

f2 Migration of pop
Mobility of labor

Policy proposal.

after excessive land development, fill up the land by
immigration! Thus kill 2 birds.

Arizona labor camp clean-up

Phoenix

EVERY year some 200,000 migrant workers straggle into Arizona to harvest vegetables, fruits and cotton in the state's rich irrigated fields. Until a short time ago, they had to take pot luck when it came to housing, and the pot luck wasn't very good. Farm labor camps, unspeakably squalid and filthy, dotted the state. The disease incidence was high. Arizona's press and public were apathetic, and the growers, prospering mightily from high prices and sustained demand, were indifferent.

Not until the situation suddenly assumed the proportions of a national scandal last year did the state begin to stir. Cases of actual starvation in the camps came to light. *Life* magazine and the Los Angeles papers splashed the story, and Arizonans squirmed uncomfortably.

The state health department made a survey and found that wretched health and sanitation conditions prevailed in most of the camps. The department's director of preventive medical services, Dr. Clarence G. Salsbury, an ex-medical missionary among the Navajo Indians, rightfully viewed this as a menace to the health of the entire state, not to mention rather shabby treatment of the migrants involved. He launched a crusade to clean up the camps and provide the workers with decent housing.

The carrot barons were invited to a conference and handed a proposed code of minimum health standards for the camps. They examined the code and blew up. It would ruin them, they wailed, to spend the amount of money necessary to meet the health department's standards. Arbitration sessions ensued. The growers dragged their feet and squawked about the health department's "Utopian dreams."

Finally the combatants struck a compromise which, while making it a little easier for the growers, still adhered to fundamental health principles.

Even then some of the growers evidenced a reluctance to get the clean-up program under way, hoping, perhaps, that the heat would be off in time and they could go back to doing business as usual. But Salsbury, with the backing of his chief, Dr. James P. Ward, and with public opinion as a club, kept up the pressure.

Recently he was able to report that more than 100 new camps have been built or started. Two million dollars have been invested by the growers in camp construction. Decent, durable shelters made of brick or cement block have replaced dingy wood-and-tarpaper hovels. Filthy privies have given way to sanitary facilities. Some growers have even gone beyond minimum requirements and installed indoor flush toilets.

Some of the worst camps of last year are the best camps of today, said Salsbury. He summed up the camp construction program as "a major contribution to Arizona's future." Of equal importance, it affords an object lesson to other Western states where the big commercial farmers still provide their dogs with better accommodations than their field hands.

—JOSEPH STOCKER

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

*The Ford Foundation official
to implement plans for a*

By RICHARD HUDSON

II

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, for 21 years head of one of the great institutions of learning in the world — the University of Chicago—is a man who believes in converting ideas into reality by bold action.

When World War II ended, Hutchins was convinced that the world stood on the threshold of a potentially wonderful new era in which most of man's unpleasant labor could be done away with through the power of the atom. But he felt that this new era was dependent upon the quick establishment of a world republic to legislate, interpret and enforce law and order among the nations. The choice, to him, was world government or world suicide.

Acting with characteristic directness, Hutchins assembled a group of educators and thinkers into the Committee to Frame a World Constitution. Under his chairmanship, the committee drew a sample world constitution, which it hoped might stimulate the world government movement and serve as a basis for discussion at a world constitutional convention.

Hutchins was in the midst of this activity when Paul G. Hoffman, head of the Ford Foundation of Pasadena Calif. offered him an associate directors post. Believing this provided an even broader opportunity to serve the cause of world peace, Hutchins accepted.

Even when he is expressing his deepest feelings, an element of humor is apt to creep into Hutchins' remarks. For example, when he expressed his disappointment over the course of events a few years later.

"In August, 1945, we all ran for the nearest microphone shouting: 'There must never be another war; we must have a world government right away; save civilization! Day after day, the agencies of mass communication point out that we could now destroy ourselves in so cheap, spectacular, swift, effective and horrible a fashion that at something really significant would have to be done about introducing law into the world and reforming the peculiar animals who inhabit it.

"But now we have returned to our normal occupations. We are absorbed in the seesaw of labor and management.

Richard Hudson, reporter for the Pasadena Star-News, is in close touch, through his work, with the Ford Foundation.

Swarms of Refugees Turned Away by US

Chinese Board Ships Bound for America to Gain Entry, but Most Fare Poorly

North American Newspaper Alliance

Washington, D. C. — President Kennedy's announcement that the United States will open its doors to some 5,000 to 6,000 Hong Kong refugees from Communist China must have hit the Chinese American communities with an ironic thud.

Almost all Chinese Americans know that while we will be admitting their Hong Kong brethren through one door, we will be kicking others out another door. Both groups are refugees from Red tyranny, but one group is more resourceful in its effort to reach America.

The presidential edict to admit a token number of Hong Kong refugees as a humanitarian gesture was undoubtedly prompted by recent stories and photos dramatizing the pathetic plight of Chinese being forced back to Red China by the British after having successfully crossed the bamboo curtain into Hong Kong.

Many Jump Ship

But generally unknown is the plight of thousands of mainland Chinese who reach Hong Kong, and then avoid being sent back by taking jobs on United States bound foreign ships — only to be ultimately returned to Hong Kong or to be set adrift as stateless persons.

Nearly always, the only reason these Chinese become seamen is to get to America, supposedly out of the clutches of the Reds.

Many, upon reaching this country, jump ship and attempt to hide in such crowded Chinese American communities as the New York's and San Francisco's Chinatowns.

Hundreds Deported

In recent months, the missing seamen have been the object of immigration drives to search them out, serve them with deportation orders and return them to Hong Kong or almost any other country willing to take them.

Law firms in Washington and New York, where legal efforts to halt the deportations have been virtually futile, say that hundreds of Hong Kong refugees have been deported in recent months.

Spokesmen from the law firms do not deny that their clients entered the United States illegally, but they insist that they are in reality political refugees, and thus are entitled to more humanitarian treatment.

The Chinese seamen — once deported — do not bother to

write anyone of their experience, although it is generally known they are limited to the choice of returning to Hong Kong, where they might be sent back to Red China, or remaining as seamen on foreign vessels, unable to go ashore except as visitors for a few days.

Occasionally, however, letters have filtered back to friends and relatives, or lawyers, in the United States. Some of these letters were posted from foreign jails. Several, for instance, told how they had been forcibly turned over to the Dutch consulate in New York, placed aboard Dutch vessels and told to remain on board ships as seamen — or else. Those who had refused to remain as seamen said that the Dutch had taken their money and had thrown them in jail.

Legally the Dutch claimed jurisdiction over the Chinese seamen under United States deportation orders because they had arrived on Dutch ships, the most common means of escape for Hong Kong refugees.

"Treated Like Cattle"

Nobody seems to know exactly how many Chinese refugees have been deported in this manner. But last March, C. K. Moy, a spokesman for the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent association in New York city, said that over 100 arrests and deportations had occurred in a month.

That same month the immigration bureau's district director, P. A. Esperdy, said that "arrests of Chinese for illegal residence were running a normal five or six a week."

One New York law office said it has handled the legal defense of ship jumpers by the hundreds. A spokesman for this law firm said:

"They are being turned over to the Dutch as though they were indentured labor. They are treated like cattle. Nobody seems to know or care where they are going or how they get there — if they get there."

Arrest Pacifists at Scottish Pier

Holy Loch, Scotland—AP—Police moved in quickly Saturday on sitdown demonstrators trying to block supplies to the American Polaris submarine depot ship Proteus, arresting them by the dozen.

The pacifists, many of them teen age girls, put up no resistance. But they had to be lifted bodily from the entrance to Holy Loch's Ardnadam pier.

Police warned before hand that squatters would be arrested if they failed to move on at the first request.

Ninety-four men and women ignored the warning and were carted away to jail.

Come In

Savings received by June 11
earn from June 1

and Accept Our

ANNIVERSARY

Sluggers Hitting Hands as 12-8 Drubbing

Littler Earns \$25,000 Prize in Clifton Golf

Clifton, N. J.—*P*—Gene Littler, defending champion in next week's National Open, won the \$25,000 first prize in the \$100,000 Clifton golf tournament here Sunday.

He fired a 67, five under par, for 275, which beat out rookie Jack Nicklaus by two strokes.

Starting the final round a stroke back of the leaders, Nicklaus and Dow Finsterwald, Littler pulled even with a birdie at the first hole and then moved resolutely ahead.

Nicklaus shot a 70 for 277.

Finsterwald finished with a 73 for 280 and tied with Ted Ellis who had a 71 for third money.

It was the first tournament victory of the year for Littler, and it came with the richest first prize of the tour at stake.

Robinson Fight Off, Opponent Is Unhappy

Paris, France — *P* — The fight between Sugar Ray Robinson of New York, and Hippolyte Annex, French middleweight champion, was postponed indefinitely Saturday because of a dispute between the Frenchman's manager and the promoter about finances. It was to have been held on June 29.

Giants Are Shackled with Fifth Loss, 6-5

Flood's Homer Helps St. Louis Capture Sixth Straight, Shantz Wins It

St. Louis, Mo.—*P*—Curt Flood hit a two run homer in the ninth inning Sunday as the St. Louis Cardinals downed the San Francisco Giants, 6-5, in the first game of a double header.

The Redbirds stretched their

winning streak to six games and extended the Giants' losing string to five.

