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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
	<i>State Div. 8/2/78</i>		
	Agency: State Department		
<del>#3 Memo</del>	<del>McGhee to Secretary</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>33 p</del>
<del>1/17/69</del>		<del>A</del>	
<del>#3a Airgram</del>	<del>CA-10592</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>16 p</del>
<del>9/3/68</del>		<del>A</del>	
<del>#3b Airgram</del>	<del>unnumbered fm State</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>5 p</del>
<del>1/16/68</del>		<del>A</del>	
<del>#3c Airgram</del>	<del>CA-54</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>4 p</del>
<del>1/6/69</del>		<del>A</del>	
<del>#3d Airgram</del>	<del>CA-237</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>6 p</del>
<del>1/14/69</del>		<del>A</del>	
<del>#3e Paper</del>	<del>INR Working Draft</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>12 p</del>
<del>11/ /68</del>		<del>A</del>	

FILE LOCATION

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 Student Unrest

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<del>#4a Memo</del>	Agency: WH/CIA  <del>Rostow to Pres.</del> <i>CIA letter 8-16-78</i> S 1 p	9/4/68	A

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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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<del>#4b Memo</del>	<del>Helms to Pres.</del>	<del>9/4/68</del>	<del>A</del>
#4c Report	No. 0613/68 <del>sanitized</del>	9/ /68	A
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*open 10-10-79 imp*

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229 p*

*5-30-17 imp*

*more info released*

*8-8-97 NLJ 96-08*

*[Near duplicate in files of WNR, Box 13, #1a] same sanitization 1-6-06*  
*[ " " NSF, Agency File, "CIA vol. 3" Box 9, #42a] NLJ 96-04-11*  
*[ " " NSF, Intell. File, "Restless Youth" Box 3] NLJ 96-04-16*  
*[ " " McPherson, "Cabinet Presentation" Box 3 (Bx 38)] NLJ 96-08*  
*WACE, "FG 11-2 CIA" Box 10]*

*more info released 9/26/18 per NLJ 17-32*

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WALT W. ROSTOW  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Material on Student Unrest for  
Mr. Joseph Califano, Jr.

Enclosed is a copy of a Memorandum to the  
Secretary entitled "Report of the Student Unrest  
Study Group" which may be of interest to Mr. Joseph  
Califano, Jr.

*Benjamin H. Read*  
Benjamin H. Read  
Executive Secretary

Enclosure:

As stated.

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*Gregory R*

CONTAINS 11  
pages of information and reports on the  
activities of the Soviet Union in  
the field of international law.

Mr. Gregory R. and  
subject: activities on Soviet Union

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AMBASSADOR AT LARGE

January 17, 1969

MEMORANDUM

TO : The Secretary  
THROUGH: S/S  
FROM : S/AL - George McGhee

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority State Ltr. 8/2/78  
By Shaw, NARS, Date 8/18/78

SUBJECT: Report of the Student Unrest Study Group  
INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

I attach my final report analyzing international student unrest, a study undertaken under my supervision at your direction. Also attached are a summary of motivations which appear to have inspired particular disorders; for information, an earlier circular which invited the comment of all diplomatic missions to our preliminary generalizations; regional analyses of the field's response; a bibliography concerning student unrest; and a list of the principal participants in the study.

In addition to field reporting on student unrest, we referred extensively to published materials and meetings with knowledgeable individuals, both within and without government. In the course of the study we referred several possibilities for constructive action directly to the appropriate offices.

In the interests of broadening official understanding of the phenomenon, I sought the advise of the Inter-Agency Youth Committee, with which I discussed the concept and preliminary findings of our study group. While I was gratified at the cooperation of all of the persons who participated in this study, I am particularly grateful for the assistance of Mr. Robert Cross, the Department's youth advisor and Staff Director of the IAYC and his assistant, Miss Geraldine Sheehan. Mr. Leon Fuert of INR, under the supervision of Allan Evans, prepared a most useful summary of the data that was collected at the outset of our study.

Most importantly, our study served as a catalyst in focussing attention in the field and in Washington on the significance of

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student unrest and on the requirement for a more analytical consideration of the underlying issues involved. My views on possibilities for constructive action appear in the attached report. However, I would stress the overall need for expanded contact with student--and other non-establishment--dissident groups, to which our missions should accord a high priority. We need much more data on student motivations and goals. This will require additional staffing in a number of missions; I also believe the Department's Youth Advisor could usefully be charged with reviewing existing reporting requirements and guidelines with a view to their improvement.

I believe that more should be done within the U.S. foreign affairs community to enhance understanding of student unrest. To this end, Mr. Bohlen and I have recommended that the Foreign Service Institute include a seminar on this subject and reinforce their treatment of student unrest in selected other courses.

Attachments:

As stated

Copies:

U - Mr. Katzenbach  
G - Mr. Bohlen  
CU - Mr. Re  
INR - Mr. Hughes  
AF - Mr. Palmer  
ARA - Mr. Vaky  
EA - Mr. Bundy  
EUR - Mr. Leddy  
NEA - Mr. Hart

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IMPRESSIONS CONCERNING  
INTERNATIONAL STUDENT UNREST

I

Comment from our diplomatic missions concerning "Generalizations on Student Unrest" and "General Action Recommendations on Student Unrest", confirms that student unrest is indeed a significant factor now in upwards of thirty countries and a potentially active element in at least as many more. Centers of active and potential unrest exist on all continents, although their scope, objectives and motivations differ appreciably.

Many of the generalizations contained in the papers referred to above were found to apply in part in most of the countries experiencing this phenomenon, but special cases were pointed out where they did not. Some felt, for example, that the students should be given less credit for the sincerity of their motivations; others felt that more attention should be paid to the attitudes of students through the establishment of a dialogue with them. Several Missions pointed out the degree to which student groups had been used for their own purposes by outside political parties. Amembassy Singapore replied that the generalizations were essentially irrelevant to local conditions -- that a combination of surveillance, "no-nonsense" toughness, and maximum engagement of students in "Kraft durch Freude" policies had overcome a long history of student unrest.

It is evident, in any event, that a sufficiently sophisticated understanding for use in policy/program formulation and execution requires a geographically more particularized approach and continuing attention by our reporting officers. The greatest contribution of this study has been, I believe, to focus our Missions' attention on this problem and to stimulate search in the field for suitable lines of

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action. The study has served to increase appreciably the fund of information available to the Department pertaining to student unrest and to enhance the understanding on the part of the Department's officers who have directly participated in the study. There is still, however, a considerable lag in the understanding in the Department, compared with the understanding of officers in the field. The Department should seek to sustain the field's attention to the attitudes and concerns of students -- and other "outs", while undertaking to achieve a broader understanding of these matters among its own officers.

## II

There has been some question as to whether student unrest constitutes an isolatable phenomenon that can be distinguished from more general unrest or, alternatively, from considerations applying more generally to youth. The results of our investigations confirm, I believe, that student unrest is usefully seen as a separate element of youth and the broader local society with which, of course, it interacts.

Student unrest derives its distinct character in large part from the community of values, interests and physical proximity that comprises the student body of a university, reinforced by the similarity of attitudes of other student "communities" within a given society. Among these student bodies there are, of course, elements of heterogeneity, however, there usually emerges a consensus which may or may not be representative of other elements of the society. Given close contact within the university student community and a relative lack of compelling commitments that would restrain or divert the student, he constitutes a distinct force when aroused. Although there is in many cases a breakdown in communications with the student, as has been pointed out by many papers, channels of communication do in most cases exist if there is a will to use them.

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Our study would also suggest that it is fallacy to identify student attitudes with those of youth in general. In both developed and under-developed countries, where student dissidence has been a verifiable phenomenon, there has been no consistent pattern of involvement of non-student or even secondary school student youth. Demographic figures demonstrating the magnitude of the percentage of a society that is constituted by youth, while often superficially impressive, e.g.:

"In Niger, 54% of the population is less than 20 years old; in Venezuela, 72% of the population is less than 30 years old"

are of themselves unrelated to the phenomenon of student unrest. The proportion of youth in society becomes a factor in student unrest when part of a broader equation involving, among other things, aspiration to higher education, adequacy of school facilities (as viewed in a local, rather than absolute, context), and capacity of educational facilities.

### III

In exploring the motivations and objectives that appear to have been involved in recent incidents of student unrest we found no single common denominator, although certain tendencies frequently reappeared. Thus, despite the publicity attending demonstrations over certain national or international issues, the great majority of student disturbances are over shortcomings perceived in the local university -- its administration, curriculum, student facilities, entrance and professional standard, or even the adequacy of student stipends. On the other hand, the causal relationship between university conditions and national or international issues as grounds for student unrest is often difficult to discern -- often a "which

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came first, the chicken or the egg" dilemma confronts us. (An appendix to this report summarizes apparent student motives in those countries where student unrest has been pronounced.)

Among critics of the university, we could isolate no universal standard. Thus, that which American students find unacceptable may be that to which students of another society aspire. While students in one society may demonstrate against inadequacies in their education, in others the complaint may be over excessively severe academic standards. One may, however, hazard a few qualified generalizations.

Related to dissatisfaction with the local university system, both in developed and under-developed areas, was usually the student demand for greater participation in the decisions affecting the curriculum and the administration of the university. In countries where the curriculum is based on that of the pre-independence colonial power or on another foreign model, the students are apt to press for its modifications in favor of national traditions and circumstances. In countries with a recent colonial tradition and in Latin America, university reform programs which were known to have been developed with foreign technical advice, especially those which were regarded as tightening academic standards, tended to provoke the students.

The presence of a significant number of professors from the colonial power was unpopular in newly independent countries, notably in Francophone Africa; in Ethiopia, American professors were a target of demonstrations. In more developed countries, the students objected to the remoteness and seeming disinterest of the faculty; students in these areas have sought to overcome what they regard as rigid specialization required by the curriculum -- although much of the latter dissent appeared to be concentrated among liberal arts students, rather than in the technical schools or departments.

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Among the factors which greatly complicate distinguishing between university-related dissatisfaction and that which is directed against the central government or international issues are: the tendency of public notice to attach disproportionately to the latter theme; appreciable variations in prevalence and nature of ideological underpinnings to student dissent; differences in the motives of the leaders and followers in a given disorder; and the tendency of alienation and disorder to transfer from one object to another. Moreover, whereas in some situations and/or countries, unrest directed at national issues has developed from more locally-oriented dissatisfaction, in others the reverse appears to have occurred.

It is also important to distinguish between organized demonstrations against issues which are relatively abstract in objective, e.g., a protest march in a European country against U.S. Viet-Nam policy, and those demonstrations or disorders which reflect real "gut" feelings against the local or national authorities (to include those which protest aspects of the dissenter's own country's foreign policy).

Leaving aside for the moment the tactics and revolutionary objectives of the New Left and other ideologically imbued activists, there is a general tendency for pronounced and unrelieved dissatisfaction with local conditions to become directed at the national authorities and at elements of the local political system that appear unresponsive to the students' felt needs. This tendency is sharply heightened when student demonstrations or organizations collide directly with national authorities. Thus, the nature of the official response to essentially local or specific complaints will usually determine whether the latter escalates into anti-government alienation. In small countries where the central government is in almost direct contact with the student, this escalation is almost inevitable -- when combined with severe dissatisfaction over school conditions.

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A related, but special source of tension between students and the authorities exists in those countries, notably in Latin America, where university autonomy is popularly regarded as tantamount to extra-territoriality. Invasion of the university, however necessary to the restoration of law and order, is apt to represent an issue over and above whatever may have initially provoked disorder.

Where they concern fundamental national issues (Kashmir in India and Pakistan, Viet-Nam among Americans, Israel among Arabs, rearmament in Japan, etc.) or when confronted with maladroit handling by the authorities -- often deliberately provoked by radical leaders -- student protests over international questions may exercise a significant influence on their governments' freedom of action. In other cases the demonstrations will ordinarily have little impact on national stability, or more than a marginal impact on a country's foreign policy. We must, therefore, in attempting to predict the outcome in particular situations, distinguish between these fundamental and those more tangential international issues.

#### IV

The New Left is an amorphous group whose beliefs contain vague elements of Marxian-influenced nihilism and anarchism, and whose idols include revolutionary figures such as Mao and Che Guevara. It has become in recent years such a special feature of student unrest that there is a tendency to identify them indiscriminately. As implied in the foregoing section, we have found this to be inaccurate.

While actively present in Western Europe and the United States, and at a more incipient level in Japan and in a few Latin American countries (e.g., Mexico, Uruguay, and Brazil), they represent a small and unknown percentage of the student population. They are, nonetheless, because of their

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evangelistic tendencies and the efficacy of their methods, often an important element of student unrest. With student exchanges and modern communications their attitudes are gaining broader national and international currency.

We sense that the emergence of the attitudes associated with the New Left are indicative of a historical turning point in national attitudes. We are unable to understand the full ramifications of this intuition, but we suggest that a major contributing factor is the relative absence of broadly accepted national concerns that would foster a stronger "nationalism" or "patriotism", in their traditional sense. If there is any common thread underlying the New Left, it is a marked lack of such attitudes. Perhaps it was the prosperity of the sixties, the seeming recent decline in the Soviet threat, and disillusionment with their country's national purposes that have contributed most to this situation. (The appended bibliography lists several books and articles which treat with the New Left at greater length.)

