

It Seems to Me

by
HEYWOOD BROUN

NEW YORK, July 9.—To me it always has seemed not only illogical, but improper, that police or national guard should be employed to protect the functioning of strikebreakers in any industry. In theory, at least, the police and the guard are supposed to be the servants of the majority of the citizens. Governors and mayors are elected by the masses. Why then should public forces be turned over to private individuals for their personal advantage, particularly when that advantage happens to be disadvantageous to the common weal?

Palpably the strikebreaker is an anti-social member of the community. As a rule he has no political or economic philosophy whatsoever, but in any case in which he became articulate he would be forced by the logic of the circumstances to assert that his temporary gain should be protected even at the expense of calamity among the many. Certainly whenever a strike is broken, the city or town, as a whole, is worse off than it was before. Men and women added to the list of unemployed and there will be an inevitable tendency to worsen wages and working conditions all along the line.

In Toledo the head of a mercantile house told me that the strike in the Auto-Lite plant was costing his store a loss of 20 per cent of average business every week. I said to him,

"That doesn't surprise me, but the thing which I can't understand is why the business men in this town or any other should take an attitude of opposition to the unions and get together at meetings to denounce 'outside agitators.' If I owned a business here I would be down on the picket line with a placard urging the employers to comply with the demands of the workers. The success of your store depends upon the purchasing power of the people of the city. Just out of self-interest you can't afford to have the men lose."

Sold: A Birthright

I THINK the same theory holds good in San Francisco. The guardmen and the police are supported by the taxpayers who will be assessed in order to win a victory for the owners of steamship lines and thereby lower the general standard of living and the general prosperity of all concerned with the exception of a few owners engaged in the industry now under fire.

I even doubt whether the immediate employers gain much from success in breaking a strike. Any such result must be among the most pyrrhic of victories. Strikebreakers are expensive, inefficient and unreliable. In the long run, I'll wager, many a cost sheet will show that it would have been far more profitable for the stockholders to have granted the union demands at the beginning.

I have heard a few ill-informed and sentimental folk picture the strikebreaker as a rugged American who was fighting for the cause of individual liberty and the freedom of every man to work at whatever craft he may choose for his own.

The strikebreaker is not like that. He sells his birthright for a few meager and immediate pieces of silver and heightens his own chances to be back on some breadline a few weeks or months after the event.

It seems to me that the average American is not very quick to realize the enormous benefits which even nonunion workers have gained through the force of organization. The very people who will readily admit that prosperity can come only through the heightening and stabilization of purchasing power are the very ones who complain of the "tyranny of the unions." One of the familiar arguments is the citation of certain open shop employers who pay wages equal to the scale or even better. But people who mention Ford and other manufacturers as friends of labor lose sight of the fact that many a boss keeps wages up in a desperate fight to keep his employees from unionizing.

Not Sowing, but Reaping

IF there were no possible threat of organization, all wages would drop to the intolerable levels established by the law of supply and demand. One does not need to be a complete technocrat to realize that with our present surplus of unemployed, wages would be next to nothing save in the case of a very small number of highly skilled individuals. And even they would suffer since there are many jobs in which ten indifferent performers can approximate the efforts of one highly competent performer.

Disappointment followed disappointment. They were not given places in the reichswehr. They were not given upon the latter's secret police. Even another blood bath may not entirely cow the Brown Shirts.

The only body that will is the

reichswehr, the most perfectly trained army in the world. In the last analysis that army may hold the future fate of Germany in its hands. So far, in all the bloody events of the last few days, the reichswehr has held carefully aloof.

But it is officered by the old junker type of men who in their hearts despise Hitler as much as they do the republicans.

If it came to a showdown between Hitler and Hindenburg they probably would obey the aged president. Hindenburg will do what his son and aid-de-camp, Colonel Oscar Hindenburg, advises and the junkers have the ear of the son. That explains the president's warning that no personal harm must befall Vice-Chancellor Von Papen.

THEY were doubtful whether they would ever be called together again. So they were in a mood to listen to Ernst Roehm, their chief of staff; Karl Ernst, their Berlin leader, and other rebels who paid for their revolt with their lives. The chiefs are dead, but the dissatisfaction remains.

They find Hitler and General Goering relying more and more upon the latter's secret police.

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HITLER'S TROUBLES STILL AHEAD

Disgruntled Brown Shirts, Vengeful Radicals Menace Nazi Head

BY MILTON BRONNER

NEA Service Staff Writer
NEW YORK, July 9.—Adolf Hitler, Nazi chancellor of Germany, has tight-roped his perilous way over a dark chasm of plots and counterplots, revolution and counter-revolution, shooting down old and trusted comrades on his way.

But he still is far from having reached a secure haven. The blood bath in which he has indulged may temporarily seem to make him stronger than ever, but his troubles are really only commencing.

On every side he has potential enemies. The Socialists and the Communists long since have ceased to exist as political parties. But they have merely gone underground.

From neighboring countries, like France and Czechoslovakia, they still continue to send into Germany their literature, often printed on flimsy sheets easily hidden between other things. Many have camouflaged themselves as Brown Shirts. For instance, a current story in Hamburg is this:

First Workman: "I joined the Storm Troops the other night."

Second Workman: "How did you find things?"

First Workman: "Rotten. There were only two Nazis there."

THE Steel Helmets, composed of monarchist-minded veterans of the World War, have not given whole-hearted allegiance to the regime, despite the effusive assurances of their official leader, Franz Seldte, who has the job of minister of labor in the Nazi cabinet.

But worst of all, from Hitler's standpoint, is the fact that the events of the last few days show that he can not rely upon his Brown Shirt army any more.

Some of the sweepings of Germany found their way into that private army in the early days—desperate unemployed youths, street boys, roughs of all descriptions.

In the turbulent days before Hitler achieved power, these troopers had a good time fighting Communists in the streets of the cities and villages. After Hitler became chancellor, in the first months of the terror they had a holiday slaking old accumulated hatreds and vengeances. But in the more peaceful days, the long hours of marching and drilling were not so good, particularly when they were warned not to stick their fingers in every business and political pie.

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A birdman's view of the tense capital of Nazi Germany: Berlin's historic Unter den Linden, scene of impressive Nazi demonstrations; Wilhelmstrasse, along which are built the Chancellery and other government buildings; Brandenburg Gate, entrance to the vast Tiergarten; the United States and French embassies, watchfully awaiting the outcome of threats against the Hitler government; the Pariser Platz, its size unchanged even during the World war, and the famous Hotel Adlon, where many great political conferences are held.

They were not allowed to attack and disband the rated Steel Helmets.

They were told that during July for one month they themselves would be disbanded, no longer would be allowed to march about in their brown shirts, and were advised to find a useful job of real work—hawking in the country, timber felling, any worthwhile service.

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