



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 80<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

## SENATE

MONDAY, MARCH 31, 1947

(*Legislative day of Monday, March 24, 1947*)

The Senate met, in executive session, at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Peter Marshall, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, as we seek Thy blessing, remind us that we cannot deceive Thee, though we may deceive ourselves. We dare not devise our own plans and draft our own schemes and then have the nerve to ask Thee to bless them, for we know that there are some things Thou wilt not and cannot bless. And unless Thy blessing accompanies what we do here, we waste our time. So guide us in what we propose, so that Thou canst bless us in what we produce. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. WHITE, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the legislative proceedings of Friday, March 28, 1947, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF JOINT RESOLUTION

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. MILLER, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on March 28, 1947, the President had approved and signed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 27) amending the Settlement of Mexican Claims Act of 1942 to provide for the consideration of any claim decided by the General Claims Commission in which the United States filed a petition for rehearing.

### TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the unanimous-consent agreement of Friday last, the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] has the floor on the question of the confirmation of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield for the transaction of routine business.

By unanimous consent, as in legislative session, the following routine business was transacted:

### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED DURING RECESS

Under authority of the order of March 28, 1947,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore, on March 29, 1947, signed the enrolled bill

(S. 918) to establish an Office of Selective Service Records to liquidate the Selective Service System following the termination of its functions on March 31, 1947, and to preserve and service the selective-service records, and for other purposes, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

### PRICE OF COPIES OF RECORDS FURNISHED BY DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

A letter from the Under Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 1 of the act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. 497; 5 U. S. C., sec. 488) fixing the price of copies of records furnished by the Department of the Interior (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Public Lands.

### CREDIT OPERATIONS ON LOANS MADE TO INDIAN CHARTERED CORPORATIONS

A letter from the Under Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report showing credit operations through June 30, 1946, on loans made to Indian chartered corporations for the purpose of promoting the economic development of such tribes and of their members (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Public Lands.

### IMPROVEMENT OF POULTRY, POULTRY PRODUCTS, AND HATCHERIES

A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 101 (b) of the Department of Agriculture Organic Act of 1944 (7 U. S. C., Supp. V, 429) authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with State authorities in the administration of regulations for the improvement of poultry, poultry products, and hatcheries (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

### NOVEMBER 1946 REPORT OF RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

A letter from the Chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Corporation for the month of November 1946 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A resolution of the Legislature of the State of New York; to the Committee on Public Lands:

Whereas legislation known as the Hill-Taylor bill has been introduced in the Congress of the United States proposing the establishment of additional national cemeteries in each of the several States; and

Whereas previous study of such a proposal made by the Quartermaster General, Army Service Forces, has resulted in the recommendation that a national cemetery

be established in the capital district of the State of New York; and

Whereas the territory embraced in such capital district contains a population of nearly a million two hundred thousand inhabitants; and

Whereas the city of Troy, N. Y., with its rich historical background, its ideal location in the beautiful foothills of the Adirondacks, its easy accessibility by rail, water, and air makes it an ideal site; and

Whereas such city of Troy, N. Y., was the home of two Congressional Medal of Honor awardees, Lt. Col. William J. O'Brien and Sgt. Thomas A. Baker, both of whom paid the supreme sacrifice on Saipan Island; and

Whereas the origin of the cognomen 'Uncle Sam' by which the United States of America is affectionately known throughout the world, is attributed to the city of Troy, N. Y.; and

Whereas the several national veterans' organizations, including among others, the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled Veterans of America, the Cootie Club, the Jewish War Veterans, and the Military Order of the Purple Heart, through their New York State departments, have endorsed the city of Troy, N. Y., as a site for a national cemetery: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved (if the senate concur).* That the Legislature of the State of New York hereby respectfully requests the Congress of the United States to give favorable consideration to the legislation heretofore designated as the Hill-Taylor bill or the embodying provisions thereof and to adopt the same without delay and give to the city of Troy, N. Y., favorable consideration as a proposed site for a national cemetery; and be it further

*Resolved (if the senate concur).* That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States and to each Member of the Congress from the State of New York."

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Senate Joint Memorial 4

*To the Honorable Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:*

"We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent and petition as follows:

"Whereas there is urgent need for the establishment of a Federal institution for the training of diplomats, economic advisers, and military attachés in the Foreign Service of the United States, to the end that the representatives abroad of the United States may be prepared to meet the responsibilities of their offices; and

"Whereas the Honorable LOWELL STOCKMAN has introduced into the House of Representatives H. R. 1770, which provides for the establishment and maintenance of an academy for the instruction and training of students in the theory and practices of international and diplomatic relations, to be known as the United States Foreign Service Academy; and

"Whereas the enactment of H. R. 1770 will meet this Nation's growing and obvious need for the training of personnel in its Foreign Service: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Senate of the State of Oregon (the House of Representatives jointly concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States be and it hereby is memorialized to enact H. R. 1770, to the end that an academy may be established for the training of personnel in the Foreign Service of the United States; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Oregon be and he hereby is directed to send a copy of this memorial to the President of the United States, to the President and the Chief Clerk of the United States Senate, to the Speaker and the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Oregon."*

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the State of California; to the Committee on Public Lands:

**"House Resolution 36**

"Resolution relative to memorializing Congress to enact legislation authorizing the completion of the San Diego aqueduct with Government funds

"Whereas the city of San Diego, which normally has a 10-year water supply on hand, now has only a 9 months' supply of such water, due to the tremendous diversion of water from its water supply in past months to the military and naval bases in the area; and

"Whereas in 1944 the United States Navy undertook to increase the water supply of the city of San Diego by the construction of an aqueduct running from the San Jacinto Reservoir to the San Vicente Reservoir but was forced to cancel the construction contracts at the end of the war due to slashes in the budget of the Navy Department: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Assembly of the State of California, That the Congress of the United States be memorialized and requested to pass legislation authorizing the completion of the San Diego aqueduct project with Government funds; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."*

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Armed Services:

**"Assembly Joint Resolution 6**

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing Congress to grant to the State of California acreage in the Presidio of San Francisco for establishing the new San Francisco State College

"Whereas it is of the utmost importance that a new San Francisco State College be established in the San Francisco metropolitan area, for the primary purpose of training teachers and offering educational opportunities to veterans; and

"Whereas the housing shortage has made it impossible to acquire buildings within which to house such an educational institution, nor is there available any publicly or privately owned land upon which necessary buildings could be erected; and

"Whereas the present need to establish a new San Francisco State College is based upon facts which affect the welfare of the entire State. More school facilities are needed in order to grant to veterans the education to which they are entitled. More school facilities are needed to train additional teachers,

so as to meet the critical need for more trained teachers in California.

"San Francisco is the center, geographically, and from the point of ease of transportation to and from the city, for a large, closely populated section of the State of California; and

"Whereas the State of California is ready to establish a new San Francisco State College to meet these needs, if land is made available for that purpose; and

"Whereas there is acreage in the Presidio of San Francisco, which would appear not to be essential to the Federal uses of the Presidio, and which would be most appropriate as the site for the new San Francisco State College: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That Congress is hereby respectfully memorialized to take whatever action is necessary to grant to the State of California sufficient acreage in the Presidio of San Francisco for the establishment of the new San Francisco State College; and be it further*

*"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit a copy of this resolution to the President, the Secretary of War, the President pro tempore of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."*

**By Mr. GEORGE:**

Two resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Georgia; to the Committee on Appropriations:

*"Be it resolved by the senate (the house of representatives concurring), That—*

"Whereas the Seventy-ninth Congress of the United States enacted a measure sponsored by Senator WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia, and Congressman GRAHAM A. BARDEN, of North Carolina, to authorize increased appropriations to States for the further development of vocational education; and

"Whereas there is great need for expanding this phase of education throughout Georgia; and

"Whereas there is tremendous demand on the part of the people of this State for expanding this phase of our educational program; and

"Whereas the State and local school systems have made provisions for matching in full funds that will be available to Georgia should Congress appropriate the full amount authorized by the George-Barden Act; and

"Whereas any funds made available to the State under the George-Barden Act will be distributed through established State and local educational channels without Federal domination and control: Therefore be it

*"Resolved, That the General Assembly of Georgia command the Georgia delegation in National Congress for the active support they gave in securing passage of the George-Barden Act and request that they continue their efforts to get Congress to appropriate the full amount authorized by the George-Barden Act; be it further*

*"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to each Member of the Georgia delegation in National Congress.*

"Read and unanimously adopted March 17, 1947."

"Whereas the Congress did return the public employment service to the respective States as of November 16, 1946, and provided for payment of all operation expenses by the Federal Government only through June 30, 1948; and

"Whereas the Congress has appropriated funds to meet the full cost of operating the public employment services since January of 1942; and

"Whereas the Federal unemployment compensation tax collected on pay rolls of employers has greatly exceeded the entire cost

of the operation of the public employment service and unemployment compensation programs; and

"Whereas the States were required under the Wagner-Peyser Act to appropriate a portion of the expense for the operation of the public employment service from its general fund up to and prior to 1942: Now, therefore, be it

*"Resolved by the Georgia State Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress be, and it hereby is memorialized to provide for the necessary funds to meet all operating expenses of the public employment services subsequent to June 30, 1948; be it further*

*"Resolved, That a certified copy of this resolution be sent to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and to the Secretary of the Senate of the Eightieth Congress, and to each United States Senator and Representative from Georgia.*

"Read and unanimously adopted March 19, 1947."

**By Mr. AIKEN:**

Petitions of sundry citizens of Derby Line, Newport, Island Pond, Morgan, West Charleton, Springfield, and Morrisville, all in the State of Vermont, praying for the enactment of Senate bill 265, to prohibit the transportation of alcoholic-beverage advertising in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

**UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING**

**MR. CAPPER.** Mr. President, I have received an excellent letter from Dr. Ormal L. Miller, pastor of the First Methodist Church, Topeka, Kans., taking a stand against universal military training. I ask unanimous consent to present this letter for appropriate reference and printing in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was received, referred to the Committee on Armed Services, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

**THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH,  
Topeka, Kans., March 6, 1947.**

Senator ARTHUR CAPPER,

*Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.*

**DEAR SENATOR CAPPER:** I am becoming increasingly concerned with the intensive drive which is being made for the establishment of universal military training. As you know, I am very definitely opposed to militarization of our country and it seems to me that this proposal is one of the most vicious that we have confronted. It would be a very serious change of national policy if we should require all our young men to go through a period of compulsory training. I do not believe that with modern methods of warfare such training would have any military value. I certainly think it would be very detrimental from a moral standpoint and an unwarranted interruption of the plans of young men who had their future rather definitely outlined. Surely from an international standpoint it would be a very serious gesture of unfriendliness toward the other nations of the world. I believe we can maintain adequate defenses and protect our interests without engaging on this program of wholesale militarization of all our youth. I hope we may count on you to do everything in your power to oppose this trend and to see that what military force we have is on a strictly volunteer basis.

Best wishes to you in the very difficult task which you confront these days. We appreciate the good leadership which you have been giving us.

Cordially yours,

ORMAL L. MILLER.

**GOVERNMENT SPENDING—LETTER FROM  
M. E. FORD**

**MR. KEM.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the

RECORD a letter from Hon. M. E. Ford, of Maryville, Mo.

Judge Ford was a prominent member of the convention which framed the Missouri Constitution, and has long been highly respected as a jurist, lawyer, and public-spirited citizen.

I am asking to have this letter printed in the RECORD, not only for its own value, but because it is typical of a large number that I have received and am receiving from people in every walk of life in my State.

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

MARYVILLE, Mo., March 28, 1947.

Senator JAMES P. KEM,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: The stand you have taken on Government spending is meeting with general approval. You are on the right track and in my opinion the people are going to be with you. But they will not be satisfied with halfway measures. All Government subsidies, bonuses, and grants-in-aid must be discontinued. And I mean all and not all except some pet project that affects a certain class or group.

The most insidious of these schemes is the 50-50 proposition that is made to States and other public corporations. Not all of the people are fools and most of them know that both 50's come out of the same pockets. Grants of various kinds to agriculture, business and other classes of enterprise are now mounting to astronomical proportions, and education, health services, and so-called welfare groups are now demanding reservations on the gravy train. And each and every one of the groups and many others will continue to insist on sticking its respective snout into the public feed trough as long as any particular class is enjoying that privilege. But the squealing will soon cease if each knows that all of the others have been fenced out.

It is my firm conviction that Congress has no right to collect money from the people in the form of taxes and then loan that money to individuals and corporations. Yet, right here in this little city there are so many Government agencies that I have not been able to keep track of them all. And each is dishing out money that has been collected from the people. And they are doing it under what is, in my judgment, usurped and unconstitutional authority. I am aware of the fact that the Supreme Court has, by its construction of the commerce and general welfare clauses, transformed what was, originally, a government of limited and delegated powers, into a government of unlimited authority. But it is the duty of Congress, as well as that of the Supreme Court, to not only protect, but to observe the limitations of the Constitution.

Being an old-fashioned Jeffersonian Democrat, I want to get back to the Constitution. And I am ready to support any man who is traveling in that direction, regardless of the party banner under which he is marching. Today, this is a government of the people, by pressure groups, for pressure groups. Congress is responsible, for Congress has yielded to the pressure. And it is now the responsibility of Congress to lead the people back to "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." This is the responsibility of the Congress. It is the responsibility of Congress because the only power that can do it is the hand that holds the purse strings. And the Constitution, wisely, or unwisely, put the purse strings in the hands of Congress. I have always been of the opinion that it was a wise provision and hope that it will prove so.

There is another subject on which I desire to express my sentiments. It has always

been my belief that one of the primary duties of every individual was to pay his debts. If that is right, then it is the primary duty of all of the citizens, in their collective capacity, to pay their collective debts. And it is the duty of this generation to pay its own debts and not pass it on to the next or future generations, for future generations will have their own burdens to bear and they may be much greater than ours. If we are to pay our debts the time to begin is now. It is a herculean task, but the people will undertake it if they know the money they pay out is to be used for that purpose. But they are not going to pay out money to support a vast bureaucracy that is pretending to do something for the people that they can do much better for themselves. Congress must stand on its feet and lead and not lie on its belly with its ear to the ground, trying to find out how to successfully follow.

Very truly yours,

M. E. FORD.

FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF  
LITHUANIA

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to present and to have printed in the RECORD a letter I have received from W. J. Krencewicz, of Shenandoah, Pa., together with resolutions adopted by the Federated Lithuanian Societies and Clubs of the Borough of Shenandoah, Schuylkill County, Pa., relating to the freedom and independence of Lithuania.

There being no objection, the letter and resolutions were received, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SHENANDOAH, PA., March 4, 1947.  
The Honorable EDWARD S. MARTIN,  
United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.

Sir: Enclosed herewith is a set of resolutions, self-explanatory, passed by the (Federated Lithuanian Societies and Clubs of the Borough of Shenandoah, Schuylkill County, Pa.), on whose behalf I am herewith presenting the same to you in accordance with my directions.

If at all possible, your cooperation in having the resolutions read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD would be most gratefully appreciated by all of the Lithuanian societies and clubs, not only locally but throughout Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. KRENCEWICZ,  
Attorney-at-Law.

"Whereas the independence of Lithuania was proclaimed on the 16th day of February 1918, and thereafter, following admission to the League of Nations in 1921, its independence was recognized by the great powers of the world; and

"Whereas the Republic of Lithuania having thus emerged once more as a free and independent country after having been oppressed since the late eighteenth century by the Russian monarchy; and

"Whereas the Soviet states of Russia proclaimed to the world in 1920 its belief in freedom and independence and the right of a free people to govern themselves by, inter alia, entering into a treaty with Lithuania wherein we read these binding words, "relying on the strength of a declaration made by the Federal Soviet Socialist Republic of Russia to the effect that all peoples of every nationality have the right of self-determination and complete separation from the state to which they belonged previously, Russia, without any reservation whatsoever, recognizes Lithuania as a self-governing and independent state with all juridical consequences that follow from such a recognition and in a spirit of free and good will, re-

nounces all sovereignty rights of Russia concerning the Lithuanian Nation and Lithuanian territory which previously belonged to her. The fact that Lithuania for some time was under Russian sovereignty does not impose on the Lithuanian people and their territory any obligations toward Russia; and

"Whereas having thus had a new birth of freedom, establishing a republican form of government with universal and equal suffrage, Lithuania, as a nation, dedicated itself to the task of peace, industry, commerce, and learning, and thereafter the nation and its people lived in peaceful, free, and harmonious relations in the community of nations of the world; and

"Whereas the Government of Lithuania, eager to preserve its freedom and happiness and with prophetic guidance as to the source of danger to its newly acquired independence and freedom, entered into a Lithuanian-Soviet nonaggression pact on September 28, 1926, which by mutual consent was to be effective until December 31, 1945, read in part: 'Article 2. The Republic of Lithuania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics mutually undertake to respect in all circumstances the sovereignty and territorial integrity and inviolability of each other'; and

"Whereas the Government and people of Lithuania have no national, religious, economic, political, or cultural interests similar or akin to the Russian Government or its people, but differ therefrom in every conceivable aspect, yet, nevertheless, the Republic of Lithuania was annexed by Russia in violation of the existing treaties, and in violation of international law, by the overpowering force and subterfuge of the Russian Government, whereby through the vehicle of a sham election, controlled and dominated by the communistic government, the Republic of Lithuania was incorporated into the United Soviet States of Russia against the will of all of the Lithuanian inhabitants; and

"Whereas the Government of the United States being interested, in accordance with its avowed declaration in the Atlantic Charter, to permit other peoples of the world desiring freedom to remain free and independent; and

"Whereas the Government of the United States declared war against Germany and Japan to thwart and prevent aggression and tyranny to spread its evil forces; and

"Whereas the Republic of Lithuania, following World War I, emerged as a free and independent nation and since demonstrated its ability of capable self-government, and now, following World War II, finds itself deprived of its freedom by a communistic Russia, and its people living under a government alien and differing in every respect from the desires of its people: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, loyal citizens of the United States of Lithuanian birth or descent, meeting at the Shenandoah High School this 2d day of March A. D. 1947, do hereby express our united voices in urging the President and the State Department of the United States and the agencies of the United States Government to exert fully the courageous efforts of this Government in doing its utmost to restore the freedom and independence of Lithuania; and be it further

"Resolved, That we beseech the President of the United States and the State Department to request forthwith the withdrawal of the Russian occupational forces from Lithuanian territory, and to further request of the United Soviet States of Russia that the Lithuanian people who have been deported from their country to slave-labor camps in Siberia and elsewhere be returned to their homes and families in Lithuania; and be it further

"Resolved, That we petition the President, the State Department of the United States, and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to refrain from signing or ratifying any treaty involving the Baltic region of Europe

which fails to embody the free and independent states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and to present the pleas and supplications for justice and humaneness contained herein to the proper authorities of the United Nations for appropriate action as may be necessary to effect such results of independence and justice; and be it further

*"Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President, the State Department, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to the Senators of the United States from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, to our Representatives in Congress from this district, with a hope and trust that each one, in such manner as he or it may choose, lend every effort toward fostering, aiding, and achieving the independence of a people who wish to be free to govern themselves and loosening them from the shackles of communism."

The foregoing resolutions were passed by the Federated Lithuanian Societies and Clubs of the Borough of Shenandoah, Pa., at a meeting held this 2d day of March A. D. 1947, at the Shenandoah High School, located in Schuylkill County, Pa., by acclamation and unanimous vote.

Witness my hand this 2d day of March A. D. 1947.

ANTHONY STANISKIS,  
Chairman.

Attest:

LEONARD J. CHAIKOWSKY,  
Secretary.

ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF  
GERMANY

MR. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a resolution relating to the government and control of Germany, adopted by the National Conference on the German Problem, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, March 6, 1947.

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

The National Conference on Germany, declaring that the purposes and conduct of Germany have been contrary to all basic rules of religion, decency, and international order, as recognized by the general conscience of mankind and as embodied in the basic laws of humanity; regards the events now taking place in Germany and any plans to resurrect the economic and political power of Germany as dangerous to the security of the world; believes a Germany capable of dominating Europe economically will again dominate it politically; and, therefore, resolves that Germany must not again be permitted to become powerful enough to wage war, nor to be used as a pawn in the game of power politics; and with due allowance to the fact that the inhabitants and economy of Germany cannot be ignored in planning the future of Europe, recommends to the Government of the United States and to the United States delegation at the Moscow Conference, the following concrete measures:

1. A civilian Control Commission to be established to control Germany, politically and economically.

2. The Commission is to allow Germany only such political autonomy as is consistent with general security and the development of a democratic government.

3. The French claim to the Saar Basin be recognized. The present Polish-German boundaries should be made permanent. All navigable waterways within Germany should be free to international navigation.

4. The ownership and management of the German steel, coal, and chemical industries of the Ruhr and Rhineland—Germany's war arsenal—should be immediately vested in a consortium of foreign government, including

the Big Four Powers and such additional nations as they may determine.

5. The German general staff should be effectively and permanently dissolved.

6. The promised trial and punishment of the great mass of German war criminals—political, industrial, and military—who have hitherto gone untried and unpunished, should be immediately carried out by an international tribunal.

7. The task of the complete de-nazification which has seriously lagged, must be promptly carried through to completion by the removal of all Nazis and militarists from any position of influence or authority in the political, economic, or educational life of Germany.

8. Allied efforts to bring about the re-education of German youth should concentrate on eliminating the ideologies of nazism, pan-Germanism, master-race obsession and lust for power and conquest, which made war a religion.

9. Heavy industries should be limited to peacetime needs, in accordance with the Potsdam agreement, and as recommended in detail in the final report of the enemy branch of the American Foreign Economic Administration.

10. All cartels, trusts, and cartellike devices should be permanently dissolved in Germany. German participation in international organizations of these types should be forbidden.

11. The policy of deliberately withholding reparations of German factories and coal—thus preventing the economic recovery of the Allies—should be put to an end. Adequate reparations should be immediately allocated to Germany's victims. The rehabilitation of non-German European industry should have preference over the rehabilitation of German industry.

12. Germany should be given the opportunity to develop her own peaceful economy, but the revival of German prosperity constitutes the primary duty of the Germans and is in no way an obligation of the American taxpayer.

13. The privileged position of the Junkers' estates which enable the Junkers to continue as a political factor should be ended by expropriation, except in the case of proved anti-Nazis. These lands should be made available to peasants and other landless Germans with a view to maximize the production of food and other agricultural products.

14. Supervision of Germany's imports should be administered in order that Germany may never again be in a position to use her foreign trade as an instrument for the preparation of war.

15. Public or private loans or subsidies to German entities, public or private, should be prohibited, at least until the conclusion of a peace with Germany.

16. German assets in all United Nations and neutral countries shall be unearthed, marshalled, and vested in a reparation commission. The assets of Nazi victims shall be excepted. An inter-Allied and international agreement shall void all and every rule, law, and treaty which disposes otherwise. The proceeds of the liquidation of the German property shall be used in the first instance to compensate Nazi victims.

17. Allied nationals who have had, or still have, business or financial interests in Germany, directly or indirectly, or who have represented them as attorneys, should be eliminated from all posts in the Allied administration of Germany or any official capacity relating thereto.

18. In order to thwart the reestablishment of fifth columns, the infiltration of Nazi or German Fascist elements into other countries should be prevented by adequate screening of persons immigrating from Germany or from other countries and by controls imposed by individual countries on the admission of

Germans. Specifically, the United States should suspend the immigration quota from Germany for 12 years, save for victims or exiles from the Hitler regime.

19. In recognition of the fact that the democratization of Germany depends in the last analysis on German democratic forces, it is urged that the occupation powers screen out and appoint to all important positions Germans who first showed opposition to the Nazi regime.

That particular emphasis be placed on screening Germans in the intellectual professions and that known anti-Nazi intellectuals from Germany and countries formerly occupied by Germany be represented on the screening commission.

20. The decisions on Germany should be embodied in a statute to be imposed on Germany. The Germans should be permitted to sign a treaty only after Allied recognition of the democratization of the German people.

The National Conference on the German Problem makes these recommendations recognizing the urgent necessity at this time to support the implementation of those principles which were originally established by the Allies at the Crimean and Potsdam Conferences and illuminated by subsequent experience—as the basis for continued Allied unity.

The conference agreed to constitute itself a permanent body.

MONOPOLIES—ARTICLES BY RICHARD L. STROUT AND THOMAS L. STOKES

MR. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, the basis of local self-government and of the existence of free competitive enterprise is being steadily undermined by the progress of economic concentration.

I have in my hand an article entitled "Mergers Through a Loophole," written by Richard L. Strout for the Christian Science Monitor, and an article entitled "Threat From the Right," written by Thomas L. Stokes. I ask that both these be printed in the RECORD and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, which has before it proposed legislation which would go far to correct the defects mentioned.

There being no objection, the articles were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

MERGERS THROUGH A LOOPHOLE

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—The United States was built by men who believed in individualism and competitive enterprise. For that reason, the concentration of economic power into great corporations has always caused concern. Big business almost inevitably means big labor unions and big government. Where the competition of free enterprise does not police an economic system, it is inevitable that Government should step in to preserve a democracy.

The Federal Trade Commission recently issued a special report showing that since 1940, 18,000 companies were swallowed up by big corporations through purchase and merger. One big drug concern, for example, absorbed 38 smaller companies, the companies swallowed including manufacturers of baby food, floor wax, paint, spaghetti, and insecticides. A loophole in the Clayton Anti-trust Act permits such a process which Congress intended to make illegal.

The Clayton Act passed in 1914. It was hailed as the doom of trusts. But trusts haven't been doomed. In fact, the process of building bigger and bigger corporations has gone on. This is because of a convenient loophole in the act. Congress believed that

monopolistic corporate mergers would be accomplished by one corporation purchasing the capital stock of another. Section 7 prohibited this. But this section was bypassed, and the plain intent of Congress defeated by another corporate device: The purchase of the physical assets of competitors, rather than their capital stock.

Company B sells its plant, machines, and facilities to Company A, and it then doesn't matter much whether it sells its stock certificates or not. The whole thing was legalized by a Supreme Court decision in 1926, in the Western Meat Co. case. It was a 5-to-4 decision, with Justices Brandeis, Taft, Holmes, and Stone all dissenting. Later the loophole was further widened by another decision, also 5 to 4.

The bipartisan Federal Trade Commission has unanimously recommended, every year since 1927, that this loophole be plugged. Congress hasn't acted. And the process of corporate expansion by merger has gone on. On March 4, the Federal Trade Commission, in a special report, pointed out with all the urgency at its command, the tremendous growth of corporate agglutination. President Truman, in his economic report to Congress made a specific recommendation for this amendment to section 7. Congress hasn't acted. The temporary National Economic Commission studied the matter carefully and made the same recommendation: Congress didn't act then either.

Now two Congressmen, Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY (Democrat), of Wyoming, and Representative ESTES KEFAUVER (Democrat), of Tennessee, have again introduced a bill to plug the loophole. Only a sense of the way the old American tradition of free competition, free enterprise, and individual initiative is being endangered will make Congress act now.

Here is how the system works. A Chicago grocery corporation has just become the largest wholesale grocer in the United States, with total assets of \$20,000,000, and annual sales of \$100,000,000. It did so by acquiring the assets of three competing corporations.

The Federal Trade Commission brought suit under the Clayton Act. It wanted to protect the small grocers of the Nation. But it was shown that the big corporation had surrendered to the three competing corporations all of the capital stock which it has acquired from them, and received in lieu thereof an unconditional transfer of all their assets. After that, there was nothing for the FTC to do. It was all perfectly legal. It dismissed the complaint.

There is little chance of permanently reducing the size of the Federal Government in Washington, its bureaucracy and its police powers, so long as competition is reduced and corporations get bigger and bigger. For example, if there is one big interstate grocery wholesaler instead of several local ones, the pressure for comparable Federal control is almost inevitable, and so it goes. There is danger, too, for any democracy which allows economic concentration of power to spread at the expense of small business.

—

[From the Washington Daily News]

**THREAT FROM THE RIGHT**

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

The Republican Congress faces a real challenge to do something about the increasing concentration of industrial control into fewer hands.

This represents a threat from the right, from ever-encroaching monopoly, that goes to the very basis of our democratic free-enterprise system. Too little attention has been paid to it thus far in the noisy clamor about the threat from the left.

Freedom can be lost more easily, probably, from the right, and less visibly, since it is

already so well entrenched in business and politics from precinct to National Government. Its powerful influence is plain in the current campaigns in Congress to restrict labor, not only directly in revision of the Wagner Act but indirectly in other ways. These include weakening the Wages and Hours Act, as well as attacks in spheres where the Government has set up protective devices for the consumer, among them public-power projects.

An object lesson in the growth of the economic power of big industry came in the recent Federal Trade Commission report showing that 1,000 smaller companies had been gobbled up by larger companies between 1940 and 1946. Concentration increased during the war and is expected to proceed at a greater pace, unless checked, as it did in the boom years after World War I.

Inconsistency in the approach to monopoly in Congress is revealed most glaringly in the proposal, for example, to forbid industry-wide bargaining. Labor was forced to this to meet the power of great industrial empires stretching over many States. No comparable plan to check the growth of monopoly is offered by those who are pressing for an end of industry-wide bargaining by labor.

There is, however, a proposal sponsored by two Democrats, Representative ESTES KEFAUVER (Tennessee) and Senator JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY (Wyoming), to plug one loophole in our antimonopoly statutes. It was recommended, as well, by President Truman at the beginning of this Congress.

This is for amendment of the Clayton Act to forbid monopolistic mergers by purchase of assets as well as by purchase of stock. Purchase of stock was forbidden in the original act. But this was bypassed by mergers through purchase of assets. Every year since 1927 the Federal Trade Commission has recommended closing this loophole. In his appearance before the House Judiciary Committee, Representative KEFAUVER went to the root of the present alarming monopoly trend in urging his measure, now before that committee:

"The increased concentration of economic power is dooming free enterprise. The present trend of great corporations to increase their economic power is the antithesis of meritorious competitive development.

"It is no accident now that we have a big Government, big unions, and big business. The concentration of great economic power in a few corporations necessarily leads to the formation of large Nation-wide unions. The development of the two necessarily leads to big bureaus in the Government to deal with them.

"Through monopolistic mergers," the Congressman said, "the people are losing power to direct their own economic welfare.

"I am not an alarmist, but the history of what has taken place in other nations where mergers and concentrations have placed economic control in the hands of a few people is too clear to pass over easily. A point eventually is reached, and we are rapidly reaching it in this country, where the public steps in to take over when concentration and monopoly gain too much power.

"The taking over by the public through its Government always follows one or two methods and has one or two political results. It either results in a Fascist state or the nationalization of industries and thereafter a Communist state. Most businessmen realize this inevitable result. Certain monopolistic interests are being short-sighted in not appreciating the plight to which they are forcing the Government."

This is a timely warning.

**REPORT OF A COMMITTEE**

Mr. EVERCOMB, from the Committee on Public Works, to which was re-

ferred the bill (S. 723) to authorize the preparation of preliminary plans and estimates of cost for an additional office building for the use of the United States Senate, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report (No. 82) thereon.

**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. MURRAY:

S. 1000. A bill to confer civil rights upon Indian veterans of World Wars I and II; to remove restrictions on the property of such Indians; and for other purposes; and

S. 1001. A bill authorizing the restoration to tribal ownership of certain lands upon the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Mont., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. LUCAS:

S. 1002. A bill to establish the effective date of certain death pensions and death compensation payable by the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 1003. A bill for the relief of Pasquale Nuzzo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(Mr. KNOWLAND introduced Senate bill 1004, to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 so as to provide that no person shall be appointed as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission or as general manager of such Commission until an investigation with respect to the character, associations, and loyalty of such person shall have been made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which was referred to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. BARKLEY:

S. 1005. A bill to amend the act of June 28, 1935, entitled "An act to authorize participation by the United States in the Inter-parliamentary Union"; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. HATCH:

S. 1006. A bill to amend section 27 of the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, as amended, so as to increase the acreage of sodium leases which may be issued in any State to a person, association, or corporation; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. STEWART:

S. 1007. A bill to amend the National Service Life Insurance Act of 1940, as amended, to permit assignments of insurance benefits by widows or widowers who have remarried; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. PEPPER:

S. 1008. A bill to amend title V of the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. PEPPER (for himself and Mr. HOLLAND):

S. 1009. A bill to extend the time within which the municipality of Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, Fla., may consummate the purchase of the Coast Guard site (commonly known as the Base Six property) which is located at Fort Lauderdale; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

(Mr. MAYBANK introduced Senate Joint Resolution 94, to establish the Fort Sumter National Monument in the State of South Carolina, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. GURNEY (for himself and Mr. HICKENLOOPER):

S. J. Res. 95. Joint resolution to recognize uncompensated services rendered the Nation under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT SUMTER NATIONAL MONUMENT, SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce for appropriate reference a joint resolution to establish the Fort Sumter National Monument in the State of South Carolina.

I might say that I have discussed this matter with War Department officials and the Secretary of War, and they are very agreeable to it. I ask that the chairman of the committee to which the joint resolution will be referred will expedite it as much as possible.

There being no objection, the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 94) to establish the Fort Sumter National Monument in the State of South Carolina, introduced by Mr. MAYBANK, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

## UNITED DEMOCRATIC STATES OF EUROPE

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit for appropriate reference a concurrent resolution expressing the conviction of Congress that there should be created a United Democratic States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations.

I request that a statement I have prepared on this subject may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the concurrent resolution will be received and appropriately referred, and without objection, the statement presented by the Senator from Wisconsin will be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 12) was received and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That the Congress favors the creation of a United Democratic States of Europe, within the framework of the United Nations, to consist of nations which respect the political, economical, social, and religious liberties of their respective citizens.

The statement presented by Mr. WILEY was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## INTRODUCTION OF BILL FOR UNITED DEMOCRATIC STATES OF EUROPE

I am introducing today a concurrent resolution to express the conviction of Congress that there be formed a United Democratic States of Europe within the United Nations.

The resolution reads as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That the Congress favors the creation of a United Democratic States of Europe, within the framework of the United Nations, to consist of nations which respect the political, economical, social, and religious liberties of their respective citizens."

I propose that if this resolution be passed, it not be a dead letter but rather that the United States State Department policy lend every encouragement to this resolution's realization. This is not idealism nor mere verbalism; it is realism, as I see it, required by our times—realism for peace, progress, and plenty.

In introducing this resolution, I am merely renewing a recommendation which I have repeatedly made over the years to the effect that the time is long overdue for those countries of Europe which are economically, politically and socially democratic in spirit

and in practice to unite in order to realize progressively the great advantages of union enjoyed by the United States of America. Such a union would consist basically, as I see it, of England, France, Switzerland, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark, as well as possibly other countries.

## WHY UNITED STATES ADVICE

It is not, of course, for the United States to tell or order any of these European nations what should be their national policy. However, in view of the fact that we have already spent some 400,000 lives of our young men and several hundred billion dollars of our resources (to mention the cost of but one of two world wars) for the preservation of European democracy, it seems to me we do have a right to submit our respectful recommendations along this line to these nations.

## WHY NOT A UNION OF ALL EUROPE?

My resolution differs from one previously introduced, which would invite the establishment of a United Nations of Europe. I do not feel that if all the nations of Europe, in their present heterogeneous stage of development, were simply to combine together, the interests of peace and progress would be served.

Thus, in view of the fact that Europe is so sharply divided between the camps of democracy and dictatorship, with all sorts of shadings in between, it is a farce to speak of any effective union between, for example, the people of Scandinavia and the foreign-dominated peoples of the Soviet satellite states. A democratic-dictator hodge-podge of United Nations of Europe would experience the same frustrations and stumbling blocks that we are experiencing in the United Nations.

It is my deep and honest hope, however, that all the nations of Europe may be eventually brought into the United Democratic States of Europe through gradual changes in their political and economic processes.

## REASONS FOR UNITED DEMOCRATIC STATES OF EUROPE

The basic reasons for my resolution are the following:

1. If these nations are to join in political union, with common citizenship, without losing their respective governments, although surrendering some of their separate prerogatives, they would be helping to assure their common political defense against the ideological warfare waged against them by dictator states. They would evidence to Russia the vitality of democracy.

