

# Billions for "Defense"

*by* **GERALD P. NYE**

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**W**HEN THE World War ended, our nation was firm in the high resolve not to let such a disaster happen again. Civilization raised its hands and its face heavenward and said: "Never again will we permit four years of such carnage to be visited upon the earth." Fathers and mothers who had given of their own flesh and blood in that carnage managed to smile and say: "Maybe the sacrifice was worth while, after all. This was a worthy war — a war to make the world safe for democracy."

Seventeen and a half years after that conflict, we find democracy fighting for its very existence. In the very shadow of the war to end war, we find the nations of the world madly racing into the jaws of another war!

We came out of the last war with that which all wars leave in their wake — a depression. Let us not deceive ourselves. The major factor in the world-wide economic depression of the last several years is nothing other than the waste and inflation that attended the World War. If the depression is of long duration, if it is exceedingly stubborn, we may know that it is only a reflection of the costliness, the wastefulness and stubbornness of the four years of bloodshed.

Yet, despite the known effects of that war, despite our high resolves of seventeen years ago, here are the major nations of the world spending more money for preparations for the next war than they ever spent before in time of peace. Getting ready for the next war — and its next depression. A world of bankrupt countries finds it possible, year after year, to increase the budgets to maintain armies and navies and to make ready for more war.

Too frequently citizens of our own nation, inspired by our idealism but misinformed as to what is going on in America, turn in contempt from other nations and say: "If the rest of the world would only follow our example, we could

get out from under the terrific burdens of the costs of preparing for future wars. If only others would follow our example!"

Let's see what sort of example we are setting. To overcome the depression and bring back recovery, the United States has been moving forward under a gigantic program of reemployment and public benefits. Billions have been poured out to start the wheels of industry and labor turning again.

But in the very first allocation of funds made by the executive of this Administration was an item of \$231,000,000 for the U. S. Navy, to build more ships. Annual appropriations for the army and navy grew by leaps and bounds that year and have been growing ever since. Today we are spending more to maintain our so-called "national defense" than we were spending to maintain all the departments of government, including the army and navy, the year before we went to war to end war. We say we are doing it over here only because the rest of the world seems to have learned no lesson as result of the World War. The figures indicate that neither did we.

Expenditures for the War Department for 1934 total \$243,329,151. For the Navy Department for that year, \$267,029,290. Compare those figures with 1935: army — \$328,939,400; navy — \$492,213,456. Then compare with the appropriations authorized by the last session of the present Congress: Funds available for military expenditures for army and navy for the year 1936 total \$1,002,872,143!

This huge figure embraces for the navy a general appropriation of \$457,805,261, an emergency-fund allotment of \$156,326,982, and deficiency allotments (including WPA funds) of \$25,197,575, for a total of \$639,329,818; for the War Department a general appropriation of \$341,348,261, an emergency-fund allotment of \$3,629,243, and deficiency allotments (in-

