

# ROTC MUST GO!





## ROTC

Among the many Harvard ties with the Defense establishment, ROTC appears minor. However, ROTC remains crucial to both Harvard Corporation and the military. For the corporation ROTC has become the symbol of its willingness to "serve one's country". For the defense establishment ROTC is the prime producer of human war material.

ROTC was first established at Harvard during the First World War by President Lowell. According to former Dean McGeorge Bundy, "It was his (Lowell's) view that to have a program that was militarily effective and attractive with the young American college boy, we ought to have something which has challenged the boy's intelligence and, at the same time, would take him into the line when he had won his commission." ROTC mated well with Harvard's academia.

From this not so humble beginning, Harvard's ROTC has attempted to be the example for other colleges and universities. As Harvard grew in status, so also did the ROTC program. Thus in May 1955, Harvard prepared and submitted a special plan to the Army Advisory Panel on ROTC affairs. It was designed to reshape the ROTC programs on campuses throughout the country in Harvard's image. McGeorge Bundy, the Dean of the Faculty, presented the "Harvard Plan", stating: "We are in deep agreement with many of the objectives and with much of the thinking which lies behind the new General Military Science Program." Harvard's commitment to ROTC was solid in these Cold War times. The Harvard Plan consisted of modest restructuring, such as some courses taught by civilians, but its aim remained the same: "better training for junior officers." Harvard became the model and symbol of ROTC as an important part of the modern university.

Military training is what ROTC is all about. According to Harvard ROTC's Colonel Pell, "About 45% of all Army officers currently on duty are ROTC graduates; 65% of our first lieutenants and 85% of our second lieutenants come from ROTC programs." The New York Times (5 January 1969) corroborated these figures: ROTC supplies 50% of the Army's officers, 35% of the Navy's and 30% of the Air Forces. Notes Colonel Pell:

Today reliance upon colleges and universities for officers is greater than before...It is very evident that the present mission of ROTC is the production of officers, not merely to expose students to military training.

ROTC, Colonel Pell contends (and he should know), is critical to the defense establishment. "Let it be understood," he adds, "there is at present no acceptable alternative source of junior officer leadership if ROTC is driven from the college campus." Yet even in the face of this potential shortage, ROTC maintains class-biased standards for its officer corp. It wants and needs college graduates only. It wants and needs a ROTC program at Harvard.

On this last point Pell is very clear; The Army digs Harvard:



More important than any point thus far made is the role of Harvard University in setting a pattern of ROTC policy for the entire academic community. Harvard has a special obligation to the nation as a precedent-setting leader of the academic community. 'As Harvard goes, so goes the Army ROTC program' might produce a disaster of real proportions if the ROTC concept is weakened and degraded nation wide.

The corporation fully realizes both the symbolic and military importance of Harvard ROTC and its preservation. But maintaining ROTC has been difficult as ROTC critics have grown in both numbers and militancy. Now the corporation must find a way to keep ROTC, but to simultaneously pacify ROTC critics. And it appears that this way has been found. The faculty proposal to abolish ROTC, as submitted by psychology professor Jerone Bruner, was amended by none other than War Professor Thomas Schelling - a member of the Defense Science Board and a prime Pentagon-financed researcher - to provide the corporation with this way. Bruner called for abolition, Schelling called for "advice and consultation ... to facilitate the participation of Harvard students in ROTC programs." The faculty accepted both, and the corporation, with its crafty lawyers to interpret what the faculty had accepted, was saved. Now ROTC will be made an extra-curricular activity - like football or the Hasty Pudding Club. But the corporation can live with it mainly because Harvard students will continue to receive military training. The military will still receive Harvard-trained officers. Harvard ROTC as a model for other ROTC programs also still remains - only it has been strengthened in a perverse way, through the newspeak of keeping ROTC while abolishing it.

A group of law students opposed to ROTC defined the central question in the ROTC dispute in the following terms:

Should Harvard University in the context of current American domestic and foreign policies have a contract with the Department of Defense to provide for the production of officers for the U.S. Armed Forces.

The Harvard faculty and corporation have now spoken. The contract will be ended and the production of officers will go on.



## SECTION V

### Presentation of the Harvard Plan by

MR. McGEORGE BUNDY  
Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences  
Harvard University

We are very grateful, at Harvard, for this opportunity to come and talk with members of the Panel about a proposal which we have put forward.

I ought to make it very clear at the beginning that whatever was said by General Ridgway about the imperfections of existing programs will naturally apply with re-doubled force to a proposal which has not yet been tested. We are fully aware of the fact that we are still working on a paper that we have no exact measure of what good or harm our proposal might do in the training of Junior officers. The thing I would like to emphasize first and above all, however, is that we BELIEVE that the proposal which we are presenting will lead to more and better Junior officers from the Reserve Program, at least from our institution. Naturally we are not equipped to pass formal judgment--and I am not sure anybody is, really,--as to what a program of this kind would mean and what its effect would be in all of the different kinds of institutions.

What we are really asking for is an opportunity to try an experiment in the belief that what is learned in such an experiment, even if it should prove that we are wrong again, will be helpful in the basic operation of creating a stronger Reserve Officers Training Program throughout the American colleges.

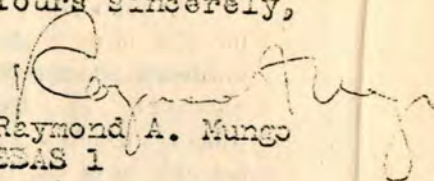
This study grows out of a substantial history of relationship between Harvard and the ROTC, and it may be helpful if I sketch briefly the background of our College's connection with military training.

We have had an ROTC unit at Harvard since the days of the First World War. That was established in the first instance as a Field Artillery unit--which it still is. That decision was taken by President Lowell. And his reason for wishing to have it an Artillery unit was (in his view, and I say this to win friends among the Artillerists) that the man in the Field Artillery unit combined, in judicious proportion, intelligence and combat. It was his view that to have a program which was militarily effective, and attractive with the young American college boy, we ought to have something which challenged the boy's intelligence and, at the same time, would take him into the line when he had won his commission.



I ask you to appoint a faculty committee, consistent with the procedures which are standard in your office, to investigate this issue and to raise at the faculty meeting the question whether ROTC ought not now, many years overdue, be eliminated from Harvard's curriculum altogether.

Yours sincerely,

  
Raymond A. Mungo  
SBAS 1

Memorandum to F.L.F. re. letter of Raymond Mungo

I'm virtually sure Mungo is the professional protester who was either president of the student body or editor of the paper at Boston University last year. He is a tough customer--according to some B.U. administrators who were chuckling last summer about exporting their #1 problem.

On the chance that it might help with your response to Mungo, here are a couple of thoughts.

On the question of why Harvard should want to have R.O.T.C. units, it seems to me there are two general points:

First, having the R.O.T.C. units here provides students who want to serve in the military as officers an opportunity to prepare carefully for responsibilities that can seriously affect the welfare of others. It seems to me that we should be as anxious to keep open this option of service for our students as we are to maintain respect for those who choose to be conscientious objectors or enlisted men or to serve the country in other ways.

Second, the American military services have always been a mixture of "permanent" professional soldiers and essentially civilian soldiers. The influence of the civilians on the professionals and the maintenance of some degree of mutual understanding between them are probably important in our kind of society, perhaps especially important when the country seems likely to be in for periodic crises. Given Harvard's somewhat special clientele, we probably make a significant contribution to that mixture, even if the numbers of students involved are small. In any case, I would hate to see Harvard move in a direction that would suggest even implicitly that we feel the military services should be the province of the professionals only.

The question of giving credit for R.O.T.C. courses strikes me as a tougher issue, though not an overwhelming one as long as the content of the courses is substantial and the options of taking the courses at all or for credit are maintained. I am beginning to understand why you want to discuss this with the CEP, however.

October 11, 1967

FRED L. GLIMP

[KEEPING ROTC 1967: THE DEANS "INVESTIGATE" A STUDENT WHO ASKED ROTC'S ABOLITION]



February 11, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Nate:

Having just written you the necessary report of this Faculty's vote of last Tuesday, concerning the ROTC, I should now like confidentially and informally to set down a few thoughts of my own.

As you know, I disagree with many of the particulars, and virtually all of the spirit, of the resolution passed by my own Faculty. This is not a pleasant situation in which to find oneself, especially since in discharging my duty to make public that resolution, I have inevitably been identified by many outside critics as one of its proponents. However, I am here underlining my own attitude only to be sure that neither you nor any other member of the Governing Boards is in any doubt about it.

....All that was needed from the Faculty was a general statement of direction, accompanied by a request for the creation of a committee to negotiate details.

What we have instead is a very badly framed, gratuitously unpleasant and basically confused pronouncement. . . . But what bothers me most is the underlying theme of the entire resolution, a desire to go on record against all things military, unaccompanied by any rational evaluation of the effects of such action on a large number of non-militaristic people, upon vast questions of foreign policy (which effect I should suppose to be just about nil), and upon the public standing of this University (which effect, by contrast, I can well imagine being massive.)

One more word of background. The so-called "CEP alternative" was not in my opinion a very good one. Quite by accident, the two meetings at which it was drafted were both ones I had to miss -- the first because of a conference in Italy, the second because of the flu -- so I was left in the position of not being able to defend a formulation which seemed to many people unnecessarily and perhaps even intentionally, oblique. Yet it struck me as unthinkable that I should repudiate the work of my own principal advisory committee. So much for this period of what I hope will turn out to have been only temporary impotence.

As to where we go from here, that is obviously something for you and the rest of the corporation to decide. It is not my intention to try to guess that body's reactions or its views as to viable options. However, I should feel irresponsible if I did not suggest very briefly what any of several *possible* reactions might represent, as appraised from my particular angle.

(1) The Corporation might, though I doubt that it would, flatly reject the Faculty's recommendations as unacceptable. The trouble here is that, interwoven among points with respect to which the Faculty's competence is questionable, to say the least, are other points, having to do with the curriculum as such, where delegation of responsibility to the Faculty has been virtually complete.

(2) It might be that a request for expressions of opinion from other Faculties of the University, especially that of Law, would remind people both inside and outside the institution that this is truly a university-wide problem. Such referral, however, might only make things worse unless Derek Bok were able to say with some certainty what his assembled colleagues would do -- and the last time I talked to him, he just was not sure.

(3) The Corporation might decide, purely on the strength of the vote from Arts and Sciences, to open exploratory discussion on behalf of the University with the three service Departments in Washington, perhaps using an advisory committee drawn from *all* the Faculties involved. Thereafter, if some clearly

[KEEPING ROTC 1969: DEAN FORD SUGGESTS SOME WAYS THE PRESIDENT CAN MANIPULATE THE ROTC ISSUE DESPITE GROWING OPPOSITION.  
NB This document has been retyped.]



non-negotiable point emerged—such as the title of Professor for the head of each unit, as an absolute requirement for the maintenance of such units at the University—the negotiators could come back to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, either with a question as to how to treat that condition or with a flat announcement that the Corporation *would* offer professorial appointments to the ROTC unit heads, quite outside the structure of this Faculty.

(4) The one other alternative I have been able to conceive would be a decision not to accept these recommendations from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in *their present form*, but instead to refer them back to the Faculty for whatever additional work and discussion is required to make them usable as a basis for further action. This course would occasion loud squeals; but there are two things to be said for it. First, the SFAC resolution was badly drafted—and I know that at least some of the Faculty members who voted for it were aware of its imprecision. Second, because of this bad drafting, we are left with no reliable notion as to how many members voted on the basis of vague emotionalism and how many others voted because they find the present departmental-curricular situation genuinely anomalous. At the very least, it would help to have the questions put separately, so that one might have some idea of what kind of Faculty opinion he has to deal with.

Finally, having jotted down these quite candid thoughts without presuming to go very far in elaborating or grading them (though my own preference for the fourth alternative just cited must be apparent), let me add one final reflection which is as necessary to state clearly as it is difficult to state tastefully. This has to do with my own position as Dean.

... On issue after issue this winter the Faculty has disregarded the recommendations of its own committees and its own administrative officers, preferring to substitute the quickly formulated product of emotional debate for a considered judgment by people—including many besides myself—who had tried to weigh all the arguments heard at the Faculty meeting, and a number of others as well.