For our immediate purposes, the salient features of this "movement" include the revolutionist attitudes of its more extreme adherents; its antipathy toward all institutionalized vested interest, which it regards as inimical to the best interests of society at large; its opposition both to traditional (Moscow-oriented) Communism and to the established national political order, which it condemns as representing vested interest; and its conspiratorial justification of its recourse to dubious means by reference to its ends.

A corollary of these characteristics is hostility toward the United States Government, which is viewed as a particularly pernicious complex of vested interests and as influencing and supporting the political establishment of

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the local government. Thus, it becomes evident that little hope exists for constructive dialogue with its more extreme activists, either on the part of the national authorities or of representatives of the U.S.

V

The Communist role in student unrest is considerably more often alleged than confirmed. As indicated above, the activist New Left is essentially anti-Communist (in its orthodox sense), and nationalist attitudes and events such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia have reinforced this tendency. Moreover, in a number of countries -- including many of the Moscow-leaning governments of the Third World -- the government has sought to identify and inhibit individuals who might serve as agents of a conspiracy to substitute a Communist regime in their place, while taking a less arbitrary posture vis-a-vis ordinary student zealots.

There is no clear pattern of Communist instigation in the spate of student disorders that have erupted in recent years. We have numerous indications that Moscow, and certain Moscow-oriented Communist parties, actually opposed on doctrinal grounds certain major student uprisings, e.g. in France, Belgium, and West Berlin. We have also perceived a natural gap in the attitudes and interests of a large number of student activists and the dogma of orthodox Communism or Socialism.

To what extent then does student unrest draw inspiration from Communism or foster Communist purposes in non-Communist countries? The answers to these questions, as to many relating to student unrest, must be found in specific situations, however, a few loose generalizations are possible.

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We have already observed that students in much of the world share a Marxist-influenced orientation; thus the analyst will frequently encounter student attitudes that parallel Communist doctrine. The alienated student also often shares with the Communist (in a non-Communist society) hostility toward the existing order. This does not escape the Communist agitators, who may seek to cultivate or infiltrate a student group or movement

In Ethiopia, for example, the resident Eastern Europeans have actively cultivated the local intelligensia and students. As suggested above, however, in countries where the official CP line is to cooperate with the government, Moscow's influence -- even in Communist-dominated student organizations -- is apt to be momentarily opposed to student disorder directed against the national government, while perhaps using confrontation tactics on valid grievances at the local level. This phenomenon appeared particularly evident in several countries of Latin America -- i.e., Colombia, Uruguay, Venezuela and to some degree Chile-- where the Communist Party has made major inroads in student organizations. (On the other hand, there are indications that the CP in Mexico acted to exacerbate the disorders aimed at the national government.)

This doctrinal restraint has contributed to a growing number of would-be or former Moscow-Communist student activists turning toward the revolutionary tenets of Peking and Havana. Given its relatively rudimentary apparatus outside of Asia and parts of Africa, Peking has not been in a real position to exploit this affinity. Government security and the still potent Moscow CP faction have tended to limit the advance of organized Cuban efforts of penetration in Latin America.

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VI

Having discussed the student activists of the New Left and more traditional Communism, a further category of student leader should be noted -- the aspiring or apprentice leader of a legitimate political party. This type of leader is common in Latin America, Scandinavia, and in some Islamic countries of the Near East.

While apt to be more radical than the greyer heads of his party, the leader of a student faction of a national party is apt to be relatively more responsible than the revolutionist New Left or Peking/Havana-oriented leader. However, in countries with a tradition of political violence, these young politicians may be superficially indistinguishable from their extremist counterparts. Moreover, the example of New Left-inspired confrontation appears to exercise a growing influence on this category of activist.

VII

As suggested earlier, it remains important to distinguish between the extreme and conspicuous activists and the more moderate, albeit momentarily aroused, mass. For, while the leaders espouse views which tend to be accepted by many of their associates, the majority of the latter do not share their ultimate revolutionary objectives. Similarly, the more radical activists often seize upon an issue, however parochial, that is popular among the broader student body, to turn it to their revolutionary purposes.

Thus it should be the objective of those confronted with student unrest to avoid accidents which play into the extremists' revolutionary purposes.

VIII

In our "generalizations" papers, we emphasized the essentially constructive impact of student unrest, while outlining circumstance when student disorders might be

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significantly disruptive or harmful to U.S. interests. Our subsequent examination, influenced importantly by the comments of our Missions, has led us to a more guarded view of the constructive potential of student unrest. This modification is based principally on a greater understanding of the objectives and tactics of the more radical elements of the New Left and of the occasional Communist student leader/organizer; we have developed some grudging respect for their ability to turn legitimate grievances into efforts at political disruption.

Several posts have also pointed out the frequent egoistic attitude of student leaders and the strong element of opportunism that determines their choice of causes. Often they care less for the real relevance of a cause -- than whether it will get the students out in the streets. Often the student organization is used as a vehicle for the exhibitions of would-be political leaders. Often power is sought for power's sake -- and the seeking of it made a dangerous game in which the consequences to society and the university are disregarded.

As the most vigorous and unrestrained element of society, the students are often the "trigger" for events that are destined to happen anyway -- the pounding force that eventually breaks down the resistance of the status quo. Students are in a favored position for political activism and as such can do harm as well as good. They have the advantage of being able to form and reform their organization and alliances without the hindrance of an entrenched bureaucracy.

We would counsel strongly, however, against carrying this point too far -- against allowing the superficial unattractiveness of student disorder or the occasional "card carrying" Communist association to provoke an uncritically hostile bias. There is no question but that the Communist and Free Worlds contain a variety of shortcomings that

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foster legitimate grievances. Even much of the student protests that are cynically motivated constitutes useful pressure for reform. The more serious disruptive capability of the disorders is limited by the ultimate conservatism of much of the student body, the reluctance of other segments of society to support actively the student dissidents, and limited sanctions available to the university and state. Above all, we must not overlook the dangers of being out of touch with those who will certainly have an important effect on future events.

### IX

A particular factor in undertaking this study was the phenomenal concurrent outbreak of student disturbance without regard to continental or national borders. A principal question asked was, "Why all this unrest now?"

While numerous local elements doubtless have contributed to the current phenomenon, only a handful of factors appear to have broad relevance. First and foremost, student unrest is not novel. Indeed, as we stated in our preliminary generalizations, there was a great deal of student unrest earlier in this century -- most notably in Latin America but also in a number of colonial areas and in pre-Revolutionary Russia. The operative question should therefore be rephrased, "Are there any distinguishing characteristics of contemporary student unrest?"

The tentative answer, like most which relate to student unrest, must be sought on different levels. Certainly, some contemporary disorders are essentially no different from those of previous years. Measured against the criterion of overturning a government, none of last year's eruptions -- with the debatable exception of Belgium -- compared with those of 1960 in Turkey and Korea. Thus, our acute awareness

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of current unrest is doubtless attributable to our heightened perception of the phenomenon, resulting from recent experiences here and in Western Europe.

The principal ingredients in the current situation are believed to be the evolution of the attitudes associated with the New Left -- still rather limited -- and the present level of communications which regularly expose the more mundanely disaffected student to the example of the new radicalism. For example, the Free University of Berlin first became activated in emulation of the protests at Berkeley.

The other major new qualitative element is that of the national liberation movements, which have had a pronounced influence both on the New Left and on other alienated student groups. While in general the ideological underpinnings of these movements have not been wholly accepted, their tactics have, in varying degree, been emulated by student activists.

Concurrently, encouraged by example of the developed world's more radical students and of the "Robin Hoods" of the national liberation movements, students in less developed parts of the world have resorted increasingly to confrontation to redress various perceived ills or inadequacies. The nature of these issues is identified in an appendix; what distinguishes much of this type of student disorder from that of the New Left or that of at least part of the Communist-inspired activists is that its objective is amelioration of a particular situation or change of policy within the existing political system. As local expectations in the less-developed world grow, these disorders will probably increase in intensity and frequency; as the local student community becomes more sophisticated, the influence of the New Left should expand.

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X

Mission response to our circular underscored our earlier assessment that without the active support of other important segments of society student movements are relatively impotent in their efforts to overturn a government. Moreover, as indicated in an earlier section of this report, there is a marked tendency for other disaffected elements of power in society (e.g. labor, the military) to suspect or resist student overtures for alliance. For example, the divergence of interests, military discipline and the military structure have tended to render efforts to ally with the military generally ineffective.

There have, of course, been notable exceptions when an alliance of convenience or mutuality of interest was effectively forged -- and when confronted by a nonviable government they ended with the overthrow of the regime. The activists of the New Left appear to have learned this lesson and -- for the most part with little success -- they have undertaken in several countries to improve their liaison with labor or other disaffected groups.

Parts of the local student community and some student organizations have also proved resistant to the incitements of their extremist colleagues, and we have encountered a number of illustrations in Turkey, Germany, and Italy -- to name a few -- where underlying conservatism and growing awareness of the radicals' purposes has modified or thwarted the latter.

There is also a wider element of society in many countries that, because of vested interest, different values, or essential conservatism, may actively resist the students' initiatives. As we suggested in our earlier paper, there exists in this resistance the potential for severe rightist reaction. To date, this has not been a major factor

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in most countries experiencing student unrest, (interestingly, in Japan, where student disorders have become traditional in recent years, our Mission discerns little evidence of such reaction), but its growing presence has been noted in, inter alia, Turkey, Brazil, Germany and Italy.

XI

Several posts, notably in less-developed countries of Africa, have suggested that student returnees from exposure to radicalism abroad present an actual or potential source of unrest. This would seem logical, but we are unaware of any substantial evidence corroborating this thesis. We would hope that our Missions would examine this more closely, and to include in their study the role of the returnee from Eastern European countries and Communist China.

XII

Lines of Action:

Our Missions agreed unanimously that there is "little that the U.S. Government can or should do about student unrest" -- and that we should in general regard it as "part of a country's internal affairs." Within the confines of this caveat, however, there were several recurring suggestions for helpful action, as well as a number of ideas for local application.

The most frequently and forcefully cited theme was the need for greater stress on cultural exchange programs. Many decried the FY 69 reduction in the cultural budget and advocated a minimum restoration of previous levels. Although the frequency of this recommendation speaks for itself, posts generally refrained from justifying in more than the most general terms how or what type of exchange programs would relate to student unrest -- and to what ends.

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There were, however, qualified exceptions. Tokyo convincingly argued the desirability of exposing Japanese educators to the American university system as a step toward encouraging modernization of the Japanese university system; Djakarta cited the changed (more favorable) attitudes toward the United States and the "well-nigh insatiable thirst" for new ideas and techniques, in supporting allocation of more leader grants for key personalities and student-to-student contacts. This would "help Indonesians to better understand the strengths and weaknesses of their own society and their place in it."

On the other hand, a few posts suggested that exposure to more radical campuses might imbue the foreign exchange student with radical attitudes. We have also learned of individual foreign students who have returned from the United States with anti-U.S. bias. Perhaps an "Emperor's new clothes" examination of the relationship of student exchange to student alienation would be useful.

Numerous foreign universities have "twinning" arrangements with American institutions; Amembassy Djakarta suggested that such private university to university ties would be constructive. This proposal is appealing; we believe that the Department should increasingly encourage and facilitate this type of arrangement.

Many posts agreed that there was a requirement for greater liaison with the student sector, as a step toward better understanding of their attitudes and purposes. A number of Missions complained that this had been difficult under previous staffing allocations, but that as a result of BALPA the attrition among the younger officers most naturally suited to student affairs was particularly handicapping.

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Our impressions support this complaint fully. All Missions, but especially those where students constitute a clear and present political force, should have adequate numbers of junior officers assigned and so employed as to make maximum use of their special age-related talents. Even in the face of personnel ceilings, we must recognize that no modern diplomatic post can meet its need to sense the tendencies in the society without some young, motivated, emphatic officers to do the personal contact work upon which primary-source data and mood acquisition depend.

Embassy Seoul proposed the convening of a conference of educators from countries where there is student unrest as a catalyst for constructive action and Tokyo is considering a conference bringing together Japanese, American, and European educators. In October Amembassy Paris sponsored a Franco-American colloquium of professors and student leaders to examine the May disorders which appears to have been quite successful. We believe conferences such as these, preferably under regional auspices, would be most useful and should be encouraged.

Several Missions in under-developed countries recommended the utility of our giving more active support to sports activities abroad, both as an outlet for youthful energies and as good public relations. They suggested we contribute equipment and provide exposure to leading American athletes. While this would have at best marginal impact in the more developed countries and may be nothing more than disguised attempts to divert youth from the real problems of the country, more thoroughly formulated proposals of this nature merit consideration for selected less-developed countries.

A number of suggestions concerned the development of media programs more closely attuned to the interests of students abroad. Amembassies Warsaw and Tunis advocated

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such programming for Voice of America, i.e., programs dealing frankly with the attitudes of American youth and the broadcasting of modern youth-oriented music. These suggestions were forwarded to USIA which is in the process of implementing them.

