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

Hoover's Reply

President Hoover replied to his critics Tuesday night. It was his first campaign effort. It was a fighting speech. As such, it stimulated hope in the breasts of his followers.

But his defense aroused more sympathy than conviction. He was trying the difficult task of defending a record of failure. He and his party took credit for prosperity. Now they are given credit for the crash.

It may be just or unjust—and we believe Mr. Hoover, with all his faults, is blamed for too much—but there is an element of retribution about the public's attitude toward the administration.

Some of his defense rang true. His leadership did help to keep us on the gold standard. He did fight the bogus. He did assist in fending off fiat money.

He did help to stop the financial panic, check bank failures, and open frozen credit channels. He deserves praise for that.

But that is not enough. And it is the tragedy of Mr. Hoover that he can not see that it is not enough. He still wants to pour in relief from the top, expecting it all to trickle down to the bottom—from the banker down to the breadline.

Three years of that method have failed to bring industrial or agricultural revival. Mr. Hoover has exhausted his resources. All he can do now is to ask people to have hope and pray.

He talks of more tariffs for the farmers, but he should know, as they know from terrible experience with the present Hoover rates, that the high tariff is not a cure, but a curse.

He talks of more credit, but he should know, as they know, that what the farmer and home owner and business man and worker needs is not help to get further into debt, but help to get out of debt.

He talks of opposing cancellation of foreign debts, but he should know, as they know, that these debts are not being paid now and will not be paid in the near future—if ever. About the only new thing he offered Tuesday night was to destroy the Hoover farm stabilization machinery, which has failed.

When the President attacked the Democratic party on the basis of its weak record in the last congress, he was more effective. On that record, there is basis for the President's hot rebuke of the Democratic party's legislative leadership. The country well might hear more of the same.

The Des Moines speech will have served a useful purpose if it puts the Democratic campaigners on the defensive long enough to make them take stock of their own party's manifest shortcomings as demonstrated in the last session of congress. The Democratic spokesmen have the feeling of victory now; it is time they were brought to consider the gravity of the responsibility they are seeking to take upon themselves.

The plight of the President who traveled into the midwest to defend his record and defy his critics should furnish them with sufficient warning that it is a hollow prize for which they are reaching if they are not prepared to meet the problems under which the country nearly is so prostrated.

Roosevelt and Smith

The reconciliation between Smith and Roosevelt had to come. They have been friends for a long time. Smith helped to make Roosevelt. It is fitting that he now help Roosevelt toward the presidency.

For he can help—not so much by his slashing attacks on the administration, such as his convention speech Tuesday night. Other lesser men can do that almost as well, because the Republican record of failure speaks for itself.

But Smith, we hope, can add a definiteness to the Roosevelt campaign which too often has been lacking in Roosevelt himself. Smith can not be other than forthright. He always has been that way.

The wisdom of Al Smith and the courage of Al Smith should be of the greatest service to Franklin Roosevelt.

Watch These Candidates

No voter should permit his interest in candidates for president, senator or governor obscure the fact that the candidates for the legislature will make the laws under which the people of this state must live.

In this country most of the candidates have made their records. They have voted on such matters as regulation of holding companies for utilities, upon the curbing of loan sharks, upon the rights of labor to protection in industry.

While taxation now holds the attention of the citizens, largely because taxes are so difficult to pay, the fact remains that the ordinary family is taxed more for the services of utilities than is paid for government. The right of cities to own and operate these utilities must be made easier.

The small loan problem is still to be settled. In the special and the regular sessions, proposals to reduce the burden upon those who can find no other source of credit were defeated through the manipulation of a lobby that had nothing to its credit for either ethics or decency.

When the candidate for the legislature asks your vote, find out what he proposes to do about these matters.

Ask him how he stands on an income tax as a means of raising revenue to relieve property and raise the necessary funds to maintain schools, policemen, firemen and the other servants of organized society.

Party tickets alone do not count. Look at the records, and even when the records are good, ask for new pledges in your own interest.

A Popular Amendment

Alabama's ratification of the lame duck amendment to the Constitution brings one-third of the states into line behind this vital proposal for strengthening representative government.

The clerical with which legislatures are approving this amendment in the first year of its submission is the best possible evidence that the reform long has been needed, and wisely conceived.

