A.S.U. CONVENTION TO THE TRANSPORT

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The problems this Convention is called upon to decide are of the gravest importance. Will the ASU remain an anti-war organization? Will it tie itself to the tail of the third-party movements springing up in the wake of the "Progressive" polititients? Will it be a militant, progressive organization when the surgical operations on the program and activities are completed?

But in the face of such problems, the preparations for the Convention have been characterized by more strenuous efforts for organizational intimidation of opposition to the "new line" than for a free discussion of program and policy.

THE DRIVE TO SPLIT THE A.S.U.

It is no accident that the proposal to line the ASU up with the pro-war policy of collective security has been accompanied by a campaign to purge the ASU of those elements who stand by the Oxford Pledge and the present program and who represent the chief obstacle in the way of quietly and peacefully coordinating the ASU into the Roosevelt war front. For the first time in the history of the student movement, influential elements are campaigning for the expulsion of members for their political views. At CCNY Evening, motions were made to "expel the Trotskyites" and a vicious campaign of slander was spread over the pages of the YCL-controlled school newspaper. At New Utrecht H. S. (N. Y.) threats of expulsion have been made. Other examples have appeared.

The Student Partisan, published by a group of students in the U. of Chicago ASU, calls for a split. "To aid in the building of a powerful anti-war, anti-fascist organization...expel the Trotskyites!" (p. 26)—Who are these "Trotskyites" who are in the way of building an anti-war organization? The Student Partisan says: "Today the Oxford Oath is obsolete. It is defended only by those favoring false "Today the Oxford Oath is obsolete. It is defended only by those favoring false neutrality and by the perennially purist opposition—the Trotskyites. It has become, with the passing of time, meaningless and reactionary." (p. 13)

This is the real reason why the Student Partisan calls for their expulsion. They are the most determined opponents of the drive to switch the ASU on to the rails of collective security and support of the war "to make the world safe for democracy".

What is the Student Partisan? It is the unofficial organ of the Young Communist League at the U. of C. Who are the people that are instigating this split campaign? It is the Young Communist League in the schools. They are importing paign? It is the Young Communist League in the schools. They are importing paign? It is the Young Communist League in the schools. They are importing paign? It is the Young Communist League in the ASU. The ASU is now their world-wide campaign against "Trotskyism" into the ASU. The ASU is now being made the vehicle for such an attempt by the YCL, and the independents and liberals cannot merely hide their heads in the sand and pretend not to notice, while decrying any mention of "YCL", "Trotskyites", etc. This kind of growth in the life of the ASU can only be eliminated by decisively defeating the YCL campaign.

This campaign does not merely take the form of verbally calling for our expulsion. The YCL method is to build up to such a split by a campaign of slander,

discreditment, isolation and suppression. Of this character are such tricks as the "Open Letter to Harold Braper", adopted by the N.Y. High School Council and printed in the Student Advocate, which purports to censure Draper for the entire of writing, in the organ of the YFSL, an article which supports the present program of the ASU and the Oxford Plodge, attacks the leadership of the ASU for not gram of the ASU and scrapping it, and calls for the formation of progressive groups in the ASU chapters in opposition to the drive to abanden the Oxford Plodge and impose a collective security program on the ASU—a censure passed, moreover, without the slightest heaving being given to Draper or opportunity to defend himself against the "charges". We know what is behind this unprecedentedly buceous eratic action. We know that, in answer to the high school principles who cited this article as evidence of the existence of "bothersome" left-wing elements in the ASU, the ASU leaders premised that they would "get rid of" use-all this a means of assuring legal recognition by the principals. We have heard before of trade-union bureaucrats who have premised to expel union progressives as a means of assuring harmonious collaboration with the bosses.

DEFOCRACY AT THIS CONVENTION

It is under this threat of a split that the Convention meets. We are interested in a democratic and intelligent discussion at the sessions. But the procedure adopted by the ASU leadership does not make for this.

