

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1951

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, as we bow together in the fellowship of prayer, we are humbly beseeching Thee that in these strange days with all their mingled experiences of hope and fear, of joy and sorrow, of triumph and defeat, we may be men and women of vision and valor, of confidence and courage.

Grant that in facing tasks and problems of unparalleled magnitude, which are far beyond our own fallible and finite wisdom, we may be more eager to appropriate that divine unerring counsel and guidance which Thou hast placed at our disposal.

Enable us by Thy grace to accept the challenge of every noble adventure and every lofty endeavor in the spirit of unity and with a resolute faith and may that unity and faith never become eclipsed by discord, doubt, or despair.

Show us how we may release the hidden splendors of humanity and bring to fulfillment and fruition the hopes and longings of mankind for freedom and peace.

May the virtues and principles of love and good will, of justice, and righteousness be the foundation on which we are seeking to build a more glorious Nation and a better world.

Hear us in the name of the Prince of Peace. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. The House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

JOINT MEETING IN HOUSE CHAMBER TO RECEIVE GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

The Speaker of the House of Representatives presided.

At 12:20 o'clock p. m., the Doorkeeper announced the Vice President and the Members of the United States Senate.

The Senate, preceded by the Vice President and its Secretary and Sergeant at Arms, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Vice President took the chair at the right of the Speaker and the Members of the Senate took the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to escort our distinguished visitor into the Chamber the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. McCORMACK; the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. MARTIN; the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. VINSON; the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. HALLECK; and the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. BROOKS.

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the part of the Senate the Chair appoints as members of the committee of escort the junior Senator from Arizona, Mr. McFARLAND; the senior Senator from Texas, Mr. CONNALLY; the junior Senator from Georgia, Mr. RUSSELL; the junior Senator from Nebraska, Mr. WHERRY; the senior Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. BRIDGES; and the senior Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. WILEY.

The Doorkeeper announced General of the Army Douglas MacArthur.

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and stood at the Clerk's desk. [Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Members of the Congress, it is my great pleasure and a distinct privilege to present to you General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. [Applause, the Members rising.]

ADDRESS OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR

General MACARTHUR. Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and distinguished Members of the Congress, I stand on this rostrum with a sense of deep humility and great pride—humility in the wake of those great American architects of our history who have stood here before me, pride in the reflection that this forum of legislative debate represents human liberty in the purest form yet devised. [Applause.] Here are centered the hopes, and aspirations, and faith of the entire human race.

I do not stand here as advocate for any partisan cause, for the issues are fundamental and reach quite beyond the realm of partisan consideration. They must be resolved on the highest plane of national interest if our course is to prove sound and our future protected. I trust, therefore, that you will do me the justice of receiving that which I have to say as solely expressing the considered viewpoint of a fellow American. I address you with neither rancor nor bitterness in the fading twilight of life with but one purpose in mind—to serve my country. [Applause.]

The issues are global and so interlocked that to consider the problems of one sector, oblivious to those of another, is but to court disaster for the whole.

While Asia is commonly referred to as the gateway to Europe, it is no less true that Europe is the gateway to Asia, and the broad influence of the one cannot fail to have its impact upon the other.

There are those who claim our strength is inadequate to protect on both fronts—that we cannot divide our effort. I can think of no greater expression of defeatism. [Applause.] If a potential enemy can divide his strength on two fronts, it is for us to counter his effort.

The Communist threat is a global one. Its successful advance in one sector threatens the destruction of every other sector. You cannot appease or otherwise surrender to communism in Asia without simultaneously undermining our efforts to halt its advance in Europe. [Applause.]

Beyond pointing out these general truisms, I shall confine my discussion to the general areas of Asia. Before one may objectively assess the situation now existing there, he must comprehend something of Asia's past and the revolutionary changes which have marked her course up to the present. Long exploited by the so-called colonial powers, with little opportunity to achieve any degree of social justice, individual dignity, or a higher standard of life such as guided our own noble administration of the Philippines, the peoples of Asia found their opportunity in the war just past to throw off the shackles of colonialism, and now see the dawn of new opportunity, a heretofore unfelt dignity and the self-respect of political freedom.

Mustering half of the earth's population and 60 percent of its natural resources, these peoples are rapidly consolidating a new force, both moral and material, with which to raise the living standard and erect adaptations of the design of modern progress to their own distinct cultural environments. Whether one adheres to the concept of colonization or not, this is the direction of Asian progress and it may not be stopped. It is a corollary to the shift of the world economic frontiers, as the whole epicenter of world affairs rotates back toward the area whence it started. In this situation it becomes vital that our own country orient its policies in consonance with this basic evolutionary condition rather than pursue a course blind to the reality that the colonial era is now past and the Asian peoples covet the right to shape their own free destiny. What they seek now is friendly guidance, understanding, and support, not imperious direction [applause]; the dignity of equality, not the shame of subjugation. Their prewar standards of life, pitifully low, is infinitely lower now in the devastation left in war's wake. World ideologies play little part in Asian thinking and are little understood. What the peoples strive for is the opportunity for a little more food in their stomachs, a little better clothing on their backs, a little firmer roof over their heads, and the realization of the normal nationalist urge for political freedom. These political-social conditions have but an indirect bearing upon our own national security, but do form a backdrop to contemporary planning which must be thoughtfully considered if we are to avoid the pitfalls of unrealism.