2. If we are to extend some \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey as a step to halt the spread of communism, it seems to me that a movement for political union of democracies begun from within the respective states involved would be entirely consistent with and would be of aid to our loan program.

3. They could formulate military plans against any potential aggressor.

4. If these countries will strive toward a customs union, that is, toward the breaking down of trade barriers between them, (which cannot, of course, be accomplished overnight), European recovery will be furthered as well as the recovery of these separate nations.

5. If these countries are to unite, they will set an inspiring example, not only for the peoples of all Allied countries from which freedom has been driven, but particularly for a former enemy people such as Germany.

## CONCLUSION

I know and deeply respect the pride of the various democratic nations of Europe in their own institutions. But because of their perilous collective condition, it seems to me that this proposal is not inconsistent with such pride but is to their own self-advantage.

## AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY—AMENDMENTS

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I send to the desk another amendment intended to be proposed by me to S. 938, to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and that it be printed for the information of the Senate. The amendment is very short, and I shall read it:

No assistance shall be furnished under this act which shall have the object (a) of promoting the continuance or expansion of any totalitarian purpose or goal, whether communistic or fascistic; or (b) of rejecting the proposition that individuals have inalienable rights and must be both free and the masters of their government.

This amendment does three things:

First. It makes it crystal clear that the aid provided in this bill will not be used to promote ideologies which are hateful to us. Many Americans resented the aid extended last year to countries under Communist domination who were in some cases receiving our aid while shooting and killing American personnel.

Second. It shows that we are against fascism, which is but another type of totalitarianism which some persons fear to see raise its head in the Near East.

Third. It proclaims our intention at least to do no violence to the ideals of democracy. Although we shall naturally not attempt to force democracy down anyone's throat, we do hope that it will prosper in these countries. We have a basically idealistic purpose in adopting this policy. We would be neither fair to ourselves nor frank with the world if our idealism were not given specific recognition in the terms of this bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment will be received, printed, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I have modified one of the amendments which I submitted last week, and I offer a new draft of the same amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment will be received, printed, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, because I think it is important, in view of the nature of the discussion in the country in respect to Senate bill 938, entitled "A bill to aid Greece and Turkey," I wish to submit an amendment, which I ask to have referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations; and for the information of the Senate and the country, I wish to read it:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances: (1) if requested by any government of Greece or Turkey representing a majority of the people of either such nation; (2) if requested by a procedural vote—

Which, I interpolate, is a vote without veto—

if requested by a procedural vote in the Security Council or a majority vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations; (3) if the President finds that the purposes of the act have been substantially accomplished or are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment.

Mr. President, I respectfully submit, by way of preliminary comment, that if such an amendment is put into the bill there can be no further remote suggestion, on the one hand, of any violation of the autonomy of either of these particular countries, or, on the other hand, any violation of the authority of the United Nations, or any disposition to elude its authority.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAIN in the chair). Without objection, the amendment will be received, as in legislative session, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. VANDENBERG submitted an amendment, Mr. LODGE submitted two amendments, and Mr. MURRAY submitted nine amendments, intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, which were severally referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed.

#### SECRET TREATIES

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the body of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Our Secret Treaties," from the March 26, 1947, edition of the Omaha Evening World Herald.

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

#### OUR SECRET TREATIES

Now we know.

The commitments made in our names at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam have been revealed.

In full, the State Department says. The secret drawers which contained them have been opened all the way.

Free Americans will hope that this action, belated as it is, may be accepted as tacit assurance that the practice of entering into secret treaties has been abandoned, that since Potsdam the Government at Washington has followed constitutional processes in its dealings with other nations.

The Constitution is quite explicit about the handling of such matters.

It says:

"He (the President) shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur . . . ."

Nothing there about "pacts" negotiated by the Chief Executive, nothing about "protocols" which would make the United States a party to schemes to plunder the riches of other nations.

"By and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

Thirty Presidents had understood the meaning of that passage and had followed its bidding. Franklin Roosevelt, the thirty-first, and Harry Truman, the thirty-second, chose to ignore it.

It has been the contention of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman and their inner-circle friends that the "pacts," "protocols," etc., which they made were military agreements among Allies and were not treaties in the ordinary sense.

With respect to some of the agreements made, there is validity to that argument. At Tehran, for example, there was talk of trying to get Turkey into the war, and discussion of the impending invasion of Europe by Eisenhower's armies. That was military stuff and it was rightly kept secret.

But at Tehran it was also decided that the Western Allies would sacrifice Mihailovich in Yugoslavia and throw their support to Stalin's man, Tito. And while legalistically that may have been presented as a military decli-

sion, in actuality it was a political concession. In effect Churchill and Roosevelt were saying to Stalin, "You can take Yugoslavia to have and to hold, now and forever. If they received anything in return, it has not yet been revealed.

Whether the United States has the right to dispose of the sovereign power of another, and friendly, nation under any circumstances is a most serious problem. But certainly the Constitution does not confer any such right on the President alone, acting on his own motion without conferring with the Senate.

The most spectacular flouting of the American Constitution, however, took place at Yalta.

There the three Chiefs of State—Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin—agreed:

1. The status quo of Outer Mongolia (a Communist status quo) should be maintained.

2. Russia's rights in Asia, as they existed prior to the war of 1904, should be restored.

3. Russia should take all of Sakhalin Island.

4. The Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union.

And then came the most heavy-handed example of power politics to be found anywhere in the pacts:

"It is understood that the agreement concerning Outer Mongolia and the ports and railroads referred to above will require concurrence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The President will take measures in order to obtain this concurrence on advice from Marshal Stalin."

The words are Roosevelt's, Churchill's, and Stalin's.

It has been said that, in making these lavish promises, President Roosevelt was trying to purchase Marshal Stalin's help in the closing phases of the war against Japan.

But if that was the case the President overlooked and failed to use the bargaining power that had been placed in his hands by lend-lease.

We were shipping war materials by the billions of dollars' worth to Russia. In response to Stalin's repeated demands we were planning an invasion of the Continent. We could have demanded in return that Russia eventually do whatever might be necessary to bring about the defeat of Japan.

But we didn't. Instead, the President, acting secretly in our name, made commitments which he had no constitutional right to make and which today cynically make us a party to Communist seizure of populations and resources on two continents.

There is one honorable way of escape from the predicament in which we have been placed. That is to serve notice on the other signatories that, under the American Constitution, we are obliged to repudiate all international agreements made secretly by a President, save only those agreements which actually were germane to the fighting of the war and are now facts accomplished.

Such a notice, if given now, probably would not greatly change the map of the world. Soviet Russia is already entrenched in the areas which were ceded to her by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

But at least such an action would advise the smaller nations of the earth, those whose friends we say we are, that as a people we regret having been a party to an imperialistic division of the world. And that henceforth we propose to conduct our foreign affairs in public, in accordance with our Constitution and the ideals of free men.

#### METHOD OF ELECTING PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

[Mr. LODGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Right Way," published in the Boston Post, of March 21, 1947, and an editorial entitled "Mr. Lodge's Amendment," published in the New Bedford (Mass.) Stand-

ard Times, of March 23, 1947, both relating to the proposed constitutional amendment providing for the election of the President and Vice President by popular vote, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### INDUSTRIAL MILITARY POTENTIALS—ARTICLE BY DR. LEIFUR MAGNUSSON

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Comparative Industrial Military Potential of Different Countries," by Dr. Leifur Magnusson, Assistant Director of the Department of Research, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### APPROPRIATIONS FOR UNITED STATES CONCILIATION SERVICE—LETTER FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter relating to the reduction of appropriations for the United States Conciliation Service, published in the New York Times, of March 26, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### TARIFF PROTECTION ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS—ARTICLE FROM THE FARMERS GUILD NEWS

[Mr. BUTLER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Senator BUTLER Fights Farm Tariff Cuts," published in the Farmers Guild News for February-March 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### MR. LEWIS' MEMORIAL—EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON STAR

[Mr. LUCAS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Mr. Lewis' Memorial," published in the Washington Star, of March 31, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THEORY AND COMPOSITION OF OUR ARMED FORCES—EDITORIAL FROM ARMY ORDNANCE MAGAZINE

[Mr. GURNEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial on the subject of the theory and composition of our armed forces, published in the Army Ordnance magazine for March-April 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### ACTIVITIES OF THE GREEK ROYALISTS—ARTICLE FROM PM

[Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "How Monarchs Ruined Greek Economy," published in the March 31, 1947, issue of PM, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### COST OF POSTWAR AID—ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

[Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article relative to American expenditures for postwar aid, written by Bertram D. Hulen, and published in the New York Times of March 30, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES—EDITORIAL FROM THE NASHVILLE BANNER

[Mr. STEWART asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial relative to Communist activities in the United States, published in the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner of March 27, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

#### THE SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAM—EDITORIAL FROM THE LAKE COUNTY (TENN.) BANNER

[Mr. STEWART asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Federal Aid and Hot Lunches,"

published in the March 28, 1947, issue of the Lake County Banner, of Tiptonville, Tenn., which appears in the Appendix.]

**END OF SUGAR CONTROLS—ARTICLE FROM THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS**

[Mr. SPARKMAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Congress Takes a Long-Shot Bet on Sugar," published in the Washington Daily News of March 31, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

**THE GRAIN SITUATION**

[Mr. WILLIAMS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter and an analysis sent to him by the National Association of Commodity Exchanges and Allied Trades, dealing with the current grain situation, which appears in the Appendix.]

**MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE**

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 931) to extend certain powers of the President under title II, of the Second War Powers Act.

**ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION—NOMINATION OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL**

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

**MR. KNOWLAND.** Mr. President and Members of the Senate, at the recess of the Senate on Friday afternoon I had not completed my remarks relative to the confirmation of the nominees of the President of the United States for membership on the Atomic Energy Commission. It is not my intention to repeat the information which I presented then, but for the benefit of those who were not here at that time, I shall briefly review the situation and then proceed to cover the ground that I had not yet touched upon. For those who desire more complete information, I refer to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of last Friday.

The development of atomic power is one of the most important subjects with which our people have been faced during the entire period of our history. Never before have we had a problem in our hands which if mishandled could result in the destruction of civilization as we know it. For better or for worse we are in the atomic age and there can be no turning back of the hands of the clock. There should be no procrastination in meeting the very urgent problems with which we are confronted.

This is not information which can be locked in a safe-deposit box and permanently withheld from the rest of the world. What one nation and one group of scientists can discover and develop, other nations given time, resources, and industrial capacity will develop. The only thing that we have is the atomic bomb, the industrial capacity for the production of atomic power, plus an unknown amount of time.

Those who are best informed on the subject agree that our exclusive possession, if indeed it is exclusive now, of the first two factors I have mentioned,

is limited by the amount of time which remains to us before some other nation or nations shall have closed the gap. This time element may be 2 years or it may be 10 years or some period in between, but at some place within those relatively narrow limits we can be almost certain that what we like to think of now as an exclusive possession will no longer be such.

Once other nations have developed this source of power and this weapon of destruction, neither we nor our children will have any real tranquillity, nor do I believe that a world engaged in an atomic armament race could be a world in which freedom and free enterprise as we know it could exist. By the very nature of our Government and our people we would not use the weapon against others in aggressive warfare. I have no such confidence that others once having gained the power would not use it against us.

Of one thing we can be relatively certain. If the world is so unfortunate as to have a war in the atomic age where this terrible weapon of destruction will be used, there will be no period of several years for the United States to prepare itself and to arm our allies overseas. Twice in my generation the world has seen the United States furnish the logistical and manpower support which enabled our allies and ourselves to change the tide from the ebb of defeat to the flood of victory.

Any future potential aggressor nation with world-wide lust for power will first deliver a super Pearl Harbor attack against this Nation, its industrial capacity, and its means of communications. It is conceivable that such a blow might be so devastating that if it did not become a complete knockout, it would at least incapacitate us from recovering sufficiently and soon enough to be a determining factor in preventing our allies or potential allies from being engulfed.

Hence it seems clear that during the time that is left, this Nation should make every effort to secure adequate international control of atomic energy. Adequate control requires not only the most complete type of inspection and control over the raw materials that go into the development of atomic power but over the industrial facilities which are part of the development. In addition to this it should be obvious to every American as well as to all others interested in a sound system of international law and order that should a potential aggressor nation violate in any degree the inspection and regulatory system, there must be no obstacle to immediate action against the violator. As long as a veto exists in its present form in the United Nations, no such action could be taken by the forces supporting international law and order. Mr. Bernard Baruch who represented us on the United Nations agency dealing with this subject fully recognized this fundamental fact.

Until and unless these adequate and complete international safeguards are established, this Nation must not surrender either the secrets of atomic energy which we still possess or the industrial know-how without which the blueprints

and calculations cannot be turned into atomic energy or the atomic bomb.

Once a nation has embarked upon a program of the production of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, it is 80 percent on the road to the production of the atomic bomb. Of this fact sight has been lost by many, including Mr. Henry Wallace.

We have made a generous and a far-reaching proposal to the other nations of the world relative to the international control of this vast and destructive power. It is not something that some can accept and others reject. It is not something that we can disclose to some and withhold from others. We must know soon, very soon, whether it is to be accepted or rejected.

It is my opinion that the Government will not and must not compromise the essential protective features of the Baruch proposal. If the Administration should do so—and I do not believe the executive branch of the Government will—it would not have the support of the Congress. If the Congress should permit any such compromise—and I am sure that it will not—it would not have the approval of the Nation.

Hence we come inevitably to the point relative to the security of our Nation where the only alternative to adequate international safeguards will be in this Nation keeping far ahead of all other nations in the field of nuclear science and in the development of atomic power in all its phases.

This brings us face to face with the matter now pending before the Senate.

When VJ-day came, this country had an efficient atomic organization and tremendous resources in scientists and in other necessary manpower available not only to continue the production of that which was known but also to follow the old American custom of not being satisfied with what we had already accomplished. We shall go on to explore and develop unknown fields.

The natural let-down that came with VJ-day, the long debate relative to the type of atomic control which this Nation would have, and the subsequent uncertainties growing out of the nonconfirmation to date of the members of the Commission who were appointed last October, has caused delays which are detrimental to this Nation's security and which if continued could be fatal.

The members of the Atomic Energy Commission and the general managers were appointed last October by the President of the United States under authority of legislation passed by the Congress. The Congress recognized that this great potential source of power for good or evil by its very nature would have to be under the control of the Government even in this land of free enterprise. There was not then, and by the nature of things there cannot be now, an alternative to such domestic control of atomic power.

Since midnight on December 31 the entire facilities of the Manhattan district with all its ramifications have been turned over to the Atomic Energy Commission. Most, if not all, of the secrets that were in the hands of General Groves and his associates of the Manhattan

project are now and have been in the hands of Mr. Lilienthal and his associates on the Atomic Energy Commission. Pursuant to Public Law 585 (the Atomic Energy Act), the President on December 31, 1946, by Executive Order 9816, directed the transfer to the Atomic Energy Commission of all fissionable material, atomic weapons, facilities for producing fissionable material or atomic-energy devices, and all Government-owned records concerning atomic energy. No rejection by the Senate can change this fact.

In order to correct what I believe to be a serious defect in the existing law, I have had prepared and today will introduce a bill amending the Atomic Energy Act by providing that in the future the President shall not submit to the Senate for confirmation for appointment to the Atomic Energy Commission the name of any individual until the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall have made and submitted to the President a full report on the character, associations, and loyalty of such individual.

Should the Senate reject these nominations or approve of the flank attack motion to recommit to committee, which is tantamount to rejection, irreparable damage to this nation would, in my opinion, result in at least three major respects: First, it would result in a considerable additional loss of time and we have not much time to spare. Second, the damage to the morale of the scientists working in the atomic project directly and cooperating with it on the outside would be tremendous—far greater than one cares to speak or even think about. Third, atomic energy is not only a major domestic problem but by its very nature is world wide in scope. Our action on the floor of the Senate is being closely followed by every nation on the face of the earth. A repudiation by the Senate of the United States of the President's appointments would do such incalculable harm that I have grave doubt whether the subsequent passage of the Greek loan legislation, the peace treaties, or any other action which we might later take could offset the damage.

These reasons alone are sufficient to cause me not only to vote for confirmation but to make such contribution as is within my power to assure confirmation by this body.

As I pointed out on Friday last, if there had been any question in my mind as to the loyalty of any of these men to the Government of the United States or to the Constitution of our country, I would not have supported them in committee or on the floor of the Senate. I reiterate that there is not one bit of evidence that supports directly or indirectly any such theory. These men are not Communists or Communist sympathizers. They are patriotic American citizens.

For approximately 5 weeks the Senate section of the Atomic Energy Committee, consisting of five Republicans and four Democrats, listened to the testimony of the nominees themselves and of other witnesses. During that period of time we were able to examine and cross examine all who appeared before us. We

had additional sources of information open to us.

I reiterate that to date no new evidence of a substantial nature has been presented to the Senate that was not available to the committee when the nominations were before it. By a vote of 8 to 1 the committee recommends the confirmation of Mr. Lilienthal.

In a matter of this kind it is fitting and proper that the Senate should proceed with diligence. I have previously cited some overwhelming reasons which seem to me to warrant prompt confirmation of Mr. Lilienthal and his associates on the Atomic Energy Commission.

In addition, I believe that David Lilienthal is well qualified for the position of Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

There has been the question raised on the floor of the Senate by one or more of my colleagues on this side of the aisle as to whether Mr. Lilienthal is the most qualified man for the position. I do not know that any man could honestly answer that question in either the affirmative or the negative. This is a new field of activity in which no man, by the very nature of things, has had experience.

I have no hesitation in saying, however, that I believe that Mr. Lilienthal has qualities which would place him in the top category of the candidates for the position in the field that the President had available to choose from.

Under the act itself it is provided that those who serve on the Commission must disassociate themselves from all business activities. The exact language is:

No member of the Commission shall engage in any other business, vocation, or employment than that of serving as a member of the Commission.

It has been reported to me—and I believe the information is reliable—that the President sought to interest several other high-caliber men and was not successful in so doing.

It is understandable how, during wartime, men with other responsibilities will make the necessary sacrifices to take on Government positions, and yet, when peace comes, they are reluctant to do so. Part of this, of course, is due to the fact that positions carrying equal or less responsibility pay much better in private industry than in government. Part of it, we must be frank to admit, grows out of a perfectly natural reluctance to go through the harassment that we in Congress sometimes put our public officials up against.

I make no criticisms of the Congress and its committees in making searching inquiries. We understand that it is a necessary part of our responsibilities. We must get factual information on which to base our decisions on legislation or on national policy. Yet, from the point of view of a busy executive, it is understandable how he can sometimes question the necessity for the duplication of committee hearings which we sometimes inflict upon those who also have their jobs to do.

At any rate, the President of the United States did appoint Mr. Lilienthal as Chairman of the Commission. In his

letter to the chairman of our committee, the President, in his reply of March 1, 1947, had this to say:

For your information, be advised that the records of the investigation agencies of the executive branch of the Government were checked at the time the appointees in question were named to the Commission. No derogatory information was contained in any report. Before answering your letter of February 25, I have had a current check made of the records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Army and Navy Intelligence Departments, and the intelligence section of the Manhattan District, and I wish to advise you that no derogatory information with reference to any of their appointments to the Commission, or with reference to the general management of the Commission, is contained in the files of these agencies.

Now this is the statement of the President of the United States, an able and distinguished former Member of the Senate. Upon him had been placed the terrible final decision on the dropping of the atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Unless one wants to raise a question as to whether the President of the United States would be careless in appointments of this kind when he has full knowledge not only of the destructive capacity of the atomic bomb, but also full knowledge of the efforts and resources that went into its development and use, it would seem to me that his word should be sufficient.

Mr. Lilienthal as Chairman of the TVA has had more experience than any other available man in operating a Government agency of the general type and character of the Atomic Energy Commission. I refer to the Tennessee Valley Authority. The qualifications that make him objectionable to some make him appear to me to be a man who would be well suited for the tremendous task at hand.

Very often businessmen or attorneys coming into Government for the first time from private life are lost in the maze of what we sometimes call Government bureaucracy, or they become discouraged from what seems to be and often is an endless amount of red tape; or after being in Government for a relatively short period of time they take themselves and their experience into private business where the remuneration is many times greater.

To the contrary, in Mr. Lilienthal we have a man who has devoted a considerable period of his adult life to the public service as a member of the Wisconsin utilities commission, as a member and later Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and now as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. He has demonstrated an interest in and a willingness to serve his country. He has demonstrated that he is a real public servant who feels that in Government he can make a contribution to the public welfare.

Now what are some of these qualifications. Friday I pointed out that Mr. Baruch said:

Mr. Lilienthal I have known for some time and I think he is a well-qualified man. He is a man of prodigious energy, of driving force. I think sometimes that in his conception of his duty he drives exceedingly hard.

Mr. President, I submit that this is just the type of man one needs in order to restimulate the development of atomic power and to bring this activity back to its high degree of productivity and to advance research in unexplored fields.

My capable colleague the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], in a speech on the floor of the Senate on March 26, read into the RECORD some quotations from the philosophy of Mr. Lilienthal relative to management. Among the quotes read at that time was the following:

The tradition and climate of the skill of management, however, are remote from all such negation. Management is affirmative and initiatory. This is to be done. It is in the process of defining, with skill and sense, what is to be done, and with it the fixing of responsibility for results, with wide freedom of judgment in the managers as to how it may best be done, that you have the essence of the best form of modern management.

What apparently my distinguished colleague from Michigan thinks is derogatory to Mr. Lilienthal I feel is a distinct asset. If there was ever a place where we needed someone with the capacity to say "This is to be done" and who would push on to get results, this is certainly the place and it appears to be that this is the man.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Not at this time.

Mr. FERGUSON. Is not the language "this shall be done"?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Certainly American business has developed over the years because management in private enterprise has developed along the same lines.

I certainly mean no disrespect to the Congress of the United States when I say that few if any businesses could survive the bickering and the delay which often result from some of our activities.

Private enterprise could not survive the wide changes of policy for which we in the Government are sometimes responsible. One year we expand Government activities and Government services. The next year we make such drastic curtailments that we not only are apt to destroy the morale of loyal public employees but also to disrupt completely the services we have established resulting in a loss of investments already made. How many businesses could stand such wide sweeps of the pendulum of policy? I know of none.

Last November I went down into Tennessee Valley to see that activity for myself. I had heard a great deal about it in the past, and had read much about it. I was favorably impressed with the high caliber of the men I met in the Tennessee Valley Authority organization. I was even more impressed with the high regard the public had for the job that was and is being done.

The people in the Tennessee Valley were in no sense captivated by ideas of a super State or of the control by Government of our free enterprise system. To the contrary they were as stout believers in the American system of free enterprise as will be found in any part of the Nation.

Far from trying to control their community life or their individual businesses, the TVA had in effect thrown them the ball, and it was the job of the local community and the individual citizens to carry it.

The TVA had aided in the development of waterways, flood control and new sources of power. It had assisted in the development of fertilizers and in the demonstration of the effectiveness of their constructive use. It had been alive to the possibilities of the development of demonstration projects for a range of activities from quick freezing to the development of new uses for wood products. But the important thing to keep in mind is that these studies and developments were made available to private capital and private enterprise that established themselves throughout the valley. This not only resulted in diversified industries but it furnished new markets for the farmers so that agriculture would not be dependent upon one or two major crops for the economic health of the Tennessee Valley. Along with the other activities a great deal of work has been done relative to the prevention of soil erosion—again with encouragement given to the individual to carry the ball once he had the best information available to him as to how it could be done.

In carrying on his obligations as Chairman of the TVA, I believe that Mr. Lilienthal made a great contribution to the American way of life. What he accomplished was within the letter and the spirit of the TVA Act. But the energy of the man and the inspiration that he gave to his associates transformed legal phrases and policies on paper into a dynamic actuality which meant better farms, more industries, more jobs and a better way of life.

While some may feel that his experience in the TVA disqualifies him for the chairmanship of the Atomic Energy Commission, I feel that it is one of the strong points in his favor.

By this I do not mean that I see eye to eye with Mr. Lilienthal on all his beliefs, economic or political. To the contrary, we no doubt are in disagreement at many places along the line.

As a member of the Atomic Energy Committee I have vigorously expressed myself as being in disagreement with certain of the policies of the Commission.

From time to time, as a member of the joint committee charged with the responsibility of liaison between the Commission and the Congress, I shall not hesitate to oppose any policy or contemplated action which I believe to be not in line with the congressional will or sound national policy. Without pretending to speak for the other members of the committee, I am certain that they will not hesitate to likewise vigorously express their views to the Commission and to the Congress.

This will be done under section 15 (b) of the act which states:

The joint committee shall make continuing studies of the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission and of problems relating to the development, use, and control of atomic energy. The Commission shall keep the joint committee fully and currently informed with respect to the Commission's activities.

Let there be no doubt in anyone's mind as to the necessity for adequate safeguards of information. Section 10 of the act provides:

Whoever, lawfully or unlawfully, having possession of, access to, control over, or being entrusted with, any document, writing, sketch, photograph, plan, model, instrument, appliance, note, or information involving or incorporating restricted data (A) communicates, transmits, or discloses the same to any individual or person, or attempts or conspires to do any of the foregoing, with intent to injure the United States or with intent to secure an advantage to any foreign nation, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by death or imprisonment for life.

The law further provides:

(11) Except as authorized by the Commission in case of emergency, no individual shall be employed by the Commission until the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall have made an investigation and report to the Commission on the character, associations, and loyalty of such individual.

To carry out this provision and other security regulations an initial transfer of \$1,000,000 from the Atomic Energy Commission's funds to the Federal Bureau of Investigation was made in November 1946, and later an additional \$4,000,000 was transferred to the FBI for the same purpose.

The acting members of the Atomic Energy Commission are fully alive to the grave responsibilities that rest upon them, not only in the vital field of security but also in the operation of existing facilities and in research and development. Within a very short time the budget requests and appropriations will have to be provided if the United States is to maintain its position in the field of atomic power.

For the reasons I have cited Friday and today and for others I cannot now discuss, I believe that the facts are overwhelming on the side of prompt confirmation of the Presidential nominees.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I am confused by the issue presented by the motion of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER]. If I am correctly informed, the committee of which the Senator from California is a member met for a period of more than five consecutive weeks?

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. SMITH. And the members of the committee attended all its sessions?

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. SMITH. And all the charges which have been suggested on the floor were aired before that committee?

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is correct.

Mr. SMITH. And at the conclusion of the examination of all the witnesses the vote was 8 to 1 for confirmation, as I recall.

Mr. KNOWLAND. On the Lilienthal nomination.

Mr. SMITH. I am wondering what is the significance of the motion that the whole matter be recommitted to the committee and also that the FBI be asked to investigate the nominees, when apparently the committee has gone into the subject fully. I understood from the Senator's statement that the President had assured him that these names had

been cleared by the FBI; and unless the Senator wishes to repudiate the President's statement to him, that would seem to be the controlling factor in the situation.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The communication from the President of the United States stated that prior to the time they were appointed a check had been made from the files of the FBI, the Army and Navy Intelligence, and the other agencies which he had at his disposal, and that after receiving the letter from the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], a re-check of the files had been made and that no derogatory information had been included in any of those files.

Mr. SMITH. What troubles me is this: It seems to me that the motion of the Senator from Ohio is an appeal to the Senate from the committee which held the hearings, and from the evidence before the committee. It is asking the Senate to refer the matter back as though it had no confidence in the committee. I am bound to say that when I read the names of the distinguished members of the committee I should hesitate a long time before I would vote lack of confidence in the ability, judgment, and sincerity of the members of the committee, who are as follows:

The Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. MILLIKIN], the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY].

Only the Senator from Ohio voted in the negative.

On the particular issue of the motion that is what troubles me. It seems to me that recommitting the nominations could only delay the settlement of a matter which is demanding immediate attention.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I think the Senator is absolutely correct. As I pointed out in my remarks, I believe that a vote to recommit is tantamount to a vote for rejection.

I will say to the distinguished Senator that I feel there is perhaps a loophole in the Senate's practice relative to appointments of members of commissions, including the Atomic Energy Commission, which has concerned me greatly, and I tried to point it out during the course of my remarks. The Commission was appointed, under the law, in October and November of last year. On December 31 the Manhattan Project, with all its ramifications and all the information, was turned over to the Commission, so that actually the nominees have been operating as a commission during the intervening period from January until this time, approximately the 1st of April, without Senate confirmation. I had requested the Legislative Counsel to draft legislation which I thought would close the loophole so that the Commission could not operate until the nominations of its members had been confirmed by the Senate, which I think would be a far

better procedure, especially in the field of atomic power.

Mr. SMITH. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. KNOWLAND. But we ran up against the Constitution of the United States. Of course, at the time the Constitution was drafted and adopted the country had no knowledge of atomic power and its ramifications. In article II of the Constitution we find this language:

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

The Legislative Counsel advises that there is no way to require confirmation prior to their taking over.

Then it seemed to me it would be wise to apply—and I am presenting such an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act—to the members of the Commission the same rule which is now applied to employees of the Commission; that is, to make it mandatory that an investigation shall be made by the FBI, the results of which shall be turned over to the President and to the Senate section of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy prior to any appointment being made. I believe that from a constitutional standpoint, that can be done.

Mr. SMITH. To amplify my point, that would mean that all officers and employees heretofore appointed by the Commission would be checked by the FBI automatically?

Mr. KNOWLAND. So far as employees are concerned, they are now covered by the existing statute; but the statute does not provide for a mandatory check by the FBI of Presidential appointees.

Mr. President, at this point I ask unanimous consent, as in legislative session, to introduce the bill to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1004) to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 so as to provide that no person shall be appointed as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission or as general manager of such Commission until an investigation with respect to the character, associations, and loyalty of such person shall have been made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, introduced by Mr. KNOWLAND, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Mr. KNOWLAND subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point a copy of the bill I introduced earlier today proposing an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1004) to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 so as to provide that no person shall be appointed as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission or as general manager of such Commission until an investigation with respect to the character, associations, and loyalty of such person shall have been made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That (a) paragraph (2) of section 2 (a) of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 is amended by striking out the second sentence in such paragraph and inserting in

lieu thereof the following: "No individual shall be appointed as a member of the Commission until the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall have made an investigation and report to the President on the character, associations, and loyalty of such individual. In submitting any nomination to the Senate, the President shall set forth the experience and the qualifications of the nominee and shall make available to the Senate Members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy a report of such investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

(b) Subparagraph (A) of paragraph (4) of such section is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: "No individual shall be appointed as General Manager until the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall have made an investigation and report to the President on the character, associations, and loyalty of such individual. In submitting any nomination to the Senate, the President shall set forth the experience and the qualifications of the nominee and shall make available to the Senate Members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy a report of such investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Mr. FERGUSON and Mr. AIKEN addressed the Chair.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield first to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. FERGUSON. I want to ask a question. At the close of the Senator's remarks he gave this citation from the law:

No individual shall be employed by the Commission until the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall have made an investigation and report to the Commission on the character, associations, and loyalty of such individual.

I ask whether or not the record shows that after this Commission was appointed and organized, all its present employees, or employees at any time, were investigated by the FBI and reports thereon were made to the Commission?

Mr. KNOWLAND. In answer to the Senator's question I wish to point out that in the first place, the Senator must examine the whole problem with which they were faced. They took over from the Army the Manhattan project in all its ramifications. There is a specific provision further on in the act that those who were in the Manhattan project could be continued in their employment. As to the other employees, it is my information that in conformity with the act, the FBI was asked to report on all of them.

Mr. FERGUSON. Did the FBI so report; and if so, has the Senate committee seen the reports?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I think it was very clearly pointed out the other day by my colleague, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], that it was not the job of the committee to go through the many hundreds or ultimately thousands of reports on individual employees of the Manhattan project, because that is an administrative job; but he did request certain information regarding certain of the employees; and those reports were, at his request, furnished to the committee.

Mr. FERGUSON. Were they put into the record?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield to me? I can clear up this point.

Mr. FERGUSON. I wish to know whether the reports were put into the record.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, they were not put into the record, and the committee never contemplated putting into the record reports of such a confidential nature as were made by that agency. The committee did ask for the full investigatory reports on approximately 15 or 20 of the key personnel of the Commission. In each case the complete report was furnished to the committee. The committee still has in its possession those original reports, and the committee examined the original reports and asked that a short digest be made of some of the reports in which some matters of interest might be developed. That was done.

I say to the Senator from Michigan that I think it is completely inadvisable, and would defeat the very purpose of the investigatory agency of the Government, to have confidential and extensive reports on the minutiae of the past, present, and future of every person employed, made a matter of public record. For one reason, certain sources of information would immediately be closed if those reports were made public. It would be practically impossible for the FBI or the Army Intelligence Service or the Navy Intelligence Service to acquire information about various persons if the sources of the information were to be made public and were to be spread all over the public records of this body.

Therefore the committee had to assume the responsibility, and did and does assume the responsibility, of saying to the Senate that a thorough combing of those reports was made, and that reports and digests were prepared only in the case of certain instances involving matters which the committee was quite certain would be of interest to the committee, or matters that might not have been clearly established as being above criticism and objection. We have the complete reports. I forgot the exact number of them, but they relate to 16 or 17 of the key, controlling administrative officials of the Commission.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me, to permit me to ask a further question?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The able Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] inserted in the RECORD a paraphrase of those reports. I assume that the Senator from Iowa is familiar with that.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Yes; as to about four or five persons.

Mr. FERGUSON. Did the committee make any further search to ascertain why Mr. Marks was not able to obtain a commission in the Navy? He is the chief counsel for the Commission.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, the circumstances are these, and they were discussed the other day: Our special committee has no authority, I am convinced, to command the services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As I pointed out the other day, the joint committee does have such authority, beyond any question. But the matter we

are now discussing is not a joint committee action. When the question concerning Mr. Marks came up, the material was digested and submitted, along with other matters which might have raised some doubt in the minds of the members of the committee. The committee asked that this file be sent back for recheck and reexamination. It was so sent back, through the proper channels.

The report came back to us with about 10 or 12 additional pages, but in the language or the conclusions or the ultimate statements contained in the new review there was no change from the old review. It stands now as it did then, with substantially the same language, and that is the language in the record.

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

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I wish to ask whether the committee saw fit to call or did call anyone from the Navy, to ascertain why the general counsel of the Commission was not permitted to obtain a Navy commission. I should like to have the RECORD show that.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. The answer is "No," Mr. President. We did not call anyone from the Navy on that point.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I wish to ask the Senator from California if he knows whether other appointments to high positions in the Government are customarily investigated by the FBI before the nominations are acted upon by the Senate. Was the recent appointment to the Securities and Exchange Commission investigated by the FBI, or was the recent appointment to the Maritime Commission investigated by the FBI? Are the American representatives on the international organizations set up within the United Nations investigated by the FBI? If they are not, I should like to know why there is this sudden demand for an FBI investigation of one David E. Lilienthal. Why should such a demand happen to come at this time, although there has been no open demand for such an investigation of other appointees, such as the ones I have mentioned, any one of whom could do irreparable harm to our country if he were so minded.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I wish to say that in respect to judicial appointments of Federal district judges and United States attorneys, I believe it is customary for the Department of Justice to make an examination and investigation of the appointees, and its report resulting therefrom is made available, at times, I understand, if not to the full committee, at least to the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary. I do not believe it is the customary practice to make an investigation of the type the Senator has suggested, in regard to other high Government officials and employees.

Mr. AIKEN. That is correct.

Mr. KNOWLAND. However, in all fairness, I should say that, of course, we are dealing here with a subject the very nature of which might well warrant, and in my opinion would warrant, a more thorough investigation than perhaps

would be given in the case of most Presidential appointees.

Mr. AIKEN. But it is apparent that any one of a dozen appointees of the President could do a great deal of harm to their country if they were so minded.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The Senator is absolutely correct about that.

