

THE YOUNG SOCIALIST

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Forty thousand West Berlin youth demonstrated Jan. 8 declaring "Nazis Raus"—"Nazis Get Out." The demonstration was led by the Socialist Falcons in answer to the recent outbreak of anti-Semitism. (See story right.)

German Socialist Youth Point Way Against Fascism

by Shane Mage

"Juden Raus—Out with the Jews!" First in West Germany, then in England, the U.S.A., and many other Western countries, swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans have in the past few weeks been smeared on the walls of synagogues.

"Nazis Raus—Out with the Nazis!" In a mass demonstration led by the Falcons, the Socialist youth, 40,000 young Berliners have shown the only answer.

Is the visible recrudescence of anti-Semitism in West Germany, its spread to other countries, an accident? Can we write it off as the spontaneous actions of a few ultra-rightist crackpots and be reassured by the prompt condemnation of such actions by West German Chancellor Adenauer? Or is this the first symptom of a dangerous disease which it would be folly to ignore?

ORGANIZED PLOT?

So far there has been no evidence of an organized plot behind the international wave of anti-Semitic manifestations. Neither has there been proof of such a plot in West Germany, where they began and where the greatest number have taken place. But this in no way lessens the importance of these outbreaks. Viewed as a warning symptom, a rash of spontaneous actions is at least as significant as an organized campaign.

The most obvious significance is that in all Western countries there exists a considerable pool of anti-Semitic feeling. This is not

new—the deep social and psychological roots of anti-Semitism are still far from completely destroyed. But this is the first time since the demise of Hitler that such widespread manifestations of anti-Semitism have taken place.

W.W. II FAILED

Only 15 years ago World War II came to an end, though not until the Nazis had murdered six million Jews. The victorious Allies solemnly promised that those responsible would be punished, that Nazism would be rooted out once and for all. And yet today, the swastika appears once more.

What has happened in Germany is simply this—in proportion as the country recovered economically, in proportion as Germany became a valued member of the anti-Communist Holy Alliance, in that measure the survivors of the Nazi regime have reappeared, "rehabilitated" and "democratized."

If any man symbolizes the new Germany, it is Alfred Krupp. At the very origin of Nazism stood a group of the greatest German capitalists, chief among whom was Krupp, overlord of the Ger-

man iron-steel and munitions industries. These industrial barons saw in the then-small Hitlerite movement a means to smash the Socialist and Communist labor movement.

Defeat meant a temporary setback for Krupp—he was sentenced by a war-crimes court to twelve years in prison. But after three years he was released, set about rebuilding his empire, and today is again the dominant figure in German industry.

With this example before us, who can wonder at the rebirth of Nazism? The present German government, like its predecessor, has outlawed the Communist party—but it has not touched the semi-Nazi "Deutsches Reichs" party or the SS "Veterans organizations." Indeed, "former" Nazis are present at every level of the Bonn government: one minister, Oberlaender, is a former SS commander, and one of Adenauer's closest advisors, Globke, was the author of the official commentary on Hitler's anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws. The new German army is headed by Hitler's generals—and one of them, Speidel, is even commander of the NATO ground forces.

Why were the promises of 1945 so speedily buried? But what was the war about anyway? American and English capitalists were far from hostile to Hitler when the only people he was trampling on were German workers and Jews: only when he menaced their own interests did they resolve to destroy him.

But at no time was their struggle an ideological one, a struggle against Nazism. And so, once the top Nazis were disposed of, there was no question as to how the "new" Germany would be built. The foundation of Nazism was German capitalism—once it was decided that Germany would remain capitalist the only available German leaders were those who had partaken in the Nazi regime. It was mainly Communists and Socialists who had been sent to concentration camps during the Third Reich!

It is therefore entirely appropriate that the Falcons, the Socialist youth, are in the forefront of combat against the resurgence of Nazism. Hitler came to power because German democrats refused to fight him: because the Socialists placed their faith in the capitalist government, and because the Communists, on orders from Stalin, considered the Socialists their main enemy.

Today, in Germany and in all other capitalist countries, Nazism remains a potential threat. Wherever there is anti-Semitism or any form of racism, there is raw material for Nazism. And wherever Nazism rears its head all working class and democratic groups, Communist, socialists, or liberal, must stand together to crush it.

Behind the Slate Setback

by Jim Petras

BERKELEY, Calif.—Slate, the student political party at the University of California at Berkeley, was rather badly defeated in the recent election for student government. The fraternity-sorority "know-nothings" were able to march their members down to vote by means of social pressure. Slate, which usually receives most of the graduate students' votes, was deprived of at least 500 votes by the local college bureaucrats: the graduate students were "dissociated," i.e., no longer allowed to vote. This was the primary reason for the party's defeat.

