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PATRIOTISM PREPAID

PATRIOTISM PREPAID

By Lewis J. Gorin

Princeton '36 and National Commander of the Veterans of Future Wars

The story of the most amazing (and most amusing) youth movement America has ever known. Here is a brilliant travesty on modern American thought and government — a ringing, rousing, younger generation viewpoint that has caught the imagination of Americans and spread like wildfire across the whole country. Mr. Gorin tells of the astounding development of a movement which began as a prank, but which now bids fair to become one of the most powerful public forces ever launched to affect America's future policies. With a trenchant, deft wit, the first part of the book satirizes the squandering of money on veterans at the expense of the deserving veterans and the tax-payer; the second part, no less wittily, satirizes the ways by which the money was obtained with special reference to the emotional patriotism employed. **10 drawings by Albert M. Barbieri, Princeton '38.**

TRIOTISM PREPAID

LEWIS J. GORIN, JR.,

*Princeton 1936, National Commander
Veterans of Future Wars*

ILLUSTRATED BY ALBERT M. BARBIERI

Princeton 1938



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A
LA FUTURE

“Ah, take the cash and let the credit go,
Nor heed the rumble of a distant drum.”

THE AUTHOR.

FOREWORD

THE prison systems of Europe have replaced the local universities in preparing men for public life, and this is not surprising, for European universities long since bade good-by to whatever honest-thinking men they ever had; such men today are in all the best prisons of Europe, while the overflow has been herded into concentration camps constructed for the purpose.

It is not surprising that the Four Great Veteran and Patriotic Leaders—Stalin, Hitler, Kemal Ataturk, and Mussolini—of today's Europe should each be a graduate of some prison. Several hold degrees from more prisons than one. Stalin is credited with doing an immense amount of research in Siberia before he finally achieved office—he earned this governmental Siberian scholarship by bombing a bank truck and killing a score or so.

These expensively and homicidally educated gentlemen hold the destinies of three hundred million people in their hands; the rest of the world acknowledges them as prophets. By far the most extra-legally erudite is Benito Mussolini, who in-

vented that consummate system of gang-controlled population which he is now conferring on Africa, and therefore he deserves special study by rational members of populations yet to be controlled.

The master racket he developed is simplicity itself and requires only high explosives to put it immediately into effect anywhere. Whenever he discovers that population, which he has taken great pains to increase, is too large for the country's established wealth to support, he takes this overflow, puts it in black shirts, and thus clothed in their shrouds he dispatches them to the worst portions of the earth's surface, and then drives them further and further into the interior until they are finally lost from public view and perish from the face of the globe. The present locality, Ethiopia, has the added advantage of being in a bad strategic position. If Mussolini's British friend, Captain Eden, will act quickly to close the Suez Canal it won't even be necessary to drive the excess blackshirts any further into that "Hellhole of Creation." They will starve to death for lack of supplies. Meanwhile the success that Il Duce has attained causes Der Fuehrer Hitler's mustache to twist with jealousy. He too has these excess men that even his concentration camps and forced labor cannot liquidate.

So he turns his eyes fondly toward the border and the French fortifications, the most deadly of their type in the world, and he has advanced a few steps nearer them. But the French are adamant, for they lost in the last war more than their anticipated surplus of men; so today they are a bit underpopulated. The world sighs for those wonderful days of 1914-1918 when it gladly tossed into the fire assets roughly equivalent to the entire United States wealth, which required four hundred years to produce. That war cost the lives of fifteen million unemployed—just about the number of unemployed we have now. Perhaps it would not be amiss to suggest that we could solve our unemployment problem with ease by plowing them under in another war.

We are not decadent, as Santayana, Spengler and the D.A.R. would have you think. We are still capable of gazing down the barrel of a French seventy-five to see if it is loaded. Pick up a volume of Joseph Addison's "The Campaign," written in 1705, and the pleasure of recognition comforts you as you read:

"Where the swoln *Rhine* rushing with all its force
Divides the hostile nations in its course,
While each contracts his bounds, or wider grows,
Enlarged or straiten'd as the river flows,

On Gallia's side a mighty bulwark stands,
That all the wide extended plain commands."

We need not fear for our civilization—it is quite as good as the past. The only thing that we have to fear is fear itself, as President F. D. Roosevelt said in his first inaugural. Yet there is nothing to warrant fear. Should we tremble for the future of Europe when it is so apparent that a new and vital love for the glory of war has once more rejuvenated her arthritic veins? For that matter, it is hardly any longer our concern what happens to Europe. The last time she tried to lay her troubles at our feet we wisely stepped on her, and this policy can be maintained as long as, to us, it seems suitable. However, under no consideration can we cease to trade with her—our stake therein is too great. What we have most to dread is that she might not be able to pay us. Wise Old Congress gave this impasse its deepest consideration and solved the problem at one brilliant stroke. They may and must buy from us all they want—*caveat emptor*—but they pay cash—unless, in good times, the underlying bonds can be spread abroad in the corn belt.

Our greatest fear here is that we shall not become sufficiently involved and hence won't have

the opportunity to go to war, and get away from all the taxes in future which will be created when the government pays our bonus. The question arises: "Which is the worse—war or taxes?" It is not easy to settle this question but after some thought I vote for taxes. For instance, the scholarly Mussolini speaks of war as "that woman of dreads and fascinations." After careful study it appears that no one ever rated taxes as fascinating.

But we shall certainly go to war—despite serious inroads made into the ranks of thinking men by the so-called pacifists, this country still realizes that today war is as much a part of civic life, and even more a solution for all our internal problems than was the case in '48 and '98.

Our prodigal mother, Old Europe, may wander astray for a few years but when she turns to war and to us, we will rush to assist her, and we will order the fatted calf to be killed amidst major general and financial rejoicing.

We will be in on the kill—there can be no doubt of that—but our United States, which has always prided itself on hindsight, foresight and manifest destiny (war), has failed to make adequate preparation for an obvious coming war. This little book seeks to direct the wandering attention and intellect of Congress to the plight of those of us who

will suffer from the next war. It presents a systematic plan to be followed in the treatment of these unfortunates.

O Congress, te morituri salutamus!

Libro e moschetto!

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PATRIOTISM PREPAID

CHAPTER I
IN HOC SIGNO

§

IT WAS Nathan Hale who should have said his only regret was that he had but one bonus for his country to give him, but it was George Washington of whom everyone says today that he was first in war, first in peace, and first in the organization of a veterans group. Washington made the mistake of limiting his veteran Society of the Cincinnati to officers and it was thus arithmetically doomed to fail. Quantity, not quality, is what counts votes.

Woodrow Wilson used to talk proudly of "Princeton for the Nation's Service" and he probably had reference to that famous alumnus, Aaron Burr Jr., Princeton A.B. 1771, LL.D. 1803, the intellectual founder of militant financial veteranism. Aaron's inborn fire of genius flared abroad when he hit upon the idea of organizing the first veterans—by definition only—with the sole qualification that they should have at some time "served" in a training camp. In those good old

days it was possible for men and boys to get into the army without getting into battle. There were perhaps half a million males who could claim that they had thus been "in" the Revolutionary War, though General Washington could never muster an army of thirty thousand active fighting men.

When Burr decided in 1797 to develop this share-the-fight scheme into a share-the-wealth system he went for a powwow of course to Wall Street which then consisted of an ex-wall, a tepee, half-breeds, hopes, and hokum. Burr expanded the tepee into the Wigwam and called together all the gentlemen from the dingier residential areas of the East Side. And thus begins our essential link with the past, for in that meeting Burr moulded a group of ex-soldiers into a Patriotic Society stirred with a sentiment that was to last well into the nineteenth century and to arise anew in our gigantic day. He laid down a principle for his organization to follow: It was to seek as many grants from the government as was politically possible under the circumstances.

The Treasurer of the United States in 1906 had reason to recall Aaron Burr and his organization when he noted in November of that year that Esther S. Damon of Plymouth Union, Vermont, had passed on into the beyond. Mrs. Damon

merited and received regular attention from the government, for she was a widow of a Veteran of the Revolutionary War. Mrs. Damon, logically enough, had been born some thirty-one years after the last battle of that famous war was fought. But the Government and People of the United States rightly concluded that any woman who would thus marry a veteran must deserve a pension.

Be that as it may, Mr. Burr and the Twentieth Century have a deal else in common, for Aaron founded back there in 1797 a veterans' organization which has outlasted the wars and peaces of a hundred and fifty years: his veterans by enrollment and grant are known today throughout the civilized and semi-civilized worlds as Tammany Hall.

Aaron Burr, tried for treason a decade later, had previously shot down the true founder of our G.A.R. Republican Party, Alexander Hamilton. Yet Burr was essentially the type of man we have always honored when we speak of deserving veterans. His military service was not so arduous as to hinder his living for eighty years, and he kept his mental poise so that, war over and the soldiers demoralized with victory, he stepped forward to unite these ragged troops in a compact unit of fighting men. They and their spiritual descend-

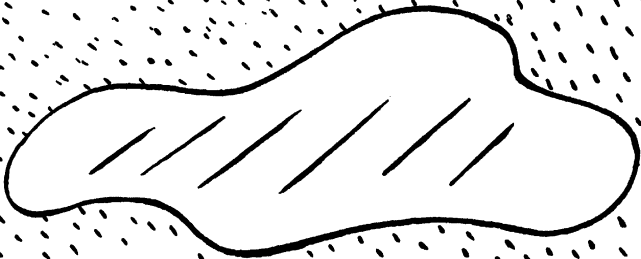
ants have waged and won many a battle since, and the U. S. Treasury has lost.

There is no attempt here to trace the growth of the driving power of pensions. Yet it may be pointed out that the "horse and buggy" generations of the nineteenth century, and even of the early twentieth, must yield to a young and aggressive machine generation, aware of its rights and able to enforce them. For example, the veterans of the War of 1812 did not get their general service pensions until 1871—an interval of fifty-seven years. The Veterans of the Mexican War languished through thirty-nine years of unpaid patriotism before securing the first installment of theirs, the G.A.R. took some twenty-five, the Spanish-American vets an even twenty. Up to now the four and a half million Americans who may claim by definition to be World War Veterans hold the speed record. They lingered only six years in passing the first general service compensation in 1924, though they were not then due to secure actual payment for twenty years more. As it turned out they got half theirs in 1931, only twelve years after the war. So thus we are down to the present, and future.

It pictures the fast tempo, the reach out and



AMBY



THE BIRTH OF A BONUS

haul in of modern life, that today the Veterans of Future Wars are demanding payment of their compensation somewhat ahead of time. Aaron Burr, now surveying the long triumph of pensions-and-bonus for general military service, as he set it in motion, would doubtless be first to applaud this rational and moral demand that we young members of society make on our government.

Our demand is simply this: The study of American History shows war every twenty or thirty years. Study of world conditions today should convince any and all that we face an immediate prospect of war. Hence it is impossible not to assume war within the next thirty years. But even if there be no war, it does not alter the essential justice of our plan, nor the excellent economics of it.

We demand that, as is customary, the Federal Government pass immediately a law guaranteeing us each a bonus of one thousand dollars in 1965. When speaking to those opposed to payment of this bonus, it is well to call it "Adjusted Service Compensation." The latter means the same, but most people don't know it and are rather shy about showing their ignorance. You must at all times be diplomatic with civilians who are pained by the word "bonus." They may be taxpayers.

But it has also become customary to pay these

bonuses, or boni, well in advance of the due date set.¹ So we insist on immediate cash payment and consistently demand full interest, compounded backward from the due date. In short we require \$1,000 each plus three per cent interest retroactively compounded from the first of June, 1965, to the first of June, 1935.

The morals and the economics of this are simplicity itself: first the morals.

There is not one man in the country who can deny that the most deserving veterans are those who at this moment lie, known or unknown, in foreign soil. There is scarcely anyone who will deny that the badly wounded are the next most deserving. Then why was not proper provision made for their care? Because our statesmen have never been a prey to vision and foresight, but have spent their time and the people's time in senseless discussion of the receding past. Let us seize time by the forelock and follow the advice of Professor Reining to "look to the future rather than to the past."

The plan of compensation as outlined by Veterans of Future Wars is just because it gives to the Veteran who will die a right to enjoy his honors and emoluments while yet alive. It gives to the

¹ VIDE Acts of Congress, 1931 and 1936.

future soldier who will be maimed the right to make full use of the financial aid of the country while he is still physically able to enjoy and profit by it. There is no gainsaying this vast improvement over past methods of aiding our Veterans. Finally: It removes from the soldier who has a pension or bonus thus forced upon him now the stigma of being thought mercenary—the payment-for-services-rendered idea.

