

The Indianapolis Times
(A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER)
ROY W. HOWARD, President
TALCOTT POWELL, Editor
EADL D. BAKER, Business Manager
Phone R151 5531
Member of United Press, Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, Newspaper Enterprise Association, Newspaper Information Service and Audit Bureau of Circulations.
Owned and published daily (except Sunday) by The Indianapolis Times Publishing Company, 214-220 West Maryland street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Price: 5 cents; outside of Indiana, 6 cents a copy; elsewhere, 2 cents a copy; delivered by carrier, 12 cents a week. Mail subscription rates in Indiana, \$3 a year; outside of Indiana, \$5 a year; outside of Indiana, \$5 a year.
Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way
MONDAY, JULY 16, 1934

GENERAL STRIKES

THE general strike is the way of suicide for organized labor.
The history of every attempted general strike proves this: In Sweden, in England where attempts were on a national scale; in Winnipeg and in Seattle, where attempts were limited to local communities. Few other attempts are of record, an argument in itself of the unwisdom of the general strike.

In every case organized labor suffered a setback lasting many years.
This is true, in part, because the basis of organized labor is the union contract and any union which engages in a sympathetic strike, can do so only by breaking its own contract with its employers. It destroys thereby what it has obtained, in most instances, by long and painful processes.

As an institution which for more than fifty years has supported the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, the Scripps-Howard newspapers feel free to remind organized workers of this fact in any general strike and to spell out the reason why such strikes can not succeed.

An example of labor relationship with which we are particularly familiar is that between newspapers and the typographical union. With the union the newspapers have contracts. These contracts specify certain things. They specify wages, hours, working conditions and payment for overtime. They specify that the union shall supply competent men and define such competence.

The list of specifications is long and it is designed to be to the mutual advantage of employers and employees. It is arrived at by collective bargaining. Relations are not always harmonious, differences occur, sometimes strikes and sometimes lockouts, but, yet, the typographical union wouldn't think of operating in any other manner and a vast majority of American publishers never would propose that this regular, well-ordered system be abolished.

It is all based on the idea of contract, on the idea that so long as it is lived up to by both sides, each party is obligated to it and what goes on elsewhere can not affect it.

Several million organized working men in this country are parties to such contracts. A sympathetic or a general strike runs counter to this whole system. It destroys this relationship between employee and employer and the destruction can not be repaired quickly.

At the same time something else is destroyed. In the case of a strike in a single industry, part of the public is likely to be sympathetic with the strikers, part indifferent, part hostile. This depends largely on the merits of the dispute or on the public's understanding. In the case of a general strike, however, the public is certain to be wholly hostile. The public, indeed, is made a direct party to the conflict. It obeys the first law of nature. It fights to save itself.

Which is why modern history has yet to record a successful general strike.

FARM LABOR

ANNOUNCEMENT by Secretary Frances Perkins that the labor and agriculture departments soon will undertake a joint study of farm labor conditions is the first serious notice the government has taken of one of its most distressing economic puzzles.

Farm hands are the forgotten men, even under the New Deal. They come neither under the NRA codes nor, except for a vague clause in the sugar contracts, under the AAA agreements. Working in an industry that has been struggling to maintain itself from disaster for years, they have been forced to work for a bare subsistence. Often a whole family works in the fields during harvest time and then lives on public charity in the winter.

The distress of this group is beginning to break through to public notice in labor disturbances of a peculiarly bitter nature—in the Ohio onion fields, in California's fruit and vegetable valleys, in New Jersey. The greatest hardships appear to be found among the casual workers on the large industrialized farms, where harvesting is purely seasonal and often must be pushed with high speed.

There is no easy answer. A long range program looking to better conditions should include some means of tying these families to home life through land-ownership. The President's subsistence homestead plan should include farm hands' families as well as city unemployed. Those working on the soil are more likely to succeed as part-time farmers than city families, and unless this type of labor is de-casualized its lot can not be improved.

STOP POLLUTION!

THE thought of children swimming in a stream which is loaded with sulphuric acid is repulsive. The thought that this situation has been permitted to start and continue not only is repulsive but points directly to the fact that many persons in Indiana have been negligent as far as public health is concerned. The series of stories on water source pollution now appearing in The Times brings to light many facts which show the irresponsibility and inability of Indiana to handle its public problems.