- 1. The most important sub-committee of the Convention is the Program and Resolutions Committee. This committee must be representative if the discussion is to be facilitated. We therefore favor its election at the full session where all the delegates are present, and by proportional representation. The ASU National Committee, however, decided to make up the Program Committee from delegates elected from each of the interest commissions. If each commission is to elect about two delegates to the Program Committee, it is reasonable to expect that those two delegates to the majority view only, or only those views telerated by the majority. If the NEC does not reverse this decision before the Convention opens, it must be changed by the delegates.
- 2. We propose likewise that the new NEC be elected by proportional representation. The NEC is a policy-determining body; and even with regard to its executive functions, its composition will to a large extent determine the militancy in action of the organization. To have the confidence of the membership it must be really representative, not merely formally so.
- 3. The discussion must not be rigged in advance to weight the majority point of view, as the political-action commission has been. In drawing up the list of consultants (adult speakers) at the commission, the Administrative Committee considered only person who are in favor of political action by the ASU. A metion made with the modest project that at least one of the speakers be a person opposed to ASU political action was rejected. This is known as bureaucratic suppression of minerity opinion.

A WARNING

If the recent past is any guide, you will hear a good deal about what torrible people the Trotskyites are. The lie will be repeated that we called the ASU "a company union" (that is not and never was the point of view of the YPSL—we state our support of the present program of the ASU); you will hear that we are "dis—our support of the present program of the ASU); you will hear that we are "dis—our support of the present program of the ASU. Our proposal to the latter refused to accept mockly the bureaucratic practice and reactionary politics of the former), that we want to "revolutionize" the ASU. Our proposal to the ASU is the mainten—ance of the present program; those red herrings have only one purpose: to substitute for arguments and spread a haze of slander and confusion over the issues. We intend to stick to the issues.

AGAINST WAR ..

The program of the ASU, on paper at the present time, faces in an anti-war direction. It analyzes the cause of the coming war as the conflict over "economic stekes"; pointing to American-Japanese tension over the conflicting importal ast interests in the far east. It condemns the League of Nations and the Kollegg Rast as importalist instruments, on which no reliance can be placed. It points rather we imdependent organization and action by the anthough forces, especially the verting class, and as our own independent action, declares for the exford blodge to refuse to support any war conducted by the U.S. government."

You are asked to throw these ideas everboard and substitute the program of collect ive security, which propagates the idea that the coming war will represent the conflict of democracy and fascism and supports American participation in the imperialists line-ups forming today,

What is this "collective security" which the A.S.U. is asked to inscribe on its banner?

It is the program of American imperialism, all sections of which are lining up behind Roosevelt's new foreign policy of "quarantining the aggressor". Landon, the "fascist menance" of 1936, has soludarized himself with Roosevelt's declaration against "peace at any price"; Col. Knox, Landon's running mate in 1936, scelaimed F.D.R.'s Chicago speech; Stimson, Hoover's Sec. of State, the Herald Tribune (main organ of the Liberty League's) have lined up for the same policy. Is the ASU going to join this united front of American imperialism?

It is based on the lying myth of the "war to make the world safe for democracy", vintage of 1917. Yet at the same time, the democratic imperialists of France, England, and America ally themselves with other fascist nations (Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia), themselves repress the colonial peoples as distancially as the fasci (the American government supports the new "totalitarian" regime of Brazil, not to speak of Cuba), and are preparing to institute in time of war a regime of military industrial dictatorship at home, through the industrial mobilization plans. Yet the advocates of collective security tell us that those nations will be fighting for democracy, just as the German people were told they were fighting Russian Czarism.

It is the program of peace through military alliances. The two is the band of satisfied imperialists (the denocratic and fascist "Haves") versus the unsatisfied, hungry imperialists (Germany, etc.). The League of Nations, as the present program points out, is actually only the alliance of the fermer. Collective security represents the "collective" attempt by the powers to maintain their security from their imperialist rivals.

It is the program of peace through preparedness. To support collective security means to support the necessary means to make such a foreign policy effective—military might. To overawe the "fascist aggressors", as collective security proposes, leads straight to Reosevelt's war-building program.

It is a war program. The jockeying of alliances and the reciprocal raising of armaments will reach the boiling point. The "collective action" of the "good" imperialists becomes collective war against the League of Unsatisfied Imperilaists.

