

STUDENT REVIEW

MAY
7 1933

THE CASE OF DONALD
HENDERSON

UNDER THE
SWASTIKA

CHICAGO STUDENTS
ON STRIKE

TEN CENTS

Studenten!

Wenn ihr nicht verhungern wollt,
wenn ihr nicht als „Luftexistenzen“ euer Leben von Bettelpfennigen
fristen wollt, dann

müßt ihr

gegen diesen Abbau, gegen dieses System,

gegen den Kapitalismus kämpfen!

Wir fordern:

- 1.) Sofortige nochmalige Nachprüfung aller Geböhrenerlass-Anträge.
Wir protestieren dagegen, daß mittellose Studenten bei der Anmeldung ihrer Wünsche im Vor-
zimmer des Rektors - auf strikten Befehl von oben - zurückgewiesen werden.
- 2.) Staffelung der Geböhren nach dem Einkommen der Eltern.
- 3.) Herabsetzung der Professorengelöhler auf 12000 Mark jährlich.

Diskutiert diese Forderungen, stellt sie bei jeder Verhandlung
im Studentenwerk, im Arbeitsnachweis und Wirtschaftsamt!

Reiht euch ein
in unsere Front!

Nicht Wutgeschrei und Nazi-Phrasen, nur das Verständnis der wirtschaftlichen
Entwicklung,
der Kampf um die Tagesforderungen führen
zum Endkampf
zum Ziel.

Arbeit und Brot!
Kulturaufbau!

Entfaltung und Entwicklung der Wissenschaft!

Diese elementaren Forderungen kann der
Kapitalismus niemals verwirklichen!!

Darum Kampf für den sozialistischen Ausweg aus der Krise!!

Für eine Arbeiter-
und Bauernregierung!

Rote Studenten Gruppe

Verantwortlich: Mr. Bruch, Verlag und Inhalt: Rote Arbeiter, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Brüderstrasse 18

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The Front Page

The following is a translation of a leaflet
 issued by the Red Student Group of Berlin
 University. The second page of this leaflet
 appears on the front page of this issue.

3000 STUDENTS MUST STOP STUDYING! Students: The Demand to decrease fees 75% was turned down. Excellent grades are not enough for these bureaucratic authorities. **THIS IS THE START OF UNIVERSITY REFORM IN BERLIN.** Even though the student body decreased by 3000 after the 1932 fall semester, it is still too large for the authorities, whose aim is to destroy culture. The number of scholars is to be further decreased!

What should be the standard, capability or knowledge? **NO, THE MONEY BAG.** The flocking to the university is being stopped at the expense of the working and poorer students. The state of today has no money for the student youth, for the poorer youth. Its money is needed for police dogs, rubber billys, and armoured cars. Its money is needed to subsidize bankrupt capitalists and Junkers. For you it has only forced labor. Have you studied (the Schulbank gedruckt) for twenty years, spent years at the university, in order to work for 30 pfennig a day and to stand at attention?

Students! The way out which is offered you by "Socialists" like Schleicher, Hitler, Holtermann cannot be yours. The reforms of the capitalists and their lackeys increase the misery, they only bring depression, reaction, and barbarism. Their reforms are: Close hospitals, though the health of the nation is sinking; fire teachers even though the classrooms are overcrowded. **THE NEED AND UNEMPLOYMENT OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS INCREASE.**

Students! If you do not want to starve, if you do not want to live on air, on beggar pennies, then **YOU MUST** fight against retrenchment, against this system, against **CAPITALISM!**

We demand:

1) Immediate reexamination of all these proposals. We protest against the fact that destitute students are turned back "according to strict orders from above" when these students report their wishes in the Rector's anti-chamber.

2) Proportional fees according to the income of the parents.

3) Cutting of professional salaries to 12,000 Marks a year.

Discuss these demands, bring them up at every discussion in student work, in all public meetings. **FALL IN IN OUR FRONT!** Not crazy yelling and Nazi phrases but the understanding of social development, the struggle for the daily needs leads to the final struggle, to our goal. Work and Bread! Development of Culture! Broadening and development of science! These elementary demands cannot be realized under capitalism. Therefore, fight for the socialist way out of the crisis. For a Workers and Farmers Government.

RED STUDENT GROUP.

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Editorial Comment

HEADLINES from Chicago: "Police Club Teachers Demanding Eight Months Back-Pay."

Headlines from New York: "Unemployed Teachers Cause Near Riot at Board of Education."

Slogans in New York Unemployment Insurance Parade: "You Can't Eat an I. Q."—"More Schools: Fewer Jails"—"Even Teachers Must Eat."

The depression is taking the second line trenches. The perfect middle-class world which the perfect middle-class teachers have been enjoying has crumpled up; throughout the country the find their wages cut, paid in scrip or unpaid (in Chicago they cut the unpaid wages too), tenure uncertain, classes larger, work harder, life uncertain. Those just out of college find, of course, no work at all. And so teachers are breaking into the headlines.

Such demonstrations and threatened strikes by a group so notoriously conservative and responsive to pressure from above, so pitifully timid, so averse to organization stand out as glowing commentaries on the insolvent state of contemporary society. And unpaid, scrip-paid, debt-burdened, over-worked teachers cannot fail to help as the solvent for the "cash nexus." English classes will listen not to

"God's in his Heaven,

All's right with the world"

but instead to the exhortation:

"Men of England, wherefor plough

For the lords that lay you low?

Ye are many, they are few!"

It was the students in Chicago who showed the teachers the path. A student strike, called in sympathy for the unpaid teachers, got them their first pay in months. This is natural. The entire structure of the American educational system has been designed to make those who would take shelter in it subservient time-servers. Boards of Trustees are afraid of Social Problem Clubs not only because they will radicalize the student-body; they are afraid that the faculty will be affected. And in the over-crowded classes of our public schools, in our undermanned colleges, in all the educational institutions which are being torn to pieces to balance the budget, students must lead the way. In places like Fall River where, the *Times* reported under the caption "Gloom in Fall River Lifting," 140 teachers have been dropped, classes increased by one third, kindergartens and night schools closed, and in states like Scottsboroed Alabama, where eighty-five percent of the schools have closed, teachers are beginning to realize that this is not the best of all possible worlds and that "mass action" is not a phrase used only by unwashed foreigners with bushy beards.

The students can and must continue to educate their teachers.

The Case of Donald Henderson

"STUDENTS are only incidentals" to the University, President Nicholas Murray Butler blandly informed a delegation from the Joint Committee for the Reinstatement of Donald Henderson. And yet these "incidentals" to the normal business of the university: trustee meetings, million dollar drives, the harmless interplay of ideals in the vacuum of the lecture hall—have in the past few weeks attempted to take a decisive hand in the management of university affairs. An angry student protest against the shameful dismissal of Donald Henderson is rapidly becoming nation-wide. And the volume of this protest has forced the Columbia Administration to bring forward one irrelevancy after another in a fruitless attempt to justify its action.

Columbia University has descended to the shameful level of defending the dismissal of Donald Henderson on the grounds that he is "an incompetent teacher." President Butler has added the canard that he was allowed to keep his post thus far only because of "pity." Thus the founder and organizer of the National Student League, the leader of the Kentucky delegation, an organizer of the Chicago Anti-War Congress, a fighter for academic freedom in every place where student expression is stifled,—in short, a man who has done more than any other to build a militant American student movement, and who has had a greater influence on student opinion than any other instructor in the country, is being removed on the grounds that he is unable to teach, unable to stir the student mind to thought and action. One would think that the Columbia authorities would have seen at once the absurdity of this line of defense, but the university finds itself in a difficult position where cogent defenses are not easy to find.

"No issue of academic freedom is involved," President Butler assured the student delegation. "I have been here fifty years and I have never seen a case of suppression of academic freedom." The memory of a university president who lauded the Kaiser before America's entrance into the War, became an intolerant patriot who ferreted out German influences on the Campus after War was declared, in order to re-emerge with the turn in the tide of world opinion as one of the leading doves of international peace, must be conveniently short; and the remembrance of Dana, Robinson, and other professors hounded off the campus during wartime appears to have left him. The enlightened President does not "care a rap what you do. You can turn handsprings on 116th Street. Anybody's views on any subject have nothing to do with his appointment or re-appointment, as long as he behaves like a gentleman and does his work." This is in a certain sense true. The crime of Don Henderson is not that he has "entertained" radical ideas, for this is permissible; his offense is that he has fought for them, and has sought to put them into practice. Instead of talking, Henderson acted; instead of limiting himself to the classroom, he carried the classroom out into

the world. He roused the American students from an alarming apathy and awakened an unexpected intelligence. For this he is expelled.

The liberalism of Columbia University which considers that "a university exists for the pursuit of truth. Students are only incidentals" is a tolerance of ideas only when they are disrupted from practical life and rendered ineffectual. This is the meaning of that sonorous and Delphic phrase which rolled off the President's lips last week. An Economics Department whose members endorse the right of American labor to union organization, and the principle of the minimum wage, but when scandalously low wages are paid to the employees of Columbia, and an attempt at union organization is viciously attacked by the University, piously avert their heads and do nothing,—presents an example of that form of academic freedom which Columbia finds such a convenient and harmless ornament.

The University has erected three lines of defense.

1. Donald Henderson's appointment was not permanent. The University as usual buries its head under an irrelevancy. It is contended that the University follows a policy of keeping instructors only two years unless they obtain a Ph.D. degree or a promotion. But of the 50 instructors at Columbia without doctors' degrees, 33 have served four years or more.

2. The University claims that Henderson was given two years to complete his Ph.D., and was engaged on that understanding. As against this contention, we have the advice of Professor Tugwell, then head of the Economics Department, who told Henderson to take five years for his doctorate if necessary.

3. The final charge of the Administration that Donald Henderson was a poor teacher is nothing more than a wretched slander.

We quote from the statement of the Columbia Joint Committee for the reappointment of Donald Henderson:

"Poor teacher." This is the most contemptible charge of all, unsupported by facts. Prof. McCrea says, "Henderson has failed consistently to apply himself seriously and diligently to his duties as instructor and to maintain the standards of teaching required by the department." Consider this in the light of signed statements by former students who are neither personal friends of Henderson or associated with his political activities, including honor students, football players and others: "I will always be glad to say that Mr. Henderson was easily one of my best teachers during my freshman year at Columbia."—Michael Demshar. "—As capable an instructor as any under whom I have worked at Columbia with but few exceptions."—Frank J. McGovern. "If every teacher in Columbia College had as stimulating a personality and as critical a mind as Mr. Henderson has, the level of the faculty would be raised very considerably."—C. J. O. Hanser. The students of the Junior Seminar in economics voted unanimously and on their own initiative that Henderson has shown himself a competent instructor and "his analysis of economic theory has been illuminating and intellectually stimulating." It should be added that the administration's charge con-

cerning Mr. Henderson's lack of diligent application to duties, even if it were supported (which it is not) sounds very strange in view of the well known presence of full professors in the "Little Cabinet" in Washington who make occasional flying trips to the campus and who are still drawing full salaries from the University. Washington-Columbia "Brain Trust" has not even received an official leave of absence from the University.

The true reasons for Henderson's dismissal are obvious. He made use of the right of freedom of speech and action, which a Columbia instructor supposedly possesses, for purposes unacceptable to the rulers of the university. He defended the principle of academic freedom wherever it was violated, not by means of issuing statements, but by fighting the issue side by side with the students. He fought for a revolutionary alliance of workers and students against the interests of the capitalist system. This, to the millionaire rulers of Morningside Heights was unforgivable. A brief study of the personnel of the Board of Trustees shows that it is composed almost exclusively of corporation directors, representing the three largest banks in the nation, the steel and telephone trusts, and the leading corporations in almost every important industry. How could such a group be expected to tolerate a communist?