Flood's blow, off starter Billy O'Dell, came with one out and Bobby Gene Smith on first base with a single.

Bobby Shantz, who worked three scoreless innings in relief, was the winner.

After O'Dell was nailed for three runs in the first inning on four singles, he put on the brakes except for the sixth inning. The Redbirds got their fourth run then on Smith's double and Red Schoendienst's pinch single, but the Giant's still led by 5-4.

The Giants pecked away at Larry Jackson for 13 hits and all of their runs in 5½ innings.

Ed Bailey, who hit a solo homer, his ninth, in the second inning, and walked with the bases filled in the third, touched off a two run rally with a single in the sixth. Jim Davenport doubled and Jose Pagan and Harvey Kuenn singled for two runs that broke a 3-3 deadlock.

Shantz evened his record at 2-2 and O'Dell's mark fell to 7-4.

Orioles Topple Yankees, 5-1

New York, N. Y.—*P*—Home runs by White Herzog and Russ Snyder paced the Baltimore Oriole to a 5-1 victory over the New York Yankees in the first game of Sunday's double header as Milt Pappas held the American league leaders to six hits.

Herzog connected with his second homer of the season in the second inning and Snyder hit his sixth in the third. Both were at the expense of Ralph Terry, who allowed the Orioles only two other hits before being lifted for a pinch hitter at the start of the eighth.

BALTIMORE		NEW YORK	
ab	r h bi	ab	r h bi
Temple 2b	3 0 0 0	Boyer 3b	4 0 0 0
Snyder cf-lf	4 1 2 1	Rich'd's'n 2b	4 0 2 0
Robinson 3b	3 1 0 0	Maris cf	4 0 0 0
Gentile 1b	4 1 1 0	Blanchard rf	4 1 1 1
Powell lf	3 0 0 0	Boward c	4 0 0 0
Brandt cf	1 1 1 2	Herra lf	4 0 2 0
Herzog rf	4 1 1 1	Skowron lb	3 0 0 0
Hansen ss	4 0 2 1	Tresh ss	3 0 1 0
Landrith c	3 0 0 0	Terry p	2 0 0 0
Pappas p	4 0 0 0	aPepitone	1 0 0 0
		Bouton p	0 0 0 0
Totals	33 5 7 5	Totals	33 1 6 1

a—fled out for Terry in 7th.

Baltimore 011 000 003-5
New York 000 000 001-1

E—Gentile, Snyder, Pappas. PO—A—Baltimore 27-12. New York 27-8. DP—Pappas, Hansen and Gentile; Landrith and Hansen; Skowron and Tresh. LOB—Baltimore 4, New York 7. 2B—Snyder, Gentile. 3B—Brandt. HR—Herzog, Snyder, Blanchard.

IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO
Pappas (W, 6-3).....	9	6	1	1	2
Terry (L, 7-5).....	7	4	2	2	1
Bouton.....	2	3	3	3	2

U—Smith, Schwartz, Berry and Honochick. T—2:25.

FIRST GAME		ST. LOUIS	
ab	r h bi	ab	r h bi
Kuenn rf-lf	5 0 2 1	Flood cf	5 2 2 2
Hiller 2b	5 1 1 0	Javier 2b	4 1 1 0
Mays cf	5 0 3 0	Boyer 3b	4 1 3 1
McC'ey lb-rf	3 0 1 0	Oliver c	3 0 0 0
cMota lf	2 0 0 0	White lb	4 0 0 0
F. Alou lf	1 0 0 0	James rf	4 0 1 2
aCepeda lb	2 0 0 0	Gotay ss	3 0 0 0
Bailey c	3 2 3 0	Smith lf	4 2 2 0
Davenport 3b	4 2 3 0	Jackson p	1 0 1 0
Pagan ss	4 0 2 1	Bauta p	0 0 0 0
O'Dell p	2 0 1 1	bSchoend'nst	1 0 1 1
		Shantz p	0 0 0 0
		dMaxvill	1 0 0 0
Totals	36 5 16 5	Totals	34 6 11 6

a—grounded into double play for F. Alou in 5th; b—singled for Bauta in 6th; c—grounded out for McCovey in 7th; d—hit pop fly for Shantz in 9th.

San Francisco 021 002 000-5
St. Louis 300 001 002-6

E—Hiller, Javier, Gotay. PO—A—San Francisco 25-11 (one out when winning run scored). St. Louis 27-20. DP—Boyer, Javier and White 2; Hiller, McCovey and Pagan; Gotay, Javier and White 2; Davenport, Hiller and Cepeda 2; Oliver and Boyer. LOB—San Francisco 8, St. Louis 6. 2B—Hiller, Davenport, Smith. HP—Flood. SB—O'Dell. S—O'Dell 2.

IP	H	R	ER	BB	SO
O'Dell (L, 7-4).....	7	4	2	2	1
Jackson.....	2	3	3	3	2
Bauta.....	1	1	1	1	1
Shantz (W, 6-3).....	9	6	1	1	2
HBP—F.....	1	0	0	0	0
Venzon.....	1	0	0	0	0

30,000

The Perpetual Refugees

Michael L. Hoffman

AMONG the unpleasant realities that the Western world is trying hard to ignore is the fact that the mass migration of people has become a permanent international problem. It is permanent because the condition of the world for as far ahead as we can see is going to put large numbers of people under intolerable pressure to leave their countries of origin and seek new homes. This is well known to hundreds of national and international officials who have wrestled with refugees and migration during these postwar years. But only a few have dared tell the unpalatable truth that the "refugee problem" cannot be wrapped up in a package and disposed of by temporary expedients or that it will not merely fade away when the money appropriated by grudging parliaments runs out.

There have always been refugees. The Normans who swept down the coasts of the North Sea, overran northern France and eventually Britain and Sicily, and blended their genius inextricably into Western Christian culture were refugees from invasions of peoples from the East before they became conquerors. So were the Vandals and the Visigoths who flooded into the breaches in the Roman Empire and founded Mediterranean kingdoms, and whose stormy youth was softened, Chris-

tianized, enlightened, and corrupted by the Latin civilization of the lands they made their own.

For every tribe or group that had the energy and luck to turn its exodus into conquest, carrying customs, institutions, and language with it, unnumbered and unnamed millions of human beings have wandered across the earth, going in at the bottom of whatever civilization they penetrated, sometimes surviving, more often not. In the early twentieth century it was thought that the refugee had been pushed out to the fringes of Western civilization, in Asia, where the Christian could have the satisfaction of contributing occasional relief without the inconvenience of having to meet the refugee himself. Suddenly, in mid-century, the refugee was back in our midst, looking not much different from the man next door.

IT is important to understand that the present world problem is distinguished from that of any past period by no great difference in the conditions that drive people to migrate even in the face of appalling obstacles.

The main difference is that, on the one hand, the world is fenced off more effectively than ever before into highly nationalistic

Mr. Hoffman is an economist trained at the University of Chicago, now living in Geneva, Switzerland, as correspondent for the New York Times. Traveling around Western Europe, he has seen the people for whom the war has not ended.

states which have the desire and ability to keep strangers out; while, on the other hand, the wealthiest and most enterprising nations of the world are deeply committed to international co-operation, in the hope of relieving the tensions that in past epochs led to wars and invasions. Today we can neither ignore the migration problem nor permit it to be solved by force.

There are no longer areas of the world into which people can simply wander and settle, with no more to worry about than defending themselves against their immediate neighbors. The machinery of the modern state, with its frontiers, its communications, its armaments, its police, and its concentration camps, has put an end to all that. The only modern example of a movement that might, in retrospect, be considered an approximate parallel to the barbarian invasions of the fourth to the seventh centuries of our era is the Jewish infiltration of Palestine, culminating in the foundation of the State of Israel. Even this movement could never have taken place but for the appreciation in the Western world of the special religious and psychological relationship of the Jewish people to their ancient homeland. If Japan had won the Pacific war we might have seen other cases where such an attitude would have been absent.

The present stalemate in thinking on this subject is due, it seems to me, not so much to a failure to comprehend the "refugee problem" as to a failure to relate it to a larger and more durable problem—the maldistribution of people on the earth's surface, a matter not to be solved by letting nature take its course, as has been done throughout history to date. It is an inescapable obligation of the United Nations to see that permanent international machinery for dealing with mass movements of human beings and their consequences should exist. At present, we are trying to deal with them by a collection of expedients, and people who ought to know better are calling them "solutions."

II

THERE are two broad reasons why people leave their homes in large numbers. One is political, and gives rise to the classical "refugee" who from fear of his life, by action of his own government, or by con-

viction finds it better to risk survival in a foreign land than to remain among his people, his institutions, and his belongings, if any.

The second reason is, again broadly speaking, economic. It led, for example, to the mass movement of Eastern and Southern Europeans to America in the late nineteenth century, and to the southward migration of Chinese into Malaysia. Famine, land hunger, disease, a plague of locusts, or the drying up of the wells may make people move. All these are still with us today, but the modern economic scourge is unemployment. In Western nations, with their complex monetary economies, the heaving and buckling of economic life that in the past would have led to starvation and mass exodus now show up as a chronic incapacity of the system to provide enough useful work. This is not the place to argue the matter, but I would suggest in passing that this is quite a different thing from the unemployment that persists simply because the economic system does not work well. Rather it exists because the system is faced with an impossible task.