Unless something is done, on a state wide basis, the pollution situation may spread to proportions which will not be capable of combat.

It is time for every government unit and every citizen of the state to organize to battle this evil. To permit it to continue will place every child and adult in jeopardy of serious illness or death. It must be stopped.

THE OLD DAYS

ACTS of a woman in hurling steaming mash upon federal agents who sought to raid her home for alleged illicit manufacture of liquor Saturday, was an echo of the old days.

Every one in the city can recall when these altercations between the alleged distiller or bootlegger and federal agents were common occurrences. In fact, in that era of prohibition shooting was not unheard of.

But today the picture has changed. The federal agents who attempted to raid this woman's home are supported by an overwhelming vote by the people who wanted the unfair liquor law repealed.

Years ago the acts of that woman would have brought a wave of sympathy. Today her acts are passed by. The public has changed its sentiment. The public has liquor and knows that liquor can be bought in compliance with the law.

Any one who tries to handle the situation in any other manner will find but little support from the man who, not long ago, pleaded for a revision of his rights—and got that revision.

FREIGHT RATES

IT would be unfortunate for the country, and, we believe, for the railroads themselves, if they were granted the 10 per cent freight rate increase they are preparing to ask of the I. C. C.

It is true that the new pension act will add to the carriers' pay rolls and that the pay cut restorations will do the same. The railroads estimate the pension act will cost them \$56,000,000 annually, pay cut restorations \$156,000,000, increased prices of materials \$137,000,000—a total addition in operating costs of \$339,000,000. But there are better ways to meet these than by the familiar formula of soaking the public.

One way is to scale down debt charges, as President Roosevelt has urged. The RFC, which has loaned the carriers more than \$400,000,000 at around 4 per cent, has just sold this idea to New York bankers, who have agreed to float a \$50,000,000 loan to the B. & O. at a rate eight-tenths of one per cent below their original offer. Of course, a wholesale scaling down of the interest rates on the carriers' \$13,000,000,000 of bonded debt would require either general recourse to the bankruptcy courts or a taking over of this huge burden by the government. But certain financing economies can be effected.

Another way is a frank meeting by the government of the problem of regulating the railroads' competitors, the truck, bus, barge, air and pipe lines. These industries should be made to pay their share of taxes and maintain the same sort of labor standards the railroads maintain under government regulation. Next congress should see that they do.

Finally, there are savings to be made by the elimination of competitive waste.

What the railroads need is new business. They are geared to carry 1,250,000 cars a week. They're carrying only 650,000, although their business is increasing, except for the seasonal slump. In the first five months of 1934 the rail carriers' income doubled over that of the same time last year.

If the rehousing and other recovery plans succeed they will result in big movements of materials. The lower the freight rates the more of this business the railroads will get. If any change in rates is contemplated, it should not be upward.

AID TO MEMORY

SENATOR BORAH may be a very annoying man, especially to politicians, but now and then he is a very useful one.

Conducting a single-handed campaign in opposition to both Democratic and Republican policies is an idea that would occur to few people but the senator from Idaho. Even fewer people, having conceived the idea, could do anything with it. But Senator Borah is in a class by himself.

No one can foretell the effect of his campaign. The country may yawn and look the other way, or it may greet him with loud cheers; but, whatever happens, the senator will be useful, just as a bit of string tied about one's finger is useful.

He will keep us from forgetting something that might otherwise, in the flurry of a campaign year, get overlooked.

One of our biggest problems today is that while we are pretty well agreed on the goal we want to reach, we are not at all agreed on the route we want to use in getting there.

Mr. Roosevelt has one route, or a blend of routes, all mapped out; Mr. Fletcher, announcing that this route leads only to destruction, is working on another.

Mr. Borah's function right now seems to be to remind us that neither route will prove satisfactory unless we make dead certain that the little man—the ordinary, undistinguished citizen who works when he can get work, pays his taxes and never gets into the headlines—gets protected from the danger of falling into the cogwheels.

For Mr. Borah sees one fact very clearly. Our emergence from the depression will mean very little unless we find some way of checking the great trend toward monopoly which has been a prime development of the last generation.

It may be that Mr. Borah is mistaken in his belief that the New Deal program does not constitute an effective check on that trend. Fine words have been said to the little man by the administration, in the last year. It would be strange indeed if those fine words were not accompanied by protective action.

