

Hiss' Own Story A Book Review

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THE MILITANT

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Clifford T. McAvoy, Active Fighter for Socialism, Dies

Harry Ring

The fight for a Socialist America suffered a grievous loss with the death of Clifford T. McAvoy on Aug. 9. A former leader of the American Labor Party in New York, McAvoy had played an important role in current efforts to achieve a regroupment of revolutionary socialist forces. He died of nephritis at the age of 52 in Cape Cod Hospital in Massachusetts. He had planned to spend a summer vacation there and also to play as violinist in the Provincetown Symphony. He is survived by his wife and steadfast co-worker, Muriel, and by a son and daughter.

Despite ill health over a past number of years, McAvoy continued with a rigorous schedule of political activity. He was an organizer of the American Forum for Socialist Education and chairman of the Committee for Socialist Unity. In the latter capacity he organized the United May Day rally in New York this year at which, for the first time in almost three decades, the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and other radical groupings participated in a joint May Day celebration.



CLIFFORD T. McAVOY
1904-1957

A WAY OF LIFE

Clifford McAvoy's unswerving devotion to the cause of socialism was expressed in his whole way of life. He was a gifted violinist who had performed with major groups in Europe and the U.S. Yet in latter years he confined such performances to summer appearances with the Provincetown group as a form of vacation relaxation.

The son of a New York Supreme Court Justice and grandson of a Tammany Hall leader, he had every opportunity to carve out a lucrative personal career. Possessor of a Ph.D. in Romance languages, he taught from 1927 to 1938 at Columbia University and City College of New York. It was during this period that he became immersed in labor and radical politics.

He was an active member of the Teachers Union during that period and soon after its formation became a leading figure in the American Labor Party.

In 1938, after a unsuccessful bid for the State Assembly on the ALP ticket he was appointed by La Guardia as a Deputy Welfare Commissioner, a post he held until 1941.

In that year he accepted an

appointment by the Greater New York CIO Council as legislative and political action director. In 1944 he became Washington legislative director for the CIO United Electrical Workers. Two years later he was appointed by Jack Kroll of the CIO-PAC as assistant PAC director for the Midwest.

ALP CANDIDATE

He remained with the UF after it was expelled from the CIO in 1948 and organized at that time the Progressive Labor Committee for Wallace.

As ALP candidate for President of the New York City Council in 1951 he polled over 100,000 votes. In the 1953 race for Mayor he was designated as the ALP candidate. However by that time the Communist Party leadership whose policies McAvoy had previously supported — had begun the process of scuttling the ALP. Largely as a result of the CP forces deserting the ticket he polled but 53,000 votes in that contest.

At that point the late Vito Marcantonio, who had campaigned for McAvoy, broke from the ALP with a denunciation of the CP's role.

McAvoy remained in the ALP (Continued on page 3)

Japanese Unions Hail Okinawa's Anti-U.S. Vote

By Ota Ryu

TOKYO — On Aug. 4, elections were held for members of the Municipal Council in Nawa, principal city of Okinawa. The final results are now in. Of the 30 seats on the council, Conservatives, who are supported by the U.S. authorities, succeeded in winning only 17 seats (although they contested 29). On the other hand, the United Front, which is composed of Communist Party adherents and Socialists, won 12 seats (of the 13 they contested). The actual vote was 23,602 (49% of the total) for the conservatives, and 16,818 (34%) for the United Front, pro-Senaga forces. This must be compared with the previous composition of the council, on which the conservatives held 24 seats compared to the six for Senaga.

In the last mayoralty election, in December 1936, when Kamejiro Senaga, an opponent of the U.S. occupation, was elected. The Conservative vote of 24,850 was split. Senaga, with 16,592 votes, was elected to office. However, he was constantly at the mercy of a no-confidence vote which, if repeated by a two-third majority of two successfully elected councils, could force him from office.

After six months of harassment by the U.S. military, and by Japanese capitalists, (refusal by the banks to loan money to the city, etc.), the conservatives finally resorted to precisely this course. Last June, the 24-man conservative majority on the council passed a vote of no-con-

fidence in Senaga. As a result, new elections were called. During this campaign, the U.S. military, and the central government in Japan, tried to split anti-U.S. elements from the Mayor, at any cost. In spite of this strong pressure, the anti-U.S. forces retained their strength in this election, and the conservatives are no longer able to threaten the mayor's position. For in order to pass a second vote of no-confidence in him, his opponents had to win two-thirds of all the seats, that is, at least 20.

The Japanese people, and particularly organized labor, supported and encouraged the anti-U.S. elements during this campaign by all moral and material means. Encouraged by the outcome of last week's elections in Okinawa, the Japanese labor movement has pledged itself to aid the victorious anti-American forces on the island. At the just concluded convention of SOHYO, (General Council of Trade Unions with 3,500,000 members) the news of the electoral upset was enthusiastically applauded by the assembled delegates. The Congress immediately dispatched a congratulatory telegram to Mayor Senaga, in which it promised to help him in every way possible.

Congress Prepares to Send Civil Rights Bill to Its Grave

Strike Flares in Poland

Use Troops To Smash Sit-Down

By C. R. Hubbard

AUG. 14—The sit-down strike of 2,500 transport workers in Lodz, Poland's second largest city, was evidently broken today after sharp clashes with security police and army troops. Sympathy strikes were reportedly spreading to other Polish cities.

The strike began in the early morning hours of Aug. 12. The transport workers, among the lowest paid in Poland, demanded a raise from 3.70 zlotys an hour to five. They also asked the restoration of a bonus amounting to one-month's wages and payable every year that was once awarded them but was later canceled; and finally, the strikers demanded a change in the unjust system of wages.

A spokesman for the strikers said, "We are earning today a maximum of 800 zlotys a month. We cannot bear it any longer." (Official figures claim the wage scale varies from 750 to 1,100 zlotys a month. The government set the exchange rate last February of 24 zlotys to the U.S. dollar.)

POLICE USE TEAR GAS

The strikers opened their fight by taking possession of the streetcar and bus terminals. They brought down their families, packed lunches and prepared to stay until their demands were met. The police, reinforced from Warsaw, closed in on the strikers with fixed bayonets. John MacCormac, who interviewed the strikers at the principal terminal, reported in the Aug. 14 N. Y. Times that the resistance of the women who occupied the front ranks was broken when police donned masks and hurled tear gas bombs into the strikers' ranks. Five women were reported injured and hospitalized.

In a 15-minute action, Aug. 14, 3,000 army and police units took over the three major streetcar terminals. Cops and soldiers manned the streets.

A truckload of strikers sent to contact fellow workers at another terminal was stopped by police and 40 arrested. After threatening that all strikers would be fired Stanislas Sroka, a minister in the local government, tried to persuade the workers to return to their jobs. One woman striker waved a tear-gas cartridge in Sroka's face and wiping tears from her eyes said, "Is this what you use against women?" The reply was a contemptuous "You will come to a bad end."

Lodz officials claimed the gov-

(Continued on page 2)



Set-Back for Witch Hunt Seen in Ohio T-H Case

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, August 12—Weakness of the government's case becomes more apparent each week, as the Sept. 16 trial date approaches in the Taft-Hartley Conspiracy Case.

Last Jan. 23 eight persons were indicted by a federal grand jury here for "conspiring" to violate the Taft-Hartley act by filing "false affidavits of Noncommunist Union Officers."

June 19, in a memorandum ruling on a number of motions by the defendants, U.S. District Judge Paul C. Weick ordered the prosecution to file a Bill of Particulars making its charges more specific.

PARTY "INSTRUCTIONS"

The original indictment charged that Marie and Fred Hzug, as union officers, conspired with the six other defendants to file false non-Communist affidavits. It listed among the overt acts various Communist Party "instructions" and "directives" allegedly issued for or received by the Hugs. Judge Weick ruled copies

of these documents must be provided.

The overt act charged to Eric Reinthal, another defendant, was that "On or about April, 1952," he "did transport a person known to him to be a member of the Communist Party USA to a meeting with Hyman Lumer, defendant herein."

Judge Weick ordered the prosecution to tell who the person was and where the meeting was held. Particulars must be provided, also, as to other alleged overt acts referred to vaguely in the indictment: what they were, who committed them, when and where.

On June 28 U.S. Attorney Summer Canary filed a motion asking that the time within which the government had to file the Bill of Particulars be extended until August 5. The motion was granted.

On August 5 another two weeks extension was requested, and granted.

The obvious inference is that the Justice Department is having difficulty in digging up facts to back up its accusations.

The weakness of the government's case is further indicated by the nature of the "documents" the U.S. Attorney agreed to furnish. According to Judge Weick's June 19 memorandum, "photostatic copies of the affidavits of Noncommunist Union Officers upon which the charges are based" would be provided, and the U.S. Attorney "also stated that the Government expected to offer in evidence a book entitled 'Left Wing Communism & Infantile Disorder'" (sic).