The economy of the procedure that we advocate is elementary and unassailable. We suggest that everyone of military age be given bonds to the value due him. These bonds will have a maturity date (follow this closely for it is subtle reasoning) on the first of June, 1965. They are to be three per cent bonds, and provision shall be made for setting up a sinking fund so that when 1965 arrives enough money will have accumulated to retire the bonds at once. Hence the credit of the government is in no way threatened. But let us see how this operates to benefit the man who is going to give life and/or limb, etc., for his country.

Choose any citizen named Van Murphy and let us follow the effect of this bonus on him. Van Murphy is a young fellow in his twenties. He is something of a sport, so that as soon as he gets his

bonus he takes a trip round the world and has the time of his life. Then when he gets back he has to start paying off these bonds. He and the rest of the people in the country are being taxed enough every year to pay the three per cent interest and set up the sinking fund. Van Murphy continues this laborious business of paying taxes for two years; then comes the war.

Van is getting tired of helping pay off public debt; so he goes to war just to get away from it. There are millions like him. Our soldier makes the mistake of standing up when he should be lying down and quickly passes into the beyond. But Van Murphy has already been honored by his country and goes out of this world happy that his country is rewardingly aware of his services and proud of him. He will not hear words shed annually over his grave, but he has previously heard the gracious golden accents of his government, and is satisfied.

But then let us see what happens to the fellow incapable of learning how to drill, and who therefore spends the duration of the war in a training camp. He returns to civilian life and finds himself faced by debt created to pay his bonus for this war. For the next few years until 1965 he devotes part of his energies every day, along with every-

body else, to paying off that thousand dollars which he got from his government in 1936 but which he did not deserve because he did not die for his country. By 1965, though, the entire debt is paid and the veterans then living are of about late middle age and ready for retirement. They get this retirement because the tax burden upon them suddenly becomes far smaller. Thus with no actual outlay of governmental money they are made to feel that they are getting a most unusual bounty from the government. It will be cause for universal relief and rejoicing if the taxation of the country actually does lessen in 1965.

As for the disabled soldier, he will be exempt from taxation and hence the one thousand dollars will have been by way of a gift to him. He will be cared for by the government, but, as it is impossible to recompense a man for loss of limbs or mental balance, there will be no attempt to force upon him a sum of money for which he has no use but to give away. Instead all the money that might have been given him will be lavished upon his care or upon the widows of the veterans who actually did give their country the sacrifice that every man must be willing to make in wartime.

So there is the plan—simple, direct, and terse.

CHAPTER II

THE LOST GENERATION

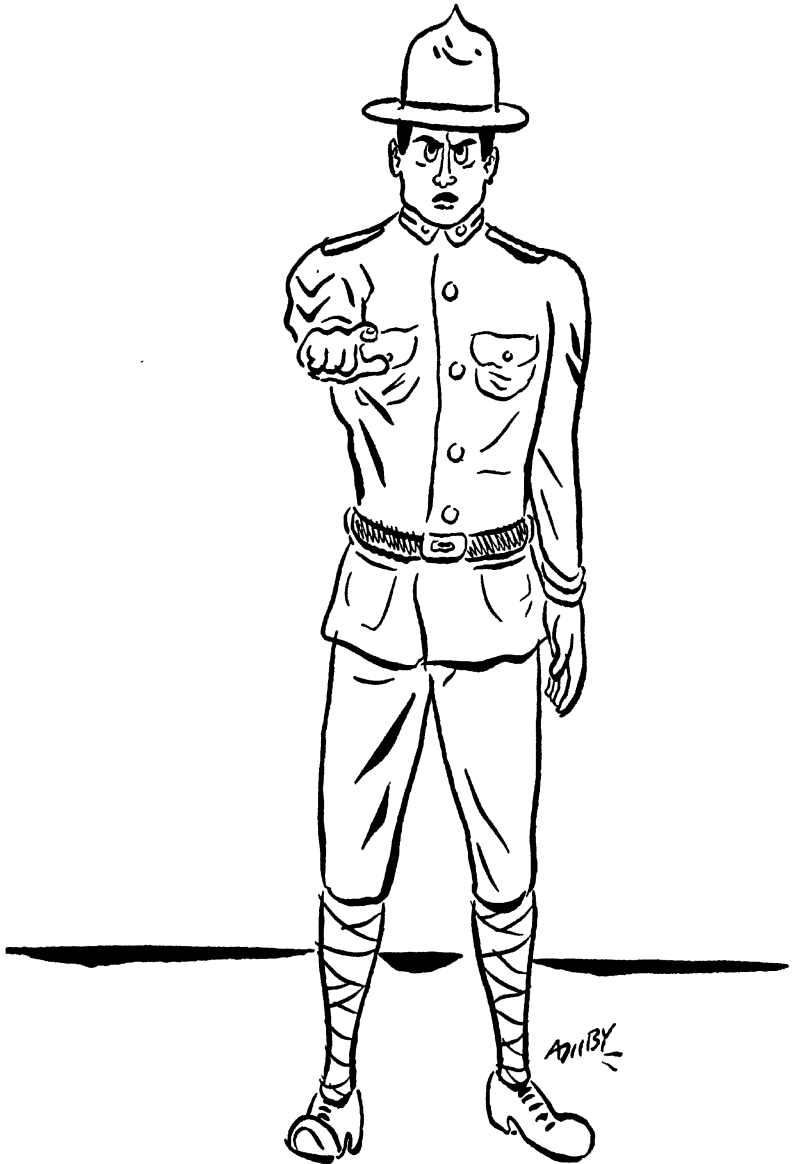
THERE has been some doubt in the minds of current writers as to who are "the Lost Generation." Writers of the war generation claim they are solely entitled to the distinction; but just the other day there was published a book which maintained with equal pride that our generation is "Lost." Whatever may be the outcome of this discussion, we can rest assured that the next generation is not lost. We have already "found" them for thirty billion dollars, and since they don't protest in the slightest it is foolish not to pass along another twenty billion or so. Unless we hear something to the contrary and from them, we shall assume that silence gives assent. We can proceed meanwhile with the vital business of financing our plan.

We don't yet know exactly what the next war will cost, but we have a small scale model ready to hand. For the sake of our study it is not entirely academic to refer to the figures which sprouted wholesale from the last war. Then if we can multiply these figures by a conservative factor such as

ten, we shall get a total roughly equivalent to what the next war will cost us. I arrive at this multiple of ten for that is the increase in fire power over the last war with which we must enter the next. We can assume, therefore, that about ten times as much ammunition will be shot and about ten times as many men will be destroyed or maimed for life.

Before we go further though, we must point out that preliminary figures on the Cost of Veterans have consistently been underestimates. This was true of the first general pension bill proposed in the early 19th century by President Monroe and it also applies with equal force to the bill of more recent memory which gave the Veterans of the World War a bonus, or adjusted service compensation. When that bill was being considered in 1924 Mr. Herbert Hess, a New York City public accountant and auditor told the House of Representatives Committee on Ways and Means that the Adjusted Compensation Bill would probably cost the country \$3,946,110,000—a pretty decent sum for the Horse and Buggy Generation.

But Mr. Hess, though his figures from a mathematical standpoint were accurate, erred when it came to diagnosing the political future. For one thing Mr. Hess underestimated the number of



YOUR TREASURY NEEDS YOU!

veterans involved by almost a hundred thousand. This hundred thousand were perhaps members of that "Lost Generation" but they turned up in time to lay claim to a bonus. Of far more importance is the fact that Mr. Hess assumed that the cost of this bonus would be the three billion nine hundred million to be paid by 1945. But by June 16, 1936, this current bonus bill will have cost as much as that and then the long hard pull will begin. For this bonus has been paid with borrowed money and that money is costing the government about three per cent per year, which means that by 1945 this bonus will have cost the government—including payment plus interest—about a billion more than was first anticipated. This is only an increase of say twenty-five per cent, so we shall make due allowance when we come to figure the cost of our own bill.

Another point before we go into that cost. We have to be perfectly sure that the United States is paying us more than any Veteran of any other country in the world is receiving. Back in the 1920's it was a sore point with our veterans of the World War that this government had only given a discharge fee of sixty dollars to its soldiers whereas Canada, England, and other countries had given perhaps twice as much. It was quickly de-

veloping into a point of national honor when Congress finally decided to give our soldiers compensation of one dollar a day for service, plus twenty-five per cent for foreign service. Only about half of our 4,000,000 veterans rated this foreign service, although the war was fought in France.

This put foreign countries to shame for we were now paying our soldiers about four times as much as they paid theirs, and of course the English and French and Canadians had all been fighting about four times as long. America was once more at the summit of the statistical world. This was a very important point in the 1920's. We proceeded to spend, as was brought out in testimony given before Congressional Committees a few years ago, about seven times what Great Britain spent per capita on men mobilized, and about five times what France spent. It was the misfortune of most of these French and British troops that they actually saw fighting. Casualties in the American Army were about ten per cent. In some of the European armies these casualties ran around forty per cent. The American Veterans Association has shown that "in 1931-1932 England, Germany, and France together—with forty-two times as many war-disabled as the United States—spent less on their veterans than we did."

There is no gainsaying the fact that the United States has that record safely tucked away in its vest pocket. We are definitely ahead of other countries when it comes to payments for veterans of the last war. BUT—how about the next war? We have made little or no preparation for their care and already Europe has its veterans in process of mass production. Italy has now a neat harvest of maimed and sickened to care for. She is wisely sending them to some island or islands unknown to her citizens or the rest of the world, where they can spend the balance of their days in bliss and isolation. It is a grim mockery when the United States allows Italy to get ahead of her in such care of future veterans. It is far worse than losing the hockey game to Italy in the Olympics last winter.

But Italy is merely a minor competitor. We had scarcely gotten the organization of the Veterans of Future Wars going, when an ominous note of rivalry was heard from Canada. We thought that our organization would give the United States the jump on all other countries in the care of future veterans, but some gentlemen at the University of Toronto immediately organized a similar movement and, this is our misfortune, offered Mr. Dionne the Honorary Commandership. Unless

this country can produce men of the caliber of Daddy Dionne, we are due for a strong bid from the Canadian forces.

But to get back to just how much this bonus plan will cost our government. After preliminary study, I believe we have a plan that will give even Mr. Townsend pause. Here it is. There must be roughly about thirty million people in the U. S. A. between the ages of eighteen and thirty-six (please do not require me to be precisely accurate, for after all whatever number you choose is subject to change without notice). Now half these thirty million people are women, and we shall leave the discussion of their plight to a later chapter.

So we have 15 million men deserving a bonus for the sacrifice they more or less stand ready to make in the next war (even though they do get only as far as some Camp Dix). Today a good many of them are unemployed, a large number dissatisfied, and the rest dispirited, so they have ample need for a bonus. But perhaps it would be easier if I just quoted from the preamble to one of the bills that led to the passage of the recent bonus legislation:

It was known as the Patman Bill and was succinctly entitled:

(H.R. 3896, 74th Cong., 1st sess.)

WHEREAS the immediate cash payment of the adjusted-service certificates will increase tremendously the purchasing power of millions of the consuming public, distributed uniformly throughout the Nation, and will provide relief for the holders thereof who are in dire need and distress because of the present unfortunate economic conditions; and will lighten immeasurably the burden which cities, counties and states are now required to carry for relief; and

WHEREAS the payment of said certificates will not create any additional debt, but will discharge and retire an acknowledged contract obligation of the Government; and

WHEREAS since the Government of the United States is now definitely committed to the policy of spending additional sums of money for the purpose of hastening recovery from the present economic crisis, the immediate cash payment at face value of the adjusted-service certificates, with cancellation of interest accrued and refund of interest paid, is a most effective means to that end, therefore:

Be it enacted, etc.

This sets forth in much better language than I can the reason why our bonus should be paid now. The depression is upon us still. Certainly if it is justifiable to scatter hundreds of dollars per among four million men in order to distribute purchasing power uniformly, it is far more intelligent to

scatter it among fifteen million. The Veterans of Future Wars are opposed to half measures and to quarter measures.

Furthermore it seems to me evident that there are far more unemployed among these fifteen million than there are among the four million World War veterans. The American Legion claims to be representative of the World War veterans, yet in the March 1, 1934, issue of *Printers' Ink*, the *American Legion Monthly* advertised that

Legionaires earn double the average income.

Legionaires have proved they are insurance minded—94 per cent of them are insured for an average amount of \$12,050, and 84 per cent of them own automobiles.

Most of the members of the Veterans of Future Wars are completely unable to qualify in this class, as they are students. As for the bulk of the population that we represent, we must confess that a large portion of them are now working for the government and thirty dollars a month in the camps of the CCC. Very few of them are in any position to pay premiums on a \$12,050 life insurance policy. It is well known that very few men reach their maximum earning before than get to the age of about forty-five, so it is easily seen why our group are earning less and buying fewer

cars than are the middle-aged members of the American Legion.