A mass movement of people from Italy and Germany cannot be started today by brave and determined individuals who decide to move as their ancestors did. In the absence of special intergovernmental arrangements there is no place for them to go. Two million Italians would now be "refugees" if the machinery of the state and American aid did not feed them at home and prevent them from trying to go abroad. Their lot just misses being intolerable enough to start them flooding across the frontiers anyway, but that in no way disposes of the problem. They are "refugees" in their own land.

We do not really know how many people there are in either of these two broad classes. Nobody is responsible for preparing such figures or for keeping them up to date. In the nature of things, moreover, it is impossible to know how many people would leave their homes for new ones if the facilities for doing so did not involve varying degrees of unpleasantness.

Nevertheless, we can get some notion of the dimensions of the problem that would face an international body trying seriously to deal with it. It should be noted at the outset that by no means all "refugee problems" could be treated internationally, no matter what

machinery existed for that purpose. Some of them must clearly be regarded as the responsibility of national authorities, even though they must be kept in the picture to remind us of the scale of human suffering in the world today.

Unquestionably the greatest mass of people uprooted from their homes and still unsettled elsewhere is in China. Accurate estimates are out of the question. We don't even know the population of China within fifty million or so. The best figure we have is an estimate submitted by the Nationalist government to the International Labor Office in 1948: From fifty to fifty-five million persons were then in refugee status in China, about four-fifths of them refugees from the civil war. The number may now have been reduced as a result of redistribution under the Communist regime, and by the time this article appears famine may have provided a "solution" to the problems of millions of others. There was nothing the West could effectively do about this problem before the Communist conquest; there is certainly nothing it can do now.

There are eight to ten million refugees on the Indian sub-continent. About half of these are refugees from Pakistan in India and the other half, refugees from India in Pakistan. International help is aiding in the care of these people, but resettlement must be left to the two governments concerned. It is too late to apply an orderly international solution to this vast problem.

The Greek refugee problem is also one to which solutions must be largely national. There were at least 700,000 Greek refugees at the height of the civil war. Resettlement is proceeding rapidly. While a case might be made for regarding the entire Greek population as dependent on indefinite international aid, no major overseas resettlement problem appears here. Greek emigration for economic reasons might become important, but I have been unable to get an authoritative estimate of how large it might be in the years immediately ahead.

ELSEWHERE in Europe and the Middle East the main groups of refugees and stateless persons, according to the best estimates of the International Refugee Organization and other United Nations agencies, are as follows:

	<i>Covered by IRO mandate (but not all receiving maintenance)</i>	<i>Refugees and stateless persons not covered by IRO mandate</i>
Germany	333,700	10,000,000*
Austria	49,000	431,000
Italy	34,800	50,000
France	127,200	284,000
Belgium	10,500	175,000
Luxembourg	800	6,000
Netherlands	2,540	18,500
Denmark	1,830	
Greece	3,800	
Switzerland	1,300	
Middle East	4,250	
Far East	9,500	

Approximately 4,000 persons monthly are escaping across the Iron Curtain from various Communist countries. There are, in addition, tragic little pools of a few thousand refugees each in Sweden, the Philippines, and elsewhere about the world.

The potential number of emigrants who are not now in refugee status but whose movement to new areas will almost certainly be an international responsibility is much harder to estimate. The Italian government, for obvious reasons, has done more work in this area than any other. Immediately after the war it had to face the fact that no economic program for Italy made any sense without a plan for large-scale emigration.

The Italian population increases at the rate of about 490,000 yearly. There are approximately 1.8 million chronically unemployed adults in the country and the figure for concealed unemployment (people who are working but producing nothing of value—two doing the work of one) is probably as large again. Italy planned for an emigration of 110,000 in 1949-50, and this figure will apparently be reached, though a reduction in Italy's population of at least two million is considered necessary by the Italian authorities to bring it down to a level appropriate to the over-

* This huge number consists mostly of "Potsdam" refugees, the "Germans abroad" who were to be transferred to the Allied zones of occupation from other countries and German territory east of the Oder-Neisse line, according to the Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945. They proved, in time, to be more numerous than had been supposed, and this figure is conservative. They do not fall under the jurisdiction of the IRO.

crowded Italian lands. Once this had been achieved, an emigration rate of 200,000 yearly, in the opinion of Italian economists, would keep the population increase within a range that might be absorbed by industry and agriculture, given a level of investment that can reasonably be anticipated. So we might set the "desirable emigration rate" from Italy at 600,000 yearly for five years, and 200,000 thereafter.

The German problem has not yet been so carefully thought out. Western Germany may or may not be overpopulated in terms of its resources and area. The Western German government has not espoused emigration as part of its economic platform. It may never do so, preferring the traditional German solution of demanding that Germany be given more territory for its people, territory which presumably somebody will have to take away from the Russians.

Nevertheless a potential emigration obviously exists in a region whose population is 20 per cent greater than ever before and whose capacity to profit from international specialization of industry has been drastically reduced by the barrier along its eastern frontier and by the loss of markets in non-European parts of the world. It may well be, whether the German politicians like emigration or not, that the interests of the United States in a peaceful Europe will dictate a mass movement of Germans to other parts of the world, as the only means of cleaning up the festering infection of which two million German unemployed are only the symptom. This has long been the French view.

Representative Francis E. Walter has recently introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives asking the President to form an international organization to promote resettlement of Germans. One must deplore any move to provide special treatment for Germans while millions of others are in similar difficulties not unconnected with German actions in the recent past, but Mr. Walter is certainly right in calling the German population problem a "grave impediment to the peaceful solution of Europe's difficulties." Germany offers an opportunity par excellence for bold and far-sighted measures. Migration on a mass scale needs to be carefully considered as a constructive American foreign policy for the Cold War years.

The Dutch population increases at the appalling rate of 100,000 yearly, or about 1.1 per cent. It is possible that large numbers of young Dutch men and women, as they have in the past, will find employment and opportunity in Indonesia, but it is likely that they will not, despite that country's enormous resources and economic potential. The Netherlands will make every effort to employ its vigorous and capable people in their own tiny land. The barriers to the people of Holland as individual settlers in Anglo-Saxon countries are not as great as are those facing other peoples, however, and even if mass migration from the Netherlands should become an economic necessity, Indonesia may be a second choice.

LEAVING out China and India, we have a known total of refugees and stateless persons of roughly thirteen million in Europe and the Middle East. If we eliminate Germany from this category—on the ground that the Germans in Germany are still in what was once their own country—and consider them only as an emigration problem, the total is still nearly three million. This is twice the number that fell within the original IRO mandate, after 750,000 people have been resettled or repatriated by that organization. And the "refugee problem" is now supposed to have been liquidated.

As a rough guess, we may set the minimum annual emigration rate for Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands—consistent with the maintenance of political stability under democratic regimes—at one million a year for the next five years. There remains very little opportunity for resettling people in Western Europe, although France may absorb as many as 50,000 people each year if the economy remains prosperous. Quantitatively this should offset the flow of refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, although the individuals, of course, would seldom be the same. We may reasonably assume that for better or worse most of the 785,000 Arab refugees from Palestine will be settled somewhere in the Middle East. There are few Jews left in refugee status in Europe. Israel is ready to absorb more people but these will mostly be Jews that have not yet left Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or the old Jewish colonies in Africa and Asia. They do not affect our figures.

Not all the stateless persons in Western Europe are in need of resettlement. Many of them are long established in their countries of present residence. Their problem is one of acquiring citizenship or international legal protection for themselves and their children.

Making all these adjustments on the basis of the best information we have, which is inadequate, I come to a figure of between 1.2 and 1.3 million for the number of persons that ought to be moved overseas from Europe every year for at least five years. They ought to be moved, that is, if we are serious about creating the kind of world outside the Iron Curtain that will continue to compare favorably with the world inside the Iron Curtain.

III

WHERE are all these people to go? At present, largely as a result of the efforts of IRO and the interest in immigrants as economic assets it has aroused among governments of underdeveloped countries, homes are available for perhaps a tenth of this number for each of the next few years (some of the national programs will be mentioned below). But the answer to the question is that most of them won't be able to go anywhere unless somebody is made continuously responsible for hammering at the doors of countries in the Western Hemisphere, Oceania, and, to some extent, even in Europe.

It is clear that planned and existing machinery for dealing with refugees and mass migration is wholly inadequate to the task. The International Refugee Organization has performed the remarkable feat, under great difficulties, of finding new homes for over 700,000 people since July 1947—and, what is more, getting those people to their new homes. Despite its name, the IRO was never intended to deal with the whole "refugee problem." It was established to handle the resettlement or repatriation (and meanwhile the maintenance) of the 1.5 million displaced persons left by World War II. It is to go out of existence on March 31, 1951. It is the only international organization capable of handling the immense administrative task of mass migration and it is being allowed to die on the fantastic theory, officially enunciated by the United States delegate to the fifth session of the IRO General Council, that the "flood

tide" of the refugee problem will by then have receded.

In the period of June 1950 to March 1951 the IRO, if it is lucky, will resettle an additional 150,000 persons. It will close its doors, at best, with 66,000 refugees capable of being resettled (*i.e.* not sick, disabled, or over-age) still on its books. These will be forced to fend for themselves in Europe, mostly in overcrowded Germany and Austria. It is significant that as late as the first eight months of 1949 over 180,000 persons eligible for IRO aid and not then receiving it turned up for registration—four years after the end of hostilities in Europe—and these were only refugees eligible under the IRO's restricted definition. They include none, for example, of the more than 10 million refugees of German ethnic origin. The only reason the number of eligibles does not continue to grow, in any event, is that registration was simply stopped on August 31, 1949.

