I ACCUSE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
All the conversations to follow are accurately reported -- because we know how they talk.

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USE ACCORDINGLY.
HARVARD UNIVERSITY:

CRITIQUE OF THE STRIKE

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Behind this appearance of wealth is hidden the most human misery: the additional emptiness formed by so many lives that side-by-side never meet. Energies that no longer know what to search for because they have everything at their disposal.

In this general morass could drugs constitute a breath of fresh air, an outstretched hand which would allow them to grasp (bte) life at last?

Everything that American society has been able to supply to those from whom she expects her future and her continuation, she has invested in Harvard.
Good, but I'm not sure why.
I don't know why.

One can wonder by what reversal the ones who have
from America.

beautified music ever to come to
real human warmth and the most
an apparent misery, a living force,

Harvard, center of all same-

recipes for survival, so
be so many doubts.

be so many doubts.
of its ascent to
now at the height.

be beautiful, all its
produce: all its
has become to
capitalist economy.

huge force of

I'm tired of them.

I had to keep my milk:

But I had to freeze.
Once upon a time, Harvard was respected; but the excellence of bourgeois culture has vanished. There was once a vision— if an ideological one—of a liberal bourgeois university but as its social base disappeared, the vision became a banality. Yet the Harvard student persists in his belief that he is lucky to be there, not knowing that he has arrived too late. In the age of free trade capitalism, when the "liberal" state left the university its marginal freedom, it could think itself autonomous, independent of political and economic influences.
Men of Harvard! Whoever passes through our hallowed halls will succeed. How, could they not? From the right to the left we have the professional specialists in the country. Harvard is not a class institution. We have room for three blacks and a couple of lower class whites to preserve the appearance of democracy and equal opportunity. If you want to study here at Harvard, give me money but first tell me who your father is.

Of course, even then the university was purely a product of the needs of that society, particularly the need to give the sons of the privileged minority an adequate general culture in preparation for their place within the ruling class. To some extent, Harvard still serves this function. You can find the sons of Rockefeller and Kennedy there; but times have changed. Free trade capitalism has given way to an oligopolistic capitalism which is itself gradually being absorbed out of the hands of the bourgeoisie by the state and its operational arm, the bureaucracy. And the capitalist university has acquired new and more central functions. Now Harvard - even Harvard - is becoming the servant of the Planned Economy, the honest broker of technocracy and its spectacle.
I ACCUSE you

PROFESSOR-SCHOLAR TYRANTS
OF BEING MERE PUPPETS
 Whose only function is
 TO CREATE MORE PUPPETS
 LIKE YOURSELVES. YOU USE
 YOUR INTELLECTUAL FACILITY
 TO ENTICE STUDENTS TO TAKE
 THE SAME BRIBE YOU HAVE
 TAKEN, IN SELLING YOUR
 LIFE FOR YOUR SURVIVAL.

YOU BURY YOUR CREATIVITY AND JOIN IN COMPLICITY WITH
 THOSE THAT RULE YOU.

I ACCUSE you of

BEING PROFESSIONAL PIMPS
SELLING THE LIE UNDER THE BANNER
 OF "VERITAS".
It seems likely to me that 1984 is just fifteen years away.

Don't draw hasty conclusions, young man. Have you read as I have? Marcuse, Daniel Bell, C. Wright Mills, Trotsky, Lipset, Sam Huntington, Galbraith, etc. etc. blah, blah, blah? You know, if you read all these works, you'll understand that things will be as they are now because that's the way things are.
I'm just a specialist in social psychology; you must also talk to sociologists, political scientists, philosophers, etc., to get a complete view, and perhaps in your case, a psychiatrist would help!

The professor intimidates the student with the enormity of the world; he inundates the student with a mass of details. In order for the system to function it is necessary for people to have a fragmented view of the world; the student must understand that the world is so complex that the most he can master is his own specialized field. Others decide how his living activity will be used. The lackeys who serve the bourgeois corporate-military system maintain the myth that capitalism is natural and irremovable. Yet, they themselves are a prolongation of the same bourgeoisie who, as a class, destroyed the nobility and the entire ideology and religion which had sustained that social order.
I have a friend, a specialist in black management. He was sent to Montreal last January with the riot control force of sociologists.