No. Henderson was not dismissed because of poor teaching. He was removed because he taught the contraband doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Because he agitated inside and outside the classroom, and agitated too persuasively and too well. He practiced too closely that unity of thought and action preached by Columbia's patron philosopher, John Dewey. He followed the advice also of President Butler who urged Columbia men to participate more actively in community life. He was fired because he used welded theory and practice, not to help Wall Street regain its profits, but to expose the bankruptcy of the trustees of Columbia University, and the system they represent, because he showed the way to struggle against their system, and joined in the struggle.

The unity of theory and practice, typified by the actions of the little clique of Columbia teachers, who form the Roosevelt "kitchen cabinet," who are known as the "President's brains," is thoroughly approved of, and brings only credit to the University. The absences of Tugwell, Moley, and consorts, who fly back and forth between Washington and New York in piddling little attempts to help keep the capitalist system going a little while longer, are not brought to the attention of the Administration to be used against them. The revolutionary activity of Henderson—that of course is a different matter.

Donald Henderson has done more for students in one year than Columbia University has ever accomplished in its whole history. As Executive Secretary of the National Students League he fought for the reinstatement of Reed Harris, for the rights of students to enter Kentucky, for unity of students with workers and in every way carried out the principles advocated by President Butler. Instead of talking he acted, instead of limiting himself to the classroom, he carried the classroom out into the world. He roused the American students from an

alarming apathy and awakened an unexpected intelligence. For this he is expelled. He is a leader, and the Board of Trustees is afraid of a leader. He fights with skilled weapons against their clumsy bludgeon—ignorance. His reinstatement is necessary to us. We must fight now as a unit more fiercely than in the past and more pressingly. We know our weapons—let us use them!

Sports

COLLEGE "AMATEURS"

WE SEE by the papers that the City College of New York and St. Johns basketball teams of 1931 are scheduled to face each other in a professional basketball game. The boys didn't lose much time after graduating in cashing in on their college reputations.

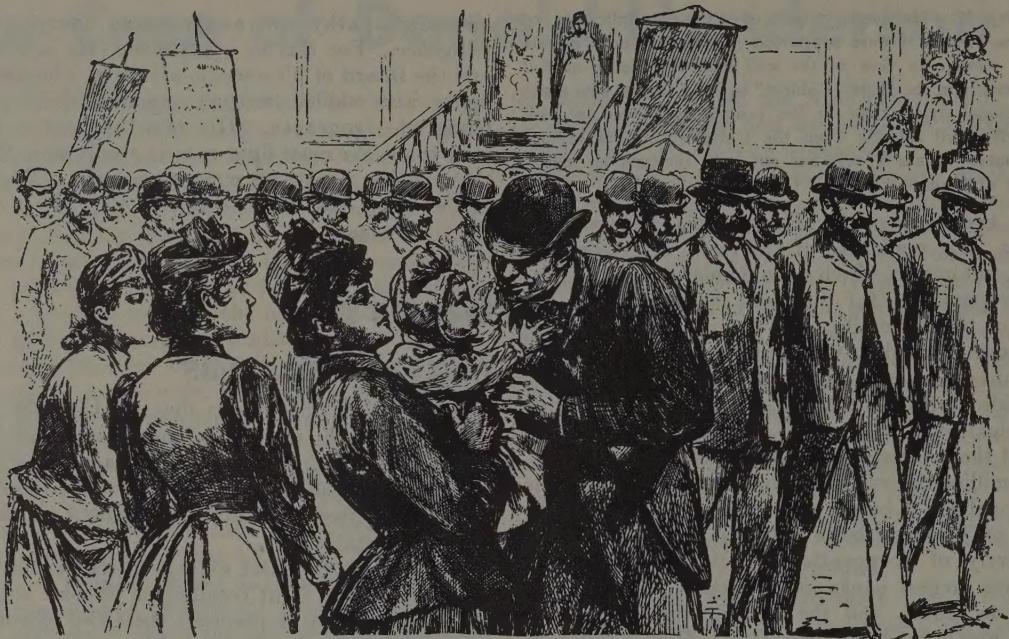
Wait a minute! Did we say "after graduation"? Seems we have a faint recollection of some kind of a basketball scandal in precisely these two schools just about the year '31. Anyway, if we remember right, several men were disqualified for professionalism—after the season was over. And all those disqualified just happened to be seniors, who were through with further collegiate competition. Close shave for these schools, wasn't it?

After all the ballyhoo raised about overemphasis of intercollegiate sport, and the necessity of playing it down in favor of intramural sports for the entire student body, Yale has announced a "new" athletic policy for 1933-34. And what does this policy say? The Yale athletic director states: "In order to offer an adequate program for inter-college athletics for the full college year 1933, it would seem essential to discontinue class teams in the various branches of sport and concentrate upon the college teams." College athletics are feeling the effects of the economic crisis and are compelled to retrench. This "new" sport policy at Yale shows what form this retrenchment is taking. Thus the ordinary student who wants and needs athletics as a pastime, for health and recreation, is again soaked in favor of the star performer, the athletic specialist, who lives and sleeps sports, so that the college can gain a bit of glory, free advertising and heavier gate receipts.

"WAR SPORT" IN GERMANY

Not content with laying his muddy paws on art, science, literature, drama, etc., Hitler is now attempting to wipe out the splendid German physical culture movement. Not only does he smash the gyms of the powerfully organized workingclass sport movement, and of the Jewish sport organizations, not only does he destroy their equipment, arrest their leaders, beat up the members, prohibit them the use of fields and ballparks, but he hitches whatever sport movement is left to his militarist, imperialist chariot wheel. H. B. Knickerbocker, in a fea-

(Please turn to page 23)



CHICAGO WORKERS PARADE ON THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY, 1890

May Day-An American Heritage

MAY 1st, the international day of revolutionary working class struggles, is an "American institution," and was born out of the nation-wide strike conflicts of the American workers for the establishment of the eight-hour day.

Forty-seven years ago, American labor celebrated the first May Day. And what a militant page in history it is! In 1884-85, America was in the throes of a cyclical depression. As is common to all depressions, the workers were forced to bear the brunt of the burden. Unemployment reached tremendous proportions; hunger and privation stalked the workingclass quarters. Workers were driven by adversity to band together to realize their class interests. The Knights of Labor, then the largest American labor organization, increased its membership from 200,000 to 700,000 during this period. Just as in today's period of financial drought, we see the movement for the seven-hour day growing by leaps and bounds among the workers, so did the movement for the eight-hour day gain tremendous momentum at that time—especially among the great mass of unemployed.

On May 1st, 1886, strikes broke out all over the country—about 500,000 workers in all. Chicago was the strike center. The workers came out in tremendous strength. The answer of the employers was terrorism and murder. Workers were shot down without mercy on the picket lines by the Chicago police and company guards. On May 4th, a gigantic demonstration, in which about 50,000 workers participated, was called to protest the murder of six workers in front of the McCormick Reaper plant by company detectives.

The speakers at the meeting were syndicalists, affi-

liated with the Black (Anarchist) International: August Spies, one of the editors of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, Alfred Parsons, an editor of *Alarm* and Samuel Fielden. These men differed from their European associates in recognizing the need for mass action and the potentially revolutionary character of immediate demands. They were instrumental in leading the Chicago movement—a tremendous upsurge of the rank and file (for three days hundreds of workers marched from factory to factory bringing the men out on strike, holding mass demonstrations under the banner of the red flag, etc.)—into the most militant and revolutionary channels. As Fielden was finishing his speech, rain started to fall, and the meeting began to break up. A large group of Chicago police fell upon the workers with black-jacks and batons without provocation. At this point, somebody hurled a bomb into the police cordon, killing a sergeant. A battle followed in which seven police were killed and about fifty persons wounded. Many workers were arrested, and seven workingclass leaders, including Spies and Fielden, were tried for conspiracy and murder. Parsons walked into court the first day of the trial to stand at the side of his comrades and subsequently to die with them—one of the bravest deeds in all labor history.

The trial of the eight men was the typical farce of class justice of which we in our day have such excellent examples as the Mooney case, the Sacco and Vanzetti case and the recent trial of the Negro boys of Scottsboro. There were the usual perjurers; the alarmist lies of the prostitute press and pulpit, the packed jury; and for an impartial judge they had a gentleman named Gary who later became "fa-

mous" in the steel business. Spies, Parsons, Fischer and Engel were hanged; Fielden, Schwab and Lingg were given life sentences; and Neebe got a 15-year term. Lingg could not bear the tortures inflicted upon him in jail and committed suicide in his cell. Years of mass pressure finally brought about the release of Fielden, Schwab and Neebe.

Three years after the Chicago hanging, in 1889, the Second International, inspired by the example of the American workers, adopted a resolution making May 1 a day of international demonstration for the eight-hour working day.

In 1891 at Brussels, the International reiterated the original purpose of May 1 and expanded it to include a general demonstration in behalf of demands for improving working conditions and the maintaining of international peace. Still deeper political meaning was given May 1 at the Congress at Zurich in 1893 which declared that it must serve as a demonstration "of the determined will of the working class to destroy class distinctions through social change and thus enter on the road, the only road leading to . . . international peace."

At the Paris Congress in 1900, May Day was transformed into a day on which all workers laid down their tools and walked from the factories in an international proletarian demonstration. It was

a day of hope for the working class, a day of international solidarity, of world unity and struggle.

Such is the heritage which we have passed on to us today.

From that day on May Day has been a symbol of struggle and a day of struggle despite the efforts of reformist politicians to devitalize it.

We students struggle against the same forces as the workers. The same group which, in the last analysis, is responsible for retrenchment in education, the R. O. T. C. on the campus, the suppression of all vestiges of academic freedom, oppresses, exploits and terrorizes the working class, and is responsible for the Mooney and Scottsboro cases. But the working class is not just another class in society. It represents the leading, conscious front against the ruling classes. Therefore our struggle for immediate demands is doubly effective when directed in support of and together with the working class.

As students fighting the hard upward fight at the side of the proletariat, May Day belongs to us as well as the workers. It is a day when we too must protest and agitate for our demands: no retrenchment; abolition of the R. O. T. C.; lower tuition fees; no race discrimination; unemployment insurance; complete academic freedom.

LEONARD DAL NEGRO.

New Studies at Smith and Amherst

FOR the first time in the history of their colleges, Smith and Amherst students participated in a local strike.

Active work by N. S. L. members began as soon as word of the strike was received. The employees of College Weavers, Inc., a textile mill in Northampton, had walked out on Wednesday evening, March 8, in protest against a forty percent wage cut (their wages had averaged five to seven dollars weekly). Thursday morning, N. S. L. members were at strike headquarters. The Smith College liberal club called an emergency meeting for Thursday evening, at which more than one hundred students and professors received their first information about the strike from the strikers themselves. The money collections for relief were begun at this meeting.

Those who wished to show the strikers their sympathy and support, came to the strike meetings, picketed, worked in the soup kitchen, and helped to collect food from the farmers in the vicinity. Students from both colleges played a large part in organizing strike publicity and sent daily press releases to the local newspapers.

As the strike continued and the need for money grew, a mass meeting, planned several days in advance, and much publicized, brought almost five hundred townspeople, students and professors together in a large hall at Smith College. A striker, a member of the faculty, and a member of the N. S. L. unit at Smith addressed the meeting and aroused much sympathy which crystallized into donations of money and the appearance of more helpers at the strike kitchen and commissary.

