

The Indianapolis Times

(A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER)

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

RARELY has a more remarkable document been sent to congress than the message written by President Roosevelt yesterday. It sets forth the basic responsibility of the government for the minimum security of the citizen. It would translate the ancient political liberties into a new economic freedom. In the words of the President:

"These three great objectives—the security of the home, the security of livelihood, and the security of social insurance—are, it seems to me, a minimum of the promise that we can offer to the American people. They constitute a right which belongs to every individual and every family willing to work. They are the essential fulfillment of measures already taken toward relief, recovery and reconstruction."

He then sketches what is perhaps the boldest and broadest program for general social security ever offered by an American government, covering the whole range of mastering and using our natural resources for the larger benefit of our population. His vision is inspired by the wisdom which understands that momentary recovery is not enough, that reform must go hand in hand with it. Or, as he says:

"It is childish to speak of recovery first and reconstruction afterward. In the very nature of the processes of recovery we must avoid the destructive influences of the past."

That the American people will be uplifted by the President's program is clear. And of the President's intense sincerity in this social reform there can be no doubt.

But we believe many will be disappointed to learn that he finds it necessary to postpone action on pending legislation for unemployment insurance and old age pensions. Obviously his broader program can not be ready until the next session of congress. But the harm that could come from enacting those two separate parts of the larger plan which are now ready for action is not explained. Even if those laws had to be amended later to fit the general plan, meanwhile they could be giving new hope to the millions of unemployed and aged whose hope is fast running out.

Moreover, since the Republican national committee has just announced from Chicago the interest of that party in "relieving the hardships of unemployment and old age," it is good politics for the Democratic administration on the eve of an election to announce delay?

We would like to see the administration challenge the Republicans to join the Democrats in passing pending social legislation. It is above party and it could be passed now.

AN AMAZING PROPOSAL

THE steel workers have an inalienable right to strike, but, in our judgment, they would be foolish to act upon that right. The public would suffer and business in general, but the strikers and their families would suffer most. They have more to gain by trusting the government to enforce the collective bargaining provisions of the recovery act and of the Wagner labor disputes bill, which the President wants congress to pass.

Having said that the men should not strike, we can not say that they should accept the plan presented to the President by the Iron and Steel Institute and General Johnson.

This plan is vicious.

Its effect would be to destroy the labor sections of the recovery act. For that reason there is serious doubt that it would be legal even if accepted by the union leaders. Gen. Johnson says the workers are not to have the privilege either of accepting or rejecting it; according to his understanding the employers' plan is to be imposed on the workers by the government.

This plan bears no relation to any other labor settlement of which we have ever heard.

The proposed board of three appointed by the President is to be representative of the public, the employers and the workers; but no one of the three, including the labor representative, can be any person who has ever had "any interest in or partisan relationship toward . . . any labor organization whether national or local." But any one or all three of the members can be industrialists provided they are not in the steel business.

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Not only the employer, but also any "labor organization," would be prevented from "interference" to affect the results of a collective bargaining election. This would prevent union members in a plant from explaining the benefits of their legal union to fellow workers, or the circulation even outside the plant of the recovery act or any other pertinent literature among workers by a union.

The board would have authority over cases of employer discrimination against a worker for union membership only if "such employee has not had a full opportunity to have such matter fairly determined under the provisions of the employee representation plans in force at the plant in which he works"—that is, under company union provisions expressly written in many cases for the specific purpose of discriminating against unions.

Even after the board determines under these restrictions and pro-company union rules the "freely chosen representatives of the employees," the steel companies agree merely to "respect" such representatives for the purposes of collective bargaining. The companies do not agree to recognize such a union, or to

sign a contract with it, or to submit disputes to compulsory arbitration.

In our judgment the steel companies by this plan have done more to drive their workers into the hands of the extremists than all the radical propaganda combined to date.

We hope the union representatives will wait patiently a little longer. The chances of enacting an adequate Wagner labor disputes law are good because the President and, apparently, most of congress wants it. Even if that fails, the President is still in the White House and still master of legal code authority over the steel industry. We believe that if it becomes necessary the President personally will do all in his power to protect the workers' legal rights.

FOR FAIRER PRICES

NRA after long study has evolved a uniform price policy to be applied with the consent of the industries to all present and future codes.

At the beginning General Johnson let each industry write its own price provisions, to see if they would work.

So many different indirect price-fixing provisions were put into code law, most of them with disastrous results. Many of them merely legalized what industry had been doing all along—to its own detriment and at the cost of the buying public. Their result was foreseen. Some prices went up too fast, where competition was curbed too much.

