

mobile, selective, and excluding. It acts as if it could show us everything realistically, and we, for our part, wait to be shown.

One thing that might happen over a period of time is an increased "stylizing" of sets and a frank acknowledgment that mobility of one kind—in subject matter, or dramatic time, or scene—is only to be had at the expense of another.

Another possibility, of course, is that television, for its drama at any rate, will renounce the hurly-burly of live production in favor of film-making. But film costs even *more* money than live staging—and looks a good deal worse over the air.

What might come along—and solve a number of problems—is a rapid development of "electronic photography," whereby the picture from a television camera is recorded on magnetic tape. Since tape, unlike film, can be played back immediately, for judgment and editing, the process at least theoretically offers the best of both mediums. The equipment involved is already in being. If it can be made handy to pack around, it will permit infinitely better scheduling and use of studio facilities—or in some cases complete independence of them in favor of "natural" locations. It might, to some extent, although it seems less likely, decentralize operations from New York and Hollywood and afford local stations the opportunity to undertake programs more ambitious than the weekly talent round-up.

**F**OR THE time being, at least, television is pre-eminently a machine-age art. It bears the earmarks of technology—the separation of the worker from both his own product and the ultimate consumer, an emphasis on problems of cost and personnel, on assembly rather than "creation," and so on through the list. The fact that what has always been separated off as mechanical or organizational is now indistinguishable from art is as oppressive to those who serve in television as it is to those who only sit and watch. But it is only by making his peace with his machinery that the working artist will survive in television, and only by turning it to advantage that the medium will improve.

## Government Security And Private Industry

**BENJAMIN D. SEGAL and JOYCE L. KORNBLUH**

**S**TEPHAN LOUIS KREZNAR, a lanky forty-year-old Milwaukee telephone worker, is suing Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson and Jerome D. Fenton, former director of the Defense Department's Office of Industrial Personnel Security Review, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

The plaintiff, former president of Local 5501, Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO, was given his walking papers January 23, 1956, by the Wisconsin Telephone Company after nearly fifteen years of satisfactory service. The charge: Kreznar had failed to get clearance from the government in a company-initiated security check. The grounds: He was allegedly a member of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite organization cited on the Attorney General's list.

In his suit, filed recently, Kreznar seeks to have his industrial security discharge declared illegal on the ground that his job was taken from him without due process of law.

**T**HE Wisconsin Telephone Company, a medium-sized member of the Bell family, claims that any of its workers denied a security clearance must automatically be fired. It holds that it has undergone a "long and continuous effort to indoctrinate . . . employees with a high sense of responsibility and integrity." In the event an employee fails to get a clearance, the company claims (1) it "cannot vouch for him"; (2) "He has destroyed his usefulness"; (3) "It would be unfair to our employees and a breach of trust with . . . customers to continue people like him on our payroll."

The rub is that Kreznar was investigated by the government at the request of the phone company itself, although the company had no defense contracts in the area where

Kreznar was employed. The company in effect took advantage of a vague security regulation in order to have Kreznar screened. Actually, he did not work on any "classified materials" and therefore did not need a security clearance in order to continue doing his job with "responsibility and integrity."

**W**ITH its nine thousand workers, the Wisconsin Telephone Company serves more than nine hundred thousand telephones in 135 communities and supplies nearly all their transmission facilities for TV and radio.

Kreznar was hired by the company in April, 1941. For the next fifteen years he reported to the Plant Department, advancing from the job classified as "frame man" to the work of PBX installer, one of the highest-rated jobs in the communications industry. (PBX is the name given to private switchboards used in business firms and offices.)

Eighty-three of the plant employees are PBX installers. Kreznar ranked about fifteenth in the seniority list and about sixth in Milwaukee's South District, where he was assigned. In his four years as PBX installer, he worked in almost every type of establishment—factories, schools, hospitals, real-estate agencies, doctors' offices, lumber yards, and department stores.

An active unionist, he had held several offices in Local 5501 of the Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO, including presidency of the local from 1949 until the day he was fired. Kreznar had served for a number of years on the union's bargaining committee, had processed the more important grievances that came up among the workers at W.T.C., and was well known to the management. One union official described Kreznar as "conscientious," "issue-oriented," a "hard fighter in collective bargaining." He

is credited with having built up the local union.

On January 16, 1956, Kreznar received notice from the Department of Defense that any existing security clearance he might have for access to Army, Navy, or Air Force classified defense information was now suspended. The statement of reasons given included the charge of alleged membership in the Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party. A few days later he was fired on the ground that his security clearance had been denied.

