

of systematic or responsible organization. All governmental labor activities must be placed under the direct authority and responsibility of the Secretary of Labor." These bold words, as one might guess, are not reiterated in the 1948 platform, and it is the Democrats who now promise to "rebuild and strengthen" the Department of Labor.

**T**HE chief job of the new Secretary of Labor, between now and November, will be to stump for Truman and point to the Labor Department as a horrible example of Republican carnage.

In the long run, any Secretary who wants his department to be more than a name will have a hard battle. He will have to fight for adequate appropriations, for the restoration of the Conciliation and Employment Services to his jurisdiction, and for control over the unemployment compensation bureau in the FSA. He will want to

advocate the establishment of a labor-extension service, along the lines of the agricultural-extension service, for the promotion of workers' education. Legislation for this purpose was pigeon-holed in the last regular session of Congress.

The new Secretary may also try, as Schwelienbach did, to bring the National Labor Relations Board into the department, at least on a "house-keeping" basis. That action, however, perhaps will have to wait until the Taft-Hartley law is repealed, else Labor would be administering an anti-labor law. Finally, the new Secretary will strive to get placed under one roof all the agencies dealing with labor now scattered among various parts of the government. In short, he will try to build his department into one possessing the prestige and power to carry out the objectives embodied in the law that created it. America's labor movement, which has come of age, deserves no less.

## The "Spice Islands" Come of Age

BY ANDREW ROTH

*Macassar, East Indonesia*

**W**HEN the cadaverous Dutch delegate, Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, rose at the Security Council's hearings a year ago to ask that the state of East Indonesia be admitted as a witness in the Dutch-Indonesian dispute, many well-informed delegates looked puzzled: "East Indonesia" was a new name in political geography. Perhaps more people would have understood if he had spoken of the "Spice Islands," as he might have, for East Indonesia includes the fabulous isles of Ternate and Tidore, whose spices were considered so valuable in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that all the maritime states of Europe warred for their possession.

A scattering of emerald-green islands on almost a million square miles of azure water, East Indonesia lies between Java on the west and New Guinea on the east, between the Philippines on the north and Australia on the south. It has ten times the area of Holland and a slightly larger population.

On these isles, strange and exotic customs have grown as luxuriantly as their tropical vegetation. In Bali, whose beautiful scenery, handsome natives, and exquisite dances have made the island's name almost synonymous with paradise, the women still have the quaint idea that while

they may not show their knees, it is quite proper to leave their breasts uncovered. In Bone, a princely state in the South Celebes, a hundred scarlet-robed priests precede the Rajah at all ceremonies, to drive away evil spirits. These priests not only dress like women but also pierce their ears, pad their breasts, and speak their special language in a high-pitched voice. They are permitted free entry into the bed chambers of the Rajah's unmarried daughters. At one time, they lived in cages behind his palace.

Bali is Hindu, Ambon and the Minahassa are Christian, and in some islands animism still prevails, but in most of them the people are Moslems. In the Minahassa, nineteen out of twenty can read, but elsewhere only one in twenty. While some spices are still exported, the main product is copra, or dried coconut kernel, almost all of which is raised by small farmers.

When the spice trade fell off, the Dutch turned their attention to Java and Sumatra, whose rubber, quinine, tobacco, tin, and petroleum became the new "riches of the Indies." The scattered eastern islands were referred to as the "Outer Provinces," and the Dutch did not even bother to establish direct military and political control in all of them until forty-two years ago. Even after 1906, the local feudal rulers were left as a façade, though Dutch officials actually ran their states. Small business remained in the hands of the Chinese middle-men, but large enterprises, such as inter-island shipping, became the monopoly of Dutch concerns.

When Dutch administrators returned here in 1945—

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many of them haggard men just released from Japanese prison camps—they found the area's importance greatly increased. Java and Sumatra, the pre-war seat of Dutch political and economic power, were in Republican hands. The Outer Provinces' copra, which had soared to more than fifty times its pre-war price, was virtually the only product the Dutch could export for dollars. Nationalism in these islands had not reached such intensity as in Java and Sumatra, but the Dutch had some difficulty in re-establishing their control. In 1946, the South Celebes were up in arms, young Balinese nationalists formed guerrilla bands in the mountains, and even the loyal Minahassan troops revolted because of unequal treatment. In the South Celebes, two rajahs, some two hundred nobles, and thousands of villagers were killed.