But there is another interesting point concealed among the whereases of the resolution mentioned above. Mr. Patman, who introduced this bill, maintains in the preamble that "the payment of said certificates will not create any additional debt." Of course you must overlook the fact that this bill, which provided for use of the printing press to secure money, would probably have raised prices throughout the country, thereby increasing the cost by billions. But doubtless Mr. Patman feels that the Veterans are going to get everything there is in the Treasury and the country anyhow, so it makes no difference when or how they get it. Mr. Patman was reckoning without the Veterans of Future Wars: if there's anything left in the Treasury we'll find it.

So there we have the reasons for our demand. Now how much will it cost? Well, once again we are up against a problem that can only be decided by reference to the past. The bonus legislation of the World War Veterans has cost about \$4,000,000,000, plus nobody knows how much interest yet to be paid. If we take a cost of ten times the World War cost, as previously suggested, we discover that our bonus bill will therefore cost about

40 billion dollars—more or less. All we ask is immediate cash payment of that, and we will be satisfied—for the time being.

In connection with this payment now of our 40 billion dollar bonus it is well to notice that Roger Burlingame, writing in the April, 1936, *Scribner's*, maintains with good logic that we cannot wage another war because this country will be unable to afford the veterans payments that would arise from that war. Mr. Burlingame was unfortunately writing before the policy of the Veterans of Future Wars had been developed, and as a result he still stands by and argues on the old outworn policy of paying for your wars after you have them rather than before.

Mr. Burlingame believes that in the next war we shall have to mobilize eight million men, and that as many casualties will be suffered as were suffered by France in the World War. This, he figures, will require an outlay of sixty-eight billion dollars over the seventeen year period following the war. He arrives at this figure from a study of the way we have treated the veterans of the last war. But, says Mr. Burlingame, we can't afford that expenditure, hence we can't have that war.

But Mr. Burlingame never thought of paying in advance. The Veterans of Future Wars have a

plan that quite definitely will make it possible to wage war. According to our program, as outlined above, the only sum required will be 40 billion dollars. I admit that this total was not obtained by rigorous figuring, but nonetheless it will serve if only we will remember that no matter how much we think our pension system is going to cost, it undoubtedly will cost slightly more.

Now this country can readily afford an expenditure of 40 (or say, to be quite liberal, 45) billion dollars for the benefit of its future war heroes. Whenever the country finds a suitable chance to go to war we shall be able to jump at that chance. The President has been told by the bankers, and the bankers have since been told by the President, that this country can afford a debt of seventy-five billions. Hence there will be no great strain on the exchequer. But there is very likely to be a strong inducement for the taxpayers of this country to go to our next war in person just to get away from it all. Under such circumstances it should not be difficult for the government to raise a sizable army. It may be that in the next war the slacker will be the fellow who goes away to fight and leaves the braver element toiling at home to pay off the debt as best they can.

CHAPTER III

WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

WE TRIED unsuccessfully a few weeks back to arrange a debate with Commander Van Zandt of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Mr. Van Zandt at first accepted our proposal for debate but stipulated that the debate must be held in Arizona within seven days. Our National Council is located at Princeton so this set up a difficult barrier of distance. The distance from Princeton to Arizona is roughly equivalent to the distance from the United States to France, though that evidently didn't occur to Commander Van Zandt. With the modern generation, however, distance is no problem. We proposed a radio debate, with our representative in New York and Mr. Van Zandt in Arizona, for we knew that the issue was of burning interest at the moment and we felt sure that some radio company would be interested in arranging it.

But Mr. Van Zandt's representative replied by telegraph in a day or so that the men in his organization were too busy taking care of their Widows

and Orphans to find time to debate with "a bunch of college boys." This blow went home for we knew that so far *we* had not made adequate provision for our future widows and orphans. As is customary with our organization we immediately turned to our two great prototypes to find just what they have done to assure government care for those bereaved by the war. I must confess that we found they had been not quite so successful in the care of their deserving dependents as they had been in the care of themselves. Perhaps they were belatedly aware of this oversight and that was the reason why they suddenly decided to care for their widows and orphans rather than debate with "college boys."

As a matter of fact we found that an organization opposed to payment of the bonus was the one most actively engaged in securing adequate treatment for the claims of women and children left without a guardian by the ravages of the World War. This organization, the American Veterans Association, has consistently opposed payment of a cash bonus to World War veterans and as such merits our condemnation in addition to the condemnation which it has freely received from the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Yet we were strongly attracted to the Ameri-

can Veterans Association because of its liberal policy toward their widows and orphans. A great deal of will power has been required by the Veterans of Future Wars in this matter. We were almost lulled into belief that this liberalizing policy of the hated American Veterans Association was a good thing; but we soon discovered that inasmuch as the American Legion and the Vets of Foreign Wars opposed this organization, any policy it might uphold is bound to be wrong.

The trouble with the American Veterans Association is that they do not understand the economics of modern government. They believe there is only so much money in the Treasury and that if you give it to one group, then you will be unable to give it to another group. The error in this reasoning is apparent to anyone who will examine government finance as advocated by the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Their economists have told Congress time and again, and to excellent advantage, that as long as the government was giving billions to the unemployed of the country, it was logical to give billions to the Veterans. There is no question of whether or not the Treasury can afford a total expenditure of only just so much. All you have to do, as our great Patriotic Organizations have told us time and again, is to

issue paper money as fast as it is required to pay the debt that we owe every man who ever got inside an olive drab uniform or training camp. Or if this is a bad idea, because it might raise prices, then all the government need do is to dip into that bottomless pit known as National Credit. If anyone doubts that the government can raise a hundred billion or so by these different means, just let him look to the example of Germany. Back in 1923 the Germans found that the printing presses were far and away the most effective way to raise money. They raised it by the hundred billion. The only difficulty they ran up against was squeezing all those zeroes into print on a piece of paper the size of a bank note or postage stamp.

So we shall not let monetary matters bother us. The Widows and Orphans will be cared for to the fullest extent, although we must first take care of the men who are going to wear the uniform of their country. The American Legion has found that this procedure is more effective and much more likely to stir up enthusiasm among its members, and it is well to follow the American Legion in all matters of this sort. Hence we shall forget that the American Veterans Association has an actual schedule prepared for raising pensions for widows and orphans, and we shall see just what

the American Legion has accomplished. We can rest assured, from a study of legislative history over the past eighteen years, that whatever condition exists today exists because the American Legion so desires.

For one thing we find right off that the childless widow is today receiving between thirty and forty dollars per month. You may think that this is not an immense sum, but you must recall that it was not the widow who wore the uniform for her country. It was the men who are today receiving five hundred or a thousand dollars that were willing to work for their country in some hot dusty camp all during that terrible summer of 'eighteen. Perhaps it is not precisely correct to say that the men willingly worked that summer for their country, but it is at least true that they willingly came when they were met at their door by a squad of men sent out by the local draft committee to find "volunteers" afflicted with procrastination in such matters.

This woman who is receiving the thirty dollars a month because she gave her husband to the country is scarcely heard of today in the general din, so she evidently little needs more attention and aid. Congress has set up the excellent standard that quantity is what counts, and unfortunately

there were only about a hundred thousand men killed in the war, or who died as the result of it. Therefore the demands of these women and dependents left by that hundred thousand are in no way so pressing as the demands raised by the four and a half million veterans of Camp Dix.

The woman who lost her husband in the war, and in addition has a child to support, gets only forty dollars, with six dollars for each additional child. The orphan who lost his father in the war and whose mother has since died, possibly as the result of grief engendered by the war, gets twenty dollars a month. And so it goes through the whole schedule of payments for these widows and orphans for whom Commander Van Zandt and his organization display such solicitude. The American Veterans Association has drawn up a schedule that would give to each of these widows and orphans about twice what they are receiving today. But unfortunately for the widows and orphans this measure thus backed will receive very little consideration from Congress for after all the American Veterans Association only numbers about thirteen thousand members. The first question that a Congressional Committee asks a man who appears before it is "How many people do you represent?" The answer to this first question

just about decides the issue in a Congressman's mind. If you say that you only represent yourself, you will be peremptorily told that you have three minutes to express your case, put your documents in the record, and get out. But if you smoothly state that you have 300 posts throughout the country (as the Veterans of Future Wars can boast today) with a membership which can be counted in the tens of thousands (as the Veterans of Future Wars can boast today) then you will be assured a rather attentive group of men on any Congressional Committee. Such is the power of statistics in our country.

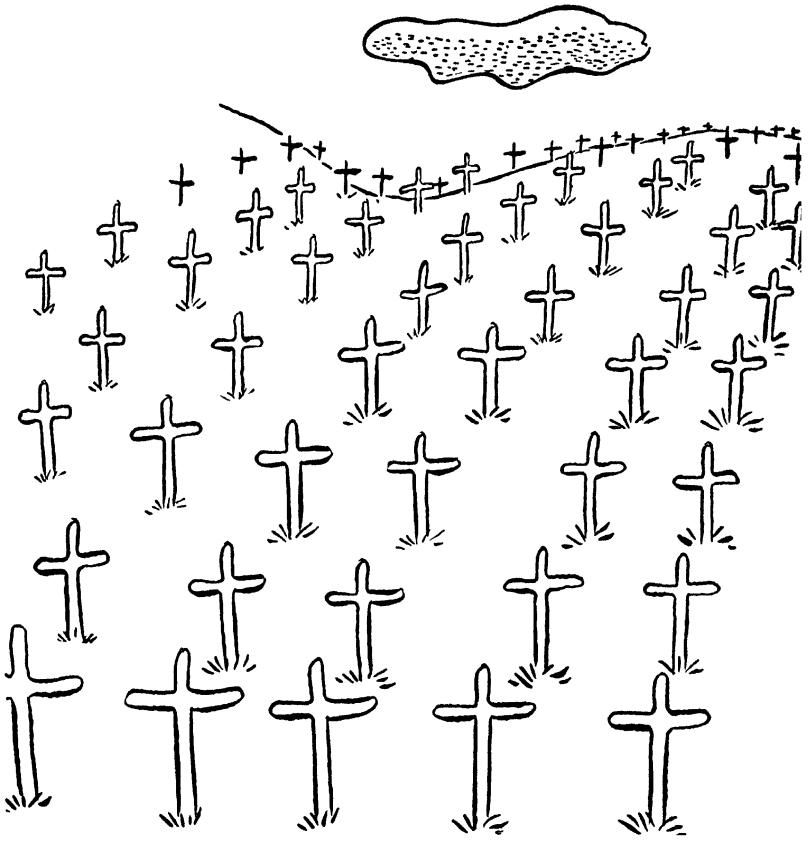
So the Veterans of Future Wars outfit is going to throw its solemn weight behind a movement to give adequate care to those women who lost their loved ones in the last war, and in addition the Veterans of Future Wars are going to demand that the government show now some proper solicitude for the widows and orphans of the next war.

To this end we shall make an attempt to get from Congress a pension of fifty dollars for all women capable of bearing children. This pension will begin immediately and will be payable until death, or until the war comes. Every woman whose husband goes through the war unscathed will be forced to give up this pension and she will thereby

be forced into the position of paying off for the rest of her life the cost of the pension which she received, but which she did not deserve because her husband was not killed. If her husband is wounded seriously enough to interfere with his work, she will receive double the pension, and she will thereby continue to support herself and her husband for the rest of their lives. When he dies, she will revert to the single fifty dollar pension. If she should die first, her husband is to continue to receive a single pension of fifty dollars.

So you see that the cost of any Widows and Orphans legislation is surprisingly low, for after all it is a self-liquidating debt. It will be paid for after the war by the wives of men who came through the war uninjured. The most important thing to be remembered about this is that there won't be much chance for a huge amount of debt to be paid to the Widows for the war will probably be upon us in a year or so and then we shall be in a position to start retiring the debt created by paying the pensions now.

It has been stated that the attitude of the Veterans of Future Wars in this matter is too liberal. For instance anyone can point to the fact that today the Widows only receive thirty dollars per month, yet look at the huge amount of money



YOUNG AMERICA

spent annually on veterans of our last war. The truth of the matter is that we propose to exclude from the rolls certain gentlemen who find ready acceptance thereon now. For instance the Congress of the United States, which unfortunately does not count many doctors among its membership, has stated that any of a large number of diseases contracted within six years after the war are *per se* assumed to result from the war. There is no doubt but that this is an excellent measure, in a way, for it thoroughly covers the field so very few ill veterans are left out, but we feel that our bill for pensions to all women with sick husbands ought to take in just about all of the few veterans who will be alive after the next war. It will put something of a tax burden on those few men who come through completely unscathed and who do not develop a head cold in the next six years, but if they are able to live through the approaching war they will be able to get past the tax burden.

The Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars have arranged it today so that a man may get a hundred dollar pension just because he caught sleeping sickness during 1924. The doctors down in Congress figured that if a man caught the disease in that year it was very likely as a result of the World War. Other doctors who earned their

degrees in some laboratory rather than on the stump are wont to point out that sleeping sickness, such as is cause for a pension under our present law, takes only about six weeks to develop and that therefore if a man catches it in 1924 there is strong reason to suppose he picked it up some five or six years after the close of hostilities. But there is no reason why Congress should take such a view or chance. After all the Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars count almost two million men, or guinea pigs, between them.