Another factor of some importance is the role of the Daily Californian, the student newspaper. Up until the last week of the election campaign, it paid little attention to the campaign and gave very little support to Slate. This newspaper has wide circulation among students. If it had popularized the campaign (leaving aside the question of supporting Slate), more people would have voted, thus weakening the ability of the fraternity boys to control the election. As it was, the vote was small and Slate lost.

Slate could have picked up some more votes by a more intensive campaign: more speakers at student gatherings, by organizing a speakers' bureau and by supporting the Farr bill (a bill which would outlaw "rushing" students into fraternities and sororities in their freshman year).

The main issue is not, however, whether Slate might have gained a few more votes had it run a better campaign. It may be, in view of the fact that in general the Cal students are not much interested in campus politics, that even with the soundest tactics possible Slate would still have lost ground.

Slate's primary function is not to win elections (though that would be nice). It is rather to increase the number of politically aware students, to educate as many as possible on the basic issue: the role of the Administration and the fight against its growing authority. This it could have done by focusing attention on the Kerr directives (see De-

ember, January YOUNG SOCIALIST) instead of covering the whole gamut of issues and side issues—football games, student book co-op, etc.

SLATE'S PLANS

Slate leaders now are planning for the spring elections. The plan is to organize a more effective, campaign, more speakers and more intensive work at the "grass roots" level. Slate has accepted, it seems, as final the decision to dissociate the graduate students, and are concentrating on the undergraduates, especially freshmen and sophomores. A bright light for Slate is that it has quite a few young people to continue the lead-

(Continued on Page 2)

'TO FILL VACUUM:'

YS to Launch New Youth Organization

by Martha Curti

In April, Young Socialists will hold a convention in Philadelphia to found a new socialist youth organization. This will be the third national conference in which supporters of the YOUNG SOCIALIST have participated. The Midwest Conference in February 1958, established a minimum level of cooperation between broad socialist campus and city-wide clubs. A significant advance was made by the Detroit Conference of Young Socialists in December 1958, which established the essential framework of a national organization by setting up a National Committee of Young Socialist Supporters.

At the April conference Young Socialists will launch a full-fledged national organization, probably with the name Young Socialist Alliance. After more than two years of publication of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, of national tours, of building local socialist clubs—in short, of a full range of activity—the Young Socialist movement has gained sufficiently in numbers, stability, and influence to make this step possible.

The conference will concern itself with discussion of serious, solid political questions: the socialist attitude towards war, the impact of the cold war on the American campus, the role of young socialists in the 1960 elections, a report on world politics by YS Editorial Board member Shane Mage who recently returned from a 16-month sojourn abroad, and the adoption of a founding statement and a constitution for the new organization.

NUCLEAR ANALYSIS

Foremost in the minds of peo-

ple throughout the world is concern over the possibility of nuclear devastation. American students have expressed a growing anti-war sentiment over the past two years, indicated by the increase in activity against compulsory ROTC, petitions against H-bomb tests, the sending of U.S. troops to Lebanon, etc. Thus it is more than ever necessary for a socialist youth movement to put forward a socialist analysis of war, its causes and means for its prevention such as presented in the resolution submitted to Young Socialist supporters for discussion.

Some of the questions discussed in the resolution are: in what way does the existence of thermonuclear weapons, against which no defense has been devised, act as a deterrent to war? Are there economic pressures on the capitalists to cut armaments? What is the precise role of the colonial revolution in relation to war—does

it provoke war or does it prevent war?

Another major resolution before the conference will deal with the American campus.

Over the past decade, there has been a noticeable trend toward increasing authoritarian control of the University by the administration and the trustees—a gradual usurpation by these sprawling, corporation-like entities of rights and decisions formerly the province of students and faculty, who are, after all, the *raison d'être* of the university.

The problems facing students and the relationship between the struggle for academic freedom and the struggles of the working class is a topic which will be seriously considered by the April conference.

ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION

In addition to discussing theoretical questions, Young Socialists will plan their activities for the coming year. Special attention will be given to a report on the 1960 elections. Participants in the convention will exchange ideas on how they can bring socialist candidates to the largest possible audience among American youth.

The very fact that these questions are being thought about and discussed testifies to the need for

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'UNFIT TO TEACH'

Cops Arrest Teacher for Selling YS

by Jack Arnold

Bob Kaufman, Baltimore Corresponding Editor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST, was arrested on Thursday, December 3 at about 2:30 in the afternoon. The crime? Simply using that freedom reserved for the 'people in the First Amendment to the Constitution: freedom of speech and press. The charge? Nothing so colorful as inciting to riot, advocacy of forceful and violent overthrow of the government, subversion, or anything like that. Just plain, simple "disorderly conduct." Here in his words is the story:

I stationed myself on the pavement on the corner of Alameda above 33rd Street. (This is near City College, a boys' high school in Baltimore.) As the boys began to leave school I held up the YS and cried: "YOUNG SOCIALIST for sale, only ten cents." I sold around six copies. A crowd gathered as they had the previous week.