In this case, for the first time in the Justice Department's anti-union prosecutions, labor leaders were lumped together with alleged Communist Party officials (Continued on page 4)

Many Cases Revealed Of Political Horse-Trades With Dixiecrat Senators

By Fred Hart

AUG. 16 — The civil rights bill, which had been amended to death in the Senate, now faces burial in the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives. Since the passage on Aug. 2 of the

the passage on Aug. 2 of the jury-trial amendment, which killed the one remaining enforcement provision in the measure, the Republicans and Northern Democrats have been concerned with the remnants of the bill only from the point of view of any additional political advantage they might extract from it.

Liberal Democrats have been primarily concerned with covering up the shabby role of a majority of their number who, along with the Dixiecrats, and a few Republicans, voted for the jury-trial amendment. The role of the Democratic Congressmen has therefore been to represent the Senate bill as a gain for civil rights despite the vilifying amendment.

Administration strategy now is to permit the bill to stay in the rules committee while Republican Congressmen demagogically talk of winning a return of the sections amended out by the Senate. On Aug. 15, James Reston, head of the Washington Bureau of the New York Times, explained: "The Eisenhower Administration is taking a calculated gamble on the civil rights bill in the belief that there is political gain in prolonging the battle."

SMITH STAND

In turning the bill over to Rules Committee Chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.) the Republicans are apparently banking on bringing the bill out again in the next session for further political exploitation. (On Aug. 14, Rep. Smith told the press, "I am inclined to follow the course most likely to result in no bill. Do I make myself clear?")

No matter how much they try to pin the blame on each other, both parties share the responsibility for gutting the proposed law. On the Republican side, the Administration-sponsored bill was weak to begin with. Then Republican strategists joined with the Dixiecrats and liberal Democrats to reduce the bill from a general civil rights measure to one concerned only with the right of Negroes to vote in the South. Then Eisenhower's ambiguous stand until the very last moment was a major factor in the passage of the jury-trial clause demanded by the Dixiecrats.

On the Democratic side, the record is even more disgraceful. Northern and Western Democrats vied with one another in making horse-trades with Senate Majority leader Lyndon Johnson, the man who arranged the "compromises" that killed the bill. A picture of how things went on the Democratic side of the fence was presented by Ethel L. Payne in the Aug. 10 Chicago Defender, a leading Negro weekly. She wrote:

"Shock-haired Jack Kennedy who is glassy-eyed from staring at 1960 toppled over like a ten pin... after his pal, Sen. George Smathers of Florida worked on him and Lyndon Johnson put a fatherly arm around his shoulder and recounted some political facts of life to him."

"Octogenarian Sen. Theodore Francis Green of Rhode Island sat nodding sleepily as the vote neared, but looked up alertly to take his orders from Lyndon and vote aye at the right time. He wants to remain chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. His colleague, John Pastore of Italian descent, had an assurance of some Southern votes on relaxing the McCarran-Walter immigration Act to increase quotas. He voted aye."

The "Paras" notorious racism, their wanton killings and brutalities against colonial people over a period of 15 years has prepared them to serve as suitable material for a reactionary blow against the French labor movement. They have been whipped up by their officers to believe that the French workers and intellectuals are the cause of France's defeats. Side by side (Continued on page 2)

France Faces Crisis -- An On-the-Spot Report

By John Black

PARIS, Aug. 11 — Two major issues, the two-billion franc a day war in Algeria and the economic situation in France itself, are likely to bring the deep going crisis in the political arena to a head this fall.

It is less and less possible for the government of Bourges-Manoury to hide the fact that what is going on in Algeria is far more than a "pacification" campaign. Every day it is becoming clearer that even the commitment of practically the whole French army—close to half a million men, including the greater part of France's NATO contingents — is proving insufficient to prevent a repetition of the defeats in Indo-China, Morocco and Tunisia.

The papers in Paris, still use "pacification" terminology, but

they report a war. The heavy loss of French lives can not be offset by mass arrests and terror executions. French military tribunals on Aug. 9 alone, sentenced 21 Algerian freedom fighters to be guillotined. Among those sentenced were leading members of the Algerian Communist Party. It does not avail the authorities to confiscate French newspapers carrying criticisms of the army and eyewitness reports on the calculated, repulsive terrorism practiced against the Algerian people by the imperialist army of France. Algeria remains very much on the mind of all French people and some very dangerous symptoms of capitalist desperation are appearing.

In reaction to the unending series of defeats, and the continuing loss of the French empire a section of the French

capitalist class is turning toward extreme solutions. The specter of an anti-parliamentarian, extra-constitutional, super-patriotic coup is very much present, and ominous signs such as the appearance of provocative shocktroops for such a movement can not safely be ignored.

THE 'PARAS'

The Bourges-Manoury government broke the deadlock in the parliamentary debate over the authorization of special powers by bringing its elite corps of parachute divisions into Paris for all-out, pro-imperialist demonstration on the occasion of the national holiday on July 14. Ironically it was the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille — the opening event of the French Revolution of 1789-93 — which gave the government the opportunity to brow-

beat the undecided deputies into voting the government special powers to ignore the constitutional guarantees of civil liberties in France. The collapse of the parliamentary opposition in the face of the 150,000 who turned out to cheer the notoriously savage "Paras," enabled the government to extend French Algerian police methods to France itself. (The special powers, not limited to the 700,000 Algerian workers in France, but extended to the whole French population, enable the government to search homes at night and carry through "preventive arrests" and deportations.)

The "Paras," veteran mercenary killers of the war in Madagascar in 1947 (where 40,000 inhabitants were slaughtered for demanding a little liberty, equality and fraternity), vel-

Use New Legal Weapon Against St. Paul Strike



Clarence Harvey (wearing raincoat), President of Local 41, UAW, approaches police squad car to protest its being stationed on company grounds.

By Tom Leonard

ST. PAUL — Aug. 10 — For eight weeks the 350 members of United Auto Workers Local No. 41 have been waging a hard-fought strike against the Donaldson Company in this city.

The strike bears careful watching by the national labor movement and deserves its full support. Involved in company efforts to break the strike is the use of a little-known gimmick which will be added to the national arsenal of the union busters, if it proves its efficacy in the Donaldson strike.

The gimmick is a legal device known as a "writ of replevin." Briefly, the writ of replevin is a legal action whereby one company sues another company for delivery of goods contracted for. In the case of the struck Donaldson Company, the federal courts have issued two such writs. One is to the Rio Motor Co. of Detroit, the other to the Carter Equipment Co. in Renton Harbor, Mich. On the basis of these writs obtained "against" the Donaldson Company by the other two, scabs—protected by federal marshalls—have been running Donaldson products through the picket line for delivery to the two "suing" companies.

While the daily press insists that this is not a strike-breaking action, U.S. District Attorney MacKinnon who placed the writs before the federal district court conceded in the St. Paul Pioneer Press that "the goods were purchased just before the writs were asked for." In other words, the Donaldson Company contracted for delivery of these goods after the strike had been in progress for six weeks.

COMPANY BREAKS WORD

The strike was precipitated when the company refused to recognize the union's legitimate wage demands. The union is currently demanding an 18-cent an hour increase. According to Local No. 41 President Clarence Harvey, eight cents of this figure is to help compensate for the rise in the cost of living since the last contract. Harvey charges that the company agreed to this verbally when the previous contract was signed. The additional ten cents is an across-the-board increase.

The average striker, with 12 years seniority, has an average wage of \$1.89 per hour, far lower than the scale in related industries. Although not included in

the official negotiations another source of serious concern to the workers has been the intensive speed-up campaign launched by the company about a year ago. One striker complained that the union had "no control over production standards."

The legal attack on the workers was intensified when District Judge Clayton Parks issued a court order giving company cars and scabs free access to the struck plant. The same order restrains mass picketing. Currently seven strike leaders are being framed on charges of violating this order.

Not satisfied with the use of these judge-made union-busting measures, the company is resorting to violence against the striking workers. The strike bulletin of the local reported one incident in which "pickets were at their positions doing picket duty, when seven company personnel emerged from the central warehouse, presumably to leave for the day. Rather than leave peacefully as they had done before, one company supervisor walked up to Quentin Aamot, Local No. 41 picket and for no reason at all struck him." As a result of this company-provoked fracas seven scabs were beaten up.

HIT-AND-RUN SCABS

On two separate occasions, pickets have been run down by scab cars. In one case a striker suffered a fractured arm and other injuries.

The morale of the strikers is good despite the heavy pressure they are under. They have the problem of meeting time payments on houses, cars and appliances, as well as needing to feed and clothe their families. They are receiving strike benefits from the International union and Local President Harvey has stated that the union will intercede to prevent any seizure of strikers' property for non-payments.

But the big problem confronting these workers is how to defeat the writ of replevin. Unless they get some solid assistance from their fellow unionists in licking it, a lot more striking workers may get hit with the same tricky device.

Daily Worker Applies the Whitewash

By Herman Chauka

The recent Daily Worker pronouncements on the Senate's civil rights bill provide instructive demonstration of how the Communist Party's support to capitalist politicians works out in practice.

