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## "Total Break With America"

### The Fifth Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars

The accompanying article is an excerpt from the September 12 issue of U.S.A., a bi-weekly published by Alice Widener, nationally syndicated columnist and authority on the so-called Left, Old and New.

**O**PENLY proud of their rapid progress toward destruction of the American way of life, the Socialist Scholars—Marxist revolutionary braintrust in the United States—gathered together at Hofstra University, Hempstead, N.Y., on September 5-7, to hold a Fifth Annual Conference. Even if television cameras had been grinding and wire service reporters had been taking notes at the panel discussions, which they were not, no Socialist Scholar would have minced words this year about his revolutionary role in "the Movement."

by Ronald Aronson was in the form of an open letter headed "Dear Herbert." It shows precisely why Professor Herbert Marcuse of the University of California at San Diego, a Socialist Scholar and author of "One Dimensional Man" and "Eros and Civilization," is the internationally recognized intellectual mentor of "Red" Danny Cohn-Bendit, who played a key role in the 1968 May-June rebellion in France, and of "Red" Rudi Dutschke in West Berlin. Ronald Aronson's paper shows too, in a vivid, personal way, why

in Western thought and still be Marxists. . . . You introduced us to a perspective which was new and revolutionary, which made sense of our lives and helped us find our way as radicals. . . ."

Any non-Marxist who is appalled at or mystified by the anarchism and violence of revolutionary youth in our country and abroad need only read Ronald Aronson's own account of his own life in the paper "Dear Herbert!" to gain full understanding of why they are that way. Rhetori-

subgroup, every activity, every hour of the day."

Does the First Amendment to the Constitution prevent Michigan taxpayers from trying to protect youth at Wayne State University from indoctrination by an assistant professor such as Ronald Aronson? Are the Governor of Michigan and regents and administrators of Wayne State University under the same illusion as were their counterparts in New Jersey in 1965? That is, do they really believe that a radical socialist professor or instructor seeking the overthrow of the capitalist system can keep, or is willing to keep, his own "political beliefs" separate and apart from his classroom teaching?

Let's take a look at the Socialist Scholars' record. In 1965, New Jersey State Senator Wayne Dumont,

Members of the tax-exempt Socialist Scholars Conference (SSC) know they face no effectively organized anti-socialist or anti-revolutionary opposition today. They knew in

their intellectual foes had been disarmed by the accusatory slogans "McCarthyism," "Red-baiting" and "witchhunt"; the Socialist Scholars knew, too, that the U.S. Department of Justice had been legally disarmed by a series of decisions favorable to Communists handed down by a Warren Court practicing lax interpretation, not strict construction, of the First and Fifth Amendments to our Constitution.

Moreover, the Socialist Scholars were certain this year, as they have been during the past half-decade, that almost nobody among the bewildered majority of Americans asking "How do they get that way?" about violent young revolutionaries in the U.S., France, Japan, Mexico and other countries, would come up with the only correct answer: "Because they were taught that way."

Why should the Socialist Scholars mince words? They didn't. Take Socialist Scholar Martin Jay, for example, at present a Teaching Fellow in Social Science, School of General Education, Harvard University. He told a large audience of Socialist Scholars and radical students in the Multipurpose Room, Student Center, Hofstra University, during a morning panel session on Friday, September 5: "Our movement is a movement which, in effect, is a total break with America."

The topic of the SSC panel discussion in which Martin Jay took part was "Marcuse (Herbert): His Works and Influence." The panelists included Ronald Aronson, Assistant Professor of Humanistic Studies, Wayne State University; Paul Breines, University of Wisconsin; and Stanley Aronowitz, columnist for the radical news-weekly, *Guardian*. The very long paper presented

has become the intellectual idol of the so-called New Left in influencing youths toward hedonism and anarchism.