Even before the turbulence fully subsided, the Lieutenant Governor General, H. J. Van Mook, Holland's canny political architect here, hastened to erect the state of East Indonesia, with pro-Dutch Indonesians at its head. By setting up such states, Dr. Van Mook has hoped to give the lie to the Republican charge that the Dutch will not allow the Indonesians to rule themselves. Furthermore, in the event that a United States of Indonesia, including the Indonesian Republic, becomes a reality, he hopes to have some pro-Dutch states as component parts.

At the Den Passar conference of December, 1946, at which East Indonesia was set up, virtually all the delegates bore the Dutch stamp of approval, and Republican newspapers and newspapermen were banned. The Dutch-controlled Batavia government retained twenty-one powers for itself, and East Indonesia emerged with a pro-Dutch Balinese nobleman, Prince Soekawati, as President, Its Premier, D. M. Najamuddin, mayor of Macassar under the Japanese, had achieved a wide reputation as a procurer of Indonesian girls for the "entertainment" of Japanese troops. Last summer, while he was on his way home from Lake Success, where he had expressed approval of the Dutch military attack on the republic, he was unseated as Premier because of the wholesale corruption of his regime, and on his arrival was met by the police.

Although East Indonesia was the handiwork of Dr. Van Mook, and there is still strong pro-Dutch feeling here, a pro-Republican trend has grown in strength as the nationalist forces have shifted from armed insurgence to methods of political persuasion. At present, one can say the East Indonesian chariot of state has two wheels, one loyalist and one nationalist, and that the lynchpin holding them on is the new young Premier.

The most prominent member of the loyalist group is President Soekawati. He is surrounded by a "palace guard" of Dutch and pro-Dutch officials and draws most of his support from the feudal princes, who fear any real democratization, and from the loyalist groups in Ambon and the Minahassa. Fearful of the Moslem majority,

these Christian communities have provided Holland's most faithful Indonesian troops.

The Dutch are hopeful that President Soekawati can be reelected, and a Dutch adviser sent from Batavia has suggested a constitution which will keep the power in his hands. Under this proposed constitution, the President would have power to issue decrees without the approval of Parliament, and originally it was hoped to make the Cabinet responsible only to him. Now the Dutch are advising that the Cabinet be made responsible to a Senate composed largely of rajahs and hereditary tribal chiefs. They seem to think Dutch influence will last longer if power is in the hands of the feudal princes, who can be expected to look increasingly to Dutch support against the rising power of the middle class. The Dutch call this an "American style" constitution because it has a strong President.

But the nationalist ideal of complete self-rule is still in the ascendancy here, and the young and educated look enviously toward the republic, where Indonesians rule themselves without Dutch supervision. While most of the top posts here have been turned over to Indonesians—along with the fancy uniforms and American cars that go with them—there is a persistent demand for posts that still remain in Dutch hands.

Resistance to Dutch influence is based on economic as well as political conditions. The price of the main export, copra, recently soared as high as \$300 a ton but now is fluctuating at about \$235 to meet the Philippine export figure. The many small growers who produce over 90 per cent of the crop only get about 40 per cent of this price from the Dutch-controlled Copra Fund, which has a monopoly of purchases here. Dutch officials say that much of the profit from the sale of copra has been used to establish a stabilization fund, but they will not show the Copra Fund's books and cannot fully refute the nationalist charge that the dollar credits resulting from copra sales have gone in large part to finance the Dutch military comeback in the Indies.

The main opposition comes from the Progressive Group in Parliament and the Union for Indonesian Freedom (G. A. P. K. I.), both of which are headed by Arnold Mononutu, a mild-mannered, French-educated, Christian copra grower whose reasonable nationalism and mild socialism date from pre-war days. Last winter, the Progressive Group, which includes all pro-Republican elements in Parliament, won almost unanimous support for an East Indonesian Good-Will Mission to the Republic. Headed by Mononutu, the mission visited Jokjakarta in February and convinced President Soekarno and other Republican leaders that East Indonesia is no longer a Dutch puppet state. On its return, it convinced East Indonesians that the republic is not the lawless state that pro-Dutch sources picture it.