A few posts recommended the preparation of a packet of materials on American youth for reference within our Missions, and USIA has already distributed this. Amembassy Helsinki requested the preparation of a "youth packet" for distribution to a sophisticated European student audience. USIA has also informed us that it has purchased and made available to the field six experimental films by young filmmakers. These and other examples of the latest in American art and literature are receiving, we are told, increasing emphasis in USIA's media output. We would underscore the importance of these media measures and the opportunity they offer.

Most posts appear to agree that there is relatively little that can be achieved through grey or black propaganda in improving attitudes toward the United States. Several have commented that such propagandistic efforts on our part are apt to be discerned as such by foreign students and would have an essentially negative impact. Several also suggested, in effect, that real conditions in the United States speak so loudly that the foreign students can't hear our propaganda.

Missions in countries where we have small or no assistance programs saw little operational application in our earlier comments on university reform, although most conceded the need for local reforms. For the most part, our other Missions felt that through facilitating of educational exchange and conferences we might exercise some constructive influence, but almost all were chary of inviting charges of U.S. interference. We also found that in several countries where U.S. technical advisors had been instrumental in elaborating educational reforms

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(Guatemala and Colombia), the local students had rejected these reforms, in part because of the U.S. role and in part because they toughened standards.

We have not been especially encouraged by our Missions' reactions to proposals for the channeling of student unrest into more constructive areas. While our Western European posts agree that youth in that part of the world favors greater European unity, they see little grounds for hope that the present crop of activists will be diverted from their opposition to the national order. Nor has the establishment of a German Peace Corps had a particularly ameliorative effect on German students.

In Southeast Asia and Africa, however, enlistment of students in rural development has shown some promise in redirecting student energies constructively. The enlistment of university students in the Philippines and Thailand as poll watchers helped "keep the elections honest" and reinforced student attachment to democratic processes. Thus, without expecting dramatic results, we would counsel in favor of continuing to be alert for and to support possibilities for engaging students in essentially constructive endeavor.

Several of our Missions asked that they be better informed on the student situation in the United States and in neighboring countries. To this end, USIA has prepared a bibliography, which we attach, and posts have been advised to give wider lateral distribution to their student unrest reporting. More importantly, however, all available evidence points to the fact that the average officer in overseas service, as well as the typical desk officer in Washington, simply does not have the background or training necessary to function effectively in this youth and student field. Specific, professional training (not merely orientation) in student organizations, attitudes, political consequences, international movements, etc. is needed. Mr. Bohlen and I have therefore recommended that FSI organize a new seminar to meet this need.

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On balance, we conclude that there is relatively little that the United States can do on a short-term basis to defend itself against the sometimes adverse consequences of student unrest. We should concentrate on the long-term aspects of the problem, improving our understanding so that our limited resources are applied wisely and responsibly. Moreover, to the extent that the disaffected student tends to articulate the concerns of the moderate masses, he provides the discerning observer with indicators of future social and political trends.

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MOTIVATIONS OF STUDENT UNREST

AFRICA

Congo (B)

July '68 meeting of Congolese student association strongly criticized government and urged party purge. Student union allied with Chicom-Cuban-influenced party jeunesse in the ensuing clash with Massemba-Debat; president of student association named to membership of National Council of Revolution. Students reflect national political issues with leadership actively involved in political infighting between contending factions.

Congo (K)

Student strikes at Louvanium and Kissingani universities in late '68 basically caused by student dissatisfaction with regime which they consider corrupt and not "revolutionary". Students also concerned with university issues such as living conditions at the universities and job opportunities.

Ethiopia

Mission reports, "Psychological situation of educated Ethiopian youth is one of extreme frustration." Pride in past. Long history of student connection with anti-regime activity. Impatience with present slow pace. Dissatisfaction with authoritarian rule. Student demonstrations in April and November 1968, which sought increased independence for student organizations, and criticized foreign (U.S.) influence in university, embarrassed the Emperor, even if they did not shake his regime. Future development of unrest and its expression is likely.

Ghana

University student clashes with police and subsequent student boycotts in October 1968 were prompted by dissatisfaction with university administration and alleged victimiza-

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tion of students. Since Nkrumah overthrow in 1966, little connection between students and political activity, but probable that students will become active in national political issues as military government allows more political activity.

#### Morocco

Unrest in November and December 1968 of several thousand students at secondary and teacher training schools. Issues primarily school-oriented, e.g., increased scholarships. Student issues are more concerned with academic issues than national or international. Pressure for student role in direction of university.

#### Senegal

The May-June 1968 disorders at the University of Dakar were triggered by protests over a cut in government stipends for students, but were clearly influenced by the example in Paris and other parts of the world. As in Paris, the Senegalese students managed to gain the support of the secondary students and the workers, with the result that full-scale government attention and police action were necessary to quell the riots. In Senegal, however, the basic causes of the disturbances were derived from the problems of education in an underdeveloped country. It remains to be seen whether the proposed reform and Africanization of the university will satisfy the students.

#### South Africa

Student activities of any kind in South Africa operate within the bounds of an extremely restricted society whose laws are designed to maintain the system of apartheid. Student demonstrations have been aimed at preventing further encroachment on their right to operate freely on an integrated basis. Both the sit-in strike by the integrated National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) and the protest at the all-Black African Fort Hare University probably came as a great surprise to the government.

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Sudan

After period of quiescence following the 1964 student uprising that toppled the government, demonstrations in November 1968 showed continued potential for student unrest. Dissatisfaction over treatment of a mortally wounded student expanded into protests over the administration of university dormitories and of the government's medical service and over the Cabinet inattentiveness to the country's problems. A proposal to down-grade graduates of Khartoum Technical Institute provoked a violent student protest and sit-in. Other issues: student unrest reflected and intensified existing domestic political divisions; lack of curriculum relevance.

Tunisia

March 1968 riots erupted over arrest of students charged with participating in riots over Middle East crisis in June 1967. Issues: students more activist than their elders (on government policy) on Middle East and Vietnam. Considerable Communist input and friction between student activists and attempted control of student affairs by the PSD, the governing political party. Severity of government handling of unrest spells trouble for the future.

EAST ASIA

Hong Kong

The cloud over Hong Kong's future inhibits the development of young anti-communist leadership. Conversely, the U.S. mission reports that, "The only political leadership potential that has shown itself amongst the youth is Communist." Hong Kong is seen as subject to severe disorders in which youth will be deeply involved, but for causes that will be defined by the Chinese Communist leadership.

Indonesia

Despite the major role played by student elements in the ouster of Sukarno, the students and their organizations

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are not currently engaged in unrest. Their organizations are affiliates of political parties and their principal concerns are with conventional economic and political national issues. The majority seek protection of their influence and interests; a minority advocate pragmatic, evolutionary modernization. This potential for unrest could grow significantly, therefore, if the Suharto Government fails to make appreciable progress in improving the serious economic situation. University reform has not been a source of organized discontent.

### Japan

New university-level students gravitate to student political activism--usually Marxist in orientation--in search of personal identity, but many tend to withdraw during the latter part of their university careers. The intensity of activism is greatly heightened by competition among various student factions. While there is evidence that Japanese youth seeks social adjustment in favor of itself and demonstrates growing frustration with the educational employment system local university issues have only recently become significant. These include reduction of fees at private colleges and increased student participation--the revolutionist minority advocates a system of joint student body-university administration consultation. Hitherto the principal themes of unrest were directed at the issues of war and peace (as they concern Japan) and US-Japan relations, and more particularly at protecting the "Peace Constitution" and opposing "re-militarization."

### Philippines

Youth in the Philippines is not now an active force. But because youth accounts for such a large portion of the total population (2/3 are under age 25), it is necessarily courted by the country's elected officials. The mission reports that "Perhaps the most fundamental problem of youth is that the... educational system lacks the structure, content, and even the concepts necessary to train the youth of the country for the jobs that need to be done..." The result of this situation is a growing number of students who have striven to gain education but who find themselves

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unemployed and with no reasonable prospects for the future... "It seems obvious that the college and university campuses of the Philippines, with their half-million students, are a potential breeding ground for communist subversive activities." Moreover, nationalistic sentiment among more politically active students reflects growing anti-US Asian policy, anti-US bases sentiment.

## EUROPE

### Belgium

In the Mission view, student unrest is part of broader social and political foment. The extremists, Belgian student activists and their followers, New Left in orientation and "a tiny minority of the student population," tend to reject the "mass consumption society" characteristic of the country. Their angst is believed to be fed by the absence of charismatic political leaders (national or international) with whom they can identify, a recession of traditional authority in the local society, and by the lack of an estimable political counterpart to discredited Communism and other traditional political systems--the U.S. is seen as lacking both charismatic leadership and moral authority. The recent demonstrations of the Flemish students at Louvain University over the linguistic issue helped provoke the longest government crisis in Belgium political history, but it did so because the students were able to "associate their activity with more broadly-based issues and contending factions."

### Czechoslovakia

Students have been a major force for political and economic liberalization. Presently under restraint as the liberal government seeks to achieve a constructive balance VS. Soviet-imposed conservatism, they present a potential for major disorder if Stalinist forces emerge predominant.

### France

While New Left is vocal and while large number of students share much of New Left's philosophical biases

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fundamental dissatisfaction is with Napoleonic university system--administration, curriculum, plant, and standards. Stabilization of student community will depend on progress with promised reforms, and tensions are again rising. Especially worrisome element to the government is the continued failure of the moderates to mount effective opposition to the extremists.

#### Germany

Principal dissatisfaction is with present university system--usually directed at reform of aspects of specific institutions rather than system as a whole (except for "anti-everything" New Left). Desires for university reform include greater participation in University administration and determination of curriculum. Several organizations seek improved or special professional status for graduates in their fields. Also, widespread sensitivity to Nazi past and concern over anti-democratic forces in government has been exacerbated, during past two years, by frustration of normal democratic procedures through existence of Grand Coalition cabinet. At more esoteric level, there is strong humanitarian sentiment on Viet-Nam, Biafra and Greece. All of foregoing is exploited by New Left minority which is revolutionist, anti-U.S., anti-NATO, and anti-Moscow.

#### Italy

Given their long radical tradition, student opposition is natural to the archaic educational system, for which "too little-too late" reform measures are under consideration in Parliament. A recently organized radical student movement aspires to university reform and definition of revolutionary ideology, but has thus far demonstrated little coherence. Leftist radicals are partially offset by student counter-movement, supported by adult conservatives, which creates a potential for student inter-factional violence.

#### Spain

According to the US mission, "the university youth, non-regime labor groups, young intellectuals, professionals and younger clergy are restless and working for basic structural change." Past unrest has been motivated primarily

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by student issues--university reform involving greater student participation in administration and free student associations, but last year agitation embodied increased anti-Franco tone. Also reported is a higher level of anti-Americanism among youth, owing both to the US military presence in Spain and to the war in Vietnam. The mission posits two situations in either of which severe student unrest might well be manifested: severe economic downturn in Spain or the death of Franco.

#### Sweden

Comprises a highly vocal, small minority of students, whose radicalism probably is motivated significantly by reaction to the sharply hierarchical, middle-class character of Swedish society and wins a broadly sympathetic response on idealistically founded international issues--anti-US foreign policy, especially Viet-Nam, anti-South Africa and apartheid, anti-Rhodesia, anti-Greek military regime. Pervasive "feeling among Swedish youth of uneasiness and dissatisfaction" contributes to more general amenability toward demonstrations. Principal local/national issue is student resistance to university reform involving tightening of matriculation requirements. Potential plus, from stand-point of U.S. interest, lies with broad student support for increase in humanitarian foreign aid.

#### Yugoslavia

Student unrest appears to derive from dissatisfaction with: (1) conditions of student life and university management, poor food in student mess halls; (2) prospects for employment and a voice in management following graduation; and (3) evidences that certain segments of Yugoslavia's "classless" society are reaping rewards disproportionate to their inputs into the work of the country. This unrest seems directed at improving the existing order in the country. It does not appear directed at overthrowing the existing establishment. Moreover, in all probability it has been stimulated by demonstration of student unrest elsewhere.

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LATIN AMERICA

Bolivia

Student unrest, traditional in Bolivia, is under predominantly Communist leadership, whose attitudes are described by the Mission as "generally anarcho-libertarian if not licentious." University reform is their principal expressed objective--better teaching and facilities, greater government disbursements to education, ending of "undemocratic" entrance examinations, closure of private schools, elimination of US influence from the educational system. Bolivia has recently also suffered student unrest at the secondary level, stemming from what the mission regards as serious inadequacies in school facilities.

Brazil

A personalist, deeply distrustful of altruism and suspicious of all institutions, the Brazilian student is becoming more avant garde and modern in outlook. He is also increasingly realistic and nationalistic in his political viewpoint. While steadfastly anti-imperialist, particularly in matters relating to his education and culture, he is more aware of the basic problems facing Brazil.

After nearly two years of anti-Vietnam and anti-US-Brizilian Education Agreement demonstrations, recent student unrest has tended to focus primarily on its own crisis in leadership and the heavy-hand of government control including the ban on organized student activities.