Let's hope it's a real step towards solving this type of social disturbance on an international level.

Yes, at last sociology proves that it is a real weapon in the hands of the international powers of coercion. We can adjust the troublemakers to fit back into the established order.

*We remind the curious reader that this event occurred after the administration of Sir George Williams University could no longer cope with rebelling students. The efficiency of this squad of sociologists was somewhat put in question when these rebellious students took the exemplary action of completely destroying the university computer center.

Sociologists and psychologists are cops. They reinforce the law—the irrefutable rules of capitalism—by finding effective ways of recuperating those who disobey the law. They have the power of coercion and cooptation, which tend to be substituted for the far less subtle form of clubs and bullets.

Peaceful coexistence explains what we already know that gangsters can get on very well with one another despite their spectacular divergencies.
Our salvation in these troubled times comes only from science. Only science is objective. Only science can allow man to fulfill his old dreams: flying to the moon; extending his life span.

THERE IS NO SALVATION coming from a science devoted to the perpetuation of capitalism. A science which services the corporate-military system at the same time it prepares the way for the international rationalization of the commodity system and the consecration of the Logos for the Cybernetic State:

I AM THE PRODUCT OF THAT SCIENCE.
Our business is different from that of the social scientist. We really transform the world.

The scientist as the manual worker, is alienated from the product of his labor. His own creativity, his partial practice, is returned against himself. Atomic energy like a Frankenstein has been turned against its discoverers, in the form of an uncontrolled force. The scientist is possessed.
If the scientist doesn't want to completely oppose his fragmented practice, he falls into the humanist moral monologue which does not change his life nor daily life in capitalist society.

The manual and intellectual worker can not avoid the separation of their life between what they are and what they do unless they become dialecticians, unless they rule their own lives! The problem is not to deplore the fact that the product of one's work is used against the Vietnamese but to refuse this alienated work, to refuse to do research for the capitalist system.

Though the scientist constructs instruments that condition and, through the colonization of the totality of everyday life, transform the world, he just perpetuates the world of capitalism. When he extends the life span, he only extends survival, he only increases the time of exploitation and boredom.
Let $x$ be neutralization of the armed forces of state power.
Let $y$ be a split in the ruling class.
Let $z$ be the provision of protection & comfort for the masses by the revolutionary forces.

$$x + 2x + 4x + 6x + 8x = 420$$
$$21x = 420$$
$$x = 20$$

$x$, $y$, $z$ are the necessary conditions for revolution in an advanced industrial country.

- $x$ can't be met.
- $y$, possible but unlikely.
- $z$, maybe.

Because these three objective conditions are not met, there cannot be a revolution in this country. PLEASE, PLEASE, PLEASE.

I don't want to give up my yacht, my water-tight safe for papers and books and my skiing in St Moritz with Marcuse!

Professors are mystified into thinking that their job is to seek the truth. Actually, as professional techno-specialists, their job is to protect their job, to market the commodity of fragmented reality.
As a professional sociologist, my life has become my file, all my thoughts, feelings, emotions, and experiences are in my file. When I get confused or bored, I simply shuffle through my file to get new ideas.

I am a miserable drunk. I hate philosophy, I hate teaching, I hate my students. But how can I leave Harvard where the people are the brightest. I am nothing now, but I would be even less without Harvard.

I have my own mini-bureaucracy complete with research assistants who toe the line and sort my banalities. It is important for me to do work and surround myself with underlaborers. That way, I seem important and don't have to face the fact that by giving up my creativity, I give up my life.

I use this do-it-yourself kit, no one in the office could be as much fun...