In an Aug. 8 editorial on the civil rights bill, the Daily Worker takes Adlai Stevenson to task for declaring, "I would rather have this bill than none at all." The editorial points out that the bill has suffered "emasculatation" by the Senate and suggests that when Stevenson says it is better than none he really means that it may provide the Democrats with a talking point in the coming elections.

ATTACK JOHNSON

The editorial pins responsibility for the present toothless state of the bill on Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas who is accurately described as "the organizer of the coalition that mangled the civil rights bill, cutting it to specifications acceptable to the Dixiecrat bloc."

Now this editorial might seem to prove that the Communist Party can support the Democrats and still remain politically independent and sharply critical of them when the issue demands it. But if the CP leaders had aimed at working-class political independence, they would never have supported the Democratic Party to begin with. "Coalition" politics inside the Democratic Party means nothing if not subordination to the Big Business politicians.

And so we find that on Aug. 12, the Daily Worker writes another editorial on the question of the civil rights bill. The title, "A Cynical Game," applies as fully to its authors as to its intended target—the Republicans—because it is nothing less than a new effort to whitewash the Northern Democrats.

The editorial observes that the Republicans in the House are playing political football with the bill by demanding a return of provisions lopped off by the Senate. This, we are informed, endangers the passage of any kind of bill.

THEY'RE GOOD GUYS

Then comes the bucket of whitewash. "The Democrats, limited by the dead weight of their intransigent Southern delegation, were forced to fight for the present substance of the bill." The editorial continues: "Politically the Democrats are in a box built on the one hand by the Republicans . . . and on the other by their own Dixiecrat contingent whose power is greater than their numbers." The inference is that the liberal Democrats are doing the best they can for civil rights against great odds.

The contention that the liberal Democrats "are in a box" built by the Republicans and Dixiecrats is an insult to the readers' intelligence. At one time the ar-

gument that the liberal Democrats were a minority pitted against a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition appeared to have some plausibility. But this time it is clear to see that if the liberals are in a "box" they are in one they built themselves. Or haven't the Daily Worker editors read the accounts of how a majority of liberal Democrats worked hand in glove with Johnson to "emasculate" the bill? Even the N.Y. Post—staunch backer of the liberal Democrats—was moved to protest that the liberals had snatched "defeat from the jaws of victory." The Dixiecrats showed strength greater than their numbers precisely because the liberals handed them everything they wanted.

Actually, the Daily Worker's current whitewash job on the Democratic Party is a repetition of their performance in last year's elections. The Daily Worker campaigned to help elect Stevenson. (Not with "official" endorsement, to be sure, but with a knowing wink coupled with the cry, "Defeat the Cadillac Cabaret!") On Aug. 20, 1956, in a front-page editorial entitled "The Adlai-Estes Ticket," the Daily Worker hailed the nominations by the just concluded Democratic convention as representing "the strongest ticket (it) could put in the field against General Eisenhower."

PROBLEM EVEN THEN

However, even at that time the Daily Worker had a problem how to present its support to "Adlai-Estes" in a good light. It will be recalled that at the Democratic convention the civil rights plank was watered down to nothing by the liberals to appease the Dixiecrats. The Daily Worker tried to conceal this fact with the argument that Stevenson, in his acceptance speech, had declared he favored "A new America . . . where freedom is made real for all without regard to race or belief or economic condition." This statement indicated, the editorial broadly hinted, that the platform didn't really have Stevenson's "approval."

The buildup given Lyndon Johnson by the Communist Party leaders is also a matter of record. The main political resolution of the party's recent national convention lists the following as one of the gains of the labor-Democratic coalition: "In Texas labor joined with other popular forces, as well as conservatives, to break the grip of the Shivers Dixiecrats on the State Democratic Party." This referred to the victory of Lyndon Johnson's machine over Shivers in the fight for control of the Texas delegation to the Democratic national convention.

Shortly before that convention Alan Max wrote in the May 11 Daily Worker: "Fresh from his resounding victory over Gov. Allan Shivers for leader of the Texas delegation, Johnson is be-



Florida and the South NEED a Man of Moderation

—a man friendly to the South...

Adlai Stevenson has shown more understanding and consideration of the South's problems than any other candidate for President.

Adlai Stevenson has demonstrated the abilities and qualifications necessary to serve the people as President.

PULL THE Stevenson Lever!

Last year some Northern backers of Stevenson tried to shrug off this racist appeal as not representing his views. But Stevenson proved it was quite accurate. In recent months he has dropped any pretense to "liberalism" on either domestic or foreign issues. He declared, July 17, that the French and British imperialists "are exercising their African colonial responsibilities in a most advanced, responsible and enlightened way." Yet the Daily Worker seemed surprised and dismayed that he showed no interest in an effective civil rights bill.

ing counted on to place the stamp of conservatism on the Democratic ticket and platform." These are empty hopes, declared Max. After all, he explained, "How can a resounding defeat for the worst reactionaries mean a mandate for the conservatives? Things don't happen that way and the Democratic voters in Texas understood this when they voted for Johnson."

JOHNSON REFUTES MAX

Johnson's current performance on civil rights more than answers Max's assertion that "things don't happen that way."

Nor did it take a crystal ball to figure out that labor and radical support to the Democrats would bring no gains for the working people. Last September, the Socialist Workers Party wrote to the National Committee of the Communist Party urging it to give up its policy of support to the Democrats and called on it to support the Socialist Workers ticket instead. The SWP letter declared in part:

"At a time when the Negro people are embattled against the white supremacists you cover up the fact that the Southern Democratic leaders call the tune on

the issue of civil rights. . . . At a time when the Negro people need the aid of the labor and radical movement most, the working class has been rendered politically impotent by the alliance with the Democratic Party liberals who are allied with the Dixiecrats. Isn't that a clear ex-

ample of how class-collaboration prevents the working class from achieving its tasks and realizing its aims?"

The bitter experience accumulated since that letter was written only underscores its continuing validity.

A Slight Case Of Ignorance

By Joseph Keller

All I ask for Maxwell Henry Gluck is a fair shake and simple justice. A number of Democrats have been giving forth loud and rude yaks at Mr. Gluck's expense. Many Republicans act as shamefaced.

Stokes, pro-Democratic columnist for the N.Y. Post wrote: "There is nothing new about diplomatic plums for wealthy campaign contributors, which has been routine with both our political parties for years. . . . In fact, only the wealthy can afford to occupy such posts, because the bills for liquid refreshments to free-loaders alone usually run higher than official salaries and expense accounts allowed for total operations."

Mr. Gluck had the misfortune to have his ignorance revealed. It might have gone unnoticed if some Democrat on the Senate foreign relations committee hadn't leaked it to a newspaper. Mr. Gluck, the proud possessor of a forty-million dollar fortune derived from a chain of ladies clothing shops, had been questioned by the Senate committee about his qualifications for the post of Ambassador to Ceylon.

Senator Fulbright, an Arkansas Democrat, was mean enough to initiate the following colloquy: "Senator Fulbright: Do you know who the Prime Minister of Ceylon is?"

Mr. Gluck: His name is a bit unfamiliar now, I cannot call it off. . . .

Since the name of Ceylon's Prime Minister is Solomon West Ridgway Dias Bandaranaike, it is easy for an American to have a lapse of memory, or at least some difficulty in pronouncing Mr. Bandaranaike's name. Naturally, no one likes to have his name mispronounced or forgotten, but I feel a little international good will could have gotten around that.

ANOTHER ISSUE

But another matter got dragged into the discussion—Mr. Gluck's contributions to the Republican Party. In 1952 and 1956 he gave a total of about \$40,000 to the GOP. This had some of the Democrats raising their hands in holy horror. The twice-defeated Democratic presidential candidate, Adlai Stevenson, opined that Gluck's appointment was "another example of the cynical payment of political debts. . . ."

Stevenson need not have put it on so thick. After all, even the N.Y. Times admits this is "an ancient story in American politics" and seeks to draw consolation from the historical trend showing that in 1924, thirty-three out of fifty-one ambassadors abroad had been generous contributors to the coffers of the party in power, as compared with twenty-seven out of eighty-one in 1957.

As a matter of fact, several more juicy ambassadorial plums have gone to multi-millionaire political contributors who shelled out less than Gluck. The Ambassador to Belgium is J. Clifford Folger who, with Mrs. Folger, is listed as having contributed \$23,500. John Hay Whitney snared the choice appointment to the United Kingdom for a mere \$33,500 contribution. Surely, on a quid-pro-quo basis, Mr. Gluck is entitled to an appointment to some larger country than Ceylon. But, as Mr. Gluck has said, he isn't really interested in glory, he just happens to "have been, what you might say, semi-retired from business, and I have been looking for something to do."

There certainly is no reason to think that the French workers won't muster the courage and strength required for the solution of the French crisis in a way diametrically opposed to the solution planned by the capitalist class and its reactionary military caste. The question will thus be posed ever more sharply in France in the next few months: Who will gobble whom?

