

## The Indianapolis Times

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FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1933.

## NO TEARS FOR FOLDON

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT and Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald Thursday put up a brave front in trying to prove that the London economic conference was not a failure. In the ordinary sense, certainly, the conference was a failure.

But this need not be taken too seriously. The only persons who think all is lost because of the conference collapse are those who expected impossible miracles from it to begin with.

We Americans, especially, are sometimes naive in our ideas about such conferences. We are prone to think of them as meetings which can change world events—just as we once believed that a prohibition law could make the country dry.

Actually, a law is effective only to the degree that it reflects public opinion; it merely ratifies, or gives legal recognition to, a public will which already exists. So with an international conference; it merely puts a formal stamp on conditions or agreements already arrived at—or reflects the absence of such unity among the nations.

Thus the London conference was damned before it opened. Basic conditions and policies in the individual countries were such that major agreements at the conference were impossible, as this newspaper and many others pointed out in advance.

Much of the disillusionment regarding the London conference springs from the exaggerated faith of Americans in public meetings, especially international gatherings. The simple idea is that any international problem can be solved provided you can get enough representatives around a table to talk it out in front of the world.

The opposite is true. The records show that the open covenants are secretly arrived at. And when they are not arrived at secretly, no covenants are produced.

The reason is obvious. International agreements are a matter of trading. Each side must sacrifice something. This can not be done publicly, because national feeling at home will not permit it.

Thus public sessions of international conferences rarely are honest. The speeches and statements are of two kinds: Sweet nothings or declarations for home consumption. The first kind does not advance actual negotiations, and the second kind retards or wrecks actual negotiations.

That is why the important part of a conference is not the conference itself, but the advance "preparations." If the secret "preparations" result in general agreement and satisfactory trading, then the big public show has a good chance of success.

Otherwise, the public show will fail, and increase friction. Hence the frequency with which international conferences are called off altogether or repeatedly postponed.

The mistake of the London conference was in allowing it to meet. Preparations—and fairly successful preparations—had been made by President Roosevelt in his confidential conversations with Prime Minister MacDonald and other foreign leaders. But that was in the spring.

By summer, conditions were changed vastly, not only in the United States, but elsewhere. By that time, however, there had been so much ballyhoo about the conference to save the world that the politicians were afraid to disappoint the public by calling it off.

They guessed wrong. The public is more disappointed as it is. And the advertised friction and sharp exchanges at London may make future agreements more difficult.

But we should not forget that the important thing is a beginning of national recovery. If we can keep on putting our own house in order, and if other nations will follow our example in their own way, within a few months the nations should be able to negotiate international economic agreements so essential to the welfare of all.

## THE DRY'S ELATION

THE organized drys are jubilant. They see a loophole in constitutional law through which repeal of the eighteenth amendment can be blocked. And they are preparing to take immediate advantage of it.

Seemingly, it matters little to these drys that repeal is the popular will of the people. Seemingly, the fact that twenty states—all that have voted—have endorsed repeal means nothing to them.

The organized drys apparently are not concerned about majority or minority opinion—whether or not the public really wants the eighteenth amendment. Their sole concern is prohibition and they are determined to save it at all costs.

The loophole in question is the decision of the Maine supreme court, doubting the legality of a state repeal convention in which delegates would be elected at large, instead of by districts.

With this decision as a base, the drys plan to appeal all elections in which delegates were elected at large to the United States supreme court.

They are confident that the highest court in the nation will sustain their appeal and that elections in a half dozen states, including New York and New Jersey, will be thrown out.

The fact that New York voted for repeal by an 8-to-1 majority and that the drys were shown under by 6-to-1 vote in New Jersey seemingly makes no difference to these ardent prohibitionists.

They still intend to contest the two elections on the absurd grounds that the delegates elected in these two states were not "truly representative" of the people.

In short, they maintain 8-to-1 and 6-to-1

majorities do not represent the true will of the voters.

Of course this is not the first time the organized drys have resorted to questionable weapons to block a showdown on prohibition.

