

## The Indianapolis Times

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## NO INTERVENTION

COMPROMISE governments thrown up to stop revolution rarely last long. When the De Cespedes regime followed the Machado dictatorship in Cuba less than a month ago, we pointed out that the new provisional president was a conservative land owner and former Machado cabinet member, closely identified with the old ruling class, against which the revolt was directed.

He was more acceptable to the American building interests dominating the island than to the Cuban people. Now he has fallen.

That Senator De Cespedes gave his conservative best is not questioned. But that best was not good enough. He did not proceed quickly enough against his old Machado associates. He did not hasten a constituent assembly. He did not move toward a solution of the land problems.

His sympathies were not with labor, though left wing influences in his cabinet prevented positive action against the workers. His regime planned for property interests, instead of hearing the cries of the people in their misery.

The revolutionary leader De La Torre put the case against the De Cespedes government in a sentence: "It does not represent the workers, the women or other national elements."

And in any revolution that is the determining issue. The government may make mistakes, it may fall for a time to improve the lot of the people, but it must represent the revolutionary masses and hold their confidence.

President De Cespedes never had that popular confidence. Therefore, he was overthrown for failure to achieve in three weeks that which might require several years for a revolutionary government to accomplish.

Considering the long reign of terror to which the Cuban people have been subjected, it is noteworthy that the overthrow of Machado was accompanied by a minimum of violence and that the revolt against De Cespedes has been bloodless—at least according to early reports.

With this record of restraint, in the face of provocation which easily might have led to widespread violence, the Cuban people in their revolution deserve the sympathetic respect of the United States. Both the Hoover and Roosevelt administrations wisely refrained from military intervention under the Platt amendment against the Machado dictatorship, even though American property and interests were endangered.

Therefore, it is all the more necessary that the United States now refrain from military intervention against a revolutionary government—except under the most extreme provocation.

Because it would cause more unrest than it would quiet, because it would interfere with the inalienable right of the Cuban people to work out their own problems in their own way, because it would create an enemy at our door and make Latin-America hate us, United States military intervention now would be a tragedy for all concerned.

There are too many war clouds in Europe and the Pacific for us to fool with the friendship of our American neighbors.

## THE HOOVERCRATS EMERGE

IT isn't often that the Hoovercrats emerge from their enforced seclusion to take pot shots at the new deal.

For one thing, they have learned that it's unpopular to attack a system which is getting results, where their own failed so miserably. For another, few people will listen to their wails about the passing of their cherished "rugged individualism."

So, for the most part, these political tories have remained on the sidelines, saving their verbal ammunition for special occasions and sympathetic audiences.

The recent convention of the American Bar Association was such an occasion. From start to finish, it was a field day for those who dislike what is going on today in Washington. And they made the most of their opportunity.

Clarence A. Martin, president of the association, bitterly denounced the child labor amendment to the federal Constitution. It was, he said, "a Communist attempt to nationalize America's children."

Democratic Senator Patrick A. McCarran of Nevada, accused President Roosevelt of violating the principles of the Democratic party by the NRA and other emergency legislation.

He, figuratively, raised his hands in horror at the revolutionary character of the new deal, declaring that it "sweeps away the structures fought for and reared by the great Jefferson."

Other speakers bemoaned the passing of state rights in favor of a centralized government. That, too, they said, was deserting the principles laid down by the fathers of the nation.

And as a final touch, the association was called upon to approve the NRA only as a "temporary expedient"—this approval to be withdrawn as soon as the necessity is removed.

There is nothing to get alarmed about in the utterances of these exponents of the old order of things. Fortunately, they speak only for a discredited minority—and as the representatives of a system that had its chance and failed.

Yet, it is strange that the events of the last five months have not softened their opposition to the new deal. It is strange that these political tories are blind to what the rest of the country sees so clearly—the dell-

nite results the Rooseveltian program is beginning to achieve.

Five months ago, this band of irreconcilables could and did attack the new deal on the grounds that it wouldn't work. But today that argument has been scotched.

The new deal is working. It already has put 2,000,000 men back to work. It has meant wage increases for hundreds of thousands of employees. It has meant shorter hours and free handouts all around.

"It means, also, a powerful and well-financed military lobby in Washington and every state capital, a definite and subsidized class beholden to our war department." Such are the extravagant and ramified activities of the war department for political and propaganda purposes.

Worst of all is the inefficiency and inadequacy of our army and our military program.

We have only 54,000 men in our regular army, though we spend more on our land forces than some countries with an army ten times this size.

Of these 54,000, not more than 20,000 could be put into the field at once to defend us from invasion in an emergency.

Yet, they persist in making foolish prophecies, in pointing out handwriting on the wall that is visible to no one else.

Fortunately for the country's economic salvation, the great majority of America's 120,000,000 people will pay little attention to such croaking soothsayers.

## WAY OPENED FOR PROGRESS

BACK of all the concrete developments of the new program at Washington there exists a profound change in the outlook of the American people—change which, in the long run, well may prove the most important single development of the whole "new deal."

