

SPECIAL LAST ISSUE

The Daily Californian

VOLUME II, NO. 82

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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TO OUR READERS

In the face of declining readership and a lack of enthusiasm on the part of our staff, the Daily Californian has, after much consideration, decided to cease publication. This move is not as drastic as it may seem, and in fact is a logical step at this point. It is clear that times have changed here at the University, and there is no longer any real need for a daily publication such as ours. Recent issues of the Daily Cal have contained little more than sports reports and notices of course changes - most students throw their copies away soon after they receive them.

Perhaps our biggest failure has been in our political coverage. We had hoped to serve as a platform for a new student movement that would become involved in such issues as community control, the City Council, war resistance, etc. Unfortunately there has been little response from the student community. Berkeley students may have militantly protested Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor, but after a while the issues were lost in the looting and wanton destruction of Berkeley businesses. Once attention was concentrated on People's Park, everything returned to the same old routine - while the anniversary of the Park is commemorated by many, most students continue to attend class.

We have tried to bring over important changes and felt it useless to pretend otherwise. We could of course continue with our coverage of the dull day-to-day (non-) events of the University, but we would prefer not to. The conditions of student life cannot be changed by such things as the "news" the Daily Cal has offered. We must also admit that many of us were involved in this enterprise for purely financial reasons. We would like to thank our advertisers for providing us with a steady clientele, and all those who have contributed, in whatever way, to making the Daily Cal what it was.

As this is our last issue, we have broken with tradition and turned our pages over to a group of people who have never been part of our staff. Their critique of the university and student life is contained in the following pages.

Goodbye and thanks!

The staff of the Daily Californian

Message from the Chancellor

On behalf of the University, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for the important function that the Daily Californian has played for so long in the smooth running of our academic community.

Although it was formally separated from the University for almost a year, the Daily Cal continued to serve the needs of the University and its student population. Along with the SLATE catalogue, the Daily Cal performed an especially vital service in providing class descriptions and schedules, as well as keeping the student body informed of the numerous cultural and social events that make U.C. such an exciting, stimulating environment. All in all, the Daily Cal's status as the most widely-read newspaper on campus was well-deserved; it remained to the end an exemplary spokesman for student interests and concerns.

Far from being a disruptive influence at the University, the editorial views espoused by the Daily Cal consistently had a healthy effect. Fortunately, the staff never had anything to do with those few extremists who advocate destroying the University. Instead,

these students channeled energy into programs of constructive change, seeking responsible solutions to the complex problems of modern society. I was especially pleased with the contribution made by the Daily Cal towards the election of a new City Council last year, which persuaded so many dissatisfied students that meaningful change can be accomplished within the framework of the existing system. We administrators and our colleagues in business are always glad to see young people participating in our institutions; indeed, we could hardly ask for more.

The administration truly regrets the Daily Cal's cessation of publication. The University is losing a long-time friend, and it will be exceedingly difficult to find an alternative which can perform so many roles as well as the Daily Cal did. My sincere thanks and best wishes to all those who participated in its publication.

Cordially,

Albert Bowker,
Chancellor.

Shop in Berkeley - it's a steal!



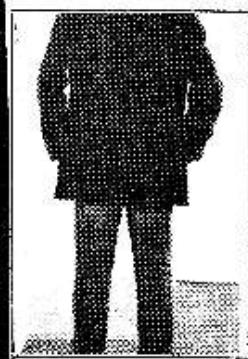
As owners of the small shops near campus, we feel it necessary to express our concern over the outbreak of looting that occurred during last week's disturbances. Why did people loot? It had nothing to do with the war, for many of us had taken a strong stand against Nixon's foreign policy. Apparently these criminals feel that consumption is as alienating a function as work and therefore they see no reason to pay for things that can just as easily be taken. For these vandals, things are to be played with rather than paid for. It is clear that this kind of logic could lead to a situation where everybody could do as he pleased without any concern for the rules of commodity exchange.