Midway between the pro-Republican democratic na-

nationalism of Mononutu's followers and the pro-Dutch feudalism of President Soekawati's supporters stands the twenty-nine-year-old Premier, Anak Agung Gde Agung. "Anak Agung" is a Balinese title which is translated literally as "Most Important Child," and many feel that the title is extremely appropriate. The young Premier has a strong belief in his state. He fears that if the centralization of the pre-war government is reconstituted, this area will again be neglected, and he has fought several successful battles with Batavia to increase its autonomy. He is laboriously trying to steer a course midway between the loyalists and the nationalists, largely because he feels it necessary to keep the new state from being rent asunder.

Anak Agung is Rajah of Gianyar himself and at least on one occasion appeared thoroughly conscious of his

privileges. During the height of the anti-rajah guerrilla movement on Bali, he ordered all Gianyar's inhabitants to swear personal loyalty to him and burned the houses of those who refused. But now as Premier he has urged that the rajahs share their power with the people to prevent feeling against them from going too far. He wants to replace Dutch officials with Indonesians, provided the latter are qualified. He supported the sending of the Good-Will Mission to the Republic to satisfy the pro-Republican intellectuals whose support he needs, but his government is also participating in the Dutch-sponsored provisional Interim Government. "In the conflict between the Dutch and the republic," he explained to me, "we must remain neutral," thus admitting that a Dutch-Republican agreement is his best bet for keeping East Indonesia moving forward in peace.

## *The Philadelphia Book Seizures*

BY HENRY S. HUNTINGTON

*Philadelphia, August 7*

PHILADELPHIA is now awaiting the verdict of the Federal District Court on three cases which grew out of the most extraordinary wholesale book seizures ever known in this country. In a series of raids on fifty-four bookstores and news-stands between March 20 and 25, the Philadelphia vice squad gathered up some two thousand copies of at least eighteen different books, among which were: "Sanctuary" (1931) and "The Wild Palms" (1939) by William Faulkner, "Tobacco Road" (1932) and "God's Little Acre" (1933) by Erskine Caldwell (also "Caldwell Caravan"), "Studs Lonigan" (1932-35) by James T. Farrell, "The Bishop's Jaegers" (1932) and "The Passionate Witch" (1941) by Thorne Smith, "Illicit" (1934) and "Male and Female" (1934) by Jack Woodford, pen name of Josiah Pitts Woolfolk; "End as a Man" (1947) by Calder Willingham, "Rain-tree County" (1948) by Ross Lockridge, Jr., "Never Love a Stranger" (1948) by Harold Robbins, pen name of Harold Rubin; "The Gilded Hearse" (1948) by Charles Gorham, and several books by Tiffany Thayer. Two weeks earlier, the Philadelphia police had seized James T. Farrell's "A World I Never Made" (1936). The list, it will be noted, is extremely diverse: some of the books are without any literary repute; others are well established as modern classics.

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The raids were distinguished not only by their wholesale character but by the fact that the books were seized without warrants; an unusual provision of the Pennsylvania law allows the police to take possession of obscene literature on sight. One bookdealer, Charles Praisman, according to the court testimony, felt forced by the attitude of the detectives to open his store, which he had closed for Saturday afternoon, so that the police could search the premises and confiscate any books that were on their list. The detectives not only refused to give receipts to the bookdealers for the books they took, on the ground that it was against their policy to do so, but forbade the dealers to put the titles on sale again and said they would revisit the stores to see that this edict was observed.

The list of "objectionable" books appears to have been compiled with almost childish naiveté. Six months before the raids, an energetic young Baptist minister, the Reverend Melvin M. Forney, told the head of the Philadelphia vice squad, Inspector Craig Ellis, that one of his parishioners thought "Studs Lonigan" an improper book. Gradually, complaints about some nineteen other books accumulated, and Inspector Ellis ordered his confidential clerk, a man with a high-school education, supplemented by evening classes, to read the books and report to him on their obscenity. By the middle of March, the clerk and Inspector Ellis had concluded that five of the twenty books were not obscene but that the others were. Without consulting any literary critic or psychologist, without getting any legal advice or telling his superiors, Inspector Ellis told his squad to gather in the "lewd" harvest.