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DISARMAMENT

BY

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The fourteenth in a series of addresses by prominent Catholic laymen entitled "THE ROAD AHEAD," delivered in the Catholic Hour, broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company in cooperation with the National Council of Catholic Men, on September 8, 1946, by Thomas H. Mahony, of Boston, Massachusetts, outstanding authority on international affairs. After the series has been concluded on the radio, it will be made available in one pamphlet.

National Council of Catholic Men
Washington, D. C.

SPEC
CHAPMAN.

DISARMAMENT

Last week's address concerned the total aspects of modern war and the urgent and compelling necessity of preventing any future international wars. Today's talk concerns the crushing cost of war and the immediate need of international disarmament as a relief therefrom.

It requires but little reading of our daily papers to realize that today, over a year after World War II ended, some of those nations which were allied in that war and which cooperated in the defeat of the Axis Powers are not so cooperative in the attempt to establish world peace and to maintain world order. International distrust and international rivalry have again begun or intensified a race in arms and preparedness for a future war.

Other nations fear American monopoly of atomic weapons and are doing what they can to offset it. Nations which suspect American preparations for future war seek to do likewise and to engage in unilateral activities directed allegedly toward their own national security. A vicious circle in suspicion and armament continues to produce distrust and fear.

Unless the suspicion and hatred now existing and increasing

among the Great Powers is soon terminated and unless the competition in armaments soon ceases, the world is headed for a third world war. The very act of arming or increasing armaments, even if done for the avowed purpose of defense, may well be regarded as offensive by other nations not so well armed. In the belief that they are threatened thereby such other nations are likely to begin or intensify an armaments race which invariably ends in war.

One of the dangers in the building up of great national armaments by some nations—allegedly for defense purposes—is that when such nations feel that they have a preponderance of power, they may use it offensively in the furtherance of their own national or imperialistic policies. To provoke such nations into an arms race is to promote such a possibility and to invite such results.

Another danger in an armaments race, and one of the most cogent reasons against it, is the economic burden it lays upon the people of the nations engaged in such a race. A short survey of this feature of the problem will be extremely helpful.

There have been some 518 wars in the 460 years which end-

ed in 1941. There have been two World Wars in the 28 years from 1914 to 1942. The cost of each succeeding major war grows by leaps and bounds.

The cost in dollars and cents of modern total war constitutes

1. <i>Public Debt of U. S.</i>	
1916—\$	1,235,000,000.00
1920—	24,297,000,000.00
1946—	277,000,000,000.00
2. <i>Annual Appropriations</i>	
1916—\$	734,000,000.00
1938—	100,404,596,685.54*

From 1916, the year before we entered World War I, to 1945, two World Wars have increased the average annual costs to every family in the United States from less than 30.00 to \$2,880.00, and the average share of the public debt from less than \$50.00 to \$8,000.00.

In a recent survey it was estimated that wars have cost this country a total of \$414,000,000,000.00 or about \$114,000,000,000.00 more than the present total value of \$300,000,000,000.00 placed upon all the farms, factories, stores, homes and other property in the United States. They survey also shows that this \$414,000,000,000.00 would be sufficient to buy an \$8,000.00 house and a \$1,200.00 automobile for every family in the country and

*\$90,029,145,512.84 for war expenditures.

a heavy if not overwhelming burden to the people of nations which prepare for or engage in such wars. A glance at the financial cost of recent wars to the United States alone is sufficient to make this clear.

<i>Per Capita</i>	<i>Per Family</i>
\$ 11.96	\$ 47.84
228.00	912.00
2,042.00	8,168.00
<i>Per Capita</i>	<i>Per Family</i>
\$ 7.29	\$ 29.16
720.00	2,280.00

supply it with a nest egg of \$2,000.00 in the bank.

The total cost of World War I, to all combatant nations has been estimated at close to \$1,000,000,000,000.00. This sum, if expended for peacetime purposes in the betterment of living conditions of the approximate 2,000,000,000 people inhabiting the world, would permit the expenditure of about \$500.00 for every man, woman and child now living.

The tremendous cost of armament still lies heavy upon the shoulders of the American taxpayer. In the new fiscal year, ending July 1, 1947, the United States, according to the presidential budget, will spend approximately \$41,500,000,000.00. Of this sum \$18,500,000,000.00—about 45% of the entire national expense—is allocated to national defense. This is more than has

ever been expended before in any peacetime year—and this, more than a year after World War II ended.

In 1939 a married man, with a wife and two dependent children, paid a federal income tax of \$48.00 upon a net income of \$5,000.00. In 1946 he pays \$589.00 upon the same income—an increase of over 1200%. This \$5,000.00 income group now is estimated to include some 2,200,000 American families or about 8,800,000 people.

Individual American taxpayers, who prior to World War II, rarely paid a total of more than \$2,000,000,000.00 in federal income taxes, will, for the fiscal year ending July 1, 1947, according to budget estimates, pay \$18,400,000,000.00 or almost as much as they paid in any of the years of the war, and about the same sum as is to be allocated to national defense.

These figures do not include the value of property destroyed by the weapons used in the conduct of World War II. They do not and cannot include the loss of human life, or the other dismembering and disabling casualties.

World War I cost the lives of about 8,000,000 combatants of all nations. World War II, it is estimated, cost the lives of over 10,000,000 combatants. The to-

tal casualties of World War II, combatant and noncombatant, dead, wounded, and missing, has been placed as high as 58,000,000.

In a recent survey of the loss of life in World War II the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company concludes that this war "was by far the most destructive in human history in terms of loss of life, both military and civilian."