Mr. AIKEN. I see no reason why they should not be subject to investigation, just as much as Mr. Lilienthal and his associates are. I cannot see any comparison between 50 percent of loyalty to one's country and 100 percent loyalty. If they are disloyal in any degree, or if they are in a position to be disloyal in any degree, they should be subjected to a special investigation, just as much as the appointees now being considered by the Senate should be. I do not understand why there is this sudden demand for investigation by the FBI, and why that demand is directed at Mr. Lilienthal as if he were potentially the greatest traitor the country could ever have, when, so far as the committee could find, not a vestige of disloyalty was indicated by the testimony which came before the committee.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. Does the Senator agree with me that, in view of the fact that the Senate of the United States and its Members have to pass on Mr. Lilienthal and all major appointments, it might be a good plan to have the FBI investigate the Senate of the United States first—each individual Senator?

Mr. AIKEN. Yes; and while they are investigating, should we not have the FBI investigate the President of the United States, who makes such appointments?

Mr. KNOWLAND. The only difference is that both the President and the Senate of the United States are elected by the people and the others are appointees coming up for confirmation. However, the danger to the Nation of a disloyal person might be as great in one instance as in the other.

Mr. AIKEN. No elected official has a right to appoint disloyal persons to positions of such great importance.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California yield to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. This discussion about the FBI and the investigation of officials, more or less political in nature, raises in my mind a most serious question. No person has a higher regard for the FBI, in the discharge of its proper functions, than I have. But I wish to point out to Senators that the FBI is a police organization. It is more or less in the nature of a secret police organization, and I wonder if Senators are standing on the floor of the Senate advocating that the time has come when the Senate of the United States, in the exercise of its constitutional functions, has to have reports from a police agency. I think there is grave danger in what is being suggested here today.

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, will the Senator from California yield?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I yield.

Mr. BRICKER. As I understand the Senator from California, the bill which he has introduced this morning would require the same investigation of those who may be appointed in the future to the Atomic Energy Commission as my motion of last Friday would require of those who have already been appointed.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The fact is, as I pointed out in my remarks, that since October the present members of the Commission have been serving as members of the Commission, and since December 31 the present members of the Commission have been *de facto* the Commission, with all the power, all the responsibilities, all the control over the Manhattan project, with all its secrets and all its ramifications. So that they have all the knowledge which General Groves and his assistants had, and no action which the Senate could take in rejecting these nominations could change that fact in the slightest. However, I believe there is legitimate criticism as to a loophole in the law, and the bill introduced by me would require in the future, prior to the time the President makes the appointments, a complete investigation by the FBI of any Presidential appointee, as is now required in the case of employees of the Commission, and a complete report would have to be furnished to the Senate section of the joint committee.

Mr. BRICKER. Is there any inference in the statement of the Senator that those who have been appointed already and who know the secrets, although the Senate has not passed on their nominations, would in any way reveal those secrets?

Mr. KNOWLAND. No; I do not believe any of these men would, and if I had thought for a moment that any of the members of the Commission, who had been appointed by the President of the United States, or the General Manager, was in the least degree disloyal to this Nation, or was a Communist, or a Communist sympathizer to the least extent, I would have voted against him in the committee, and I would be making a fight against him on the floor of the Senate. I do not believe they are anything but loyal American citizens, and that is why I am going to vote for their confirmation.

Mr. BRICKER. If there is any doubt in the mind of anyone that these men would get into any of the classifications the Senator has described, certainly they were not the men to be appointed in the first instance. Is not that true?

Mr. KNOWLAND. I assume that the President would not have appointed them had there been such a doubt.

Mr. BRICKER. I wish to make one more suggestion. I am advised that the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] asked two or three questions of the Senator from California in regard to whether or not there had been an investigation by the full committee. These records did not come to the committee until the day before the final meeting, and it was then in executive session. It was at that time that I asked that there be a complete hearing on all the appointees, that counsel be employed to make the investigation, and that there be brought to the attention of

the Senate all the details of the investigation.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I point out to the Senate, as I did on Friday, that my distinguished colleague from Ohio was a regular attendant at the meetings, and was very sincere in his belief, just as the other eight of the nine members are very sincere in their belief, that the information which has been brought to the Senate to date is not information additional to what the committee had before it. The Senator is correct in saying that that information did not come in public hearings, but by the very nature of the Atomic Energy Act, and the very nature of the joint committee, and the Senate section of the committee which has been set up, there have been in the past times when we had to hold executive sessions and there will in the future be many more times when we will have to do so. The Senator is correct that this matter came up in executive session. My point was that information had been brought to the attention of the Senate section of the joint committee relative to the names of four or five persons.

Mr. BRICKER. It was my motion before the committee that a complete investigation be made.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The chairman of the committee, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], has pointed out that at the request of the Senator from Ohio the executive director of the committee went through the records we had, and did make the analysis or résumé to which the Senator from Ohio has referred.

Mr. BRICKER. That is the analysis or synopsis I filed.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I propounded a question when the Senator from Ohio, I think, was out of the Chamber. My question was whether he was basing his motion, which is before us, on the fact that some newly discovered evidence had come in which the committee had not discovered.

Mr. BRICKER. It is information which in my judgment should be brought to the attention of the Senate before confirmation is had.

Mr. SMITH. It had been brought before the committee?

Mr. BRICKER. Oh, yes.

Mr. SMITH. When the committee voted they knew it was there. That is my point.

Mr. BRICKER. Substantially the same information. There was one further question, I think, asked by the Senator from New Jersey, that is, whether the President had cleared these appointments. There was no investigation made by the FBI and there was no request made by the President for an investigation by the FBI.

Mr. WILEY obtained the floor.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I should like to ask a question of the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. JENNER. The Senator says all this evidence was before the Committee on Atomic Energy?

Mr. BRICKER. A report was made. I do not think any member of the com-

mittee read the report. I do not know that they did. They might have. There was a report substantially along the lines I brought to the attention of the Senate last Friday, made by the chairman of the committee.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, if the Senator from Wisconsin will yield, I can clear that up.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wisconsin has the floor.

Mr. JENNER. The Senator from Wisconsin yielded to me to ask a question.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I should like to have the Senator permit me to make the answer, if the Senator from Wisconsin will yield.

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Reports on the key employees of the Commission were requested upon the order or direction of the committee. As chairman of the committee, I was directed to request the reports. I did so. The reports came to my office. On two or three occasions, at least two that I know of, I took the entire files of the reports to the committee meeting. Each report was available for the complete and unhampered inspection of every member of the committee.

Mr. JENNER. Is that true also—

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Let me go a step further. The committee instructed me to have these reports examined by the executive director and by myself, that a résumé of any matters we felt might be submitted to the committee as matters in question should be made, that we should make that sort of a digest. That was done. The reports were always open and available to every member of the committee. The Senator from Ohio had some of them.

Mr. BRICKER. I had three of them, and I read three of them completely.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I thought it was perhaps four, but, anyway, it was three. Any member of the committee had full access to them.

I may say to the Senator from Indiana that only in four or five instances were there matters which were not completely clear, matters which as chairman I thought it my duty to call to the attention of the committee for whatever judgment they wanted to pass upon them, and with the files available for a detailed examination of these reports by the members of the committee.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. WILEY. I yield for the purpose of a question.

Mr. JENNER. I should like to ask the Senator from Iowa whether or not the committee also had the information that was produced on the floor last Friday by the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. The Senator from Delaware appeared before our committee in executive session. I thought I explained that last Friday. The Senator from Delaware appeared before our committee and had information with

regard to two or three cooperative corporations. As it was clearly pointed out by him last Friday, and agreed to by those who were there, he did not at that time have so complete and detailed information as he presented last Friday on certain matters, and it was generally agreed that at that time it was not such a matter as created any particular furor. We asked Mr. Lilienthal to give an explanation, and that was given. That explanation was turned over to the Senator from Delaware, and is a part of the executive meeting records.

Mr. JENNER. As I understand, Mr. Lilienthal in his duties as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission is supposed to devote all his time to the Commission, and is to have no other outside interests. Is that correct?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I have not read the law on that point. I will take the Senator's word about it.

Mr. JENNER. I think the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] referred to it. Is not that correct?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Is the Senator referring to the TVA?

Mr. JENNER. No; I am referring to his present position.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. As I recall, the law requires him to give his full time to the duties of the office.

Mr. JENNER. Then has anyone on the committee investigated whether or not Mr. Lilienthal has given up his activities with the various corporations, in the Tennessee Valley Authority?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Yes, Mr. President; it has been very clearly established, that, I think in 1936, Mr. Lilienthal gave up his activities with such corporations. The Senator from Delaware could give us more information on that, but we cleared that up.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield?

Mr. WILEY. I cannot yield interminably, because I owe an obligation to the House to have a conference report acted on by the Senate. If it be agreeable to the Senators, I suggest that I be permitted to proceed, and that when I have concluded with this matter, they may then continue their discussion.

#### TERMINATION OF WAR POWERS AND CONTROLS UNDER SECOND WAR POWERS ACT—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the conference report on the bill (S. 931) to extend certain powers of the President under title III of the Second War Powers Act.

(See conference report printed in full when submitted by Mr. WILEY, on March 28, 1947, p. 2828, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the conferees met and worked all Saturday afternoon, and agreed to their report, about

6 o'clock. What we agreed upon is set forth, I think, quite succinctly in section 1501, of the conference report, which I shall take the liberty of reading:

Sec. 1501. Except as otherwise provided by statute enacted during the first session of the Eightieth Congress on or before the date this section as amended takes effect, titles I, II, III, IV, V, VII, and XIV of this act and the amendments to existing law made by such titles shall remain in force only until March 31, 1947, except that such title III, and the amendments to existing law made by such title, shall remain in force until June 30, 1947, for the following purposes—

This is the important part of it—

(a) Allocations of cinchona bark and cinchona alkaloids, manila (abaca) fiber and cordage, agave fiber and cordage, tin and tin products, antimony and streptomycin; (b) allocations limited to control of production for export of tractors; (c) allocations of the use of transportation equipment and facilities by rail carriers; (d) allocations of materials or facilities for export which are required to expand the production in foreign countries of materials critically needed in the United States; (e) allocations of materials or facilities which are certified by the Secretaries of State and Commerce as necessary to meet international commitments.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. WILEY. Yes.

Mr. ELLENDER. Will the Senator tell us what the materials or facilities are that will be covered under paragraph (a) and upon which international commitments have been made?

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I shall have to read in connection with (e) the subsequent language, and then I will come back to the question and try to answer it:

*Provided*, That any materials or facilities which were not being allocated on March 24, 1947, shall not be allocated hereafter under the provisions of such title III.

I take it that what the distinguished junior Senator from Louisiana wishes to know is, what is going to happen to rice, meat and meat products, fats and oils, grain and grain products, which are not mentioned in the language of the bill that I have quoted.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator is correct. There is no way of telling by reading section (e).

Mr. WILEY. Let us go back to the subdivision (e) and see if we cannot understand just what that means:

Allocations of materials or facilities which are certified by the Secretaries of State and Commerce as necessary to meet international commitments.

It must be realized, first, that what happened on this was that the House accepted our version, that controls should continue until the 30th of June. Under their bill it was continued into October, so they accepted our philosophy in that respect.

Mr. ELLENDER. But in the House bill most of these articles were excepted, particularly rice, that the Senator has just mentioned, and that are now included under (e) by way of commitments?

Mr. WILEY. I will have to answer one question before I proceed to argue another. If it is understood that the conferees agreed first that all those controls

that are not mentioned should be lifted as of March 31, which is today, those that are mentioned extend until the 30th of June, only; so we come down to the Senator's question of what controls are mentioned. In order to reach that conclusion we had to realize that this Government has, in the international food arrangement, certain commitments or understandings relative to the feeding of the world, but it is also necessary to understand that we, of the Senate and of the House, have not been fully advised by the executive branch of the Government in regard to this matter, though for months we have been trying to obtain information, and the information we received came to us only after the 14th of March; so all the conferees agreed that it was advisable to extend the period of necessary control until the 30th of June.

Now what are these controls? First, let us consider rice. The rice control is only a set-aside order transferring it for Government use.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is it the Senator's view that whatever set-aside order has already been made in regard to rice will cover all commitments made for the future? In other words, will the Government be able to obtain a greater amount of rice or other grains or commodities to ship abroad than have already been set aside by way of commitments already made?

Mr. WILEY. I would say that the meaning of paragraph (e) is that if the Secretaries of State and Commerce both certify that between now and June 30 it is imperatively necessary to set aside additional amounts in order to meet our foreign commitments, even the set-aside order which has been in effect in the past would not limit the power of Government to do so.

Mr. ELLENDER. So that the Senator interprets the language to relate to additional commitments as well as to commitments already made? I believe the Senator is in error or he may misunderstand what I am driving at.

Mr. WILEY. We have not interfered with the power which now exists in Government to meet an emergency that might arise between now and the 30th of June. I know what the Senator has in mind. During the period the set-aside order was in existence sometimes the Government set aside 50 percent, sometimes 60 percent, and sometimes 30 percent of the rice production.

Mr. ELLENDER. In the case of rice there has been as much as 40 percent set aside and—

Mr. WILEY. There has been as much as 70 percent set aside.

Mr. ELLENDER. The greatest percentage has escaped my mind at the moment. The world production of rice is now within 4 percent of the average produced from the 1935-36 season to the 1939-40 season. The rice crop in the United States for 1946 is officially estimated at 70,000,000 bushels, which is 40 percent larger than the 1937-41 average, and approximately 57½ percent

larger than the average of the 10 pre-war years.

Mr. WILEY. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. And the amount of rice produced in the United States is less than 1 percent of the world's normal production, and is twice as much as is consumed in the United States. For that reason I feel that rice should be taken entirely from all controls. Our production makes such a small dent on world consumption that our rice producers and millers should be left to expand their own markets here in this country and abroad, particularly to its traditionally good customers such as Cuba and Puerto Rico.

Mr. WILEY. I can say to the distinguished Senator that other Members of Congress felt the same way, but after all we have to have a basis on which minds in both the House and the Senate could meet, and it was finally agreed to have controls under title 3 of the Second War Powers Act and the Export Control Act expire on the same date. Recognizing the fact that neither the House nor the Senate, because of the Executive failure to give us full information, had the information that was necessary, we had to provide a stopgap.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Does the Senator from Wisconsin know the reason for taking the determination of controls away from the Department of Agriculture and placing them in the Departments of State and Commerce. I understand this is a House proviso. The Department of Agriculture, as I understand, has been the agency of the Government of the United States which has represented us on the Food and Agricultural Organization and also on the International Food Council. I was wondering why the right to make these determinations was lodged with the State and Commerce Departments rather than with the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. WILEY. Let me say again that rice, about which we have been speaking, is included in the International Emergency Food Council agreement, and my recollection of what was stated in the conference is that none of the controls we have in mind was exercised by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. AIKEN. So far as that goes, the Department of Agriculture advises me that they intend to take controls off rice within a very short time anyway.

Mr. WILEY. Then, that answers this part of the report that has been brought into question.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Of course, the control of rice was continued by the Senate bill for 90 days.

Mr. ELLENDER. I understand that, Mr. President, but my question had to do with—

Mr. TAFT. It was also continued by the House bill for 90 days. Therefore the conference could do nothing about it.

Mr. ELLENDER. No, no, Mr. President, when we agreed in haste to the Senate bill I was aware of the fact that

the House had stricken out rice as well as wheat and other grains, and I did not desire to raise the issue on the floor and thereby precipitate debate, but hoping that the conferees could get together and agree to strike out rice and grain and other commodities from the Senate bill.

Mr. TAFT. The House may have stricken those particular grains, but the House bill contained the provision:

(e) Allocation of materials or equipment for export which are certified by the Secretaries of State and Commerce are necessary to meet international commitments.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand that language applies to commitments already made. It would not mean the increase of commitments already made, would it?

Mr. TAFT. No; that language expressly provides that if the commodities were not already allocated on March 24, 1947, no allocation could be made. I think there is no question about that.

Mr. ELLENDER. I wish to again ask the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin a question similar to that I propounded to him, last Friday, when the Senate bill was up for consideration: The compromise does not in any wise deal with price control, but it simply attempts to provide that the allocation and rationing authority as to certain named articles and the commitment of materials and facilities already made shall expire at the same time—that is, on June 30—as price controls? Is that not a correct summary of what will be done should the report be adopted?

Mr. WILEY. The reason the House agreed to that provision was, I think, they saw the logic of making the date June 30, because the so-called export controls under the Export Act expire at that time unless we extend them, and we felt in evaluating the whole picture that the only way to do was to bring them both to a joint expiration date, and then we could determine between now and then those controls that could safely be allowed to expire and those that should be continued.

Mr. ELLENDER. And what I previously indicated is, to a large extent, what the compromise provides?

Mr. WILEY. That is what the bill does.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Does the Senator know the reason why the House bill transferred these controls from the Department of Agriculture to the Departments of Commerce and State? I do not really think it makes any difference in the exercise of the controls, but it would be interesting to know why it was done.

Mr. WILEY. My recollection of what was stated in the conference is that in relation to the International Emergency Food Council agreement the Departments of Commerce and State really had the matters in charge.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. The reason those words are found in the bill is that they were

in the bill sent to the House by the President. He wrote those words in the bill, and the House never changed them. The provision does not transfer the control to the Departments of State and Commerce. It merely permits the Departments of State and Commerce to certify the fact that certain commodities are connected with international commitments. After that the Department of Agriculture continues controlling just as in the past.

Mr. AIKEN. The provision really transfers the determination of the matter, however.

Mr. TAFT. The determination of whether certain items are included in the provisions of the bill or not.

Mr. AIKEN. Then I understand we have to look to the President for an answer to that question.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. I was going to ask the Senator in charge of the conference report if the remarks made during the colloquy between the Senator from Ohio and the Senator from Louisiana pertaining to rice are not also applicable in exactly the same way to grain and grain products, and the milling of grain and grain products.

Mr. WILEY. That raises a somewhat different question. The present control in relation to grain and grain products under this particular act is an importation control, but I feel—

Mr. BUTLER. Importation or exportation control?

Mr. WILEY. No; importation control. It happens to be War Food Order 63. On the other hand, I do not think there need be any fear that between now and June 30 the Government is going to alter the picture by extending its controls in that direction. However, I want to be frank about the matter. There was no intention between now and June 30 to limit the Government in fulfilling its obligations under the International Emergency Food Council agreement.

Mr. BUTLER. That would refer to exports.

Mr. WILEY. Yes; that would come under the Export Act, anyway.

Mr. BUTLER. In that connection subdivision (e) and, in fact, the entire section, refers to the power of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Commerce in making certain certifications. I assume they certify to the President. To whom do they certify?

Mr. WILEY. To the President. This is really a limitation in relation to all future controls, some of which I have mentioned, including those on rice, Cheddar cheese, meats, fats, beans, peas, proteins, grain, and grain products.

Mr. BUTLER. That limitation is to meet international commitments already made, is it not?

Mr. WILEY. That is correct.

Mr. BUTLER. Not international commitments that may be made hereafter. As I understand, it does not refer to new international commitments, but to commitments which are now on the books.

Mr. WILEY. I do not believe that that exact question arose. I presume

that what we had in mind was that between now and June 30, in this world of crises and troubles, the power was still lodged in the President to do that which he thought was necessary to meet international commitments. Or let us put it this way—to meet commitments in the International Emergency Food Council agreements.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I dislike reopening the question, but the purpose is simply and solely to carry out commitments already made. The provision is not to apply to additional future commitments.

Mr. BUTLER. That was my impression, and I wanted that fact brought out.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is my understanding; and I am sure that is the understanding of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. During the past—I believe under the War Powers Act—certain controls over the milling industry have been in effect. The industry was required to grind a certain percentage of the wheat into flour. Instead of grinding 60 percent flour it had to make 70 or 80 percent flour from wheat. Is that power extended under this measure, or is it dropped?

Mr. WILEY. Has the Senator in mind any particular control? The Senator was talking about grain and grain products.

Mr. BUTLER. Yes.

Mr. WILEY. We asked the President to submit to us—which he did—a list of the controls still in existence under title III. The only order I find anywhere in relation to grain and grain products is War Food Order 63, which is an importation control. That is all the authority that was exercised under title III of the Second War Powers Act. That is all the authority that is now being exercised. Of course there is no intent by this conference report to interfere with any other laws under which the President may exercise certain authority.

Mr. BUTLER. If I correctly understand the chairman of the committee, this provision applies only to commitments which have already been made.

Mr. WILEY. This is the language:

Provided, That any materials or facilities which were not being allocated on March 24, 1947, shall not be allocated hereafter under the provisions of such title III.

Counsel for the committee has stated that the language of the bill limits the commodities in all respects to such as were under allocation on March 24, 1947.

Mr. BUTLER. Then, as I understand, it is the Senator's opinion that it does not affect the grinding order. The Senator knows what 50 percent flour, 60 percent flour, and 80 percent extraction mean. I am anxious to know if under this provision the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Commerce could require that the extraction orders which were issued to the mills shall not be renewed.

Mr. WILEY. I do not think I can answer that question, because the subject is not covered in the bill one way or the other. What we are trying to do is to maintain the status quo of existing orders, with the possible exception, under subclause (e), of "materials or facilities which are certified by the Secretaries of State and Commerce as necessary to meet international commitments." The Government is not limited except as stated in the proviso:

Provided, That any materials or facilities which were not being allocated on March 24, 1947, shall not be allocated hereafter under the provisions of such title III.

A further proviso is:

That nothing herein contained shall be construed to continue beyond March 31, 1947, any authority to allocate sugar, rubber, or the derivatives thereof.

The first proviso, as I have already stated, is:

Provided, That any materials or facilities which were not being allocated on March 24, 1947, shall not be allocated hereafter under the provisions of such title III.

That is a limitation with respect to title III. But there may be other authority; and I believe that subclause (e) does not limit the President if a certificate is forthcoming from the Secretaries of State and Commerce.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. I must insist that, as I understand the language, under subclause (e) it refers to commitments already made, and does not apply to any future commitments. The language as to March 24, to which the Senator refers, names the articles which were then under allocation requirements.

Mr. WILEY. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. I again repeat, subclause (e) refers simply to the fulfillment of promises by way of commitments, made by the Government in the past. It is limited to that. It cannot mean anything else. Will the Senator read the language again, and tell us, as chairman of the committee, if he does not agree with us?

Mr. WILEY. I think I have covered the subject three or four times, and given my understanding of the meaning of "e."

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator has not answered the question specifically.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. My opinion is that the word "commitments" refers to something to which we are now committed.

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes. That is my position.

Mr. TAFT. That is what it must mean. Otherwise we would say "contracts hereafter made, undertaken, or entered into." It seems to me that when we talk about commitments in a temporary bill we mean the things to which we are already committed.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is my understanding; and that view is what I was trying to elicit from the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. President, it is my intention to vote for the conference report to extend the Second War Powers Act, because I believe that certain commodities such as tin and fibers and other strategic materials are in scarce supply. For that reason I voted to extend sugar controls until October 31, 1947.

I repeat, Mr. President, that I desire to make it known, however, that rice which is not mentioned in the extension of the Second War Powers Act, remains under controls only by way of commitments already made, by reason of subparagraph (e) which we fully discussed in the course of this debate. I do not desire to take exception to this portion of the conference report since I am not in a position to know what these international commitments have been and how binding they are; but I want it distinctly understood that in voting for this report I do so, insofar as rice is concerned, because of the definite information which I have secured this day from the Department of Agriculture to the effect that an order, which has already been signed, is being circulated to the effect that all producers and millers who have already complied with their commitments will not be required to set aside any more rice from the present crop, and that in the future no further set-aside will be required of them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chafee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 146) to extend the powers and authorities under certain statutes with respect to the distribution and pricing of sugar, and for other purposes.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION—NOMINATION OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. CAIN obtained the floor.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me in order to suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DONNELL in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

|           |           |                |
|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Aiken     | Connally  | Green          |
| Ball      | Cooper    | Gurney         |
| Barkley   | Cordon    | Hatch          |
| Bricker   | Donnell   | Hawkes         |
| Brooks    | Downey    | Hayden         |
| Buck      | Dworschak | Hickenlooper   |
| Bushfield | Ecton     | Hill           |
| Butler    | Ellender  | Hoey           |
| Byrd      | Ferguson  | Holland        |
| Cain      | Flanders  | Ives           |
| Capper    | Fulbright | Jenner         |
| Chavez    | George    | Johnson, Colo. |

|                 |                 |               |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Johnston, S. C. | Millikin        | Stewart       |
| Kem             | Moore           | Taft          |
| Kilgore         | Morse           | Taylor        |
| Knowland        | Murray          | Thomas, Okla. |
| Langer          | Myers           | Thomas, Utah  |
| Lodge           | O'Conor         | Tobey         |
| Lucas           | O'Daniel        | Tydings       |
| McCarran        | O'Mahoney       | Umstead       |
| McCarthy        | Overton         | Vandenberg    |
| McClellan       | Pepper          | Watkins       |
| McFarland       | Reed            | Wherry        |
| McGrath         | Revercomb       | White         |
| McKellar        | Robertson, Va.  | Willey        |
| McMahon         | Robertson, Wyo. | Williams      |
| Magnuson        | Russell         | Wilson        |
| Malone          | Saltonstall     | Young         |
| Martin          | Smith           |               |
| Maybank         | Sparkman        |               |

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. THYE] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] are necessarily absent.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] is absent on public business.

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-eight Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I beg the indulgence of the Senate so that I may say without interruption what I have in mind to say in the next 20 minutes about the proposed Lilienthal appointment. At the conclusion I shall gladly attempt to answer any questions which Senators on either side of the aisle may care to ask me.

Several weeks ago the President of the United States sent to the Senate the nomination of George Catlett Marshall to become the Secretary of State. A very few minutes later every Senator present, on both sides of the aisle, had voted for the nominee. It is, therefore, worth while, particularly today as we consider another Presidential nomination, to reflect on the qualities which made Mr. Marshall so conclusively and rapidly acceptable to the Senate.

I think the Senate felt as America did about Mr. Marshall; namely, that there was nothing about his character, integrity, purpose, courage, ability, or Americanism which was open to a shadow or a glimmer of a doubt. We shared with America the feeling that Mr. Marshall, as Secretary of State, would be neither too tough nor too soft in his dealings with Russia and the other nations of the world. We thought he would do the right thing for and with everybody. We had no reason to second-guess one whom we felt with conviction was completely disinterested and unselfish. We had no cause to feel that the nomination was political in any degree. The Senate considered Mr. Marshall to be, to the extent that a mortal man can be without weakness, the perfect choice. Both Democrats and Republicans applauded the President's wisdom in recommending General Marshall.

Mr. President, now the Senate is considering another Presidential nomination, that of Mr. David E. Lilienthal, to

become Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. In his nomination we have a classic contrast to the example I have just referred to. Rightly or wrongly, we are confronted by a nomination which many Senators will never vote to confirm.

Who and what is Mr. David E. Lilienthal? I am certain that I do not know, for the record is so contradictory. By some he has been called a Communist, by others a Socialist, a collectivist, an opportunist, a prophet of the world to be, a New Dealer, a great administrator, a great American, and simply a genius.

My own opinion, and a very positive one, is that he is neither a Communist nor a Socialist, although if a man can be judged by the company which supports and applauds his conduct he could too easily be held suspect on these counts. When Mr. Lilienthal denies any knowledge that the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, for which he was a sponsor, possessed a communistic tinge, I do not think him guilty of having some connection with the Communist Party, but I do think him politically innocent and naive. If he did not know that Earl Browder had testified before a committee of the Congress that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was a party transmission belt, he should have made it his business to know it.

What Mr. Lilienthal is, outside of not being a Communist or Socialist, all of us are trying to find out. In a 1944 volume of current biography there is the following description of the man which appears to have been approved by Mr. Lilienthal:

Mr. Lilienthal is a good speaker who understands modern publicity and its value; a thoroughgoing realist, he is not very sensitive to personal criticism. He likes to refer to himself as an amateur athlete, an amateur author, and an amateur administrator. Although his salary is \$10,000 a year, he is particularly insistent on the last mentioned designation. One of the very few agency heads named in the early days of the New Deal who is still in the same post, he says that he always keeps his suitcase packed. "I'm not keen about a career in public service. It gives some people a desire for security that weakens their ability to stand up to things."

The only two things of interest to me in this 1944 description are the references to "amateur administrator" and the expressed desire to return to private life. I shall refer to both in a few minutes.

But now, Mr. President, I want to talk out loud to myself and to any who care to reflect and listen, about my respect for and understanding of the potential and promise of atomic energy and the requirements demanded of the individual to be chosen Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. We all grant that the Secretary of State has a tremendous responsibility and that he must be, as he currently is, outstanding in every respect. Important, however, as is the Secretary of State's assignment, it may well turn out to be insignificant when compared to the task assigned to the Atomic Energy Commission Chairman.

On November 17, 1946, Mr. R. L. Duffers, of the New York Times, described the issue before us all. He wrote:

The world's greatest problem today is the control of atomic energy. America's share

of that problem lies in the hands of five men who sit in temporary offices in Washington and compose the United States Atomic Energy Commission—AEC for short. These men have vast power. They recognize that a revolution in human affairs came about when the atom was split and the basis forces of the universe were released. What they do is certain to affect, not only the future of America, but of all nations—of mankind at large. They are not authorized to lay down rules for other nations, but to frame our policy on atomic energy, and our domestic policy may be decisive.

The AEC is not just another regulatory body. It takes over a tremendous physical plant—Oak Ridge, Tenn.; Hanford, Wash.; Los Alamos, N. Mex.—names associated with the production of the atomic bomb—and many laboratories; it also takes over our supplies of fissionable material. It holds, moreover, the world's most portentous secret. It has been entrusted by Congress with nothing less than the supervision of an economic, social, and technological revolution. Nothing like this has ever happened before in history. The AEC is unique. Its ultimate mandate is found in the preamble of the Atomic Energy Act—

Mr. President, all of us should think about that constantly. Mr. Duffers then quotes from that act, as follows:

It is reasonable to anticipate that tapping this new source of energy will cause profound changes in our present way of life. Accordingly it is hereby declared to be the policy of the people of the United States that, subject at all times to the paramount objective of assuring the common defense and security, the development and utilization of atomic energy shall, so far as practicable, be directed toward improving the public welfare, increasing the standard of living, strengthening free competition in private enterprise and promoting world peace.

Thus the AEC is first, a business—the most stupendous business in the world; second, it is by all odds the most important single unit in the national defense; third, it is a great research agency; fourth, it is an educational institution; paradoxically instructed not to exchange information with other nations but nevertheless to provide that free interchange of ideas and criticisms which is essential to scientific progress; fifth, it is a welfare agency, of dimensions never before conceived outside of a Utopian's dream.

The man who will guide the fortunes of the AEC is David E. Lilienthal, former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. President, there we have a statement of the scope of the terrifying job and a reference to the man who has been recommended to design our destiny.

Is Mr. Lilienthal the right man for that job? If he is, no single vote should be cast against him. If he is not, no set of pressures, however strong, should be permitted to secure the confirmation of his nomination. There must be no doubt or question about his fitness, purposes, or motives.

I have followed the public Lilienthal hearings, not in person, for time would not permit that, but as closely as I could through reading the transcripts. I was completely fascinated and absorbed by what I read. I was led to believe that there was a struggle—not a struggle by a Senate committee in its search to determine if Mr. Lilienthal was the best of all possible persons for the atomic post, but a struggle between the nominee and a senior Senator who was not a member of

the committee. The further I read, the more I became convinced that the committee was sitting more in judgment on the Senator than on the nominee. I do not know when or why the long enduring quarrel between the two men began, and it is none of my business. That they had no respect for each other was obvious. That some of what passed between them had nothing to do with the question at issue was just as clear. But, to my mind, the committee spent too much of its precious time deciding that the nominee was being persecuted by the Senator. If anyone thinks me wrong, I can but urge that he study the transcript.

To my mind the Senator had a right to speak as he saw fit, regardless of what his motives might have been; but the committee had little cause to be influenced by his accusations, charges, and attack if the committee considered them to be valueless or irrelevant. From my point of view, it was the committee's task to return again and again to the single, only question, "Is the nominee the one man, above all question, for the appointment?"

The committee heard the nominee constantly referred to as a great administrator. This fact, if it is a fact, materially influenced the decision in his favor. But what steps did the committee take to determine Mr. Lilienthal's excellence as an administrator? Did it call as witnesses those Congressmen, admittedly serious critics of the nominee, before whom Mr. Lilienthal had often appeared in the past? Did it examine Mr. Lilienthal's philosophy toward government and economics through his written works? Did it evidence any curiosity about an article in the Harvard Law Review of February 1941 in which Lilienthal argues for public corporations operating for profit and free of congressional control over income and expenditures and personnel? Did the committee bother to investigate the 20 serious charges made against Mr. Lilienthal and the Tennessee Valley Authority by the Congressmen and Senator, all of whom are presently available, whose views represent the minority portion of the congressional joint committee report resulting from an investigation of the TVA which was authorized by the Seventy-sixth Congress? No, Mr. President; none of these reasonable and logical steps were taken. Instead, the committee heard a number of witnesses who could only say that Mr. Lilienthal had spent unheard-of sums of Government money, and that, therefore, he must stand forth as an acknowledged, great administrator. Until the criticisms included in the joint congressional committee report are fully answered, I, for one, shall refuse to recognize any greatness about Lilienthal's public-administrative ability; and if there is room for doubt over what he has accomplished in the past, there is small reason to believe that he is properly or fully equipped to fill the post he seeks at this time. His record is that of a man whose thirst for power and authority is unquenchable. To confirm him would be to give him power beyond his ability to absorb or control.

I would gather from the opinion held by some Senators, and by many Americans, that Mr. Lilienthal is an indispensable man. It is said by these advocates that the Commission will fail utterly unless the nominee is appointed and encouraged to proceed. I know of no single reason which gives substance to this contention.

That Mr. Lilienthal is an able man in many ways appears to be beyond question. That he has any valid claim to greatness, I strongly doubt. That the Commission must either have him as its Chairman, or suffer dire consequences, is an unwarranted assumption.

To say that Mr. Lilienthal is indispensable is to assume that his knowledge of atomic energy, its origin, uses, and problems is limitless. I dare say many persons in America take Mr. Lilienthal to be the foremost atomic-energy authority in the world. But he was not when he was nominated, and I do not think he is now.

How many Americans know that Mr. Lilienthal was not the President's first choice? Or his second or third choice for the post? I do not know what numbered choice he was, but I very much doubt that he was even considered when the President initially became concerned over what ought to be done with atomic energy.

I know that the Special Senate Committee on Atomic Energy, which was established on October 29, 1945, less than 18 short months ago, to make a full, complete, and continuing study and investigation with respect to problems relating to the development, use, and control of atomic energy, had never heard of Mr. Lilienthal in connection with atomic energy, and they did not know anything about him 4 or 5 months later. This committee held hearings over a period of many weeks, in which every phase of atomic-energy legislation was discussed. The committee heard from more than 70 witnesses. Included among them were industrialists and engineers; Cabinet members and qualified Government officials; War and Navy Department leaders; scientists and lay persons, both men and women. But Mr. Lilienthal was not a witness at the hearings, the reason being, I suppose, that he had little to offer. Yet people by the thousands in this land will be surprised to hear that Mr. Lilienthal was not among those who struggled so hard and long to produce the Commission whose head the Senate ponders over now.

It is my personal opinion, but one which is shared by many, that the President, had he delayed his selection of Mr. Lilienthal for as much as 2 weeks, would never again have considered the name of David Lilienthal for the post of Atomic Energy Chairman. Not that the President would not have continued to hold his TVA Chairman in high regard; not that he would have thought Mr. Lilienthal to be less talented and/or able, but he would have known in November what he did not quite understand in October—that America once more wanted to place its faith and confidence in men, either Democrats or Republicans, who understand that the authoritarian philosophy and concept and ultimate reactionary procedures of the new order—

call it New Deal, if you will—had been sincerely and vigorously tried and found wanting.

It is not being unreasonable to say that the Lilienthal appointment was largely political in character.

Interestingly enough, it was announced at the height of the preelection excitement. It gave promise of holding in line the radical fringe, the left wing, and the tread softly with Russia advocates. Up until the last few days much of my Lilienthal mail has been in favor of his confirmation, and 85 per cent of it has expressed the fear that Russia would somehow suffer an affront were Lilienthal to suffer defeat in the Senate. One wonders how these supporters reacted to the President's recent speech about the threat of communism abroad.

