

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. 2, NUMBER 10

MARCH 29, 1954



WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Eisenhower (Like Bao Dai) Could Use Some Outside Help

The idea that other countries have a right to intervene when internal conditions become a danger to world stability was recently made explicit at Caracas. It is written into the North Atlantic Pact, which brings the alliance into play when the "political independence" of a member State is threatened by "internal aggression." The UN Charter, perhaps because the German experience was fresh in the minds of the framers, gives the Security Council a power to act against any "threat to the peace" broad enough to deal with the rise of some new Hitler. It is a pity there is no world combination of powers strong enough to apply so ready a remedy to Washington. Eisenhower (like Bao Dai) is beginning to need outside help.

This conceit, of course, is not meant to be taken too seriously. Though so much has been done in recent years to cultivate mutual suspicion and distrust in this country, Americans are a long way from taking up arms against each other. The courts still operate. The roads are safe. The police and Army are politically loyal. McCarthy is a long way from being the threat to this Republic that Hitler was to Weimar in 1932, or even in 1928. But a political development which deprives the government of the world's most powerful country of capacity to act efficiently and sensibly is a development which endangers world peace and security.

Life and Death in Flabby Hands

The U. S. is the leader, organizer and paymaster of a huge coalition in a world split in two. It holds in its hands the most terrible instruments of destruction ever developed by the mind of man and it claims the right to use these for "instant retaliation" under certain circumstances, yet those hands show themselves increasingly shaky and incompetent, the will behind them is flabby and at the mercy of emotional tides which make sober reasoning ever more difficult.

A government which insists that in some circumstances it must have the right to unleash hell on earth without consulting its own people or others; the right to judge quickly and perhaps fatally obscure questions of aggression on some distant border; this government cannot pull itself together sufficiently to make one upstart Senator and a brash young lawyer stand aside while it settles a cheap and scandalous little affair in which they have tried to bulldoze the Army.

"Instant" Action—and Nine Retrials

The Secretary of State who announced the "instant retaliation" policy is so poorly equipped to make independent decisions against sinister pressure that after prolonged study he has ordered an accused young diplomat, John P. Davies, to undergo another trial—a *ninth* trial—on "subversive" charges so spuri-

ous they would have been thrown out of court in any stable country long ago. The difficulty here is more than moral—a favorite term of the unctuous Secretary's. It is political. Davies was one victim of the secret power Chiang Kai-shek has exerted to drive out of Washington all those who took an astringent view of his regime and a sober attitude toward the great convulsion in the Far East. This was McCarran's victim, and behind McCarran is the China Lobby, and because of its power we move toward Geneva unable to recognize realities in China or Indo-China.

On every hand there is evidence of terror in American life, freezing into fearful inaction all those on whom an alternative policy might be based. Though there is instinctive resistance to intervention in Indo China, there is no peace movement, there are no peace meetings. The undertow toward a new intervention grows more powerful despite the President. A situation is building up in which inept men may be pushed by some unexpected turn of events into terrible decisions in sheer funk.

Afraid to Talk Peace

An example is at hand, of the extent to which sane thinking in America has been made almost impossible. The great Super H bomb has just been exploded in the Pacific. The Alsop Brothers last Wednesday had a column discussing its significance. They reported that a Civil Defense study showed that a modern nuclear attack on this country would leave 22,000,000 injured and 9,000,000 dead. The official who made the estimate asked helplessly, "Just as a practical matter how in hell are you going to bury 9,000,000 dead?" The answer, according to the Alsops, "is that this kind of mass slaughter simply cannot be permitted to happen." They see "only one way to prevent it." The only sure way to prevent it is to remain at peace, but this idea is "subversive"; there is a block against it. The Alsop solution is "to get the people out of the cities before the bombs fall," if necessary on foot!

This sort of thinking is not confined to the Alsops. It is omnipresent. Everyone has another solution—some a bigger air force, others a radar fence around the country, etc., but no one says, "Look, the situation is so terrible we've simply got to live in peace with the Russians." No one talks that way any more, at least no one who can reach more than a handful of people. The country is afraid to talk of peace. It is being conditioned for war, and war will engulf all mankind.

This atmosphere, this growing impotence in Washington, is one no army of intervention could cure, but it is a far greater threat to world peace and security than the petty conflicts in Indo-China or Korea.

An On-The-Scene Report from New Orleans by Jennings Perry

The Congressional Inquisition Moves South . . .

By Jennings Perry

New Orleans—While the major banners in the press clung to the McCarthy-Army entanglement, the great latter-day witch-hunt quietly moved south and opened here last week under the sole management of Sen. James O. Eastland, of Mississippi.

For three days at New Orleans, Eastland, as a one-man "task force" of the Jenner Internal Security Committee, held hearings into the possibility that the Communist conspiracy has been "masquerading behind the facade of a humanitarian educational institution" in Dixieland—the Southern Conference Educational Fund. The fund is an offshoot or outgrowth of the old Southern Conference for Human Welfare, founded in the depression years and dissolved in the '40s.

The hearings were conducted in a federal district court room at the New Orleans postoffice, a dark-panelled hall embellished, on the wall behind the high bench, with the emblematic scale of justice, in precise, even balance. Throughout the hearings the emblem managed stolidly to keep its balance only because it is carved in wood.

