

But look at Great Britain at the present moment—teetering on the edge of fiscal collapse, staggering under a weight of taxation that would break the back of the average nation—Great Britain with her permanent army of unemployed, and with her position as an empire irretrievably impaired. Ask the average Englishman if you care to on this Armistice Day what the fruits of that victory were. England came out of the war a defeated nation.

Well, surely America won the war. There was Pershing and all the brilliant effort of the American Expeditionary Force in France, supported by the self-sacrifice of one hundred and twenty million people here in the United States. There was that Armistice Day of thirteen years ago—those returning Divisions—those parades! Yes indeed, we won the war.

But tell me, do we look, at the present moment, as if we had recently won a war? Here is an army of unemployed far greater than Pershing's—factories shut—destitution—breadlines—the whole country facing a winter that may well appall the stoutest heart. There is no way by which we can spell victory for ourselves out of that hurricane that ended thirteen years ago. The United States came out of that conflict a defeated nation. The old order has passed. Never again can any nation win a war. Senator Borah may make his reservation as to the kind of war that is permissible, but that war will mean defeat not only to the United States, but to every other nation that participates.

I was in London in the month of August 1928 during the days that the British air maneuvers were being staged. London was being "attacked" by airplanes, and every device that modern military science could suggest was being used to defend the city. A week or two later I talked with the British Military Attache in Paris about the results of the maneuvers. What did they prove? "They proved," he said, "that a modern city cannot be defended against mass airplane attack." "And what does that mean in terms of the next war," I asked? "It means," he replied, "that when they are attacking London we'll be attacking Paris. In other words, we'll trade Westminster Abbey for the Pantheon and we'll swap the National Art Gallery for the Louvre." This is what happens when Senator Borah makes his reservation about the legitimacy of a war waged to maintain the right of a country to pursue its own course.

But the story does not end there. When the war ended in 1918