The Vatican, the World Council of Churches, and numerous private relief organizations have repeatedly declared that, if carried out, the plan of the eighteen member governments to liquidate IRO will have disastrous consequences. Even the limited problem IRO is dealing with will not have been solved by the end of March 1951.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in a resolution of December 3, 1949, decided that the permanent responsibilities of the UN in the refugee field could be discharged by the creation of a High Commissioner for Refugees. This functionary will succeed the IRO sometime next year. He will have a staff paid by the UN but no operating budget whatever. He will have the job of providing legal protection for refugees and stateless persons in whatever countries they may be located. If he finds that there are people in this category dying of starvation he may call it to the attention of the governments concerned. He may ask governments for money to provide care and maintenance for any persons defined by the UN as "refugees" subject to his general jurisdiction, but no government has obligated itself, by voting for the creation of the Commissioner, to give him any money. The United States has already announced, through its representative on the IRO Council, that the Congress would not entertain any request for funds for such pur-

poses beyond March 1951. The High Commissioner may engage in "resettlement and repatriation activities" to the extent he finds possible without any money for the purpose.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, under its present terms of reference, is a sham and a fraud, perpetrated by bureaucrats who are apparently unwilling to tell their people the true size of the problem. The World Council of Churches has already said substantially this. Nearly every delegate to the IRO Council has privately told me the same thing. Two successive Directors General of IRO, William Hallam Tuck and J. Donald Kingsley, have warned that leaving displaced persons to find permanent homes in Germany or Austria when IRO closes, which is what will happen to from fifty to one hundred thousand of them, for all the High Commissioner will be able to do about it, means repudiating the commitments the United Nations gave these people (and their own) after the recent war. The High Commissioner, at best, will be a personage whose own prestige may enable him on occasion to intervene effectively and alleviate suffering, to mobilize private charity, or to charm a gift now and then from some government. He will more likely be a worthy civil servant put out to pasture, issuing annual reports about how terrible everything is.

THE International Labor Office is trying to deal with another aspect of the big problem. It has drafted an international convention to govern the rights of migrants and to give them protection against exploitation. This is important work, and it should not be belittled. It does not, however, move any people from one place to another. David Morse, ILO Director General, called a conference at the end of April to undertake a much more practical task. He believed it would be possible to get governments who need immigrants (and there are many) and governments with potential emigration to reach a series of independent agreements, somewhat like trade agreements, specifying numbers, dividing responsibility for financing, and incorporating other conditions under which mass movements might take place. The ILO is already giving technical advice to countries of immigration on the best methods of using manpower. But the ILO has, as yet,

no authority to operate a mass migration program. Moreover, labor schemes alone won't solve the problem. There are more people to be moved than could ever be absorbed by countries looking only at manpower as an economic factor, and not as basically a population problem.

Australia proposed, at the ILO's Preliminary Migration Conference which took place in Geneva in April and May, that an international body be formed to continue the selection and transport operations of the IRO. Unfortunately, the suggestion met with no significant response, largely because the delegates to this meeting were not people with authority to discuss such a far-reaching proposal but officials concerned rather with the details of migration schemes. The Australian plan made no reference to the continuing refugee problem but was basically similar to the proposals of this article.

There are a number of projects of individual governments or joint government-private schemes that contemplate mass movement and resettlement outside the scope of IRO. Australia, which is prepared to absorb from fifty to seventy thousand displaced persons this year and a total of two million people within ten years, is also encouraging the immigration of English, Scottish, and Welsh families. Brazil has negotiated actual contracts with Italy and the Netherlands under which several thousand families will be resettled on undeveloped tracts of land, the financing to be done by the Bank of Brazil. Private Italian banks are working on a plan combining large-scale resettlement of Italians in South America with a broad capital development program for the entire upper Amazon basin. Canada's demand for farm families will not cease by the end of IRO (Canada has taken nearly 100,000 DP's).

Nearly every region that has been studied as a potential field for economic development under the Point IV program has been found wanting not only in capital but in people. The need for people capable of forming the nucleus of a mechanically and institutionally complex civilization—not just highly-skilled technicians but people who by nature and tradition can fill the needs of rapid social transition—sticks out of every report on economic development that has been issued in the past few years.

IV

ON THE one hand, we face the fact of a continuing refugee problem and an almost intolerable economic pressure on some of the peoples of Europe to leave their homes. On the other hand, for lack of people, vast spaces of the globe are unsettled and unproductive to an extent that makes even nationalistic governments—which inherently dislike the political, racial, and social consequences of immigration—actively promote mass migration schemes. So far, the countries most intimately concerned with the problem are only pecking at it; individually that is about all they can do. The United States is trying to bury its head in the sand and pretend that the problem will be solved when Congress stops appropriating money for it. Simultaneously, we are proclaiming our intention to conquer communism by proving that the free world, with American help, can overcome poverty, restore stability to Europe, and give hope to millions of human beings. This doesn't make sense.

Surely if there were ever an opportunity for American initiative this is it. Most of the necessary components of a solution—a real solution—are lying around and only asking to be put together. Unfortunately the people in a good position to say what is needed are in the worst position to talk about it. It would be both incorrect and unintelligent for officials in a temporary agency like IRO to press suggestions that might be taken to mean that they were trying to prolong their jobs.

It is the sheerest nonsense to dismantle the one piece of efficient working machinery that we have to do the job. Yet in less than a year the IRO transportation fleet (including several vessels constructed and equipped especially to handle mass movements on a low-cost basis), the IRO administrative organization, the IRO system of occupational classification, and all the rest of the apparatus performing the greatest peacetime operation of mass movement in history will disappear—unless somebody does something about it.

As long ago as February 1949, William Hallam Tuck, IRO's first Director General, had the foresight to suggest that it might be both unwise and uneconomic to dismantle the IRO machinery when the IRO's specific task was

done. (He assumed for sake of argument that IRO's task would get done, which it won't.) In a little-noticed speech to an International Labor Organization conference on migration, Mr. Tuck reviewed the growth of the IRO fleet and the development of techniques for moving and resettling masses of people. As an engineer and business man, Mr. Tuck was impressed with the essential economy of handling mass movements through an international agency which can serve all national governments interested in them. No one country and no private body can do it as efficiently and, what is more important, with as little hardship to the individuals concerned. Let us not forget that at best, migration, under the circumstances prevailing in most of the world today, is a tragedy.

The machinery for mass movement exists. It only needs to be maintained. The ILO exists, a permanent agency of the UN, which has as one of its main functions to assist governments with the many detailed problems of finding and training people to man the farms and machines of advancing economies. This same agency is already charged with the protection of the migrant in his arduous period of transition from refugee to citizen. Is it unrealistic to suggest that these two agencies (both conveniently located in Geneva) should immediately be given authority to merge their functions, so that when IRO goes out as a separate agency the work of mass migration can be carried on?

An alternative would be to give the new UN High Commissioner for Refugees an operating budget and real power. This appeals to many who are experienced in these matters and fear that the tripartite labor-government-employer structure of ILO would make that organization incapable of acting vigorously, since it would necessarily have to press continuously for governmental action unpopular with trade unions and employer groups. This choice of a vehicle can be discussed. What matters now is to get some kind of a contraption that will get us down the right road.

It costs the IRO between \$130 and \$150 to transport one person by ship from Europe to Western Hemisphere ports, including maintenance and the expenses of embarkation and debarkation. Because it has had to support hundreds of thousands of people in Europe while it was fighting to find them new places

Migration is cheap. 1m people for \$130m

and organize its transportation system, less than half of IRO's budget, over the years, has been used for resettlement work. A migration budget of \$75,000,000 would enable a permanent organization to carry on mass migration at the rate of \$400,000 to \$500,000 yearly, assuming the Europe-Western hemisphere movement would be the main one. A budget of \$150,000,000 should suffice to move nearly a million. The limiting factor ought to be the possibilities of resettlement, not the cost of moving people.

I SHALL refrain from making the usual comment about how many bombs or airplanes or potatoes dyed blue we would have to sacrifice to meet our share of the cost of an

international mass migration system. Our share would be at least half, although other governments would contribute. It would be several tens of millions of dollars, a lot of money. I would pose three questions to those who think we cannot afford this cost:

(1) How much is it costing us now to maintain the overpopulated economies of Italy and Western Germany?

(2) How much is it going to "cost" us politically if we stop maintaining them without solving their population problems?

(3) How much will it "cost" us to carry the burden of world leadership while in the heart of Western civilization, and in our hearts, there is the sickness whose symptom is the cold, hungry, hopeless refugee?

Night Study

WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

I CLOSED my door upon the dark
That shut my book of love and war.
Could such tall cold bright triumph mark
The dark tide shuddering on the shore?

World of the mind, how are you high;
O flesh-confined, how clear and pure?
When all this lighted towering sky
Makes trivial that our dreams endure.

Yet in earth-breathing night I stood
Beneath that great constellate crown
And agony of my mortal blood
Cried to those stars and brought them down.

The fiery infinite's wild unrest,
That arcane loneliness on high,
Clutched to the passionate human breast
Became a hearth to warm me by.

"Settlement Acts", so-called, were what allowed localities to prohibit immigration. But laws constantly broken, that is what allowed factories to grow. And as factory people grew stronger, they got them repealed, 1795, labor could move about freely.