Colombia

University reform is the central student issue. The Mission regards this as "supremely legitimate", but notes that the "Moscow-line Communists" are the most effective group protesting university shortcomings and will introduce peripheral grievances when it suits their political objectives, i.e., protecting the diversion of two professors to training Peace Corps volunteers. Among particular student complaints are inadequate facilities, outmoded curricula, part-time professors. Demonstrations have occurred in favor of re-instituting make-up examinations, and a decree (since suspended) establishing a restructuring of higher

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education on the U.S. educational model under closer supervision and guidance of the Education Ministry--the program was also attacked as an "imperialist plot" because of the role of U.S. advisors in its development.

### Guatemala

In the Mission view, student unrest is more a function of Castroite-leftist radicals, aiming at destruction of traditional institutions, than of sincere reaction to existing evils. The outstanding episode of student unrest in the last months was in opposition to a major academic reform, instituted with U.S. technical advice, that tightened academic requirements.

### Mexico

Rarely until the 1968 disturbance was student unrest directed against the national government. University and other local issues have been the principal reasons for most student demonstrations or disorders--increases in bus fares, refusal of theaters to give student discounts, protests against or in favor of removal of a professor or rector etc. To a lesser extent international issues have provoked demonstration--usually anti-U.S. in nature--over Cuba, Viet-Nam, the Dominican Republic. Although the Mission does not see the same degree of social alienation as is present in the advanced countries, it believes the trend now is increasingly in that direction. Traditionally anti-American, the student activists evince increasing interest in the Cuban or Maoist Chinese model. A continuing issue, exacerbated during the events of 1968 is the definition of university autonomy, with considerable student sentiment in favor of virtual extra-territoriality.

### Peru

Peruvian students have conceived of themselves, since the 1920's at least, as "the conscience of reform and revolution." They are heavily influenced by Marxism and most of the student organizations have passed under the control of Peking-line communists. Campus violence is common. The students are anti-imperialist, which means anti-U.S. Distrust of the United States only deepen with

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increasing American assistance to the Peruvian Government, inasmuch as the students see this relationship as one more support for the Peruvian establishment. The American mission reports that conditions are unstable and that there is a good chance of severe unrest. Interestingly, while the declared objectives of the new military government are similar to professed student attitudes, the students demonstrated briefly against the "illegal" overthrow of the elected government.

### Uruguay

The Mission notes a growing influence of anarchist and nihilist groups both at the secondary and university levels. Moscow-oriented Communism remains powerful in student movements, but seems to be losing its attractiveness. The "sluggishness" of the political process and the present economic depression play a much greater role than international events in causing student unrest...which here has seldom been accompanied by realistic or constructive proposals for change." The university authorities escape the brunt of unrest, which tends to be directed against the "oligarchic domination of the country" and what the students view as "an immoral and unjust overall distribution of wealth and power."

## NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

### India

Indian Youth is not well organized, and is divided internally over regional issues. On the other hand, they are generally dissatisfied with the pace of development, are disaffected from the policies of the government and aspire to greater student participation in university affairs. The Mission comments, "Undercurrents of disaffection are growing in India, and local eruptions of disorder can be expected at any time."

### Pakistan

Underlying specific demands for university reform (lowering of certain academic standards, greater student benefits, student participation in administration, leniency

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toward student activists, etc.) which have been met part way by President Ayub, is an antipathy toward authoritarianism, both on national and university issues. Deeply held anti-Indian and American, and pro-Peking sentiment circumscribe government's freedom of maneuver.

#### Turkey

Dissatisfaction with the school system provides a groundwork for student activism. Student participation, reform of the curriculum and the examination system are major objectives. In addition, the largest university student groups are led by "leftists who pride themselves on anti-US positions; " therefore, even if the local issues are resolved, the US will still meet with considerable hostility among the intellectuals. There are, however, indications that the majority of students are currently disinclined to follow these leaders in more political and extremist activities.

#### United Arab Republic

Widespread disorder in late 1968, which included secondary level students, was triggered by tightening of educational standards and grew as other student groups demonstrated in support of student victims of police discipline. Mission believes a "very deep malaise and distrust of authority" underlies this unrest, fed by dissatisfaction with progress vs. Israel, national development, etc.

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*File: Student Unrest*

# AIRGRAM

*Pol 13-23a*

FOR RM USE ONLY

RM	REF	AF
1		5
ARA	EUR	5
10	6	5
NEA	CU	5
10	3	5
	F	5
	2	5
	FBO	5
		5
	COM	5
		5
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	10	5
DSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
		NSC
		6

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : ALL AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State ltr. 8/2/78  
By Shu, NARS, Date 8/19/78

FROM : Department of State

DATE: SEP 3 9 50 AM '68

SUBJECT : Student Unrest

REF : State 186094 (NOTAL)

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

The Secretary has reviewed and approved for dispatch to Chiefs of Mission the enclosed papers on "Generalizations on Student Unrest" and "General Action Recommendations on Student Unrest". These papers were prepared in the Department on the basis of all information on this question available, including recent replies prepared for the Student Unrest Group in response to the referenced message. Addressees will shortly also receive an INR Research Memorandum which summarizes and analyzes field reporting on this subject and which was referred to in the preparation of the enclosed papers.

Your comments on the enclosures are requested, as are your specific recommendations for action that the Department or other agencies might appropriately take to implement these guidelines. Your replies should be captioned "For Student Unrest Group".

Enclosures:

1. Generalizations on Student Unrest
2. General Action Recommendations on Student Unrest

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FOR DEPT. USE ONLY

FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by: S/AL: Student Unrest Group

Contents and Classification Approved by: S/AL - Ambassador McGhee

Clearances: S/S - Mr. O'Donoghue

S- Mr. Shlaudeman

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There is also an important continuing requirement for comprehensive reporting, which not only undertakes to analyze existing student unrest, but seeks to anticipate disorder, to relate student unrest and the underlying popular sentiment it reflects to broader policy considerations, and, in those few cases where this may be possible, to recommend appropriate courses of action.

For obvious reasons, the fact that a special official study of student unrest is being undertaken should be treated as confidential, as should, of course, the enclosed papers.

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## GENERALIZATIONS ON STUDENT UNREST

The term "student" is used in this paper in a general sense to denote those in secondary schools and universities, together with associated "drop-outs" and "hangers-on" regardless of age.

1. Student unrest is only one manifestation of the general unrest shared in varying degree by all age groups the world over as a result of the international and domestic upheavals taking place in an era of transition.
2. Unrest among students can be studied as a special case because they constitute a recognizable group whose attitudes are reasonably coherent and identifiable. Students are capable of concerted action and can be heard and reached through established channels.
3. Student unrest is usually based on sincere motivation and more often than not has a constructive impact in providing a stimulus for needed change held back by inertia or special interests.
4. Student unrest can, however, lead to adverse results when:
  - (a) Its disruptive effect on the university, state or society is greater than any possible constructive benefits.
  - (b) It leads to premature change which cannot be afforded or assimilated.
  - (c) Feeding on youth's natural suspicion of adults and institutions, it leads to a mutual distrust which could eventually result in a breakdown in the effective functioning of the society.
  - (d) (From the U.S. viewpoint) It strikes at the objectives of U.S. foreign policy, our relations with the country concerned or the worldwide functioning of our business interests and our free enterprise economic system.

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(e) The ultimate danger posed by student unrest is a possible weakening of the whole fabric, so painfully constructed over the years, which holds together the Community of Free World Nations.

5. Both in the developing areas and in many advanced countries, student activism has had a relatively consistent history of more than a half century. Until recently such outbursts, however, have been rare in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

6. Like other unrest, student unrest is motivated in part by considerations applicable to the students' age and functional group, particularly to their immediate institutional environment, as well as by motivations common to all age groups. Following are some of the reasons why students have in recent years emerged as the most active social group:

(a) Since unrest is directed basically against prevailing establishments, whether at university or national level, it conforms to the typical attitude of questioning the views of their elders which has always been characteristic of youth.

(b) One aspect of student unrest lies in the direct conflict of interests between youth and their elders, whom they often feel take advantage of young people-- both as individuals and through their institutions. Student unrest seeks in such cases a readjustment in favor of youth including the right to greater participation in decisions affecting them.

(c) Students are in a relatively protected position against serious reprisals for their actions. University authorities are often reluctant to ask the police to intervene. Especially in modernized societies, moreover, many students today reject position in society as a conscious value. They usually have no job to lose, no family to support and no established position to jeopardize permanently.

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(d) Behind much of the student revolt in Europe and the U.S. lies those attitudes and values embraced under the label: "The New Left." The radical activist students in America have been characterized by psychiatrists as the first "post-modern" generation. They are offspring of permissive "modern" parents who, in times of family crisis, often revert to the traditional authoritarian stance of their own parents, thereby giving rise to youth's view of a hypocritical older generation.

(e) Many students distrust their elders; among some the attitude amounts to antipathy. They believe that their elders espouse the wrong values and that existing policies and institutions which reflect these values should be eliminated--even though these youths may have no substitutes to offer. In the U.S. the Vietnam War and racial discrimination are cited as examples of the mistakes of their elders.

(f) Once it became established that student unrest could achieve results, others were encouraged to emulate it. Exaggerated news coverage has played an important role. Unrest has become a fad among students--a symbol of modernity and vigor.

7. For purposes of simplification, objectives of unrest may be generalized as:

Local - The university environment and career development

National - Modernization and development (underdeveloped countries), race issues (U.S.), press concentration (Germany), etc.

International - Relations with the former colonial power, the Vietnam War, the present Greek regime, etc.

8. Student unrest that attracts a following in attacks against the university can be transferred to national and

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international objectives. The converse can also occur. International stimuli, such as the Vietnam War, have been a major catalytic factor for all types of unrest.

9. Unrest is evident among students, particularly in the underdeveloped countries, who see no opportunity upon graduation to obtain a suitable position to take advantage of their education. Unrest also appears at the secondary school level where students are denied opportunities for higher education. We note a tendency among students in underdeveloped countries to be concerned with "bread and butter" issues, whereas the student in the economically advanced nation tends to concern himself more with ethical and other social values.

10. In their activism students do not usually seek to acquire power, but rather to change or to destroy the existing university or national regime. Indeed, present student organizations are not capable of taking over governments alone. Seldom in the developing area--and even less frequently in the modernized world--have they been able or even sought to enlist the support of other interest groups such as organized labor or the army that could help bring about a change in regime. However, in the few instances when a coincidence of objectives on the part of the army or others existed and when the regime was no longer viable, student protest has succeeded in overturning governments - e.g. Korea, Turkey.

11. Extremist student groups often have anarchist and nihilist objectives, which seek destruction of all existing institutions including the university. Such groups cannot be reasoned with and once their nature has been determined, no attempt should be made to compromise with them. Nothing constructive can be achieved. Fortunately such extremist groups do not represent a significant number of the students, however, they can trigger more broad-based support if they have a martyr. Particularly since they often actively seek such a martyr, care and patience must be used by authorities dealing with student agitators.

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12. Unrest with more moderate objectives, however, usually finds a general acceptance among a large percentage of the students and must be taken into account. This does not mean that all students are activists, but that they are for the most part permissive or encouraging to the activists--and that those who emerge from their apathy would in general follow the same line.

13. Student unrest in many countries is not well organized; Latin America, however, has been a notable exception for 50 years. Outside of Latin America unrest usually occurs outside the established hierarchies of student organizations, which often are suspect as tools of the authorities. Student activists are usually idealistic and individualistic. Student groupings that have stimulated direct action have usually been organized on an improvised ad hoc basis.

14. Student unrest does not appear to be the result of any effective international organization; intercommunication among student leaders and groups seems to be largely random. As far as any inspiration from Moscow is concerned, the student radicals of Europe appear to be anathema to the Soviet Union. Although many students appear to be vaguely influenced by Marxian ideology and local Communist Parties have sought with mixed success to capitalize on student uprisings. In the developing areas Moscow has--for the most part--been pursuing a moderate, non-violent line contrary to that of student activists.

15. The success of student unrest depends to a large extent at least in the Western world on local permissiveness of support particularly by the faculty but also by the press and citizenry as a whole. Once the local attitude turns against the students, the effectiveness of their unrest is greatly reduced. On the other hand, clumsy handling by university or police, for example by overzealous police intervention, tends to provoke support for the students.

16. Student activism, although dramatically successful in specific instances in generating ad hoc reform, provides no really effective base for consistent and continuing political action. Its intermittent results have in some circumstances, however, had an important cumulative effect. Where the situation would permit it, students would probably be more

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effective in achieving their aims were they willing to use the youth wings of the existing political parties as vehicles. This is, however, usually rejected as being less novel and exciting, and subject to more control by their elders and the government.

17. One possible danger, perhaps greater in many cases than student unrest itself, is the type of right-wing reaction to it that could in extreme cases induce broad support for dictatorial regimes. So far, however, this has fortunately not yet developed on a significant scale.

18. The U.S. has come to be looked upon unfavorably by many students around the world because:

(a) Students in general tend toward a left-wing or socialist viewpoint, which they consider to be in opposition to our free enterprise economic system.

