

Ford Must Be Reckoned With in McAdoo's Presidential Boom

Rift Would Blast Hope of Winning

Support of Auto Maker Will Swing to Ex-Treasurer in Convention, Sullivan Predicts.

Coolidge Course Clear

MARK SULLIVAN.
Washington, Sept. 8.—The most formidable organization working for any democratic presidential nomination is the one behind McAdoo. But, energetic as that organization is, it is difficult to foresee how it can come to the convention with more than a maximum of 400 to 450 out of the total of 1,024 delegates. With that large proportion, if the McAdoo candidacy were within the republican party he would be almost assured of winning. But the important difference between the republican rule and the democratic rule is that, whereas a republican convention a majority is sufficient to nominate, in a democratic convention, on the other hand, it requires two-thirds. And two-thirds is a proportion extremely difficult to achieve even by the most diligent organization.

Under these circumstances there is one bit of policy which, if McAdoo's friends are willing and able to follow it, will go further than any other one factor toward bringing the difference between McAdoo's potential 400 delegates and the necessary 730. That policy would be for McAdoo's friends to avoid irritating Ford's friends. If McAdoo can go through the pre-nomination campaign in the various states without causing friction with Ford's friends, McAdoo might then be in a position to be the beneficiary of Ford's strength in the convention after Ford has been eliminated. There is much that makes this policy possible. The advocates are largely the same kind of people. Both groups belong in that immense area which is not conservative in the standard sense, but at the same time is also distinguished from the radical fringe.

Danger of Antagonism.

The hopes of those who would like to see the things done which they think McAdoo would do if he were president, and the hopes of those who have the same feeling about Ford, are largely identical. In the circumstances it would seem easily possible for Ford and McAdoo to carry on their pre-nomination campaigns without friction. But this is another of those political theories which look well on paper but which are difficult to carry out in practice. Inevitably in several states where primaries occur there will be contests between Ford delegates and McAdoo delegates. Such contests are almost impossible to carry on in local districts without developing personal antagonism. Frequently the rule is for such antagonisms to go to such lengths that when the convention arrives the individual delegates, having had their feelings stirred up, are more disposed to do what would hinder than what would aid the other principal contender. And yet, if there were among the McAdoo leaders a man of sufficient bigness and patience to arrive at some kind of understanding between the Ford strength and the McAdoo strength, that would constitute the most important single increment to McAdoo's present chances that he could possibly have. It is the understanding of such intangible factors as this and the ability to control them advantageously that make practical politics an art.

Coolidge, as a leading possibility for the republican nomination, is in a stronger position than most persons realize. It is only those who themselves would like to be candidates or the friends of such who allow their judgment to be clouded about the strength of Coolidge's position.

Coolidge Sure Choice.
Any politician who is astute as well as disinterested will say in confidence that Coolidge is sure to get the nomination unless he makes some kind of spectacular mistake. As some of them put it, "Coolidge has 90 days to make good." That limitation of time is accurate. If there are to be other candidates January 1 is about the last practicable day for them to make their announcements. If any future announcements develop they will appear about the time of the assembling of congress, the first Monday in December. If Coolidge has made a favorable impression on the public by that time no other candidate, however eager he or his friends may be, can announce opposition to him.

"There may be favorite-son movements in behalf of minor candidates like La Follette or there may be other movements chiefly for purposes of local political strategy, but hardly any definite movement on the part of any formidable candidate to take the nomination away from Coolidge. It is solely by avoiding mistakes, by making a good record, that Coolidge can get the nomination. He cannot get it by any kind of manipulation, and he has enough political wisdom not to attempt it. There is no powerful clique in the republican national committee that wants Coolidge nominated for personal ends. There are no politicians close to Coolidge. He has no "pals." You can search all Washington and all the republican national committee without finding one politician or one man in public life who has to Coolidge the sort of relation that Daugherty had to Harding. His one intimate friend, Franklin Stearns of Boston, is not a politician. If Mr. Stearns knows any politics at all he has picked it up from Coolidge. Stearns's relation to Coolidge is less a political relation than a benevolent, almost fatherly, one.