For years they have exercised political pressure on congress to prevent any move toward modification or repeal. And with their huge chests of campaign contributions and organized strength, they were able to block a showdown until the Roosevelt New Deal came along.

Since then, prohibition's ultimate doom has been an accepted fact. Every state voting to date has gone for repeal. Even the traditional dry southland and such states as Iowa and Indiana have added their votes to the swelling repeal chorus.

Yet, the organized drys persist in hunting loopholes through which to block showdown elections. Already, they have lost their first fight—an attempt to stop Ohio from voting on repeal next Nov. 7. The Ohio supreme court rejected their petition to postpone the election.

Now they are making a similar attempt in Missouri. And, using the loophole conveniently provided by the Maine supreme court, they intend to seek nullification of all elections held to date where delegates were selected at large, instead of by districts.

As a matter of fact, the decision of the Maine supreme court is hardly a justifiable loophole for an appeal of this kind.

The arguments for election by district stress the fact that it allows more representative selection of delegates, that it protects the rural areas which normally would be outvoted by the more populated city districts.

Yet, does it? Consider Pennsylvania's case, where the state will elect next Nov. 7 delegates-at-large to a repeal convention.

In Pennsylvania, congressional, senatorial and legislative districts are divided so badly that a fair, representative vote on the district basis is impossible. Many rural districts, for example, have only two-thirds or even half as many voters as city districts.

If delegates were elected to a repeal convention by districts, this would mean that rural voters—the backbone of dry strength of this state—would elect far more delegates for the same number of votes than their city cousins.

In other words, the farmer in some districts would have two votes to the city mechanic's one.

And still the drys insist that an election of delegates-at-large—with each vote counting alike—is not "truly representative."

## WHY, MR. RILEY!

EVERY now and then, some judge or magistrate hands down the opinion that man should be master of his own household.

And millions of husbands, upon reading of the judge's opinion, merely chuckle and tell each other that the judge is probably a bachelor, or else he would know better than to make such a statement.

But Tuesday, Police Magistrate Patrick F. Riley of Pittsburgh—himself a married man—delivered that same opinion in passing judgment upon a prisoner who had blamed his wife for running afoul of the law.

"You should be master of the house," said Mr. Riley, as he imposed the customary \$25 or thirty days in jail.

Perhaps Mr. Riley is the master of his own household. If so, he is a rare exception.

But the millions of other husbands who merely take orders from their wives will not be convinced.

They still will be of the opinion that Mr. Riley should know better.

## THE SHRINKING EARTH

THE air is full of distance fliers. Lone pilot Wiley Post flies around the globe smashing records. General Balbo, who brought his fleet of twenty-four planes from Italy in history's most spectacular mass flight, is en route home to Rome. The undaunted Mollisons, who flew from England, are projecting an air trip to Bagdad. The Lindberghs are in Greenland.

These ocean flights are reminders that science is shrinking the earth each year into a smaller and smaller planet. In a few years, flier Post says, planes will be circumnavigating the globe in forty-eight hours.

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providing food and shelter for large numbers of the population.

Moreover, the government is engaged in a gigantic effort to reduce agricultural output, and any increase in productivity would defeat this effort.

These and other difficulties, however, do not seem insurmountable. The farms on which workers will be placed presumably will be subsistence homesteads, which would not materially add to the glut of farm products.

The emigrants would have the friendly cooperation and assistance of the government. And small farms adjacent to cities would offer possible part-time industrial employment.

The project may be an important factor in final and permanent solution of the unemployment problem, present even in the best of times.

## ON THE LEVEE

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY contractors are reported ready to present a code of fair practices which will remedy the ills complained of when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People found conditions of virtual "slavery" among their workers.

We hope this is so, and that the code provides fair hours and fair wages for the thousands who labor on the levees.

How much better is it to see enlightened employers prohibiting child labor on their own initiative than to see this done by the powerful arm of the federal government.

How much better it would be to see Negro labor on flood control projects get humane treatment, decent wages by decision of their employers, rather than by federal orders, following a senatorial investigation.