In this connection we can discover an excellent health note for use in the next war. From the number of men who are receiving disability allowances as compared to the number of men who were officially wounded in battle, it is apparent that the safest place in the army is up in the front line. Should another war occur this fact will probably lead to a concerted rush in that direction.

Hitler has said, "The psyche of the mass of the people is not receptive of anything savoring of half-measures and weakness." Our two Great Patriotic Organizations have fully understood this and today they have a strong position with the "masses." It is not difficult to see why.

In 1935 the United States paid out almost \$1,500 per battle casualty while Canada paid less

than three hundred, and the European countries less than sixty dollars per. We have not employed half-measures in the care of our veterans in any war.

The War Between the States cost the Federal Government \$4,900,000,000 in direct outlay plus the interest on the debt. The cost of the pensions now totals over seven billion seven hundred million, and is still going strong. The actual fighting of the war was a minor item by comparison.

The Spanish-American War was but the flurry of one hot summer and only cost us directly, plus interest on the debt created, 629 millions. But already we have spent eight hundred and sixty-seven millions for the upkeep of the veterans of that war, and we have hardly made a beginning. There are still widows of the War of 1812 on our pension rolls so it will require a considerable outlay before we can write off the last pensioner of this inconsequential Spanish brawl about the year 2025.

But the World War is the true love of all Americans for in it we have statistics that floor even the most blasé. So far the war has cost us directly, including the interest on the debt which will probably continue for a hundred years, about forty-three billion dollars and some odd cents. By June



LIFE AT THE FRONT

16, 1936, we shall have paid out about eight and a half billion to our veterans and then of course the real payments will begin. A large part of this eight billion is not pensions, but "pay adjustments"; it will make interesting reading for all devotees of huge numbers when the final reckoning is made about the year 2050.

That explains the real reason for the Veterans of Future Wars. We are in the uncertain position of knowing that a war is imminent but not knowing whether we are going to be able to get our pensions for it. We have to compete with widows and veterans from every war that this country has ever engaged in, with the sole exception of the Revolutionary War. There is little or no sense in going to war, as every true veteran of the last few wars will tell you, unless there is some provision for living in idleness at the expense of the government for the rest of your life. It may never have occurred to the veterans of past wars but we want to know whether or not this government can continue without stint to pay such huge pensions. Unless the government can, we see no reason to spend our time working in army camps. This government certainly isn't worth fighting for unless it will give every fighter a first lien on the country's

This is a place and time where frankness is invaluable so we do not hesitate to say that if the next war costs as much as all the experts predict, there won't be anything left in the till for us deserving veterans. Under those circumstances one would hardly expect us to be willing to fight. Nor can anyone charge us with lack of patriotism. A quick glance at the records of the Revolutionary War will show any Doubting Thomas that many of the states and the Continental Congress had to guarantee the soldiers a bonus and pension for life before they would engage in the war. And if you are still unconvinced I need only add that George Washington, the father of his country, and Abraham Lincoln, the son, were both advocates of such a policy in the wars that occurred when they were Commanders-in-chief of the American forces.

Any member of the D.A.R. who attacks our motives in this great attempt to get the payoff now, had better examine carefully the records of her famous progenitor, for it might well develop that the only reason she can claim to be a patriot is that her great-great-grandpop was in need of some ready cash, and found that marching with the continental army was the easiest way in that day to get money, just as it is the easiest way to get it today.

So that is the financial status of the country at the present time and that is the way that we propose to deal with it.

We think that the country today can afford to pay our thirty or forty billion dollars, and we feel that it will be just as likely to bring back prosperity as was the payment of the bonus to the veterans of the last war. Furthermore we feel that the future widows and orphans of our great organization are deserving of the best consideration the government can give them, so we feel that they should get fifty dollars a month rather than the somewhat less bounteous sum of thirty dollars which the two Great Patriotic Organizations of today think suitable for their widows and orphans.

We thoroughly believe that we shall thus be better prepared for the next war because our citizenry will feel that they have nothing to gain and all to lose by going through the war alive. There will be few enough ready to brave the hazards of the next peace, when they recall the period that has followed the last war. At the same time we disagree with Mr. Burlingame in his assertion that we can have no future wars because we can afford none. I believe the patriotic plan, as revealed here, makes thorough preparation for

financing the war, and after all modern wars are won and lost on financing.

I have demonstrated the logic of our demand and its practicality; now we must pass on to discuss how we may best attain our ends.

CHAPTER IV

THE PANOPLY OF PEACE

HOWEVER reasonable and logical our demand for immediate payment of the bonus may be, it is certain to be neglected by Congress unless we can stir and line up a vast number of people behind us. The conscience of Congress is peculiarly responsive to large numbers, so we must cast about for means to make our group popular with the masses. Once again we must turn for inspiration to our great prototypes.

Needless to say we must get a uniform not only adaptable and adorning for street wear and important town hall functions but also faintly prescient of the coming war, just as the uniforms which our Great Legionaires affect are faintly reminiscent of the late World War. It is important to impress upon one's mind the necessity for a uniform for we are all aware that not only such All-American organizations as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars have used these uniforms to excellent advantage, but also even Un-American organizations have had some degree

of success. For instance take the examples of Mr. Hitler and Mr. Mussolini. It is easy to imagine that our Legion and Vets of Foreign Wars could use uniforms to achieve their great purposes, but just consider what a victory it was for uniforms when, despite the errors in reasoning power of these two foreigners, they were able to secure office just because people liked the colors black in Italy and brown in Germany.

According to statistics gathered over the past seventeen years by the Patriotic Veterans Organizations in Congress, this country likes dark blue best. We certainly though don't wish to use the same colors that they employ because someone might think that we were mimicking them. Anyhow it would seem that the logical color for us would be "true blue" which is a light blue. We must at any rate avoid such colors as green or yellow for in the minds of many Americans these colors have close affinity with the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars and we do not wish to be confused with these relics of the past.

There is only one item of attire that we can afford to purchase immediately and that is the hat. Just as the veterans of bygone days referred to their service as "overseas," so we of the future will refer to our future service as "over air" (pro-

nounced over here). Hence our cap will be designated as an "over air" cap. In order to avoid confusion with the Veterans of the past we have decided to wear the cap at a slightly different angle. The caps unfortunately will look very much alike but we shall wear our caps in an east and west direction rather than the customary north and south. This will solve a great problem, for if you have ever worn an "over seas" cap you will know that it affords absolutely no protection for the ears. This is perhaps the reason why Veterans of the past war have difficulty pulling in their ears in bad weather. But our caps will completely cover the ears and probably afford even a slight covering for the shoulder. It is merely a return to the custom of Napoleon from which Nelson deviated with such bad effect on the course of military science. If you recall your history Napoleon wore his hat east and west but Nelson, who was something of a fop, affected a north and south direction. Nelson cannot be an example for us for he very foolishly died in battle. Napoleon, on the other hand, outlived the war for twenty glorious years supported by a government pension. He is our man.

Once we have the uniform we are a success. But there are several developments that must follow if

we are truly to emulate the past. For instance we must proceed with rapid development of drum and bugle corps by the dozen. It is not at all necessary that these drum and bugle corps be able to play any music, but they must be fully capable of executing the most diverse maneuvers right in the middle of a parade, without missing a step. Of course the *sine qua non* in this is the drum major who must be able to chin himself on his baton in mid-air. But aside from him it is unnecessary that the members of the corps have any musical ability. A census taken at the last fifteen parades in convention cities of the American Legion fails to reveal anyone who ever heard the drum and bugle corps *actually playing*. When it passed the points chosen for the census the people there assumed that it had either just finished playing or was just preparing to play as soon as it rounded the corner and got out of earshot.

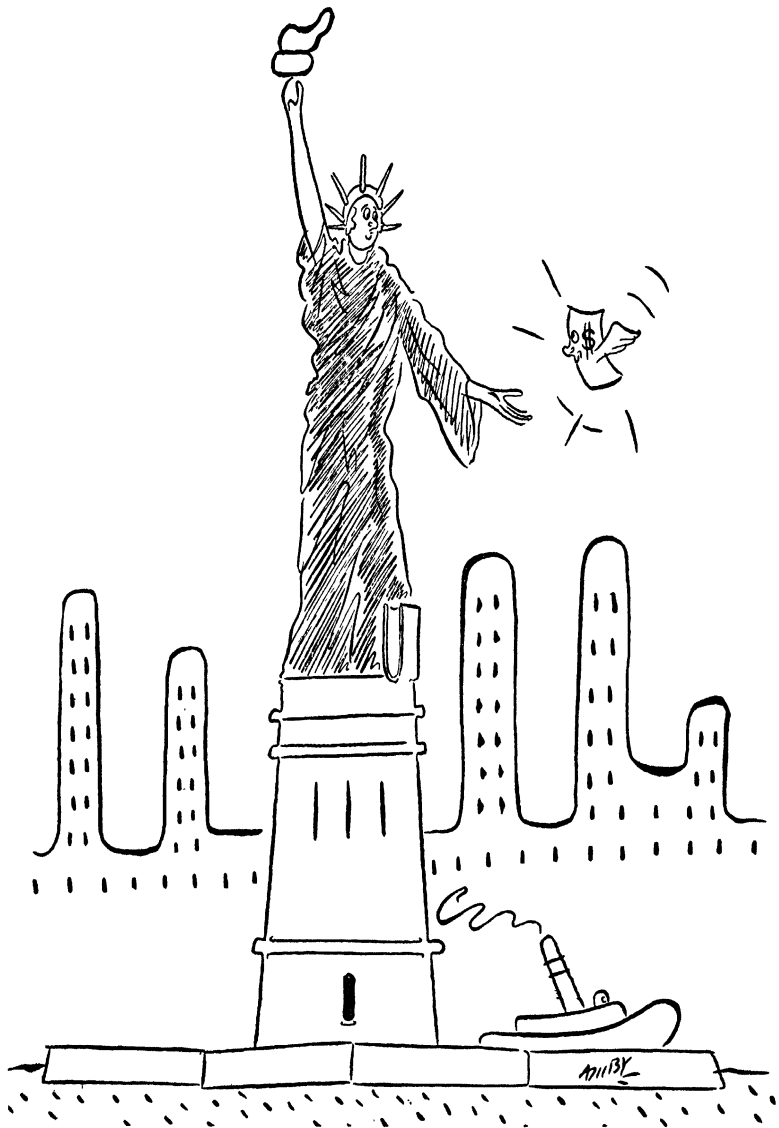
We must get in all the parades that we possibly can and if there are no parades it is well to organize some. There is nothing particularly intellectual about walking nowhere down the middle of the street, but the American people eat it up, so it must be worth while. In all these parades we must insist that the Veterans of Future Wars be given a place ahead of all other veterans organizations.

It is a matter of right, for the future should come before the past in all our calculations.

As time goes on and our treasury develops it may become profitable—of course all of this has a profitable future—to wear entire uniforms. The World War veterans have taken glossy tin hats for their decorative haberdashery. The trench helmet, however, is a thing of the past in military science. We must adopt some uniform similar to that worn by the figures of fiction such as H. G. Wells describes and demonstrates in his latest motion picture. The only requirement for a parade helmet is that it be visible for several miles. The American Legion found that the helmets some of its members wore into battle during the World War were bad for this purpose. They were camouflaged to such an extent that you could only see them a block or so down the street. For the sake of the parade the American Legion wisely adopted a helmet which gleams in the sun and instills in the heart today tender memories of the time the soldier spent digging ditches at Camp Taylor back in the fall of 1918.

If we hold enough of these parades it won't be long before we have gotten a huge organization together. Then what can we do to sustain interest?

First and foremost we must be prepared to



LIBERTY LIGHTING THE WORLD

attack the REDS of this country at any moment and on the slightest provocation. We can find Reds anywhere we look but there are certain well-known hiding places. For instance any place where people are given to thoughtful contemplation of our government is likely to be a harbor for Reds. It is remarkable that this should be so, yet the facts bear me out. Furthermore there is something insidious about the words "student" and "university." It is not hard to connect these two with the word RED. It's getting so today that about the only place that you can find real Americans is in the ranks of the past Veterans. Twenty years ago their average mental age was thirteen years, according to government statistics, and some say that they have wisely retreated from that exposed position in the years since 1918.

Fortunately for this country a large proportion of our World War veterans were unable to read during their youth. Over five hundred thousand of them had to be taught the rudiments of reading during those stirring months of 1917-1918, before they could go forth to fight the enemy. Unfortunately since they learned to read the Reds have been making serious inroads into their ranks, so we must not be too certain that just because a man is a veteran of some training camp he is *per se*

an American heart and soul. For instance the most bitter attack that our organization has had to endure has been directed against it in the letter-to-the-editor column by one Comrade McNally, a member of the Communist Party who lives in Princeton, N. J.—though not a student—and provides almost as much local entertainment as the annual visit of the carnival.

