forms can be secured within old parties and that they are the best instruments of government."

In other words, practical politicians will not leave the old parties. They will influence their own party when sufficiently pressed. But otherwise they are like the man who, whenever he heard a thing which particularly expressed his ideas, always rushed to his wife in order to irritate her with it. Divorce was the last thing he wanted.

Backstage in Washington

WASHINGTON, D. C.

WITH ALL DEFERENCE to President Hoover's political counselors, who think that early discussion and dynamiting of any third-party movement is all to the merry for them, we feel that plain speaking on that subject by the Progressives may have unanticipated effects in 1932 and thereafter. Those wise old political owls —Senators Norris and Borah —are not, to our mind, merely giving vent to grievances in their current criticism of the conservative wing of the party. Both of them, safely ensconced in their Senate seats for six more years, feel that now is the moment to further inculcate in the electorate the spirit of independence and insurgency which they have exhibited on the Senate floor for so many years.

When Mr. Borah predicts that the political situation two years hence will be "chaos," he is expressing a hope as well as what may be reality. Both men are exulting at the disruption of party lines that marked the recent election, even in such conservative commonwealths as Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Colorado. They pray that the smashing of Republican and Democratic solidarity will continue, and, though both gentlemen deeply dislike President Hoover, in their own sour and silent way they are grateful that he, who once forswore all organized political activity, has hastened the day of a bloodless revolution at the ballot box.

Despite their idealism, both these elderly statesmen are, first of all, political realists, as any review of their career reveals. Mr. Borah, though he served as Theodore Roosevelt's advocate in the delegation contests at Chicago in 1912, scurried back to Boise once the convention closed, and said nary a word on behalf of his distinguished and rebellious associate. Likewise in 1924, when "Old Bob" La Follette tried to torpedo the Republican ship of state, the Senator from Idaho remained aboard the party craft as a stilly and sulky seaman. We have frequently accused Mr. Borah of trimming in those trying times—and maybe he was—but it seems clear now that his principal reason for regularity was his belief that all sorts of failure followed from an open revolt, and no gain. Mr. Norris, though we understand that he voted for both Roosevelt and La Follette, trailed along with his colleague until, in 1928, he decided that he could endure it no longer.

Chapin in Philadelphia Public Ledger.

Moses in the bullrushes?

What they look for—perhaps, as Mr. Norris fears, "long after we have died" —is a political division based on economic and social lines, in which the clash between Progressives and Conservatives shall come at the polls as well as on Capitol Hill. Both of them, we happen to know, have given great study and thought to this question, and to them it transcends the purely partisan and political quarrel over that vague thing known as "regularity." They see, for instance, the prospect of a break between the nationally and internationally minded groups in the Republican party and in the Democratic party —between the let's-love-Europe group represented by that eminent volunteer statesman, Otto H. Kahn, and the made-in-America coterie captained by Joseph R. Grundy of Pennsylvania; between Democratic factions led, respectively, by Owen D. Young and, meaning no disparagement of Mr. Young, Cotton Tom Heflin. They also look for—and, as the greatest obstacle in their outlook, dread —a serious split between the wets and the drys in both parties. Above and beyond these issues and personalities they can see millions of the younger generation emerging from the schools and the colleges to search in vain for a true leader. He may not arise for many years to come—neither Senator considers himself properly fitted for the rôle, if only by reason of his age—but each has a firm faith that some political Messiah will rise to deliver the children of America from the bondage of traditional and meaningless partisanship.

Meanwhile, they will undoubtedly continue to cherish and nourish their grudges against Mr. Hoover and against those who are aligned with the Administration inside and outside the Senate chamber. They will be aligned against him, silently but, we have reason to think, effectively, in 1932. Indeed, we venture to predict that only a few Senators will be prepared to furnish active assistance to the President two years hence. As "Jim" Couzens remarked to "young Bob" La Follette, who had expressed curiosity concerning the identity of those Senators who were accused by the President of "playing politics at the expense of human misery"—"I think he meant almost all of us." And, after all, that is certainly no way for Republican Senators to feel toward a Republican President, even though it is quite obvious that the President reciprocates.

A. F. C.

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Bravery *vs.* Ballyhoo

How America Honors Her Heroes of the Air

By C. B. ALLEN

ONE thinks of the air that carries flying men to fame as a place where things are clean and unsullied. Then one comes to the Distinguished Flying Cross, created by Congress more than four years ago as a special award for airmen and since bestowed some eighty odd times.

Here faith suffers something of a shock, partly because of those to whom this coveted medal has been given, but more because of those to whom it has been denied. The ugly thought obtrudes that the D.F.C. has strayed from its original conception as a material acknowledgment of "heroism or extraordinary achievement while participating in an aerial flight" and degenerated somewhat into the plaything of politicians and a pawn in the hands of the Ballyhoo Boys. Public clamor, private press agents and powerful friends in Washington apparently pave an easier path to the Distinguished Flying Cross than any amount of daring or brilliant airmanship.