In 1795, great destitution & suffering because of depression. Riots. In their fear, magistrates of Speenhamland passed, as temporary expedient, law that they should supply each poor the difference between what he made and what they thought a minimum living should be, this minimum determined by price of corn. Previously people had not been given "out-relief" freely, but made to go to the workhouse, which was made very unpleasant. (thus the growth of exchange and c., making labor very dependent on capricious market, led to a growth of public charity that would have been unthinkable where subsistence agriculture was an alternative)

Fear of French revolution influences also a factor. Gentry afraid if they did not placate mobs, they might be heads-rolled.

Evidently Speenhamland (the system, under that name, spread all over) was mainly in industrial centers. For he says it hastened movement of labor to industrial cities. (fact that the local parishes did it suggests it was considered in interest of local property owners. By bringing in labor which was willing to subsist partly on charity, it lowered wages employers had to pay in those areas. And those individuals who would not take charity thus had wages lowered with no recompense. A pretty shrewd form of price discrimination by the magistrates of Speenhamland, & those other parishes which followed suit.)

I used to think, analyze Speenhamland in terms of iron law of wages. But, no longer accepting this, it would not have lowered wages for Eng. in general -- it would have raised, rather, by reducing supply of labor somewhat. So it was a matter of localities competing vs. one another for labor. An adjustment to the low intelligence or character & ability to save ~~off~~ of some labor, for it took care of them in slack times, so they would be around to work in good times.

Means of making all taxpayers help do what was for extended benefit of all. Like city welfare in Cal.

Ag. Outlook Charts, 1954, BAE, Oct '53.

Workers on farms:

1953.

6.7 ~~km~~ m "family" workers

1.9 m hired " " p 29

As to immobility: total "workers on farms" fell from 12.7 m, '35, to 8.6 m,

1953. - & the drop was shared in

c. same props by family & hired workers.

(p 29).

The MP of the labor must have been very low.

Mc Wms in E. of Race chsn.

Ellis points out that free foreign trade may equalize resource distribution in fact, substitute for migration. This is true, with wide limits. 1, space cannot be moved. 2, Nothing can be moved free: transportation costs. Otherwise there would be no incentive to migrate in primo -- save for export barriers to raw materials.

Still it is a strong point, international trade tends to equalize relative factor rewards, & to some degree substitutes for migration. Samuelson evidently wrote that it would be a complete substitute -- might take off a bit of time to refute that, basis for article.

Leg 8
scrib.

? 

THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 1956

LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS

AFL-CIO Investigates White Citizen Councils

By MURRAY KEMPTON

A few weeks ago, George Meany's investigation into the burgeoning White Citizens Councils over the South's new joint labor federation.

H. L. Mitchell, president of the AFL-CIO, has some material on the exterior threat of organizing in the South and within their influence inside the union.

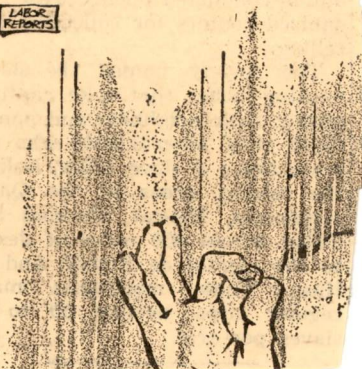
But infiltration, shadowy work worries Meany and his juniors. The Citizens Councils can pressure

(1) The rioters who drove Autherine Lucy off the Alabama campus last week drew their heaviest beef from the B. F. Goodrich plant at Tuscaloosa. It is a solid CIO plant. Two days after the riot, CIO Rubber Workers president L. S. Buckmaster sent an international representative to Tuscaloosa. The local officers called a meeting and passed a resolution deploring violence; they admit education of the rebels will take more than that.

(2) United Auto Workers president Reuther has appointed a committee to investigate reports that

Two Strikes
Avoided

LABOR
REPORTS



Lucy Asked

at

Slavery Rampant In Saudi Arabia, French Told

Slavery is rampant in oil-rich Saudi Arabia and King Ibn Saud is the foremost patron of the practice, it was revealed in two reports received here this week.

Most shocking was the charge that Moslem Negroes from Niger, Upper Volta and Sudan colonies are being lured to Saudi Arabia under pretext of making the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The French Union Assembly meeting at Versailles was told that the "pilgrims" traveled overland to the Red Sea, crossed in sailing craft, and were arrested for illegal entry upon their arrival.

A Saudi Arabian merchant then called them out and sold them on the slave market. Girls under 15 brought the equivalent of \$500 to \$1000.

In London, the Anti-slavery and Aborigines Protection Society cited specific instances in Arabian slavery directly connected with Saud and the royal family.

The society, in noting that there are 500,000 slaves on the Arabian peninsula, said that slavery is not a crime in Saudi Arabia but is conducted openly with recognized centers for collection and selling.

The society named six slave-hunting tribes that take captives among their neighbors and named three chief amendments who operate along a slave route, linking the raiding areas in the Qatar peninsula, Muscat, Buraimi and Dubai across 800 miles of desert to the capital at Riyadh and Al Hasa. These merchants make regular trips, netting 50 to 60 slaves per trip.

Persian Slave Trade Revived by War

Special to The Chicago Sun.
New Delhi, July 17.—The slave trade from Persia to Arabia has been revived since the outbreak of the war in the Far East. Officials said that British warships formerly assigned to break up the slave traffic were now occupied with war duties, permitting the slavers to work almost without interruption.

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LESS 'ASSOCIATION' IN FUTURE

Alienism Seen As Boon For Negroes

BY BURKE DAVIS

Greensboro Daily News Staff Writer

CHAPEL HILL, March 19 — America has been going downhill since May, 1921, when she began to shut off the tide of immigration, Editor Harry Golden told a Carolina Symposium audience here tonight.

The Charlotte author-philosopher, speaking on American minorities, argued that so long as immigrants were flowing into the country, they brought vigor into every phase of its life. In addition, he said, they benefited in turn by their alienation and non-acceptance on these shores.

Golden shared tonight's platform with Col. John A. Ryan, USAF, who, substituting for Gen. Don Zimmerman, spoke on "Science and Survival."

Date Pinpointed

Golden said: "If a future historian pinpoints the decline of the American processes, including the educational system, he might well say it began in the month of May, 1921, when the first bill restricting immigration was passed.

"In 1900 half of the people of the U.S. were first-generation Americans. From 1870 to 1915 was our era of greatest industrial expansion and intellectual growth. Immigrants bring ideas, but more than that, they bring tremendous vitality.

"This does not mean that immigrants are better people than those who have been in the country for generations. It simply means that the immigrant feels ill at ease in his alienism — he is different — he has an accent — and he must make good. He knows that a man with a heavy accent needs a stethoscope in his hand, or a professorship, to win acceptance."

Golden said that the early Christian church understood the principle, and used St. Paul as its first missionary for this reason: "Only an immigrant, such as Paul, could have been successful as the church's first missionary. This was the policy of missionaries — strangers — and the more different the missionary from the people to whom he would preach, the better."

Golden said that the history of the American immigrants remains to be written, both because the newcomers feel yet their alienism and because it is too soon to view it objectively. He added:

"When I see a mill worker in North Carolina going to work in an automobile, and who owns

a washing machine and a refrigerator, I say to myself that he does not realize how much he owes all of this to the immigrants such as Samuel Gompers and Abe Cahan.

Spur For Negroes

Of Negroes in the South, Golden said: "One of the great reasons for the strength of the Negroes of this time is their (growing) sense of alienism, that they are actually immigrants to Western civilization, just as in the case of an individual immigrant — that sense of alienism creates the incentive that they must make good.

"The idea of this vitality of the immigrant is not necessarily a matter of time. The Negro of the South has been here for generations, but he will soon be an immigrant into the American culture. His big troubles will begin when he achieves first-class citizenship politically and economically. He will then begin to feel his alienation — an alienation which he has never known to this day.

"He has had acceptance at an inferior level; his educational and economic equality will make him feel alien, because he will be far behind it. He will go through the same process as the Irish, the Jews, the Slavs and the Italians in America.

South's Fears Misplaced

"The courts will be through with him. He will be completely on his own, and he will feel the same need that he must make good. He too will go through the wild scramble into the classrooms of America that other immigrant groups experienced, and at this level his development in the society of the South will be exactly opposite to that which the Southerners fear.

"As a group or a race rises in self-esteem, and proves its individual worth, the pattern in the entire history of human progression has been that there has been less 'association' than there had been in his inferior status."

Golden, whose lively newspaper, The Carolina Israelite, was recently burned out in a Charlotte fire, said that his next issue would appear Saturday.

Poland Barters for 400,000 Settlers

By ANTHONY TERRY

Berlin

THE RESETTLEMENT of 400,000 Germans in the part of Poland which lies between the Oder-Neisse line and the pre-1939 Polish border is being negotiated by the Polish and East German governments.

A commission of six Germans, eight Poles and two Russians (the chairman and deputy chairman) has already started work in Kuestrin.

According to reliable sources in the East German government, the Poles have asked for a hard core of German farmers and technicians to repeople the "dead lands" east of the Oder-Neisse line, from which millions of Germans were driven in 1945 and 1946.

