

Charles Harwood, Governor of the Virgin Islands of the United States, for his firm effort and persistence in securing for the Virgin Islands a Federal Public Works authorization for an appropriation of \$10,000,000; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRADLEY of Pennsylvania:

H. R. 1298. A bill for the relief of Benjamin Franklin; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 1299. A bill for the relief of Morris Fine; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. CHELF:

H. R. 1300. A bill for the relief of the estate of Mathew C. Cowley, deceased, and the estate of Louisa Cowley, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FELLOWS:

H. R. 1301. A bill for the relief of Madeline Winter; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1302. A bill for the relief of Ethel Newton; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1303. A bill for the relief of Daniel D. O'Connell and Almon B. Stewart; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FISHER:

H. R. 1304. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Nettie Peters; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1305. A bill for the relief of Thomas H. Oliver; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. GAMBLE:

H. R. 1306. A bill for the relief of Lt. Col. Orville E. McKim; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. HOBBS:

H. R. 1307. A bill for the relief of Continental Casualty Co., a corporation, and Montgomery City Lines, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KEE:

H. R. 1308. A bill for the relief of Sam Swan and Ally Swan; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McGEHEE:

H. R. 1309. A bill to provide reimbursement for personal property lost, damaged, or destroyed as the result of an explosion at the Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Va., on September 17, 1943; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1310. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Mary Emily Hamilton and Mrs. Kay Graziano; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois:

H. R. 1311. A bill for the relief of Rosa Natalia Christopher; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

H. R. 1312. A bill for the relief of John Carroll; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. R. 1313. A bill for the relief of Lester B. McAllister and others; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PETERSON of Florida:

H. R. 1314. A bill with reference to certain loans made under the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 and to grant certain relief to Florida Citrus Exchange, the Growers Loan & Guaranty Co., and the Guaranty Operating Co.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 1315. A bill for the relief of B. Penedino; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1316. A bill for the relief of the legal guardian of Mattie Lee Brown; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1317. A bill for the relief of the estate of John Crawford Marston; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1318. A bill for the relief of the estate of Eugene Edwin Field; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1319. A bill for the relief of Claybron Holcomb; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1320. A bill for the relief of M. Elizabeth Quay; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1321. A bill for the relief of W. P. Richardson, as successor and assignee of W.

P. Richardson & Co., of Tampa, Fla., a partnership composed of W. P. Richardson, George W. Hessler, and L. O. Park, by reason of certain claims arising within the World War period; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 1322. A bill for the relief of the Marine Engine Works & Shipbuilding Corporation, of Tarpon Springs, Fla.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1323. A bill for the relief of Mark D. Williams; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1324. A bill for the relief of Leo Edward Day and Phillip Tamborello; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. PFEIFER:

H. R. 1325. A bill for the relief of Hyman L. Schiffer; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 1326. A bill for the relief of J. Dale Gentry; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1327. A bill for the relief of William Henry Bergmann; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. TOWE:

H. R. 1328. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Cecilia M. Tonner; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1329. A bill for the relief of William W. Adams, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1330. A bill for the relief of the county of Bergen, N. J.; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1331. A bill for the relief of the Hatheway Patterson Corporation; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1332. A bill for the relief of Jeannette D. Christie; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 1333. A bill for the relief of J. P. Haring; to the Committee on Claims.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1945

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou whose approval we seek above the hollow applause of men, we pause in the midst of thronging duties and confused issues that Thou might lift upon us the light of Thy countenance. We pray for Thy mercy and Thy cleansing pardon, that a right spirit may be renewed within us, and that we may yearn for spiritual integrity above all the tinsel of material things. Deliver us from the selfishness which shrinks the soul, from the hatred which eats like a canker, from the impurity which blinds eyes to Thee and the Godlike, and from the unbelief which dims the splendor of the glory life may hold.

Save us from the distorted vision which magnifies the mote in our neighbor's eye and ignores the beam in our own and so condemns in others that which we condone in ourselves. May the shining crown for which we strive and for which we gladly give our all be not fame nor riches nor unbridled power, but humility and compassion and unselfish love. So may we come, ascending this hill of solemn responsibility and standing in this holy place of public trust, with clean hands and pure hearts, not lifting up our soul to vanity nor swearing deceitfully. We ask it in the Redeemer's name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Saturday,

January 6, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, the Senator-elect from Massachusetts, Gov. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, is present and prepared to take the oath of office. I request that he be permitted to do so.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I announce that my colleague, Hon. JOHN H. OVERTON, reelected to the Senate last November, is present and ready to take the oath.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senators-elect from Massachusetts and Louisiana will present themselves at the desk, the oath will be administered to them.

Mr. SALTONSTALL, escorted by Mr. WALSH, and Mr. OVERTON, escorted by Mr. ELLENDER, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to them by the Vice President.

RESIGNATION FROM A JOINT COMMITTEE

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I ask to be relieved from further service on the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures. I regret to make this request, and in making it I am fully aware of the importance of the work of the committee; but in view of other committee assignments which I have, and in the light of anticipated additional committee work in conjunction with the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, I am regretfully making this request.

THE MANPOWER AND LABOR SITUATION

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, I have a very interesting letter from the vice president and general manager of the Beech Aircraft Corporation, at Wichita, Kans., which has to do with manpower and labor. I should like permission to have the clerk read the letter to the Senate, if I may. I ask unanimous consent that that may be done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the clerk will read the letter to the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

BEECH AIRCRAFT CORPORATION,
Wichita, Kans., January 2, 1945.
The Honorable HARRY S. TRUMAN,
Vice President-elect of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TRUMAN: We again see discussions in the public print about war manpower mobilization by directive or executive decrees, or even by possible congressional action. Because there seems to be a school of thought in certain circles in Washington which contends that war production would be benefited by forced recruitment of war workers, we wish to respectfully submit our opinions based upon practical experience.

During the months of October and the early part of November, we experienced great difficulty in retaining our working force at a constant level. Terminations increased far beyond previous levels, and an analysis of these terminations indicated that many of them were for the purpose of taking post-war jobs. We consider that this was an entirely natural development which was caused directly by the over-optimistic statements

made by many of the most prominent individuals in positions of high authority among the Allied Nations, with regard to the anticipated early termination of the European war. The public press at that time carried almost nothing but statements about post-war reconversion, cancellation of contracts, termination, cutbacks, and post-war planning. The Government officially acted through its various agencies to continually warn the manufacturer of these factors, and to prepare him for these anticipated events.

It is no wonder that this strong emphasis on the early termination of hostilities should have produced the result which it did produce, that of inducing people to leave war industries to seek peacetime jobs. The reaction was entirely normal for people with American traditions of self-reliance. Our people felt that they could look out for themselves better than any Government agency could look out for them, and therefore they took it upon themselves to find new post-war jobs, even though such jobs paid much less income than the jobs that they were leaving. Anyone who admires the spirit of self-reliance must admit that the action of these people was reasonable and correct under the circumstances then existing.

It was impossible for us to controvert the statements which were published in the newspapers and which were attributed to such persons as General Eisenhower, Winston Churchill, and others of comparable rank, regarding the early termination of hostilities. There was too much weight of reputation behind these statements to permit any counter-statement to carry any important weight in the minds of our employees.

Although we stated that our war contracts were of such a nature that they would continue without interruption, our people simply did not believe that we knew what we were talking about.

The recent reverses in Europe have entirely changed public psychology among war workers. They now know that the former optimistic statements were mistaken and the problem of personnel terminations has been reduced correspondingly. It is our opinion that no drastic manpower controls are necessary under present circumstances, and that the invocation of such drastic controls would do more harm than good.

It should be remembered that there is a certain inertia to governmental opinion and action. It always follows the event by a considerable period of time. This fact is caused by the necessary delay in collecting and correlating statistics, and the development of opinion based upon such statistics. In other words, the Washington opinion of today is based upon the events of October and November, which in turn were caused by unwise public statements made by impressively prominent individuals. We feel that it would be unwise to take action upon the question of drastic manpower controls until a sufficient time has elapsed to actually study the situation which exists at this time and which is steadily improving. On the other hand, we approve of the restrictions which have been put upon nonessential and nonproductive activities, such as race tracks and dog tracks and other activities which produce nothing and which are for amusement only.

It is our opinion that voluntary effort and voluntary cooperation is always far more effective than any form of coerced effort or activity. This was proved in an interesting way about a year ago when we found considerable dissatisfaction among our working force with the regulations concerning the necessity for a formal release from the employer for anyone who wished to take another job. Because we felt that an unwilling employee was not worth keeping, we published a policy statement on all bulletin boards that anyone who did not wish to work for us could obtain a release at once after an interview to determine the causes

of his or her dissatisfaction, if any. The percentage of voluntary terminations of employment decreased instead of increased after the publication of this statement; which has been in effect ever since.

We wish to thank you for the opportunity of bringing our opinions to your attention, and hope that they will be of some value to you in connection with consideration of these matters at the Washington level.

With warmest personal regards and with best wishes for a successful and happy new year, we are

Sincerely yours,

BEECH AIRCRAFT CORPORATION,

JOHN P. GATY,

Vice President-General Manager.

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, it was my privilege, while acting as chairman of the Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, to visit nearly every aircraft factory and nearly all the other factories in the country, and in the factory referred to in the letter just read we found higher morale, from the standpoint of production, labor, and management, than in any other factory. Several other Senators were with us when we made visits on several occasions, and the statement which Mr. Gaty makes in this letter I think is of extreme value in the situation which we are now facing.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL PATENT PLANNING COMMISSION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Patents:

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the information of the Congress the Second Report of the National Patent Planning Commission.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 9, 1945.

THE BUDGET—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States transmitting the Budget for 1946, which, with the accompanying document, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, the President's Budget message has been transmitted to the Senate, and inasmuch as it was read yesterday in the House, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the body of the RECORD of today.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUDGET MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting the Budget for the fiscal year 1946 as fighting all over the globe reaches a climax of fury. We on the home front must back our fighting men and women to the limit. That is our supreme duty. At the same time we must look ahead. We must be ready to throw our whole effort into the campaign against Japan as fast as the war in Europe permits. And finally, we must begin plans to transform an all-out war economy into a full-employment peace

economy whenever demobilization becomes possible. Programs for all these developments must be considered in budget planning for a period that extends over 18 months.

We must make sure that our armed forces can plan their procurement programs for continuing global war. I shall transmit detailed recommendations for war appropriations by early spring, in time for the Congress to act on these requests before the beginning of the new fiscal year. I estimate now that 73 billion dollars of appropriations and authorizations will be needed for war purposes for the fiscal year 1946.

If the war develops favorably, unobligated balances of war appropriations no longer required for authorized purposes will be placed in reserve and reported to the Congress for repeal or other action under the provisions of present law.

Actual expenditures of the Federal Government depend largely on the course of the war. I have not made in the past, and I shall not now make, any prediction concerning the length of the war. My only prediction is that our enemies will be totally defeated before we lay down our arms. Depending on various assumptions which may reasonably be made with respect to the course of the war, estimates of war expenditures for the fiscal year 1946 range from less than 60 to more than 80 billion dollars. I propose to use 70 billion dollars as a tentative estimate of war expenditures for the fiscal year 1946. I repeat, however—the rate of actual spending must depend on developments on the battle fronts.

For purposes other than war, I am recommending appropriations, in general and special accounts, to cover estimated expenditures of 13 billion dollars.

Total appropriations and authorizations (including reappropriations and permanent appropriations) for war and other purposes reached a peak of 128 billion dollars for the last complete fiscal year that ended June 30, 1944; 97 billion dollars have been appropriated for the current fiscal year; and I estimate now that 87 billion dollars will be recommended to the Congress for the next fiscal year.

Total expenditures for war and other purposes (in general and special accounts and net outlays of Government corporations, excluding debt retirement) were 95 billion dollars during the fiscal year 1944; they are now estimated at 100 billion dollars for the current fiscal year; and, on the basis of the tentative estimates of war expenditures, they will be 83 billion dollars during the fiscal year 1946.

I propose no substantial change in tax legislation at this time. Revenues are expected to decline somewhat under the influence of the estimated decline in expenditures. The Federal debt is estimated to reach 252 billion dollars on June 30, 1945, and 292 billion dollars 12 months later.

The 1946 Budget is summarized in charts and tables following this Message. In the subsequent sections I comment on appropriations, expenditures, and revenues under existing legislation, and make suggestions for future legislation.

THE WAR PROGRAM
EXPENDITURES FOR THE WAR PROGRAM

Early in the war we had the threefold task of building up a new munitions industry in this country, producing the equipment and means of transportation for our expanding armed forces, and aiding our Allies in their resistance against the aggressors. The record today shows that we have spent 28 billion dollars since July 1, 1940, to build munitions factories, cantonments, depots, hospitals, war housing, and for other war construction. Three times the total strength of our Army and Navy at the time of Pearl Harbor is now fighting or deployed overseas. Thirty-six billion dollars of lend-lease aid have been furnished in goods and services to our Allies, who in turn have aided us with approximately 4.5 billion dollars' worth of goods and services.

We have now substantially completed our war construction. Expenditures for war construction, which in the fiscal year 1943 reached a peak of 12.7 billion dollars, are now down to an annual rate of about 2.5 billion dollars. The development of new weapons and increased need for ammunition still require some new plants and equipment, but total outlays for war construction are declining, as shown in the following table:

WAR EXPENDITURES FOR FISCAL YEARS 1941-45

Including net outlays of Government corporations
(In billions)

Type of expenditure	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945 ¹
Munitions, including ships.....	\$2.3	\$12.7	\$42.3	\$55.6	\$53.8
War construction and war plant:					
Industrial plant and equipment.....	0.8	4.1	6.7	2.6	1.3
Nonindustrial and military construction.....	1.4	3.5	6.0	2.0	.9
Total war construction and war plant.....	2.2	7.6	12.7	4.6	2.2
Pay, subsistence, and other nonmunitions.....	2.2	8.0	20.1	29.5	33.0
Total war expenditures.....	6.7	28.3	75.1	89.7	89.0

¹ Revised estimate.

² Including agricultural lend-lease and other civilian war activities.

We have also substantially completed the initial equipment of the Army and Navy and their Air Forces. Although we have now a Merchant Marine four times its pre-war tonnage, the terrific strain of global war makes necessary some further addition to the cargo and tanker fleet.

Our forces engaged in battles in Europe and Asia expend munitions at a prodigious rate. The main job now is that of replenishing equipment and supplies and of providing our fighting men with the most up-to-date weapons which can be contrived. Some weapons of which we had sizable inventories only a few months ago must now be produced in increased quantities. More than one-fourth of present war production is in critical items. Untimely relaxation in war production spells greater

sacrifice in human lives and delays victory.

Expenditures for pay and subsistence of the armed forces still are increasing because of the higher pay for a larger number of soldiers and sailors stationed overseas. Expenditures for mustering-out payments are also increasing as a result of the considerable turn-over in our forces.

The war expenditure estimate for the fiscal year 1946 also provides for continuance of subsidies paid out of funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to assure war output and to stabilize the cost of living. It excludes payments of the Department of Agriculture for the farm price support and related agricultural programs which are discussed elsewhere in the Budget. No allowance is made either for possible addition of new subsidy programs or for discontinuance or reduction of existing programs, although I hope that a reduction will become possible. In accordance with legislation enacted by the last Congress, I shall submit detailed recommendations for these programs at a later date.

War expenditures are expected to decline in the fiscal year 1946; our war construction and initial military equipment are substantially complete, and our supply lines have been filled. The extent of that decline depends on the course of the war. The composition of war expenditures will change considerably in any case.

There has been overoptimistic speculation about the possible cut in war expenditures when major hostilities in Europe end and our main efforts are concentrated on the Japanese campaign. We should make a great mistake if, in our military and budgetary planning, we underestimate the task of defeating Japan. Japan now occupies twice the area which was held by the Nazis in Europe at the peak of their power, an area as large as the continental United States. The population now under Japanese control is more than three times the population of the United States.

The supply lines to the Pacific and Asiatic theater are two and three times, the distance to Europe, and the turnaround time for ships has been two-thirds greater. As the battle against Japan mounts, more cargo will have to be shipped over greater distances.

Our task in Europe will not end with the cessation of hostilities there. The war will not be won unless we accept our share of responsibility for the administration of occupied territories and for relief and rehabilitation in the liberated areas. Expenditures for these tasks are part of the war Budget.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE WAR PROGRAM

The uncertainties of war require that the budgets of the military agencies be sufficiently large and flexible to permit them to meet all demands that may arise. Adequate appropriations and contract authorizations enable the war agencies to make commitments and to place procurement contracts far enough ahead for industry to plan the various stages of production. On the other hand, we should, of course, also be prepared to ad-

just our war programs downward if the development of the war allows.

The Congress has placed administrative controls in the Executive Office of the President by granting authority, under legislation expiring June 30, 1945, to limit personnel in the Federal agencies and has reinforced them by requesting reports on unobligated balances of war appropriations.

There is a considerable time lag between the legislative authorization or appropriation for war supply, the obligation or placement of orders with contractors, and the final payment on delivery of finished munitions. The huge authorizations and appropriations voted by the Congress in the early years of the war enabled the war agencies to place munitions contracts for later delivery. We are now paying for deliveries under these contracts. Unliquidated obligations for the war program totaled 100 billion dollars at the beginning of the fiscal year 1944; they had been reduced at the end of November 1944 to about 63 billion dollars by payment or, in some cases, by cancellation.

Appropriations and authorizations for war purposes, in the general and special accounts, for the fiscal year 1944 were 120 billion dollars. For the fiscal year 1945, they declined to 85 billion dollars, and for the fiscal year 1946 are now tentatively estimated at 73 billion dollars. These totals include reappropriations and contract authorizations required for new obligations. The total war program, measured by such appropriations and authorizations together with net commitments of Government corporations for the fiscal years 1941 through 1945, will total 450 billion dollars, as shown in the following table:

THE WAR PROGRAM
(In billions)

Description	Cumulative from July 1, 1940, to—	
	June 30, 1945	June 30, 1946
Authorizations:		
Appropriations.....	\$362.7	\$423.4
Unliquidated contract authorizations.....	13.1	11.1
Net commitments of Reconstruction Finance Corporation and affiliates.....	16.5	15.2
Total authorizations.....	392.3	449.7
Expenditures:		
General and special accounts.....	279.4	348.8
Reconstruction Finance Corporation and affiliates (net).....	9.4	10.0
Total expenditures.....	288.8	358.8
Unobligated balances and unliquidated obligations at end of period.....	103.5	90.9

¹ Gross commitments less withdrawals and cancellations, and less receipts from rents, repayments, and sales.

The estimated appropriations and authorizations for war for the fiscal year 1946 are composed of 59 billion dollars of new appropriations and authorizations, and 14 billion dollars of reappropriations of funds previously appropriated for war but not yet obligated. Unobligated balances of prior-year appropriations and authorizations to the Maritime Commission are adequate to carry

out the merchant ship construction program as now approved. Detailed recommendations for most war activities will be transmitted in the spring.

These tentative estimates of appropriations include provisions for continuing lend-lease aid to our Allies. They are based on the assumption that the Lend-Lease Act will be reenacted prior to its expiration on June 30, 1945.

About one-sixth of present war outlays are for lend-lease and for relief and rehabilitation. We shall continue to provide lend-lease, and our Allies to provide reciprocal aid, to the full extent necessary to win the war. Lend-lease has been and will be an instrument of war; it will be liquidated with the end of the war. But when the war draws to a close in any theater, it may become urgently necessary for us to assist in relieving distress in the liberated areas. Appropriations to the War Department make some provision for civilian supply in territories occupied by the Army, but only to the extent necessary in the interest of military operations. For relief and rehabilitation after the battle lifts, the Congress has already authorized 1,350 million dollars as the contribution of the United States to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. To date, appropriations of 450 million dollars and transfer authorizations from lend-lease of 350 million dollars have been made as our share for immediate needs under this program. If the appropriated amount proves inadequate, we must take additional measures, in cooperation with the other United Nations, to make sure that the peoples of the liberated countries have essential relief from the devastation of war.

APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES FOR OTHER THAN WAR ACTIVITIES AFTERMATH OF WAR

In last year's Budget message, I indicated the inevitable increase of expenditures in the aftermath-of-war category, particularly expenditures for war veterans, interest on the public debt, and tax refunds. Total expenditures for these purposes are increasing from 1.6 billion dollars in 1939 to an estimated 7.2 billion dollars in the current fiscal year, and will probably amount to 9.8 billion dollars in the next fiscal year. This increase arises directly out of the war. The 1946 total is larger than the whole Federal Budget 5 years ago.

Veterans' pensions and benefits.—Although the full impact of the veterans' program will not be felt until the years following demobilization, the total estimated requirements for 1946 of 2,623 million dollars represent about 20 percent of the total appropriations for other than direct war purposes. They are more than double the total appropriated for the veterans' program in the current fiscal year.

Additional appropriations for the current fiscal year will become necessary to cover increased pension costs occasioned by losses in service; to conform with recent legislation increasing coverage and liberalizing payments to veterans of former wars and to their dependents; and

to carry out the provisions of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. The estimated supplemental appropriations include these items.

Pension costs during the fiscal year 1946 are expected to increase sharply to a total of 1,080 million dollars, and the costs of education, readjustment allowances, and loan guarantees to 295 million dollars. In addition, 1,000 million dollars are provided for losses resulting from the hazards of the war among holders of national service life insurance policies and 85 million dollars for construction and reconditioning of hospital facilities. This hospital construction program (shown in the Budget under General Public Works), together with Army facilities later to be made available to the Veterans' Administration, may ultimately provide 300,000 beds.

The time and rate of demobilization will greatly affect the expansion of education, readjustment allowance, loan guarantee, and rehabilitation activities of the Veterans' Administration. The number of veterans of the present war will increase until at full tide these veterans will constitute one-tenth of the population and almost one-fourth of the labor force. The responsibility which we are assuming for their jobs, education, medical care, and financial assistance makes it increasingly essential that these programs for veterans be integrated with other programs of like nature affecting the whole Nation.

Interest.—Interest on the public debt is estimated to rise next year by 750 million dollars to 4,500 million dollars. This rise reflects entirely the current increase in the outstanding debt. No change is anticipated in the low interest rates at which the war is being financed.

Tax refunds.—Refunds of taxes are expected to require a total of 2,725 million dollars, an increase of 556 million dollars over the fiscal year 1945. About 1 billion dollars of this total will consist of repayments to wage and salary earners of withholdings in excess of tax liabilities. Another billion dollars reflects the issuance of post-war bonds which cover the refundable 10 percent of the excess profits tax. Other corporate tax refunds are due to the recomputation of the special amortization allowances for emergency facilities certified to be no longer necessary for war production, and to the carry-back provisions of the corporate income and excess profits tax laws. The refunds arising from these provisions for corporate tax relief will reach full volume only in future years.

AGRICULTURE

Agricultural production has continued at record levels for 3 successive war years. Farm income has been more than 135 percent of parity throughout the period. To assure continued production at a high level, I recommend appropriations for the Department of Agriculture, including the War Food Administration, of 512 million dollars. Although this is considerably less than has been appropriated in the fiscal year 1945, the amount available, after adjustments for unused balances, reappropriations, and transfers, will not be substantially less than the

amount being used for agricultural purposes in this fiscal year. The appropriations include provision for the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, the Soil Conservation Service, the Farm Security Administration, the exportation and domestic consumption of agricultural commodities, the administration of the Sugar Act, and research and other long-established functions of the Department of Agriculture. They do not include provision for potential net expenditures of either the Commodity Credit Corporation or the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation. Of the 512 million dollars recommended, 10 million dollars for the War Food Administration are designated for war activities and 10 million dollars are for General Public Works.

Anticipating the needs of returning war veterans and the desirability for providing adequate assistance to small, low-income farmers, I recommend that the borrowing authority of the Farm Security Administration be increased from 67 to 125 million dollars for rural rehabilitation and from 15 to 50 million dollars for the tenant purchase program. I recommend that the borrowing authority of the Rural Electrification Administration be increased from 25 to 150 million dollars in order to permit the extension of electricity to at least part of the 6 million rural families now without such service. I have already given my approval to a recommendation of the War Food Administrator for an increase of 2 billion dollars in borrowing authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation. I shall recommend appropriations for financing the revived program for crop insurance in the very near future.

This agricultural budget is a wartime budget. It does not fully reflect desirable long-time objectives. In the future, we must develop a program to eliminate malnutrition and rural poverty. The Government is committed to support agricultural prices to farmers at a fair level for 2 years after the war. Farmers and the Nation as a whole must be protected from heavy fluctuations in agricultural prices and income, and this must be accomplished without the accumulation of unmanageable surpluses. So long as a large number of people have an inadequate diet, we cannot have a true surplus of agricultural production. We can have only too much of the wrong things.

SOCIAL SECURITY, RETIREMENT, AND EDUCATION

Social security.—Appropriations for administration and grants under the social security program are estimated at 494 million dollars for the fiscal year 1946, an increase of 14 million dollars over the fiscal year 1945. This increase is largely for higher grants to match payments of the States under the Social Security Act.

I hope that the Congress will give early consideration to extension and improvement of our social security system and will reexamine the financial basis of the program.

Retirement funds.—Appropriations for the Government employees' retirement funds are estimated at 247 million dollars for the fiscal year 1946, an increase

of 50 million dollars over the current fiscal year. This will reduce the previously accrued liabilities of the Government to these trust funds and will also provide for an increase in the number of employees currently acquiring benefit rights.

Education.—As a part of the Budget for the fiscal year 1946, I am recommending reorganization of the basic structure of the Office of Education. This reorganization will facilitate service to the States in the development of more adequate educational programs with proper emphasis on all the various aspects of education.

The training and educational programs of the Army, the Navy, and civilian agencies during this war have broadened our conception of the role that education should play in our national life. The records of selective service reveal that we have fallen far short of a suitable standard of elementary and secondary education. If a suitable standard is to be maintained in all parts of the country, the Federal Government must render aid where it is needed—but only where it is needed. Such financial aid should involve no interference with State and local control and administration of educational programs. It should simply make good our national obligation to all our children. This country is great enough to guarantee the right to education adequate for full citizenship.

PUBLIC WORKS

Recommended appropriations under the General Public Works Program in the fiscal year 1946 total 279 million dollars, 93 million dollars more than appropriated for the current year. Balances brought forward from public works appropriations of several years ago are about used up. Even with the recommended new appropriations, the program as a whole will be limited; actual construction will continue to be restricted to those projects which contribute to the war effort. Because of the completion of some of this war-related construction, expenditures are estimated to decrease slightly in the next fiscal year.

I recommend, however, appropriations for the planning of public works which the Congress has already authorized. We must continue to stock up a shelf of meritorious construction and development projects to be undertaken as manpower and material become available. By the end of the current fiscal year, detailed plans will be ready for about 1.5 billion dollars of Federal public works, and also will be substantially ready for a billion-dollar program of Federal-aid highways, half of this road program to be financed with State funds. We need a larger shelf of detailed plans in order to be prepared for the post-war period. Hence, appropriations for 1946 are recommended to make possible the completion of additional plans for highways, flood control, river development, stream pollution control, power transmission, reclamation, hospital, and other construction, as authorized by law. Further requests for funds for detailed planning

of Federal projects will be made on Congressional authorization.

Plans have been completed or are in the design stage for about 3 billion dollars of State and local public works, excluding Federal-aid highways. The War Mobilization and Reconversion Act authorizes funds for Federal loans and advances which would make it possible to place further projects on the shelf of planned public works. The extent to which Federal funds are needed to enable States and localities to plan adequately for useful public works is now being re-examined, and I shall soon transmit a new recommendation concerning funds for these purposes.