Under No Obligation.
There are many republican politicians who think that Coolidge's nomination is inevitable and who regard it as desirable, assuming that he makes no mistakes. But there are no politicians who want to see Coolidge nominated because it will help them personally.

To the same degree that Coolidge has no individual political sponsors or political friends, so also is he without obligations to any politician. There was only one man in public life who had the sort of relation to

less. The farmers think of themselves as having economic interests antagonistic to those of the manufacturers in the east. In this conflict they insist that whoever is not for them is against them. For the moment they tend to think Coolidge may be with them.

Coolidge No Baron.
They base this on that dramatic picture in which Coolidge took the oath of office in his father's Vermont farmhouse; on the simplicity of Coolidge's life, and on the fact that he is known to be poor. But nevertheless there is among the farmers a wish to make sure that Coolidge does

the facts inherent in the way Coolidge came to the presidency, he is also the beneficiary of widespread goodwill. All the politicians who come to Washington report the people throughout the country as being disposed to cheer Coolidge on. All in all, only some striking mistake of a sort to bring about widespread public disapproval, or else some unfortunate trend of events beyond Coolidge's control, can prevent his being in a position next December such that all other potential candidates will hesitate to announce themselves.

Change After Nomination.
Of course, "making good" to the extent of getting the republican nomination and "make good" to the extent of winning the subsequent election are quite different things. By merely avoiding mistakes Coolidge can perpetuate the present situation, in which no other candidate can find the opportunity or the excuse to oppose him until such time as it will be too late for any one else to "throw his hat in the ring." But as regards the election, Coolidge has no such safeguards. There will be a democratic candidate in the natural course of events. Whereas the public feels it would be a kind of gratuitous criticism for any other republican to contest the nomination with Coolidge, they will have no such feeling about the subsequent election. After the two nominations are made Coolidge will cease to be the beneficiary of the factors that favor him now. He and his party will necessarily be on the defensive, and the outcome will be determined by the merits of the issues and by conditions as they happen to be during the summer of 1924.

One of two things is certain. Either congress, during the early months of its coming session, will take such drastic action for the restrictions of immigration as will satisfy the country, or, in the lack of that, the platform of both political parties next year will call for this drastic action. There is no sentiment more widespread in the country today than the feeling that more aliens are now in America than we can absorb, that the additional aliens coming in are largely undesirable, and that dearly cherished American institutions, traditions and customs are menaced.

America Gets Wreckage.
If the experience of the various United States senators—more than a quarter of the entire body—and the other public men who have spent any portion of this summer in Europe are anything like the experience of the present writer these public men will come home affected by a feeling about immigration in addition to that already existing at home. Practically every American official abroad, American consuls and the like, who talk about immigration at all talk of it in terms of alarm. Again and again one heard American officials say, in effect: "For Heaven's sake, go back and wake America up to the kind of immigration it is getting. We can't talk because we are officials. Go down and look at it yourself on the docks and see if you want America filled up with the sort of human beings you find there. America has no notion either of the kind or the quantity of persons who are coming into America by hook or crook." Not only is the bulk of the immigration coming in by ordinary channels unsatisfactory. In addition, there is a large amount of "bootlegging" im-

migration which the American people, if they knew about it, would keep out as rigidly as they would keep out an epidemic. Among other devices, our laws are evaded by persons who move to countries close to our borders and some in surreptitiously. In one foreign city recently the landlord of the building in which the American consul had his offices requested him to move because of the kind of crowds who came for passport visas.

Mum on Foreign Policy.
Everybody expects that foreign relations in one form or another will be an issue in next year's presidential election. But the present writer, although he has talked with scores of political leaders in both parties, has found no one who pretends to be able to foresee what form the foreign relations issue will take. Broadly speaking, the republicans will be on the side of isolation. It is quite possible that they may put forward Harding's proposal that we join the international court as their only affirmative attitude in regard to Europe. Even to do this will encounter some opposition. There is throughout the republican party, and especially in the republican national committee, determined opposition to everything in the foreign field, determined clinging to the isolation position. For the republicans to phrase their position on foreign affairs in such a way as to give them any dignity is going to be most difficult.