Thus it is a wise thing to devote a good part of each meeting to reports of subversive activities as located by your undercover squad. You will find a large number of men perfectly willing to provide you with all sorts of miscellaneous information. There is something peculiarly fascinating about undercover work and it affords an immense amount of satisfaction to a man unable to make his mark in the world, to go about pretending that he is trying to keep himself completely unknown. Success in this gives him unbounded faith in himself. According to further reliable statistics gathered by our undercover agents about 1.7 per cent of the members of the veterans organizations of the last war fall into this group of self-appointed undercover men. The remarkable thing about it is that once they have uncovered a rather nebulous secret they become extremely vocal so that today this 1.7 per cent is far and away the most articu-

late portion of the membership of our two Great Veterans Organizations.

Congressman Hamilton Fish would probably tell you that it is a simple matter to find REDS in this country yet the fact remains that whenever one is uncovered it is an item of news valued by all the journals and affords excellent publicity for the sleuth. The means to be employed are quite simple: Read a couple of radical papers which are on all the newsstands and you will find hundreds of names of men who blatantly proclaim themselves the RED MENACE. There is one point of which to beware, however. When you check up on these hundreds of names you will very likely find that they are all the same man. It is an old custom in the Communist Party to parcel out to each comrade about as many names as one weak back can bear. Nobody today knows what the original names of Stalin, Lenin, or Trotsky were, but it makes little difference because even they couldn't do justice to the pronunciation.

Calvin Coolidge once stifled a smile and remarked that "partisanship should stop at the boundary line, but patriotism should begin there." If you are in any way familiar with the general run of past veterans organizations you will recognize that these words are completely outdated and

outmoded. We must be perfectly willing to lay aside all thought of partisanship. We must be willing to join wholeheartedly with our brother Veterans so that we can approach the steps of Washington and the vaults of the treasury with a solid and compact organization. Partisanship must not exist within our borders. And Patriotism must. The same Calvin Coolidge is reported to have told Senator Morrow when the latter was seeking election that he should base his campaign on "patriotism" because "everybody's for it." Those words ring true unaltered by the passage of time. It is a glowing tribute to the two Great Veterans Organizations that they have not failed to dwell upon the beauty of patriotism since they laid down their picks and shovels for the last time back there in late November, 1918, and said good-by to the dusty sprawling barracks of Camp Taylor.

Another point to remember well is to stress the great service which you will accomplish by your service to Our Country in the next war. Don't let any fear that you may not actually get into battle deter you. You have already come as close to battle as the majority of World War veterans did. In this enlightened age the word veteran no longer implies that you have engaged in battle. It simply means that you have worked for the government

at less than the usual rate of pay. Hence it is apparent that already a large percentage of our organization are veterans for they have been working in CCC camps at thirty dollars a month for months at a time—and they did not have to be drafted.

As a matter of fact the word veteran has lost its original meaning completely. When you wish to speak of some man who actually engaged in battle you must say “an old soldier.” These “old soldiers” have been completely forgotten in the rush of the veterans. There are a good many of them lying in government hospitals getting the best care that a bureaucratic government can afford, but they are an inarticulate group. They are the men that you hear mentioned by the “veterans” time and again but they are not in the same class with “veterans.” They are men who have actually given something for their government and can never be repaid. They are the men who went lightly to real war back in 1917, who saw its worst features, and who will not describe it to you because the very thought of it is enough to bring pain. These are the men whose names the “veterans” lightly take in vain. Fortunately for our Veterans of Future Wars we have no such comrades to fight our mortal battles in war, and to

fight our financial battles in peace—not yet. Rather we shall dedicate ourselves, until the time shall come when we too will be maimed and broken, to the task of aiding these men and women to secure whatever assistance a repentant government can give.

We should at all times have prepared a group of the more muscular members of the Veterans of Future Wars who will be ready to jump at the slightest call to the aid and defense of “America for Americans.” Mussolini once remarked that “in certain contingencies violence has a deep moral significance.” However moral it may be, the success of Mussolini shows that it is efficacious. No less is it important in a veterans organization, as was shown by the prompt response that our organization received, so the newspapers reported, from the Mercer County, New Jersey, post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. It took them a week or so to discover that we are their ally, not opponent. Their first reaction therefore was to pass a resolution stating that if a Veteran of Future Wars got within close proximity to any Veteran of Foreign Wars physical harm was likely to result. So far there has been no actual outbreak of violence, although we are looking forward to it with some degree of anticipation. The trouble with the Vet-

erans of Foreign Wars is that they are demoralized today just as they were in 1919. They have won a tremendous victory, and now they don't know where to turn. We suspect though that as soon as they collect their average thirteen-year-old wits they will look longingly toward the general pension system. We will back them to the hilt in this, although we must demand of course that we get our bonus first.

Yet all of this organization is completely useless unless we can do something with it. So naturally we must hold every year a super-monster convention. This convention must be absolutely the largest, the best, and the craziest of any veterans convention that was ever held before, else it will not appeal to the chamber of commerce.

To this end we must have the convention out in the country. The World War organizations have always had their conventions in cities, but there is no city large enough to hold our convention. The best place to hold it would be some point just north or south of Denver so that all the members of the convention can parade and stand and cheer up and down the plain, and then the speakers' platform will be up on the plateau within perfect view of everyone within twenty miles. Inasmuch as we have about forty million potential members

it will require rather an extensive parade to include them all. The American Legion is often proud of the fact that its parade was so long that it took five hours to pass any one point. If we work our parade right it will function as Ripley says the Chinese do. It will be going continuously the year round. If anything can impress the members of Congress this ought to.

But our strongest point is to dwell continuously upon the part we might well play in battle unless a stupid General Staff fails to note our brilliant qualities as soldiers and instead puts us to work digging trenches in the peaceful soil of Illinois. But we must not let this restrict our demands for a bonus in the least. We need above all things to impress upon the people at large that, although it was necessary to draft us, that was just through an oversight. We stood ready to go to battle and we would have done so had it not been that we had difficulty in learning how to read and write.

So there stands our program for stirring up sentiment in favor of us and of our program. Parades—conventions—uniforms—pretty women—drum and bugle corps—and all the other gay embellishments of peace must illustrate our every action. Our posts must be ready to offer their services whenever any chance whatever arises to

act the boy scout in any manner at all. Of course in this we must watch out principally for the safety of the country as against and in spite of all the many Communists and Reds that flock up and down our land to the complete annoyance of all good people who are trying to get a square meal at government expense.

But this is only the preliminary prelude to our principal action, this is only a beginning. We must always keep our eye on Washington. As soon as we have enough members we will find that Congress will let us write our own bills, will salute us from the floor of the houses of Congress and will admit us to hearings before committees just as if we were *bona fide* dictators and not merely a devoted organization whose sole aim is the exaltation of patriotism. To this glorious end a study of the methods to be used to heat and put our pressure on Congress is now in order, and will be intimately discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE LOBBIES OF CONGRESS

HUEY LONG is reported to have said once that "I ain't afraid of anything expect the People." This is true of just about every representative of the People, but more honest Representatives might add that the more people, the more the fear. Therefore the point to make when you enter the City of Washington is this: That you are the representative of a huge mass of people. It isn't usually necessary that said mass exist save in the imagination of the Congressman to whom you are speaking.

As soon as you have convinced the Congressman of your numerical backing he will want to know one thing: Are you a political organization? Ordinarily you, as an honest man, would reply that that is exactly what you are; but in this game the rules are different and hence for the sake of old tradition you vehemently declare that you and your organization have never had anything to do with politics and never will. You must assume a hurt tone. Why all this is necessary it is difficult

to say, for the Congressman will readily admit that he is a member of a political organization. Yet that Congressman will treat you like a pariah if you so much as intimate that you have any political connections—even though he himself may well be your political connection.

An example of this is the unsullied record of the American Legion in its various dealings with the government. When it was first organized back in war days it made a great point of declaring publicly that it was no political organization, and could not and would not become one. This was repeated with good effect back in 1922 when the first Adjusted Compensation Act was being prepared before the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives. Mr. John Thomas Taylor, at that time vice-chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the American Legion in Washington, told this questioning Committee that “the American Legion is not in politics—it has not been in politics, and never will be in politics.” Mr. John Thomas Taylor still carries out with some success the wishes of the non-political American Legion. I suppose that if Aaron Burr were still alive today he would be maintaining with equal vehemence that Tammany Hall is no political organization, it is merely the patri-

otic fellowship of old soldiers and fishermen which it started out to be.

But Mr. John Thomas Taylor did not miss this same opportunity to point out to the House Committee that his organization was rather large numerically. To use his own words:

But what I want to impress most upon the Committee is the fact that there were 4,800,000 ex-service men and women, and that the Congress of the United States is composed of close to 450 members and each member is in effect representing practically 10,000 ex-service men and women together with their dependents, which might be multiplied at least by two and that would make 20,000; and those 20,000 ex-service men and women in each congressional district feel that they have a right to come down here to Washington and express to the Congress of the United States their wishes upon this compensation measure.

We can be thankful that there is such a thing as congressional committee hearings because they afford us ready speeches, culled from the past. For instance this speech of John Thomas Taylor can be lifted verbatim by our organization—with his kind permission—and inserted in the record when a hearing on our bill is had. Needless to say a few changes will be in order. For instance his numbers are rather small in comparison with our organiza-

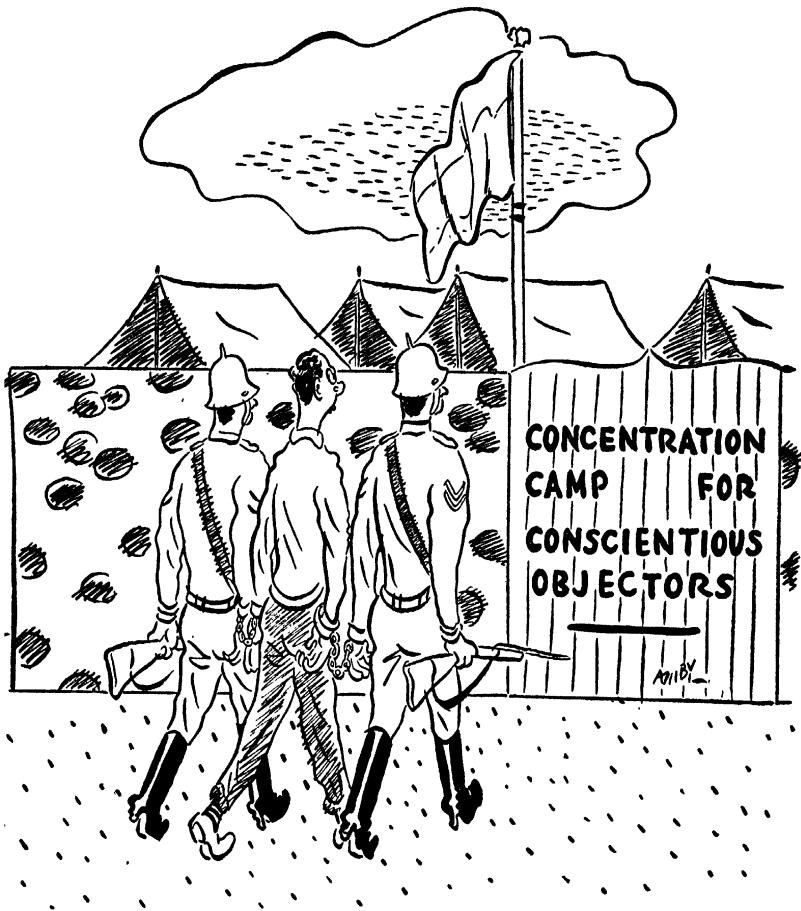
tion. We will have to multiply his figures by about eight and then we will have a number which is guaranteed to make something of an impression on Congress. If it is swayed at all by four million, think what thirty million will do. If the worse came to the worst the Senate would probably be willing to mortgage the House wing of the capitol and the House would probably offer us liens on the Senate wing.

In this connection Mr. Hanford MacNider, at that time National Commander of the American Legion, remarked:

“It is an interesting fact, and one that I think you will be glad to hear, that 10 years after the Civil War the Grand Army of the Republic had only 20,000 members. Three years after the war we have over 1,000,000.”

According to this reasoning think what a stir it will create in Congress when we go before a committee and announce that *some years before the war* we already count a membership of about five million. It is difficult to see how they can resist us. Certainly, as Mr. MacNider so aptly put it, Congress should “be glad to hear” about our enormous voting strength.