Somehow, without seeming to threaten in any egocentric way, I feel I must get before the Faculty the simple truth that in the atmosphere created by recent meetings it will be virtually impossible to hold the services of a Fred Glimp or a Chase Peterson or the remarkably hardworking professors who make it equally clear that in such an atmosphere it will be completely impossible for anyone who also cares about teaching and scholarship to justify what seems to be an increasingly futile effort to represent his colleagues as Dean of Faculty.

Yours sincerely,

Franklin L. Ford

President Nathan M. Pusey  
Massachusetts Hall

jls

The lessons of Columbia's police raid  
— and why it didn't happen here

Harvard Alumni Bulletin



# PART III: HOW HARVARD RULES: TRAINING NATIONAL ELITES

## Kennedy Institute of Politics

Following the assassination of John Kennedy and the subsequent demise of his political machine and administration, the Kennedy family, led now by ambitious brother Bob, faced a problem: how respectably to keep together the Kennedy intellectual establishment, which had served so well in John's rise to power. Bob had obvious uses for it. The solution was typically brilliant: the Kennedy Institute of Politics. The Harvard Corporation was easily persuaded since such an institute would assure Harvard of continued influence in Washington, and possibly keep the flow of research grants steadily high.

The Institute was founded with a gift of \$10 million from the Kennedy Library Corporation to the Harvard Corporation. Of this, \$2,500,000 came directly from the Ford Foundation, headed by John Kennedy's former special assistant McGeorge Bundy, once Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Simultaneously an endowment of \$3,500,000 was given for the Kennedy School of Government, then known as the School of Public Administration. For this price Harvard provided a number of very helpful services for the Kennedys. First, the School of Public Administration was renamed, the first time Harvard had ever named any school after any donor. (The name change required special court action.) Second, the Institute of Politics was to have an advisory committee on which at least one member of the Kennedy family must always sit. Thus the Kennedys sought and received assurance of control over the Institute. Finally the family had gained the respectability and security which only Harvard could give.

A brief look at the people who were originally placed in the Institute makes the Kennedy interest clear. Its first and present Director is Richard Neustadt, an important adviser to both John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. Adam Yarmolinsky, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense under McNamara, was one of its first members. So was Daniel P. Moynihan, another frequent adviser to President Kennedy. Indeed almost all the members and fellows of the Institute at its origin were past Kennedy cohorts, and occasionally potential stars in future Kennedy administrations.

Henry Fairlie, an English journalist, wrote in 1967: "One cannot examine the list of members, fellows, or faculty associates [of the Institute] without recognizing that within the boundaries and the constitution of Harvard College, there now exists an apparently respectable body which is precisely organized to attract men out of public service until they may, at a convenient time, be returned to it."



Not all of the evidence relating to Harvard's involvement with the military-industrial mastodome is discreetly cached in the files in University Hall. For example, one need only look across the polluted waters of the Charles River, where stands the Harvard Business School - the personnel office and extension service for the commanding heights of corporate capitalism. Within its ivy-covered walls, 275 businessmen with faculty rank busily divide their time between corporate consulting, conducting a million dollars worth of industry and government subsidized research and processing the year's quota of 700 future administrators and captains of industry.



Urs in NEBELSPALTER, Rorschach, Switzerland

In addition to its course of graduate study, the Business School has offered, for the past fifty years, a 13-week Advanced Management Program to 6,087 "extramural" students, including some 460 board chairman and 120 U.S. Military officers of flag or general rank. The number of corporations enrolling their top management officers in the AMP has, we are told by President Pusey, increased steadily. The crush is being eased with new classroom space financed by the Continental Oil Company.



Internationally, the school has sought to proselytize techniques of managerial omnipotence through the training of foreign nationals (from 44 countries) and initiating pilot projects throughout the Third World and Europe. According to Dean George Baker, "Around the world, when you hear someone say, 'Harvard', the chances are 3-1 that he means the Business School."

To date 2000 graduates of the Harvard Business School have left their Alma Mammon to become corporation presidents and chairmen of the boards. Enough said.



Ardión in PALANTE, Havana



Harvard Medical School

The objective function and the stated goal of Harvard Medical School is to train "leaders in medicine." The setting, the curriculum and the values explicit in the education groom students for positions in the medical elite -- as researchers, academicians, or administrators. In 1960, 8.5% of the faculty members of all medical schools were HMS graduates. In 1967-68, 20 deans or administrators above the rank of dean were HMS graduates in the 87 medical schools. (The current figure is no doubt much higher.)

The notion that a medical school should be devoted to treating diseases of people or that it ought to take active responsibility for the health of the people in the surrounding city is entirely foreign to the medical profession. How did this come about? Isn't medicine supposed to be humanitarian?

Doctors are the only ones considered capable of determining who should become doctors in the future. In general they choose people remarkably like themselves; the basic criteria are college grades and Medical College Aptitude Tests. The results are no surprise to anyone in an upper-middle class conservative student body -- few women (10%), fewer blacks. In 1968-69 there were 3 American blacks at the expense of the other "high risk" group -- women. (There will be only 7 women in that class of about 150.) It is not only the establishment A.M.A.; it is also the liberal academic doctors who are out to keep medicine the way it is. Their biggest fear in the admission of black students has been the threat of compromise to their "academic standards."

The political thrust of this professionalism means that decisions made by professionals are not up for evaluation by non-MD's; doctors should make decisions for other people and other people should not decide about those decisions. This openly-recognized elitism is dogmatically opposed to any democratic notion that the people should control institutions that affect them.

But isn't this naive? Don't doctors know more about medicine than other people by virtue of their long training? The point here is not to dispute the real technical expertise that a doctor may have in his field but rather to emphasize that (a) expertise is only a small part of the process of getting people well, and that (b) the economic and psychological priorities which govern the development of that expertise destroy the possibility of recognizing and implementing broader social priorities.

For example, it is tacitly assumed that students will choose to specialize in some very narrow area of medicine, i.e., that they will choose to become like their professors who emerge from their laboratories twice a year to give lectures in "their thing." This became clear in the recent revision and rationalization of the Harvard curriculum in which each department competed for "prime time." The curriculum has become the arena in which the various specialties compete with each other in luring top students into their fields. The process is subtle; it means that professors emphasize the supposedly exciting forefronts in medical research (i.e., those areas where one could make a name for oneself) rather than the more common (and supposedly boring) health problems affecting the majority of people. For



instance, in immunology, first-year students learn about the problem of kidney transplant rejection rather than the problem of inadequate immunization of many children. The first is flashier in terms of scientific interest; the second is more critical to understanding why people get sick in our society.

It is important to consider not only the blatant neglect of sickness in the society, but also the approach to sick people that are "treated." Estimates run as high as 80% in assessing the number of people who feel sick with no diagnosable organic disease. In other words, medical training equips a doctor to deal with less than 20% of medical problems. Yet doctors are selected on almost purely academic grounds with little attention paid to whether they are sensitive to people's personal or social problems. Psychiatry is not the answer; labelling sick black people as paranoid schizophrenics, for example, is only another excuse for an unwillingness or inability to recognize the role of a racist authoritarian society in destroying people's minds.

Consider the problems of Boston alone. Harvard medical students are never taught about the medical needs of their city. Yet Harvard Medical School staffs 8 of the teaching hospitals of Boston. Neither the hospitals nor the medical school shoulder the responsibility for Boston's health or sickness. The pressure for expansion of the Medical School does not reflect a response to the community's needs for more medical care; it is an expansion that is internally generated, from the need for more equipment and staff for sophisticated research. Who then is responsible for the fact that the infant mortality rate in Roxbury is twice as high as in other parts of the city? The Medical School maintains that its responsibility is not for the city but for the advancement of science and for the training of leaders in medicine. As a part of Harvard it could do no less. It can only serve the structure and values of its society.

### Radcliffe

Radcliffe is the Harvard of women's colleges. It produces women who are "well-educated" to play the role of the modern woman in American society -- they can cook, clean, have children and careers. In short, they are to be good wives to the elite in American society. Most of these women see that there are problems in the world, but few of them see that they can take an active role in solving them.

Radcliffe accepts girls who will be the "best possible women in a man's world." Girls who show promise of being socially useful. But socially useful in what way? Radcliffe teaches them to help maintain the elitist status quo, which includes keeping women subordinate to men.

Institutionally, Radcliffe is subordinate to Harvard. Harvard has all the money. Harvard has the professors, the classrooms, the power over hiring and firing. Radcliffe has an informal agreement by which its girls attend classes and receive Harvard degrees. Radcliffe administers only its dormitories: eating and sleeping. In other words, Radcliffe runs the home.

The physical separation enforces the split. The fifteen-minute walk takes you to another world (no matter which direction you are walking). At lunch at Harvard, or in the stacks of Widener Library, you can have an academic or a political conversation. At dinner at



Radcliffe, the talk is usually limited to girls' diets or their boy-friends. Girls go back to Radcliffe, change into dungarees, and relax. Radcliffe is the world of women, and women don't count.

This physical separation also defines Radcliffe in such a way that academics don't belong to it. Seminars which are started at Radcliffe usually flop. Girls don't want tutorials at Radcliffe with women tutors. They claim that having a tutorial with a man is more stimulating -- the sexual tension helps bring out more interesting ideas.

Radcliffe's internal organization also re-enforces a self-image that most girls have when they come to the college. A Radcliffe woman should be feminine, but in a sleek, not a frilly, way. She should be independent and creative. But above all, she should attract a man. She should have a career, but not at the expense of family life. It would never occur to Harvard that all its graduates should be dentists (even part-time), yet no one at Radcliffe questions the assumption that all women be wives and mothers. Radcliffe life is centered around Harvard because a woman's life is centered around "her man", whose life is centered around "the real world".

Milk and cookies are served in the dorms on Saturday night for the poor unfortunates who don't have a date. It is assumed that women would always rather be with men than with women. In fact, that is the definition of liberation at Radcliffe -- spending more time at Harvard than at Radcliffe. No effort is made to show women that they might work together constructively.

Women are constantly warned that Cambridge is a dangerous town, that girls have been attacked near Radcliffe and even on the Radcliffe quad, and that they should never walk alone at night, especially across the Common. Yet Radcliffe never tells them that they could learn to defend themselves -- the Radcliffe gym, instead of its many offerings which no one uses, might offer karate, or judo.

Many women are surprised that Radcliffe women are under all these constraints. President Mary I. Bunting, a famous biologist who has been on the Atomic Energy Commission, is well-known for her views on women leading full, active lives and having "careers". She has set up an institute for women past childbearing age, which enables women to pursue study (including poetry, painting and other arts) without tying them to the rigid requirements of a degree program. She has transformed Radcliffe Head Residents from old ladies with spying eyes to young couples with children, so that Cliffies can see in action the "happy home life" that is to be their ultimate fulfillment. These, however, are only outer trappings. Mrs. Bunting does not teach women to question their exploitation in capitalist society, to question the image which America has built up of a woman's role.

At Harvard, even the men who profess to believe in women's liberation betray themselves. They think of women's liberation as meaning that Radcliffe should participate in Harvard. Thus Radcliffe girls work on the Crimson, but when a girl was elected to the Crimson's highest position everyone was shocked. Girls shouldn't go too far you know. Both Harvard men and Radcliffe women are socialized into believing that men are the leaders. The important things happen at Harvard.



This has been especially true in the recent strike at Harvard. After two girls were given voting positions on the fifteen-man Strike Steering Committee (none were elected, and some men's consciences began to hurt) one of the women was told, "You take care of Radcliffe." It is perfectly natural for women to help organize at Harvard; it is ridiculous that men should go to Radcliffe. Everyone knows that Radcliffe is isolated -- that just as women stop talking about academics when they reach the Cliffe, they also stop talking politics. Women active in the strike were afraid to return to Radcliffe because they would lose touch, which was in fact what happened, because no one saw Radcliffe as an important place.

The strike has simply emphasized the dichotomy Radcliffe girls face. Radcliffe is for eating and sleeping -- if that -- and Harvard is for academics, for politics, for thought and action. In times of crisis, and from day to day, Radcliffe looks to Harvard for its struggles and its life. The girls who graduate from Radcliffe also look to their Harvard men for guidance. The Boston Globe, in speaking of the strike, spoke of "Harvard men and their Radcliffe sympathizers". Women will always be there to sympathize and help, but never to lead. Radcliffe does not train for that.

### The Ed School -- Far From the Madding Crowd

You can't talk about what's going on in America without talking about the schools. Conflicts over community control, the relevance and racist character of educational policy and curriculum and the dehumanizing effect of most teaching has started militant movements for change in every big city. The Ed School, perhaps more than any other Harvard institution, could have an effect on this revolution.