The situation of the strikers was an unusual one.

The owner of the mill was in a position where he could be forced to take the workers back on their own terms, or else lose many orders which were falling due. Donations of food from the farmers, together with the money donations from the townspeople were making relief possible for an indefinite length of time. The sweat-shop conditions in the shop had aroused indignation on the part of the residents of Northampton to such an extent that even the ministers had expressed their desire to give material and moral support to the strike.

The strike ended as a crass sell-out. In a steam-roller session, the A. F. of L. obtained charge of the strike negotiations. In two days the striking weavers found themselves going back to work with a raise in their wages of only five percent instead of sixty-three percent which they had demanded.

This was an extreme let-down for those of the students and faculty who had faith in the A. F. of L. as a working class medium in labor disputes. We members of the NSL who had been disregarded when we spoke of danger to the strike when the United Textile Workers' (A. F. of L.) organizer put in his appearance, were generally acknowledged to have been more than justified in our attempts to prevent the alliance. It is extremely important that the blame for the misleadership in this situation be put where it belongs. This is the result where the students are concerned. Many who were before indifferent to such a situation realize now that it is our concern as future members of the working class, to pass this knowledge on.

STELLA CHESSE,

General Secretary NSL Unit.

Under the Swastika

A THOROUGHGOING terror against all freedom of thought and discussion is an elementary act of self-preservation for the present fascist government of Germany. Although supported in part by Jewish capitalists and financiers, the Nazi regime has been obliged to stir up anger against the Jewish people in order to ward off a general and growing criticism of the mass misery and exploitation of German capitalism which it perpetuates. It is likewise obliged to suppress all freedom of thought and expression, since thought is a revolutionary force which could help stir the German people to effect its overthrow.

The Hitler policy toward the university is summed up in this necessity, and in certain definite class ends. National Socialism is the last line of defense of capitalist society. It is a system of government which crystallizes into clarity those very class antagonisms which it wishes to keep sub rosa, which, because it rules by brutal class force, makes the class division of society all too definite and manifest.

The fascist policy toward education was clarified long before the appointment of Hitler to the Chancellorship. Two years ago, a turbulent mob of Heidelberg students demonstrated against the appointment of the brilliant young Professor Erich Gumbel to a chair in statistics. And rightly, for Gumbel had committed three grave crimes. He had been indiscreet enough to be born a Jew; he had affiliated himself with the left wing of the Social Democrats. He had, finally, written an authoritative history of the Fehme murders. (During the immediate post-war years, various reactionary corps in the imperial army banded themselves together for the purposes of political assassination. Rathenau, Haase, and dozens of other Jews and leaders of the Left were killed in cold blood by these groups. They maintained discipline and secrecy by reviving the *Fehmegericht*, the judicial system of the old Teutonic tribes, and assassinated those of their members who showed signs of liberalism or loquacity.) The indiscretion of Dr. Gumbel's history was redoubled by the fact that the fascist storm sections are permeated with these Fehme murder elements. Gumbel added an appendix to his history: the account of ten years of Nazi political murders, called after a famous phrase in one of Hitler's speeches, "Let heads roll!"

One of the first acts of the Nazi government appointed to the province where Heidelberg is situated was the arbitrary removal of Dr. Gumbel.

With the victory of Hitler, the steadily rising wave of intolerance and terror assumed gigantic proportions. A few instances will suffice. Dr. Emil Lederer, a social-reformist economist with a world-wide reputation, dismissed his class, the day after the Hitler victory at the polls, with the statement: "These are very trying days. We must have patience and tolerance." A Nazi student in the back of the

classroom replied to this unpatriotic remark in a characteristic National Socialist fashion. He discharged six revolver shots at Dr. Lederer, wounding him slightly.

Continued arrests of communist and socialist school teachers are taking place. They are taken to Nazi barracks to emerge several days later on the streets, in the hospitals, the mortuaries, or in the form of disfigured and "unidentifiable suicides" in the suburbs of the city. A radical school teacher was recently taken from his classes by Nazi storm troops, and when the students cheered him, the children as well as the teacher were beaten soundly by the Nazis.

* * *

A German professor complained to me last fall: "It is impossible to teach philosophy in Germany any more! We used to have a standard of university scholarship equal to that of any other country. Today the German university is degenerating into a place for perpetual brawls and narrow Nazi intolerance." This professor tells me of an occasion when he was discussing Descartes over a stein of beer with some of his students. An uncouth looking Nazi approached him and interrupted: "Quite true, Professor. Everything you say is entirely true, but . . . (pounding his chest), there are still *men* in Germany."

The nationalism, the intolerance, the sense of caste of the German university has been increased tenfold under Nazi rule. Let us take some of the recent measures: (1) Duelling has been re-established and is regarded as compulsory by German gentlemen. (This establishes the line of division between the corps student and the free student, the gentile and the Jew, on a firmer base than before. It develops an iron, disciplined, officer caste among the students.) (2) Religious education is to be made compulsory in the entire school system. (The Heavenly Father exists to secure the property rights of the wealthy; and thus religion, although badly shaken in Germany by the War, is needed to prop up the Nazi state system. A God will be re-enthroned: whether Hitler's conservatism will triumph in the form of a Nordic Jesus, or whether Alfred Rosenberg will be given free rein to invent a new theology, peopling the primeval Teutonic woods with elephantine Wagnerian Gods and Goddesses,—this is immaterial.) (3) Liberal, radical, and Jewish teachers are being removed as rapidly as possible. (4) Those that remain will be obliged to inculcate such myths as are found in the Bible of militant Aryanism, Alfred Rosenberg's *Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, e.g., the Renaissance was created by a blonde Nordic minority in Italy (all great cultural epochs are of Aryan origin); the Jews formed a definite conspiracy with the free masons with the aim of obtaining world domination; they created finance capi-

talism and Bolshevism simultaneously in order to achieve this purpose, etc.

The destructive influence of National Socialism on German cultural life has already made itself evident. The suppression of all revolutionary thought, of culture tainted with Judaism, of plays and books poisoned with pacifism and internationalism,—this is notorious. In its strife against everything which breaks the cultural pattern of its own archaic set of ideas, fascism has suppressed such innocent affairs as the Dessauer Bauhaus, one of the finest examples of modern German architecture; it is inflamed against the nudist cults, etc.

National Socialism has reiterated the demand that women return to the home. This is part of the Nazi attempt to roll the wheel of history back. It proceeds from the essential conservatism of the fascists, who can only build the ideology of the Third Empire out of the waterlogged lumber of the past epochs. The relative popularity of this position springs from the fact that the mass following of the Nazis lives intellectually in the past, because it is socially and economically uprooted in the present. It arises also from the mass unemployment in Germany today. Presumably, National Socialism will attempt to restrict or completely bar the entrance of women into the universities and professions. The free sexual relations which are beginning to exist, if only to a limited extent, under capitalism, will probably be discarded in favor of a shopkeeper's moral code. The Youth Movement has already been captured by the Nazis. Instead of a free, naturalistic expression, dominated by ideas of pacifism and internationalism, Germany has today a youth movement which feeds on militarism and pederasty.

These factors provide the broader mental environment out of which the educational system forms itself. The Nazi program on culture and social life in general is a noose around the neck of the German university.

How has it been possible, one will ask, to transform the German university, with its traditions of scholarship and intellectual attainment, into a drill ground for Prussian officers, resting on a rigid caste system and a decomposed ideology?

The answer lies partly in the social composition of the university. The German student comes primarily from the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. In normal times, he used the lecture hall and doctoral dissertation as stepping stones to a position as a government official. He was a Social Democrat, because the Social Democracy in its ideology reflected the day dreams of the government official, and in its actions, his cautiousness, and conservatism. A Nazi complaint was: To get a government position or a

foothold in the professions, one must be a Socialist. This was, of course, doubly true in the period when Social Democracy was the principal, active sustaining force of German capitalism, that is from 1919 to about 1929, as is admitted by the Fuhrestriefe, confidential circular of large German industrialists and businessmen.

With the growing crisis, a wave of discontent swept the German people. The university student came from a background of middle class prejudice; he became a "revolutionary" because German capitalism could no longer realize these prejudices concretely. His ideals were property, prestige, the superiority of caste. These, German capitalists could not longer realize. Thousands of trained men from the educational classes left the university each year to use their skill and training in obtaining 15 marks a month from the unemployed insurance scheme. Thus the student demanded revolution, but a revolution whose object should be to re-establish capitalism with all its vices reproduced on an enlarged scale, "a pro-slavery rebellion." The Hitler orations, the sycophantic socialist drivel of the Nazis, the storm trooper uniforms, parades, and demonstrations, were financed by Skoda, the Franco-Czech munitions concern; Deterding, the anti-Soviet oil magnate; by the Potash Cartel; Thyssen of the steel trust, *et tutti quanti*, for else the discontent of the student, and that of the entire middle class as well, might turn to other channels, might even join with the proletariat. German capitalism had memorized the word of Marx: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution."

There are exceptions. A vigorous and militant minority formed a revolutionary student league, affiliated in its political work with the revolutionary forces of Germany and the Communist Party; attempted on the broadest possible basis of unity to wage fights on the concrete struggles of the student body: for the gradation of tuitions according to income, etc. This group is still carrying on a militant struggle in spite of terror and illegality.

However, the class composition of the university indicates that it will be one of the last strongholds of the Hitler league of discontent, a league which is being sprung into pieces by internal contradictions and antagonisms under the mighty impetus of growing proletarian upheaval. Whether fascism can last six months or four years against the revolutionary elements in German society—this interim will doubtless remain one of the darkest in the history of German student life. It is a darkness which history will intensify in order to set it off against the dazzling light of mass education in the German Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic.

NATHANIEL WEYL.

The Montevideo Congress

THE Latin-American Anti-War Congress at Montevideo has been called primarily in order to organize action against the ruinous imperialist wars now devastating Paraguay and Bolivia, and secondly to clarify to the people the basic causes of the antagonisms. Delegates from industrial centers of Brazil and Argentina, representatives of unemployed councils, and students of many countries gathered to join in the struggle for the overthrow of imperialist domination. United States imperialism is spilling the blood of Latin-American workers and students, exploiting South America's natural resources, making ineffectual puppets of its governments. And still, in face of these obvious facts, the shibboleth of liberty and patriotism is chanted to the workers and students, who pay with their lives for submissively yielding to the inexorable dogma of capitalist persuasion.

Here are the facts as we at the Conference have observed them; this is the liberty and freedom for which the workers and students bleed. The Standard Oil Company of the United States wishes an outlet on the Plata River in order that it may better compete with Royal Dutch Shell of Great Britain, which at present has almost an entire monopoly on the east coast of South America. United States imperialists loaned Bolivia \$19,000,000 several years ago, of which \$5,000,000 went to buy war materials and to build military roads close to the Paraguayan border. On the other hand, the Paraguayan government is sympathetic to Great Britain because Great Britain has much money invested there. Essentially, then, it is a vicarious war between the United States and England, carried on by representative local capitalists, for the control of these two countries. Likewise, in the struggle between Peru and Colombia: Peru is being supported by the British and Colombia by the American imperialist interests. And South American workers and students gasp their last, bayoneted, crucified, with the cry of Liberty!