For the Second Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars in 1966, Herbert Marcuse, then 70 years old, wrote a paper saying "the Marxian idea of socialism is not radical enough." He wrote to the Socialist Scholars, "We must develop the moral-sexual rebellion of the youth." Marcuse's pupil, Ronald Aronson, stated in the paper he delivered at Hofstra University, September 5, 1969: "Dear Herbert: . . . I want to begin by emphasizing that for myself and a few friends, studying with you was one of the decisive experiences of our lives. Your thought, personality, style of teaching and writings were overpowering. . . . you helped us to take our stand

ably, Aronson asks how it is possible for him to be himself "and live in America." Answering himself, he writes, "The only answer that makes sense to me is this: creating my identity and becoming political . . . Seeing revolution as the way to liberate us all to live a life that is truly our own." He continues: "What a leap I just took! A whole account of a life-search which doesn't once mention politics, and suddenly I proclaim the necessity for revolution."

He then calls on scholars to write a study—written "as Marx did"—to show "that fully-developed capitalism is necessarily totalitarian. . . . I mean that the corporations' pursuit of profits through the mass production and sale of commodities has spread to every geographic area, every inch of land, every population

called for removal from the Rutgers University faculty of Professor Eugene D. Genovese for having declared at a Rutgers campus "teach-in" on Vietnam, April 23, 1965, "Those of you who know me know I am a Marxist and a Socialist. Therefore, unlike most of my distinguished colleagues here this morning, I do not fear or regret the impending Viet Cong victory in Vietnam. I welcome it."

Largely on the assertion strongly put forth by Professor Genovese and his defenders that his teach-in remarks were not made in a classroom, and that his campus political life and personal views were one thing, his academic role another, the Governor of New Jersey declared on August 6, 1965, that "however offensive" Genovese's statement may have been, it did not constitute grounds for dismissal.

\* \* \*

A month later, Professor Genovese told the First Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars (McMillin Theater, Columbia University): "We must exert the moral leadership we are prepared to give young radicals. . . . The political separation—activist and academician—is a matter of convenience. That, we all know."

Now in 1969, the Socialist Scholars—among whom Assistant Professor Ronald Aronson of Wayne State University is a leading member—are so confident of being able to play their real campus role with total immunity that they have formally abandoned the "convenience" of professing to separate their political and classroom activities.

The official invitation to the Fifth Annual Socialist Scholars Conference, issued in May, stated that the

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organization is expanding its functions by recognizing that any socialist organization—even one limited to intellectual work—is a political organization." The official SSC program for the conference at Hofstra University states: "When the SSC was founded five years ago its declared purpose was to bring socialist scholars together in order to stimulate analysis, theory and criticism. . . . the organization welcomed all who call themselves socialists. . . .

"During these years . . . the need for an expansion of purpose and function has been general. . . . The SSC now seeks to provide an organizing focus for the effort to identify and establish the intellectual's role in the development of a socialist culture. . . . An expanded definition gives rise to additional activities." One of these will be the widespread production and distribution of SSC papers in pamphlets "for assignment in the college classroom of materials written from an explicitly socialist perspective. . . ."

There you have it. Sure of community, the Socialist

Statement by Martin Jay, Teaching Fellow in Social Science, School of General Education, Harvard University, to Socialist Scholars, September 5, 1969: "Our movement is a movement which, in effect, is a total break with America."

Salutation by Ralph Schoenman, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, to Socialist Scholars, September 6, 1969: "Comrades, friends, and all of us who are revolutionaries: . . ."

Statement by guest of honor Robin Blackburn, Editor, "New Left Review," London, to Socialist Scholars, September 6, 1969: "We must have a decisive break which is the reverse of Puritanism. Such a socialist culture is impossible to achieve without the violent overthrow of the capitalist regime. . . ."

"Anarcho-populism is very useful because it is undermining the archaic institution of private property."

given a classroom assignment to study Ronald Aronson's maxim that "revolutionaries need to engage the whole person: his activity, his imagination, his sense of lost hopes. Not tracing the structure of capitalism, but blowing people's minds."

That's what the Socialist Scholars are all about—blowing people's minds, especially those of young people. At SSC panel sessions, the devastating path of the intellectual hurricane blowing thousands of young American victims into a mindless culture of drugs, obscenity, pornography and anarchy was as discernible as the weather map path of

shouted down by the Socialist Scholars as a guilt-by-association tale told by a "McCarthyite" or "Bircher."

