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Hoover Commission and CIA: Can One Nation "Seduce" Another?

Foreign Policy a la Nellie the Cloak Model

The best of us seem to approach foreign policy in terms of melodrama. James P. Warburg, certainly one of our more intelligent writers on foreign policy, warns in a rather hectic letter to the *Washington Post* (July 5) of the dangers which confront us at Geneva. The peculiar terms in which Americans of this generation tend to see the problems of international relations are reflected in one passage. In this Mr. Warburg says the Kremlin is attempting to create neutral buffer zones in Europe and in Asia "which it no doubt hopes will be susceptible to later seduction or subversion."

Now seduction and subversion are real dangers in some situations. Nellie the Cloak Model, if we recall correctly, was seduced and in the literal sense subverted, i.e., overturned or turned over when the champagne dispensed by the villain had done its wicked work. But can one nation "seduce" another? Can one nation chuck another nation under the chin, ply it with liquor, soften it up with mink stoles? In all their centuries of life side by side, did Germany ever "seduce" France or France "seduce" Germany? The British are pretty devilish fellows but in generations of occupation they never succeeded in "seducing" India or Ireland.

Silly Metaphor

How far do we carry such silly metaphor? Nations are moved by their interests. They are not light-headed girls. Turkey was not "seduced" by the United States; it needed the counter-balance of American aid against Russian demands on the Straits and the Armenian provinces. Most nations in between the great Powers today need some degree of neutrality to avoid being ground to pieces in a struggle between them. This is what moves Tito and Nehru and U Nu. If a neutral zone were created in Eastern and Central Europe, how could these countries be "seduced"?

"Subversion" is more respectable but no less mysterious. Can one nation "subvert" another? Even Austria had to be occupied by Hitler's armies. Revolutions are not brought about by "subversion." It is not "subversion" but hatred of the French which keeps Indo-China in crisis. It was not "subversion" but generations of wounded self-respect which made Gandhi the leader of India's millions against the British. It was not "subversion" but "a long train of abuses and usurpations" which brought about our own Revolution.

"More Direct" Operations?

There is involved here more than a manner of speaking. This is a way of thinking, and it affects foreign policy. We may see an example of it in the Hoover Commission report on intelligence agencies, or at least those excerpts thought fit for the not-to-be-trusted public. Let us begin with a sentence which says a great deal more than it was intended to say about current attitudes. "The task force has recognized," the report

says, "the incompatibility in method between the practice of diplomacy and more direct and active operations incident to the collection of intelligence and the conduct of cold war." Diplomacy is diplomacy and war is war. But what are these "more direct and active operations incident to . . . the conduct of cold war"?

In war-time the CIA's predecessor, the OSS, could carry on sabotage or assassination as part of the necessity of war. Surely the Hoover task force was not recommending any such lawless tactics in time of peace? But what did it mean by this reference to "more direct and active operations" and by its criticism of the State Department for interfering with "efforts" which "might have brought direct and immediate results . . . that would have justified the attendant political risks"? These cryptic allusions underscore the need for a joint Congressional committee to exercise some check over the cloak-and-dagger operations of the CIA, and for this recommendation we should be grateful.

On the Eve of Geneva

It is a serious matter for the whole world that on the eve of Geneva, of the first meeting of heads of state since 1945, of a meeting which may give the world a chance to avoid the mutual suicide of an atomic war, the Hoover commission should issue a report complaining that "among some of those responsible for implementation of our foreign policy by diplomacy and negotiation, there seems to exist an abhorrence to anything that might lead to diplomatic . . . complications." Apparently some of us not only believe in the possibility of carrying on foreign policy by "seduction or subversion" but want to practice them ourselves, despite our moralizings about those who believe ends justify means.

Insofar as intelligence is concerned, its collection is hampered by the mentality which sees foreign policy, revolution and history as the product of pulp fiction conspiracy. Harry Schwartz, the Soviet expert of the *New York Times*, made some interesting disclosures on this score in an article (p. 18, July 4) rebutting the Hoover report on why the deficiencies in our Soviet intelligence. Reactionaries always prefer to see the great convulsions of history as bedtime stories; this is the comforting view and absolves them of responsibility. Mr. Hoover, I am sure, still thinks he lost in 1932 because of some "subversive" plot; the apple-sellers on the corners were never really visible to his kind of eye. Such mentalities are unfitted for intelligence and dangerous if allowed to carry on cloak-and-dagger operations.

