

'Aggressor' Doctrine Is First Step Towards War

By HON. WILLIAM E. BORAH
Senator from Idaho

IT HAS BEEN PROPOSED, and is now being adroitly urged, that we engraft upon our foreign policy the doctrine of "the aggressor." The theory is that in case of war between two or more nations, the United States will determine who, among the powers thus engaged, is the aggressor; that is, who has violated a treaty or in other ways initiated the conflict.

The next step in the program is for this nation to open up an economic war upon the aggressor nation. We thereby seek to break down its economic strength, to starve its people, and to render it incapable of carrying on war. We take part at once in this economic war.

In view of the fact that practically all modern wars arise out of controversies in regard to trade and commerce and raw materials and territory, we find ourselves involved in what might be called the very heart of the controversy. All this, however, is in the name of peace, and for the alleged purpose of keeping us out of European wars. The fact is that whatever may be the claim, it is the most subtle and effective method yet conceived for bringing us into all European controversies of any moment.

We, as a nation, are not supposed to wait until an attack is made upon us or until the rights of our citizens have been disregarded, or our country invaded. We are to go out and take part in a controversy wholly between other nations. We are to act as a moral censor, declaring who is in the wrong, and to proceed in one of the most effective ways known to war to punish the one whom we have adjudged to be in the wrong.

In an article published in the *Foreign Affairs Magazine* for April, 1933, John Bassett Moore, the distinguished authority upon international law and foreign affairs, had the following to say about the aggressor and what it means:

"Had the principle of preventing aggression been applied, one cannot say what might have been the results to the United States. Our War of Independence was generally regarded in Europe as an act of rebellion against lawful authority. In the War of 1812 we appeared as aggressive assertors of the freedom of the seas. General Grant pronounced our war with Mexico of 1846 an act of unjust aggression. The Government of the United States dealt with secession as an act of rebellion. In April, 1898, the diplomatic representatives of six great European powers assembled at the White House and in behalf of their governments made what was called 'a pressing appeal to the feelings of humanity and moderation of the President and of the American people in their existing differences with Spain.' They evidently did not regard Spain as the aggressor. President McKinley in his reply expressed the confident expectation that the remonstrating powers would appreciate our offer 'to fulfil the duty of humanity by ending a situation, the indefinite prolongation of which had become insufferable.' Had they, when we forcibly intervened, declared an embargo upon the shipment of arms and ammunition to the United States, while continuing to supply Spain with the implements of war, we should have resented in appropriate ways their partisan action.

"Should we attempt to apply retrospectively the principle of staying or punishing the aggressor we should be obliged to determine the question whether the forcible creation of that great agency of law and civilization, the Roman Empire, or the forcible

progress of any other great historic movement, should not have been prevented; whether the formation of the British Empire of the extension of France and her colonial empire should not have been opposed; whether the establishment of the Russian Empire should not have been resisted; whether the world should not have prevented the United States from becoming what it is; also, whether the forcible association in earlier times of the vast aggregation of states now known as China did not result from a neglect by other states of their duties and, perchance, their opportunities.

"The opposite of self-defense is aggression. We have been told that the limits of self-defense 'have been clearly defined by countless precedents.' Students of this subject have remarked that it would be 'interesting to know' what these 'countless precedents' are, but their curiosity has not been gratified. It will not be. The attempt to define self-defense, that its future application would be clear and practically automatic, is just as futile as the attempt similarly to define aggression has been—and must continue to be."

New Frontiers Are Not Geographical

By HON. MARTIN F. SMITH
Representative from Washington

WE FREQUENTLY deplore the passing of the old frontiers and assert that on that account the period of expansion in our country is past. We lament the fact that we have no more geographical frontiers to exploit and no more wilderness to explore and develop, and consequently assume an attitude of defeatism and despair. The fact, as pointed out in technological trends by eminent national authorities, is that science and research are presenting limitless new frontiers for the production of increased wealth, material progress, and industrial and social development which far surpass the opportunities which were offered by the vanished frontiers of bygone days. The scientists with their test tubes are bringing out of the laboratories new products and new improved processes which are tending to alter and vastly enhance the entire status of society. The achievements of industrial chemistry and metallurgical research are transforming life itself by continuously making available to mankind benefits, comforts, and conveniences which were not even dreamed of a few decades ago.