An older man approached and asked who I was. I asked who he was and he showed me a badge. He said, "Come with me," and put his hand on my shoulder to lead me. We got in a car.

He asked to see the YS. I complied. I asked where we were going and wasn't told. He opened my bag of literature and I told him I had not given him permission. He said he was protecting me. I replied I did not want the protection and wished to return to my selling. I asked if I were under arrest—no reply. I asked if I were free to leave—no reply. He then said something to the effect of "Boy! you're really tempting us to lock you up."

COP WON'T TALK

I got my pad out and asked him his name. He wouldn't tell me so I asked him for his badge number. He said that he had shown it to me on the street. He saw me writing his replies and asked if they had mistreated me. I said that they had interfered with my freedom of speech, refused to tell me where they were taking me, refused to give me their names, badge number, or tell me if I were under arrest and if so for what.

At 2:55 I was booked for disorderly conduct in a public street and called my lawyer. There had been no violence at



One thing that Baltimore school authorities don't like about Bob Kaufman is that he is so widely known as a socialist. They cited the fact that "Mr. Peep's Diary," a daily column in the Baltimore Sun, devoted its entire space one day to an interview with Kaufman on the beatniks. The cartoon above and the following Kaufman comments are from this column:

"The 'beats' . . . are saturated with the you-can't-fight-City-Hall defeatism . . . Most beatniks just want to be let alone. They try to create their own little Utopias around their coffee houses, bars and 'pads' . . . [but they] have been pushed around, and out of, retreats from Ocean City to San Francisco . . . They don't wish to be persecuted any more than they are now. A healthier [Socialist] solution becomes too dangerous even to investigate. And this is part of their tragedy."

the scene until the officer arrived and placed a hand on Bob Kaufman's shoulder to lead him away. It was at this point that one of the boys got up the nerve to kick Bob in the back. According to Bob that was the general order of things at other distributions prior to and after his arrest. When he would first appear at a school, the students, while not necessarily friendly, would at least be reasonably courteous and curious, asking questions about the YS and engaging him in discussion about his political beliefs. It was only at later appearances, after school authorities had spoken to the students, that any general hostility was shown him.

'UNFIT TO TEACH'

It would take up too many words and too much space to tell of the subsequent police harassment at a party and meeting given by Bob as the YS representative. But one result of the arrest does require comment. The next day Bob, who was teaching in the Baltimore school system, was summoned to the office of the Acting Superintendent of schools. After some discussion concerning his activities he was told to re-

port back Monday morning. At that meeting he was informed that he "was not temperamentally suited for the teaching profession." "Temperament," the superintendent said, "is the sum total of all characteristics." His dismissal was to become due on January 31, 1960, providing his work was satisfactory and any reasonable request was carried out. The "reasonable" request was "never to be at any school, city or county, and cause misbehavior."

The real test of ideals such as those contained in the Bill of Rights comes when one ordinary American citizen decides to test whether these ideals can be carried out in reality. Bob Kaufman must pay for carrying out such a test. Faced with loss of employment, a \$50 fine, and heavy legal expenses, he would very much appreciate financial help from YS readers. You may write to him at 2730 Reisterstown Road, Baltimore 15, Md.

When asked to comment on the significance of his case, Bob had the following to say: "They disagree with what I say—and they'll frame me, fine me and fire me to prevent me from saying it."

YS Tours Socialism in Midwest

As a movement continually interested in reaching new people, the YS has conducted tours, open meetings, and sales campaigns throughout the country over the past few years. Currently, the YS is sending Editorial Board member Jim Lambrecht, acting national secretary of the YS movement, to speak on campuses in the Midwest.

The tour, beginning during the first week in March, will be a continuation of Lambrecht's Western tour which ended last December. He will speak on "Marxism and Human Freedom" and "The Impact of the Cold War on the American Campus." The tour will open at the University of Chicago, will continue to Oberlin and Antioch Colleges, to the University of Wisconsin in Madison, and will wind up in Denver. Lambrecht will be the first socialist tour speaker to speak at the State University of Iowa since the founding of the Socialist Discussion Club there.

Lambrecht will also make a return bout at Earlham College in Indiana. During his last Midwest tour, conservative students at Earlham greeted Lambrecht in white sheets and paraded with fiery torches.

On the Western lap of the tour in the beginning of the winter, the YS spokesman met with favorable response wherever he went. He spoke at colleges, universities, and YS club gatherings throughout California, Seattle, and the Twin Cities.

