

ders, although there can be no certainty where Mr. Bevan's turbulent personality is involved. Rather it seems that they will concentrate on agitating within the party and on attempting to browbeat the Parliamentary Labour Party by invoking their support outside Parliament. If there is another vote against the party in the House of Commons, there will almost certainly be fewer than fifty-six dissidents: A second act of defiance would almost inevitably lead to expulsion.

One cannot believe that Mr. Bevan will go so far as to get himself expelled

from the party. If he did, he might so weaken Labour as to prevent its winning the next election. But the expense and difficulties of forming a third great party in Britain would be as overwhelming for him as they were for Henry Wallace in the United States. No man or group on the Left has ever fought the Labour Party machine and won.

Instead, Mr. Bevan probably will do all he can to undermine the present leadership by insisting that it lacks efficiency and drive. This has been the tactic of his group in the House of

Commons since the last general election. But the group has made little headway, and its behavior has stimulated the Labour leaders into greater activity. As the argument over rearmament becomes blurred and loses topicality, Mr. Bevan will keep shifting his ground; but there seems little prospect that, however hard he tries, he will succeed in winning over the trade unions and the one body which can make him Prime Minister of a Labour Government or give effective expression to his views—the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Florida: Dynamite Law Replaces Lynch Law

WILLIAM S. FAIRFIELD

IT WAS muggy and warm in Jacksonville, even at three in the morning. The polls for Florida's May 27 primary election would be open in a few hours, but now the sound trucks and the radios were silent. The people of Jacksonville slept.

Suddenly, families in a ten-block area were jolted from slumber by a shattering explosion. Police rushed to the scene and found a two-foot hole blasted through the roof of the Walker Vocational and Commercial College, the polling place for Precinct 3-A's 2,291 registered voters, 2,290 of whom are Negroes.

While officers searched for clues, police headquarters received a second call from only a few blocks away. David H. Dwight, president of a Negro voting organization, had found two sticks of dynamite on his front porch, the fuze apparently extinguished by contact with a wet hedge.

Next day, Jacksonville's largest newspaper, the *Florida Times-Union*, was crammed with election stories. The

bombing incidents rated only a single-column headline on page 19.

Perhaps Florida, along with the rest of the South, is coming to accept dynamite as an instrument of racial and religious intimidation. In the last several years, the homemade bomb has slowly but steadily replaced the whip and the rope of the Ku Klux Klan.

Since 1949, thirteen Negro homes and business places have been bombed in Dallas alone, together with ten in Birmingham and seven in Atlanta. Other prejudice-inspired explosions have occurred in Miami, New Orleans, Nashville, Chattanooga, and a dozen-odd smaller Southern communities, bringing the total bombings to more than fifty. Since 1949, there have been only seven lynchings in the South.

The switch to dynamite obviously began well before the recent Federal crackdown on active remnants of the Klan, but it was nevertheless governed by very practical considerations. For one thing, bombing avoids the Federal offense of kidnaping. For another,

dynamite is self-destroying evidence. Ownership of a rope or whip can often be traced. A pistol slug can be checked by ballistic markings. But when a bomb explodes, the best clues vanish with it. In addition, the use of dynamite requires no hooded mob of accomplices; and if he uses a long fuze, the dynamiter can be miles from the scene by the time the bomb explodes. For these and other reasons, the popularity of dynamite continues to increase among the violently prejudiced.