As if the looting weren't bad enough, there is another problem which we confront daily - that of shoplifting. It's almost impossible to catch shoplifters; they are cool-headed and often work in teams, and their innovative methods enable them to steal almost anything (clothes, books, food, records). Since we would prefer not to bring in the police (which would ruin our image), we are calling upon the members of the campus community to help us in combating this problem. Until this wave of theft is stopped, we will be unable to continue as merchants in this area.

Rather Ripped Records
Honest John's
Braum's Leather

The Old Garage
Wholly Foods
Moe's Books

Cody's Books
Gramma Bookstore
& a host of others!



NOW YOU
SEE IT...



NOW YOU
DON'T!

COMMODITY CIVIL-WAR!



Since we have long enjoyed the patronage of the Berkeley student community (who in fact own our business), we at Leopold's Records want to express our appreciation to all of you who have joined our call for a boycott of Tower Records, thereby distinguishing between "good" and "bad" commodities. Although the records sold at Tower's and Leopold's may in fact look the same and are, in fact, produced in the same factories by the same alienated labor, our records are "pure" records (and they cost "less"). But the current conflict between Tower and Leopold's is, after all, not a struggle between the records themselves but between two different ideas of capitalist enterprise, one being traditional pig capitalism (Tower), the other (Leopold's) its modern hip variant. If you do business with us, you are afforded an opportunity to participate not only in the alienating act of consumption but in the reform of capitalism as well. After you have bought your record you can rest assured that your money will be used for "worthwhile" causes which help to perpetuate the existing system of bourgeois society by making it more "personal." These "humanitarian" gestures on our part help us in soliciting your business because we know that you will feel less guilty about spending money if it will do some "good." Good consumers that you are, you would never steal from us (let alone Tower).

Thank you,

Student-Owned (polit-) Bourgeoisie.

THE END OF THE UNIVERSITY

ALIENATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS

It is as if an exorcism were necessary. Last week all the ghosts of the past returned to haunt Berkeley. The New Left rose up from its grave to inspire a week of demonstrations and mass rallies against the escalation of the Vietnam war; People's Park was reclaimed and built up anew. If anything that occurred last week could be called radical, it was not to be found among these phantoms - the acts of looting and destruction of property could have provided a starting point for a radical movement that called everything into question. But no - the rioters decided to become amateur gardeners and make their Memorial Day offering at People's Park, and life went on as before.

Throughout all the commotion, the university remained unscathed. Most students didn't even participate on any level; they continued their studies as docile as ever. Students really aren't interested in much of anything, and the authorities are at a complete loss to explain this - all they can do is eagerly accept it, interpreting it as a sign of their success. For their part, the bureaucrats of the New Left, in an attempt to stave off defeat, can only beat the dead horse of ritualized "student protest," attempting to enlist support for the same old causes.

But who is this "student" for whose attention everybody clamors? His life is as miserable as anyone else's, despite his pretensions to the contrary. Although he tries to ignore the poverty of his daily existence, he cannot escape a certain feeling of uneasiness with his position - he is not really sure why he is attending the university, even though he might think that getting a degree is for his own good. He has no illusions about the quality of the work he does - he can just as easily buy his papers from Tempapers Unlimited, or sell what he writes for extra money if need be. His days are spent in the crowded theater of the lecture hall, deliriously writing while the professor dreams away, or sinlessly scribbling on his note-pad. He can only escape the tedious routine in his day-dreams, which transport him far away from the classroom into a pleasurable world of his own. But although he is dimly conscious that anything would be preferable to his present predicament, he recognizes that life must go on as usual. He goes about his activities in a business-like way, buying the right textbooks at ASUC, studying his lecture notes, etc. Supplements -

ALTHOUGH EVERYONE IS A "GOOD STUDENT" HERE, NOBODY HAS ANYTHING TO SAY TO EACH OTHER, SURE THE MOST PETTY DETAILS OF THEIR CLASSROOM "LIFE". BEHIND ALL THIS SILENCE LIES AN ENFORCED ISOLATION - ONE PERSON ALONE EVEN IN THE MOST CROWDED LECTURE HALL. THE HIGH RATE OF STUDENT SUICIDES IS ONLY A SYMPTOM OF THIS SEPARATION WHICH CAN'T BE CURED BY MORE PSYCHIATRISTS OR SMALLER CLASS-SIZES. IT IS A SOCIAL DISEASE WHICH STEMS FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY ITSELF. CAPITALISM CAN ONLY ESTABLISH ITS UNITY BY ISOLATING INDIVIDUALS FROM EACH OTHER.



try visits to the library and two hours of homework every night occupy the rest of his time.

