



The Indianapolis Times

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER
Owned and published daily (except Sunday) by The Indianapolis Times Publishing Co., 214-229 West Maryland Street, Indianapolis, Ind. Price in Marion County, 2 cents; copy; elsewhere, 3 cents—delivered by carrier, 12 cents a week. Mail subscription rates in Indiana, \$3 a year; outside of Indiana, 65 cents a month.

BOYD GURLEY,
Editor

ROY W. HOWARD,
President

EARL D. BAKER,
Business Manager

PHONE—Riley 5551.

Member of United Press Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, Newspaper Enterprise Association, Newspaper Information Service and Audit Bureau of Circulations.

"Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way."

Slum Clearance

If idle capital will be satisfied with small but sure returns, it will find plenty of work in every large city of the United States. This lies in projects for rebuilding the evil and shabby tenements called "homes" for millions of American families.

According to Dr. Edith Elmer Wood, housing expert, one-third of America's families live in 9,000,000 homes unfit for human habitation. They cost, in crime, illness, and premature death, a toll of nearly \$15,000,000,000 a year.

Some start has been made. In 1927, under Governor Al Smith, New York passed a housing act which permits any corporation willing to limit its dividends to 6 per cent to escape state taxes if it specifies apartments that rent for \$11 a month or less a room.

A well-manned state board is empowered to exercise the right of eminent domain in acquiring land, to co-operate with cities, and otherwise to encourage private capital to replace what Smith calls these "old landmarks with new."

According to Governor Roosevelt, six large projects have been built under this law, all involving investments of \$7,000,000. One of these cost \$3,200,000, and houses 2,500 persons at an average cost of \$11 a room. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has built another, and, even in hard times, has a long waiting list.

Cleveland is planning removal of six blighted areas two miles wide into which are packed 15,000 souls. With less definite plans, the Architects' Club and the Rosenwald fund are considering removal of a portion of Chicago's old "Gold Coast."

Private interests in Philadelphia plan to modernize old homes into apartments to rent for \$6 a room. In Newark a life insurance company plans to rebuild a block, selling the inner portion to the city for a park. St. Louis plans a removal project to care for 100,000 persons at a cost of \$6,000,000.

The federal government's Reconstruction Finance Corporation is empowered to make loans to limited dividend corporations for such projects. Of course the bulk of credit must come from private sources.

The difficulty is in getting second mortgage money. If philanthropic folk willing to take 5 per cent or 6 per cent interest would co-operate with the government to supply this need, many great projects in slum abatement could begin at once.

What more inspiring music could start the march back to prosperity than the tune of hammer and saw, building better homes.

Amusing If True

Republican managers are worried. They fear the Hoover notification ceremony Thursday may be crowded off the front pages on the counter-attraction of Roosevelt's "trial" of Mayor Jimmy Walker.

Since President Hoover probably already has heard of his renomination by the Chicago convention some weeks ago, and since that will not be startling news to the public, their excuse for the ceremony is to pump up publicity for the campaign.

They feel that Roosevelt has out-smarted them in holding his show on the date already appropriated by the Republicans. The fact that Cousin Frank learned this trick from President Roosevelt, who worked it effectively on Charles Evans Hughes many years ago, does not make it any funnier to the G. O. P. strategists.

Added to their trouble is a report that Calvin Coolidge does not find it convenient to come to Washington for the Hoover fireworks.

All of this is very amusing to the Democrats and very painful to the Republicans. But we can not see that this has anything to do with the kind of public attention Hoover gets at his notification. It is just another one of those quaint notions politicians have about publicity.

The truth is that Hoover speeches in the past often have fallen flat when he had the stage to himself and no competition from Roosevelt.

If Hoover has anything to say Thursday, he will get all the public hearing he wants, regardless of Roosevelt. If he has nothing to say but to repeat the Republican platform evasions, naturally the public will not be interested.

Publicity stunts and tricks for or against a candidate can not make or break him. The candidate makes or breaks himself.

The Lesson of Lausanne

By their egregious blunders at Lausanne and other European statesmen have managed to pile new and mountainous obstacles in the already rocky road to a much-desired constructive reparations and war debts settlement.

Allusions to secret understandings and "gentlemen's agreements" on the part of European nations to settle their obligations, then pass the buck to the United States, on reaching Washington have set the scale ablaze.

This, to say the least, is unfortunate. Congress, which will have to approve any debt revision that may be arranged with Europe, has set its face against any change. The most meritorious plan any one could evolve now would be clapped under a microscope, then probably rejected on general principles.

In diplomacy there is no greater crime than stupidity. The Lausanne conferees fumbled their cards and seemed to pull some from under the table. The full portent of their agreement still is not known definitely.

Thus, at a time when above all others confidence is a vital factor in the situation, the international atmosphere is thick with the fog of suspicion.

Said Senator Reed, administration leader from Pennsylvania: "This government has closed its doors to revision of the war debts."