Catalogue of Horror

The Southern bombing incident which recently has attracted the most national attention occurred last Christmas night in Mims, Florida, where Harry T. Moore, state co-ordinator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was killed in an explosion that wrecked one whole side of his frame house. During only the first two weeks of this year, local newspapers in the South carried stories on no fewer than seven "successful"



bombings. On January 1, three men in Rome, Georgia, confessed to the bombing of a Negro social club, which they described as "a public nuisance." On January 2, dynamite shattered five windows of a rural home in Crossville, Alabama, following an attempted K.K.K. cross burning. On January 3, a homemade bomb exploded in the middle of an Atlanta street. On January 9, an explosion at Phenix City, Alabama, heavily damaged the home of a prominent anti-vice crusader. On January 10, at Oxford, North Carolina, dynamite blasted the home of a Negro farmer built on the former site of a white church. On January 12, a Negro night club in Dallas was struck by dynamite and severely damaged. And on January 13, in Dothan, Alabama, the home of a woman who was to have testified against two white men in a rape case was rocked by a bomb explosion.

If the use of dynamite is increasing in the South, it also seems to be spreading to other sections of the country. On January 18, high-school youths in Philadelphia tossed amateur bombs into a synagogue. On January 29, dynamite exploded on the back steps of the home of Dr. U. F. Bass, a leading Negro physician in Cairo, Illinois. In mid-March, a Jewish community center in Easton, Pennsylvania, was threatened with bombing; and across the nation, in Los Angeles, the home of a Negro high-

school science teacher and a house directly across the street were struck by separate dynamite charges.

The Growth of Fear

In the South, where anti-minority activity is a thoroughly developed science, actual bombings form only a small part of the total incidents, and killings are studiously avoided, lest otherwise sympathetic police be forced to take a hand. One explosion, it has been found, gives convincing weight to threats of bombings for weeks to come.

What dynamite can do to a normally peaceful city in terms of fear, anger, and hysteria is perhaps most clearly illustrated by Miami, which is only now calming down after a year-long series of bombings, attempted bombings, and threats directed against Negroes, Jews, and Catholics.

It began in the spring of 1951. On March 7, eight sticks of dynamite destroyed 127 panes of glass at Miami's Jackson High School. Three weeks later, Shenandoah High School was shaken by a similar blast, and five sticks of dynamite exploded against a wall of the downtown Imperial Hotel.

On June 6, Miami police arrested five teen-age boys. All five soon confessed, ascribing the high-school bombings to football rivalries and the Imperial Hotel explosion to an altercation with a prostitute. Racial prejudice

was indicated only in a fourth admitted incident, the bombing of a tourist attraction in order to "scare" the Indians who operated it.

The Miami *Herald* and the Miami *Daily News* promptly took up their violins in defense of the boys. John and James Stefanitde, seventeen-year-old twins about to graduate from Miami Senior High School, received front-page treatment. On June 8, the morning *Herald* described the jailed twins as "dark-haired and handsome, and as alike as two pins." The *Herald* reported the twins were "almost tearful" as they "asked anxiously if there was any chance of their taking part in . . . graduation ceremonies." "We never dreamed it would get us in jail," Jim was quoted as saying.

The rival *Daily News* stated that the twins had "coveted [their diplomas] for twelve years" and were "almost in tears." "By filling order sacks at the grocery stores in their after school hours," the *News* added, "they had saved up enough money to buy new suits for the ceremonies."

The twins got to their graduation ceremony with everything but a police escort. Nor was it surprising when two weeks later the trial ended in freedom for four of the youths and prompt release on probation for the fifth.

The local press further pointed the way for what was to follow in Miami by describing, in indirect defense of the five boys, the ease with which dynamite can be obtained. From a single stick to a case, the commodity can be bought as easily, it was variously stated, as "chewing gum" . . . "a toothbrush" . . . "milk and bread." Almost every hardware store handles dynamite. In Dade County outside the metropolitan area, no purchase permit is needed, no records are kept, no questions asked. And if money is a problem, the stuff can be picked up around any excavation project. Miami's bed of coral rock is so solid and so near the surface that even gravediggers are sometimes obliged to blast.

The constant press reminders that bombing ought not to be considered a very serious crime, and that tools for the job are readily available, did not pass unnoticed among Miami's violent bigots, who were at their work again even before the trial of the five boys was over.