(b) Our very size and potential for influence lend themselves to accusations that we will use it to the disadvantage of others. Our worldwide economic interests and military bases make us particularly vulnerable to criticism in this connection. The Soviet and other nations unfriendly to us take every opportunity to propagandize against us along these lines with false charges.

(c) The United States, for reasons we consider valid, is engaged in an unpopular war in Vietnam involving people of a small ex-colonial state. This war, our racial strife and other manifestations of violence in America have caused many students to question the validity, if not actively oppose, what they understand to be the American system of values.

19. Our principal world antagonist, the Soviet Union, although having the same requisites of bigness and power and a nefarious history of intervention in the affairs of others, has for many years tended to escape the direct thrust of student unrest. It should be pointed out, however, that nihilist or anarchist student groups, being against all establishments, equally oppose the establishments of com-

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munist governments--even though they may not be against their ideological bases. Although the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia has appeared to have reversed this trend, the Soviets tend to be viewed favorably by students because:

- (a) The pretended aims of its socialist structure, as well as the Soviet rhetoric, are more in accord with the views of the students.
- (b) It has, in recent years, assiduously cultivated students. This has not been universally successful, however, because most students have come to differentiate between the Marxist ideal and Soviet reality.
- (c) It has in recent years escaped responsibility for any major war.
- (d) In some countries, the absence or inconspicuousness of the Soviet presence minimizes them as targets of hostility.

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GENERAL ACTION RECOMMENDATIONS

ON STUDENT UNREST

1. The Limitations on Action

Student unrest should in general be considered part of a country's internal affairs. It should not be assumed that it necessarily represents a danger to the country concerned, or to us, unless this has been established by specific criteria. At the same time, it should be recognized that student unrest could have, at least, a long-run effect on the U. S. national interest.

There is little that the U. S. Government can or should do about student unrest. In many countries there is the danger of being charged with intervention even if we do nothing more than indicate what might be considered undue interest. The problem should, however, be kept continuously before U. S. policy-makers--because of its possible effects on other policy decisions and in order to profit from any opportunity which might develop--for a discreet move which could produce a result in our favor. This is a field in which we should seek to take advantage of the inevitable and to accelerate the desirable.

2. Minimum Action--Identification of the U. S. National Interest

We should identify those countries where student unrest could lead to developments favorable to or inimical to U. S. interests and study them quietly and continuously in depth. In order to develop measured policies, we should, as a minimum, collect and analyze evidence on incidents and causes of student unrest, assess it with the legitimacy of the students' grievances to our own satisfaction, and seek to predict situations where:

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(a) Student unrest might result in severe internal disorder or even the replacement of a friendly by a hostile government--which could affect U. S. interests adversely;

(b) Student pressure on a government could force the U. S. to alter its military presence or practices or lead to the harassment or nationalization of our business interests in the country.

(c) Student unrest could, on the other hand, help achieve positive U. S. goals, such as development and modernization.

### 3. Action on Student Demands for National and International Reform

We should recognize that the students are in pursuing their declared aims usually, albeit unwittingly, our allies in seeking needed reform. Their unrest often can provide a welcome catalyst or goad to action against inertia or vested interests for the same ends that we seek around the world. We should take advantage of the spotlight they throw on the need for reform and encourage official moves in this direction. We should consider how to take student unrest into account--in both our policy-making and in our programs.

It may be desirable in special circumstances quietly to call the potential power of student unrest to the attention of friendly governments in order to guide or spur them toward essential reform. Similarly, our own evaluation of a potential for student disorder may in some circumstances properly be discussed with officials of other governments when relevant to bilateral planning efforts (e.g. an AID education program, counterinsurgency planning).

In moving for reform, we should do so without undue expectation that steps taken will eliminate or even diminish student unrest. Indeed, it is likely that once the students

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find unrest to be an effective instrument for forcing change, their activism will increase and the scope of their grievances will be broadened.

#### 4. University Reform

University reform is frequently the most immediate demand of student activists and one on which they attract the broadest following. Particularly in Europe, this involves the degree of student participation in university policy-making and improvements in administration and curriculum. These reforms should be seen, however, as only the first response to a series of grievances. Indeed, there are indications that it is really broader international concerns that underlie most of the unrest.

Action toward university reform cannot, therefore, be counted on to quiet the campus. As often happens, unrest may well increase as the local situation begins to improve. Nevertheless, university reform is a legitimate demand and one that offers the greatest opportunity for action. We should, in general, attempt to induce initiatives for university reform locally, or in appropriate regional or other multilateral organizations. We should encourage unobtrusive support by U. S. universities, foundations or other private institutions. As a minimum, university reform will help to minimize friction and loss of confidence between the students on the one hand and the university and society on the other.

In many AID countries educational programs claim a large share of the AID budget. We should examine these expenditures to see whether they can be tailored to produce directly or indirectly maximum possible impact on university reform. We should also recognize that unless the students themselves are involved in the reform process, they may not sense any progress.

We should initiate inter-agency consultation to insure that available resources and policy are well harmonized.

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#### 5. Actions in the Field of Public Media

We should continue and focus more precisely USIS media efforts that could help put across a favorable view of the U. S.--or cast the Soviets in a true light--in those areas of greatest interest to students, i.e., reduction of voting age, etc. We should also, and preferably, encourage such efforts in non-official media, particularly any hard evidence of Communist exploitation of student unrest.

It should be recognized, however, that no propaganda effort on our part can be expected to have a major effect on the prevalence or outcome of student unrest. Neither can it be expected to change substantially the attitudes toward the U. S. held by its leaders. Any obvious attempt to increase anti-Soviet sentiment among students through a planned propaganda effort would be counter-productive.

The role of student exchange in connection with student unrest is unclear and should be closely analyzed. Certainly, we do not wish to engage in any conspicuous program which might be considered as an effort on our part to subvert student leaders. The fact of their accepting our government's assistance could indeed impair the students' potential for leadership. On the other hand, an inconspicuous program could result in an improved attitude toward the United States through fostering a better understanding of our objectives and values. It might also assist the students involved in the exchanges to make a contribution to orderly university reform in their own countries by exposing them to new concepts and methods.

#### 6. Increased Student Participation in Policy-Making

A profitable approach to the student unrest problem, on the part of the countries concerned, should be to offer the students a meaningful level of participation in the policy-making process, both at university and national levels, to the extent that this is practicable under the

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existing governmental system. The students will have less incentive to be disruptive if they know through such participation that their viewpoint and interests are taken into account. Local political parties can give their youth organizations a special role in party activities, including policy-making.

#### 7. Constructive Outlets

The ultimate objective in dealing with student unrest should be the creation of positive and constructive outlets for the pent-up idealism and energies of youth, along lines in accord with their present mood. The Peace Corps and its foreign equivalents constitute such outlets, and in Europe an important outlet would result from a breakthrough in the field of European unity, in which the students could be allowed to play a leading role.

In varying degrees, depending on the issues in question, reform is a necessary step toward the development of that kind of world community in which U. S. interests will be best safeguarded--a community of strong and independent nations, whose governments are responsive to the needs of their people <sup>being</sup> willing to work in concert with us and other Free World nations. Students can help bring about such a world community.

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## AIRGRAM

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NO.

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : All African Diplomatic Posts  
LISBON, LONDON, PARIS, MOSCOW

DECLASSIFIED

Authority State Ltr. 8/2/78  
By lhuv, NARS, Date 8/18/78

FROM : Department of State

DATE:

SUBJECT : Student Unrest in Africa

REF : CA-10592, September 3, 1968

This discussion of student unrest in Africa follows the general pattern of the referenced airgram. An initial section tries to analyze some general factors and to make some tentative projections. The second section outlines possible areas for U.S. response to the problem. The analysis relies heavily on field responses to CA-10592 and previous instructions.

I. Scope and Nature of Student Unrest

A. Scope - Fourteen AF countries\* have experienced student unrest sufficiently serious to cause extensive ad hoc government reaction. Nine other African countries\*\* have experienced academic difficulties which, although not so serious, have elicited some kind of governmental response. Student protest has been particularly strong in the Maghreb, Ethiopia, Sudan, Senegal, Ivory Coast, both Congos and South Africa. While it is inaccurate to say that student dissidence was the primary factor, it is true that students were actively involved in events leading up to the recent changes in government in both Congo(B) and Mali.

* Algeria	Ethiopia	Senegal	South Africa
Congo(B)	Ghana	Sudan	Zambia
Congo(K)	Ivory Coast	Togo	
Dahomey	Morocco	Tunisia	
** Cameroon	Malagasy Rep.	Tanzania	
Liberia	Nigeria	Uganda	
Libya	Sierra Leone	Upper Volta	

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FORM DS-323

Drafted by: AF/I:KCronwell:mjm:1/16/68

Contents and Classification Approved by:  
AF/I - Fred L. Hadsel

Clearances: AF - Mr. Quimby S/AL - Amb. McGhee G/Y - Mr. Cross

With the exception of the North African universities, which are older and more closely attuned to the European model and influences, the current wave of student unrest came relatively late to African universities. This lag is attributable to several factors: the disinclination of African student elites to rock the boat of privileges; campuses often physically removed from the urban capitals; students' expectations of adequate employment opportunities upon graduation; relatively little communication between the student activists in the widely separated African universities; and the universities' relatively small size and high teacher-student ratio.

#### B. Targets and Issues

In its earliest manifestations, academic unrest has tended to target on those matters of primary concern to the student in his environment--scholarships, discipline, and living conditions. Usually these initial demands have been broadened subsequently to include student participation in curriculum selection and an administrative voice (gestion) in the university or school. It is at the later stages that unrest focuses on national issues and students demand a greater participation in the national political and economic decision-making processes. Unrest usually begins in the more vocal segments of the university population and later spreads to the secondary and teacher training schools. Although most African unrest has followed this pattern, there have been several divergences. African students have demonstrated on national and international issues--in some cases prior to reacting to issues on their own campuses. Student demonstrations, over Rhodesia and other southern African issues and after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, are cases in point. Religious issues, especially in the Christian-Moslem context, have also sparked student unrest although the conservative philosophy and tight discipline in church schools discourage student activism.

#### C. Locus

An important factor for the graph of student unrest is the declining role of the overseas student. In the pre- and early post-independence period, most African student protest was generated in and channeled through student organizations in the UK and Europe. These large organizations tended to fragment into national units after independence, often--as in the case of the Federation of Black African Students in France (FEANF)--at the urging of the African governments.

Although there has as yet been relatively little transference of student unrest to other sectors, such as labor, the political opposition, or the military, the cases of Congo(B) and Senegal seem to indicate that there will be more interaction between student protesters and representatives of other institutions.

D. Sino-Soviet

Since the Communist countries have traditionally put heavy emphasis on youth and student targets in Africa, it is logical to assume that they will look carefully at the increasing tempo of student unrest. The increased unrest comes at a time when Soviet student programs are changing, e.g., the Czech invasion aftermath has severely curtailed the functions of the IUS and WFDY, the Soviet-controlled international student and youth associations; the number of African students in Europe and the Soviet Bloc is on the decrease. Particularly in African countries with conservative military governments, the Soviets may well move to increase their links with potential opposition groups and thus with the university radicals.

E. Governmental Response

The response of African governments to student unrest has not been uniform. Relationships between government and academic institutions range from the highly centralized and articulated "socialist" pattern in Guinea to the more conventional European colonial model still followed by a sizeable minority of African states. All African governments, however, are searching for more effective mechanisms to influence, if not control, their student elites, e.g. the Ivory Coast government, which dissolved the independent student union last July, has recently established a "tame" national student association under the aegis of the ruling political party. (Students usually fear and resist such political party efforts to coordinate and control student activities thereby kindling the unrest which the government and the party were attempting to control.) Education ministers in a number of countries have been changed. Prime Ministers and Heads of State have devoted more and more announcements to student problems and have set up study groups to re-build or renovate the educational system. Some, like Algeria, are moving in the direction of the Tanzanian example of a fixed form of compulsory military/community/rural service for young secondary graduates.

F. Institutional Factors

There seems to be a kind of Malthusian law operating in African education. Despite continuing popular demands for education, the number of African students is not keeping up with population increase. In part, this is attributable to most governments' decision to allocate a higher percentage of resources to secondary and university education at the expense of primary education. The trend of more priority for higher education in Africa will probably mean a still greater disparity against the primary levels.

We can expect a general erosion of the student elites--both in student status and in their subjective image of themselves. The physical conditions of the secondary schools and universities will probably become less attractive as their populations increase. Also, as more post-secondary students come from outside the establishment, there will be increasing uncertainty that jobs will be available after graduation.

The Francophone institutions seem particularly vulnerable to unrest. The dislocations in Senegal, Ivory Coast and North Africa were in part a reflection of the disorders in Paris last spring, but probably more fundamentally indicate increasing African disillusionment with the French static, authoritarian education model. Doubts by both the African governments and the student population will provide a backdrop for more unrest and upheaval.