The cost of preparation for and waging of a third world war in terms of monetary and human loss will make similar costs for World War II seem insignificant. Such a war will be a total war waged with weapons which will include atomic bombs.

It has been stated by scientists and military experts that there is no adequate defense against the atomic bomb. A partial solution may be in the dispersion of industry, institutions and houses and the burying deep underground of as many of these as possible. It has been estimated that to disperse and bury the various industries might cost as much as \$300,000,000,000.00 and take 25-30 years to accomplish. While this would probably wreck present urban real estate and security values, nevertheless it is suggested as a necessary measure, if atomic war between nations is not to be made impossible.

The cost of exploration of and experimentation with new major weapons and means of mass destruction will be another permanent and probably increasing cost of government. The perfecting of flying bombs and rocket bombs, of jet propelled and rocket planes, of piloted long distance bombing planes and of pilotless drones, of atomic weapons, of radioactive gasses and other substances and of biological warfare will cost millions if not billions of dollars. The manufacture of the perfected weapons will cost additional millions or billions.

The lives of combatants and non-combatants which will be lost in such another war, the bodies maimed, and the families made homeless, the lands made sterile and unfit for habitation may well render a great part of the earth's surface desolate and barren of life.

Such is the cost of prospective war and of preparation for it.

The first step in disarmament and in the elimination of these crushing costs is to educate the public conscience and the public mind to the fact that world peace is not only possible but is a moral duty.

To attempt to deprive nations of the major weapons of war—particularly those nations which

are well armed, and to do nothing more, however, is not enough and will never succeed. It is necessary to go farther and to substitute an alternative means of security for such arms.

The second step, therefore, is to make armaments and major weapons of war and means of mass destruction unnecessary for national security. This can and must be done by the substitution of a system of law and justice for the practice of violence and power in the settlement of international disputes and by the establishment of an effective collective security guaranteeing the continued existence of every nation.

As early as May 23, 1920, Benedict XV, suggested the creation of an organic society of nations and urged as a special reason therefore, the need of reducing, if it was not possible to abolish entirely, the enormous military expenditure, in order that murderous and disastrous wars might be prevented and that each people might be assured independence in and integrity of its own territory.

In his Christmas message of 1939, Pius XII, called attention to this urgent necessity. In stating the second of five fundamental conditions for a just peace and postwar world order the Pope stated the following:

"To the end that the order so established may be tranquil and lasting — cardinal requirements for true peace—the nations must be freed from the heavy servitude of the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect rights, may become their tyrannical violator. Conclusions of peace which should fail to give fundamental importance to disarmament, mutually accepted, organic, and progressive both in letter and in spirit, and which should fail to carry out this disarmament faithfully, would sooner or later reveal their inconsistency and lack of vitality."

In his Christmas message of 1940, Pius XII again called attention to this subject and said:

"As long as the thunder of armaments continues to be heard in the grim necessities of this war, it is scarcely possible to expect any definite steps in the direction of the restoration of those rights which are morally and juridically imprescriptible."

In his Christmas message of 1941, looking forward to the postwar world, the Pope said:

"Within the limits of a new order founded on moral principles once the more dangerous sources of armed conflicts will have been eliminated, there is no

place for total warfare or for mad rush to armaments. The calamity of a world war, with the economic and social ruin and the moral dissolution and breakdown which follow in its trail, must not be permitted to envelop the human race for a third time."

"In order that mankind be preserved from such a misfortune it is essential to proceed with sincerity and honesty to a progressive and adequate limitation of armaments. The lack of equilibrium between the exaggerated armaments of the powerful States and the limited armaments of the weaker ones is a menace to harmony and peace among nations and demands that an ample and proportionate limit be placed upon the production and possession of offensive weapons."

"We are well aware of the tremendous difficulties to be overcome and the almost superhuman strength and good will which are required on all sides if the double task we have outlined is to be brought to a successful conclusion. But this work is essential for a lasting peace that nothing should prevent responsible statesmen from undertaking it, and cooperating in it with abundant good will, so that, by bearing in mind the ad-

vantages to be gained in the future, they may be able to triumph over the painful remembrance of similar efforts doomed to failure in the past, and may not be daunted by the knowledge of the gigantic strength required for the accomplishment of their task."

The same moral law that binds men in their relations one with another binds them when collected into nations in their relation with other nations. The same obligation to refrain from

violence and threats of violence obtains.

Until and unless the sovereignty of God and the binding obligation of His moral law is so recognized and respected by nations there can be no permanent world peace and no established world order. Until leaders of nations do away with the crushing burden of national armaments and substitute justice and charity for violence and hatred there can be no just and durable world peace.

THE CATHOLIC HOUR

1930—Seventeenth Year—1946

The nationwide Catholic Hour was inaugurated on March 2, 1930, by the National Council of Catholic Men in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company and its associated stations. Radio facilities are provided by NBC and the stations associated with it; the program is arranged and produced by NCCM.

The Catholic Hour was begun on a network of 22 stations, and now carries its message of Catholic truth on each Sunday of the year through a number of stations varying from 90 to 110, situated in 40 states, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii. Consisting usually of an address, mainly expository, by one or another of America's leading Catholic preachers—though sometimes of talks by laymen, sometimes of dramatizations—and of sacred music provided by a volunteer choir, the Catholic Hour has distinguished itself as one of the most popular and extensive religious broadcasts in the world. An average of 100,000 audience letters a year, about twenty per cent of which come from listeners of other faiths, gives some indication of its popularity and influence.

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