Can there be peace if a huge, unsupervised and unregulated governmental establishment is allowed to act out Hollywood scenarios? How much control can we have of the basic decisions of war and peace when such an agency may create or manufacture "incidents"?

An "On The Scene" Report From the Backwoods

Prince Edwards County Prefers Illiteracy to "Mongrelization"

By Marvin Caplan

To an obscure section of the hilly tobacco lands of middle Virginia, newspaper reporters, radio commentators and a CBS television crew have trooped in recent weeks to study the impact of the Supreme Court's school decisions on a Southern community. Prince Edward County, their destination, was a defendant in one of the five school cases. It was the first Southern community to react to the Court's May 31 ruling. Instructed to "make a prompt and reasonable start" toward integrating their public schools, Prince Edward officials yielded to a perverse inspiration. They decided to abolish the schools altogether.

"The situation is confused," said J. Barrye Wall, Sr. "I hope you will emphasize that."

Mr. Wall, who has never lived outside the county, has been editor of its bi-weekly paper, the Farmville Herald, since 1921. A leader in the move to close the schools, he denies that the white people are defying the Supreme Court. It would be defiance, he said, to open the schools this fall on a segregated basis. They have decided not to open the schools at all. They made the decision the same day the Supreme Court handed down its ruling. The county Board of Supervisors voted enough funds to maintain school property next year but not enough to operate the schools. Seven days later, white parents held a mass meeting and formed an Educational Corp. pledged to raise about \$200,000 to pay the salaries of the county's white teachers: "Prince Edward, Stand Steady!" Mr. Wall has instructed the community editorially. But it seems only to have decided to stand still.

State papers and some white parents say school will be held privately this fall in churches, homes, halls, etc. But Mr. Wall says the leaders have not even decided that. "We're

More Than Just Schools

"Yes sir. There's more here than just schools. This country has been marching down the road to Socialism for 20 years."

—E. Louis Dahl, Farmville business man.

not thinking any further at the moment than maintaining our teaching staff. We are proceeding in this logically, legally, calmly. We don't know what the future is, we have to meet it day by day."

But it doesn't matter that white leaders sound vague and contradictory. In Prince Edward, where Negro students outnumber the white, it is enough to raise the fearsome prospect of intermarriage and mongrelization to gain widespread community support. Even so, there is some grumbling. A white mother, for instance, wrote to the Herald and after apologizing for being born in the North and educated in integrated schools, said, "I would be far more willing to send my children to integrated schools in the South, woeful as that would be, rather than let the radical members of our white society, in their wrath and indignation, cause our public school system to come tumbling down around us. . . ." A few Negroes say they have been approached privately by white friends who tell them they do not object to letting white and colored children go to school together. But there is no open opposition.

Not the Churches, Not the Schools

Sometimes the churches or colleges in a Southern community produce intrepid souls who dare to criticize the local customs. Not in Prince Edward. Longwood College, a state school, is in Farmville, the county seat. And just outside the city is Hampton-Sidney College, founded by Presbyterians six months before the Declaration of Independence. But except for the chaplain at Hampton-Sidney, who once spoke in favor of integration, the teachers and students at both schools

Those Unsegregated Thickets

"You get a white girl and a colored boy sitting beside each other on a bus going 25 miles to school and have them go home through the thicket together at dusk and what have you got?"

—Editor Barrye Wall.

have been silent. And though the regional governing bodies of the several Protestant congregations in the city have all gone on record endorsing the Supreme Court's decisions, the local white ministers have not taken any open stand on the matter. Perhaps they are chastened by the experience of the Rev. J. W. Kennedy, who rose at the mass meeting to question the wisdom of abolishing public schools and has found himself unpopular ever since. His position is difficult. An elder of his church is Robert Crawford, a prosperous Farmville laundry operator and head of a state organization that has sprung into being as a result of the school decisions, the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. Recently Mr. Crawford told a state meeting of his group: "The worst obstacle we face in the fight to preserve segregated schools in the South is the white preacher."