I know of no friend or foe of Mr. Lilienthal who does not consider him to be a leading pleader and apostle of the New Deal. By way of example, I refer the Senate to an interview Doris Fleeson, of the Washington Star, recently had with Mr. Robert Hannegan, Postmaster General. With respect to New Dealers, Mr. Hannegan said that those who had stayed on the reservation were getting the same consideration they always did. Illustratively, he cited Mr. Truman's appointment of David Lilienthal to the Atomic Energy Commission.

The President would not intentionally nominate an individual for any post if he thought his nominee would promptly become a controversial figure, and particularly he would not want to encounter trouble with his Atomic Energy Chairman selection, in whom there must be almost national faith and confidence if the latter's efforts are to be understood, supported, and approved. Obviously the President did not judge the temper of many people when he thought of Mr. Lilienthal.

In knowing now what he did not know before, the President cannot expect any measure of full support from those on both sides of the aisle who are in lasting opposition to bureaucratic paternalism, nor from those Senators who have so recently come from extended, thoughtful, difficult, and even bitter campaigns which were basically waged against what they conceived the big Government radicalism of the New Deal to be.

The President could not, on reflection, ask us to support his present choice. We trust that, on further reflection, he will not ask us to embarrass him more, for none of us have any such desire or intention in mind. We merely and sincerely hope to eventually vote unanimously for an individual, any individual, who has the complete confidence of this body and the Nation.

Is it not fair to raise the question publicly; why does not Mr. Lilienthal step aside? It is said by some, though I do not believe it, that he resisted the proposed Presidential appointment. He so testified in the recent extended hearings. As a public servant, his only interest can be the best interests of our country. If he is not wanted by a segment of the people, I should think he would bow out in favor of another.

He knows, as well as any man alive, how imperatively important and necessary public and official confidence will

be to his job. He knows now that, without fear of contradiction, and for reasons which may even be unfair to him as a person, he will never benefit from the public faith his task would demand.

He knows, too, for I am trying to make it clear, that a majority of those who have just come to the Senate from every grass-root region in the land are positive and firm in our opposition to his proposed appointment.

If Mr. Lilienthal steps aside, or is defeated, it will not mark the first time this has happened. Presidential nominees by the score, through the years, have failed to be confirmed by the Senate. Between the terms of George Washington and Franklin Roosevelt more than 150 major executive nominations have been rejected by the United States Senate. Six of George Washington's nominations were turned down, and 11 of Thomas Jefferson's proposed appointments were rejected. A number of able and good men must have been among the many who were rejected, but it is safe to feel that in a majority of the cases the recommended individual was not the right man for the job he sought.

Alexander Hamilton, writing in the *Federalist*, said, "It will be the office of the President to nominate, and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint." Gouverneur Morris thought this arrangement would assure responsibility through nomination by the President and security through the Senate's concurrence.

It is proper, therefore, that we think in terms of advice to the President regarding his present nominee. My advice, at least, is that his nominee is unacceptable because of a score of reasons laid before the Senate, and that he, the President, should withdraw the name of David E. Lilienthal and submit another.

This advice is not given lightly or disrespectfully, because one does not differ with the President except for solid and sound cause. That our willingness to differ with a Presidential wish must seem strange and unexplainable to some goes without saying. To them I can only point out that the day of rubber-stamp confirmations and rubber-stamp Congresses is over and done with. It should not any longer be expected that we should agree with what we do not agree with. The sooner this fact is taken for granted the sooner the legislative and executive branches of the Government will harmonize their efforts for the ultimate good of all citizens.

Does a single Member of the Senate have any right to assume that America is so lacking in and devoid of leadership that we must accept a controversial contradictory, cloudy figure as our selection to head the most powerful organization the mind of man has ever conceived? If we accept the premise that David Lilienthal, or any other individual, is, in spite of the serious doubts held by some of us, indispensable, we shall do the American Nation an irreparable injustice. If we confirm the nominee, as the Senate has the power to do, we are doing Mr. Lilienthal no favor. We leave the Nation confused and uncertain about the choice. We withhold from the Chairman what he needs most—a sympathetic, devoted,

understanding public. Unless the Chairman maintains this relationship with the people of this land, his efforts are foredoomed to suspicion, argument, and failure.

I would automatically vote against any man who sought to secure appointment to the Atomic Energy Commission. Of all appointments the one in question ought to seek the man. There is no qualified man alive who should feel that he was fully qualified. The very nature of the assignment would prevent any save the power seeker from feeling that he possessed what was required. But I feel, though I may be wrong, that Mr. Lilienthal took particular steps and pains to secure the nomination.

He became, almost overnight, a self-admitted authority on atomic energy. His public speeches on the subject sounded as though he was looking for the job which not long after came his way. As a member of the State Department's own atomic committee, Mr. Lilienthal handled the consultants who did the work resulting in what became known as the Lilienthal report, released on March 28, 1946. A chief contributor to this report appears to have been Herbert S. Marks, a former assistant to Mr. Lilienthal at TVA, and now general counsel for the Atomic Energy Commission. I suppose every Senator is thoroughly familiar with the basic and fundamental differences between this plan and the plan as it was drastically revised by Mr. Bernard M. Baruch. The Baruch proposals were violently opposed by Mr. Henry Wallace. We might just as well recall that the CIO Political Action Committee, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and the National Citizens Political Action Committee were among those who roared approval of the Wallace concept while raging against the realistically reasonable protective measures Mr. Baruch had in mind.

While the furor between Baruch and Wallace was absorbing public attention, the Atomic Energy Commission was being quietly put together. Mr. Baruch recommended several national figures to the President, but I understand they turned down their proposed appointments to the Commission. I think this action took place in September of last year.

In October of 1946 the Commission was announced by the President. It is my understanding that the announcement came as a complete and disappointing surprise to Mr. Baruch and to Secretary of State Byrnes, neither of whom had been consulted.

Mr. Lilienthal might have been surprised by the announcement of his appointment, for he has testified that he struggled against being the President's choice, but he was not caught napping. Within 24 hours of his appointment he publicly announced that the Atomic Energy Commission would take over the Army's atomic project. Immediately following this declaration he named a temporary staff which included Herbert S. Marks, and Carroll L. Wilson, both of whom had served on the original State Department board.

To my way of thinking, Mr. President, it needed no prodding to force Mr. Lilien-

thal to accept a post on the Commission. He is there by design and desire, and will remain where he is if he can. If this contention was not true he would have retired when his nomination first encountered serious opposition.

In recognizing the brilliant design of the finest propaganda campaign I have ever encountered I would reply only to that portion of it which comes from my own northwest section of America. The story is being told in that area that private power interests are making a many-pronged attack against the extension of public power and the Valley Authority principle, and that a smoke screen for the private-power attack is the present congressional resistance to the confirmation of Mr. Lilienthal. The only answer I have to this misrepresentation, Mr. President, is that it constitutes pre-meditated maliciousness on the part of those who are unwilling to admit that Mr. Lilienthal is something less than a saint, and who are unwilling to agree that any proposed further extension of the Valley Authority principle should be exposed to additional study, research, and analysis, leading to a determination based on fact, need, and conclusive proof. I come, Mr. President, from a public-power State. I believe in the development which comes from a wise and reasonable use of public power. But this does not mean that I or any other thinking person should automatically assume that Lilienthal, the TVA experimenter, is qualified to become Lilienthal, the atomic-energy experimenter, nor does it provide excuse to assume that if one questions Mr. Lilienthal's fitness for the atomic energy chairmanship he is trying to hamstring and sabotage the development of public power throughout America. The curse of public power today is in the activities of those who crusade without thinking, who trample the rights of others underfoot, who will use any means, legitimate or foul, to secure their end result. That very small but articulate minority in the Northwest which does not tell the truth in its assertions of bad faith and evil purposes on the part of those who oppose Mr. Lilienthal is an example of what I mean.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I am not unmindful of what the able chairman of the Senate Atomic Energy Committee said the other day about the imperative need for action in confirming the nomination of a chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. I share his distress over the fact that so little has been accomplished since the decision was made to place the future of atomic energy in the hands of a civilian commission. I recognize that atomic energy will help to keep America secure for as long a time as our research leads the world. There is need for action and confirmation by this Senate, but it must be action and confirmation of a character that all of America will approve, respect, and support. Anything short of this will represent no lasting progress at all. We must be right in what we are doing now.

A great contest is sweeping this earth. It engages the energies and ambitions and abilities of those who strive mightily to make the universe either slave or free. All of us hope that freedom will survive.

None of us are yet satisfied that it will. The struggle to determine the final decision has just begun. Yet in the face of this political fact and reality there is an intention to turn to a political innocent for guidance and leadership in the unexplored field of atomic energy. We consider an individual who must count among his supporters nearly all of those who believe in a managed economy, an unrealistic and unreasonable softer attitude toward the Soviet Union, and the surrender of our national sovereignty to a world super state. That America wants to cooperate with the world is obvious. That America has no reason to surrender its right to live in the world of tomorrow is no less clear.

Whatever the excellence of this man's ability, sincerity, and good intentions, it is offset a thousand times by the encouragement and stimulus his appointment would give to a host of those who believe in a world of make-believe.

Every Senator in this Chamber speaks his own mind. I have spoken mine in trying to prove that Mr. Lilienthal is a casual and haphazard choice for the job he seeks. It is not that he suffers from either a lack of ability or good intentions. It is simply a case where the job in question demands more than he has to give. My respect for the land and world in which I live will never permit me to vote for a compromise, and Mr. David E. Lilienthal can be considered to be nothing more.

#### EXTENSION OF SUGAR CONTROLS— CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I submit a conference report on House Joint Resolution 146, providing for the extension of sugar controls, and I ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will read the conference report for the information of the Senate.

The Chief Clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 146) to extend the powers and authorities under certain statutes with respect to the distribution and pricing of sugar, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: "That (a) notwithstanding any other provisions of law, the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942 (56 Stat. 23); the Stabilization Act, 1942 (56 Stat. 765); title III of the Second War Powers Act, 1942 (56 Stat. 177), and the amendment to existing law made thereby; title XIV of the Second War Powers Act, 1942 (56 Stat. 177); and section 6 of the Act of July 2, 1940 (54 Stat. 714), all as amended and extended, shall continue in effect with respect to sugar to and including October 31, 1947, except that authority to continue inventory controls over other than household users may be exercised to and including March 31, 1948: Provided, however, That—

"(1) the authority contained herein shall not be deemed (1) to permit the allocation or

rationing of any product (other than the allocation of such product imported or brought into the continental United States) unless a regulation providing for allocation or rationing thereof was in effect on February 18, 1947, or (ii) to permit price control over any product unless a price-control regulation with respect thereto was in effect on February 18, 1947;

"(2) no person shall be subject to any criminal penalty or civil liability, under any provision of law referred to above, on account of any act or omission which is made unlawful by section 4 of this Act;

"(3) no provision of section 204 (d) or (e) of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended, shall apply (i) in any proceeding, involving a regulation or order with respect to sugar, in which an injunction or other order of a court is hereafter applied for, or (ii) in any proceeding, under section 37 of the Criminal Code, which is based on a conspiracy involving any act or omission which is made unlawful by section 4 of this Act;

"(4) in the case of any regulation or order with respect to sugar, no protest may be hereafter filed under section 203 of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended; and

"(5) hereafter no person shall be required to secure a license, and no license shall be issued to any person, under section 205 of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended, for the purpose of providing for the enforcement of any regulation or order relating to sugar.

"(b) The Secretary of Agriculture, in exercising the powers, functions, and duties transferred to him by section 3 of this Act—

"(1) may allocate sugar without regard to the provisions of title II of the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944 (58 Stat. 767):

"(2) shall allocate refined sugar for home consumption at a rate of not less than thirty-five pounds per capita per calendar year, and any increase in the amount of sugar available for allocation in the calendar year 1947 over the amount recommended by the International Emergency Food Council for allocation to the United States for 1947 shall be allocated for home consumption until the allocation for such use equals fifty pounds of refined sugar per capita; and

"(3) shall, in a manner consistent with the maintenance of an effective national allocation and rationing program, make available, for other than provisional-allotment users, not less than 12,500 tons of refined sugar during the period from the date of the enactment of this Act to and including June 30, 1947, and not less than 12,500 tons of refined sugar during the period from July 1, 1947, to and including October 31, 1947, to provide for the needs of hardship cases, for the needs of new industrial-sugar users (with particular reference to the needs of shortage areas caused by population shifts) and for the needs of those who have an insufficient base period history to operate currently at competitive levels (and shall consider, as a determining factor in those cases where there is such insufficient base period history, the rate of growth of such user prior to the base period year).

"SEC. 2. Prior to the expiration of the authority granted by this Act, the Secretary of Agriculture is hereby authorized and directed to remove any or all controls with respect to any product over which control is authorized by this Act when he determines that the supplies of sugar are sufficient to warrant such action.

"SEC. 3. (a) The powers, functions, and duties of (1) the President under title III of the Second War Powers Act, 1942, and the amendment to existing law made thereby; (2) the President or any executive department under section 6 of the Act of July 2, 1940; (3) the Price Administrator under the

Emergency Price Control Act of 1942; and (4) the President and the Price Administrator under the Stabilization Act of 1942, all as amended and extended (and irrespective of what officer, department, or agency may be now exercising any such power, function, or duty) are, insofar as they relate to sugar, hereby transferred to and shall be executed by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"(b) Every order, directive, rule or regulation, relating to any power, function, or duty transferred by subsection (a) of this section, issued by any officer, department, or agency heretofore performing such power, function, or duty, which is not in conflict with the provisions of this Act and which is in effect on the date of the enactment of this Act, shall continue in full force and effect, according to its terms, unless and until modified or rescinded by the Secretary of Agriculture.

"(c) So much of the unexpended balances of appropriations, allocations, or other funds, and the property, available for the use of any officer, department, or agency in the exercise of any power, function, or duty transferred by subsection (a) of this section or for the use of the Secretary of Agriculture in the exercise of any power, function, or duty so transferred, as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine, shall be transferred for use in connection with the exercise of such powers, functions, or duties. In determining the amount to be transferred, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget may include an amount to provide for the liquidation of obligations incurred against such balances of appropriations, allocations, or other funds prior to the transfer. Such personnel as the Director of the Bureau of the Budget determines to be required may also be transferred temporarily to the Department of Agriculture pending termination of the powers, functions, and duties transferred by subsection (a) of this section. The annual and sick leave of personnel so transferred shall be transferred with them; and they shall be entitled to the benefits of section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944 to the same extent and effect as though they had remained employees of the agency from which transferred until the termination of such powers, functions, and duties. Any personnel so transferred shall not, by virtue of their temporary employment in the Department of Agriculture, acquire or be entitled to any right to employment in such Department in connection with the exercise of any power, function, or duty other than one transferred under this Act. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of Agriculture such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

"SEC. 4. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person to do or omit to do any act, in violation of any order, directive, rule, or regulation continued in effect by section 3 (b) of this Act or issued in the exercise of any power, function, or duty transferred by section 3 (a) of this Act.

"(b) It shall be unlawful for any officer or employee of the Government, or for any adviser or consultant to the Secretary of Agriculture in his official capacity, to disclose, otherwise than in the course of official duty, any information obtained under this Act, or to use any such information, for personal benefit.

"(c) Any person who willfully violates any provision of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be subject to a fine of not more than \$5,000, or to imprisonment for not more than two years in the case of a violation of subsection (b) and for not more than one year in all other cases, or to both such fine and imprisonment.

"SEC. 5. As used in this Act—

"(a) The term 'person' includes an individual, corporation, partnership, association, or any other organized group of persons, or

legal successor or representative of any of the foregoing, and includes the United States or any agency thereof, or any other Government, or any of its political subdivisions, or any agency of any of the foregoing: *Provided*, That no punishment provided by this Act shall apply to the United States, or to any such government, political subdivision, or agency.

(b) The term 'sugar' means any grade or type of saccharine product derived from sugarcane, sugar beets, or corn, including liquid sugar, sirups, molasses, or mixtures thereof, and sugar-containing products, which contain sucrose, dextrose, or levulose.

SEC. 6. (a) Section 2 (a) of the Administrative Procedure Act, as amended, is amended by inserting after 'Surplus Property Act of 1944,' the following: 'Sugar Control Extension Act of 1947.'

(b) This Act may be cited as the 'Sugar Control Extension Act of 1947.'

And the Senate agree to the same.

CHAS. W. TOBEY,  
RALPH E. FLANDERS,  
BURNET R. MAYBANK,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

JESSE P. WOLCOTT,  
RALPH A. GAMBLE,  
JOHN C. KUNKEL,  
BRENT SPENCE,  
PAUL BROWN,  
WRIGHT PATMAN,

Managers on the Part of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, the conferees met and finished their work on last Friday, and their report is now before the Senate. The House adopted it about an hour ago.

The substitute agreed to in conference—

First. Adopts the provisions of the joint resolution as passed by the House making the Emergency Court of Appeals, protest, and license procedures under sections 203, 204 (d) and (e), and 205 of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942 inapplicable to regulations with respect to sugar;

Second. Adopts the provisions of the joint resolution as passed by the House imposing criminal penalties, making such penalties exclusive, and eliminating civil liability such as that for triple damages.

Third. Adopts the provisions of the Senate amendment guaranteeing the housewife 35 pounds per year, and additional amounts in the event of increased supplies.

Fourth. Adopts the provisions of the Senate amendment with respect to new users in lieu of the provisions for such users in the joint resolution as passed by the House. The quantity to be made available to such users is reduced, however, to 25,000 tons (in view of the fact that controls are extended only to October 31, 1947), of which 12,500 tons is to be made available between the enactment of the joint resolution and June 30, 1947, and 12,500 tons is to be made available between July 1, 1947, and October 31, 1947. Included with new users are hardship cases and the allocation to these users is to be made as was provided in the joint resolution passed by the House "in a manner consistent with the

maintenance of an effective national allocation and rationing program."

Fifth. Adopts the provisions of the Senate amendment with respect to the rights of the personnel to be transferred to the Department of Agriculture in lieu of the provisions of the bill as passed by the House.

Sixth. Gives the act a short title, "Sugar Control Extension Act of 1947," and exempts it from the operation of the Administrative Procedure Act.

Seventh. Omits subsection (c) of the first section of the bill as passed by the House which would have exempted from the effect of the resolution the importation of products in consumer-size containers upon certification by the exporting country that such products had been produced out of domestic quota sugar; and

Eighth. Omits the savings clause, section 3 (d) of the Senate amendment, which was not considered necessary, there being nothing in the act which would be considered to terminate any criminal liability.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION—NOMINATION OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. OVERTON obtained the floor.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. OVERTON. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. WHERRY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

|           |                 |                 |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Aiken     | Hickenlooper    | Myers           |
| Ball      | Hill            | O'Conor         |
| Barkley   | Hoey            | O'Daniel        |
| Bricker   | Holland         | O'Mahoney       |
| Brooks    | Ives            | Overton         |
| Buck      | Jenner          | Pepper          |
| Bushfield | Johnson, Colo.  | Reed            |
| Butler    | Johnston, S. C. | Revercomb       |
| Byrd      | Kem             | Robertson, Va.  |
| Cain      | Kilgore         | Robertson, Wyo. |
| Capper    | Knowland        | Russell         |
| Chavez    | Langer          | Saltonstall     |
| Connally  | Lodge           | Smith           |
| Cooper    | Lucas           | Sparkman        |
| Cordon    | McCarren        | Stewart         |
| Donnell   | McCarthy        | Taft            |
| Downey    | McClellan       | Taylor          |
| Dworschak | McFarland       | Thomas, Okla.   |
| Eaton     | McGrath         | Thomas, Utah    |
| Ellender  | McKellar        | Tobey           |
| Ferguson  | McMahon         | Tydings         |
| Flanders  | Magnuson        | Umstead         |
| Fulbright | Malone          | Vandenberg      |
| George    | Martin          | Watkins         |
| Green     | Maybank         | Wherry          |
| Gurney    | Millikin        | Wiley           |
| Hatch     | Moore           | Williams        |
| Hawkes    | Morse           | Wilson          |
| Hayden    | Murray          | Young           |

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-seven Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

The question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission?

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, most if not all of the material information appearing of record bearing upon the confirmation of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal has, in the course of approximately a week's debate, been presented on the floor of the Senate. It is not my intention, therefore, to discuss the evidence with respect to the advisability of the confirmation of the nomination of Mr. Lilienthal or of his comembers on the Atomic Energy Commission, or of its manager, except as testimony of record may bear on the issues on which I desire to express my views at this time.

I shall confine my remarks, for the most part, to the motion made on Friday, March 28, by the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER]. This motion is to recommit the question of the confirmation of the Presidential appointees on the Atomic Energy Commission to the Senate section of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for further study, investigation, and report.

Mr. President, we are not considering the confirmation of individuals for appointment to ordinary office. We are considering the proper men for the most important Commission ever created by any act of the Congress since the organization of our Government.

I doubt that anyone will controvert the suggestion that the Senate of the United States has never had, under their advisory capacity to the President of the United States, any office of graver import, of more far-reaching implications, of more stupendous power than the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. There has been no nomination to any office under the Executive power of appointment, whether it be of a Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, an Ambassador to the Court of St. James, a Secretary of War or Navy, even while our Nation was engaged in war, that rivals, nay equals, in magnitude the head and front of a commission that will hold within its grasp, for peace or for war, the destiny of our Nation.

The reality of atomic energy was beyond the ken and knowledge of anyone in all the world up to a few years ago. Its realism to this date is the gravest, most cataclysmic, and most tragic event in human history. Its potentialities even now lie beyond the utmost bounds of the human imagination.

The other day the junior Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] gave a graphic picture of the ruin and desolation of Hiroshima, transformed instantaneously in a single blast, from hundreds of thousands of human souls and homes and buildings into mere ashes and dust blown hither and thither by the restless winds of the earth.

Yet, Mr. President, if Dame Rumor is to be credited, the blast that shattered Hiroshima is, in comparison with the destructive force of the atomic bomb today, as the noise of the pop gun to the blast of a cannon. The corporate body that will have control of the secrets of nuclear energy will have control of the life and death, not only of this Nation, but, in all probability, of all the habitable globe.

Shall we not then, in the exercise of our constitutional mandate to consent

and advise with the President on the appointment of various officers of our Government, exercise every possible precaution and take advantage of every avenue of information?

Mr. President, I digress for a moment from the theme of my discourse to pay a just tribute to the chairman of the Senate section of the Atomic Energy Committee, the Junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER]. He has, with some possible exceptions which I may note later, undertaken to place before the committee and the Senate the most pertinent facts concerning these appointments. While ardently advocating the cause of Mr. Lilienthal and the remaining appointees to the Commission, he has presented the case in their favor fairly. So far as the junior Senator from Iowa dealt with the record, he has been factually correct.

But, sir, the dominating conclusion that must leap into the senatorial mind after reading the record is that the most important avenues of information regarding the nominees have been left uncharted and unexplored. And, again, sir, fault cannot be ascribed to the chairman of the Senate section of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for the absence of this information. Under date of February 25, as will appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 28, 1947, the junior Senator from Iowa addressed a letter to the President of the United States wherein he said the committee would be asked on the floor of the Senate whether it had secured all available information. He pointed out that the importance of these appointments was so great that the committee felt obligated to request authority from the President to any investigating agencies of the executive or administrative branches of the Government to supply all information possessed by such agencies bearing upon each of the appointees, and he urges the President to make available to the committee such information and reports on these appointees, if any be possessed by the Chief Executive.

A refusal by the President was the response to the request of the committee. Rightly or wrongly, the President considered it would be best to follow the traditional course of keeping secret within the archives of the executive department information of such a character.

But, sir, the response of the President does not relieve us from our own responsibility to the American people. The obligation that rests upon us is too far-reaching in its import for us to stand upon the tradition which withholds from us the possibility, nay, the probability, of information vital to the discharge of our duties.

It is this thought, if I interpret correctly the motive of the junior Senator from Ohio, that prompted him to introduce the motion to recommit. Congress itself is, perhaps, not free from blame in this particular phase of the matter. When we enacted the Atomic Energy Commission law we provided for the Federal Bureau of Investigation to report on the qualifications, character, and loyalty of all employees under the Commission and its management. If it

be important for the Congress to be advised with respect to subordinates, it seems to me that it is far more important that the Congress should be advised as to the qualifications, character, and loyalty of those who control, employ, discharge, and exercise managerial control.

Mr. President, is there anything to be lost by conducting such an inquiry? May there not be much to be gained? Could not or would not the Senate be justly criticized for failure to supply itself with the information that the trained agencies of our Government—the FBI, Military Intelligence of the Army, and Office of Naval Intelligence—can supply us? It may be objected that such an investigation and report would result in delaying selection of the Commission. If any error is committed, it is far better for us to err on the safe side, on the side of caution and prudence, than to rush pell-mell, as it were, into the selection of appointees without having before us the best sources of information of which this great Government is capable of providing.

Let me point out in this connection that one of the greatest fallacies is the claim so often asserted that unless David Lilienthal is confirmed promptly, the atomic-energy work will be retarded. Before Mr. Lilienthal had any connection with the Atomic Energy Commission or with the problem of nuclear energy, these developments happened and were performed by the old Manhattan District under military control with General Groves at its head: First, the authorized distribution nationally of beneficial radioactive isotopes for use in medical and biological fields. Second, the authorized construction of a huge laboratory, namely, Brookhaven Laboratory, at the former Camp Upton site on Long Island for atomic energy developments in which universities of the Northeast will participate. Third, the authorized enlargement of the Argonne Laboratory in Chicago for atomic-energy work in which the universities of the Midwest will participate. Fourth, the authorized construction of a tremendous laboratory at Schenectady to be operated by General Electric for atomic-energy research. Has Mr. Lilienthal done anything more than what has already been done under military control and under the supervision of General Groves?

Mr. President, the inescapable truth is that at the present time the sole practical use of atomic energy is as a weapon of war. It can be developed and will be put to industrial use for peacetime purposes. But according to the best information available to me, at least 3 years will elapse before scientific research will have advanced sufficiently far to apply atomic energy to industrial purposes. On the other hand, I make bold to say that we do need, as a nation, for our self-preservation now—right now—the atomic bomb as a weapon of war. The need for the weapon has not been growing less since the creation of the United Nations. The need is, in truth, growing apace and too rapidly, I fear, for the maintenance of the peace of the world. If war should come, I should want this mighty weapon under the control of

those most experienced and best able to handle it in the hour of national peril. I believe that atomic energy should be under military control until there is an assurance that the threat of war is ended and that we have won the fight for peace. Then, but not until then, we may return it to a civilian commission which will consider it mainly, if not altogether, as an instrumentality of peace and not of war. Therefore, Mr. President, I very eagerly joined with the Senator from Montana [Mr. ECTON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] in the introduction of a bill to amend the atomic energy law so as to place atomic energy under the control of the Secretary of State, Gen. George C. Marshall, the office of the Secretary of War, who is now Robert P. Patterson, and the office of the Secretary of the Navy, who is now James Forrestal, with two civilians to be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. President, is there any question whatsoever in the mind of any Senator that the patriotism, ability, loyalty, and character of George C. Marshall, if appointed the head of the Atomic Energy Commission, will ever be questioned? On the other hand, does anyone entertain the thought that if there were any serious question raised as to the qualifications of George C. Marshall, he would permit his name to remain for confirmation before the United States Senate?

General Marshall would know that the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission cannot serve in this exalted post of duty without having the unalloyed confidence of the Congress of the United States. The law creating the Commission requires that it shall be in constant cooperation with the Congress and that the Congress shall cooperate with the Commission.

Does Mr. Lilienthal enjoy this unqualified confidence of either the Congress or the American people? Is there not a very substantial number of the Members of the Senate, as well as of the House, who seriously and conscientiously object to confirmation of the Lilienthal nomination?

If Mr. Lilienthal possessed the high and noble character which his advocates claim for him, would he not, in the face of so strong an opposition, in the midst of a world crisis growing more and more critical hour by hour, repair to the White House and insist on having the President withdraw his nomination?

More than a month ago I stated in the public press that Mr. Lilienthal is not the indispensable man. There is not only George Marshall; there are scores of other men standing high in the confidence of the people of the United States who could head the Atomic Energy Commission, and with respect to whose nomination there would be neither doubt nor dispute.

The junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER], speaking to his motion, has given us sufficient reliable information to warrant the adoption of his motion. He has shown that one-fifth of the key employees so far selected by the Atomic En-

ergy Commission under Mr. Lilienthal possess questionable backgrounds. Fuller information should be had with respect to those employees, and information could be had with respect to every other key employee. Above all, Mr. President, the Senate should have before it the reports of the skilled and seasoned investigating authorities of our Federal Government with reference to the Chairman and other members of the Commission.

Mr. President, we must rise to the height of this great argument. We must act with the deliberation, the calmness, and the care that befit our high office. It is true of nations, as it is of men, that there is a tide in their affairs, "which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune; omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries."

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I should like to make a few remarks about the nomination of Mr. Lilienthal, and then I wish to discuss the Greek situation for a time.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the opposition to Mr. Lilienthal is just part of the general hysteria which appears to have gripped the country and which is similar to the hysteria which swept our Nation after World War I, when there arose a great fear of communism and of persons who might be Communists or Reds. A year or so ago those who wished to discredit a man completely called him a Communist. But now, Mr. President, the day has come—some may call it a happy day, although I do not regard it in that light—when some of the Members of this body say they are going to vote against Mr. Lilienthal because he is a New Dealer. They have bracketed the New Dealers with the "Commies" and pretty soon they will do the same with all Democrats, regardless of whether they are New Dealers. A little later in my remarks I should like to point out that even the Republicans are becoming involved in this process to such an extent that they find they cannot oppose certain measures for fear they will be called Communists.

Today the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] has asked whether the committee called before it, to testify, the Members of Congress who were severe critics of Mr. Lilienthal—Members of Congress before whom Mr. Lilienthal has appeared at committee hearings in the past. Those are not the exact words of the Senator from Washington, but I have stated them as nearly as I was able to note them at the time.

Perhaps I may give a general example of the attitude of the Congressmen before whom Mr. Lilienthal has appeared in the past—when he appeared, I assume, seeking appropriations for the TVA or in connection with other matters relating to the administration of that greatest of all governmental agencies, I believe, at least insofar as certain undertakings are concerned. In 1945, Mr. President, I made a trip to the Tennessee Valley Authority. We were contemplating, and still are, having a Columbia Valley Authority in the Northwest, and I wished to see how the Tennessee Valley Authority

was functioning. So I made a trip there, at my own expense, to see for myself. On the way down I had a lower berth, near the rear end of the car. From stateroom A, near the front of the car, came noises of loud singing. From the general tone and contour of the music, Mr. President, as it emerged from the stateroom, I could tell that the singers were feeling quite happy. I wondered who they might be; because, strange as it may seem, although, as I have said, it was obvious judging from the sounds which emerged from the room, that the singers were a little overly joyful, at the same time most of the songs were hymns. I had never heard a mixture of that kind before, and I wondered who they might be. In a short time a gentleman came out of the stateroom and started down the aisle toward me. I recognized him as a very prominent Republican Congressman and it later developed that he was one of those to whom the Senator from Washington has referred as having had Mr. Lilienthal before them for questioning at various times. He came down the aisle, and I recognized him; and when he got within 10 or 15 feet of me he recognized me, and stopped and said to me, "Well, well. There is the very fellow we are looking for, the singing cowboy from Idaho. Come on up here, TAYLOR, come on. Come up here and help us sing some songs. You're just the man we want."

So I got up and went with him to the stateroom—and there they were, about a dozen gentlemen, lined up on both sides of a long table, and the bottles were lined up shoulder to shoulder—square bottles, none of the plain old round ones. I sat down with them and partook of their merriment and helped them sing hymns. Mr. President, I like to sing hymns. My father was a minister of the gospel. They were going down to Tennessee, also, but they were not going to see the Tennessee Valley Authority. Mr. President, it seems that the Aluminum Corp. of America has a great establishment in Tennessee, sort of a resort where it takes folks whom it likes to impress, and entertains them at the expense of the corporation. These gentlemen were heading down there, not to see the TVA, but to enjoy a vacation at the expense of the Aluminum Corp. of America. Everything was very cozy. There was a young chap, with a fine personality, from the Aluminum Corp., and he was shepherding them along. He was opening the bottles, and he had a towel over his arm to keep them shipshape and to wipe off lapels, and to do one thing and another; and, Mr. President, he even had a pitchpipe to give the boys the key to sing the hymns.

I sat there and listened. I do not think I violate any confidence—because there was no secret about what they were saying—when I state that the whole subject of their conversation was Lilienthal. Not once on the whole trip did I hear one of them question Mr. Lilienthal's ability. Not once did I hear them say that he was an incompetent nincompoop, and that we should get rid of him for that reason. But they kept harping on the statement that they must get rid

of Lilienthal. This was about the tone of their conversation:

"Do you remember, Bill?"—

If any of them was named Bill, I apologize. If I give a name resembling anyone's real name it is purely coincidental.

"Do you remember, Bill, when we had that son of a gun up before us and you asked him the question about such and such? I thought you had him there. But you remember he came right back and had the answer on the tip of his tongue. He is the smartest son of a gun I ever saw."

Except that they used stronger language than that. [Laughter.]

That went on for hours on end. We would sing awhile and then we would get back to Lilienthal, and they would reminisce about how they had had him before their committee, how they tried to question him, tried to prove he was incompetent, and every time he got the best of them. They hated him bitterly, and they kept repeating, "He is the smartest so-and-so I ever saw, and we have got to get rid of him."

Mr. President, I believe that same feeling of envious hatred is behind a great deal of the desire to get rid of Mr. Lilienthal. Atomic power is going to be a great thing in the future of this country, a source of power possibly much more profitable than electrical energy, which has certainly proven profitable to some private interests. As now constituted, the Atomic Energy Act proposes that the Government shall control atomic energy. I feel that there are those who would like to see it turned over to private enterprise for exploitation. Some do not want Mr. Lilienthal because he has administered the TVA in a manner to carry out the mandate of the Congress, to furnish a yardstick, to supply cheap power to the people of the Tennessee Valley region. So, Mr. President, I feel that here is a very good example of much of the enmity toward Mr. Lilienthal, not that he is incapable, but that he is too capable, and his opponents are afraid they will not be able to get atomic energy away from him if he ever is placed in control, and that he will really carry out the wishes of the people of the country. I think there are many others who feel as those gentlemen on the train, that he is just too smart, and they do not want him in the position to which he has been appointed. He is too smart and too honest.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILL

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, and he announced that on March 31, 1947, the President had approved and signed the act (S. 918) to establish an Office of Selective Service Records to liquidate the Selective Service System following the termination of its functions on March 31, 1947, and to preserve and service the selective service records, and for other purposes.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting

sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. WILEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported favorably the nomination of Richard C. O'Connell, of Maryland, to be United States marshal for the district of Maryland, vice August Klecka, deceased.

#### AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I should like now to discuss the proposal to aid Greece and Turkey. I feel this matter is being rushed through the Congress, that is, that there is an attempt to rush it through with altogether too much haste and too little consideration of such an important question. I feel it is one of the most important matters ever to come before the Congress, certainly since I have been a Member of the Senate.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. OVERTON. Is the Senator talking now about Mr. Lilienthal?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. OVERTON. The Senator spoke of rushing things with haste. I thought he was talking about Lilienthal.

Mr. TAYLOR. I have left the discussion of Mr. Lilienthal. I am now going to Greece and Turkey.

I believe the question of aid to Greece and Turkey should have the fullest consideration and discussion. Some of us would like to know whether this is a humanitarian undertaking, whether we are doing it to aid the Greek people. We would like to know perhaps whether we are doing it to pull British chestnuts out of the fire, to preserve British investments in Greece. Some of us would like to know whether this commits us irrevocably to a policy of imperialism.

That question was raised in my mind very forcibly a few days ago when I happened to pick up a copy of the United States News. I would not say that the United States News is the organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, or anything of that kind, but it is edited by David Lawrence, a reactionary gentleman, to my way of thinking. He is closely associated with the big fellows who have a great deal to do with formulating our national policies whether we like it or not. So word coming from the United States News should have a certain amount of authenticity.