This changed outlook finds its reflection in the various legislative and administrative acts by which the administration is seeking to implement recovery.

But it is a deeper thing than any mere change in the machinery of government or political theory; it is not born of any party and it does not owe its existence to the presence or absence of any particular group on Capitol Hill.

Briefly, this change can be described by saying that we at last have got entirely away from the psychology and the oddness of idealism that characterized us during nearly all the '20s.

We have outgrown, that is to say, a stage in our history during which we were perhaps the most purely materialistic people on earth. In that stage we worshiped material success in a way that was almost devout.

The chances are bright that Sept. 20 will find all these states in the repeal column, along with their twenty-five sister states that have voted to date. That will bring the total up to thirty-one—with five to go.

That is a happy prospect to contemplate. Six months ago even the most ardent repealists were skeptical of the chances for abolishing prohibition by Christmas.

They felt that, regardless of how strong national sentiment was against the eighteenth amendment, it was impossible to speed up the cumbersome machinery of state ratification to achieve the goal in such a short time.

Today that skepticism has passed. It seems almost certain that repeal will be an actual fact no later than Dec. 7. Two states vote in October and five on Nov. 7. That makes thirty-eight in all—two more than the necessary thirty-six.

This does not mean, of course, that the repealists can afford to let down. Some of the drys' resistance has vanished, due perhaps to the realization that they face a hopeless task in trying to block repeal.

But enough remains to insure real trouble in the event the anti-prohibition forces become over-confident.

Therefore, the fight should be carried on with undiminished vigor. With the long-awaited goal finally in sight, this is no time to start counting chickens before they're hatched.

If legislatures keep thinking up new things to tax, it won't be long before they will tax our patience.

Any girl can get the man she wants. The really smart girl is the one who gets the man some other girl wants.

In the first place, our military policy today is based almost wholly on the assumption that we are going to fight the World war over again in our next hostilities. The plan is to maintain a vast skeleton army which is practically useless as a coherent and integrated defense unit. It could serve only as the basis for mobilizing a "nation in arms," to be shipped overseas by the millions.

As a matter of sober fact, however, the one type of war we are not likely to fight again is one like unto the World war. It is not probable that this generation will be played for suckers to pull chestnuts out of the fire for some European coalition.

There are too many war clouds in Europe and the Pacific for us to fool with the friendship of our American neighbors.

## DRY ROT, RED TAPE, SOLID IVORY

THERE is a slashing indictment of the policies, methods, and finances of our war department in the North American Review. It is contained in an article entitled "Our \$300,000 Skeleton," by Robert Wohlfarth, a West Point graduate, a former army officer, and an expert on questions of national defense. Therefore, it is no bilious squawk by a professional pacifist.

We have stopped defining progress as a steady increase in the number of millionaires, and because of that fact we have opened the way for progress of the only kind that is worth making—the progress that represents a fuller and wider life for the ordinary man.

WE DO NOT ASK for your support. We do not ask that you interfere with our work. We do not ask that you interfere with our policies, the ward boss and district captain managing the police force, the prosecutor, and even the court.

In the name of direct government, with the people electing all important officials and passing on all important questions, we have built up a mechanism which responds to nothing so quickly as the wire-pulling of crooked politicians.

Through party organization, these politicians have been able to develop an invisible power, which stifles the legitimate functions of government.

THE organization is held together largely by favors, a job for the faithful worker, or a helping hand to the voter in trouble. The voter can be a thug as well as an honest citizen.

Gangdom lends itself to politics. It can herd voters in the same way that it can herd little tradesmen, can march frightened people to the polls in the same way that it collects tribute from them.

Gangdom is of value to the party leader who sees nothing in government or politics except victory at the polls and who cares little about justice, decency, or the price he must pay.

To an obvious extent the idea of politics as a medium of good government has given place to the idea of politics as a medium of power. What leaders can get out of the public treasury or the public service for themselves and their friends has developed into the chief source of interest, and is responsible for the alliance which exists between machine politics and crime.

In all communities over which machine politics has gained control, elective officials are exposed definitely to the power of political bosses.

IT IS NO MORE than human for men to fear those who can hire or fire them. That is exactly the position occupied by police chiefs, district attorneys, judges, and other elective officials in a machine-ruled town, city, or state.

Theoretically, they are chosen by free citizens, but actually they are named by a comparatively small group of politicians, who have developed an effective organization through use of public funds and prostitution of the public service.

It is high time that we broke up this element of demoralization. Our officials must be liberated from political interference. In no other way can they perform with that honesty of purpose which is essential to good government.

In no other way can the public obtain from the efficient, conscientious service which it has a right to expect and which most of them would be glad to give under normal conditions.

## THE INDIANAPOLIS TIMES

well-integrated group "eager to oppose any reduction in war department expenditures and avid for more free two-week vacations in summer military camps, more free rifle ammunition, snapper and costlier uniforms, bigger and better bands, more travel allowances and free handouts all around."

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