

connected rather informally with private industry—has now become officially established in, for, and by the military order.”(30)

As I remarked earlier, the services rendered by American education to corporate capitalism are evidenced by the academic division of labor. According to James Conant, over 1600 different academic degrees are possible within our diploma mills; most of which parallel the skill demands of the new technology. But it is important to note that not only is the division of labor increasing within the universities, but also is occurring among the universities. Just as different factories can produce different kinds of commodities, different universities produce different kinds of students. A type of educational “pluralism” has been developing over the last few decades. The traditional Ivy League schools shape the sons and daughters of the ruling class and old middle class into the new ruling and managerial elites. The state colleges and universities develop the sons and daughters of the working class and petty bourgeoisie into the highly skilled sectors of the new working class, the middle sector white collar workers, and the traditional middle class professionals. Finally, the new community and junior colleges serve the increasing educational needs of, for the most part, the sons and daughters of the working class. This division of function both within and among our schools has a further strategic importance for radical organizing that I will comment on in Part Three of this paper.

So far, we have only seen the connection between the universities and the factories of industry in a secondary sense. It is true that there are parallels between the form and content of the educational system and large-scale industry. It is true that the same people determine the decision-making parameters of both systems. It is true that the non-teaching intellectual work—the innovation industry—produces a commodity directly consumed by industry. All of this is still not sufficient evidence to call our schools “factories,” except in an analogous sense. Before we can draw that conclusion, we must look at the primary function of our educational system—the work of teaching and learning.

A factory is the locus of the machinery of production, social in character, where men work together to produce a commodity for consumption in the market place. At that point, the commodities are purchased either directly by the public or by other sectors of industry. Furthermore, if one is a radical, there are strategic criteria about factories to be considered as well. Is the work done in the factory productive work; i.e. are the commodities produced both socially necessary and useful rather than inherently designed for waste, repression, and destruction? In other words, would work of the same nature, although transformed, be essential to a rational (i.e. socialist) political economy? These are the sorts of questions that must be dealt with before we can arrive at a radical

understanding of both our educational system and the new characteristics of advanced industrial society.

Work and Alienation Within the University

To begin, I will make a number of qualifications for the purpose of resolving disputes with other radicals before they happen. First of all, much of the work done in American education is irrational. Both the learning and teaching of many (but not all) of the manipulative techniques of bourgeois political economy that goes on in our schools of business administration, education, and social science can in no sense be considered productive work. However, while this is true of the university in part, it does not follow that it is true of the university as an objective whole.

Secondly, I am not trying to say that students are workers in the strict sense. At best, so long as he, his family, or his friends are paying for his education, his learning activity results only in the production of use value; i.e., the potentially socially useful increase in the future productivity of his labor power. However, to the extent to which the student is paid by private or state institutions to engage in specific kinds of intellectual work, his activity might in some cases be seen as commodity production; i.e., the development of the productivity of his labor power as an actual exchange-value, rather than as a potential use-value. This small number of students might be called workers. However, the position of most students is that of worker-to-be, i.e., trainee or apprentice. But as a trainee, it is important that we recognize that many students share many of the social relations and conditions of production with many of the skilled workers of large-scale industry.

Finally, it is true that many faculty members are becoming more entrepreneurial and developing many interests that are objectively bound up with the ruling and sub-ruling classes. However, to say this is true of all faculty members fails to take into account a kind of class division that is occurring within the faculty in American universities. Clark Kerr distinguishes three functional types within the faculty of the multiversity.(31) The top level faculty—the heads of departments, intellectual administrators, research promoters, and paid consultants—should be seen as petty bourgeoisie and managerial sector constituents who have their interests tied up with the ruling and sub-ruling classes. The second group, the traditional academics, should be seen as middle-class professionals in the classic sense. However, the third and largest group, the lower-echelon faculty who are primarily engaged in teaching in the mass production line of large classes should be seen as members of the new working class. Their objective interests are with the students and the working class in general, despite the significant problem of their false consciousness. This point is also of strategic

and tactical importance and will be considered in Part 3.

