

the painting, and the disputed phrase was plainly visible for six months before the trouble began. I myself saw it last winter.

Of course, Diego's position that no one has the right to interfere with an artist's work is perfectly correct. But knowing the people for whom he was painting, he might have refused the contract—if he were not Diego. He was not in desperate need of the \$8,000 he received for the job. But business is business! Now, having caught the public ear, he simply will not shut up. He is the self-appointed champion of freedom of expression. He did not fuss about freedom of expression a few weeks ago, however, when he was painting a portrait for the Goodrich Tire Company's new calendar. Diego unprotestingly complied with the company's suggestions for

changes. (Goodrich, by the way, is now worried about releasing the calendar, which under the portrait of a lady who closely resembles Maria Felix, Diego's friend of last winter, bears the slogan, "Best Quality, Tried and Proved.")

The real hero of the affray is, to my mind, neither the loquacious Diego nor the reserved Archbishop, but an unknown actor who played a bit part at the Communist meeting last week at which Diego was welcomed back to the fold. This anonymous comrade had the courage to rise and shout to the shocked brethren, "Nevertheless, God does exist, he does exist, I tell you!" Needless to say, he was hurriedly ejected from the meeting, which had been convened to defend freedom of expression.

## Jokja Journal

BY ANDREW ROTH

*Jokjakarta, Java, May*

THE red carpets were out when our plane landed at the primitive airport of Jokjakarta, the Indonesian Republic's capital in the interior of Java. Visitors are welcome here because they help dispel the sense of isolation built up by long months of blockade. People have a real hunger for news and printed matter from the outside. Officials to whom an American gave an armful of magazines could not resist looking through them before they transacted any business.

The plane in which we arrived was particularly welcome because it brought a "good-will mission" from East Indonesia. This region was established by the Dutch in December, 1946, as a puppet state, but its parliament decided recently by a nearly unanimous vote to send a mission to the Republican capital to say that the people of East Indonesia consider the republic the hub of Indonesian nationalism.

The message of encouragement was badly needed. On the streets of Jokjakarta peddlers are hawking a cigarette called "Renville," after the United States navy transport on which a Dutch-Indonesian accord was reached through the efforts of the United Nations Good Offices Committee, but Republican leaders were left with a bad taste in their mouths after signing. Their agreement to withdraw troops from the richest areas of Java and to join a federated United States of Indonesia which will start life under Dutch sovereignty is very unpopular. A young lieutenant returning begrimed from the front

commented with disgust, "When someone starts talking about Renville, I just have to walk away; I cannot stomach it." The feeling against the agreement is so strong that the Masjumi (Moslem Party) was able to unseat Amir Sjarifuddin, the Socialist Premier who negotiated it.

The Republican leaders accepted the agreement because it guaranteed a free plebiscite in Java and Sumatra after six months to determine whether those areas would return to the republic. They were also influenced by economic compulsions and by the belief that membership in the United States of Indonesia would help them to maintain links with nationalist currents in areas under Dutch control. The East Indonesian good-will mission has proved that the republic can count on considerable support outside its own truncated area.

Soldiers are much in evidence in the streets of Jokjakarta, some of them strutting about with an arrogance learned from the Japanese. There are countless types and colors of equipment and uniforms, partly owing to the textile shortage, partly to the fact that the republic's army came into being as a number of scattered groups, each fighting in its own area. Each has its own ideology also, which may be Japanese-inspired anti-white chauvinism, Moslem fanaticism, or the "people's war" obsession of the Socialists and Communists. At first the different groups obtained their supplies from stores they had themselves seized from the Japanese. When these ran out, a single service of supply set up by the republic's leaders, particularly Amir Sjarifuddin, who long served as Defense Minister, helped to unify the army. Taking into account the lack of communications, unification has been fairly successful. The Dutch were convinced that the republic did not have enough control

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over its own troops to carry out the onerous terms of the Renville agreement, but the challenge has been met successfully, and almost every day somewhat bedraggled groups of "pocket soldiers" arrive here—that is, soldiers evacuated under U. N. supervision from Republican-held pockets behind the Dutch lines.

The newcomers swell the population of Jokjakarta to the bursting point—already it has risen from a pre-war 300,000 to a "small million" (900,000). In the cool of the early evening the people pack the streets. Yet for all the overcrowding, Jokjakarta is one of the cleanest Oriental cities I have seen and quite safe to wander around in at night, despite Dutch charges of Republican lawlessness.