A POSSIBLE GAIN

It may be just a coincidence that Mr. Gluck is associated with Benjamin Javits, elder brother of New York's Senator Jacob Javits, in an enterprise known as World Development Corp., which is engaged in promoting private investments overseas. "But," laments Mr. Gluck, "it has not really done anything. We did not get it off the ground." With the assistance of Senator Javits, who pushed Mr. Gluck's appointment, it may be possible to put wings on Mr. Gluck's foreign investments.

The truth is, as Thomas L.

Stokes, pro-Democratic columnist for the N.Y. Post wrote: "There is nothing new about diplomatic plums for wealthy campaign contributors, which has been routine with both our political parties for years. . . . In fact, only the wealthy can afford to occupy such posts, because the bills for liquid refreshments to free-loaders alone usually run higher than official salaries and expense accounts allowed for total operations."

When President Eisenhower was rudely questioned at one of his news conferences about his appointment of Mr. Gluck, he not only indignantly denied the political debt inference, he also said of Mr. Gluck's ignorance that Gluck "was selected from a group of men that were recommended highly by a number of people I respect. His business career was examined, the FBI reports on his record were all good."

What more can the Ceylonese people expect? Mr. Gluck's business career sums up to \$40,000, 000 and Eisenhower could just as easily have sent a \$30,000, 000 or a \$20,000,000 or even a \$10,000,000 ambassador. And, of course, with the FBI affirming that Mr. Gluck never belonged to a union or a radical party and upholds capitalism 101%, what other qualifications would he need?

In fact, Ceylon's Ambassador to the U.S., R. S. Gunawardene, said on Aug. 5, that he was "very favorably impressed" with the new U.S. Ambassador to Ceylon. This suggests that the Ceylonese people should be as much concerned about the kind of ambassador their government has sent to Washington as the kind of ambassador Washington is sending to Ceylon.

WHOSE AMBASSADOR?

At any rate, any ambassador from the U.S. to Ceylon, or any other country, will have the same function: to serve "American interests." Now, this doesn't mean the interests of Detroit auto workers or Pittsburgh steel workers or Southern Negroes with second-class citizenship. It means the interests of the millionaires and billionaires who run this country and are anxious to exact profits not only from the U.S. workers but from the workers abroad.

So, I'd like to suggest that the workers and peasants of Ceylon set up a government of their own and send an ambassador over here who doesn't find our multi-millionaire ignoramus so impressive. And we, for our part, will strive to establish a workers and farmers government in our country so that the American ambassador to Ceylon might well be an auto worker or a steel worker or a coal miner whose ambassadorial job will be to help organize technical and economic aid for Ceylon that will quickly raise mass living standards there to the highest possible level.

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... French Crisis -- On-the-Spot Report

(Continued from page 1)

with the "Paras" other neo-fascist groupings, staffed by ex-collaborators of the wartime Nazi agents Deat and Doriot, and seemingly in control of unlimited funds, are making their appearance.

The walls of Paris are plastered with posters attacking the "betrayers of France," demanding "action in Algeria" and a rejuvenation of the country, under "strong men," and making demagogic attacks on the intellectuals. Daily the press reports strong-arm tactics displayed by thugs against vendors of the labor press and attempts to break up political rallies.

The hard pressed French middle class already has demonstrated that, in the absence of any leadership from the established working-class parties, it was all too ready to follow demagogues. The meteoric rise of a man like Poujade in French politics is a case in point.

There certainly is time for the organized labor movement to grasp the initiative once more and alter the trend toward political demoralization. It is, however, the opportunist course of the leadership of the powerful French Communist party which prevents effective working-class opposition from being mounted against the reactionary currents. Negotiated peace with Algeria with the declared intent of keeping Algeria within the French empire, critical support of the government which is butchering the Algerians — this is how the Communist Party members talked to interpret the party line. All this, they say, is held necessary to secure unity with the Mollet "Socialists" (who for a year and a half directed the dirty war in Algeria) and with others on the "left."

But merging with the crisis over Algeria, and of course connected with it, the economic situation of France will make it

harder in the next few months for the CPF to hold back the French workers who must struggle to maintain their living standards.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The rapid rise in the price of the basic necessities, the falling of the franc and its official devaluation, the imposition of heavy taxes on more and more articles listed as luxuries forced the government to drastic action. Even the rigged government cost-of-living index (it hides the real share that food costs represent in the French budget) rose so sharply that the government was obliged to raise the minimum wage. Wretchedly low as the increase to 135 francs an hour (35 cents) may seem, it does in fact affect the wages of almost 800,000 workers. The increase took effect on Aug. 1. This is the beginning of vacations. Most of the large factories are closed and it will not be until September that the demand for wage increases for the rest of the work-

ing class will take the center of the stage in France.

The rank-and-file bank employees who forced the CGT to finally support their strike in July, had to settle temporarily in view of the vacation period. But bitterness at the role played by the Stalinist-led union apparatus is widely expressed. The daring and imagination of the French rank-and-file workers were forcefully brought home to travelers entering and leaving France this week, when customs men at the Parisian airport at Orly struck on Aug. 9. From 1:00 to 7:00 P.M. the men refused to search any outgoing and incoming luggage for contraband. Then they reversed their tactics and went on a "strike of zeal," searching every single item of traveler's baggage so thoroughly that planes were long delayed.

But even with the general vacation exodus and the temporary August lull, it is already clear that the government will find it impossible to place the burden of the military campaign

on the shoulders of French workers without engendering a wave of militancy. The three railway unions have announced wage claims as of Aug. 22. What will happen when the workers return from their vacations and discuss the rise in the price of bread, milk and wine? Will they be prepared to accept the new austerity burdens to finance the losing proposition in Algeria?

Even Robert Bothereau, leader of the moderate socialist-controlled Force Ouvriere unions has posed the question confronting France in this way: "It is a question of who is to be gobbled up."

There certainly is no reason to think that the French workers won't muster the courage and strength required for the solution of the French crisis in a way diametrically opposed to the solution planned by the capitalist class and its reactionary military caste. The question will thus be posed ever more sharply in France in the next few months: Who will gobble whom?

... Strike Flares in Lodz

(Continued from page 1)

ernment couldn't afford increases. The poorest paid workers in Poland, however, cannot take seriously government cries of "poverty" while bureaucrats, speculators, private businessmen, etc., live on the fat of the land.

Last month, on July 21, John P. Leacacos, Cleveland Plain Dealer reporter, told how widespread "labor unrest, sputtering since last spring, has turned almost ugly in recent weeks, threatening Gomulka with the first grave crisis of his regime." Communist editorial writers in Poland have been alarmed at the angry mood of the workers which they say has been ready to "flare up on every slight provocation."

This mood was sparked by Gomulka's refusal to honor workers' claims for back pay promised years ago. Gomulka answered these demands with a flat "No, we're broke," and ordered a wage freeze. Slowdowns and stoppages were the result.

According to Leacacos, the Polish workers councils have been demanding not only a bigger voice in management, but representation in top government bodies as well. They have asked for a chamber in parliament elected directly from the factories. To this Gomulka replied that workers councils are not "organs of political power of the working classes."

In the hope of controlling the workers Gomulka has ordered all Communists, including cabinet members, to join factory cells. Gomulka himself, according to Leacacos, entered a party cell in the Zeran auto factory of Warsaw.

With what may very well prove to be "too little, too late," on Aug. 9 the government announced that all personal income over 15,000 zlotys a month (with exceptions) would be taxed out of existence. The new tax decree, considered by many as ineffective, is retroactive. The Finance Ministry has been ordered to collect four billion zlotys in back taxes from the "non-socialized economy."

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Monday, August 19, 1957

Back the Sobell Appeal

The final push to win support for the most important civil liberties case in America is now on. The deadline for all signatures and resolutions in support of the Supreme Court appeal for a new hearing for Morton Sobell is August 28. Morton Sobell has spent seven years in prison. His 30-year sentence will keep him there for many more unless an outraged public demands justice. The Supreme Court has never passed judgment on the "conspiracy" case that sent Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to their death and is now robbing the young scientist, Sobell of the best years of his life.

Evidence that will now go before the Supreme Court will prove conclusively that it was not Morton Sobell who violated the laws of the United States. It was the prosecution with the unscrupulous assistance of the notorious Roy Cohn and the FBI.

The Supreme Court will hear evidence of how Morton Sobell was kidnapped from Mexico where he had gone openly and legally for a vacation with his family. This was done in violation of the Extradition

Treaty with Mexico. The Court will hear how the prosecution falsely represented Sobell's return to this country as legally effected through "deportation" proceedings. All of this in order to construct a picture of an "escape plot" of "conspirators."

And the Court will hear how the prosecution deliberately withheld evidence that would prove the account of the trip made by Morton Sobell.

As the facts in this case become known, support is forthcoming from every direction. Scientists like Harold C. Urey, artists like Pablo Casals, a man of letters like Bertrand Russell, and religious and civic leaders have called for justice for Morton Sobell. Warehouse local 6 in Oakland, Calif., has joined the appeal for a new trial.