He might have added that his fight was also to preserve the South he grew up in. For to a great extent the opponents of integration are the opponents of innovation. They have managed to keep new industry, new people and new ideas out of their county. It is remarkably homogeneous. But the price they pay for this is to drive their youth away, white as well as colored. A white high school student exclaimed in disgust: "There's nothing to do in this town. You either get a job at the A&P or a filling station. Everybody who graduates moves away. I don't believe there's a fellow from the last graduating class who's still around. Eight men own this town and they don't let anything come in. Du Pont wanted to build a plant here. They wouldn't allow it. They said it'd bring a foreign element in."

Blame the Whites For Integration

It was this rigid resistance to change on the part of white leaders, a colored doctor says, that caused the present dilemma. "If white folk want someone to blame integration on, let them blame the members of the School Board. If they'd talked to our children and promised them a new school, that might have ended it." That Board's refusal to discuss a new Negro high school so exasperated the Negro high school students, they struck. They walked out of their "drafty shack" and refused to return until the NAACP agreed to sue the School Board. A by-product of that historic suit is the new \$840,000 R. R. Moton High, built under threat of court order and one of the finest schools in the state.

If one considers how dependent the Negroes of Prince Edward are upon the whites, he can appreciate what a desperate and courageous thing the school strike was. If a Negro lives in Farmville, he probably works at the Buffalo Shook Co., run by the father of B. B. Hanbury, head of the Educational Corp.; at the Farmville Manufacturing Co., operated by Maurice Large, former Board of Education president; or in one of the plants producing dark-fired tobacco. In the county, he is usually either one of the 111 tenant farmers, subject to pressure from their white bosses; or one of the 489 farm owners, who depend on loans from white banks to tide them over from one tobacco crop to another. Their situation led Dr. Vernon Johns, a colored gentleman farmer and sage, to remark once: "Docility had its premiere in Prince Edward County."

Mr. Wall claims the student strike was adult inspired. But the students insist they organized and carried it through themselves when they were convinced the Board had stopped listening to them. ("We went there," one strike leader ex-

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"Unbelievable and Incredible" Is A Circuit Court's Verdict on One of Them**Should Regular FBI Informers Be Exempt From Confrontation?**

Chicago—Those liberals who are being taken in by the line that "regular" as distinct from "casual" FBI informers should be exempt from confrontation are urged to read for themselves the decision handed down by the U. S. Court of Appeals in Chicago last month unanimously setting aside the deportation of Matthew Brzovich. The case illustrates the fact that a "regular" informer may be just as unreliable as a "casual" one, perhaps more so since continued employment depends on his coming up with more "information." The informer in the Brzovich case was Matthew Cvetic and this is what the Court (Judges Duffy, Major and Swaim) said of him:

"The sole witness who testified against petitioner was one Cvetic, who joined the Communist Party in 1943 as a salaried agent of the FBI and who acted as a professional witness in numerous Communist trials and deportation proceedings. He testified that he met petitioner at a meeting of the Communist party held in Cleveland, Ohio, in the latter part of 1948. His testimony on this point, however, was in some respects evasive and conflicting.

"The witness also testified that petitioner had sold subscriptions for a Croation language newspaper, *Narodni Glasnik*, published in Pittsburgh, and that petitioner had written articles for it as a correspondent in Chicago. This testimony indicated that this newspaper was controlled by the Commu-

nist party. We have read these articles introduced in evidence and we find not a single word which would indicate that petitioner was a Communist.

"It is claimed that petitioner was a paid employee of the newspaper and that no persons were so employed other than Communists. The evidence on this score raises no more than an anemic suspicion.

"The Board [of Immigration Appeals] in its analysis of the evidence relies upon the testimony of Cvetic 'that the respondent (petitioner) was commonly referred to as a member of the Communist Party by other Communists who considered him a responsible and active member in the Chicago area' . . . This testimony was hearsay and has no more probative value than the tattlings from a town meeting. . . .

"It is pointed out that the hearing officer made no finding as to credibility of the witness Cvetic. This is merely a play upon words . . . it is inherent in the findings which he did make that he regarded the witness as unbelievable and incredible."