In addition, programs are being developed for Federal loans and guarantees to stimulate private construction after the war. Guarantees and loans already available under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act will encourage residential, commercial, and farm building.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT

The civil departments and agencies of the Federal Government have been fully geared to the war effort. Appropriations for other than direct war or war-related activities have been reduced to rock-bottom. When the war situation permits a reduction in the war program, it will also be possible to reduce war activities of the civil departments. Such activities should be curtailed wherever possible. The Bureau of the Budget has been instructed to review currently the activities of the various Government agencies and to recommend such changes as become desirable in light of changing war requirements.

Agencies which will play a leading role in the peace effort must begin preparations for a progressively larger job. I recommend, for instance, an increase in the appropriations for the Department of State in order that it may be more adequately staffed at home and abroad. To prepare for the expected increase in workload, increases in appropriations are recommended for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the Office of the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, and a few other agencies.

Recommended appropriations for general Government for the fiscal year 1946 are slightly below those enacted for the current fiscal year. If supplemental appropriations for overtime pay are adopted, requirements for general Government may be somewhat above those for the current year.

GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS—OTHER THAN WAR ACTIVITIES

Receipts of Government corporations (excluding war activities) will exceed expenditures for purposes other than debt retirement by 27 million dollars in the fiscal year 1946, and by 244 million dollars in the current fiscal year.

The operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation in connection with the farm and food programs require net outlays of 1 billion dollars during the current fiscal year. This assumes a supplemental appropriation of 256 million dollars to restore impaired capital

of the Corporation. The estimate for the fiscal year 1946 provides for net expenditures of 572 million dollars which will absorb practically all the funds available to the Corporation under its present maximum borrowing authority of 3 billion dollars. If the Congress approves the pending recommendation for a further increase in the borrowing authority, increased operations of the Corporation may result in additional net expenditures in the fiscal year 1946.

Activities of other Government corporations are expected to show smaller net receipts than during the fiscal year 1945. Liquidation of pre-war loans and other assets will probably taper off. Some expansion in the nondefense lending activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is also anticipated. The net receipts of Government corporations, in both the fiscal years 1945 and 1946, reflect substantial transfers of funds necessary to retire outstanding obligations of the Federal land banks.

FEDERAL PERSONNEL

Most of the Federal civilian employees are engaged in essential war work and must stay on the job as long as the war lasts. Government war services have suffered in recent months by departure of personnel, partly because of overoptimism about early victory, partly because of concern about employment opportunities after the war.

The total number of paid Federal employees in the continental United States in November 1944 was slightly under 2,900,000, of whom 2,040,000 were in the War and Navy Departments and other war agencies and 836,000 in the Post Office and other peacetime establishments. The total has declined 126,000 below the peak of June 1943. There will be further reductions as the course of the war permits, but our main concern at the present moment is to keep essential Government personnel on the job.

Anticipated supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year 1946 include about 500 million dollars as an approximation of the additional cost of overtime pay and other salary adjustments, assuming enactment of such pay legislation as the Congress may authorize to replace those present acts which expire June 30, 1945. This allowance has not been allocated among the detailed war and other appropriation estimates to which it relates. The Budget estimates of personnel needs, expressed in "man-years," do, however, assume continuance of the present workweek, generally 48 hours. Under the War Overtime Pay Act of 1943, salaried employees are compensated for hours worked in excess of 40 a week. With but minor exceptions, basic salary rates have not been increased during the war.

In contrast to salaried employees, the skilled and unskilled workers, such as those in navy yards and arsenals, have had wage adjustments which have approximately kept pace with wage rates for comparable work in private industry. They have also received overtime pay at true time and one-half rates.

The third large category of Federal employees—the postal workers—in addition to receiving overtime compensation at straight-time rates, has been granted a wartime bonus.

Prior to the expiration of the overtime pay law, the Congress should reexamine the entire subject of hours of work and pay. Regardless of the progress of the war in Europe, many Federal employees will continue to be needed on a 48-hour work schedule, and provision must be made for their overtime compensation. I recommend that the Congress enact permanent legislation which would authorize overtime compensation at true time and one-half rates.

When at some future date it becomes possible for most Federal employees to go on a 40-hour workweek, their earnings will be materially reduced. A situation of hardship and unfairness will then exist unless an increase in basic salary rates has been granted in recognition of the rise in the cost of living. I recommend a prompt reexamination of Federal salary rates with a view to making adjustments consistent with the national stabilization policy.

BUDGET TOTALS

The discussion of expenditures for the war and for all other purposes lays the basis for presenting the Budget totals and for an analysis of the impact of the Federal Budget on the national economy as a whole.

EXPENDITURES

Of the total estimated expenditures, including net outlays of Government corporations, of 83 billion dollars for the fiscal year 1946, 84 percent are for direct war purposes; 12 percent are for veterans, interest on the public debt, and tax refunds; and only 4 percent for all other activities of the Federal Government. Expenditures in this last group of "other activities" are estimated at 3.3 billion dollars, somewhat less than for the current fiscal year; they are only about one-half of what they were in the years before the start of the defense program—largely because of the reduction in work relief, aids to youth, and general public works.

NET RECEIPTS IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1946 UNDER EXISTING LEGISLATION

Net receipts in general and special accounts under existing legislation are expected to decline from 45.7 billion dollars in the current fiscal year to 41.3 billion dollars in the fiscal year 1946. This development reflects, in large part, the 17-billion-dollar decrease in expenditures estimated in this Budget. Such a decrease in expenditures before full reconversion to civilian production will mean smaller individual incomes and corporate profits. This, in turn, will bring a decrease in receipts from individual income taxes and from corporate taxes. Because the present law will expire June 30, 1945, receipts from recovery of excessive profits from renegotiated war contracts will taper off during the fiscal year 1946. I recommend that the Congress extend the authority to renegotiate war contracts.

Receipts from excises and customs are expected to continue at about the same

level in the fiscal year 1946 as in the current fiscal year. Sales of surplus Government-owned war supplies and property are beginning to yield substantial amounts. These receipts will be still larger in later fiscal years.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TAX LEGISLATION

Wartime taxes must be maintained as long as large-scale war expenditures are necessary. There is no justification for tax reductions as long as we are engaged in a major war. When a favorable development of the war allows a major decline in war expenditures, minor tax adjustments will become possible and desirable. I am pleased that the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation is studying the tax problems of the transition and post-war period.

BORROWING IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1946

Borrowing requirements during the fiscal year 1946 will amount to an estimated 40 billion dollars, compared with 51 billion dollars in the current fiscal year. Federal trust funds will have 5 billion dollars available for investment in Government securities, thus leaving 35 billion dollars to be borrowed from individuals and financial and other institutions. These estimates assume that the Treasury general fund balance, which amounted to 20 billion dollars at the end of the fiscal year 1944, will be reduced by 5 billion dollars during the current fiscal year, and by 2 billion dollars during the fiscal year 1946. They also assume that retirement of guaranteed obligations of Government corporations held outside the Treasury will be almost completed by June 30, 1945.

These large borrowing operations will require a further rise in the public debt to 292 billion dollars on June 30, 1946. Before the debt reaches this figure, a further increase in the 260-billion-dollar debt limit will be necessary.

Management of the public debt has become one of the major financial operations of the Government. To assure effective discharge of these responsibilities and, in particular, to maintain the present low rates of interest, ample powers must be available to the monetary authorities. I shall later recommend legislation reducing the present high gold-reserve requirements of the Federal Reserve banks.

The management of the public debt is bound to have a profound influence on the economy for a long time to come. Retaining high taxes on the masses of consumers for general reduction of debt held by financial institutions may destroy purchasing power and create unemployment. But the use of progressive taxes for the redemption of bonds held by millions of individual savers may have a stabilizing influence on incomes and employment. I favor a policy of orderly but steady debt reduction, consistent with the objectives of long-run economic policy. The mistakes in debt management and tax policy after the last war should not be repeated.

ECONOMIC CONTROLS AND RECONVERSION RECONVERSION

As long as we are at war—at war against two powerful enemies or against

only one of them—we will give unqualified priority to all war production and to all manpower needs of war. Nevertheless, some reconversion of war industries may become possible, dependent on the progress of the war.

The foundation for dealing with the main reconversion problems has been laid by the Contract Settlement Act, the Surplus Property Act, and the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act; the machinery for the administration of these acts is being put in operation. Still, a great many problems remain to be solved if we are to be ready for successful reconversion. We may have a scarcity of manpower in certain industries and regions, while temporary unemployment may develop in others. We may have surpluses of some commodities and a downward tendency in certain prices, particularly of raw materials, while scarcities cause a continuing upward pressure on other prices.

The human side of reconversion requires effective organization to aid each discharged war veteran and war worker to find his way back into productive peacetime employment. As far as veterans are concerned, the basis is laid by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. I have already emphasized the need to strengthen our social security program. With respect to the reconversion period, I am particularly concerned over the fact that broad categories of workers are not covered by present legislation and that present standards for unemployment compensation are not adequate in many States. To promote employment opportunities and to assure the proper occupational adjustment of returning veterans and war workers, a strong, integrated system of public employment offices is a basic necessity. We can best accomplish this objective by the establishment, through permanent legislation, of an effective national employment service with adequate coverage throughout the Nation. For the reconversion period we should provide assistance for travel and retraining of war workers.

We must also see to it that our administrative machinery for the adjustment of labor disputes is ready for the strains of the reconversion period. We must apply some of our wartime lessons in labor-management cooperation in working out a sound long-range labor policy implemented by permanent mediation machinery for the adjustment of labor disputes.

The material side of reconversion should also be conducted with a view toward the long-range objectives of economic policy. Surplus property disposal should contribute to filling the needs of production, domestic and foreign. It should be carried on with full recognition of the objectives of price stability.

Every effort should be made to achieve full civilian use of plants built for war purposes when they are no longer needed for war production and to facilitate their rapid transfer to private industry for productive use. If prompt transfers of ownership cannot be made, temporary lease arrangements may facilitate early productive use while permanent ar-

rangements for transfer are being worked out.

Statistical information concerning business activities and markets, employment and unemployment, incomes, expenditures, and savings is urgently needed as a guide for economic policies during the remainder of the war and during the reconversion and post-war periods. I recommended appropriations for this purpose to the last Congress. I shall transmit recommendations in the near future for those essential parts of the program on which the Congress took no action. Business, agriculture, labor, and the Government need to know the basic economic facts if each is to play its role with maximum effectiveness during the months and years ahead.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL PROGRAMS

As the war progresses, we must hasten our plans to secure world-wide economic cooperation in both the transition period and the post-war period. We have learned that just as the United States cannot afford to be isolationist in its political philosophy, neither can it stand the malignant effects of economic isolationism.

Last July the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference formulated articles of agreement for the establishment of an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. These institutions will be integral parts of a broad program for cooperation among the United Nations in those areas of economic contact where failure to adopt common policies will result in economic "spite fences," economic waste, and economic warfare.

A concrete program for international monetary and financial cooperation at an early date is essential. In the first place, all countries agree that a solution must be found for the evils that stem from the unstable and destructive exchange practices which the Fund is designed to eliminate. Second, the need for international investment is already becoming acute. The liberated countries will require loans for the reconstruction of their industry, their transport, their cities, their agriculture, and their trade. The International Bank will make direct long-term loans out of its capital or from borrowed funds, and particularly will guarantee private loans for these purposes. While the proceeds of these loans will be spent to procure equipment in the countries where it is available, the risks of lending will be spread equitably among all member countries.

It is therefore imperative that both the Fund and the Bank be established at once in order that they may be properly staffed and equipped to cope with problems which are already developing as the countries in Europe are liberated. Accordingly, I urge acceptance of the agreements and recommend the enactment of legislation which would permit the United States to make its proportionate investment in the Fund and the Bank.

In addition to the operations of the International Bank, there will continue

to be many types of foreign investment in which a national financial institution such as the Export-Import Bank should participate, especially during the next few years when the foreign demand for our products will be particularly heavy. The Export-Import Bank will provide short- and medium-term credits to finance our exporters. It will also undertake long-term lending for reconstruction and development in cases where special American purposes are to be served and other countries may not wish to participate. In collaboration with private banks, manufacturers, engineers, and exporters, the Export-Import Bank has had 10 years of successful experience in these fields. At present its resources available for new operations are very limited. In order that it may play its part in the reconstruction period, I recommend early expansion of its lending power.

At present our foreign investment programs are impeded by legislation which restricts loans to those countries which are in default on loans arising out of the first World War. For both the International Bank and the Export-Import Bank to operate effectively, as well as to achieve an adequate flow of private investment, it is essential that these restrictions be removed.

NATIONAL INCOME, PRODUCTION, AND ECONOMIC CONTROLS

The American Nation has almost doubled its total output of goods and services under the impact of the war program. Slightly less than one-half of this total output is purchased by the Federal Government. What is left for civilian consumption has been sufficient to provide most of us with better living standards than prevailed before the war.

The national economy is operating at extremely high levels of income and expenditure. Despite wartime taxes and large wartime savings, consumers and business have sought to buy more than the available supply of goods and services. Nevertheless, prices have been substantially stabilized through vigorous application of our stabilization program and the cooperation of the American people. Whereas the cost of living has increased by between 25 and 30 percent since 1939, it has risen only about 2 percent since the "hold the line" order of April 1943. Holding the line on prices and wages has prevented, and is still preventing, inflationary developments.

The reduction in war expenditures, which I hope the progress of the war will permit during the next fiscal year, will result in somewhat lower wartime incomes, even if wage ceilings are adjusted upward to avoid reduction in average hourly rates when overtime is curtailed. Nevertheless, the demand for goods and services will undoubtedly still be great and we can be sure of eager buyers for whatever durable goods industry might produce.

When war production is extensively reduced some of the controls which were needed in an all-out war economy can be relaxed, although other controls must be continued to assure necessary war pro-

duction and orderly reconversion. For example, we must avoid speculation in inventories such as contributed to the inflation after the last war. The fact that many businesses and individuals have ample funds for a buying spree necessitates caution in relaxing controls. The balance between incomes, savings, and expenditures will still be precarious during the reconversion period. It will therefore be necessary to retain the machinery for allocation and price controls as long as certain materials and finished goods are in short supply. I therefore recommend extension of the Economic Stabilization Act before its expiration on June 30, 1945.

In general, it will be our policy to hold the over-all cost of living and to permit only such adjustments as are conducive to the full utilization of available resources and compatible with the general objective of economic stabilization. As long as we are engaged in a war with desperate and resourceful enemies, war controls are needed, but they must be readjusted to changing levels of war production and civilian production.

DEMobilIZATION AND POST-WAR FULL EMPLOYMENT

Large-scale demobilization can hardly be expected to begin during the period covered in this Budget. Nevertheless, as we continue to mobilize for a long, hard war, we must under no circumstances be caught unprepared for peace.

Under the impact of a huge war program, we are employing 52 million men and women either in war production or in production and service for civilian purposes, while another 12 million are serving in the armed forces. After the war many of them will retire or resume their schooling or devote themselves to their homes and families. But such reduction in the civilian labor force will be more than offset by demobilization of our armed forces and by the natural growth of the population of working age. Thus, before long there may be 60 million men and women to be employed. Huge war expenditures have brought full employment, more than full employment. What will be the outlook when Federal expenditures are 50 and 25 billion dollars in the period of demobilization and thereafter?

The following table shows the operations of our national economy—the Nation's Budget—in the calendar year 1939 with considerable unemployment, and the same operations in the calendar year 1944 when we had moved to a much higher level of incomes, expenditures, and savings, involving more than full employment under the stress of war. Manifestly, full employment in peacetime can be assured only when the reduction in war demand is approximately offset by additional peacetime demand from the millions of consumers, businesses, and farmers, and by Federal, State, and local governments. And that means that consumers' expenditures and business investments must increase by about 50 percent, measured in constant prices, above the level of the year 1939 if full employment is to be provided by private enterprise.

THE GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET AND THE NATION'S BUDGET
Calendar years 1939 and 1944
[Current prices,¹ in billions]

Economic group	Calendar year 1939			Calendar year 1944		
	Receipts	Expenditures	Excess (+), deficit (-)	Receipts	Expenditures	Excess (+), deficit (-)
CONSUMERS						
Income after taxes.....	\$67.3			\$132.8		
Expenditures.....		\$61.7			\$97.0	
Savings (+).....			+\$5.6			+\$35.8
BUSINESS						
Undistributed profits and reserves.....	\$8.3			\$12.3		
Gross capital formation.....		\$10.9			\$2.6	
Excess of receipts (+) or capital formation (-).....			-\$2.6			+\$9.7
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT						
Receipts from the public, other than borrowing.....	\$8.9			\$10.4		
Payments to the public.....		\$9.1			\$8.8	
Excess of receipts (+) or payments (-).....			-\$0.2			+\$1.6
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT						
Receipts from the public, other than borrowing.....	\$6.5			\$47.9		
Payments to the public.....		\$9.3			\$95.0	
Excess of receipts (+) or payments (-).....			-\$2.8			-\$47.1
Less: Adjustments ²	\$2.4	\$2.4		\$5.9	\$5.9	
TOTAL: GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT						
Receipts.....	\$88.6			\$197.5		
Expenditures.....		\$88.6			\$197.5	
Balance.....			0			0

¹ Prices in 1944 were between 25 and 30 percent above 1939.

² Mainly Government expenditures for other than goods and services.

NOTE.—For details and explanation see appendix 10, pp. 830-831.

Consumers' purchases of durable goods, business nonwar investments, and capital outlays of the governments for nonwar purposes have been so low during recent years that a large backlog of demand will be carried over into the post-war period. Individuals, however, will buy the new car or build the new home only if they feel secure in their jobs; businessmen will expand plants and buy new machinery only if they feel confident of profitable markets for additional products.

The American people have learned during the war the measure of their productive capacity, and they will remember that experience in the peace to come. It is the responsibility of business enterprise to translate market opportunities into employment and production. It is the responsibility of the Government to hold open the door of opportunity and to assure sustained markets. Then and only then can free enterprise provide jobs.

Full employment after the war is not only a matter of immediate self-interest, but also part of our stake in world stability and prosperity. Other countries are anxiously awaiting the development of our policy and will be more willing to make international commitments if they are assured of high post-war employment in the United States. They are fully aware that international cooperation cannot succeed unless the United States is prosperous.

We must attack the employment problem on every front,

For instance, we must overhaul the wartime tax structure to stimulate consumers' demand and to promote business investment. The elements of such a tax program should be developed now so that it can be put into effect after victory.

We must make sure that there are opportunities for new and growing business. The rational and international policies which we adopt now—affecting trade, credit, investment, and competition and monopoly—largely determine future business and employment opportunities.

We must develop the human standards and material resources of the Nation, which in turn will tend to increase our productivity and most effectively support business expansion and employment. Our program should include provision for extended social security, including medical care; for better education, public health, and nutrition; for the improvement of our homes, cities, and farms; and for the development of transportation facilities and river valleys. We must plan now so that these programs can become effective when manpower and material are available.

I shall from time to time submit to the Congress recommendations for legislative measures to implement our demobilization program and to assure jobs for all returning war veterans and discharged war workers.

Our productive achievements during the war have demonstrated once and for all the progress which this Nation can support, the progress which will be re-

quired if all our resources are to be put to adequate peacetime use. The war, however, will also leave us deep distortions in our economic life which must be overcome. We owe it to those who give everything that we set our sights as high for peace as we set them for war.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

JANUARY 3, 1945.

PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL APARTMENT BUILDINGS

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a telegram received by me from Mr. N. C. Hines, executive director of the Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Washington.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 9, 1945.

HON. KENNETH McKELLAR,

United States Senate:

Will you kindly announce to the Members of the Congress that the builder members of this association officially offer to build the two proposed congressional apartment buildings in any size and amount with private capital. As has been emphatically pointed out at the previous committee hearings private builders can and will build better housing for less money with more speedy completion, will pay all District and Federal taxes, and will rent under O. P. A. ceilings. All that the Government is asked to do is to give the necessary go-ahead signal, which includes priorities the same as would be asked for the National Housing Authority.

N. C. HINES,

Executive Director, Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Washington.

MASS SEDITION TRIAL IN WASHINGTON

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, on the 8th day of September 1944, I called the attention of the Senators to the mass sedition trial. Unfortunately, it seemed to be one of those subjects which were taboo, and I not only received no support upon the floor of the Senate but various newspapers and individuals criticized me, including even a minister of the gospel at Baltimore.

In view of the criticisms, it is particularly refreshing to note the editorial contained in this week's Saturday Evening Post, published on January 6. The editorial speaks for itself, and is as follows:

LET IT BE OUR LAST MASS TRIAL

It is probable that the Department of Justice long ago realized that the sedition trial in Washington was a particularly obstreperous white elephant, but it was not until the death of the trial judge, Edward C. Eicher, that the Department had the opportunity to cut its losses and save its face. For our part, we hope that this is the last time that American justice is made to look silly by an effort to emulate Nazi-Communist propaganda trials.

The so-called sedition trial was an effort to lump in one basket the sins and irregularities of a variety of cranks and dissenters, ranging all the way from Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling to the late Elmer J. Garner, age 83, who died during the trial in a Washington rooming house, leaving, according to Sanator LANGER, of North Dakota, 40 cents as his sole assets. The 30 defendants were accused of various manners and degrees of sedition, but there was no reason to try them en masse, since their alleged unrelated offenses were committed in places as far apart as New York and California. The idea seems to have been to stage a patriotic rally in a courtroom.

Months ago, the Washington Post, which has done its share in ferreting out evidence of actual sabotage, reached the conclusion that the case would "stand as a black mark against American justice for many years to come." A touch of courage in Washington—a willingness to defy the asinine charge that an end to the farce indicated sympathy for traitors and appeasers—would have disposed of the long-drawn-out indignity before it reached the depths of absurdity. As things were, however, only the death of Judge Eicher availed to release American justice from an exhibition far more appropriate to the court-rooms of Berlin and Moscow than to those of the United States of America.

The fact that only the death of the trial judge could put an end to the show must stand as a warning to every citizen that the right to a full and fair trial as an effort to render justice, and not as a means of making a good show to stimulate morale or for some other extraneous purpose, is one which can be maintained only by constant vigilance and labor. The protection of American justice from such showmanship ought to rest on more secure ground than the mortality of Federal judges. Perhaps the poor reception enjoyed by the Washington performance will make its repetition less likely.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I am anxious to address the Senate for not more than 30 minutes. I understand that we are in the midst of the morning hour, and I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed at this time, because I have to go to keep other engagements.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Michigan that he be permitted to proceed although the Senate is in the midst of the morning hour? The Chair hears no objection.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be very glad to yield for the transaction of routine business.

At this point the following routine morning business was transacted:

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT OF ATTORNEY GENERAL PURSUANT TO SECTION 205, PUBLIC LAW 458, SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

A letter from the Attorney General, submitting pursuant to section 205, Public Law 458, Seventy-eighth Congress, approved October 3, 1944, a preliminary report of the Attorney General (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

SPECIAL CONTRACTS WITH RAILROADS FOR TRANSPORTATION OF THE MAILED

A letter from the Postmaster General, submitting, pursuant to law, a report of all cases where special contracts are made with railroad companies for the transportation of the mails, and the terms and reasons therefor; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

PURCHASE OF PUBLIC LANDS FOR HOME AND OTHER SITES

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the purchase of public lands for home and other sites," approved June 1, 1938 (52 Stat. 609) (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

LEGISLATION ENACTED BY THE COUNCIL OF ST. CROIX, V. I.

A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies

of legislation passed by the Municipal Council of St. Croix, V. I. (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

SPECIAL STATISTICAL STUDIES, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

A letter from the Acting Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, a statement of services rendered and funds received to defray cost of special statistical studies, compilation, etc., and the manner in which the moneys received were deposited or used (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

EXPENDITURES OF UNITED STATES COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

A letter from the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, transmitting, pursuant to law, the original of the detailed statement of expenditures of appropriations for the United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1944 (with an accompanying statement); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the fifty-eighth annual report of the Commission (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

FINAL VALUATIONS OF PROPERTIES OF CERTAIN CARRIERS

A letter from the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of final valuations of properties of certain carriers subject to the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

RELIEF OF FRANCIS X. SERVAITES

A letter from the Administrator of the National Housing Agency, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Francis X. Servaites (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Claims.

RELIEF OF JAMES M. HILER

A letter from the Administrator of the National Housing Agency, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of James M. Hiler (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Claims.

REPORT OF UNITED STATES MARITIME COMMISSION—CONTRACTS ENTERED INTO OR MODIFIED

A letter from the Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of contracts entered into or modified under Public Law 46, Seventy-seventh Congress, cumulative for the period beginning January 1, 1944, and ended December 31, 1944 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORT OF OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

A letter from the Administrator of the Office of Price Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, the eleventh report of the Administration covering the period ended September 30, 1944 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT OF FEDERAL WORKS AGENCY

A letter from the Administrator of the Federal Works Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the fifth annual report of the Federal Works Agency for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1944 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Education and Labor.

NAME AND COMPENSATION OF PERSONS EMPLOYED BY FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission, transmitting, pursuant

to law, a statement showing the name and compensation of the members and employees of the Federal Power Commission as of June 30, 1944 (with an accompanying statement); to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORT OF AMERICAN WAR MOTHERS

A letter from the national corresponding secretary, American War Mothers, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the transactions of the American War Mothers for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1943, and ended September 30, 1944 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Military Affairs.

PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

Estimates of personnel requirements by various agencies of the Government for the quarter ending March 31, 1945, and estimates and revised estimates for the quarter ended December 31, 1944, and revised estimates for the quarter ended September 30, 1944, by a department of the Government; to the Committee on Civil Service.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate by the Vice President and referred as indicated:

A resolution by the Imperial County Democratic Central Committee, El Centro, Calif., protesting against ratification of the so-called United States-Mexican border water treaty; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution by the Legislative Assembly of the Virgin Islands, favoring amendment of the Organic Act of the Virgin Islands so as to provide for a Resident Commissioner; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

A resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Virgin Islands, favoring the enactment of legislation to extend to American citizens and voters of the Virgin Islands the right to participate in national elections and to permit them to vote for President and Vice President of the United States; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

A resolution adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Virgin Islands in recognition, appreciation, and gratitude to Hon. Charles Harwood, Governor of the Virgin Islands, for his firm effort and persistence in securing for the Virgin Islands a Federal public works authorization for an appropriation of \$10,800,000; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

WAGE ADJUSTMENTS—RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred, a resolution relative to wage adjustments which was introduced in the Council of the City of New York by Mr. Sharkey, vice chairman of the council, and was adopted by the Council of the City of New York on December 12, 1944.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 15, 1944.

Resolution 100

Amended resolution relative to wage adjustments

By the vice chairman, Mr. Sharkey:

Whereas wage earners engaged in the production of front-line war materials, principally steel, planes, tanks, machines, and electrical and radio instruments, have petitioned the National War Labor Board for an increase

in wages to meet the increased cost of living; and

Whereas these wage earners have achieved unprecedented records of production for our victorious armed forces by personal sacrifice and by scrupulously living up to the no-strike policy in the interests of a United Nations victory; and

Whereas the compensation of wage earners in other fields has also lagged considerably behind the increase in the cost of living; and

Whereas the rise in the cost of living has been seriously felt by our workers in the city of New York; and

Whereas without a wage-rate adjustment, the reduced buying power of these wage earners will affect their welfare and the welfare of their families; and

Whereas it must also be recognized that it is vital for the welfare of all in this country that further inflation be prevented: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the council of the city of New York does record itself as favoring the application of the aforesaid workers for a wage adjustment to meet increased living costs now pending before the National War Labor Board to the fullest extent that such increase can be granted without inducing a further rise in the cost of living and stimulating the menace of inflation; and be it further

Resolved, That the view of this council be conveyed to the Members of Congress from the city of New York, to the National War Labor Board and to the President of the United States.