Conrad Lynn, militant Negro leader, was keynote speaker at a gala banquet in honor of the YOUNG SOCIALIST Sunday, Jan 17. The banquet was given by the New York YSA to celebrate over two and a half years of continuous "YS" publications. Over 80 people enjoyed excellent food, speeches by Jim Lambrecht, George Lavan, staff writer for the Militant and Mr. Lynn, as well as the entertainment of a flamenco guitarist and a special guest band, the Pocono Mt. Boys. The gathering raised a considerable amount for the conclusion of the YS fund drive, which will ensure the continued publication of the YS, as well as future socialist speaking tours throughout the country.

Young Socialist

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Editorial Board: Bert Deck, George Payne, Tim Wohlforth, Shane Mage, James Lambrecht, Martha Curti, Allen Taplin.

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Roving Correspondent: Richard DeHaan, Field Representative: James Robertson.

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February, 1960

A Lesson from YPSL

The Young Peoples Socialist League (youth affiliate of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation) has been in a state of organizational prostration for the last six months. It has been forced to suspend its monthly publication, *Challenge*, has been unable to carry on any serious national activity this fall, and has suffered a decline in membership. Significantly, one full National Committee member of YPSL, R. Shann, has recently joined the Young Socialist movement. Other leading members have simply drifted away or become inactive.

Behind this organizational degeneration is the political degeneration of the YPSL. Basically the organization, in a frenzied search for absolute broadness, is dissolving its political character as a socialist organization and becoming one with the amorphous, inactive liberal community.

The latest example of this political degeneration was the recent West Coast Conference held by YPSL in Berkeley, California. Two political questions were discussed: "Socialist Attitude Towards Political Action" and "Socialism and the Struggle for Peace." The general sentiment of the members of the organization was expressed by "left-winger" Bogdan Denitch who urged immediate entrance into the Democratic Party. One of his most telling points was raised in the question: "What's the difference between the right-wing SP member and the left wing Democratic Party member?" For in truth the Socialist Party has gone so far to the right that little remains to distinguish it from the capitalist Democratic Party.

In opposition to Denitch was Hal Draper, who correctly pointed out that "the Democratic Party is a class party—of the capitalist class." He also attacked the Los Angeles YPSL for handing out a leaflet at a Young Democrats convention which effectively urged them to stay in the Democratic Party.

But the most revealing aspect of the conference was the speech of Al Garber under the "Peace" topic. Garber's talk was a vicious cold war apology for the American State Department. He urged the YPSL to "line up with one of the two power alignments—with the U.S.A." He was, to be sure, critical of the State Department—but from the right: he joined the *National Review* in attacking the State Department for dropping the "liberate East Europe" slogan.

Few in the audience were willing to go as far as Garber. None, of course, would question his right to be in a "socialist" organization. In the end, however, Garber won the argument. To his "left" critics he raised this unanswerable point: "Operating in a power alignment [support of the State Department] is the same as working in the Democratic Party." On this he is right.

This is why the YOUNG SOCIALIST movement rejects both support to American imperialism and support to either of the two parties of American imperialism—the Democratic and Republican Party. We believe it is impossible to build a viable socialist organization on politics that are anti-socialist. The present plight of the YPSL is a sign of what happens to those who put the search for respectability before the principled struggle for socialism. YPSL's main educational function is to illustrate graphically just what a socialist youth organization should not do.

Slate Setback . . .

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ership of the group. They also are able to maintain interest for the incoming students. Yet, they should continue to press for the right of graduate students to decide for themselves whether to "dissociate."

The Slate forum has invited Harry Bridges (ILWU) to come to Cal and speak this month, thus continuing its interest in "outside politics." More important, Slate has been contacted by many other colleges about the prospect of similar political parties. Slate plans to help these colleges in any way possible.

Finally, SLATE is cooperating with other California colleges in coordinating a united anti-ROTC front. It plans to send a petition to Gov. Brown, who has spoken against compulsory ROTC, asking him to outlaw the same law. There are many other ways to express disagreement than to petition the local governor, such as picketing the Administration building. This is a beginning, however, and Slate must be congratulated for continuing its battle against the reaction of the day.

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Youth Notes

WORLD YOUTH: It took several thousand Tokyo cops to disperse 700 participants in the recent demonstrations against the signing of a U.S. Japanese security pact. To sign the pact, the premier had to sneak out of the country to avoid the student demonstrators and will have to sneak the pact back into the country . . . Cuban high school and university students are participating in special brigades of the newly formed people's militias defending the still popular revolution. Eight Johannesburg faculty members of South Africa's only college for Africans were fired because they were "unsympathetic" to the local policies of racial segregation. The American Association of University Professors offered money and help in placing the teachers in the U.S. . . . The secretary-general of the African National Congress Youth League was banned from attending meetings for five years by South African officials.