These new frontiers of science are still in their inception and present untold possibilities for infinite advancement and boundless exploration. Indeed, the amazing progress of recent years is but a meager beginning of the developments which are uncircumscribed. The editors of *Chemical and Metallurgical Engineering* point out that the chemical industry more than any other is converting luxuries into articles of common necessity at prices within the purse of everybody. I quote:

"New industries which are constantly being created and developed through advances in science, invention, and technology, offer important new opportunities for employment. Fifteen of the major industries of today have been developed since 1879 and it has been estimated that these 15 industries have created, directly or indirectly, 15-million new jobs. * * * Research is, therefore, our most promising source of future jobs—as well as profits. From the laboratories come the new products, new uses, and

improved processes that make better goods available at constantly lower prices."

The all-important question logically suggests itself: How can we finance the stupendous cost of applying and taking advantage of these numerous discoveries of science and invention? How are we going to defray the huge expense of modernizing our present social and industrial structure and thereby bring about the enormous employment of labor required to convert the plans, blueprints, specifications, models, formulas and chemical compounds into serviceable realities and products for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of our citizenry? Fortunately we are in a position to finance successfully all the essential and multitudinous activities of the most progressive construction and development program which could be conceived.

Gold is piled high in the Treasury of the United States—over 15-billions of dollars worth—nearly two-thirds of the world's commercial supply. The precious metal serves as the base for currency and credit. In 1929 the country held \$3,900,000,000 in gold, and based thereon were \$58,474,000,000 in bank loans and investments. In other words, about \$15 in credit was based on each \$1 in gold, a ratio which had prevailed for many years. The action to reduce the total content of the dollar and gold stocks that had totaled \$4-billions, by Government edict became \$6,800,000,000. Since then nearly \$8-billion more of gold has flown into the Treasury of the United States from the four corners of the earth. However, the volume of credit has substantially decreased. Today over \$14½-billions of gold support but \$48,304,000,000 in loans and investments and the ratio that has been normally 15 to 1 between gold and credit is less than 3½ to 1. If loans were to get back to the 15 to 1 ratio, loans that today are \$48-billions could increase to \$210-billions—nearly four times the 1929 total, so we possess the largest potential supply of credit that this or any other nation has ever seen in the history of mankind.

We possess the raw materials and the natural resources, we have the inventive genius and manpower and also the money and supply of credit to here in America create and enjoy the greatest era of peace, prosperity, and happiness in the history of the human race. Do we lack the intelligence? I refuse to believe that we do and in future presentations I shall further develop my theme and discuss the wonderful future of America.

Agency Rentals Cost Too Much

By HON. EVERETT M. DIRKSEN
Representative from Illinois

THE THING WE NEED to do is to get rid of some of those hifalutin', worthless agencies that are occupying rented space in Washington.

Now, what are some of these agencies that we could just as well evaporate or just as well get rid of and save a few dollars for the taxpayers as we go along; some of these agencies that are feeding off of the vitals of the Republic and sapping the strength of our taxpayers and destroying their independence?

Let me say to you that the average rental that is paid is 95 cents a square foot, but let me read to you some of these hifalutin' agencies and the amount they pay for their space:

National Defense Power Committee, 7,990 square feet, \$19,974.96, or \$2.50 a square foot.

Central Statistical Board, 6,700 square feet, \$10,084.44 or \$1.50 per square foot.

Federal Housing Administration, 18,000 square feet at \$17,000, and 100,000 square feet at \$155,000, and 48,000 square feet at \$74,000.

National Emergency Council, that council that came in here a year ago with a statement to the public that they had to have more money in an election year, 16,500 square feet at \$28,800, or \$1.70 a square foot.

National Labor Relations Board, 29,790 square feet at \$74,475, or \$2.50 a square foot.

T.V.A., 2,800 square feet at \$6,300, or upward of \$2.00 a square foot.