So much for the qualifications. What is the nature of the teaching-learning activity within our educational institutions that might permit us to call them "knowledge factories" in other than an analogous sense? First of all, we need to take into account a few historical factors. The growth of the American political economy in the last thirty years has been facilitated in part by the development of a new technology. The development of the new technology itself, the job displacements it created, and the increase in job skills required for its operation, created tremendous pressure on the state for the training of a highly skilled sector within the labor force. The working class, recognizing the need for the new skills, both for themselves and their children, also made demands of the government for both more and better education. Even at present, skill levels are rising at perhaps the highest rate in history. The government responded and is continuing to respond. According to Kerr, "Higher education in 1960 received about 1.5 billion from the federal government — a hundredfold increase in twenty years." (32) However, while the demand for expanding education comes from both the needs of a developing technology and from the demands of working class parents, it is the needs of the industrialists that structure the form and content of the educational expansion. According to Gorz, the state responds to capital rather than people, "...since the development of education falls under the general head of growing collective needs produced by monopolistic expansion...." (33) In the last few decades, the expanding reproduction and accumulation of a continuing increase in the productivity of labor power is an objective necessity of contemporary corporate capitalism. Kerr remarks: "Instead of waiting outside the gates, agents (of the industrialists) are working the corridors. They also work the placement offices." (34)

The colleges and universities have gone beyond their traditional task of socialization and acculturation. They are deeply involved in the production of a crucial and marketable commodity—labor power. Again Gorz comments, "...the work of learning (and teaching) of extending and transforming professional skills, is implicitly recognized as socially necessary and productive work, through which the individual transforms himself according to the needs of society (and industry)...." (35) It is this aspect of the university that is most crucial for the political economy. The production of an increase in socially useful and necessary labor power is the new historic function of our educational institutions that enables us to name them, quite accurately, knowledge factories. In this process of historical change, liberal education has been transformed into its opposite, and what we are witnessing is the advent of training and indoctrination. The core of the university, with its frills removed, has become the crucible for the production, formation, and socialization of the new working class.

What does the interior of the new knowledge factory look like? Where are the workshops? Specifically, these are to be found in the classrooms, the faculty offices, the study rooms in the libraries and homes, the psychological counseling offices and clinics, the conference rooms, the research laboratories, and the administrative staff offices. What kind of machinery can we find in these mental sweatshops? What kind of apparatus have our rulers constructed in the name of our enlightenment? The machinery of knowledge-production pervades the university. And, despite its apparent invisibility, it is no less real or tangible. The productive apparatus consists of grades, exams, assigned books, papers, and reports, all the curriculum and scheduling requirements, non-academic in loco parentis regulations, scientific equipment and resources, the mechanics of grants and endowments, disciplinary procedures, campus and civil police, and all the repressive and sublimative psychological techniques of fear and punishment. Most, if not all, of this machinery and the purposes it is used for are beyond the control of the students and faculty who work with it. All government, all control, all the parameters of decision-making have fallen into the hands of the administrative representatives of the ruling class. At best, hand-picked "representatives" of student and faculty "opinion" are pre-arranged. For example, female students are permitted to determine how strict or "liberal" their dorm hours might be; but the underlying assumption of whether they should have curfews at all is beyond question. Or, while some (but not all) college professors are free to teach what they please, they are not "...free to decide how to teach—whether in large numbers or small, in departmentalized courses or others, one day a week or five." (36)

In the past the work of teaching and learning was a two-way process—with the Socratic dialectic as its purest form. However, with the advent of the corporate state and its corresponding appropriation of the cultural apparatus, education has become increasingly one-dimensional. Teaching is reduced to an uncritical distribution of pre-established skills, techniques and "data", while learning is transformed into the passive consumption of the same. In its broadest sense, culture—that which is man-made—is turned into its opposite—anti-culture—the creature of expanding production. Education, meaning "to educate," to draw out from, has become something that the state gives to people. Finally, teacher and students, both dehumanized distributors and consumers of the knowledge commodity, become commodities themselves—something to be bought and sold in the university placement office.

But it is not enough for the knowledge factory to produce skilled labor power in the form of a raw material. The commodity must be socially useful as well. When describing the multiversity's machinery Clark Kerr tells us that academic processes and requirements are "...part of the process of freezing the structure of the occupational pyramid and assuring

that the well-behaved do advance even if the geniuses do not (emphasis mine)."(37) Our rough edges must be worn off, our spirit broken, our hopes mundane, and our manners subservient and docile. And if we won't pacify and repress ourselves with all the mechanisms they have constructed for our self-flagellation, the police will be called.