The student's entire life, in fact, revolves around and is determined by the educational process. When he enters the university, he achieves a certain degree of independence from his parents, and for the first time it is possible for him to choose his own living arrangements. However, all of these "privileges" are directly related to his status as a student, which is defined from the outset as a transitory period preparatory to his future career. With his "independence" programmed in this way, he remains a student in everything he does - an eternal voyeur who consumes entire life-styles as easily as he consumes politics and culture. The sequel of his "hip" life-style is reflected in the attention he devotes to utter banalities; his favorite reading matter is Rolling Stone, because it packs all these banalities under one cover. Dope, new records, water beds, fancy clothes - all of these packaged commodities are avidly consumed by the student, with occasional visits to the Art Museums and a concert or two thrown in for "high culture's" sake. Junkies don't just hang out on Telegraph Avenue; the real ones are walking around campus. These addicts betray no needle-marks which would give away their habit.

Their faces are well-scrubbed and they can be found at pre-enrollment, making sure they get into the right classes; at the record stores, buying the latest offerings from their pop idols; and at all the "right" films. Indeed, they attempt to be "right" in everything they do.

Of course, the student doesn't want to admit his preoccupation with the banal; for form's sake, he will espouse all the correct humanitarian causes, denounce the latest bombings, support racial equality, etc. He is in no way "apolitical," but the brand of politics he professes is quite curious; while proclaiming himself to be "fed up" with the system, the student goes out and registers to vote in the same breath. Although bored with the New Left, the student will once again embrace its mystifications given the slightest provocation. A U.S. air-raid over North Vietnam will see him return to the "pounce" circuses of 1968 shouting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh." It's as if these people had been standing still for four years; despite the global changes which disprove all the fantasies he entertains, he continues to cling to the simplistic slogans of "anti-imperialism." He will denounce the university's treatment of him as an "IBM Card," but he religiously buys the STATE Catalogue every quarter to find the glasses that will make his

education more "meaningful" to him. In short, he absorbs his political beliefs as he absorbs his textbooks - through his eyes.

What has happened to this supposedly "radical" student? Why does he now acquiesce in the functioning of the university? When one walks around the campus and surveys the hordes of students pouring out from the buildings or listening to some small-time folk singer, it is as though nothing ever happened here. The memory of the movement in the university which began with FSM dissipates in the frantic rush between classes. Of the once much-dunned and praised creature like Student Revolutionary, one can only find a few shell-shocked veterans who linger on in the wake of the New Left's collapse and peddle their utopian wares in Sprout Plaza at noon. The only class struggle today's student knows or cares about is the struggle to get into his classes at the beginning of the quarter.

REVOLT AND RECUPERATION



It isn't enough simply to heap scorn on the student. Only a moralist or a psychiatrist would say that it is somehow "his fault" that he is the way he is. The student is not "apart from society" in some mysterious way - the same isolation that he confronts in the dormitories and communes exists everywhere in the world. He has no more control over the use of his life than does anybody else, and he has already revolted against this powerlessness, albeit in a more or less mystified form.

The history of this revolt must be examined critically. The disillusionment that many students have with political movements in general might not be completely without merit, although they were part of the initial failure of this revolt. The disintegration of the New Left, the only movement in America that has passed itself off as a radical opposition to capitalism, proved that the ideology on which it was founded was perfectly compatible with bourgeois society. Its collapse came as a surprise only to those who had accepted its illusions.