On February 23 John Dressler, secretary of Local 5501, was also fired by the company. Dressler, a PBX installer with two years of seniority, had also been notified by the government that his security clearance was suspended on the charge of "association" with members of the Socialist Workers Party. Neither Dressler nor Kreznar held a security clearance when they were notified that such clearance had been suspended.

### Criteria and Controversy

A hornets' nest of controversy has been stirred up over the Industrial Personnel Security Program, in whose loopholes and vagueness telephone workers Kreznar and Dressler find themselves caught. The program has been the subject of legal studies, newspaper features, union protest, and the imprecations of many workers who have borne the onus of seeming less than one hundred per cent security-proof during the long months of trying to prove their innocence.

Criticisms of the I.P.S.P. focus on its scope, its loose criteria, its procedures, its denials of basic Constitutional freedoms, its psychological and economic damage to a worker accused of being a security risk, and the loopholes that permit employer misuse of the program.

The program, which was initiated in 1949, covers about three million workers in the approximately twenty-one thousand industrial plants holding contracts or subcontracts with the Defense Department. Security regulations demand that employees working with or having access to classified materials be cleared for their work at either the confidential, secret, or top secret levels.

An employee denied a clearance need not be fired, security regulations state, but he may be transferred to nonclassified work in another area of the plant. Many employers, however, don't bother to find nonclassified jobs for such workers, but simply fire them.

Security regulations allow the employer himself to grant a clearance to employees—most maintenance and production workers—who need only the confidential level of clearance. This group includes about two million persons. A recent and important study by the New York Bar Association strongly recommended that these workers be eliminated from coming under the bans of the I.P.S.P., which should confine itself to the eight hundred thousand employees who need secret or top secret clearance granted only after government investigation.

Loose criteria of the program have been attacked because the twenty-two yardsticks that measure a man's security status include such vague standards as "any behavior, activities or association which tend to show that an individual is not reliable or trustworthy." A worker may also be denied clearance if he has committed "acts of reckless, irresponsible or wanton nature which indicate such poor judgment and instability as to suggest that the individual might disclose information to unauthorized persons."

A third criticism has been on the use of the Attorney General's list of 303 subversive organizations, which the New York Bar Association's well-publicized report has urged be completely revamped or cut out. Only one organization on the list has been given a hearing, yet industrial security regulations hold that membership in or association with members of the branded organizations are factors to be considered in measuring a man's security standing.

**S**YSTEMATIC loyalty-security programs have cropped up in a number of industries not connected with defense work, according to a recent article in the March, 1956, issue of the *Stanford Law Review*. These companies have an unofficial, unannounced, and usually unacknowledged system for clearing workers on their payrolls.

A company may hire a detective agency to make sure that each worker in its employ as well as job applicants meet government security standards. A number of companies in industrial cities are said to maintain a central file, or blacklist, of suspected security risks for the use of all personnel directors in town. In this atmosphere the question asked by management officials has changed from "Is this worker a threat to national security?" to "Can his record be used to embarrass this company some time in the future?"

The 1952 *Report on Industrial Security* by the National Industrial Conference Board put it another way. It said:

"Even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, Industrial Security can pay off in peacetime. It can help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote labor grievances, slowdowns and strikes and encourage worker antipathy to management. . . . Furthermore, while Communism is a great threat to America today, who knows in this unsettled world what the color, nationality or political philosophy of our next enemy will be?"

**T**HE KREZNAR case illustrates the criticism and confusion that have grown up around the I.P.S.P. and also adds a new wrinkle to the security setup that has serious implications for the labor movement and the American public.

The government turned thumbs down on granting a security clearance to telephone worker Kreznar at each of the successive stages of the built-in security appeal procedures: a hearing before the New York Industrial Personnel Security Hearing Board and an appeal to Jerome Fenton's office in the Pentagon. In its answer to the suit filed by Kreznar in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, the government contends that the phone company held a "service contract" with the Army and Navy since 1951—essentially the same type of service contract every phone subscriber holds.

Kreznar, who pleaded the First Amendment during the hearing before the New York Industrial Personnel Security Hearing Board, ad-

mits that he attended meetings of the Milwaukee branch of the Socialist Workers Party but denies membership in the organization. He says that he made several contributions to the Defense Fund for legless veteran James Kutcher, also denied a security clearance because of membership in the S.W.P. (Kutcher was reinstated in his clerical job with the Veterans Administration in 1956 following a favorable decision by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.)