What is the alternative? Cortainly not isolationism, which is a reactionary utopia and impossible. Both collective security and isolationism start from the premise that peace can be obtained by somehow using the importalist governments. We take our starting point from the necessity of mobilizing the independent action of the anti-war forces against the importalist policies and war steps of the government,

our enemy at home.

The main force for peace is the foar of the war-makers that war means an attack from the rear, internal resistance, not "national unity" but struggle against the government. And when the progressive forces sya in advance that they are ready to support the war that is leening, that is the green signal light for the imperialist it is the chief incitement to war because it takes away the checks from under the war-machine.

The struggle based on the Exford Pledge is the struggle for peace, Not that it is complete. We, as revolutionary Socialists, complete it with the program of utilizing the war crisiste work for the everthrew of American imperialism and its replacement by a Socialist government. The ASU must complete is in an immediate some by conducting action NCV against the government's war proparations - against ROTG, against American imperialism in Latin-America and the For-Mast, against the warbudgets, for the withdrawal of American ships and marines from the Fac-East waters,

This independent action of the anti-war forces is likewise our instrument in our support of the Chinese and Spanish masses against their fascist whymice. Independent beyout, stoppage of shipments, material aid—these are our weapons. But to call for a governmental embarge (i.e., economic sanctions) against the "fascist aggressors" is to play into the hands of the collective security gang. We rely not on the imperialists, but on our own independent strength.

The ASU leadership has already, before any decision by this convention, steered the ASU along the path of collective security. The Oxford Pledge has well-nigh disappeared from its activities and propaganda. They openly state that the embarge resolution adopted was the first step toward the adoption of collective security. They signed the USPC Call which openly calls for collective security. They have in fact, betrayed the program of the ASU.

The ASU program must be maintained. Or else the ASU becomes another league for war.

The student movement has changed in the last few years. We do not sigh for "the good old days" out of a sentimental attachment, but because a vital factor has been dissipated.— militancy of action. It is marked especially in connection with the Student Strike. The strike in the high schools has already been killed; "peace assemblies" have been accepted in their place. Even in the colleges wherever colleges learned that the best way to kill the strike was with kindness, peace assemblies have been substituted where once there were militant demonstrations. Or consider New Utrecht H.S., where a spentaneous strike breke out in the among ever lunchroom conditions; the ASU chapter stood aside and it fizzled cut; they were afraid of antagonizing the administration.

This is what we mean when we speak of the new attitude of the leading elements of the ASU -- "respectibility and logality at all costs, the cost being the sacrifice of militancy.

The two lines are distinct. They propose to gain the najority of the students by watering-down of program, no avoidance of militant demonstrations in order not to antagonize the liberals". The "liberals" outside the organization will be went to the ASU program, not by catering to their backwardness, but by involving them in action for specific emjectives.

jectives. When this brings them up against the administration, they will learn the hat the administration represents, just as in the event of war they will learn the the administration will be the agent of the war machine.

Once the student strike was a "dress rehersal" for the event of war, With the new line of "collective security" and "collective importalist war", a peace assembly under the wing of the administration is the fittest dress rehersal for planned in-action in the event of war.

Militancy of action is the only offective weapon. It is the nest effective means of wimning pur demands on the campus, just as trade union militancy is mere affective than collaboration with the bosses. It is nest effective in gaining influence ive than collaboration with the bosses. It is nest effective in gaining influence and nembers, waking up the student body. It is most effective in educating the nembers of the ASU themselves through action.

This convention will decide. Every delegate must express himself unequivocally for a militant ASU:

NO POLITICAL ACTION ::

Two years ago the ASU was formed through the fusion of a Socialist controlled organization, the N.S.L. and organization, the Student LID, a Communist controlled organization, the N.S.L. and unafilliated liberals of various political tendencies. At both the first and second national conventions, it was unquestionally recognized that the ASU could remain united only by acting completely muetral in all political disputes.

If the ASU permits each chapter to support any political candidates it chooses the organization will be significantly weakened. Any students will remain. good ASU members, faithfully working for the united front program the organization holds today. But those same students would be forced out of the ASU if by remaining in they are identified with political parties with which they disagree.

Even a graver danger arises if the ASU nationally gives support to a political party The organization will be put in a position of supporting and taking responsibility for each politician who buys allegiance with the inflated currency of premises. Mercever it is false to say that there are no lenger political divisions in the ASU. No party, Farmer-Laber or otherwise can satisfy all the divergent elements in the Student movement.