The initial large-scale outbreak of student "protest" that manifested itself in the 1964 Free Speech Movement, although it expressed the possibility of a real critique of the university, contained traces of the future New

Left illusions. Its appearance coincided with the height of the black civil-rights struggle, and the sacrificial notion that students can at best only act as a supportive force for a minority-led movement was present in the FSM's origins - the dispute began over the administration's denial of free speech to civil-rights advocates. All the various "issues" that were involved then - "humanizing" the impersonal university, allowing political literature to be distributed at Sprout Plaza - were no problem for the university to grant. But the importance of the FSM is due to the fact that the protest itself was not directed at exterior "causes", although these causes provided the movement's impetus. The vast majority of students who participated were rebelling against their role as students; they had at least begun to question their own lives in the multiversity that channeled them into society.

But the positive content of the FSM was rapidly lost in the growth of the New Left. Although it had arrived at a partial critique of some aspects of student life, it was never able to extend these insights into a genuine critique of the university and of society as a whole. Arising from a visceral response to capitalism's admitted "excesses" (Victims, the material poverty of the ghettos, pollution) the Movement consumed the image of oppression presented by the mass media, thereby accepting the system's definitions. Thus, the revolt of the New Left remained fragmentary and was immediately recuperated. Its critique of the university, despite the practical discoveries of the FSM, was ultimately as reformist as its critique of society. The Movement never went beyond a simplistic denunciation of the university as an "agent of imperialism and racism" - white students were made to feel guilty about attending college and engage in bitter struggles to extend this "privilege" to Third World "performers".

The contempt that many hippies and students have for New Left sects ("on a power trip") is not an unfounded one as it might seem, even though they hardly offer an alternative. Ensnared by the stimuli of the dominant society, where critical attention is everywhere diverted from looking at oneself, the New Left centered the struggle on behalf of abstract constituencies (the Blacks, the Vietnamese, etc.). In the process it developed its own hierarchy of movement cadre and "base", a manipulative practice supposedly "serving the interests of the people" - adopting the bourgeois organizational model of the "vanguard party" to serve its ends.

Whenever struggles arose that threatened to go beyond partial issues, the New Left would immediately attempt to divert them into the accepted framework of "protest." For instance, the spontaneous violence that erupted over People's Park in 1969 and the unconscious critique of urbanism that it expressed were channeled into a non-violent march that effectively resolved the tensions, preparing the way for more "enlightened" solutions such as letting the park be used as a community playground. Generally, however, the "ri-

ots" that occurred were never spontaneous expressions of the participants involved (contrast, for example, the Watts insurrection of 1965); they were simply acts of ritualized "trashing" directed against a convenient cog in the "war machine" (ROTC buildings, banks, research centers).

In fact, the New Left conceived of itself as a "fifth column" that fought on behalf of various ways of "national liberation" within the "belly of the imperialist monster." This cult of sacrifice is all that remains for today's occasional die-hard militant; an eternal crusader, this zombie rushes to embrace the "anti-imperialist" cause, waving the banners of Stalinist bureaucracies to demonstrate his "solidarity" with the Third World. In order to expiate his guilt, he organizes breast-beating demonstrations and rallies which every year get more and more boring and attract less and less people. Of course, the global nature of capitalism eludes him completely - he will never be able to figure out why China and America both supported Pakistan in the Bangla Desh conflict, and he prefers to ignore Nixon's recent visit to China as "unimportant." Even the students who once formed his entire audience aren't fooled by his rhetoric anymore - they know they can always catch the railroads announced in his leaflets on the six o'clock news.

Concurrent to the development of this short-lived political movement was the emergence of a so-called "counter-culture" - the idea of a "cultural revolution" played an important part both in New Left ideology and among "revolutionary" young people in general. The early revolt of youth in the late Fifties displayed a genuine rejection of the hopeless sterility of the dominant social order, and the later appearance of bohemian, drop-out lifestyles grew out of this rejection. But this revolt failed to pose a ser-

RESPONDING ONLY TO EXTERNAL EVENTS, THE NEW LEFT WAS INHERENTLY REACTIONARY. ITS ACTIVISTS WERE MILITANTS IN THE RELIGIOUS SENSE OF THE WORD: EACH ACTION THEY TOOK WAS A CONDITIONED, GUILT-BIDDEN RESPONSE. THE MOVEMENT'S CRITIQUE WAS FIXED ON THE MOST OBVIOUS; THE MOST VIOLENT ACTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION WERE THE ONLY THINGS IT COULD FIND THE NEW LEFT ABLE TO TURN INTO ITS REIFICATION;