The Socialist Workers Party is cited on the Attorney General's list as both subversive and Communist. Spokesmen for the group have asked for a hearing to testify that the organization is anti-Stalinist and anti-totalitarian, and has no connection with the Communist International.

Kreznar, the father of three children, had only one week of unskilled work in the fourteen months that followed his firing in January, 1956. Even the most menial jobs have been denied him when prospective employers learn of his security-risk tag.

### The Arbitration Hearing

When the Communications Workers of America took Kreznar's case to arbitration, the arbitrator ruled in the company's favor. The company has since refused to arbitrate the Dressler case, claiming that the arbitration decision on Kreznar applies to Dressler as well.

The company rested its case in the Kreznar arbitration on the fact that it anticipated getting a government contract some time in the future, although it had no particular new job for Kreznar in mind. As Milton P. Naab, general plant manager of the Wisconsin Telephone Company, testified:

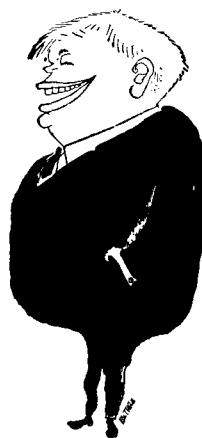
"Clearance for Kreznar was asked at the time in 1952 when we believed we were going to have a considerable installation job which required we get clearance. Most of this work we felt was to be in the Milwaukee area and at that time the division plant man and the district man from Milwaukee and I decided that we should get a group of somewhere between fifteen and twenty PBX installers cleared for no less than secret so that we might be able to take care of this work that came along

from the government and required that type of secret work which we expected to get at that time. Now, Kreznar was one of the men that was selected by the District Plant Manager in the South District."

Mr. Naab was questioned: "If Kreznar had not been selected for that anticipated work, would clearance have been asked?"

MR. NAAB: "I doubt whether it would have been asked for at that time."

QUESTION: "The work that he was performing at the time didn't require clearance, is that right?"



MR. NAAB: "This was in anticipation of government work we were to get."

When Mr. Naab was asked whether Kreznar's clearance was sought for any particular job, his answer was "No."

### The Butler Bill

But in addition to the argument of anticipated defense contracts, the phone company chalked up a new line to boost its case. It contended that it was a "key facility," since its cables carry circuits to defense plants as well as homes and business firms. Therefore it was justified in getting employees screened and weeded out for security reasons. This argument led Kreznar's lawyer, David I. Shapiro, to state that this case is one way of getting the Butler bill in by the back door.

Introduced in the last two sessions of Congress by Senator John Butler (R., Maryland), the Butler bill, called officially the Defense Facilities Protection Act, passed the Senate but failed to clear the House in 1954. Hearings were held in 1955

but strong opposition from unions and liberal groups kept the bill from coming out of committee. On February 11, 1957, the Butler bill (S.1140) was reintroduced in the current session of Congress. The Defense Department has supported the bill.

In effect this bill would extend the present Industrial Personnel Security Program (which theoretically is limited to those working on classified material) to all employees who are working in any plant, factory, or facility that might be important to national defense in time of an emergency. This could include any factory, airport, telephone or telegraph system, train station, or textile mill—that the Secretary of Defense decided was a "defense facility."

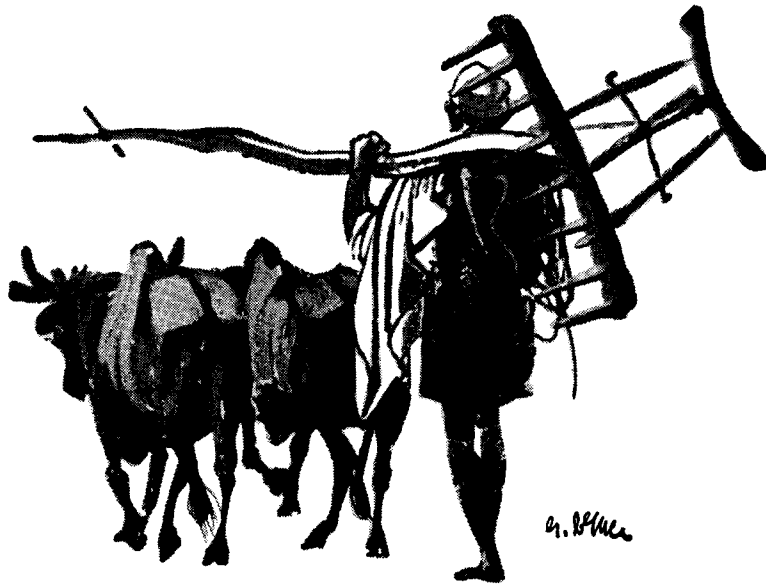
When the President declared an emergency, any persons working in these so-called defense facilities could be barred from them if there were "reasonable ground to believe they may engage in sabotage, espionage or other subversive acts." The bill does not define what constitutes "reasonable grounds" or "other subversive acts."