This quostion of political affiliation is not to be taken lightly. Each delegate must seriously consider the problems involved. Delegates! Bring the question openly to the floor. Vote down every proposal to chain the A.S.U. to a narrow political Machine.

- 1- Discussion of activities ASU has undertaken which were semi-political in character, and brought us to legislative halls; American Youth Act, Loyalty Oath Bills, Educational Extension Bills, Nye-Kvale Bill, etc.
- 2- How could a sympathetic political group have helped us in achieving our ends?
- 3- What new political developments since the first ASU Convention have taken place to lead us to reconsider opposition on politics?

 Labor Parties, Commonwealth Federations, Farmer-Labor Parties, Processive candidates in Democratic and Republican primaries, et

... hat forms can progressive political action take? Should she form influence the decision of the ASU on political action?

- 5- Affiliation: What relationships might the ASU have to a progressive political movement: observer, fraternal affiliation, endorsement of candidates, etc?
- 6- Might it be desirable to have local chapters undertake political action, and the National organization continue its present position?
- 7- Should local chap ters undertake political action under the supervision of the National committee? That is, how much autonomy shall local chapters be allowed?
- 8- What effect would political action have on the ASU on different campuses? Would it strengthen or weaken it?

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1. Depressions
2. Student grapuite
3. Labor puty - link to labor movement

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AGENDA FOR POLITICAL ACTION COMMISSION

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AGENDA FOR COOPERATIVE COMMISSION

Tuesday, December 28th, 1:30 p.m.

1. General report on college cooperatives - James Newman

2. Short reports on activities from colleges represented where there is a cooperative in action or educational work being done. Tell what is being done on your campus.

3. Function of The Cooperative League of America with regard to college cooperatives - Proctor Twitchell of Cooperative League.

Wednesday, December 29th, 9:00 a.m. Detailed discussion of:

1. Dining clubs - Cornell 2. Book Store - Temple

Summary - Mr. Robert L. Smith, Ass't. Sec'y., Eastern Cooperative League.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

(Check what you want; send this in to The Cooperative League of America, 167 West 12th Street, New York City, with stamps, money order, or check.) Pamphlets:

1. Consumers' Cooperation (A social interpretation) - Dr. Harry W. Laidler and The Consumers! Cooperative Movement (A factual survey) - Wallace J. Campbell. New Frontiers - Vol. V, #5, May, 1937 - 25¢

2. Cooperatives - Ryllis Alexander Goslin. Foreign Policy Association., Headline

3. The Spirit of Cooperation - Prof. Harold J. Laski, 1936 - 10¢.

4. Consumers' Cooperation - monthly publication of The Cooperative League, containing information and comment on the movement in the U.S., Sub. \$1. 12 issues II. Racial and Religious Problem

5. The Negro Seeks Economic Freedom Through Cooperation - J.L. Reddix, 1936 - 15¢ 6. Bulletins and publications of the Congregational and Christian Council for Social Action, 287 - 4th Avenue, N.Y.C., and the Religion and Labor Foundation.

7. A Primer of Facts About Cooperative Medicine - Issued by the Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, 5 East 57th Street, New York City - 10¢

8. The English Cooperatives - Sydney Elliott, Yale University Press, 1937 - \$3.00 9. Sweden: The Middle Way - Marquis Childs, " "

10. Consumer Cooperation in America - Bertram Fowler, Vanguard Press, 1936 - \$2.00 11. Cooperative Democracy - J.P. Warbasse, Harper & Bros, 3rd Edition 1936 - \$2.50