The "friend of the court" brief will be filed next week. But the campaign to free Morton Sobell will not be concluded until justice is done. Financial aid, petitions and resolutions should be sent to: Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

...McAvoy, Active Socialist

(Continued from page 1)

and opened a struggle within the organization against the liquidationist policy of the Communist Party leadership. On Oct. 10, 1955, he took the fight to the ALP ranks with a letter to the National Guardian denouncing the CP's "coalition theory."

Scoring this policy of support to capitalist politicians, McAvoy declared: "Let us have an end now to coalition on any basis with advocates of cold war, enemies of labor and the Bill of Rights, friends of Jim Crow."

Despite his efforts, the ALP was dissolved. In the course of that fight, however, McAvoy demonstrated an unusual capacity to think out its lessons, to re-evaluate his own past political views and, finding them inadequate, to seek a firmer ideological basis for socialist activity. Devotion to the socialist cause remained throughout his basic point of departure. It was during this period that the historic developments in the Soviet orbit took place, climaxed by the Khrushchev revelations at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. These developments became a major factor in McAvoy's rethinking of the problems confronting the radical movement.

In the 1956 elections, he decided to campaign for the Socialist Workers Party ticket despite certain differences he stated he had with the SWP. Along with Vincent Hallinan he formed the Citizens Committee for Dobbs and Weiss.

Although he had in previous years accepted the CP's false characterization of the SWP as anti-Soviet, he was a

man capable of rectifying his political errors. In an Oct. 10, 1956 debate with Albert Blumberg of the Communist Party on "Left Wing Policy in the 1956 Elections," McAvoy declared:

"The SWP is a party I can support. It rendered a major service by first exposing the Moscow Trials and the bureaucratic deformation in the Soviet Union. The SWP stands in the forefront of the radical movement today. It fought for Leninist democracy in the Soviet Union and East Europe. The present developments there give it a high moral standing. I am proud that despite the revilement and persecution, the SWP stuck by its traditions."

In the period since that election, McAvoy became one of the key figures in the launching of the American Forum for Socialist Education. His contributions to that project showed that he was a man who believed in hard day-to-day work, serious thinking and a stubborn insistence on principles. From the very beginning he fought for the principle of "non-exclusion," opposing efforts to bar the Communist Party or any other tendency.

DEFIES WITCH-HUNTERS

When announcement of formation of the American Forum drew heavy fire from the witch-hunters he did not flinch for a moment. Subpoenaed by the Eastland Committee, he declared his readiness, despite ill-health, to face imprisonment by defying that inquisitorial body.

At the same time he continued his own process of political study and reevaluation with seemingly boundless determination and enthusiasm. At a time when so many former supporters of the

Communist Party were turning away from all radical politics with dismay and disillusionment he was the picture of a man just beginning to find himself.

His approach to the present regroupment discussion was outlined in a article he contributed to the Dec. 3, 1956 issue of the Militant on the subject. He wrote: "Political criticism based on facts without invective or name calling is not only desirable but urgently necessary if we are to have any honest relations with other political tendencies."

"The most effective way to achieve left regroupment, it seems to me, is to clarify principles so there can be no confusion about where we start in our effort to regroup the left around a program. I do not believe, for instance, that the left can be united if there is confusion as to whether we stand for completely democratic socialism or whether we revert to totalitarian Stalinism."

"I do not believe that coalition with the Democratic party can be reconciled in the same organization with the building of an independent socialist movement. These two questions divide the left... on the basis of fundamental principle."

In the previously quoted debate with Blumberg, McAvoy concluded his presentation by saying, "It will take work and courage to build a new socialist movement in America." For Clifford McAvoy these words were not mere rhetoric. He possessed an inspiring capacity for work and courage. Coupled with his warm personal qualities, it made him a man who will be sorely missed by all those who knew him and worked with him.

Alger Hiss Tells Case to Public

IN THE COURT OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Alger Hiss. 424 pages. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1957. \$5.00.

Reviewed by David Dreiser

In this book, Alger Hiss presents his case to the public for a verdict as to whether or not he was guilty of perjury in denying that he had ever committed treason and espionage. During World War II he was a prominent state-department official who had been an aide to President Roosevelt at the Yalta conference and an organizer of the 1945 San Francisco United Nations conference. He was indicted on two perjury counts in 1948. The first trial resulted in a hung jury but he was convicted in a second trial in 1950.

The U.S. Supreme Court twice refused to review his case, and Hiss then served 44 months in a federal penitentiary.

Many months before he came to trial, Hiss was branded by the press as a "Communist traitor." The main promoter of the charge was Vice-President Richard Nixon, then a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. His sensationalized press releases charging Hiss with "espionage" were the opening gun in the campaign against "treason in high places," charges made notorious by McCarthy. It was also the first endeavor to link alleged Communist Party membership with espionage activities—the fraudulent kind of tie-up that led to the frame-up and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the imprisonment of Morton Sobell in Alcatraz.

Hiss begins his book with a review of his appearances before the House Un-American Activities Committee beginning on Aug. 3, 1948. In these hearings, Whittaker Chambers, confessed Soviet agent, charged that Hiss belonged to the Communist Party and that his role had been

to influence government policy. But Chambers denied that Hiss had engaged in espionage. "These people were specifically not wanted to act as sources of information," Chambers declared.

Hiss denied all charges under oath. He failed to recognize Chambers either by name or photograph. The Committee did not permit Hiss to confront Chambers for two weeks during which time they fed a stream of publicity to the sensation-hungry press on the question of whether Hiss was guilty of perjury in denying knowing Chambers.

Hiss recognized Chambers when he finally saw him, but not without difficulty. He identified Chambers, whose appearance had altered considerably, as a freelance writer he had known by a different name, George Crosely. The Committee presented this to the press and public as if Hiss had finally been forced to admit having known Chambers after first denying it.

The Committee reports also implied charges of "treason and espionage" against Hiss despite the fact that its only witness had charged only Communist Party membership. Only months later did Chambers catch up in his story with Nixon and the House Committee.

INCONSISTENCIES

Chambers' early testimony was designed to show that he had a very close association with Hiss. Actually, Hiss shows, all the knowledge of Hiss' family and affairs that Chambers knew accurately he could have gleaned from such sources as Who's Who and from hints passed to him from the Committee's examina-



ALGER HISS on leaving prison.

tions of Hiss. Every place else Chambers' testimony on this question, Hiss shows, is a tissue of mistakes and inconsistencies.

Only when faced with the libel lawsuit brought by Hiss and the likelihood of paying heavy damages, did Chambers expand his Communist Party membership charges by suddenly "remembering" that Hiss had also been a spy and that Chambers had conveniently kept some papers to prove it. These were copies of secret government documents that Hiss had allegedly stolen and given to Chambers for transmission to the Soviet Union. But with powerful committee support, and in the charged atmosphere of the time, few paid much attention to the astounding lapse of memory. Nor was the fact prominently noted that the documents were dated in 1938 whereas Chambers had repeatedly testified to having cut all Soviet connections in 1937. The documents so sensationally presented by Chambers were used to convict Hiss.

British Rulers Caught In Mideast Squeeze-Play

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The "little" war in Oman between the small forces gathered by the Imam Ghaleb bin Ali and the Sultan of Muscat and Oman, backed by the British, is a signal flare of danger to Britain's empire on the east coast of the Arabian peninsula. The speed of England's military intervention was not based on the British fear of losing Oman alone. Any revolt, not quickly settled, might easily spread to other parts of this oil-rich area where British control has grown increasingly tenuous.

The British "protected" states on the Persian Gulf are challenged from two directions: King Saud of Saudi Arabia, a nation that occupies four-fifths of the Arabian peninsula lays claim to most of the Gulf's sheikdoms. The Saudi Arabians, armed with U.S. military aid, intrigue with feudal and nationalist opposition to the British in order to gain a foothold in the oil wealth of this area. The U.S. oil companies, constantly expanding their holdings, keep in the background out of deference to the feelings of their British "allies."

These plots and intrigues take place in the midst of a seething Arab national independence movement that seeks to oust British imperialism in order to settle accounts with native despots who are kept in opulence by the British.

The Muscat and Oman sultanate with an estimated population of only 550,000 is not yet a rich possession for the British. But Iraq Petroleum Company has been vigorously prospecting for oil in Oman for some time.

NEIGHBORING WEALTH

More important than the potential wealth of Oman, however, is the actual wealth of the neighboring countries where opposition to British rule is also rife. The richest of these small countries is Kuwait which supplies three out of every five barrels of oil to British industry.

The British imperialists maintain their oil interests in Kuwait, as in Muscat and Oman and the other Persian Gulf states by means of an alliance with the reactionary feudal forces with disastrous effect on the population. While the masses of the people live in poverty, illiteracy and without hope, these monarchs consume on a lavish scale.

The British Laborite journalist Paul Johnson, in the July 13 issue of the New Statesman describes this traditional method of rule.

The local sheik in Kuwait gets a 50% cut on the oil profits extracted by the British. This now amounts to about \$336 million annually. Of this amount one-

third is supposed to cover the living expenses of the ruler, another third is supposed to go to Kuwait development projects and the final third is slated for reserve in British banks.

