The Outlook

Volume 146

June 22, 1927

Number 8

Lindbergh, the Symbol

OR one long hour there was the tramp of an armed host up the length of Manhattan Island from the City Hall to Central Park. Marines, sailors, Naval Reserves, the spotless uniforms of the Seventh Infantry, the olive drab of the "Fighting Sixty-ninth," the rolling of guns, the tentative prancing of would-be chargers under the abundant weight of beribboned officers, and then at the tail of the procession, an open car bearing the hero of the hour. He sat on the folded top, beside the dapper figure of New York's Mayor. There was Jimmy Walker, his top hat pushed back at a theatrical angle, his cutaway, token of the younger Tammany generation which has abandoned the traditional frock-coat of its elder statesmen, and at his side the slender figure of a youth, gazing with puzzled eyes at the roaring throngs. One glimpse of Lindbergh was enough indeed to understand the triumphal progress of his fame about the world. He is more than an aviator who has flown across the wide reaches of the Atlantic; he is a symbol of all the brave imaginings of youth.

See a motion picture of Lindbergh as he came down the gangplank of the Memphis, follow him to the stand before the Washington Monument, study any picture which shows him surrounded by admiring dignitaries, study not his face alone but the faces of those who are with him. You will find in all those faces a tribute that is warmer than any admiration. It speaks the response of the world to all that is simple, clean, and courageous in the spirit of our modern life.

When "the tumult and the shouting dies," there will remain from Lindbergh's achievement something more than the memory of a momentary emotion. To the art and science that he loves there will be a new impetus, a new impulse for the service of the needs of mankind. For mankind itself there will be a freshened understanding of the enduring qualities that make life worth living, a strengthened faith in the wise courage that makes living a high adventure.

Flag Day

THE sesquicentennial of the American flag has fallen at an auspicious moment. It is fitting that we should have



Keystone

New York's fire-fighting navy pays its tribute to the hero of the Paris flight, and incidentally keeps the crowded craft of New York Harbor at a safe distance

celebrated such an occasion at a time when the flag had been carried to new honors, and that the American conquest which the Nation was honoring on Flag Day was a conquest not of National enemies but of the elements. The Congressional committee which in 1777 adopted the Stars and Stripes as the emblem of the struggling Republic could scarcely have dreamed that shortly before its 150th birthday the American flag would be carried by air to the capital of its French allies.

Of the origin of our flag there is no authentic record other than the resolution passed by Congress in session in Philadelphia on June 14, 1777: "Re-

solved, That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." Historians have been able to shed little light on this obscure birth, and in their search for contemporary comment have only succeeded in disproving our old legends. It is their sad conclusion that whoever did design the flag, it is highly improbable that either George Washington or Betsy Ross had any hand in it. Old Glory was born in committee, the Marine Committee of the Continental Congress.

One of the significant celebrations of

235

Flag Day was the ceremony in which France and the United States joined hands at the Statue of Liberty. In honor of the flag which symbolized the cause for which they fought together the torch of Liberty was officially lit and burned throughout the day.

Vice-President Dawes Talks on Diplomacy

VICE-PRESIDENT DAWES speaks from experience in his advocacy of drafting National leaders for the important diplomatic missions of the United States. His own record in Europe gives fine point to all that he may say of the proved usefulness of men of affairs in public life. The "new diplomacy," he points out, demands that the United States be represented abroad by men at least equal in ability and prestige to their foreign colleagues.

By "new diplomacy" General Dawes does not mean any revolutionary change in the purpose and object of diplomatic negotiations, but negotiations more direct, frank, and personal than those which were possible when they were "conducted by diplomatic agents acting under delegated authority at a distance." It was during the war that necessity required quick and common-sense agreements between allies, and therefore prime ministers or foreign ministers or others of highest authority, unlimited by written instructions, formed the habit of meeting and making final decisions. Necessity also eliminated men "constitutionally unable to relinquish individual or national power for the demonstrative common good," and forced into leading diplomatic positions men accustomed to making decisions in great affairs.

The United States, therefore, should, in General Dawes's opinion, not so limit itself in its policy of promoting career men as to be unable to call upon its best and ablest men wherever they may be found to protect its interests and to urge international policies that are just to other countries.