On the first page of the United States News is the Newsgram, the secret news, the inside dope of what is going on in Washington. There is so much of this secret news that four pages are needed to carry it. But it starts out like this:

It isn't to be so bad—this job of trying to run the world. It seems that somebody has to run it. Britain can't, Russia will, if United States doesn't.

I wonder, Mr. President, if Mr. Lawrence knows anything about what he is talking of when he say we are setting

out to run the world. That is what he says. He proceeds:

If Russia is ready to stop her foolishness, the United Nations could function and United States in that way could let a world organization do more of the job.

I am sure it would be very kind of us to let the United Nations have a little more to say as to how the world should be run. They would appreciate it, I am sure. Mr. Lawrence sets forth a program which he says is going to be our foreign policy. It is a blueprint for imperialism if I ever saw one.

He says:

A \$31,885,000,000 United States-aid and development program is in the works. Most of that program has had Congress approval. You get the story on page 11.

He says capital equipment is to be supplied in large volume, food and clothing are to continue to pour out of the United States—

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Did I hear the figures correctly—\$31,000,000,000?

Mr. TAYLOR. Thirty-one billion eight hundred and eighty-five million dollars. He forgot the cents.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the article show where it is to be spent?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; he has not a breakdown of it, but I read what he said. I do not know whether he knows what he is talking about or not. I am merely reading it, because this is a reputable magazine, and Mr. Lawrence is a very reputable reporter—on the conservative side.

Mr. WHERRY. One would not think that was very conservative—\$31,000,000,000.

Mr. TAYLOR. It probably is conservative. Perhaps it is more than that; I do not know.

Mr. Lawrence says further:

Dollars, on loan, to be translated into goods are supplied liberally by government, and private capital for foreign investment soon is to be tapped.

Brains, engineering brains, financing brains, administrative brains, are to be exported in large quantities. Some military brains will go, too.

Thank God for that, Mr. President. We should keep a few brains here, but there are lots of them of that type that we could send abroad, so far as I am concerned.

United States has about everything to offer if the outside world will cooperate. Big figures, big jobs no longer awe Americans. There is a \$341,000,000,000 investment already made in war, a \$31,885,000,000 war investment already either set or about to be set. United States couldn't pull back now, if it wanted to.

We have gone so far, he says, that we are sunk, we cannot hold back, we are committed to imperialism, and that ends the matter. He goes on to say:

Russia, by contrast, offers these things for export:

Revolution—a technique for Communist Party members to gain power.

Police to advise on terror and methods of dealing with opponents.

Requisition teams to drain away available supplies to Russia.

He says that is what the Russians have to offer. That does not sound to me very inviting. If that is what they have to offer, I should not think we would worry very much.

Against that background, these conclusions seem evident.

He says:

Europe, outside the Russian sphere, will be set up in business again.

I should like to have this entire article printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit A.)

Mr. TAYLOR. He says further, Mr. President:

Taxes need not be higher for the United States venture in world leadership. Tax reduction, in any event, is tied to the level of prosperity. Prosperity levels will relate directly to United States postwar investment in world development, to the very large flow of dollars and goods abroad, and to the large flow of foreign goods into United States. A profit is possible, in the end, on United States venturing abroad. Profit, however, will come only if United States can figure out how to let other nations pay the interest and principal on their loans by selling goods in the United States market. That is a problem that can be deferred during the period ahead when the big-scale investment will be in capital equipment to produce goods. New loans in this period will greatly exceed the scheduled payments.

In other words, we are just going to pour out the money, and then we will worry about some scheme to try to get it back after a while. He says:

What does seem more probable for United States is this:

Universal military training will probably become inevitable.

They are going to get us so deep in involvements that we will have universal military training, whether we like it or not.

Training at the start—

Very subtle—

is likely to be for 6 months, not a year.

We will just start easy and sneak up on the folks, so to speak, as we go along.

Army-Navy-Air Forces size will remain far above prewar.

Now, Mr. President, this is the best thing I have read in a long time. A week ago Sunday, in the Associated Press Round-Up in the Washington Post, I believe it was, it was stated that very few Senators would dare vote against the Greek proposition because they were afraid of being smeared with the Communist label. Well, sir, here it is, a little more specific. It says:

Congress cannot easily back out of commitments made and being made. A Republican-Communist axis in United States seems very unlikely.

Well, they have got it down to the point where the poor Republicans cannot vote their convictions for fear of being called Communists. We are in the same boat together; the Red hunt has got us all. We have got to go along here,

and go out and embark on this imperialistic course, because if we do not, we will all be Communists, Republicans and Democrats alike. It is a great technique, one followed by Adolf Hitler. He called all of his opponents Communists, and he got rid of all of them, finally, and just ran things to suit himself. The article continues:

Isolationists now find themselves alined with United States Communists, now find that their position, politically, is not what it once was. A crisis in far-off Greece thus is fixing United States postwar foreign policy.

May I say, Mr. President, that a crisis in Germany was the excuse to do away with civil liberties, and brought on the reign of Adolf Hitler. They had to have a crisis, so they set the Reichstag on fire and burned it down, and then they blamed the Communists, and got rid of them. Then they got rid of the Socialists, then they got rid of the labor unions, and then Adolf had everything his own way, and everybody lived happily ever after.

It looks to me, Mr. President, whether we realize it, whether those who are guiding our destinies realize it or not, as though we are being jockeyed into the very same position here, getting into a crisis on this Greek question, where nobody can speak up for fear of being called a Communist, practically a traitor to our country, subversive, trying to help Russia. They will get us in that position, face to face with Russia, snarling at each other, and they can do anything—take our civil liberties away from us, and deprive us of the very things that we claim we are going out to fight for.

Oh, yes. I mentioned that they had four pages of this secret news here. The section in the back of the publication has an interesting item or two in it. Let us go over to one in the back. Here is a very interesting statement:

United States business is to be affected directly by United States decision to underwrite world rebuilding, to take leadership in reorganizing the world.

Dollars are to flow out faster on loan and as gifts.

Trade will be high and active, wherever the dollars flow.

Price levels will tend to be supported by heavy world demand for many types of goods, sale of which will be financed by United States loans.

Mr. President, we have not been able to figure out how to give the American people enough money to buy all the things we can produce in this country, so we are going to loan the money, give it away, throw it all over the world, and let them buy the goods, our workers will produce them, and then we will give away half of it. That is what it amounts to, so we can consume the other half here at home.

Taxes will remain relatively high to support the military establishment required to assure order in the world and to underwrite the loan program. Businessmen will do well to get deeply interested in world trade, to find where they may fit into what obviously is to be an expanding field of United States interest and activity abroad.

I hope the Senate will listen to this statement, Mr. President:

It's to be settled now that the flag will follow the dollar into the far reaches of many areas in the world.

We have heard about that all our lives, how the flag has followed Standard Oil and these other boys into the far reaches of the world. Here it is, in this publication, which caters to businessmen and pretends to have the inside dope on what the business future of this Nation may be. Well, we have read enough of that, Mr. President.

I would like to read a clipping I tore out of the paper last night. It is about Judge Goldsborough. We all remember him. He is the gentleman that gave John L. Lewis such a sock on the jaw a while back. It says:

GOLDSBOROUGH URGES ACTION TO DEFEAT DEPRESSION

PHILADELPHIA, MARCH 29.—Justice T. Alan Goldsborough, of the District of Columbia, suggests establishment of permanent consumer credit to help defeat the depression he says is inevitable in this country.

Justice Goldsborough, who enjoined John L. Lewis and his AFL United Mine Workers from striking against the Government, predicted also that the United States would not become prosperous from foreign trade.

Addressing the eighth annual meeting of the Maryland Society of Pennsylvania last night, Justice Goldsborough said that to his knowledge the United States has been lending money to foreign governments for more than a quarter of a century to buy our goods and return nothing for it.

"In other words, we have been trying to get rich by giving our wealth away. Expressed in another way, we do not know enough to distribute to our own people, so we just give it away," Justice Goldsborough said.

Well, I think the justice stated the case very well, Mr. President. We all know that during the war we expanded our production very greatly. About half of our production roughly was in consumer goods, things that people could eat and wear and use. The other half was in guns and planes and tanks that were destroyed. And yet the consumers of this country, the workers principally, who produced this 100 percent of goods, received only sufficient money to buy the 50 percent that was turned out in consumer goods. They did not save a great deal. They saved some money, but not much.

So, Mr. President, we are faced with this situation: The war is over, and now instead of 50 percent consumer goods, we are going to produce 100 percent consumer goods. Who is going to buy the additional 50 percent? During the war 50 percent of production was financed by borrowing from the Government. That money went to the workers who produced the goods, and still they could buy only half of the total amount of goods produced. The other half went for destruction. Who is now going to buy the additional 50 percent, which, during the war represented production for the purpose of destruction?

The wages, the actual take-home pay of workers is less than it was during the war. We have barely turned our production machine around on the track. It is hardly out of the roundhouse. It is just getting up steam and already surpluses are appearing in certain lines, although the production machine has just begun moving. From one side of

the machine comes 100 percent of consumer goods and out of the other side comes the same old amount of wages, only sufficient to buy 50 percent of those goods. What is going to happen? The goods are going to pile up along the tracks and pretty soon the engineers, the boys who operate the economy of the country for us, the big fellows, will look back and find that these goods are not being taken up, and they will shut down the factory, throwing its employees out of work, and they will not be able to buy consumer goods, and that will result in the shutting down of another factory, and that will be followed by the shutting down of another factory, and like a line of 10 pins 10 miles long they will fall down one after the other. Then they just padlock the doors of our wonderful productive machine. Some of the fat boys who made sufficient money during the war will go to Palm Beach and sun themselves, but not so the American workers, Mr. President.

We can face this problem squarely, and endeavor to find ways and means to make our private enterprise, our capitalistic economy, function here at home, or we can take this phoney way of loaning money, or rather giving it away all over the world, to buy our surplus goods, and it seems to me Mr. President, that that is what the Greek situation is the beginning of. It seems we are throwing money around the world so those who receive it can come to us and buy the goods which we do not have sense enough to figure out how to distribute to our own people at home.

Do not misunderstand me, Mr. President. I want to help the Greek people. I want to help people anywhere who need help, and I want to help democratic governments to stay in power and become strong. But when I say I want to help democratic governments, that statement by no stretch of the imagination applies to the present government of Greece, and much less to the present government of Turkey.

Mr. President, as each day passes, the crisis in our foreign relations grows more acute. Last week's headlines spoke of military intervention in Greece and Turkey. This week's headlines speak of Korea, and of giving naval vessels to Greece and Turkey. Where are we traveling, and how fast? Why are we proposing to give naval vessels to Greece? As I understand, their problem is that of driving the guerrillas out of the mountains, and I do not believe any naval vessels could proceed up into the mountains and help drive the guerrillas from them.

I am deeply concerned over the apparent attempt which is being made in some sections of the press so to whip up hysteria, so to awaken the fears and dreads of the American people, that careful and thorough deliberation by Congress on the whole question of our foreign policy will be impossible.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. Does the Senator think the American people are at all disturbed about the attitude which the

Russian Government has taken respecting the atomic situation?

Mr. TAYLOR. I have not received any letters from them bearing on that situation, because it really has not been brought to a head. I imagine they are disturbed. I am.

Mr. McMAHON. Is the Senator disturbed at all over the Russian attitude on the atomic situation?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, I am. I should like to see an agreement reached in some way. But I do not think we are going to make the Russians agree to anything, I may say—

Mr. McMAHON. Whose fault does the Senator think it is that we have not reached the agreement?

Mr. TAYLOR. It is probably the Russians' fault. I am not an expert on the matter. I have had my hands full here, and have not been able to keep up with all that is going on in the UN.

Mr. McMAHON. There is nothing probable about it. It is a fact that it is the Russians' fault. Is it not?

Mr. TAYLOR. I will take the Senator's word for it. He is more of an expert in that field than I am.

Mr. McMAHON. Greece and other nations who are members of the UN have agreed to atomic-energy control—all except Russia and Poland. Whether or not it is Russia's fault that we have not reached an agreement, that is the record, is it not?

Mr. TAYLOR. I presume so, yes; I am quite certain of that fact; but I do not think that giving the Greeks warships is going to settle the atomic question, Mr. President. I am happy, however, to announce that, so far as I can observe, the public has retained its ability to analyze the situation coolly and objectively. My mail is running 95 percent against the Turkey-Greece unilateral military intervention plan, as opposed to pure relief and rehabilitation. I may say that at least 95 percent urge that this question be handled through the United Nations. They do not know how it is to be done. They simply are afraid that the UN is being crippled, and they do not want that to happen. I have never received as many letters from my own State of Idaho on any subject as I have on this, and, with just a few exceptions, my fellow Idahoans agree with me that the plan is an unwise and dangerous one.

The Turkey-Greece plan has been presented in various costumes. On some occasions it wears the wings of an angel of mercy—it is a plan for aid to the war victims in devastated lands. This costume is not a comfortable one, however, for it does not fit the Turkish situation at all. Turkey is fat with war profits. It played both sides during the war, and it played them very profitably. It sold critical supplies to us and to the Germans at exorbitant prices, and it received a great deal of aid for good will.

On other occasions, the plan is dressed in the armor of a protector of Greece against the advancing hordes of communism. The gallant warriors of the State Department, with their well-polished attaché cases bravely borne by well-manicured fingers, come riding down to the caucus room like the gallant 300 who held the pass at Thermopylae.

But the anti-Communist guise hardly fits either, for the Greek Government bears no relationship whatever to democracy, and it is not combating communism. Indeed, for every Greek who was converted to communism by Russian propaganda last week, 100 have been converted to it by the present Greek regime, and by our State Department's insistence that the only alternative to that regime is communism.

Mr. President, that assertion is simply not true. Greece need not choose between a tyrannical, repressive monarchy on the Fascist pattern on the one hand, and a Communist dictatorship on the other. The Greek people, if given a free choice, might well—and I am convinced they would—decide upon a government on the democratic pattern of the western world, a government of, by, and for the people, a government which would look after the well-being of its subjects and still preserve and protect the civil liberties of the individual and retain the benefits of a free enterprise economy.

It is to our everlasting shame that we are not helping them make that free choice. And it is to the everlasting shame of the British Empire—a shame that stands not alone, but rather following a long list of shames and infamies, a list long enough to extend from the top of London Tower to the Black Hole of Calcutta—that the government of Winston Churchill deliberately, maliciously, and intentionally set about to wreck Greek freedom and to subject Greece to a selfish clique of rulers headed by a dissolute puppet king who has not one drop of Greek blood coursing through his veins. And all to protect British investments.

Let me briefly trace the history of that shame.

When the British first landed in Athens in October 1944 they were wildly hailed as liberators. British flags and Churchill's picture adorned the streets. Greeks expected the British to follow the Germans and wipe them out. Instead, the British stayed in Athens while the Germans slowly retreated, intact and unmolested, westward across Greece into Yugoslavia, burning and pillaging Greek towns and destroying the year's harvest as they went.

The British had more important business in Athens. They had to subjugate their allies, the Greeks, instead of their enemies, the Germans. During the summer of 1944, the British had established in Cairo a puppet Greek government of royalist flavor headed by a petty politician named Papandreou. The EAM resistance leaders, fighting an underground warfare against the Germans in Greece, smuggled out some leaders, who asked for representation in the new government for the Greek patriots fighting and dying in Greece valiantly and effectively enough to pin down 15 German divisions for 4 years. But the British met the EAM delegates with harsh words and handcuffs.

During the summer of 1944, there were reported to be 9,000 Greek servicemen held by the British in concentration camps because they had been overheard expressing sentiments derogatory to the King of Greece. I have heard of a young Greek lieutenant who had been im-

prisoned and stripped of his rank because he had said in the hearing of a Britisher that he hoped Greece would have a democracy, not a monarchy, after the war. In late 1945 these prisoners were still in British concentration camps.

Recently I talked with a young lady who was in Greece with UNRRA. She was there when the British came. She saw the joy of the people at the arrival of their saviors, so-called. Then the British insisted that the heroic resistance fighters lay down their arms but let the royalist collaborators keep theirs. The fighters who had been fighting the Germans did not want to lay down their arms unless the others did, and they planned a large mass meeting in protest. They obtained the consent of the British general—I have forgotten what his name was—and then he decided to call the mass meeting off. He called it off at 10 o'clock at night. There were few newspapers and few radio sets, so the word did not get around and the next morning the people congregated in the square. This girl said she was there with them, circulating around to see what was going on. The British had stationed royalist Greeks on rooftops surrounding the square. The people did not know that the meeting had been called off. When the first speaker rose to speak machine guns started rattling from the tops of the buildings, mowing down the people in the square. She said there were two correspondents in American uniforms standing there, and after the first burst of gunfire the Greeks saw the American soldiers and ran over toward them, falling down on their knees and shouting "Roosevelt! Roosevelt!" The royalists continued to strafe the people, shooting at them until the crowd was dispersed.

This girl then stated that a 7 o'clock curfew was imposed. The next night she was in her room. Across from her on the corner was a Greek peddler who sold little knickknacks from an orange crate. The hour of 7 o'clock approached and about 2 minutes before 7 o'clock he made a sale. He did not have his wares in order to close business promptly at 7. He was trying to get his wares gathered up as fast as he could, and a British tank came down the street. She saw it coming. At about 5 after 7, without one word of warning, the Greek peddler was mowed down by machine-gun fire. She said she talked with many Greeks she knew who were not Communists, and when they saw these things they said, "We cannot go for this." They fled to the mountains, and they are probably there to this day, fighting the unholy regime and the alliance which Great Britain has set up to protect her investments or her lifeline.

The British were determined to bring back the monarchy. Only through the twice-exiled George could the British hope to keep their heavy investments in Greece tax-free and profitable. George II, King of the Greeks, has not one drop of Greek blood in him. His full name is George Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg Gluckburg. His people have twice exiled him, assassinated his grandfather and twice exiled his great grandfather, who was the first of the dynasty,

a German princeling whom the British forced on the Greeks after helping them to throw off Turkish rule 100 years ago.

The British proceeded with dispatch after they entered Athens. First, a British proclamation ordered all Greek resistance fighters to turn over their arms to the British. But the British had: The Third Armored Division equipped with heavy tanks; the RAF using bombers and strafers; the Greek Mountain Brigade, organized by the British in Egypt by enlisting Greek royalists and antirepublicans; the X-ites, the fanatical secret band of royalist ruffians and terrorists; and the security battalions, the Greek quisling internal police formed by the Germans and used to hunt down Greek patriots under the Nazi occupation. The British took over these collaborationist security battalions unpurged, and rearmed with American lend-lease weapons. All the Greek royalist and British forces remained armed to the teeth with heavy weapons. The resistance leaders countered the British order with the suggestion that all the Greek forces be dissolved. This was rejected by the British.

A second proclamation lowered wages and raised prices. Athens was a city of a million and a half, but only 20,000 wage earners were working. The average wage was the equivalent of \$1.40 a day. The British raised the price of food to the point where the daily relief ration cost 80 cents a day. The ration cost the British about a tenth of this. The food was American food.

The reason for the British profiteering on relief supplies is clear. There were to be no large revenue-producing taxes levied by the new Greek Government. Most of the income-producing property in Greece is British-owned or controlled. The streetcar company, the railroad, the public utilities, the dock facilities, the rich tobacco lands, the olive presses, and the oil company, are all British.

There are very few wealthy Greeks, and these few are the royalists who collaborate with the British. Consequently, the Greek Government does not levy taxes which will seriously burden these holdings. To this day it finances itself largely through the sale of relief supplies—supplies which American citizens taxed themselves to lend-lease to the British to give to the poor of Greece. The poor in Greece cannot afford to buy relief rations at the prices at which they are sold.

Why are the Greeks so poor today? Part of the tragedy, of course, is due to the German invasion and occupation, but only a part. Much of it is due to the corruption and dishonesty of the Greek Government.

Against the advice of American advisers, the Greek Government began selling gold sovereigns in February 1946. By July 1946 UNRRA reported the Greek gold supply as \$21,200,000. Today, Mr. President, there is very little of that gold left.

In the United States it is illegal to possess and hoard gold. In Greece it is not. Indeed, hoarding was made possible by the Greek Government, and to-day most of Greece's gold is in private

hands—mostly in the hands of speculators and black-market traders. There is no way of telling how much of it has been exported out of the country.

Mr. President, is there any wonder that the Greek Government lacks credit in the world markets? Is there any wonder that Greece suffers from a shortage of foreign exchange?

The second great factor in the loss of Greek foreign exchange was the policy of permitting virtually unrestricted sale of foreign exchange for importation. This took place between February and December 1946, when it had to be stopped because there was no more foreign exchange to sell.

Much of this foreign money went into needed imports. But a great percentage of it, certainly more than a desperately impoverished country seeking to rebuild its economy could afford, went into so-called luxury goods.

This was the type of goods that could be sold profitably on the black market at huge profits. This did not set the wheels of real economic recovery in motion.

In December controls were established, but when the barn door was closed, the horse had already run a long way down the road to ruin.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. I wondered whether the able Senator from Idaho had noticed an item in, I believe, a newspaper yesterday purporting to quote, I think, the Prime Minister, or one of the members of the Government of Greece, commenting upon some suggestions which Mr. Paul Porter had made to the effect that there would have to be certain conditions imposed upon the funds which this Nation would advance to Greece, and that the Greek Government hoped that it would be American policy, if we advanced the funds, to cooperate with them in the very informal and very friendly way which the British Economic Mission had employed, and not to lay down too many conditions regarding the use of the funds.

Mr. TAYLOR. I did not read that item, but of course, Mr. President, I will say, and I feel it is no breach of confidence, that the Senator from Florida, some others, and myself talked to Mr. Acheson about this matter, and he said plainly that we could not lay down conditions as to what form the Greek Government should take, for instance whether it should become more democratic, because then we would be interfering in the internal affairs of a foreign nation and would indeed find ourselves squarely athwart the United Nations. So, all we can do is to make polite suggestions about the matter, and if, as the Senator from Florida says, they are not kindly disposed, they are under no obligation whatever to do anything that this Nation may suggest.

American banking experts who opposed the sale of Greece's gold to private individuals believed that the only possible answer to Greece's inflation, in addition to the prime one of production, was a capital levy and heavy taxation of war and postwar profits.

Mr. President, permit me to read from the official report on Greece of the Food

and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which was issued earlier in this month. The restrained and objective language of this report conveys a devastating picture of the nature of the Greek Government today. I read as follows:

At the present time, the civil service as a whole and the agricultural sections of it to which the Mission has given special attention suffer from several shortcomings, including the exclusive reliance on seniority in promotions; excessive centralization of control in Athens; frequent political interference, both in the appointment and the discharge of personnel; an exceedingly inadequate scale of civil-service pay, especially for the more responsible officials; unduly short working hours; and conflicting and duplicating allocation of administrative responsibility.

Elements in the reform of civil service: To correct these conditions, the reform of the Greek civil service should include measures along lines such as the following:

Discharge of all unnecessary and supernumerary employees, possibly with a year's separation pay in lieu of pension.

Introduction of a strict merit system, rating the efficiency of employees, discharging inefficient employees, and giving rapid promotion to superior employees.

Raising public salary rates toward pre-war purchasing power levels, and widening the range between lower and higher positions.

Further on the report states:

The mission recommends that the Greek Government adopt a policy of reforming its tax system, with the objective of shifting as rapidly as possible from taxes which bear heavily on low-income farmers and workers toward more emphasis on taxes which bear on those better able to pay, such as taxes on income, inheritances, property rents, luxuries, and so forth.

Mr. President, I think it might be pertinent to ask at this point: What do we intend to do about these recommendations? Has there been any indication, from administration sources, that any of these much needed reforms are to take place? Beyond the bare mention of a plan to send "experts," I have not heard of any. Indeed, I have not even heard any official spokesman publicly concede that the present Greek Government is corrupt and venal. It is constantly pictured as a "democracy."

Mr. President, until we make the healthy decision to face facts about Greece, we cannot even begin to make a start toward solving the Greek problem.

We have good reason to be suspicious of the atmosphere of crisis and the fanfare which surrounds this demand for a radical change in our foreign policy. I call attention to an article by Arthur Krock in the New York Times of March 23. Mr. Krock states that it was decided as long ago as the London Conference of Foreign Ministers—that was in September 1945—that there was no real hope for enduring peace in the continued "policy of appeasement and official treatment of Russia as a government friendly to the United States."

According to Mr. Krock, the President "made up his mind then that, when a fitting opportunity arose and one which Congress and the people would recognize as such, he would proclaim the new doctrine. On several occasions he thought

the time had come, but some of his important advisers talked him out of it.

"The British note of economic and military withdrawal from Greece, culminating a situation of which Washington had been wholly aware as it developed, pointed to a vacuum which the President found suited to the long-held purpose," Mr. Krock concludes.

The Greek situation, then, seems to be simply a convenient peg on which to hang a policy decided upon long ago. This is clearly a policy believed to be too unpopular to propose before this and too unpopular to offer at the present moment except in an atmosphere of crisis when people are apt to act rashly, without much thought.

Several dispatches by the well-informed diplomatic correspondent of the New York Times, James Reston, bear this out:

There is very little new in the situation in Greece—

Mr. Reston wrote in the Times March 7. He reported that the British Cabinet's decision last year to cut its overseas commitments was described at length to former Secretary of State Byrnes in Paris last summer. And he stated frankly that—

The executive branch of the Government feels it cannot get the cooperation of the legislature unless it places before it a specific proposal about a specific country in an atmosphere of crisis.

In later dispatches, Mr. Reston explained how the Greek crisis was being built up by the State Department through unofficial talks in which key correspondents were impressed with the so-called Russian danger, and its connection with the Greek problem.

Both Mr. Krock and Mr. Reston emphasize in their dispatches—as have many commentators—that the President's new policy is a global one, with no limits put on the type or scope of our proposed support, and no definition made of free peoples. As Mr. Krock says, it—

commits the United States to unlimited expenditures for an unlimited future and to whatever economic and military consequences may accrue.

A more complete appraisal of the true cost of the program, according to Mr. Reston, writing in the New York Times of March 16, would be \$5,000,000,000 a year. However, the State Department, Mr. Reston says, was afraid that if it asked for so large an immediate appropriation, it would run the risk of being repudiated altogether. So it adopted, in Reston's words, the "one-step-at-a-time technique."

The State Department felt, and again I quote Mr. Reston, that—

the Congress would not face up to the kind of fundamental long-range expensive program necessary \* \* \* and had to be nursed along a step at a time.

Mr. Reston emphasized that the State Department feels—

that the most successful way to introduce a foreign policy in Congress is to oversell it piecemeal in an atmosphere of crisis. \* \* \* The same technique of overstatement in time of crisis is being applied on Capitol Hill on the Greek and Turkish loan.

Mr. President, neither we in Congress, nor the people in this country are children to be nursed along, one step at a time, on a dangerous path whose ending we cannot see. We must not let ourselves be deceived by the artificial crisis that has been created. We must not be driven to rash action by the false urgency that has been injected into this question.

Let me say here, Mr. President, that I regret very much that we must rely for our information about the real intentions and purposes of our policy makers on newspaper writers who have very close ties to the State Department. The real objectives of our foreign policy are the concern of Congress and the people, and should be clear and above-board at all times. Instead, they are more and more cloaked in a veil of secrecy, which is lifted only occasionally—sometimes opportunely and sometimes accidentally—by favored writers who increasingly tend to become propagandists for the official view. This is the way to stifle the expression of opposition views and to block informed discussion. We are being subjected to a "propaganda by leaks," which is not unlike the traditional Chinese water torture.

In the present instance, we must insist upon a clear and specific statement of the objectives of this program and all that it includes, and a careful study of all that it implies, both at home and abroad.

Let me ask at this point whether we are, in fact, going to be committed to a \$31,885,000,000 program, as I mentioned earlier in my remarks.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. TAYLOR. I am happy to yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. WHERRY. Has the Senator given Mr. Reston's qualifications? I do not understand what they are.

Mr. TAYLOR. He is a foreign affairs and diplomatic correspondent for the New York Times.

Mr. WHERRY. Was he in contact with the Under Secretary of State?

Mr. TAYLOR. I do not know with whom he has been in contact; but he seems to have special sources of information and the New York Times is a reputable newspaper and it is usually conceded that his words should have some basis of fact.

Mr. WHERRY. I did not quite understand the Senator's observation.

Mr. TAYLOR. Of course, I should much prefer to quote the State Department, but we cannot get anything from the State Department directly.

Mr. WHERRY. Did Mr. Reston obtain from the State Department his figures about the \$5,000,000,000 program?

Mr. TAYLOR. I do not know where he got his figures, but his advance announcements have often been proved to be authoritative.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. TAYLOR. I am very happy to yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. The Senator has just stated that he cannot get any information from the State Department. Let

me inquire whether the Senator has found time to read what Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs William Clayton have said before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee upon this question.

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I have not read the full testimony. I have read the rather full reports that appeared in the newspapers. That is all the information which the American people have on which to base their conclusions.

Mr. LUCAS. I commend their testimony to the Senator, in view of the fact that he has made much ado about an article by David Lawrence which appeared in the United States News. I am sure that after the Senator from Idaho reads the testimony of both those gentlemen—as I have had an opportunity to do—he will find that the Senators on the committee were rather thorough and exhaustive in their questions and the Under Secretaries were frank and forthright in their explanations and replies. In short, it seems to me that a full disclosure of everything of material value was submitted to the committee by Under Secretary of State Acheson and Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Clayton. I also understand that additional witnesses are to appear before the hearings are over. I hope the Senator will read all the testimony. If he does, I believe he may wish to change some of the statements he has made about the State Department.

Mr. TAYLOR. If I find that I am wrong, I certainly shall be glad to change my statements. I was never one to be dogmatic or to stick to something when I found it was wrong.

Mr. LUCAS. The point which I desire to emphasize is that testimony has come to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations from the Office of the Secretary of State; yet the Senator from Idaho has not seen fit to obtain that testimony. The Senator takes the United States News as his authority. This is being done before all the evidence has been submitted to the committee and before all the witnesses have been heard. With all due deference to my good friend, I think he might have waited until the hearings were over and until he had the benefit of all the testimony before making the present argument. I submit that would have been the better course for the Senator to pursue, rather than to present to the Senate at this time his conclusion based upon some newspaper or magazine article. I am sure the writers therein do not know as much about the subject matter at hand as do those who are in the Office of the Secretary of State. It is the business of Secretaries of State to keep up with world affairs affecting the security of this Nation. Theirs is a peculiar knowledge—a thorough understanding, and should be received with great solemnity and respect. Their opinions should be given great weight by Members of the Senate in reaching their final decision.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me at this time?

Mr. TAYLOR. I am happy to yield to the distinguished Senator.

Mr. WHERRY. I wish the distinguished Senator to understand that I was not questioning the figures in any way, but I was interested in the Senator's quotation of a statement by Mr. Reston regarding a program of \$5,000,000,000 a year, which, as I understood, was to extend into the future. Did I correctly understand the statement?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is what I said.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to know whether Mr. Reston had a source of information in the State Department, or whether he gave the basis for the figures he cited. Or were they simply his own estimates?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is the statement of a gentleman who is a diplomatic writer for the New York Times, and he has a reputation for veracity and reliability, and many of his fellow reporters complain that he has special access to information in the State Department. That is all I know about the matter.

Mr. WHERRY. I see.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, there is no reason to disbelieve that the true cost of this program would be at least \$5,000,000,000 a year. We are already hearing about proposed loans to such countries as Korea and China. The new doctrine would seem to be an invitation to any regime that wants to call itself anti-Soviet to blackmail us for help.

The five billion or more dollars a year that this new policy might cost us would be in addition to the some \$6,000,000,000 provided for international obligations in the current budget.

Mr. President, a very revealing article has appeared in the United States News, the same publication from which I have quoted earlier this afternoon. I should like to have this article printed at this point in the RECORD, for it states the various countries we are expected to help. Of course, the United States News is a highly conservative organ which is circulated mostly among members of the business community. The article gives us a very good idea of what is behind this move and what its implications are.

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

**HOW WE'LL GUARD WORLD AREAS WHERE THE BRITISH FULL BACK—DOLLARS, EXPERTS, AND WEAPONS FOR KEY COUNTRIES IN RUSSIA'S PATH—COSTS AND LACK OF POLITICAL EXPERIENCE AS OBSTACLES TO SHOULDERING LOAD EVERYWHERE**

If the United States, as planned, takes over from the British in Greece, results that follow will gradually be felt over much of the world.

Dollars, in that event, will be used in Greece on a rather lavish scale to supply food, to restore currency values, to underwrite imports, to restore a basis for orderly trade. As much as \$250,000,000 may be poured into Greece in the year ahead.

United States troops, at least initially, will not be provided to put down resistance to the established government.

Military supplies will be furnished on a moderate scale at first.

Experts, advisers on currency problems, trade problems, industrial problems, will be supplied to guide the expenditure and investment of dollars.

That is the broad pattern of policy as it is shaped for Greece, subject to approval by Congress. Greece, however, is just a small

guinea pig for experiments in policy that then may be applied more widely, with dollars as the spearhead of a venture aimed at moving in as the British pull out of world commitments. At the very least, the United States Navy will be called on to guard the security of the world's oceans—a job that Britain once had.

Britain, running at a heavy loss in her world business, is withdrawing from unprofitable ventures and putting it up to the United States to take her place. The alternative is to let some situations go by default to groups that might be tied to Russia.

In the event that Congress agrees to shoulder British obligations in Greece, including some tough problems, other decisions will follow.

Turkey is second in line to get aid. If Greece falls into the Russian sphere, Turkey and the Dardanelles will be outflanked by the Soviets. In any event, Turkey's position is as much endangered by Russia as that of Greece. Thus, if Greece is helped in her effort to remain outside the Russian orbit, Turkey will be in a position to insist upon aid too.

A Turkish army of nearly 600,000 men stands ready to defend the Dardanelles—the gateway from the Black Sea to the Aegean and Mediterranean that Russia insists should be under her dominance. A recent secret White House conference dealt more with the problems of Turkey, now that British support is about to be withdrawn, than with those of Greece. The Turkish Government wants large-scale aid in the form of military supplies, and maybe dollar loans.

Palestine comes next. In Palestine, the British are involved in a situation that is requiring 100,000 British troops to manage. Britain is indicating to this Government that she may be forced to shift some of the responsibility for that area to the United States, if not the United Nations.

Any move by the United States to take over from Britain would probably involve large loans to Arab states to quiet opposition to large-scale Jewish immigration.

Egypt already is being turned loose by Britain. If Palestine is given up by the British, if Greece slips into the Russian sphere, and Turkey does the same, the effective defense of the whole eastern Mediterranean is lost, and the Suez Canal outlet to the Indian Ocean is jeopardized.

Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, in that event, become major problems. United States oil companies have rights to vast oil reserves in this region, reserves that are expected to exceed those in the United States itself and to represent some 42 percent of the world's oil resources. A \$100,000,000 United States investment in a pipe line to carry Saudi Arabian oil to the Mediterranean is agreed upon.

Oil in this area is regarded as a major United States war resource, and its defense is viewed as important. Russia, with only 9 percent of the world's oil resources, is trying to get a foothold here. Whoever controls the eastern Mediterranean can dominate ready accessibility to this oil area, which accounts for the fact that the United States Navy, even now, is maintaining a fleet of three cruisers and six destroyers in the Mediterranean.

Basically, the foreign policy of the United States, as it has evolved, calls for resistance to expansion of Russian influence wherever that influence is exerted. Britain, to date, has cooperated in that policy despite the cost. The British, however, are seriously squeezed financially and are letting this country know that it will have to assume much more of the world burden or accept a further expansion of influence by Russia.

#### ECHOES

This means that the policy decision the United States makes with regard to taking over British commitments will have its repercussion over much of the world.

Italy, for example, is being held together now only by large-scale aid from this country. Communist influences in Italy are growing. The Russian sphere extends now to Yugoslavia and Albania, across the Adriatic from Italy. If United States policy is to stop the expansion of Russia's sphere, Italy will be in a position to demand new loans, more aid, further United States intervention as a condition of more resistance to Communist influence.