Adopted December 12, 1944.

COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. McKELLAR:

S. 148. A bill granting an increase of pension to Claude Hathorn; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 149. A bill for the relief of William M. Greene;

S. 150. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act for the relief of Dr. R. N. Harwood," approved June 10, 1935;

S. 151. A bill for the relief of the Rent-A-Car Co.;

S. 152. A bill for the relief of John B. Dow;

S. 153. A bill for the relief of Thompson & McKinney;

S. 154. A bill for the relief of N. F. Clower and Elijah Williams;

S. 155. A bill for the relief of the Dixie Margarine Co., a Tennessee corporation, of Memphis, Tenn.

S. 156. A bill for the relief of the legal guardian of Howard Burkette;

S. 157. A bill for the relief of Janie McCord Watson, James Scott Howell, Alice Ruth Howell, and Houston Thomas Howell;

S. 158. A bill for the relief of Joe D. Dailey;

S. 159. A bill for the relief of Claudia F. Banks and Edna B. Towner;

S. 160. A bill for the relief of Drs. W. S. Davis, P. A. Palmer, H. S. Oakes, and J. M. Outley;

S. 161. A bill for the relief of Blanche H. Karsch, administratrix of the estate of Kate E. Hamilton;

S. 162. A bill for the relief of Walter S. Faulkner;

S. 163. A bill for the relief of Fred C. Lindsay;

S. 164. A bill for the relief of the city of Memphis, Tenn.;

S. 165. A bill for the relief of Davis-Mize & Co., Inc.;

S. 166. A bill for the relief of the Lauderdale County Highway Commission;

S. 167. A bill for the relief of Perkins Gins, formerly Perkins Oil Co., of Memphis, Tenn.;

S. 168. A bill for the relief of the estate of Ted Vaughan, deceased;

S. 169. A bill for the relief of Vodie Jackson;

S. 170. A bill for the relief of the Canal Dredging Co.;

S. 171. A bill for the relief of the surviving directors of the Chesboard Co., a dissolved Maryland corporation;

S. 172. A bill for the relief of T. H. Richardson;

S. 173. A bill for the relief of the State of Tennessee;

S. 174. A bill for the relief of the estate of Beatrice Withers, deceased, and Mary M. Withers;

S. 175. A bill for the relief of the city of Harriman, Tenn.;

S. 176. A bill for the relief of the city of Memphis, Tenn., and Memphis Park Commission; and

S. 177. A bill for the relief of Oscar Griggs; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. MURDOCK:

S. 178. A bill to amend section 40 of the United States Employees' Compensation Act, as amended; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

(Mr. WAGNER introduced Senate bills 179 and 180, which were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. THOMAS of Utah (for himself and Mr. HILL):

S. 181. A bill to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in more adequately financing their systems of public education during emergency, and in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities through public elementary and secondary schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 182. A bill for the relief of Adolphus M. Holman; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma:

S. 183. A bill to authorize the carrying of obligations of the United States, owned by banks, trust companies, savings and loan associations, and insurance companies, at their par value, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GEORGE:

S. 184 (by request). A bill to amend the Social Security Act by authorizing the furnishing of wage record information to State unemployment compensation agencies; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. AIKEN (for himself and Mr. LA FOLLETTE):

S. 185. A bill to assist in the effective prosecution of the war; to improve the health, efficiency, and morale of the civilian population and the armed forces; and to provide for a more equitable distribution of food supplies through a food allotment plan; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. MOSES:

S. 186. A bill for the relief of the Indians of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, on behalf of the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CAPPER], the junior Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], and myself, I introduce and send to the desk a bill granting the consent of Congress to the States of Colorado and Kansas to negotiate and enter into a compact for the division of the waters of the Arkansas River. I respectfully suggest that

the bill be referred to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and referred as requested by the Senator from Colorado.

By Mr. MILLIKIN (for himself, Mr. CAPPER, Mr. REED, and Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado):

S. 187. A bill to grant the consent of Congress to the States of Colorado and Kansas to negotiate and enter into a compact for the division of the waters of the Arkansas River; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation.

Mr. GURNEY. I offer a bill to provide military and naval training for the post-war period. This is the bill sponsored by the American Legion.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill introduced by the Senator from South Dakota will be received and appropriately referred.

By Mr. GURNEY:

S. 188. A bill to provide military or naval training for all male citizens who attain the age of 18 years, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 189. A bill for the relief of Charles R. Hooper; to the Committee on Claims.

(Mr. MURRAY introduced Senate bill 190, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HILL (for himself and Mr. BURTON):

S. 191. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize grants to the States for surveying their hospitals and public-health centers and for planning construction of additional facilities, and to authorize grants to assist in such construction; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

(Mr. BILBO introduced Senate bill 192, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and appears under a separate heading.)

(Mr. BILBO also introduced Senate bill 193, which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs, and appears under a separate heading.)

Mr. MAYBANK. I introduce a claims bill, and also another bill which I ask to have referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. It is similar to a bill that was pending before the committee last year.

By Mr. MAYBANK:

S. 194. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Glenn T. Boylston; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 195. A bill to provide for the more efficient utilization of the agricultural resources of the Nation during peace and war; to regulate the production and distribution of margarine, a product of certain agricultural commodities, in interstate commerce; to remove certain obstructions to the distribution of such product in interstate commerce; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. BALL:

S. 196. A bill for the relief of the village of Cold Spring, Minn.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 197. A bill authorizing the Department of Highways of the State of Minnesota to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge across the Pigeon River; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 198. A bill to incorporate the National Safety Council; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 199. A bill to authorize the conveyance of certain public lands in the State of Minnesota to such State for use for park, recrea-

tional, or wildlife-refuge purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.

By Mr. RUSSELL:

S. 200. A bill to provide for Federal assistance in the maintenance, expansion, and operation of school lunch and school milk programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 201. A bill for the relief of the estates of William F. Bacon, Myrtle Jackson, Catherine Smith, and Tibbie Spencer; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 202. A bill to amend the Social Security Act to standardize the amount to be contributed by the United States for old-age assistance; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 203. A bill for the relief of Margery Anderson Bridges; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 204. A bill to amend the National Defense Act, as amended, with respect to the minimum age limit for persons appointed as second lieutenants in the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 205. A bill granting a pension to Sally Turner; to the Committee on Pensions.

S. 206. A bill to provide for the delivery of mail on rural free delivery routes on holidays other than Sundays; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. FERGUSON (for Mr. BURTON):

S. 207. A bill for the relief of Yeichi Nimura (Tomizo Miki); to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 208. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes;

S. 209. A bill to further amend section 22 of the act approved March 4, 1925, entitled "An act providing for sundry matters affecting the naval service, and for other purposes," by changing the limitation on the total personnel of the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps, and for other purposes;

S. 210. A bill to repeal the act entitled "An act to authorize the conveyance of the old lighthouse keeper's residence in Manitowoc, Wis., to the Otto Oas Post, No. 659, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Manitowoc, Wis.," approved June 16, 1938;

S. 211. A bill for the relief of Ensign Frederick Matthews McCord, United States Naval Reserve;

S. 212. A bill to provide an additional sum for the payment of a claim under the act entitled "An act to provide for the reimbursement of certain Navy and Marine Corps personnel and former Navy and Marine Corps personnel and certain Federal civil employees for personal property lost or damaged as a result of the hurricane and flood at Parris Island, S. C., on August 11-12, 1940," approved April 23, 1941;

S. 213. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the city of Canton, Ohio, for highway purposes only, a strip of land situated within the United States Naval Ordnance Plant at Canton, Ohio;

S. 214. A bill to provide reimbursement for personal property lost, damaged, or destroyed as the result of an explosion at the naval mine depot, Yorktown, Va., on November 16, 1943;

S. 215. A bill to reimburse certain Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of a fire at the naval auxiliary air facility, Astoria, Oreg., on April 2, 1944;

S. 216. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey to Oahu Railway & Land Co. an easement for railway purposes in certain lands situated at Halawa, Ewa, Oahu, T. H.;

S. 217. A bill to authorize an exchange of lands between the city of Eastport, Maine, and the United States, and the conveyance of a roadway easement to the city of Eastport, Maine;

S. 218. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to lease certain lands situated in San Diego County, State of California;

S. 219. A bill to amend section 1442, Revised Statutes, relating to furlough of officers by the Secretary of the Navy;

S. 220. A bill to vest title to the United States ship *Wolverine* (ex-*Michigan*) in the Foundation for the Original United States Ship Michigan, Inc.; and

S. 221. A bill to authorize Lewis Hobart Kenney, Charles Garner, Charles Clement Goodman, and Henry Charles Robinson to accept decorations and orders tendered them by the Government of the United States of Brazil; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. THOMAS of Utah:

S. 222. A bill to authorize the Secretary of War to grant to the Duke Power Co. a 180-foot perpetual easement across Camp Croft, in the State of South Carolina; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RADCLIFFE (for Mr. TYDINGS):

S. 223. A bill to provide for the establishment of a modern, adequate, and efficient hospital center in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 224. A bill to permit Federal employees to serve as election officials; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 225. A bill to authorize the carrying of Civil War battle streamers with regimental colors; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 226. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Puerto Rico, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1917, as amended, and known as the Organic Act of Puerto Rico; and

S. 227. A bill to provide for the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the island of Puerto Rico and for the recognition of its independence; to provide for notification thereof to foreign governments; to provide for the assumption by the government of Puerto Rico of obligations under the Treaty with Spain of December 10, 1898; to define trade and other relations between the United States and Puerto Rico; to provide for the calling of a convention to frame a constitution for the government of the island of Puerto Rico; to provide for certain mandatory provisions of the proposed constitution; to provide for the submission of the constitution to the people of Puerto Rico and its submission to the President of the United States for his approval; to provide for the adjustment of property rights between the United States and Puerto Rico; to provide for the maintenance of military, coaling, and naval stations by the United States on the island of Puerto Rico; to continue in force certain statutes until independence has been granted; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. 223. A bill for the relief of Ruth Grossman; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 229. A bill granting a pension to George H. Simpson; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LANGER:

S. 230. A bill to amend Public Law 518, Seventy-eighth Congress, approved December 20, 1944; and

S. 231. A bill to extend for 1 additional year the reduced rate of interest on Land Bank Commissioner loans; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

S. 232. A bill to establish accountability for personnel actions in the various departments and independent establishments of the Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 233. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the State of North Dakota to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River; and

S. 234. A bill authorizing the construction of a free highway bridge across the Yellow-

stone River near Fairview, Mont.; to the Committee on Commerce.

S. 235. A bill to amend section 6 of the act of March 20, 1933, to prohibit the requirement of the taking of the so-called pauper's oath by certain applicants for hospital treatment or domiciliary care; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 236. A bill to permit all people from India, residing in the United States to be naturalized; to the Committee on Immigration.

S. 237. A bill to prevent nepotism in appointments to governmental offices and positions; and

S. 238. A bill to prohibit the appointment of residents of the same State to certain offices; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 239. A bill to amend title II of the act entitled "An act to provide for the creation, organization, administration, and maintenance of a Naval Reserve and a Marine Corps Reserve," approved June 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 1175), in order to give credit for active duty performed by enlisted men subsequent to transfer to the Fleet Reserve, in computing their retainer or retired pay; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. RADCLIFFE (for Mr. TYDINGS):

S. J. Res. 8. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to fiscal matters; to the Committee on Appropriations.

(Mr. CAPPER introduced S. J. Res. 9 and 10, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and appear under separate headings.)

By Mr. LANGER:

S. J. Res. 11. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, relating to the composition of the President's Cabinet; and

S. J. Res. 12. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to terms of office of President, and providing for nomination of candidates for President and Vice President, and for election of such candidates, by popular vote; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENT OF THE FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK AND HOME OWNERS' LOAN ACTS

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I introduce two bills for appropriate reference, and ask that a statement relating to the proposed amendments to the Federal Home Loan Bank Act and the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933 be printed in the RECORD:

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bills will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the statement of the Senator from New York will be printed in the RECORD.

The bills introduced by Mr. WAGNER were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, as follows:

S. 179. A bill to amend the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, as amended; and

S. 180. A bill to amend section 5 of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, as amended.

The statement presented by Mr. WAGNER is as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER, OF NEW YORK, ON INTRODUCTION OF TWO BILLS AMENDING THE FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK ACT AND THE HOME OWNERS' LOAN ACT OF 1933

AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL HOME LOAN BANK ACT

Section 1 would provide that the Federal home-loan banks may make advances to their member institutions on the security of any mortgage or obligation which is insured under the National Housing Act or for which

a commitment to insure has been made under that act, or as to which the member institution has insurance under that act. No such advance could exceed 90 percent of the unpaid principal of the mortgage or obligation offered as collateral for the advance.

Under existing law the Federal home-loan banks have a limited power to make advances on mortgages insured under the National Housing Act, but the member institutions cannot put up as collateral for such advances loans which they have made with the insurance protection provided in title I of the National Housing Act but for which they have not taken mortgage security. Also, they cannot use for this purpose mortgages insured under title II which have more than 20 years' unexpired maturity. It is believed that, insofar as these types of loan are deemed worthy of insurance under the National Housing Act, they should be acceptable as collateral security for advances by the Federal home-loan banks.

Section 2 deals with the base for the issuance of consolidated Federal home-loan bank debentures, which are the joint and several obligations of all the Federal home-loan banks. At present, such debentures may not be issued in excess of five times the total paid-in capital of all the Federal home-loan banks nor in excess of the notes or obligations of member institutions held by all the banks and secured under section 10 (a) of the Federal Home Loan Bank Act. However, no provision is made for including in the debenture base secured advances made under other provisions of the Federal Home Loan Bank Act or for including therein obligations of or fully guaranteed by the United States which are owned by the Federal home-loan banks. The present section would include these items, but would retain the existing provision that such debentures may not in any event be issued in excess of five times the total paid-in capital of the Federal home-loan banks.

Section 3 is the most important section of the bill. It would authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase obligations of the Federal home-loan banks and of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, up to a limit of three times the capital stock, reserves, and surplus of the banks or the insurance corporation, as the case may be. The Secretary of the Treasury would have entire discretion as to such purchases, being merely authorized and not required to make them.

The Federal home-loan banks (which provide reserve-credit facilities for nearly 3,800 members, comprising savings and loan associations and similar institutions, savings banks, and insurance companies) and the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (which insures, up to \$5,000 for each investor in each institution, the safety of accounts in approximately 2,400 savings and loan associations and similar institutions) are designed to stabilize local savings and home-financing institutions and thus to aid in protecting the whole financial structure. Under ordinary conditions the banks and the insurance corporation will have no difficulty in obtaining necessary funds in the open market. However, the provision here proposed is essential as a bulwark in times of stress, when they might not be able to market their obligations to the public on reasonable terms. Its enactment would be in accordance with other measures for Government purchase or guaranty of obligations of Federal agencies, as in the case of the Federal Reserve System, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Federal Public Housing Authority, the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, and other agencies which have this protection.

Section 4 deals with examinations of the Federal home-loan banks. The existing law requires that they be examined "at least twice annually." The present section would change this to read "at least annually."

Thus the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration would not be required to examine the banks oftener than once a year, but would still have authority to examine them more often if it saw fit to do so. It is believed that the section would make possible some economy in money cost and in personnel, while preserving all essential authority.

Section 5 is the usual separability provision.

AMENDMENTS TO 'HOME OWNERS' LOAN ACT OF 1933

This bill, which consists of only one section, would make two changes in section 5 (c) of the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, dealing with the lending and investment powers of Federal savings and loan associations.

At present, a Federal savings and loan association may make real-estate loans only on first liens of not over \$20,000 on homes or combinations of homes and business property within 50 miles of its home office, except that not over 15 percent of its assets may be loaned on first liens on "other improved real estate" without regard to these limitations. The present section would change the words "other improved real estate" to "any improved real estate," so as to negative any construction that homes and combination home and business properties are excluded from the 15 percent provision.

In addition, the bill would provide that a Federal association may invest its funds in any mortgage or obligation as to which the association is protected by insurance under the National Housing Act, or for which a commitment to insure has been issued under that act. Federal associations would thus be able to make use of the provisions of title I of the National Housing Act insuring financial institutions with respect to alteration, repair, and improvement loans made without the expense and delay incident to title searches and the taking of mortgage security. These associations would in this way be enabled to participate more fully in the war housing program, which has recognized the need for the prompt supplying of additional family units in defense areas through the conversion of existing dwellings into a greater number of family units and the restoration and rehabilitation of dwellings now unsuitable or uninhabitable.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DENTAL RESEARCH

Mr. MURRAY. I offer a bill to provide for, foster, and aid in coordinating research relating to dental diseases and conditions; to establish a national institute of dental research, and for other purposes. I ask that the bill be printed in the body of the RECORD, and appropriately referred, and that a statement explaining the purposes of the bill be printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill introduced by the Senator from Montana will be received and appropriately referred, and, without objection, the bill and statement will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 190) to provide for, foster, and aid in coordinating research relating to dental diseases and conditions; to establish the National Institute of Dental Research; and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That for the purposes of conducting researches, investigations, experiments, and studies relating to the cause, diagnosis, and treatment of dental diseases and conditions; assisting and fostering simi-

lar research activities by other agencies, public and private; and promoting the coordination of all such researches and activities and the useful application of their results, with a view to the development and prompt widespread use of the most effective methods of prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of dental diseases and conditions, there is hereby established in the National Institute of Health of the United States Public Health Service a Division which shall be known as the National Institute of Dental Research (hereinafter referred to as the Institute).

SEC. 2. The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service (hereinafter referred to as the Surgeon General) is authorized and directed for the purposes of this act and subject to its provisions, through the Institute and in cooperation with the National Advisory Dental Research Council hereinafter established—

(a) To conduct, assist, and foster researches, investigations, experiments, and studies relating to the cause, prevention, and methods of diagnosis and treatment of dental diseases and conditions;

(b) To promote the coordination of researches conducted by the institute and similar researches conducted by other agencies, organizations, and individuals;

(c) To provide fellowships in the institute from funds appropriated or donated for such purpose;

(d) To secure for the institute consultation services and advice of persons who are experts in the field of dental diseases and conditions from the United States and abroad; and

(e) To cooperate with State health agencies in the prevention and control of dental diseases and conditions.

SEC. 3. There is hereby created the National Advisory Dental Research Council (herein referred to as the Council), to consist of six members to be appointed without regard to the civil-service laws by the Surgeon General with the approval of the Federal Security Administrator, and of the Surgeon General, ex officio, who shall be chairman of the Council. The six appointed members shall be selected from leading dental, medical, or scientific authorities who are outstanding in the study, diagnosis, or treatment of dental diseases and conditions in the United States, and at least four of these members shall be dentists. Each appointed member shall hold office for a term of 3 years, except that (1) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and (2) the terms of office of the members first taking office shall expire, as designated by the Surgeon General at the time of appointment, two at the end of the first year, two at the end of the second year, and two at the end of the third year after the date of the first meeting of the Council. No appointed member shall be eligible to serve continuously for more than 3 years, but shall be eligible for reappointment if he has not served as a member of the Council at any time within 12 months immediately preceding his reappointment. Each appointed member shall receive compensation at the rate of \$25 per day during the time spent in attending meetings of the Council, and for the time devoted to official business of the Council under this act, and actual and necessary traveling and subsistence expenses while away from his place of residence upon official business under this act.

SEC. 4. The Council is authorized—

(a) To review research projects or programs submitted to or initiated by it relating to the study of the cause, prevention, or methods of diagnosis and treatment of dental diseases and conditions, and certify approval to the Surgeon General, for prosecution under section 2 (a) hereof of any such

projects which it believes show promise of making valuable contributions to human knowledge with respect to the cause, prevention, or methods of diagnosis and treatment of dental diseases and conditions;

(b) To collect information as to studies which are being carried on in the United States or any other country as to the cause, prevention, and methods of diagnosis and treatment of dental diseases and conditions, by correspondence or by personal investigation of such studies, and with the approval of the Surgeon General make available such information through the appropriate publications for the benefit of health agencies and organizations (public or private), physicians, dentists, or any other scientists, and for the information of the general public;

(c) To review applications from any university, hospital, laboratory, or other institution, whether public or private, or from individuals, for grants-in-aid for research projects relating to dental diseases and conditions, and certify to the Surgeon General its approval of grants-in-aid in the cases of such projects which show promise of making valuable contributions to human knowledge with respect to the cause, prevention, or methods of diagnosis or treatment of dental diseases and conditions;

(d) To recommend to the Surgeon General for acceptance conditional gifts pursuant to section 6; and

(e) To make recommendations to the Surgeon General with respect to carrying out the provisions of this act.

Sec. 5. In carrying out the provisions of section 2 all appropriate provisions of section 301 of the Public Health Service Act shall be applicable to the authority of the Surgeon General.

Sec. 6. The Federal Security Administrator (hereinafter referred to as the "Administrator") is authorized to accept on behalf of the United States gifts made unconditionally by will or otherwise for study, investigation, or research into the cause, prevention, and methods of diagnosis and treatment of dental diseases and conditions, or for the acquisition of grounds or for the erection, equipment, and maintenance of premises, buildings, and equipment for the institute. Conditional gifts may be accepted by the Administrator if recommended by the Surgeon General and the Council. Any such gifts, if in money, shall be held in trust and shall be invested by the Administrator in securities of the United States, and the principal or income thereof shall be expended by the Surgeon General, with the approval of the Administrator, for the purposes prescribed by this act, subject to the same examination and audit as provided for appropriations made for the Public Health Service by Congress. Donations of \$50,000 or over in aid of research under this act shall be acknowledged permanently by the establishment within the institute of suitable memorials to the donors.

Sec. 7. (a) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated a sum not to exceed \$1,000,000 for the erection and equipment of a suitable and adequate building and facilities for the use of the institute in carrying out the provisions of this act. The Administrator is authorized to acquire, by purchase, condemnation, donation, or otherwise, a suitable and adequate site or sites in or near the District of Columbia for such building and facilities, and to erect thereon, furnish, and equip such buildings and facilities when funds are made available. No permanent building shall be erected with funds authorized to be appropriated under this section until after the end of the war.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$730,000 for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act (except subsection

(a) hereof). Sums appropriated pursuant to this subsection may be expended in the District of Columbia for personal services, stenographic recording, and translating services, by contract if deemed necessary, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes; traveling expenses (including the expenses of attendance at meetings when specifically authorized by the Surgeon General); rental, supplies and equipment, purchase and exchange of medical and dental books, books of reference, directories, periodicals, newspapers, and press clippings; purchase, operation, and maintenance of motor-propelled passenger-carrying vehicles; printing and binding (in addition to that otherwise provided by law); and for all other necessary expenses in carrying out the provisions of this act.

Sec. 8. (a) There is hereby authorized to be appointed in the Public Health Service, in accordance with applicable law, such commissioned officers as may be necessary to aid in carrying out the provisions of this act.

(b) This act shall not be construed as limiting (1) the functions or authority of the Surgeon General or the Public Health Service under any other act or of any other officer or agency of the United States relating to the study of the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of dental diseases and conditions; or (2) the expenditure of money therefor.

(c) The Surgeon General with the approval of the Administrator is authorized to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act.

(d) The Surgeon General shall include in his annual report for transmission to Congress a full report of the administration of this act, including a detailed statement of receipts and disbursements.

(e) This act shall take effect 30 days after the date of its enactment.

(f) The term "dental diseases and conditions" shall mean diseases and conditions affecting teeth and their supporting structures and other related diseases of the mouth.

(g) This act may be cited as the National Institute of Dental Research Act.

The statement presented by Mr. MURRAY is as follows:

Mr. President, I have just introduced a bill to provide for a dental research institute in the United States Public Health Service.

Dental diseases and conditions are the most common ailments of man. They cause untold suffering and harm. Selective Service examinations showed that defects of the teeth and other dental diseases and conditions were a most common cause of rejection even among the younger men.

In spite of the tremendous advances of science, the causes of dental decay are partly or largely unknown. The methods of prevention, diagnosis, and treatment for many dental conditions are still limited or uncertain in value.

Modern dentistry is just about 100 years old. In the course of that century, dentistry has made tremendous progress. American dentistry is second to none in the world. Still our dental profession and our public health leaders are not satisfied. They are anxious to speed up the progress of scientific knowledge, so that dentists and other health professions will be able to do vastly more than they can do today in preventing dental diseases and curing what cannot be prevented. One of the most important and promising ways to progress is through well-equipped research.

The dental profession of the United States strongly supports the proposals of this bill. I am sure that many other professional groups that are interested in the improvement of health will also support it as a much-needed and useful step. To the public, this dental

research program offers the hope of bringing, in the future, immeasurable relief from suffering, and tremendous improvement of positive health, in return for expenditures that would be relatively trivial.

My bill proposes that there should be established a National Institute of Dental Research, as a division of the National Institute of Health in the United States Public Health Service. The dental research that is already being done by the Public Health Service and other agencies, public or private, would be greatly increased under arrangements that assure coordination of the new and the old activities.

The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service is to direct the new institute and its work. To assist him, there would be created a national Advisory Dental Research Council, to include—in addition to the Surgeon General who will be chairman—six appointed members—at least four of whom shall be dentists—to be selected from leading authorities.

The institute is to conduct and aid research on the cause, prevention, and methods of diagnosis and treatment of dental diseases and conditions; to promote coordination of dental research; to provide fellowships in the institute and make grants-in-aid to universities and other institutions; to secure the consultation services of other experts; and to cooperate with State health agencies.

The institute is authorized to receive gifts from private sources.

The Surgeon General is required to make a full report to Congress each year.

To give effect to this program, the bill proposes that Congress should authorize appropriations, up to a maximum of \$1,000,000, to erect and equip a suitable building after the war; and up to a maximum of \$730,000 a year to provide a budget to carry out the program.

Dental diseases and conditions, in damage to health and working power, now cost untold amounts every year, amounts which are probably to be measured in billions of dollars, to say nothing of human suffering and unhappiness. In addition, the people of the United States spend several hundred million dollars a year on dental services, even though they are receiving only a minor part of the dental care they really need. It is, therefore, good economy and good sense that we should invest an amount equal to a very small fraction of these sums in learning more about the causes of dental diseases, in inventing new and better methods of treatment, and in improving the efficiency and economy of dental care.

This is a bill proposing that we should make a good investment in the future health of the people. It should be promptly enacted by Congress.

ADDITIONAL MILITARY AND NAVAL ACADEMIES

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, with the strong recommendation of our Commander in Chief, the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy, and with the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, I think I am justified in saying that it is a foregone conclusion that the Seventy-ninth Congress will enact a law providing for universal military training for at least 1 year of all the young men of the Nation between the ages of 18 and 23 years.

There are approximately one and one-half million boys reaching the age of 18 annually, so it is safe to estimate that within 6 or 7 years we will have a potential Army and Navy of 10,000,000 young men with 1 year's training for the armed service of our country, and the size of

our potential Army of men with 1 year's training will continue to increase from year to year.

If the occasion should ever arise that this large army of men with 1 year's training had to be called into combat service, their greatest handicap would be the lack of officers trained and experienced. It is evident to anyone who will stop to analyze the situation that our two great service schools at West Point and Annapolis are totally inadequate to train anything like the number of officers we must have, and we must have them, because no matter how well the men in the ranks are trained, they are practically helpless in combat without officers of experience and training to give the orders and do the directing in any military effort or campaign.

In 1941 I visualized the war in which we are now engaged, with over 12,000,000 men in service, and believing that such a fate was in store for my country I introduced in the Seventy-seventh Congress Senate bill 2029, providing for the establishment of two additional military academies and two additional naval academies.

