuals who attended the Brussels Conference is available, unfortunately not giving the national organizations which they represented.

2. European Student Committee for Peace in Vietnam

On the reported initiative of the Austrian socialist youth (VSS), the German socialist student organization (SDS) held a meeting in Frankfurt in February 1966 to establish the European Student Committee for Peace in Vietnam. Attending at that meeting were representatives of:

ITALY	Unione Goliardica d'Italia (UGI)
FRANCE	Fédération Générale des Etudiants des Lettres (FGEL)

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- the student union of the Faculty of Letters of Paris, one of the most radical and active of French student unions

GERMANY	SDS
AUSTRIA	VSM-Socialist secondary school students group VSS-socialist university students group.
NETHERLANDS	'Politeia' - left-socialist student group
SWEDEN	Clarte
DENMARK	Socialistisk Studenterforbund - left-socialist student forum
Observers:	
NETHERLANDS	ASVA - General Students Association of Amsterdam
GERMANY	LSD - Liberal Party students union SHB - Social-Democratic students union

The headquarters staffing of this Committee was delegated to SDS. In fact little has happened under the name of this Committee and its program has been superseded by those of the avant-garde youth organization and the European Syndicalist Student Conference.

3. Conférence des Etudiants Syndicalistes Européens (CESE)
Prins Hendrikkade 13, Amsterdam, Netherlands

The idea for a European regional meeting of 'syndicalist' student groups apparently grew from the bilateral contacts and seminars held by SDS/Berlin and FGEL/Paris (student association of the Faculty of Letters) in the period between late '65 and early '66. The first CESE

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exploratory meeting was held in Geneva in June 1966, and a second in December. The CESE was formally established at a meeting in Brussels in March 1967. Attending this meeting were:

BELGIUM	Vereniging der Vlaamse Studenten (VVS) Mouvement des Universitaires Belge de l'Expression Française (MUBEF) Union des Etudiants Socialistes (UES)
NETHERLANDS	Studentenverkbeweging (SVB)
GERMANY	AStA/Berlin - student government of the Free University controlled by SDS
FRANCE	Union Nationale des Etudiants de France (UNEF)
SWITZERLAND	Action Syndicale Universitaire (ASU)
GREAT BRITAIN	Radical Student Alliance (RSA)
SPAIN	Sindicato Democratico de Estudiantes de Espana (SDEE)
PORTUGAL	Secretariado dos Encontros de Estudiantes Portugueses no Estrangeiro (SEEPE)
IRELAND	Union of Students of Ireland (USI)

The purpose of this organization is to coordinate and assist student participation in the democratization of education, "with all its political, social, and economic implications". Its intention is to create an intermediate bloc between East and West. Its all-consuming priority of the moment is Vietnam.

A second meeting of the CESE was held around September in Berlin, sponsored by AStA (read SDS). Among the decisions of that meeting was one to establish a provisional secretariat in Amsterdam, facilities provided

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by SVB Netherlands. Each member is permitted to send a representative to Amsterdam to staff the secretariat. Its head is Maartin ABELIN of SVB.

PART II

VIETNAM PROTEST COMMUNITY

There are not unexpectedly a number of formal international organizations and ad hoc gatherings on the Vietnam issue, ranging from the Christian-pacifist International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) to the single-shot meeting in Brussels of "International Conference of Solidarity with the Vietnamese People" which collected an interesting group of orthodox, pro-Soviet communists, pro-Chinese communists, Trotskyists, left-socialists, New Leftists, and virtually every other shade of 'peacenik' and 'vietnik'. A few of these are listed here for identification purposes.

4. Corps des Volontaires Civiles pour le Vietnam

This appears to be a Trotskyist initiative, though undoubtedly with the emotional backing of a few of the more radical sectors of the New Left. Sections of this planned international brigade are said to exist in France (Jacques GRIMBLAT), Switzerland (Marc-Henri TROLLIET), Denmark, Holland, and nascent units elsewhere. The idea of an international brigade, either fighting alongside the Viet Cong or working on civil reconstruction projects in the North, has cropped up in the plans of organizations other than those with Trotskyist influence. And these projects have been discussed at various points with DRV and NLF Vietnamese. The official Vietnamese position has been a polite 'no thanks', and it appears highly doubtful that any organized international brigade will be allowed to send members into Vietnam. Nonetheless as a political tactic, the Corps is an excellent idea which has proven a useful tool to radical leftists who seek to establish their militancy on the Vietnam question.

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5. War Resisters' International (WRI)
88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, Great Britain

WRI is an old-line pacifist organization which was founded in 1921. Its program has consistently been one of opposition to all war and military service, and it has not hesitated to adopt extra-legal programs to further its objectives. One of its current programs has had a certain notoriety: inducement and assistance to U. S. military deserters. WRI has affiliates in most of the European countries and the United States. (Its American affiliate, War Resisters' League, is active here in the draft resistance program.) Though the WRI does not refuse the support of communists, nor of communist internationals (e.g., the World Council of Peace), it does not appear to contain a significant communist faction. (An exception may be its German affiliate which local authorities have viewed with concern for some time.) Among its international officers are such names as Danilo Dolci (Italy), Johan Galtung (Norway), Devi Prasad (India), and Bayard Rustin (USA).

6. International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP)
5 Hendon Ave., London N. 3.

The ICDP was created to be a non-partisan international organization open to all organizations interested in peace and willing to "oppose the policies of any government, including its own, if they depart from these objectives". Language of this type would seem to exclude the range of communist front instrumentalities in the peace field, and many of the ICDP's initial members considered it to be the legitimate replacement for the World Council of Peace, the international communist front. Several within the ICDP have nonetheless argued for cooperation with the WCP, and the matter of relations with the WCP was decided not by formal approval of the membership but by the willingness of many of its top officers to enter into cooperation and by the natural mutuality of interest in opposition to American policy on Vietnam.

The ICDP is probably the most influential of the non-communist peace organizations, not so much as an organization in its own right but as the umbrella

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covering a score of important and effective national and international groups. Among the ICDP's affiliates are the WRI, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the various national Quaker pacifist units, various sections of the CND, the American SANE, etc.

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