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ROY W. HOWARD . . . . . President  
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EARL D. BAKER . . . . . Business Manager

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Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way

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THE PRESIDENT RETURNS

BACK at his desk today, President Roosevelt faces problems that are less pressing perhaps than those of the crisis of 1933—but no less vital to the country's future.

In many ways the problems ahead will be more difficult. The President no longer has the united public support which was his when he took over a floundering government in 1933. And because the 1936 elections are in the offing his every act will be subjected to political interpretation. The President will have need of all the energy, patience and objectivity he may have gained from his vacation cruise on Southern waters.

MOST immediate are the problems of peace and unemployment. And they link together.

The ruinous road to war beckons. It would be so simple to let the profit motive go natural, to exploit impending war markets with our surplus goods and capital and start home factories humming and home prices zooming. But experience teaches that such a course would land our idle youth not on pay rolls, but in the trenches.

In carrying out the spirit and letter of the neutrality law, the President thus far has shown a determination to pay the price of peace. An effective neutrality policy can be shaped to meet dangers as they arise, we believe, if we afford ourselves but one objective—that of keeping out.

To ease economic pressure from within, the President, we think, should move in a swift attack on unemployment. His work-relief program is in a bog, but it can be lifted out, and made further to diminish doles and give useful employment on projects of permanent value. But there, we fear, be little left to salvage if the President much longer neglects this program.

OVER the not distant horizon rises the specter of inflation. Probable payment of the veterans' bonus soon after Congress meets in January threatens to ignite the combustibles evident in swollen bank reserves and a Federal budget already badly out of balance.

This danger, we believe, can be met if the President in the intervening two months attends to the making of a budget pointing definitely to an end of excessive government borrowings, and to the appointment of men on the new Federal Reserve Board with the courage and wisdom to apply the brakes. Courage they will need especially, for the politicians are becoming increasingly election-conscious.

Welcome home, Mr. President.

LULL BEFORE THE STORM?

PREMIER STANLEY BALDWIN's speech before the House of Commons yesterday was one of the most ominous utterances by a British statesman in a good many years. It was almost as important to America as to Britain.

Troubled times lie ahead, he warned. And he left little doubt in any one's mind that what he meant was the possibility of another conflict. So, with almost breath-taking speed, he dissolved Parliament as of next Friday and called for a national election a scant three weeks away.

And the issue? National rearmament—despite the League, despite the Briand-Kellogg pact, despite the 37,494,000 casualties who got that way between 1914 and 1919 fighting to abolish war and armaments.

"A lull in international affairs seems to have arrived," he explained significantly, "whereas if we postponed the election until January, we might find the country facing a more difficult time than today."

Britain, he urged, must proceed to make herself strong so she can cope with whatever may happen. Not that she will rearin from selfish motives. But she must be able to help the League battle for peace and for mankind.

AGAINST the background of this sinister-sounding statement of British policy, it was simultaneously announced that a new world naval conference is being called for early December, to meet at London.

Under the circumstances, the conference seems doomed from the start. The new British Parliament, elected on a rearmament platform, will be opened by the king, probably the very same week. The Conservatives—barring a miracle—will be freshly in the saddle for another five years. That means the "big navy" crowd will have everything pretty much their own way.

A perilous naval race seems inevitable. The United States proposes a fleet somewhere near the size of Britain's and Japan stubbornly insists upon parity, at least with this country.

What a commentary upon mankind and governments! Less than 16 years from the end of the war which was to end war and scrap armaments and make the world safe for democracy, the greatest of all Europe's democracies is about to ask—and obtain—a popular mandate for a bigger and better war machine to defend itself against a bigger and more terrible war.

CALIFORNIA, HERE WE GO

PITY the poor rich. Driven from pillar to post, pretty soon they'll have no place to go.

Just now they're being betrayed in the house of their friend—California. You can't take the sunshine from California, it used to be said, but the rich are finding it isn't true. The days are dark out there, for the tax collector is abroad on the golden coast. And the weeping and wailing of sun-kissed millionaires can be heard even across the high Rockies. They weep and they wail—and they threaten.

They'll move away from California, they will! It's getting so a man can't afford to be a multimillionaire; the state actually taxes you for being a multimillionaire. It's getting so a talented young movie actor can't afford to "earn" as much for making one picture as the President of the United States gets for a year's work. It's really very bad, indeed. In fact, it's just too bad.