With the democrats, as things stand today, the situation is not much easier. There are many democrats, as there are many republicans, who keep their faith in the league of nations. But there is hardly any democrat, thinking in terms of winning the elec-

tion next year, who would favor going back to the old Wilson position on the league of nations. In a popular sense, just now, in America as well as in Europe, the league of nations is in eclipse. Only some dramatic action on the part of the league or such vital and moving leadership as Wilson gave to it can revive the league of nations as a political issue in such a way as to make it promise success for a political party.

May Be Different.
All of this is of the situation today. By a year from now the whole European situation may have been changed in such a way as to present new issues. In one conceivable turn of events, if the present attempts to settle the Ruhr situation and fix reparations should succeed, all Europe might leap forward in an industrial activity which would reflect itself in America. In another conceivable turn of events Europe may go from bad to worse and there may be a year from now a situation from which we can no more abstain, either in self-respect or in self-interest, than we were able to avoid being involved in the war in 1917.

To speak in terms of the European situation next year is to come close to the question of what American business conditions are going to be a year from now. Stated in the broadest way, the fundamental fact is that you cannot have such an industrial paralysis as now exists in the Ruhr, which is the heart of European industry, without ultimately infecting the rest of the world. Sooner or later there must come a time when America's business activity will be less than what it might have been because of what has been happening in Europe since the first of January. And yet there are

curious qualifications of this fundamental fact which up to date have defeated the predictions of the soundest economists and business men. American business activity has been during the present year a greater volume than ever before.

Business Goes Elsewhere.

The fact is that paralysis of central Europe has set up curious unanticipated currents. It is true that because Germany and much of the rest of Europe have been paralyzed industrially, they have been unable to buy American goods on a normal basis to the extent that might otherwise have been possible. But if paralysis has caused Europe to cease to be a purchaser it has to the same degree caused Europe to cease to be a manufacturer and exporter. The result has been that America has secured a certain amount of business in South America and in Asia which would have gone to Europe if Europe had been on a normal basis. There are some American business men who believe that American business in South America and Asia will go on and increase and absorb America's normal capacity. These business men are willing to take the most gloomy view of Europe's future, to assent to it that Europe will cease to be a large consumer of American products, but, nevertheless, to believe that the increase of business in South America and Asia will leave the United States no less well off.

Nineteen thousand insects are required to make one pound of cochineal dye. Only the bodies of the females are used.