Now, in the face of universal military training I am reintroducing these measures in two bills, one providing for the two military academies and one providing for two naval academies. It is my honest judgment that these additional service schools are imperative if we are going to have universal military training, because it will do very little good in preparing for the defense of our country as a means of securing peace to have soldiers and sailors trained, without thoroughly trained and experienced officers to command.

I introduce the two bills referred to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bills introduced by the Senator from Mississippi will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 192) to provide for the construction, equipment, and operation of two additional military academies was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The bill (S. 193) to provide for the construction, equipment, and operation of two additional naval academies was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

SUFFRAGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA — PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I am today reintroducing in the Senate the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which would make it possible for the people of the District of Columbia to participate with their fellow Americans in the Government of our country.

This proposal is an enabling provision to be added to the Constitution which will permit the application, in the case of the people of the District of Columbia, of the fundamental principles of our form of government. I hold that all Americans, wherever they reside in our country, should possess the right and privilege of participating in the legislation of the Nation through legislators of their own choosing. I also hold that all such

Americans are justly entitled to participate, through their duly chosen electors, in the election of the President and Vice President of the United States.

With the single exception of those Americans permanently residing in the District of Columbia, the way is open for all to participate. However, the peculiar situation affecting the voteless and unrepresented people of the District of Columbia is that the Congress, which under the Constitution has the broad power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over the seat of the Government, lacks the power to correct this fundamental defect. The people of the District of Columbia labor under serious handicap and humiliation through being denied the exercise of these fundamental American rights.

Mr. President, nothing has so emphasized this injustice as the plight of the fighting men from the District of Columbia, who continued voteless while their comrades in arms from the States were permitted to vote by absentee ballot. While the soldier-vote bill was under consideration in the Senate, I called attention to the fact that "fighting side by side with the men from your State and mine are the fighting men from the voteless and unrepresented District of Columbia. They are the men who volunteered or were drafted, just like the boys from your State and mine. They are in the thick of the fight in all theaters of the war. They are shedding their blood and giving their all for their country and its democratic institutions, in which they do not fully share."

Stripped of its formal setting in the joint resolution, I propose to add to the Constitution of the United States the following simple amendment:

The Congress shall have power to provide that there shall be in the Congress and among the electors of President and Vice President members elected by the people of the District constituting the seat of the Government of the United States, in such numbers and with such powers as the Congress shall determine. All legislation hereunder shall be subject to amendment and repeal.

Enactment of this amendment would not in the slightest detract from the power of Congress over the Federal District. It would, however, so broaden the power of Congress as to enable it to correct this grievous wrong for the correction of which the District citizens have for half a century petitioned the Congress.

The amendment would merely empower Congress to provide national representation for the permanent residents of the District of Columbia, leaving the details of such representation to be worked out by the Congress. Full power is given to Congress through amendment and repeal either to withdraw or modify the form of representation which may be provided by subsequent legislation.

Mr. President, by long and intimate association with the people of the District of Columbia, I consider myself fully competent to testify to their fine, patriotic, and public-spirited qualities. They are the equals of the best among those in the States whose votes sent us to Congress. It has always been a source of mortification and shame for me to reflect

that in actual practice these fine Americans are politically only the subjects of the United States, and by no means the political equals of the citizens of the States. However, under the law they are recognized fully as the equals of the people of the States in the possession of the duty, right, and privilege of bearing all the burdens of American citizenship which fall alike upon all citizens of the Republic.

I think the time is ripe to give prompt and favorable consideration to this proposal. If we believe that the peoples of all of the nations of the world should enjoy the same privileges and rights as their fellow countrymen, why is this not a good time to apply this principle to our fellow Americans of the District of Columbia?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Kansas will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 9) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States empowering Congress to grant representation in the Congress and among the electors of President and Vice President to the people of the District of Columbia was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

LIMITATION OF PRESIDENTIAL TERM OF OFFICE—PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I again introduce a proposed constitutional amendment which would make two terms the limit for any one person to hold office as President of the United States.

I believe such an amendment should be adopted. It would obviate for the future the temptation for any person holding that office to try to mold events so as to make himself a candidate for a third term.

A precedent having been established that a President can have himself nominated and elected for more than the traditional two terms, human nature is such that future Presidents might well be expected to attempt to have themselves reelected again and again and again.

On the other hand, if the Constitution provided for a limit of two terms, that temptation would be removed. I believe that would be a good thing for the Nation and the public welfare.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Kansas will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 10) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to terms of President of the United States was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RIVER AND HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I submit an amendment providing for an investigation of certain harbor conditions in South Carolina intended to be proposed by me to Senate bill 35, the river and harbor bill.

On behalf of my colleague the junior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHN-

ston] and myself I also send to the desk an amendment intended to be proposed by us jointly to the same bill (S. 35) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes, and ask that it be considered in the committee with the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendments submitted by the Senator from South Carolina will be received, referred to the Committee on Commerce, and printed.

PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS IN THE POST-WAR ERA

Mr. RADCLIFFE (for Mr. TYDINGS) submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 4), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Governor of each of the 48 States and the Governors of Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, respectively, are hereby requested to transmit to the Congress at the earliest convenient date detailed reports showing the roads, streets, curbs, bridges, schools, hospitals, sewers, waterworks, ferries, tunnels, docks, and other needed public works and improvements, which should be constructed within such State, Territory, or insular possession during the 10-year period immediately following the termination of the war, together with estimates of the manpower and materials necessary for each such project, as well as information concerning amounts appropriated or proposed to be appropriated or made available for such purposes by such State, Territory, or insular possession and its political subdivisions.

FLOOD-CONTROL PROJECTS IN THE POST-WAR ERA

Mr. RADCLIFFE (for Mr. TYDINGS) also submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 5), which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army is directed to transmit to the Congress at the earliest possible date a report showing (1) the nature and location of all flood-control projects which should be undertaken in the United States (including Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands) during the period immediately following the termination of the present war; (2) the estimated costs of such projects; (3) the manpower necessary in connection therewith; (4) information concerning the relative urgency of the various projects recommended; (5) the amount of land which would be permanently flooded in connection with such projects, the value of such land, and the annual value of products therefrom, as compared with the amount and value of the land, and the annual value of products therefrom, which would, in the absence of such project, be subject to recurrent floods; (6) the average annual damage from floods to the area which would be protected by each such project as compared with the annual interest, amortization, and maintenance costs of such project; (7) the extent of damage to wildlife involved in each proposed project; (8) the estimated time that would elapse before reservoirs constructed in connection with such projects would become silted up; and (9) all other pertinent data which should be available to the Congress for its consideration in the formulation of a post-war flood-prevention program.

FIELDS OF TAXATION, ETC., IN THE POST-WAR ERA

Mr. RADCLIFFE (for Mr. TYDINGS) also submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 6), which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Governor of each of the 48 States is hereby requested to transmit to the Congress at the earliest convenient date his recommendations for the post-war period with respect to—

(1) Proper fields of taxation as between the Federal Government and State and local governments;

(2) Proper division of authority as between the Federal Government and State governments with respect to the regulation of commerce;

(3) Proper percentages of contributions to be made by the Federal Government and by State and local governments toward the financing of post-war work, welfare, and social programs; and

(4) The functions of government which should be exercised exclusively by the Federal Government, those which should be exercised exclusively by State and local governments, and those which may be combined or exercised jointly.

ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON MANUFACTURES

Mr. OVERTON submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 25), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate

Resolved, That resolution No. 44, agreed to January 27, 1941, authorizing the Committee on Manufactures to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, hereby is continued in full force and effect during the Seventy-ninth Congress at the rate of \$2,040 per annum.

ASSISTANT CLERK, COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS

Mr. STEWART submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 26), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That resolution No. 35, agreed to January 27, 1941, authorizing the Committee on Interoceanic Canals to employ an assistant clerk to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, hereby is continued in full force and effect during the Seventy-ninth Congress at the rate of \$2,040 per annum.

AUTHORIZATION FOR COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY TO MAKE INVESTIGATIONS, ETC.

Mr. WAGNER submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 27), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency, or any subcommittee thereof, hereby is authorized to sit during the sessions, recesses, and adjourned periods of the Seventy-ninth Congress at such times and places as it may deem advisable, to make investigations into all matters within its jurisdiction, and to compile and prepare statistics and documents relating thereto as directed from time to time by the Senate and as may be necessary, and to report in due course to the Senate the result thereof; to send for persons, books, and papers; to administer oaths, and to employ such expert, stenographic, clerical, and other assistance as may

be necessary; and all the expenses incurred in pursuance hereof (which shall not exceed \$10,000) shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

CONTINUATION OF STUDY AND SURVEY OF PROBLEMS OF SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

Mr. MURRAY, as chairman of the Special Committee to Study and Survey the Problems of American Small Business Enterprises, submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 28), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the authority conferred by Senate Resolution 298, Seventy-sixth Congress, third session, as agreed to October 8, 1940 (providing for study and survey of the problems of American small business enterprises), and continued by Senate Resolution 66, Seventy-eighth Congress, first session, as agreed to January 25, 1943, is hereby further continued in full force and effect during the Seventy-ninth Congress.

Sec. 2. That the limit of expenditures under Senate Resolution 298, Seventy-sixth Congress (providing for a study and survey of the problems of American small business enterprises), agreed to October 8, 1940, and continued by Senate Resolution 66, Seventy-eighth Congress, is hereby increased by \$100,000.

CONDEMNATION OF BLOCS AND REGIONAL GROUPS AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, on December 7 of last year I submitted a resolution which became Senate Resolution 348, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the formation or existence of any bloc or regional group of nations for military purposes, except in conjunction with and with the approval of a general world security organization, is inimical to international peace and security.

I submit a similar resolution, and ask unanimous consent to have printed in connection with it the statement which I made on December 7, when I submitted Senate Resolution 348.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution submitted by the Senator from Louisiana will be received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the statement presented with it will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolution (S. Res. 29) is as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the formation or existence of any bloc or regional group of nations for military purposes, except in conjunction with and with the approval of a general world security organization, is inimical to international peace and security.

The statement presented by Mr. ELLENDER is as follows:

For fear of precipitating a debate which might cause the use of harsh words in the direction of one of our allies, I have hesitated to present the resolution. I for one have always been unwilling to pursue a course that may lead to disunity among the United Nations. Today, on the eve of victory in Europe over Germany, Great Britain is taking the lead in causing disunity among the Allies, not only by words but by actual deeds. I am not surprised, because Great Britain is running true to form. She is a past master in the art of world politics and

she has always been able to make weaker nations bow to her terms and to obtain the help of other nations to maintain her power.

In a speech delivered by me on the floor of the Senate on June 25, 1942, I said then, and I now repeat, that many of the decisions made by the British in the course of this war were based on political issues, rather than upon strategy that would lead to early decision. It will be recalled that on two occasions the British came near clearing north Africa of every vestige of territory held by our enemies. Instead of pursuing the enemy in north Africa when he was on the run, half of the British forces in that area were sent to aid helpless Greece. Churchill and his followers went to the aid of Greece against the advice of Britain's military and naval leaders. What was the reason for that action? It was in order to fulfill a promise made by Churchill to King George of Greece, all to the end that the British could look to the King of Greece for help around the peace table.

Several weeks ago the Russians had virtually driven the enemy from Greece and made that country no longer tenable for the Germans. In spite of that, the British saw fit to send an army to obtain control of that helpless country. Today Great Britain is engaged, by force of arms, in dictating to the Greek people whom they shall select as their leader. She is pursuing a similar course in Italy. She is causing much concern in Ethiopia by refusing to evacuate that country and by proclaiming that she intends not only to occupy a portion of Ethiopia during the war but to retain certain territory there. My belief is that Great Britain will persist in that attitude of seeking to expand her now vast empire and to form blocs of nations here and there all over the world so as to help her to maintain her pre-war world-wide domination, unless we in America take a hand. With a navy larger than the combined navies of all other countries in the world, and with a respectable army, it would seem to me that we should be able to force the British to see the light.

I pose this question: Why should Great Britain maintain armies in reconquered Greece, in reconquered Ethiopia, and in other reconquered territories, when those armies could be used to advantage against the western wall of Germany?

To digress for a moment, Mr. President, I ask Senators to take a look at the map indicating the battle line in western Europe, and they will note that the British occupy a few miles on the northern end of the line, while we are bearing the brunt of this holocaust of war.

Let me repeat, Mr. President, that, while we are shedding our precious blood, while we are dissipating our irreplaceable natural resources, the British are pursuing a course which is diametrically opposed to the objects and purposes for which we in America are fighting. We want to free the peoples of the earth and permit them to govern themselves.

As has been expressed on the floor of the Senate on many occasions, we as a nation do not desire more territory, except that which it may be necessary for us to obtain or control in order to prevent future wars. I shall not now attempt a discussion of that problem, but will reserve it for future debate.

Mr. President, the resolution which I have read is simple in its language and should not require much study to understand. It is simply a warning to Great Britain, and in fact to all other nations, that we as a nation propose to help formulate a world-security organization whose purpose it shall be to maintain peace; that we are desirous of letting the world know that this organization is not to be looked upon with suspicion or as a make-believe organization, but, instead, as an organization upon which every

nation, be it large or small, can depend to be the instrumentality by which and through which world peace can be maintained. I do not want any nation, no matter how large or small, to fail to have the utmost confidence in the ability of this organization to maintain the peace of the world. I do not want any nation to feel that it is necessary for it to join in an alliance with the British or to join in an alliance with the Russians or an alliance with us in order to maintain peace. Let us keep the organization open, free, and aboveboard.

Mr. President, a few weeks ago that eminent statesman from Great Britain, David Lloyd George, was asked the question:

"What was the Allies' greatest mistake in dealing with Germany after the last war?"

Rather grimly and without hesitation, he replied:

"America. If they had kept to their bargains instead of backing out and leaving the League of Nations, things would have gone differently."

That may be only partially true, but, if the truth were known, President Wilson failed to carry out his 14 points because of the existence of secret treaties, alliances, and agreements among the nations with which he was dealing. In the near future I expect to address myself further to that subject.

Mr. President, my hope is that when the United Nations of the World sit around the peace table for the purpose of working out plans in order to maintain a lasting peace, each can without hesitation state to the world that it has not made any secret treaties, that it has no alliances of any kind, but that the organization in contemplation shall be and will be the instrumentality through which peace throughout the world shall be maintained.

NEW YEAR'S EVE ADDRESS BY SENATOR PEPPER

[Mr. PEPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a New Year's Eve radio address delivered by him under the auspices of the United Nations Educational Committee, on December 31, 1944, which appears in the Appendix.]

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP IN FOREIGN POLICY—ADDRESS BY SENATOR SMITH

[Mr. TAFT asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "American Leadership in Foreign Policy," delivered by Senator SMITH before the Kiwanis Club of Atlantic City, N. J., on January 4, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE MANPOWER SITUATION—EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON POST

[Mr. PEPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial, More on Manpower, published in the Washington Post of January 5, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL MESSAGE

[Mr. LUCAS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Humanity Will Not Permit Our Failure," published in the Chicago Sun, and an editorial entitled "State of the Union," published in the Washington Star of January 7, 1945, both commenting on the President's annual message which appear in the Appendix.]

ABOLITION OF JACKSON HOLE NATIONAL MONUMENT

[Mr. ROBERTSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Minority Rule," from the Waterloo (Iowa) Daily Courier of January 1, 1945; one entitled "Wiping Out Wyoming," from the Charleston News and Courier of January 3, 1945, and one entitled "President

Sets Judgment Above Congress and People," from the Los Angeles Times of December 30, 1944, which appear in the Appendix.]

EULOGY OF SEVENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

[Mr. ROBERTSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a portion of a broadcast by Fulton Lewis, Jr., on Wednesday, December 20, 1944, eulogizing the Seventy-eighth Congress, which appears in the Appendix.]

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN THE NEW WORLD PEACE—ESSAY BY ROBERT C. PFEILER

[Mr. BUTLER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an essay entitled "Freedom of the Press in the New World Peace," written by Robert C. Pfeiler, and published in the Lincoln (Nebr.) Sunday Journal and Star, which appears in the Appendix.]

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I shall detain the Senate less than 30 minutes. I desire to speak about some phases of foreign policy. Because of the solemnity of the subject itself I ask the indulgence of my colleagues that I be permitted at least to make my preliminary statement without interruption.

Mr. President, there are critical moments in the life of every nation which call for the straightest, the plainest, and the most courageous thinking of which we are capable. We confront such a moment now. It is not only desperately important to America. It is important to the world. It is important not only to this generation which lives in blood. It is important to future generations if they shall live in peace.

No man in his right senses will be dogmatic in his viewpoint at such an hour. A global conflict which uproots the earth is not calculated to submit itself to the dominion of any finite mind. The clashes of rival foreign interests, which have motivated wars for countless centuries, are not likely suddenly to surrender to some simple man-made formula, no matter how nobly meditated. Each of us can only speak according to his little lights—and pray for a composite wisdom that shall lead us to high, safe ground. It is only in this spirit of anxious humility that I speak today. Politics, in any such connection, would be as obnoxious at home as they are in manipulations abroad.

Mr. President, we still have two major wars to win. I said "We." That does not mean America alone. It means the continued and total battle fraternity of the United Nations. It must mean one for all and all for one; and it will mean this, unless somewhere in this grand alliance the stupid and sinister folly of ulterior ambitions shall invite the enemy to postpone our victory through our own rivalries and our own confusion. The United Nations, in even greater unity of military action than heretofore, must never, for any cause, permit this military unity to fall apart. If it does, we shall count the cost in mortal anguish, even though we stumble on to a belated, though inevitable victory. And, getting down to what Mr. Churchill would call the bare bones of the matter, this is an obligation which rests no less upon our allies than upon us, and no less upon us

than upon our allies. First things must come first. History will not deal lightly with any who undermine this aim ere it is achieved. Destiny will one day balance any such ghastly accounts.

We not only have two wars to win, we also have yet to achieve such a peace as will justify this appalling cost. Here again an even more difficult unity is indispensable. Otherwise we shall look back upon a futile, sanguinary shambles and—God save the mark—we shall be able to look forward only to the curse of World War No. 3.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, the morale of unity in war is often threatened by sharply clashing and often disillusioning disclosures which threaten this unity in peace. The two considerations cannot be dissociated. President Roosevelt correctly said in his annual message that "the nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we become inevitably conscious of differences among the victors." He also correctly said that "nations like individuals do not always see alike or think alike, and international cooperation and progress are not helped by any nation assuming that it has a monopoly of wisdom or of virtue." That applies to us. It applies to each of our allies. But when "differences among the victors"—to use the White House phrase—when "differences among the victors," before they have clinched their victory, threaten both the victory and the peace, the hour cannot much longer be postponed when any such trends shall be reversed. We shall not reverse them by our silence upon the issues that are clearly involved; nor, and I say it with great respect, shall we reverse them merely by a generalized restatement of the high aspirations revoiced in the recent Presidential message. Certainly we shall not reverse them by a snarling process of international recrimination in which every United Nation's capital tries to outdo the other in bitter back-talk about the infirmities of each. Such bickering is dangerous—over there or over here. It is water on the Axis wheel. Again I agree wholeheartedly with President Roosevelt when he says:

We must not let such differences divide us and blind us to our more important common and continuing interests in winning the war and building the peace.

On the other hand, I hold the deep belief that honest candor, devoid of prejudice or ire, is our greatest hope and our greatest necessity; and that the Government of the United States, above all others, is called at long last to exercise this honest candor not only with its allies but also with its own faithful people.

I hesitate, even now, to say these things, Mr. President, because a great American illusion seems to have been built up—wittingly or otherwise—that we, in the United States, dare not publicly discuss these subjects lest we contribute to international dissension and thus encourage the very thing we all need to cure. But I frankly confess that I do not know why we must be the only silent partner in this grand alliance. There seems to be no fear of disunity, no hesitation in Moscow, when Moscow wants to assert unilateral war and peace

aims which collide with ours. There seems to be no fear of disunity, no hesitation in London, when Mr. Churchill proceeds upon his unilateral way to make decisions often repugnant to our ideas and our ideals. Perhaps our allies will plead that their actions are not unilateral; that our President, as Bevin said, has initialed this or that at one of the famous Big Three conferences; that our President, as Churchill said, has been kept constantly "aware of everything that has happened"; in other words, that by our silence we have acquiesced. But that hypothesis would only make a bad matter worse. It would be the final indictment of our silence—the final obituary for open covenants. We, of course, accept no conception that our contribution to unity must be silence, while others say and do what they please, and that our only role in this global tragedy is to fight and die and pay, and that unity for us shall only be the unity which Jonah enjoyed when he was swallowed by the whale.

I hasten to say that any such intolerable conception would be angrily repudiated by every American—from the President down to the last citizen among us. It has not been and is not true. Yet it cannot be denied that our Government has not spoken out—to our own people or to our allies—in any such specific fashion as have the others. It cannot be denied, as a result, that too often a grave melancholy settles upon some sectors of our people. It cannot be denied that citizens, in increasing numbers, are crying: "What are we fighting for?" It cannot be denied that our silence—at least our public and official silence—has multiplied confusion at home and abroad. It cannot be denied that this confusion threatens our unity—yes, Mr. President, and already hangs like a cloud over Dumbarton Oaks. So I venture to repeat, with all the earnestness at my command, that a new rule of honest candor in Washington—as a substitute for mystifying silence or for classical generalities—honest candor on the high plane of great ideals—is the greatest contribution we can make to the realities of unity at this moment when enlightened civilization is our common stake.

Let us not mistake the meaning of unity. Unity does not require universal and peremptory agreement about everything. It does not demand a meeting of all minds now in respect to all the minutiae of a post-war world which will take years to stabilize. The President is wholly right in pleading for tolerance upon this score and in warning that we must not expect what he calls perfectionism overnight. Here in the Senate we do not have perpetual agreement between the two sides of the aisle, but we have never failed to have basic unity when crisis calls. The unity I discuss is the over-all tie which must continue to bind the United Nations together in respect to paramount fundamentals. We had it once in the original spirit of the Atlantic Charter, and we must get it back again before it is too late.

When Mr. Churchill spoke in the British Parliament last December 15, defend-

ing his own current course in Greece and Mr. Stalin's proposed partition of Poland, he said:

There is no doubt that when the time comes the United States will make its own pronouncement upon these matters, bearing in mind, as it will, the practical aspects which these matters assume and also how much failure on the part of the three greatest powers to work together would damage all our hopes for the future structure of a world government which, whatever else it might fail to do, will at any rate be equipped with all powers necessary to prevent outbreak of future war.

I do not like one of the implications in this quotation. It seems to say that unless we acquiesce in these self-serving unilateral arrangements now being made by great European powers, we shall be the scapegoats to be made responsible for the next war. I would respond categorically to any such abortive thesis by saying that, regardless of the future structure of a world government, an unjust peace, built upon the age-old frictions of international power politics, is the most fatal of all threats which our hopes for the future can possibly confront. But that is not the reason I use the quotation at this point. Of even greater importance is the other implication—namely, that the United States has not spoken; that her official attitude is not dependably recorded; and that, until she does speak, the world cannot find its bearings.

There is no doubt—

Says Mr. Churchill—

that when the time comes the United States will make its own pronouncement.

When the time comes. Mr. President, is the time not here right now?

If it is, Mr. President, what shall we say that we have not already said in the Connally resolution in the Senate and the Fulbright resolution in the House and in the Presidential utterances?

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the first thing we must say, beyond misunderstanding, is that we have not altered our original commitments; that we have not lowered our sights; that we have not diluted our dedications; that we are not fighting to pull ancient chestnuts out of alien fires; that the smell of victory is not an anaesthetic which puts our earlier zeals to sleep. We still propose to win this war, come what may. We are fighting to defend America. We still propose to help create the post-war world on a basis which shall stop aggressors for keeps and, so far as humanly possible, substitute justice for force among free-men. We propose to do it primarily for our own sake. We still propose also, to substitute justice for force—if we can—in writing the peace which terminates this war when we deal with the victims of Axis tyranny. That is the road to permanent peace. We still propose that none of the United Nations shall seek aggrandizement, territorial, or otherwise—though conceding that all change is not necessarily aggrandizement. We still propose, outside the Axis, that there shall be no territorial changes which do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. Similarly we still propose to respect the right

of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. We still propose to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them, if it lies within our power.

In a word, Mr. President, it seems to me that the first thing we must do is to reassert, in high places, our American faith in these particular elemental objectives of the so-called Atlantic Charter, which was officially issued as a signed document by the State Department on August 14, 1941; which was officially communicated to the Congress as a signed document by the President of the United States in his message of August 21, 1941; which was embodied in a joint resolution of all the United Nations on January 1, 1942; which was commemorated by the President on August 14, 1943 in a proclamation on the second anniversary of its "signing"—his word—which had a tragic sinking spell when its formal authenticity was amazingly depreciated in a White House press conference a fortnight ago, but which the President re-embraced in his message of January 6, 1945.

I am sure the President did not anticipate the shocking results of his recent almost jocular, and even cynical, dismissal of the Atlantic Charter as a mere collection of fragmentary notes. It jarred America to its very hearthstones. It seemed to make a mere pretense out of what has been an inspiringly accepted fact. It seemed almost to sanction alien contempt. It seemed to suggest that we have put too much emphasis upon a fighting creed which did not deserve the solemnity which we have been taught to ascribe to it. Coming at a particularly critical moment when these pledges seemed to be at least partially paralyzed in Moscow—and when even Mr. Churchill's memory about the charter was proving to be admittedly fickle—the President's statement was utterly devastating in its impact. He has since sought to repair this damage. I hope he has succeeded. With justification he reminds us in his annual message that there are no rules of easy application—of the charter—to each and every one of this war-torn world's tangled situations. He now says correctly and bravely, "We shall not hesitate to use our influence—and use it now—to secure so far as is humanly possible the fulfillment of these principles." That is the indispensable point. These basic pledges cannot now be dismissed as a mere nautical nimbus. They march with our armies. They sail with our fleets. They fly with our eagles. They sleep with our martyred dead. The first requisite of honest candor, Mr. President, I respectfully suggest, is to relight this torch.

The next thing we need to do, Mr. President, if I may be so bold, in this spirit of honest candor, is to appeal to our allies, in the name of reason, to frankly face the post-war alternatives which are available to them and to us as a means to preserve tomorrow's peace for them and for us. There are two ways to do it. One way is by exclusive individual action in which each of us tries to look out for himself. The other way is by joint action in which we under-

take to look out for each other. The first way is the old way which has twice taken us to Europe's interminable battlefields within a quarter century. The second way is the new way in which our present fraternity of war becomes a new fraternity of peace. I do not believe that either we or our allies can have it both ways. They serve to cancel out each other. We cannot tolerate unilateral privilege in a multilateral peace. Yet, that seems to be the fatalistic trend today. I think we must make our choice. I think we must make it wholly plain to our major allies that they, too, must make their choice.

I hasten to make my own personal viewpoint clear. I have always been frankly one of those who has believed in our own self-reliance. I still believe that we can never again—regardless of collaborations—allow our national defense to deteriorate to anything like a point of impotence. But I do not believe that any nation hereafter can immunize itself by its own exclusive action. Since Pearl Harbor, World War No. 2 has put the gory science of mass murder into new and sinister perspective. Our oceans have ceased to be moats which automatically protect our ramparts. Flesh and blood now compete unequally with winged steel. War has become an all-consuming juggernaut. If World War No. 3 ever unhappily arrives, it will open new laboratories of death too horrible to contemplate. I propose to do everything within my power to keep those laboratories closed for keeps. I want maximum American cooperation, consistent with legitimate American self-interest, with constitutional process and with collateral events which warrant it, to make the basic idea of Dumbarton Oaks succeed. I want a new dignity and a new authority for international law. I think American self-interest requires it. But, Mr. President, this also requires whole-hearted reciprocity. In honest candor I think we should tell other nations that this glorious thing we contemplate is not and cannot be one-sided. I think we must say again that unshared idealism is a menace which we could not undertake to underwrite in the post-war world.