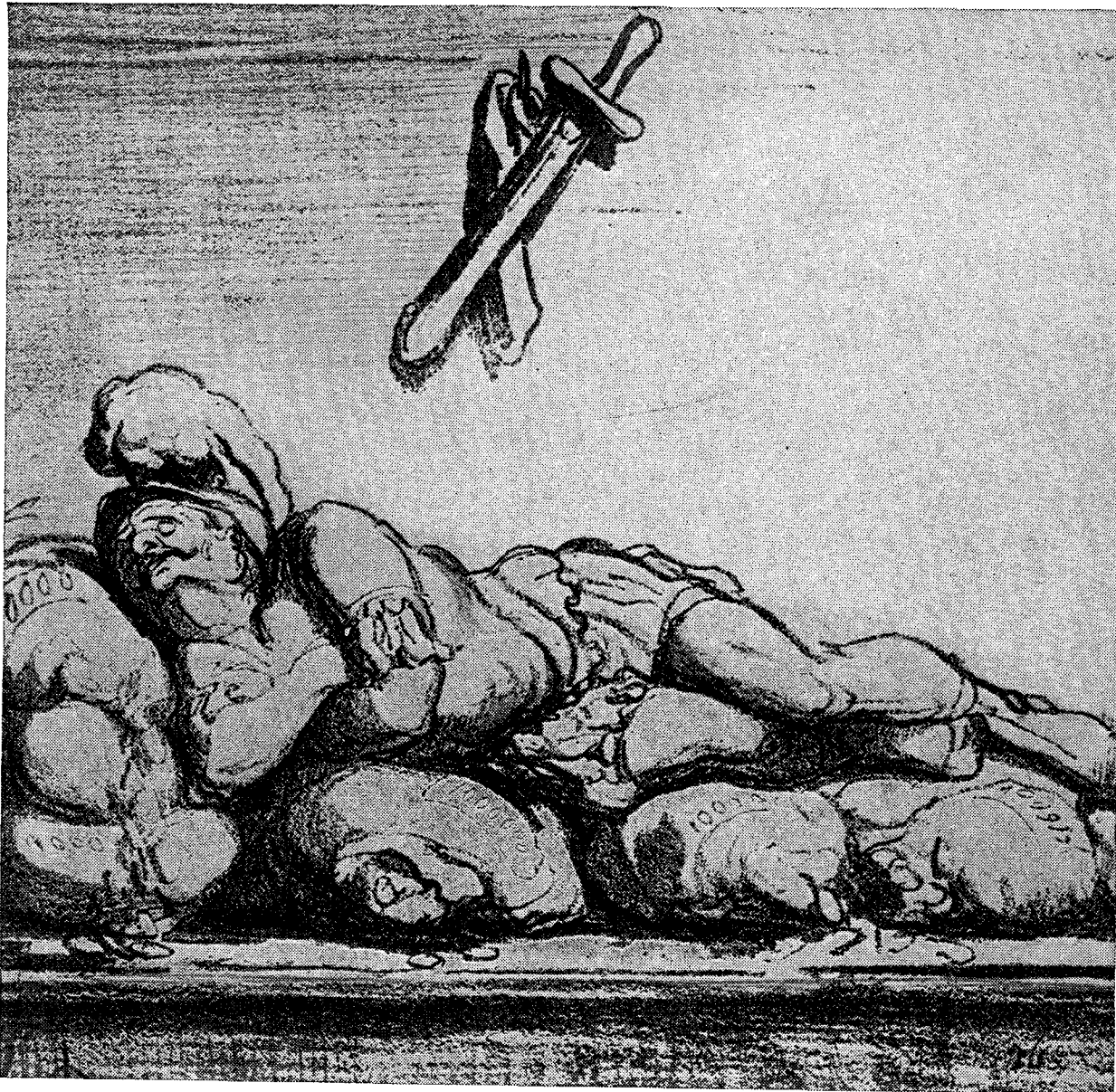
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cluding WPA funds) of \$19,554,821, a total of \$364,532,325.

### II

**F**OR TEN YEARS I have sat upon the Senate Appropriations Committee. During that time I have noted with intense interest the quibbling over expenditures — for public services the value of which is beyond question. When the appropriations for the office of the Bureau of Education, for example, come up for

ing for, say, about a paltry \$13,000,000, to maintain that great department for a year, vociferous objections arise. If anyone should be so foolhardy as to propose an additional million to enable the Secretary of State to enlarge upon his activities in the name of world peace, he would be laughed off his feet. Men would rise up in indignant eloquence and demand: "What madness is it which this man talks? He would increase budgets in times like these? He is not to be listened to!"



*He is asleep, but his mattress is costing us plenty.*

consideration, the economists vigorously debate and quibble. They take out their knives and pare the requests for education down to the bone. When the appropriation for the State Department comes before Congress, call-

Such a proposal would be promptly thrown out. But, the next instant, the appropriations for "national defense" might be considered, and the economists would sit silent as the grave. There's never fear about unbalancing



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the budgets when the army and the navy are being considered. There wasn't any real opposition to a recent increase in the already large appropriation for the War Department to permit the enrolling of 46,000 more men for the army, at a cost of \$40,000,000 additional a year. The Senate didn't hesitate to increase the already huge expenditure for the navy to permit a more active shipbuilding program during 1936.

No one is more interested in our country protecting her shores, her citizens, and her national interests than I am. But I am sick of things that are being done in the name of national defense. The burden being borne by the people of America for defense is going to destroy America before she has a chance to try her defense on anyone, if she continues her present mad pace.