#### G. Inter-Country Influences

As the number and influence of African students overseas decrease, we expect more interaction and mutual influence among African universities and student groups on the continent. This will probably occur whether or not these contacts are formalized in regional or all-African student groupings--organizations which have not yet been successfully established.

#### H. General Projection

Our general conclusion is that student unrest in Africa will continue to grow for a variety of reasons and will increasingly mirror the economic and political issues which confront the various governments. African governments can modify, but not control this unrest. In the short run, unrest is likely to have a negative effect on many programs. However, unless it becomes destructively revolutionary, its long term aspects often contribute to constructive change, modernization and national development. We therefore believe that the more African governments can view the problem in the latter context, the more likely it is that the destructive elements of unrest can be minimized.

#### II. Lines of Action

The referenced airgram and the field responses quite properly emphasized the paucity of U.S. means to act on student unrest problems. There may be, however, several general areas in which we can work.

Probably most important is the need to gain sufficient understanding of the problem to make rough projections of likely developments in a given country. Here the obvious--but often difficult--precept is to maintain contact with student leadership, utilizing both U.S. mission and private resources.

We may be able to encourage the host government to broaden its dialogue with its students. It may also be possible to point out to African governments that worldwide record shows that police brutality and Draconian measures may be initially effective, but in the long run seem to have brought polarization rather than solutions. We should, however, recognize that the formula for handling student unrest will and should be African.

In the field of educational reform we should encourage African education ministers to meet under OAU, UNESCO or other auspices to move ahead in the Africanization of schools and increased student participation. Quite possibly, such meetings could also tackle some of the technical problems associated with student unrest. We should continue to provide technical assistance in school reform and encourage private American foundations and associations to take a partnership approach in working with African governments--as in Senegal--to modernize their educational systems.

There is considerable logic in the argument that until the U.S. finds answers to its own problems of student unrest, we have no business advising other countries how they should cope with the problem. Some go so far as to advocate that our greatest contribution would be to stop bringing foreign students to the U.S., students who then return with American technical know-how in the more sophisticated techniques of protest. We continue to believe that the positive aspects of student exchange still prevail and that judicious programming in the U.S. can avoid too large an exposure to radical leadership groups. Indeed, we should try to increase the number of visiting student leaders as U.S. government scholarships are granted for study in Africa rather than the U.S.

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**AIRGRAM**

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FILE DESIGNATION

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CA-54

HANDLING INDICATOR  
 TO : ALL EA DIPLOMATIC POSTS

DECLASSIFIED  
 Authority State ltr. 8/2/78  
 By Shw, NARS, Date 8/18/78

Jan 6 11 53 AM '69

FROM : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DATE:

SUBJECT : Student Unrest

REF : CA-10592 and Replies from Various EA Posts

SUGGESTED DISTRIBUTION

Replies have now been received from most posts in the East Asian and Pacific area to CA-10592 dealing with student unrest. The replies varied widely between the two extremes represented by Burma and Viet-Nam. Embassy Rangoon once again reiterated its position that it cannot have any direct contacts with Burmese youth, most especially students, as this would be directly contrary to GOB policy. As a result, Embassy Rangoon does not feel in a position to even comment upon, much less attempt to influence, the attitudes of Burmese students. On the other hand, Embassy Saigon believes it has a better chance than most Embassies elsewhere to influence both the youth policies of the GVN and the students themselves because of the large programs underway in Viet-Nam having an impact on youth, the large numbers of Americans engaged in one way or another with the youth of the nation, and the expectation on the part of many Vietnamese that US officials will "have a say" with respect to such programs and policies.

Our Embassies elsewhere generally feel that student unrest is a very sensitive issue as far as the various host governments are concerned, an issue concerning

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 GROUP 3

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Drafted by: LA/RA:RC Seering: Jch  
 Drafting Date: 12/13/68 Phone No.: 2012  
 Contents and Classification Approved by: EA - Robert W. Barnett

Clearances: W  
 EA/RA - Mr. Walkinshaw G/Y - Mr. Cross S/AL - Mr. Gribble WJG

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which the Embassy should tread cautiously indeed. On the other hand, they seem to feel that, for the most part, the host governments are not insensitive to the problem and are taking steps to deal with it, albeit in various fashions depending upon the government.

Embassy Bangkok, for example, points out that student unrest at the various Thai universities has been fairly effectively channeled by the government which, in at least one instance, encouraged student participation in a local election campaign. On the other hand, Embassy Singapore appears satisfied that Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's government is taking the correct approach to the problem of unrest by applying tight restrictions on student activity and promoting "Peace Corps" type activities to regiment the students and drain off youthful energies in fruitful activities.

Many East Asian posts believe that the potential for student unrest is limited in their particular countries. Embassy Vientiane, for example, states that because of the backward state of the nation, the strong family structure, the lack of a university and the fact that those few students who can go to college must travel abroad to do so all militate strongly against any possible unrest in Laos. Embassy Taipei feels much the same about the situation on Taiwan, although for much different reasons. On Taiwan there is much competition for admission to the universities and for the chance to study abroad. This factor, plus close scrutiny of the student population by various security police, tends to keep the students pretty well in line. Several Embassies also point out that the "generation gap" mentioned in the referenced CA does not exist in their respective countries since the nation's leaders are not much older than the students themselves.

#### Possible Programs

While reiterating the cautions which many posts have previously expressed with regard to US attempts to establish programs for and influence students, many posts feel there

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are programs that could be and are being used in this area. Posts which have a full-time youth officer (whether in USIS or elsewhere) feel he can be effective in reaching students, especially if he is a young man himself. Several posts made the further point that it was regrettable that many junior officer positions had been eliminated as a result of the balance of payments exercise as these officers, even when not directly concerned with the Embassy Youth Program, maintained contacts with young people of their own age.

Several of the posts stressed the importance of sending students to the United States for study and at least two laid great stress on the reverse of this -- travel by US students to other countries. Embassy Djakarta pointed to the beneficial effects of visiting professors and wished to encourage more of the same, plus a strengthening of university to university ties. Several posts also believe sending books and sports equipment can be of great help in bringing about more understanding of and sympathy for the US.

Other posts feel that encouraging students to take part in rural development activities contributes to a lessening of tensions within the groups concerned, encourages student interest in the real problems of their nation and benefits the economy of the nation as well. They believe, however, that such assistance as is provided by the US should, wherever possible, come through the medium of voluntary organizations, not official USG support.

Embassy Seoul believes a conference of educators from the nations of Asia concerned with growing student unrest in their respective countries might serve as a useful catalyst for further constructive action, while Tokyo is exploring the possibility of a conference bringing together Japanese, U.S. and European educators.

Finally, several posts have expressed interest in the Southeast Asian University Students Organization (SEAUSSO) which recently held an organizational meeting in Manila. They feel such a group should be encouraged by the US, but on a very discreet basis because of the sensitivities, both of the governments concerned and of the students themselves.

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The Department fully appreciates and shares the concern expressed by the posts over the impact on youth programs caused by budget cutbacks and balance of payments problems and will take whatever steps seem possible to lessen that impact. However, in view of overall policy considerations, posts should not expect any great changes in this area. On the other hand, the Department is exploring some of the possibilities suggested by the posts for additional action. In this connection, the Department would appreciate comments from the posts about Embassy Seoul's proposal for a regional conference of educators to discuss ways and means of dealing with student unrest. Would such a conference be useful to educators in the area and would the host governments support it? Could this best be sponsored under regional auspices, e.g., ASPAC, SEAMES?

Finally, the Department would like to encourage the posts to adopt the proposal of Embassy Tokyo to send copies of analytical reporting on student unrest and related problems to other posts in the East Asian area. It might also be useful to circulate to other posts, as well as the Department, articles appearing in local periodicals which discuss these problems in a meaningful way. The Department will forward interesting articles from the US as they appear, as it has done, from time to time, in the past.

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elders but still restive over their lack of significant input into the system. Despite this, student unrest was seen as a universal modern phenomenon, likely to increase in the future as higher education becomes more common and student years are extended while at the same time social and political institutions remain rigid. The general dissatisfaction with the existing "system," particularly the decision-making process, has increased the role of those leaders who have advocated the need for radical change rather than slow evolution. Change is wanted now for this generation rather than seen as a distant goal.

2. While there are certain anarchistic and other extremist elements, the bulk of the student activists in Europe desire a fundamentally reformed society (for some of them "revolutionary") combining a kind of socialist economic system with political democracy. They would achieve their more immediate goals through disruptive confrontation tactics designed to dramatize their grievances. They do not accept the traditional ideological slogans, specifically holding in contempt both traditional Soviet Marxism and Western capitalism. Many European student leaders are influenced by the American "New Left" with its idea of participatory democracy and the writings of Herbert Marcuse. These students want to develop their own model of socialism and do not look to any established system in this regard. They are quick to use modern economic and sociological analysis to criticize society and to plan its restructure. In this respect they are similar to American student activists.

3. European student attitudes on international issues tend toward the left, but with an important qualification, that while strongly against US action in Viet-Nam, generally they are also highly critical of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. A popular conception is the idea of the "two imperialisms" -- that of the US and the Soviet Union. Posts cited rapid growth in anti-Americanism among youth generally as one of the greatest problems for US policy in Europe and particularly for our future relations with these countries.

4. It was generally thought that most student activity would first center on university reform but would broaden into demands for basic social and political change.

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In starting with university issues there would be a greater chance of involving the general student body which feels acutely the effects of the outmoded university structure but is not politically motivated.

5. Student unrest, except for educational reform, will have minimal effect upon broader social and political change unless the students can coalesce with other disaffected groups. In most countries this kind of mutual identification has been lacking but attempts are being made to organize broader based support for radical change.

6. European students are increasingly seeing their problems and strategy in a common light, exchanging views and cooperating with student groups in other countries. Student unrest is thus not a national phenomenon alone but European in character. Student attitudes and educational problems have a high level of similarity throughout Europe. Mass media have increased this tendency, and facilitated communication between different national student bodies. In this light broader circulation of posts' reporting on student unrest would be useful.

7. Attempts by moderate and conservative groups to channel student radical activities towards "constructive" or traditional social welfare aims such as service abroad are looked upon by student leaders as merely a ploy to prevent them from challenging the establishment in an effective way. They are highly suspicious of such efforts which usually reinforce their belief that the traditional powers will never allow them to share in the decision-making process.

8. Certain posts cited the particular problems of student activity in dictatorial environments which present added difficulties for both the students and our posts. Also a "backlash" effect was noted, in that student demonstrations could lead to greater repression rather than reforms, while repression could also generate a more explosive situation. This "backlash" also might affect Western European democracies in that rightist elements could use student demonstrations and public reaction to them to increase their power and prevent needed change.

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9. East European posts also reported the strong cultural impact of the West on youth attitudes. Students were seen as only one element among others pushing for change. Linked with other dissident groups students were seen as playing a major role in reforming the social and political structure. Youth in East European countries have become highly sophisticated and our programs should be designed to attract this group.

10. Posts indicated that "progressive" students in Western Europe generally identify the US with supporters of the status quo. Students view our policies as supporting rightist and exploitative groups in Latin America and our support of Spain and Portugal as well as US investment in South Africa as examples of our "reactionary" policy. They are also critical of the racial situation in the US. Often, with this image in mind, they too readily believe the worst of American intentions despite facts to the contrary.

11. Many missions also noted the difficulty of separating students from youth in general since non-student youth, affiliated with various labor, social, and political organizations shared many of the concerns and attitudes articulated by the students.

12. Posts have generally commented that the traditional power structure has not yet fully grasped the significance of the forces of social change pressing upon them. One post quoted the concern of three respected European socialists thus: "In none of the Western democratic nations has the leadership yet developed any constructive views or methods on how to deal with the basic problems raised by the 'new left.' It is high time that democratic leaders everywhere, regardless of whether they are in the government or in the opposition, stop looking at just the superficial face of the disorders and demonstrations which are simply the surface manifestations of something that is obviously wrong in our systems as they have evolved and take a more fundamental look at what basic forces and facts motivate them."

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In this connection some posts said the best method to deal with this issue was to face it within our own backyard.

## II. Mission Program Suggestions and Comments on Their Youth and Student Activities

The following is a summary of posts' ideas about their youth program which may be of general interest:

1. Strengthening Cultural and Educational Exchange Programs. Many posts expressed concern over cuts in funds for what they considered key programs, particularly the Fulbright exchanges. Library facilities and bi-national centers were strongly supported as important elements in making contact and influencing the younger generation of leaders. The thrust of most arguments centered on the great value of the exchange of ideas and experiences in education as a spur to reform and as the most easily acceptable method to influence the course of change. (Posts should note that this kind of activity on a multilateral level is now taking place within the OECD, particularly the work of the Center for Educational Research and Innovation. The center is sponsoring a conference on student problems early this coming year in Paris.)

One post suggested a Salzburg seminar for younger leaders and students to bring European students into contact with the best American thinkers and students. Some said UNESCO should play a larger role in this field. Generally American students abroad were thought to be the most significant factor in providing European students with information about the US. In-depth travel to the US by European student leaders and educators was also thought to be a useful method of communicating American ideas and experiences.