The Ed School certainly has such pretensions; it sees itself as the singularly sane and liberalizing (read civilizing) force in American education today. In its mind the argument is very simple: "The school is a unique institution, the only social agency through which virtually every American passes. As such, it has the potential for great power." (Prospectus, 1968) The Ed School seeks to produce the people who will control the socializing agency; it "has deliberately followed a policy of preparing its students for positions of maximum leverage." (Dean's report, 1968)

It may seem odd to some that, at the same time, the Ed School cultivates the image of being the most open, radical institution at Harvard. Dean Sizer (Ted to most of the students) is the youngest Dean at Harvard, and likes to think of himself on the student side of the generation gap. To prove this, Sizer was the first Dean to allow students to participate in graduate school policy-making bodies. That's nice, but it is only so much liberal romanticism. In spite of its pretensions, the Ed School remains largely irrelevant -- to its students and to the forces of change in the country.

The Ed School obfuscates the issues rather than clarifying them. It sells itself to students by offering the same kind of courses offered in the academic departments at Harvard. A whole lot of behaviorist sociology; not a word about the cops patrolling the halls to keep the kids in line.



Anyway producing teachers plugged in to the needs of the students isn't the Ed School's purpose. Most of the professors don't know much about teaching in a gut kind of way. Like many departments at Harvard, the Ed School is for the preservation of the leisure class. Name any issue vital to whites or blacks about their schools -- integration, community control, black studies, bussing, and the Ed School has a bunch of guys who'll carry on with "on-the-one-hand...on-the-other-hand." Other professors escape the issues by studying how computers can give kids vocational advice, instead of real teachers. (It's quicker, and the kids get to do it.) Others write tests, and more tests, making them better and better selectors of the fortunate few. (The Government pays for most of this excess paper; the Ed School got 57% of its money there last year.) Of course, people at the Ed School are always wringing their hands about "the system" and how awful it is. But maybe things will never change if you have to prove everything statistically before people move. That's how the Ed School serves the Empire; the ruling class can go right on while these guys debate about integration.

Another thing the Ed School can't make up its mind about is whether change comes from the bottom or the top. They talk a good democratic line but when it comes to blows they usually seem to decide that this ferment from the bottom needs a bit of administrative focus. That's where the Ed School comes in.

The Ed School keeps up with its alumni. It boasts three State Commissioners of Education, one Assistant U.S. Commissioner of Education, two Associate U.S. Commissioners of Education, 150 Superintendents of Schools, 54 Associate, Assistant, and District Superintendents, 155 principals and headmasters, 21 college or university presidents, 38 Deans, 24 Associate and Assistant Deans, four presidents or vice-presidents of educational corporations. An impressive list but not good enough. The Scheffler Report (1966) stated that Harvard's main purpose was not to train teachers but to train "potential educational leaders" and to conduct "significant" research. This report was followed by the Weller Report (1969) which advised cutting back even further "novice teacher training" in favor of curriculum and instruction revision. The circle is completed. Train the top administrators and at the same time give them revised curriculum developed by HGSE graduates. Of course the circle shuts out the kids.

Like many other universities, the Ed School also looks around for foreign systems to tinker with. In 1962 it established the Center for Studies in Education and Development (CSED) whose specific purpose was to "carry out studies of the role of education in the process of modernization". For "modernization" read "Americanization". CSED is financed by the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, AID and Education and World Affairs Inc. CSED has two main functions: it trains educational planners (both American and Third World) who will be sent to work in various planning agencies in the Third World. A CSED graduate heads the colonial Ministry of Education in New Guinea; another heads the office of educational planning in Chile.

CSED is also concerned with institution-building in the Third World: Nigeria, Tunisia, Venezuela, Barbados, Puerto Rico, East Africa, etc. The models used conform remarkably



closely to standard American types - CSED provides the explanation for this: "experience has shown that educational problems are not "foreign" or "domestic"; but rather that the educational problems of the developing world are essentially similar to those of the developed world. Problems differ in time and order of magnitude, not in kind." (Annual Report 1967/68) And, of course, American schools are such a good model of successful, democratic institutions.

### The Law School

Harvard Law School produces 500 trained legal technicians and generalists annually to facilitate the operations of American industry and government. They graduate into Corporate America's legal infrastructure, there to become servants of power, government functionaries, and buffers against insurgent social forces.

Their professors are well equipped to train them. Consider: Adam Yarmolinsky, everyone's favorite "liberal" adviser to Defense Secretary McNamara, teaches the slick "innovative" Urban Legal Studies course. As a member of the Science Advisory Committee of the Task Force on Science and Technology in Crime Control, he was part of the group which commissioned the ill-famed Institute for Defense Analysis to do a study on urban counter-insurgency. They're the people who came up with the "instant banana peel as a cure for black rebellions. Yarmolinsky's bias toward managed change with "law and order" seeks to contain emerging forces for radical change rather than assist their development. Professor James Vorenberg, the major author of the President's Crime Commission Report, added legitimacy to those who think that more cops can cure problems which are deeply social and basically political. Then there's former US solicitor General Archibald Cox, who wrote Crisis at Columbia which attacks student protesters and lays out a sophisticated if unsuccessful strategy for dealing with student disorders. All of these are ways the law school's resources and orientation help the Establishment squelch attempts at radical change.

It is not surprising then that so many graduates end up in corporate offices or government posts. The ideology of their legal training derives explicitly from the defense of property (rather than human) rights. It presumes the desirability of minimizing disruptive social conflict. For liberal reformers, this means funneling social discontent into legal channels instead of attacking the structures of wealth and power. For conservatives, this means finding tax and legal loopholes in order to maximize profits. For most, it means accepting the basic contours of the system and learning the techniques of tinkering with the legal architecture in courts run for the privileged. The picture is pretty grim, but take heart. A few of us are hanging in there and picking up some skills. As more heads get busted--and enlightened--perhaps there will be more young lawyers coming around, if only to defend the rest of us.



## Joint Center for Urban Studies

In the light of Harvard's current record, the Joint Center for Urban Studies (Harvard and MIT) becomes a black joke. What hypocrisy to construct an institute for research into urban problems while you continue to expand in your own institutional interest without regard for the community. The real joint center for urban action is the Cambridge Corporation, which includes Harvard, MIT, and the others who count -- a group of industrialists, notably Polaroid. The Cambridge Corporation is futilely attempting to deal with community groups, without giving them any real power, and has offered a few sops, such as one tiny children's playground and a renovated two-story house.

The Joint Center was begun with \$3 million from Ford, with which it hired Daniel Patrick Moynihan (former Assistant Secretary of Labor and then at the JFK Institute of Politics) as Director, and former Boston Mayor John Collins as professor. It too is involved in the Empire -- doing studies, for example, of Colombian economic problems. But above all, it is a typical bureaucratic attempt to forestall demands for social reform in the cities with the cry that we must first do five or ten years of research and investigation because we don't know enough about the precise nature of the problem, etc., etc. James Ridgeway quotes the following illuminating exchange in his recent book, The Closed Corporation: (pp. 188-89)

At the press conference announcing the Ford grants, Pusey, Moynihan and Howard Johnson, MIT's president, set forth the Harvard-MIT line. Pusey declared, "It seems to me that the significance of the Ford grant is a recognition that we just don't know enough yet about cities in order to frame wise policies for correcting some of the shortcomings that obviously exist in urban life. And the whole nation is excited about this, has a new and heightened awareness of the need for action. Private individuals, foundations, city government, state government are all going to be enacting programs, but the real deep understanding and wisdom for formation of policy just doesn't exist, and what we're looking forward toward here is a research program that will begin to provide some of the answers, or some of the knowledge and information..."

A black man spoke up, saying, "What will happen to the city while you gentlemen are discussing what's supposed to be done? You have welfare rolls that are growing. For instance, Harvard has a pretty good medical school. Why couldn't they have a program to teach the welfare recipients how to become nurses? There is a shortage of nurses. You could have your financial institutions put pressure on the banks to allow people to gain mortgages so they could build better housing. This type of thing should be going on while you're deciding what you're going to do with these people, or for these people. You're going to be studying them to death, I think."



"Well, sir," Moynihan said, "there's a great deal of activity like that going on at MIT and Harvard; more, no doubt, should, but I guess it's one of the dangers you have in the academic world, that is, forgetting that nobody elected you to anything, and quite seriously, I guess our first job is to sort out what we think we know or don't know about problems, and right at this moment we are impressed by the number of things we don't know."

James Q. Wilson, former director of the center, added that perhaps in any ultimate sense, the answers may well be unknowable, but agitation of them to keep them before the public was well worth while.

"It's strange to sit here and hear you gentlemen say you don't know the answers," the black man said. "Now I think some of the solutions are very simple ... All a man wants is a piece of bread, a halfway decent place to live and a job he can go to, to pay his bills, take care of his family, his kids to get a fair education. I think it is a simple problem."

Pusey said, "I quite like your statement about what a man wants, very, uh, very knowledgeable, and very meaningful to me. The question is how do we achieve those simple things. It's all a man wants, but it's not easy to achieve in areas where people are jammed together the way we are in cities all over the world. And we've got to learn more about the dynamics of that problem, and then train people to be able to deal with it. The statement of the problem is a relatively simple one, but the solution is a very complicated one."

A reporter asked why, instead of using the \$6 million to establish chairs in urban studies, Harvard and MIT had not turned the money, say, over to the people in Roxbury, letting them set up some sort of community organization, through which they might develop their own way of life and solve their own problems.

"Because the Ford Foundation gave it to us, I guess," Moynihan said, "because we can use it and we're here. And our activities -- the function of universities is to study and teach. It was given for that purpose and I think we're happy to receive it for that purpose." He added, "We should not like to suggest that we are anything but immensely grateful to the Ford Foundation but, sir, quite really, you know, would you say, you can rephrase your question, and ask why do you spend money on cancer research when you could give money to people who had cancer? I mean, we



are saying -- and I think you would miss the intellectual climate of these two universities at this point -- we are saying we don't think that until they are adequately known, you are going to be able to do much about them, and with this grant we're going to do more of it."

Shortly after announcement of the Ford grants, a neighborhood group in Roxbury met, and showing simple good sense, voted to stay clear of any professor connected with the Joint Center.

On the national scene, the direction and significance of Harvard's interest in urban problems can be seen in the fact that President Nixon's urban team is almost solidly Crimson. Beginning with Moynihan, numerous Harvard liberals (including Democrats) showed themselves eager to enter into the service of their new President. Could that be because they accepted his policies -- urban pacification, repression through cooptation? On the staff of Nixon's Urban Affairs Council is Stephen Hess of the JFK Institute of Politics; 3 out of the 5 staff assistants to the UAC came from Harvard: Richard Blumenthal, once editorial chairman of the Crimson, Christopher C. DeMuth, former secretary of the Ripon Society, and John Price, of Harvard Law. They have come to be known as the urban "tinkerers" -- non-ideological, non-dogmatic and keenly attentive to the vagaries of practical politics and public relations," said Martin Nolan in the Boston Globe March 2, 1969. Need we translate? No need to be attentive to people's needs; just to tinker away, trying first this, then that, combination of sops and repression until a perfectly docile population is achieved.





## Program on Technology and Society: 5 Million Dollar Boondoggle

In 1964 IBM gave Harvard a \$5 million grant to finance a 10 year program on technology and society. They hired the director, Emmanuel Mesthene, a research economist for the Rand Corporation and a consultant on science and public policy for the White House, and brought him to Cambridge. He has brought together a staff of 57 reseachers to study the impact of technological change on our lives. What are they producing?