Like any good training program, the knowledge factory accurately reproduces all the conditions and relations of production in the factories of advanced corporate capitalism—isolation, manipulation, and alienation. First, the teaching and learning workers of the knowledge factory are alienated from each other, isolated and divided among themselves by grades, class ranks, and the status levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy. Secondly, they are alienated from the product of their work, the content and purpose of which have been determined and used by someone other than themselves. Finally, they are alienated in the activity of education itself. What should be the active creation and re-creation of culture is nothing more than forced and coercive consumption and distribution of data and technique. Throughout the educational apparatus, the bureaucratic mentality prevails. History and ideology have come to an end. Science, the humanities, even philosophy have become value-free. Politics are reduced to advertising and sales campaigns. Finally, government and self-determination become matters of administration and domination.

The Meaning of the Student Revolt

Our manipulators have overlooked one fundamental factor; there is one facet of human history to which the bureaucratic weltanschauung is blind. Men are not made of clay. Despite all the official pronouncements asserting the end of this or that, the well-springs of human freedom still run deep. All their attempts to teach ignorance in the place of knowledge have come to naught. The student revolt is an historic event. Someone (the Berkeley students?) let the cat out of the bag. The emperor has no clothes.

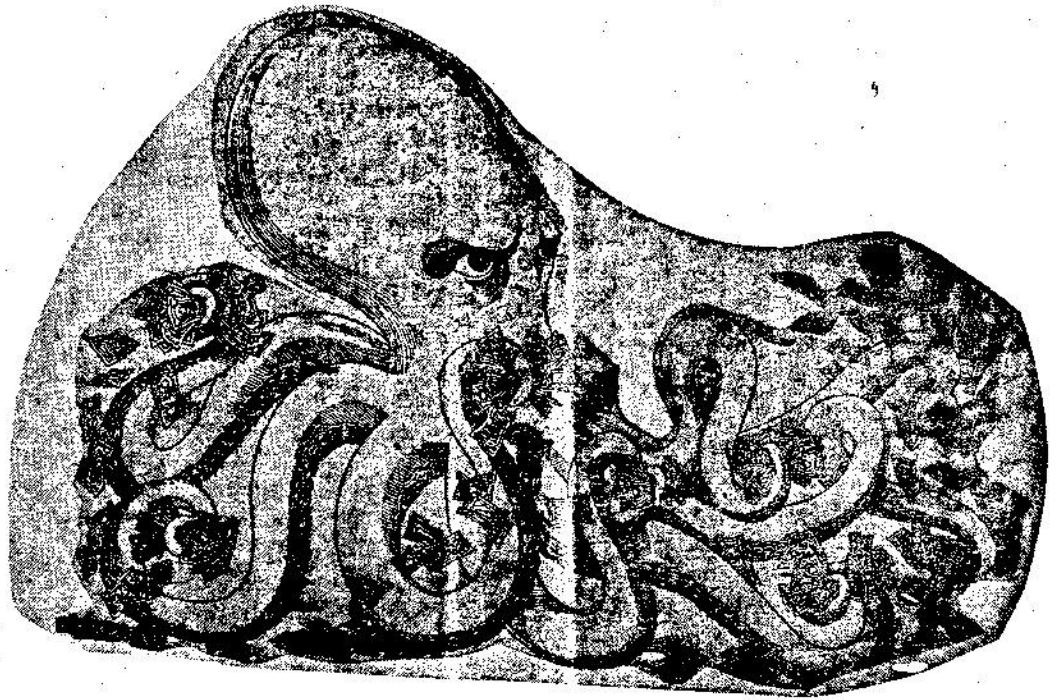
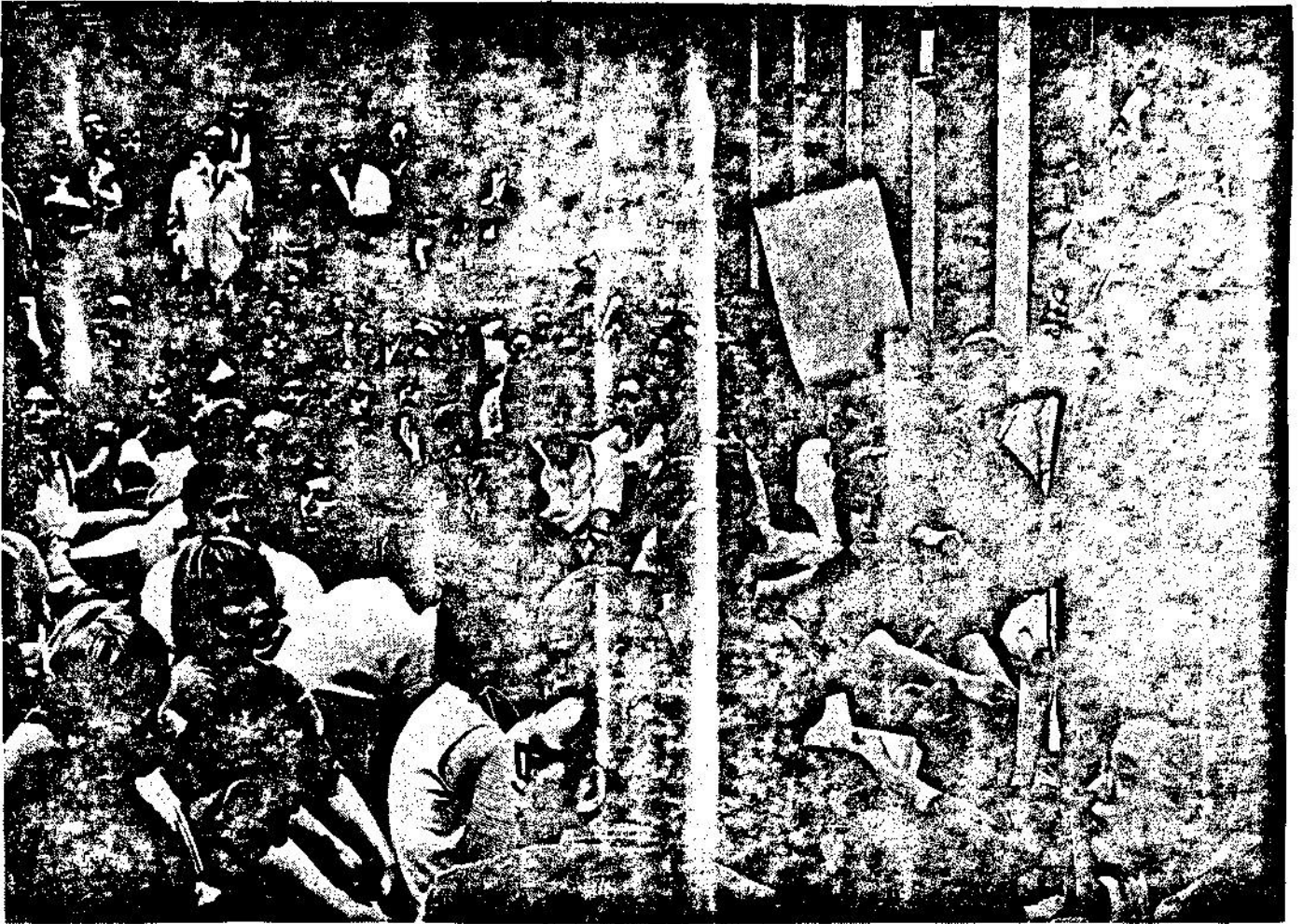
Our rulers are aware of this. The bureaucrats of corporate capitalism must cut back and control the quality of and content of "liberal" education. They know only too well that a widespread culture rising out of critical thought might challenge, during a crisis, the existing relations of production and domination. The CIA control of the NSA and other "cultural" organizations proves this only

too well.

But the corporate ruling class is not primarily interested in containing and pacifying us as intellectuals. Their real concern with us lies in our role as the highly skilled members of the new working class. As Gorz points out, "...skilled workers... possess in their own right...the labor power they lend."(38) Their skills are an attribute of themselves and not just the material means of production. Gorz continues: "...the problem of big management is to harmonize two contradictory necessities: the necessity of developing human capabilities, imposed by modern processes of production and the political necessity of insuring that this kind of development does not bring in its wake any augmentation of the independence of the individual, provoking him to challenge the present division of social labor and distribution of power."(39)