War preparations continue today in South America at a feverish rate. Armies are mobilized, munitions manufactured, and workers and students are being indoctrinated with the fervent jingoism of the ruling class. They are being maliciously blinded to the facts, inspired to action by florid words and gestures, and neatly dressed to parade and fall before the enemies' cannon. All anti-war movements are being viciously, forcedly repressed. All the delegates to the congress who returned to Argentina have been arrested. In Chile, anti-war workers have been persecuted by the government. In Peru and Colombia, which are at war in Letitia, a drive to suppress all working class organizations, and anti-war student groups was carried out before mobilization orders were sent out by the government. Despite this, stu-

dents have already organized several revolutionary organizations in South America, such as "Avanca" in Chile, "Insurrexit" in Argentina, "Vermelha" in Brazil and "Asociacion Estudiantil Roja" in Uruguay.

It is our purpose here to expose the basis of chicanery and greed on which the wars are founded, and to make the workers and students militantly conscious of the fact that they must struggle together against the common enemy, rather than commit suicide to nourish him. It is our purpose to activate every thinking individual of no matter what country to entertain an intelligent attitude towards the nature of war, and to resist the welter of propaganda which is continually preparing him to don the uniform and fight for the perennially masqueraded dollar sign. It is our purpose specifically and now to put an end to the wars which are demolishing Latin-America.

All the economic and social myths with which the American and British imperialists started the war are being dispelled. It is evident that the fighters do not die for democracy. It is evident that prosperity is not being brought about by the war. The prices of foodstuffs and clothing have gone up. Taxes have been increased. Wages have decreased as much as 50 per cent. Only propaganda and imperialist money continue the war, and it can be ended by intelligent and forceful resistance.

Action cannot be delayed. It must start here and now. United States students are directly involved. You are being continuously subjected to propaganda and the passivist ideology in schools. Direct movements towards immediate war preparations are being supported and rushed through. There has been increased expenditure for militarizing students through the R. O. T. C. Muscle Shoals, of great military importance, is now being prepared for operation and the reforestation groups are receiving military training. Finally, it is evident that capitalist technology, unable to cope with the present economic situation, is eager to alleviate it by means of a new war.

The experience of the South American students, forced into the midst of conflict, should serve as an example, should teach us that we cannot depend on university officials, governments or reformist parties to keep us out of war. We must resolve to conduct an unceasing militant fight against war, and to ally ourselves with an organization of the working class and students which expressly battles against the essentials of imperialist capitalist war, and retains an unswerving opposition toward it.

CARL GEISER.

Scottsboro—A Challenge

HOMELESS youth, wandering from one city to another, looking for work. Boys ten and twelve years old, leaving school because they are hungry, adding to the army of unemployed. Schools closing for lack of funds, throwing more students into a hostile world, forcing girls to prostitution, boys to freight trains.

Chattanooga is a city in Tennessee. It is a city of jim-crow laws, jim-crow churches, jim-crow schools. The miserable school for colored children makes no attempt to feed its hungry pupils. Most of the colored students leave in the fifth or sixth year. And they go out on the streets of Chattanooga to find a job.

But jobs are scarce. They may work now and then for a few years, at unpleasant, hard work for which they are paid but a few dollars a week. Then, with the crisis, even that is hard to find. Perhaps it will be easier in another city. Mother needs money, and the boy will be able to send some back.

They are the declassed elements of contemporary America. Students without schools, without education, without jobs, food or clothing.

Haywood Patterson is going to leave home. His friends will go with him. The boys promise their mothers that they will send back some money, and they are off.

The next day Mr. Patterson is reading a newspaper in his Chattanooga home. There is something about nine Negroes who have committed rape, according to the paper, and are going to be tried in an obscure Alabama town, Scottsboro. He reads the article. Towards the end he reads the names of the nine boys. One of them is Haywood.

An investigation of the case showed it to be an obvious frame-up. The boys had first been held on a charge of vagrancy, and it was only after a few hours of conversation with the girls who were taken off the same train that the charge was changed to rape. The girls were well-known prostitutes. They were afraid of being prosecuted under the Mann Act, as well as for being vagrants and prostitutes. They would be freed if they testified that the boys had raped them. They would even receive a few dollars apiece as material witnesses. And the nine Negroes? But this question could not present itself to two white girls, born and reared in an atmosphere of jim-crowism.

The jury was out thirty minutes, and all the boys but one were sentenced to die.

The mothers lost faith in reformist organizations, and consented to give the case to the International Labor Defense, and the workers of the world were told of the Scottsboro frame-up.

Two years of strenuous fight and continual protest have passed since the boys were arrested. Since that day one of the girls has confessed that it was a frame-up. The boy riding with them has done the same. The other prostitute, while insisting that she was raped, told a story of contradictions and impossibilities. And upon this evidence Haywood

Patterson was found guilty and sentenced again to die.

The verdict of guilt was a challenge. It meant that courts were not interested in evidence, not in truth or justice, but wanted to kill nine Negro boys whom they knew to be innocent. They wanted to lynch them legally. The blood of five thousand Negroes, lynched since the period of reconstruction, is on their hands. Blood of soldiers who had fought for democracy, and come back home to be lynched in their uniforms. What are nine more? They know that if Negroes are not terrorized with frame-ups and lynchings, then they might begin to revolt against Southern tyranny and demand of the Southern ruling class the right to live. And if Negroes are not accused and found guilty of rape, then the white workers might begin to doubt the theory of white supremacy, might unite with the Negro workers and demand together of this same ruling class the right to live. So the ruling class courts had to find Haywood Patterson guilty. And we must answer the challenge.

Who are more powerful—the bosses with their press, courts, legislative, bodies, schools, banks, and army, or the workers with their force, numbers, strength? Can the ruling class imprison any worker on any charge, force prostitutes to be witnesses, and railroad him to the electric chair or the chain gang?

The workers have no courts to mete out workers' justice, no army to enforce it. But mass pressure is a more powerful weapon. If the workers can make the ruling class feel that they are ready to use the strength that is theirs to fight for these boys, then the Scottsboro boys will go free.

The verdict is not only a challenge to the workers. It is a challenge to the students as well. If you fight against retrenchment, then what of the victims of retrenchment? If you fight against starvation in schools, against unemployment among students, then join now in the fight for the victims of starvation and unemployment.

If the students will not enter this struggle, then they are failing in the first great test. Not since the delegation of students went into Kentucky to investigate miners' conditions, have American students been prominent in support of working class struggles.

To remain in the background of the Scottsboro fight would be a blot on the history of American students, and a betrayal of the boys.

It is up to us to fight. We have shown our interest in Negro student problems. These are the greatest of them: retrenchment, starvation, race prejudice and lynching.

Students must raise the Scottsboro issue in their schools. They must hold protest meetings on the campus. They must unite with the proletariat, Negro and white, in answering the challenge of the Southern lynchers to the American workers.

EDWARD SAGARIN.

Chicago Students on Strike

WHEN 14,200 high school students struck in Chicago on April 6, the authorities spoke laughingly about "instruction," appealing to parents for aid against the "bug of revolt, abetted by spring fever." The strike was not a byproduct of spring, but one of the results of the teachers' crisis, which has accumulated until there is now \$28,000,000 in back pay owing to high school and elementary school teachers in Chicago alone.

The strike was orderly, but startling in its effects. At the Englewood and Calumet schools, a complete attendance of 10,000 students joined in the march. Most of the 3,100 students at Crane High School joined. Groups from the Normal College and a number of other high schools were added to the line of strikers, which marched to the home of Acting Mayor Corr, carrying banners, in favor of the teachers, proclaiming "GOOD SCHOOLS INCREASE INCOME, PREVENT CRIME, MAKE PROPERTY SAFE." A demonstration held before the mayor's home would have been even greater, except for the fact that many principals and teachers had appealed to the students not to strike, alleging that the action could not possibly help the teachers. The Chicago papers carried streamers, expressing amazement that a student strike could be so widespread. Two students at Crane Junior College, Rudolph Lapp, organizer for the National Student League at Crane, and Yetta Barshofsky, also a N. S. L. member, were expelled for addressing the students. They were later released and reinstated on probation. They said during questioning that they were liberals, but both denied being communists. A great amount of feeling had been stirred by the press and by the school authorities, who attempted the familiar

(Aome)

CHICAGO STUDENTS STRIKE FOR TEACHERS' SALARIES Almost twenty thousand High School students of Chicago walked from their classes and paraded through the city on April 6th demanding immediate payment of long overdue salaries to their teachers. This photo shows students of Englewood High School in front of Hyde Park High School, urging pupils of the latter to join the strike.



side-step of blaming the affair on the "outside Communist agitators."

The students were not alone in their protest. Large numbers of teachers telephoned requests to be put on the "sick" list, and twenty-five substitutes were sent to one school alone.

In the meantime, the school board and the municipal government were making "desperate" efforts to set a pay day. Governor Horner hurried to Chicago to confer with leading bankers at the First National Bank. A plan was formulated by which the bank should buy \$1,700,000 worth of tax warrants, but no definite steps were taken.

On the following day, April 7, 10,000 students were still on strike. Police squads were sent to disperse one group of five hundred. Strikebreakers among the teachers were stationed at doors, refusing to allow the students to leave their classrooms when the firebell announcing the continuance of the strike was rung. At the Hyde Park High School, a bulletin board was set up after the principal suppressed a 100% strike, reporting the score of City Council vs. School Board as 12 to 12 in passing the buck. The Superintendent of Schools, William J. Bogan, returned from Springfield, where he had tried to get state funds, to threaten the leaders of the strike with \$100 fines for interfering with the operation of the schools. Fining the students might sound suspiciously like a "desperate attempt to raise funds."

A meeting held that night to call a halt to the strike heard Acting Mayor Corr protest that he had not implied that "any teacher was satisfied with conditions as they now exist." Last spring stories were being circulated that college and high school teachers who had not been paid for months had been found sleeping on park benches and on the beach of Lake Michigan. But the Board of Education was, we must assume, biding its time. It took the student strike to arouse its efforts. Even then, they had attempted to issue a form of scrip which through speculation would rapidly decrease in value.

When Milton Raymer, a teacher in Tilden Technical High School, attempted to address the Board, a motion for adjournment was railroaded through by a trustee, on the grounds that she was late for tea. The teachers then held their meeting separately.

On the following day, the threats against the strikers began to be carried out. Wide publicity was given to the fact that several of them were members of the Young Communist League. The National Student League had given unqualified support to the strike, and other organizations, such as the Young People's Socialist League, had also helped carry it through.

Announcements were then made that the \$1,700,000 would be raised, as planned, by selling tax warrants to banks at a rate of 6 per cent interest for the bankers. It was explained that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had refused to advance any money because "thousands of other school districts would immediately seek similar loans." But the announcement of quick pay was contradicted on April 8, when the Board issued a statement saying

that the payment would be postponed because of legal technicalities which were being introduced.

That day, the *Young Worker Supplement*, a broadside printed by the Young Communist League announced that the strike had been spreading steadily northward throughout the city, and that 30,000 students from elementary, junior, and senior high schools had joined in its support.

The National Student League issued a statement pledging assistance to all students in Chicago who were out on strike, and adding, "The students must continue the strike until the teachers get paid. Students must consolidate the strike movement in each school so that it can be spread. Do not listen to the principals who attempt to discourage the strike. You have shown your spirit and militancy. Continue it."

In the meantime, the teachers were becoming active. On April 11, a demonstration of about 1,500 teachers took place in front of City Hall. They demanded an answer from President Taylor of the Board of Education. He gave it to them. He said that he was sorry, but nothing could be done. The Board, however, suggested that the schools be closed as a solution. A moratorium on education was the only proposal of the enlightened gentlemen.

