

Mob Power Vs. Germany's "Establishment"

By DAN MORGAN
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BERLIN—The specter of Germany's violent past is being invoked by left and right alike again here as a weapon in the conflict between students and police.

The subject is never very deeply submerged in Germany. But its surfacing now is helping widen the gulf of hatred between those who are shaking the status quo and those who are defending it with armed might.

Recently, students shouted "S.S." at police as the lawmen brandished truncheons on the Kurfurstendamm.

In Bonn, a leading Christian Democratic politician spoke of

embourg, (Karl) Liebknecht and (Rudi) Dutschke."

The Communists Luxembourg and Liebknecht were slain by soldiers in 1919 in Berlin.

Dutschke, the student rebellion's ideologist, was seriously wounded recently in a gun attack on the Kurfurstendamm.

His assailant, a 23-year-old fanatic and loner with an adoration for Adolph Hitler, has also conjured up memories of the gory political assassinations of the past.

Consternation

By contrast, most West Germans have observed the violent student-police confrontations, not to mention the insistent comparisons with days long gone by, with consternation and disgust.

If anything, the police have lost favor for their handling of the situation in Berlin, which is almost universally agreed to have been provocative and counter productive.

The West Berlin police force is a quasi-military, 19,000-man force equipped as well as most army divisions. It has been trained to repel Soviet or East German attacks on the city—substituting for the West German army which is not allowed here.

Millions of West Germans watched on television a scene in which police seemed simply to have run amok. A student was felled by a policeman. A girl in a raincoat knelt by his side. The next instant police with clubs flailing at the girl swooped in and hurled her away.

The Berlin police have insisted on restoring total order whenever traffic is disrupted. A recent clash was based on a legal technicality: the marchers had no permit.

When students blocked the access roads to try to halt distribution of the Springer newspapers in Berlin, police insisted on clearing not one road, but all of them. Instead of getting bored and going home, the students stayed and fought it out with police.

What has been lacking are voices of conciliation in a situation which went from bad to serious. The Interior senator, Kurt Neubauer, is an old and



RUDI DUTSCHKE



AXEL SPRINGER

tough Social Democrat, with a conviction that order must be kept. Mayor Klaus Schuetz supports him.

Police Chief Georg Moch, who has a reputation for moderation, is in trouble for not defending adequately the Springer building. He is also a Christian Democrat in a city run by Social Democrats.

A few leaders have at last taken the side of the students and stepped in to mediate.

'Ho-Ho-Ho'

Bishop Kurt Scharf told 500 students at the Technical University's main auditorium that current police methods "cannot lead to peace in our city or contribute to improvement of relations."

Theology Prof. Helmut Gollwitzer was cheered when he spoke of "press agitation" against the students.

Both men come from the very establishment the students have been attacking.

The true character of the revolution came to light recently in West Berlin when student leaders called on their followers to "donate" their cars to a roadblock of the Springer publishing house. Only 23 cars showed up; it turned out that most student cars are owned by parents in West Germany.

"If we get hosed down with a police water cannon we can change our suits," said one youth sheepishly. "But a car is something else."

So instead many students are driving around town blowing their car horns to the rhythm of "Ho-Ho-Ho Chi Minh."

In West Berlin the ugly student-police clashes cannot quite erase the impression that it is a fun revolution. Its catchword, the Teutonic equivalent of "sorry about that" is: "It will end badly."

Hopefully it will not, for the sake of hundreds of young persons who know they support what is happening but cannot quite express why. Out at the Technical University young people appeared by the hundreds, turning the main auditorium into a Berkeley-like scene.

There, students are selling "stock certificates" (printed on revolutionary-red paper) in the campaign against Springer. They are redeemable on the day of his expropriation.

There are other moments of humor, such as when the bearded Maoist Fritz Teufel challenged Prof. Ralf Dahrendorf to debate him in a prison dungeon, and when girls arrested in a

street melee announced they would sue the police for giving preferential treatment to them.

The other side to the student revolt are the street clashes with police in which many young persons have showed incredible—if blind—courage in standing up to furious charges by policemen.

It is in these moments—when, for instance, policemen on horseback ride up the steps of Berlin's Memorial Church after fleeing students—that the new revolution looks for a moment like the old. And it is then that one asks why young persons are risking serious injury and even death in a wealthy and democratic society.