Citizens of foreign nations have been taught from the cradle: "In time of peace, prepare for war!" It is not to be wondered at that all major powers have increased their war budgets enormously since World War days. The figures are illuminating: total national defense expenditures of the great powers, for army, navy, and air forces, grew from 1913 to an estimated total for 1936: Great Britain, \$375,100,000 to \$592,100,000; France, \$348,700,000 to \$662,000,000; Japan, \$95,500,000 to \$280,000,000; Italy, \$179,100,000 to \$400,000,000; and Russia, \$447,700,000 to \$665,000,000.

Quite an increase — averaging for all major powers about forty per cent. But your peace-loving Uncle Sam has increased his war budget only 197 per cent from 1913 — from \$244,600,000 to \$727,700,000 in 1930, \$821,000,000 in 1935 and beyond the billion mark for 1936. If other nations would only follow our example!

Recent increased appropriations for the navy include provision for new construction of 29 destroyers, 2 cruisers, 16 submarines, and 1 aircraft carrier; 11,000 additional enlisted men; 555 new naval airplanes, of which 282 are to replace present aircraft. All of which is a part of the program of bringing the U. S. Navy up to "treaty strength," or the strength authorized by the London Disarmament Conference of 1930.

The 1936 appropriations for the Army provide for an increase in personnel from an average of 118,750 to 165,000; for approximately 100 new R.O.T.C. units; for doubling the en-

listment of the Citizens Military Training units; and for an increase of 5,000 in enlisted strength of the National Guard. For new army airplane construction the sum of \$19,138,000 is set aside, of which \$13,666,000 is for combat planes.

As for 1937-38, heaven only knows how much will be asked for in the budget of national defense. With the breaking up of the disarmament conference, there has already arisen the hue and cry to show the rest of the nations what preparedness really means. "More ships! More guns! Double the reserve forces! Bigger army! Concentrate the fleet in the Pacific! An air force as big as all others combined!"

The billion and more for "defense" this year will probably be surpassed by a quarter of a billion more per year during the next two years. There seems to be no limit.

### III

**A**PPARENTLY we in America are deciding that the only adequate insurance against war is large preparation for it. Yet it can never be shown that a single mile of fortified international boundary ever prevented invasion or attack. There are boundaries between nations that have never had a mounted gun, a fortress, or a patrolling soldier upon either of their sides and no tramp of martial feet across them. Such a border is common to our country and to Canada — three thousand miles of it. During the lifetime of these two great commonwealths, there has not been a patrolling soldier upon either side of it. Now men and societies are building monuments upon that border, not to generals who have won great military victories but to the long decades of international peace between our nation and Canada.

Are not three thousand miles of peaceful border a fitting monument? I think so. The vast majority of American people think so. But apparently some of the generals and officers of our army do not agree. During the last session of Congress, several of the military leaders appeared before the House Military Affairs Committee and gave testimony — in what they thought was an executive session — relative to plans and the need for appropriations to further those plans.

Plans for what? Plans for fortifications upon the Canadian border. Plans that would enable us to reach out and seize British possessions if

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trouble came. When the people of Canada and Britain generally read of what had occurred, they sat up and began to ask, "What is the meaning of this? What have we done to invite such a warlike gesture?"

Our Commander in Chief had to make some public explanation, and he did so by chastising the Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee — for permitting the testimony to become public!

We may well wonder what would have happened if the government of Japan had been caught suggesting such steps against us. Our military leaders would have cried, "What! Are we going to be bullied by Japan? No! We'll show them a thing or two."

Every year of the ten I have served on the Senate Appropriations Committee I have listened to an annual scare of war with Japan. The war talk always comes just before the introduction of the annual appropriation bills for the Army and Navy. When those bills are enacted into law, the relations between Japan and the United States seem to improve.

A recent visit to Japan convinced me that the saddest thing about this rivalry in armaments and preparations for war is the mutual distrust and suspicion engendered. While so many of our citizens are made to fear Japan's intentions, the people of Japan are agitated by their military leaders into a fear that the United States is preparing to attack Japan. "We've got to be on our guard against Uncle Sam!" This invariably smooths the way for large military appropriations for the "defense" of Japan.