On June 5, Tifereth Israel's brand-

new Jewish community center on the Northside was jarred by an explosion. The rest room where the dynamite had been planted was wrecked. At the same time, local newspapers reported receiving telephoned threats of violence if two other proposed Jewish centers were built. And construction of a fourth Jewish center in suburban Hialeah was held up after a series of anonymous warnings, and finally abandoned.

Meanwhile, local emotions were building up over an unsuccessful private housing development, once white, now opened to Negroes and renamed Carver Village. On September 22, a deafening explosion shook homes in a two-mile radius around Carver Village. Two dynamite charges, later estimated at a hundred sticks each, had been placed against the wall of a vacant Carver building, almost destroying it. A third charge of eighty sticks had failed to detonate. Police pronounced this charge the work of professionals, despite its failure.

A week later, on the evening of September 30, Tifereth Israel's Northside center was threatened again. At ten o'clock, George Weisbaum, its president, received a phone call. The center would be blown up in ten minutes, warned a voice with a guttural German accent. Weisbaum and police hurried to the center, where they discovered a crude hand-painted sign nailed to a cross. The sign contained some swastikas, a Nazi eagle, and several slogans in German, the most literate of which read "Deutschland [*sic*] Uber Alles" and "'Heil Hitler' und der KKK."

Another week passed. Then on October 8, a man with an accent phoned in another threat, this time to Harold Robbin, vice-president of the Tifereth Israel congregation. Floodlights were set up, and nothing happened.

The next day, however, a second Miami synagogue felt the threat of prejudice. At Temple Israel, a cross and the letters KKK were splashed on the side of a door in red paint. Two sticks of dynamite were found nearby. The fuze had sputtered out.

On October 15, two more sticks of dynamite turned up at the Miami Hebrew School and Congregation in another section of the city. The fuze had likewise gone out prematurely. It was the first day of Succoth, the Jewish Thanksgiving.

Before the next month was out, attention was again focused on Carver Village. Mrs. Chelsie Senerchia, wife of Miami's newly elected mayor, reported two telephone calls from a man with a German accent. "Get the Negroes out of Carver Village or we will blow the whole place apart," she was told.

Just before dawn on November 30, with the Negroes still in Carver Village, the threat was carried out. Windows were broken for blocks around as an explosion all but demolished a second vacant Carver building.

Miami police had placed a guard at Carver Village ever since the September 22 explosion there, but he had seen nothing. Now a group of angry Negroes assembled at the scene, some of them armed. But the best Police Chief Walter Headley could offer was a statement blaming the bombing on someone "with Communist connections."

Sheriff Henderson Gets the Point

Less than forty-eight hours later, in the early morning of December 2, the bombings reached their peak. At 3:57 A.M., a third blast was reported at Carver Village. At 4:30 A.M., a second charge of dynamite was thrown at the Miami Hebrew School and Congrega-

tion. This time it went off, smashing forty-four memorial windows. Thirteen minutes later there was another explosion in the southwest section of Miami. The timing was such that all three charges could have been thrown from a single fast-moving car. It was now Sheriff J. B. Henderson's turn to make a statement: "It looks like a wave of bombing," he confided to the press.

The guttural voice was soon heard again, in adjacent Coral Gables. On the evening of December 9, the telephone rang in the home of Coral Gables Safety Director William G. Kimbrough. "A polite man with a heavy accent" came quickly to the point of his call: "We are going to blow the damned synagogue up."

The Safety Director dispatched an all-night guard to the Coral Gables Jewish Center and assigned a patrol car to the area. At 7:30, a boy passing the center discovered a stick of dynamite. The charred fuze was found some twenty-five feet away, evidently jolted loose when the bomb glanced off a nearby tree.

By December 11, Greater Miami was nearing the panic point. Negro and Jewish mothers refused to allow their children out of doors. Miami's Anti-Defamation League office was getting



a dozen calls daily from cities in the North, asking if it was safe to come to Miami on vacation. Local rabbis were forced to issue a statement condemning "vigilante action" by special groups after Jewish War Veterans chapters had succeeded in getting sworn in by Sheriff Henderson and were preparing to place an armed round-the-clock guard on all Miami synagogues.