Diplomacy—A Career for the Right Men

THERE will be little disagreement with either Vice-President Dawes's criticism of the emphasis laid on forms by professional diplomats or his opposition to purely political appointments.

The point that may be raised, however, is whether it would not be wiser to attract to our diplomatic service men of such caliber that they can successfully carry the responsibility of their posts, rather than completely to discourage "career men" by a policy of special appointments for all difficult tasks. For certain missions representatives drawn from outside the ranks of diplomacy may be advisable, but in general it seems paradoxical to hold that the responsibilities of the new diplomacy are too heavy for our "career men" when the weakness of our service may more properly be attributed to a former policy of not offering them responsibility. The aim of the State Department should be to build up representation abroad able to uphold the interests and prestige of the United States and to make diplomacy a career attractive to the right men. This is its present program. Like Vice-President Dawes, we find little quarrel with our present representatives.

Other countries, notably Great Britain, have been able to establish diplomacy as a career worthy of any man's life-work and at the same time have remained free to call upon men of affairs for diplomatic service. The United States should be able to do likewise. American diplomacy does not need to be intrusted either to the rich patron of a political party or to the mere diplomatic bureaucrat. The Vice-President has again employed his gift of candid criticism to good purpose. His outspoken address should arouse our diplomats to slough off the excessive formalism and slavery to routine of which he complains.

Prosperity and Economy

LARGE surplus in the Treasury of A the United States at the close of the fiscal year on June 30, together with the prospect of a smaller but very considerable surplus for 1928, holds out a promise, according to the President, of the reduction not only of interest charges on the public debt but also of direct taxes. The Director of the Budget, General Lord, likened the efforts on behalf of economy which have resulted in this surplus to his experience as a boy in bailing out a small boat that was almost swamped in a rough and choppy sea off the coast of Maine. The water kept coming in from the waves that dashed over the gunwales and from the leaks in the craft, but the water went out as fast as it came in. There have been waves of new expenditure due to new legislation and the growth of Federal business; but bailing and stopping the leaks have kept the Governmental boat afloat—and there has been some gain. As the President wisely says, the Federal Government, in both its legislative and executive branches, has set an example to State governments and even to other nations.

That the surplus is greater than the estimate in the Budget transmitted to Congress last December is not due to any material error in the estimate of

revenue. The fact is that the variation between the estimate and the actual receipts amounts to less than one-half of one per cent. The difference is due to other factors—notably the failure of the second deficiency bill, the reduction in tax refunds due to a change in the revenue law, and a revision of the amount chargeable to debt retirement on account of the non-ratification of the French debt settlement. It is clear that some of this surplus will therefore have to be used in the present fiscal year instead of the one that has just ended. There will be also a special demand upon the resources of the Government in providing for farm relief and for the control of

These facts were brought out by the President and the Director of the Budget at the thirteenth meeting of the business organization of the Government. The results have been made possible by co-ordination of the various agencies in the Federal service. This spirit of working together has been fostered by the meetings of Government employees and reflects great credit upon these employees, of whom the country hears little but to whom it owes much.

What Are Business Leaders Worth to the Workers?

In these highly organized days few statistics go to waste. Many agencies are interested in the revelations concerning the economic structure that are latent in routine compilations of figures.

Thus one particularly significant fact has come to the attention of The Outlook from the Federal income tax returns for 1924, in connection with other statistics supplied by the National Industrial Conference Board. It is this: If all the persons in the United States whose tax returns showed incomes of \$5,000 or more from wages and salaries had divided their incomes in excess of \$5,000 among all the persons whose salaries or wages were less than \$5,000, the increase in each of the latter incomes would have been only about \$22 a year, or 40 cents a week. According to the Bureau of Internal Revenue, 200,751 persons whose incomes from salaries and wages exceeded \$5,000 received \$1,682,-783,400 in 1924. If all of those persons had received only exactly \$5,000, their salary income would have been \$1,003,-755,000, leaving \$679,028,400 to be distributed among the lower-paid workers of the country, estimated by the National Bureau of Economic Research as numbering 30,740,000 in 1921.

Similar calculations from manufacturing salaries and railroad salaries are based on less comprehensive statistics;