Thus the game is played at both ends by jingoists of both nations. Certainly this feeling has had much to do with the naval race now beginning in earnest — the maddest ever witnessed in peacetime — seventeen years after the war to end war. Yet the masses of Japan are no more desirous of a conflict with the people of the United States than our own citizens are desirous of a war with the people of Japan.

### IV

**N**OW, IS THERE any real danger of trouble with Japan? President Roosevelt, when Assistant Secretary of the Navy, wrote in the magazine *Asia* that there was no likelihood of war between Japan and the United States if there remained five cents' worth of common

sense in either country. He said that, in such a war, neither nation could hope to win a decisive battle or final victory and that it would come to an end when one or both countries was bled to death through the pocketbook. And, finally, the danger of war between Japan and the United States was nothing more than an apprehensive habit of mind.

The same man today, with glorious leadership to his credit in helpfulness to humanity, on the question of a bigger navy seems to have forgotten what he once believed about absence of danger of conflict with Japan. Under the agitation for a bigger navy, many of our citizens have become convinced that our very national existence depends upon an ever increasing naval "defense" against such potential enemies as Japan.

I am convinced that if Japan had a navy twenty times its present size, under modern conditions of warfare depending upon use of airplanes, submarines, and coast defenses, she couldn't get within several hundred miles of our shore. And if our navy were built to twenty times its size, neither could we get within striking distance of the Japanese coast. Yet here we go into the new insane armament race of the great "civilized" powers of the world! All of it looking to a war utterly unnecessary and entirely inconceivable — except for these expanded armaments.

The truth is that our military plans are not built up and financed on a reasonable basis of true national defense — to enable us to repulse any foe that might be foolish enough to attack us — but rather around blueprints which the army and navy have been carefully laying out for ten years. And make no mistake: These blueprints call for the transportation of 3,000,000 men across thousands of miles of deep blue ocean to fight in the name of national defense, in someone else's waters and on someone else's land.

American citizens may as well recognize here and now that if war comes the chances of it being fought out on American soil or in American waters are so remote as to be negligible. It will be a foreign war, and the chances are a hundred to one that it will concern foreign policies which our participation can never settle anyhow.

It ought also to be pointed out that if war comes — with Japan, to continue the example

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— and our sons move across the Pacific to meet the army and the navy of this great Oriental power, they will be the targets of gas, shells, and shrapnel manufactured in the United States of America and sold to Japan at some American's profit. Statistics in the Bureau of Commerce show that day by day and week by week huge cargoes of munitions leave our shores for nearly every nation on the globe, including Japan. We couldn't go to war without encountering our own munitions being fired back at us.

This is nothing new. It is now easily proved that during the World War, when French munitions makers ran short of war materials, they got their supplies from German manufacturers, who made deliveries by way of Switzerland; and, when the German munitions makers needed materials, the French munitions makers took care of them by the same route.

### V

**T**HE FINE EXAMPLE our big navy men set other nations is well illustrated in Peru and Colombia. In 1928, representatives of our leading munitions manufacturers went down and got the people of Peru greatly agitated over the inadequacy of their national defense, so Peru sent word to Uncle Sam, a good adviser and neighbor: "Won't you help us plan a national defense?" Uncle Sam sent down a commission of naval experts, who recommended, among other things, that Peru ought to have a fleet of destroyers and submarines. The orders were placed with American shipbuilders for those destroyers and submarines.

Suddenly Colombia, Peru's neighbor, awakened to discover that she did not have adequate national defense against Peru's new ships, particularly the submarines. I presume there were no American munitions manufacturers plying their trade in Colombia at the time. But they took immediate notice when Colombia said to her good friend and neighbor, Uncle Sam: "Won't you please help us plan a na-

tional defense against Peru?" We sent down another set of naval experts, who recommended, among other things, that Colombia should have some submarines to bring her on a parity with Peru. Likely we shall soon be sending our boys down into their troubled waters to straighten out friction that we as neighbor are chiefly responsible for.

The people of America ought now to decide whether they are going to continue to believe the exploded theory and base our military expenditures upon that belief, that the greatest insurance against war is large preparation for it. The mad armament race among the nations of Europe preceding 1914 proved the futility of trying to preserve peace by large preparedness programs. That the armament race now beginning will bring the same miserable conclusion in its train there can be not the slightest doubt.