An analysis of the awards of this decoration is in itself an amazing arraignment of the system now defeating the destiny of the Distinguished Flying Cross. One finds it thrown out as a diplomatic sop to a flier whose performance ever will be an aeronautical laughingstock to his contemporaries. Again, two men, sharing equal danger and responsibility, make a transpacific flight; one receives the Distinguished Flying Cross, the other does not. In still another case the actual pilots of a transatlantic expedition sit at a banquet table and see the D.F.C. pinned on the chests of their kiwi companions while a Secretary of the Navy offers them and the diners a lame apology. We discover these official apologists explaining in one breath that certain outstanding American airmen are not eligible for the D.F.C. because they have no military status or have not completed their citizenship papers, and in the next presenting the decoration to civilians who have never worn a uniform and to foreigners who have rendered no service to the United States.

There is little justification for all this contradiction and confusion. The act of Congress creating the Distinguished Flying Cross on July 2, 1926, and an executive order issued by President Coolidge March 1, 1927, promulgating rules and regulations for its award, leave no possible doubt that this medal was designed to be an exclusively military decoration. Here is what the President's order says:

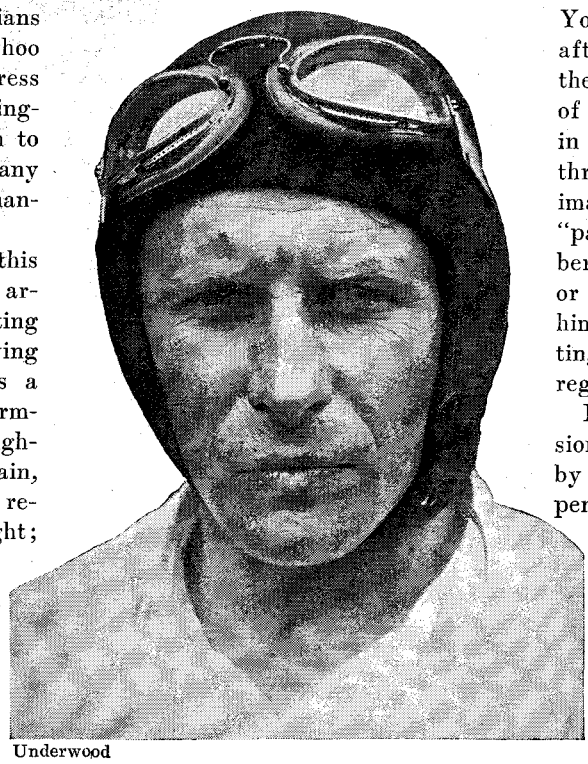
Subject to other special conditions prescribed in the law, the following classes of persons are eligible for the award of the Distinguished Flying Cross:

(1) All members of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps and members of the Coast Guard when serving with the military or naval forces of the United States, while participating in an aerial flight as part of the duties incident to such membership;

(2) All members of the National Guard not in Federal service, the Organized Reserves, the Officers Reserve Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the Naval Reserves and the Marine Corps Reserves, not on active duty, while participating in an aerial flight as part of the duties incident to such membership;

(3) Members of the military, naval or air forces of foreign governments while serving with the military or naval forces of the United States and while participating in an aerial flight.

Civilians are not eligible for the award of the Distinguished Flying Cross.



Underwood

BERNT BALCHEN
He did not get the D.F.C. because he was considered a foreigner

Which would seem to be reasonably simple and understandable. But Congress, having made "the law" referred to by the President, naturally considered itself above it and proceeded at once to tamper with the machinery.

An unknown mail pilot, who, by virtue of membership in the Missouri National Guard, held a Captain's commission in the Air Corps Reserve, flew from New York to Paris less than three months after President Coolidge had laid down these rules. Whatever else may be said of Lindbergh's flight, it was frowned on in advance by the government and, through the wildest stretch of the imagination, could not be construed as "part of the duties incident to" Lindbergh's membership in either the Guard or the Reserve. Obviously, then, it gave him no legitimate claim to the Distinguished Flying Cross unless the rules regarding it were to be disregarded.

But popular hysteria and Congressional clamor are not to be taken lightly by a service whose very existence depends upon public appropriations. The Air Corps would have been justified in defending its military flying medal against this civilian outsider, but one shudders to think of the protest that would have arisen from the length and breadth of a land in the white heat of hero-worship. Beyond doubt an outraged Congress would have overruled the Air Corps, the War Department and, if necessary, the Navy to see that Lindbergh got the D.F.C. So the Air Corps, being more astute and less militaristic than the older and more routine branches of the Army, leaped in and recommended the award itself. With the same eye to public favor it made Lindbergh a Colonel in the Reserve.

There is another and much higher decoration for valor than the Distinguished Flying Cross which the Army and Navy reserve for a chosen few of

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