NEGRO STRUGGLE: Attempting to remind Southerners and Northerners of oft-forgotten aspects of The Southern Heritage, Eugene Feldman paints a fascinating portrait of the Reconstruction period in his short biography, "James T. Rapier, Negro Congressman from Alabama," published by the "Southern Newsletter," Box 1307, Louisville 1, Ky., price, 25 cents . . . The Georgia Citizens Council called a meeting in Atlanta to protest the Supreme Court decisions, the Little Rock case, and the visit of Khrushchev. So few turned up that no meeting was held and no speaker attempted to speak.

LABOR FRONT: Students from Portland State College joined some 200 sympathizers of the Stereotypers' Union to help picket in the recent strike against several of the major Portland, Ore., newspapers . . . School children were reported to be gathering stones for the use of the strikers to help combat new techniques in breaking the packing house strike at Albert Lea, Minn.

CIVIL LIBERTIES: John T. Gojack, former United Electrical Workers union president from Columbus, Ohio, faces a \$200 fine and nine months imprisonment for defending the rights of the people under the First Amendment to the Constitution. Gojack was subpoenaed before the House Un-American Activities Committee along with other UE officials in the midst of the labor board elections in 1955. He refused to answer questions put to him by the committee on the grounds that, under the First Amendment, the committee has no right to exact information about an individual's personal beliefs . . . One of America's most promising mathematicians, Dr. H. Chandler Davis, has been waiting in Providence, R.I., for Federal authorities to escort him to prison. Dr. Davis co-authored a pamphlet while teaching at the University of Michigan, defying the House Un-American Activities Committee. The committee promptly appeared in Ann Arbor and subpoenaed the young mathematician, who defended his rights under the First Amendment by not answering questions. Dr. Davis' refusal to conform to thought control measures was rewarded by a fine and sentence to six months in prison . . . The American Civil Liberties Union reported the results of its recent survey stating that U.S. Government and private grants to colleges and universities offer a threat to academic freedom. The ACLU found that increased government interference in education is stifling the freedom of thought necessary for learning.

ON THE LEFT: An ad in the campus paper of Brown University in Providence, R.I., calls for the formation of a Socialist Discussion Club there to compete with the only other political club on campus, the Young Republicans. Sixty-five copies of the YS were sold on the steps of the university building . . . Students from Trinity College in Hartford, Conn., Swarthmore College in Pa., and the Boston Young Socialist Alliance exchanged views with YS Editorial Board members Bert Deck, Shane Mage, and Tim Wohlforth, who toured the areas respectively. In Berkeley, YS representative, Jim Petras, debated a Jesuit priest under the topic "An Attack on Christianity" before an audience of half the residents at Oxford Student Co-op . . . An informal discussion club near the U. of Washington in Seattle has been organized by YS supporters and a number of youth considering themselves to be more left-wing than YPSL . . . Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein will speak at a meeting sponsored by the Young Socialist Club on the campus of the University of Chicago during her national tour this month.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB LIST

We print the following club list as an aid for those interested in organized socialist activity:

- BALTIMORE: Socialist Study Group, A. Robert Kaufman, 2730 Reisterstown Rd. LA 3-3703.
- BERKELEY-OAKLAND: E. V. Debs Club, Young Socialist Alliance, 2431 Dwight Way, Berkeley.
- BOSTON: Young Socialist Alliance, 1318 Commonwealth Ave., Apt. 7, Boston, Mass.
- CHICAGO: Young Socialist Alliance, Hirsch 438 St. James Pl.
- DENVER: Young Socialist Club, Box 724.
- DETROIT: Young Socialist Committee, 3737 Woodward.
- EAST LANSING: Young Socialist Club, Michigan State University.
- NEW HAVEN: George Orwell Forum, Yale University.
- IOWA: Socialist Discussion Club, c/o Ron Radosh, 325 S. Dubuque, Iowa City.
- LOS ANGELES: Young Socialist, Box 3615, Terminal Annex, L.A. 54.
- MADISON, Wis.: Wisconsin Socialist Club, c/o Judy Boxandal, 1024 Clymer Pl., Madison.
- MILWAUKEE: Young Socialist Club,
- Myrtle Kastner 2951 N Frederick Ave., Apt. 1.
- MONTREAL: McGill University Socialist Society, McGill Student Union, 690 Sherbrooke St., W. Social Democratic Club, Sir George Williams College, 1435 Drummond.
- NEW YORK CITY: Young Socialist Alliance, 45 E. 7 St.
- OSBERLIN, Ohio: Oberlin Socialist Club, Oberlin College.
- PHILADELPHIA: Young Socialist Club, Phelps, Apt. 4b, 3506 Powelton Ave.
- PORTLAND, Ore.: Focus, Reed College.
- SAN FRANCISCO: Young Socialist Alliance, c/o Mattingly, 4077-A 18th St., San Francisco.
- TWIN CITIES: Young Socialist Alliance, 822 9th Ave. So., Minneapolis 4, Minn. FE 6-4423.
- TORONTO, Ontario: Young Socialist Alliance, 81 Queen St. W.
- TROY, Maine: John R. Paton, Troy, Me.
- YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio: Socialist Discussion Club, Antioch College.