2. Utilization of Young FSOs. Some posts advocated use of more young officers with language skills in the youth field. One post said: "Only young officers can move naturally and inconspicuously in university circles and establish the rapport necessary for an opening of channels with...young people."

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It was suggested that greater representation and travel funds be provided to young officers working with student leaders to enable them to maintain and further these contacts.

Finally, it was suggested that young officers be given greater freedom to make contact with youth and encouraged to discuss informally and frankly contemporary problems with them.

Many posts felt the primary mission of its youth committee and youth officers was the collecting and analyzing of information on student activities and attitudes. Here again, identification of student leaders and direct contact with them are a key element in broadening our understanding of the problem of student unrest.

3. Use of Mass Media. This was cited as an important instrument in communicating with youth, particularly in East Europe. US radio programs should be more targeted toward youth and should aim at the most aware types. Magazines, films, and library material ought to be student-oriented. For example, experimental US films ought to be supplied to posts, cultural presentations should include folk, experimental theatre, and advanced pop-type music groups. One post suggests an Embassy publication devoted to youth and student activities.

4. Establishment of a Youth-Centered Leader Grantee Program. Greater priority should be given to the oncoming generation, In this connection one post favored a centralized point of contact for young politically oriented Americans and their European counterparts. It was thought a private foundation might take up this project, as well as the youth organizations of the major parties.

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Authority State Dir. 8/2/78  
By lhw, NARS, Date 8/18/78

INR Working Draft

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Student Violence and Attitudes in Latin America

Note: This is an INR working draft on student violence and attitudes in Latin America. It was completed in mid-November 1968 and contains only information available as of that date.

The Nature of Recent Disorders

Student disorders of unusual ferocity have plagued a number of Latin American nations since April 1968. Extensive property damage, hundreds of arrests and injuries and more than one hundred deaths have resulted from police/student clashes in Mexico, Brazil, and Uruguay. Similar but less violent disturbances occurred in Bolivia, Chile, and in several other countries. Political tensions heightened in all five countries and--while tempers have cooled since October 1968--the present atmosphere remains unsettled and the possibility of renewed violence cannot be discounted.

Mexico. Of all the countries in Latin America Mexico has experienced the highest degree of student unrest. Massive demonstrations by Mexico's university students have troubled the Diaz Ordaz government since late July 1968 when communist youths celebrating the July 26 anniversary of Fidel Castro's revolution managed to take over a peaceful student demonstration which had been authorized by the government. When police tried to disperse the crowd, rioting students burned buses and barricaded a four-block area of downtown Mexico City. About 4,000 students again demonstrated on July 29, at which time federal troops were used to restore order after police lost control of the student mob. Press accounts of the deployment of tanks and armored cars against student barricades served to picture Mexico as a battleground, not unlike Paris during the disturbances in the Spring of 1968. Several Mexican students were killed and more than 200 were injured during these battles with security forces.

Demonstrations, accompanied by occasional violence, continued throughout August and September, with the number of participants approaching 100,000 at times. Student grievances at first focused upon local issues of police brutality, release of arrested students, and a recognition of university autonomy which was violated on July 29. Cries were raised

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for the dismissal of the chief of police and the mayor of Mexico City and some radical students attempted to enlist labor support for their cause by calling for a 40-hour week and better housing. By August 15, however, the first student animus against the President was evident, a criticism which reached unprecedented heights of scathing vulgarity (for Mexico) on August 27 when student poster attacks depicted Diaz Ordaz as dishonoring the Mexican Constitution and openly called for an end to his government.

The student/government conflict grew in intensity and ferocity during September and October. With the October 12 opening of the Olympic Games fast approaching, the government seemed to abandon all hope of resolving the matter through negotiations and opted instead to use whatever force was necessary to put down what was then assuming the proportions of a student revolt. Such tactics had always worked in the past and the government probably assumed that they would be equally as effective again. Moreover, the timing of the student protests was linked to the Olympics and the continued agitation was extremely embarrassing to the Mexican Government which was most anxious to impress the world as a deserving host to the prestigious international games. The occupation of the national autonomous university by government forces on September 18 sparked new violence which continued intermittently until the bloody clashes on October 2 in which perhaps as many as 100 persons lost their lives. The October incident did considerable damage to Mexico's reputation as the most stable and progressive country in Latin America and brought into question the suitability of Mexico City as the Olympic site. Student agreement not to disrupt the games helped to cool tempers and an uneasy calm returned to student/government relations.

Seeking to justify its actions and its inability to resolve the situation, the Mexican Government raised the specter of foreign elements and domestic communists who it alleged were responsible for student activism. The administration seemed not to realize that extremists, even with the aid of foreign elements, could hardly have sustained the unrest over such a long period if student dissatisfaction were not deep and widespread.

The positions of both sides are intransigent and it seems unlikely that a fundamental solution to the problem can be brought about without changing the widespread conviction that the PRI is entrenched, stagnant and primarily self-serving. Despite the enormous graft and dishonesty which have become PRI hallmarks, students will have to be convinced that the party is still, or will again become, a vital force for political and social change as well as economic growth.

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Brazil. Anti-government student disorders have plagued the administration of President Costa e Silva on and off since early June 1968. Open clashes between police and student demonstrators have resulted in about six deaths, numerous injuries and more than a thousand arrests. Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and Brasilia have been the scenes of the greatest violence, but large and sometimes violent demonstrations have been staged in major cities throughout the country.

Brazil's outmoded education system is the immediate cause of the student disturbances, although there is clearly an anti-regime bias running through the student protests. The careful manipulation of the protests by student leaders and the government's ill-advised reactions to them have succeeded on more than one occasion in turning public opinion against the authorities and in creating a political crisis which transcends student concerns. During the protests of late June and early July, support for the students came from Church leaders, intellectuals, opposition politicians, and some (but not most) labor leaders. These non-student elements have backed legitimate student demands for educational reforms and their protests against police brutality, but they have drawn the line at vitriolic anti-government attacks.

The arrest, on October 12, of over 700 participants of the illegal congress of the National Union of Students (UNE) provoked a spontaneous reaction of anti-government protests in about ten Brazilian cities. Police handling of the demonstrations has been harsh and the resulting violence has caused renewed bloodshed and property damage. A "rightist" counter-reaction to continued student demonstrations provoked pitched battles between opposing student factions in Sao Paulo, and attacks upon university buildings in Rio de Janeiro and Recife. The emergence of extreme right-wing groups injects a dangerous element into the Brazilian student situation and will probably make it more difficult for police to either prevent or control violence in the future.

The deaths of at least three persons during police clashes with students in Rio de Janeiro during the period October 22-24 came amidst an unsettled political atmosphere in which growing pressures--both internal and external--were being exerted upon the Costa e Silva government. As was the case with Mexico, the strategy of the Brazilian Government in dealing with student disorders has been the use of even greater force than the students are able to put forth. Police violence in putting down student disturbances led to new bloodshed which in turn caused further demonstrations. Occurring against a background of anti-government pressures, the student disorders threatened to become the final straw for the Brazilian military, and top leaders of the armed forces

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warned the President of a possible breakdown in military discipline if energetic measures were not taken to repress agitation and carping criticism from radical opposition elements, including students.

Responding to multiple pressures, the Brazilian Government has used massive police presence in the streets of the country's major cities to prevent the staging of new protests. So far, the strategy has worked but the basic positions of both government and students remains unchanged and it is probably only a matter of time before violence is renewed. The upcoming summer vacations (January, February) may offer however, a much-needed breathing spell.

Uruguay. In the midst of continuing political and economic turmoil, Uruguayan students engaged--in early August 1968--in pitched and bloody battles with Montevideo police. As was the case in Brazil, several deaths and numerous injuries resulted. Although earlier student demonstrations had been directed against the policies of the Uruguayan Government (a limited state of seige and a wage-price freeze), the unprecedented level and intensity of the August violence resulted from alleged police "violation of university autonomy." Police raided the national university on August 9 after anti-government demonstrations and agitation had been common on the campus for over a month. On the following day, the President sought with the Senate's approval, to dismiss the University Directive Council and the university's rector for dereliction of duty.

By mid-August, violence and vandalism had reached such serious proportions that, on August 19, the government arrested the entire leadership of the Uruguayan Federation of University Students. This was intended as a crackdown upon those responsible for student disturbances and vitriolic anti-government criticism and reflected the firm conviction of President Pacheco that he must deal firmly with student and labor agitation which was ultimately aimed at discrediting his government and forcing his resignation.

Demonstrations, however, did not immediately cease, and, responding to rising student and labor agitation, the government closed the national university and all vocational, normal and secondary schools in Montevideo. Press censorship was temporarily re-imposed and several union headquarters were ordered closed by government order. Student disturbances since that time have been minor, and popular sentiment appears to be moving against further agitation. The presence of violence-prone student radicals prevents too sanguine a view regarding the relative calm that prevailed in Uruguay in November 1968, but it is safe to say that support for renewed demonstrations will be increasingly difficult to obtain.

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Bolivia. Student opposition to the government (any government) has long been a Bolivian tradition which has given rise to frequent protest demonstrations. Attempts by the government to deal with these disorders inevitably provide pretexts for further demonstrations protesting "repression" and/or "violations of university autonomy." Such were the demonstrations, fairly easily contained, which took place between the end of May and late June 1968. The August demonstrations, on the other hand, were more difficult to control. Scarcely a day passed during that month without one or more demonstrations in some part of the country, the targets often being US installations. About five students were killed during this period; there were also several injuries and numerous arrests. This agitation was related to university elections, maneuvering of political parties and interest groups and a search for issues with which to attack the government.

Nevertheless, the unusual number and intensity of the demonstrations were undoubtedly related to the lengthy government crisis set off when Antonio Arguedas, then Interior Minister, fled the country amid statements that he was responsible for the delivery of the "Che" Guevara diary to the Cubans. The students thus were acting in an atmosphere of political turmoil to which President Barrientos responded swiftly and vigorously. While initially this seemed only to incite the students to increased protests, Barrientos' forceful actions ultimately resulted in a return to something approaching normalcy both in the political and student sectors.

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The Student As A Member of Society

Protest demonstrations by university students are reflective of the conditions of the societies in which the students live and of the relationship between students and those societies' institutions and values. To understand the society, therefore, is to gain a clearer perspective on the causes of student unrest and of the students' self-conceptions.

In Latin America, the acceleration of social and technological change during the past two decades has tended to emphasize the contrasts and contradictions between the centuries-old institutions and cultural patterns of the region and the vision of what can and should be accomplished to broaden political expression and to effect fundamental economic improvements. These changes have brought into question the relevance of existing forms and institutions, not only by students but also by other disaffected elements. Dissatisfaction--often vaguely articulated--is becoming generalized in many Latin American countries, but given the paternalismo and ingrained fatalism of these societies, such feelings have rarely found expression in political activism. For the greater part of Latin America's population, the "revolution of rising expectations" is not even today a reality. So long as the masses of Latin society continue to hold God, luck or fate responsible for poverty, ignorance and disease, the only realistic expectation will continue to be what it has always been: the perpetuation of a rigidly structured class society. Indeed, for the peasant, the absence of a correlation between hard work and material success is seen as positive proof of this thesis. The "fairy godmother syndrome," the eternal hope that instant wealth and happiness may be bestowed upon one by a benevolent patron or by the action of luck or occult forces results from this attitude. It is not by accident that lotteries, soccer pools and Brazil's famous numbers game, the jogo do bicho, are so popular among Latin America's lower classes. But for an increasing number--mainly students and other elite elements--the phenomenon of rising expectations does exist.

Appreciative of modernity and conscious of his superiority to the uneducated masses, the student conceives of himself as a responsible leader of the future. He protests the injustices of present society in the name of the people, his people, the people for whom he is the appointed leader. Since Latin American universities have historically provided political leadership training grounds for their societies it is at least understandable that students see themselves in leadership roles.

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Of all of the elements in Latin society, students are probably the most responsive to pressures for change. Student demonstrations are symptomatic of youthful impotence and impatience in the face of structures, institutions and organizations which they are unable to influence in normal ways. In contrast to the anarchistic bent of radical American and European students, however, Latin American students generally are protesting for a greater voice in their societies' institutions, not their destruction.

The role which students exercise in LA societies is unique. Despite superficial similarities with US universities, the universities of Latin America are products of quite a different cultural tradition. Historically, they have contributed more to the social exclusiveness of ruling elites than to the education of the masses. University enrollments in Latin America have doubled during the past decade, but students in Latin America are still a minuscule element drawn from the privileged classes. While university education is generally free or provided at nominal cost, secondary schools are mainly private and the tuition payments and loss of earning power are intolerable burdens for most poor and lower class families. Unable to surmount this obstacle, poor students are generally denied (save for scholarships) the opportunity for education beyond a rudimentary, grade-school level. In this way class stratification is preserved and upward social mobility rendered exceptionally difficult.