For some reason the Congress of the United States always takes a peculiar interest in the large



HE WOULDN'T TAKE THE BONUS

veterans organizations so we should not have much trouble getting strong backing from that legislative quarter. We aren't soon likely to get the assistance past veterans organizations got at first because we went about it a bit differently and, truth to tell, the standing of veterans organizations has fallen somewhat since that fateful November, 1918. Hence we have had to take out incorporation papers merely in New Jersey rather than be nobly and nationally incorporated by act of Congress, as was the American Legion.

Nor will we be able readily to secure an office in Washington exempt from district taxation as the offices of other well-known veterans organizations. All this sort of thing must follow as we develop power in convincing Congress how many members we have. And this will not be too difficult for if a study of the records of veterans organizations over the past few years proves true, we need but wave a fistful of membership cards and the bonus is ours.

In all the time the past bonus has been under action and consideration no election has been proved carried on the point that the candidate would guarantee a bonus to veterans. Yet what has been the effect of the constant demands of the

members of the veterans groups?—continuous success. So with us.

Perhaps the chief reason for this has been the value of repetition. Hitler once remarked that “the receptive ability of the masses is very limited, their understanding small; on the other hand, they have a great power of forgetting. This being so, all effective propaganda must be confined to very few points which must be brought out in the form of slogans until the very last man is enabled to comprehend what is meant by any slogan.” This is not only true of the masses—it is especially true of Congress. Hence if only we can be articulate long enough the only possible outcome is success. Naturally we must not be long in securing the bonus or the war will be upon us before we have been paid off.

In order to secure such continuous repetition it is important that we hire some man with a sound pair of leathern lungs, capable of living in Washington on the meager salary of about ten thousand a year and all for the purpose of taking every opportunity to tell the members of Congress just what a good thing our bonus is and will be for the country. He must be a man who requires no sleep, capable of attending dinners every night, the theater and cocktail parties daily at least, yet

able to be up at ten in the morning feeling fresh and buoyant as he walks with cheery "good morning" into a Committee room. This man will have a busy time. He not only will talk long and persuasively to the various members of Congress, but if the past be any criterion still, he will be asked to write the bonus bill that we are suggesting and then he will have to maneuver it through Congress with the assistance of some representative stooge friendly to our cause but not up to the high level of moral tension necessary to achieve our eminent ends.

The first bonus bill granted the Veterans of the World War was drawn up at the request of Congress by veterans organizations, although the latter did foolishly allow Congress to make changes and alterations before it was passed. But the past patriots finally granted it their approval—temporarily. Due credit to the true authors was not fully given in the original bonus act but that slight was completely repaired in the act passed this year. The Preamble reads very frankly:

WHEREAS, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and the Disabled American Veterans of the World War in their national conventions assembled in 1935, unanimously adopted resolutions requesting the immediate cash payment of the

Adjusted Service Certificates, with refund of interest paid and cancellation of interest accrued upon loans thereon, and

WHEREAS, said organizations have united upon this measure to carry into effect their said resolutions,

Therefore, be it enacted,—

It is a real pleasure to read this. Too long we have been maligning political parties because they did not carry out platforms adopted by their conventions. This Act should be an inspiration to both the Democratic and Republican parties when next they assemble together, though separately, in convention. It is also a bid to us to call together our convention. Apparently the only requirement for the passage of your bonus act is that you pass a resolution at the annual conclave requesting such action.

But if there seems unnatural delay in the execution of our broad schemes for general compensation, we can always keep hammering at Congress for the amelioration of individual cases. Congressmen are prohibited today from appearing on behalf of any claimant against the United States Government, with the sole exception of veteran claimants. This gives us a great advantage, and we would be foolish if we did not employ it as use-

fully as have the other veterans organizations. This continuous sniping and nibbling at the government is bound to bring results in the long run.

Yet at the same time we devote so much thought to securing our rights from the government, we must make absolutely sure that the Treasury's credit remains unimpaired. We do not want to be paid off in past money which is now worthless or depreciated.

In the prosecution of our just demand we are likely to run against serious problems, if the example of our Great Prototypes is of any service. For instance there might readily arise a small but articulate group of young veterans of future wars who will refuse to accept their bonus. I have already met several such. They seriously believe the government cannot afford to pay us our bonus and no amount of arguing corrects this false impression. What I am driving at is this: The veterans of the World War have been having a rather bad time with certain veterans who say they do not want the bonus. These men claim to be actuated by patriotism but that is hollow on the face of it, for after all the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are the Two Great Patriotic Organizations today. We are going to have

to face the threat of subversive groups such as the American Veterans Association.

This diabolical enclave or nucleus of only thirteen thousand members, and so of no importance actually, has tried to take the bread from the mouths of our fellow deserving veterans. True they tried to raise monthly allowances given the widows of veterans, but in general they are opposed to the care of true patriots who worked all that hot summer of 1918 in the hard blistering heat of a training camp. The chief difficulty is that, though small numerically and hence not worthy of Congressional notice, they are very outspoken. They have been as a thorn in the side of True Patriots ever since they were organized three years ago. Now for this type of fellow we have only one solution.

We suggest that all veterans of future wars who are conscientious objectors to a bonus, should forthwith be incarcerated in concentration camps for the duration of the peace. There is really no other way to dispose of them.

Already the Veterans of Future Wars have made valuable contacts in Washington and have even achieved the distinction of being attacked upon the floor of the House of Representatives by a Representative Fuller from Arkansas. That Hon-

orable Congressman stated, as reported in the press, that "we were unworthy of public notice and should be attacked by every true American." The consistency in that sentence is worthy of a man who would vote to give the veterans of the last war their bonus and would oppose paying a bonus to the veterans of future wars. But we realize that the Representative must maintain his standing with other veterans organizations as well as with us. After all, the only criterion, as Wallis says in his book "The Politician," is numbers; so when we are able to muster our thirty million voters we fully expect Representative Fuller to rally to our cause as did the prodigal son to his meal ticket.

We believe that the only thing that differentiates lobbies of veterans from lobbies of other organizations is that Congress never holds any investigation of the Great Patriotic Societies. Therefore we realize that we are immune, more or less, to that form of free publicity. Yet if there is any chance whatever to be investigated we should speedily seize it. We have offered the Senate opportunity to investigate us. So far as we know this is the only incident of that kind on record. Of course we demand that if we are investigated the other Veterans Organizations be investigated at the same time as is but fair to all concerned. As

a matter of fact this is not entirely an unselfish gesture for we feel that there are many angles to the Veteran Game that we don't know yet, but which would be fully revealed if the Other Great Veterans would only divulge them. Of course we realize that as investigations are now held, it involves huge expense to preserve records of all your letters and telegrams on the thin chance that Congress may investigate you thirty years from now. To alleviate this useless and costly uncertainty the Veterans of Future Wars are especially anxious to see an improved system introduced, to wit: That all letters and telegrams sent by any corporation within the precincts of the United States be sent by way of Congress. Nothing could be done without full knowledge of Congress; this should lead to much more honest use of the mails but it will not increase the work of Congressmen much because they spend their time reading letters and telegrams anyhow. The only difference is that the telegrams will be currently newsworthy rather than musty with the accumulated dust of twenty years.

Congress is by all accounts a very delicate machine and must be handled with kid gloves. Despite the inclusive power of the President and the Supreme Court today, Congress still plods its

weary way happy in the delusion that it is the Government of the People. Today it is a paradox that whatever power it has is not its power at all—it is the power of some powerfully organized lobby. This of course accounts for the fact that Congress is becoming nothing but a debating society, with very little ability in that line. Even now bills are drawn for it by such organizations as the Veterans of Future Wars, and in consequence of this fact we expect to have our organization mentioned soon in the preamble to some bill designed to alleviate the worry and care which arises from contemplation of the horrors of coming war.

It was with some surprise that we learned, when we first proposed our bonus plan, that we were expected to supply the bill, if any bill were to be passed, but this seems fairly logical. Still, we had always assumed that it was the duty of Congress to prepare bills and to give due thought and weight to any plan which might come before the public eye. Now we can see how utterly illogical all that is. If Congress is to pass upon a bill just because there are a certain number of people behind it, it is not up to Congress to study the bill, it is up to Congress to count the number of voters who favor it.

So our entire legislative program resolves itself into two points: We must get a man to write our bill in legal form, and we must hire another to convince Congress that we have several millions of voters right at our back. If we can find men of high caliber success is assured, otherwise only the blank white walls of Congress will greet our humble supplications—as they have the unorganized widows and nurses of the World War.

CHAPTER VI

VETERANS OF FUTURE WARS, INC.

OUR plan of action is laid out, our method of approach to Washington planned, our demands prepared. Here is what we have so far done to realize these plans: No sooner had our plan been announced in the public prints than letters from all over the country poured in upon us. These letters all were of the greatest interest but some were not especially complimentary. For some reason or other, it seems we had stepped on the toes of some people, and as often as we attempted to turn and fix our attention on the future, these correspondents continued laboring to turn us back to their view of the past war.

The amount of vitriol that a person can set down on paper is amazing. Words like louse, skunk, and rat were selling at bargain rates in our mail during the first two or three weeks of our active existence. Yet through it all we were able to find many friends. There was enough of a response to be able to announce in less than two weeks that we had three hundred posts through-

out the country, with the number growing daily.

The organization is quite simple. We have a National Council, which includes the three national officers—Commander, Secretary, and Treasurer—and the nine regional commanders, plus the Adjutant in Charge of the Home Fire Division. This group is located in Princeton, New Jersey, and acts as a clearing house of ideas and plans for the entire organization. It is supported by a fifty per cent prorate on the income of each Post and in turn it provides the local Post with pins, buttons, and printed material concerning the organization. The National Council has also received a few gifts which have enabled it to carry on its work up to now.

The local posts, as we have organized these, are proceeding rapidly with plans for mass demonstrations, parades, and all the other accepted exemplifications of the glorious panoply of peace, thrice armed. Yet we have not been without difficulties in the organizations. For instance one of our more energetically gallant members writes that he has been opposed continuously by the press and certain Patriotic Organizations in his town and that the President of the University of which he is a member even called him up on the carpet and told him that either the Veterans of

Future Wars would be suppressed on that Campus or else that President would lose his job. This same correspondent sent us a copy of a rather threatening note he received. It warned him that he must "cease and desist" within five hours after receipt of the note, or "take the consequences." Our Post Commander writes that he is just taking the note as "a joke." We don't know whether to send him flowers or the Croix de Guerre Future with Palm (outstretched). We shall have to wait for later advice on the state of his health and corporal being if any.

Gentlemen have numerously and insistently volunteered to be the unknown soldier in the next war. These souls were so very conscientious about the whole matter that they didn't even give their names when offering their services. But as a matter of fact our organization is, in principle, opposed to any election or selection of an unknown soldier. One of our posts in Texas has an excellent suggestion. They are going to try to get a monument erected to the Future Soldiers at the Texas Centennial this year. It will consist chiefly of blank bronze tablets.

Responses from the clergy of our land have been out of all proportion to their numbers. We have signed up several divinity schools entire, and

these will have as their chief future function the duty of convincing us that it is entirely Christian to kill our fellow men. The majority of our members are not worried about this angle at all, though, because they are interested only in this war for the bonus they can get out of it. But one New Jersey preacher did work out an excellent project in the form of a bill to be presented to all state and federal legislatures. He feels that we should, like all the other great Patriotic Organizations, "foster Preachers' Oath Bills to kill their pernicious activities in behalf of peace." Although our own interest is and primarily will be in a bonus, there is nothing like drawing a red herring across the path of professional pacifists, especially if the herring is very, very red.

The Church is taking this whole business of approaching war in a laudably sane manner as is demonstrated by another letter from a minister. He says, "The Church knows that another war is on the way and that it cannot stop it; it realizes, once more, that it must forsake the religion of Jesus for the religion of Nationalism. The organized Church cannot afford to withhold its blessing from any future war, since without the coöperation of the State modern Christianity would be ruined. Therefore as in the past, the

Church will bless the next war—no matter where it is fought or for what reason—simply because it will have to do so in order to survive.”

The Sunday after our program was publicly announced a number of sermons were preached upon the text of the Future Veterans. In one instance of which I have first-hand knowledge, mention of the Veterans of Future Wars so upset the choir that they fell out of their stalls.

Our program has come to be something of a puzzle to many people. They can't possibly see how the government can afford to pay the bonus because, they believe, the cost will be so high. We find it useless to remonstrate with them; they are just a bit dim of understanding. Another fellow says that our logic is at fault. He can't see how we can be veterans and still maintain that we will be killed in the next war. He is quite right when he assumes that the only good veteran is a live one—at least that opinion prevails and will prevail in Congress.

There have appeared from time to time groups in different colleges who actually bear no relation whatever to the Veterans of Future Wars. They set themselves up as future somethings or other and thus provide amusement for local tabloids but actually they attempt only to burlesque the

serious intent of our organization. We Veterans Organizations find that we have to meet a lot of ridicule from the so-called satirists but mass persistence always wins in the end.