'HIGHLY SKILLED WORKERS:'

Engineers Turn to Unions

by Tom Springer

Although the average college-age youth may not be aware of the changes, there is a small but growing trade union movement among engineers.

Looking at the ads in the metropolitan newspapers, one might be led to think that under our so-called "Free Enterprise" system the student who wins an engineering degree has the door opened to a future of unlimited opportunity.

Why then should these "professionals" even begin to think in terms of trade unions?

An engineer that I know, working in a large electrical machinery manufacturing company, has this to say: "Management calls us professionals, but treats us like highly skilled workers." He has since joined a union.

Another related this experience. He went to the engineering offices of the Worthington Corporation, manufacturers of pumps, stationary engines, etc., and saw "row after row of graduate engineers each designing a cam or gear or some other part and most of them didn't know how their contribution would fit into the finished product." Just like an assembly line.

STRENGTH OF UNION

What is the strength of the trade union movement among engineers today? The Engineering News Record of April 23, 1959, gave the total number of "professionals" in the field as about 800,000. The various engineering unions had a membership of 57,000 of which 31,000 were "professionals."

The two largest unions in the field are the "Engineers and Scientists of America (Ind.)" with a present estimated membership of 17,900 and the "American Federation of Technical Engineers, AFL-CIO with about 18,000 members. The remainder belong to small independent groups or are

affiliated with various industrial and craft unions.

What are the factors promoting unionism among engineers? Basic is the changed status from a more or less free professional closely associated with management to a salaried employee of a large corporation, who is often competent only in a narrow specialty and may work in a team on some small portion of a large project.

ENGINEERS' WAGES

What about pay? In general, the engineer starts high and doesn't go too much higher. Starting salaries may be as high as \$525 or \$550 a month, although the average is lower. With ten or fifteen years experience, the average salary may rise to \$7,500—\$9,000 a year. A wage survey of one large employer of engineers showed an average hourly pay of \$3.62, less than a building trades craftsman. Those engineers whose incentive is a high salary must leave engineering to become supervisors and administrators if they are to have a chance of reaching their goal.

The changed position of the engineer reflects itself in his employment history. The bulk of engineers are employed in the war industries or in companies drawing much of their business from this industry. When a company has a government contract or sub-contract, promises of all kinds are made to the engineer and the world takes on a rosy glow. But, let the contract be cancelled or completed and the engineer may be out in the street. Thousands may be laid off at one time. And, if the "cold war" should end, what then?

ANTI-UNION PRESSURE

What holds engineering unionism back? For one, the tremendous growth of the defense industries and the importance of engineering to these industries has permitted some engineers to

rise to high positions. The trend to automation has also helped.

More than that is the ideology of many engineers. They consider themselves as "management," "professionals." The companies and the engineering professional societies which are dominated by top management do everything possible to encourage this type of thinking. For example, these groups build up the importance of State Licensing Examinations and the title "P.E." (Professional Engineer) as, in part, a means of combatting unionization. The process starts in the college where the professors indoctrinate the engineer with "pro-management" feelings and educate him to identify himself with "management." It was over this question of "professionalism" that the Engineers and Scientists of America (Ind.) split in 1958.

Marxist theory has always held that there will occur a polarization in society with a small group holding the wealth and power in one hand and the majority having neither on the other hand. As this state of affairs is approached, those in the middle class will tend to be forced into the working class. Isn't that what is happening here? It doesn't matter, in an economic sense, what an engineer thinks his position or future is; there are many young engineers who think that 10 or 20 years from now they will be vice presidents of some company. As the years go by they will be forced to follow the path of union organization, because despite their illusions they are nothing more than cogs in the industrial machine, an industrial machine controlled by fewer and fewer large companies.

As one labor leader has said: "I foresee, beyond the immediate future, a time when all engineers will be in one union tied to the mainstream of organized labor."

YS Forms New Youth Organization . . .

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a revolutionary socialist youth organization. The April Conference of Young Socialists will definitively establish such an organization.

Four years has been required to reach this point. Following the Hungarian revolution and the Khrushchev revelations in 1956, the crisis-ridden Communist Party and the rest of the radical movement in America took part in feverish discussions. Cooperation on issues of agreement was achieved between formerly isolated groups, with a flurry of temporary organizations springing up to facilitate this cooperation. Out of the ferment of the regroupment process, the new united socialist party which so many had hoped for, failed to materialize.