Although it is the headquarters of a nationalist revolution which has shaken the foundations of a 350-year-old empire, the city's pace is slow. Indonesians are an easygoing people, accustomed to adjust their lives to the rising and setting of the sun rather than the split-second precision of Western machinery. It is hard to hurry here even if one wants to, for there are only a few patched-up pre-war cars straining their precious tires. The islands are the world's chief source of natural rubber, but tires were never made here and now a new set is worth 100,000 rupiahs—twenty-seven times the yearly salary of an average official. The chief form of transport is the *andong*, a two-wheeled cart so overweighted at the back when three normal-sized Westerners get into it that its slow little horses are almost lifted into the air.

The pace of Jokja is somewhat speeded up by the eager young nationalists who have gathered here to work for the government. As in Burma and Indo-China—and not at all as in India—young people seem the chief source of political energy. The guides provided by the government for visiting journalists are all youngsters in their early twenties, very proud of the republic's achievements but a little inexperienced. Radio Jokjakarta, the two-and-a-half-kilowatt overseas "Voice of Free Indonesia," is manned by some ten announcer-commentators—almost half of them women—whose average age is twenty-four. They write their own scripts and broadcast in English, Dutch, French, Hindustani, Urdu, Arabic, Chinese, and other tongues. They are a bright and eager crew, voracious for information from the outside. One gets the feeling that there can be no checking a movement which has so completely captured the enthusiasm of the educated and patriotic youth, and that this quickly maturing age-group will soon fill the gaps in the movement's leadership.

**P**RESIDENT SOEKARNO and Premier Mohammed Hatta are still the symbols of nationalist unity and Indonesian independence. Soekarno, a gay and charming man who enormously enjoys the elaborate ritual of being President, is the republic's agitator *par excellence*, tre-

mendously popular with the people except in those areas which lost too many men through his war-time activities in supplying the Japanese with forced labor. Premier Hatta, the devoted wheel-horse of the movement, is more serious, not completely at ease in the limelight.

The present Cabinet does not contain either Sjahrir or Sjarifuddin or any of the other Socialist intellectuals who have played leading roles in directing the republic's internal and external policy since its formation. Sjahrir, a brilliant intellectual but not a popular leader, was forced out as Premier before the Dutch offensive last summer because he made too many decisions on his own hook. He has just split off from the Republican Socialist Party (R. S. P.) and formed his own Socialist Party of Indonesia. He wants no part in the Soviet-American clash he feels is coming.

His departure with a small following leaves Amir Sjarifuddin undisputed leader of the R. S. P. and the People's Democratic Front, which includes the R. S. P. (25,000 to 30,000 members), the Communist Party (4,000), the Labor Party (1,000), and the Socialist Youth (over 100,000). This left coalition receives substantial support from the Indonesian Labor Federation, which had more than 1,000,000 members before the republic's best-developed areas fell to the Dutch attack. The Democratic Front wants not only independence for Indonesia but a higher standard of living for the impoverished peasants, laborers, and middle classes. After I accompanied Sjarifuddin on a political trip, I was convinced that his movement contains a substantial portion of the best educated and most dynamic elements in the republic. In an election based on universal suffrage today it would probably win the votes of from 25 to 30 per cent of the population.

To try to get a straight answer out of the Masjumi leaders is enough to make a reporter go crazy. The party is a loosely knit organization of Moslem social, religious, and military organizations in which fully half the population is represented. Indonesia is 90 per cent Moslem—also 90 per cent illiterate—and among the backward villagers religion has more weight than politics. The local Moslem divines have great influence and have rolled up more than 500,000 members for the Masjumi. Besides independence the only solid plank in the party's program is its desire to see Indonesia become an Islamic state, with Moslem mosques and schools receiving state aid and only a Moslem permitted to be President. Most of its leaders are Indonesian "kulaks"—owners of medium-sized farms who have profited heavily from the mounting price of rice; a few are merchants. Their opportunism in politics is illustrated by the fact that after overthrowing Sjarifuddin because he signed the Renville agreement, they joined forces with Hatta, who supports it as completely.