Now, I am not so impractical as to expect any country to act on any final motive other than self-interest. I know of no reason why it should. That is what nations are for. I certainly intend that intelligent and loyal American self-interest shall be just as vigilantly and vigorously guarded as is amply obvious, from time to time, in their own behalf by the actions of our allies. The real question always becomes just this: Where does real self-interest lie?

Here, Mr. President, we reach the core of the immediate problem. Without remotely wanting to be invidious, I use one of many available examples. I would not presume, even under these circumstances, to use it except that it ultimately involves us. Russia's unilateral plan appears to contemplate the engulfment, directly or indirectly, of a surrounding circle of buffer States, contrary to our conception of what we thought we were fighting for in respect to the rights

of small nations and a just peace. Russia's announced reason is her insistent purpose never again to be at the mercy of another German tyranny. That is a perfectly understandable reason. The alternative is collective security. Now, which is better, in the long view? That is the question I pose. Which is better, in the long view, from a purely selfish Russian standpoint: To forcefully surround herself with a cordon of unwillingly controlled or partitioned states, thus affronting the opinions of mankind, as a means of post-war protection against a renaissance of German aggression, or to win the priceless asset of world confidence in her by embracing the alternative, namely, full and whole-hearted cooperation with and reliance on a vital international organization in which all of us shall honorably participate to guarantee that Axis aggression shall never rise again? Well—at that point, Russia, or others like her, in equally honest candor, has a perfect right to reply, "Where is there any such alternative reliance until we know what the United States will do? How can you expect us to rely on an enigma?"

Now we are getting somewhere. Fear of reborn German aggression in years to come is at the base of most of our contemporary frictions. It is a perfectly human and understandable fear on the part of all neighboring nations which German militarism has twice driven to the valley of the shadow within one generation. Fear of reborn German aggression in years to come is the cause assigned to unilateral plans for Russian post-war expansion. Fear of reborn German aggression is the reason assigned to the proposed partition of Poland. Fear of reborn German aggression gave birth to the Anglo-Soviet agreement of 1942, the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement of 1943, the Franco-Soviet Treaty of 1944, and to similar unilateral and bilateral actions inevitably yet to come. Fear of reborn German aggression is our apple of discord. This second World War plagues the earth chiefly because France and Britain did not keep Germany disarmed, according to contract, after World War No. 1. In other words, when we deal with Europe's fear—her justified fear—of another rebirth of German military tyranny in some future post-war era, we are at the heart of the immediate problem which bedevils our Allied relationships.

I propose that we meet this problem conclusively and at once. There is no reason to wait. America has this same self-interest in permanently, conclusively, and effectively disarming Germany and Japan. It is simply unthinkable that America, or any other member of the United Nations, would allow this Axis calamity to reproduce itself again. Whether we Americans do or do not agree upon all the powers that shall reside in all ultimate international council to call upon us for joint military action in behalf of collective security, surely we can agree that we do not ever want an instant's hesitation or doubt about our military cooperation in the peremptory use of force, if needed, to keep Germany

and Japan demilitarized. Such a crisis would be the lengthened shadow of the present war. It would be a direct epilogue to the present war. It should be handled as this present war is handled. There should be no more need to refer any such action back to Congress than that Congress should expect to pass upon battle plans today. The Commander in Chief should have instant power to act, and he should act. I know of no reason why a hard-and-fast treaty between the major allies should not be signed today to achieve this dependable end. We need not await the determination of our other post-war relationships. This problem—this menace—stands apart by itself. Regardless of what our later decision may be in respect to the power that shall be delegated to the President to join our military force with others in a new peace league—no matter what limitations may commend themselves to our ultimate judgments in this regard, I am sure we can agree that there should be no limitations when it comes to keeping the Axis out of piracy for keeps. I respectfully urge that we meet this problem now. From it stem many of today's confusions, doubts, and frustrations. I think we should immediately put it behind us by conclusive action. Having done so, most of the reasons given for controversial unilateral and bilateral actions by our allies will have disappeared; and then we shall be able, at least, to judge accurately whether we have found and cured the real hazard to our relationships. We shall have closed ranks. We shall have returned infinitely closer to basic unity.

Then, in honest candor, Mr. President, I think we have the duty and the right to demand that whatever immediate unilateral decisions have to be made in consequence of military need—and there will be such even in civil affairs—they shall all be temporary and subject to final revision in the objective light of the post-war world and the post-war peace league as they shall ultimately develop. As President Roosevelt put it in his annual message:

During the interim period, until conditions permit a genuine expression of the peoples' will, we and our allies have a duty, which we cannot ignore, to use our influence to the end that no temporary or provisional authorities in the liberated countries block the eventual exercise of the peoples' right freely to choose the government and institutions under which, as free men, they are to live.

I agree to that. Indeed, I would go further. I would write it in the bond. If Dumbarton Oaks should specifically authorize the ultimate international organization to review protested injustices in the peace itself, it would at least partially nullify the argument that we are to be asked to put a blank-check warrant behind a future status quo which is unknown to us and which we might be unwilling to defend.

We are standing by our guns with epic heroism. I know of no reason why we should not stand by our ideals. If they vanish under ultimate pressures, we shall at least have kept the record straight; we shall have kept faith with our soldier sons; and we then shall

clearly be free agents, unhampered by tragic misunderstandings, in determining our own course when Berlin and Tokyo are in Allied hands. Let me put it this way for myself: I am prepared, by effective international cooperation, to do our full part in charting happier and safer tomorrows. But I am not prepared to guarantee permanently the spoils of an unjust peace. It will not work.

Mr. President, we need honest candor even with our foes. Without any remote suggestion of appeasement—indeed, it seems to me that it is exactly the contrary—I wish we might give these Axis peoples some incentive to desert their own tottering tyrannies by at least indicating to them that the quicker they unconditionally surrender the cheaper will be unconditional surrender's price. Here again we need plain speaking which has been too conspicuous by its absence, and, upon at least one calamitous occasion, by its error.

Mr. President, I conclude as I began. We must win these wars with maximum speed and minimum loss. Therefore we must have maximum Allied cooperation and minimum Allied frictions. We have fabulously earned the right to be heard in respect to the basis of this unity. We need the earliest possible clarification of our relations with our brave allies. We need this clarification not only for the sake of total Allied cooperation in the winning of the war but also in behalf of a truly compensatory peace. We cannot drift to victory. We must have maximum united effort on all fronts. We must have maximum united effort in our councils. And we must deserve the continued united effort of our own people.

I realize, Mr. President, in such momentous problems how much easier it is to be critical than to be correct. I do not wish to meddle. I want only to help. I want to do my duty. It is in this spirit that I ask for honest candor in respect to our ideals, our dedications, and our commitments, as the greatest contribution which government can now make to the only kind of realistic unity which will most swiftly bring our victorious sons back home, and which will best validate our aspirations, our sacrifices, and our dreams.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LUCAS in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. Let me say that I am greatly cheered by the Senator's address, which I regard as one of the most important addresses to the people of America, to our allies, and especially to our enemies that I have ever heard. What I want to ask the distinguished Senator from Michigan is, Does he not believe that the conception of policing the enemy, which he has so clearly pictured to us today, was envisioned in the draft of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and expressly referred to in chapter 12, entitled "Transitional Arrangements," and paragraph 2, which reads:

No provision of the charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation

to enemy states as the result of the present war by the governments having responsibility for such action.

That is my question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I am very happy to respond. First I want to thank my able friend from Vermont for his generous comment. I totally agree that the Dumbarton Oaks agreement contemplates the precise thing I am talking about. The point I am undertaking to make this morning is that obviously it is going to be perhaps many months before Dumbarton Oaks arrives at a finality. Even the preliminary draft in the words of its own authors is only 90 percent concluded, and the final 10 percent is the most difficult of all. I agree that the Dumbarton Oaks agreement and the proposed international organization under it contemplates the precise responsibility to which I have referred. Since we now see with our own eyes and hear with our own ears that it is the asserted fear of reborn militarism in Germany after our victory which drives our allies into unilateral and bilateral action to protect themselves, and since it seems to me that we ought to be able to agree upon this much of a compact instantly, the point I make is only that we should not wait final perfectionism, to borrow the President's word, to achieve this purpose, but that we should do it right now in full measure and full faith for the purpose of clearing the track.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. On the practical procedure in arriving at that very much desired objective, does not the Senator regard the bilateral agreements made between Russia and Great Britain, between Russia and Czechoslovakia, and between Russia and France as steps advancing toward that objective, and that the United States can well afford to associate itself with the countries that surround Germany in the organizations of the nations that are competent to keep the enemies of peace under control and in obedience to law?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I agree with the able Senator completely that the three bilateral treaties to which he has referred are in no sense incompatible with the thing we are talking about, and that they are in no degree at odds with the contemplated Dumbarton Oaks formula. But the Senator well knows—and I do not care to survey the field in detail for obvious reasons—that, in addition to these particular bilateral agreements which are the subject of our present colloquy, there have been unilateral actions which in no sense conform either with the dedications to which we gave our original war faith or to the peace aspirations which we hope we may culminate. It occurs to me, if I may reply further to the Senator, that the three bilateral agreements to which he refers merely emphasize the point I make that apparently the predominating motive in the minds of our allies is as quickly as possible to find some way to cinch for themselves protection against the renaissance of German militarism

after this war is done; and I am saying that, rather than for us merely to associate ourselves with these bilateral affairs, I think it would be far more effective if we stepped right up to the line tomorrow and took this particular problem, which, obviously, from the record is of major importance to our allies as well as to us, and undertook to answer it beyond any possibility of peradventure now.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator. I agree with him entirely on that proposition, and I am very glad that he has made clear the distinction between policing our enemies and arranging for a general-security organization which has reference to policing our friends and policing ourselves.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I have been greatly interested in the remarks of the eminent Senator from Michigan. I shall not at this time undertake to make any comprehensive reply to or comment on his address. I wish to say to the Senator, however, that it occurs to me that, however desirable his suggestion about settling certain aspects of the international situation at the moment may be, I am sure that any mind would conceive that it would be a very difficult thing, with the great multitude of phases and angles of international affairs, ever to induce our allies to segregate and settle parts of these matters at the present time. It seems to me inevitable that most of these issues cannot be settled at the moment but must wait the definitive treaty of peace.

The President has repeatedly said in public that he has made no commitments with regard to these matters. The President is expected to have a conference with Stalin and Churchill at a very early date, and it would seem very well and very appropriate for us to withhold too much discussion, at least, on these matters until that meeting can take place.

The Senator from Michigan makes a very acute suggestion, that if we could settle the question of disarmament with Germany and with Japan immediately, we would take away from our allies their anxiety about the arrangements which they hope to make to protect themselves.

Let me say to the Senator that the greatest inducement we can offer and the greatest guaranty we can give to our allies, and they, in turn, can give to the peace of the world, is the assurance by the United States that we are going to stand by the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, and its improvement by the high officials of the United Nations who will convene at an early date.

It occurs to me that if there is any unrest among our allies as to what may happen in the post-war period it arises from a fear that the United States may not ratify the treaty establishing an international organization for peace, just as we failed to ratify one at the end of the First World War. I wish to say to Senators that criticisms and evidences of disunity here at home are not going to enhance the assurance in the minds of the nations across the sea that we in fact intend to ratify and stand by the creation of an international organization for peace.

I was glad to note that the Senator from Michigan made it clear that in his own mind no nation, in the conditions of modern development of warfare, can of its own edict, of its own will, immunize itself from the horrors and tragedies of war, once the world is engulfed in war. Mr. President, there is no automatic machinery which shuts the door any more against international conflict and war, whether we wish it or whether we do not. We did not wish the present war, yet when Pearl Harbor occurred, with all its tragedy and all its blood, we were inevitably engulfed in the World War, because, so soon as we assumed the right to repel the attack of the Japanese, Germany, of her own volition, because of her alliance with Japan, made a declaration of war against the United States.

So we might as well conclude now that either we go back to the old order, with all its dangers, with all its horrors, with all its blood, and with all its tragedy, or there must be the creation of an international organization, in which we, with the ideals which are spoken of so loftily, shall take the leadership, and say to the world that we are willing to stand by that sort of an organization.

Mr. President, the organization will not be perfect. There will be some places where the critic's sword can find a weak spot. It is out on the frontier, it is in virgin territory, it is more or less experimental; but we shall trust to the genius of those who follow in the years to come, with the right to modify it and adjust it and to add chapters in this rapidly moving world. But it is worth the effort.

No great accomplishment was ever brought about except after conception, and an effort to achieve it. The Thirteen Original States were engulfed in chaos and uncertainty under the Articles of Confederation until a few daring souls assumed to undertake the establishment of the Constitution of the United States. We may say the Constitution was not perfect. Three thousand amendments to the Constitution of the United States have been offered in the Senate. Because there was something about it here and there which men did not like was no reason for its rejection, or for its abolition.

Mr. President, one other word and I shall conclude. I hear much talk about our foreign policy. Orators thrust their hands in their bosoms, columnists grasp their fountain pens and put their typewriters to work and say, "The United States has no foreign policy," and they want to know what our foreign policy is.

When they make such statements and propound such inquiries they are unconsciously comparing what they call our foreign policy with the foreign policy of some foreign country. We have no foreign policy in the sense that we are all over the earth trying to grab territories here, there, and elsewhere. We have no foreign policy if the idea is to seek preferential trade agreements and advantages all over the earth. But we do have a foreign policy which is known to all who want to know it. It is known to all except a few critics.

Mr. President, is there any doubt among all the peoples of the earth that

the United States is earnestly devoted to international peace? I think not, and I hope we shall evidence our devotion to it here in the Senate when we ratify the structure of an international organization for peace.

Is there any idea among the peoples of the earth that we entertain ambitions for forcible accession of territory to the United States? We had Cuba under our control, and in the Platt amendment we said to Cuba, "Take your freedom, establish your own free government. We will retain only such jurisdiction, of an advisory character, as is necessary to see that you are protected in your right to have free government." We later repealed even the Platt amendment. The Philippines belonged to us, and we said to the Filipino people, "If you set up a free government of your own choosing, you may have your liberty from United States rule."

Is there any doubt about that being an element of our foreign policy? Is there any doubt that we have adhered to the principle of arbitration, that we have submitted to numberless arbitrations international quarrels to which we were parties? Is not that an evidence of international peace idealism? Is not that an evidence of a definite foreign policy? When Mr. Monroe gave to the world the Monroe Doctrine, we stated something about our foreign policy. We have a foreign policy, of course we have, and those who desire to know what it is have but to read the brilliant pages of history of the past.

I did not intend to project these remarks to this length, but I do wish to say to the Senator from Michigan that I shall reexamine his speech with care. I realize his interest in international peace, and the construction of an international organization. He has been giving the matter very assiduous attention for more than 2 years in the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I have every hope that, consulting fully his reason, as he always does, and forming his conclusions from the inevitable situation of the world, when the test comes in the Senate the Senator from Michigan will be voting for and advocating the adoption of an international organization in behalf of peace.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President—

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator permit me to consummate the appointment of Members to committees, which is now ready for submission to the Senate?

Mr. WILEY. I was going to ask unanimous consent to address the Senate at this time in connection with the subject heretofore under discussion. I will be happy to yield to the majority leader, however, for the purpose he has indicated.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that out of order I may present a resolution dealing with standing committees of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will state that this is a privileged matter.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; I realize that, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 30) was read as follows:

Resolved, That paragraph 1 of rule XXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate be, and it is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

"1. The following standing committees shall be appointed at the commencement of each Congress, with leave to report by bill or otherwise:

"Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to consist of 20 Senators.

"Committee on Appropriations, to consist of 25 Senators.

"Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to consist of 8 Senators, to which shall be referred all resolutions directing the payment of money out of the contingent fund of the Senate or creating a charge upon the same: *Provided*, That any such resolution relating to substantive matter within the jurisdiction of any other standing committee of the Senate shall be first referred to such committee.

"Committee on Banking and Currency, to consist of 20 Senators.

"Committee on Civil Service, to consist of 10 Senators.

"Committee on Claims, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Commerce, to consist of 20 Senators.

"Committee on the District of Columbia, to consist of 15 Senators.

"Committee on Education and Labor, to consist of 18 Senators.

"Committee on Enrolled Bills, to consist of 3 Senators, who shall examine all bills, amendments, and joint resolutions before they go out of the possession of the Senate, and which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives, and which, or some one of which, shall examine all bills or joint resolutions which shall have passed both Houses, to see that the same are correctly enrolled, and, when signed by the Speaker of the House and President of the Senate, shall forthwith present the same, when they shall have originated in the Senate, to the President of the United States in person, and report the fact and date of such presentation to the Senate.

"Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, to consist of 8 Senators.

"Committee on Finance, to consist of 21 Senators.

"Committee on Foreign Relations, to consist of 23 Senators.

"Committee on Immigration, to consist of 14 Senators.

"Committee on Indian Affairs, to consist of 14 Senators.

"Committee on Interoceanic Canals, to consist of 8 Senators.

"Committee on Interstate Commerce, to consist of 21 Senators.

"Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, to consist of 17 Senators.

"Committee on the Judiciary, to consist of 18 Senators.

"Committee on the Library, to consist of 10 Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

"Committee on Manufactures, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Military Affairs, to consist of 18 Senators.

"Committee on Mines and Mining, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Naval Affairs, to consist of 18 Senators.

"Committee on Patents, to consist of 8 Senators.

"Committee on Pensions, to consist of 11 Senators.

"Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to consist of 19 Senators.

"Committee on Printing, to consist of 8 Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

"Committee on Privileges and Elections, to consist of 17 Senators.

"Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, to consist of 14 Senators, which shall have power to act jointly with the same committee of the House of Representatives.

"Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, to consist of 15 Senators.

"Committee on Rules, to consist of 13 Senators.

"Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to consist of 17 Senators."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to consideration of the resolution offered by the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the distinguished majority leader yield for a question?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. I take it the resolution deals with the regular standing committees of the Senate, and that no change is made in the number of Senators represented on them.

Mr. BARKLEY. It is the usual resolution adopted at the beginning of each Congress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the resolution is considered and agreed to.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority, and in response to the direction of the steering committee thereof, I send to the desk a list of members of the committees as provided for by the resolution just agreed to, and ask that the Senators, as their names are read, be assigned to the committees designated.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, would it be agreeable to the majority leader that I now submit the minority representation upon the committees, and that we act on them both together?

Mr. BARKLEY. It is entirely so.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, in behalf of the minority, and with the authority of the Republican conference of the Senate, I send to the desk the names of the minority members proposed for the various committees covered by the resolution just agreed to, and ask that the Senate agree to the designations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the lists of committee assignments on behalf of the majority and the minority, and, without objection, they will be considered together.

The Chief Clerk read the majority and minority assignments, which, in the form of an order, were agreed to, as follows:

Ordered, That the following shall constitute the standing committees of the Senate of the Seventy-ninth Congress:

On Agriculture and Forestry: Messrs. Thomas of Oklahoma (chairman), Wheeler, Bankhead, Bilbo, Ellender, Lucas, Stewart, Russell, Connally, Downey, Hoey, Moses, Capper, Shipstead, Willis, Aiken, Bushfield, Wilson, Butler, and Cordon.

On Appropriations: Messrs. Glass (chairman), McKellar, Hayden, Thomas of Oklahoma, Tydings, Russell, McCarran, Overton, Bankhead, O'Mahoney, Truman, Green, Maloney, Chavez, Mead, Maybank, Bridges, White, Gurney, Brooks, Reed, Burton, Ball, Willis, and Ferguson.

To Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate: Messrs. Lucas (chairman), Tydings, Hayden, Scrugham, Maybank, Tobey, Brooks, and Wherry.

On Banking and Currency: Messrs. Wagner (chairman), Glass, Barkley, Bankhead, Maloney, Radcliffe, Downey, Murdock, Scrugham, McFarland, Taylor, Fulbright, Tobey, Taft, Thomas of Idaho, Butler, Capper, Buck, Millikin, and Hickenlooper.

On Civil Service: Messrs. Downey (chairman), McKellar, George, Byrd, Mead, Scrugham, Langer, Burton, Aiken, and Hickenlooper.

On Claims: Messrs. Ellender (chairman), Tunnell, O'Daniel, Kilgore, Eastland, Taylor, McMahon, Johnston of South Carolina, Capper, Wiley, Wherry, Wilson, and Morse.

On Commerce: Messrs. Bailey (chairman), Overton, Bilbo, Maloney, Radcliffe, Pepper, Mead, O'Daniel, McCarran, Chandler, McClellan, Magnuson, Johnson of California, Vandenberg, Brewster, Burton, Wiley, Robertson, Cordon, and Brooks.

On the District of Columbia: Messrs. Bilbo (chairman), Glass, Tydings, McCarran, O'Daniel, Hoey, Moses, Johnston of South Carolina, Capper, Bridges, Burton, Buck, Smith, and Saltonstall.

On Education and Labor: Messrs. Murray (chairman), Walsh, Thomas of Utah, Pepper, Ellender, Hill, Chavez, Tunnell, Guffey, Johnston of South Carolina, Fulbright, La Follette, Taft, Aiken, Ball, Smith, Morse, and Donnell.

On Enrolled Bills: Messrs. Andrews (chairman), Truman, and Reed.

On Expenditures in the Executive Departments: Messrs. Hill (chairman), Barkley, Green, McClellan, McMahon, Aiken, Ferguson, and Hickenlooper.

On Finance: Messrs. George (chairman), Walsh, Barkley, Connally, Bailey, Byrd, Gerry, Guffey, Johnson of Colorado, Radcliffe, Lucas, McMahon, La Follette, Vandenberg, Taft, Thomas of Idaho, Butler, Millikin, Brewster, Bushfield, and Hawkes.

On Foreign Relations: Messrs. Connally (chairman), George, Wagner, Thomas of Utah, Murray, Pepper, Green, Barkley, Guffey, Glass, Tunnell, Hatch, Hill, Lucas, Johnson of California, Capper, La Follette, Vandenberg, White, Shipstead, Austin, Bridges, and Wiley.

On Immigration: Messrs. Russell (chairman), Maloney, Andrews, Radcliffe, Maybank, Eastland, Fulbright, Hoey, Johnson of California, Burton, Ball, Buck, Ferguson, and Donnell.

On Indian Affairs: Messrs. O'Mahoney (chairman), Wheeler, Thomas of Oklahoma, Hatch, Chavez, McFarland, Moses, Taylor, La Follette, Shipstead, Langer, Bushfield, Moore, and Robertson.

On Interoceanic Canals: Messrs. Stewart (chairman), Pepper, Downey, Chandler, Magnuson, Bushfield, Hawkes, and Saltonstall.

On Interstate Commerce: Messrs. Wheeler (chairman), Barkley, Truman, Johnson of Colorado, Stewart, Tunnell, McFarland, Hoey, Johnston of South Carolina, Myers, McMahon, White, Austin, Shipstead, Tobey, Reed, Gurney, Hawkes, Moore, and Capehart.

On Irrigation and Reclamation: Messrs. Bankhead (chairman), McCarran, Overton, Hatch, O'Mahoney, Chavez, Downey, McFarland, O'Daniel, Magnuson, Johnson of California, Gurney, Thomas of Idaho, Butler, Millikin, Langer, and Cordon.

On the Judiciary: Messrs. McCarran (chairman), Hatch, O'Mahoney, Chandler, Kilgore, Murdock, McFarland, Wheeler, Andrews, Eastland, Moses, Wiley, Langer, Ferguson, Revercomb, Wherry, Moore, and Smith.

On the Library: Messrs. Barkley (chairman), McKellar, Thomas of Oklahoma, Bilbo, Radcliffe, Green, Brewster, Hawkes, Cordon, Saltonstall.

On Manufactures: Messrs. Overton (chairman), Russell, Gerry, Guffey, Mead, McClellan, ———, La Follette, Millikin, Ball, Buck, and Capehart.

On Military Affairs: Messrs. Thomas of Utah (chairman), Johnson of Colorado, Hill, Downey, Chandler, Truman, Kilgore, Murray, O'Mahoney, Wagner, Stewart, Austin, Bridges, Gurney, Revercomb, Wilson, Thomas of Idaho, and Burton.

On Mines and Mining: Messrs. Guffey (chairman), Thomas of Utah, Johnson of Colorado, Chandler, Kilgore, Maybank, Scrugham, ———, Reed, Millikin, Revercomb, Robertson, and Morse.

On Naval Affairs: Messrs. Walsh (chairman), Tydings, Russell, Byrd, Gerry, Andrews, Ellender, McClellan, Eastland, Magnuson, Myers, Johnson of California, Tobey, Willis, Brooks, Brewster, Robertson, and Saltonstall.

On Patents: Messrs. Pepper (chairman), Lucas, O'Mahoney, Myers, ———, White, Hawkes, and Capehart.

On Pensions: Messrs. Tunnell (chairman), Wheeler, Walsh, Thomas of Utah, Bilbo, McFarland, Myers, Shipstead, Aiken, Moore, and Donnell.

On Post Offices and Post Roads: Messrs. McKellar (chairman), Hayden, Bailey, Chavez, Ellender, Mead, O'Daniel, Scrugham, Eastland, McClellan, Taylor, Reed, Langer, Buck, Hickenlooper, Capehart, Morse, Saltonstall, and Donnell.

On Printing: Messrs. Hayden (chairman), Walsh, Truman, Pepper, Maybank, Willis, Ball, and Donnell.

On Privileges and Elections: Messrs. Green (chairman), Connally, Hatch, Mead, Stewart, Chandler, Tunnell, Kilgore, Murdock, Johnston of South Carolina, Bridges, Ferguson, Moore, Revercomb, Wilson, Smith, and Capehart.

On Public Buildings and Grounds: Messrs. Maloney (chairman), Tydings, Walsh, Connally, Truman, Andrews, Green, Fulbright, Taft, Revercomb, Wherry, Wilson, Smith, and Morse.

On Public Lands and Surveys: Messrs. Hatch (chairman), Wagner, O'Mahoney, Murray, McCarran, Andrews, Murdock, Johnson of Colorado, Taylor, Gurney, Thomas of Idaho, Willis, Robertson, Cordon, and Hickenlooper.

On Rules: Messrs. Byrd (chairman), McKellar, Andrews, Lucas, Bankhead, Maybank, Gerry, Bilbo, Vandenberg, White, Wiley, Shipstead, and Bushfield.

On Territories and Insular Affairs: Messrs. Tydings (chairman), Hayden, Wheeler, Gerry, Chavez, Murdock, Ellender, Eastland, ———, Vandenberg, Austin, Taft, Brewster, Butler, Tobey, and Brooks.

REGULATION OF BEEF PRODUCTION

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, during the past few weeks there has been before various departments in Washington for consideration a matter of real concern to the people of America, especially farmers and producers of beef. I understand, although I have not seen the official text, that the order which was released this morning places a ceiling on the prices of live cattle. In that connection I have a few words to say at this time.

I regret to learn that the Stabilization Director has approved the O. P. A. suggestions as to ceiling prices on choice beef cattle, and other changes in the regulations affecting the production of beef. There can be but one result, namely, less beef at a time when more beef is critically needed. Again the O. P. A. managers have violated the confidence of the American people, this time amending the rules covering the production of beef after having encouraged the farmers

to fill their feed lots in the belief that no changes were being considered.