ALL IN ONE POCKET

The development projects were never fully completed. They were contracted over to five British firms on a cost-plus basis and 50% of these profits were siphoned off by members of the sheik's family.

In the end the public works compound, as Johnson put it, became "a sort of Aladdin's lamp cave in which the sheik keeps everything, from 30 candles to ten cases of lipstick. . . No budget is prepared, no accounts are kept, no audits are held and there is no distinction between ministers' personal financial transactions and those of their departments."

Further south on the Persian Gulf is the British territory of Bahrain where oil has been extracted since the 1930's. The nationalist movement here has been strong and the British kept careful tabs on it in order to assure control by "loyal" elements. In the crisis over the British-French attack on Suez last year, nationalist demonstrations broke out and were brutally suppressed by the sheik. The three principal nationalist leaders were imprisoned under 14-year sentences.

Immediately to the north of Oman lies the country of Qatar. Johnson describes it as the "ultimate horror." It has the highest per capita income in the world. But the people are among the poorest.

Johnson reports, "In the harbor a magnificent luxury yacht—a present from King Saud on the occasion of his state visit—swims at anchor. With its dashing Italian captain and its smart European crew, it costs \$5,600 a week to maintain. But the Ruler has found a textual reference in the Koran which forbids sea travel (he recently abolished the teaching of geography in the state's schools for exactly the same reason the Holy Office condemned Galileo), and during the two-and-a-half years in which the yacht has been in his possession, it has made one solitary and humiliating trip: to pick up a small cargo of dates in Basra."

Johnson also reports that "inside the Ruler's palaces are 450 American cars, many still in the crates in which they arrived, as long ago as 1950. Outside the town is a dump, where chevrolets disintegrate under the sun and wind; wealth returning to the sands from which it came. A few miles inland I saw the Ruler's stud-farm, with its 100 thoroughbreds. Was the ruler, then a great rider. I asked? 'He has never been here,' said the foreman sadly. 'But he believes

When Hiss' book appeared a few weeks ago, the press which had pilloried him in 1948 gave it a mixed reception. Jonathan Daniels called the book "one of the most deeply disturbing human documents of our time." Alistair Cooke, who had covered both Hiss trials, said in the Washington Post, "After reviewing yet again the extreme complications of the documents which damned Hiss, I must say that as a spy, if he ever was one, Hiss was singularly inept. He not only initiated documents he was going to pass on to a conspirator; he typed out dull summaries of economic policy incorporated in documents which the Russians already had in full."

"He left around his superior's office for months documents which he could easily have borrowed for photographing," said Cooke, and then was forced to snatch them for a fast, and faulty, typing job to which he obligingly added annotations in his own hand. . . This obtuseness is foreign to every expression of his mind and working habits. He is essentially an intelligent man, sticking on every page to the discrepancies of his accuser and the plausibility of the facts, scoring to score cheap points or color his case with anger or sarcasm. . ."

The Hiss book created at least sufficient doubt of his guilt that it became necessary to attempt to rehabilitate American "justice" with an "answer." The strident-voiced Sidney Hook was picked by the N.Y. Times to do the job in its May 12 issue.

HOOK TO THE RESCUE

Hook made essentially four criticisms of Hiss' argument: First, that enough of Chambers' testimony about Hiss personally was accurate to establish Chambers' contention of close association despite the denials of Hiss. It is unlikely that any open-minded person who read the book for himself would be so persuaded. But no matter how "close" or casual the relation, it is irrelevant to the charge of espionage.

Second, according to Hook, the discrepancies in Chambers' stories can be matched with those in the testimony of Hiss and merely amount to normal inability to recall detail. Thus, to Hook, the failure of Hiss to recall by a few months when he bought one car and disposed of another is equated with Chambers' forgetting what year he stopped being the agent for a foreign power, to say nothing of his about-face in accusing Hiss of espionage after saying for months that he knew of no espionage activities whatsoever.

Third, Hook argues, the two psychiatrists who testified on behalf of Hiss that Chambers was unbalanced and a psychopathic liar were caught in a contradiction because part of Chambers' testimony was true. That is, Chambers didn't lie 100% of the time after all. It is hard to believe that Hook is serious in this argument, as if the entire psychology of skilled lying were not based upon expansion and embellishment of a few provable facts.

Fourth, the argument in which Hook apparently places his greatest confidence is one attacking Hiss' contention that the documents used as "evidence" against him had been forged on a typewriter especially constructed to reproduce characteristics of a machine that he had once owned. Hook says that Hiss fails to show why it was necessary for Chambers to fabricate

such a typewriter and that Chambers wouldn't have had the skill or time to forge it himself. Hook can make this argument only by failing to present fairly Hiss' account of the forgery evidence.

At first, the effort of Chester T. Lane, counsel for Hiss, was to prove that forgery by typewriter was possible by having an engineer fabricate a machine that would do copy indistinguishable from the typed documents in the case. This effort was successful enough to invalidate the testimony of the FBI document expert at the trial, and explode for all time the position of the FBI and all other police agencies that forgery by typewriter is impossible.

Later, however the typewriter introduced in the trial was examined by a firm of consulting chemists engaged by Mr. Lane, who submitted affidavits that the machine was indeed fabricated and showed extensive signs of type alteration and replacement. This machine could not have been the one originally owned by Hiss. Further, typing experts claimed that by typing characteristics, the trial documents must have been done by at least two persons, but neither one of them could have been Hiss or his wife. Thus it is the task of Chambers to show why the fabrication was necessary and how it was done.

Hiss had received the original machine second hand a good number of years before 1938 and had given it away as useless to the children of one of their servants. It was, of course, a greater number of years later that Chambers or his agents presumably found the machine. It is not unlikely that it was irreparable, and had to be duplicated. And speaking of agents, why must we assume Chambers had to do the fabricating himself? Certainly there were powers that would have had the resources and the motive to assist him.

MOOD OF THE TIMES

It is hardly worth mentioning Hook's fantastic contention regarding the prejudiced press that public animosity was directed as much against Chambers as Hiss. Anyone who remembers those days can only regard such a patent misrepresentation of the mood of the times as another indication of Hook's complete partiality.

Although Hiss presents a completely convincing declaration of his own innocence, he has serious deficiencies in his conception of the witch hunt of which he was one of the most significant victims. Hiss was a loyal Democratic careerist of a mildly liberal bent like his mentor, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. He seems unable to understand that he was a victim of the same juggernaut that rolled over the bodies of the Rosenbergs, jailed Morton Sobell for 30 years and put dozens of Communist Party leaders in prison. He complains that his case was prejudiced by the simultaneous trial of the New York C. P. leaders in the same building. He does not consider to what extent his own case influenced the jurors who heard the case against the Smith Act victims.

The Hiss book makes an important addition to the growing evidence of fraud and frame-up in all the witch-hunt cases. This exposure is an important task, since with Morton Sobell still incarcerated in Alcatraz, the witch hunt is far from dead.

Workers' BOOKSHELF

By Anne Chester
 Manager, Pioneer Publishers

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National Guardian Eulogizes McAvoy

(The following are excerpts from an editorial tribute paid to the late Clifford T. McAvoy by the National Guardian in its issue of Aug. 19.)

Guardian readers everywhere will share with us a feeling of deep personal loss in the death on August 9 of Clifford T. McAvoy of New York. More than any other leading figure in the U.S. progressive movement since the death of Vito Marcantonio (coincidentally on Aug. 9, 1954), Clifford McAvoy exemplified the concept of independent, third-party political action as against the return to the two-party way advocated by the Communist Party since 1950. . .

During the past year McAvoy and others have constituted a Committee for Socialist Unity which has conducted monthly forums and organized the main May Day rally in New York this year, with all points of view invited to speak. With A. J. Muste and others, McAvoy had also helped organize the American Forum for Socialist Education which seeks to provide a national forum for the exchange of views among socialist-minded people.

Unable because of failing health to run for office himself in this year's municipal elections in New York City, he had announced his intention of campaigning for Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor. . .

In 1952 he organized a Citizens Emergency Defense Committee for the defense of the second group of Communist Party leaders indicted under the Smith Act and continued as the active head of this committee despite aggravating differences with the Communist Party in the arena of practical politics.

Every worthy activity on the Left in two decades has sought out Clifford T. McAvoy's support or received that support unelicited. At his side constantly in recent years, more aware than he of the fatal nature of his illness, has been his wife, Muriel Gravelle McAvoy, herself a Progressive Party leader in the '48 campaign for the state of New Hampshire

Auto Barons, Reuther, Hoffa Unite Behind Same Candidate

DETROIT, Aug. 11—They say politics make strange bedfellows, and they can say it with full justice about the current mayoralty campaign here. For the CIO and the Chamber of Commerce, Walter Reuther, Jimmy Hoffa and the auto barons are in the same corner here—all lined up in support of Louis C. Miriani for Mayor in next month's primary election.

Hoffa had little trouble getting the Detroit & Wayne County Federation of Labor to endorse Miriani last Wednesday. Under Hoffa, the DFL has pretty consistently backed conservative candidates locally in recent years.