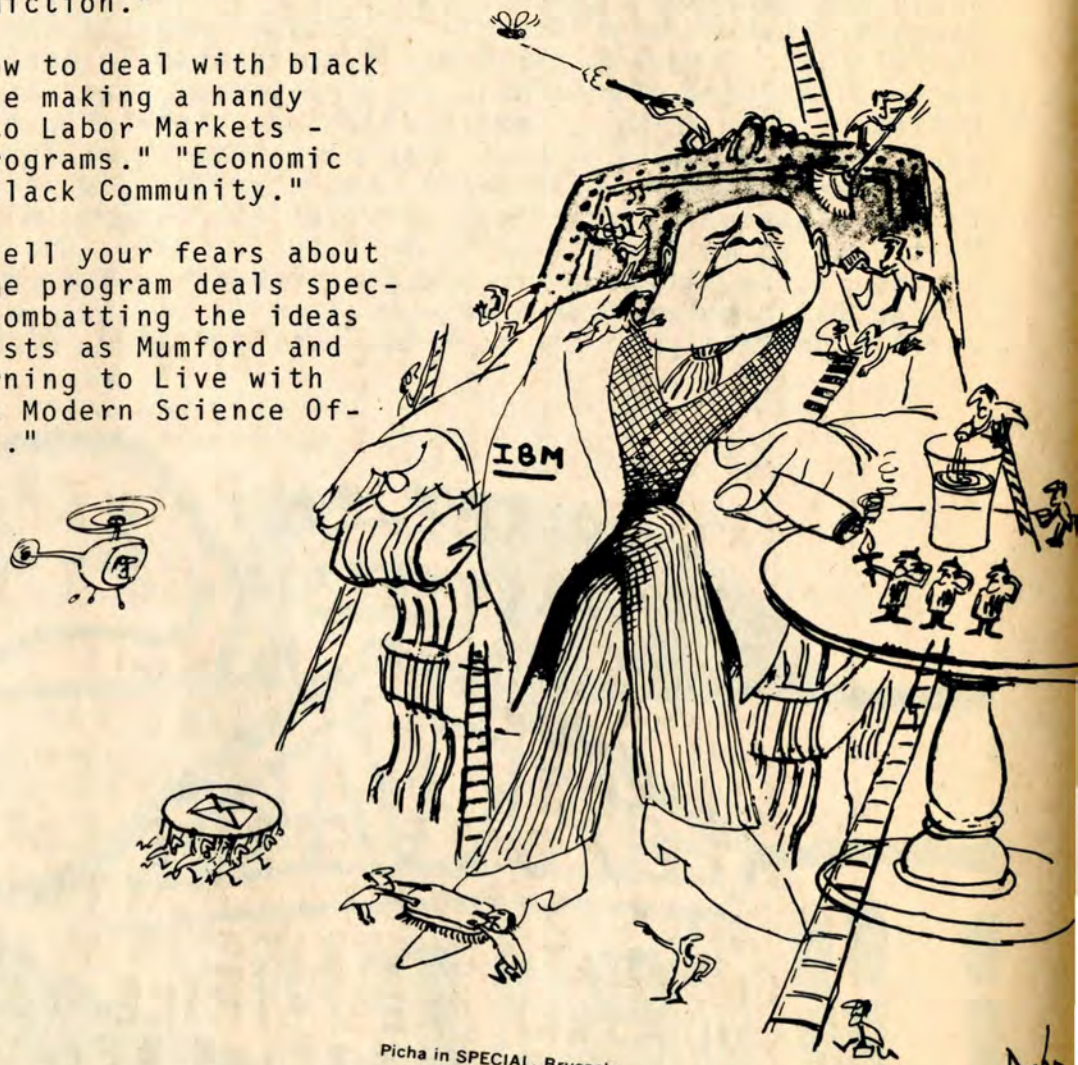
1) Technical problem-solving for the industry. "Property Rights in Automated Information and in Programs for Computers."

2) Mapping America's economic future. Helps corporations make long-range investment plans. "Regional and Urban Locational Choices in the Context of Economic Growth." "Computers and Management - A Ten year Prediction."

3) Plans for how to deal with black insurgency while making a handy profit. "Ghetto Labor Markets - Problems and Programs." "Economic Power for the Black Community."

4) Theory to quell your fears about technology. One program deals specifically with combatting the ideas of such pessimists as Mumford and Marcuse. "Learning to Live with Science." "What Modern Science Offers the Church."

Credit IBM for caring about the human problems of advanced capitalist society.



Picha in SPECIAL, Brussels



# HOW HARVARD RULES: PART IV: HARVARDIZATION OF THE MIND

STRIKE FOR THE EIGHT  
DEMANDS STRIKE BE  
CAUSE YOU HATE COPS  
STRIKE BECAUSE YOUR  
ROOMMATE WAS CLUBBED  
STRIKE TO STOP EXPANSION  
STRIKE TO SEIZE CONTROL  
OF YOUR LIFE STRIKE TO  
BECOME MORE HUMAN STR  
IKE TO RETURN PAINE HALL  
SCHOLARSHIPS STRIKE BE  
CAUSE THERE'S NO POETRY  
IN YOUR LECTURES  
STRIKE BECAUSE CLASSES  
ARE A BORE STRIKE FOR  
POWER STRIKE TO SMASH THE  
CORPORATION STRIKE TO MAKE  
YOURSELF FREE STRIKE TO  
ABOLISH ROTC STRIKE BECAUSE  
THEY ARE TRYING TO SQUEEZE  
THE LIFE OUT OF YOU STRIKE



Class ignorance, class fear, and class repression are written over the modern curricula at Harvard as at all other American universities.

---Upton Sinclair  
Goose-Step 1922

Western culture may be compared to a lake fed by the streams of Hell-enism, Christianity, Science and Democracy.

---General Education in a Free Society  
"The Harvard Red Book"

Harvard could not rule without an idea.

In the final analysis, power and wealth are not completely determining. Harvard could not rule without preserving and projecting the myth of liberal education. It is that myth to which we now come -- to examine, de-mystify, and reject. We do so with both sweep and detail, with angry rhetoric as well as reasoned argument. Our collective critique grows out of our collective experience as students, degree-seekers, the products of a corporate process already described in all its willing complicity and active collaboration with forces which, at bottom, use education as they use everything else -- for class aggrandizement, achievement and control.

Harvard's claim -- the hardest to deflate and yet the most important to understand -- is the notion that Harvard exists and has always existed primarily to make us humane and liberal.

Any appeal to the notion of humanity is seductive enough, but the important questions are unasked: What function does this sort of education have? What social purposes does it serve? In a society in which corporations and financial institutions effectively control most public and private institutions, the main function of the American Government (as John Kenneth Galbraith has noted for the defense) is to ensure a social order sufficiently stable for business to conduct business. Government of course must see that educational institutions provide the corporate machine with highly competent functionaries; but Harvard not only must turn out the skilled managerial cadres needed by the economy, but also must contribute with equal seriousness to the complex business of maintaining the social order. The body of traditions which gives this society at least an apparent continuity and coherency must be kept intact -- the university cannot become dangerous.

Functionaries and bureaucrats must be socialized into the conviction that the tasks they perform are somehow connected to a Western (American, Democratic, Judaeo-Christian) Heritage and are, therefore, legitimate in terms other than self-interest. In this society the job of acculturation has passed from church to university. And since these educational centers are themselves "civi-



lized", the functionaries which operate in them see themselves as pursuing the tasks of scholarship within the "traditional" notion of the university. They write, they review, they "teach". At Harvard they train people like themselves to train people like themselves to train people like themselves. . . .

This Academic Professionalism is not simply an unappealing character trait, but an institutionalized way of serving real interests in the society. Courses are not intended to further self-development, to connect with meaningful activity in the world; they become instead part of the students' property, their "human resources". Far from setting men free, this type of knowledge -- technical or humanistic -- makes students into products. Their education, their "Harvard degree", transforms them into a commodity -- a commodity to be sold with resumes and a slick but cultured style. They learn to bargain and be bargained for. What becomes of all those liberal values then?

Life after Harvard promises encounters and choices. Most go the way they've been taught to go -- moving on to a degree and what comes after with the guidance of the assimilated values, like an internal radar system. Harvard sends out the beams and mind waves; brains pick them up. Our jammers, instinctual and acquired, are often too weak to exorcise the influence and deflect its trajectory. There is no way out. No way. None, that is, except perhaps with a different type of education. One that takes those liberal values seriously as a basis for action in the world. An education which issues from that position is a radical education. And if the purpose of education is to see the world as it really is, then this is the only education.

Harvard rules silently through its disciplines. Let us examine a few of them.





## Economics

Economists at Harvard are preoccupied with the allocation of scarce resources among competing activities. They never question the basic assumptions of the political economy.

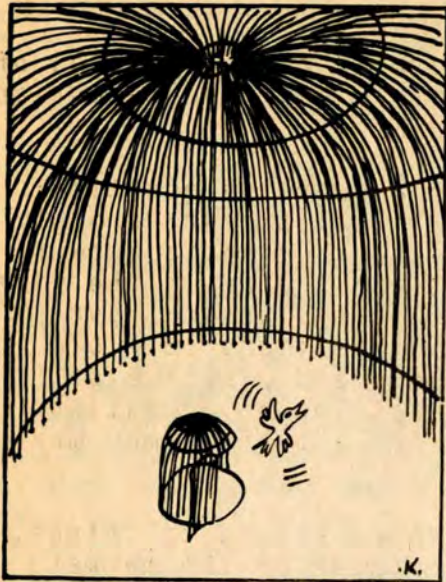
Classical political economy sought to answer the question: what determines the distribution of the national product among the various classes of the population?--a question whose answer requires an understanding of why resources are scarce in the first place. Harvard professors claim that their neo-classical synthesis responds to the universe of economic questions both old and new. But a look at the prevailing theory and practice of the profession shows it is incapable of resolving any questions except those which can be reduced to those of a businessman maximizing his profits.

Economics now consists in assigning money values to things, persons, and ideas which previously were outside of the market. A businessman can only calculate his costs if all factors under his control are evaluated in terms of price. Economists have managed to formalize this procedure and to monetize the education of the workforce, the life of a soldier, or the daily activity of the biologist. In performing his work, the economist has greatly aided the efforts of large corporations, military organizations, and governmental agencies which have been hard pressed to minimize their expenditures and maintain a respectable rate of return.

The emphasis on the problem of allocation from the businessman's point of view excludes from the purview of contemporary economics the most basic economic questions. Changes in the social order are foreign to the economist's interests although they admit that such changes might affect their results. Even more absurd is the economist's manner of treating economic change itself. For them, the process of economic fluctuation and economic growth does not produce any alteration in the economic structure large enough to warrant changes in the theoretical approach. Growth is defined as more of the same sort of thing. Even when explicitly faced with problems of change, the economist falls back on the notion of equilibrium change: everything changes in the same proportion, and so nothing really changes.

This static approach to economic life applies even to economic history, where institutional change is forgotten and economic science vainly searches for the historical confirmation of contemporary "laws." It is not surprising that the profession has nothing interesting to communicate to the general public. How much leisure can our society afford and still keep our standard of living? How important is the influence of American companies abroad to our economic welfare? Who suffers most in times of inflation, who gains from wartime expenditures? What feasible alternatives exist, given our technical knowledge, to the current policies of industrial management which might reduce the drudgery of ordinary employment? These questions are never raised because (1) they are too complicated to fit the simple models of economists, and (2) they require a confrontation with the principle of change, a principle which is antithetical to the entire thrust of economic orthodoxy.





Economists, however, are not conscious of the weakness of their theoretical tools for the study of society. Secure in their capacity as advisers to the business and business-like world, they are immune to criticism on this level. Graduate students, whose youth might normally encourage a critical attitude, become a silent mass of lackeys--mainly because of an academic program designed to indoctrinate. There is never any argument. Their situation is as dull and routinized as a contemporary catechism, a catechism which they dutifully and dully pass on to their students.

A crisis in the discipline will emerge if the pseudo-scientists cease hiding their ignorance in thickets of algebra. This possibility remains unlikely as long as unemployment doesn't threaten the new Ph.D. To promote any change it is not enough to point out to economists that none of their models explain anything or that none of their predictions come true. An effective attack must also include a critique of the institutions to which the economic profession is so pleased to give advice.

### Social Anthropology

Social anthropology - traditionally a field concerned with explaining and understanding small scale cultures and societies, especially in the non-Western world - is a field that could make relevant contributions to our understanding of major events and problems of the world: wars of liberation, the effects and causes of racism, economic exploitation, colonialism, imperialism. The Harvard Departments of Social Relations and Anthropology ensure that anthropology will remain isolated from and irrelevant to social and political problems.

Anthropology was originally a gentleman's profession: the gentlemen travelled to "strange and exotic places" and recorded all and everything that caught their eyes. The field at Harvard retains this focus. Courses are offered on "peoples and cultures" of various parts of the world--endless listings of the traits with "systematic description of regularities" substituting for explanation. Systematic description may be highly sophisticated. Structural analysis provides ever more complicated models to relate greater numbers of behavioral facts in formal descriptive schema. This fits neatly into the theoretical interests of a faculty concerned with kinship terminology, "social structure," and world view ("how the native thinks," or, more accurately, "what are the native's thoughts?"). Structural analysis is one of a very few "theory" courses taught.