William Gibbs McAdoo

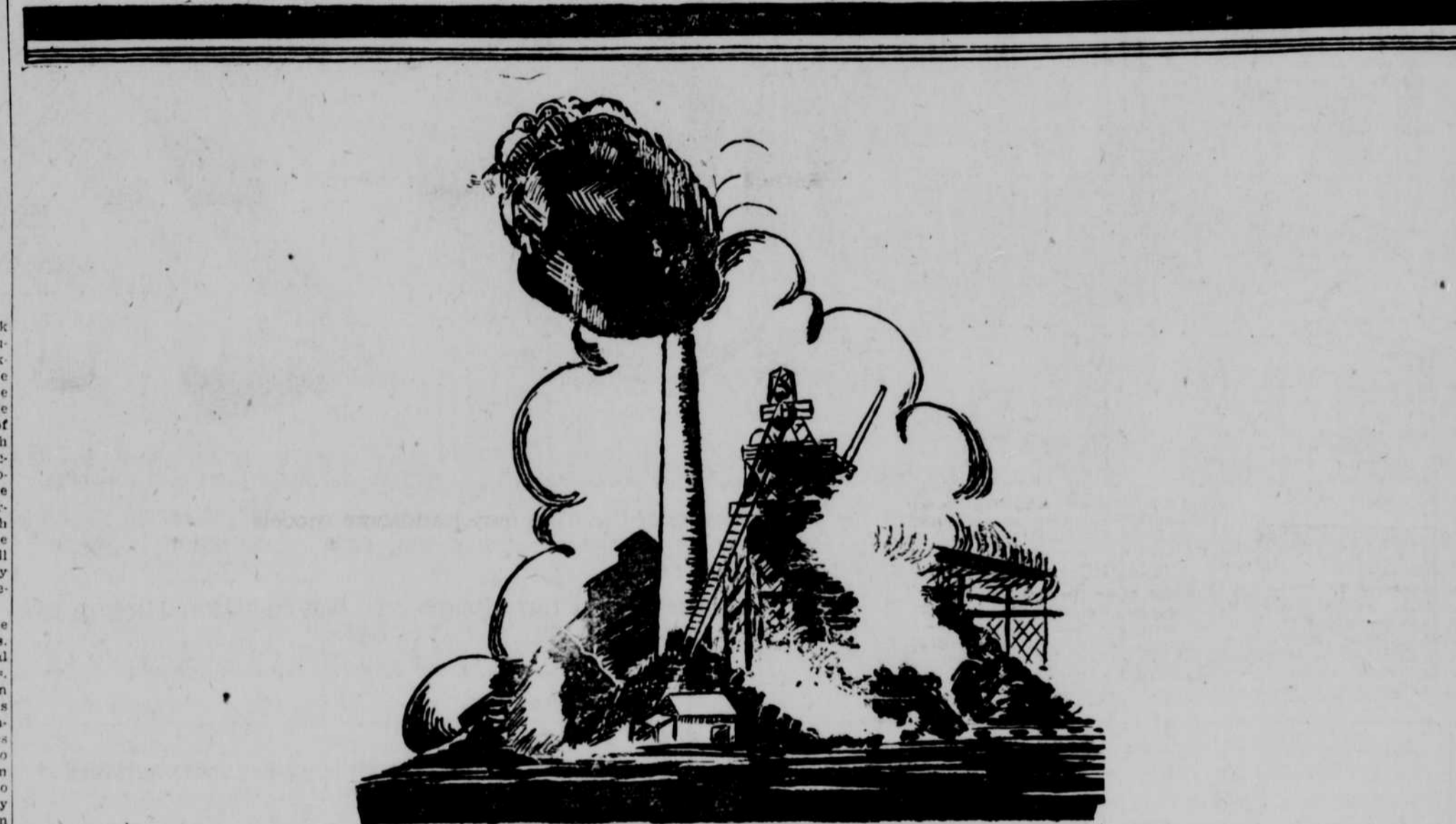
Coolidge that might create obligations on Coolidge's part. That man is now dead. He was former Senator Murray Crane of Massachusetts. When Coolidge was a young man in Massachusetts politics Crane was an experienced one. Crane picked Coolidge as a winner and in many ways pushed him along. Since Crane's death there is no man in politics, either in Massachusetts or throughout the country, who has the feeling that Coolidge is under obligations to him or the feeling that his word ought to go further with Coolidge than that of any one else.

If Coolidge, or Coolidge's advocates, should survey the situation with the desire of doing everything possible to make his nomination secure they would inevitably focus their thoughts on the western farmer. Everybody knows that at the time of Harding's death there was widespread insurgency in the republican party. The body of that insurgency was in the farming west. The farmers had come without any justification to think that Harding was identified with what they regard as the city classes who exploit them. It was not true at all, Harding, because of things he did during the railway strike a year ago and for other reasons, was fully as much out of favor with what is called Wall street as he was with the farmer.

This insurgency among the republican farming states still exists. Out of sense of fairness it refrains from expressing open suspicion of Coolidge. But Coolidge is under close scrutiny from the farmers, never-

not belong to what the farmers think of as the caste of New England manufacturing barons. The political thinking of the farmers goes back to the days of the leadership of men like the late Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, and they tend to think of themselves as being exploited through the republican party by the manufacturers who, in their minds, they locate in New England. If Coolidge manages to make the farmers understand that he is not identified with the manufacturing caste, and that he is sympathetic to the farmer, it will eliminate what is almost his only present obvious obstacle to his re-nomination.

Aside from this, Coolidge, to make good, has merely to avoid mistakes. And Coolidge in his long political career has never made any mistakes. Coolidge's position is stronger than Harding's because the former starts with a clean slate. Harding was under the handicap of all the liabilities that had accrued to him during two and a half years. It would have been much more difficult for Harding to create the impression of inevitability than it is for Coolidge. Apart from



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