On concluding his paper, James O'Brien boasted: "Capitalism is in its death period, and some progressive capitalists acknowledge it." Indeed some do, even as some wealthy German, French and British capitalists—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—backed National Socialist Adolph Hitler during the early Thirties, hoping to ride on the crest of "the wave of the future."

In the U.S. today, many "progressive capitalists" are financing socialist at-

target of the Fifth Annual Socialist Scholars Conference. And the scholars linked the radical student movement closely with the anti-corporate campaign. All Marxist-Leninists believe (as SSC guest of honor Robin Blackburn, editor of *New Left Review* in London, reiterated): "The theory of the weakest link is the theory of the decisive link."

At the panel on "The Student Response to the American Century," Bruce Brown of Washington University said, "The university is the weak link of the capital corporate structure." Brown explained that the corporation is the "nuclear institution"

opment. To deny Marxism is to deny that capitalism still exists."

It won't exist much longer in the U.S., and neither will the American corporation, if the Socialist Scholars have their way. A year ago, I reported after attending the Fourth Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars, at Rutgers University, that they regard students as the detonators for setting off revolutionary explosions, and that the Socialist Scholars were moving into "phase 2" of their operations, in which they would take Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) out of undergraduate leadership, fragment the student movement and merge it into a much more sophisticated, better disciplined, more militant international Marxist-Leninist apparatus, designed to overthrow capitalism in all the advanced industrial nations.

\* \* \*

All is taking place on schedule. Control of SDS and rival factional radical student groups has been removed from undergraduates' hands and centralized in graduate student and adult organizations. The official Socialist Scholars con-

"convenience" of dissimulation concerning aims, methods and acts. They no longer need put on a false front of academic objectivity; they no longer need pretend that there is a separation between activities off-campus and on-campus, out-of-classroom and in-class.

Ronald Aronson's "Dear Herbert" probably will become a classroom assignment for students taught by Socialist Scholars who—as listed in the 1969 conference program—have infiltrated or penetrated the faculties of Wayne State University; University of Wisconsin; Harvard University; University of Maryland; Washington University; New School (for Social Research), New York City; Boston University; Hofstra University; John Jay College; McGill University (Montreal); Douglass College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; University of California; Long Island University; Essex County College; University of Pennsylvania; State University of New York at Stony Brook; Amherst College; Yale University; Federal City College; Brandeis University; Richmond College; City University of New York; Brooklyn College.

Doubtless undergraduates studying with Socialist Scholars at the foregoing academic institutions, and at dozens of others, will be

hurricane Camille on its way to destroy Gulfport, Biloxi and Pass Christian.

At a panel session on "The Student Response to the American Century," Socialist Scholar James O'Brien of the University of Wisconsin traced the historic development of American Socialism in this century, praising all socialists, regardless of faction, for the role they played in trying to destroy capitalism, from Walter Lippmann, of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society (Harvard, 1913), to Mark Rudd, of Students for a Democratic Society (Columbia, 1968); from John Dewey, author of "progressive education," to Herbert Aptheker, of the present Communist Party, U.S.A. and Institute for Marxist Studies; from the late Norman Thomas, of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation, to Michael Harrington, author of "The Other America" and a present leader of Americans for Democratic Action.

All socialists — Communist, Trotskyite, Democratic, Christian or Maoist—explained James O'Brien, have made invaluable contributions to the downfall of middle class ("bourgeois") culture and to impairment of the American corporate structure. Had his historically accurate paper been written by an outsider, it probably would have been

tacks on our great corporations—from producers of ethical drugs to insecticides, from cigarets to lipsticks, from automobiles to transistors, from computers to television sets and toys.

It is true that no human institution, including the corporation, is perfect, but ruckraking against American business always has been a socialist business. From it has sprung the current fad for "consumerism," which had its origin in the Communist-organized Consumer's Union. Founded in 1935, Consumer's Union remained under Red control until 1953, when changes in personnel were made and the organization was removed from the list of subversive organizations of the House Committee on Internal Security.