About 139,000 cattle were offered for sale in the 12 leading livestock markets of the country last Monday, the largest number on any January day on record. This in itself indicates that feeders are being forced to limit their losses by immediate shipment of their feed-lot cattle. This movement will continue, much to the detriment of the war-food program. Instead of encouraging the production of more beef to relieve a bad market situation, the O. P. A. is discouraging the production of a critical item. Farmers do not want inflationary prices, but they do want and are entitled to cost of production plus a small margin of profit. With an abundance of feed available, this is the wrong time to discourage its use in the production of meat. Under the new regulations we shall probably see corn and other feed grains piled up and turned over to the Commodity Credit Corporation for storage when they should stay on farms to be used in manufacturing food for humans. Producers and feeders of experience, with the support of many Members of Congress, have done their utmost to avoid this error on the part of O. P. A., but to no avail. Congress should perhaps quickly enact legislation guaranteeing prices to producers of beef for a period of time following the close of the war, as we have already done with respect to some other items.

THE AMERICAN CHARTER OF TODAY

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on December 20, 1944, I delivered an address before the Washington chapter of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. The subject of this address was the Bill of Rights—a Guiding Star.

This subject proved a stimulus to my own subsequent thinking. It set in motion a train of thought which has led to the comments I shall make on the floor today. Therefore, as a preface to my remarks to follow, I ask, at this time, unanimous consent that my speech on the Bill of Rights be inserted in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

The address is as follows:

THE BILL OF RIGHTS—A GUIDING STAR

The history of man is of his quest for guiding stars. It is of his eternal longing for prophets who would give him direction, and principles which would illuminate his way. Man, of himself, has felt eternally inadequate. He has despaired of the apparent aimlessness of his days and the obvious dangers of his existence. He has quailed before the fury of the elements, of wild animals and of his fellow men. He has yearned for leaders and thoughts which would give him purpose and power.

In pursuit of his quest for guiding stars, man has put himself often in the wrong. He has crucified his redeemers and bestowed honors upon his enslavers. He has done homage to principles of evil and has done violence to principles of good.

But always man has sought for more light, and when he has hungered sufficiently, a star—a guiding star like the star of Bethlehem, has appeared.

On at least five distinct occasions in human history, man has lifted his eyes aloft, has seen in the sky a guiding star, and has become filled with its light. Each of those occasions is forever signalized by immortal documents or speeches which embodied that light.

I wonder how many of us can guess which those five documents and speeches were.

The first began: "I am the Lord, thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." And then, "Thou shalt have no other God before me."

This, of course, was the Ten Commandments which Moses brought on a tablet from Mount Sinai only to dash to the ground in disgust at the sight of the people's worship of the golden calf. But ultimately those commandments were to be accepted universally.

The second began: "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

This, of course, was the Sermon on the Mount which the Saviour delivered to His disciples.

The third began: "John, by the grace of God . . . Know that we, having regard to God and the safety of our soul and those of all our ancestors and heirs, to the honor of God and the exaltation of Holy Church and the betterment of our realm, by the advice of our reverend fathers, and others of our faithful men . . ."

This was the elaborate introduction to the Magna Carta, wrung from an unwilling king by the nobles of England.

The fourth began: "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

This was the Declaration of Independence proclaimed by the Thirteen Colonies in the face of another arrogant king.

The fifth began: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

This was the Bill of Rights, the first 10 amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These 10 great laws were the natural supplement and fulfillment of the original 7 articles of the Constitution. Together with the latter, they constitute an indivisible unity. Together, they amply justify Gladstone's description of the Constitution: "The most remarkable work known to me in modern times to have been produced by the human intellect."

These, then, are the five great milestones of speech and writing in the history of man. The first two of these wondrous works are of divine origin; the last three are of mortal hands but of divine inspiration.

It is altogether fitting and proper that on this occasion I speak exclusively on the last of these works—the Bill of Rights.

First, it is appropriate because your proud organization is dedicated to the living memory of those immortal patriots who gave of their life's blood that such a document might some day become the law of the land.

Second, it is because your organization, through its Bill of Rights Commemorative Committee, has devoted its able efforts to maintaining vivid in the eyes of all Americans the shining glory of that Bill of Rights.

Third, it is because 5 short days ago marked the one hundred and fifty-third anniversary of the day when the Bill of Rights was ratified by Virginia, the eleventh and last State necessary for this noble work to become the legal amendments to the Constitution.

Fourth, it is because, had it not been for the promise of a Bill of Rights, we might have had no Constitution at all. For, as originally drafted in 1787, the Constitution contained no guaranty to the people of any inherent rights of freedom. Many States were, therefore, reluctant to ratify the Constitution. It was the promise of the framers of the Constitution to add amendments guaranteeing the citizens' privileges and immunities, which influenced many of the States to act favorably on ratifying the seven articles.

These, then, are my reasons for turning to the Bill of Rights tonight.

Now, would it not be well to recall for a few moments the history of this great work?

In that history, citizens of the State of Virginia figure in remarkable prominence.

It was a Virginian, George Mason, who drafted the first State Bill of Rights which was adopted by the Virginia convention 3 weeks before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, on June 12, 1776. An eminent historian said of that State document: "This Bill of Rights may be called not only the Magna Carta of Virginia but of America."

It was the spirit of George Mason that inspired another great Virginia patriot, James Madison, to propose a national Bill of Rights to the First Congress assembled under the Constitution. For it was on May 4, 1789, just 4 days after the inauguration of George Washington, that Madison gave notice to the House of Representatives assembled at Federal Hall, New York City, that he intended "to bring on the subject of amendments to the Constitution on the fourth Monday of this month."

The way for James Madison's action had been paved by President George Washington, who was both an intimate friend of George Mason and his close neighbor in Mount Vernon. In his inaugural address on April 30, 1789, President Washington pointed to the advisability that a Bill of Rights be framed. After referring to the fifth article of the Constitution regarding amendments, and after reassuring Congress of his confidence in its judgment, our first President went on to say:

"For I assure myself that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of a united and effective Government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of free men, and a regard for public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question how far the former can be more impregably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted."

Madison's fight for a Bill of Rights encountered the obstacle of the alleged priority of many other laws and constitutional amendments, rather than actual opposition. The new Congress faced a vast number of pressing and practical problems, each demanding long days of undivided attention and law-making. A new government had to be completely organized, based on the new Constitution. Altogether, 90 separate amendments were formally introduced in the first session of the First Congress at Federal Hall.

But on August 13, 1789, Richard Bland Lee, of Virginia, moved "that the House now resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole" to consider the amendments proposed by James Madison. The motion was carried. This was indeed an auspicious moment, for thereupon began an historic debate on the amendments.

It was a month and a half later, on September 25, 1789, that the Senate resolved, "that the Senate do concur in the amendments proposed by the House of Representatives to the amendments of the Senate." This was the final act of Congress in officially adopting the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The House then resolved "that the President of the United States be requested to transmit

to the executives of the several States which have ratified the Constitution, copies of the amendments proposed by Congress; and like copies to the executives of the States of Rhode Island and North Carolina."

On September 28, the original engrossed copy of the proposed amendments was signed by Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John Adams, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate. Today this original copy is in The National Archives here in Washington.

To ratify an amendment to the Constitution takes a vote of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, after it has been passed by the Congress. Since Vermont had been added to the Union in 1791, the approval of 11 States was necessary to complete the ratification of the Bill of Rights. New Jersey was the first State to ratify, on November 20, 1789. Two years and one month later, December 15, 1791, Virginia, the eleventh State, ratified, and the Bill of Rights became law.

There were 12 amendments in the original draft of the Bill of Rights passed by Congress on September 25, 1789, but only 10 of these amendments were ratified by the necessary three-quarters of the States. The first 2 amendments, which were rejected by the States, were: One which related to the apportionment of representatives in Congress and one concerning compensation of members of that body. Today there are altogether but 21 amendments to the Constitution, including the Bill of Rights.

We might well ask ourselves why the great patriots of that day, like Washington, Madison, and Patrick Henry, were so determined to have a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. It was because those men were realists. They read and heeded the lessons of history and the experiences of their own lives. Those lessons and experiences pointed to this inescapable conclusion: Power centralized in the hands of one man or a few men inevitably becomes autocratic.

As a result they created a constitutional republic such as never existed before in all of history. This constitutional republic was a government of checks and balances, of limited power. And they insured that within the Constitution was a definitive statement of the inalienable rights of all citizens.

Why, then, has the Constitution with its Bill of Rights endured through all these 153 years? There are several reasons.

First, because it was so flexibly written that it could be applied in spite of all the changes of the succeeding years. It has ever new applications to the needs of this growing Nation.

Second, because no single man or group of men was completely identified with it and, therefore, it was above repudiation for personal reasons. We may mark this well in these days when the principles of a vital proclamation such as the Atlantic Charter become too closely associated in our minds with one or two men.

Third, because it is so firmly rooted in the needs of man. The Bill of Rights enumerated essential safeguards of his life; such as his right to bear arms, his right to a jury trial, his right not to be put in jeopardy twice for the same crime, and not to receive a cruel or inhuman punishment. Both from the aspect of safeguarding human life and from the aspect of implying human dignity, it was in full keeping with the immortal principles of Him whose blessed birthday we are soon to celebrate. For it was Christ who said: "I have come that ye may have life and have it more abundantly."

Is it not fitting then that the Bill of Rights should take its proud place alongside both the Saviour's words and the words of the other milestone documents?

Is it not appropriate that we should give humble thanks that two of the five great

works—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with the Bill of Rights—should have originated in America? Yet, they, like the word of God in the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, and, indeed, the word of God through man in the Magna Carta, are the property of all mankind.

And is it not inspiring that in this hallowed birthday season, the golden rays of the guiding star of the Bill of Rights should blend with the golden rays of the guiding star of Bethlehem?

There never was a period in man's history when these "stars" were more needed to guide him. There never was a period when man was so called upon to be adequate to his great responsibilities and challenges.

Let us all, therefore, so act that future generations may say to us: "They lived adequately. They lived gallantly. They ably guarded the great values handed down to them in trust for us. They transmitted our heritage to us, vital and unimpaired. They held to a true course in following their great guiding stars."

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the subject of my present remarks is The American Charter of today. After listening to the dynamic speech by the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], I am sure anyone could speak, even without notes or outline, in relation to the foreign policy situation. I believe he expressed in large measure the hopes and the fears of the American people.

There is just one thing I wish to say before I take up the subject of my thoughts. It is that America has never failed the world. While she did not join the League of Nations, she did join the Nine Power Pact; and when Japan went into Manchuria and the League of Nations was a functioning organization in Europe, it was America that suggested to the other nations that they invoke the power of the Nine Power Pact to stop Japan in Manchuria. America did not fail. It was the other nations that failed.

I again call attention to the fact that when Hitler first violated the Versailles Treaty and went into the Rhine area, we were not a member of the League of Nations. But Britain, France, and other nations were. However, Britain and France could not get together then with respect to stopping Hitler. Had they done so or had they "played ball" with us when we suggested stopping the Jap in Manchuria, the world situation of today would not be what it is. I mention these matters only because in the debates to follow there will be a tendency to blame America because of the failure of the League.

Last night I sat at dinner, in his home, with a former Senator from my State. He told me a historical fact. He said it was President Wilson who defeated the League. He said that Viscount Grey, the then British Ambassador to the United States, had written a letter in which Britain agreed to the reservations, but nevertheless President Wilson told his Democratic associates in this Chamber to vote against the resolution with the reservations. That is a historical fact.

In these early days of the Seventy-ninth Congress, the eyes of the world are upon our two great legislative Chambers; the ears of the world are strained to hear our opening deliberations; the

minds of the world are geared to note the direction in which this Congress is to move. Would it not be well that we announce to the world the spirit of this occasion? I believe in large measure that the speech of the senior Senator from Michigan was the very heart and essence of that spirit. May I, therefore, as a humble Member of the United States Senate, venture my conception of that spirit?

It is my belief and my hope that the Seventy-ninth Congress is today embarking upon its course in the spirit of what may be called the American Charter. This charter is written and unwritten. It is as old as the Nation itself, and even older. It is the mellow blend of all the great recorded documents, and all the experiences and time-proven teachings of the American past.

It is this spirit of the American Charter which I should like to set forth now, for of late we have heard on every lip only the parallel words, the "Atlantic Charter." We have watched the rising and falling fortunes of that proclamation with great concern. Yet it has become quite obvious that, regardless of its ultimate fate—and God grant that its fate be a kindly one—America needs a restatement of its own charter. It needs to have presented anew the historical guiding principles of our domestic affairs. It needs to see again vividly as "a sign in the sky" the American credo. Moreover, it needs a Congress, this Congress, to apply and fulfill the American Charter as never before.

And so, may I offer to this great body my brief interpretation of the American Charter or, as the modernists would put it, "The American Charter of today"? I offer these thoughts on it in all humility. Let every loyal citizen of this land interpret the legacy of America according to his lights, as I have. Let every citizen, including every schoolboy and schoolgirl, devote a part of his time to a study of the very essence of this charter.

No one need trouble himself about whether the American Charter is a signed document, for it is composed partly of many signed documents. But what is more important, it is engraved in the hearts of our Congress, our judges, our worthy leaders, and our people.

Having just recently gone through a political campaign, I digress here to state that the House in adopting the Fulbright resolution and the Senate in adopting its resolution months before the holding of the campaign, definitely indicated by almost unanimous vote, in this body, at least, their position in relation to collaboration. All the smoke screens since must have been for some diabolical purpose. The utilization of such methods has contributed to the confusion of American thinking, as has the recent attitude of newspapers of Great Britain which thought it was a part of their obligation to publish certain articles and editorials.

No one need trouble himself about the American Charter's authors, for they were the great public servants and ordinary citizens of the past. No one need trouble himself about its effect. It can do naught but insure eternal vigilance for the preservation of the values which

made this Nation great, and which will make it greater yet. A restatement thereof can do naught but reset aright our national compass. Where are we going? Where are we heading? When we get there, what are we to find? A restatement can do naught but stabilize us and end our political jitterbugging in every direction. No one need trouble himself that the American Charter conflicts with the Atlantic Charter, for it complements that charter on the home front.

Mr. President, you may ask, What is this charter? You interpret it for your children. You interpret it for yourself. I am giving my interpretation of it because, as in every other activity of human life, it is well to take a refresher course; it is well to be tuned up; it is well to get a shot in the arm.

Here, then, is the American Charter of today:

First. Our heritage: We Americans proclaim our undying reverence for the ideals expressed in the great documents of the Republic—the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, Washington's Farewell Address, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. We proclaim our undiminished respect for the lessons learned and taught in the lives of our forefathers. We proclaim our unyielding faith in the eternal religious truths upon which our Nation was founded. We proclaim our continued pride in the physical magnificence of our land and the cultural wonders of our peoples of many origins.

We reject the cynicism, the skepticism, the materialism which violate the cherished loves, traditions, and beliefs of previous generations of Americans.

Second. Our challenge of the present: We Americans proclaim our unswerving determination to win this war quickly and decisively. At the same time, we declare our intention to so strengthen the foundations of the Nation as to insure an unqualifiedly joyous homecoming for our millions of service men and women.

We spurn all bitter quarrels which would lead to disunity in war, and to paralysis in peace.

Third. Our opportunity of the future: We Americans proclaim our confidence in the dynamic, progressive future of our growing Nation and in its unlimited economic, political, and spiritual frontiers.

We decline defeatism; we forsake fear as to our national destiny. We look to our native ingenuity and our free initiative to result in such research and other achievements in production and distribution as will bring about an abundance of comforts and necessities for all.

Fourth. Our way of life: We Americans proclaim our consecration to the American home and the American family with their traditional tranquillity, independence, freedom, and richness.

We refuse to allow any invasion or weakening of these basic units of our national life through arbitrary action or restraint by government.

Fifth. Our social justice: We Americans proclaim our intention to insure for each toiler—the farmer, the laborer, the miner, the middleman, the manager, the professional—a just portion of the fruits

of his labor, not of the labor of anybody else, but of his own labor. We desire that each toiler shall freely advance and prosper according to his individual merit. We desire that in the event of economic misfortune, handicap, or disability, and in his declining years he shall have the appropriate security which he deserves.

We will not deny or take unjustly from any man the bread or pleasure he has earned by the sweat of his brow or the toil of his brain. Nor will we, by conscienceless hand-outs impair the character of any man by depriving him of his initiative and independence.

Sixth. Our Government: We Americans proclaim our desire for courteous, efficient, and economical administration at and between all levels of government. We proclaim our belief in a government of checks and balances, with its mutual safeguards and mutual stimuli. We proclaim our desire for leaders, and, indeed, for citizens, of vision, courage, practicality, and independence.

We will not allow our Government to be our master, rather than our servant. We will not allow it to be a law-unto-itself with extravagance, arrogance, and inefficiency. We absolutely reject communism, fascism, and every other form of stateism which trades liberty for supposed security or power, and ultimately gives neither.

Seventh. Our middle way: We proclaim our faith in our fundamental system of private enterprise. We endorse cooperative endeavor wherever it is desired by our citizens. We believe in Government participation as an operator in the economic field only when absolutely necessary, and then under conditions of fair and helpful dealings to private enterprise.

We refuse to allow public enterprise to swallow up private enterprise by crippling it with arbitrary restrictions, driving it to the wall by ruinous competition or through other devious measures.

Eighth. Our relations with one another: We Americans proclaim our recognition of our responsibilities as citizens, as partners, and as brothers. We will live up to standards of openness, fairness, and reasonableness in all our intercourse with other citizens and other groups.

We forswear the use of physical force, or verbal weapons such as misrepresentation, character assassination, smoke screening, hysteria, or other base means in the relations between management and labor, between political groups, between different income groups, between regions of the Nation, and between members of the public.

Ninth. Our defense: We Americans proclaim our intention to be adequately prepared for every future military contingency. After two world wars we have our eyes open; the blinders have been removed, and I do not want any unsound reasoning in this body to put those blinders back. We will not allow our military defenses to deteriorate and another Pearl Harbor to occur.

Tenth. Our relations with foreign nations: We Americans proclaim our willingness to discharge fully our world obligations, which have increased since Pearl Harbor, to the end of serving inter-

national justice, peace, and prosperity. We announce we will pursue this end with the same realism, sympathy, and understanding we will practice on the home front.

We reject a double standard for our conduct in home and foreign affairs. We want no dealing under the table. We have become a part of the international picture whether we like it or not, and we are asking of all those with whom we collaborate that there be no double dealing, that the cards be put on the table. We no more desire stealth or injustice by our leaders abroad than we do at home. All the blessings we desire for ourselves, we wish for all other peoples. But we will not arbitrarily intrude in any other peoples' enjoyment of their way of life. Nor will we allow any other people to intrude in our way of life. Nor will we allow our own way of life to be radically changed in order to please any other government or people.

Mr. President, these, then, are what I believe to be the essences of the American charter of today and of our spirit in this newly convened body.

It is my fervent hope that the ideas contained in the American charter of today—however it be faithfully interpreted—may prove a guiding star. May this star shine brightly for ourselves here in Congress, for our people, for our children and our children's children, as we blaze new trails along the American way. May this star be particularly visible through the long night of war and post-war to all the men and women in the Halls of Congress, in our homes, our fields, our factories, our farms, and in all our theaters of military training and combat.

It is my firm belief that there is no problem which can arise in this land which cannot be solved quickly and satisfactorily if we apply the principles of the American charter and the great documents, deeds, and words which provided its origin.

It is my earnest conviction that, by applying these principles, we may be able to fulfill that great counsel, "Be ye adequate."

It is my sincere prayer that the revitalized American charter may inspire every American here and elsewhere to say unto his fellow American:

"I am thy brother. I am thy keeper and thou art mine. Let us join our hands in proud labor and our hearts in proud faith and, under God, we shall make of this land the Eden it was intended to be."

Mr. President, this concludes my remarks on the subject of the American charter. Now I should like to make a few personal comments which pertain to the field of international relations.

Last week I was honored by my Republican colleagues by being selected as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and that appointment was approved a few moments ago by the Senate. At this time I wish publicly to express my gratitude for this honor. Coming as it does at a time of great international crisis, this assignment presents me with a high challenge and a high opportunity. The challenge is to lend my humble efforts to help guide our

ship of state, this beloved America, through the treacherous shoals of disunity within ourselves and with our allies during and after this war. The opportunity to lend my humble efforts to help bring our ship of state safely into a harbor of peace and security.

I enter upon this task with an open mind, not an isolated mind. My vision is not clouded. I have been a student of history; I know something about the human mind, and I am aware of the obstacles; but I have faith that if we make a supreme effort to insure lasting peace we will accomplish it.

I enter upon this task with no grudge, no hatred, no prejudice. I enter upon it with a calm and rational conviction that in the contracted world of today and tomorrow America must not fail to find the way to world peace. Since peace is not a unilateral matter but a multilateral undertaking for the Big Five at the beginning and for all nations later on, you and I know, Mr. President, that all nations, especially the Big Five, must play ball together. Every boy knows what that means. The phrase means there must be collaboration in purpose, in mind, in will, in desire, and in the effort to put back of the objective the economical and physical strength necessary to accomplish it. Another Kellogg-Briand pact, or the like, will not do the job. We attempted once to outlaw war. There must be back of the pact, or treaty, or authority, as I have stated, the desire, the purpose, the will of the nations to live up to their obligations. Are the nations ready for this?

Mr. President, I enter upon this task with no desire other than to safeguard the interests of my country first, last, and always, and, through so doing, to advance the interests of all other like-minded nations.

Mr. President, lest there be any doubt as to where I stand on issues of world cooperation, I ask unanimous consent at this time that excerpts from statements I have made during previous years, and recent news releases issued by me, be printed as a part of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM SENATOR WILEY'S STATEMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 1, 1939, volume 84, part 2, page 2078:

"I do not believe in turning the hands of the clock back and sacrificing the international law the centuries have builded. I do not believe in resurrecting the buccaneers and pirates, national or individual, of yesterday.

"International law and order and good will and common sense are part of the world's heritage of which we are custodians. Let us not, as did Esau of old, sell our heritage for a mess of pottage. There is no need for us to play the traitor to the future."

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 24, 1939, volume 84, part 5, page 4679:

"This country demands and has a right to have 100 percent political allegiance from all of us; and the way to keep our allegiance unsullied and keep America alone in our thoughts is to think American. At this time of crisis each individual in this Nation has the responsibility of building national unity, and that is not built by meddling in foreign affairs."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 85, part 2, page A308 (remarks before the Interparliamentary Union in Oslo, Norway, August 1939):

"From every land in Europe America has drawn her bloodstream. Your culture has enriched our lives. Your music, your literature, your drama, your great ideas in economics, philosophy, religion, we have made our own. But, Mr. President, you have something we do not want. I refer to those large barriers of fear, hatred, and distrust erected between your nations by centuries of fear, hatred, and distrust. Yes; we owe you much. We know the world is small. We are neighbors. We want to help you, but your problems are so intricate. There are so many equations that we do not understand. I say we want to help, but we want to help you to help yourselves to the end that your problems may find solution through you. We want to be helpful, but America does not want to meddle in Europe. The role of a meddler I do not crave for my country."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 85, part 2, page A309:

"Our job is to see that a foreign policy is created which will protect and defend America."

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 8, 1941, volume 87, part 9, page 9509:

"America has been attacked in a dastardly manner and war declared on her by Japan. This is undoubtedly pursuant to the tripartite agreement between the Axis Powers, Germany, Japan, and Italy.

"We as a people did not want war; it has been brought to us. Now we will take care of the job. There is no division in our ranks now. The criminal attack on Hawaii and Guam and elsewhere has made America one. We have but one purpose, and that is to win the war and preserve our American way of life.

"Let us now have:

"(a) Less loose talk and more action but no underestimation of Japan's strength.

"(b) More defense production and more for our money.

"(c) Extension of the workday for everyone. This is no time for hysteria or complacency; no time for life as usual.

"(d) No grafters or racketeers should be permitted now in government or in industry.

"Japan asked for it. We will, with God's help, carry through to victory."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 89, part 10, page A1674:

"The world has been contracted through science and discovery, and this makes it vital that we have cooperation and collaboration. * * * We can set up machinery to control nations in an effort to prevent war; we can establish treaties, we can write peace pacts, we can make agreements; we can do all these things in an effort to achieve a lasting peace. But none of these things will have eliminated the causes of war. If we are to build for lasting peace, we must first restore order and recovery to the world by (1) dealing justly with the problems which involve the political, economic, territorial, and ideological phases; (2) we must create some sort of instrumentality with power to preserve the peace."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 89, part 11, page A3322 (speech at Republican convention at Appleton, Wis., June 27, 1943):

"The Republican Party recognizes that as one of the major nations of the earth, the United States must accept a major share in helping to restore and preserve international law and order in the post-war period. The Republican Party proposes that a strong America shall be a strong champion of international justice; that a purposeful America shall help weave the pattern of durable international peace and order; that an America, aware and confident of her own

great state, shall help relight the lamps of freedom for the groping nations of men."

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 14, 1943, volume 89, part 6, page 7535 (telegram sent to Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG at Mackinac Island Conference, September 6, 1943):

"United States must cooperate actively with all other like-minded nations in an effort to preserve world peace. World peace can be best assured only when sovereign states, while preserving their own full sovereignty, and their own essential interests, find common ground on which to work together. This common ground can be found only by clearing away existing differences, particularly among the major Allied Nations, and building on the basis of definite common purposes a new international order. Until such time as international relationships become beyond all question orderly and secure" (the people of this country want us to keep our eyes open. They know that in this matter we are dealing with international poker players who have been playing the game for 1,000 years and they believe that) "the United States should maintain such armaments as will not only enable us to discharge our international obligations but will assure our national security." (The people believe that the United States should secure adequate air and naval bases to assure our national security.)

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 89, part 11, page A3774 (speech before Kiwanis State convention, Milwaukee, Wis., August 2, 1943):

"Our real problem in international affairs is the same as on the domestic front—how to attain the unity that alone makes peace possible * * * unity between States and nations is not a matter of legislation only. It is a matter of learning how to live and work together. * * * There is much talk about a new world order. We know until the spirit of cooperation dwells among men, until that time arises, mere government forums will not do the job."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 89, part 11, page A4041 (speech before the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin, September 9, 1943):

"Theirs—the major powers—is the major task of post-war reconstruction. Theirs is the major obligation, building up a new international order of law and justice and fraternal freedom. They should invite the cooperation not only of all their associates; they should invite the cooperation of all the peoples and states which pledged to work for peace and law. It is not necessary to build some superstate to accomplish a new reign of world law. Talk of such only creates confusion and distrust. We have learned to our bitter cost that mere constitutions, that mere treaties and covenants, are meaningless unless the will and purpose which give them sanction, are present."

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of November 4, 1943, volume 89, part 7, page 9082 (voting for S. Res. 192):

"We have demonstrated by the passing of this resolution that we are willing to cooperate by all honorable means to achieve peace. Resolutions do not contain magic power. No resolution we adopt will have magic power over our allies or over our enemies. * * * We have been burned in two world wars. * * * We know that making another Locarno Pact, or another Kellogg-Briand Pact outlawing war, does not do the job unless there is the will of the contracting parties to enforce and keep the peace."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 90, part 8, pages A129-A130:

"As a matter of fact and as a matter of common sense, there is nothing at all contradictory in free and equal and sovereign states organizing to promote world peace and world justice * * * It should be obvious beyond all question that only Americans who

believe in our own system without reservations, hidden or open, should be entrusted with the important task of protecting and promoting legitimate American interests in the four corners of the earth."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 90, part 8, pages A195-A196:

"The United States not only has a historic interest in these islands—the Carolines, the Marianas, and the Marshalls—we have a much more direct and immediate interest as a matter of national security. * * * As outer defenses of our west coast, as stepping stones and lines of communication with the densely populated lands of southwestern Asia and its islands, the three-ocean groups are of major importance to this country. * * * They should be incorporated definitely in the American system."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 90, part 8, page A330:

"Just as no single state is powerful enough to achieve its own total security, so no single state or group of states can undertake to set up a system of world security without recognizing the reasonable security of the small as well as the great, the weak as well as the strong."