Bureaucratic capitalism contains the self-evident truth of alienation; it has brought it home to everybody far more successfully than Marx could ever have hoped to do. It has become commonplace as the disappearance of material poverty has merely revealed the mediocrity of existence itself.
Professors are eunuch robots. They substitute work for living creativity and convince themselves that life is not important. They react to the threat of students who express their sexuality and creativity in an unprofessional way by dehumanizing them, by manipulating and controlling them, by castrating them. Professors became direct tools of repressive socialization via their alienation. In accord with the dictates of state capitalism, professors pass on their own disease to their students: their separation from their own lives, sexuality, creativity. The competitive hierarchical trap in which students are caught is a hovel compared with the gigantic palace of mystification in which professors are caught. False consciousness is their profession.
I ACCUSE YOU STUDENTS of submitting to the authority of your new parents, the university, the authority that you reproduce by your own submission. I accuse you of perpetuating your subservient behavior by identifying with your masters and by hiding behind the student role; by taking refuge in an unreal present, by rotting in the putrescent culture in which you kneel down, by consuming the spectacle of your own image, the so-called "student life," by spending your life dying.

Hip-intellectual pseudo-radicals: your self-righteousness leads you to think that you escape this criticism. That is a mistake. Your opposition to authority is fake. While you cry out in apparent anger, you continue to eat the shit of classes, exams, grades, term papers and ideology at all levels. You pretend that you are no longer slaves because you have agreed to take on new masters along with the old. You consume your own alienation; you build ever more grotesque hierarchies of control; submit to fads, gimmicks, despair. Your anti-authoritarianism is not even skin-deep. The clothes of your masters disguise your actual nakedness. And there is something you refuse to face: the nothingness of the elite qualities with which you try to demonstrate your existence as living beings. You hide this nothingness, your fear, your loneliness, your despair behind the gaudy shield of your own dishonesty.
I can't sleep at night. I hate school and studying. I can't stand it here. I'm tired and bored all the time. I don't even enjoy screwing.

We could stay here and be bored by the half-life of being a student.

Well, let's consider the alternatives.

We could join the psychedelic left and take drugs.

We could join a commune and take drugs.

DYNAMITE!!

GROOLY!!
The things they can actually do are limited by their own limited imaginations. Until they step completely outside the limits that have been defined for them, they cannot imagine what is beyond those limits.

THE ILLUSION OF FREEDOM RECREATES THE FREEDOM TO ENTERTAIN ILLUSIONS.

Reich's discovery of the emotional pestilence, the major cultural achievement of the patriarchal, authoritarian social orders of the last 4,000 to 5,000 years of human pre-history, reveals the contradiction between the biological needs of natural sexuality and all forms of social repression. Bourgeois society has heightened this contradiction and increased the alienation and fragmentation of man from man and man from nature. Only dialectical consciousness can destroy the myriad forces working against life.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF LIBERATION PASSES THROUGH THE LIBERATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS
No longer will workers have to sell their labor to the capitalists. They can give it to the new socialist state and dedicate it to Chairman Mao.

Under socialism, the dictatorship of the bureaucrats, uh! ... I mean ... that is, of the proletariat, through the really democratic hierarchies, all workers will decide how to alienate their labor for the perpetuation of the party.

My name is Jared Lenin, I mean Israel. Down with exploitation in the name of the bourgeoisie; we will manipulate everyone in the name of the proletariat.
I'm a professional, both as philosopher and "revolutionary". Now that I'm an elite radical and an elite professor at this elite university I can really serve the people. Long live the worker-student oppression caucus!

By now you'd think they would know that work, the sale of your creative activity, is the root of alienation.

Forget your life, serve the people.