There is no question that the American consumer needs legal protection against fraud, injury, unfair business practices and other criminal activities. But there is also no doubt that there exists in this nation today a deliberate campaign of vilification against U.S. corporate enterprise by socialists, especially Socialist Scholars, who are turning thousands of young men and women into members of a student-worker alliance such as nearly brought down France last year.

The American corporation, indeed, was the main

around which U.S. capitalism is organized, and he charged that in the United States "affluence is only attained through the surrender of control to corporate bureaucracy."

Describing himself as a "revolutionary," Bruce Brown told the Socialist Scholars: "We must begin an anti-corporate struggle on its own terrain and not wait for a crisis." He went on to say that the term "youth" should be used to define "a group only in part defined by age, that is, a modality of society free of bureaucratic (capitalist) control."

Bruce Brown's statement explains the seeming paradox in a "New Left" American radicalism that professes rejection of "anyone over 30," but takes direction from Old Leftist septuagenarian Herbert Marcuse, and from middle-aged Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party, U.S.A. To make sure of not being misunderstood, Bruce Brown explained, "The student movement is the catalyst for extending revolution outside the campuses."

What the Socialist Scholars mean by saying they will introduce into the classroom teaching materials written from "an explicitly socialist perspective" was made clear in Bruce Brown's remarks. This "scholar" declared, "Marxism is the only theory of capitalistic devel-

opment program, September 1969, announces that SSC will join forces with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in a series of public meetings on "Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Advanced Industrial Countries." The first meeting, scheduled for late November in New York City, will discuss "Agencies for Social Change."

Main speakers will include Andre Gorz, author of "Strategy for Labor" and editor of *Les Temps Modernes*; James O'Connor of San Jose (Calif.) State College; and Ernest Mandel, author of "Marxist Economic Theory" and editor of *La Gauche*. (A Belgian instigator of the 1968 May-June rebellion in France, Mandel is banned from that country but was guest speaker at the Fourth Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars, Rutgers University, September 1968.)

On Saturday, September 6, 1969, the guest of honor at the Fifth Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars, Robin Blackburn, British editor of the influential *New Left Review*, spoke at length in a panel session on "Recent European Theory and the American Left."

Mr. Blackburn explained, "Lenin is not difficult to accept by us Western revolutionaries." It is a mistake, he said, to allege that Lenin taught the necessity of one single revolutionary party. At certain stages of develop-

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ment—Blackburn said— Lenin favored the expediency "of a number of competing revolutionary groups." Blackburn continued, "If the revolution is a complex totality, so must be the revolutionary party." He called for overthrow of "the hegemony of bourgeois culture and creation of a genuinely revolutionary counter-culture." There must be a decisive break with middle class (bourgeois) culture, he said, a break that is "the reverse of Puritanism." He said such a socialist culture "is impossible to achieve without the violent overthrow of the capitalist regime." As I said earlier, the Socialist Scholars no longer mince words.

\* \* \*

However, even Blackburn's call for "violent overthrow" was not explicitly socialist enough to suit him and his listeners, and so he went into great detail, putting current affairs in such clear perspective that there is no longer the slightest necessity for continued discussion in general academic, government or law enforcement circles about the significance of the "youth movement" and its role in

carry anticapitalist political propaganda along with the obscenity and pornography.

The Socialist Scholars in Adams Hall at Hofstra University, September 6, loudly applauded Robin Blackburn's appraisal of youth culture. But they gave still more enthusiastic approval to his analysis of current "anarcho-populism" in the advanced industrial nations. In the U.S. and elsewhere, he explained, anarcho-populism should be favorably regarded because it is undermining "the archaic institution of private property."

To foster anarcho-populism in our nation, the Socialist Scholars—aware of the multiracial, culturally diverse nature of the U.S. population—strongly favor a multiplicity of radical groups and organizations among us. Indeed, the Socialist Scholars are assiduously promoting as many radical groups as possible. That is why they accorded as much attention to Ralph Schoenman, passionate Trotskyite and head of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, as they did to Robin Blackburn, Marxist-Leninist who praises Stalin and Mao Tse-tung.

secretary, Arthur J. Felberbaum, Jr.