The Polish government, which obtained Russian approval for the plan, has informed the East Germans that they will accept only settlers who before 1945 lived west of the Oder-Neisse line, and who were born west of it. In other words, they refuse to have any of the refugees and tenant farmers who were driven out after the war and who might claim their land back.

And the East Germans



Wide World photo

1950—These are Germans expelled by Poland, which now wants 400,000 other Germans to replace them

jumped at the idea because it will enable them to get rid of a large number of anti-Communists. They have suggested that the first settlers should be selected from:

Persons whose "demo-

cratic trustworthiness is of negative value";

Farmers and others recently evacuated from the western border areas where the East Germans are clearing a 400-mile "safety zone."

Plans have been made by

the East Germans to release political prisoners and to hand them over to the Poles for the new resettlement scheme.

By the present schedule, all the settlers will be moved into temporary

camps along the Polish border by October, ready to be distributed throughout the area where they are to live. The first batches will be those made homeless in the recent border evacuations.

Exclusive to The Chronicle From
North American Newspaper Alliance

Japanese-American Citizens League

Nisei Explain Why They Backed McCarran Law

By NATE HALE

The prospect of immediate and practical gains caused the Japanese American Citizens League to back the McCarran-Walter immigration law, Mike Masaoka, the League's legislative director, explained yesterday.

Here from Washington for the League's 20th biennial national convention, Masaoka said in an interview that support for the bill was granted only after a "wrestle with our consciences."

"For us, it was a question of getting something now that would be better than existing immigration laws. The latent anti-Orientalism in Congress was shown by the overwhelming defeat of the Lehman-Humphrey immigration bill."

ADVANTAGES CLAIMED

Masaoka listed these advantages of the McCarran Act:

1—Repeal of racial qualifications for naturalization, permitting Asiatics to become citizens for the first time.

2—Elimination of sex discrimination so that women citizens can now bring in their alien husbands.

3—Granting of non-quota status to husbands, wives and unmarried children of citizens.

4—Restoration of the Administrative Procedures Act in immigration cases.

5—Softening of McCarran's Internal Security Act by permitting the entry of Communists or Fascists who have renounced such political ties for five years.

QUOTA SYSTEM

Masaoka said his group's support also represents a frank recognition of the quota system.

"We would like to see larger quotas, but we believe the majority of the American people want immigration restricted."

"If the quotas were completely lifted, there might be a mad dash to the United States. After all, some 6,000,000 people already have applied to enter the United States under the present setup."

The League will work with other groups to correct any defects in the law that show up in practice, Masaoka said.

CIVIL SERVICE

He regards the law as one of a series of gains that have placed Japanese Americans in the best position they have ever occupied.

"For example, before the war only 15 Japanese Americans were civil service employees outside the Post Office department. Now there are 5000."

Some of the gain has come through Japanese settlement in the East, Masaoka said.

"People who had to run fruit stands on the West Coast are now heading for laboratories, the



MIKE MASAOKA
Legislative director

"Historically, the East has been prejudiced against Jews and Negroes, but has very little anti-Oriental prejudice. The West Coast developed its Oriental prejudices when our parents came here as laborers with no understanding of American language or culture."

PASTOR SPEAKS

Masaoka attended a convention luncheon at which the Rev. Harry Meserve, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, warned against the present American tendency to produce more and more "political eunuchs."

"We are in danger of cultivating soil for Fascism," he said.

"More people are believing that it is better not to think and talk and are withdrawing from public life because it is too dangerous."

"We are developing numbers of the inert who are no longer able to stand up and fight for their rights."

'DANGEROUS NOTIONS'

Meserve listed three "dangerous notions" that he believes are fostering "political eunuchism."

"The first is the belief that oaths and force make people more in-

wardly loyal to democracy.

"The second is the belief that disagreement among a free people is a disaster."

"The third is the incredible notion that prevailing policy is infallible. To have any temporary policy proclaimed as an eternal way of life is an effrontery to all free people."

Despite these dangers, the outlook for human freedom in America is better now than it was a year ago, Meserve said.

"Fortunately, the American people are sane and sober in the long run and they are sufficiently irreverent to love seeing a pompous ass fall on his face."

"The nightmare is slowly passing away. People are getting tired of guilt by denunciation and association."

Meserve urged the League to work with liberal groups in the struggle "for basic human security and liberty."

"Unless the liberals can discipline themselves to work together, they are likely to lose the struggle, not to a majority, but to better organized minorities," he said.

The convention closes tonight with a ball at the Fairmont Hotel.

Japan Praises Senate

Rejection of Tuna Duty

TOKYO, June 29 (AP)—Kyodo News Agency said that House Speaker Joji Hayashi today sent a circular message of gratitude to President Truman, Vice President Alben W. Barkley, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Senator Walter George for Senate rejection of the controversial tuna tariff bill.

U. S. Turns Over Documents

Russ Slave Labor Evidence Given U. N.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 29 (AP)—The United States has turned over to the U. N. a three-foot stack of documents which it says provide evidence that Russia is spreading her slave labor system under the Red flag.

The U. S. was the first Government to present such evidence to the U. N. Special Committee on Forced Labor. The committee winds up its second session of closed hearings with a preliminary appraisal Tuesday of testimony from refugee groups and international labor unions. It will report to the U. N. after a Geneva session in October.

More than 18,000 statements from S. Polish soldiers who were Russian prisoners of war are included in the documents.

In addition, the U. S. produced several thousand more statements gathered for the State Department by International Public Opinion Research, Inc., a New York group. Its investigators talked with returned German and Japanese prisoners of war who described how the Russians were overworking and starving their own people in concentration work camps up to 1950.

Walter Kotschnig, deputy U. S. representative on the U. N. Economic and Social Council, turned the documents over to Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Indian chairman of the committee.

Although some experts charge that the Soviet prisoner figure may

run from 10 to 17 million, Kotschnig said official U. S. estimates conservatively number Soviet slave labor at about 2½ million.

"This is far over what Russia's normal prison population should be and in strong contrast to the 200,000 total prisoners known to have been the top figure under totalitarian Czarist Russian re-

gime," Kotschnig said.

Only evidence of Chinese Communist forced labor thus far has come from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Matthew Woll, vice president of the AFL and a council member of the ICFTU, told the committee the figure there is well above a million and may surpass even the USSR's.

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be very high, so wages won't be equalized.

Once you've moved the person, ~~he~~ to the more convenient location, he's there.

If move raw materials to him, must do it many times a year. Immense economies of free migration. (thus blast unions, nat. govts)

Samuelson's thesis -- as cited
by Ellis, tho I can't find it
--- would mean can exploit
resources of vacant areas
w/o sending people there.
Which is reductio ad absurdum
of another fallacy in it

Fact is, where is cheaper to
move labor than goods,
& labor prevented from
moving, is waste, goods movement
less economical.

& as long as it would be
cheaper to move the labor,
cost of moving resources or
things embodying them must

McWilliams, *A. Ch. 11*

with city wage rigidity what it is.)

Postwar, big farmers began to cooperate to keep wages down. Labor pools or exchanges, all in an area would get together in their hiring. Labor "clearing house". "San Joaquin Labor Bureau" cited. "These arrangements have not worked perfectly and individual growers occasionally break away from the prearranged plan," (If people were smart enough to be perfect monopolists, smart enough & cooperative enough, they would also be cooperative enough to make good govt work, & break monopolies)

370 lbs cotton/acre in Cal, cf 112 nat. average. Oct-Jan Cotton harvest fills a gap, gives migratory labor something to do between Sept. grape harvest & Feb sugar beet thinning. Texas & Oklah. migrants came.

Most large Cal ranches are incorp. (to avoid taxes?)

Automobile increased mobility of migrant labor.

Peter Edson

Ike's Red Expatriate Plan Would Toughen New Law

WASHINGTON (NEA)—The two enthusiastic bursts of applause which greeted President Eisenhower's request for a new law to deprive convicted Communists of American citizenship, during his State of the Union message to Congress, indicate that Congress will rush action on this proposal. And when it does become the law of the land, Department of Justice attorneys do not anticipate any challenge to its constitutionality.



Edson

Contrary to first impressions of the congressmen, this was not something brand new which the President popped at them. There is a little-known, but long, legal history behind this matter of depriving Americans of their citizenship rights when they renounce their allegiance to the U.S., or otherwise become expatriates.

In general, loss of citizenship has been the penalty for draft evasion, desertion of the armed forces in time of war, or treason against the U.S. But it has also been applied to individuals who voluntarily elect to become citizens of another country through marriage or for other personal reasons.

One of the first tests of such laws came in the case of Huber vs. Reilly, in 1866. Henry Reilly, a resident of Franklin County, Pa., of which Chambersburg is the county seat, tried to vote in the 1866 election. Huber, an election official, refused to accept Reilly's ballot on the grounds that though he had been registered for the Civil War draft, he had never served, and had never furnished a substitute nor paid the required fees to buy exemption from service.

Reilly sued to have his ballot counted and won in the lower courts. This decision was affirmed on appeal on the grounds that since Reilly had never been convicted of desertion and never been subjected to forfeitures of citizenship under the law, he was entitled to vote.

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania did hold in this case that the U.S. had the power to impose forfeiture of citizenship.

In 1868 Congress declared that expatriation was a "natural and inherent right of all people." In other words, if any American citizen voluntarily chooses to become a citizen of another country, he may do so.

The early doctrine was that the individual had to make a choice, and had to perform the acts necessary to make him a non-U.S. citizen of his own free will. The first general expatriation statute was passed in 1908. This has been tested in several cases.