The Young Socialist movement, formed by young members of the Socialist Workers Party, the Left Wing of the Young Socialist League, ex-members of the Labor Youth League, and independents, was the only lasting, concrete outcome of the regroupment period.

For 20 long years, since the days of the Spartacus Youth League and its successor, the YPSL (affiliated to the Fourth International), there has been no organized expression in the youth field of revolutionary socialist politics. To fill this vacuum, to build a youth movement in the tradition of the youth organizations of the Thirties, the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky,

Liebkecht, and Luxemburg, the Young Socialist movement was formed.

YPSL MOVES RIGHT

Within the general ferment of the left, the special impetus to the forming of the YOUNG SOCIALIST was the rightward move of the Young Socialist League, which sought and at last found a haven of respectability in the Young People's Socialist League, youth affiliate of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. This merger was carried out on the basis of the policies of the SP-SDF, which is pro-State Department, pro-NATO, pro-Democratic Party, and considers the Soviet Union to be the main enemy of "democracy," thus aiding, in whatever feeble way it can, the U.S. drive toward war. The YPSL has not, cannot, and will not disavow these policies.

The Communist Party which dominated the youth scene for decades, is likewise incapable of organizing a socialist youth movement. Decimated by the post-Hungary crisis, it has been unable to form a national youth group since it dissolved the Labor Youth League in 1954 and has totally failed to attract new young people. Despite ideological ferment and repeated crises, the CP cannot sever itself from uncritical support to the Kremlin bureaucracy which, by denying to Soviet workers democratic control of their society and by suppressing one working-class or colonial re-

volution after another, hinders rather than furthers the building of socialism.

We, on the other hand, are committed to revolutionary socialism. We do not believe that socialism can be established by patching and mending the worn-out fabric of capitalist society which has proved incapable of resolving the multitude of problems confronting us, above all the ominous threat of nuclear destruction.

We are committed also to the concept that only the people themselves, led by labor, can establish a free and just society. No bureaucracy, no privileged minority, is able or willing to hand over the democratic control of production and distribution—of society—to the majority.

The YPSL and the CP are organically connected, ideologically, to privileged bureaucracies which seek to impede progress—the one to the trade union bureaucracy, the other to the ruling stratum in the U.S.S.R. An organization is needed which is subservient to no bureaucracy; which is free to analyze and criticize social phenomena without fear of reprisal; which is able to struggle openly for socialism, unafraid of "alienating" anyone; which educates itself through its own independent organization, its own vigorous internal political life. It is this organization which the April conference will establish.

'STUDIES ON THE LEFT:'

Radicals in the Poisonous Groves of Academe

by Tim Wohlforth

Studies on the Left, a Journal of Research, Social Theory and Review" Vol. 1, No. 1, Fall 1959. P.O. Box 2121, Madison 5, Wisc. 85 cents.

These last twenty years of prosperity in the U.S. have had a devastating influence on the American intelligentsia. The intellectual, whether he be a political thinker, a poet, a literary critic, has tended to retreat from life and enter the comfortable, if not overly inspiring, life of the Academic Community.

The poet of today and the social critic as well finds himself isolated from his subject matter—the people. This isolation from life has an effect upon his work, which also becomes sterile and lifeless. Form dominates over content; philosophic discourse serves as a substitute for political action.

Within this framework the emergence of a socialist journal out of the milieu of the American graduate student is of extreme importance. On the one hand it is a sign of rebellion—dissatisfaction with the ivory tower; and on the other hand it can give us an insight into the pressures of academic life and how they influence the young radical.

It was, therefore, with intense interest that we read the new publication, "Studies on the Left." And we were not disappointed. The publication proved to be a very fine collection of some of the best work young radical academicians have been able to do within the narrow confines of their profession.

DISCUSSES NEW DEAL

The most original contribution is "New Deal to New Frontiers: 1937-1941" by Lloyd Gardner. This article documents the turn of the New Deal to imperialism (to use a word whose content is clearly indicated in the article but which is scrupulously avoided) in order to get the U.S. out of depression—a turn which, the author points out, ended up by involving the U.S. in World War II. David Eakins' "Objectivity and Commitment" goes into the question of whether or not a Marxist professor can be objective—a question also dealt with in the editorial. "The Relevance of History to the Sociological Ethos" by Hans Gerth and Saul Landau is somewhat disappointing despite one of its authors being a 'Big Name.' It analyzes sociology in a



Students reach for copies of the YOUNG SOCIALIST. What role can the radical student play in the reshaping of our society?

way that C. Wright Mills does far better, adding only some unnecessarily eulogistic material on an overrated German academic sociologist, Max Weber. The book reviews are generally good and the magazine as a whole—despite a certain dullness—is quite a competent job.

But the publication is more than a collection of interesting articles. In the form of a statement by the editors entitled "The Radicalism of Disclosure," it offers a candid self-critical analysis of the social pressures which prey upon the writers and supporters of the magazine.