The number of peasants one sees clad only in burlap

sacking testifies to the economic pressures which are forcing the republic into the United States of Indonesia. Java produces only 2 per cent of the cloth it needs—the decorative designs of its famous batiks have usually been painted on imported fabrics—and the Dutch blockade has cut it off from its sources of supply. (The Republican area on Sumatra has been able to smuggle enough in from Singapore.) As a result, a two-yard sarong of coarse, poorly blocked material costs about 350 rupiahs here, as much as 150 pounds of rice. Other items which have to be brought through the blockade are equally expensive. A tube of American-made toothpaste, for example, costs seventy-five rupiahs, a week's salary for an average official. And local manufactures are not cheap. A pack of twenty locally made cigarettes averages six rupiahs, half of its tax, or twice the daily wage of an unskilled laborer.

The food situation is not so bad—in several hundred miles of traveling I saw few signs of undernourishment. While the Dutch attack of last summer lopped off the areas with a surplus, leaving the republic with a 25 per cent rice deficit in the one-third of Java it retains, this is made up in part by the region's tapioca surplus. The cost of rice, however, has caused a good deal of hardship to government employees and day laborers.

Large quantities of new notes are in circulation, and the heavy printing of currency is undoubtedly mainly responsible for the inflationary spiral. Money had to be created to meet the tremendous task of defending the republic. Fully 57 per cent of last year's budget was consumed by the military, and the republic's income covered only a fourth of the budget. Income would have been more adequate if effective tax machinery had been operating to skim the profits of the "kulaks." It would be utopian, however, to expect economic efficiency of the Republicans at this stage. Big business has always been in the hands of the Dutch, British, and Americans, and retail trade has been for centuries a virtual monopoly of the Chinese, who number almost 2,000,000.

Republican leaders speak optimistically of future economic possibilities but are conscious of their present weakness. They are anxious to join the interim government, if they are given decent terms, because they understand that the Indies are an economic unit and must develop full trade with the outside. They are so confident of their political strength even in Dutch-controlled areas that they are willing to risk coming under temporary Dutch sovereignty and Dutch economic influence. The visit of the East Indonesian good-will mission showed they have ground for confidence. Moreover, a week after it was here Republican leaders learned that the Dutch-sponsored West Java Conference had elected as chief of state a man who is head of President Soekarno's Supreme Advisory Council and living temporarily in *Jokjakarta*, the hub of Indonesian nationalism.

## Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

ARMY and navy officers and also the Armed Forces Research and Development Board have been trying to block investigation of loyalty-clearance procedures in military-research projects. A few months ago a questionnaire asking how loyalty tests were conducted was sent to leading government, industrial, and university laboratories by the Committee on Secrecy and Clearance of the Federation of American Scientists, whose members include such famous scientists as S. H. Bauer, H. A. Bethe, and P. J. W. Debye. In its first report, summarized in this column six weeks ago, the committee disclosed that scientists on military projects have little protection against over-zealous loyalty probers. In a new report the committee presents documentary proof of the brazen maneuvers of the military to keep that fact hidden.

First, a letter from the Office of Naval Intelligence to the committee stated that the director of the navy's chief ship-design laboratory would not be permitted to answer the questionnaire, since "answers to many of the questions would be of a classified nature." Second, a letter from an officer in army ordnance to a university laboratory threatened prosecution under the Espionage Act if the questionnaire were answered. Third, a captain in the navy Bureau of Ships wrote contractors that answers to the questionnaire violated navy regulations. Fourth, an officer in the Office of Naval Research wrote laboratories that furnishing any information in response to the questionnaire, even by laboratories engaged exclusively on non-secret research, would be "detrimental to the national security." Fifth, an Air Matériel Command officer invoked the Espionage Act to block answers by laboratories in his jurisdiction. Capping them all is a memorandum circulated by the Research and Development Board, whose chairman is Dr. Vannevar Bush:

Information has reached the . . . board that certain organizations are circulating questionnaires . . . asking for information regarding investigation and clearance procedures used by government agencies in connection with those scientists who are rendering part-time service to the United States government. These questionnaires are so comprehensive in detail as to create doubt concerning their goal or objective. There are in existence today a large number of organizations whose objective is to gather such information and later use it as material for propaganda and "smear" programs in an attempt to discredit the United States form of government. It is therefore requested that if any questionnaires of this type, or any other questioning the methods of the United States government, are received in the future, that they be referred to this office for appraisal before any answer is given.

It is a pleasure to report that neither the threats of prosecution under the Espionage Act nor the crude smear quoted blocked the survey. The questionnaire actually probed so little into secret material that it was answered in full by the Los Alamos atomic laboratory, the most secret in the country. Of the 140 laboratories addressed, 66 have replied so far—a high percentage for a mailed questionnaire.