No state has rejected the proposal or refused to act on it, in spite of the fact that most legislative sessions this year have been emergency ones, called to meet other urgent problems.

Representative government has been criticised more harshly this year than ever before in this country. It has been called bungling, inefficient, liable to manipulation, incapable of acting rapidly enough in a crisis.

The lame duck amendment is an answer to many of these charges. It puts elected officials into power two months after the people have voted, instead of thirteen months afterward. It guarantees that defeated representatives shall not be able to legislate with an eye, in some cases, to future jobs, rather than to public duty.

It gives congress the right to remain in session

when it sees fit to do so, instead of being arbitrarily adjourned on March 4 every other year, with public business left undone or attended to hastily.

If the amendment becomes effective next October, as there is every reason to hope it will, representative government will have a new opportunity to demonstrate whether it is all the American people have hoped.

Lest It Be Again

The death of Sir Gilbert Parker, the famous British novelist, brings to mind once more the extremely effective character of British propaganda in the United States during the World war. Sir Gilbert was in charge of British publicity in the United States for some two years and a half. How well he succeeded already is a part of the indelible historical record.

Rarely has a propagandist so clearly summarized his methods and activities. In "Harper's Magazine" for March, 1918, he very candidly revealed how he and England had set us straight on the issue of the war. Probably the explanation for this extraordinary frankness lies in the fact that the World war still was actively raging and most Americans considered it a favor to have been converted to entering the war on the side of Britain.

British enlightenment, it then was believed, saved us from making an irreparable mistake and moral blunder.

"Practically since the day war broke out between England and the Central powers, I became responsible for American publicity. I need hardly say that the scope of my department was very extensive and its activities widely ranged. Among the activities was a weekly report to the British cabinet on the state of American opinion, and constant touch with the permanent correspondents of American newspapers in England.

"I also arranged frequently for important publication men in England to act for us by interviews in American newspapers; and among these distinguished people were Lloyd George (the present prime minister); Viscount Grey, Balfour; Bonar Law, the archbishop of Canterbury, and fully a hundred others.

"Among other things, we supplied 360 newspapers in the smaller cities of the United States with an English newspaper, which gives weekly review and comment of the affairs of the war. We established connection with the man in the street through cinema pictures of the army and navy, as well as through interviews, articles, pamphlets, etc., and by letters in reply to individual American critics, which were printed in the chief newspaper of the state in which they lived, and were copied in newspapers of other and neighboring states.

"We advised and stimulated many people to write articles; we utilized the friendly services and assistance of confidential friends; we had reports from important Americans constantly, and established association, by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States, beginning with university and college presidents, professors and scientific men and running through all the ranges of the population.

"We asked our friends and correspondents to arrange for speeches, debates and lectures by American citizens, but we did not encourage Britishers to go to America and preach the doctrine of entrance into the war.

"Besides an immense private correspondence with individuals, we had our documents and literature sent to great numbers of public libraries, Y. M. C. A. societies, universities, colleges, historical societies, clubs and newspapers.

"Also, it should be remembered that the Society of Pilgrims, whose work for international unity can not be overestimated, has played a part in promoting understanding between the two peoples.

"It also should be remembered that it was the Pilgrims' society which took charge of James M. Beck when he visited England in 1916, and gave him so good a chance to do great work for the cause of unity between the two nations."

In the light of the fact that historians since have proved that we had fully as much reason for fighting Britain in 1917 as for declaring war on Germany, and that we should have fought both or neither, it is apparent that Americans would have done well to have preserved some independence of thought and action from 1914-1917.

This is the great lesson of the propaganda episode for the future. Let us do our own thinking and be nobody's sucker in the next world war, no matter whether it is Great Britain or Germany or France that has our ear at such a time.

Just Every Day Sense

By Mrs. Walter Ferguson

THE National Association of Working Women, organized recently in Indianapolis, was begun primarily to resist the movement to drive married women from industry.

Its members have sensed what a good many others of our sex have overlooked, namely, that once the married women is ousted, the next step undoubtedly will be the ousting of all women.

This may sound an exaggeration, but to be convinced of its truth one needs only remember many such campaigns were fostered by propagandists and existed under the guise of humanitarianism.

It is foolish, indeed, to believe that a concerted action against women has been or will be directed entirely at wives. For already thousands of single women have been let out of jobs or demoted to help men.