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PROBLEMS OF NEGRO STUDENTS

- 1. In 1930, eleven southern states spent an average of \$12.57 per child for the education of Negro youth. These same states spent \$44.31 for the education of each white child; while the average expenditure per child for the nation was \$99.00.
- 2. Of equal importance is the task of securing democratic conditions for Negro students in the south. The quality of Negro education must be improved. On many campuses student councils do not exist. Usually, where student self-governing bodies have been set up, they are but rubber-stamps for the administration rather than representatives of the student view-point and supervisors of student affairs. In almost every case the handbook of the Negro college bristles with rules and regulations which severely restrict the activity of the student. Surely a main point of concentration of the A.S.U. must be to increase the effectiveness of student self-governing bodies on the Negro campus, and to win students for an organization which will adequately defend their interests and achieve a greater measure of academic freedom.
- 3. The importance of developing effective techniques of organization and activity cannot be over-estimated. Too often, the Negro student has failed in his attempt to win his rights simply because he has not known how to organize and to win wide support for his demands. Our discussion, then, would be incomplete without a consideration of the methods of organization and the nature of the activity best suited to the average Negro campus.
- 4. It would also seem necessary to point out that these problems must be considered as an integral part of the strivings of the Negro people of the south. The task of achieving equal opportunities in education cannot be isolated from the campaign many groups are waging to secure political rights for the Negro in the south. For, as long as the Negro is barred from the Democratic primaries in Texas and other states, as long as he is prevented from voting by poll taxes and grandfather clauses, he will not be able to bring his full influence to bear in getting more appropriations for education. Likewise, the interests of the student are synonymous with those of groups which are fighting for equalization of teachers' salaries, and those who aim to improve the economic plight of the Negro. The activities of the American Student Union among Negro students must proceed hand in hand with all activities of the Negro people which week to end the Jim-Crow system and all the grave injustices which it heaps upon the shoulders of the Negro.

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AGENDA FOR COMMISSION ON LABOR

- 1. Chairman of commission will explain the purpose of the discussion, tell why Labor Committee work is essential to the ASU's purpose of relating the student to the broader society of which he is a part, and sketch the experience of Hærværd in this regard.
- 2. Representative of Affiliated Labor Schools.
- 3. Reports on suggested activities for a Labor Committee.
 - a. Student work in Trade Union education and entertainment.
 - b. Organizing university employees.
 - c. Organizing industrial workers.
 - d. Investigating workers' housing conditions.
 - e. Organizing retail employees.
 - f. Industrial surveys.
- 4. Experience of delegates of other chapters.
- 5. Discussion of Committee on Industrial Organization and American Federation of Labor.
- 6. Drawing up of a brief statement of concrete suggestions for Chapter Guide to be presented to convention.

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COMMISSION ON HOW TO BUILD A LOCAL PROGRAM

- I. The A.S.U. must become a part of the life of the college community we must consider local problems in order to be a functioning service organization.
- II. The life of the college community
 - 1. The Administration
 - Is it reactionary, paternalistic, cooperative, progressive? What is its attitude toward financial aid? College subscribed charities?
 - 2. Student government
 - Is it democratically elected and run democratically? How much is it dominated by the administration? Is the A.S.U. making it a vital force?
 - 3. Cultural activities

Outside lecturers

Library - condition, regulations

Availability of opportunities to students not taking courses in the departments concerned. Opportunities for listening to good music, etc.

- 4. Breadth of curriculum
 - Is there a student curriculum committee and does it work? Number and type of compulsory courses is there a Latin or Greek requirement, languages vis. social and physical sciences, etc.
- Attitude of administration and faculty toward examinations, frequency and types of exams.
- 5. Athletics
 - a. Football, basketball, etc. Whom does it benefit? college, team, student body?
 - b. Athletic fees
 - c. Open hours
 - d. Facilities
- 6. Rules and regulations
 - a. Restrictions: women's colleges, negro colleges, hours, drinking, smoking, marriage, nights away.
- 7. Social life and social regulations
 - Housing dormitory vs. off campus relative cost and conditions Fraternities and sororities - the function of the A.S.U. in dealing with this problem
- Food cost, freedom of choice in eating places, etc.
- 8. Student publications
 Consorship, control of policies, etc.
- III. The local organization of the A.S.U.
 - 1. The importance of intercollegiate activity, united action, support, new ideas, etc.
 - 2. The degree of autonomy of local chapters
 - 3. Social activities within A.S.U., faculty-student cooperation, parties, intercollegiate activities, youth hostel trips, movies and lectures, etc.
 - 4. The need for group unity, fitting the form to the type of student body Commissions vs. general meetings for education, for action
 - 5. Learn the vocation of leadership in the A.S.U.