But the decision on that point can be left to the voters. Mr. Borah's job is to remind us constantly that in one way or another such protection must be had. His forthcoming campaign may be irritating, but it ought to be very useful.

You can tell a man by the way he leaves his bathtub, says a Columbia professor. If he doesn't remove the ring, he's still a boy.

Onion workers are on strike in Ohio, but garlic still is being imported from Italy.

The rich are beginning to spend more freely, says a news report. The difference between them and us is that we're just free to spend more.

A circus advertises it has 150 clowns. Still can't match the circus we have in Washington.

John D. Rockefeller's rule for old age is "Don't worry." But, he should add, if you have to worry, worry the other fellow.

Liberal Viewpoint

BY DR. HARRY ELMER BARNES

WE do not know whether Nero actually fiddled while Rome was burning, but, like the ostrich with his head in the sand, it is a striking and useful phrase.

Nothing in recent years more perfectly exemplifies its point than the trivial and vulgar squabble between the Republicans and Democrats which lies in prospect between now and November.

If we wish to retain the American system of government, it may be necessary to stick to representative institutions, and representative government means party government. But it is time to secure some party alignment, which bears at least a slight relationship to the economic, social and political realities today.

The real issue before the American people this fall in a congressional election is support or disapproval of the New Deal. All else is irrelevant and incidental. Under the present set-up Mr. Roosevelt inevitably must appeal to Democrats to support him and the New Deal. He will have to imply that a Democratic victory means a vindication of the New Deal, thus seemingly identifying the Democratic party and the New Deal.

The absurdity and illogicality of any such identification is obvious to anybody but the most simple-minded partisan. The American party today does not permit the President to make a clear issue out of the New Deal.

Certainly the Democratic party, as such, is not responsible for it. If its leaders could have foreseen the character of the New Deal in 1932 they certainly would have rejected Mr. Roosevelt at Chicago or defeated him in the ensuing campaign.

THE Democratic congress swallowed the New Deal only because it was formally committed to it as a result of Mr. Roosevelt's campaign speeches and his sweeping victory at the polls. Even so, there would doubtless have been a great deal of snarling and pawing if Mr. Roosevelt had not come into office in the midst of a great national emergency when opposition to progressivism could almost be identified with treason.

It is obvious that plutocratic and reactionary Democrats have no stomach whatever for the New Deal. It is far more repulsive and alarming to them than the Bourbonistic somnolence of the Hoover administration. Carter Glass has been as much an obstacle to emancipation from the money-changers' dominion as a Republican war horse. Senators Byrd and Smith led the foolish attack upon Doctor Tugwell.

Once the emergency has passed its more intense period there would have been an open revolt on the part of the reactionary Democrats had it not been for their yearning for the rich patronage at the disposal of the President.

Similarly with the Republicans, there is no clean-cut alignment on the issues of the day. Norris, La Follette, La Guardia, Cutting and others were more helpful to Mr. Roosevelt in promoting the New Deal than most of the rank and file of the senators and congressmen. On the other hand, the regular Republicans in congress have far less in common with La Follette, Norris, Nye, et al., than they have with Carter Glass or even with Joe Robinson.

CERTAINLY, the Republicans as a party have nothing constructive to offer the country in case they slaughter the New Deal. The party has not had a new idea since the days of General Grant. In wounded rage it occasionally has been compelled to take some note of civilized suggestions made by Theodore Roosevelt and other progressives when on a rampage. But it never gave any hospitable reception to their views.

The whole Democrat-Republican lineup is a product of war times and has about as much relevance to present day realities as a Civil War stagecoach has to modern transportation systems.

The differences between the two parties have been relatively slight since reconstruction days. Even the two topics on which they have seemed to be most divided, the tariff and the currency, never have been clean cut issues as between the parties. There have been plenty of high tariff and hard money Democrats, as well as numerous Republican free-traders, greenbackers and silverites.

If the controversy over the New Deal could help to break up this absurd heritage from an ancient past and give some logic to the American party system, it would render an incomparable service to American politics. The present controversy between Republicans and Democrats may be compared apply to two men standing on a railroad track in the path of the new streamline train arguing over the relative merits of a stagecoach and an ox cart.

Capital Capers

BY GEORGE ABELL

YOUNG Lloyd Garrison, great-grandson of the abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison, who helped to free the slaves, has taken over the job of chairman of the National Labor Relations board, in an effort to free labor from certain hampering restrictions.