Administration witnesses for the bill indicated that an emergency could be declared just as soon as the bill passed Congress.

Tom Harris, assistant general counsel of the AFL-CIO, testifying in 1955 for the former Congress of Industrial Organizations, stated: "If the program the bill authorizes is ever put into effect we will have taken a long step towards requiring that every worker carry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work. And if that ever happens, we will have exchanged the freedom of American democracy for the tyranny of a police state."

In his recent report reviewing a year's operations under some of the revised regulations of the Industrial Personnel Security Program, former industrial security chief Jerome Fenton, now chief counsel to the National Labor Relations Board, praised his old outfit for the good work it has done in cutting down the number of injustices involved in the execution of a government security program. The Kreznar case and the security loopholes it points up show that the job is far from being good enough.





## Why the Communists Won in Kerala

ARTHUR BONNER

**K**ERALA, formerly Travancore-Cochin, the smallest and most densely populated state in India, is a place of oddities. It is a land of spices and coconut palms on the southwest (Malabar) coast, with white beaches washed by the Arabian Sea. Many of its temples resemble Chinese pagodas. It contains the site of Ophir, whence Solomon imported his sandalwood and peacocks. There are Jews in Kerala who claim that their ancestors immigrated in the fifth century B.C. There are Christians who claim that their ancestors were personally converted by the Apostle Thomas in the first century A.D. There are Hindu families who live under a strict matriarchal system.

And now there is a new curiosity: Kerala is a place where Communists protest their devotion to parliamentary democracy and where—even odder—the people were sufficiently beguiled to put the Communists into power in a free and fair election. After elections in February and March of this year the Communists took over the government in Kerala.

The feuding and factionalism of

the Congress Party, which held 105 out of 106 seats in the first State Assembly of Travancore in 1948, gave the Communists their big chance. The Communist Party had been proscribed after widespread sabotage and insurrection in early 1948, and all the leaders were either in jail or hiding from the police.

The Congress Party thereupon frittered away its initial advantages by its officials' sheer inability to get along with one another. Personalities and family groups often counted more than principles. Linguistic divisions lent substance to the personal bickerings: The southern districts are inhabited by Tamils, who claimed they were treated as second-class citizens by the state's majority Malayalee population.

### The Way of Disunity

The first Congress Ministry was headed by Pattom Thanu Pillai. Within three months he got into a public argument with two of his Cabinet members. This was patched up, but three months later another quarrel broke out and Thanu Pillai resigned both his office and his

membership in the Congress Party. He once declared that he would never allow socialism to take root in his state, but soon after resigning he became leader of the local Socialist Party.

He was succeeded by T. K. Narayana Pillai, who also became involved in squabbles. He kept changing his Cabinet. Congress members kept quitting the party in a huff to join the Socialists or other minor groups. Every Cabinet change and every party resignation brought charges of favoritism or corruption.

By the time the 1951-52 general elections were held, the Congress Party was badly weakened. Meanwhile, the Communist Party had been legalized, and it emerged as the second largest component of the new Assembly. The Congress Party did not get a majority and so had to form a government by making alliances with other groups. But still Congress Party members did not recognize the threat from the Left; they resumed their squabbling. The government collapsed in 1953 when Tamil assemblymen from South Travancore withdrew their support from the Congress Party. The Assembly was dissolved, and the state was placed under President's Rule—that is, it was administered through a civil servant appointed by New Delhi.

**N**EW ELECTIONS were held in 1954. Again no party gained a majority. The Congress was the largest single party, though weaker than before, and the Communists were in second place and slightly stronger. In a chastened mood, the Congress Party gave its support to a government formed by the Praja Socialist Party of Thanu Pillai, even though the P.S.P. held only seventeen seats in the Assembly, which then had 117 members. However, fighting and backbiting broke out yet again. The Congress Party withdrew support and the P.S.P. government fell. The Congress Party then formed other alliances and tried to rule, but this did not last long—the government collapsed in 1956 when six Congress Party members resigned. The state again went under President's Rule.

The voters felt frustrated; they had lived through six Ministries in eight years. On two occasions they