Maybe it's hot, but that's the same old shit.
FEEL GUILTY
ABOUT BEING A HARVARD STUDENT? BEWILDERED BY
THE SITUATION IN THE UNIVERSITY? THEN COME
TO THE SPECTACULAR
PL WORK-IN. SPEND THIS
SUMMER IN A CAMBRIDGE
FACTORY INSTEAD OF GOING
tO EUROPE. MEET REAL WORK-
ERS! CHOOSE YOUR COLOUR:
WHITE, BLACK, RED (very scarce)

No wonder PL fishes more at Harvard than anywhere else. If they fish well, it is because their ideological bait fits the fish. While they are young, these fish spawned of wealth and power, pose the question of how to use their lives. So, they are ready to bite any bait which tastes differently and gives the appearance of being in opposition to the old ways. But they make sure to eat only the best worms. PL has the best vanguard worms. PL uses marxist rhetoric to its own ends - the interests of a bureaucratic class. Whether they like it or not, they are not marxists. They belong to an international bureaucracy which is already in power.
Their fight is the spectacular fight for world-wide rationalization of the spectacle and the commodity system. The only difference between them and the bureaucrats now in power in the U.S. is that they want the Chinese socialist form of bureaucracy.

PL "objectively serves the interests of the working class" by using them as a tool to get power. But the actual proletariat (those who have no control over the use of their lives) understand and don't want to wage a struggle they have been losing for years by trusting the so-called revolutionary parties to achieve their own liberation. The only form of organization which is non-cooptable is the one the proletariat creates for himself in the revolutionary struggle: the formation of Soviets in 1917, of workers councils in Spain in 1936, in Hungary in 1956, in France in 1968. In the process of the revolutionary struggle for its liberation, the proletariat had and will have to fight as a common enemy the bourgeoisie and all those who tried and will try to represent them and to channel their struggle towards other ends than their own: THE WORLD REVOLUTION. (* and know it.)
My name is Che, uh! .... Mike Ansara. Believe me, I am saving you from T'L stalinism. I'm not elitist because you can all participate in my bureaucracy. I'm so moral, so honest, so true.

I'm the stockbroker of the left. If you want to make a revolution do it for funds.

We need the masses, the media. Therefore, the mass-media. The Old Mole will make this synthesis.

As soon as these are set up, the structures themselves will give a revolutionary orientation to the whole movement. With all these new revolutionary products, structures, and spectacles, people will want to consume revolution and they will make one.

The Old Mole isn't the only revolutionary structure we can set up. We already have Brazilian coffee beans, a coffee house. Soon, we'll have a movement school and a movement meeting hall. Maybe, we could even have some radio and TV station.

Is the Old Mole a hippie underground newspaper to corrupt your children? No! It is the Old Mole, an underground newspaper, a radical point of view, wherein the best information is presented. We are the apologists for the movement. We don't criticize it because it's all we have got! Because we don't know what to say anyway.
Marcuse* said we students are the revolutionaries. Therefore we are the revolutionaries.

How is the movement you're working in really going to change the world?

I go to meetings all the time so I never get a chance to think about that.

What do you do in your meetings?

We fight PL eye for eye, tooth for tooth, political ideology for political ideology.*

* see Old Mole issue # 17 & following.

Well! What's the difference between you and PL?

PL is stalinist, we are not. We are democratic.

We are busy finding a strategy opposed to PL's manipulative strategy. We use the best ways of organizing.

We have to make the University a privileged radical bastion of student power—while capitalism goes on all around us. Students will leave the university with radical ideas and will push for change. This is the way to get a new strategy for labor. We have to get people into the habit of being militant on all kinds of issues.
If we are going to go to the workers as organizers and teachers, we have to educate ourselves first.

**BOOM! MA-JOING**

‼️ ATTENTION NEW LEFTERS‼️

My course is a leadership course, a training ground for the leaders of the new revolutionary front. It is an absolute must for all up and coming new old lefters.

*Barrington Moore's course, of course! "Social Origins of Totalitarianism and Bureaucracy."

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If there is still a whiff of democracy in the new left, there is absolutely no subversive content in their actions. No theory, no understanding of the world situation. They substitute meetings and organizational shit work for practical revolutionary activity. Their weakness makes them easy prey for manipulators, bureaucrats, demagogues, ideologists, PLers, and self-made professionalists of the revolution.