The present period, we all know, is a difficult one. Readjustments are going on. Changes inevitably will occur, and in times like this women, as well as men, must expect to suffer. But because we are facing so many problems is one reason why we must continue to think straight and keep our heads.

It will have behooved us nothing if, after the depression, we should find that we had worked more harm than good by our temporary remedies.

WE successfully have repudiated many unjust movements in this country. There is no need to believe that we shall not do so in this instance.

America has survived the killing of harmless old women as witches, the desperate struggles for representative government by the common people, human slavery, wars, innumerable blue laws and the activities of the Know Nothings and their spawn, the Ku-Klux Klan.

We are emerging slowly from the mistake of prohibition. It is inconceivable that we should, after all these weary years of struggle, deliberately set about to impose legal restrictions against the right of any citizen to hold a job.

Even the thought of such gross injustice should raise the gorge of every liberty-loving American.

The trouble is, as we are ready to risk the sanctity of marriage for a cheap economic rise that has its inception at the very fountainhead of tyranny.

M. E. Tracy

Says:

History Contains Few Examples of a Nation Sacrificing Leadership So Quickly or Uselessly as Has the United States Since 1919.

NEW YORK, Oct. 5.—The campaign still is dumb regarding foreign problems. Neither presidential candidate seems particularly interested in this all-important field.

This is strange, considering the responsibilities a President faces in it and the power he can exercise.

One can only guess why Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt are so coy when it comes to war debts, Russia, and the Manchurian crisis. If the depression is of world-wide origin and if recovery depends on world-wide remedies, such subjects are worthy of discussion in connection with remedial plans.

Farm relief obviously is impossible, unless we cease to produce a surplus, or find a market for it. Industry can not hope to get back on its feet as long as foreign trade remains at its present low level.

Thousands of American laborers are out of work because this country is not getting its rightful share of Russian purchases. The idea that this nation can be revitalized by its people living off one another is preposterous.

Foreign relations and foreign trade played a big part in producing hard times, which means that they must be made to play an equally big part in restoring good times.

The tariff, of course, is a keystone in the arch of our gradual isolation. It must be revised downward to set the right fashion, if for no other reason.

The tariff, however, is but one phase of a policy which has set us apart from the rest of the world and made our country a common target for all forms of envy and retaliation.

Useless Sacrifice Made

HISTORY contains few examples of a nation sacrificing leadership so quickly or uselessly as has the United States since 1919.

The miserable performance goes back to partisan politics. Republican leaders made up their minds to ruin Wilson and rejected a great program of world stabilization to accomplish it. It was a tragedy of the first magnitude, yet not one of those leaders comprehended as much.

They were out to win a campaign, and that was sufficient to blind them to consequences of a monumental blunder.

This government refused to sit down at the council table with other governments, that heaped the bitter draught from which all humanity is suffering today.

The present depression was born of the stupid, mistaken policy for which Harding stood and which has characterized the two succeeding administrations.

How Does Roosevelt Stand?

PRESIDENT HOOPER can be excused from discussing foreign affairs, because his record speaks for itself. This is not the case with Governor Roosevelt, who comes before the country as champion of a new order.

It is absurd to suppose that Governor Roosevelt looks upon foreign affairs as unimportant in any program of recovery. It is equally absurd to suppose that he hopes to do anything of constructive value without taking them into account.

Such being the case, his comparative silence is little less than amazing. Not only the people of this country, but people throughout the world, would like to know what he has in mind regarding those problems which plague the international horizon.

Would he continue to refuse a conference with Russia? Would he go on proposing one moratorium after another on European debts? Would he be content to make academic suggestions with regard to Manchuria?

Governor Roosevelt has made some very impressive statements on the tariff and silver, but that is scarcely enough.

Nor was it a matter of mass production for Jack Reed, and I sat under the same instruction and turned out differently.

The clms of Cambridge fell under a blight before the depression, and good Harvard men said the old place would not look the same. But in that room where nobody came much before 9 or stood much after 11 there was greater growth and foliage than could be found in a forest of elms.

For me he answered the question: "Can any good thing come out of New England?" But I doubt that it will ever happen again.

And when he left the ancient edifice, built out of the profits of a Puritan lottery, Copey wrote to one of his pupils to explain that he

And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.—St. Matthew 10:38.

The sower of the seed is assuredly the author of the most harvest of mischief.—Demosthenes.

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