About three-fourths of these institutions which I have read and referred to and which actually pay the bulk of the high-priced rent that is paid by this Government out of the 3,600,000 square feet of rented space, should be abolished immediately and we should get rid of that cancer on the Government of the United States.

Why Make Debts To Buy Foreign Gold?

By HON. TOM CONNALLY
Senator from Texas

IS IT NOT TRUE that whenever we buy gold—and we are buying all the gold that is tendered, as I understand, and have been for some time—every time we buy gold we have to pay for it in dollars? In order to get those dollars, the Treasury has been issuing bonds, and we are paying interest on those bonds in order to get the money with which to buy the gold and take it out in the country and bury it. Would it not have been entirely sound, instead of issuing bonds, to have issued money, because for every dollar we have spent for gold we get a dollar's worth of gold in exchange? We could double the value of the currency now outstanding, and yet have more than a hundred per cent of gold in the vaults and pay for every dollar of outstanding paper money and do away with the payment of interest on \$4- or \$5-billion dollars.

Investments Not a Federal Business

By HON. HARRY F. BYRD
Senator from Virginia

THE INTEREST on the public debt has increased from \$610-million in 1931 to \$1,050,000,000 for 1940, and this notwithstanding the lower interest rates made possible by existing business conditions. There is no certainty of continued low interest rates when bonds becoming due will have to be refinanced.

Today for every dollar obtained in taxation 20 cents is dedicated directly to the payment of interest. If the Budget were balanced now and the sum of \$500-million paid each year on the Federal debt, it would take 56 continuous years to reduce the debt to where it was 8 years ago.

We are told in the President's budget message that the increase in the public debt, amounting to more than \$28-billion, represents in the main, investments, and should be regarded as such. Of this deficit, \$16,231,000,000 was spent for unemployment relief, and this is certainly not a recoverable item. It is true that \$4,013,000,000 was spent for Federal public works, but a Federal building is not an asset in the ordinary business sense. In most instances the cost of maintenance and operation exceeds the rent paid before these buildings were constructed.

The effort to have two Federal budgets in order to justify deficit spending will not be convincing, as all must know that a government is not to be compared to a business corporation or private enterprise. The Government is not in business for profit; an investment in lands, buildings, or public works is not an asset which can be realized upon, but, in fact, places a new burden on the Government for maintenance and operation.

New Deal Senator Urges Arms Sales To Fighters

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Already reconciled to the fact that no definite action can be effected on neutrality before May 1, administration Congressmen, under the leadership of Senator Key Pittman, are working for enactment of a cash-and-carry, pro-England and pro-France foreign policy before adjourning for the summer.

Hope for anything more definite was abandoned when the most influential members on the 23-man Senate committee to map foreign policy, announced their intention to fight to the end the "aggressor" policy of imposing trade discriminations against the so-called "aggressor" nations.

Senator Pittman, leader of the fight against neutrality, insists upon the cash-and-carry plan, which means that America wants to profiteer by selling armaments and supplies to the warring nations, but does not want to ally itself militarily with them. Pupils of the Pittman school follow the Baruchian theory that the best way to keep out of a foreign war is to sell munitions and supplies to the participants. Proponents of this policy believe that being partial is not as bad as being neutral when your friends need help.

Neutrality in its real sense of "taking the part of neither side in a war," is not, unfortunately, under serious consideration. The Pittman plan provides for taking the part of either side which has the money and the ships to come after supplies. It is not neutral; it will not keep America out of a war. Instead it places us, at the beginning of a war, on the side of the strong nations—which happen to be England and France.

Like a world war percolating all over again, the testimony before the Senate committee recently points clearly to the results of a cash-and-carry program of neutrality.

"I ask you," said Senator Hiram Johnson of California, a leading proponent of genuine neutrality, to "aggressor"-minded Henry L. Stimson during the hearings, "would you consider that we should take part and join with Great Britain, France and Russia in protecting them?"