Now NRA has a new policy frankly aimed at restoring price competition, preventing cornering of competitors, and enabling the seller to fix his price at a level which will enable him to sell the largest amount of goods. When drastic action against destructive price-cutting is called for, the government will act.

It is a major and a very delicate operation that NRA is attempting. There is no easy cure. But fair prices would enable every one to buy more of the world's goods.

CAPITAL GOES SOCIAL

EVEN through the depression years the community trust idea has grown until today \$39,250,000 is producing more than \$1,000,000 every year for the social needs of seventy-six communities.

These trusts, established on the trail blazed in Cleveland in 1914, are based on the idea that when individuals leave money in trust for specific charitable purposes, those purposes often become silly in the light of changing conditions.

Marion, Ind., for instance, has a line of fine hitching racks at the corner of the courthouse—useless now, though an appreciated public benefaction once. But the person who gave the square itself to the courthouse specified that hitching racks must be maintained, and so lines of motor cars look down their radiators at the outmoded posts that must stay there.

Forty years ago an Ohio woman left in trust a bequest to her city to be invested until an asylum for inebriates should be founded there, when the money should go to this asylum. There never has been any, and the money lies unused and unusable.

The community trust idea was to create a permanent fund administered by a board of public-spirited citizens as the needs of the community demanded. And the plan has progressed until the Cleveland Foundation, pioneer in the work, today has \$5,981,000, and that of New York \$7,703,600.

Income from these funds is used for community needs as they are today—not as some long-dead benefactor thought they might be today. Much of it went last year into direct community fund relief work.

Some of the larger appropriations, for example, of the New York community trust for last year went to the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Charity Organization Society, the Girl Scouts, the Hebrew university in Palestine, the Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, the Salvation Army, United Hospital Fund, and Visiting Nurse Service.

And all these and other appropriations from the fund were approved by a set of impartial and public-spirited trustees, who have power to alter the channels of original benefactions in case the public interest so indicates.

Several of the larger community trusts for the last few years have been allotting larger sums for direct relief and community fund work than usual, diverting such funds from educational and research work which might be equally valuable in the long run, but was less urgently needed during these difficult times.

The rise of such funds even in the face of the trying conditions of recent years indicates that not all capital is anti-socially minded, and becomes every year more practical and sensible in its willingness to abandon the withering control of the "dead hand."

PARDON AND PAROLE COURT

(Editorial in the Oklahoma News)

A WRITER to the News would revise our laws to make Governors criminally responsible for the deprivations of those they parole or pardon.

It is not likely that such a law would stand constitutional tests, nor that it would have any practical value.

In effect it would end all executive clemency, for no Governor would risk a trip to the electric chair because of a murder committed by one of his paroled convicts. That it would probably be better to repeal all clemency laws.

But it is still a fact that we shall not solve our penal problems except through intelligent application of the clemency system.

Thus we preserve discipline in our prisons and make them more humane and conducive to reform. And it is more important to reform a man than to punish him until he feels that he has paid, or overpaid, for his crime.

Now it is necessary to pardon Baileys and Kelleys in order to extend mercy to more deserving prisoners. That may be achieved by divorcing clemency from politics—which is also within the range of possibility.

Suppose we create a separate state clemency commission, made up of as many commissioners as are necessary. Then let two of these commissioners meet intermittently with the presiding judge of each district to hear local clemency petitions.

Under such a system clemency courts would be convened once, twice or three times annually in each county to hear the petitions of all convicts sent up from that district.

Certain rules could be prescribed whereby

a convict would be entitled to a pardon, parole or reduction of sentence hearing after serving a certain part of his sentence—depending on the nature of his crime, his prison behavior and his past criminal record.

We would make the decision of these clemency courts beyond repeat and reserve for the Governor only the right to stay the execution of a death penalty under emergency circumstances which would not permit the convening of a clemency court.

And we would make these clemency court hearings public so that all might be apprised of the facts of every pardon, parole or other clemency.

We would propose that these pardon and parole commissioners be appointed originally by the chief justice of the supreme court for terms of two to six years, and that thereafter vacancies on the commission be filled by other members.

Then as a safeguard we would suggest that all commissioners must be confirmed by the voters at every general election.

We would suggest rigid educational and other qualifications for these officers, pay them well, and further bestow on the commission the power to name our prison wardens.

Would not such an independent penal system go far toward divorcing clemency from politics?

THE FIRE FIEND

WAITING and lurking behind us this summer, with his hot breath on our very shoulder, is the fire fiend.