 Training campus leaders, training the membership, division of responsibility, democracy vs. bureaucracy, the functioning of the executive committee, training school.
 - 6. Mechanical efficiency, publicity, membership, raising money, planning.

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AGENDA FOR COMMISSION ON CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

I. The First Requirement

A. A businesslike organization

1. Committee system

. a. What committees should a chapter have?

b. The expansion of the committee system with the growth of the chapter

2. Coordination of the committee system through chapter chairman

3. The meeting of obligations a. Financial obligations

b. Organizational obligations

II How do A.S.U. ers become good members?

A. Taking responsibility for building chapter

B. The training of new members

C. Assuming responsibility to the whole organization

1. Building the national membership

2. Increasing the sale of THE STUDENT ADVOCATE

3. Carrying out national activity by

a. Following through on national convention decisions

b. Following through on district and regional conferences

c. Responding to the Chapter Guide

IIIAre you bored by chapter meetings?

A. Committee meetings

1. Plan to accomplish the most in the shortest time

B. Chapter business meetings

. 1. How much of the details can be settled by executive committee

2. Careful planning of business meetings by executive committee

C. General membership meetings necessary for .

1. Keeping the membership in touch with all phases of chapter activity

2. Discussing questions of policy

3. Helping to plan for the carrying out of important general A.S.U. activity such as the strike

D. Open meetings planned for the attraction of the whole campus

1. A series of lectures by prominent figures on such questions as international affairs, political developments, sex education, growth of the trade unions.

IV Chapter life

A. Building a center for the A.S.W. with a reading room and a place to keep all chapter files, etc.

B. Organization of study groups

C. Socials

. D. Outings

V. Education

A. Self-education on the A.S.U. program

B. A series planned on the A.S.U. program for the student body as well as the chapter

VI Publications

A. Bulletin for distribution to all students

VIIRelation of the chapter to the campus

A. The expansion of the committee system to attract varied groups on the campus such as discussion clubs, drama groups, literary groups, etc.

B. Working with all campus groups to draw them into the Student Union

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AGENDA FOR CONFERENCE FOR COLLEGE EDITORS

How does progressive journalism serve the students?

I. Relationship of the college paper and the A.S.U.

1. Function of the liberal college newspaper:

Should the news columns reflect the progressive tone of the editorial column or should they be kept strictly non-partisan?

How much off-campus, national, and international news should be introduced into the paper; should news space, editorial, or columns and special fea-

tures be used, and in what proportion?

What special editions, such as peace issues, of general as well as liberal interest, should be used?

To what extent should the paper serve as a progressive force, and to what extent should it reflect the divergent opinions of the campus?

2. Control of the paper:

Should the A.S.U. urge an all-college election of the editor, and run an A.S.U. candidate on a platform?

Should the editorial board be favored over one-man control of editorial policy?

What should be the relationship of the paper to the student government, in which the A.S.U. directly attempts to obtain a majority?

II. The consorship problem.

1. Relation of the paper to the college administration:
Can an independent camous paper function as part of a journalism department?
Is the faculty adviser system necessarily incompatible with a free paper?
What set-up, short of incorporation, can guarantee freedom to the paper?

2. Relation of the paper to the student body:

How can the responsibility of the editor to the student body be assured
direct election, through student government, etc. Is this advisable?

What guarantee can be made for the expression of varying opinions in the

college paper?

3. Methods of fighting existent and threatened censorship:
Reports from Temple, Pittsburgh, Kentucky, Berkeley, others if any.
How can the A.S.U. on the campus best assist the paper whose independence is threatened?

What national organizations, other than the A.S.U., can be mobilized to help such a paper (American Civil Liberties Union, etc.)? How?
What statement on 'free papers' should be included in the Charter of Stu-

dents Rights drawn up by this convention?

III. The college newspaper and student press organizations.

1. The Associated Collegiate Press

2. State press organizations

3. Regional organizations, such as the I.N.A.

4. Of what technical help are they to the paper? Of what assistance in maintaining a free paper?

IV. The college press and the press.

1. What relationship and cooperation can be established between college journalists and the American Newspaper Guild?

2. How can progressive college journalism further progressive journalism off the campus?

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