But it is cheering to observe the philosophical manner in which their hardship is being accepted by some of the rich. One great and generous soul (who shall be nameless), while announcing his purpose to take his money and move to New York or Florida or somewhere, voices this profound truth:

"The state is so great and so rich that it will easily sustain the loss. The great misfortune falls upon those who have to leave it."

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

THE A. F. of L. has gone on record for a constitutional amendment broadening the power of Congress to enact social and economic legislation. A Federal court in Illinois has held the Farm Bankruptcy Act unconstitutional. The Supreme Court awaits briefs on the constitutionality of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Link those three things together in your mind and watch how they develop.

Right after the Schechter decision, liberalization of the Constitution loomed as the dominant issue of the 1936 campaign. Then interest in it languished to the point where the conservative leaders of the A. F. of L. thought they would bury it in a pigeon-hole. But a successful revolt of rank-and-file delegates from the convention floor in Atlantic City proved there was still life in the issue.

Whether this issue will gain in vigor and support depends principally on the decisions handed down this winter by the Supreme Court. The progressive labor forces alone have not the political strength to swing it. But others besides those interested in hours and wages will be drawn into the battle if the high court invalidates the Farm Bankruptcy Act and the AAA.

The farmers of the country are a conservative lot. But they are apt to take to the warpath for a change in the Federal charter if the Supreme Court ever tells them that Federal protection which extends to bankrupt corporations can not be extended to bankrupt farms, and that the government which protects industries with tariffs can not protect farmers with compensatory benefits.

And to the growing ranks others are likely to join if invalidation of the Guffey Coal Control Law causes the bituminous industry to founder, the crippling of TVA strengthens the monopoly of the power industry, and the nullification of the Wagner collective bargaining law leaves labor with no place to go except the picket line.

We do not actually believe that the Supreme Court will hand down such decisions. But since such decisions are devoutly wished for by conservatives who also oppose any change in the Constitution, it may be worth while to remind them that a snowball rolling downhill grows in size and gains in momentum.

EMOTION IS NOT ENOUGH

THREE hundred organizations are at work in the United States today to advance the cause of peace.

They range from church societies and women's clubs to well-organized, business-like affairs with considerable money at their disposal.

The National Council for the Prevention of War recently bought an hour's time on a coast-to-coast radio hook-up and enlisted prominent women, including Mrs. Roosevelt, to speak for peace. It is endeavoring now to sell a million dollars' worth of "peace bonds" to obtain funds.

A weekly broadcast by World Peaceways is being sponsored by a manufacturer of medicines. This firm also is financing an attempt to collect signatures, through 35,000 drug stores, for a monster peace petition.

In 1914, enthusiasm for peace was just as general as it is today, and determination that this country should remain neutral was just as firm.

The day after Germany declared war, the Central Federated Union demanded in New York that the American Federation of Labor hold mass meetings to protest against war. Socialists held the first of many "anti-militarist" mass meetings in Union Square.

The Pope called on Catholic churches throughout the world to pray for peace, and on the first Sunday after the outbreak New York churches of all denominations held special peace services.

President Wilson called on Americans to "keep their heads so as to produce a state of mind that would enable this country to help the rest of the world," and the United States Senate adopted a resolution dedicating itself "to the principles of peace and good will among men."

Most spectacular of peace demonstrations was one staged by women in New York. A monster parade was arranged with the women dressed in mourning as a protest against war. Among its first sponsors were Lillian Wald, Frances Perkins, Harriet Stanton Blatch, and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. The list swelled into a Committee of One Hundred. The paraders asked that a peace conference be called at The Hague.

As the war dragged on, peace demonstrations culminated in the Ford peace ship, dedicated to "getting the boys out of the trenches by Christmas."

In spite of the peace societies the United States was at war itself in a little less than three years.

If the peace and neutrality policy of the American people in the present world crisis is to be permanently effective it must be based on something more enduring than mere emotion. It must be grounded on the cold hard fact that war bankrupts and destroys the victor along with the vanquished.

A WOMAN'S VIEWPOINT

By Mrs. Walter Ferguson

NO writer of popular fiction has a more facile pen than Kathleen Norris and no one can make respectable poverty sound so alluring or the simple life so worthwhile.