Several times, during discussion periods following panel sessions, Mr. Felberbaum went to the microphone to ask questions and offer comments. He is not an eloquent speaker, being more an activist than a scholar. He proved as much during an appearance at the "Pretty Boy Floyd Memorial Lecture" sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society and Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS) at The New School (formerly New School for Social Research) in New York City, October 3, 1968.

The lecture took place in a closed-off section of the fourth-floor cafeteria. Newspaper headlines throughout the world were reporting the terrible violence of the student revolt in Mexico City. Speakers at the Pretty Boy Floyd lecture were an innocent looking little blonde, Sara Murphy, who talked cold-bloodedly in favor of the bloody Mexican student rebellion as a means of "bringing down the repressive Mexican Government," and a Spanish-speaking "Comrade Rafael" who was accompanied by two other

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housing development in the city to force the troops and police "to shoot at unarmed students," and thus discredit themselves in front of uninvolved housing development residents "and bring the petite bourgeoisie into rapport with the revolution."

(That same evening, October 3, 1968, on the 11 p.m. CBS news, reporter Bert Quint, broadcasting from Mexico, fell into the revolutionists' propaganda trap; during filmed scenes of the housing development shooting in Mexico City, he denounced the Mexican authorities' "senseless shooting at unarmed students." There was not a hint in his news report that the revolutionary students had deliberately planned things that way.)

\* \* \*

All during the lecture, Mr. Felberbaum and other participants made the ugliest possible remarks about the FBI and about the U.S. and Mexican police. This was to be expected by anyone familiar with the sinister significance of the lecture title, "Pretty Boy Floyd." On June 17, 1933, murderous gangster "Pretty Boy" (Charles) Floyd took part in

"a total break with America."

On campuses throughout the nation, Socialist Scholars are training our children to make that break. In virtually all our academic communities, Socialist Scholars are studying, researching and teaching the most effective means for the violent overthrow of the U.S. government and destruction of the American way of life.

Is anyone, anywhere, going to do anything to thwart their plans? Or, is it possible that the Socialist Scholars and their predecessors have already succeeded in "blowing" the minds of the American people?

Youth culture, said Robin Blackburn, "takes out a segment of society from bourgeois society." He praised the hippies and yuppies and all manner of break-out youth, including the 300,000 at the Woodstock Festival in New York last month. He lauded the American "underground" culture because "its explicit themes are anti-capitalist."

And so they are. There is not a single underground newspaper or magazine in the U.S. which does not

At the SSC panel session on "Recent - European Theory and the American Left," Mr. Schoenman opened his remarks with the salutation, "Comrades, friends, and all of us who are revolutionaries: . . ." Perhaps the most interesting thing about his appearance at the Socialist Scholars Conference was the presence there of his associate in the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, U.S.A., its executive

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Miss Murphy said that all had recently taken part in the violent student struggle as a means of forcing Mexican police and troops to discredit themselves in the eyes of Mexican workers, peasants and "petite bourgeoisie." Arthur Felberbaum, recently returned from Mexico City, added that the rebellious students went into a new

cre," in which two detectives, the chief of police and an FBI agent were killed, and two federal agents wounded.

What has the Pretty Boy Floyd lecture incident of last year to do with the Fifth Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars? Only that Ralph Schoenman, head of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and its executive secretary, Arthur J. Felberbaum, militant activist have teamed up with the Socialist Scholars to devise "a revolutionary strategy" for the advanced industrial countries.

Among the industrial nations, the United States is the most advanced. Thus it is the main target of the socialists' revolutionary activities. The bull's-eye in that target is exactly what the Socialist Scholars say it is—the American corporate structure. At the very center of the bull's-eye is the American citizen's right, under the Constitution, to own private property. That right is essential to our life and liberty, and to our pursuit of happiness. These the Socialist Scholars wish to destroy.

\* \* \*

Now, for the fifth time in a row, I have been alone among members of the non-radical press in reporting on the annual conference of the Marxist braintrust in America. There is no mystery at all about their movement; it is what Martin Jay of Harvard University says it is—