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 3, 1944, volume 90, part 2, page 2206:

"There must be back of all pacts or treaties or organizations not only the desire to carry on, not only the desire of like-minded people and like-minded public officials to cooperate, but there must be the will to carry through the mandate, the pact, the treaty. * * * But if the nations begin double dealing, if they begin playing international politics, if they begin to sell each other out and fail to keep faith with each other, then all the 10 commandments in international law will not result in the peace being kept."

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 1, 1944, volume 90, part 3, page 3388:

"Let there be no mistake about it. We must have international world planning. We live in a contracted world. We cannot escape our obligations. We will be false in our trust if we did not endeavor to participate in some kind of thinking which would insure that our children and our children's children shall not again travel along dreary roads to armed international conflict."

From the Appendix of the RECORD, volume 90, part 11, pages A4675-A4676:

"So it is possible for many sincere people to reach the conclusion that Vice President WALLACE stated a few months ago when he said that the people of the world were not ready for the League of Nations. That is the issue now. Are the people now ready to enter into a league or any other international authority and live up to the obligations of the written instrument? If they are, then I believe that some form of effectual peace can be accomplished for generations to come."

"It is very clear that the men who sat in conference at Dumbarton Oaks realize that this war has not in it any element that makes for peace, that if peace does come, it must come by a rebirth in the hearts and minds of the people and the leaders of the people to seek the way that will make for peace. The idea here was to draft a charter, not for a perfect world which would need no security league but an imperfect world in which even the large powers have different approaches to the security problem."

From the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of September 15, 1944, volume 90, part 6, page 7783:

"In connection with the subject of what power should be lodged in the organization or the league or the authority which is being contemplated, necessarily a great number of questions arise. So far as we are concerned, the question is, What authority can Congress confer? Can Congress, if it sees fit, confer blanket authority upon its representative on the council to vote to use military force to preserve the peace? The Con-

stitution provides that Congress alone has authority to declare war. We know that down through our history the Executive has used the armed forces of this country to preserve the peace in the Western Hemisphere and elsewhere without congressional authority, as was demonstrated clearly the other day by the distinguished senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY].

"There is, perhaps, no clear line of demarcation between instances in which the President has used force to preserve the peace, and actual war, requiring a declaration by Congress. However, it would seem that when a treaty is made, and approved by Congress, which includes provisions for the preservation of world peace, authority might be conferred which would be somewhat analogous to the constitutional power of the President, but not in derogation thereof, to preserve the peace and enforce treaty obligations short of making war."

"It has been said that the American people would not consent to confer upon an international authority the power to declare war, involving the need of American military forces outside the Western Hemisphere; but I repeat that there are numerous instances of military force being used, under constitutional Executive authority, which did not require a declaration of war by the Congress. Of course, speaking from a strictly constitutional viewpoint, such a power to declare war could not be conferred by Congress. It would require a constitutional amendment. However, there is a difference between 'declaration of war' and conferring power in a treaty 'to enforce the peace.' That is the idea with respect to which Americans must be clear. As a result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and other conferences among the representatives of this Nation and other members of the Big Four or Big Five, which will soon include France, I trust that before long a definite policy will be laid before this body. Then we can thresh out this whole subject."

[News release of December 23, 1944]

WILEY SUBMITS QUESTIONS TO AMERICAN PEOPLE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

I should like to present to the American people three sets of questions, the answers to which, I believe, will point the way for our intelligent participation in the world community.

I present these questions now because Americans are experiencing the first shock of disillusionment over possibilities of post-war harmony and justice. The cause of this shock is what Americans feel to be the contradiction between, on the one hand, the high-sounding principles of the Atlantic Charter, and on the other hand, the actions of Britain in Greece and Italy together with the United States-British agreement to the partitioning of Poland. The shock has been aggravated by the heart-rending news of high American casualties resulting from the German counteroffensive.

In this dark and forbidding picture, we must find new sources of light unto our feet. Where else can we find such light than by probing within our own God-given intellects and consciences?

The three sets of questions are as follows:

1. Is not Europe still the Europe of old?

Is not its system still poisoned by thousands of years of national hatreds, class hatreds, religious hatreds, fear and suspicion? Has not war further polluted Europe's life-stream rather than purified that stream?

Do not the answers to these questions and the civil war in Greece signify that the nations of Europe still have not learned to play ball together as a team, either within or outside their boundaries? Do not these answers give the lie to those who said that it was America's unwillingness to cooperate with

Europe after the First World War that was responsible for the death of the League of Nations and of the peace? Do not those answers signify that we have previously misinterpreted history on America's alleged guilt and that we ought now to open our eyes to Europe's past record of self-inflicted woes?

2. Does not Europe need a realistic America?

Do not the facts that Europe is still the Europe of old and that it is now in its most desperate agony signify that we must keep our feet firmly on the ground in all our dealings with it?

Do they not signify that we must be a good Samaritan to Europe, helping it to help itself, rather than a Santa Claus, bountifully donating our treasures only to be inevitably abused when we cease our donations? Do not those answers signify that we must act coolly, rationally, and logically, rather than with one-track hysteria or mealy-mouthed promises?

Is not each nation actually still fearful for its self-preservation? Will it not be our primary job to sell the idea that preservation of any one nation depends largely on the preservation of its sister nations? And yet should not we, while we are doing this, be on our constant guard that we ourselves suffer no political Pearl Harbors, national or international?

3. Is not the only ultimate and lasting solution of the problems of the world a spiritual rebirth?

Can the same force of arms which will undoubtedly win the war also win the peace? Can we legislate the millennium by international treaties or agreements? Or, will not the world achieve enduring peace only when it has accepted and begun actually to live the principles of the Prince of Peace whose birthday we have just celebrated? Is it not just as true with nations as with individuals: It is not enough to believe in righteousness for the other fellow; it must be lived by ourselves each day of our lives?

Can there be any hope of lasting peace until the Golden Rule becomes the international rule? Is not the form of post-war international peace organization secondary to the primary necessity for morality, faith, vision, and courage on the part of all peoples?

I believe that if the American people honestly and sincerely answer these questions (as I know they will) and then act upon the implications of those answers, America will be able to fulfill that ancient counsel to all the world, "Be ye adequate."

[News release of December 31, 1944]

SENATOR WILEY URGES CONFIDENCE IN SENATE AND IN AMERICA

In these days of momentous foreign relations "baiting the Senate" has become a favorite indoor sport in certain quarters. What is behind all the smearing of this great chamber of our legislative branch?

Why is the old moth-eaten hobgoblin of alleged Senate isolationism waved before the American people? Has not the Senate joined with the House in passing a resolution favoring international cooperation?

Why is the Senate vilified for its role in the nonratification of America's entrance into the League of Nations? Was it not Woodrow Wilson, himself, who instructed his friends not to vote for the ratification resolution with reservations?

Why is the Senate directly blamed (and through it, America indirectly blamed) for the failure of the League of Nations? Was not the League of Nations a going concern for many years? But did not our own Vice President state that the League ultimately failed because "the nations of Europe were not ready for it"?

Why is the Senate abused for not stating itself specifically to the American people on our foreign policy? Does not the Constitution confer upon the President the role of

formulating foreign policy and does it not confer upon the Senate the role of passing upon such policy? Has the President made known anything more than the dim outlines of our international policy? Has he submitted any specific proposals to the Senate?

Why is the Senate denounced for not being open-handed on the international question? Have any of the United Nations (who are long-schooled in the poker game of diplomacy) shown their hands? Are our allies ready to enter formally into and live up to some international arrangement for peace? If so, where is such an arrangement?

Let's stop baiting the Senate. Let's show some confidence in it and in America. Let's maintain our national legislative branch strong and independent.

[News release of January 2, 1945]

SENATOR WILEY URGES MENTAL DISCIPLINE FOR ALLIES

Now is the time for all good citizens of America to come to the aid of our foremost objective—winning this war quickly. Now is the time for us to put first things first and quit indulging in the folly of ally-baiting. Victory in war and the security of the world in peace depend on the Allies demonstrating unity.

The newspaper, the London Economist, has just let loose a blast against the United States. With a chip on its shoulder, blood in its eye, and venom on its tongue, it has made its miserable contribution to the cause of Allied disunity. (In this respect, this newspaper has done only what some of our own newspapers have done.) Now a lot of right-thinking Americans will see red over this British criticism and will let loose a tirade of their own. Then a whole series of recriminations will follow.

Let us put a stop to this incessant bickering with our allies by behaving ourselves here at home and asking our brethren across the seas to mind their manners also. We would not allow generals or privates on the battlefield to start hurling mud at their United Nations comrades in arms. Why, then, should we do this at home or tolerate our allies to do it in their own countries?

Why can't we and our allies practice mental discipline through measures such as these:

1. Consider issues from the other nation's viewpoint before criticizing it. Put ourselves in the other fellow's shoes and feel what is causing his complaint.

2. First find the common ground between ourselves and the Allies and then the contested ground, rather than vice versa. Seek out first the things that unite us rather than divide us, that strengthen the bond between us rather than weaken that bond.

3. When we have found an issue on which there is genuine and honest difference of opinion, discuss it with our allies without prejudice, without hysteria, without breast-beating. Let us give and take rationally, logically, and calmly.

4. Develop poise, not poison, within ourselves, humility not bravado, restraint not rashness, perspective not poor-sightedness.

In these trying war days and in the days ahead when we will seek to make a just and lasting peace, each of us—public officials and citizens alike—must have the stature of great statesmen.

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XII

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of Senators to the Christmas message of His Holiness Pope Pius XII. I particularly urge every Member of the Congress to study it, for, as the Pope rightfully stresses—

A clear appreciation of the purposes assigned by God to every human society, joined

to a deep sense of the exalted duties of social activity, can put those in power in a position to fulfill their own obligations in the legislative, judicial, and executive order with that objectivity, impartiality, loyalty, generosity, and integrity without which a democratic government would find it hard to command the respect and the support of the better section of the people.

The deep sense of the principles underlying a political and social order that is sound and conforms to the norms of right and justice is of special importance in those who in any kind of democratic regime have, as the people's delegates, in whole or part, the power to legislate.

And since the center of gravity of a democracy normally set up resides in this popular assembly from which political currents radiate into every field of public life—for good or ill—the question of the high moral standards, practical ability, and intellectual capacity of parliamentary deputies is for every people living under a democratic regime a question of life and death, of prosperity and decadence, of soundness or perpetual unrest.

LEGISLATORS SHOULD BE CONSCIENTIOUS

To secure effective action, to win esteem and trust, every legislative body should—as experience shows beyond doubt—gather within it a group of select men, spiritually eminent and of strong character, who shall look upon themselves as the representatives of the entire people and not the mandatories of a mob, whose interests are often unfortunately made to prevail over the true needs of the common good—a select group of men not restricted to any profession or social standing but reflecting every phase of the people's life; men chosen for solid Christian convictions, straight and steady judgment, with a sense of the practical and equitable, true to themselves in all circumstances; men of clear and sound principles, with sound and clear-cut proposals to make; men above all capable, in virtue of the authority that emanates from their untarnished consciences and radiates widely from them, to be leaders and heads especially in times when the pressing needs of the moment excite the people's impressionability unduly, and render it more liable to be led astray and get lost; men who—in periods of transition, generally stormy and disturbed by passion, by divergent opinions and opposing programs—feel themselves doubly under the obligation to send circulating through the veins of the people and of the state, burning with a thousand fevers, the spiritual antidote of clear views, kindly interest, a justice equally sympathetic to all, and a bias toward national unity and concord in a sincere spirit of brotherhood.

Members of this body will be interested in the emphasis and importance His Holiness attaches to the role of a legislative body and its membership.

I believe this message of the Pope will rank alongside *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesima Anno* as one of the great social utterances of the Holy See. I hope it will do for the promotion of right thinking with respect to democracy and peace what the two great social encyclicals did for the promotion of intelligent thought with respect to the problems of labor and social policy.

Those who have criticized this message as an utterance of sentimental appeasement should restudy the document, and should be sure that, in criticizing the contents of the message, they do not also criticize some of the fundamental tenets of American democracy.

I ask unanimous consent that the Pope's Christmas message be printed in

the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the message was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The goodness and kindness of God our Saviour appeared. (Epistle to Titus iii: 4.)

For the sixth time since the opening of the dreadful war, the Christmas liturgy again hails with these words, redolent of peaceful serenity, the coming into our midst of God our Saviour.

The humble, mean cradle of Bethlehem, by its wonderful charm, focuses the attention of all believers. Deep into the hearts of those in darkness, affliction, and depression there sinks and pervades a great flood of light and joy.

Heads that were bowed lift again serenely, for Christmas is the feast of human dignity, "the wonderful exchange by which the Creator of the human race, taking a living body, deigned to be born of a Virgin, and by His coming bestowed on us His divinity." (First Antiphon of First Vespers for the Feast of the Circumcision.)

But our gaze turns quickly from the Babe of the crib to the world around us, and the sorrowful sigh of John the Evangelist comes to our lips: "And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it." (John i: 5.)

For alas! for the sixth time the Christmas dawn breaks again on battlefields spreading ever wider, on graveyards where are gathered the remains of victims in ever-increasing numbers, on desert lands where a few tottering towers tell with silent pathos the story of cities once flourishing and prosperous, and where bells fallen or carried off no longer awaken the inhabitants with their jubilant Christmas chimes.

They are so many silent witnesses to denounce this blot on the story of mankind which, deliberately blind to the brilliance of Him who is the splendor and light of the Father, deliberately straying from Christ, has descended and fallen into chaos and into the denial of its own dignity.

Even the little lamp is out in many majestic temples, in many modest chapels, where before the tabernacle it had shared the watches of the Divine Guest over a world asleep. What desolation! What contrast! Can there then be still hope for mankind?

DAWN OF HOPE

Blessed be the Lord. Out from the mournful groans of sorrow, from the very depths of the heart rending anguish of oppressed individuals and countries there arises an aura of hope. To an ever-increasing number of noble souls there comes the thought, the will ever clearer and stronger, to make of this world, this universal upheaval, a starting point for a new era of far-reaching renovation, the complete reorganization of the world.

Thus, while the armed forces continue to engage in murderous battles with weapons ever more deadly, the statesmen, responsible leaders of nations, meet for talks, for conferences to determine the fundamental rights and duties on which should be built a community of states, and to blaze the trail toward a better future, more secure and more worthy of mankind.

A strange paradox this, of a war whose bitterness bids to reach the limits of paroxysm, and of the notable progress made in aspirations and proposals for a solid and lasting peace. Undoubtedly one may well discuss the worth, the feasibility, the efficacy of this or that proposal; judgment may well be suspended in their regard, but it remains nonetheless true that the process has begun.

THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY

Moreover—and this is perhaps the most important point—beneath the sinister lighting of the war that encompasses them, in the blazing heat of the furnace that im-

prisons them, the peoples have, as it were, awakened from a long torpor. They have assumed, in relation to the state and those who govern, a new attitude—one that questions, criticizes, distrusts.

Taught by bitter experience, they are more aggressive in opposing the concentration of dictatorial power, that cannot be censured or touched, and call for a system of government more in keeping with the dignity and liberty of the citizens. These multitudes, uneasy, stirred by the war to their innermost depths, are today firmly convinced—at first perhaps in a vague and confused way but already unyieldingly—that had there been the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public authority, the world would not have been dragged into the vortex of a disastrous war, and that to avoid for the future the repetition of such a catastrophe we must vest efficient guaranties in the people itself.

In such a psychological atmosphere, is it to be wondered at, if the tendency toward democracy in capturing the peoples and winning a large measure of consent and support from those who hope to play a more efficient part in the destinies of individuals and of society?

It is scarcely necessary to recall that, according to the teaching of the church, "it is not forbidden to prefer temperate, popular forms of government, without prejudice, however, to Catholic teaching on the origin and use of authority," and that "the church does not disapprove of any of the various forms of government, provided they be per se capable of securing the good of the citizens." (Leo XIII, Encyclical "Libertas," June 20, 1888.)

If, then, on this feast day which commemorates both the benignity of the Incarnate Word and the dignity of man (both in its personal and social aspects) we direct our attention to the problem of democracy, examining the forms by which it should be directed if it is to be a true, healthy democracy answering the needs of the moment, our action shows clearly that the interest and solicitude of the church looks not so much to its external structure and organization—which depend on the special aspirations of each people—as to the individual himself, who, so far from being the object and, as it were, a merely passive element in the social order, is, in fact, and must be and continue to be, its subject, its foundation, and its end. Given that democracy, taken in the broad sense, admits of various forms, and can be realized in monarchies as well as in republics, two questions come up for our consideration: First, what characteristics should distinguish the men who live under democracy and a democratic regime? Second, what characterization should distinguish the men who hold the reins of government in a democracy?

I. CHARACTERISTICS PROPER TO CITIZENS IN A DEMOCRATIC REGIME

To express his own views of the duties and sacrifices that are imposed on him; not compelled to obey without being heard; these are two rights of the citizen which find in democracy, as its name implies, their expression.

From the solidity, harmony, and good results produced by this between the citizens and the Government one may decide which democracy is really healthy and well balanced, and what is its life energy and power of expansion.

If, then, we consider the extent and nature of the sacrifices demanded of all the citizens, especially in our day when the activity of the state is so vast and decisive, the democratic form of government appears to many as a postulate of nature imposed by reason itself.

When, however, people call for democracy and better democracy, such a demand cannot have any other meaning than to place the

citizen ever more in the position to hold his own personal opinion, to express it and to make it prevail in a fashion conducive to common good.

PEOPLE AND "THE MASSES"

Hence follows a first conclusion with its practical consequence. The state does not contain in itself and does not mechanically bring together in a given territory a shapeless mass of individuals.

It is and should in practice be the organic and organizing unity of a real people. The people and a shapeless multitude (or as it is called "the masses") are two distinct concepts.

The people lives and moves by its own life energy; the masses are inert of themselves and can only be moved from outside. The people lives by the fullness of life in the men that compose it, each of whom—at his proper place and in his own way—is a person conscious of his own responsibility and of his own views.

The masses, on the contrary, wait for the impulse from outside, an easy plaything in the hands of anyone who exploits their instincts and impressions; ready to follow, in turn, today this flag, tomorrow another.

From the exuberant life of a true people, an abundant rich life is diffused in the state and all its organs, instilling into them, with a vigor that is always renewing itself, the consciousness of their own responsibility, the true instinct for the common good.

The elementary power of the masses, deftly managed and employed, the state also can utilize; in the ambitious hands of one or of several who have been artificially brought together for selfish aims, the state itself, with the support of the masses, reduced to the minimum status of a mere machine, can impose its whims on the better part of the real people, the common interest remains seriously and for a long time injured by this process, and the injury is very often hard to heal.

Hence follows clearly another conclusion: the masses, as we have just defined them, are the capital enemy of true democracy and of its ideal of liberty and equality.

In a people worthy of the name the citizen feels within him the consciousness of his personality, of his duties and rights, of his own freedom joined to respect for the freedom and dignity of others.

In a people worthy of the name all inequalities based not on whim but on the nature of things, inequalities of culture, possessions, social standing—without of course prejudice to justice and mutual charity—do not constitute any obstacle to the existence and the prevalence of a true spirit of union and brotherhood.

On the contrary, so far from impairing civil equality in any way, they give it its true meaning, namely, that, before the state, everyone has the right to live honorably his own personal life in the place and under the conditions in which the designs and dispositions of providence have placed him.

As against this picture of the democratic ideal of liberty and equality in a people's government by honest and farseeing men, what a spectacle is that of a democratic state left to the whims of the masses:

Liberty, from being a moral duty of the individual, becomes a tyrannous claim to give free rein to a man's impulses and appetites to the detriment of others.

Equality degenerates to a mechanical level, a colorless uniformity, the sense of true honor, of personal activity, or respect for tradition, of dignity—in a word all that gives life its worth—gradually fades away and disappears.

And the only survivors are, on the one hand, the victims deluded by the specious mirage of democracy, naively taken for the genuine spirit of democracy with its liberty and equality; and on the other the more or less numerous exploiters who have known

how to use the power of money and of organization in order to secure a privileged position above the others, and have gained power.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN HOLDING POWER IN A DEMOCRATIC STATE

The democratic state, whether it be monarchical or republican, should, like any other form of government, be entrusted with the power to command with real and effective authority.

The absolute order itself of beings and purposes, which shows that man is an independent person, namely the subject of inviolable duties and rights, who is the source and end of his own social life, comprises the state also as a necessary society endowed with authority, without which it could neither exist nor live.

And if men, using their personal liberty, were to deny all dependence on a superior authority possessing coercive power, they could by this very fact cut the ground from under their own dignity and liberty, by violating, that is, the absolute order of beings and purposes.

As they are established on this same foundation the person, the State, the Government with their respective rights, are so bound together that they stand or fall together. And since that absolute order, in the light of right, reason, and in particular of the Christian faith, cannot have any other origin than in a personal God, our Creator, it follows that the dignity of man is the dignity of the moral community willed by God; the dignity of political authority is the dignity deriving from its sharing in the authority of God.

No form of State can avoid taking cognizance of this intimate and indissoluble connection—lease of all a democracy. Accordingly, if those in power do not see it, or more or less discount it, their own authority is shaken and social morality and that specious appearance of a purely formal democracy may often serve as a mark for all that is in reality least democratic.

Only a clear appreciation of the purposes assigned by God to every human society, joined to a deep sense of the exalted duties of social activity, can put those in power in a position to fulfill their own obligations in the legislative, judicial, and executive order with that objectivity, impartiality, loyalty, generosity, and integrity without which a democratic government would find it hard to command the respect and the support of the better section of the people.

The deep sense of the principles underlying a political and social order that is sound and conforms to the norms of right and justice is of special importance in those who in any kind of democratic regime have, as the people's delegates, in whole or part, the power to legislate.

And since the center of gravity of a democracy normally set up resides in this popular assembly from which political currents radiate into every field of public life—for good or ill—the question of the high moral standards, practical ability and intellectual capacity of parliamentary deputies is for every people living under a democratic regime a question of life and death, of prosperity and decadence, of soundness or perpetual unrest.

To secure effective action, to win esteem and trust, every legislative body should—as experience shows beyond doubt—gather within it a group of select men, spiritually eminent and of strong character, who shall look upon themselves as the representatives of the entire people and not the mandataries of a mob, whose interests are often unfortunately made to prevail over the true needs of the common good—a select group of men not restricted to any profession or social standing but reflecting every phase of the people's life;

men chosen for their solid Christian convictions, straight and steady judgment, with a sense of the practical and equitable, true to themselves in all circumstances; men of clear and sound principles, with sound and clear-cut proposals to make; men, above all, capable, in virtue of the authority that emanates from their untarnished consciences and radiates widely from them, to be leaders and heads especially in times when the pressing needs of the moment excite the people's impressionability unduly and render it more liable to be led astray and get lost; men who in periods of transition, generally stormy and disturbed by passion, by divergent opinions and opposing programs, feel themselves doubly under the obligation to send circulating through the veins of the people and of the State, burning with a thousand fevers, the spiritual antidote of clear views, kindly interest, a justice equally sympathetic to all and a bias toward national unity and concord in a sincere spirit of brotherhood.

Peoples whose spiritual and moral temperament is sufficiently sound and fecund find it themselves and can produce the heralds and implements of democracy who live in such dispositions and know how effectively to put them into practice.

But where such men are lacking, others come to take their places in order to make politics serve their ambition, and be a quick road to profit for themselves, their caste and their class, while the race after private interests makes them lose sight of completely and jeopardize the true common good.

STATE ABSOLUTISM

A sound democracy, based on the immutable principles of the natural law and revealed truth, will resolutely turn its back on such corruption as gives to the state legislature an unchecked and unlimited power and moreover, makes of the democratic regime, notwithstanding an outward show to the contrary, purely and simply a form of absolutism.

State absolutism (not to be confused, as such, with absolute monarchy, of which we are not treating here) consists in fact in the false principle that the authority of the state is unlimited and that in face of it—even when it gives free rein to its despotic aims, going beyond the confines between good and evil—to appeal to a higher law obliging in conscience is not admitted.

A man penetrated with right ideas about the state and authority and the power that he wields as guardian of social order will never think of derogating the majesty of the positive law within the ambit of its natural competence. But this majesty of positive law is only inviolable when it conforms—or at least is not opposed—to the absolute order set up by the Creator and placed in a new light by the Revelation of the Gospel.

It cannot subsist except insofar as it respects the foundations on which human personality rests, no less, than the state and the government. This is the fundamental criterion of every healthy form of government, including democracy. It is the criterion by which the moral value of every particular law should be judged.

III. NATURE AND CONDITIONS OF AN EFFECTIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT, UNITY OF MANKIND, AND SOCIETY OF PEOPLES

We were anxious, beloved sons and daughters, to take the occasion of Christmas tide to point out along what lines a democracy befitting human dignity can, in harmony with the law of nature and the designs of God as manifested in Revelation, secure happy results. Indeed we are deeply convinced of the supreme importance of this problem for the peaceful progress of mankind.

But we also realize the exalted claims that this form of government makes on the moral maturity of the individual citizen; a moral maturity to which he could never hope to

attain fully and securely if the light from the cave of Bethlehem did not illumine the dark path along which the peoples are going forward through the stormy present toward a future which they hope will be more serene.

But how far will the representatives and pioneers of democracy be inspired in their deliberations by the conviction that the absolute order of beings and purposes, of which we have repeatedly spoken, comprises also, as a moral necessity and the crowning of social development, the unity of mankind and of the family of peoples?

On the recognition of this principle hangs the future of the peace. No world reform, no peace guaranty can abstract from it without being weakened and without being untrue to itself.

If, on the other hand, this same moral necessity were to find its realization in a society of peoples which succeeded in eliminating the structural defects and shortcomings of former systems, then the majesty of that order would regulate and inspire equally the deliberations of that society and the use of its instruments of sanction.

For this reason, too, one understands why the authority of such a society must be real and effective over the member states, in suchwise, however, that each of them retains an equal right to its own sovereignty. Only thus will the spirit of sane democracy be able to pervade the vast and thorny ground of foreign relations.

AGAINST WARS OF AGGRESSION AS SOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

There is a duty, besides, imposed on all, a duty which brooks no delay, no procrastination, no hesitation, no subterfuge: it is the duty to do everything to ban once and for all wars of aggression as legitimate solution of international disputes and as a means toward realizing national aspirations.

Many attempts in this direction have been seen in the past. They all failed. And they will all fail always, until the saner section of mankind has the firm determination, the holy obstinacy, like an obligation in conscience, to fulfill the mission which past ages have not undertaken with sufficient gravity and resolution.

If ever a generation has had to appreciate in the depths of its conscience the call: "War on war," it is certainly the present generation.

Having passed, as it has, through an ocean of blood and tears in a form perhaps never experienced in past ages, it has lived through the indescribable atrocities with an intensity such that the recollection of so many horrors must remain stamped in its memory, and even in the deepest recesses of its soul, like a picture of a hell against which anyone who cherishes a sense of humanity desires more than anything else to close the door forever.

FORMATION OF A COMMON MEANS TO MAINTAIN PEACE

The decisions already published by international commissions permit one to conclude that an essential point in any future international arrangement would be the formation of an organ for the maintenance of peace, of an organ invested by common consent with supreme power to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat of isolated or collective aggression.

No one could hail this development with greater joy than he who has long upheld the principle that the idea of war as an apt and proportionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date.

MONSTROUS MEANS OF CONDUCTING HOSTILITIES

No one could wish success to this common effort, to be undertaken with a seriousness of purpose never before known, with greater enthusiasm than he who has conscientiously striven to make the Christian and religious

mentality reject modern war, with its monstrous means of conducting hostilities.

