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FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
	Agency: CIA		
#1 Memo	Helms to Johnson CIA letter 8-29-78 S 1 p	9/18/68	A
#1a Report	No. 0613/68 (dup. #4c, NSF, SI File) S 229 p	9/ /68	A
	"Student Interest"		

FILE LOCATION

NSF Special Intelligence File
CIA Report "Restless Youth" 9/68

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. W. Thomas Johnson, Jr.

This is the text on which my remarks at the Cabinet Meeting today were based. I hope you will find it useful and interesting.

Dirk
Richard Helms

Attachment - 1

Copy No. 25 - "Restless Youth" - No. 0613/68.

safe
18 September 1968
(DATE)

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FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101
1 AUG 54 WHICH MAY BE USED.

Authority CIA (47) Letter 8-29-78

By ip, NARS, Date 3-7-79

4.
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR WALT ROSTOW

FROM: ^{Tom} Tom Johnson

You might want to hold this in your files
in case the President asks for it. He
scanned it, then told me to read it.
This I have done.

Attachment

4a

5 INFORMATION

pp
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*rec'd
4:30p*
Wednesday, Sept. 4, 1968
4:45 p. m.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

MR. PRESIDENT:

Herewith an interesting CIA report on
activist youth around the world.

I will have an analytic summary prepared
for you.

Walt Rostow

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE attachment~~

*Put on my desk
C*

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Authority CIA letter 8-16-78
By if, NARS, Date 3-7-78

TRANSFERRED TO HANDWRITING FILE

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SANITIZED

4c

Restless Youth

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

NLJ 96-08

By us, NARA Date 6-26-97

SEPTEMBER 1968
No. 0613/68

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Conclusions

Youthful dissidence, involving students and non-students alike, is a world-wide phenomenon. It is shaped in every instance by local conditions, but nonetheless there are striking similarities, especially in the more advanced countries. As the underdeveloped countries progress, these similarities are likely to become even more widespread.

A truly radical concept of industrial society and its institutions prompts much of the dissidence--but it, alone, does not explain the degree to which young agitators have won a wide following in such countries as France, the Federal Republic and the United States.

Some measure of dissidence is traceable to generational conflict, psychic problems, etc. But most owes its dimension to the number of students, a profusion of issues, and skillful leadership techniques.

The proximate causes are rooted in the university; they are chosen for their appeal, for the support they will engender. However, the confidence of the agitators in the likelihood of their being able to expand a limited protest rests--sometimes fragilely--on a growing base of student cynicism with respect to the relevance of social institutions and to the apparent gap between promise and performance.

Perhaps most disturbing of all is the growing belief of the militants--and many less committed young people--in the efficacy of violence as a political device.

The Communists can take little comfort from any of this, even though Moscow and its allies may exact fleeting advantage from the disruption sowed by the dissidents. In the long run, they will have

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to cope with young people who are alienated by the more oppressive features of Soviet life.

Because of the revolution in communications, the ease of travel, and the evolution of society everywhere, student behavior never again will resemble what it was when education was reserved for the elite. The presence in the universities of thousands of lower- and lower-middle-class students has resulted in an unprecedented demand for relevant instruction. Today's students are a self-conscious group; they communicate effectively with each other outside of any institutional framework, read the same books and savor similar experiences. Increasingly, they have come to recognize what they take to be a community of interests. This view is likely to influence their future political conduct and to shape the demands they make of government.

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Preface

Thanks to riots in West Berlin, Paris, and New York and sit-ins in more than twenty other countries in recent months, student activism has caught the attention of the world.

What are the students in New York, Paris, Rome and Buenos Aires trying to tell us? What do they have in common?

Apprenticed to but not yet part of the "System," the activists and malleable fellow students are not restrained by the sanctions which most adults place on themselves. Pragmatic and searching, they refuse to accept many of the premises of an older age; instead, they retreat to gut reaction. Their mode is indignation.

Some of the activists clearly are unwilling to participate in the political process. Their choice of tactics is dictated by a conscious wish to disrupt. A far larger number wish only to reform our social and political institutions so that they will be more responsive, less ponderous.

The optimism of the anarchists is a hallmark of youth. So, too, are the energy and rebelliousness which provide student protest so much of its thrust. The protesters, after all, are adolescents or post-adolescents; the vehemence of protest cannot be understood without some appreciation of the emotional crises attendant on both stages of development.

Some adolescents rebel against their families, bridging the gap between childhood and maturity within the confines of the family; others displace this rebelliousness on to authorities beyond the home--the school, the law, the state. Some, such as those who were active in the early 1960s in the Civil Rights Movement, succeed in doing so in ways that win the approbation of the community. When this occurs the consequences more often than not are constructive--both for society and the individuals involved.

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This paper is an attempt to explore the reasons underlying student unrest. Part I examines such questions as motivation, history, leadership and tactics.

Part II consists of a series of country chapters chosen to illustrate the influence of local conditions on the evolution of dissent and the many forms it takes. The chapters on France, West Germany, Italy and the Communist states of Europe--the USSR, Poland and Yugoslavia--highlight the remarkable parallels between East and West in patterns of dissent. The chapter on the Netherlands suggests some of the ways an enlightened government in cooperation with the universities can anticipate and may be able to defuse student dissent. Those on Africa, India, Iran, Turkey, and Indonesia explore the problem as it is found in emerging states. The chapter on Japan highlights the consequences of mass education and points to the degree to which the political system in Japan has come to accept student activism as a quasi-legitimate expression of legislative opposition. That on China treats the phenomenon of the Red Guards which all too many commentators see as little more than a Maoist version of the western dissidents. The Argentine chapter discusses the effects of the 50-year-old Cordoba Reform on Latin American education and the efforts of the Ongania regime to depoliticize students; that on Brazil has a more current focus.

This paper does not discuss the broader Peace Movement to which organized student groups contribute manpower, the Communist Party/USA, or any parties of the Left--except insofar as they contribute to student dissent. Nor does it deal directly with the Civil Rights Movement, the latter-day current of Black Power or urban riots or violence in American society. These have been the subjects of study by the President's Commission on Civil Disorders and the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

Neither does this paper discuss such symptoms of alienation as the use of drugs, the so-called hippies or teenage runaways, even though all are symptomatic of many of the same problems which fuel organized dissent.

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