And, that evening, Agnes Reynolds, a high school student and a member of the Young Communist League, was arrested for distributing strike literature. The literature stated the case in Chicago, the support and guidance of the Young Communist League, and was part of a leaflet distributed, calling for mass meetings and demonstrations. It pointed out to the teachers that since when they would get the \$1,700,000, they would then have been paid for only the last seven days of June, 1932, they should continue their activities.

On April 15, more than 30,000 teachers, pupils and parents held a mile-long parade and demonstration. Milton Raymer spoke, and definitely militant note was sounded. Two days later an answer to the demonstration was given. The teachers were to become salesmen of the tax warrants, so that they might be paid! But the protest against this move could not be withstood, and a promise followed that they would be paid in cash their back pay for July, 1932.

The week presented a series of contradictions, with promise cancelling promise. After cash had been offered, the R. F. C. and the national authorities refused to supply the requested aid, so that Chicago knew that any cash on hand would be distributed as a palliative, not as a surety of any regular plan for the future.

During the last week, affairs have reached a higher level of tension. A group of teachers petitioned for the closing of schools unless they were given three months' back pay; two days later, they were paid for last August. A demonstration was held before the Mayor's home. It was clear that this state of affairs could not continue.

The situation reached another climax on April 24, when, according to the front page story in the *New York Times*, 5,000 teachers, wearing identifying armbands, stormed five of the biggest banks in

the Loop. At some of the banks the steel doors were rolled shut to keep them out; but they held demonstrations just the same. At the City National Bank a delegation of 500 demanded that Dawes, who is chairman of the board of directors, answer their petition. After a half hour he came out, to tell them that he knew the situation as well as they did, and that the bank would invest in any securities it considered safe. Teachers who forced their way into a conference of the Governor, the Mayor, and the city and county officials on the tax situation were told by Governor Horner that "everyone that knows the situation is extremely concerned . . . not only concerned, but alarmed." He declared that the only way to get the necessary money is through taxes on which the payments are already long over-due. The president of the Continental-Illinois National Bank said that the bank had a "new hope" that he could not reveal. And the president of the First National Bank said he agreed with the teachers that "something must be done not later than this coming Fall or there will be a breakdown of Municipal government. The solution lies in the collection of back taxes and putting teeth into the tax collection laws."

Policemen, it was noticed, were not eager to stop or hinder the striking teachers. The police, the firemen, the doctors and other professional employees of the civil system have not been paid for many months, either. Members of the R. O. T. C. have been detailed to guard Calumet High School, a vigorous participant. This indicates very clearly the specific reactionary role of the R. O. T. C.

After the demonstration Orville J. Taylor, president of the Board of Education, announced that steps would be taken to close the schools within two or three weeks, instead of finishing the normal school term, which ends on June 23. The answer of the civil authorities has been to let the educational system break down and finally stop under financial pressure. The teachers are left unpaid—the students turned away with the school term incomplete and plans in session to curtail the academic course. Retrenchment in rural or small town districts is bad enough, but when one of the largest city school systems shatters, the mighty protest of students, teachers, and parents cannot be stifled by the misty condol-

ences of Governor Horner. The assurances of General Dawes that the city can do nothing to pay its teachers must sound strange to Chicago, which has not yet forgotten how Dawes looted the R. F. C. to the tune of eighty millions last Spring.

If the Mayor's estimate that a tenth of all the students and teachers in Chicago participated in the school strike is correct, then 200,000 people are involved in this gigantic bankruptcy. Extend this picture to the rest of the country. In the small towns and villages, where the teacher-student fighting organizations of protest have not yet been forged, retrenchment is causing terrific suffering. The educational system can only be propped up by waging a militant struggle against retrenchment, refusal to pay teachers' salaries, the policy of moratoria on education, wherever these evils exist.

The National Student League will take the leadership in guarding the Chicago strike and ensuring that the struggle continues until the bankers and government officials find means to raise the money which the school system requires. All students must send letters, telegrams, or petitions to Orville Taylor, President of the Board of Education in Chicago, demanding that the Chicago teachers be paid immediately and in full,—to Henry Hagen, Principal of Crane Junior College, for the complete reinstatement of Rudolph Lapp and Yetta Barshefsky,—finally, to the Chicago Chief of Police for the unconditional release of Agnes Reynolds.

To punish students for "interfering in the school's operation" is little short of ridiculous when one remembers that these gentlemen have attempted to run the educational system of Chicago on the basis of the philanthropy of the starved school teachers, and now announce that they have solved the problem by shutting down the schools.

The National Student League must carry on the struggle against retrenchment, against cutting the school term, against forcing the school teachers to support the educational system. This fight must be waged on the basis of the broadest possible united front between students and teachers, and it must be carried on in every locality where officials and wealthy taxpayers are attempting to solve the crisis at the expense of education.

How Chinese Students Are Persecuted

Peiping, February 1, 1933.

In North as in South China, the most outstanding characteristic of the political situation and of events arising out of this situation is the servile attitude of the Chinese authorities to the Japanese on the one hand, and their ruthless suppression of the Chinese masses on the other. One Chinese city after another falls into the hands of Japanese invaders, and at the very best a few badly armed and badly fed Chinese soldiers fight before they retreat. Such fighting always bears a distinctly individualistic character, showing that there was no order to fight, no preparations to fight, no reinforcements to

aid those who fight. Every attempt of students or others to arouse the population to the danger facing China and to a willingness and determination to fight, is crushed by the Chinese authorities. This suppression is carried on behind the smoke screen of a "Communist menace." Such suppression pleases the imperialist powers and those Chinese who are passively or actively selling out China. There has not been one man arrested in North China for connections with the Japanese, and even Prince Kung came to Peiping for three weeks and organized forces for a puppet government; and it was only after he had gone that the authorities declared that they had

issued an order for his "arrest." At the same time there have been large groups of students arrested, not for bargaining with the Japanese, not for acting as Japanese agents, but for attempting to awaken the Chinese people to a sense of their duty in fighting the invasion.

At the beginning of January a group of ten students were arrested in Taiyuan for belonging to the Anti-Japanese Association. And in the same week the Japanese troops came out of the Legation quarter and staged a sham battle for the capture of Peiping. They practised street fighting in the main streets of Peiping. Chinese policemen "controlled the traffic" and "maintained law and order" while these Japanese staged this sham capture of Peiping. Not one word of protest was uttered by the Chinese authorities.

The Chinese press, under official Kuomintang instigation, has been accusing the students of the North of running away from the Japanese. The students have been called cowards. This is a base libel against the students. On the morning of January 30th, the press announced that 18 additional students had been arrested in Peiping for Anti-Japanese agitation and that these arrests "caused indignation among the people here." It is a direct lie to say that the students are responsible for the flight from Peiping. It is true that the entire Chinese student world is pessimistic and filled with a feeling of futility because, they say, they have tried to take part in public life for many years. The ruthless terror has crushed their efforts. They have achieved nothing. The total result of the last few years of rule by the Kuomintang has been the invasion of China.

For the student flight from Peiping there is a more direct reason. When Shanhaikwan fell to the Japanese, the students began holding mass meetings to determine what action should be taken by them. Recalling student movements in the past, university and government authorities became more terrified of the students than of the Japanese. Many universities, therefore, declared winter holidays at once and told the students that the Japanese were going to capture Peiping and Tientsin, and they should therefore leave the city. Not only this, but thousands of rich or official families began to flee from the city.

Yet thousands of students remained in Peiping. They adopted as their slogan: "Don't study; don't sit for examinations; work to save China from subjection and dismemberment." The press attacked these students as lazy, trying to avoid examinations, and asked the students to sit down and study ancient history and arithmetic as calmly as the authorities themselves go to banquets and musical evenings while the Japanese advance. A war against the students began. Yenching University students, anxious to do something, sent a group of 20 students to Jehol to organize a Red Cross Corps among the volunteers. The press scoffed when they returned later—but deliberately refused to tell why they returned. They returned because there was no work to do in Jehol—there was no fighting, there were no wounded.

On the night of January 11th, 16 students were

arrested in Peiping. These students were delegates from colleges, universities and middle schools and belonged to the "Joint Student Anti-Japanese Association." The purpose of the conference was to discuss what the students could do against the Japanese invasion.

In this meeting there appeared a man who gave himself out to be a delegate from one of the schools. The students admitted this man, who later turned out to be not only a detective, but an agent provocateur from the local Kuomintang headquarters named Li Chun-hua. Li Chun-hua, the provocateur, made a speech in which he advocated the overthrow of the government as the first step to fighting the Japanese, after which there should be a Soviet Government established. Some students agreed, some opposed him. When he had achieved his purpose the police were called and 16 of the students, including a little girl 13 years of age and another girl 16 years of age, were arrested as Communists.

The Kuomintang shows no hesitancy in sending out its creatures to act as agent provocateurs even against children, in order to manufacture "evidence" for their arrest and imprisonment. In the trial of these students which took place a few days later, following a protest of the Chinese League for Civil Rights, the judge asked the two girls, including the little one of 13, how many "husbands" they had, since, being Communists, they must have many! Not only was such a question a coarse insult, but it was a clear indication of the type of men who sit in judgment on the revolutionary youth of China.

At the same time a student member of the Committee for Student Government was arrested in the school library by Li Chun-hua, just because he was on the Committee for Student Government. No charge ever appeared against him in the press; no reason whatever was given for his arrest; and the press reported, "His whereabouts are still unknown."

Altogether, from June to the end of January last, there was a total of about 100 political prisoners among students and professors in the city of Peiping alone—a small percentage of the total number of political prisoners in North China.

The students are arrested because they demand that the Japanese be driven from Chinese territory; because they try to awaken the masses of the population to the necessity of struggle if China is to be saved from subjection. When arrested they are savagely beaten. When the Kuomintang has no "evidence" of any kind against them, they manufacture it. One student was accused of being a high Communist functionary, in the North. When he denied it, a minute book of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of North China was presented against him! This minute book conveniently mentioned his name as he gave it when arrested, his school dormitory, and everything the police learned from him himself, when arrested.

All talk of legal justice in China is absolute nonsense. Only a mass movement in China, supported from abroad, can free the countless political prisoners in this country.

University of California in Action

ACTIVITY in the University of California has been divided between the sending of a delegation to Sacramento to lobby against the proposed university budget cut, the protest demonstration against Japanese imperialism on the arrival of two Japanese training cruisers, and a significant set of campus elections. The Social Problems Club has been prime mover in all of these.

A delegation of twenty-five student delegates left for Sacramento on April 8th to contact legislators and to discover the best means of opposing the State budget cut, which provides for a tuition fee of \$50 per semester during the first two years of the academic course, \$75 per semester for the two upper years, and \$100 per semester for graduate students, in addition to incidental fees. The delegation was unauthorized by the University administration, and left at the vote of about 300 students assembled in a campus mass meeting. Most of the delegates are members of the Social Problems Club, and were led by Alfred Van Tassel '34, candidate for student president, National Student League delegate to the Chicago anti-war congress, speaker at the California student congress against war, and president of the University of Chicago student league.

The protest against imperialist war took the form of a demonstration on April 15 against 800 naval cadets and officers from the Japanese training ships Yukomo and Iwate. The Social Problems Club had made it very clear that the purpose of the demonstration was to oppose imperialism of *all sorts*. An editorial in *The Californian* stated that the Social Problems Club "holds no claim against the Japanese people, but merely against their imperialists. And they will tell you quite frankly that their opposition to American imperialism is just as great." The Japanese marines came up to Sather Gate, to be welcomed by a university group including some Japanese students. A demonstration organized by the National Student League was at the gate, distributing handbills and completing a program of speakers. Some of the sailors accepted the handbills, which were printed in Japanese, but as soon as the first officer had seen them, he rapped out an order that the sailors tear them up. By this time, the university authorities, "fearful of a physical encounter between the groups, put in a call to the Berkeley police station for aid in dispersing the student radicals," according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The meeting was broken up by the police, a squad of whom "responded in automobiles."