With everything dried to a tinder-like condition, every man, woman and child should be alert to the danger of setting fires. The Chicago stockyards conflagration, and the already grave series of forest fires testify to the need for care. Due to the unusually dry weather, thousands of acres already have been reduced to barren desert, with the summer still before us. New York's forests actually have had to be closed to the public, because of a series of disastrous fires.

Every city fire is potentially more dangerous than usual, and any man who carelessly drops a match or leaves an unextinguished fire in the woods is a public enemy.

For forests, even those privately owned, are an asset to all of us, and must be protected today as never before.

AFTER MANY DAYS

CAST thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days, said the preacher.

Four years ago the farmers of South Dakota were moved by accounts of a devastating drought in Arkansas. They not only sympathized; they did something about it. They sent to Arkansas carloads and truckloads of food for people and feed for animals.

Today, shipments of hay and other provisions are on their way to South Dakota from Arkansas. A score of carloads of hay and cottonseed meal have been pledged by Arkansas farmers to be sent northward.

The Arkansas farmers didn't forget. Their Governor, Futrell, gave them a chance to show that "the people of this state never forget a friend."

And the bread which the South Dakota farmers cast upon the waters in 1930 is returning to them after four years. So long as such things happen, we know that gratitude, and sympathy, and neighborliness are not dead, but need only a tragedy like the seared crops of the northwest to bring them forth.

Capital Capers

BY GEORGE ABELL

IN the Hall of the Americas of the Pan-American Union, the charge d'affaires of Nicaragua and Senora de Du Bayle entertained at a lavish reception in honor of charming Mme. Sacasa, wife of the president of Nicaragua.

Dr. Leo Rowe, director-general of the Pan-American Union, stood at the front door, resplendent in white flannels, receiving guests. The De Bayles and Mme. Sacasa stood at the head of the marble stairs.

Duncan, prize major domo of diplomatic dresses (he used to be chief butler of the Chilean embassy) poured the Scotch. When Duncan pours a drink, it's good.

IRISH MINISTER MICHAEL MAC WHITE was discovered wallowing serenely about in a formal black coat and striped trousers and not a whit disconcerted by the hot weather.

The afternoon sun lit up Michael's friendly face as he remarked to Minister Gonzales of Costa Rica:

"What lovely girls there are here!"

Minister Gonzales, a symphony of blue shirt, gray suit and pearly scarf, answered:

"Ah, minister, Latin-America is noted for its beautiful girls and its coffee—especially Costa Rica."

THE plump German ambassador, Dr. Hans Luther, discussed innocuous subjects, looking terribly hot and uncomfortable in a coat of Munich worsted.

"That gentleman?" exclaimed a lady, answering the question about who Dr. Luther was. "Why, that's Baron Struve of the German embassy!"

Slim, dark-mustached Baron Struve was so busy getting ices for charming ladies and dancing a gay waltzes waltz (played by Guatemalan musicians) that he did not learn the mistake of identities.

SENATOR ARTHUR CAPPER, the Kansas wheat king and publisher, was introduced to Bolivian Minister Enrique Finot, who is engaged in bitter controversy with Capper's colleague, Huey Long.

Up hastened affable Dr. Rowe, director of the Pan-American Union.

"Some ice cream, Senator?" Some ice cream, Mr. Minister?"

Capper nodded assent. As if by magic, Dr. Rowe produced a luscious dish of strawberry ice cream—pink as a lobster and cold as the North Pole.

"Ah," rejoined Senator Capper as he devoured the dish. "Ice cream is the national American dish."

MME. SACASA wore flowered chiffon and a diamond lavaliere that twinkled when she shook hands.

"I adore being back in Washington," she smiled at friends, who asked the usual banal question.

Her husband, she intimated, is in excellent health and affairs in Nicaragua might be worse.

THE attractive Mme. Fanny Bunand-Sebastos, beauty prize of the National Woman's party, appeared at the fiesta radiant in a bright blue gown.

"It's not Prussian blue," she informed admirers.

"What a color is it then?"

"It's a vague cobalt blue," responded Mme. Bunand-Sebastos.



The Message Center

[I wholly disapprove of what you say and will defend to the death your right to say it—Voltaire.]

Advertising and Prosperity

By G. H. A.

A recent article by a prominent advertising man mentions the advantages that advertising is supposed to contribute to human welfare.

An economic system is divided into the following groups:

The executive or supervisory, the actual producer and those engaged in distribution. The more we create the better will be our standard of living; therefore, the most labor should be applied on the actual production. The executive and distribution groups should be kept at a minimum.

Imagine how much more could be produced if salesmen or advertising men were paid to produce instead of hunting for a market. An increased demand for consumption is created only when a baby is born into the world.

There never has been a period

when it calls for no cut of his salary, will appeal to them