France will call for continued help. The French already have had large United States dollar loans. They are applying for a \$500,000,000 advance from the World Bank when that institution starts to function. Communist Party representatives now serve in the French Cabinet and their presence inclines the United States to be liberal in dollar advances to try to bolster the French economy and thereby avoid incentive to further Communist Party gains.

Germany is to be an increasing burden on the United States under the policy line now being proposed. The British are letting this Government know that they are not able to match the United States funds that Herbert Hoover has suggested as a minimum to provide a food dole to the German people. In a merger of British and American zones in Germany, the United States is taking over the major expense of sustaining a minimum diet for Germans of both zones. It will not be surprising if the United States soon is given the task of supplying troops to carry out more occupational duties in the British zone.

#### EASTERN PROBLEM

It is the same story on the other side of the world, where the United States undertook the burden of stabilization from the start:

In Japan, United States food and United States dollars are being spent on a large scale to try to bolster and rebuild Japan along a non-Communist line. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur warns that these expenses may increase, not lessen, in the period ahead.

In China, this country already has poured in large amounts of money, relief supplies, and surplus Army material, but now is holding back, temporarily at least, and accepting the chance of an overthrow by Chinese Communists. That is one situation where the cost of supporting the established Government is regarded as being too high for the returns.

In the Philippines, where rebels hold big areas, the United States may be called upon to resume some of its former responsibility, if the regime of President Manuel Roxas proves too weak to govern.

In India, Indochina, Indonesia, the British, French, and Dutch are unable to maintain their former authority, and the job of preserving order may be passed to the United States if order is to be preserved.

What the United States is up against all over the world is the fact that the British Empire is breaking apart at a time when Europe and Asia both are in chaos. The French and Dutch Empires are cracking, too. Immediate decisions to be made by the United States concern Greece and Turkey, but the emergencies in those countries are only samples of what is happening in many widely scattered parts of the world.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, the Turkey-Greece proposal means, for one thing, an increasingly crushing tax load for the American people. For the most part, our money would be spent unproductively, for we would largely be—in Mr. Reston's words—"buying security by arming mercenaries to fight communism."

We will also have to maintain armed forces sufficient to police a large part of

the world. This will certainly require, among other things, a drastic cutting down of the Federal Government's expenditures on public health, social services, education, and, let me add, reclamation projects, flood control, and highways. Some newspapers have already pointed out editorially that it may be necessary to cut down on veterans' benefits as a result of the proposed loans for Greece and Turkey and what will follow.

But this is not all. We ought to be building a peace economy. But this program bids fair to set off an artificial boom which will result in a major depression.

The very conservative business writer of the New York Times, Russell Porter, writing in support of what he called the Pax Americana, on March 16 nonetheless admitted that the result of the new State Department policy may be to step up inflationary pressures. If the tendency to inflation continues, he said, "it may destroy the country's hopes of controlling the post-war boom well enough to keep it from eventually collapsing in a major depression, with widespread business failures and mass unemployment."

So the new imperialism may, according to Mr. Porter, very well end in the break-down of free enterprise and democracy and the very triumph of totalitarianism that we are seeking to forestall.

This is only one type of problem raised by the State Department's proposals.

Mr. President, these implications are of enormous importance, and they cannot be ignored. We must take the time to inform ourselves and the people back home about them, and must consider these factors in making our decision.

There is another aspect of this so-called crisis which I should like to discuss. It is being widely said that Congress cannot turn down the Greek and Turkish recommendations without creating the appearance of a dangerous division of American opinion at a crucial point in history. The New York Times correspondent, James Reston, pointed out, March 19:

The one fact that is generally stressed by both the Congressmen and the officials of the executive branch is that Congress does not now have an absolutely free choice.

I say, Mr. President, that this raises the most serious question as to why the whole business was precipitated in this manner in the first place.

The State Department claims that the British informed them only at the end of February that Britain could not support Greece after March 31. It has been widely reported, however, that the State Department was informed about the proposed British withdrawal as long ago as October 1946. The State Department has denied this. However, it can be assumed as certain that the British Government knew at a much earlier date than late February that it could not continue to support Greece. It is fair to assume, therefore, that the State Department was in fact informed much earlier.

The New York Times reports, to which I have already directed attention, state

clearly that the American Government has been kept informed of the Greek situation and British intentions there all along.

The New York Times on March 17 headlined a dispatch from Paris: "Europeans uneasy on new United States policy." The dispatch said that reaction in high places throughout Europe may surprise many Americans. The correspondent, Harold Callender, declared, on the basis of conversations with Frenchmen and other Europeans:

To a striking extent professional diplomatic quarters, and other non-Communist or anti-Communist quarters, echoed in an only slightly attenuated form the Moscow charge of a new and expanding American imperialism.

In Italy, too, there was an uneasy reaction from all parties. The Times reported from Rome, March 14, that the independent and moderate Italian press clearly reveals its anxiety lest President Truman's move should lead to complications that might involve Italy in war. The Times quoted Swedish papers as declaring that the President's speech has only served to increase the difficulties and deepen the disagreement between east and west.

Nor has the President's policy aroused enthusiasm in England, except from Winston Churchill and his friends. The New York Herald Tribune reported March 21 that Mr. Churchill speaks for a minority. According to the Tribune correspondent, Jack Tait:

The shots fired in the House (of Commons) at the Truman program appear to come from fear and suspicion of the United States rather than from love of Russia.

He reported that some members of Parliament see Americans as sinister planners, bent on propagating the capitalist system in Europe as opposed either to Russian communism or British socialism, and that others see the United States dragging Britain into a ghastly show-down war with Russia.

"Still others," he said, "shy away from American dominance in Greece on the grounds that it will not permit the evolution of a true people's government in that country. The United States is clearly associated with the forces of the right in the British mind."

The British paper, the Manchester Guardian, declared editorially:

One feels that, faced with the same situation, President Roosevelt would first have tried to do the same things through the United Nations by enlisting the support of other nations, including Russia if possible. Peace, the status quo, the integrity of nations—these are not exclusive American interests, but the interests of us all.

The New York Herald Tribune has reported that the most prevalent fear aroused in Britain by the Greece-Turkey program is that the United States is tending toward individual rather than collective action in international affairs. It is not only in England that this fear prevails. There has been overwhelming protest here in the United States, because people feel that we have bypassed the United Nations. As a result, it is now said that the United Nations may be informed about our action; it has

been informed since I prepared these remarks. Others are proposing statements or preambles to the bills stating that the proposed action does not violate the UN charter.

I find this, Mr. President, a strange idea of the United Nations. The United Nations was created not to be informed about actions taken by any one of its members in the sphere of international relations, but to decide itself whether action should be taken, particularly when a threat of war is involved.

There can be no doubt that the United Nations has adequate power to meet this crisis. Paragraph 1 of article 1 of the UN Charter defines the purposes of the United Nations, among other things, "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."

Article 33 provides the several methods for settlement and adjudication of disputes and gives the Security Council authority, whenever it deems necessary, to call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means.

Article 34 gives the Security Council authority to "investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

The questions of Greece and Turkey must be submitted to the United Nations so that the United Nations can itself decide what action should, or should not, be taken. If the problem is not submitted to the United Nations, no matter how much information we may choose to give that Organization, or how many preambles we may choose to write, the United Nations will have been weakened by our hands. Indeed, Mr. President, Mr. Trygve Lie himself, in his recent speech, was suggesting politely that the UN possibly should have the matter to consider.

Mr. President, we live in a perilous age. The atomic bomb threatens the entire earth with destruction. The people of the world must learn, and learn soon, to get along together. Our only hope is in international friendship and cooperation. Let us not deceive ourselves about that. Let us not delude ourselves with a false notion of security based upon arms superiority. Let us not believe—because none of our scientists believe—that the manufacture of the atomic bomb is a secret forever hidden from the view of scientists who do not work in United States laboratories.

Our last best hope, our only hope, Mr. President, is the United Nations. We must build the UN, and we must strengthen it until it becomes the world's great bulwark against men's warlike insanity. We must go further; we must give it the strength and sinews to enable it to prevent wars for all time, by developing the United Nations into a true world government, Mr. President. We

must make the United Nations a parliament of men, the legislature of a peaceful world. The United Nations has already proved its worth in settling disputes between nations. It has successfully settled disputes involving Iran, Syria, and Lebanon. We have every reason to be confident it can handle this situation also.

The problem of Greece and Turkey is clearly one for the United Nations. If we bypass the United Nations today, we have scuttled it just as surely as we scuttled the League of Nations by our refusal to join it after the last war.

The senior Senator from Florida and myself have introduced a resolution which recognizes the great relief needs of the Greek people, but would solve them through the operation of the machinery of the United Nations. I urge every one of my colleagues to give his close attention to that bill and to realize that it is not necessary to scuttle the United Nations to achieve the relief of the Greek people. It is possible to give the United Nations its great opportunity to show its effectiveness. When this body votes on the program for Greece and Turkey, it will make a momentous decision. It will decide whether the old system of unilateral power politics is to be continued to its ultimate hopeless end, or whether it is to be replaced by the orderly processes of an international body. It will decide whether the old and vicious system of imperialism is forever dead, or whether this great and free country will take over the loathsome burdens of the dying British Empire.

I have made very strenuous attempts during the last several weeks to learn what public opinion is on this matter. I have talked to people wherever I went. I have sought out dozens of men and women who visited Greece on relief and journalistic missions. I have closely read the public opinion polls, and I have read the mail which has come in from my own and other States. I have decided, Mr. President, that the American people are in accord with the views I have set forth here today. The public does not wish to hide its head in the sand, it does not wish to return to isolationism, and finally, the public is willing to make generous sacrifices for reasonable relief needs, but it wants to be sure the money is prudently spent by honest and efficient agents, and not by a corrupt king.

The resolution introduced by the senior Senator from Florida and myself meets exactly these requirements. It is a genuine attempt to protect American interests and to preserve and to protect the people of Greece, to aid them.

I fully realize the necessity of the United Nations taking action. I submit that it is the safest and most effective policy to protect democracy and world peace.

Mr. President, in conclusion, I would like to have inserted in the RECORD an article from today's Cincinnati Enquirer under the headline "Chinese 'terrorist' troops killed 5,000 in attempting to halt Formosa rebellion; oppression is worst ever," editor avers."

XCHI—182

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

CHINESE "TERRORIST" TROOPS KILLED 5,000 IN ATTEMPTING TO HALT FORMOSA REBELLION; OPPRESSION IS WORST EVER, EDITOR SAYS

SHANGHAI, March 30.—John W. Powell declared today in an article in his newspaper, China Weekly Review, that Chinese troops sent to Formosa to quell riots which started there February 28, had perpetrated "some of the most unimaginable atrocities."

Powell, son of the late famed editor, J. B. Powell, wrote that a conservative estimate placed the number of Formosans killed at 5,000, with thousands more imprisoned. He has newly returned from a visit to Formosa.

So far as is known, Powell is the only American correspondent who has succeeded in going to and returning from the big island province off China's east coast since rioting began.

No immediate comment was forthcoming from Chinese Government sources, but the Government previously had deprecated the extent of the scantily reported Formosan disorders.

On March 14, Peng Hsueh-Pei, Chinese Minister of Information, told foreign newsmen in Nanking that the Formosan "incident will soon be closed." He declined to assist reporters in going there, saying that the government was "too busy" to look after them.

On March 10 a Formosan delegation arrived in Nanking and charged that authorities up to that time had killed 3,000 to 4,000 Formosans. Pro-Government Chinese press reports on the first day had placed the death toll at 500.

Pro-Government sources and the Formosans agreed that the Government's monopoly system in various businesses, particularly tobacco, had touched off what the Chinese Central News Agency—an official Government organ—said was open and widespread rebellion.

Powell added the disorders culminated a year and a half of flagrant Chinese misrule which he said had squeezed and oppressed the Formosans far worse than when they were ruled by the Japanese.

China lost Formosa in 1895; it was restored to her in 1945 after the Japanese surrender.

Powell's article, entitled "Blood Bath in Taiwan," said the administration of Gov. Chen Yi had coupled trickery with a reign of terror which he said was probably unequaled in the history of Kuomin-tang China and thus had virtually suppressed the rebellion.

Powell wrote that the riots were preceded by extremely severe searches of shops and peddler stands by police who, he said, were trying to enforce new economic regulations which virtually abolished private trade. These regulations, he said, directly violated Central Government laws in China proper.

The proverbial last straw came on February 27, he declared, when police killed a 40-year-old woman in Taipei (Taihoku), the capital, when she protested seizure of her cigarette tray. He said a man died from a shot fired by another policeman into the crowd of onlookers.

Mr. TAYLOR. We turned Formosa back to the Government of Chiang Kai-shek, another of the supposed and so-called democracies that we are attempting to bolster round the world, and his Government is so corrupt, this newspaper says, that the Formosans were forced to rebel, and the most terrible atrocities in the history of China, a country noted for atrocities, are being perpetrated upon the people of Formosa with lend-lease weapons furnished by the United States.

In Greece, the very people who fought Adolf Hitler are being hunted down with guns furnished by us. I contend, Mr. President, we will not bring peace to the world, we will not build confidence in the United States, in the institution of democracy, by simply supporting every broken-down reactionary Fascist government in the world, simply because it happens to be opposed to communism.

#### EXHIBIT A

TOMORROW—FROM THE NATION'S CAPITAL—A LOOK AHEAD

#### NEWSGRAM

It isn't to be so bad—this job of trying to run the world. It seems that somebody has to run it. Britain can't. Russia will, if United States doesn't.

War is not part of the job. A willingness to go to war if challenged, however, is part of it. War won't come if United States accepts idea of possible war.

War would come if United States let Russia go on picking off choice corners in the world; if this country backed away as Russia pushed out. Russia could get strong that way, as Hitler got strong, through fear by others. At some point it then would be a matter of fighting or losing by default with Russia strong.

War is far less likely with Russia checkmated; a long peace more likely.

Russia cannot, and will not, challenge a United States willing to fight. If Russia cannot go on picking off strategic bits of real estate without a fight she will pull back. If Russia is convinced that United States is ready to run the world if it must, then Russia will be interested in a functioning United Nations. In that way she could get a voice in what goes on. Otherwise she's out. If Russia is ready to stop her foolishness, the United Nations could function and United States in that way could let a world organization do more of the job.

That's the long and short of it.

United States is equipped to guide the world if that's what Russia forces.

A \$31,885,000,000 United States aid and development program is in the works. Most of that program has had Congress approval.

Capital equipment is to be supplied in big volume.

Food and clothing are to continue to pour out of United States.

Dollars, on loan, to be translated into goods, are supplied liberally by Government, and private capital for foreign investment soon is to be tapped.

Brains, engineering brains, financing brains, administrative brains, are to be exported in large quantities. Some military brains will go, too.

United States has about everything to offer if the outside world will cooperate. Big figures, big jobs no longer awe Americans. There is a \$341,000,000,000 investment already made in war, a \$31,885,000,000 postwar investment already either set or about to be set. United States couldn't pull back now if it wanted to.

Russia, by contrast, offers these things for export:

Revolution—a technique for Communist Party members to gain power.

Police to advise on terror and methods of dealing with opponents.

Requisition teams to drain away available supplies to Russia.

Against that background, these conclusions seem evident:

Europe, outside the Russian sphere, will be set up in business again.

Russian-dominated areas will continue in poverty, unless ready to join with the West in meeting terms of the plans for world cooperation.

Western Germany will be revived, either on a basis Russia now will be ready to accept, or independent of Russia. That will be settled in Moscow.

Japan probably will be revived, so people can go to work again.

Russia will either mend her ways or be isolated. Russian weakness at this time is profound. Internal strains are greater than at any other time in the experience of the regime. Industrial revival is far behind schedule. The poverty of Russian people is acute and growing, rather than being relieved.

Any idea that Russia, in the foreseeable future, could challenge this country in a military way, with any hope of success, is absurd.

What Russia has sought, however, is to gain strategic victories without fighting, to maneuver with fifth columns and political weapons against weak nations, hoping thereby to gain strength. United States is calling that game.

Cost of world leadership for United States need not be too high.

Loans make up \$20,774,000,000 of a \$31,885,000,000 program.

Private loans are to represent \$7,200,000,000 of that total.

Surplus property already paid for adds another \$5,760,000,000.

Relief is down for \$5,351,000,000, but more than half of that is already spent and not a new expense. The only funds not yet budgeted are \$950,000,000 for Turkey and Greece, for Germany and for Austria. That's \$950,000,000 in a \$37,500,000,000 budget. It isn't enough to upset the financial apple cart.

The idea is that United States industry soon will be making heavy investments in foreign industries. Industry of this country invested \$7,120,000,000 abroad after World War I, and, by 1940, had drawn income of \$7,428,000,000 on that investment. Plans now shaping don't concern only taxpayers.

Taxes need not be higher for the United States' venture in world leadership.

Tax reduction, in any event, is tied to the level of prosperity.

Prosperity levels will relate directly to United States postwar investment in world development, to the very large flow of dollars and goods abroad and to the large flow of foreign goods into United States.

A profit is possible, in the end, on United States venturing abroad.

Profit, however, will come only if United States can figure out how to let other nations pay the interest and principal on their loans by selling goods in the United States market. That is a problem that can be deferred during the period ahead when the big-scale investment will be in capital equipment to produce goods. New loans in this period will greatly exceed the scheduled payments.

What does seem more probable for United States is this:

Universal military training probably will become inevitable.

Training, at the start, is likely to be for 6 months, not a year.

Army-Navy-Air Forces size will remain far above prewar.

Merger of armed forces, in the end, will be forced by economy demands.

A double budget—a budget that will separate outright spending from loans, seems likely to be forced in years ahead, if lending operations grow.

Americans are to be forced to take an interest in the outside world. It is probable that careers related to service abroad will become as important in United States as they have been in Britain, where brains were exported on a big scale.

Congress cannot easily back out of commitments made and being made.

A Republican-Communist axis in United States seems very unlikely.

Isolationists now find themselves aligned with United States Communists, now find

that their position, politically, is not what it once was.

A crisis in far-off Greece, thus, is fixing United States postwar foreign policy.

George Marshall, United States Secretary of State, favored a show-down with Russia.

General Marshall balked at the idea of United States on the defensive, insisted that in peace as in war the one strategy that succeeds is an offensive strategy, a strategy that United States always has insisted upon. Idea that a weak Russia could go on pushing this country around simply didn't make sense to the Secretary.

Secretary Marshall is inclined to imagination and daring, not drift.

#### TREND OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

United States business is to be affected directly by United States decision to underwrite world rebuilding, to take leadership in reorganizing the world.

Dollars are to flow out faster on loan and as gifts.

Trade will be high and active wherever the dollars flow.

Price levels will tend to be supported by heavy world demand for many types of goods, sale of which will be financed by United States loans.

Tariffs will tend to come down to permit service on loans.

Taxes will remain relatively high to support the Military Establishment required to assure order in the world and to underwrite the loan program.

Businessmen will do well to get deeply interested in world trade, to find where they may fit into what obviously is to be an expanding field of United States interest and activity abroad. It's to be settled now that the flag will follow the dollar into the far reaches of many areas in the world.

What's happening now isn't something brand new for United States. This country went out on a big scale with loans abroad after the last war.

Private loans abroad after World War I totaled above \$11,000,000,000.

Government loans totaled another \$7,500,000,000.

That was an \$18,500,000,000 pump-priming program for the first postwar. It went sour when United States balked at taking full repayment in foreign goods. About all of the Government's loans were defaulted, and \$3,372,000,000 of principal was lost on private loans. Of private loans still unpaid at 1944's end 81.7 percent of European issues were in default, 60.7 percent of Latin-American, and 55.7 percent of far eastern. There was no default on loans to Canada.

United States after World War I provided dollars but no considered plan by which dollars could be repaid. Tariffs were raised, not lowered. Loans often were made for non-productive purposes. The end result was trouble.

Loans and gifts now projected for the world exceed \$31,000,000,000.

Machinery for lending this time is more elaborate, more studied.

A world bank, with some Government guaranty of returns on loans made by private investors, will direct the over-all program of investment.

A monetary fund will seek to establish some stability in currencies.

A United States Export-Import Bank will direct some Government investment.

A negotiated dollar loan is to help out the British.

This country at the same time is preparing to reduce tariffs, to get some of the wartime controls over trade removed, to set up an international trade organization within which broad trade policies can be set. If planning will straighten out the world, experience after World War II will differ from experience after World War I. That remains to be seen.

The fact of heavy pump priming through loans and gifts is very real.

Food will remain in heavy demand. United States agriculture is to be bolstered by heavy commitments to help feed the world out of 1947 crops.

Machinery will be in heavy demand. World Bank loans, other loans, and use of exchange earned in trade will be spent for United States machinery. It is becoming highly probable that Germany and Japan will be permitted to restore industry on a broader scale than indicated earlier.

Steel and other raw materials face big markets.

Farm machinery is to be in heavy demand. The same is true of autos. It is probable that business machines are to be sought after.

Engineering services will be expected from United States as countries set about to rebuild or to industrialize. Financial advisers may find big jobs, too.

Industry in United States, alone of all industry, is equipped to turn out the goods needed abroad in the volume needed to restore war damage. Russia as well as other nations must look to United States for the equipment that rebuilding requires. There isn't any question about a large export trade financed by loans. What is not so clear, however, is exactly how borrowing nations are to pay for what they buy when the time comes to get back on a cash basis.

Nothing that is happening changes the outlook for business in months ahead. There still is the prospect of a downward adjustment in prices and production.

Prices are out of line with one another. Living costs have outstripped income increases. Building costs have shot up to nearly prohibitive heights. It is to be necessary to restore some balance before prolonged prosperity.

A turn downward in many prices is likely to be apparent by or soon after midyear, with production to show some decline not much later.

A bottom in the corrective move probably will be reached in early 1948.

A new rise into the period of postwar prosperity probably will be under way by midyear, 1948, or soon after that time. A period of 12 to 15 months is likely to be required for any correction that occurs in this period.

Downward adjustment, roughly, will be around 20 percent.

Even so, activity in business, profits, incomes will remain very high by any prewar standards. There will not be a real depression at this stage in the broad turn of the business cycle.

Tax reduction is not likely to be upset seriously by world developments.

A tax cut of at least 10 percent still seems likely for 1947 income.

Taxes obviously are going to remain far higher than before the war even after there is a broad tax adjustment in 1948. When the major tax cutting of postwar is undertaken next year individuals will be favored, with corporations to get rather modest relief. Excises will be reduced substantially then.

A budget in balance at around \$41,300,000,000 is probable for this year.

A balanced budget at around \$35,000,000,000 is probable for next year, for the year that starts next July 1. That's about \$2,500,000,000 under the level that Mr. Truman estimated and represents probable savings.

A balance in this year's budget will leave the Government \$2,300,000,000 better off than the President figured and will increase the prospect that tax reduction will be applied to 1947 individual incomes.

Corporations should notice that Treasury is insisting upon explanation when less than 70 percent of 1946 earnings are distributed as dividends.

Despite ambiguous statements, section 102 of the revenue act, requiring that earnings

retained in business be "reasonable," is to get closer application than in war years, is to be applied more definitely. Treasury interest is in forcing income into the hands of individuals where it can be taxed at the high prevailing rates, after first being taxed at the corporation tax rate.

Rent control is being killed, but almost surely will be revived in a modified form. Present controls die definitely on June 30.

Sugar rationing is to be extended, with prices controlled.

Building controls run through 1947, but very probably are to be modified before long. Builders are blaming the effort to allocate materials for many of their present troubles. Veterans' housing is as good as dead.

The economy is relatively free from controls at this time. Prices are continuing to move steadily higher in the postcontrol inflation.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bill and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore.

S. 931. An act to extend certain powers of the President under title III of the Second War Powers Act; and

H. J. Res. 146, Joint resolution to extend the powers and authorities under certain statutes with respect to the distribution and pricing of sugar, and for other purposes.

#### ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED

As in legislative session.

The Secretary of the Senate reported that he had presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

On March 29, 1947:

S. 918. An act to establish an Office of Selective Service Records to liquidate the Selective Service System following the termination of its functions on March 31, 1947, and to preserve and service the Selective Service records, and for other purposes; and

On March 31, 1947:

S. 931. An act to extend certain powers of the President under title III of the Second War Powers Act.

#### ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION—NOMINATION OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. MCKELLAR obtained the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. LUCAS. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

|           |           |                |
|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Aiken     | Connally  | Green          |
| Ball      | Cooper    | Gurney         |
| Barkley   | Cordon    | Hatch          |
| Bricker   | Donnell   | Hawkes         |
| Brooks    | Downey    | Hayden         |
| Bucic     | Dworskak  | Hickenlooper   |
| Bushfield | Ecton     | Hill           |
| Butler    | Ellender  | Hoey           |
| Byrd      | Ferguson  | Holland        |
| Cain      | Flanders  | Ives           |
| Capper    | Fulbright | Jenner         |
| Chavez    | George    | Johnson, Colo. |

|                 |                 |               |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Johnston, S. C. | Maybank         | Smith         |
| Kem             | Millikin        | Sparkman      |
| Killgore        | Moore           | Stewart       |
| Knowland        | Morse           | Taft          |
| Langer          | Murray          | Taylor        |
| Lodge           | Myers           | Thomas, Okla. |
| Lucas           | O'Conor         | Thomas, Utah  |
| McCarran        | O'Daniel        | Tobey         |
| McCarthy        | O'Mahoney       | Tydings       |
| McClellan       | Overton         | Umstead       |
| McFarland       | Pepper          | Vandenberg    |
| McGrath         | Reed            | Watkins       |
| McKellar        | Revercomb       | Wherry        |
| McMahon         | Robertson, Va.  | Wiley         |
| Magnuson        | Robertson, Wyo. | Williams      |
| Malone          | Russell         | Wilson        |
| Martin          | Saito           | Young         |

bered some very hard Latin which I learned when I was in college. Three or four hundred years after Alexander, Lucretius, a Latin poet, had had a great deal to say about the atom. Secretary Stimson said, "Yes." I said, "Everyone has been talking about it ever since. Scientists all over the world have been talking about discovering how to split the atom, and at the beginning of one of the greatest wars in history you talk about spending a large sum of money to split the atom."

He then made one of the best arguments in favor of following up that research that I have ever listened to in my life. I believe that the other Senators who heard him would say that he made a wonderful argument. The first one to be convinced was the Senator from Maine. The next one to be convinced was the Senator from Kentucky. The third one to be convinced was the Senator from New Hampshire; and the fourth was myself. At that time the Senator from New Hampshire was the ranking member of the minority on the Appropriations Committee and I was the acting chairman of the committee, and had been for some time. That was why we were invited to the conference. That was why we were given the information and consulted on the problem. Secretary Stimson wanted money. When I asked him how much money he wanted, he said he would like to have \$1,000,000,000 the first year, but that if we could not give him \$1,000,000,000, it would be necessary to have at least \$800,000,000.

I said, "Mr. Secretary, you swore all four of us to secrecy a while ago, and you told us that you swore the four Members of the House to whom you submitted the same information. For heaven's sake, how do you expect us to keep it a secret and get an appropriation of a billion dollars for this purpose through the Congress? We are going into a great war. There is no telling how much it will cost. If I should suggest an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 for an unstated purpose, I know Members of the Senate so well that I know they will never agree to it."

He said, "We have that figured out." As I recall, he had already figured it out with the President, and perhaps one or two others. The appropriation was to be placed in several different proposals—covered up, so to speak—and it was believed that it would go through in the face of the great war. We placed most of it in the emergency fund for the President. I told Secretary Stimson that I would be willing to do that but that if any Senator asked me, when I had charge of the bill on the floor, what the billion-dollar appropriation was for, I would not be willing to agree to tell a falsehood about it. Secretary Stimson said he was sure that no inquiry would be made about it. I told him that I would stop the bill until I had discussed the question further with the executive department—principally with himself. He agreed.

The bill was introduced in the House, and it passed the House and came to the Senate. It was reported by the Senate committee and considered on the floor of

the Senate. Not a single Member of either House asked about the appropriation. We were not asked about it in committee, and we were not asked about it on the floor of the Senate.

The next year exactly the same thing occurred. There was an appropriation of \$1,000,000,000 the second year. With all the necessity for money in the third year we got by with an appropriation of \$600,000,000, as members of the Appropriations Committee will probably recall, although we did not even tell the members of the committee about it. The total appropriations were \$2,600,000,000.

Several years afterward, toward the close of the war, when the war with Germany was over, I ate ham for supper one night—we still call dinner supper in my part of the country—and could not sleep. I lay awake thinking about what we had done. We had spent \$2,600,000,000; the war with Germany was over, and we had not heard a word about the atomic bomb. I remembered that on that day one of the important political leaders of Tennessee, from Chattanooga, Tenn., had been in my office and wished to know whether I would run for the Senate again. I told him I did not know; that I thought probably I had been in the Senate long enough, but that if the people wanted me to remain in the Senate it would be all right with me. Then I began to think what effect that sort of a proposition would have on my Senatorial aspirations for the sixth time, and I came to the conclusion that if it were said that I, as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, had joined in spending \$2,600,000,000 when a great war was going on, I need never expect to be again elected Senator from Tennessee.

I made up my mind that I would call Mr. Stimson the first thing next morning, which I did. I called him and asked him if he would see me, and he said he would. I said, "Will you be kind enough not to send someone to pin one of those big saucers on me?" We all remember the big identification "saucers," they used to pin on people who visited the Department.

He said at once he would meet me at the door, and he did. When we arrived at his office—it was up one flight of stairs, and we walked up—I told him what I wanted. He said, "Senator, by the strangest coincidence, yesterday I promised two gentlemen that I would not tell what the atomic-energy situation is at this time." I said, "Mr. Secretary, I wish you would get released from that promise." He said, "I will. I will see those two gentlemen today, and I will communicate with you before 12 o'clock tomorrow."

The next day I waited in my office for some word from Mr. Stimson. I waited until 5 minutes before 12. At that time I held the place which the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] now holds. Then I came here to open the Senate. About 15 minutes after I arrived here—to be exact, it was 17½ minutes, I recall—a page came to me and said that a military gentleman wished to see me in the Vice President's office. I went there, and there was the personal military secretary of the Secretary of War. He said he had

been delayed; that his car had got out of repair and it had delayed him a little while; that Mr. Stimson had taken a plane to New York at 10 o'clock and had instructed him to deliver a message to me. I said, "All right. What is the message?" He said, "It is in two parts. Mr. Stimson told me to tell you the first part. He has received permission from the two gentlemen who were in the secret to give you the first part of it. He said that if you insisted, I was to give you the second part, but that if you did not insist, I was not to give you the second part."

I said, "I want to hear the first part, and then I can tell you whether I want to hear the second part."

Thereupon he proceeded to tell me that the atomic bomb was one of the greatest successes in the world, far surpassing anything they ever believed would take place. He said they had bought three towns, if I remember correctly. I would have to go back to the record in order to be accurate about it, but that is my recollection; possibly the Senator from New Mexico could tell us. My recollection is that he said, "Senator, we have bought three towns and an enormous quantity of land. We have constructed experimental stations and have tried out the bomb, first removing every living human being and every tame animal and as many of the wild animals as possible. We have tried the bomb, and it has been an entire success, and we shall use it in this war."

I said, "And then what?" He said, "That is the second part, and I cannot tell you that unless you insist." I said, "I am afraid I shall have to insist, because I should like to know." He said, "There are three planes"—he told me what kind they were, but I have forgotten—"at this very moment on their way to Japan, loaded with atomic bombs, and we are expecting to hear from them at any time. The Secretary told me to inform you that if I told you this part of it he would let you know as soon as he heard from those bombs. He believes that they are going to work a great miracle."

As I recall—my memory is not so good as it was when I was younger—that very night, as I recall, before 8 or 9 o'clock, the whole world knew what had been done with those bombs. They cost us \$2,600,000,000; indeed, much more than that. Of course we are all proud of them.

I think that was the best-kept secret I ever heard of in my life. There were four men in the House and four in the Senate who knew about it. I doubt that there were many others besides the executive officers in charge. General Groves had charge. It was under his general management, control and operation that the great success came of it.

I wish to be perfectly frank and say that I never was more astonished in all my days—and they have been many—than when I learned that General Groves had been relieved of that position, that many of the men who had brought about this great discovery had been dismissed and set aside, and that people who knew absolutely nothing about it and had never heard of it before, as the testimony

shows, had been appointed in their places.

We have taken a great deal of proof. On Friday the distinguished junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. ERICKER], entered a motion to recommit these nominations to the committee, and he gave magnificent reasons for taking that action. They were vital reasons. Statements were made by him which should be answered before the Senate consents to the nominations, because, under the Constitution, in the matter of appointments the power of the Senate is not confined to a mere formal authority, as some people sometimes seem to think, but is equal with that of the Executive.

The newspapers have described me lately as a man who opposes all nominations. I shall in a moment state what my record is in that regard. I have not examined the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in detail about it; but I have examined my memory to the best of my ability. I have been here through seven administrations. I first came here in the Taft administration; I served through the Wilson administration, through the Harding administration, through the Coolidge administration, through the Hoover administration, through the Roosevelt administration, and thus far in the Truman administration; and this is only the second nomination which I have disapproved in all that time—nearly 31 years.

The first was the nomination of Aubrey Williams, 2 years ago. Mr. Williams came from Tennessee, too. My colleague and I declined to endorse his appointment. It was sent to the Senate under the administration of Mr. Roosevelt. We declined to support that nomination. All the newspapers said there was nothing whatever wrong with Mr. Williams; but he belonged to at least one and possibly two Communist-front organizations and was associated with Communists all the time. On that ground, my colleague and I, who were familiar with the facts, just as we are familiar with the facts in the case now before the Senate, opposed the nomination of Mr. Williams. We did so on the ground of his Communist leanings. We did not know whether he was a Communist; we had no evidence of his actual membership in the Communist Party. If he was a Communist, he kept it secret, just as Mr. Lilienthal is keeping it secret if he is a Communist. We do not know that Mr. Lilienthal is a Communist; we have no papers which show that he is.

Mr. President, in a few minutes I shall present to the Senate some of the details relative to the action taken by the Senate on the nomination of Mr. Williams. Forty of the present Members of the Senate were Members of this body 2 years ago when the Senate voted on the nomination of Mr. Williams. Those 40 Senators voted against confirmation of his nomination, because he was associated with Communists. I was one of those 40 Senators. My colleague from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART] was another of them, and most of the Senators I see around me now also belonged to that group.

Mr. President, the case against Mr. Lilienthal is a much stronger one, as will be developed, than the case against Mr. Williams was. Mr. Williams had been a school teacher, as I recall; but he was a very enthusiastic Communist-front organization man. His nomination was rejected by the Senate by a very large majority. As I recall, approximately 56 Senators voted against confirmation of his nomination.

Until the nominations now pending came to the Senate, the nomination of Mr. Williams was the only one I ever voted against during seven administrations, four of them Republican and three of them Democratic. That is why I was so astonished when, a short time ago, the newspapers charged me with being such a terrible man.

As I have said, the first thing we are to consider is the motion which has been made by the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER]. I am heartily in favor of having the Senate adopt that motion and send these Atomic Energy Commission nominations back to the committee, for the purpose of having the committee take and hear additional proof. Briefly, I shall give my reasons for supporting the motion of the junior Senator from Ohio.

First, Mr. President, it was shown in the main hearings—I do not believe this matter has been discussed as yet—that during 1930, Mr. Lilienthal received from the Commerce Clearing House, an organization of public utilities in Chicago, Ill., approximately \$20,000 a year—to be exact, according to the figures it was \$20,020—and he continued to receive that sum until 1931, when Gov. Philip La Follette, of Wisconsin, offered him a position on the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, as it was then called—since known as the Wisconsin Public Service Commission. His salary from the Commerce Clearing House was then reduced to \$14,500. Mr. Lilienthal continued in that place during the year 1931 and at least a portion of 1932.