During the week, elections had been held on the campus, the competition being limited to two groups, the conservative and the openly radical. Although the conservative section succeeded in electing its ticket, the defeat of Alfred Van Tassel and Elizabeth Salz was not as important a fact as their support and the platform they presented. Alfred Van Tassel offered this as his political platform:

1. A referendum on the R. O. T. C. to be submitted to the students.
 2. Every registered student shall be allowed to vote.
 3. No sex discrimination in Associated Students. Women to be eligible for the office of president.
 4. Complete academic freedom:
 - a) No secret meetings of the Executive Committee.
 - b) Recognition of all student organizations and publications.
 - c) Any student organization be permitted complete freedom of choice as to its outside speakers.
 5. Absolute opposition to all budget cuts and fee increases.
 6. Direct state relief for needy students.
 7. The establishment of a student labor committee.
 8. A student committee to meet with the administration to decide on questions of curriculum and aid in the selection of speakers for university meetings.
 9. An investigation of the A. S. U. C. with the view of reducing the cost of the membership card and of prices in the Co-op. (Editor's note: the A. S. U. C. is the general student organization, which proposes all candidates for academic posts.)
- The Social Problems Club suggested this program for adoption either in whole or in part by candidates in the election.
- General and direct activity, such as has been promoted by the University of California Social Problems Club, should be encouraged everywhere as the sign of a more conscious and alert student body, with functioning student organizations.

Zucker Chosen Delegate

Dora Zucker, Foreign Relations secretary of the National Student League, was elected by the National Executive Committee to attend the Second Congress of the Ibero-Americana Student Confederation which will be held in Costa Rica. There she will bring the call of the National Student League to the Latin-American students for united action against American imperialism and the existing and impending wars. Plans will be made to facilitate mutual support of student struggles and closer cooperation of the militant student movements on the American continent. Watch the Summer Issue of *STUDENT REVIEW* for a full report of this Congress.

Starting the Ball Rolling

The Student Conference on Negro Student Problems

"BIRMINGHAM is the hell-hole of the South. Only in Memphis, Tennessee, is the number of 'justifiable homicides' which occur each day here exceeded. Conditions have become unbearable for the Negro people. Education for the Negro student in Alabama is practically non-existent. There are 28 parks in Birmingham, but a Negro dare not set foot in any one of them for fear of being lynched by K.K.K. mobs." These few words of one of the delegates from Miles College in Birmingham convey but a brief description of the terror and oppression to which the Negro people have been subjected. These forms of segregation, Jim-Crowism, lynch terror, intense economic hardships have been accentuated by the prolonged economic crisis of capitalism, which has been steadily developing into overt, fascistic methods of suppression of the Negro and white masses. Against these conditions which vitally effect the students, the National Student League has waged a vigorous and untiring struggle. For such purposes, it was decided to begin a widespread campaign with the calling of the Conference on Negro Student Problems.

The work of the Conference was started over two months ago, with the setting up by the National Student League of a provisional committee. This small group invited representatives of educational interests to join the committee for the Conference, which was, in its final form, a combination half of teachers, leaders of organizations, and professional men, and half of students doing undergraduate and graduate work. Emphasis was placed on the value of a conference on Negro Student Problems at this time, when the acuteness of the problems of the white student has made those of the Negro abnormally apparent. It was easy to see, even in the early stages of preparation for the Conference, that its value would be lost if it were not strictly a student project, if it were not realistic in the way it faced historical fact and present social conditions, and if it broke up, as so many inter-racial meetings have, without laying the groundwork for a permanent organization and formulating certain definite and basic principles to be carried into action immediately.

The difficulties too, were apparent: to bring together students with little faith in inter-racial work and break down the barriers resultant from their disappointment in earlier conferences; to give, in the allotted three days, enough background information to let the Conference draw up plans intelligently and on a sound basis; to bring out resemblances between Southern and Northern education as reflection of the active social systems; and to answer in some way the need of the white student for an adequate education in the problems of the Negro.

The committee, knowing that unity would be necessary on issues involving so many separate details, included in its body people of such different inclinations as Roger Baldwin, Franz Boas, George Counts, Countee Cullen, E. Franklin Frazier, Donald Henderson, J. B. Matthews, Reinhold Neibuhr, and William Patterson. It invited representatives of the International Student Service, the National Student Federation of America, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the National Student League to present the opportunities each organization offered to the Negro student in solving his difficulties, and to the white student in joining with the Negro to solve special and common problems.

The first session of the Conference was introduced by M. Moran Weston, of Union Theological Seminary and the Chairman of the Committee, who prefaced the opening speeches with an explanation of the purpose of the Conference and a suggestion of the problems that would have to be solved by such a meeting. Over two hundred delegates had come, and although most of them were from New York, there were a fair number of delegates from Southern and mid-western schools and colleges. The ratio of Negro to white students was lower than it should have been, since many of the white delegates had come as much for information not taught to them in their classrooms as for active participation. Conrad Lynn of Syracuse University made a short keynote address, emphasizing the effects of retrenchment on the students, and warning us that we must organize the data shown to us and find out, if we saw discrimination, what particular group the discrimination benefited. There is no discrimination without its being useful to some one, he pointed out, and added that if discrimination and its attendant evils were not surface ills, but were symptomatic of a deeper disease, eradication according to a materialistic approach would be the only cure after all palliatives had failed.

Elections of the committee necessary to carry out the mechanics of the Conference was followed by a speech by Donald Henderson. He placed stress upon the character of Negro student problems as being, in the case of discrimination, Jim-Crowism, etc., special student problems. The white student, particularly in the South, was held culpable for not taking the lead in breaking down the barriers between Negro and white, in order to forge a powerful, united force of student action in meeting successfully their common problems.

In the afternoon, Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, of Fisk, spoke about the types of dependence in Negro schools, of the split between the Dubois and Booker T. Washington principles. Classical education, it was held for a long time, would obliterate race problems, and Dubois had carried the fetish of the academic point of view to such a point that there was now a whole section of academic Negro students, who, when they were asked what they thought of

lynching "would ask you to wait a minute while they got statistics and drew a curve." The belief that the Negro should be kept in submission has limited discussion of their own problems. Dr. Frazier corrected a report in the *Student Review* of the protest at Fisk. There had been little protest at Negro colleges about Scottsboro, and that was because of administrative suppression. There had been articles censored and meetings discouraged, and all of this was part of a very open system which should function to keep the Negro student piously conservative, desirous of aping the white ruling class, and, even with the number of Negro college graduates increasing yearly, should keep the Negro standard of culture on a low level. Dr. Frazier was followed by Arthur Hugh Fauset, who analyzed the major problems of the Negro student, and told of his aim of widening the group of enlightened intellectuals, white and Negro, who should explode the old fallacy of race supremacy.

But the speakers, and those of the following day, were not as vital to the Conference as the very active discussion groups that met after the presentation of the groundwork had been made. The four groups had their subjects divided: one met on the problems of students after graduation, one on retrenchment in education, and the other two on academic freedom in the South, and on discrimination against the Negro student. The delegates were encouraged to tell of personal experiences; in these groups we were given the material on which the final set of resolutions were based. We were told of discrimination at religious conferences, of colleges whose funds were threatened because a delegation of Negro students had visited a white college to talk about world peace, of jim-crowism extending to the college chapels. To many of the students, the facts brought out during the discussion groups, and during the discussion invited after each speaker, were entrance to a system whose barbarism had not been exposed in textbooks, whose cruelty had never been taught and now seemed almost unbelievable, even as fact.

The second day consisted of speeches and discussion open to the general public. This procedure, although of little value, because of the vague generalities prominently indulged in, served, however, to bring out striking reformist positions detrimental to the Negro student. Rayford W. Logan, one of the speakers, advocated a policy for the Negro, that had long been practiced by the lily-white Democratic administration now in Washington. His advice was entirely postulated on the continued segregation and oppression of the Negro people. His words were corroborated by the Reverend Dr. Haynes, trustees of Fisk University and a member of the Council of the Federated Churches.

Reverend Haynes attacked "foreign-born agitators" and outlined for the Negro student a course of Uncle-Tomism, submission, "pie in the sky" and the "vow of poverty."

The absence of representatives from the League

for Industrial Democracy was quite conspicuous. With the exception of Elizabeth MacDougall, a speaker invited for the following day, and one or two others, the L. I. D. did not participate in the Conference. The National Student League, alone, carried on the fight to isolate the Negro students from the Negro reformist leaders whose pernicious doctrines are designed to keep intact the system of oppression.

On the third day the discussion groups were continued and the resolutions drawn up, after a presentation of the position of various student organizations. The International Student Service and the National Student Federation of America, it was remarked from the floor, were notably lacking in their concern with the problems of the Negro. The National Student League's representative, Joseph Cohen, made a strong demonstration of the activity that the N. S. L. has pushed to solve problems of discrimination. The representative of the League for Industrial Democracy, Elizabeth MacDougall, explained the work of the L. I. D. in the University of Kansas, especially, and startled the audience with her assertion that Negroes are excluded from the N. Y. U. swimming pool. Representatives of two Negro student associations emphasized the importance of racial integrity and a consideration of Africa as homeland, with nationalism as a basis for a group movement.

But group differences on political and racial issues were eliminated when the problem was to be drawn up, and the following PLEDGE, accompanied by a comprehensive series of facts and resolutions based on them, was passed unanimously by the Conference.

A permanent committee was set up, with temporary headquarters at 600 West 122nd Street, New York City, in care of M. Moran Weston. The committee adopted the name of the National Student Committee in Defense of Negro Student Rights, and set up subsidiary high school, Southern, and Western committees to work with the main division.

The work of the Conference is just begun. Its accomplishment depends on the energy with which the delegates work in reporting the plan of the Conference to their clubs and organizations, and the student cooperation in building a strong and active permanent committee. With a national organization backed by the National Student League and ready to function with the cooperation of existent student organizations, we will be able to see the progress of student action toward the abolition of jim-crowism, suppression, and discrimination, and to work more and more effectively towards the ends outlined by the Conference, which officially declared in the preamble to the Resolutions, that the "fundamental and ultimate solution rests only in the liberation of the masses of the exploited and oppressed." In the beginnings of such accomplishment is the beginning of the student work, whose first step has been the Student Conference on Negro Student Problems.

A Guide To Action

Proposed Resolutions of Student Conference on Negro Student Problems

AT the present time the latent weaknesses of our civilization are being brought out in glaring relief. In the course of the economic crisis the difficulties formerly faced almost alone by Negro students are fast becoming characteristic of the major part of the American student body. The sharp retrenchments made everywhere in educational budgets are reducing the general educational facilities of the country to the lowest level. The crowding of classes, the closing of schools, the administrative repression of the rights of freedom of speech and press, the realization of the ineffectiveness of a college education from the point of view of earning a livelihood, of unemployment after graduation, the increasing danger of war, and the growing militarization of the schools—these are our common problems.

However, as facts show, the effects of the depression have been even more severe upon the Negro students. In addition, the Negro student faces the special problems of discrimination, of segregation, and in the South, of legal jim-crowism.

Confronted with these problems the consciousness of the Negro and white student has not only been awakened to their common misery and the need for a way out, but has also been brought to the realization of the necessity of immediate joint action by Negro and white students for the solution of their problems.