Statesmen at Work

At the very beginning of the hearing, Eastland emphatically informed counsel for the several witnesses present under subpoena that the right of cross-examination was unknown in congressional inquiries and that, as for other rules, the chairman would announce them as occasion required. At that first look, it struck some in the room that of the two principals on the bench, Eastland and Richard Arens, the committee's counsel, Arens, with snowy hair and knitted brows, had the statesmanlike appearance. Later however, as Arens began to chomp gum, where the Senator only chewed his cigar, this impression was altered.

The announced purpose of the hearing—to inquire into the activities of the fund—got no notice, once the proceedings began. Leo Sheiner, an attorney, and Max Shlafrock, contractor, both of Miami, the first witnesses called, refused to say whether or not they ever had heard of the fund. Both claimed protection of the Fifth Amendment, though Sheiner also insisted upon his rights under the First, Second, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth and Ten Amendments, a move Eastland took as an affront. Recognizing the appeal to the Fifth, he roared, "All the rest of that stuff is bunk!"

These witnesses were stood aside; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the fund, was called; and immediately the force of the reasons which have been given by other witnesses for "taking the Fifth" began to appear. It was known that Dombrowski would not take the Fifth.

A soft-voiced scholar, whose work always has been in opposition to racial discrimination, he repeatedly attempted to explain the activities of the fund, which were supposed to be in question. Instead he was pressed hour after hour upon his indorsements of peace pleas, amnesty pleas, etc., without number, and his reason for such indorsements. His reply that "if it was for peace, I probably signed it" again and again amused the committee counsel.

Refuses to Name Contributors

As to the amnesty pleas, he at one point quietly lectured his inquisitors, "It apparently is difficult for you to imagine, but there are people who speak for mercy to others for no other reason than mercy." He answered willingly any questions put about himself and the fund, but in the end denied on the grounds of "the rights of others" to produce a list of contributors to his organization.

At the end of the first day, the witnesses still to be heard were Aubrey Williams, president of the fund, Virginia Durr and Miles Horton, officers of the fund. The courtroom had been orderly, though among the spectators at the back hard

looks could have been seen and deprecatory whispers passed behind screening hands.

One newsman, mistaken for a witness, was approached in the corridor by a woman who had sat tensely forward on her bench during the proceedings. "You want to rule the world, don't you?" she said between clenched teeth. Outside, in Lafayette Square, the azalias and camellias were in full springtime flower. The weather had improved and New Orleans went about its vast business largely unmindful of the inquisition shaping up at the federal building.

The Witnesses Against Williams

Friday morning, Williams was called. He identified himself at Arens request: publisher of the Southern Farm and Home Magazine, circulation 800,000, former National Youth Administrator, before that deputy administrator of the WPA. He is president of the educational fund. He asked no immunity under the fifth, testified freely, save that, like Dombrowski, he refused to give the names of those who have contributed to the fund. Eastland and Arens were cautious and courteous. Their chief "friendly" witness, Paul Crouch, took the stand; he claimed to have been introduced to Williams by Communists. John Butler, the committee's other witness was next; he said he had met Williams as "comrade Williams" at an event 12 years ago, and later had attended a communist party meeting at which Williams had been present.

Williams branded both statements as lies, challenged the witness to come out into the corridor and in the presence of newsmen repeat the statements, "I'll sue for everything you've got." But Eastland intervened. Neither Baker nor Crouch would accept William's challenge repeated at the adjournment of the session.

All of the accusations of party ties at this hearing were made by Crouch and Butler. Both are ex-Communists. Crouch claims a party membership of 17 years. He gives his address as Honolulu and smirkingly admits that he is a "professional witness." Butler is an earthworm of a man for whom it is possible to have compassion. Crouch is different; tall and once robust, he has a pudgy face browned by many hours under kleig lights on the witness chair.

Served Two Years At Alcatraz

Courtmarshaled for inciting to disaffection among the soldiers at Schofield Barracks, Crouch was sentenced and served two years at Alcatraz. He recites with relish all the incidents of an infamous career. He wears rimless glasses which, as he waits in the witness benches to do his next denouncement, catch the light with the glitter of a monocle. He has spent "5,000 hours" relating his past to the FBI "and is not through yet."

Evidently, a great part of Crouch's confessional has been rehearsal for appearances as a committee witness in subversive hearings. He is mechanically glib, speaking in a quaint sing-song you would expect of a Hollywood extra impersonating a Canton coolie. He appears to enjoy hugely the mental strain put upon those whose honor and self-respect his testimony impugns.

According to his own word, he was a "top flight" Communist organizer in the South in the days of the New Deal. He is a sort of juke box in which many recordings have been filed; committee counsel has only to press a button marked with any name and Crouch instantly gives with his tale. It was during his accusation of Williams that he was touched off by Arens with regard to Clifford Durr.

Clifford Durr, Rhodes scholar, sometime lecturer on law at Princeton, former member of the Federal Communications Commission, had come to Eastland's hearing as counsel for his friend and neighbor Williams, and also for Miles Horton, founder and teacher at Highlander Folk School in the