There are probably as many answers as there are students. At the very center of the student movement there are the radicals and fanatics with little or nothing to lose. These are men like Rudi Dutschke. Dutschke fled East Germany in 1960. He is a free agent with no job to go to in West Germany after graduation, like many of his more affluent contemporaries. Dutschke and his SDS followers want nothing less than a qualitative change in society and the end of parliamentary democracy.

It is these few fanatics who have been advocating and using mob power.

But the vast majority of student protesters are not SDS members or radicals, nor are they so far in the least influenced by the clumsy efforts of the East German Communists and the West Berlin Communist Party to take advantage of the situation.

Many are following blindly; others are genuinely fed up with the endless scoldings of the leftists by the mass Springer press and some would like to reform the universities and get more places for workers' children.

A Surprise

It seems paradoxical to some that Germany, which has never gone left, has now become the center of student and leftist discontent for Western Europe. Telegrams of well wishing have poured in this week from all over the continent. British and French students have arrived and British students have demonstrated in London over the Dutschke shooting.

It is all the more surprising because the current revolution is going on in a society where there is almost unlimited right of free speech, not to mention

life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Only Tuesday the rector of Munich University said students arrested in demonstrations would not be liable to expulsion. In Berlin, the technical university has graciously furnished the revolutionary headquarters.

But many young people see it as a cynical fraud perpetrated by the mass media and the ex-Nazis in the government in Bonn.

German family life remains quite authoritarian, and the present post-war German generation gap simply has to be seen to be believed.

So it is a fun new revolution, but the danger is that the police and the authorities will continue to see it as an old revolution, and then it really could "end badly."

The Springer Building, an 18-story publishing house, rises only a few feet from the Berlin Wall. It is a transcendent, almost pugnacious symbol of the vigor and triumph of the modern society of West Germany, Europe, the Western world.

Its high speed presses whirl off three quarters of a million newspapers a day. Last year 27,000 tourists and journalists from all over the world visited "Springer House," the pride of Berlin. A plush club for Springer men is installed at the top, overlooking the city.

Police Action

But in the unleashed wave of student protest, the Springer empire—and this building—have been made to stand for the "establishment," and for all that is repugnant to the country's rebelling youth.

Weird cracks and holes scar the building's plate glass windows at the main entrance, behind a modernistic metal sculpture. They were made by rocks thrown by students.

It took armed might to get the papers out to the delivery stands. Students threw up a cordon on the access roads. For an hour, hundreds of police and firemen were unable to find a hole through barriers of overturned cars and student jalopies blocking the streets.

Police finally cleared a path by lifting one of the student cars that was blocking the road into the air with a crane and dropping it on a parked Volkswagen.

They also again turned fire hoses on the demonstrators and waded into them with nightsticks.

Springer controls no less than 30 per cent of all circulation in West Germany, around 80 per cent on Sunday, and a majority in Berlin. His papers vary from the quality "Die Welt" (circulation: 226,000) to Bild Zeitung (circulation: 4.1 million). But it is no monopoly. There is still a huge market for regional papers and for quality papers in almost every city in the country.

Nor is Springer the demon that the students make him. For one thing, he "monopolizes" the Sunday field only because the country's quality papers refuse to move from six to seven day a week operation, for economic reasons.

Springer's motto is: "Be nice to one another."

His publishing house's four basic principles are: reunification of Germany, reconciliation between Jews and Germans, rejection of totalitarianism, and promotion of a socially-minded Germany.



"hysterical efforts" (by leftist students) and called on them to "remember the old Nazi slogans" which led to the misfortunes of the Jews.

A columnist for Welt Am Sonntag—published by student target Axel Caesar Springer—reminded readers that the burning of the Reichstag had once ripped asunder the Weimar Republic and added:

"The attempt to send the Springer publishing house up in flames could be the beginning of the end of the Federal Republic of West Germany."

(Students stoned the publishing house recently and set fire to several delivery vans.)

"Just like Weimar," is the phrase one heard most often among spectators at the recent clashes.

For months now the Springer papers and public relations apparatus have been comparing the campaign to boycott Springer newspapers with the boycott of Jewish businessmen in the 1930s.

For their part, students have put up posters in the main auditorium of the Technical University here drawing connection between "(Rosa) Lux-

GRIN AND BEAR IT BY LICHTY



"They're selling at a sacrifice... and you'll have to sacrifice to pay for it... and the President says to preserve democracy we must sacrifice!"