"Not unless the situation became dangerous enough to indicate that we would be the next victim," replied Stimson. "Then I would take part mighty quick. I would take part before they were beaten." That is exactly what happened last time. America sold arms and munitions to England and France, and then sent four million soldiers abroad to win their war before they were beaten—the typical denouement to a cash-and-carry neutrality.

Our experiences with anything but a genuine neutrality of our own, have proven unhappy ones.

After the World War, the nations in an effort to avoid future world conflict, thought up the League of Nations as a road to peace by collective action, but found that instead of preventing war situations, it created them. Then came the Kellogg-Briand Pact, followed later by the Nine-Power pact, neither of which has prevented the impending war. All these efforts prove even more clearly that group action is not the safest road to peace.

The only way for a nation to have peace for itself is to reach it by itself. If we want peace, we must achieve it

by ourselves. It is of no use for us to try to organize collective pacts. It is of no use for us to word our neutrality acts so as to aid the nations with which we might be on friendly terms.

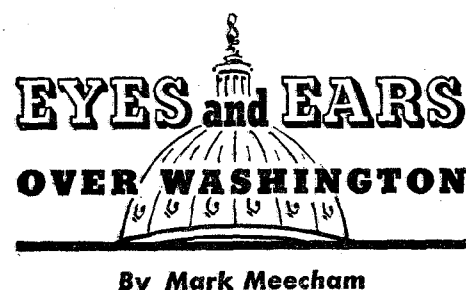
There is only one way to peace and that is the sort of neutrality which insists upon staying out of the fight no matter what foreigners may shout in their efforts to bait our support.

Bund Report Shows Nazis Behind Reds In U.S. Membership

WASHINGTON, D. C.—With the release of the fourteen volume bund report by Attorney-General Frank Murphy, the Nazis take their place along with the Reds as proponents of official un-Americanism.

The bund was found by Federal investigators to number 6,617 members, although Fritz Kuhn, its national leader, claimed a total of 8,299, with units in 50 cities. This would leave them far behind their Communist opponents whom Earl Browder would estimate today at a minimum of 80,000 in number.

Included in the 11-point program of the bund's constitution is the requirement for members "above all to uphold and defend the Constitution and the laws of the United States..." One of the bund's principal objectives, said the Department of Justice report, was to foster "Germanism and German ideals" in this country.



By Mark Meecham

Two Reports On T.V.A. Management

SO THE JOINT COMMITTEE investigating T.V.A. took the \$75,000, spent it, and turned over to Congress as contradictory a report as ever emerged from a single investigation.

When Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, former Tennessee Valley Authority chairman, made his charges of "mismanagement, waste, fraud and dishonesty," against the T.V.A. last spring, President Roosevelt dismissed him and Congress voted to investigate the charges.

What the nine-man committee "found" is difficult to learn from its recently published report. The "findings" read more like a political debate than the factual results of an impartial investigation.

For example, the signers of the majority report found, after nine months' investigation, that the rates for T.V.A. power "provide a legitimate, honest yardstick" for comparison with the rates charged by private utilities. The minority found upon an equally thorough investigation of the same duration, that the T.V.A. yardstick is "not only meaningless, but worse, is misleading, deceptive, unfair and dishonest as a measure of the fairness of the rates of privately-owned utilities not enjoying the sub-

sidies and advantages of which T.V.A. may avail itself."

The Democratic investigators concluded, as a result of the \$75,000 investigation, that the charges of dishonesty, preferred by Dr. Morgan were "without foundation, and not supported by the evidence." The Republicans on the other hand, decided that their investigations only proved the need for subjecting the T.V.A. to a "sweeping reorganization."

The same investigation which impelled the majority to conclude that T.V.A.'s "personnel is able, honest and efficient," that its acquisition of land "has been efficiently and honestly managed," and that the criticism directed at T.V.A. spending by the office of the controller general has been largely "baseless," convinced the minority that T.V.A. is guilty of "waste and inefficiency" and has been "arbitrary, dictatorial and unbusinesslike."

Now it may be that the T.V.A. management is honest—or perhaps it is not. It may be efficient, or it may be inefficient and unbusinesslike.