But it would be a grand thing if the formula for such tales as she turns out, and which our girls read so avidly, could be a little more consistent with reality. Why take such pains to see that every heroine gets a millionaire in the last chapter?

Mrs. Norris' most recent story, "Shining Windows," concerns a nice father whose children have almost been ruined by too much money. Then he loses everything. They move to an abandoned ranch house in California, where everybody pitches in to do the work; the girls cook roasts, bake cakes, dry prunes, and get rosy cheeks by falling into bed each night at 9 to sleep the sleep of the industrious.

Heroine Joyce is a pleasant, lovable person engaged to a rich young man. She goes to visit his people and finds that the pleasure-loving, cocktail-drinking crowd of other days bores her; she can't abide the frivolity and inanity of their existence. Returning home, she discovers she is really in love with the hired man, who has been about the place for years and is a fine gentleman if ever there was one.

So, far, so good. That would seem to be the place to leave them. Joyce loves Michael; both love the simple life of the ranch, enjoying the cows, the chickens and the sunsets. Wouldn't you think that would be enough? But no! Virtue must have a better reward than this. So the hired man turns out to be an English peer with a vast fortune!

Now the purpose behind all this is commendable, since it desires to prove that character is built through adversity and that until we learn discipline and self-control wisdom will not be ours.

But when the novelists let every Cinderella marry a Prince Charming with a fortune, the moral significance of their teaching is lost. Happiness is to be found in simple, wholesome living; why then do not the story writers let their heroines and heroines be satisfied with it?

To tell a troubled mind to stop worrying, to count sheep to go to sleep, to cheer up, is about as much waste of good medical respiratory energy as to tell a hurricane to lay off Key West.—Dr. Esther Loring Richards, famed psychiatrist.



Forum of The Times

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

Won't Lose Sleep Over 'Poll'

By Warren A. Benedict Jr.

HURRAH! "America Speaks!" And timid souls who feared for this country's future now can breathe easier, assured that public sentiment is swinging against the dangerous policies of the New Deal. Thanks to 40 newspapers and the "American Institute of Public Opinion," with its "scientifically selected and distributed 'sample' poll," we can now find how the voters feel.

Data on Roosevelt's waning popularity is yet to be released, but somehow we can secretly feel sure it will show a trend back to the safe old order of the Hoovers, the Mellons and the Ogden Mills.

Yes, the poll is accurate. We are assured of that by the Institute itself, an organization that is probably as worthy, as high minded, and as non-political as the American Liberty League itself. By some extraordinary "scientific process," 10,000 votes (about 1/400th of the total votes) can prophesy sentiment to "probably within 1 or 2 per cent." Truly remarkable!

When we really get intelligence we will destroy the competitive system that has denied the majority in society an opportunity to enjoy the potential plenty we can produce, but do not.

Competition can not be regulated as the New Deal proposes, it must be superseded by co-operative industry, in which the objective will not be individual gain at the expense of all others, but of social gain that shall benefit every member of society. This will require a reorganization of society from its mad struggle for personal profit, to a planned production and distribution. We simply can not afford the expensive waste competition produces.

No amount of patching plaster can make our competitive system yield that purchasing power necessary to furnish the disfranchised buyers with an adequate supply of goods.

SEEKS NEED FOR CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

By Perry R. Brinchorst.

IN THE NRA decision, the court in theory held that the federal government lacked the right to provide for the general welfare of its citizens. This conceivably leaves no constitutional basis for levying and collecting a Federal tax which would be disbursed for the welfare of the citizens engaged in agriculture, industry or other pursuits. Work relief and all public activities would come under the ban.

Unfortunately, we have controversial pettifoggers who are feigning virtuous indignation and floundering as impractical the amending of the Federal Constitution to eliminate speculation as to the constitutionality of Federal legislation designed to administer for the welfare of all the citizens.

Without constitutional authority the House of Representatives and Senate can only fumble and stumble in helpless incapacity when attempting to protect the human rights of either constituency.

Q—Is money deducted from a soldier's pay for summary court martial's refunding to him when his enlistment ends.

A—No.

Q—How long was Paul Doumer the President of France?