Their strategies are only responses to PL strategies, and therefore they are unable to organize themselves at another level than the bureaucratic one. If their members are good militants, it means that they have a strong sense of duty - the duty of teaching others about the revolution. These teacher-organizers go to the working class as salesmen of their ideology but they have not done anything which will allow them to say:

"We have stopped the capitalist university. We won't let it function any more. It's up to you, now."
STRIKE!

Wherein PL and SDS join forces in a spectacular revolutionary appearance in order to sell political ideology.
Listen people...we...the situation is serious. The international movement is pushing us in the ass...everywhere there are occupations and strikes.

The people are hungry; they are fed up with eating the same old shit. Let's throw them a cadaver, the cadaver of old bureaucratic schemes, organizing demands, issues.

We have worked so hard to organize & educate the students. We pushed through Soc. Rel. Hq., we gave the old ideologies a new coat of paint, we waged a campaign against ROTC & Harvard expansion, we made it possible for the students to have objective revolutionary goals and remain students at the same time. They could have become revolutionary doctors, lawyers, engineers, psychiatrists, sociologists.

But a couple of days ago some Yankee started to divert our constituency from the real struggle. They are sabotaging the hard work we did for the good of the masses. They are disrupting classes. They are alienating the students who are already hard enough to radicalize.

We have to do our share. Are we going to be the last ones to take action? At the last NC we showed that we at Harvard are the avant-garde of the movement. We have the best issues and the best campaigns.
That fucking gang is neither serious nor political. All they want to do is have fun.

They have stolen the Crimson headlines from us for the last two weeks. They are stealing our popularity.

We have to do something to stop those hippy-anarchists. Shall we denounce them?

Those so-called revolutionaries can't do anymore than to reproduce Berkeley & Columbia as a spectacle, as a mystifying tactic in order to give them the appearance of revolutionaries. They perpetuate the illusion that they are revolutionaries by reproducing in an inert & mechanical way acts which were initially liberating & creative. They are keeping up with the fad of student unrest and feel themselves obliged to do spectacularly at least as much as their "revolutionary rivals"
Hey man, they're bugging me so much that I had the most awful nightmare. I had to go see my shrink.

And I told him things I could never tell you.

**WHAT ARE THESE CONSPIRATORS UP TO? WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN? WHAT THE HELL IS FRIGHTENING THEM SO MUCH? LET'S SLIP INTO THE NIGHTMARE...**

The whole thing started when I read in the Crimson that some anarchists from New York had disrupted classes at Harvard.
It seems that a van pulled up from somewhere, the people got out, and went to disrupt a class...

Well, here we are at Harvard, on the way to spread revolution all over the U.S.

I'm so angry, I'm going to explode if we don't do something.

Let's disrupt a class!

That sounds like fun!

Yeah!

O.K.
The problem of juvenile delinquency is one of adjusting the sick individual back into society so that he accepts his specific role in the general passivity.

Isn't the problem our society and not the individual who rebels against it?

You can't do that! CEASE & DESIST!

CLAP CLAP

That will do... I've been reasonable with you... But the show must go on! Janitors, call the cops!
Our clothes were dirty.

We provoke students who don't know they are not allowed to take their clothes off.

ELIOT HOUSE

YOU ARE
TRESPASSING
GET OUT!!

though abundance signals the end of scarce sexuality, all life is against the law in commodity society.

Won't you sit down & discuss the regulations we are breaking. Who makes them? Certainly not the students? Who legitimizes them?
Some liberal freaky students invited the so-called enraged to their suite to see what they look like. They want to have the best menage in Harvard. They invite anybody who don't look like just anybody.

The guys down the hall have a Siamese cat. The guy upstairs has a 42-foot boat. What's the big deal? The man across the hall has grenades in his bathtub to entertain the Cliffies.

O.K. we agree, we're fucking up the whole situation here in Harvard. I went to jail, but it was not for nothing. We are really together - let's have a meeting to discuss further actions.

Yeah, but let's prepare the action in the context of our total situation.