But it cannot simultaneously—at one and the same time, be both efficient and inefficient—both wasteful and economical, honest and dishonest, simply because two political parties have representation on the investigating committee.

An impartial investigation of the facts would probably reveal that T.V.A. is not nearly as mismanaged and dishonest as the Republicans claim, nor nearly as able and efficient as the Democrats "find."

What created greater public interest than the T.V.A. report itself in this instance, has been the politico-mindedness of our Congressional investigators. Perhaps it might be well, before wasting any more money on partisan Congressional investigations like that of T.V.A., to do a little investigating of the investigators. It might help to explain the discrepancies in Congressional "findings."

Congressmen who "found" the T.V.A. management to be completely honest and efficient included: Senators Donahey of Ohio, investigation committee chairman; Mead of New York, Schwartz of Wyoming, Frazier of North Dakota, Representatives Thomason of Texas, and Barden of North Carolina. Those who "found" it inefficient and wasteful were Representatives Jenkins of Ohio, Wolverton of New Jersey, and Senator Davis of Pennsylvania.

Only Americans Assured Freedom of Speech

CONGRESS has indicated its desire to curb subversive aliens by acting on two important bills recently. The Dempsey bill to deport aliens advocating and promoting a change in our form of Government, and the Hobbs bill to place in detention camps all deportable aliens whose native lands refuse to accept them, were both aimed at alien proponents of the "isms."

But almost at once Congress was confronted with the question of "constitutional rights." Just how far could it go without infringing upon them? Various un-American organizations have already raised the issue of "free speech," with its attendant argument that to talk as one pleases is a different matter from acting as he pleases.

However, opinions which may not amount to much of themselves, become an important matter when people begin acting on them.

It might not hurt the un-American proponents to remember that the United States constitutional right of

Army, Navy Hurry War Preparations

WASHINGTON, D. C.—There are legal methods for jumping the gun, and the War and Navy Departments have discovered them, with the result that they can now save months of time in their construction program for defense. Both departments have learned that it is perfectly legal to begin bidding on contracts just as soon as Congress has authorized the appropriations, instead of waiting until the appropriation bills are enacted.

This can mean a saving of from four to six months in speeding the construction. For example, the purchase of 565 new fighting planes was authorized in the National Defense Bill signed by President Roosevelt on April 3. Yet the funds to pay for these planes were not appropriated simultaneously, and Congress, busy with other affairs, might have delayed the appropriation bill for several months.

The Army and Navy lost no time in making use of their new corner-cutting policies, but you can hardly blame them. With the Messrs. Roosevelt, Baruch and Pittman promoting a national war mindedness, the least the Army and Navy can do is to hurry up and get ready for the battle.

free speech is not guaranteed to people of all nations. American constitutional rights only belong to those who respect the United States constitution as their constitution, and the United States flag as their flag.

We shall not "make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," says the Constitution.

No founding father ever intended that the inalienable rights of American citizens should be extended freely to anybody who might want to misuse them. These rights are what makes United States citizenship the valuable prize that it is. Aliens who want the rights and guarantees of the American Constitution can get them by becoming citizens of the United States and respecters of its Constitution.

But for dissatisfied aliens to demand the same "rights" as United States citizens who have spent their lives performing the duties of citizens, supporting their Government and respecting its laws, is a philosophy that is definitely, not American born.

Aliens are not obliged to come to America by the thousands every week. If they come, they do so on our terms, not theirs. Congress is elected and supported by citizens of the United States to protect their rights and their Government. Its duty is to legislate accordingly. When that protection involves restricting the activities of deportable aliens, Congress is still obligated to effect it.

It is conceivable that there may come a time when a change in our Constitution or form of Government might possibly be desirable. Should that day come, however, we do not need alien agitators to advance the alterations. There are more than 125-million Americans in this country, any one of whom might more patriotically suggest the change than the refugees to whom we give haven. That is a fact which many so-called "American" organizations would do well to consider.

If the League for Peace and Democracy and other complaining organizations of its ilk numbered a few more United States citizens in their memberships, they might feel a bit less hostile to legislation passed in the interest of Americans.