It is primarily for the purpose of crystalizing this and laying a base for joint action that this conference has been called. Yet, while this conference is held for such specific purposes, it is necessary to recognize the wider significance of the source of these problems. They are part of the general exploitation and economic subjugation of the Negro people, which entails peonage, disfranchisement of even the elementary democratic rights, and vicious terror in the southern states. The fundamental and ultimate solution rests only in the liberation of the masses of the exploited and oppressed. On the basis of such understanding will be carried on the struggle for the betterment of the conditions facing the students.

DISCRIMINATION

Whereas, 17 southern states and the District of Columbia have separate educational systems for Negroes; and

whereas, in some places only one-quarter of the per capita money allotment allowed for education is spent for Negro students; the length of term in many Negro schools in the South is from two to three months for Negro students and from eight to nine months for white students; and

whereas, Negro teachers generally receive much less than white teachers, for example in some places in Virginia where the Negro teachers receive \$200 per year and the white teachers receive \$945 per year; and

whereas, governing boards of schools in the South are dominated by whites, as at Tuskegee; and

whereas, Vassar, Princeton, Swarthmore and other large colleges and universities do not admit Negro students; and

whereas, practically all colleges and universities, especially professional institutions limit the number of Negro students admitted; and the Negro students are denied equal opportunities for clinical practice; and

whereas, swimming pools, proms, fraternities, recreational centers, etc., bar Negro students; practically no enjoyment of parks or playgrounds in the South; and

whereas, the above facts attest the severe discrimination practised against Negroes throughout the country which

in many cases takes on a veiled form and in others is legalized by state and city ordinances, and

whereas, these practices are integral parts of the general policy pursued by the white oppressors in subjecting the Negro people to the most ruthless exploitation and oppression;

We, therefore, stand for the abolition of all forms of discrimination and in particular we stand for the abolition of jim-crow education; the admittance of Negro students to all schools and public places; equal distribution of appropriations for Negro students' education in the South, equal recreational facilities for Negroes, and further, we are against all laws and practices which bar Negro students from attending class rooms together with white students. We stand for the deletion from texts of statements derogatory to the Negro people, the complete discard of such texts and no discrimination in any schools against books written by Negroes.

RETRENCHMENT AND RELIEF

Whereas, there is extreme retrenchment in education caused by the decrease in governmental appropriations and curtailment of financial support of philanthropic and church institutions; and

whereas, the closing of schools, the over-crowding of class rooms, the curtailment of the curriculum, the cutting of teachers' salaries, etc., have taken their greatest toll from the Negro students (witness the almost complete closing of the schools in Alabama and Arkansas), considerably reducing the already low expenditures of pre-crisis days; and

whereas, the forces clamoring for retrenchment are the banking and real estate interests of the country and the civic organizations which represent them; and these interests are still reaping profits; and

whereas, the government of the U. S. spends millions of dollars in war preparations and within the last year has increased its appropriation for the R. O. T. C. over one million dollars; and

whereas, the government subsidizes large industrial enterprises, banks and railroads through the Reconstruction Finance Corp., and

whereas, more millions are wasted yearly through graft, and inefficiency in the various governmental departments, and

whereas, at the present time there is great suffering due to unemployment, low wages, etc., and the parents of many students are unable properly to feed and clothe their children to go to school or to furnish them with the necessary supplies and carfare;

We, therefore, stand for no retrenchments in education; adequate relief for the needy students, equal educational expenditures per capita for Negro and white students, better educational and recreational facilities for Negro students, and further, we are against cuts in teachers' salaries and for equal salaries to Negro and white teachers.

We propose that funds for this purpose should be raised by diverting appropriations for war for educational purposes, and

We further propose federal support and control of educational institutions in order to insure equal and adequate educational opportunities for the Negro and white students.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Whereas, the suppression of academic freedom of students and teachers, either through veiled intimidation or open dis-

missals and expulsions, is common to most schools and colleges throughout the country; and

whereas, the practice is becoming more prevalent, witness the dismissal of Kenneth Barnhart from Birmingham Southern, Donald Henderson from Columbia University, recent expulsion of students from New York high schools, etc., at a time when the effects of the prolonged crisis have induced greater necessity of discussion and action on problems with which students and teachers are confronted; and

whereas, this suppression is sharper in the jim-crow institutions of the South where little or no students' self government, or students' participation in the governing of their school life, exists; and

whereas, the schools and colleges of the South are controlled by church, state and philanthropic funds, which dictate the policies of the school administrations; and

whereas, students attaining strategic positions in student groups are brought under administration control by means of scholarships immediately presented to them; and

whereas, "Porkbarrel" politics are utilized to gain control of students' governing boards; and

whereas, these practices are attempts on the part of the oppressors to kill the initiative of the Negro student, to prevent his cultural and political development and to instill submission and passivity, thus safeguarding the status quo and the power of the oppressors;

We, therefore, stand for full academic freedom for Negro students and instructors, and, in particular, student control of student organizations and newspapers, and further, we are against victimization of students and teachers who express their free opinions, and for the abolition of compulsory religious services.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO STUDENT AFTER GRADUATION

Whereas, the problems facing the Negro and white graduates, or those students forced to leave school before graduation, center mainly about the problem of unemployment, and whereas, this problem of unemployment has not only added to but has also accentuated the glaring conditions of prejudice and discrimination, thus making the lot of the Negro student an even more miserable one than that of the white students; and

whereas, before the crisis, the exclusion of the Negro students from the various professions, such as engineering and aviation, and also from professional and vocational schools confined them within a restricted few, and whereas, these professions of medicine, law, dentistry and teaching were studied mainly within jim-crow institutions where they are even subjected to great competition with the white students, and

whereas, even the doors to these limited fields have been practically closed due to the marked decrease in the earning capacity of the segregated Negro working people who constitute the source of the income of the Negro professionals;

we therefore demand that all professions and vocations be open to Negro students; that the National and State governments hire Negro students and professionals on the same basis as white students, that is, on the basis of grades achieved in examination; that as a relief measure the federal government employ graduates to return to the South to do social work;

that the ruling requiring a photograph of all civil service applicants be revoked; that colleges and universities offer free graduate and professional courses to unemployed students;

that social service work be given Negro graduates;

that unemployment insurance for Negro and white students be provided for by the government.

RESOLUTION OF PERMANENT ORGANIZATION

To further the work of this Conference a permanent committee of five shall be elected to be known as the National Student Committee for the Defense of Negro Students.

This committee shall consist of five members residing in the City of New York and shall act as a resident bureau for this conference, and shall act as the center of coordination for the delegates at this conference.

This committee shall publish the proceedings and program of this conference and secure their widest distribution. This committee shall issue from time to time material for furthering the work in carrying out the program of action adopted at this conference.

This committee shall cooperate with all groups which carry on struggles for the rights of Negro students on the basis of its program.

This committee shall have the right to call other conferences from time to time.

CONCLUSION

Lastly, inasmuch as the very severe conditions facing the Negro students in the South make it difficult for them to come forth and break down the barriers of discrimination and segregation, and

Inasmuch as the white students are in a better position, because of the more favorable conditions enveloping them to accomplish these ends,

It is the duty of the white students to lead in the struggle to break barriers, which tend to divide the student body.

PLEDGE

We pledge ourselves:

A. To carry on a vigorous fight to destroy all illusions of racial supremacy as fostered by our schools and other educational agencies.

B. To carry on a militant struggle against lynching, jim-crowism and similar vicious attacks on Negro workers and students.

C. To popularize the achievements, the life and culture of the Negro people and to make clear the proper role of the Negro people in the history of the world.

D. To serve untiringly in the promotion of the unity of Negro and white students in meeting their common problems.

RESOLUTION ON IMMEDIATE ACTION

1. To hold meetings in each school in order to popularize and publicize the program of action adopted by this conference.

2. To establish clubs where none exists and to utilize existing ones for the furtherance of this program.

3. To spread and distribute throughout the country and through all available agencies of publicity the bulletin of the resolutions adopted and such other factual material as shall be prepared by the National Student Committee for the Defense of Negro Students Rights.

4. That we send a delegate to the International Negro Youth Conference to be held in Chicago, Illinois, June 20-23, 1933, as the official delegate from this conference, and to make every effort to elect delegates from our respective schools to this conference.

5. To elect three official delegates to the Scottsboro March on Washington initiated by the Amsterdam News, and to work for the election of a maximum number of delegates upon returning to our respective schools.

6. To take every step in combatting legalized jim-crowism as exemplified by the statutes of those southern states which decree that Negro and white students cannot sit together in the same class room and further to take immediate action to test the constitutionality of such laws.

7. That all efforts be made to further the work of the conference by taking another step forward by calling another conference in the South (Thanksgiving).

Medieval Students

WE citizens of the modern academic world are accustomed, especially in America, to universities which are imposingly and intricately organized. A hopeful student who wishes to work under a world-famous authority on mathematical theory, Assyriology, or Hegelian philosophy, is first confronted by an embattled array of clerks and secretaries, advisers and deans, and in exceptional cases he may have to consult still loftier administrators to convince them of his literacy and general worth. Then, and only then, is he permitted to approach the world-famous authority under whose guidance he desires to study. Even in Germany, where university students are in general treated as adult human beings, there is an impressive amount of red tape connected with registration: the secretaries who demand and classify the documents (diplomas, certificates, *Fragebogen*, and the like) of new applicants are all too frequently disagreeable or short-tempered; and the reverence due to authority is symbolized in the title accorded to the highest administrative officer: *Rector Magnificus*, or in the vernacular, *seine Magnificenz der Rektor*. This state of affairs is so general to-day that we think very little of it, either for good or ill.

It is all the more refreshing to consider for a time the earlier and less complicated period of academic history, when modern universities were first becoming organized. In that far-off time, they were merely, in the words of Charles Edward Mallet, "guilds of teachers or students, drawn together by the instinct of association which played so large a part in a disordered age." These guilds followed the respective activities of teaching and studying, and upon occasion united for the protection of mutual interests. Of themselves they constituted the whole university. Very early the civil and ecclesiastical authorities accorded them special privileges and immunities. In 1158, Friedrich Barbarossa granted a constitution to the masters and students of Bologna, with the words: "We will that the students, and above all the professors of divine and sacred laws, may be able to establish themselves and dwell in entire security in the cities where the study of letters is practised. It is fitting that we shelter them from harm. Who would not have compassion on these men who exile themselves through love of learning, who expose themselves to a thousand dangers, and who, far from their kindred and families, remain defenseless among persons who are sometimes of the vilest?" The Emperor's expression of sympathy will no doubt find an appreciative echo in the bosom of many a harassed freshman of today. In any case, it was followed by an increasing number of provisions favorable to students on the part of other governmental authorities. At Padua, a law of 1262 provided that the Podesta might not intervene in student brawls "unless, at the end of two days, the affair had not been settled by the rector and professors." At various universities, students had the right of trial by their teachers or by church-

men rather than by civil authorities; moreover, they could claim trial, whether as plaintiffs or defendants, at their place of residence. Many cities expressly exempted students from military service, whether in war or peace, except in case of imminent peril. Such a state was said to exist at the University of Orleans, only when the enemy's army was ten leagues away from the city; at Paris, according to the definition by Henry III in 1577, the army had to be within five leagues of the gates. The general principle underlying these exemptions was expressed as follows: "Scholars are to be reckoned citizens only in respect to privileges, not liabilities."