The radical is so often confronted with the charge that he lacks "objectivity." But objectivity, the editors point out, "is reducible to the weight of authority, the viewpoint of those who are in a position to enforce standards, the value judgments of the not so metaphorical market-place of ideas."

ACADEMIC CONFORMITY

In a very graphic way the editors describe the process which works upon them, forcing them to

conform to the prejudices of the academy:

"As graduate students anticipating careers, we feel a very personal stake in academic life, and we feel that as radicals, we are hampered in our work by the intrusion of prevailing standards of scholarship, which set up a screen between ourselves and our product, an automatic censoring device which trims and deflates and confines our work, under the pretext of what is supposed to be 'Objective Scholarship' until we no longer know it as our own. Like little boys writing poems in the style of Terence, we learn the traditional acceptable genres in our fields, and then develop skills necessary to produce similar work, until slowly, subtly, but surely, we come to look upon our work, not as an expression of our union with man and society, but merely as our means of livelihood and security—a product for sale, neither our possession nor our creation. And the closer we come to taking our places as working people in the profession, the harder it is to remember who we are, what we have to say and why we got into the intellectual racket in the first place."

The alternative confronting the young radical intellectual in this society is not very promising. He must either submit to the strait-jacket of academic "discipline" and thus be able to devote most of his time to intellectual pursuit; or he must find a way to earn a living which requires no intellectual commitment from him, but as a price for the freedom of his intellect in the evening and on weekends he is deprived of most of his waking hours and much of his energies.

FEAR CONSEQUENCES

Those who choose the academic alternative, as do the writers in "Studies on the Left," must reject the goals of their profession if they are to keep their radicalism for long. The writers in "Studies on the Left" succeed only partly in this. They are able to probe successfully into such touchy subjects as the real nature of the New Deal and the economic causes

a matter of words and nothing is really done about it.

This may explain the lack of contemporary politics in "Studies on the Left." Political involvement is skirted in a way that would suggest that in some fashion or other the application of intellectual thought to such a worldly topic as, say, how we can prevent World War Three is not "objective."

The editors deal with this problem in the last sentence of their magazine: "We hope that the radicalism of what is disclosed, as it increases and matures, may provide knowledge and theory for the future growth of a radicalism of what is proposed." But I am afraid political life is not that simple. Humanity cannot afford to sit around and wait for our young academicians to get around to proposing.

Politics and intellectual pursuit move in a different pattern. It is precisely through involvement that the intellectual learns and develops. Those who artificially separate "disclosure" from "proposals" will find even their process of disclosure inhibited. Without the impelling necessity to act to solve problems posed by the real world the investigator loses a sense of perspective as to what is important to disclose.

This is the role young intellectuals can play as members of a socialist youth organization or later as members of a socialist political party. They are part of the same organization with intellectuals who do not live the academic life and above all with workers who experience in life the problems which the intellectual wrestles with only in his head.

Can a young intellectual be an active radical and at the same time continue with an academic career? I think so—though he may have a rougher time of it than his more conformist contemporaries. But whether he can or can't is not the burning consideration. If one chooses his political views with an eye toward their effect on his professional advancement he is foolish to have anything to do with the unorthodox. If one is rather concerned with what he can best do to help in the preservation and advancement of mankind, then he must lend his efforts in the creation of a political formation of the working class—based on Marxian principles—which is necessary for the victory of socialism. Such active political involvement will not mean a lessening of one's intellectual capacities but rather an expansion of them by relating them to the real needs of society.

Socialism Comes to State U. of Iowa

Students of the State University of Iowa interested in socialism joined together recently to form the Socialist Discussion Club. According to the group's statement of principles, "Members of the Socialist Discussion Club, believing the kinds of cultural and personal values and material conditions produced by the present social structure to be important areas demanding thought and discussion by students, enter into common association in the aspiration of ultimately achieving a society based upon:

"(1) Production for use rather than profit, without the private aggrandizement of the few; so that man is not dehumanized but but achieve maximum self realization through productive labor.

"(2) The guarantee of complete social equality of all peoples in all spheres of social life regardless of race, religion, national origin, or beliefs; banishment of racism, bigotry, segregation and other forms of inhumanity from all spheres of social life.

"(3) Maximum political freedom for all, where civil liberties—freedom of speech, religion, press, and associations for all people are a reality, in a social fabric where these freedoms are not only proclaimed but practiced by all people so that the society's very existence is rooted in these freedoms and the guarantee of the greatest economic, educational, and cultural opportunities for every individual.

"(4) The use of the government for the benefit of all, not the few, and founded in the interest and participation of all people.

"(5) Mutual advancement and the brotherhood of all nations; where war, militarism, and colonialism are not part of the dynamics of the social order."

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