From February 12, 1931, until August 27, 1932, a period of 18 months and 15 days, he received \$5,000 a year from the State of Wisconsin, and at the same time he received from the Commerce Clearing House, of Chicago, Ill., \$14,500 a year, contrary to the plain terms of the Wisconsin statute. A little later I shall show that by receiving such salary from the Commerce Clearing House at the same time that he was a member of the Wisconsin Railroad Commission, he vacated the office with the Wisconsin Commission, for the Wisconsin statute provided that such would be the case if a member of the commission received a salary from any other organization, regardless of whether it was the right kind of an organization or the wrong kind.

Mr. President, I asked the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, to ask the Treasury Department what income tax Mr. Lilienthal paid during the years 1931 and 1932. By the way, Mr. President, the Senator from New Hampshire is one of my dearest friends; even if he is a Republican, he is one of the finest men I ever saw in my life. I have served with him ever since he has

been in the Senate, and I have enjoyed my service with him. So I asked him to ask the Treasury Department what income tax Mr. Lilienthal paid during 1931 and 1932. I never had any more doubt that the Treasury Department would send that information to the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee than I had that I was living at the time. That would be the most natural thing in the world; why should the Treasury Department withhold such information from the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee? Nevertheless, Mr. President, the Treasury Department refused to give him that information. By all means, the committee considering the nomination of Mr. Lilienthal should have that information. Mr. Lilienthal has been nominated for appointment to what may be the most powerful office ever created, and yet we find that in Chicago, Ill., and in Madison, Wis., he was holding two jobs, in violation of law. One of them—the one in Wisconsin—was for the control and management of the power companies, the railroads, and other public utilities, whereas in Chicago, Ill., the job he held was that of editor of the Public Utilities and Carriers Service, for the Commerce Clearing House, and in that connection he was supposed to obtain all the information he could which would be beneficial to the private utilities and send it to them.

To that extent, he was serving two masters with opposing interests. All my colleagues present who are lawyers will recognize that it is just the same as a lawyer taking employment on both sides of a lawsuit. Is there anyone here who can think of anything different? Here is a man who was a member of the commission to regulate public utilities in Wisconsin, and in Chicago, nearby, he had this other office.

While I am speaking of that, I will tell the Senate how I got this evidence.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG in the chair). Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. MCKELLAR. If the Senator will wait for a moment, I shall yield.

Mr. HAWKES. Very well.

Mr. MCKELLAR. The witness on the stand was not my witness. When I got through my proof, this lovely little woman was sitting there, and she was called by the chairman of the committee.

I digress, Mr. Chairman, to say that a Senator, I believe the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON], paid the chairman of the committee a very high compliment and expressed very high praise of him this morning for his frankness and fairness in conducting the hearing, and I wish to join in that praise.

The chairman, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], had his papers out on his desk in front of him, and he said, "I do not seem to find my memorandum about you, my dear lady. Have you a memorandum?"

This was the substance of what was said. If I make a mistake, I hope the Senator from Iowa will correct me, because I do not wish to make any mistake in what I say.

This lady replied, "Yes, I have a memorandum." The chairman said, "Will you proceed to read it?" To my utter astonishment, more than astonishment, the little lady said, "I was born in St. Joseph, Mo., and moved to St. Louis in 1926"—or 1927. "In 1928 I moved to Chicago, and I saw a notice somewhere that Mr. Lilienthal desired a stenographer, and I went to his office. He treated me very nicely, talked to me a while, and said he thought I would suit. Thereupon he offered me \$24 a week, and I accepted. When I went there I found he had employed another young lady, who stayed only a few days, and I took her place. He also employed a Mr. Booth at \$28 a week, and Mr. Joseph C. Swidler"—incidentally, now the general counsel of the TVA—"at \$17.50 a week."

Mrs. Leitzell got about \$100 a month, Mr. Booth a little less than \$125 a month, or about that, and Mr. Swidler \$71.75 a month. Remember, Senators, those were hard times. The big salaries paid now were not being paid at that time. At all events, this lady went on to say that she found that Mr. Lilienthal was a shorthand man, that he wrote in shorthand, and she soon found that she could read his shorthand and he could read hers. She stayed with him as long as he remained there.

She then said—a most remarkable thing—that on February 5, 1931, he came to her and told her that he had been offered by Gov. Phil La Follette a position as a member of the Railroad Commission of Wisconsin, afterward the Utilities Commission, and he said, "Now, I want you to keep this a very, very grave secret. I do not want to be known as having any interest in this business down here. I want you to keep it a secret. I want you to keep the books, I want you to write the checks. I want you to do everything that I could do here."

Mr. McMAHON. Does the Senator care to yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I cannot yield just now. I will have to ask the Senator to wait a little while. I shall yield to him later.

She stated that he said, "I want you to look after things here." And she did, and I have no doubt did it well. She gave those figures and names, and I want to say that they made a big impression on me, and I began to look into the matter immediately, and sent telegrams to Wisconsin and Chicago to find out what the facts were, whether she was correct or not.

The next morning the most remarkable thing occurred. When I looked at the record, I found that the three names—of Mr. Booth, Mrs. Leitzell, and Mr. Swidler—and their salaries, were not in the record. I immediately called the stenographer and directed his attention to it. He said no, that he never received them; he was very mysterious about it.

I telegraphed Mrs. Leitzell, and I have the telegram somewhere in my records here. She did not remember about it. So the next day, I believe it was, or perhaps 2 or 3 days afterwards, I rose and called the attention of the committee to the matter. I recalled to the chairman having heard the names and heard the

salaries, the remarkably low salaries that Mr. Lilienthal was paying. Incidentally, Mr. Lilienthal was getting \$20,000 a year—remember that—and these three people were getting, one \$125 a month, another \$100 a month, and the other \$71.75 a month.

At any rate, I asked unanimous consent that the record be corrected. The chairman put the motion, and it was agreed to.

Mr. Lilienthal did not go on the stand to deny anything. The case closed without Mr. Lilienthal going on the stand. But in fairness and justice I should say that after the committee got together they called Mr. Lilienthal before the committee and he produced an agreement with the Commerce Clearing House, and the agreement showed exactly what the facts were. They did not differ from what had been stated. The only thing Mr. Lilienthal did to deny those facts was to say that he did not remember about having told this lady to keep the matter secret. He spoke very highly of Mrs. Leitzell.

I tried to get Mrs. Leitzell on the telephone, and to have her appear before the committee again, but could not do so. What happened I do not know. I am merely giving the Senate the facts exactly as they occurred.

Someone may ask, how does that affect the motion of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER]? It affects it in the most direct way in the world. If Lilienthal received \$20,000 in 1931 and 1932, the Internal Revenue Bureau will have a memorandum of that fact, and of what tax he paid.

Here were competing organizations, one regulating railroads, telephones, and telegraph companies, the other being regulated, and if he was drawing salaries from both sides, one a salary on which he had to pay taxes, that ought to be examined into, and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] ought to have the matter in his hands so that he can ask the Treasury Department for the tax files. They have refused to furnish them.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I promised to yield to the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES].

Mr. HAWKES. I thank the Senator from Tennessee. I wanted to inquire of the Senator about when the Senator from New Hampshire asked the Treasury Department for the information concerning the tax returns. Was it before the hearing was concluded, or afterward?

Mr. MCKELLAR. It was just a few days ago. It was, I think, one day last week.

Mr. HAWKES. I should like to ask the Senator another question, because I think what the Senator is saying is extremely important. I think the statement he has made about failure of the minutes or record of the committee meeting to contain certain facts brought out before the committee is very important.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Oh, I did not go that far. I only said that something was left out.

Mr. HAWKES. The Senator stated that something was left out which should not have been omitted.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I want to say to the Senator that the chairman of the committee is not responsible for it in any way. No man ever acted with greater fairness.

Mr. HAWKES. I want to say to the Senator that two or three times something has been left out in committee hearings in which I have been participating, and I am beginning to be very careful to check anything that comes out in a committee, when I am present. It is very important to the Senate to know that the records of the Senate are accurate, and are full and complete.

Mr. MCKELLAR. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HAWKES. I shall not now refer further to that angle of the matter, but at this very time I am making some investigations myself along that line. I now want to ask the distinguished Senator what reason, if any, did the Treasury give for not divulging the figures of Mr. Lilienthal's income?

Mr. MCKELLAR. The Treasury said they were executive matters which ought to be kept secret.

Mr. HAWKES. Why should the amount of Mr. Lilienthal's income be any more secret than the amount of the income of anyone else?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I do not have the letter. The Senator from New Hampshire had it. He will be here tomorrow.

Mr. HAWKES. Why should Mr. Lilienthal's income be any more secret than mine?

Mr. MCKELLAR. It ought not to be.

Mr. HAWKES. Mine has been banded all over the United States for 15 years. Why should Mr. Lilienthal have any more secrecy about his income, on which he pays his tax, than any other citizen of the United States?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I cannot answer that question.

Mr. HAWKES. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator another question, because I am very deeply interested in this question and my only interest is the welfare of the people of the United States.

Mr. MCKELLAR. That is my only interest, notwithstanding what others may say.

Mr. HAWKES. I believe that, sincerely, regardless of what anybody else may have said about the Senator. I believe sincerely what the Senator has just said.

Mr. MCKELLAR. That is my only interest.

Mr. HAWKES. I believe the Senator is a great American, trying to do his duty. I should like to ask him this question: If he or I had been nominated for this important post, and the American people, or any substantial number of Members of the Senate, wanted to know anything about our private affairs, our income, or anything else, does not the Senator think that we would not only welcome an investigation, but would demand it? I know what I would do.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I should at least invite it, and I expect, if it were necessary, I would certainly demand it.

Mr. HAWKES. I want to say to the distinguished Senator, that I would not only welcome it, and invite it, but I would demand it. I would not want to go into that great office under any cloud before the American people; and now there certainly is a cloud. Regardless of whether the nominee is confirmed or not, he is under a very great cloud, and that cloud is evidenced in my office by letters from the finest people in the United States. There are some on both sides. Some of my very dearest friends are strongly in favor of the confirmation of Mr. Lilienthal's nomination, and there are some of the finest men in the United States who are just as strongly on the other side. I say to the Senator from Tennessee that if I were in Mr. Lilienthal's place, I would be begging and demanding that I be investigated by the FBI, that everything about my life be laid open to the Senate of the United States and to the people of the United States. It seems to me that Mr. Lilienthal should feel the same way, so that in entering upon the office he could not well be accused, as otherwise he might be, of many things for which he is not responsible. I would want to go into that office with clean hands, after a thorough investigation.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HAWKES. I should like to ask the Senator just one more question. Has the Senator or the committee thought of asking Mr. Lilienthal about how much he received and how much income tax he paid, and what he reported to the Government? I do not think the Senator would fail to get the facts, particularly if he asked for them under oath.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I do not know of any such investigation being made.

Mr. HAWKES. I think it should be asked for. I thank the Senator very much for yielding.

Mr. MCKELLAR. And I thank the Senator, too.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President—

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McMAHON. Despite the intensity of feeling of the Senator from Tennessee in this matter, I still—

Mr. MCKELLAR. The Senator could save a great deal of time if he would ask the question and not talk about the Senator from Tennessee. The Senator got that out of newspapers. I think he had better leave it there.

Mr. McMAHON. If the Senator will permit me, I was going to compliment him by saying that I know—

Mr. MCKELLAR. I do not need a compliment.

Mr. McMAHON. I know the Senator would want to be fair enough to put into the RECORD at this point a telegram which was sent by former Governor La Follette to the committee, in which the former Governor comments on the charge that was made—

Mr. MCKELLAR. Oh, I am going to have that in the RECORD, but not at this point. I have it in my speech. I would not miss Governor La Follette for anything.

Mr. McMAHON. In which he entirely denies any improper conduct.

Mr. MCKELLAR. No, no; I will let the Senator pass on it for himself.

Mr. McMAHON. Will the Senator yield further, while I read the telegram?

Mr. MCKELLAR. No; I will not yield to get into that kind of argument.

Mr. McMAHON. I thank the Senator.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President—

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I wish to thank the Senator. I think in fairness it should be clearly brought out at this point that this Commerce Clearing House or Information Service which the able Senator from Tennessee has mentioned was a publication house which put out information relative to public utilities, as to rates, and so forth. The testimony shows that this information was also made use of by State regulatory bodies, as well as being useful to attorneys who practiced before commissions, and by public utilities themselves. I am sure the Senator would not want the record to stand in such a way that the impression might be created that Mr. Lilienthal was serving on the commission, on one side, and then was serving private utility companies as such on the other, because that is not the type of organization this Commerce Clearing House was.

Mr. MCKELLAR. The Senator is entirely mistaken about it. If he will look into the hearings, he will find that there is no such record there. This concern was employed by the Community Service of Chicago to get everything, to conduct research work. Lilienthal was a research man, and he was to get everything he could find that was beneficial to the private utilities, and send it to them. I have been told—it is not in the record, and I do not know whether I ought to say anything about things that are not in the record, but I have been told that they raised funds to pay his salary, saying that he was in a place of great importance in Wisconsin, and in that way would be in a better position to do greater good for the private utilities. I feel as though I ought to say that, because it has been so often repeated.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President—

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I think it should be pointed out at this juncture in the debate that the Wisconsin statute prohibited Mr. Lilienthal from receiving remuneration from private employment while he was serving as a member of that commission.

Mr. MCKELLAR. That is true. I was going to read the statute a little later, but it is perfectly true, as my colleague says, that there was such a statute. When he took the oath as railroad commissioner in Chicago, he had to hold up his hand to high heaven and swear on pain of losing the office, that he was engaged in no other business. The statute specifically provides that the office shall become vacant if the occupant holds any other position, regardless of whether or not it is an antagonistic position. At that time he was not allowed to go into any other business in Wisconsin.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I will yield, but will the Senator please limit himself to asking a question at the present time?

Mr. LUCAS. I was interested in a statement made by the Senator from Tennessee with respect to the lady who appeared and gave certain testimony. Does the evidence disclose how she happened to come before the committee? Was she subpoenaed by the committee, or how was it she came before the committee?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I do not recall. I never saw her before that time. She was not my witness. I thought that at last Mr. Lilienthal was going to produce a witness who knew him, to testify as to his good character. I remember saying to the one sitting next to me, "Well, at last we will get a good character witness," because the lady had a good face. She was rather good looking, too. I said, "We will at last get a good character witness by someone who actually knows Mr. Lilienthal." But instead of being a character witness she was, to my utter astonishment, a very different kind of witness.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President—

Mr. MCKELLAR. Will the Senator simply ask a question and let me proceed with my statement? I want to make a little progress before the Senate recesses.

Mr. LUCAS. The Senator left me in doubt as to how the witness happened to be before the committee.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I do not know. The Senator will have to ask those in charge of Mr. Lilienthal's campaign.

Mr. LUCAS. I wanted to know at this time.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I suggest the Senator investigate that subject. I will help him investigate it, and I shall be glad if the Senator will impart to me the knowledge he has gained if he finds how the lady came to appear before the committee.

Mr. LUCAS. I thought the Senator from Tennessee investigated everything so thoroughly that he would not overlook the reason for a female witness appearing before the committee. I was simply trying to find how it was she happened to be there.

Mr. MCKELLAR. No; I did not investigate that.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question before he resumes his statement?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Certainly.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator said he had heard that certain utilities had accepted the service provided by Mr. Lilienthal's organization because of the powerful position of Mr. Lilienthal. Is that correct?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. WHERRY. Is there anything in the record to show that his organization solicited such accounts?

Mr. MCKELLAR. No, sir; not in the record. I must be fair about that matter. Such a thing is not in the record, but the implication is very strong.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I shall yield for a question only.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I should like to ask a question at this point because I think what I have in mind fits into the record here.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Very well.

Mr. KNOWLAND. The Senator from Tennessee inquired of Mr. Lilienthal, as appears on page 814 of the record:

You were working for the public utilities in the first place, and you were working for Wisconsin as the commissioner of utilities in Wisconsin, which was entirely contrary in character, was it not?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. No, Senator.

Senator KNOWLAND. Mr. Lilienthal, might I ask a question at that point?

As a matter of fact, these reports that were put out were subscribed to and are of value to public-utility commissions all over the country, as well as to public utilities themselves, or to attorneys who practiced public-utility law; is that not so?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Yes, Senator; they were widely used by State and local public officials concerned with utilities.

Senator KNOWLAND. In regulating?

Mr. LILIENTHAL. Regulatory matters; that is right.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I presume that is about as good an explanation as any man who was caught in that sort of situation, a lawyer who was on both sides of the case, could make. I take off my hat to Mr. Lilienthal for being able to make so good an explanation under very difficult circumstances.

Now, Mr. President, the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] on Friday showed that Mr. Lilienthal and his associates in the TVA in 1934 formed a cooperative corporation in Tennessee. The statement made by the Senator from Delaware was that Mr. Lilienthal induced the State of Tennessee to ask the Federal Government for \$300,000 of FERA money, that is, Federal Emergency Relief money, and then he and his associates incorporated a cooperative enterprise. By the way, that information, furnished by the Senator from Delaware, came as a great surprise to me. I thought I had fairly well kept up with what occurred in Tennessee, but I am frank to admit that I knew nothing about this matter, and I have been trying to find what the facts are ever since.

Mr. President, I think the Senator from Delaware has rendered a great service in securing the facts concerning this corporation. I have taken the matter up with individuals in Tennessee by telephone and telegraph today, and I shall read a telegram sent to me by Mr. Walter Armstrong, who is one of the best lawyers in Tennessee, or anywhere else in the country. I believe some Senators present know Mr. Armstrong. He is a former president of the American Bar Association; a man of the highest legal ability. I asked him about the charter of the cooperative corporation, and received a telegram in reply.

Mr. President, when I practiced law in Tennessee the law required five individuals to take out a private charter. Only three names were attached to the charter in question; those of Mr. Lilienthal, Mr. H. A. Morgan, and Mr. A. E. Morgan. That seemed to be an unusual proceeding.

The directors of the TVA borrowed \$300,000 from the FERA, and used it for such purposes as they saw fit.

Some Senator undertook to show the other day that that money was relief money. The Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL] said that Tennesseans were starving in 1934; that they did not have enough to eat; that they were wearing fertilizer sacks for clothing. That year I conducted a campaign in Tennessee. That was one of my many campaigns down there. I made a campaign all over the State that year, but I did not see a single individual in a fertilizer sack or in any other kind of a sack, except a sack suit, or if it were a woman, a sack dress. I did not see any people starving in Tennessee that year. The people down there were hard up, of course. People all over the country were hard up at that time. I do not deny that at all. But whether they were hard up or not, the money in question never got to any of them, as I am informed, though not in the telegram from Mr. Armstrong. But he informs me of the illegality of the action in incorporating this cooperative organization. I shall give the telegram to my good friend the Senator from Delaware, who has done such excellent service in connection with the Lillenthal matter.

I read the telegram addressed to me by Mr. Armstrong, as follows:

MEMPHIS, TENN., March 31, 1947.

Your letter, which was sent air mail but not special delivery came on regular mail delivery this morning after our conversation. Seddon, Ed—

They are his partners—

and I have carefully examined charter you sent. In our opinion this is not a cooperative association. It does not meet requirements of sections 3784 and following sections dealing with cooperative marketing associations or with sections 3884 and following sections dealing with excepted classes including cooperative associations within the general law. Under these provisions of code at least five directors would be required. The charter is attempt to incorporate under the sections of code providing for the incorporation of ordinary business corporations which require only three incorporators and three directors. The charter recites purposes of the corporation to foster the formation of cooperatives and not to act as a cooperative. The general business corporation act does not specifically provide for such a corporation, but it does not prohibit it and generally provides that any lawful business may be incorporated under its provisions. We therefore think that it is a valid charter under the ordinary business corporation law, sections 3709 and following. We find in supplement to Public Acts, Tennessee 1935, this corporation is listed by secretary of state as chartered under ordinary business corporation law.

WALTER P. ARMSTRONG.

If it was, it was a fraud. The Tennessee Valley Authority got the money. I talked with the former Governor of the State, who, someone says, got the money for the TVA, and which was said to have been spent by the TVA. I called former Governor McAlister, who is still living. He is one of the finest men in the world. I asked him if any such thing was ever done, and he said "No." He further stated that he would telegraph me in full tonight. I will impart that information to the Senate tomorrow.

A number of statements have been made, one of which has already been

discussed; namely, that made by the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER]. He made an excellent showing as to the reasons why these nominations should be recommitted. I wish to add something to those reasons. The Senator from Ohio could not have made a stronger statement.

The Senator from Ohio gave a number of reasons why the nominations should be sent back to the committee, every one of which is good. The Senate should have the facts within the possession of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the facts in the files of the Department of Justice and the Army and Navy Intelligence, before passing upon these nominations in haste. I read an editorial in the New York Times to the effect that it was the duty of the Senate to pass upon these nominations at once.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. The Senator will recall the letter which I wrote to the President with respect to the information in the files of the investigating agencies, and the reply which the President wrote to me as chairman of the committee, giving me his assurance as President of the United States that a thorough check had been made of the files and the information contained in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Army and Navy Intelligence, and such other investigative agencies of the United States as might have information, and giving me, as chairman of the committee, his word as President of the United States that there was nothing in any of those files derogatory to any of the appointees.

I ask the Senator from Tennessee, in all sincerity: Am I, upon the basis of that high assurance from a man whom I respect personally, and who holds an office which I respect mightily, to say that that man is distorting facts, and that the highest officer of the United States is misleading me as a member of a Senate committee?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Oh, no, Mr. President.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Am I to assume that he is concealing matters of vital importance?

Mr. MCKELLAR. Oh, no, Mr. President.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I feel that under the circumstances I am entitled to rely upon the assurances of the man who holds the highest and most sacred office in the United States.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Let me say in reply that I do not ask the Senator or the Senate committee to do anything of the kind. I would not do it myself. I have the highest respect and admiration for President Truman. I know that he is perfectly honest. But the Constitution of the United States, which is now a good many years old—even older than I am—provides that the President shall make nominations, but that an officer may not be placed in office until his nomination is confirmed by the Senate.

There may be various reasons why we should have the information. Some one may have misinformed the President.

The President cannot go into all the details of every nomination he makes. It is impossible. If the Constitution had meant that we should accept the assurance of the President, it would have so provided, and under those circumstances if the President were to say in his message that the appointment was proper the Senate would have to confirm it.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I merely wished to make clear one thing. I was not so much disagreeing with the Senator at the moment in anything he said, but I inferred from the message he just read that the sender of the message insinuated that there were sinister things in the files of the investigative agencies of the Government, which we should have. In answer to that insinuation, which I took from the message which the Senator read, and not from the Senator's own statement, I stated that we had the assurance of the highest officer of the United States that there is nothing in those files derogatory to any of the appointees.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I am sure the President feels that there is nothing of that nature. I am sure that the Senator from Iowa feels the same way I do about the President's statement, that it should have the very highest position. But the Senate is required to act upon its own responsibility, and not upon the responsibility of the President of the United States. The Constitution, under which we all serve, requires that the Senate act upon its own initiative and upon its own knowledge. Things which may appear one way to a perfectly honest man may appear entirely different in my view or in the view of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES], or the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER]. One cannot always tell. We must pass upon the nomination as a matter of constitutional duty, and I think we ought to have the information.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I wanted very much to ask the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] a question when he concluded his address. I listened attentively. As I recall his statement, he said that the President had assured the chairman of the Senate section of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that there was nothing in the files derogatory to Mr. Lillenthal.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I decline to yield.

Mr. HAWKES. The only point I wish to make—and I can make it without waiting for the answer—is that if my interpretation of what was said is correct, if I were to say to the Senator, "I find nothing derogatory in the file regarding John Jones," it would not mean a thing in the world unless the Senator knew how far I had investigated John Jones. That is the point I wished to make.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I cannot do so now. The hour is growing late and I wish to conclude. I shall be glad to yield to my colleague a little later.

These nominations should go back to the committee for the reasons stated by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY]. They have all shown good reasons why we should get the facts in this particular case. These are very important nominations. They are not yet appointments; they are nominations. I doubt if the Senate will ever be called upon to consider more important nominations. I know that in the more than 30 years during which I have been a Member of this body I have never been called upon to consider any appointments of equal importance.

I am sure that if our good President had thought of it for a moment he would have felt the same way and would have sent those files to the committee.

Mr. President, I am advised that the tax records of the Treasury Department should be examined in order to see whether Mr. Lilienthal has paid the income taxes which he should have paid. I was told that one of his leftist TVA books has had eight editions. I am referring to the book entitled "Democracy on the March." I wonder what eleemosynary institution has received the profits?

The Senate should look into these matters. It is known that he misrepresented the facts in Chicago and in Madison, Wis. Why should not the Senate look into these questions as they arise?

At the present time the Atomic Energy Commission is a de facto commission only. I am advised that it is operating on funds transferred from the War Department. I have written Secretary Patterson, requesting information concerning the legality of this transfer of funds. How can the Secretary of War legally transfer to a de facto commission, a commission which is not yet confirmed, the great amount of money which is necessary to operate it?

As I shall later show by affidavit, the whole situation in Oak Ridge, Tenn., is changing. It is a town located on Government property. In it there were about 45,000 people. Certain concessions had been operated, but the concessions are now being taken up and the whole plant is changing into a nationally operated enterprise. It will be similar to TVA. When Mr. Lilienthal obtained charge of TVA he changed the law regarding the civil service, with reference to retirement, with reference to flood control, with reference to reporting profits to the Government of the United States. He changed laws all along the line. Why should the Senate permit this to be done before he even becomes a member of the Atomic Energy Commission? I think the Senate should look into the subject.

As I stated, the city of Oak Ridge, Tenn., now a city of 45,000 people, is entirely on Government property. Its merchants, doctors, dentists, and various other businesses and civilian services are

all let to a firm with headquarters in New York known as the Roane-Anderson Co., Inc., which charges 10 percent or more on gross receipts of all business done.

I am advised that this de facto commission has recently taken over the city of Oak Ridge and that they expect to bring cooperatives into this section. This is another thing that should be investigated before these nominations are confirmed.

In this connection it will be remembered that as soon as Mr. Lilienthal took charge of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933 he made a deal with Dr. H. A. Morgan to conduct the affairs of the Commission so far as possible, and that they paid very little attention to Dr. A. E. Morgan after that combination was made.

This time the record shows that Mr. Lilienthal himself recommended a majority of the members of the Commission, namely, himself, Mr. Waymack, and Dr. Bacher. So he will have absolute control from the very beginning.

It will also be remembered that Mr. Lilienthal in his conduct of the Tennessee Valley Authority utterly disregarded the laws of the United States, including the law under which the TVA Act was passed. There is nothing in the TVA Act allowing Mr. Lilienthal to disregard the general law of the civil service, but he at once repealed the civil-service law insofar as the TVA was concerned. He also repealed the retirement law insofar as the TVA was concerned; he also repealed the flood-control law insofar as the TVA was concerned; and he also repealed the general-accounting law insofar as the TVA was concerned. He set up special laws of his own for the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I wish to make a brief statement before I conclude, and then I shall ask for a recess.

Mr. Lilienthal has recently appointed three well-known Communists. The Commission is a de facto commission. His own nomination has not yet been confirmed, but he has appointed three well-known Communists. One is Herbert S. Marks, general counsel, receiving a salary of \$14,000. I believe the law provides that under certain unusual circumstances the Commission, when it becomes a commission, can fix certain salaries. So it has given Mr. Marks a salary of \$14,000 a year.

The next Communist is Richard G. Niehoff, assistant general manager, at a salary of \$10,000 a year.

The next one is James Thomas Ramey, whose salary is not stated. But Mr. Lilienthal has surrounded himself in the case of three of the most important offices with men who are well-known Communists.

Should the Senate confirm the nomination of the man under those circumstances? I am appealing to the Senate as sensible men, because I have served with most of the Senators who are present for a long time, and I know that they, just as I do, have but one ambition in life, and that is to do the honest, honorable, careful, and prudent thing regarding our great country. We have the greatest country in the world. It is being attacked on all sides in various

ways. Some nations want to borrow money, others want us to give them money. Some of them have very bad feelings toward this country. We have helped from time to time practically all the nations of the world.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Can the Senator inform the Senate where there is any basis in the record for his saying that the testimony shows that three persons connected with the Atomic Energy Commission are well-known Communists? I am sure the Senator does not mean that, because there is nothing in the record which shows any such thing.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Yes. It is shown on page 240 of the record. If the Senator will look at it he will find them all in the list on that page of the record.

Mr. KNOWLAND. That is an entirely different situation. Being accused of being a Communist and being a well-known Communist are two different things. I submit that there is no such testimony in the record.

Mr. MCKELLAR. The record is before us. I know the Senator has not looked at it carefully, or has read it erroneously. I do not charge him with any wrongdoing. The Senator is very much worked up. I regret that he feels the way he does, but I know he is sincere.

I wish to call attention to something else—

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, before the Senator proceeds further, will he yield to me for just a moment?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I do not care to discuss the matter at this moment, but I assure the Senate that I thoroughly disagree with the Senator's statement that there is convincing proof in the record that those men are well-known Communists, or even Communists of any degree. I shall discuss that question later, but I did not want the statement to pass at this time without mention. I disagree with the Senator's statement.

Mr. MCKELLAR. I accept the Senator's disagreement, but the fact is that we have taken proof, and all three of those men were seen going in or coming out of Communist meetings. Various witnesses have testified that they were Communists. None of those three men has confessed it. Mr. Lilienthal did introduce three Communist witnesses, and I believe they were the only three witnesses from the Tennessee Valley Authority who were introduced. Two associates of Mr. Lilienthal on the TVA did not testify for him. He has had half a dozen different general counsels, and they did not testify for him. Even the Representatives and Senators who appeared before the other committee and testified in behalf of Mr. Clapp did not come before the committee and testify for Mr. Lilienthal. No prominent men in Tennessee testified in favor of Mr. Lilienthal. As I recall, there were not to exceed half a dozen witnesses from Tennessee who testified in favor of Mr. Lilienthal. None of his associates so testified, none of his friends, no public officer of any kind, Democrat or Republican. None of them testified, but he had three Communist witnesses.

Who were they? The first one was Mr. Hart. Mr. Hart testified for Mr. Lilienthal. Mr. Hart was a Communist. He said he had gotten over it, but he never resigned from the Communist Party; he just stopped. The next one was Mr. Cameron, and the other one was Mr. Frantz. Those were the three Communists. Is it not remarkable, I ask the distinguished Senator, my friend, who was on the committee, and at whose vote I was never more surprised than at anything in my life. I know he does not mind my saying that, because he is one of the finest of men; I refer to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON]. If a man had hit me in the face without notice, I could not have been more surprised than I was when I read in the newspapers that the Senator from Colorado had voted the other way in this case. I could not believe that he knew the facts relative to the matter on which he was voting.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. MCKELLAR. I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. I simply wish to keep the RECORD straight. The three men to whom the Senator from Tennessee referred a moment ago as coming before the committee and testifying for Mr. Lilienthal—Mr. Hart, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Frantz—appeared after the repeated insistence of the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Oh, no, Mr. President; no insistence on my part will be found in the RECORD. I kept on making fun of the committee for not bringing the Communists along. I did that. I "took on" a little with the Senator; but they are not my witnesses. I never brought a Communist witness into any controversy in my life; and I never expect to do so. Why? Because my understanding of a Communist is that he will deny anything so long as he thinks by so doing he will help communism or will help himself. That is why I never have called on any Communists. There was another witness from the TVA, an employee of the TVA. I do not know whether he was a Communist. He was brought from the TVA. I refer to a man by the name of Schlemmer—a fine name. I think it is a German name, and I believe he or one of his parents came from Switzerland. Someone introduced him as a witness, and as the head of a woolen mill near Chattanooga. I shall put in the RECORD the telegram about him. Mr. Schlemmer worked for the TVA, in some subordinate capacity, from 1933 to 1946, in August or September; and then he got a job as manager of one of the sections of the woolen mill to which I have referred. He has no office in the woolen mill and he has no actual interest in it. That is the kind of testimony that came from the TVA for Mr. Lilienthal.

Mr. President, I say to the acting majority leader that if he wishes to move at this time that the Senate take a recess until tomorrow, I shall gladly yield for that purpose.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD at this point an editorial entitled "A Spare-Time Issue," published in the New York Times for

Friday, March 28. The editorial bears on the pending discussion.

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

A SPARE-TIME ISSUE

It is 2 months yesterday since the Senate section of the Atomic Energy Committee opened its hearings on the nominations of Chairman David E. Lilienthal and his colleagues on the United States Atomic Commission. It is 18 days today since the committee approved the nominations. The Senate waited 14 days before taking them up for debate. During that period it dealt with some important things, but also with many minor ones, such as a resolution authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to set up daylight saving if they wanted to. Last Monday the Senate took up the AEC nominations, and recessed at 3:24 p. m. Since Monday the debate has continued, as Anthony Leviero wrote in this newspaper, "on an on-again-off-again basis, fitted in as a spare-time issue."

Meanwhile, what does the Senate and what does the public suppose is happening to the Atomic Energy Commission? This agency is directed, under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, to undertake research in the atomic field; to guide, foster, and safeguard private research; to take over all fissionable materials and all the facilities for processing them; to develop, control and license non-military uses of atomic energy; to work with the armed forces in developing military uses of atomic energy pending any "international arrangement" to which this country is a party outlawing such uses. The great discovery which shook the world when the bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and again when they fell on Bikini lagoon, is in this agency's hands. If the AEC cannot act no one can.

What is happening while these nominations are being "fitted in as a sparetime issue" is that the AEC is paralyzed. Chairman Lilienthal, his four fellow directors, and his general manager are acting in an interim capacity. In that capacity they can make no binding promises and enter into no long-range contracts. Their organization is in danger of disintegrating and collapsing. Good men are leaving the AEC because of its uncertainties. Other good men are refusing to sign up with it. They can draw larger salaries in private employment, but that is not their reason. Their reason is that the Senate seems bent on treating the most important issue in their world as a spare-time political item.

If we think of fissionable material as a weapon still exclusively ours, we will see the national defense imperiled by these delays. If we think of it as a means of drawing the world together and bringing lasting peace and prosperity for all mankind, we will see these objectives imperiled, too.

An actual majority of the Senators have expressed themselves in favor of confirmation. They risk their country's future if they do not now speed up debate and bring these nominations to a vote.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a telegram which Governor La Follette, of Wisconsin, sent the committee in reference to certain charges made against Mr. Lilienthal.

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

To the Atomic Energy Committee, Washington, D. C.:

I note the imputation that David Lilienthal was underhandedly serving private interests while on Wisconsin Public Service Commis-

sion. When offered the appointment he was active in his profession and naturally had to wind up his affairs. He fully and completely disclosed his affairs and subsequently filed in the Governor's office a copy of the contract which his affairs were wound up. His record as commissioner was outstanding devoted public service and wholly honorable.

PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE.

RECESS

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I am about to move that the Senate take a recess until tomorrow. In that connection, I ask unanimous consent that the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MCKELLAR] be recognized tomorrow noon when the Senate convenes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. WHERRY. I now move that the Senate take a recess until tomorrow at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 57 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 1, 1947, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 31 (legislative day of March 24), 1947:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Cavendish W. Cannon, of Utah, now a Foreign Service officer of class 3, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Yugoslavia.

Walter J. Donnelly, of the District of Columbia, now a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Costa Rica.

Stanton Griffis, of Connecticut, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Poland.

Williamson S. Howell, Jr., of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Uruguay.

Albert F. Nufer, of New York, now a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to El Salvador.

Fletcher Warren, of Texas, now Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Nicaragua, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Paraguay.

John C. Wiley, of Indiana, now Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Colombia, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Portugal.

OFFICE OF SELECTIVE SERVICE RECORDS

Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey to be Director of the Office of Selective Service Records.

UNITED STATES ATTORNEY

Charles Lee Spillers, of West Virginia, to be United States attorney for the northern district of West Virginia, vice Joe V. Gibson, deceased.

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

TO QUARTERMASTER CORPS

Capt. Charles North Howze, Infantry (temporary colonel), with rank from June 11, 1941.

First Lt. William Benton Carne, Infantry (temporary captain), with rank from December 14, 1946.

First Lt. Clifford Thomas Riordan, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 14, 1941.

Second Lt. Ralph Henderson Miller, Jr., Ordnance Department (temporary first lieutenant), with rank from June 16, 1944.