ITS IDEOLOGICAL BASIS ENDED UP THAT ITS "OPPOSITION" WOULD BE ONLY PARTIAL



TO ESCAPE FROM THE DULLNESS OF THEIR LIVES, EVERYONE SEEKS PLEASURE IN THE CULTURAL ARENA. BUT HERE TOO, ONE IS CONSIGNED TO PASSIVITY AS A SPECTATOR - AT ROCK CONCERTS ONE BECOMES A MUTANT CONSUMER, FRANTICALLY TRYING TO EXPERIENCE LIFE VIOLENTLY THROUGH THE PERFORMER, WHO IS A CELEBRITY PRECISELY BECAUSE HE DOES NOT LIVE LIKE EVERYBODY ELSE.* THIS YEARNIG CAN NEVER BE SATISFIED BY CULTURE HOWEVER - PEOPLE WILL REALLY LIVE ONLY WHEN THEY ACTIVELY TRANSFORM THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE ITSELF. TO CHANGE LIFE, RATHER THAN TO CONSUME IT IS THE GOAL OF A TRULY REVOLUTIONARY PROJECT.



ious challenge to capitalism, precisely because it remained "cultural" in its scope; from the beginning it was (like culture in general) rigidly defined by the commodity form. The growth of the "counter-culture" was directly related to capitalist's development of new commodities to pander to the tastes of a burgeoning

youth market. Bohemian life-styles were made readily accessible with the purchasing of a few basic commodities: everybody was afforded the chance to become a Bohemian. Contrary to what such bourgeois ideologists as Marcuse might say, the "youth culture" did not signal a radical transformation of values. Rather, it was at all times subservient to the existing values - merely a hip parody of the dominant spectacle.

With the decomposition of the New Left and the counter-culture, their major characteristics return in grotesque caricature of themselves. The PRM's denunciation of the faceless multiversity is transformed into calls for the university to "serve the people" and into the impotent liberal concepts of "reconstitution" and the "anti-war university." People's Park's third anniversary is celebrated by the remaining faithful who flock to worship at an old shrine of past battles. There are no campus "issues" left for the Movement to exploit and "organize around" - women's studies now form the basis for many Comp. Lit., courses, and Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, and Native Americans each have their own departments and offices in Deinelle. At the same time the apocalyptic holocaust of the Haight-Ashbury becomes a oasis of record and clothing stores amidst the sordid junkie wasteland of Telegraph - and if that isn't enough, there are always the mystics and Jesus freaks who hang out around campus, resurrecting the stinking carcass of religion for those who are in need of such a special therapy program.

The "crisis of youth" has proved to be little more than a device whereby American society was provided with an image of its decay. In this melodramatic purgatory, the youth of America, (according to the demands of the media and the public) alternately played the role of redeemer and destroyer. The latter role was pushed to its extreme by the Weatherman terrorists, who played their satanic image to the hilt. But this "excess" was only temporary - now, American youth are committed to working within the sys-

tem. "Community control" is the latest farce conjured up to keep everyone happy, but despite the transition from violence to reform, the political logic remains the same - the terrorist and the social-donors are joined to each other by their incredible unities. False opposition in any form only oils the machinery of power, and the Movement's demise shows that any struggle that is waged on the system's terms is doomed from the start. Future movements in American universities cannot attempt to resuscitate the corpse of the New Left; they must take up where the PRM left off, without succumbing a second time to the Movement's long-discredited illusions. The dead must be left to bury their dead.

RITES OF PASSAGE



A truly revolutionary current will not develop within the student milieu until the university is considered and exposed for what it is, an integral part of capitalism which serves to integrate the student into the economic and social matrix of bourgeois society. In order to accomplish such a process of socialization, the university must dispense a certain kind of knowledge. All the ideologists of higher education, from Mao to Marcuse, who defend the university with their platitudes about "academic freedom" and the "humanizing" power of education must conceal what the student already knows - modern capitalism requires specialists and the university is here to produce such creatures. It is the gateway to the modern factories which disguise themselves as "research institutes," "office buildings," etc. Student "radicals" flatter themselves when they call the university the breeding grounds of the "ruling class," most students will be at least functionaries of the system.