On Aug. 14, 1909, an American-born young woman married a British-born citizen named Gordon MacKenzie. Though he lived in California and intended to maintain his residence in this country, he had never become a naturalized American citizen.

Mrs. MacKenzie subsequently sought to register as a voter in California. She was refused the right on the grounds of her marriage to a British citizen. She sued (MacKenzie vs. Hare), to retain her voting rights as a native-born American citizen resident in the U.S.

The courts denied her plea on the ground that her marriage to a foreigner—a voluntary choice of expatriation—deprived her of citizenship. This decision was upheld on the basis of the inherent powers of the government in foreign relations.

A provision to this effect was written into the U.S. Nationality Act of 1940. Three grounds for expatriation were given:

1. Formal, written renunciation of citizenship.
2. Commission of an act of treason, attempt by force to overthrow the government, or the bearing of arms against the government.
3. Departing from or remaining outside the U.S. in time of war or national emergency to evade military service.

All of these provisions were carried over into the McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Law of 1952.

So They Say—

We (U.S.) are forced to concentrate on building such stores of armaments as can deter any attack against those who want to be free.—President Eisenhower.

partment of interior policy of gradual reduction in construction activity, the money would permit only work on projects already underway.

Biggest item in the local budget for the coming year, according to figures released Friday by William Trommershausen, Southwest Area manager for the BPA office in Eugene, is \$4,428,000 for continued work on the new trans-

O & C Board Alters Policy

PORTLAND (P) — The Oregon California Railroad Grant Lands Advisory Board, in a reversal of a previous recommendation, has agreed that either scaling or cruising be used to measure O & C timber for sale depending on the physical and economic factors involved.

In November the board had recommended to the Bureau of Land Management that scaling be the method used to measure the timber.

The board, meeting here last week with BLM officials, also appointed a subcommittee to work with the Bureau of Land Management in studying O & C logging road right-of-way regulations with a view to simplifying present procedures, and recommended that when there were no bids for O & C timber at the initial sale within the specific marketing area, the BLM have authority to waive marketing area requirement.

Appointed to the right-of-way study subcommittee by Chairman Charles A. Sprague of Salem were Frank S. Sever, attorney for the Assn. of O & C Land Grant Counties; George Spaur, Oregon state forester; State Rep. Loran Stewart; A. F. Hartung, president of the CIO International Woodworkers of America, and Reginald T. Titus, executive vice president of the Western Forest Industry Assn.

Official S.P.R.R. Watch Inspector Hoffman's 873 Willamette

to the... It would include a step-down substation at the latter city, and substations at some other points.

Coos Bay area service may get the next biggest slice of funds if the budget is approved by Congress.

Estimates call for \$1,183,000 to be spent for continued work on the authorized Nickel Mountain, Norway 230-kilovolt transmission line, and for reconstruction of some line from McKinley to Coos Bay.

Both of the jobs will help stabilize power service to the Southwest Oregon areas, according to Trommershausen.

He also explained that the budget calls for \$194,000 for Southwest Oregon loop service. This covers two projects, according to the official; the first the installation of a transformer at the Redmond substation, the second to complete construction of a substation to connect BPA lines with those of the California-Oregon Power Co. and the Hanna Smelting Co. at Riddle.

SECOND POWER LINE

The official also said \$323,000 has been requested to complete construction of a second 115-kv power line between the Lookout Point switching station on the Middle Fork of the Willamette River and the J. P. Alvey substation at Goshen.

The money would also be used for necessary equipment at the switching station to make con-

U. S. to Buy Pears For School Lunches

PORTLAND (P) — The federal government is about to make its second winter purchase of surplus pears for the school lunch program.

Offers will be received until Wednesday morning on pears for delivery between Feb. 8 and March 6. The Agriculture Department bought 52 carloads of Oregon, Washington and California pears in the first purchase earlier this month.

MAY & MEAD CO.

Your Local

Chrysler - Plymouth

DEALER

AS NEAR AS YOUR

For Sales & Service



4-5221
857 Pearl

to have to answer charges such as these?

"1. Your membership in and your close association with activities and persons established as fronts for the Communist Party.

"2. Misrepresentation or omissions on your Personal Security Questionnaire regarding organizational membership."

The Industrial Personnel and Facility Security Clearance Program has been asked to furnish the employee an amplification of the charges.

Since this agency was established several months ago, the ACLU has disposed of four cases. In each instance the employer indicated that the employee had no access to military information and that a clearance was, therefore, unnecessary. Besides the foregoing case, the Union has one other case pending before this agency.

BOOK NOTE

CIVIL RIGHTS IN IMMIGRATION, by Professor Milton R. Konvitz; Cornell University Press; 216 pages; \$3.50.

An outstanding authority on U. S. law concerning aliens, Professor Konvitz analyzes for the general reader in terse, clear language, the recent restrictive laws developed mainly by Senator McCarran. He prescribes bold reforms couched in lofty concepts both of morality and American liberties. As a study of the wrong and right ways of dealing with aliens, the book is a policy guide to highly desirable but presently unlikely reforms in the immigration system.

Hedges, cont

p. 356 Canadian immigr. barriers adm. selective, & in boom they let in more people because they could find work better. Brit. immigrants were favored by official policy

1921, ag. Dept. in U.S., stopped migration to Canada. (so? Was it not Dept. of Canadian ag too, & boom of Am. cities?) Hedges

ch. 3

p. 49-50 The foothill group were very mobile. Went forth to seek work in good times, back home in bad. s 319 Yuba City

s. 160, p. 75 "...when an economic incentive does develop, large numbers of mountain farmers will move. This was amply demonstrated by the migration during the twenties."
(re. e-n Ky)

Clark Kerr study shows ave. American
takes 12 different 'jobs' in lifetime.
Great labor mobility.

Does soc. sec. etc consider this?

p. 503: "Lack of family income prevents parents from giving the ir children medical attention, education, and cultural advantages that fit them for a variety of job opportunities. Families .. 5/68

→ This....appears to be the explanation for the much higher manpland ratio and lower level of farm family income in the App Highland and in most sections of the South, as cf with the Corn Belt and dairy areas."

p. 503: Explains underemployment thus: "Families living in poverty lack the reserves to cover the cost of moving to a new location in search of higher paying jobs." Ha. 5/68

pp. 9-10 Appears to attribute maldistrib. of rural pop. to immobile labor mkt. 5/68

Board Asks USDA To Extend Lease On Labor Camp

The Fresno County Board of Supervisors yesterday addressed a request to congress and the United States Department of Agriculture for legislation to permit a group of farmers to continue to lease a migratory labor camp near Firebaugh after June 30th.

Jesse Hess, the camp's manager, explained lease of the 30 farmers composing the West Side Growers Housing, Inc., a non profit organization, will expire June 30th. The agricultural department, he said, has given the group until that time to buy the camp for \$57,000. If they do not it will offer the property to the highest bidder.

Hess said the present lessees want the right to continue to lease it for a maximum of 20 years without purchasing it. If they bought it, he asserted, they would have to raise the rents to the 1,500 farm labor families now housed there.

The farmers have operated the camp 15 months, recently without loss for the first time. The cost of operation was said to be \$3,000 a month. There are 36 comfortable apartments renting for \$30 a month and 287 metal shelters renting for \$11 each.

There are two school class rooms in operation and the county health department uses the clinic as an immunization center serving several camps.

The lessees are farming 100,000 acres of West Side land.

The supervisors expressed belief the property, situated one half mile southwest of Firebaugh on Highway 33, should continue in operation for the low cost housing benefits at no profit to the lessees instead of being sold to a private company or individuals.

(Advertisement)

WOMEN!

AT LAST HERE'S DEPENDABLE HYGIENIC PROTECTION

TAKARA Douche Powder...scientifically compounded with valuable medicinal ingredients to prolong its refreshing, cooling action. Thoroughly cleanses and soothes delicate vaginal tissues. Removes offensive odors. Economical and easy to use. Buy today at Drug or Dept. Stores.

TAKARA DOUCHE POWDER

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WHOM WE SHALL WELCOME

12C. ☒ A 319-page report of the Commission on Immigration and Naturalization discussing the laws of the United States which presently regulate the admission and naturalization of aliens in this Nation. Compiled as a result of an extensive study, and published in 1953, this document examines the present immigration laws, pointing out both good features and certain inadequacies; gives the Commission's recommendations for making revisions and changes in our alien laws; and endeavors to show how our immigration admittance regulations mirror our image in the eyes of other nations. (1953) 319 pages.

Catalog No. Pr 33.18:R 29

Paper, \$1.00

Facilities (unpublished). Supplemental data of a statistical nature have been gathered from various sources for the purpose of comparison and the development of trends. 1953. 53 p.

Catalog No. FS 2.2:W 29/21

20 cents

37C. ☐ **STILLWATER WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AREA, CONSERVATION IN ACTION 9.** In the days when mining dominated Nevada, the town of Stillwater was an important stagecoach stop and junction for horse-drawn freight lines. Today, Stillwater is an important conservation center for waterfowl; here in a region of arid and semiarid lands, a wildlife management area has been established to use the runoff from irrigation. This pamphlet describes the Stillwater Wildlife Management Area. 1953. 10 p. il. map.