Chairman Garrison is sincere, but cautious and anxious to avoid mistakes. At his first press conference he answered most questions by proxy. Rather young looking, with dark sparse hair and an intense gaze, he sat at his desk in his office (his office is very hot) while news-men fired queries.

Said one man: "Mr. Garrison, what is your board going to do about the San Francisco strike?" Mr. Garrison ruminated.

"I'll have to consult counsel," he replied finally.

"What will be its role in the steel situation?" "I'll have to consult counsel."

So the questions flew, with Mr. Garrison assiduously consulting counsel on each occasion. Only once did he venture to reply directly. That was in reply to a newsman who wanted to know if the board would intervene in the auto situation.

"No," decisively answered Chairman Garrison. "That's a separate thing."

DR. LEO ROWE, world traveler and director of the Pan-American Union, is off on one of his famous cruises. This time the good doctor is off for Colombia—following the example of President Roosevelt.

When President-elect Lopez was up here recently he had Dr. Rowe enthralled with accounts of the glories of his country.

"You must come down some time," he said. "I will," replied Traveler Rowe, "and very soon, too."

The visit of Leo Rowe to Colombia will almost complete his tour of South and Central America. The Pan-American direct has been to every country in Latin America with the exception of Venezuela and Colombia. Later on to complete the cycle—he will pay his respects to Venezuela, perhaps this fall.

MME. SECRETARY OF LABOR PERKINS is bearing up well under the hot weather, and strike conditions. She receives the press with her usual cheerfulness and bristly replies to the volley of questions.

Miss Perkins is again wearing her tri-colored hat—as distinctive of her as a toque hat is of Queen Mary of England. Once she abandoned it in favor of a new type and she seemed a different person.



The Message Center

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

Beer and McNutt Administration

By H. K. S.
MOVED by your editorial captioned "Time to Call a Halt," in which you intimate that a "beer war" is brewing, I rise to inquire whether The Times has heard the report that is current and generally believed that Governor McNutt, or at least some of his besom henchmen, are connected closely with that Marion brewery that makes that certain brand of beer that is named in honor of a certain American patriot—he of the "give me liberty or give me death" fame?

And has The Times heard the further current report that is likewise generally believed to the effect that "if they sell Patrick Henry or Cook's it is O. K. for them to sell more or less openly, hard liquor by the drink." And whether or not this is true, it seems from a casual survey on the part of the writer that the two things go together.

Talk about the old-time political domination of, by and through the

NONUNION WORKER LIKES CONDITIONS

By a Nonunion Attendant.
Some of the union workers have approached me to join the Service Station Men's union. I must be working for the minor oil company, that the "ex-forgotten man" wrote about. We have better working conditions than the major oil companies grant their attendants.

Our managers are guaranteed \$125 a month, plus commissions. Our senior service men get \$100 a month plus commissions. The stations are checked by meter and each man is allowed \$5 a month to take care of any shortages which he might have. If we are off a few days, due to sickness, we receive full pay.

I am in sympathy with the union men and hope that they at least get similar conditions.

CHURCH AND MONEY DOMINATION CHARGED

By a Reader.
Mr. Hudson and Mr. Maddox lament about the opinions of Frank Cummings. The first two forget that the same God that created them also created the men and women of Mr. Cummings' mind. It is not necessary to be an atheist to be anti-religious. A Communist does not have to be an atheist.

It all depends on the way one thinks. It happens that we all get in this world by the same door, but we do not grow with the same thought.

God wills and what happens? A child is born to be a genius, another to be stupid; in a birth comes Siamese twins; in another quintuplets; another child is born to be the czar and pope of one-sixth of the earth (Russia); one more to overthrow him, his native empire, and papacy (Lenin).

In one part of the earth the prophet of God is Buddha, in another it is Confucius, in another it is Jesus Christ, in another Mohammed, just to mention four of the main representatives of God on this earth. God gives intelligence to build cities, including churches. It takes hundreds of years to build them. He then destroys them in two minutes; he inspires farmers to sow plenty, then comes the storm or the insects and destroys the crop. Well He created a Hoover who lost making campaign speeches with a minister of God's sermons and prayers. He created also a Roosevelt who won without God's minister's prayer. Again He created the father of our nation, Thomas Paine, not to mention many of the great minds of other parts of the earth—and Col. Robert Ingersoll; from our Indiana, Eugene V. Debs, and Abraham Lincoln, who knew no church.