The Miami police bomb detail had been expanded from three men to eighty. The entire traffic squad was taken off its motorcycles and staked out, dusk to dawn, at potential bomb targets. Traffic violations rose elsewhere while the police concentrated on writing down the license number of every car that passed. When a car appeared at more than one check-point in any day, the owner was traced. Many were indignant, but quite a few admitted they were touring the targets on purpose, hoping to see some action. Police switchboards were jammed with calls reporting loud noises, along with an occasional misguided prankster using a fake German accent.

Up to mid-December, one minority group, the Catholics, had completely escaped the bombings. Then, one night, Safety Director Kimbrough received another call. "Listen carefully," said a guttural voice. "To show we aren't prejudiced against the Jews, we plan to celebrate Christmas by bombing a Catholic church."

Despite vast police preparations, the "celebration" was nearly a success. On the morning of December 24, a stick of dynamite, its fuze half burned, was found on the steps of St. Peter and St. Paul Catholic Church.

A Lull

When the fuze sputtered out, however, so did Miami's dynamite terror. On December 24, State Attorney Glen C. Mincer promised to seek the death penalty for dynamiters and further promised that the perpetrator would be indicted within twenty-four hours and would go on trial within thirty days. On December 27, Governor Fuller Warren posted rewards totaling \$6,000 for arrest of the criminals. And on January 8, the then U.S. Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath, announced that he had given the FBI "complete and unlimited authority" to track down those responsible. Evidently these three

moves, coupled with the ever-mounting indignation of local civic groups, were sufficient to stay the hands of the terrorists. There were no more bombings.

To date, however, not one really likely suspect has been picked up, despite the fifty-odd FBI agents thrown in to the case to bolster the work of city and county law-enforcement staffs. Strong suspicions have developed, but the huge body of circumstantial evidence needed for conviction may never be gathered.

Who Did It?

There are, of course, many theories. The most plausible is that the bombings were the work of not one but at least three separate groups. The earliest explosions were admittedly set off by young thrill seekers. The two large Carver Village blasts differed in several important ways from the attempts on the Jewish buildings and on the Catholic church. The Carver explosions had the professional touch; the dynamite, in large quantities, was expertly placed to do the most damage. The Jewish and Catholic incidents were the work of amateurs; most of the one- and two-stick charges failed to explode simply because the dynamiters didn't know enough to loosen up the fuze casing, thereby easing combustion. Also, the dynamite employed in the big Carver explosions was of a different make from that used almost invariably elsewhere. In addition, the methods varied. The professionals at Carver Village placed their dynamite by hand; apparently the amateurs threw their charges from a moving car.

Splinter elements of the Ku Klux Klan or former Klan members were very likely involved in some of the incidents, since the over-all approach smacked of familiar Klan tactics.

As for the guttural German accent, it may have been faked and adopted as a cover after the first newspaper report of such an accent. Safety Director Kimbrough's wife, who answered the phone each time, believes she talked to two different men using accents. The sign left at the Northside Jewish Center in October was hardly the work of a native German. A man who still had his accent would know how to spell "Deutschland."

If the intervention of the FBI, the rewards posted by Governor Warren,

and the warnings of the State Attorney have combined to frighten off the assorted terrorists, they have done little to limit the availability of dynamite throughout Florida. In December, Miami and adjoining communities passed ordinances strictly controlling the purchase, sale, and use of dynamite. Detailed records were required and stiff penalties for violations provided. But Governor Warren refused to call a special session of the Florida legislature, which meets only once every two years, to pass a similar ordinance on a state-wide basis. Dynamite can still be purchased in rural parts of Dade County without permit or record, just as it can in most of the rest of Florida.