Obviously, the Latin American university student occupies a privileged position in his society, a fact which psychologically conditions both his self-conceptions and his degree of political activism. In many ways, university students constitute a well-defined class, much in the fashion that lawyers, doctors, labor leaders, military officers and government workers do. They form an important (generally disruptive) pressure group in society. Regardless of his social or economic origins, once an individual enters the university he becomes ipso facto a member of the intellectual elite. This realization conditions (some would say warps) his perception of reality, giving him an inflated sense of destiny and importance. In gaining admittance to the university, the student has in a very real sense "arrived." Thus, the university assumes many of the characteristics of an ultimate objective, it becomes less a means to a goal and more an end in itself. Despite a tradition of political activism on Latin American campuses, the majority of university students express little interest in politics. Accurate figures are impossible to obtain, but it is widely believed that no more than perhaps 10% of Latin American students are politically active. This figure includes both organizers and demonstrators. The silent majority remains apathetic except when their leaders are able to arouse their anger or enthusiasm in connection with

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specific issues, i.e., the killing of a student colleague by police, an unpopular government action, etc. Otherwise, they appear to enjoy a vicarious participation through their student leaders. In the abstract, however, student activism is highly valued by most students and there is considerable admiration for those who are articulate in voicing student complaint. Spanish ideals of "honor" play no small role in the bravery of some student leaders and in the adulation they receive during their brief span of glory.

With few exceptions, student activists in Latin America espouse political ideals which may be considered under the vague heading of "leftist." The reasons for this are varied but the natural latino student inclination towards opposition movements per se is an important contributory factor. While the case may be overstated, there is a tendency for students to oppose established authority of whatever type (from the parental to the political) during the few years in which they are still exempt from responsibility and enjoy much of the license accorded to students in medieval days. For the ambitious, particularly those from modest or lower class backgrounds, the positions staked out in university life are an entering wedge into the established order, the common morals and mores of which acknowledge threat and pressure to be the principal road to acceptance and a share of power. Leftism, representing the maximum risk-taking, can bring the highest payoff from those who dole out privilege in later years. Herein lies the explanation of ardent radicalism in the university and sedate conformity in maturity for most of Latin America's student leaders. It is important to stress the most, for we cannot dismiss all student activists so easily. While it is true that most student leftists will eventually become conservative--indeed apathetic--after graduation, it is equally true that the minority of student activists of deep, ideological motivation will continue to supply the future leadership for domestic communist parties and other organizations of the left. For these students, there is usually no payoff by society's establishment.

#### Radicalization of Student Protests

In Latin America as elsewhere, there has been a pronounced radicalization of student protest which has resulted in the rejection of non-student political leadership. Student condemnation of the structures and institutions of present society is not limited to the so-called "establishments" of Latin America, but includes in many cases\* the Moscow-line communist parties

\*The degree of communist control over the student movement varies widely from country to country. In some cases, the student organization has had traditional ties to the youth wing of the local communist party.

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and other political organizations generally considered to be of the "left." There are evident strong elements of this attitude, for example, in the dissident student-wings of such liberal political parties as the Christian Democrats and other parties whose "openings to the left" are viewed by students as too cautious.

Confronted with the unexpected violence of demonstrating students, Latin American governments have consistently failed to appreciate this new phenomenon and have attempted to console themselves with the charge that student disorders are the work of communist and "foreign elements" who use disaffected students to carry out their sinister schemes. In the four countries under consideration, clandestine reporting does not support this comforting view. While there has been communist involvement in all of these student disorders, the communists have not universally been able to maintain control of the student protests. In Mexico and in Brazil, the communist role--probably because of the sheer size of the student bodies in those countries--has been less important than in Bolivia and in Uruguay where the university student organizations are dominated by communist leaders.

For the communists, the new activism of Latin American students offers as many threats as it does opportunities for organizational expansion. The radicalization of the student movements has forced the domestic communist parties to renewed efforts of recruitment and propaganda in order to give at least the appearance that they are still the revolutionary vanguard. And while the communists have not been notably successful in controlling the level of student violence--increasing it and decreasing it in accordance with party policies and objectives--they have universally been blamed by the governments for fomenting student disorders. Thus, the communists run the serious risk of a government crackdown upon their organizations (usually fairly exposed) every time student disturbances get out of hand, whether or not the parties were responsible. Radical student leaders--some of whom are dissident members of local communist parties--will cooperate with the communists so long as there is a mutuality of interest, but will not hesitate to take independent actions which the parties may oppose. Retaining some mutuality of interest is and will continue to be an important communist objective.

#### Common Denominators and Conclusions

Student demonstrations--sometimes violent ones--occur with a fair degree of frequency in Latin America, but the recent protests in Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay and Bolivia seemed to have been more violent than most. Is there a common denominator among these four countries which led to such violence? The answer to that question must of necessity be a tentative one. Analysis of several hypotheses fails to produce conclusive responses. Listed below are the results of some of these investigations.

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Size of Population Hypothesis:

Countries with large populations are more violence-prone than countries with small populations. Likewise, university enrollment as a high percentage of total population is more conducive to unrest.

Analysis: No correlation was found between the size of the country and the violence of student disorders. Nor is there any evident connection between student unrest and the size of university enrollments expressed as a percentage of total population. The same is true for rates of population growth. Argentina remained relatively quiet amidst the disturbances of its neighbors, Brazil and Uruguay, yet Argentina's population is large and the country ranks first in Latin America in university enrollment. Among the four countries being considered, no pattern was discernible. Summary figures are:

Country	Population (actual)	Population (annual % increase)	University Enrollment *(actual)	University Enrollment (% of pop.)
BRAZIL	83.9 million	3.1%	(1965) -158,100	.18%
MEXICO	42.2 million	3.2%	(1966) -128,300	.30%
BOLIVIA	3.7 million	1.4%	(1966) - 10,400	.28%
URUGUAY	2.7 million	1.4%	(1965) - 12,500	.46%

\* date of information in parentheses

Population data: Population Reference Bureau - December 1966

University Enrollments: IDB Social Progress Trust Fund Annual Report-1967

Government Reaction to Students Hypothesis: Forceful government repression of student demonstrations provokes further violence.

Analysis: This hypothesis appears to be the most promising explanation put forth for student unrest. If we accept as a given fact that students--in whatever Latin American country--are likely to demonstrate frequently, the reaction of individual governments to such protests becomes critical.

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Police resentment of student challenges to their authority (demonstrations, even physical attacks, insulting signs, etc) in the countries being considered undoubtedly contributed to laying the groundwork for a violent confrontation. Inevitably, it occurred and the vigorous suppression of protests by police touched off a vicious circle in which larger and more violent protests required the use of greater police force to control them. The resultant deaths and injuries served to guarantee further demonstrations until violence reached such a high level that the students were no longer willing to go to the streets for their cause.

Degree of Political Expression Hypothesis: Student disorders are more likely to occur in countries where students feel that their degree of political expression is restricted. Since the ability to demonstrate is predicated upon the existence of certain freedoms, dictatorships of the right and the left must necessarily be excluded from consideration.

Analysis: The hypothesis is correct to the extent that when students feel alienated from the government and the country's major institutions, they tend to demonstrate. But it does little to explain the reasons why students do not demonstrate (at least violently) in such countries as Argentina where conditions for such activism appear to be prevalent.

The foregoing discussion permits the drawing of some very tentative conclusions regarding student unrest and violence in Latin America. First of all, it is evident that the student protest movements were relatively spontaneous and uncoordinated affairs. They appear to occur more frequently, however, in societies where dissatisfaction with the government or its policies affects sizeable numbers of non-students as well. Moreover, government awareness of popular feelings of dissatisfaction tends to encourage in government leaders a defensive and somewhat hostile position which vaguely conceives of student demonstrations as a threat and increases the probability of a harsh police response to them. Such was the case with Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay and Bolivia. Such dissatisfaction of itself does not always cause political action, but the heightened social sensitivity of students contributes to an atmosphere conducive to massive protests by them. The student, conceiving of himself as a spokesman for society, tends to assert his leadership in times of real or imagined crisis.

Secondly, encouragement of student activism, particularly of an aggressive nature comes from many quarters. "New Left" intellectuals such as Herbert Marcuse and others (whose ideas are parroted but whose works are seldom read) provide students in Latin America with a rationale for action, with the certitude that they are fighting for a just cause

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against the supporters of a sick and hypocritical society. Communist influences are also evident in attempts to direct student activities against pre-selected targets, whether they be the government, university reform or police brutality. But the communists have been unable to control the student demonstrations; indeed in some cases, the presence of rational direction was undiscernible, from whatever quarter. Mob psychology appears to have played an important role in determining the extent of violence associated with protest demonstrations.

Finally, the factor of emulation of foreign colleagues seems to be particularly important in provoking student demonstrations. Extensive media coverage of the French and German disturbances showed Latin American students the potential of student activism and it is likely--although the hypothesis cannot be proved--that this awareness strongly contributed to the environment in which such protests were eventually launched. It should be stressed, however, that mere awareness of student riots elsewhere was not alone responsible for the disturbances in the four countries being considered. The coincidence of broad uneasiness or dissatisfaction, new left influences and dynamic foreign models are apparently necessary to create an atmosphere in which demonstrations accompanied by some violence can (not necessarily will) result.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : G/Y - Mr. Robert D. Cross

DATE: January 3, 1969

FROM : NEA/RA - Sidney Sober *MS*

SUBJECT: Relevancy of "Generalizations on Student Unrest" to the NEA Area.

REF: Your Memorandum dated October 17

The referenced memorandum requested NEA to submit an analysis of Mission replies to CA-10592 with respect to the relevancy of "Generalizations on Student Unrest" to the NEA area. Ambassador McChes subsequently suggested that geographic bureau papers include a formulation of regional generalizations on student unrest for possible despatch to the field for informational purposes.

While many NEA posts noted the general usefulness of "Generalizations on Student Unrest," replies to CA-10592 generally did not focus on the relevancy of the generalizations to conditions in their respective countries. Only our Embassies in India and Lebanon indicated specifically that certain of the generalizations do not apply to situations in these two countries. However, responses to a series of Department queries on youth and student unrest (State 185094, State 170648 and CA-6709 in particular) do permit several general observations. Based on limited data in a region marked by great diversities in social and political backgrounds, these observations, however, may not merit circulation to posts as generalizations on student unrest in the NEA area.

The causes of student unrest have varied from country to country and from points of time within countries. The desire for political independence was the earliest cause of student unrest, particularly in pre-independent India. Resistance to various forms of authoritarianism and repression has motivated student uprisings in Iran in 1953 and in Turkey in 1950 when students played a key role in the events leading to the overthrow of the Menderes government. International problems have also

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served to stimulate student unrest. For example, the Arab-Israeli dispute is of key concern to Arab students; Indo-Pakistan relations, and US-Turkish relations as they concern mutual security arrangements, have been the objects of student demonstrations in countries of the region.

For the most part, however, student unrest as registered by recent student strikes and demonstrations in India, Pakistan, the UAR, Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran, and Ceylon has been triggered mainly by a host of campus grievances concerning such complaints as inadequate school facilities, the shortage of faculty and unsatisfactory student-faculty relations, the quality of courses and curriculum, mismanagement in the education system and the enforcement or raising of standards which make university entrance or matriculation more difficult.

While specific grievances concerning academic life have served to trigger student demonstrations, the explosive force has often come from more deep-seated discontent with economic and political circumstances. Limited job opportunities face liberal arts students in most NEA countries; the specter of educated unemployment hangs very heavily, for example, in India and Ceylon. The failure of national leaders to fulfill promises of economic and social progress has been a source of keen student disappointment, particularly in the UAR and Pakistan. Restrictions on political expression and participation have also concerned students in Pakistan and the UAR as well as Iran.

Student demonstrations beginning with campus issues have on occasion been extended to demands of a broader political nature. When joined by other groups or when reflecting discontent in the society at large, student demonstrations in several NEA countries have assumed substantial national political significance. Student demonstrations in the UAR and Pakistan during the past few months are the most recent examples of this phenomenon.

In various countries in the NEA area, student and youth groups have been organized by political parties essentially to serve their political purposes. At the same time, students by virtue of their common status, their shared experiences, their exposure to education in relatively backward societies, their physical proximity, etc. do constitute an independent and cohesive force often with views which differ from those of the established leadership. Where differences of caste, religion, language, etc. divide populations, students in the NEA area also tend to divide along these lines, e.g., in India and Lebanon. While student political activities often reflect sub-group interests, there are common student interests that on occasion transcend other differences. Valid generalizations on whether student groups in NEA countries are mainly pawns of political leaders or whether students constitute an increasingly independent political force are not feasible. We require, at least, more understanding of the inter-action between political and student leaderships and between national political and local academic issues than is currently available.

A common characteristic of student unrest in the NEA area is its undertones of anti-Americanism. In some cases the more radical students are the principal activists in student demonstrations, and those with a leftist, Marxist, anti-American orientation are able to impose an anti-American posture on student groups. In other cases, the United States is often identified as supporting the regimes, at home and abroad, which the students are against.

While no NEA post judges current student unrest as critical or ranks students as a contemporary decisive political force, virtually all posts regard student unrest as an important potential agent of change in the years ahead.

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Collection of essays written by students in the period 1959-1965. Authors include several of the better-known spokesmen for left wing student groups -- Tom Hayden, Paul Potter, Todd Gitlin, Mario Savio and others.

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