That Senator Reed was speaking for the present congress, we believe. But we are not willing to believe that he was voicing the final decision, either of congress or of the American people. Said Andrew Mellon, when secretary of the treasury:

"I know of no fairer formula than capacity to pay. To ask a debtor nation to pay substantially less than it is able without undue burden on its people is to do an injustice to our own taxpayers; while to ask a foreign debtor to pay more than its capacity is to be guilty of an act of injustice such as can not be charged against us."

That, we think, represents American opinion better than the statement of Senator Reed. But such opinion is conditional. Europe must play with all

her cards on the table, and make it plain that she is dealing from the top and not from the bottom.

In this the appearance is as important as the reality. The deal not only must be right, but look right.

There is an increasing conviction in the United States that a just and final settlement of reparations and war debts would be a big step toward better times. It also is understood over here that there can be no such settlement without the United States. If the issue is put up to them properly, therefore, the American people doubtless will do their part.

But—and in our judgment this is highly important—it must be put up to them properly. The American people will refuse to consider any concession over debts until assured that the rest of the nations are "toting square," and that the common effort and the common sacrifice will be of a nature to bring about real improvement in world conditions.

Gandhi and Hillman

Again the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have proved themselves the smartest union in America.

They were the first to establish the rule of impartial labor arbitrators in an industry. They led in workers' education. They met the housing problem with co-operative apartments.

When they could not get fair play from an employer, they started a factory and took his business.

Hundreds of banks failed, but theirs went on, safe and sound. They ran down anti-labor injunction judges by taking their cases to the United States senate.

They made unemployment insurance a reality years before others began talking about it as a theory. And President Hillman of the Amalgamated had proposed to government officials a national economic council and the unit organization of whole industries long before industrialists like Owen D. Young had started to explore the idea.

Now Hillman is developing a new strike technique—or, rather, reviving a very old one. With a long and honorable record of labor peace and union co-operation in its dealings with large responsible firms in the clothing industry, the Amalgamated occasionally still has to battle against small sweatshops.

In New York, when a sweatshop truck pulls out, the strikers throw themselves in front of the wheels to be run over. The driver jams on his brakes. The truck stops, and then slowly turns back. In America, as in Gandhi's India, it is very easy but very hard to kill a man whose only weapon is passive resistance.

Not a Nice Story

In Uniontown, Pa., Mrs. Anna Chess, 32, served a week of a twenty-day sentence in jail because she cooked and served a golden-winged woodpecker as a "flicker." She did it to feed her hungry children, who had killed the bird in violation of the law.

The family was unable to raise the fine and costs of \$20.50. When Governor Pinchot read of it, he sent the money to release the mother.

Since President Hoover probably already has heard of his renomination by the Chicago convention some weeks ago, and since that will not be startling news to the public, their excuse for the ceremony is to pump up publicity for the campaign.

They feel that Roosevelt has out-smarted them in holding his show on the date already appropriated by the Republicans. The fact that Cousin Frank learned this trick from President Roosevelt, who worked it effectively on Charles Evans Hughes many years ago, does not make it any funnier to the G. O. P. strategists.

Added to their trouble is a report that Calvin Coolidge does not find it convenient to come to Washington for the Hoover fireworks.

All of this is very amusing to the Democrats and very painful to the Republicans. But we can not see that this has anything to do with the kind of public attention Hoover gets at his notification. It is just another one of those quaint notions politicians have about publicity.

The truth is that Hoover speeches in the past often have fallen flat when he had the stage to himself and no competition from Roosevelt.

If Hoover has anything to say Thursday, he will get all the public hearing he wants, regardless of Roosevelt. If he has nothing to say but to repeat the Republican platform evasions, naturally the public will not be interested.

Publicity stunts and tricks for or against a candidate can not make or break him. The candidate makes or breaks himself.

They feel that Roosevelt has out-smarted them in holding his show on the date already appropriated by the Republicans. The fact that Cousin Frank learned this trick from President Roosevelt, who worked it effectively on Charles Evans Hughes many years ago, does not make it any funnier to the G. O. P. strategists.

Added to their trouble is a report that Calvin Coolidge does not find it convenient to come to Washington for the Hoover fireworks.

All of this is very amusing to the Democrats and very painful to the Republicans. But we can not see that this has anything to do with the kind of public attention Hoover gets at his notification. It is just another one of those quaint notions politicians have about publicity.

The truth is that Hoover speeches in the past often have fallen flat when he had the stage to himself and no competition from Roosevelt.

If Hoover has anything to say Thursday, he will get all the public hearing he wants, regardless of Roosevelt. If he has nothing to say but to repeat the Republican platform evasions, naturally the public will not be interested.

Publicity stunts and tricks for or against a candidate can not make or break him. The candidate makes or breaks himself.

The Lesson of Lausanne

By their egregious blunders at Lausanne and other European statesmen have managed to pile new and mountainous obstacles in the already rocky road to a much-desired constructive reparations and war debts settlement.

Allusions to secret understandings and "gentlemen's agreements" on the part of European nations to settle their obligations, then pass the buck to the United States, on reaching Washington have set the scale ablaze.