Bullshit, man. That's not spontaneous.

These so-called enraged entered a dialogue and abstractly defended the position of juvenile delinquency. They did not become delinquents (outside agitators) who were able to oppose and stop the daily activity of classes. They were not conscious of the complete situation. They did not know how to transform the classroom into a riot.

Although they were angry and subjective enough to have some life, this was not sufficient to make them pass beyond a repetition of previous action.
And the minimum distance between 2 people at the negotiating table should be...

You are no better than us, why are you using a microphone, a platform?

Why are you giving a lecture? Everyone knows it's a bad way of teaching...

That's the best way for me to keep control of my class. I've never seen them so involved in a situation.

Hmm... my course could become popular especially if I give up my mike & get down from the platform to show how tolerant I am.

In fact no one exposed what this guy was doing so he was able to head off a potential threat. For an ass like him, there was only one critique: throwing eggs.

Wow, white was really good today.
Politics is a somthing aut zero. Government is a natural phenomenon like zee hurrikane. Ve, kan schudy it but ve kannot kontrol it. Now, let us zit back objektify in our story tower und zee how it fuktions.

Zex ist a deeez ein aberrashun of ze speciess. Ve at Harvard are part of zee vave of programmed intellectual vill finally eradicate it completely.

What's a better way to brainwash manipul late several hundred students at once. Since moved I'm threatened by anyone who still has balls. The more students in my class, the more balls I can remove.

Government is bullshit. Power to the people. Why are you giving a lecture?

Anyway, you don't give us any alternative. What kind of society do you want?

He's right. He knows and we don't.

But you were asleep before.

So what? I come to class. Therefore what he says is right.

We applaud because he knows what we want.
By the last meetings liberals or anyone else could attend and add more confusion to the confusion. The level of criticism and the partialized actions of the so-called enraged were not sufficient to eliminate those who would stop them from acting. The concrete proposals made were left hanging in the air, and even those who made them did not act on them. It was the effective end of the enraged.
Back at the shrink...

Don't worry, son. You're still normal, & you can go back to class now. Anyway, those guys are in jail and we're safe. (You know, they called me a cop.)

You'd better get that SDS kid out of here. He knows too much.

Thank you, father. Can I come back next week?

SHORTAGE OF ROOMS HOLDS UP RESEARCH

DEAN OF MEN

There was no point in being afraid, but because these Stalinists require passivity and obedience, any action which contains some kind of life and subjectivity, even if it doesn't have the radicality which draws out the radicality of others - is enough to frighten them.
We have to do something.

Yeah! Let's do it today. While we're in control.

Let's use the tired triad of confrontation - repression - solidarity. It will still work!

Back at the PL-SDS meeting...

(to the tune of: On TWA UP, UP & AWAY)

WORK WORK EVERYDAY
HOW BEAUTIFUL
HOW BEAUTIFUL IT IS
TO FIGHT THE PL WAY!

(second anthem, to the tune of: "Solidarity"

ALL THE BUREAUCRATS TOGETHER
ALL THE BUREAUCRATS TOGETHER
ALL THE BUREAUCRATS TOGETHER
FOR SDS MAKES US ALL STRONG.

LET'S GO!
THIS IS IT! STRUGGLE NOW!
STRUGGLE SHARPLY! BUILD YOUR REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS! FIGHT TO
ABOLISH ROTC! FIGHT THE ATROCITY OF
HARVARD EXPANSION! STEP RIGHT
THIS WAY! TODAY ONLY, BEFORE
YOUR VERY EYES...

A REVOLUTION...

COME IN, COME IN!
What mattered was not who led the final push to occupy the building — but rather the very fact of occupation by a mass of students. The occupation had the character of a rebellion against the established order, against the authority of the deans. But the students did not go beyond a mechanical repetition of occupation to a complete transformation of the functioning of the university. They could have formed action committees to handle and escalate the situation they had created. But action committees were never formed — those who made the proposals presented it just as another drop of mist in the general sea of confusion, and they never acted on it themselves. The occupants were not masters in the hall they occupied; they behaved like followers of the leaders. The leaders knew that the cops would come. This was the only thing they hoped for, the most they wanted — to build support for themselves and not revolutionary action, to build the strike they were dreaming of for their self-satisfaction and justification as leaders.
BUST

I didn't think it would work, but it did. The tired tried worked again.