Unquestionably the progress of man's inventions, which should have heralded the realization of greater well-being for all mankind, has instead been employed to destroy all that had been built up through the ages.

But by that very fact the immorality of the war of aggression has been made ever more evident. And if now, to the recognition of this immorality there is to be added the threat of a judicial intervention by the nations and of chastisement inflicted on the aggressor by the society of states, so that war will always be subject to the stigma of proscription, always under surveillance and liable to preventive measures, then mankind, as it emerges from the dark night in which it has been so long submerged, will be able to hail the dawn of a new and better era of its history.

ITS CONSTITUTION EXCLUDING UNJUST IMPOSITION

But only on one condition, namely, that the peace settlement which should be strengthened and made more stable by mutual guaranties and, where necessary, economic sanctions, and even armed intervention, should not give definite countenance to any injustice, does not imply any derogation of any right to the detriment of any nation (whether it be on the side of the victors, the vanquished, or the neutrals), and does not impose any perpetual burden which can only be allowed for a time as reparation for war damage.

That any people to whose government—or perhaps even partially to themselves—the responsibility for the war is attributed should have for a time to undergo the rigors of security measures until the bonds of mutual trust, violently broken, should be gradually welded together again is quite understandable from a human point of view, and in practice will in all probability be inevitable.

Nevertheless, even these peoples must have a well-founded hope, commensurate to their effective collaboration in the work of reconstruction, of being able, together with the other states, with equal consideration and with the same rights, to be associated with the great community of nations.

To deny them that hope would be the reverse of far-seeing wisdom; it would be to assume the grave responsibility of barring the way to a general liberation from all the disastrous consequences—material, moral, and political—of the gigantic cataclysm which has shaken the poor human family to its very foundations, but which, at the same time, has shown it the road to new goals.

THE STERN LESSONS OF SUFFERING

We will not renounce our confidence that the peoples who have all passed through the school of suffering will be able to retain the stern lessons learned.

And in this hope we are strengthened by the words of men who have had a greater share in the sufferings of the war and who have found generous words to express, together with the insistence on their own need of security against any future aggression, their respect for the vital rights of other peoples, and their aversion to any usurping of those rights.

It would be vain to expect that this sage judgment, dictated by the experience of history and a high political sense should be—while men's spirits are still burning white-hot—generally accepted by public opinion, or even by the majority.

Hatred and the impossibility of mutual understanding have given rise in peoples that have fought against each other to a mist too dense to hope that the hour has already come when a ray of light may shine out to clear the tragic panorama on either side of its dark wall.

But one thing we know: That the moment will come, perhaps sooner than the people

think, when both sides realize that, all things considered, there is only one way of getting out of the meshes in which war and hate have wrapped the world, namely, a return to the solidarity, too long forgotten, a solidarity not restricted to these or those peoples, but universal, founded on the intimate connection of their destiny and rights which belong equally to both.

THE PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES

No one certainly thinks of disarming justice in its relations to those who have exploited the war situation in order to commit real and proved crimes against the common law, and for whom supposed military necessity could at most have offered a pretext, but never a justification.

But if justice presumed to judge and punish not merely individuals but even whole communities together, who could not see in such a procedure a violation of the norms which guide every human trial?

IV. THE CHURCH AS GUARDIAN OF MAN'S TRUE DIGNITY AND LIBERTY

At a time when the peoples find themselves with duties such as perhaps they have never met before in the course of their history, they feel deeply in their tortured hearts the desire, impatient and almost instinctive, to take the reins of their destiny in their own hands with more independence than heretofore, hoping that thus they will find it easier to defend themselves from the periodic invasions of violence which, like a boiling lava torrent, spares nothing of all that they hold sacred and dear.

Thank God, one may believe the time has passed when the call to moral and gospel principles to guide the life of states and peoples was disdainfully thrust aside as unreal.

The events of these war years have given ample evidence to confute, in a harder way than one could ever have imagined, those who spread such doctrines.

The disdain that they affected toward this supposed unreality has been changed into stark reality: brutality, iniquity, destruction, annihilation.

If the future is to belong to democracy, an essential part in its achievement will have to belong to the religion of Christ and to the church, the messenger of our Redeemer's word which is to continue His mission of saving men. For she teaches and defends supernatural truths and communicates the supernatural helps of grace in order to actuate the divinely established order of beings and ends which is the ultimate foundation and directive norm of every democracy.

By her very existence the church rises before the world as a shining beacon to remind it constantly of that divine order. Her history reflects clearly her providential mission. The struggles, which coerced by the abuse of power, she has had to sustain in defense of the liberty given her by God, were at the same time struggles for man's true liberty.

The church has the mission to announce to the world, which is looking for better and more perfect forms of democracy, the highest and most needed message that there can be: The dignity of man, the call to be sons of God. It is the powerful cry, which from the manger of Bethlehem to the farthest confines of the earth resounds in the ears of men at a time when that dignity is tragically low.

The holy story of Christmas proclaims this inviolable dignity of man with a vigor and authority that cannot be gainsaid—an authority and vigor that infinitely transcends that which all possible declarations of the rights of man could achieve.

Christmas, the great feast of the Son of God who appeared in human flesh, the feast in which Heaven stoops down to earth with ineffable grace and benevolence, is also the

day on which Christianity and mankind, before the crib, contemplating the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour, become more deeply conscious of the intimate unity that God has established between them.

The birth of the Saviour of the world, of the restorer of human dignity in all its fullness, is the moment characterized by the alliance of all men of good will. There to the poor world torn by discord, divided by selfishness, poisoned by hate, love will be restored, and it will be allowed to march forward in cordial harmony, toward the common goal, to find at last the cure for its wounds in the peace of Christ.

V. CRUSADE FOR CHARITY

We do not want to close this Christmas message without addressing a word of heartfelt gratitude to all those—states, governments, bishops, and peoples—who at this time of untold misfortunes have lent us valiant aid as we hearken to the cry of suffering which reaches us from so many parts of the world and give a helping hand to so many of our beloved sons and daughters whom the misfortunes of war have reduced to extreme poverty and misery.

And in the first place it is but just to record the immense work of assistance achieved in spite of the extraordinary difficulties of transport, by the United States of America and, with regard to Italy in particular, by his excellency the personal representative of the President of the Union.

It is a pleasure for us to express equal praise and gratitude for the generosity of the head of the state, the Government and people of Spain, and the Governments of Ireland, Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Italy, Lithuania, Peru, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Hungary, and Uruguay who have vied with one another in noble rivalry of brotherly love and charity, of which the echo will not resound in vain through the world.

While men of good will are endeavoring to bridge the gulf and bring the peoples together, this purely disinterested act of charity assumes an aspect and a value of unique importance.

When—as we all wish—the dissonance of hate and discord that dominates the present moment will be but a tragic memory, the good effects of this victory of active and magnanimous charity over the poison of selfishness and enmity will ripen into even a larger harvest of good.

May all who have had a share in this crusade of charity receive as an incentive and a token of gratitude our apostolic benediction and the thought that on the feast of love from numberless hearts in anguish, but not forgetful in their anguish, there rises to heaven the grateful prayer for them: Deign to reward, O Lord, all those who do good to us for your name's sake with eternal life!

ADMINISTRATION OF OATH

Mr. TRUMAN. Mr. President, my new colleague, Gov. FORREST C. DONNELL, is now present and is ready to take the oath of office as a Senator from Missouri.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the Senator-elect will present himself at the desk, the oath will be administered to him.

Mr. DONNELL, escorted by Mr. TRUMAN, advanced to the Vice President's desk, and the oath of office prescribed by law was administered to him by the Vice President.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, the time has come for the Senate to clarify its views, in the interest of national unity, on a strong, effective foreign policy.

The Senate should adopt a resolution embodying a clear minimum statement of principles to which every Senator can subscribe who believes enduring peace depends on teamwork.

I have drafted such a resolution, but I am withholding it from formal presentation pending conference with some of my colleagues, in the hope that they will join me in presenting and supporting it.

I shall welcome support and sponsorship from both sides of the aisle for this proposed Senate resolution:

Be it resolved, That the Senate of the United States, exercising its right and responsibility under the Constitution to advise the President in treaty-making regarding foreign policy; and

Fearing that a third world war would mean the destruction of civilization and freedom everywhere; and

Believing that a strong, clear, and unified United States foreign policy is a practical imperative for the molding of an enduring peace, does hereby declare:

1. That the United States favors the formation, at the earliest possible moment, of a United Nations organization, along the lines tentatively drafted at Dumbarton Oaks.

2. That the United States is prepared to accept its share of responsibility, to the use of force if necessary, to act within the framework of such an organization to keep the peace and prevent aggression.

3. That the United States stands unreservedly on its historic American principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter, and intends to do its utmost to bring about the application of such principles throughout the world.

4. That the United States will formulate its post-war policies along diplomatic and economic lines which will exert its full influence toward universal application of these principles.

5. Pending final ratification by treaty of a permanent United Nations organization, the United States favors the immediate formation of a United Nations Council to supervise, when necessary, the life of liberated territories until stable governments can be set up by the free choice of the people involved, and to deal with other diplomatic and political issues that may arise and cannot wait until a permanent United Nations organization can be formally ratified.

Mr. President, the hope for an enduring peace will stand or fall, depending on whether the people of the peace-loving nations of the world can find a channel through which they can merge their desires and their efforts to prevent future wars. That channel must be an international organization. It must be an organization established and operating on a basis that is practical and realistic. It must also have its roots deep in the principles of justice and freedom and decency that motivate men of good will in all countries.

The United States of America must take the lead if we are not to run the grave risk that the hopes of preventing a third World War are to crumble away within our grasp. The United States must obviously have a foreign policy of its own, etched so clearly that no one—no one in this country and no one in any other country—can misunderstand it; a foreign policy which has as its aims, first, to win the war, and, second, to set up an enduring peace. To further these aims, our foreign policy should embody a program to set up, at the earliest possible moment, a United Nations organization,

to pledge that we will, this time, accept and carry out our share of the responsibility for enforcing that peace, to do our utmost to bring about the application throughout the world of the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and to serve notice on other nations that those who are to receive the full post-war economic collaboration of the United States must live up to those principles to a reasonable degree.

Foreign policy is the joint responsibility of the President of the United States and the Senate. It is the responsibility of the President, so far as major treaty-making decisions are concerned, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate.

Those who drafted the Constitution of the United States did not limit the Senate's part in this picture to a veto power. They imposed on the Senate also the solemn responsibility to advise the President as to his course. In recent years that responsibility has not, in my opinion, adequately been met.

The Senate, of course, cannot approve a treaty before it is presented or even written. And without the advice of the Senate, the President cannot give assurances that the treaty he is negotiating will be acceptable to the Senate. Is this constitutional division of powers, then, to be an excuse for other nations to say they are forced to return to the old power-politics, spheres-of-influence way of doing business which has always in the end led to war, and which if it leads to another great war may lead to the end of freedoms and even civilization itself?

I do not think there is any need for this to happen. But if we here are to be certain it will not happen through any fault of ours, then we must exercise full responsibility under the Constitution—not only half of our responsibility to consent or refuse to consent by a two-thirds vote after the President has negotiated a treaty, but the other half also, to advise the President, in broad but specific terms, what the Senate of the United States believes our foreign policy should be.

We should discharge our responsibility under the Constitution, clarify our position beyond doubt, as specifically and plainly as is now possible, and then call on the President to discharge his.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. The remarks made by the distinguished Senator from Michigan lead me to wonder if he does not think that from the standpoint of collaboration and obtaining results on the home front as well as the international front, it would be a very good thing for the President of the United States to select one or more members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate to accompany him when he participates in conferences with representatives of other nations?

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I think that would be wisdom. However, in the past on similar invitation Members of the Senate have declined to go. I think in a few cases there have been resignations of Members of Congress in

order that they might fill positions to deal with foreign relations.

Mr. WILEY. The Senator has in mind that Members of Congress have resigned so as to act as plenipotentiaries?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Mr. WILEY. That was not my question, Mr. President. My question related to preliminary meetings, where preliminary understandings are had. In view of the fact that we have heard much talk about the lack of collaboration between the Senate and the President, it occurred to me that it would be a very wise thing if the Chief Executive should see fit to take as members of his delegation say, for instance, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and probably a Republican member of the committee.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I should like to answer that question by saying that, in my judgment, cooperation between the President and the Senate cannot be too close. Anything that will result in advising the Senate as to what is going on, and anything that will result in advising the President as to what the Senate believes should be done, should be effected at an early date, so that there may be unity back of our foreign policy. The people, as was said in the President's message to Congress on last Saturday, must get back of the war which we are now fighting and back of the peace which will come, and the people, speaking through not only the Senate but through the President, should have an opportunity to say what they desire the foreign policy of America to be.

REFERENCE OF EXECUTIVE MESSAGES

Mr. BARKLEY. As in executive session, I ask for the present consideration of the resolution which I now send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That on calendar days of the present session of Congress when no executive session is held, nominations or treaties received from the President of the United States may, where no objection is interposed, be referred, as in executive session, to the appropriate committees by the Presiding Officer of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? The Chair hears none, and without objection, the resolution is agreed to.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LUCAS in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations (and withdrawing an international agreement), which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

WITHDRAWAL BY THE PRESIDENT OF AGREEMENT ON PETROLEUM

As in executive session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which

was read and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

To the Senate of the United States:

Pursuant to the recommendation of the Secretary of State, on August 24, 1944, I transmitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification an agreement on petroleum between the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which was signed in Washington on August 8, 1944.

At that time I considered that the agreement constituted an important step forward in removing possible causes of friction in international trade in petroleum and promoting cooperation among the nations in the development of that trade. I have not changed my opinion in this respect. However, I am informed that fears have been expressed as to the scope and effect of the document, as now worded; some voicing concern lest it authorize acts by the petroleum industry inconsistent with the provisions of existing law, others lest it hold potentialities harmful to the industry. It is my belief that these fears are without foundation. Certainly no such possibilities were intended or designed by the American representatives who negotiated the agreement.

Since there is general accord that an understanding on international trade in petroleum between the United States and the United Kingdom is desirable and in the public interest, it would be unfortunate if this should be delayed, if not prevented, through a misunderstanding as to the purpose and scope of a particular document.

The Secretary of State, accordingly, has recommended that I request the Senate to return the agreement in order that consideration may be given, in consultation with the Government of the United Kingdom, to whatever revision appears to be necessary to achieve its objectives and to remove grounds for misunderstanding. I, therefore, request that the agreement be returned for this purpose.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.
THE WHITE HOUSE, January 10, 1945.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM—
ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, as the Senate knows, there is no legislative business on the Senate calendar, and there may not be any on the calendar for a number of days. We cannot anticipate how long it will be before committees begin to function and report legislation. Until that happens there is no legislative business the Senate can dispose of. Therefore it is my purpose to move that the Senate adjourn until tomorrow, and from tomorrow until Monday. How long the situation justifying 3-day adjournments will continue I cannot say. I make the statement so that Senators may know that so far as I can tell there will be no legislative business this week at least and until the calendar has legislative business upon it resulting from reports of committees.

Therefore, if there is nothing further, I move that the Senate adjourn until noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 26 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 11, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate January 10, 1945:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Adolf A. Berle, Jr., of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Brazil.

Robert L. Buell, of New York, now a Foreign Service officer of class 6 and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a consul general of the United States of America.

Walworth Barbour, of Massachusetts, now a Foreign Service officer of class 6 and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a consul of the United States of America.

UNITED STATES MARSHAL

Reed Sharp, of Tennessee, to be United States marshal for the middle district of Tennessee. Mr. Sharp is now serving in this office under an appointment which expired February 12, 1944.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYEES' COMPENSATION COMMISSION

Hattie W. Caraway, of Arkansas, to be a member of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission for the unexpired term of 6 years from March 15, 1943. (Vice John J. Keegan, deceased.)

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

Nigel D. Campbell, of Chicago, Ill., to be collector of internal revenue for the first district of Illinois, to which office he was appointed during the last recess of the Senate.

COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS

Ross E. Brown, of Holland, N. Y., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 9, with headquarters at Buffalo, N. Y., to fill an existing vacancy.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named officers for appointment and promotion in the Regular Corps of the United States Public Health Service:

To be assistant surgeons effective date of oath of office:

George P. Hand, Jr.
James L. Hart

Assistant surgeons to be passed assistant surgeons effective dates indicated:

John F. Flynn, Jr., January 17, 1945.
William D. Hazlehurst, January 29, 1945.
Robert T. Potter, December 15, 1944.
Edward W. Kunckel, January 19, 1945.
Selwyn H. Drummond, July 1, 1944.
John W. O'Donnell, July 10, 1944.

Passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons effective dates indicated:

Bert R. Boone, November 16, 1944.
Michael J. Pescor, November 1, 1944.
Don S. Cameron, November 16, 1944.
Ralph R. Braund, September 1, 1944.
Surgeon to be senior surgeon effective July 6, 1944:

Fletcher C. Stewart.
Assistant surgeon to be temporary passed assistant surgeon effective December 1, 1944:

Arthur Kornberg.
Surgeons to be temporary senior surgeons effective December 1, 1944:

Ralph R. Braund
Francis J. Weber

Leslie McC. Smith
Passed assistant surgeons to be temporary surgeons effective December 1, 1944:

Esta R. Allen
John D. Porterfield

William B. Hoover
Jack C. Haldeman

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Blynn T. Shafer, of Ohio, for appointment as Assistant Chief, Research and Statistics Division, Selective Service System, under the provisions of section 10 (a) (3) of the Selec-

tive Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended. The compensation to be paid Mr. Shafer will be \$5,600 per annum.

Angus J. Gallagher, of Ohio, for appointment as administrative officer in the Selective Service System, under the provisions of section 10 (a) (3) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended. The compensation to be paid Mr. Gallagher will be \$6,500 per annum.

APPOINTMENT IN THE REGULAR ARMY

TO BE FIRST LIEUTENANT, MEDICAL CORPS, WITH RANK FROM AUGUST 26, 1944

Capt. Victor Bradley Vare, Jr., Army of the United States.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE NAVY

Chaplain Robert D. Workman, United States Navy, to have the rank of Rear Admiral in the Navy, while serving as Chief of Chaplains under the Chief of Naval Personnel.

Rear Admiral George F. Hussey, Jr., United States Navy, to be a rear admiral in the Navy, for temporary service, to rank from the 22d day of January 1943.

Rear Admiral Willard A. Kitts 3d, United States Navy, to be a rear admiral in the Navy, for temporary service, to rank from the 25th day of January 1943.

Capt. James D. Boyle, Supply Corps, United States Navy, to be a pay director with the rank of rear admiral in the Navy, for temporary service, to rank from the 18th day of April 1943.

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ALABAMA

D. Luther Yarbrough, Athens, Ala., in place of C. W. Sarver, deceased.
Sadie B. Thomas, Citronelle, Ala., in place of M. S. Jefferies, resigned.

ARIZONA

Lena M. Morrell, Florence, Ariz., in place of N. E. Guild, retired.

ARKANSAS

Grace V. Webb, Plumerville, Ark. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.

CALIFORNIA

Eugene L. Graffenstein, Di Giorgio, Calif. Office became Presidential October 1, 1944.

Charles A. Miller, Gridley, Calif., in place of C. R. Pierce, deceased.

Manuel C. Joseph, Irvington, Calif., in place of M. C. Joseph. Incumbent's commission expired June 2, 1940.

William Lais, Perkins, Calif. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

Joseph Venolia, Spadra, Calif. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

COLORADO

Ruby H. Schroeder, Gypsum, Colo., in place of E. M. Stanley, resigned.

Edward Termer, Sugar City, Colo., in place of L. F. Houston, transferred.

CONNECTICUT

John J. Shea, Colchester, Conn., in place of J. M. Clifford, deceased.

FLORIDA

George C. G. Hopkins, St. Augustine, Fla., in place of O. P. Goode, deceased.

GEORGIA

Grady Richardson, Donaldsonville, Ga., in place of H. C. Cherry, removed.

ILLINOIS

James L. Westfall, Crossville, Ill., in place of H. O. Given, transferred.

Kenneth A. Elmore, Quincy, Ill., in place of H. J. Swope, deceased.

INDIANA

Esther Wolford, Linton, Ind., in place of C. L. Wolford, deceased.

IOWA

William F. Hulburt, Dow City, Iowa, in place of J. L. Buss, transferred.
Walter H. Peters, Ireton, Iowa, in place of John Moeller, transferred.
Florence Goss, Lawler, Iowa, in place of D. P. O'Connor, retired.
Jeneva G. Parker, McIntire, Iowa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.

KANSAS

Reuben J. Wilhelm, Bazine, Kans., in place of Carey Olson, transferred.
Harold V. Luginbill, Greensburg, Kans., in place of Frank Barker, deceased.
Joseph Lillard Johnson, Osawatomie, Kans., in place of M. V. Dunlap, retired.
Wade H. McDowell, Paola, Kans., in place of J. W. Sheridan, deceased.
Gordon Alvis, Seneca, Kans., in place of W. L. Kauffman, resigned.
Charles S. Smith, Westmoreland, Kans., in place of W. D. McKimens, transferred.

KENTUCKY

J. Logan Warren, McHenry, Ky., in place of E. E. Warren, deceased.
Henry B. Rappolee, Smithland, Ky., in place of C. L. Hollingsworth, deceased.

LOUISIANA

Esther B. Dunn, Slaughter, La. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Leola B. Parrino, Westwego, La., in place of I. A. Currault, resigned.

MAINE

Susie O. Carver, Beals, Maine. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Lucy E. Wilson, Gray, Maine, in place of E. F. Wilson, deceased.
Albert H. Butterfield, Standish, Maine. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
William P. MacDonald, Vassalboro, Maine. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

MICHIGAN

Emma Keating, Allen, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Marie L. Mottes, Alpha, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Ernest E. Hawes, Applegate, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Alice M. Bishop, Bannister, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Coral D. Porter, Bath, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Mary L. Myers, Berrien Center, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Henry H. Sibole, Breedsville, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Gunile Heldmann, Chatham, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Dell Merry, Clarklake, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Henry J. Stein, Clinton, Mich., in place of Livingstone Latham, resigned.
Clara M. Bevier, Flat Rock, Mich., in place of L. M. Griffith, removed.
Thomas J. Kaufman, Hubbell, Mich., in place of P. J. Scanlan, retired.
William J. Wheeler, Walled Lake, Mich., in place of R. J. Tuttle, resigned.

MINNESOTA

Peter E. Kopacek, Danube, Minn., in place of O. H. J. Zorn, transferred.
Peter C. Gravel, Onamia, Minn., in place of C. E. Gravel, removed.

MISSISSIPPI

Leonard B. Robinson, Moss Point, Miss., in place of W. M. Alexander, resigned.

MISSOURI

Ruth C. Fossett, Mount Vernon, Mo., in place of Robert Stemmons, resigned.

NEBRASKA

Hazel L. Porter, Eagle, Nebr. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.
Albin E. Rodine, Stromsburg, Nebr., in place of A. E. Rodine. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Gould S. Richmond, Orford, N. H. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.

NEW JERSEY

Mabel F. McGrath, Paulsboro, N. J., in place of J. F. Dempsey, transferred.

NEW YORK

Elliott McClung, Campbell Hall, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Naomi C. S. Garritt, Cragmoor, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Albert W. Rogers, Franklinville, N. Y., in place of J. J. McClory, resigned.
Charles Riccardi, Glasco, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Mildred E. Kraack, Lake Huntington, N. Y., in place of B. D. Calkin, deceased.
C. Everett Scott, Morristown, N. Y., in place of G. H. Bogardus, transferred.
Patrick K. Fleming, Plattkill, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Ralph A. Varney, Schuylerville, N. Y., in place of D. J. Falvey, deceased.
Belle Ernes, Selden, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.
Katherine C. Slattery, Trudeau, N. Y., in place of R. J. Slattery, deceased.

NORTH CAROLINA

Allie Graham Carr, Watha, N. C. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

OHIO

Richard Brooks, Eradford, Ohio, in place of Fred Durr, transferred.
John W. Martin, Cadiz, Ohio, in place of S. F. Dickerson, deceased.
Josephine A. Ginn, Jacksonville, Ohio. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Vera E. Schaller, Jenera, Ohio. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Elizabeth C. Brown, North Madison, Ohio. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.
Alta O. Sharp, Pleasant Plain, Ohio. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Flora W. Brown, Smithville, Ohio, in place of C. W. Gerig, removed.

OKLAHOMA

Walter W. Hunter, Checotah, Okla., in place of J. W. King, resigned.
Hester E. Hathaway, Grant, Okla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Juanita I. Taylor, Marland, Okla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
William M. Etter, Oktaha, Okla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Sarah L. Stanton, Putnam, Okla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Oda Smith, Reed, Okla. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

PENNSYLVANIA

Stewart A. Heffley, Boswell, Pa., in place of S. A. Heffley. Incumbent's commission expired April 9, 1940.
Jessie D. Houck, Cairnbrook, Pa., in place of G. H. Houck. Incumbent's commission expired December 9, 1941.
Clifford F. Steinmetz, Catasauqua, Pa., in place of S. H. Hauser, removed.
Elizabeth A. McBride, Centerville, Pa., in place of A. D. Boyle, removed.
Margaret E. Walsh, Lopez, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Joseph Doyle, Mildred, Pa., in place of G. C. McMahon, resigned.
Myrtus P. Spangenberg, Waymart, Pa., in place of M. L. McMahon, declined.
William A. Thompson, Waynesboro, Pa., in place of A. R. Warner, resigned.
Morris A. Shaffer, Windber, Pa., in place of O. J. Shank. Incumbent's commission expired June 18, 1938.

RHODE ISLAND

Walter Joseph Allaire, Esmond, R. I., in place of R. H. Chapman. Incumbent's commission expired August 21, 1939.

TEXAS

Maggie M. Burkett, Andrews, Tex., in place of E. W. Burkett, deceased.

Jennie Joe Barnett, Paradise, Tex. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Bertha K. Martin, Tatum, Tex., in place of F. W. Scott, transferred.

UTAH

Emma M. Russell, Roy, Utah. Office became Presidential July 1, 1943.

VERMONT

Frank H. Duffy, Jr., Rutland, Vt., in place of H. C. Brislin, resigned.

VIRGINIA

Mabel C. Crockett, Bishop, Va., in place of B. B. Turley, resigned.
Emma P. Heath, Esmont, Va. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
Lulu L. Griffiths, Midway Island, Va. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

WEST VIRGINIA

Ruth E. Thornton, War, W. Va., in place of W. H. Johnson, retired.

WISCONSIN

Erwin E. Wiffler, Arcadia, Wis., in place of Albert Hess, retired.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1945

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.
The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Love Divine, an ever-present Helper, we are moved by Thy most gracious mercies and by the precious promises of Thy Holy Word. We pray that we may be willing to lose our lives for some truth, for some benevolence, and for some duty that will lift us nearer to our God. Grant that the things of this world which seduce, which suppress and distress shall be done away and men shall carry the sacred flame in their breasts, full of zeal which defies tyrants, dares armies, and sets nations free.

We breathe a prayer for those who are never applauded, for those quiet workers in office, shop, field, and mine; for those silent mothers whose names seldom fall on the ears of men. The happiness and security of the world are dependent upon these uncalendared hosts. O teach us to know the absolute value of human life in the common ways of this world; its simplicity and sincerity call for loud praise and gratitude, shielding us from those ordeals and tragedies which have shipwrecked nations and men of old. Dear Lord, may we be unified, may our conduct show forth the rule of Jesus. We rejoice that our Father's house is large enough for knowledge, friendship, and liberty for all. In the name of Him who taught men to pray. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER

Mr. TRIMBLE appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an article by Mr. Justice Byrnes on the subject of streamlining Congress. This article exceeds the space in the RECORD