The Senate's authority to investigate Mississippi valley labor conditions, as reported by the N. A. A. C. P., still exists. This is a whip that can crack over recalcitrant employers' heads. But it should not be needed.

## HERE'S REAL COURAGE

TO be a successful dictator, you need the wisdom of a Solomon, the thoroughness of a Napoleon, and the rash daring of a Caesar. But mostly the rash daring of a Caesar.

Frankly, some people may have had some doubts that Adolf Hitler had all these qualities, especially the latter. But now who can doubt it?

Through Frau Magda Goebbels, wife of his minister of propaganda, Hitler now proposes to set up a government fashion bureau and become arbiter of dress to the German woman.

From this time on, nobody can question the rash daring of Herr Hitler, who proposes to tell 30,000,000 women what to wear, even through a feminine minister-without-portfolio. It is colossal!

But there is a pretty good chance that it won't work. You can tell a man how to run his business, and make it stick. You can make him salute every dictator's underling that comes along, and make it stick. You can tell him to wear a black shirt, or a brown shirt, or even a nightshirt, and make that stick, too.

But when it comes to telling a lady that she must wear a straw hat, or a felt hat, or a large hat, or a small hat, or a German hat, or no hat at all—well, sticking your head into a lion's mouth is just innocent fun beside that!

Sound engineer figures that 30,000,000 words are spoken on the sound stages of Hollywood every year. Huh! That walkout of technicians that closed the studios isn't a strike. It's a protest!

Chicago speculator reported to have bought (but not paid for) 13,000,000 bushels of wheat. Probably just wanted to be sure he'd have pancakes next winter.

The recovery act is to be administered by the use of codes. And leave it to General Johnson to make sure it isn't a cipher.

## M. E. Tracy Says:

THE object of our recovery program is to help business through stabilization of prices, wages and values on a steadily ascending scale. This does not square with the wild, illogical, uncontrolled orgy of gambling that has taken place in the stock market.

Any man can ruin his credit and reputation by playing poker. The same thing is true with respect to our largest commercial and financial interests.

Marginal trading in stock has little to do with promotion of industry. It does not provide capital for legitimate enterprises, increase earning power, or create confidence. On the other hand it diverts credit and breeds a dangerous frame of mind.

We have no time to waste on gambling. Our business executives have all they can work up, without knocking off to watch the ticker. The processes of readjustment will lead to enough fluctuation without the demoralizing effect of unscrupulous betting.

The nations are interdependent, no matter how loud the eagles and the lions of nationalism screech and roar. World wheat and cotton conditions helped our midwest farmers and southern planters more than the heroic efforts of Secretary Wallace's "A. A. A."

The phenomenon of 25,000,000 workless men of the world is almost as important to our prosperity as our own 12,000,000 jobless.

We can manage our own currency and control our own industry, but a foreign news flash can change the domestic situation overnight.

SHIFTING TO IDLE FARMS

THE government's effort to place unemployed city workers on farms, where they can support themselves and their families, constitutes one of the most interesting experiments in the entire recovery program.

Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes, under presidential order, will have \$25,000,000 to spend on the endeavor. The consequences well may be more far-reaching than the modest beginning indicates.

What to do with hundreds of thousands of workers permanently displaced in industry has been one of the most baffling problems of the economic and social reorganization now being attempted.

Coal mining furnishes a case in point. Authorities estimate that there are probably 250,000 idle miners who never can again find work digging coal, even under the most favorable circumstances.

But—and this is the important point—they involve the resources of a nation in ticklishly diverting capital and restricting credit, by creating a false sense of value, and destroying confidence.

We can not bet our way out of depression, can not make earning power from paper profits, can not create wealth by swapping shares of stock.

Our problem is to provide work through liberation of credit, to increase production by making greater consumption possible, and, above all else, to insist on honest, reliable value.

Obviously, direct relief, which now is such a heavy burden on taxpayers, will not solve the problem permanently. It is necessary and desirable in the present emergency, but can not be adopted as a permanent method of

## The Old Swimmin' Hole