Behavioristic description is also applied to another "theoretical" interest of the faculty: cross-cultural comparison and generalization, the purpose of which is to find significant relationships between seemingly unrelated facts within different



cultures. The only "explanation" which cross-cultural comparison offers is in its predictive value, that in new and unstudied cultures the same relationships should occur. This obviates the need to figure out why cultures have certain characteristics.

The only real explanatory theory offered in the department is "functionalism." Functional explanation also shies away from examining the relationships of small groups to the larger society and from elements leading to change or disruption. Functionalism sees societies as systems in equilibrium, where the various "functional elements" contribute in different ways to maintaining the status quo. When changes occur, the response is to look for the larger regularity in the change, or the long-run function of the "disruption." Changes imposed from the outside, whether from a colonial government or a new national government, are ignored or automatically "regretted," as taking from the purity of the specimen under consideration.

Faculty interests and courses ignore theoretically and practically both the politics and economics within small societies and their relationships to the changing world. Economic anthropology--which begins to get at relationships of power and control in primitive societies--has been taught once in many years by a visiting professor. Political anthropology--which might look at who gets power how and why, and not just how things are--and the anthropology of political change--meaning, for example, imperialism and urban violence--are also absent. One (untenured) instructor has attempted to deal with the political and economic problems of African unity, and individual teaching assistants in private tutorials have tried to bring in such subjects as economic exploitation, the problems of peasant society, the causes of revolutionary and pre-revolutionary movements. There is no evidence that senior faculty members will follow this lead. Response to student requests for a faculty member who takes a materialist point of view ranges from "they're unavailable" to "they're too dogmatic."

Numerous department research projects--in Mexico, Fiji, India, the Solomon Islands, Brazil, Kenya, follow the same tendencies as departmental offerings. Only the Brazil project promises to offer information on racial, social, economic problems of the larger society. The Chiapas Project, supporting 10 to 20 students a summer, best typifies the isolated, ethnographic concerns of the Department. Ten years of research have yielded ever-increasing detail on folk categories, ritual joking, drinking behavior, music, etc., but no systematic understanding of the relationship of the Indians to the local political and economic system of the state of Chiapas nor to the Mexican national society.

### History

The Harvard History Department suffers from two crippling handicaps: pedantic anarchy and bias in course offerings. What is meant by pedantic anarchy is the prevalent notion that any fact, any event, is pretty much as important as any other and is worthy of professorial consideration. The Oxford Movement is as important as Chartism, French lycees in the Third Republic are as important as French colonialism in Africa, and so on.



The normal practice is to devote twenty minutes to each in lectures and put a nice reassuring book on the reading list under "optional." The reason for such absurdity is not necessarily that the professor is a reactionary (although he might be), but that he really believes that there are no laws, contradictions--or even any ultimate significance, in history. He dare not see the meaning in history--for its meaning is clearly subversive and extremely dangerous to his world.

Liberal historians have not always held this view, because once history boded favorably for bourgeois capitalist society. Even fifty years ago the normal view was that the history of humanity was a history of uninterrupted progress toward capitalist prosperity and liberal democracy. There are some traces of this idea still left in the courses, and in a crisis (like the Harvard sit-in and strike) the faculty still falls back on liberal rhetoric. But since the beginning of this century most Western historians have adopted the view that there are no historical laws, and the Harvard Department reflects this change. Obviously if a professor really believes this, he is simply not going to understand what his radical students want when they complain that what he teaches disguises the history with the events.

Insistence on the lack of any sense to history has several consequences. First, the range of course offerings is biased: for example, no courses cover labor movements, imperialism, racism, the history of women, etc. This is not accidental. If it makes no difference what is studied, as long as it occurred at least twenty years ago, there is no particular reason to give any course, save the whims of professors and ossified tradition.

Second, students are not permitted to develop any personal sense of the relevance of history. That relevance can only emerge when, because history is seen as significant, people understand that they can learn from it, that it applies to themselves. History is relevant precisely because nothing is inevitable and it is therefore necessary to use history to build the future. To deny this, as most modern, positivist historians do, is to transform history into a series of cocktail party anecdotes.

While all this impedes the development of radical historians, it also impedes the growth of radical critiques of the society. The Department inevitably produces graduates who think that the labor movement and socialist thought are not very important, that America is confronted by a totalitarian menace abroad, that Third World revolutionaries have failed to understand the complexities of economic development, and that ideology is pernicious. No alternative interpretation is presented. The History Department, like most others at Harvard, does its bit to help maintain the system.

### Political Science

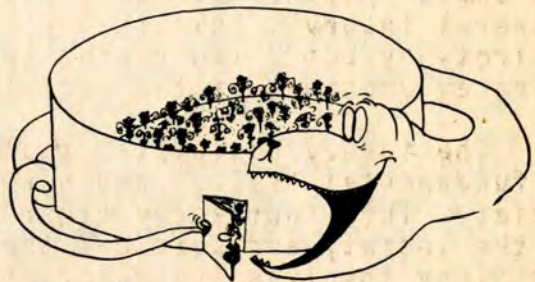
There are struggles within Harvard's Government Department, but they do not concern America's imperialism. In the summer of 1965, when US intellectuals first began opposing the Vietnam war in significant numbers, a petition offered in support of the US



role was signed by both Samuel Huntington, the rising star of comparative political science, and Carl J. Friedrich, the man responsible for the stranglehold of traditional political theory on undergraduate and graduate curricula. Huntington is now chairman of the Department and simultaneously a valued State Department consultant, a member of AID's Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group (SEADAG), and author of the fascinating scholarly thesis that the US military is stimulating development through urbanization in Vietnam by bombing the population out of the rural areas (Foreign Affairs, July 1968).

The political science propounded by Huntington and his colleagues Karl Deutsch, Seymour M. Lipset, and powerful men at other major universities is perhaps the most morally corrupt and intellectually bankrupt of all the social sciences compromised by Cold War scholarship. It is intellectually bankrupt because real knowledge about US activities abroad is so explosive that non-radical political scientists must spend a great deal of energy inventing euphemisms, or avoiding the facts altogether in a cloud-cuckoo-land of modernizing elites, nation-building, and indicators of social communication.

The basic fault of this political science is an anti-communism so crude that, if stated bluntly, it could not hold the allegiance of any sophisticated "value-free" theorist. Communism is usually defined as any opposition to the growth and prosperity of the American military-industrial empire. Since such a crude view is no longer intellectually acceptable, a marvellous array of sophistries are offered to make the package palatable to Harvard scholars.



From DIKOBRAZ, Prague

The most fundamental sophistry is the delimitation of the subject matter. The "political system" is defined as analogous to but analytically separate from the economic system. This definition has many convenient consequences:

1) Economic development is assigned to the discipline of economics; it is simply assumed that the "third world" is developing and that the task of political science is to describe political behavior in "developing societies". This forestalls the embarrassing question of why most third world societies are economically stagnant, a question which might lead to a more critical appraisal of the U.S. role in those societies.

2) Politicians in a "political system" are assumed to trade and compete for power just as businessmen trade and compete for wealth. One could not tell, from the uses of this assumption, that government policy affects the distribution of wealth, and that businessmen want power just as politicians want wealth.

3) The revolutionary force of Marx's political theory is tamed, since obviously an independent political system could not be a servant of any one class. Governments, according to this theory, may be influenced by interest groups but are never controlled by classes. 74



Another pernicious sophistry is that attention and concern are directed, in Christian Bay's eloquent phrase, to "the welfare of systems rather than people." The function of government is assumed to be self-perpetuation. No matter how oppressive its rule, it is successful if it prevents serious challenge to that rule. If American assistance is needed, so be it; especially as demands which threaten American interests are not among those which can legitimately be accommodated. It is now fashionable, however, to explain away such demands as being rooted in a neurotic inclination to find a scapegoat for problems the natives are not mature enough to handle. Maturity, in political as well as economic terms, is measured against the US model.

By such evasions do the Harvard political scientists direct their students' attention away from the moral and intellectual problems created by America's military presence and economic exploitation of the third world.

### Social Relations I: Theory

The Department of Social Relations is one of, if not the great fountainhead of what passes for American social science. Its high priest, Talcott Parsons, was instrumental in its creation after WWII, out of then-autonomous departments of anthropology, sociology, and social psychology, as a way of institutionalizing his wide-ranging "General Theory". This theory -- voluminous and comprehended in its entirety by but a few chosen apostles -- characterizes well the underlying assumptions of the sociology practiced within the department.

The theory postulates that society holds together because a set of fundamental "values and norms" are shared by all members of that society. This "normative order" legitimates the reigning institutions of the society and sets out the roles which people fill within it. Sociology involves the description of this normative order and accounting for its transmission.

As C. Wright Mills wrote: "In these terms, the idea of conflict cannot effectively be formulated. Structural antagonisms, largescale revolts, revolutions, they cannot be imagined... The idea of the normative order set forth leads us to assume a sort of harmony of interests as the natural feature of any society." The approach totally neglects the idea of interests and coercion within the system. In fact, people co-operate in a normative order like ours either because they are manipulated or because refusal would expose them to the system's sanctions (cops, unemployment, etc.).

Put into practice, this kind of sociology manifests an overriding pre-occupation with maintaining this normative consensus, minimizing conflicts, denying the existence of injustices, and in effect protecting the interests of those who presently profit from the system. Parsons, for example, celebrates the sham of American democracy. If citizens really participated in the political process, if issues were clearly defined, and if the beneficiaries of existing arrangements were obvious, political leaders would not be able to manage so conveniently, and 'noxious' social conflict would prevail.

Within this framework works Harvard Sociology. Seymour Lipset prepares demonstrations of how mass political movements bring tyranny due to the authoritarian nature of working-class people. In some of his less ideological moments, he studies Latin American student movements for the Air Force, who obviously would like to figure out



how to avoid Latin American revolution. David McClelland finds the success of Western capitalist society in its high valuation of achievement. He busies himself with devising programs for underdeveloped countries to instill the need for achievement in their people and so solve their problems of development. Alex Inkeles -- a self-avowed member of the Socialist Party! -- worked for many years on propagandizing about Soviet Russia on the basis of hundreds of interviews with Soviet defectors. He too has Air Force support.

## Social Relations II: Practice

The theory and practice of Harvard's "health services" follows directly from a Parsonian world-view. Institutions have mechanisms designated for the purposes of social control. For working-class kids, these mechanisms carry guns and are called cops. For Harvard students, they usually wear ties and jackets and are called psychiatrists.

These men have essentially two roles:

1) They attempt to "cool-out" students with personal problems that do or could lead them into trouble (criminality or suicide, particularly embarrassing for the University), or to reject the system. This means defining real social alienations produced by a structure geared to socializing students to competition, exploitation, and obedience to the Organized System as psychological problems, problems of adjustment. In short, it means that the student is to focus blame on himself rather than on the institution or society. Dr. Dana Farnsworth talks about students "who actively work out their psychological problems in the library" (meaning that they steal or mutilate books) and who send "threatening communications ... to department heads, deans, and presidents ... [Since] these people are usually disturbed, it is quite essential that they be handled with respect for their disabilities..." Farnsworth prefers that deviant students be punished by means of covert psychiatric sanctions, rather than overt legal ones.

2) Psychiatrists are used as experts in social management. "What a psychiatrist learns from the care of troubled students gives him the appropriate material for helping his colleagues in the academic disciplines to work more effectively with their students... If a college psychiatrist did not share his knowledge ... with colleagues in other parts of the college there would be no reason for his presence on the staff." (Dr. Farnsworth)

A cherished therapeutic instrument of Dr. Graham Blaine, head of the psychiatric services, is quite charming: War. "When the country is in trouble, those who are in revolt tend to bury their resentments temporarily in order to preserve the elements in the present order in which they believe ... It is reassuring now to find that since the Vietnam war has expanded, there have been almost as many students demonstrating in support of government policies in Vietnam as there have been students demonstrating against these policies." (1966) One might even with a little courage find some connections here to the logic of police busting a few heads in Harvard yard.

But the real role of psychiatrist as cop, judge, and stool pigeon comes to light when one sees how they define themselves with respect to the college administration. Says Dr. Farnsworth:



"Wherever anti-social acts are involved ... the psychiatrist must act on behalf of the University and he must make this clear to the patient (though action that is checked to the best interest of the student will, of course, be best for the college or university.!)