But heated opposition to Miriani broke out at yesterday's Wayne County CIO convention when the CIO leadership proposed endorsement of Miriani and a slate of liberal candidates for Common Council.

CASE AGAINST MIRIANI

Why, asked several candidates, should the CIO support Miriani? What has he ever done to merit labor's support? And they proceeded to make a strong case against him:

For the last eight years Detroit has been run by the reactionary administration of Mayor Cobo, a Republican servant of the big corporations and a friend of the anti-Negro "improvement associations."

The CIO has opposed the Cobo administration. So have some of the liberal members of the Com-



SARAH LOVELL

mon Council. Where does Miriani, president of the Council, stand? One of the delegates read a statement from the June 14 Detroit Free Press that gave the answer plainly:

"In general, he (Miriani) has supported every major program instituted by Mayor Cobo and, through his council leadership, has been the 'whip' by which other council members have been drawn, not always completely, into line."

Miriani is a Cobo man, supported by the same reactionary forces that back Cobo. Why then, delegates demanded, should the CIO support Miriani?

Some of the delegates said Miriani should not be supported because he isn't a "labor candidate." Others because he is a Republican. Others because they felt uneasy at supporting the same candidate as the auto barons. Still others because they resented Miriani's insulting behavior to a recent convention of Moslems here.

At least half the delegates speaking against Miriani were Negroes. One of them, referring to the role of the Democrats in the Senate civil rights debate, said she didn't care so much that Miriani isn't a Democrat; what she objected to was supporting him without any evidence that he is worthy of support by workers and Negroes.

The answers of the pro-Miriani forces at the CIO convention were extremely feeble. About the best argument they could muster for him was that Roosevelt had appointed him to the

War Labor Board during World War II. The CIO leaders had studied the matter thoroughly, they said, and Miriani should be endorsed as a vote of confidence in them.

An attempt to separate the Miriani endorsement from the others was ruled out of order by the chairman. Some observers thought that if they had been separated, the convention might have rejected Miriani.

Even so, a large minority—around a quarter of the 400-odd delegates—voted against the endorsement resolution.

One delegate, urging the CIO to "at least preserve some dignity," called the Miriani endorsement "scrapping the bottom of the barrel."

And so it is. The CIO leadership here has never made a more striking display of political bankruptcy.

Sarah Lovell, socialist candidate for Mayor urged the labor movement to run its own candidate for city office this year. They refused.

That's not new. But in the past, when they refused to run their own candidates, they always endorsed some Democrat who could be palmed off as "liberal."

REUTHER STRATEGY

This time they aren't doing even that. The Democratic Party decided not to run anyone for Mayor, and the CIO leaders, as usual, are tagging along.

Walter Reuther, it is reported, is the author of this super-brilliant strategy. Getting tired of supporting Democrats for Mayor who get beaten, he has decided to try supporting a Republican who can get elected. He calls this a way of "getting a foot in the door."

The question is: What door? It is unfortunate that Reuther and Hoffa, out of fear of independent labor politics, have taken the labor movement into the Miriani-Cobo camp.

But their endorsements don't change the character of Miriani: He is still the candidate and willing tool of big business.

And the only way to protest against this unholy alliance, and in favor of a new political road for the labor and Negro movements, is by voting for Sarah Lovell for Mayor (No. 8 on the "non-partisan" ballot).

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THE MILITANT

"Clean Up N.Y. Sweatshops!"



Socialist Workers Party slate in the coming New York City elections. From left to right: Morris Zuckoff, for City Comptroller; Joyce Cowley, for Mayor; Lillian Kiezel, for President of the City Council; and Alvin Berman, for Borough President of Brooklyn.

SWP Candidates Hit Boss-Gangster Tieups

NEW YORK, Aug. 15 — Sweatshop wages and conditions in New York were denounced today by four Socialist Workers Party candidates for city offices. The

four are Joyce Cowley for Mayor, Lillian Kiezel for President of the City Council, Morris Zuckoff for Comptroller, and Alvin Berman for Borough President of Brooklyn. Their full statement follows.

"We believe that the entire working class in New York City has an urgent task to perform in helping low-paid Puerto Rican and Negro workers to organize effectively against the intolerable conditions and wages forced upon them by the alliance of employers and racketeers in this city.

"The present hearings before the Senate labor-probe committee have caused much publicity to center around this problem. But we warn that the committee cannot, and does not intend to help the workers fight for higher wages and organization in their own interests. The purpose of the committee is to provide an atmosphere in which the labor movement generally can be slandered and in which anti-labor legislation can be passed in Congress.

"The problems of the low-paid workers will not be solved by the present city administration, either. In the glare of the publicity around the Senate hearings—where some testimony linked city officials with the employer-racketeer alliance—Mayor Wagner has announced the formation of a committee composed of representatives of labor and industry, city officials and members of the Puerto Rican Labor Department here to deal with the problem.

WAGNER'S RECORD

"The value of such announcements can be judged by the record. Well over a year ago, the administration announced with fanfare that it was cooperating with the AFL-CIO in an investigation of this very same problem. But no action was taken

against the racketeers or the employers. On the contrary, in several instances where Puerto Rican and Negro workers themselves went out on strike against companies operating in collusion with racketeers, the city police ousted them from buildings and limited their picket lines, the city welfare agency refused them aid and even forced other workers on the relief roles to act as strikebreakers, and the city issued licenses to employment agencies which recruited more strikebreakers.

"In a few instances, the workers have nevertheless won strikes, with support from the official labor movement. It is our conviction that the super-exploitation of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in New York City can be eliminated only if these workers succeed in organizing themselves. For this they need the backing of the entire labor movement.

OFFER PROGRAM

"With this in mind, we submit that a city administration which was serious about eliminating this exploitation would act as follows:

"Grant automatic full unemployment or welfare relief to all workers who strike against the employer-racketeer alliance. Protect the unrestricted right to picket by such workers.

"Turn the facilities of the city labor station, WNYC, over to committees of workers who are on strike or attempting to organize so that they can keep the glare of publicity on the conditions which prevail among the low-paid workers in this city.

"Refuse to license employment agency sharks, employers to be required to hire workers through non-discriminatory, free employment offices or through democratically controlled union hiring halls where they exist."

Abuse of Puerto Ricans Told by Two at Hearings

By Alvin Berman

SWP Candidate for Borough President of Brooklyn

AUG. 14 — The Senate labor probe, chaired by Sen. McClellan (D-Ark.), is completing its third week in New York City, and an ugly picture of collusion between employers, gangsters and the city administration is clearly emerging. The testimony of Bertha Nunez, a young Honduran girl, and Mario Montaldo, a 32-year-old Puerto Rican worker, poignantly revealed the brutal exploitation of the minority people.

While employed by Century Brothers in Brooklyn, Miss Nunez became a member of Johnny Dio's Local No. 250 of the Allied Industrial Workers. Two of Dio's goons and her boss called a meeting of the workers in the shop and informed them that "they would either join the union or be fired." They paid an initiation fee of \$15 to \$20 (this had to be paid again upon being recalled from lay-offs) and weekly dues of \$1.00.

In addition to a paltry raise from \$36 to \$38 a week they got a contract that they were never allowed to see until one of the workers seized it from a thug that was visiting the plant to collect his pay-off. The "contract" had many provisions inked out. The one-year duration had been changed to two. There was no seniority clause and the employer could lay-off and discipline the workers at his own whim.

The working conditions in this "union" shop were bad

beyond endurance. When a pregnant worker requested a few days off from the unheated, bitterly cold shop, her request was refused. She subsequently contracted pneumonia and lost her child.

The following summer, Miss Nunez led her fellow workers in their first strike. Despite intimidation by the boss and "union" thugs, their demand for electric fans was granted after a four-hour work stoppage. This was followed by another strike on Nov. 5 with the workers demanding the decertification of their gangster-ridden union.

When a Dio thug warned Miss Nunez, "You'll be sorry," she snapped back, "No, you'll be sorry." Miss Nunez and her fellow workers through a courageous "five-minute" strike won an NLRB election. The results — Local No. 485, IUE, 106 votes; no union, one vote; Johnny Dio's local, zero votes.

Mario Montaldo was a \$60-a-week foreman at the Miro Pen Co. Forty-five percent of the workers were Puerto Rican and the balance were Negro. Ninety percent of the workers got less than \$1.00 an hour. One day James Isoli handed out "union" cards and announced "There's a union."

The boss' favorites were exempt from paying dues or initiation fees. No meetings were held and sweatshop conditions were frozen by the "contract" that was unavailable for examination. When the boss told Mr. Montaldo that he must "fire the smart people who make

trouble," he led the shop out on strike.

Through the cooperation of the boss, thugs and the police the strike was broken after a few hours. Mr. Montaldo was escorted away from the premises by a police sergeant.

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Montaldo got a job at the Del Pen Co. When thug Isoli tried repeating his "organization" of the shop by handing out cards in collusion with the employer, Mr. Montaldo shouted to the workers, "Don't let anyone sign those cards." The workers hit the bricks carrying picket signs reading, "RACKETEER LOCALS MUST BE DESTROYED." The strike forced decertification of Dio's local and Local No. 484, IUE, is at present the bargaining agent.