But what if the government were able to assert that its information came from a reliable undercover informant whose identity could not be disclosed without harm to "security"? What if it could plead that this was not a "casual" informant but a "professional" undercover agent and therefore exempt from examination in the full daylight of a court?

REPORT FROM FARMVILLE

(Continued from Page Two)

plained, "and when we complained about our school some Board members said Well, Abraham Lincoln went to school in a log cabin. Fine, we said. Let the white kids go to our log cabin and we'll go to Farmville High.") But if an adult didn't lead the strike, he may have created the atmosphere for it. M. Boyd Jones, who was principal of the Negro high at the time, was such a capable administrator he was even praised editorially in the Herald. His encouragement of independent thinking among the students made the strike possible, one teacher feels. He has been replaced by a principal who is rumored to be under orders to hold the kids down—"or you'll be looking."

How Could They Be So Childish?

Perhaps past experiences should have prepared the colored community for the whites' decision to close the schools. But most Negroes were astonished. "We never thought they'd be so childish," a town man said. "They're acting like kids." And a farm woman, in unconscious inversion of the sort of thing white people used to say when they heard Negro neighbors were suing them for a new school, cried: "I was surprised. Why, we love our white race. We don't carry anything against them."

Most Negroes were hurt rather than angry, says the Rev. L. F. Griffin, pastor, First Baptist Church. "Prejudice isn't open here as it is in Mississippi or Georgia. It's a hidden, vicious type of thing." Negroes were pained to see white folks they thought were friends lining up with the opposition.

The great majority of them still can't believe the schools will not open. "No sir," one handsome, spirited, loquacious woman declared: "Do you think our fine government and the Supreme Court are going to turn their backs on us and let us go on without schools?" Not all colored parents share her faith. A Negro mailman has begun circulating a petition among his people asking the school board to open the schools this fall on a segregated basis. But most of the parents are just waiting. Rev. Griffin, a ranking leader in the Negro community, refuses even to conjecture until he sees what the NAACP does. A young man, 36, large, beefy, forceful, he has been a pastor in Farmville for five years. He has played a leading role in maintaining support for the school suit in the colored community. This has led Wall to brand him a foreign element, although he was born in Norfolk, Va., spent most of

Prejudiced Enough Already

While nine-year-old Rickie played on the porch with four turtles, his mother tried to explain how she felt. A widow of modest means, she has pledged \$150 this year to help pay white teachers' salaries. "I've lived in other places besides Farmville so I'm not as bitter against them as most. But I still don't like it." The level of education would be lowered. Social intermingling. Was she sure Rickie would object to going to school with colored children? "I don't think he'd like it," she said with a troubled frown. Then she moved a few steps away from him to the rail and lowered her voice. "I don't like to talk in front of him," she murmured. "I don't want him to be more prejudiced than he already is."

his boyhood in Farmville and returned, after completing his schooling elsewhere in the South, to accept his present pastorate.

His position is not without danger. Shortly after the student strike, a cross was burnt in front of the school. The next day a white man asked Griffin if he wasn't afraid. "Oh," the Reverend drawled, "They been burnin' wood ever since the discovery of fire." Another time, late at night, he received a phone call. "Reverend," an unidentified voice said, "We're holding a necktie party tonight. You want to be guest of honor?" "Well," Griffin replied, "You'll have to come by to pick up the body." No one appeared. In addition to such threats, economic pressure has been exerted upon him. "If I owe a bill they force collection on me before I get out the door good." It has been brought to him that if he had been willing to use his influence to get the school suit dropped the white leaders would have made it worth his while. He has also been forced to resist the temptations of advancement, having recently turned down a tempting offer of a pulpit in Philadelphia. As the father of four small children it may be guessed that this was not an easy decision. He quotes with evident feeling lines from Gray's "Elegy" that he has adapted a bit to his own situation: "Chill Penury has repressed my noble rage, And froze the genial current of my soul." But it is highly unlikely he will leave Farmville until the school situation is settled. He has been there from the beginning.

How will it end and when will it end? No one can answer that. "But it's fun watchin'," says the Rev. Griffin, cheerfully.

Is Somebody Trying to Poison The Atmosphere in Time For The Geneva Parley?