Until the state legislature meets in 1953, the citizens of Miami cannot relax; tensions return quickly after such incidents as the Primary Day bombing in Jacksonville. The people can only hope that the next Governor, Dan McCarty, will act quickly to force through a dynamite-control law. They realize that a control law is merely a partial solution to the wave of racial and religious bombings. But they also realize that such a law is the practicable part of the solution—that the tools of prejudice can be removed far more easily than the prejudice itself.



Progressive Education Versus 'Spectatoritis'

FRED M. HECHINGER

WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK, by Samuel Tenenbaum. *Harper & Brothers*. \$4.

THE children were singing patriotic songs in class one day when teacher discovered that one youngster was mumbling, "My country is a tree."

It was in rebellion against that kind of teaching—meaningless repetition without understanding—that the so-called progressives set out in their search for new ways. They did not call themselves "progressives," but, since it is customary to label everything these days, the label was put on them. Undoubtedly some went astray in their search, finding only new ways to absurdity and exposing themselves to ridicule. But the search did lead to the discovery of new paths and the uncovering of mistakenly abandoned old ones, and, whatever may be said and thought of "progressive education" today, the rebellion has changed the face of all education. There are still only a few "progressive schools" (be it a term of condemnation or of praise) in the country, especially among the public schools, but there is hardly a school that has not been influenced by what was a startling "movement" some half a century ago.

It was a movement which, if not started by the late John Dewey, was organized and rendered practical by him. Dewey's were the words—now almost clichés in their familiarity—of "learning by doing," "the child-centered school," "the activity program." And although Dewey in his lifetime was placed on a pedestal by his uncritical followers and attacked with

ridiculous venom by his enemies, the recent death of this leading American philosopher-educator found all responsible voices in agreement that his influence on education and the school has been indelible.

Without any of the jargon of some of the faddists who followed Dewey, the "progressive" idea was expressed most simply by Dewey himself: "Cease conceiving of education as mere preparation for later life and make of it the full meaning of the present life." And he went on: "An activity which does not have worth enough to be carried on for its own sake cannot be very effective as a preparation for something else."

Banquet for a Rebel

Among the leaders of the rebellion, following closely after Dewey, was William Heard Kilpatrick. Recently an assembly of educators, among them many conservatives, honored the "rebel" at a dinner on his eightieth birthday. Dr. John W. Studebaker, once U.S. Commissioner of Education, called him "one of the greatest teachers in the world."

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the late president of Columbia University, distrusted Kilpatrick's educational ideas but defended him against personal attacks as "an American gentleman and scholar of high standing and deservedly wide influence." But a year and a half ago, when the battle against Willard E. Goslin, superintendent of schools in Pasadena, was joined, one of the charges that helped oust Goslin was that he had invited Kil-



William Heard Kilpatrick

patrick to speak at a teachers' workshop. There were wild accusations that Kilpatrick's very presence tended to undermine the city's youth.

In this age of doubt and investigation, plagued with debates which are called great but often are merely loud, education has not been passed by. The battle between the "progressives" and the "traditionalists"—both meaningless terms except in their extremes, where both are absurd—is generating a great deal of heat and practically no light, but it consumes enough time and energy to hurt both progress and tradition in our schools.

The key doctrine of the progressives who followed Dewey and Kilpatrick was that the child must be prepared to live in a world which changes constantly and rapidly. It was not automatically assumed that all the changes, or even most of them, would be for the better. But good or bad, the adolescent would have to cope with them. Education was to be the tool—or the armor—with which men and women could meet change. Eventually, Kilpatrick added, the purpose of education must be to teach how to think, not what to think.

This outrages his opponents, and the reason is understandable. Those who believe that all change is evil can hardly be expected to welcome education that prepares children for a world of change. If the defense of the status quo is to be the sole purpose of the growing generation, then the education required is one that leads to the fighting of unquestioning rear-guard actions. The only way to get young people to