The curricula offered at the university consist of nothing more than an immense number of differing, specialized programs, and within much of these academic niches lurks a career. The selection of a major is also a decision regarding one's future employment, but this vocational purpose is not disavowed by the student. He is quite aware of it and conscientiously plans his educational program so that he may arrive at a desired goal. Psychologist? sociologist? physicist? it doesn't matter much to the student,

CHARLEVILLE, 13 MAY 1871
CHEZ MONSEUR:

YOU ARE A TEACHER AGAIN. YOU HAVE TOLD ME WE OWE A DUTY TO SOCIETY, YOU BELONG TO THE TEACHING BODY; YOU MOVE ALONG IN THE RIGHT TRACK. I ALSO FOLLOW THE PRINCIPLE: CRIMINALLY I AM HAVING MYSELF KILLED, I DIE UP OLD IMBECILES FROM SCHOOLS; I SERVE THEM WHATEVER I CAN INVENT THAT IS STUPID, FILTHY, MEAN IN ACTS AND WORDS. THEY PAY ME IN BEER AND LIQUOR... MY DUTY IS TO SOCIETY, THAT IS TRUE - AND I AM RIGHT - YOU ARE RIGHT, FOR NOW, IN REALITY, ALL YOU SEE IN YOUR PRINCIPLE IS SUBJECTIVE POETRY; YOU DESTROY IN FEEDING AT THE UNIVERSITY THOUGH - EXCUSE ME - PROVES THIS. BUT YOU WILL ALWAYS END UP A SELF-SATISFIED MAN WHO HAS DONE NOTHING BECAUSE HE WANTED TO DO NOTHING. YOUR SUBJECTIVE POETRY WILL ALWAYS BE HORRIBLY WEAKED. ONE DAY, I HOPE MANY OTHERS HOPE THE SAME THING - I WILL SEE OBJECTIVE POETRY ACCORDING TO YOUR PRINCIPLE, I WILL SEE IT MORE SINCERELY THAN YOU WOULD! I WILL BE A WORKER: THIS IDEA HOLDS ME BACK WHEN MAD ANGER DRIVES ME TOWARD THE BATTLE OF PARIS - WHERE SO MANY WORKERS ARE DYING AS I WRITE YOU! WORK NOW! - NEVER, NEVER, I AM ON STRIKE...
~ A. RIMBAUD



Of course, those with a sense of social or cultural duty will be found littering the Humanities courses, but most change with the prevailing economic winds and take the most profitable path of study.

But if most students accept the rules of this con-game with little hesitation, it is equally true that there is little alternative. Contrary to what all the administrators and professors may say, the university does have a more mundane task than bringing "light" to the world. The various academic disciplines do not exist just to fill the pages of a catalogue, and they aren't purposefully numerous in order to afford students more of a "choice." Behind the plathora of courses lies a web-

eralized and socially necessary fragmentation of knowledge; a university "education" consists of a four-year term spent in the accumulation of fragments of "learning."

The dissection and compartmentalization of the student's mind is in effect a suppression of every conception of society as a whole. One is instead given various isolated perspectives (sociological, historical, etc.) with which to view the world. This ideological peep-hole limits the field of vision so that the student sees only frozen, isolated images of a totality of interdependent processes. This technique of mystification is subtle; the dissemination of pseudo-knowledge isn't the task of one or two "racist professors" but takes place in all lecture halls, consciously or not. Every professor, because of the role he must necessarily play as a mystifier, takes part in this.

Some of the young "hip" ones try to come on as your "friend," but beneath this facade hides the same old snobbery - he may not show his colors as rapidly as his balding, buffoonish colleagues who give themselves away by their senile walk up to the lectern, but he remains the purveyor of the same old academic hardware. Your servility is all any professor asks - keep patiently quiet and he will tell you the rest. For four years all the professors will keep you sitting, so ask the right questions, give a few pints of your blood, and you'll make it, but while you do you'd better keep your pants zipped up tight. All professors who take their roles seriously are after your ass as well as your mind.