Twin Mysteries of the Sudden (and Suddenly Squelched) Press Inquiry

The Senate Internal Security Committee's investigation of the press really began several weeks before Winston Burdett's appearance, but since the initial sessions dealt with (a) radicals and (b) foreign language papers nobody paid much attention to them. The hearings were billed as "Communist Exploitation of the Foreign Language Press" and opened on June 17 with the interrogation of Paul Novick, editor of the *Freiheit*, the Yiddish daily in New York. Senator Jenner wanted to know, among other things, why the *Freiheit* opposes the rearmament of Germany.

Novick was followed on the stand by the ex-Communist, John Lautner, now employed as a witness and "expert" by the Justice Department, and then by Boris Sklar of *Russky Golos*, a Russian language daily.

On June 23 the session resumed with Sol. A. Pearl of the *Freiheit*. Next day the committee produced a surprise witness, a Countess Stella Andrassy. She was born in Sweden, but saw the revolution in Russia where her father was stationed as the Swedish military attache. She married a Hungarian nobleman, barely missing the Hungarian revolution, her husband being stationed at the Hungarian legation in Stockholm when Bela Kun took over.

With Kun's overthrow and the establishment in Budapest of Europe's first Fascist dictatorship, that of Horthy, Countess Andrassy went back to Hungary, recovering the family estate and living happily thereafter until the Russians captured Budapest in 1944. The Countess then fled to America where she is now an expert on Communism. She testified that the Communist foreign language press in this country now has about a million readers, an estimate which will cheer the Communists no end.

Myrdal Suspect Too

Since the Countess is Swedish born and the Committee is not parochial in its concern with the Red menace, its counsel, Richard Arens, asked her whether Gunnar Myrdal is a Communist:

"Countess Andrassy. Well, he is on the extreme left, what they call him in Sweden. That is not quite Communist, but it is the very left side socialistic."

"Sen. Eastland. Socialistic?"

"Countess Andrassy. Yes."

"Mr. Arens. Do you have any information concerning Gunnar Myrdal's wife?"

"Countess A. She has just now been nominated Sweden's Ambassador to India."

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"Sen. Eastland. Is she a Marxist?"

"Countess A. Oh, yes, very much left, yes."

"Mr. Arens. Is Gunnar Myrdal a Marxist?"

"Countess A. Yes, they are very openly Marxist."

As it happens Myrdal's book, "Politics and Economics," (1930) takes a quite un-Marxist view of surplus value but Senator Eastland with true Southern courtliness let the Countess's remark pass without contradiction. Anyway Myrdal's master work on the Negro in America is just about twice as subversive as *Das Kapital*, in Eastland's Mississippi.

Recessed "Indefinitely"

Heartened by these discoveries, the Committee on June 29 opened a new series of hearings billed as "Communist Exploitation of the Press," at which Burdett starred but which lasted only two days. On June 30 the Committee announced that the hearings had been recessed "indefinitely," though some of those named by Burdett had not yet been called to testify. Just why these hearings were called off so suddenly after producing such rewarding headlines is still a mystery. Perhaps the newspaper publishers thought it best to squelch this one before newspapers all over the country were "McCarthyized." Another angle which may have played its part is that one member of Ike's White House staff was a member of the same unit at the *Brooklyn Eagle* with Burdett, Newspaper Guild unit that is.

A second mystery is just why Burdett was produced at this time. He told his story to the FBI in 1951 in the wake of a "security check" by Columbia Broadcasting System on its own staff. Presumably all those he named were watched and wiretapped thereafter to see whether they were up to any deviltry. The fact that no legal action was ever taken against them speaks for itself.

Whether Burdett told his story to a grand jury is not known, but as in the case of Elizabeth Bentley the FBI usually passes such witnesses on to Congressional witch hunting committees when they have panned out for other purposes.

Was Burdett timed to appear during the Guild convention? That doesn't seem likely, though it is good to see that despite this two-day sensation the Guild voted down a proposed constitutional amendment barring Communists from membership.

Now that the press inquiry has stopped, an investigation of "Iron Curtain propaganda outlets" is being made by the FBI, according to Robert S. Allen's column of July 5. Is somebody trying to poison the atmosphere in time for the Geneva conference?

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