The role of the liberal Wagner administration was made clear in sworn testimony of John MacNiff of the Association of Catholic Trade Unions. While pointing out how difficult it is to oust racketeering locals, Mr. MacNiff gave specific examples of collusion between city agencies and racketeering strikebreakers.

For instance, MacNiff pointed out to this day the New York City License Commissioner grants licenses to Employment agencies that supply scabs for these strikes. MacNiff also testified that at least on one occasion agents of the city's Welfare Department escorted home-relief applicants through picket lines to act as scabs against their own people.

... Ohio Taft-Hartley Case

(Continued from page 1) and others as defendants in a conspiracy charge under the Taft-Hartley law.

THREAT TO ALL LABOR

The broad, general and vague terms of the indictment threatened the entire labor movement. It introduced a device for persecuting any trade union leader, establishing guilt by association rather than by proof of overt acts.

But now it appears the government overreached itself. The case that was to provide a new weapon for attacking unionists may set a very different kind of precedent. It may result in a setback for the Justice Department that will check the unbridled attempt to housebreak unions by dictating what kind of officers they can select.

To help assure competent legal defense, contributions should be sent to the following:

For the three unionists, Fred and Marie Haug and Eric Rein-

thaler, to Tom Degnan, Treasurer, R-H Defense Fund, 1205 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

For other defendants, to the Committee for Taft-Hartley Defendants, 2014 E. 105 St., Room 202, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

New York Young Socialist Forum

Fourth forum in series

"The Chinese Revolution"

Speaker: Jim Lamb
(American Youth for Socialism)

Tues., Aug. 20 — 8:15 P.M.

ADELPHI HALL

74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.)

... Harlem Interviews

(Continued from page 1) ingly as an afterthought, "Nobody gives a damn about us." Amen, I wanted to say. It sure looks like it.

If the usefulness of the bill was in general pooh-poohed, its political motivation seemed equally clear to those interviewed. However, when asked if the Republicans might gain, several thought it possible, since Eisenhower had introduced the bill. But curiously enough, the tone that would accompany this "opinion," did not suggest that the speaker himself thought the Republicans deserved any credit. Rather, it seemed to say, "Well, some people will be fooled by this, but I sure know better."

New York Encampment

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party has reserved the facilities of beautiful Mountain Spring Camp in Washington, N. J. for the

Labor Day Week-End
Aug. 30 through Sept. 2

Speakers for the week-end:

JOYCE COWLEY, writer for the Militant and Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York.

RONALD JONES, Negro lecturer and educator who will give a first hand report on the Tuskegee events.

TIM WOHLFORTH, leading member of Left Wing Caucus of the Young Socialist League.

SPECIAL EVENT: Folk singing and folk dancing led by the Folk Singing Group.

For further information or reservations, write:

New York Local
Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

— Phone: AL 5-7852 —

Repairs Finally Decreed For Century-Old Firetrap

By David Dreiser

NEW HAVEN — The Bureau of Environmental Sanitation here has condemned a five-unit dwelling in one of the oldest sections of the city as unfit for human habitation.

The wooden frame, three-story tenement is "at least 100 years old" according to Eric W. Mood, director of the bureau. The Columbus Avenue area in which it is situated abounds in 100-year-old buildings in which a large section of the population is forced to live and work in constant danger to life and health from fires and lack of sanitation.

Two things have caused this particular case to highlight the conditions in these ancient slums which are a part of every New England industrial city. One is the fact that one of these tinder boxes finally got condemned, which is unusual enough in itself. The other is that records indicate that in the Civil War this particular building was already being used as a barracks for Union troops.

The bureau's report claims that the walls are out of plumb, the chimney is almost ready to come down, and the porches and stairways are unsafe, not to mention the condition of the plumbing and wiring. In spite of the obvious need to demolish and replace this fire trap, the owner

Calendar Of Events

New York Youth

Young Socialist Forum, Tues., Aug. 20, 8:15 P.M., "The Chinese Revolution." Speaker Jim Lamb of the American Youth for Socialism. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.). Contribution: 50 cents. 25 cents for students.

West Coast

The West Coast Vacation School (30 miles from Los Angeles) will be held from Aug. 31 through Sept. 8. For information and reservations write: West Coast Vacation School, 1702 E. 4th Street, Los Angeles 35, Calif., or phone: AN 9-4953 or NO 3-0387.

After a ten day period in which three youths were killed in gang fights and a number of persons seriously injured, New York's 23,000 policemen were on special alert. Six hundred rookie cops were assigned to a special night patrol in dangerous neighborhoods. State Youth Commission officials held conferences with Governor Harriman and city officials in an effort to head off further outbreaks of teen-age violence.

This sounds like an emergency, but Arthur J. Rogers, director of the Youth Board's gang project, says it's just the usual summer problem which regularly follows the close of school and continues throughout the vacation period. He points out that lack of funds forces most community centers and settlements to close down on weekends, when they are most in demand. Others close their doors for the entire months of July and August. Bored teen-agers roam the hot city streets and this inevitably results in an intensification of gang hostilities.

The problem is not new but the newspapers still consider it good copy. In headlines two inches high they are denouncing young punks and hoodlums and calling for a get tough policy. The usual proposals have been made: more cops, a teen-age curfew, laws to punish the parents of delinquents.

Public officials, who have failed conspicuously in their efforts to check the steady rise of juvenile crime, naturally don't like to feel that it is their responsibility. It's the parents who are to blame! Parents should beat their children more frequently. Parents of juvenile offenders should be heavily fined, or better yet, sent to jail.

Since the demand to punish parents has been raised by New York city officials, spokesmen for the police department and editorial writers in the daily press, it is of some interest to review what happened in the cities that did pass legislation to fine and jail parents. The universal conclusion, even of

those who originally advocated the laws, is that they have completely failed to check juvenile delinquency. In fact, legislation of this type has aggravated the situation.

EFFECT OF LAWS

About six months ago in the New York Herald Tribune John and June Robbins gave a comprehensive report on the effect of these laws in communities throughout the country:

"Bad parent-child relationships... too often become even worse than before. In Georgia we learned where mothers and fathers went home from court in a rage after paying heavy fines and beat up their children so badly they were all back in court again the next week."

In a Texas court, a judge who released a father after a two-day sentence said hopefully: "We trust this lesson will teach you to keep your child from running with young hoodlums."

"Don't worry, judge," the father said, "when I get through with him he won't even be able to walk!"

In a mood of revenge, children have used the law against their parents. A Missouri mother complained to the court: "When I tell my son to stay

home, he says that if I don't let him alone he'll do something so bad you'll send me to jail."

These laws not only bring suffering to the delinquents and their parents. Other, non-delinquent children in the family are "deprived of their parents' economic support"—i.e., they are boarded out in foster homes or placed in institutions.

In Dayton, Ohio, a law of this type was abandoned after ten years. Domestic Relations Court Judge Paul W. Alexander told why:

"In the name of justice we did some terrible things. We broke up homes, took people's emergency savings away, caused children to become public charges."

VICIOUS CIRCLE

I began to visualize the effect of a punish-the-parents law in New York City. The new policemen added to the force will arrest parents. Then they'll have to set up community kitchens to feed the parentless kids. This will result in even more delinquency and we will again have to hire new cops, who will arrest more parents. More community kitchens will be needed, etc.

The New York Times, not completely in agreement with this "blame-the-parent" theory,

points to the role of the neighborhood.

"Most of these crimes have occurred in economically underprivileged neighborhood areas"—a polite phrase for slums—"that are poverty-ridden, filled with broken homes, alcoholics and working parents who have no time for their children. The children mirror the neighborhood in which they live."

They conclude that an ideal solution would be to eliminate the "so-called bad neighborhoods." Ideal but—"since the city's housing pattern is along racial and socio-economic lines, at least for the present, this appears an impractical solution."

In plain English—they mean that it's Negroes and Puerto Ricans and other badly paid workers who live in the "bad" neighborhoods, and there isn't much you can do about it. Move the slum children to Park Avenue? That wouldn't fit into the "racial and socio-economic" pattern of our housing.

THERE'S NO MONEY

The Times concedes that new housing, recreational facilities and schools would bring about a remarkable improvement in the bad neighborhoods and calls this a "step in the right direction."

Not a practical step, of course, because there is no money for housing and schools. There isn't even money for the limited immediate proposals made by the Youth Board at recent conferences. State and city officials are greatly concerned about the problem but they have given no indication that they would provide any cash.

These officials aren't really interested in helping troubled youth, on either a short-term or long-term basis. It's not a profitable undertaking for the men they serve, the landlords and employers who make millions out of the misery and degradation of "economically underprivileged neighborhood areas." Immediate remedies cost too much and they're futile, anyway. As for measures that strike at the roots of juvenile crime, anyone who wants to eliminate it will have to start by eliminating both the profiteers and their political spokesmen.

This is a job for the working people of New York who really care about a better life for their children. Once they place their own representatives in office, money for decent housing, schools and all the other facilities our children need will come first.