The very poverty of medieval students was an advantage to them. Their equipment was slight, their corporation or guild was innocent of the doubtful modern blessing of endowments and expensive buildings, and as a result the student body was extremely mobile. They could easily seek whatever teachers pleased them. When Abelard was forced to leave Paris as a result of the Heloise scandal in 1118, he finally received permission from Louis the Fat to establish a retreat of his own in a desert place near Troyes. Thither he repaired with only one disciple, but others found him out, and the place was soon buzzing with flocks of eager scholars. But the medieval students were apt to be correspondingly cautious about a master of whom they knew little or nothing. It was customary to "try out" obscure pedagogues, and a statute of Bologna provided that "a scholar may test the doctrine of any teacher or assistant for the space of fifteen days" without fee. There was always much discussion—*varietas verborum*—rife in the corporations of masters and students, and at times theological or even political questions were referred to them. In 1169 Thomas à Becket wished to submit his quarrel with Henry II of England to the Court of France or to the members of the University of Paris. It would be difficult to imagine political disputants of today making the same offer.

At all universities the students were apparently very jealous of any infringement on their privileges and immunities. And because they were so little encumbered with equipment, they were able to take very definite action if they felt that they were ill-treated. It was all very well for citizens and authorities to complain about the frequent brawls in their streets. A document of 1336 from Oxford complains—but with a noticeable lack of real moral indignation—of a brawl between the "*magistros*" and the "*scholares insolentes*," who had disturbed the peace "more freely than usual" (*liberius solito*). The result of this brawl was serious: a number of persons were wounded and killed. Yet there is no record of punitive measures on the part of the long-suffering burghers. In the other hand, if civil authorities did students an injustice, the response was immediate and emphatic. The whole university body might avail itself of the right of *cessatio*, as it was called: that is, migration to another place. This was a compara-

tively simple matter in an age when change of underclothing was a luxury, and scholastic equipment often consisted of little more than a copy of Aristotle and a notebook. Sometimes a mere threat of migration was enough to bring the authorities to terms, but at other times the *cessatio* actually occurred. In 1407 the Provost of the University of Paris caused two disorderly students to be hanged, but a threat of emigration on the part of the entire university forced him to submit to their terms, which were sufficiently gruesome. He was obliged to take down the victims from the gallows, kiss them on the mouth, and conduct their burial. In 1229 a similar affair went much further. During a carnival riot, some students sacked an innkeeper's house and wounded several citizens. Blanche, who was then Regent, ordered the Provost to punish the guilty, and two students were put to death. The whole university, thereupon, departed from Paris; the *magistri* and *doctores* went elsewhere to teach. In the end the Pope had to intervene and revoke the penalties imposed on the institution.

Similar situations often arose elsewhere. At Toulouse in 1332, Aimery Beranger, the squire of a noble student, stabbed an official sent to arrest him. He was executed, but at the end of a long suit the city was punished and the university received reparation. At Oxford, an unknown student of Maiden Hall once killed a woman and fled. The mayor and citizens, failing to find the real offender, arrested two or three innocent clerks who shared his rooms, and, with the permission of King John, hanged them. (This was what might be called in modern parlance a "legal lynching", one can almost hear the citizens of Oxford insist that "we must teach those students a lesson"—even if some innocent lads had to be hanged for it.) The other students regarded this act as an attack on their immunities, and on their very lives. Both teachers and scholars migrated to Reading, Paris, Maidstone, Canterbury, and Cambridge. But by threat of interdict and excommunication the Church forced King John to capitulate, and the townsmen did public penance for the unjust execution. In addition, they agreed to reduce rent charged for students' rooms by fifty per cent for the following decade, and to contribute a yearly stipend of fifty-two shillings for needy scholars. When in 1200 a student was killed during a quarrel between his fellows and the citizens of Paris, the Provost of the city put himself at the head of an armed populace. Unlike King John of England, Philip Augustus of France sided with the students, and the Provost was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, or if he chose to trial by water, "with the condition that if he succumbed under it he should be hanged."

The migrations or *cessationes* were particularly frequent at the University of Bologna. In 1204 the students departed to Vicenza, in 1222 to Padua, in 1228 from Padua to Vercelli. In 1215 a certain Rofferdus of Beneventum seceded from Bologna to Arezzo because of severe punishments following upon riots. In 1306 the entire *studium* was suspended for three years. In 1316 the University migrated to

Argenta, and only five years later to Siena. In 1326 the execution of a scholar provoked a *cessatio* to Imola. Apparently the cities to which migrating students repaired did not always look upon their arrival as an unmixed blessing. When in 1320 the clerks and teachers of the University of Orleans moved *en masse* to Nevers, the inhabitants of the latter town "threw the rector's chair into the Loire, expressing the hope that, borne by the water of the stream, and 'with the assistance of the devil,' it might return to the city whence it came." Nevertheless the right of *cessatio* was protected by nothing less than papal decree. According to Gregory IX (1231), if a serious injury was inflicted on the students and masters, unless justice were done them within fifteen days, they were permitted to suspend lectures until complete satisfaction was received.

All of this sounds like a veritable paradise of students' rights and privileges. Ardent modern libertarians, insufficiently informed concerning the background of these *cessationes*, might be tempted to sigh for a return to a lost age when students and faculties were all-powerful guilds, able to combat outside interference thus effectively. But historical analogy is a double-edged weapon. It must be remembered that medieval universities enjoyed their powers and immunities because they were closely connected with the Church, and because many of the clerks constituting the student body were primarily interested in canon law. When the Pope confirmed the right of *cessatio*, he was really protecting ecclesiastical interests. The University of Toulouse was founded expressly to combat any survivals of the Albigensian heresy, and none of the protests and quarrels of the scholars was connected with the support of unorthodox doctrine. In fact, one migration from Bologna is said to have been caused by "fear of something new"—*timore novitatis*—, a reason which certainly would not please a modern libertarian. To be sure, it is reported that forbidden books were sometimes read at the University of Paris. One of these, by Guillaume de St.-Armour, had a title which sounds quite contemporary to our ears: "A brief pamphlet concerning the Perils of these Modern Times." Nevertheless it is not recorded that either the Church or the universities were particularly hospitable to dissident opinion, nor was "academic freedom" an ideal within their ken.

Students of today find themselves returning in some respects to the conditions of the medieval universities. They are certainly becoming poorer, like Caucer's clerk of Oxenford. They are also becoming organized, but they will never be as mobile as their medieval predecessors. You cannot tuck a physics laboratory under your arm and depart from New York to Hackensack, New Jersey, as easily as a Parisian could once migrate with his copy of Aristotle to Toulouse. Although the students now as then have a part to play in the struggles of contemporary society, the nature of those struggles has changed. The innocent clerks hanged at Oxford were victims of the contest between Church and empire for supremacy in the medieval world. That issue affects us no longer. Students of to-day have

a part to play in a quite different contest: the struggle of classes in the modern industrial world. The nature of their role must be determined by that struggle, not the dead claims of Guelph and Ghibelline. Nevertheless it is indeed worth while to recall that at one time universities were composed solely and simply of teachers and students, who took pride in membership in their respective guilds, and jealously protected the rights and privileges of those guilds.

MARGARET SCHLAUCH.

Sports

(Continued from page 5)

ture article in the New York *Evening Post*, describes how German physical culture becomes an adjunct to the Hitlerite Army.

"Today athletics is no longer good form, and 'Wehrsport,' 'Defense' or 'War sports,' is the only form of exercise heartily approved by the authorities. 'War sport' means all exercises contributing to the development of soldiers and soldierly activity. It consists chiefly in maneuvers by bands of uniformed youths. Favorite specialties are 'Taking a trench,' 'Routing the enemy from a village,' 'Hand grenade throwing' and similar 'pastimes.'"

Hitler has announced his endorsement and support of the 1936 Olympic Games, scheduled to be held in Berlin. A boycott of these Games by American athletic organizations would be a tremendous weapon against this fascist cutthroat. Amateur Athletic Union clubs have passed resolutions in favor of such a boycott. The Labor Sports Union of America has issued a call for it.

Recently, Avery Brundage, head of the A. A. U. and the American Olympic Committee, stated that it was his personal opinion that the United States would not enter the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, if conditions remained as they are, because of fear of discrimination against Jewish athletes. This is not yet an official statement, nor does it threaten a boycott of the Olympics as a weapon against Nazi terror against Jews and supporters of the workingclass parties in Germany.

It is up to the college athletes, who comprise the bulk of the American Olympic team, to take the lead in this boycott movement against the murderous Hitler regime.

JAPS CALL OFF U. S. BASEBALL TOUR

The growing hostile sentiment between Americans and Japanese is mirrored in a recent Associated Press announcement to the effect that the Waseda University baseball team of Tokyo has called off its annual baseball tour of the United States. No reason is given, but it is obvious that this action reflects the interests of the ruling powers of both countries in the Far East.

Books on Review

THE ADVENTURES OF A BLACK GIRL IN SEARCH FOR GOD, by Bernard Shaw, Dodd, Mead and Co. \$1.50.

MR. SHAW, it seems, is unable to realize his status in a changing world. Mr. Shaw doggedly insists on living in the intellectual world of his youth, and if he cannot equate himself with civilization as it is today, will try to equate civilization with himself. To him it is comparatively simple to swing a world of ideas back a few decades so that it will be in alignment with his own conceptions. In *The Adventures of a Black Girl in Search for God*, Mr. Shaw resurrects a rather musty Victorian problem and treats it with all the freshness of his Victorian youth. That the problem is not pertinent to the thinking people of today does not concern him in the least. The book is a flight into the hypothetical science of higher theology, and its appeal is apparently restricted to the dark-garbed hierarchy of God's ministers on earth.

The Adventures of a Black Girl in Search for God treats of a naively logical heathen in the heart of Africa who has had God inoculated into her blood by a missionary. The missionary, as Mr. Shaw delightfully points out, has psychologically substituted the symbol of the Cross for the symbol of the Phallus in her restive bosom. The young black lady is dissatisfied with the sketchy and abstract God the missionary has given her, and sets out into the jungles with a sturdy staff and an inquiring mind to seek God for herself. And here Mr. Shaw's miraculous analytical genius manifests itself. There is no monotheism, even in Christianity; it is all conceptual polytheism! For our young heroine meets the various representative deities of the Bible. She meets a rather mealy-mouthed dialectician from the Book of Job, a tyrannous blusterer from Exodus, a gentle, unquestioning youth from the New Testament; and blithely continues meeting and dispelling gods till her young head is swimming with confusion. Eventually under the aegis of a Voltairian rationalizer she shucks off deities, marries a Shaw-like Irishman, and realizes a vegetarian eternity raising piebald pickaninnies and potatoes.

Mr. Shaw's heathen has other adventures too. She meets Science and shoos it away with an aphorism. She meets civilized logic and baffles it with her simplicity. Her naiveté crushes Art. It is here, in her adventures with the higher arts, that we can see the crux of Mr. Shaw's wit. To him Science is a piddling about with the obvious, a laborious proving of the already proven. Logic is a distortion of prima facie evidence, and arts a misconstruing of feeling. He capitalizes these moth-eaten prejudices, fringes them with scintillating humor, and by the very force of his bold sheer affrontery, makes them plausible. It is this palpably logical insistence on individual prejudice which makes Mr. Shaw's wit, and makes, too, for his almost entire lack of reasoning perspective. It is the meticulous care Mr. Shaw has taken to hermetically seal himself from flux, to make himself blind to change, alive only to himself, which has made Mr. Shaw's wit. The late Frank Harris, in his biography of Shaw, may have been playing the clairvoyant symbolist when he attached so much importance to Shaw's virginity. Mr. Shaw is more than virgin of woman, he is the most outstanding virgin of the world, and has kept his chastity pure of its tempests. The unrolling years may know a different Shaw, may know a world-sanctified St. Bernard.

J. C.

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