This, to say the least, is unfortunate. Congress, which will have to approve any debt revision that may be arranged with Europe, has set its face against any change. The most meritorious plan any one could evolve now would be clapped under a microscope, then probably rejected on general principles.

In diplomacy there is no greater crime than stupidity. The Lausanne conferees fumbled their cards and seemed to pull some from under the table. The full portent of their agreement still is not known definitely.

Thus, at a time when above all others confidence is a vital factor in the situation, the international atmosphere is thick with the fog of suspicion.

Said Senator Reed, administration leader from Pennsylvania: "This government has closed its doors to revision of the war debts."

That Senator Reed was speaking for the present congress, we believe. But we are not willing to believe that he was voicing the final decision, either of congress or of the American people. Said Andrew Mellon, when secretary of the treasury:

"I know of no fairer formula than capacity to pay. To ask a debtor nation to pay substantially less than it is able without undue burden on its people is to do an injustice to our own taxpayers; while to ask a foreign debtor to pay more than its capacity is to be guilty of an act of injustice such as can not be charged against us."

That, we think, represents American opinion better than the statement of Senator Reed. But such opinion is conditional. Europe must play with all

M. E. Tracy

Says:

Nonrecognition in Case of Conquered Territories Is Step in Direction of Peace, but Not Far Enough.

NEW YORK, Aug. 10.—The Hoover-Stimson doctrine of nonrecognition as a deterrent to war is obviously in the right direction. No one can quarrel with the purpose it seeks, or with the principle on which it rests.

A wonderful thing, indeed, if peace could be assured, even to a limited extent, by the mere mobilization of public sentiment. What a happy world this would be if the problem presented no greater difficulty, if we could rely on the possibility that great governments would yield to such influence.

But look at Japan, look at Russia, look at Manchuria.

We have refused to recognize Russia, and the only effect has been loss of trade. We needed Russia's help to curb Japan, but our relations with her barred it.

Manchuria has been severed from China by force, in spite of the fact that we threatened not to recognize the severance if brought about in that way.

Needs Something Stronger

As long as something stronger than nonrecognition is a deterrent to war, it is required to keep peace in a country village, something stronger will be required to keep peace in the world. As long as nations dare go no farther than threaten nonrecognition as a penalty for war, war will continue.

When a nation is mad enough, greedy enough to fight, it is mad enough, and greedy enough, to defy public sentiment.

The last war should convince us how little can be expected of an adverse public sentiment on the outside. What nation involved paid the slightest attention to its neighbors? What nation was moved by the opinion of outsiders?

In this connection, let us keep the fact clearly in mind that no nation ever went to war thinking it was wrong. All history proves that.

** * *

Will We Go to the Limit?

It is natural to infer that nonrecognition means a willingness to go to the limit, but if so, why not talk straight? If the idea is to let nonrecognition take its normal course, and evolve into economic boycotts, or the application of force, why be squeamish?

To be effective, nonrecognition would require widespread co-operation. Are the nations, or even a majority of them, prepared to guarantee that?

Are we, who have refused to join the League of Nations, for fear our sovereignty would be impaired, prepared to give it? Are we prepared to join other nations in a general move against some neighboring nation, because the majority wants us to, or do we prefer to reserve the right to form our own opinion?

** * *

Power Still Lacking

No doubt all the facts, institutions, and doctrines incident to the peace movement are helping to produce the right frame of mind for its progress, but that is about all that can be said for most of them, thus far.

Nothing has been done which justifies the assumption that humanity is prepared to take the necessary steps. A League of Nations has been formed, it is true, but only to shiver and sidestep in the face of real emergencies.

A world court has been instituted, but with virtually no authority to enforce its orders. An anti-war pact has been signed, but with nothing to back it up, and this non-recognition doctrine is made of the same stuff.

A horrible thought, maybe, but we are not going to convince the world that force is wrong, save through the application of superior force.

That does not mean that we must get down in the gutter and roll with the brawlers, but that we must develop a power that they will respect.

We must do this, moreover, not only for their sake, but for our own. People are not going to give up their old methods until or unless they are assured of a better one.

Disarmament is out of the question, as long as the civilized world lacks a substitute for the national armies and navies now maintained—a substitute which will challenge popular confidence and respect.

Communists tend to be a little optimistic always in regard to the present strength of their followers. Wherever five or ten are gathered together, the Daily Worker always is acute sensibility, so that disturbance in the digestive organs may be called to attention through feelings in organs adjacent.

Many people get used to a certain

Make Up Your Mind!

Nonrecognition in Case of Conquered Territories Is Step in Direction of Peace, but Not Far Enough.

NEW YORK, Aug. 10.—The Hoover-Stimson doctrine of nonrecognition as a deterrent to war is obviously in the right direction. No one can quarrel with the purpose it seeks, or with the principle on which it rests.

A wonderful thing, indeed, if peace could be assured, even to a limited extent, by the mere mobilization of public sentiment. What a happy world this would be if the problem presented no greater difficulty, if we could rely on the possibility that great governments would yield to such influence.

But look at Japan, look at Russia, look at Manchuria.