From this analysis, we can understand the student revolt in its most strategic and crucial sense. What we are witnessing and participating in is an important historical phenomenon: the revolt of the trainees of the new working class against the alienated and oppressive conditions of production and consumption within corporate capitalism. These are the conditions of life and activity that lie beneath the apathy, frustration, and rebellion on America's campuses. Andre Gorz predicted a few years back: "It is in education that industrial capitalism will provoke revolts which it attempts to avoid in its factories."(40)

Nevertheless, the "student power" movement is still vague and undefined. Its possibilities are hopeful as well as dangerous. On the one hand, student power can develop into an elitist corporate monster, mainly concerned with developing better techniques of "co-managing" the bureaucratic apparatus of advanced industrial society. On the other hand, a student power movement might successfully develop a revolutionary class consciousness among the future new working class, who would organize on their jobs and among the traditional working class around the issues of participatory democracy and worker' control. The character of the future movement will depend a great extent on the kind of strategy and tactics we use in the present. The struggle will be protracted, that is certain. There is no certain or pre-determined victory. We should not forget that 1984 is possible. And not many years away. But we have several years of experience behind us from which we can learn a great deal.



CORPORATE OCTOPUS

PART III: THE PRAXIS OF STUDENT POWER: STRATEGY AND TACTICS

Socialism on One Campus: An Infantile Disorder

Perhaps the single most important factor for the student power movement to keep in mind is the fact that the university is intimately bound up with the society in general. Because of this, we should always remember that we cannot liberate the university without radically changing the rest of society. The lesson to be drawn is that any attempt to build a student movement based on "on-campus" issues only is inherently conservative and ultimately reactionary. Every attempt should be made to connect campus issues with off-campus questions. For example, the question of ranking and university complicity with the Selective Service System needs to be tied to a general anti-draft and "No Draft for Vietnam" movement. The question of the presence of the military on the campus in all its forms needs to be tied to the question of what that military is used for - fighting aggressive wars of oppression abroad - and not just to the question of secret research being poor academic policy. Furthermore, the student movement must actively seek to join off-campus struggles in the surrounding community. For example, strikes by local unions should be supported if possible. This kind of communication and understanding with the local working class is essential if we are ever going to have community support for student strikes.

Radicalizing the New Working Class

If there is a single over-all purpose for the student power movement, it would be the development of a radical political consciousness among those students who will later hold jobs in strategic sectors of the political economy. This means that we should reach out to engineers and technical students rather than to business administration majors, education majors rather than to art students. From a national perspective, this strategy would also suggest that we should place priorities on organizing in certain kinds of universities - the community colleges, junior colleges, state universities, and technical schools, rather than religious colleges or the Ivy League.

One way to mount political action around this notion is to focus on the placement offices - the nexus between the university and industry. For example, when DOW Chemical comes to recruit, our main approach to junior and senior chemical engineering students who are being interviewed should not only be around the issue of the immor-

ality of napalm. Rather, our leaflets should state that one of the main faults of DOW and all other industries as well is that their workers have no control over content or purposes of their work. In other words, DOW Chemical is bad, not only because of napalm, but mainly because it renders its workers powerless, makes them unfree. In short, DOW and all American industry oppresses its own workers as well as the people of the Third World. DOW in particular should be run off the campus and students urged not to work for them because of their complicity in war crimes. But when other industries are recruiting, our leaflets should address themselves to the interviewees' instincts of workmanship, his desires to be free and creative, to do humane work, rather than work for profit. We should encourage him, if he takes the job, to see himself in this light - as a skilled worker - and of his self-interest of organizing on his future job with his fellow workers, skilled and unskilled, for control of production and the end to which his work is directed. The need for control, for the power, on and off the job, to affect the decisions shaping one's life in all arenas; developing this kind of consciousness, on and off the campus, is what we should be fundamentally all about.

Practical - Critical Activity: Notes on Organizing

There are three virtues necessary for successful radical organizing: honesty, patience, and a sense of humor. First of all if the students we are trying to reach can't trust us, who can they trust? Secondly it takes time to build a movement. Sometimes several years of groundwork must be laid before a student power movement has a constituency. It took most of us several years before we had developed a radical perspective. Why should it be any different for the people we are trying to reach? This is not to say that everyone must repeat all the mistakes we have gone through, but there are certain forms of involvement and action that many students will have to repeat. Finally, by a sense of humor, I mean we must be life-affirming. Lusty passionate people are the only kind of men who have the enduring strength to motivate enough people to radically transform a life-negating system.