STRIKE! STRIKE!
SIEG! HEIL! HEIL!
SHUT IT DOWN!
come to repression. A few student leaders were arrested, but their imprisonment did not bring down the strikes. It showed a new level of political awareness and organization among the workers. The strikes continued and eventually led to the fall of the bourgeois government.

The strike was a spectacular event. It showed the power of collective action and the strength of the workers' determination. It was a turning point in the history of the workers' movement.
In the name of all the press, we want first to thank the administration who, during the entire revolution at Harvard, set aside a room for us so we could give you up-to-date coverage.

ABOLISH ROTC! Meet the 8 DEMANDS! ABOLISH ROTC! Meet the 8 DEMANDS!

STOP EXPANSION! MEET THE 8 DEMANDS! STOP EXPANSION! MEET THE 8 DEMANDS!

I feel just terrible about all the violence. Trustees, administrators, please, please give them some crumbs so we can all go back to classes.

Son, be reasonable. We're willing to meet you halfway. If you'll just like to have something, OK. Abolish ROTC? You learn in school how imperialism functions. Stop expansion? How can we live?

What a bunch of shit! We are trapped in a boring situation we wanted to expose. What should we say now? Peter, why don't you participate in the discussion for a few hours and show how enraged we are.

Giving the last show of their apparent opposition SDS etc. got together for a panel discussion in front of the TV screen. Each one explaining the validity of his ideological position. While the media continued its function of serving the dominant ideology. (Which includes the presentation of its spectacular apparent opposition.) The media does not belong to the masses which have in the revolutionary process to build their own set of communications. The whole scene was a masquerade where the so-called enraged were a part of the show they tried to expose.
False consciousness, illuminated by the sun of ideological spectacle, is characterized by its level of alienation. When consciousness gets rotten ideology oozes out—false consciousness mystifies the potential of its own life by giving itself to those who can prostitute it most. These hordes howling for the abolition of ROTC identify their anger with the calculations of their leaders. My anger comes from what happens to me everyday, from teachers, deans, bureaucrats, from the student situation which sucks out my life. The passivity nurtured by a bureaucratic apparatus develops only the self-satisfaction of its leaders, succeeds only in putting pseudo-acts through pseudo-events under the cover of pseudo-discussions.

All creative acts, all acts founded on autonomy and subjectivity are perceived as threats to the vast ensemble of Harvard University, and this includes the 'left'. Bureaucrats! Manipulators! Your demonstrations are merely nice walks. Your occupations are merely pre-occupations. Whatever you read about yourself in the media, NOTHING HAPPENED AT HARVARD IN APRIL 1969. Capitalism's military tentacles disappear from the campus when the capitalist university is cleaned out. Harvard expansion will stop when Harvard University is stopped. Let's be realistic—what seems impossible is what must be done: the destruction of the university. Any action which does not clearly demonstrate this aim merely perpetuates the capitalist university. And it is not only this university which has to be blown up—it is the whole commodity system which reduces us to passive spectators.
Wheras this project was undertaken by individuals at different points in their growth to consciousness, i.e. to revolutionary coherence (unity, totality) as persons, and

Whereas there was more or less lack of engagement in the practical task of carrying out the project—due partly to unavoidable difficulties of spatio-temporal coordination, and

Whereas the struggle against bourgeois mystification, i.e., domination of consciousness, is a permanent process of dialectical praxis or it is nothing,

Then it is minimally for these reasons that this cartoon critique was partial only, and to that extent incoherent.

Roger Grégoire
Colette Burchot
Jon Supak

Hannah Ziegellaub
King Collins
Sue Crane