Catalog No. I 49.36:9

15 cents

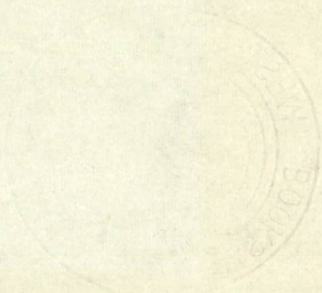
Decrease in no. of Farms 1930-35

Decrease almost confined to the least diversified counties of the Cotton Belt and to the tobacco growing districts; in other words, where the cropper system of tenancy is characteristic. Mechanization accts in part for the decrease in farms in the Yazoo Delta, possibly in Texas & Oklahoma also, but doubtless a larger factor has been the decrease in cotton acreage.

p. 513 Most of the croppers remain in the area as wage laborers or relief clients, & the Dept. of Agri. estimates that rural pop. "has increased almost as much in the Cotton Belt as in the S. Appalachian region."

203.

~~THE~~ PPP



Increase in no. of farms 1930-35.

Largely in regions of poor soils or hilly surface, where birth-rate generally is high, and near large cities, particularly those where the surrounding land is cheap. Location of this increase suggests that most of these new farms are small part-time or self-sufficing farms.

✓ Areas where greatest increase occurred: Southern Appalachians, the Ozarks, and Ouachitas, and ~~the~~ the Cutover Region. These changes partly due to piling up of natural increase during per. when ordinary outlets were closed.

✓ Many of these migrants were young people who had lost their jobs & simply went back home.

Sharpest increases took place in those regions in Ky., W. Va., & Michigan in which the largest proportions of the pop. have been receiving public assistance.

✓ To an extraordinary degree, depression migrants have gone to the very regions which past experience has shown to be least capable of providing a decent living.

pp. 290-293, has trouble explaining ~~it~~ why labor market is poor, why these men don't move to better farms. Gets no satisfying explanation at all -- can explain it in terms of land market.

5173

Nine years, three degrees later, UCR student still pursues studies

By RICHARD MARTINEZ
The Press-Enterprise

When Camille Guerin-Gonzales enrolled at Riverside City College in 1976 at age 31, her goal was a teaching credential within four years and a job teaching high school.

Nine years later she's still hard at her studies, having just completed her doctoral dissertation this month at the University of California, Riverside.

And she's not done yet.

The 40-year-old history major has been awarded a UC President's Fellowship of \$25,000 for postdoctoral research on the recruitment and expulsion of Mexican immigrants in California during the first half of this century.

Guerin-Gonzales said her goal is to obtain a teaching position at a UC school.

She says her goals have changed since 1976. At that time she was married and had three children and had attended only one year of college, at RCC in 1964.

"I was happy being a housewife and a mother," she recalled. "But I decided I wanted to prepare myself for a career as well and I had always wanted to teach.

"Once I got back to college I did very well and I decided I wanted to do research as well as teach," she said. "I knew I needed a doctorate."

Guerin-Gonzales has earned her three degrees at UCR — a bachelor's degree in 1978, master's degree in 1980 and the doctorate she will receive in December. She was named outstanding student in UCR's College of Humanities and Social Sciences in 1979.



Camille Guerin-Gonzales

She maintained a 3.97 grade point average (on a 4-point scale) as an undergraduate, and a 3.99 average as a graduate student.

Of her college success after 30, she says, "I think maturity has a lot to do with what you learn and how you apply it. When I was younger I didn't have any goals and I wasn't disciplined. When I went back to school, I went back with a vengeance."

Guerin-Gonzales' research for her dissertation has taken her to Mexico City and Washington D.C., where she used each country's national archives. Her dissertation is titled, "Cycles of Immigration and Repatriation: Mexican Farmworkers in California Industrial Agriculture, 1900 to 1940."

In her dissertation, Guerin-Gonzales states that in the first

part of the century Mexican immigrants were the perfect answer for California's agricultural industry, which had crop specialization and large-scale production in place but needed a source of low-cost, seasonal labor. Mexicans fit right into a "caste system" originally created by growers for other minority farmworkers, she wrote.

And unlike other farm workers "of color" such as Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos, growers believed Mexicans would be "birds of passage" and return home periodically rather than settle in the United States, she said.

But during the Great Depression, the U.S. government sent Mexican workers back to their country for fear they were taking jobs from Americans. More than 500,000 people were sent back to Mexico from across the United States.

Guerin-Gonzales said her research shows many Americans of Mexican descent were among those sent back to Mexico. For instance, 3,492 Mexicans from Riverside and San Bernardino counties left on repatriation trains from San Bernardino County from 1931 to 1933, half being families. About 30 percent were children under nine years old, many of whom probably were born in the United States.

Guerin-Gonzales now plans to research the period after 1940, including the 1954 repatriation drive dubbed "Operation Wetback" by the federal government, which occurred during an economic downturn for the nation. Some 4 million Mexicans were sent back to Mexico from 1949 to 1954.

Police arrest couple with \$90,000 in bag

The Press-Enterprise

PALM SPRINGS — The saying that you can never be too rich didn't hold true yesterday when police arrested a Palm Desert couple who were driving around in a pickup truck with \$90,000 in a trash bag.

The suspicion that such a large sum, all in \$5 and \$20 bills, was unlikely to have been obtained legally prompted the arrest of the man and woman on suspicion of possession of stolen property, according to Sgt. Dave Goodwin.

Investigators were particularly concerned because statements about the origin of the money given by the 27-year-old man and the 32-year-old woman did not agree, Goodwin said. Police did not reveal what the couple said.

Bail was set at \$5,000 each for the suspects.

Although they can't specify the nature of the crime, if there was one, police are holding the cash as evidence while the investigation continues. The money was found behind the seat of the truck, Goodwin said.

Another woman and a baby riding in the truck when police stopped the vehicle were released.

The investigation started at about 11 a.m. when an employee of First Nationwide Savings called police to say a man had just come in with \$6,500 cash and requested a cashier's check.

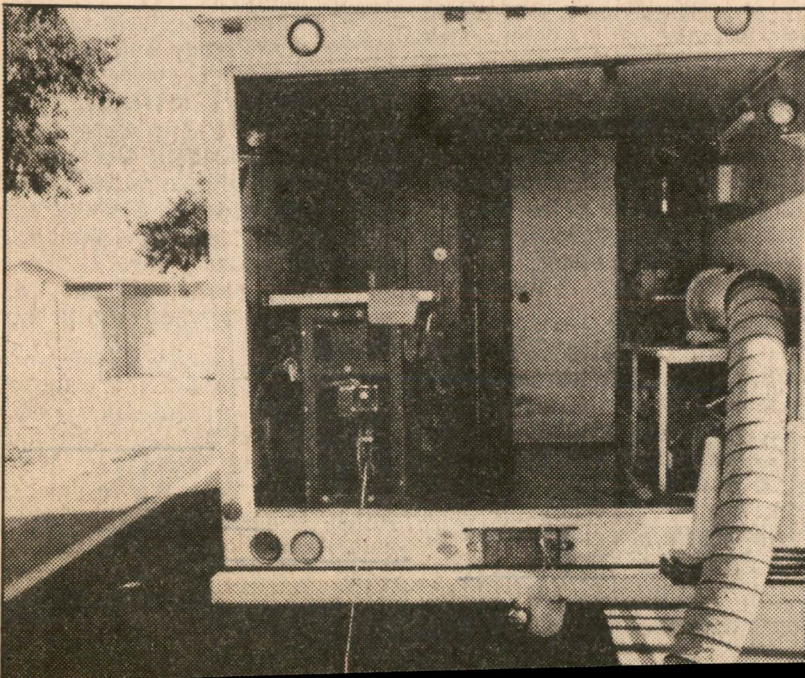
Bank tellers became suspicious because the same man, sometimes accompanied by a woman, had been coming in regularly for about two weeks seeking cashier's checks in exchange for large sums of money. Goodwin



DARRELL SANTACHI/The Press-Enterprise

monitors videotapes sewers, above.

Below he climbs down a manhole to retrieve a stuck sewer camera.



Population Shift Accounted For

West's Pay Scale Is Nation's Highest

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 (AP)—The average pay scale in the Far West is the highest in the Nation.

Commerce Department economists believe that accounts for most of the population shift to the West Coast in recent years.

In a new publication on regional trends in the U. S. economy, the Commerce Department undertakes to explain why people move.

"The most common reason for

migration is to take a job or look for work away from home," the report states.

During the 20 years between 1929 and 1949, population in the four-State Far Western region—Washington, Oregon, California and Nevada—increased 74 per cent.

Virtually all of the population growth was attributed to net migration, since the rate of natural increase was only slightly above the

national average.

The Far West rose to the top in per capita income in 1941. Aggregate income payments in the region more than tripled in the past 20 years.

This resulted from larger-than-average pay increases in most lines of industry, particularly manufacturing, trade and service industries.

In a majority of major industries, such as retail trade, services, the finance, insurance and real estate group, public utilities, construction and manufacturing, the average salary-wage in the Far West is above those in all other regions.

This appears to account for the westward movement of about one-fourth of the total migration within the United States.

Studies of postwar civilian population movements by the Census Bureau show that persons who migrate average somewhat younger than those who stay at home. The more education a person has, the more likely he is to move.

Marital status has some bearing on migration. Persons who have been married, divorced or widowed less than a year are more apt to migrate than those whose marital status has not recently changed.

A large portion of women migrate. And non-whites are more likely to move than whites.