Che Guevara remarked in Guerrilla Warfare that as long as people had faith in certain institutions and forms of political activity, then the organizer must work with the people through those institutions, even though we might think those forms of

action are dead ends.(41) The point of Che's remark is that people must learn that those forms are stacked against them through their own experience in attempting change. The role of the organizer at this point is crucial. He or she should neither passively go along with the student government "reformer" types nor stand apart from the action denouncing it as "sell-out." Rather, his task is that of constant criticism from within the action. When the reformers fail, become bogged down, or are banging their heads against the wall, the organizer should be there as one who has been with them throughout their struggle to offer the relevant analysis of why their approach has failed and to indicate future strategies and tactics.

However, we also need to be discriminating. There are certain forms of political action, like working within the Democratic Party, that are so obviously bankrupt, that we need not waste our time. In order to discern these limits, an organizer has to develop a sensitivity to understand where people are at. Many radical actions have failed on campuses because the activists have failed in laying a base for a particular action. It does no good to sit in against the CIA if a broad educational campaign, petitions, and rallies on the nature of the CIA have not been done for several days before the sit-in. It is not enough that we have a clear understanding of the oppressiveness of institutions like the CIA and HUAC before we act in a radical fashion. We must make our position clear to the students, faculty, and the surrounding community.

The Cultural Apparatus and the Problem of False Consciousness

In addition to its role in the political economy, it is important to deal with the university as the backbone of what Mills called "the cultural apparatus."(42) He defined this as all those organizations and milieux in which artistic, scientific and intellectual work goes on, as well as the means by which that work is made available to others. Within this apparatus, the various vehicles of communication - language, the mass arts, public arts, and design arts - stand between a man's consciousness and his material existence. At present, the bulk of the apparatus is centralized and controlled by the corporate rulers of America. As a result, their use of the official communications have the effect of limiting our experience and, furthermore, expropriate much of that potential experience that we might have called our own. What we need to understand is that the cultural apparatus, properly used, has the ability both to transform power into authority and transform authority into mere overt coercion.

At present, the university's role in acculturation and socialization is the promulgation of the utter mystification of "corporate consciousness." Society is presented to us as a kind of caste system in which we are to see ourselves as a "pri-

vilged elite" - a bureaucratic man channelled into the proper bureaucratic niche. In addition to strengthening the forms of social control off the campus, the administration uses the apparatus on campus to legitimize its own power over us.

On the campus, the student press, underground newspapers, campus radio and television, literature tables, posters and leaflets, artist and lecture series, theaters, films, and the local press make up a good part of the non-academic cultural media. Most of it is both actively and passively being used against us. Any student power movement should (1) try to gain control of as much of the established campus cultural apparatus as possible, (2) if control is not possible, we should try to influence and/or resist it when necessary and (3) organize and develop a new counter-apparatus of our own. In short, we need our people on the staff of the school newspapers, radio stations, etc. We need our own local magazines. We need sympathetic contacts on local off-campus new media. Finally, we all could use some training in graphic and communicative arts.

What this all adds up to is strengthening our ability to wage an effective "desanctification" program against the authoritarian institutions controlling us. The purpose of desanctification is to strip institutions of their legitimizing authority, to have them reveal themselves to the people under them for what they are - raw coercive power. This is the purpose of singing the Mickey Mouse Club jingle at student government meeting, of ridiculing and harrasing student disciplinary hearings and tribunals, of burning the Dean of Men and/or Women in effigy, etc. People will not move against institutions of power until the legitimizing authority has been stripped away. On many campuses this has already happened; but for those remaining, the task remains. And we should be forewarned: it is a tricky job and often can backfire, de-legitimizing us.

On the Correct Handling of Student Governments

While student governments vary in form in the United States, the objective reasons for their existence are the containment, or pacification and manipulation of the student body. Very few of our student governments are autonomously incorporated or have any powers or rights apart from those sanctioned by the regents or trustees of the university. Furthermore, most administrations hold a veto power over anything done by the student governments. Perhaps the worst aspect of this kind of manipulation and repression is that the administration uses students to control other students. Most student government politicians are lackeys of the worst sort. That is, they have internalized and embraced all the repressive mechanisms the administration has designed for use against them and their fellow students.