"There are cases in which the personality structure of the student, above and beyond his sexual deviation, makes him the cause for discomfort for those about him and it is imperative that he leave the community. Here again, the psychiatric opinion ... is important in making the right disposition."

## Literature

The ideological assumptions and values proper to a capitalist society ("bourgeois ideology") permeate deeply both the form and content of literary teaching and scholarship at Harvard, as in other universities. Literature is studied primarily as an act of individual creativity. Little attention is ever paid to the communal or "folk" aspects of a literature, of a "pre-capitalist" literature which expresses the myths and values of a group. By the same token, "post-capitalist" or revolutionary literature which seeks to transcend and abolish the isolation of the artist, is also avoided. The rich revolutionary Afro-French literature which grew up in the West Indies and Africa in the 20's and has continued to the present has no place in the curriculum.

Of course, the bulk of literature studied does derive from a capitalist society, and in part is the product of the alienation of the artist. But because this simple fact is never directly confronted, because the specific social matrix is never seriously dealt with, the student is left with the impression that bourgeois literature is in fact the only literature, that its forms are "eternal", and that the "greatness" of creativity lies only in this kind of expression.

And by treating literature as the ahistorical product of "great men", courses at Harvard tend to ignore the degree to which even alienated artists express or negate the concrete values of their specific historical period and class. Thus one views a revolutionary work like Rousseau's Contrat Social as a monument, rather than the living thing it once was, a piece of writing that was threatening to its own society. With the element of danger gone, with specificity eliminated, the student of literature is left with the reassuring contemplation of universals or "eternal verities".

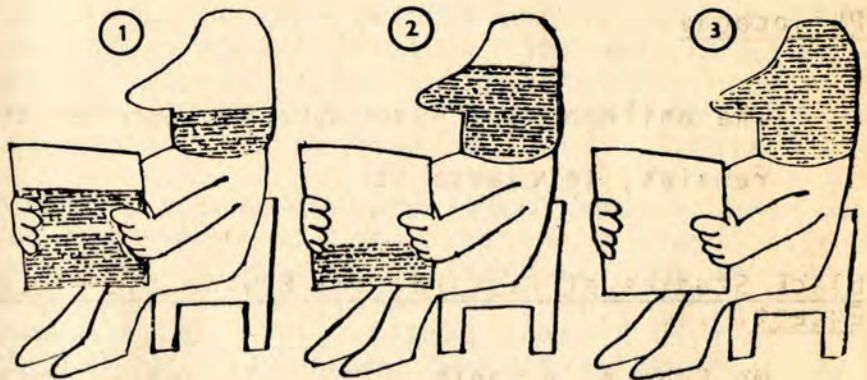
In fact, the only time literature is not dangerous is when it speaks only to the values and prejudices of those classes in power. For example, Voltaire and Rousseau and even Moliere were dangerous because they gave a voice to a rising class, the bourgeoisie. Once the bourgeoisie was firmly in power, those who enunciated these same values, such as Anatole France, became non- or even anti-revolutionary. This leads into the question of audience, almost never asked in a "professional" literature class. For whom does one write? Clearly, at different historical moments certain classes have either not read at all, or read only certain kinds of literature. This question is extremely important in evaluating both the effect and the intent of literary works.

As for the form of literary study, the almost exclusive pre-occupation with structure rather than content again treats the work as a museum object, a specimen to be dissected, rather than as a



living and vital thing. Structural analysis can be a valuable tool in understanding certain kinds of problems, but it has virtually become an end in itself. This, needless to say, discourages the student from ever asking the important questions about why we study literature in the first place. Particularly at the graduate level, the professors convey the impression that the "professional" thing to do is to avoid idle speculations about meaning and concentrate on the "scientific" cataloguing of images, or analysis of grammar. As in many other academic fields, a pseudo-scientific approach becomes a means of rationalizing the context of learning, and the social status quo. These stylistic exercises are carried out for the purpose of publication in scholarly journals or delivery at the Modern Language Association conventions. It is therefore of no importance that they could have no meaning to anyone. This is the way to "make it" in the field, to get a good appointment.

Liberal literature teachers frequently deplore the fact that their working- or lower middle-class students don't share their interest in "humanistic" ideas and traditions. What they do not realize is that the students may be turned off because these traditions are in fact elitist, and taught in an elitist manner. Their instinctive sense of our irrelevance to them becomes understandable if we begin to confront the basic questions: What is literature? Why do we bother to teach it? For whom was it written? For whom should it be written today? But this level of consciousness can hardly be obtained by those who have spent their whole lives in the elitist academic environment of Harvard and places like it.



### Fine Arts

The teaching of Fine Arts at Harvard isolates art from its social and historical context, even though in some courses -- notably Professor Ackerman's (Fine Arts 13, Renaissance Architecture, Renaissance Painting) -- students are encouraged to read social and economic histories of the period as background material. Professor Ackerman seems to be the only member of the department whose interests include concerns for the role of art in the community and the role of art history in a liberal arts education. Hence his undergraduate courses become more oriented in the direction of the liberal arts. But even here, social questions are submerged and only superficially treated. The background material is, anyway, more "relevant" here because Professor Ackerman's field is architectural history and it is difficult (although too often done) to divorce architecture from its social function. However, even the study of architecture is generally approached as the history of great "monuments" (as the schoolboy's history of England is the history of its kings). The "monument" approach to art history is prevalent in the general education courses.



In more specialized ("professional") courses -- where "in depth" investigation takes place -- the emphasis is laid on the work itself; and one draws, when possible, on the Fogg Museum's collection. Students are trained in the art of connoisseurship, in developing a critical eye for the purpose of distinguishing the real from the fake (a necessary ability when, as an "expert", one is saving a wealthy collector or a museum from the embarrassment of buying a substitute for the real thing) and for dating a work of art as precisely as possible (crucial to the world of scholarship). It is, indeed, the "fine" arts that are studied and valued.

The over-emphasis on the connoisseurship aspect of the field is related on the one hand to the fear that at least on the undergraduate level, art history as a liberal arts discipline might be called into question. On this level, art history might become merely an adjunct to social or intellectual history -- mere illustration. On the other hand, the Fine Arts Department grew out of the Fogg Museum and its concerns are closely tied to its origin. The curatorial role of many members of the faculty overlaps their role as teacher.

Art history as it is now taught perpetuates the practice of a highly specialized and rigid discipline and destroys any real appreciation and understanding of individual art works and the process of art under different historical conditions. On the graduate level, the art historian at Harvard for the most part is working for and with the ruling class -- for those that have time to acquire their particular "culture".

### Philosophy

The philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point remains, to change it.

### Black Studies at Harvard, or, Giving the Blacks What They Want Except. . . .

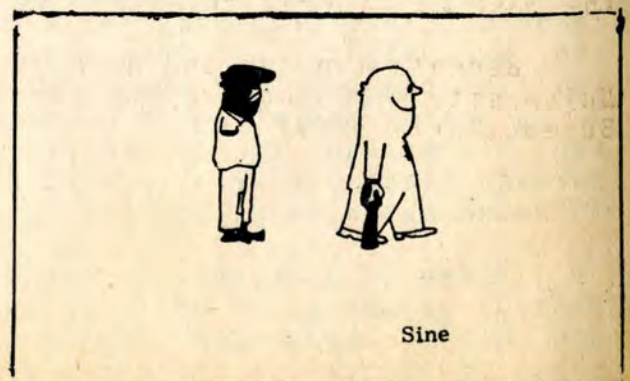
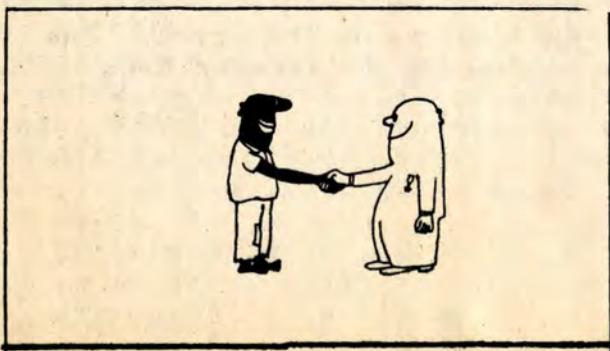
On Feb. 9, a month and a half before Harvard blew, the liberal Boston Globe quoted two Harvard faculty members on the subject of why blacks wanted black studies. Oscar Handlin chalked it up to "myth-making": "They want to act and in order to act they must believe; in order to believe they need a myth." Martin Kilson sank a little deeper into armchair relativism: ". . . all men, black and white, yellow and red, accept those historical paradoxes or ironies found suitable or useful for a given occasion and reject those lacking such utility. In this respect, therefore, the black experience is, I daresay, little more than an offshoot of the human experience -- no better and no worse." Most variations fall in between these two: blacks want to express pride and create nationalist myths, and Harvard blacks especially want to develop their special black angle on human experience, the more esoteric the better.

There is a remarkable coincidence, we think, between what our professors and assorted friends in the administration think we want, and what the pig power structure thinks we should get. Black Studies, if limited to the considerations above, does not remotely threaten the status quo, and guided into certain race pride and



black capitalist directions even has a way of consolidating the status quo. Or to be frank and blow the game, we don't think it's a coincidence. Rather, it's the old story of purportedly apolitical men acting in characteristically political ways as agents for the politics and the system which pays them.

Putting aside the fact that interpreting black studies as myth-making and that historical reconstruction sooner or later means a lot of money for people like Mortimer J. Adler and Charles Van Doren (San Francisco Publications), whose presses are ready to roll with textbooks and classroom aids, we see that our well-wishers are most of all concerned that we ask for a liberal black studies department that can be integrated into a liberal university. The punch-line is on "liberal", not "integrated". The Rosovsky Report for example does a fantastic job on the unsavory fact that black students expressed a strong need to identify with the black ghetto community and to do work that will be relevant to it. The report's idea of relevance is very vague, but it tends to stop short at "studying black experience" and using the "intellectual" resources of Fair Harvard to solve problems for the black community. It omits the fact that in view of some kinds of problem-solving associated with Harvard professors and research, a more straightforward approach might be to join the local police. It tends in fact to be interested less in solving problems for the black community, and more in solving alienation hang-ups for black students in ways that will facilitate their progress up and out of the black community. The report urges a role for the Cultural Activities Center ("to be conceived as something of a counterpart to Hillel House") which sounds suspiciously like a black fraternity chapter, black freshman rush week and all. Above all, it shows an awareness that such mechanisms do not separate students from the larger institutional politics and philosophy of universities but actually intensify indoctrination. The report calls it making the black student feel "more involved and less isolated in this [campus] community." The progression is a weird one: you solve the black students' need to identify with the black community by helping him to identify with the Harvard community -- it's also called helping the nigger socialize himself, which solves lots of other people's problems.





We know that this University is presently committed to a political position inimical to our people and in our struggles for a good program the predictable irrational polarities have already taken place. What we want is a black studies program that will build upon the political outlook of the black community, and constantly align our interests with its interests. It's up to the University to decide whether they want us here or not, but they can't have it both ways.

[Footnote: Rumor has it that Harvard is considering West Indian economist W. Arthur Lewis to head up its new Black Studies program. Lewis, though black, is a prominent pro-American bourgeois economist. He was involved in hitching the Ghanaian economy onto a neo-colonialist orbit. (See Fitch and Oppenheimer, Ghana: End of an Illusion, Monthly Review Press, 1966.)]

### Departure

This critique -- uneven, condensed, even cryptic -- has sought to be as total as the disciplines of domination it dissects. This abortion of education stunts intellectual development as well as the emergence of moral and political concerns. The questions avoided, the subjects evaded, the research never begun feeds and is fed by corporate education -- education, indeed, for life under corporate control.

Of what might a different education consist? Are real alternatives even conceivable, much less achievable? Paradoxically, within its bowels -- in that cramped space fought for and won -- Harvard itself has a microcosm of qualitative change. Student initiatives led to the creation of Soc-Rel 148 and 149 - a course which was not a course, an approach which has sought everything and will settle for nothing less. The study of America which is also the search for how to change it. Racism: what it is, yes, but also how to fight it; history, of course, but with emphasis on how to make it; literature for real illumination and those important nuances; Imperialism: defined for once without euphemism and a careful look at what it means. And then the problem of change, of agency, of what is to be done. But this experiment, we fear and expect, will not be allowed to survive. Not in its present form. It is too threatening, its implications latent with future disruptions and embarrassing challenges. The mask of liberal tolerance is already thin.