The student's passivity isn't something he acquires through his own efforts. The society of the spectacle, where life is nothing more than a show, demands contemplation. In the mini-spectacle of the university, the student is given a little taste of how it's going to be from now on. The emptiness of the university is but a prelude to the shallowness of work and "leisure" (where one is only free to consume). If anyone thinks he is going to make it out of this state of affairs alive, he is sadly mistaken - most students are already dead, empty corpses that shuffle from class to class, ready for anything that anyone will stuff down their throats.

REVERSAL OF PERSPECTIVE



The poverty of experience forms the basis of the truly revolutionary demand - transform the whole of life! A desire to change everything in this world is what separates us from the feeble reformers of the Left. These social-democrats in crap will inevitably hurl the charge of "utopian," but their dislike of what is really radical only reveals the pseudo-revolutionary nature of their "opposition." All the washed-out militiamen of EHP, Red Sun Rising, etc. and their fellow travellers in the ABUCS bunch wish to do is kick out the same old crap in a different form. Their conception of "socialism," which glorifies that haven of the Puritan ethic, "Work, Duty, Sacrifice," the People's Republic of China, should reveal them as the sterile idiots that they are. These people are such good students that they hire their own professors.

While others babble about a "Critical University" and other such tripe, we seek the destruction of the university. This citadel of mystification will not crumble, however, until students quit being students and pursue a radical course of action against those who keep them where they are. This is obviously doesn't mean "dropping out" and letting someone else take your place on the production line, but engaging in the systematic sabotage of the university, scandalizing it to the extent that it can't go on as before.

Certainly, this revolutionary activity cannot confine itself to the campus or to students alone; the struggle against the university must be conceived of as a struggle against capitalism in general. This struggle exists wherever people try to seize control of their lives - it is present in every wildcat strike and every act of sabotage on a factory assembly line, but it has yet to find its adequate theoretical and practical expression. It must avoid the pitfalls of the New Left if it is to go anywhere.

These clowns, Stalinists are hardly worth talking about, other than to find out what is not to be done. The only "help" that they can give proletarian movements is to scream "support the workers' struggle" whenever a union calls a strike, which only succeeds in tightening the grip of the union bureaucrats over its membership. The false opposition presented by the New Left has



MODERN SOCIETY PRESENTS ITSELF AS A SPECTACLE BECAUSE HERE LIFE HAS BECOME A SHOW EVERYTHING THAT WAS ONCE DIRECTLY LIVED HAS MOVED INTO ITS REPRESENTATION ONE NO LONGER LIVES ONE WALKS ANIMATE OR INERT.

IN THIS REIFIED WORLD, ONLY COMMODITY LIVES ONLY THINGS ALIVE BUT THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS ANNOUNCES ITS OWN DESTRUCTION EVERYONE HAS A SUSPICIOUS FEELING THAT THEY'VE BEEN HAD AND IT'S OUT OF THIS PROFOUND DISATISFACTION THAT THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE WILL EMERGE.

to be effectively superseded before a genuine revolutionary movement can develop; the revolution must be made over the ruins of all hierarchy and ideology. It must destroy anyone who seeks to represent it in the name of a particular vanguard party, for history has shown that those who practice Bolshevikism in any form are really aiming at replacing the existing hierarchy with a "revolutionary" one.

Historically, the proletariat revolutions of the past have provided the new revolutionary movement with a point of departure. The highest achievement of these revolutions was the establishment of workers' councils, democratic organs of self-management that administered all aspects of social life. The councils were practical discoveries that failed to the extent that they lacked an appropriate theoretical framework or succumbed to various illusions of the old world. But when they had the opportunity to develop in Spain, 1936, where the councils actually organized production, distribution, and defense, they arrived at the clearest foreshadowing of a genuine proletarian power in all time. This power was not a dictatorship of a party over the proletariat but was directly controlled by the workers themselves; coordination among various sectors and branches of activity was carried out through the election of delegates, who could be recalled at any time.