## TO CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Capt. John Rodgers Clifton, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from January 15, 1944.

Capt. Richard Wallace Cook, Ordnance Department (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from August 8, 1942.

Capt. Travis Ludwell Petty, Chemical Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1944.

First Lt. John Benjamin Beckham, Infantry (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from February 18, 1943.

First Lt. Robert Everts Clark, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1944.

First Lt. Thomas McGahey Elgin, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 1, 1946.

First Lt. James Edward Hammer, Field Artillery (temporary major), with rank from February 20, 1945.

First Lt. John Douglas McCormick, Field Artillery (temporary captain), with rank from June 25, 1945.

First Lt. John Parrish McWhorter, Infantry (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from August 22, 1940.

First Lt. James Beatty Meador, Jr., Ordnance Department (temporary major), with rank from December 7, 1944.

First Lt. William Henry Harrison Mullin, Field Artillery (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1943.

First Lt. James Herschell Nash, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 1, 1946.

First Lt. John James Petro, Jr., Quartermaster Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 15, 1942.

First Lt. Charles Victor Pregaldin, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain), with rank from December 7, 1944.

First Lt. Charles Elmer Wright, Cavalry (temporary major), with rank from April 8, 1940.

Second Lt. William Jackson Bowen, Air Corps, with rank from June 5, 1945.

Second Lt. Hobart E. Dewey, Field Artillery, with rank from October 20, 1945.

## TO ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT

Capt. Merle Robbins Williams, Infantry (temporary colonel), with rank from June 10, 1942.

First Lt. Robert Huff Edger, Air Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1944.

First Lt. John Carpenter Raaen, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary captain), with rank from January 19, 1946.

## TO SIGNAL CORPS

First Lt. Dayton Willis Eddy, Infantry (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from February 20, 1945.

First Lt. William McKinley Shepard, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from July 1, 1945.

## TO CHEMICAL CORPS

Capt. Charles Heron McNary, Infantry (temporary major), with rank from March 11, 1943.

First Lt. Noel Ambrose Menard, Infantry (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

## TO CAVALRY

First Lt. Robert Morris Blair, Infantry, with rank from May 29, 1945.

First Lt. Merritt Lambert Hewitt, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1944.

First Lt. James Lawrence Kaiser, Quartermaster Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 11, 1944.

First Lt. Horrell Holcomb Smith, Infantry, with rank from September 3, 1945.

## TO FIELD ARTILLERY

Capt. Bryon Leslie Paige, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 10, 1942.

Capt. Pasquale Francis Passarella, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 11, 1941.

First Lt. Charles Baker Cole, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from March 18, 1946.

First Lt. Joseph Francis Dunn, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from February 20, 1945.

First Lt. Edward Henry Hendrickson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1943.

First Lt. William Jay Henry, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1942.

First Lt. Page Spencer Jackson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 1, 1946.

First Lt. Herbert Eugene Kemp, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 19, 1946.

First Lt. Robert Pershing Muir, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from December 7, 1944.

First Lt. Robert Walter Samz, Quartermaster Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 11, 1944.

First Lt. Stephen Silvasy, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1943.

Second Lt. Lawrence Frank Ciszewski, Signal Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 6, 1944.

## TO INFANTRY

Capt. Albert Raymond Cupello, Field Artillery (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from December 21, 1945.

First Lt. Paul Alonzo Bane, Jr., Quartermaster Corps (temporary major), with rank from November 20, 1942.

First Lt. Robert Frank Barrett, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps, with rank from March 11, 1946.

First Lt. Roy Hilsman Bass, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary captain), with rank from April 23, 1946.

First Lt. Andrew James Boehler, Coast Artillery Corps, with rank from August 6, 1946.

First Lt. Haskett Lynch Conner, Jr., Cavalry (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1942.

First Lt. Charles Thomas Heinrich, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from January 5, 1943.

First Lt. Eugene Harvey Kipp, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps, with rank from November 18, 1946.

First Lt. John Joseph Short, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from May 29, 1945.

First Lt. Charles Carroll Thebaud, Field Artillery, with rank from December 13, 1946.

## TO AIR CORPS

Lt. Col. Edward Barber, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from August 4, 1944.

Lt. Col. Stephen Cecil Lombard, Field Artillery (temporary colonel), with rank from June 13, 1945.

Lt. Col. Wallace William Millard, Infantry (temporary colonel), with rank from August 18, 1940.

Lt. Col. Hugh Whitt, Finance Department (temporary colonel), with rank from September 17, 1940.

Lt. Col. Lloyd Nelson Winters, Infantry (temporary colonel), with rank from February 4, 1941.

Maj. Elmer Blair Garland, Signal Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 14, 1944.

Maj. Samuel Howard Morrow, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 15, 1941.

Capt. Calvin Mitchel Bryan, Quartermaster Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from May 28, 1941.

Capt. Harold Cooper Donnelly, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 13, 1943.

Capt. Frederic Henry Fairchild, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 13, 1943.

Capt. Francis Raymond Fee, Quartermaster Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 1, 1944.

Capt. Emory Edwin Hackman, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 13, 1943.

Capt. James Rollo McNitt, Signal Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from November 12, 1945.

Capt. Buford Russell Nyquist, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

Capt. Ross Thatcher Sampson, Signal Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

Capt. William Theodore Welter, Adjutant General's Department (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from July 11, 1942.

First Lt. Donald Earl Adams, Field Artillery, with rank from August 30, 1946.

First Lt. Wilbur Winston Bailey, Signal Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1942.

First Lt. Wallace Erwin Bjornson, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from February 20, 1945.

First Lt. Benjamin Paul Blasingame, Signal Corps (temporary captain), with rank from February 20, 1945.

First Lt. Roland Wallace Boughton, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1942.

First Lt. Julian Holt Bowman, Finance Department (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from July 31, 1944.

First Lt. Charles Urban Brombach, Signal Corps (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1942.

First Lt. Clifton Lewis Butler, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from January 19, 1946.

First Lt. William Brooks Carroll, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from July 1, 1945.

First Lt. Glenn Craddock Coleman, Signal Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 14, 1941.

First Lt. Glenn B. Daughton, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from February 20, 1945.

First Lt. Thomas Edward Delbridge, Ordnance Department (temporary major), with rank from September 5, 1945.

First Lt. John William Dell, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from November 28, 1944.

First Lt. Thomas Legate Fisher 2d, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1944.

First Lt. Edwin Thomas Hall, Pharmacy Corps, with rank from December 19, 1945.

First Lt. Max Woodrow Hall, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1944.

First Lt. Roy Cleveland Heflebower, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary Lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 14, 1941.

First Lt. John Michael Johannes, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from August 2, 1943.

First Lt. William Daniel Kennedy, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from December 24, 1944.

First Lt. William Eugene Lewis, Signal Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 19, 1946.

First Lt. Lee Ronald Lucas, Field Artillery, with rank from May 24, 1946.

First Lt. James Beecher McKenzie, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from July 1, 1945.

First Lt. Douglas Blakeshaw Netherwood, Signal Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 19, 1946.

First Lt. John Joseph Neu, Infantry (temporary captain), with rank from December 5, 1946.

First Lt. Frederick Kenneth Nichols, Signal Corps (temporary captain), with rank from February 23, 1945.

First Lt. Don Richard Ostrander, Cavalry (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

First Lt. Augustin Mitchell Prentiss, Jr., Chemical Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

First Lt. Michel Andre George Robinson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 19, 1946.

First Lt. George Florin Ruff, Ordnance Department (temporary captain), with rank from September 9, 1945.

First Lt. Eugene Elam Skinner, Signal Corps (temporary major), with rank from December 7, 1944.

First Lt. John Farley Spaln, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from July 1, 1944.

First Lt. Charles Darwin Trail, Field Artillery (temporary captain), with rank from December 7, 1944.

First Lt. Haywood Cooper Vaughan, Infantry (temporary captain), with rank from February 16, 1946.

Second Lt. George Russell Berry, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant), with rank from June 2, 1944.

Second Lt. Walter Baird Kamp, Infantry, with rank from September 1, 1945.

Second Lt. Andrew Raymond Reeves, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary first lieutenant), with rank from May 20, 1945.

Second Lt. John Wilbur Switzer, Infantry, with rank from August 4, 1945.

#### TO QUARTERMASTER CORPS

First Lt. William McKinney Mantz, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from April 3, 1944.

#### TO CORPS OF ENGINEERS

Capt. Menon Walker Whitsitt, Ordnance Department (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from September 14, 1946.

First Lt. Ivan Hurst Impson, Ordnance Department (temporary major), with rank from August 10, 1940.

First Lt. William Forest Locke, Ordnance Department (temporary major), with rank from September 27, 1940.

First Lt. Arnold Ray Thomas, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from June 11, 1944.

#### TO ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT

Capt. Elmer Willford Grubbs, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1946.

First Lt. Homer Griswold Barber, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1942.

First Lt. Selby McKay Frank, Air Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from December 3, 1942.

First Lt. Sidney Katz, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 1, 1946.

First Lt. Elwyn Norman Kirsten, Field Artillery (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

First Lt. Russell Faux Scott, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 1, 1946.

First Lt. Robert Edward Summerall, Infantry, with rank from May 8, 1946.

Second Lt. John Thornton Peterson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from June 6, 1944.

#### TO CAVALRY

Capt. Paul LeGrand Jolley, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from April 18, 1946.

First Lt. George Alvin Berlin, Infantry (temporary captain), with rank from November 12, 1945.

#### TO FIELD ARTILLERY

Capt. James Pickett Smith, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from April 28, 1946.

Second Lt. Leslie Edwards Babcock, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant), with rank from June 6, 1944.

#### TO INFANTRY

First Lt. Michael Edward Wardell, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major), with rank from July 1, 1945.

#### TO AIR CORPS

Maj. William Lafayette Fagg, Infantry (temporary colonel), with rank from June 13, 1946.

Maj. Luke Bruce Graham, Finance Department (temporary colonel), with rank from June 13, 1946.

Maj. William Lloyd Richardson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary brigadier general), with rank from June 12, 1941.

Capt. Jack Lawrence Armstrong, Ordnance Department (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from March 5, 1946.

Capt. Francis Joseph Corr, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

Capt. John Brazelton Fillmore Dice, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from June 12, 1940.

Capt. Robert Frederick Frost, Signal Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1946.

Capt. Arthur Lafayette Inman, Infantry (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1944.

Capt. Edwin Malcolm Kirton, Infantry (temporary major), with rank from December 3, 1944.

Capt. Orville Laird, Signal Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from February 9, 1942.

First Lt. Haynes Madden Baumgardner, Field Artillery (temporary captain), with rank from December 5, 1946.

First Lt. Donal Blair Cunningham, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain), with rank from June 9, 1946.

First Lt. James Creelman Huntley, Signal Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 19, 1946.

First Lt. John Alwine Keiper, Jr., Quartermaster Corps (temporary captain), with rank from September 7, 1945.

First Lt. Michael Nicholas Mikulak, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from December 2, 1940.

First Lt. Eugene Smith, Infantry (temporary major), with rank from December 10, 1941.

First Lt. Donald Henry Vlcek, Signal Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 19, 1946.

First Lt. Theodore John Witt, Cavalry (temporary captain), with rank from December 7, 1944.

Second Lt. Joseph Walter Stephens, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant), with rank from September 22, 1943.

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

Those officers whose names are preceded by the symbol (X) are subject to examination required by law. All others have been examined and found qualified for promotion.

#### To be colonels

Lt. Col. Harry Innes Thornton Creswell, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Kenneth McCatty, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

X Lt. Col. Harold Holmes Ristine, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Lt. Col. Charles Timothy Senay, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Egmont Francis Koenig, Infantry (temporary colonel).

X Lt. Col. Theodore Woodward Wrenn, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Harold Whitaker Rehm, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Peter Kenrick Kelly, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Clifford Hildebrandt Tate, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Lt. Col. Oliver Patton Echols, Air Corps (temporary major general).

Lt. Col. John Murray Jenkins, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Beverly Hare Coiner, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Robert Edgar Turley, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Arthur Henry Truxes, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Gordon Joseph Fred Heron, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Archelaus Lewis Hamblen, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Paul Whitten Mapes, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Robert Chauncey Macon, Infantry (temporary major general).

Lt. Col. Stanley Bacon, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. William Curtis Chase, Cavalry (temporary major general).

Lt. Col. Norman Edgar Fiske, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Wilson Tarlton Bals, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Cyrus Jenness Wilder, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Harold Charles Fellows, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. George Lester Kraft, Infantry (temporary colonel).

X Lt. Col. John Singleton Switzer, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Robert Ellsworth Phillips, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Allen Frederick Kingman, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Leander Russell Hathaway, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. John Theodore Pierce, Cavalry (temporary brigadier general).

Lt. Col. Wilmer Stanley Phillips, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Leaven Cooper Allen, Infantry (temporary major general).

Lt. Col. Oliver Arlington Hess, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Edward Amende Allen, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Jedediah Huntington Hills, Adjutant General's Department (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Donald Strong Perry, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Frederick Reid Lafferty, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

X Lt. Col. David Renwick Kerr, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Arthur Titman Lacey, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Paul Hills French, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Sidney Sohns Eberle, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. David Wilson Craig, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Thomas Gannet Dobyns, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

X Lt. Col. Walter Alexander Pashley, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Edward Fondren Shaifer, Cavalry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Richard Gentry Tindall, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).

Lt. Col. Graham Wallace Lester, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Francis Artaud Byrne, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Farragut Ferry Hall, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Orville Monroe Moore, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Leonard Russell Boyd, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Withers Alexander Burress, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. John Cheney Platt, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Paul Nutwell Starlings, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Sevier Rains Tupper, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Irving Carrington Avery, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Aaron Joseph Becker, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Vernon Ware, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Robert Washington Brown, Judge Advocate General's Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Manuel Benigno Navas, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Enrique Manuel Benitez, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Modesto Enrique Rodriguez, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Warlick McDonald, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. David Hazen Blakelock, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Warren Cotton, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Albert Russell Ives, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Paul James Dowling, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Lenhart Rice, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Willis Henry Hale, Air Corps (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. William Cheney Moore, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Wharton Girard Ingram, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clarence Paul Evers, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Adrian St. John, Chemical Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Colford Daly, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Paul Everton Peabody, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Albert Francis Christie, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ray Milton O'Day, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Madison Garrett, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Julian Wallace Cunningham, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clarence Edward Cotter, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edmund Bernard Edwards, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Merritt Elijah Olmstead, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Benjamin Franklin Caffey, Jr., Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Frank August Heileman, Corps of Engineers (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Clinton Albert Pierce, Cavalry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Otto Blaine Trigg, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edison Albert Lynn, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry Davis Jay, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clarence Maxwell Culp, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ray Lawrence Burnell, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Raphael Saul Chavin, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Lester Scott, Finance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Philip Shaw Wood, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Henry McCutcheon, Infantry (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Adlai Cyrus Young, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clinton Inness McClure, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Evan Clouser Seaman, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry Rasick Behrens, Coast Artillery Corps.  
 Lt. Col. Roy Charles Lemach Graham, Quartermaster Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. George Ralph Barker, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Waldemar Thompson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Sabin Ferrin, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Roger Hilsman, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Holmes Ely Dager, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Elmer Fischer, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Louis Whorley Hasslock, Field Artillery.  
 Lt. Col. Frederick Stone Matthews, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Marcus Aurelius Smith Ming, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Walter Raymond Graham, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Patrick Murphy, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Jacob Edward Bechtold, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Neal Creighton Johnson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Norman Pyle Groff, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Glenn Adelbert Ross, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Francis Augustus Woolfley, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Nelson Dingley 3d, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Richard Weaver Hocker, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Joseph Ware Whitney, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Peter Paul Salgado, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edward William Bondy, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Andrew Jackson McFarland, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Miller Fray, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harold Howard Galliott, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Vincil Stark, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Grover Be Egger, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Paul Oscar Franson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Neely Hopkins, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George William Gillette, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Agnew Howland, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Clifton Augustine Pritchett, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Luke Donald Zech, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lucian Dalton Bogan, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Pitt Morse, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Roy Eugene Blount, Cavalry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Hubert Vincent Hopkins, Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Edwin Sharpless, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Nels Erick Stadig, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ben-Hur Chastaine, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Leigh Bell, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Frederick Spann, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Clayton Luck, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Richardson Simmons, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Kenneth Frederick Hanst, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Everett Charles Williams, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Maurice Clenen Bigelow, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Thomas Ralph Kerschner, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Otho Wilder Humphries, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Perry Lee Baldwin, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Thomas Shank, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Thomas Butler Burgess, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Albert Chester Searle, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Carl Austin Russell, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Will Gillett Gooch, Quartermaster Corp (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Chauncey Harold Hayden, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Erle Oden Sandlin, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Isaac George Walker, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Walter Edward Jenkins, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ernest Louis McLendon, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Rhodes Felton Arnold, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Eugene Nelson Slapley, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harwood Christian Bowman, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Rosenham Beam, Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Pleas Blair Rogers, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Alfred Jones, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Donald Wilson, Air Corps (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Austin Heywood, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles McDonald Parkin, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Philip Coleman Clayton, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Francis Heavey, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Robert Marks Bathurst, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Daniel Noce, Corps of Engineers (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. Willis Edward Teale, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clark Kittrell, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry Hutchings, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry John Schroeder, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Matthew Devine, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Harold Albert Nisley, Ordnance Department (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. James Louis Guion, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Douglas Wahl, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Basil Harrison Perry, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harold Rufus Jackson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ray Hartwell Lewis, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Augustus Milton Gurney, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Trott Murray, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Morris Keene Barroll, Jr., Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Warfield Monroe Lewis, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Walter Wilton Warner, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Rex Webb Beasley, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ira Adam Crump, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Elbert Louis Ford, Ordnance Department (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. John Tupper Cole, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Sampson Beurket, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Hunter Gerhardt, Cavalry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Frederick Augustus Irving, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Burnett Ralph Olmsted, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Irvin Edward Doane, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Albert Cowper Smith, Cavalry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Richard Mars Wightman, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Charles Walter Yuill, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Willis Eagles, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. Joel Grant Holmes, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Sackville, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Louis LeRoy Martin, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Kelly Harrison, Jr., Cavalry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Ernest Nason Harmon, Cavalry (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. Christian Gingrich Foltz, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Joseph Scranton Tate, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Arthur McKinley Harper, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Carleton Coulter, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Aaron Bradshaw, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Robert Newton Kunz, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Willis Richardson Slaughter, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Hatton Weems, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Radcliffe Johnson, Jr., Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Claude McMahon, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Bertrand Morrow, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Russell Pierce, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lawrence Collamore Mitchell, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Milton Baldridge Halsey, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Love Mullins, Jr., Infantry (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. Sterling Alexander Wood, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Alexander Hunkins Campbell, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. David Sheridan Rumbough, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Marvil Groves Armstrong, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Donovan Swanton, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Francis Atherton Macon, Jr., Adjutant General's Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Laurence Bolton Keiser, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Homer Caffee Brown, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Clare Hibbs Armstrong, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Clement Whitcomb, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Wallace James Redner, Quartermaster Corps.  
 Lt. Col. Paul Hancock Brown, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Stuart Eley, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Joseph Pescia Sullivan, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clarke Kent Fales, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Solomon Foote Clark, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Russell Gilbert Barkalow, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Frank Augustus Keating, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. Richard David Daugherty, Finance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Joseph Clark Addington, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Allison Joseph Barnett, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. George Frederick Unmacht, Chemical Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Settle Evans, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Walter Moody Tenney, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Richard Bartholomew Moran, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Arthur Oscar Walsh, Finance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Welcome Porter Waltz, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edwin Hugh Johnson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Russel McKee Herrington, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lewis Abram Pulling, Cavalry.  
 Lt. Col. Fred Matthew Fogle, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Erwin Rayens, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Sidney Feagin Dunn, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Hones, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Breckinridge Atwater Day, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George David Shea, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Donald Coe Hawley, Cavalry.  
 Lt. Col. Francis Truman Bonsteel, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. William Edwin Barott, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Frank Nelson, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Homer Carriker, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Benjamin Harrison Hensley, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Henry Barnhart, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry Theophil John Weishaar, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry Jeffrey Matchett, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. John William Bulger, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Moore Child, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Hurley Edward Fuller, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Paul Horan, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Benjamin Wright, Jr., Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Richard Whitney Carter, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Wendell Lowell Bevan, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Augustus Brown O'Connell, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Archibald King, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry Fred Grimm, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Richard Terrell Guthrie, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Alan Lockhart Campbell, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Donald Langley Dutton, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frederick Harold Leroy Ryder, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lloyd Davidson Brown, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Christianity Pickett, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Luis Felipe Cianchini, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Ernest Terrill Barco, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lester Amiel Daugherty, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Raymond Edward O'Neill, Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Frank Melvin S. Johnson, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Porter Prescott Lowry, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Jerome Jackson Waters, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Urban Ayotte, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Heyward Barnwell, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edward George Herlihy, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Arnold John Funk, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Alexander Shepherd Quintard, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Allen Skerry, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Norman Minus, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Heywood Shallus Dodd, Cavalry.  
 Lt. Col. Kent Craig Lambert, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Sylvester Emery Nortner, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Wiltshire Gano, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Samuel Davies Bedinger, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Malcolm Vaughn Fortier, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ray Bradford Conner, Finance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Lloyd McKee, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Glenn Luman Allen, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Robert Henry Chance, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Augustine Buckley, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Willfred Rowell Higgins, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Jesse Plez Green, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Howard Winthrop Turner, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Wesley Crowell Brigham, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Cyrus Higginson Searcy, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Turner Ransom Sharp, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ward Currey Goessling, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harold Burton Gibson, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Victor Roland Woodruff, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Gustav Adolph Mellanchton Anderson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Robert William Yates, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Dana Caswell Schmahl, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Harry Adamson, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Owen Rivers Rhoads, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Carl Russell Adams, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Elmer Forrest Wallender, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Herman Feldman, Quartermaster Corps (Assistant to the Quartermaster General with rank of brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Ernest Alvin Kindervater, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Gordon Cogswell Irwin, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. John Harvey Fye, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Mood MacMullin, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Nicholas Szilagyi, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frederick Weston Hyde, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Royal Lehner, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Rosser Lee Hunter, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Carroll Arthur Powell, Signal Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Feodor Otto Schmidt, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Francis Brittingham, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Oscar Bergstrom Abbott, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Carter Roderick McLennan, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Louis Garland Gibney, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Thomas Grady Jenkins, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Leslie Carlyle Wheat, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Walter Compere Lattimore, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Russell Hubbard Dixon, Field Artillery.  
 Lt. Col. Everett Marshall Graves, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Tuttle Hamilton, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Valentine McCreight, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Granville Purdy, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Howard Baird, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Claudius Leo Lloyd, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Carlisle Barksdale Cox, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Stanley Gloninger Saulnier, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Will Hughes Gordon, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Willard Wadsworth Irvine, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Emerson Boyle, Field Artillery.  
 Lt. Col. William Doughty Evans, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Benjamin Tuttle, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Donald Armpriester Stroh, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. Edwin Adolph Henn, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Thomas Clyde McCormick, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Raymond Owens, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Andrew Davis Bruce, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 Lt. Col. John Edward Maher, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Joseph Philip Kohn, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Dallas Loyd Knoll, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Robert Justin Van Buskirk, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Floyd Emerson Galloway, Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Henry Yost Lyon, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Paxton Sterrett Campbell, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Ross Irvin, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Alfred Lyons Baylies, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Roy Leo Schuyler, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Louis DeSaussure Hutson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frederick Linwood Topping, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Richard Doran, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Ralston Middleton, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Guy Douglas Thompson, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. David Lee Hooper, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Thomas Raphael Phillips, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Oliver Edward George Trechter, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Richard Allen Gordon, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Lee Autrey, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Napoleon Boudreau, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clarence LeRoy Strike, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Clyde Charles Alexander, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Grover Cleveland Graham, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Joseph Howard Rustemeyer, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry Foster, Finance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Sexton Berg, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Cornelius Francis O'Keefe, Cavalry.  
 Lt. Col. Samuel Israel Zeidner, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Raymond Dresden Willis, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Elliot Duncan Cooke, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Alfred Steere Knight, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Thomas Watson Haste, Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Chester John Hirschfelder, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Herbert Allyn Myers, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Emil Stoner, Signal Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Roy Francis Lynd, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edward Henry Tallaferro, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Corbett Pilkington, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Valentine Pearsall Foster, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Henry Ball, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Everett Ernest Brown, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Fay Ross, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Nels Louis Soderholm, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Malcolm Byrne, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Sydney Clyde Fergason, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Sevener Spence MacLaughlin, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Burton Francis Hood, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Patrick Eugene Shea, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Truman Menzie, Adjutant General's Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Eugene Martin Foster, Finance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Glenn Alonzo Ross, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Mark Vinton Brunson, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Norman Doud Finley, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Philip Theodore Fry, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edgar Joseph Tulley, Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Wilmer Micajah Flinn, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Bernard Smith, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lewis Charles Beebe, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. William Van Dyke Ochs, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Douglass Newman McMillin, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Gersum Cronander, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harold Borden Bliss, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ernest Coolidge Goding, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lawrence Stanley Woods, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Irvin Smith, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Macey Lillard Dill, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edgar Peter Sorensen, Air Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Edward Julius Renth, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Henry Harrington, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Francis Firmin Fainter, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Peter Girardeau Marshall, Jr., Infantry.  
 Lt. Col. Edward Brigham McKinley, Quartermaster Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Walter Patrick O'Brien, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frank Brevard Hayne, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lloyd Chandler Parsons, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Theodore Edward Thomas Haley, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Archibald Campbell, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Clark Hughes, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Gregory Brey, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Henry Sadler, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Frederick Sidney Doll, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lawrence Gibson Forsythe, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Humphrey Swygart Evans, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lewis Frederick Kosch, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Allender Swift, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Roy Samuel Gibson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Melvin Earl Gillette, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Tom Christopher Rives, Air Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Andrew Raymond Reeves, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Frederic Marquat, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Allison Ware Jones, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Howard Herndon Davis, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Ettie Hartman, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Philip Frederick Biehl, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Gasper Devine, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Howard Nathaniel Frissell, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Edward Allen Everitt, Jr., Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Robert Hughes Lord, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Mose Kent, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harry William Maas, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Francis Henry Boucher, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Henry Sweet, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Bentley Mayer, Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Harold Kernan, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

Lt. Col. Hubert Augustine McMorrow, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Robert Stickman, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Maximilian Clay, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Calvert Hinton Arnold, Signal Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Wilkie Collins Burt, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. George Leland Eberle, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Rufus Stanley Ramey, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Marcus Brenneman Bell, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Louis Joseph Fortier, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Remington Orsinger, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Stewart Morris, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Richard Henry Ballard, Air Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. James Clay Short, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Fred Lafrenz, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. John Deane Forsythe, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Lawrence Byron Wyant, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Leslie T. Lathrop, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. James Black Muir, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Ralph Hudson Wooten, Air Corps (temporary major general).  
 X Lt. Col. Kenneth Burman Bush, Adjutant General's Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Charles Henry Keck, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. James Thomas Duke, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Thomas Watkins Ligon, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Edward Hale Brooks, Field Artillery (temporary major general).  
 X Lt. Col. James David Brown, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Wayland Bixby Augur, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Harold Mark McClelland, Air Corps (temporary major general).  
 X Lt. Col. William Brooks Bradford, Cavalry (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Edmund Waring McLaren, Finance Department (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Abram Franklin Kibler, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Harold Clarkson Mabbott, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Lucas Elmendorf Schoonmaker, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Gordon Marshall Wells, Ordnance Department (temporary brigadier general).  
 Lt. Col. Don Carlos Faith, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Raymond Orr, Infantry.  
 X Lt. Col. Clifford Dean Hindie, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Morrill Ross, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. John Averill Steere, Field Artillery.  
 X Lt. Col. Leslie Edwards Babcock, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Francis Howard Wilson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Charles Swett Pettee, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. John Melville Sanderson, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Sidney Hamlet Negrotto, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. William Henry Egle Holmes, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Charles William Walton, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Ward Hale Maris, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Hugh John Fitzgerald, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Everett Langdon Upson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. James Paul Jacobs, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Paul Joseph Matte, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Murray Henry Ellis, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Ernest Cleveland Bomar, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Donovan Paul Yeuell, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Edward Benedict McCarthy, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Leslie Frederick Lawrence, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Horace Waldo Forster, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Edwin Hubert Randle, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Simpson Ridley Stribling, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Waldemar Adolph Falck, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Carl John Rohsenberger, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. James Veto McDowell, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Harry Lee Hart, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. John Henry Gibson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. James Henry Beals Bogman, Signal Corps.  
 Lt. Col. Percy Stuart Haydon, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Edwin Ernest Aldridge, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Edwin Blake Crabbill, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Alfred Marston Shearer, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Halbert Hale Neilson, Cavalry.  
 X Lt. Col. Raymond Frank Edwards, Infantry.  
 X Lt. Col. Maurice Eugene Barker, Chemical Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Harold Glaucus Holt, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Robert Alexis McClure, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. Norman John McMahon, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Paul Louis Singer, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Joseph Louis Ready, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Earl Coulson Flegel, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Herbert Blish Wheeler, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Wilbur Storn Elliott, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Kirke Brooks Lawton, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Neil Smith Edmond, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Harold Haney, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Martin DeWitt McAllister, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. William Henry Colbern, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 X Lt. Col. John William Carroll, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Albert Barnett Jones, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Hamilton Thorn, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. David Cleveland Kelly, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Randolph Russell, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Edwin Miles Sumner, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Thomas Henry Green, Judge Advocate General's Department (The Judge Advocate General with rank of major general).  
 X Lt. Col. Donald Anderson Young, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Hans Charles Minuth, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Harold Putnam Detwiler, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Clarence Francis Hofstetter, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Charles Lawrence Bolté, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 X Lt. Col. Theodore Francis Wessels, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Malcolm Fraser Lindsey, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Horace Oscar Cushman, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. William Maine Hutson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. David Henry Finley, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Vinton Lee James, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. William Franklin Campbell, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Henry Lester Barrett, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Archibald Donald Fiskin, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Fenton Stratton Jacobs, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Raymond Rolland Tourtillott, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Lawrence Locke Clayton, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. William Mayer, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. James Laird Craig, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Ray Maxey Hare, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Charles Ernest Loucks, Chemical Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Herbert Vaughan Scanlan, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Russell Gordon Ayers, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Charles Hayden Owens, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Joseph William Loef, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Albert Dickinson Foster, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Donald Parker Spalding, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Ercil Dale Porter, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Harold Jack Adams, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. William Booth Van Auken, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Archer Lynn Lerch, Judge Advocate General's Department (temporary major general).  
 X Lt. Col. Charles James Deahl, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Arcadi Gluckman, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Dale Milton Hoagland, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. James Polk Gammon, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Burton Curtis Andrus, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Arthur Lafayette Warren, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Irwin Lytle Lummis, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. David Lewis Ruffner, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Mark Milton Serrem, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Arthur William Gower, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. John Taylor Lewis, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major general).  
 X Lt. Col. Ross Breckon Warren, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 X Lt. Col. Walter David Luplow, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).

× Lt. Col. Samuel Lusker McCroskey, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Oliver Boone Bucher, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Clarence Ames Martin, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 × Lt. Col. Francis Stuart Swett, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Henning Linden, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Harold Taylor Brotherton, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Miles Whitney Kresge, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Ralph de Poix Terrell, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Walter Alexander Dumas, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Edwin Emerson Keatley, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Don Magruder Scott, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Robert Edward Wysor, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. James Harold Day, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. George William Outland, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. John Mead Silkman, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Loren Archibald Wetherby, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Bernard Butler McMahon, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. George Edwin Fingarson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 Lt. Col. Stanley Raymond Mickelsen, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Ernest Albert Rudelius, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. William Lee Blanton, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Thomas Brady, Jr., Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Porter Pise Wiggins, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Gilbert Xavier Cheves, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. William Edward Corkill, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. John Thomas Zellars, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Emons Bert Whisner, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Hugh Tullock Mayberry, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Harry Staples Robertson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Andrew Jackson Wynne, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Olaf Phillips Winnigstad, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Winfred Charles Green, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Marion Irwin Voorhes, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. George Van Wyk Pope, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. George Ellsworth Butler, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Joel Rankin Burney, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Milton Burton Persons, Signal Corps (temporary major general).  
 × Lt. Col. Homer Case, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Earl Cranston Ewert, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Bird Little, Infantry.  
 × Lt. Col. Guy Cummins McKinley, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Harold Hugh McClune, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Harold Pearson Gibson, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Gilbert Everhard Parker, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Francis Beeston Laurenson Myer, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. John George Murphy, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

× Lt. Col. Gustave Villaret, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Edwin Sanders Van Deusen, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Joe Jene Miller, Signal Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. John Ernest Dahlquist, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. William Eugene Farthing, Air Corps (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. Tom Sherman Brand, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. James Robinson Urquhart, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Morrill Watson Marston, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. William Edward Bergin, Adjutant General's Department (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. John Calvin Butner, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Edward Stanley Ott, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. Melvin Leslie McCreary, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Herman Hollie Felix Gossett, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Murray Matthews Montgomery, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Lester Johnson Whitlock, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. Harry Lee Campbell, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. John Kay Christmas, Ordnance Department (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. Harvey Edward, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Leo James McCarthy, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Ernest Arthur Williams, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. George Price Hays, Field Artillery (temporary major general).  
 × Lt. Col. Harry Squire Wilbur, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Ralph Julian Canine, Field Artillery (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. Timothy Asbury Pedley, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Donald Ross Dunkle, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Chester Earl Davis, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Edwin Turner Bowden, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Holmes Gill Paulin, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Ray Edison Porter, Infantry (temporary major general).  
 × Lt. Col. Clarence Clemons Park, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Glenn Smith Finley, Cavalry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. William Volney Rattan, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Roswell Eric Hardy, Ordnance Department (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. Lloyd Zuppann, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. John Kirkland Rice, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).  
 × Lt. Col. James Holden Hagan, Infantry (temporary colonel).  
 × Lt. Col. Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Infantry (temporary colonel).

NOTE.—Dates of rank are omitted from this nomination. The first 349 nominees to be promoted will be given date of rank as December 28, 1945, to fill original vacancies authorized by Public Law 281, Seventy-ninth Congress, approved December 28, 1945. The remaining nominees will be given dates of rank appropriate to the vacancies they will fill. The dates of rank are omitted in order to assure that 349 officers may be promoted to fill the vacancies authorized by Public Law 281. If any of these officers should retire or die prior to promotion it would necessitate remobilizing the remaining officers in order to change their dates of rank to correspond with the vacancies.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, MARCH 31, 1947

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

*Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of Hosts, He is the King of Glory.*

O Conqueror, Thou who comest in the name of the Lord, who didst go through the rejoicing multitude to a hill where stood a cross, make us, we beseech Thee, sharers in thy devoted spirit, as we remember the glory of Thy triumphant entry. Give us the faith which supported Thee and led Thee onward in Thine appointed mission. By gentleness, by selfless service, help us to breathe Thy spirit and interpret to men Thy rule of life, to the end that the kingdom of God may come upon the earth and be exalted in human hearts and homes. In Thy holy name we pray. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, March 28, 1947, was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. J. Res. 89. Joint resolution to provide for the printing and distribution of certain matter relating to congressional activities, authorized by section 221 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, to be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The message also announced that the President pro tempore has appointed Mr. LANGER and Mr. CHAVEZ members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agencies:

1. Department of Agriculture.
2. Department of Commerce.
3. Department of Justice.
4. Department of the Navy.
5. Department of the Treasury.
6. Federal Security Agency.
7. Federal Works Agency.
8. National Archives.
9. Railroad Retirement Board.
10. Tennessee Valley Authority.

## OFFICE OF SELECTIVE SERVICE RECORDS

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read by the Clerk:

MARCH 29, 1947.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,  
*House of Representatives.*

SIR: Pursuant to the special order agreed to yesterday, the Clerk did on this day receive from the Secretary of the Senate a message in writing attesting to the fact that the Senate had agreed to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 918) entitled "An act to establish an Office of Selective Service Records to liquidate the Selective