It is time that more persons go to the central library instead of to church. While ministers organize anti-communist speeches with a minister of God's sermons and prayers, and what-not movements, none of them dares to organize against the oppressors of the workers.

What is the matter with the present era's people? Here we are in this great United States of America, where church and money rule the country, and what a mess!

FAVORS LESS NEWS OF FOREIGN TROUBLES

By G. L.
The editorial of July 7 on Censors seems to emphasize the great value of the freedom of the press and liberty of speech.

If dictatorships and censorship come, the newspapers and New Deal obstructionists are to blame. Why so many glaring headlines about foreign rumors of war and denials in small print and obscure places the next day? Why not more of nationalistic pride and achievement of America first?

Who wants to hear and read about foreign entanglements when we have to worry about our own problems? Let the war makers take a back seat.

CITES EXAMPLES OF NRA INEFFICIENCY

By a Reader.
Will you please have Mr. Johnson solve this problem? I have two close friends who are in business. One is a barber and the other operates a cleaning and pressing shop. Neither one is making a fair living. Why? Because they both are displaying the Blue Eagle.

The barber has as competition a couple in his neighborhood who have opened a shop in their home. They are charging 20 cents for a haircut and have an enormous business, with no extra rent to pay. The other barber has to pay high rent and charge 35 cents for a haircut just because of the Blue Eagle. He is the underdog.

The man in the cleaning and pressing business has almost the same trouble. The shop that displays the Blue Eagle is at a standstill as it is compelled to charge 40 cents for pressing and 75 cents for cleaning and pressing.

Where I was in a shop the other day, a man came in and asked the price of pressing and was told 40 cents. The man walked out, saying he could get pressing for 25 cents. The owner of the shop said this happens five or six times a day. I went past the 25-cent shop and it was very busy.

What good is the Blue Eagle doing, as no attention is being paid to it?

putting things in great shape for a slide right at his own expense.

A man in public service can get so big but when he gets big enough to stick his nose clear across the Atlantic ocean—well, look out.

The case is not without precedent. It was not so long ago that a pokey gentleman named Smedley Butler tried to tell Mussolini he was "all wet" or words to that effect.

The state department advanced the proper apology and a short time later Smedley's official title was ex-brigadier-general.

With all due regard to ex-General Butler it might be well to recall that Mussolini is doing very nicely. For the same reason I am inclined to believe that Mr. Hitler still will be directing Nazi "purges" long after Mr. Johnson has donned the appellation of ex-administrator.

There is another significant factor. The Johnson declamation was made at Waterloo, Ia. Now, there was once a very capable and doughty little soldier of no small aspirations and known to his many friends as Napoleon, Mr. Bonaparte, if I recall correctly, underwent a very unfortunate and humiliating experience at Waterloo. Better read up on it, Mr. Johnson. What's that they say about history repeating itself?

QUESTIONS BASED ON CROP SHORTAGES

By Grover Pratt.
Arthur Brisbane says we have shortages in the wheat, oats, barley, flax and corn crops this year. He goes on to say that a few years ago this would have been considered a calamity, but now under the new era this is probably the greatest blessing that could have befallen the country.

What kind of reasoning is this to come from the brains of the country, the highest paid editorial writer of the day, a man who must at least wear a No. 9 hat, and is put up before the reading public daily to educate us and mold our opinions? I would call that line of puffing an insult to the intelligence of a 10-year-old child.

Here is a question for the 10-year-old child, but it is too deep for Brisbane or the present political administration: If the farmer raises half as much and gets double the price, how much more money will he have?

If there is one-half as much on the market, causing the retail price to double, what effect will this have on the consuming public?

Where will the consuming public

What is the news?" he inquired innocently.

I do not disclaim the accomplishments of Mr. Johnson as NRA administrator, nor do I defend the Nazi "purges." The basis of my attack is the ethical implication of diplomacy, and when it is necessary for the state department to apologize for an individual it is a pretty sound bet that the individual is

A Sunset

BY RUTH PERKINS

Saffron robes upon the sky
Touched with apricot,
Flames of prisms bright and his
Flash and blind the eager eye
Whose iris catch them not.

Murky velvet smoke of blue
Draped the sky with frills
Suffused with light that flared
through,
Ancient gold that melts anew
And pours upon the hills.