The defeat of the Spanish Revolution marked the end of the traditional proletarian movement, but it in no way marked the end of the struggle for self-management, which recently has been most clearly expressed in the events of May-June, 1968, in France. The students who fought on the barricades in the Latin Quarter exactly four years ago



were not doing so because they wanted the university to liberalize dormitory restrictions, contrary to the wishful interpretation of Movement backs. Rather, they were rebelling against their proletarianized status, against their enforced powerlessness - and they were joined in this by the workers who occupied their factories all over the country. For a few weeks the rioters who battled the police lived an authentic life in the streets of Paris, which was made all the more real after the return to the monotony of work.

The events of 1968 also provided an example of revolutionary activity within the university. Early in 1968, a small group of students who called themselves the Brûlés began an organized agitation on the campus of the University at Nanterre, a sterile, lifeless, "modern" set-up. These "campus hoodlums," as the liberal administration called them, were completely different from anything else that had previously beset the once tranquil University - in their style, in their ideas, and in the very way they went about communicating their activity. They had no respect for their professors, and did not hesitate to insult them and disrupt the normal functioning of classes. They had some mysterious relationship with the Situationist International, who had helped start such goings-on by instigating the famous Strasbourg Scandal in 1966, and they dared to say that the class struggle still existed! Undoubtedly they posed a serious threat to the well-being of professors and "leftists" alike. Disciplinary proceedings were taken against them, which launched off a wave of spontaneous action - and the struggle rapidly spread beyond Nanterre and culminated in the occupation of the Sorbonne.

The Brûlés played an important part in maintaining the direct democracy that was put into practice at the Sorbonne, always attempting to generalize the struggle beyond the confines of the university: the Occupation Committee (to which a few En-

ragés were elected) was directly revocable by the general assembly at all times. Unfortunately, the assertive bureaucratic leftist manipulators were always present to divert the struggle into the accepted channels, and when they eventually maneuvered themselves into control over the assembly, the Brûlés, along with the Situationist International, left the Sorbonne in protest. They formed a Council for the Maintenance of Occupations (C.M.O.), which published several tracts and carried on a program of agitation which called for the formation of workers' councils throughout France.

The possibilities made visible in 1968 have yet to find an adequate answer - what occurred then showed that radical action can take place at the university and everywhere, but Berkeley students have remained in a state of absolute impotence.

The average student, who is subjected everyday to the sonorous rambling of his professors and the unilateral communication of the media (including the Daily Cal) has yet to speak for himself. His "life" moves with the inevitability of an external fate; he is forced into a "dialogue" with a world he can't control. Unilateral communication presupposes the absence of mediation and hierarchy - in short, it requires the creation of a revolutionary situation in which everyone participates in the project of transforming society to conform with our desires. Speaking to you as we have done in no way establishes such a real dialogue; it is only a step in that direction.

In exposing the realities of student life at Berkeley, we have also outlined the nature of our game as revolutionaries. Tactically, we have invaded the drab domain of the Daily Cal - a newspaper banal enough so that most people read it - to present a critique of the university. The content of this critique speaks for itself; if we talk of daily life instead of the "pig Bowker", it is because the Chancellor deserves no more than a passing slap in the face, and because it is precisely an idea of his daily life that eludes the student. The knowledge of daily life will form a point of departure for its transformation.

But we aren't here to titillate the reader with some "new" ideas - we seek partners in a project we have already begun. Our critique will mean nothing unless it is put into practice, until our game and yours become one in a common program of revolutionary action. We have spoken for ourselves; it is now up to you to speak for yourselves.

Révolution is nothing less than an armed critique of society.
The first step of this is the seizure of the vital terrain of the **events** (means of production, schools, etc.) with an aim towards its complete transformation. Subversive activity must be developed everywhere, not in just one sector if an effective struggle against capitalism is to begin.

(1 - For more information on this, see the Situationist pamphlet On The Poverty of Student Life, available from us.)

who are these situationists anyway?