*It is time for an entirely new military policy.* If nations would confine themselves to providing national defenses, actually and strictly, without plans for offensive warfare, they would soon discover how little national defense they could get along with. Certainly ours would not require the billion and more a year we are now spending for military preparedness.

We ought now, by example, to begin showing the world that in our military plans we purpose to be content with only a reasonable defense of our shores; that we have no designs against any of our neighbors; that we desire only peace. Of all the nations of the globe we are the most fortunately situated to provide the inspiration for such a policy. All countries pointed out by our jingoists as likely to become our enemies are separated from us by thousands of miles of water. Days of ocean travel would make it exceedingly difficult for successful attack upon us. In the light of our impregnable position, in view of our world economic leadership, with the background of our splendid social progress, we should announce and sponsor such a policy. America must lead!

**In an early issue:**

**"The English Think in Chinese"**

**by Lin Yutang**

# Heaven Is in Harlem

***And a Rolls-Royce the "sweet chariot" of a little black God***

**by SUTHERLAND DENLINGER**

"There are thousands of people who call me God — millions of them — there are millions of them who call me the Devil, but I produce God and shake the earth with it." — Father Divine, telling it to a judge.

**I**N THE EVENING of November 5, 1933, it had pleased the black God to descend from that "main branch" of "Heaven" which is at 20 West 115th Street, Manhattan, and appear, a short, stout, dignified figure with the wistful eyes of a setter dog, before some five thousand true believers gathered at the Rockland Palace, Harlem dance hall, to sing his praises.

He sat on the stage, surrounded by his angels — Faithful Mary and Satisfied Love, Wonderful Joy and Sweet Sleep, Good Dream and Bouquet, and all the rest of them — and his thick lips parted in a wide smile beneath his scraggly moustache, as he watched the folks stowing away his free chicken dinners in the balcony and the folks shouting "Peace, Father! It's wonderful!" on the main floor.

Father Divine heard the chanting ("He's God, He's God, He's God, He's God, He's God," to the tune of *Marching through Georgia*), and he heard the rhythmic thumping of the big bass drum and the hypnotic blare of the trombone and he witnessed the fervent enthusiasm of this comparatively small segment of his two million followers and he obviously found it good. He beamed, his almost bald pate bedewed with perspiration, and at first neither he nor his eager disciples noticed the swarthy, stocky white man, with the aggressive chin and the look of a sullen Napoleon, who had just then entered the hall.

In a way, the presence of this newcomer might have been interpreted as a triumph for the dusky God. For Fiorello H. LaGuardia, standing now in a side aisle, a bewildered look

upon his craggy features, was a reform candidate for Mayor of the City of New York, and there had been a time in the development of the Deity, not too far distant, when the activities of white unbelievers had been directed almost solely toward placing Father in a dungeon cell. Be that as it may, Mr. LaGuardia was able to spend some moments in uninterrupted contemplation of the scene before he was recognized and escorted, past the chicken eaters on the balcony, to a seat upon the tightly packed stage.

"Father I love you, I love you, I do. . . ." The band played it loud and hot, and the brown mass in the great auditorium swayed and sang. "Father, I surrender, Father I surrender all to you!"

Father Divine rose suddenly from his seat not far from the man who is now chief executive of the world's greatest city and broke into a well executed buck and wing. When he subsided, mopping his brow, a colored speaker enlarged upon the dancer's divinity. "Peace, Father!" roared the hall, "It's wonderful!"

Mr. LaGuardia sat, patiently. Eventually, amid frenzied applause, God himself took the microphone, to deliver in an odd, squeaky voice a message which (like many purporting to come from on high) was notable more for its ear-filling phrases than for intelligibility. Father took his time, a stenographer took notes, the five thousand sobbed and cheered. And, when at long last he was through and it was Mr. LaGuardia's turn, that worthy arose to make probably the strangest speech of his political career.

"Peace, Father Divine," cried the little Latin with the truculent chin, stretching out his arms in a gesture of benediction, "Peace be with you all!"

It was the right note. "Peace!" shouted the