About the only real suggestion we have received is that we conduct a national contest among the better architects for a monument suitable to us. This monument will not, of course, be erected until after the next war is over, and we are no longer here. But it does seem peculiarly fitting that we should all have a hand in the choice of that bronze and granite memento which is to carry the memory and momentum of our brief life through the ages yet to come.

Although our uniforms have not yet been chosen, we do have the hand salute which developed out of the obsolete fascist salute devised by Mussolini. The only change we make is that one's arm must be held parallel to the ground and that the palm be turned upward receptively.

One of the most curious of our facts is that there are several organizations scattered over the country which have called themselves Veterans of Future Wars and have arrived at this title independently of us. We of course also arrived at the title independently of them. One of these claim-

ants says it was organized in 1920. However, the name of our organization is only a minor point, for "a rose by any other name," etc. But it did come as a distinct surprise to us to learn that we were not original in our idea of a bonus paid sometime in advance of war. We knew that Washington and Lincoln had favored prebonuses, but that was only after their specific war had been declared. As a matter of fact we have been offered documentary proof that this idea was first advanced by a great ruler, the Nizam-ul-Mulk, back in 1073 A.D.

According to our informant, Al-ford ibn Roos, of Vanadium, New Mexico, "this celebrated statesman's experiment is fully set out by the renowned Arab historian, Ibn Khaldûn, in his monumental work, 'Kitab-ul-Ibar, wa diwan el Mubtada wa'l Khabar . . .' ('Book of Examples and Collection of Origins and Information . . .')." "

Continues our informant, Mr. Roos:

"From the scroll of the calligraphy permit me to quote from Book II, Surah 3, how the Vizier Nizam-ul-Mulk paid a bonus in 1073 to Veterans of Future Wars:

"'In those days following, when Sultan Alp Aslan had spread the fan of his arrows before him, and by the will of Allah, of Whom there is no

other, victory had been given him, and the Emperor of Christendom, Romanus, had been led before him in chains, it came that Nizam-ul-Mulk ruled the land as vizier for Malk Shah, and he gave largesses to the soldiers who survived, as was the custom. Then it was that the Vizier bethought himself how there were thousands plucked like fruit from the tree of life by the garnering scimitar to whom no earthly reward could be given; he bethought how thousands of his young men who had not yet known war would in the future feel the edge of the scimitar and pass like those others beyond earthly reward. And he called a council of the philosophers, cadis, and imams at Basra how best it might be brought about that the young men who would yield their lives in the harvest of wars to come might beforetime come to enjoy a reward while yet on earth . . . and a register was made of those who in the coming four years might be called upon to grasp the scimitar and loosen the arrow, but had not yet known the tempest of war, and he called these "Utaqa-ul-hurub quisma-t" (inadequately, as nearly as it can be translated into English, meaning "Fated Veterans of Unborn Wars"). And Nizan-ul-Mulk decreed that ten jeribs of tax-free land be given, together with a yearly stipend of one hundred pieces

of silver to the veterans to be, but that no reward would be given to those who survived the battle, for they had already been rewarded . . . and multitudes came to the registers. . . .’”

Mr. Al-ford ibn Roos is to be credited with the translation of this revealing manuscript. As for us we declare before heaven and Allah that we had never read it either in the original or in translation. Mr. Roos says that we also have support from the Holy Koran which gives us the sanction of Allah. “May Kismet prosper you,” he writes.

It makes one wonder just how much progress we have made in our civilization when we read that back in the eleventh century government was wise enough and humane enough to grant bonuses to its future soldiers. Certainly no government is doing it today, and ours is the first movement, so far as we can discover, that has suggested this intelligent disposal of the whole bonus problem.

If religion still has any power in the world, our program is assured of success; we have the hearty coöperation both of Christian and Mohammedan.

In order to give the good cause religious significance certain slogans have been suggested, such as this which comes out of the disillusioned Midwest “make the world safe for hypocrisy.” Another, from further South, suggests that we de-

clare for "millions for defense but not one cent for aggression." I seem to have heard both of these somewhere and before—or else something very similar. But for the time being we have decided to hold only to our fundamental slogan "America for Americans." There is something richly appealing about those words. For some reason they grip the souls of all Americans, and what is even more pleasant, they provide great annoyance for our neighbors north, east, south, and west. Of course should any other country try this method of building up their best, it is rank trespass and imitation. Hence we refuse to recognize any right of the Germans to say "Germany for Germans."

Our organization has inspired some poetry, but mostly of rather inferior quality. There is but one outburst that merits real consideration. It was submitted by Mr. Bennett H. Berman of Washington, D. C., to be our campaign song. We have no particularly great vocalists as yet since we have no toothpaste to sell, but we enjoy sentiment nonetheless. It is sung to the tune of "Over There," Mr. Berman assures us, but is entitled "Over Here." It intones that we will get our bonus, Franklin D. will loan us, but at all events "we won't be over there 'til it's over over here."

This sentiment masters the emotions of all true veterans.

Among letters received is one from a gentleman offering scientific data to prove that Europe has cast a spell over our country. This is done by electrical controls in Rome and Berlin in some way related to birthdays. In his own case, he pointed out, a foreign family moved in next door with a cow due to bear a calf on the fifteenth of the then current month. This was a direct attack on our correspondent because his birthday is the same fifteenth. He has written a book on the subject but so far the minions of darkness have repelled his efforts to publish.

Another letter, unsealed, arrived from the West Coast and came from the Queen of the Nudists out there at the Pacific International Exposition at San Diego. The queen, Tanya, requested that she be permitted to form a post but also that a special dispensation be made to dispense with her membership button. So far as we can see the only solution is visibly to tattoo our indispensable insignia somewhere on the neophyte.

Letters pour in daily at a great rate, the bitter with the sweet. One woman, her name unsigned, writes, "Your (*sic*) all tarred with the brush of Russianism, and it is hard to find the proper pu-

trid maledictions which would best fit you yellow pups." A gentleman holds we are definitely tools of Wall Street coupon clippers, of the American Liberty League. Fortunately we are neither, merely members of a Great Patriotic Organization whose primary purpose, as with all Great Patriotic Organizations, is to collect a bonus from the government for being willing to be drafted into training camps when if and here the next war comes. . . . The above cited woman says, "You a disgrace to the U. S. A." We cannot answer this anonymously brutal insinuation but we would appreciate it if some fellow veterans organization would take up the cudgel in our defense.

We are struggling to answer all such caustic attacks in a conciliatory tone of voice for after all the only door to our success is friendly public opinion. We scarcely see how the members of the Two Great Veterans Organizations of the World War could have received their bonuses unless the people favored giving it to them. We therefore must have the entire confidence of the country. It is surprising but true that almost all newspapers editorializing our organization have favored our movement. Evidently the American press was solidly behind the bonus for members of the class of 1918 at Camp Dix, else why should they

support us so solidly. The People and the Press rule this country, and any small minority opposed to the cash payment of our bonus will fail, no matter what organization they have. It is impossible to believe that a group representing only, say, a million or so in all can have power enough in Congress to carry their personal views as against the views of One Hundred Millions. That sort of thing cannot be done in our republican democracy.

One thing we shall do, and must do, is to expand our membership so as to include both the very young and very old. So we now have a Junior Division for all up to 18 years and an Honorary Division of any over 36. We are taking in a fairly large number of veterans of the past war but there has been no concerted rush to join on the part of the members of the two Great Patriotic Organizations. Parochialism and clique sentiment still delay the power of truth. However we are most proud to include several men who were disabled in the last war.

Today we are a young and growing organization conscious of universal backing. We will seek our just demands with undiminished vigor.

CHAPTER VII

CARRY ON

BUT what will become of our lot once the bonus is paid? We keep our eyes to the future but we see that this is no new problem since every veterans organization has had to face it repeatedly. The peril is real. They start by emphasizing one aim and that achieved, they are often completely ruined by Pyrrhic victory to die speedily thereafter.

But today veterans organizations are becoming much more virile. Ours, as well as the Two Great Patriotic Consortia which grew out of the World War have decided to study by all high methods just what action is to be taken after the bonus is paid. The difference between us and other veterans organizations is that they have their money whereas we have only excellent prospects of getting ours. They are therefore on the threshold of a new era; how are they going about this transition from bonus to pension?

Note well that they have never said right out at any time that they would demand a pen-

sion. Perhaps we too should refrain from any mention of pension just now. But think the problem over and under and through. As long ago as 1922 the American Legion gave serious thought to their pensions, as the following testimony shows. It must first be remarked that there was a bit of friction between the vice-chairman of the legislative committee, Mr. John Thomas Taylor, and the chairman of the Legion Legislative Committee from Iowa, Mr. Daniel Steck.

Mr. John Thomas Taylor (still "legislative representative" of the American Legion) was questioned first. Representative Doughton asked him in hearing before the House Ways and Means Committee:

"Has the Legion, in its efforts to bring this legislation about, any thought that if enacted it would be in lieu of a possible pension system later?"

Mr. Taylor, who will bear mimicking in such matters, was wary. He replied:

"That is a question that I could not answer; that is a question that has never been brought up before the executive committee of the American Legion or at the national convention. I do not think it enters anybody's mind." (It just had entered!)

MR. DOUGHTON: "Mr. Taylor, may I ask you, in connection with that, if the payment of \$400 is sufficient compensation to provide a substitute for any possible pension in the future?"

MR. TAYLOR: "I do not like to digress upon the subject."

But unfortunately Mr. Steck from Iowa was all too willing to digress and moreover was gifted with excellent memory—always bad in such a matter. He didn't even wait for the question but said:

"I will try to answer some of the questions that have been asked here, if the chairman will permit. The gentleman asked the question whether or not this bill would be considered in lieu of future pensions, as I understand his question."

MR. DOUGHTON: "I asked that question."

MR. STECK: "The vice-chairman of the Committee said he knew of no action having been taken. I do not believe he was present and possibly it slipped his mind, that at a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the American Legion here in Washington some years ago, when it was discussed and a resolution passed, which I will be glad to give to you gentlemen of the Congress, to the effect that when this bill was passed it would be considered a quitclaim from non-



MR. SMITH VOLUNTEERS

disabled servicemen in so far as their Government was concerned."

But at the convention that year, in order that a matter like this involving perhaps a hundred billion dollars should not slip the mind of the legislative experts, the Convention of the American Legion voted against general service pensions.

Today Mr. John Thomas Taylor, still struggling along as legislative representative for the American Legion, is wary indeed about using "never." He knows that a definite statement is completely out of place on the floors of Congress. When questioned this January as to veterans' pensions, according to the press, "he denied . . . that the legion would push *this year*¹ legislation to provide pensions for the former soldiers." Bonus legislation was then pending and it was of course extraordinarily brilliant diplomacy to avoid any idea that as soon as this bonus was paid off he would begin to ask for a pension. The words imply that there will be a truce after the victory perhaps of nearly a year. This may have been a poor move by the Legislative Representative for obviously it was far easier to get money out of this Congress than it will be out of the next, since an

¹ My italics.

election is held this fall and the members of Congress therefore are all fairly jittery. It takes money to run a campaign, whether ballots or bullets, and takes it from the taxpayer.

But that Patriotic Organization known as the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States takes a much more intelligent view. Through its commander, Mr. James E. Van Zandt, it has proposed that Congress pay uniform pensions to veterans of all wars. This certainly means veterans of future wars as well as of past wars and Mr. Van Zandt's proposal deserves close study. For one thing it clearly means that everybody in the country will eventually be pensioned.

For instance, all G.A.R. veterans are now receiving pensions because they served in the War Between the States. If made uniform this system will pretty well take in the four million members of the World War generation, as well as the fifteen million members of the Future War generation. Mr. Van Zandt is hereby commended for his work in our behalf.

Getting general pensions requires a certain amount of finesse. Fortunately we do not have to go far in history to see how it is done. The general outline is to start working on the widows and orphans as are, *e.g.*, public utility rates and Wall

Street activities. The American Legion at their convention last summer came around to the general pension idea to resolve that a pension be given all widows and orphans of ex-service men, whether their men died from battle wounds or not. Since that stormy session in 1922 the convention has avoided any mention of general pensions for all ex-service men. There is more than a little reason to believe that it will be on the agenda at this coming convention since the bonus has been achieved.

For fulfillment of this pious Legion wish, Representative Rankin of Mississippi, chairman of the H. R. World War Veterans' Legislation Committee, has introduced a bill to pay widows and orphans a pension even though the husband did not die as the result of wounds received in battle. Such clever work deserves emulation. With this bill passed, as it soon will be, for who dare defy the Widows and Orphans of America, it will be pointed out that women and children of soldiers are being paid because the soldier dug camp trenches over here during the World War. Why shouldn't the soldiers themselves be paid while they can still enjoy it? Our logic is unassailable.