Beneath the cap and gown is the gun and the billy stick. "The University will soon resume its normal schedule." (Harvard News Bureau, April 1969)



## CONCLUSIONS

President Pusey's remark, which heads this booklet, can now be paraphrased: The documents, data, and analysis presented here make it clear that Harvard did not have to be taken over lock, stock and barrel by the business and military establishments because it was always an institution of the ruling class that created those establishments. We contend that the universities -- Harvard being the specific example -- are devoted to serving the economic, political and cultural interests of the American ruling class system. We further contend that fulfilling these interests necessarily entails the present and future oppression and domination of the peoples of Vietnam and the urban ghettos and elsewhere. We would also include additional victims: knowledge itself; those students and teachers who are willingly, even enthusiastically, recruited and integrated into the prevailing apparatus; and those students and teachers who, in revolt against the apparatus, have come to know its repressive capability. Obviously, anyone who believes that universities are either neutral, truth-seeking institutions or centers of human knowledge committed to genuine social development is living in a world of fantasy.

Equally obviously, Nathan Pusey does not live in a fantasy world. He is a functionary within a real system that is fantastically powerful, undemocratic and rapacious. Part of his activity includes contributing to the fabric of ideology and mythology which make this system appear democratic, beneficent, in accord with human nature, and eternal. The present booklet is part of a fundamentally subversive activity: the activity of revealing and disclosing the actual character of Harvard University and the social order it serves. The power-structure research and social science perspectives which are contained in these pages are not "value-free" for the simple reason that the object of the research -- Harvard -- is value-loaded. The data gathered are not mere data, as so-called objective social science would claim; they refer to and express a form of social organization that serves particular people and interests and, to use a popular term that goes to the heart of the matter, screws others.



To summarize: Harvard University is run and controlled by an elite cadre of men who are part of America's ruling class. The system of power within Harvard is organized from the top downward, just as it is in the society at large. All basic economic and political decisions (e.g., how Harvard's wealth is dispensed, what its relations to the military and the State are to be) are made at the top. In addition, decisions regarding research priorities, the general and basic orientation of teaching in all departments, and the values, styles and assumptions to be "transmitted" emanate, in a complex and mediated fashion, from the same source. These decisions and the scholarly and practical work they set in motion serve the immediate and long-range interests of America's ruling class system and its empire. The scholarly and practical work of the ruled is only beginning.

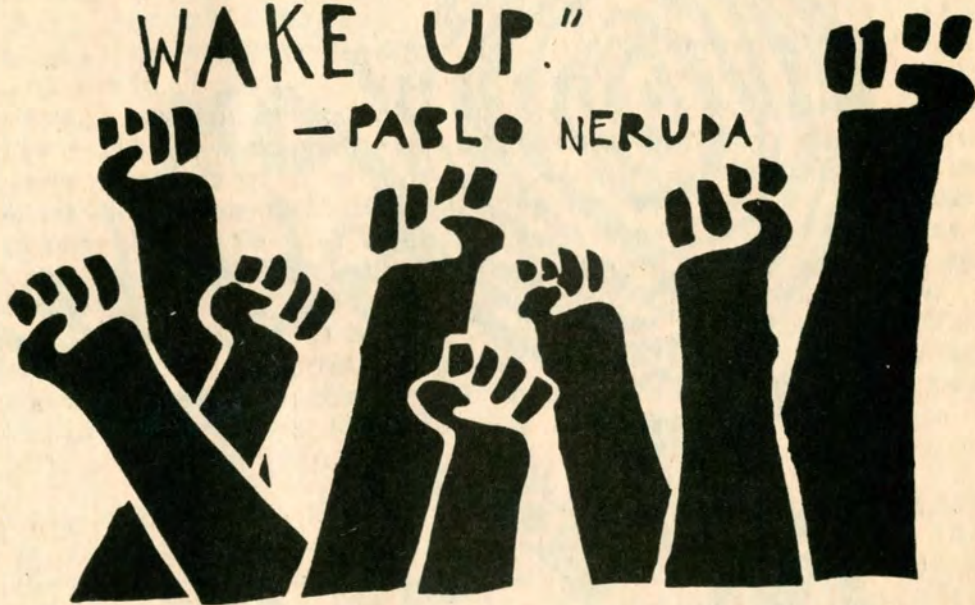




I MET BOLIVAR ON A  
LONG MORNING...  
"FATHER," I SAID, "ARE YOU,  
OR ARE YOU NOT, OR  
WHO ARE YOU?"  
AND HE SAID:

"I RISE EVERY  
HUNDRED YEARS  
WHEN THE PEOPLE  
WAKE UP."

—PABLO NERUDA



THE AWAKENED COMMUNITY  
WILL SEE ITS DEMANDS  
REALIZED; THE STRIKE  
WILL CONTINUE.



# EPILOGUE

It was not, as many "moderates" felt, the police who disrupted the normal processes of life at Harvard, but the students they were called in to remove from University Hall. The police were employed to restore the university to its normal mode of operation. The strike, which was the response of thousands of students to the administration's action, was implicitly a protest against the return to normalcy, despite the vehemency with which the "moderates" insisted they were striving for a transformation or retransformation of the university into a "community" through "restructuring", or instituting faculty and (more urgently) student participation with the administration in decision-making.

It is only the university's function in society that gives the idea of restructuring any importance - yet it is precisely this function that makes nonsense of the idea of a university "community" of students, faculty, and administrators which is at the same time a corporation run within and serving the interests of corporate capitalist society. "Participation", under circumstances in which power remains undistributed (here, in the hands of the corporation) is merely a means to drown the real issues in a sea of committees and hide the continued powerlessness of the "participants". Any meaningful restructuring would have to be a transfer of power, not participation but control. And even student/faculty control of the university, so long as it meant maintenance of the university in its present form and social role, would be an insufficient answer to the problems brought into the open by the sit-in and strike.

The full development in capitalism of the destructive potential of private control of social production (of which the war in Vietnam and the housing problems of Roxbury and Cambridge are only examples) has made it obvious that the responsibility for running any social institution should rest with those who do its work.

In an advanced industrial society, in which practically all production is for the use of society in general, the extension of this principle to the level of social life as a whole dictates that this responsibility must be shared with all the members of society, whose lives the institutions affect.



Students act to disrupt the normal functions of the university (as high schoolers their schools, soldiers the army, and workers their places of work) because it is through the normal functioning of the university that the crisis of American society presents itself to students. The relation of the struggle on the campus to the struggle throughout society is sometimes obscured for students because of their position in society. As non-producers, or rather, as their own products, students are not economically exploited but only in training for places on the pecking order. Not yet at work, they tend to see the goal of "student power" as satisfied by some measure of control over the training for work, as if that could be independent of the nature of the jobs awaiting them. And yet, as at Harvard, the essential questions come up: the role of the "knowledge factory", the question of power. These questions must be clearly posed and dealt with; in combination they are the essence of the most serious problem, for thought and action, of the student movement, the relation of the struggle on the campus to that waged throughout America and the world for the liberation of mankind.

The demand for student/staff control is a demand not for control over an institution supervising one's insertion into the world of exploitation but for an end to exploitation. It therefore inevitably pushes the issue far beyond the confines of the campus. The idea of a university which serves not the class that continues to dominate society, but those who are at present dominated, implies a thorough restructuring of society as a condition for a meaningful restructuring of the university. The limits of restructuring reveal the outlines of a new society.

# NO ON STRIKE



## APPENDIX: ANY QUESTIONS?

Every member of Harvard's governing boards favors improved student-administration "communication." So, if you have any questions about the information contained in How Harvard Rules, communicate: call the overseer or corporation member of your choice. Be careful what you call him but don't be reluctant to call collect. He can afford it.

### Harvard Corporation

Bennett, George F.	712 Main Street, Hingham, Mass	unlisted
Burr, Francis H.	South Hamilton, Mass	468-1818
	Off: 225 Franklin St. Boston	423-6100
Calkins, Hugh	Off: Union Building, Cleveland	unlisted
Kane, Richmond K.	121 E. 78th St. New York	BU8-3018
	Off: 1 Wall Street	425-3000
Marbury, William L.	43 Warrenton Rd. Baltimore	235-6473
	Off: First Nat. Bank Bld. Balt.	539-2530
Nickerson, Albert L.	431 Grace Church St. Rye, N.Y	unlisted
Pusey, Nathan M.	17 Quincy St. Cambridge. Mass	864-0935
(servants)	17 Quincy St. Cambridge. Mass	547-6470

### Board of Overseers

Amory, Robert Jr.	4833 Dexter Terrace, Washington DC	FE8-0879
Barr, Alfred H. Jr.	49 E. 96th St. New York	AT9-3936
Bigelow, Edward	65 Essex Rd. Chestnut Hill, Mass	unlisted
Brimmer, Andrew F.	4611 29th Pl. Washington DC	unlisted
Chauncey, Henry	Off: Educational Testing Service Princeton, NJ	921-9000
Cheever, Francis	5305 Westminister Pl. Pittsburgh	681-2753
Coolidge, William A.	River Rd, Topsfield Mass	unlisted
Copeland, Lamot DuPont	Greenville, Delaware	239-5236
	Off: duPont Bldg, Wilmington Del	774-5516
Cowles, Gardner	Cowles Communications Inc. 488 Madison Ave. New York	MU8-0300
Crocker, John	34 Philips St. Andover Mass	unlisted
Cutter, Richard A.	62 Sparks St. Cambridge Mass	876-0032
Dillon, Clarence D.	Off: 757 3rd Ave. New York	HA1-3200
Eliot, Thomas H.	6420 Forsyth Blvd. Clayton Mo	unlisted
Elliott, Osborn	206 E. 72nd St. New York	UN1-8868
Friendly, Henry	1088 Park Ave. New York	SA2-7507
Gordon, Albert	10 Gracie Sq. New York	BU8-2251



Greenstein, Jesse	2057 San Pasqual St., Pasadena, Calif.	unlisted
Fornig, Donald F.	2810 Brandywine St. N.W., Wahsington, D.C.	362-4558
Hoguet, Robert L. Jr.	1088 Park Ave., N.Y.	SA2-8848
Houghton, Amory Jr.	3 Sutton Place, N.Y./Wye Plantation, Queenstown, Maryland	unlisted
Keppel, Francis	1100 Park Ave., N.Y.	unlisted
Learson, Thomas V.	North Manursing Island, Rye, N.Y.	722-3776
Nitze, Paul H.	3120 Woodley Rd. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20350	unlisted
Plimpton, Francis	1165 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10029 <u>or</u> 131 E. 66th St., N.Y.	333-7388
	Office: 320 Park Ave., N.Y.	249-7060
Putnam, George	Procter St., Manchester, Mass.	PL2-6400
Richardson, Eliot L.	56 Sargent Crossway, Brookline, Mass. <u>or</u> State St., Boston	unlisted
Rowe, James H.	3207 Highland Place, Washington, D.C.	727-2200
	Office: 1511 K St. N.W.	EM3-8133
Seamans, Robert C.	1503 Dumbarton Rock Ct., Wash, D.C. 20007	783-7900
Taylor, W. Davis	Vine St., Marion, Mass.	unlisted
White, Theodore Harold	168 E. 64th St., N.Y. 10021	unlisted
		TE8-7255

How Harvard Rules is the collective product of a week's work by a group of movement researchers and supporters of the Harvard Strike. It features the contributions and the labor of a sizable group of activists and analysts.

It was produced with the active help of the AFRICA RESEARCH GROUP, a movement research organization based in Cambridge (P.O. Box 213, Cambridge 02138) and concerned primarily with imperialist penetration in Africa and its consequences at home. It could not have been published without the cooperation of THE OLD MOLE, a radical biweekly newspaper which made available the Liberated Documents which we felt should be shared widely within the context of a serious and sustained analysis.

Additional copies of How Harvard Rules are available through THE OLD MOLE (2 Brookline Street, Cambridge, Mass.) and The New England Free Press, 791 Tremont Street, Boston. Single copies are \$1.00 (with 25¢ additional for postage). Bulk rates on request.