A—He was elected May 13, 1931, and served until he was assassinated May 5, 1932, by Paul Gorguloff.

Q—How many electoral votes did Alfred E. Smith receive in the 1928 election?

A—Eighty-seven.

Q—Do all the Channel Islands belong to Great Britain?

A—All except Iles Chausey, which belongs to France.

Q—My peach trees have a formation of gum on them. What can I do to remedy this?

A—This condition is commonly known as "gummosis," and may be caused by insects which damage the bark or sapwood of the trunk and branches of the trees. If the reader wishing information about "gummosis" will write to the Washington Bureau, 1013 13th-st. N. W., Washington, enclosing a 3-cent stamp for postage, he can obtain specific advice.

Q—What is the past tense of the verb light?

A—Either lighted or lit.

Daily Thought

Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee.—St. Matthew 20:14.

ATTAINMENT is followed by neglect, and possession by disgust.—Johnson.

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Washington Merry-Go-Round

BY DREW PEARSON and ROBERT S. ALLEN.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24.—Here is the way Administrationites who made the transcontinental trip with the President reported to him on the political situation:

Generally, west of Pennsylvania—Roosevelt still in the lead but not unbeatable if opposed by Borah.

Ohio—Outlook gloomy for Democrats because of fierce internal discussion among state factions and boisterous relief handling.

Michigan—Lost. The Republicans carried the state in 1934 despite the nation-wide New Deal landslide. They have gained ground steadily since.

Kentucky—Likely to go Republican in next month's election, but the President, personally, is popular on and top.

Illinois—Touch and go; but Roosevelt will have the edge—provided the Chicago machine of Mayor Kelly will "come through."

Indiana—Still strongly pro-Roosevelt.

Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa—In the Roosevelt column.

Kansas—Unshakably Republican.

Missouri—Democratic, thanks largely to the potent machine of Boss Pendergast.

California—New Deal has lost some ground, but the President, personally, is still popular and right now could carry the state easily.

REP. GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM, bearded, wealthy Boston blue-blood, has a sprinkling of Negro voters in his district. As a mark of appreciation for his legislative efforts on behalf of their race, they made him an honorary officer of one of their organizations.

Some time, thereafter, a British magazine printed an article on American Negro societies with a page of pictures featuring "distinguished American Negroes."

Smack in the center of the page was a picture of George Holden Tinkham.

THE new move to resurrect the NRA has started a good old-fashioned behind-the-scenes Tennessee feud.

Leaders of the feud are of old Tennessee stock. On one side is Maj. George L. Berry who, under the sonorous title of Co-Ordinator of Industrial Recovery, is attempting to revive the NRA. On the other side is Judge Ewin L. Davis, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, who opposes that revival.

The feud chiefly is a matter of professional jealousy. It dates back to the very beginning of the NRA, when the Federal Trade Commission made no secret of its belief that the Blue Eagle never should have been born. Now that it is sunk, they want to keep it that way.

Also, Davis and his colleagues have a plan of their own for industrial regulation. What makes them particularly hot under the collar is that their program was just getting under way when Berry zoomed into the headlines with his scheme.

The proposal of the FTC-ers is nothing new. The Federal Trade Act has always empowered the commission to authorize voluntary fair-trade codes. But few industries took advantage of the opportunity.

Since the Supreme Court killed mandatory codes, however, scores of industries have turned to the FTC. More than 125 applications for voluntary codes are pending before it.

The FTC feels that since the system of compulsory codes has failed, voluntary codes should be given a fair trial.

DURING a recent press conference, Claude Augustus Swanson was asked the date of Navy Day. Claude Augustus probably is as ardent a civilian sailor as ever become Secretary of the Navy. But to the surprise of reporters, he hemmed and hawed, gazed at the ceiling, puffed at his cigarette, finally replied:

"Uh, er, why it falls on T. R.'s (Theodore Roosevelt's) birthday."

"We know that, Mr. Secretary," the newsmen said, "but what is the exact date?"

Another embarrassing pause. Finally Assistant Secretary Henry Roosevelt came to his boss' rescue.

"Navy Day is celebrated on October 27," he prompted, "but because it falls on a Sunday this year, the ceremonies will be held the day following."

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SIDE GLANCES By George Clark



"Well, it looks as if you'll have to put off getting that permanent wave again."