And here is where the Veterans of Future Wars must step in with resounding clamor. If there is

any money paid out of the treasury, we demand that it be paid us first. We must maintain this, heart and soul. In the name of patriotism we must see that we get this bonus. There is, after all, just so much money available, and if we spend one hundred billion dollars on the last bevy of training camp graduates, where will we find the fifty billion for our purposes?—Nowhere. Hence it is a sacred part of our platform, hallowed by the most lofty appeals to love of fatherland, that we permit no further increase in government expenditures to veterans save and except they benefit men actually wounded in battle or actually ill in wartime, or widows and orphans whose men were killed or wounded in battle or in wartime. For no one else must there be any more money until our just *preliminary* demands are completely satisfied.

But there are many other requirements we make, even while receiving the bonus, and these we have delayed too long. For instance, many states gave bonuses to the veterans of the last war. We must receive this slight remuneration now and of right. State legislators thus conscious of our strength when they advance to the nation's Congress will be better prepared to answer our call for the bonus there.

We must demand civil service preference in all

state and national government employments. A passing grade of about sixty per cent for all civil service exams is customary for the veterans of the last war. Although their average age was thirteen years, it is possible that a good many were able to pass these examinations as long as the passing mark was only sixty. This will do for us. Of course once on the rolls it is always necessary to keep a veteran there until every civilian has been fired. Meantime the veteran should get the civil service pension to which he is entitled.

There are a number of minor considerations arising from a few months in training camp. For instance, every member of the Veterans of Future Wars should be entitled to any vocational training free. There is every need in the world for vocational courses so that we shall be prepared to carry on until the war gets here. Who knows, it might be delayed two or three years, and meanwhile very few of the men of today are adequately prepared for peace. In addition to this there should be free peddlers' licenses—in short, all dispensations granted to Veterans and members of Great Patriotic Organizations.

But through it all we should maintain our patriotic reserve so as to be able to say with Mussolini: "In politics I never gained a penny. I detest

those who live like parasites, sucking away at the edges of social struggles. I hate men who grow rich in politics.”

There will be low men who question our motives as Veterans of Future Wars and say that we are not actuated merely by pure patriotism. If driven to it we shall rise up as do other Great Patriotic Veterans Organizations and threaten physical violence, or else force such maligners to remain inarticulate. To suppress criticism the American Legion exercises an excellent gag rule over members as demonstrated by Mr. Knowlton Durham, former President of the Ex-Service Men's Anti-bonus League (Inc.) of New York City. In 1924 he told the Finance Committee of the Senate that he was unable to present the case against the bonus in the *American Legion Weekly* because of that gag rule. When a member of the American Legion submitted an anti-bonus article he got the following note from an editor:

“I regret we cannot publish the article submitted to us, and I am returning it herewith. National conventions of the American Legion have determined the policy of the magazine on the subject of adjusted compensation.

“Even should our space limitations permit, we would not be able to publish any article expres-

ing your viewpoint. You of course are entitled to your personal opinion on the subject.”

It will be wise for us not even to permit personal opinions to exist wherever they oppose our desires and/or the activities of our lobbyist in Washington.

President F. D. Roosevelt clearly diagnosed the present bonus system when he said in his first veto message on the first 1936 bonus bill:

“I do not need to be a prophet to assert that if these certificates, due in 1945, are paid in full to-day, every candidate for election to the Senate or to the House of Representatives will in the near future be called upon in the name of patriotism to support general pension legislation for all veterans.”

Our way is clear. We must insist that every candidate for election to Congress publicly declare that he will support all bonus demands of the Veterans of Future Wars before he gives consideration to any other Veterans demands for pensions; or any other action. We must demand this and press it with all the vigor of thirty million potential members. We are the strongest if we but wish to be so. If we unite to achieve our perfectly just demands, we cannot fail in their realization. Our trust must be in the wisdom of Congress—the wis-

dom that knows when thirty million voters desire something, that something must be granted, and will be granted, and will be paid for otherwise.

We must let nothing interfere with our plans. We must let no considerations of economy, or of national security, or national finance defeat us from the goals we plan to attain. We may be willing at times to say we are behind the President on economy, as the American Legion did in 1933 when F. D. Roosevelt found it possible to drop some 400,000 men from the pension rolls because they could not prove they were suffering from war injuries. But we should never let such diplomacy deter our progress which is to get as much as possible.

* * * * *

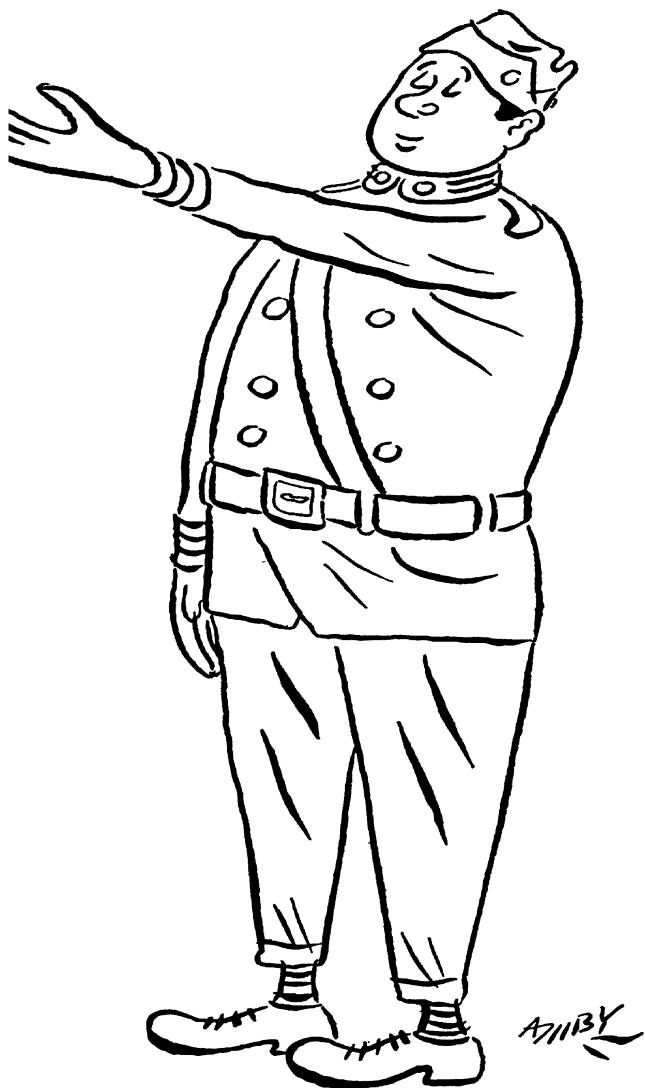
We are going to war—there is little or no doubt of that. The gentlemen of Europe are arrayed in defense of their national honor, and we shall eventually be amongst them, active to see that one side or the other gets enough food while the other side starves to death. This country stands to make big money out of this approaching war; anticipating it, the stock market rises steadily. Who knows, we may find the economic world completely in our grasp after the next war, as after the last war, and we shall foreclose on it because we can never col-

lect the monies owed us unless we do. But this will take battleships and men and all the glorious apparatus of war. We shall march out in smartly pressed uniforms, in fast-stepping columns of platoons—this on the parade ground of our nation's future training camps—but we shall also and later walk slowly forward protected by a thin steel trench helmet and a deadly rifle, while we stare down the barrel of a high-powered machine gun. There will be mud—and other things—spattered about by the constant crash of shells. We may somehow be able to get through and then we will do our bit in killing and maiming the enemy within our power. That night in the mud-filled shell hole we will offer thanks to God that we have conquered two hundred yards more of foreign soil, and it cost only ten thousand lives. It will be a pleasant war for those who return and write books about it, if they did not see enough horrors to make them shun the subject. They will sing war songs and be changed in moral outlook. The world will appear even more a transient thing, scarce worthy of thoughtful regard, and once again we shall look askance at disgusting foreign nations, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Stand up today before a thousand young men. Ask yourself how many will survive the next war.

Surely very few. How many more will then be able to return to normal existence, able to find work and settle down—even fewer. It is for these men that we today seek compensation reward for their supreme sacrifice. We can only believe that one of the wisest men was that brilliant vizier to Sultan Malak Shah of Persia, the humanitarian Nizam-ul-Mulk, who paid the bonus in advance, and thereby provided for real victims of war—the men who never return. It is with all due respect that I cite the Holy Koran:

“When thou settest thy servant to a task wherein he might come to lose his life, then it were well that thou shouldest reward him beforetime, for thou mayest not reward him after he is cut off. . . .”



SALUTE OF THE VETERANS OF FUTURE WARS

APPENDIX A

MANIFESTO OF

THE VETERANS OF FUTURE WARS

WHEREAS it is inevitable that this country will be engaged in war within the next thirty years, and WHEREAS it is by all accounts likely that every man of military age will have a part in this war,

WE, THEREFORE, demand that the Government make known its intention to pay an adjusted service compensation, sometimes called a bonus, of \$1,000 to every male citizen between the ages of 18 and 36, said bonus to be payable the first of June, 1965. Furthermore, we believe a study of history demonstrates that it is customary to pay all bonuses before they are due. Therefore we demand immediate cash payment, plus three per cent interest compounded annually and retroactively from the first of June, 1965, to the first of June, 1935. It is but common right that this bonus be paid now, for many will be killed or wounded in the next war, and hence they, the most deserving, will not otherwise get the full benefit of their country's gratitude;

AND WHEREAS the women of America will suffer no less than the men in the coming strife,

WE, THEREFORE, offer to the American women the following subsidiary organization: The Home Fire Division of the Veterans of Future Wars which shall be open to all mothers and future mothers of male children, and to future wives of Veterans of Future Wars. The purpose of this organization shall be to obtain for all aforementioned mothers an immediate trip to Europe in holy pilgrimage to view the future battlefields of their present and future children, and to obtain for the future wives a pension of fifty dollars per month during the remainder of their natural life.

WE REITERATE that the immediacy of our cause is twofold: (a) inasmuch as the coming war will otherwise deprive the most deserving bloc of Veterans of Future Wars of its bonus by causing its sudden and complete demise, the bonus must be paid *now*; (b) inasmuch as the coming war will both obliterate the future battlefields of our noble future dead and will deprive many American women of their subsequent means of support, the holy pilgrimage must be made *now* and the pension to the Home Fire Division, as a partial compensation for inevitable loss, must commence *immediately*.

WE HOLD THIS to be entirely in keeping with the ideals and precedents of American government; we hold it to be logical and sound; we call upon all the manhood and womanhood of America to respond to our cause. For the realization of these just demands, we shall mutually pledge our undivided and supreme efforts.

AMERICA FOR AMERICANS

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE
VETERANS OF FUTURE WARS

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APPENDIX B

AN ACT:

TO SECURE FUTURE VETERANS'
PREFERENCE

WHEREAS the Veterans of Future Wars are in unanimous agreement as to the means of securing future veterans' preference;

WHEREAS the Veterans of Future Wars are loyal to the highest ideals of their country, will have risked their lives in the service of their country in future battles, and will have given up their homes, their jobs and their families in time of war;

WHEREAS the Veterans of Future Wars have thereby proved their capacity for public service, and whereas their service would be a distinct asset to the government and would inevitably permeate it with a patriotism not otherwise attainable;

WHEREAS it is an established precedent in this country that veterans receive, at the behest of the various national, state and local legislative bodies, preference in competitive examinations and in all

forms of promotion and retention in the public service;

WHEREAS legislative bodies in this country have shown a willingness to consider the wishes of organized voting power, and whereas the Veterans of Future Wars, Inc., is a growing organization of the loyal youth of this country whose membership, and therefore whose voting power, will be constantly growing rather than dying off;

THEREFORE be there enacted by all aforesaid legislative bodies

AN ACT: TO SECURE FUTURE VETERANS' PREFERENCE

ART. 1. All members of the Veterans of Future Wars shall be granted a preference of not less than five points in all civil service examinations and special consideration and attention for all non-competitive posts.

ART. 2. All future disabled members of the Veterans of Future Wars shall be granted a preference of not less than ten points, regardless of how low a score may have been made by them in fair and impartial examinations.

ART. 3. Inasmuch as it cannot now be determined which of the Veterans of Future Wars will

be disabled in the future service of their country, and since it is better that nine undeserving men be rewarded than that one deserving man go unrewarded, the provisions of Article 2 of this act shall be extended to all Veterans of Future Wars.

ART. 4. If, with the aid of these scores, the final figures should barely reach the minimum allowable rating for placement on an eligible list, then the members of the Veterans of Future Wars will have demonstrated by their outstanding abilities that they should be placed at the head of the list and should be certified for appointment in the public service before non-members, even though said non-members may have achieved a 99 per cent rating.

ART. 5. All members of the Veterans of Future Wars, whether disabled or not, should be given absolute preference in all cases of promotion. When termination and dismissals are to be made because of economy or because of inefficiency, members of the Veterans of Future Wars should be given special protection.

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