# SCOREBOARD

CORPORATION

OVERSEERS

1
3
24

chairmanships  
presidencies  
directorships

12
5
84

The Oligoctopus Game







WORKING MAN'S CAMPELLO



81-73  
15  
UNDERSTANDING WHO RULES HARVARD: A KEY TO THE CHART

'And what is a college president for? A college president is paid by the interlocking directorate to take their 'consulting engineers' and 'valuation experts' and cover them with a mantle of respectability, enabling them to do their dirty work in the name of education and public service. And if any freak individual comes along, trying to break in and spoil the game, the function of a college president is to furnish what the college football player knows as 'interference'--tripping the fellow up, slugging him, maiming him. In football there are strict rules against fouls; but in this game of plutocratic education 'everything goes.'

Upton Sinclair. GOOSE STEP(1922)

Our 'power structure' chart is only a beginner's guide to the realities of that interlocking web of wealth and power that runs Harvard. While amusing, the story it conveys is deathly serious. Most of these men represent what there is left of a national aristocracy; they embody those American upper class values and traditions which exert what are at once the most powerful and the most subtle pressures towards conservatism. Our chart is admittedly not the complete story--we will leave the lists of all the bibliographical detail to others. It is accurate however, and organized in way to help you make some sense out of what it all means.

We have grouped these men in specific categories, broken down by area of social and economic life in which each man is most prominent--that area which he helps influence or control. The men on our chart are first and foremost CAPITALISTS; owners or manipulators of capital possibly or at least committed believers in the 'free enterprise' way of life. They represent 9 insurance companies, 3 important real estate agencies, 16--yes count them 16--banks. BIG banks like First National City and Dillon Reed.) These men don't play. They are also into major manufacturing corporations which make everything from cameras and containers, to coca-cola and computers. Harvard's corporate quilt has impressive cultural, political, and financial interests to maintain. These men help run the government at home or as we put it: ADMINISTER THE HOME COUNTRY. They hold 2 Judgeships, a variety of local power positions, include an Assistant Secretary of State, and a menagerie of corporate directorships and positions on the boards of major foundations. Not content with the power they hold at home, they have needs and ambitions abroad. Thus, in large number, these men are IMPERIALISTS; deacons of the American Empire. They own firms which exploit other peoples and use their lands as sources of raw materials and markets. They support, in turn, the enormous military budget required to 'defend' those interests and investments. Their multi-national corporations--United Fruit, Dow-Corning, IBM, Smith, Kline and French--need the world as a market, and on their own terms. So they help shape foreign policy in order to make sure it reflects their interests. As members of such groups as the Council on Foreign Relations or holders of major power positions, they run the GOVERNMENT ABROAD; that sometimes visible, sometimes invisible (but always indivisible) force which defends and administers the Free World Empire. Hence, the ex top CIA man, and present member of the National Security Council; hence the former and present military chiefs; hence the kingmakers and government advisors. While men like Eliot Richardson run the State Department, men like Paul Nitze train the elite cadres of foreign service personnel. These men ooze out positions in the government into posts in the Foundation world, out of the Pentagon and into a bank.

By now some eyes will be blinking in disbelief. Can this be true, they will ask. It appears so overdone! It smacks of a crude conspiracy theory of power. Not true; for some reason which shouldn't elude us too long, our approach to power relations is not the one they teach you in school or the one you find explored in the press. Harvard knows this too; it pays tribute to the power of the MEDIA by incorporating propagandists from major publishing and educational corporations. One runs NEWSWEEK and the WASHINGTON POST; another LOOK and FAMILY CIRCLE. FAMILY CIRCLE? Don't laugh! *This is a family circle - it knows it and wants to keep it that way.*

If we still haven't told you enough, don't despair. Pick up the WHO'S WHO, SOCIAL REGISTRAR and MOODY'S MANUAL. Then, make your own chart. It will do funny funny things to your head too.

*'IN A SENSE AS HARVARD GOES, SO GO THE OTHER UNIVERSITIES IN AMERICA.'*

*S.M. LIPSET, U.S. News & World Report*



# HOW HARVA



MEDIA

RATIONS

GARDNER COWLES  
Chmn and ed., Cowles  
Mag. and Bdcasting Inc  
Publisher: Des Moines  
Register and Tribune  
Dir: United  
Airlines

W. DAVIS  
TAYLOR  
Publisher and  
Chmn Board:  
Globe News,  
Boston

OSBORN  
ELLIOTT  
Ed. + Dir: Newsweek  
Dir.: Washington  
Post Co.

THEODORE  
WHITE  
Making of the  
President: '60, '64,  
'68 (coming, coming)  
Council on Foreign  
Relations

DAVID  
ROCKEFELLER  
ex-bd. of overseers  
Pres: Chase Manhattan  
Advisory Com. memb:  
International Monetary  
Arrangements

THOMAS  
LEARSON  
top executive  
IRM

WILLIAM  
COOLIDGE  
Chrmn. Board and Director:  
Cowles Communications  
Dir.: Kaymen Aircraft Co.  
Dir.: Napco Chemical Co.  
Dir.: Coca Cola  
Dir.: Crucible Steel

ALBERT  
GORDON  
Dir.: Container Corp. of  
America  
Dir.: Carnation Co.

ALBERT NICKERSON  
Chairman of the Bd., Socony Mobil Oil  
Director, Federal Reserve Bank, N. Y.  
Director, Metropolitan Life Insurance

WILLIAM MARBURY  
"lawyer"  
Dir., First Nat'l Bank of Maryland  
ex-Ass't Attorn. Gen. of Maryland  
Director, James W. Rouse & Co.  
ex-Chief Counsel to War Dep't on  
Procurement Contracts

NATHAN PUSEY

President, Harvard University  
Director, Cambridge Corporation



International  
Corporations:  
the  
Imperialists

Media:  
the  
Propagandists

Government  
Abroad:  
Defenders



# ARD RULES

center:

Corporation

sides:

Board of Overseers

ity  
oration

"This is the first generation I know of which has publicly proclaimed its distrust of everyone over thirty. The cold fact is that many of today's young people regard me and my fellow businessmen as hopelessly corrupt."

-David Rockefeller, ex-president of Harvard's Board of Overseers, in Harv. Alumni Bulletin.

R. KEITH KANE  
"lawyer"

Director, Amerasia Petroleum  
Director, Tribune Co. of Tampa  
Director, Richmond Newspapers  
Dir., Crowell-Collier & Macmillan  
ex-Special Ass't to US Attorney Gen.  
ex-Special Ass't to Secretary of Navy

EDWARD  
BIGELOW  
Executive Comm.,  
State Street Bank &  
Trust Co.  
Director: United  
Fruit Co.

DONALD  
F. HORNIG  
Dir:Office of  
Science & Tech-  
nology under  
Johnson  
Kodak

DAVID  
ROCKEFELLER  
ex-bd. of overseers  
Econ. Policy Comm.,  
American Bankers Ass  
Advisory Comm.  
Member: A. I. D.

L. duPONT  
COPELAND  
Dir., Pres., Chmn:  
duPont de Nemours  
& Co.  
Wilmington Trust  
Co.

ROBERT  
HOGUET  
Exec. V. P.: First  
National City Bank.  
Council on Foreign  
Relations.

AMORY  
HOUGHTON jr.  
Dow Corning  
Pres.: Foundation  
for Youth & Stud.  
Affairs  
Dir: B. F.  
Goodrich



ROBERT  
SEAMANS  
Sec'y: Air Force  
Administrator:  
NASA

INTERNATIONAL CORPORATIONS



NATIONAL CORP

Dir.: Burlington Industries  
Dir.: Tubos de Acero de Mexico  
Dir.: FMC Corp.

FRANCIS PLIMPTON  
U.S. Rep. to U.N. '61-'65  
Trustee: Bowery Savings, NY  
Trustee: U.S. Trust Co., NY  
Trustee: Teachers' Insur. and Annuity.  
Director: Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs

GEORGE PUTNAM  
12 Directorships, 2  
Presidencies, 1  
Trusteeship.  
Mutual Funds and Insurance

HENRY FRIENDLY  
U.S. judge. 2nd  
Circuit Court of Appeals, N.Y.  
Dir.: Pan American Airways System.  
1945-58

C. DOUGLAS DILLON  
Dir: Chase Manhattan Bk.  
Sec'y of Treasury: '60-'65  
Chrmn Board: Dillon, Reed and Co.: '46-'53  
Pres.: U.S. and Foreign Securities Corp. '46-'53

FRANCIS BURR  
"lawyer"  
Director, State St. Investment Corp.  
Director, American Airlines  
Director, Old Colony Trust  
Director, Fiduciary Co. of New York  
Director, Amer. Employees Insurance  
Director, Gorton Corp.  
Director, Federal St. Fund  
Director, Radio Shack  
Director, Continental Screw  
Trustee, Warren Institution for Savings  
Trustee, Employers Group Assoc.

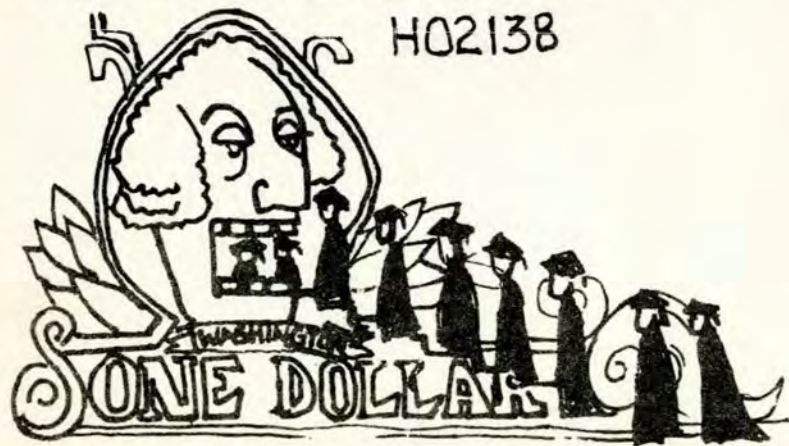
Free World

National Corporations:  
Industrialists  
&  
Financiers

Domestic Government:  
Administering  
the Home Country

UNITED STATES OF A

H02138



JOHN CROCKER  
former rector:  
Groton School.  
Episcopal Minister.

THOMAS ELIOT  
Member,  
77th Congress

FRANCIS KEPPEL  
Pres.: General Learning Corp.  
U.S. Commissioner of Education  
Dean: Harvard Ed. Fac.

ANDREW BRIMMER  
Member:  
Federal Reserve Board

ALFRED BARR, JR.  
Director of Museum Collections, Museum of Modern Art

RICHARD C. U.S. Assoc. Mass. Jud. Co

DOMI



**GEORGE BENNETT**  
 President, State St. Investment Corp.  
 Treasurer, Harvard Corp.  
 President, Federal St. Fund Inc.  
 President, Hanna Diversified Investments  
 Director, Middle South Utilities  
 Director, N. E. Electric System  
 Director, Commonwealth Oil Refining  
 Director, John Hancock Mutual Insurance

**HUGH CALKINS**  
 "lawyer"  
 Director, Brown & Sharp Mfg.  
 Member, Pres. Commission on Nat'l Goals, 1960  
 Member, Cleveland Board of Ed.  
 Member, Cleveland Small Business Opportunity Development Council

**JAMES ROWE JR.**  
 V. P.: 20th Century Fund.  
 Trustee: Air Univ Princeton School  
 Adv. Inter. Stud.

**HENRY CHAUNCEY**  
 Pres: Educational Testing Service  
 Science Advis. Com  
 Army Research: Office Selection

**DAVID ROCKEFELLER**  
 ex-bd. of overseers  
 Chmn: Downtown-Lower Manhattan Ass  
 Dir.: Hills Realty, Morningside Hts.

**FRANCIS CHEEVER**  
 Consultant, Armed Services Epidemiological Board

**JESSE GREENSTEIN**  
 Prof. Astrophysics, Cal. Tech.  
 Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies

**ELLIOT RICHARDSON**  
 Under Sec'y of State  
 past Director: New England Trust Co  
 Trustee: Radcliffe

**ROBERT AMORY, JR.**  
 Council on For. Relations and  
 Deputy Director CIA (1952-1962)

**DAVID ROCKEFELLER**  
 ex-bd. of overseers  
 Chmn: Council for Latin America  
 Dir: V. Pres.: Council on For. Affairs

**PAUL NITZE**  
 former Dep'ty Sec'y of Defense.  
 Director: Foreign Policy Planning: 1950-1953.  
 Dep'ty Sec'y State for Economic Affairs: '48-'49  
 Center for Adv. Intern'l Affairs: Johns Hopkins



GOVERNMENT ABROAD

ESTIC GOVERNMENT