Of more direct and immediate bearing upon our national security are the changes wrought in the strategic potential of the Pacific Ocean in the course of the past war. Prior thereto, the western strategic frontier of the United States lay on the littoral line of the Americas with an exposed island salient extending out through Hawaii, Midway, and Guam to the Philippines. That salient proved not an outpost of strength but an avenue of weakness along which the enemy could and did attack. The Pacific was a potential area of advance for any predatory force intent upon striking at the bordering land areas.

All this was changed by our Pacific victory. Our strategic frontier then shifted to embrace the entire Pacific Ocean which became a vast moat to protect us as long as we hold it. Indeed, it acts as a protective shield for all of the Americas and all free lands of the Pacific Ocean area. We control it to the shores of Asia by a chain of islands extending in an arc from the Aleutians to the Mariannas held by us and our free allies.

From this island chain we can dominate with sea and air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore and prevent any hostile movement into the Pacific. Any predatory attack from Asia must be an amphibious effort. No amphibious force can be successful without control of the sea lanes and the air over those lanes in its avenue of advance. With naval and air supremacy and modest ground elements to defend bases, any major attack from continental Asia toward us or our friends of the Pacific would be doomed to failure. Under such conditions the Pacific no longer represents menacing avenues of approach for a prospective invader—it assumes instead the friendly aspect of a peaceful lake. Our line of defense is a natural one and can be maintained with a minimum of military effort and expense. It envisions no attack against anyone nor does it provide the bastions essential for offensive operations, but properly maintained would be an invincible defense against aggression.

The holding of this littoral defense line in the western Pacific is entirely dependent upon holding all segments thereof, for any major breach of that line by an unfriendly power would render vulnerable to determined attack every other major segment. This is a military estimate as to which I have yet to find a military leader who will take exception. [Applause.]

For that reason I have strongly recommended in the past as a matter of military urgency that under no circumstances must Formosa fall under Communist control. [Applause.] Such an eventuality would at once threaten the freedom of the Philippines and the loss of Japan, and might well force our western frontier back to the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington.

To understand the changes which now appear upon the Chinese mainland, one must understand the changes in Chinese character and culture over the past 50 years. China up to 50 years ago was completely nonhomogeneous, being compartmented into groups divided against each other. The war-making tendency was almost nonexistent, as they still followed the tenets of the Confucian ideal of pacifist culture. At the turn of the century, under the regime of Chan So Lin, efforts toward greater homogeneity produced the start of a nationalist urge. This was further and more successfully developed under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, but has been brought to its greatest fruition under the present regime, to the point that it has now taken on the character of a united nationalism of increasingly dominant aggressive tendencies. Through these past

50 years, the Chinese people have thus become militarized in their concepts and in their ideals. They now constitute excellent soldiers with competent staffs and commanders. This has produced a new and dominant power in Asia which for its own purposes is allied with Soviet Russia, but which in its own concepts and methods has become aggressively imperialistic with a lust for expansion and increased power normal to this type of imperialism. There is little of the ideological concept either one way or another in the Chinese make-up. The standard of living is so low and the capital accumulation has been so thoroughly dissipated by war that the masses are desperate and avid to follow any leadership which seems to promise the alleviation of local stringencies. I have from the beginning believed that the Chinese Communists' support of the North Koreans was the dominant one. Their interests are at present parallel to those of the Soviet, but I believe that the aggressiveness recently displayed not only in Korea, but also in Indochina and Tibet and pointing potentially toward the south, reflects predominantly the same lust for the expansion of power which has animated every would-be conqueror since the beginning of time. [Applause.]

The Japanese people since the war have undergone the greatest reformation recorded in modern history. With a commendable will, eagerness to learn, and marked capacity to understand, they have, from the ashes left in war's wake, erected in Japan an edifice dedicated to the primacy of individual liberty and personal dignity, and in the ensuing process there has been created a truly representative government committed to the advance of political morality, freedom of economic enterprise and social justice. [Applause.] Politically, economically and socially Japan is now abreast of many free nations of the earth and will not again fail the universal trust. That it may be counted upon to wield a profoundly beneficial influence over the course of events in Asia is attested by the magnificent manner in which the Japanese people have met the recent challenge of war, unrest, and confusion surrounding them from the outside, and checked communism within their own frontiers without the slightest slackening in their forward progress. I sent all four of our occupation divisions to the Korean battle front without the slightest qualms as to the effect of the resulting power vacuum upon Japan. The results fully justified my faith. [Applause.] I know of no nation more serene, orderly, and industrious—nor in which higher hopes can be entertained for future constructive service in the advance of the human race. [Applause.]

Of our former wards, the Philippines, we can look forward in confidence that the existing unrest will be corrected and a strong and healthy nation will grow in the longer aftermath of war's terrible destructiveness. We must be patient and understanding and never fail them, as in our hour of need they did not fail us. [Applause.] A Christian nation,

the Philippines stand as a mighty bulwark of Christianity in the Far East, and its capacity for high moral leadership in Asia is unlimited.

On Formosa, the Government of the Republic of China has had the opportunity to refute by action much of the malicious gossip which so undermined the strength of its leadership on the Chinese mainland. [Applause.] The Formosan people are receiving a just and enlightened administration with majority representation on the organs of government; and politically, economically and socially they appear to be advancing along sound and constructive lines.

With this brief insight into the surrounding areas I now turn to the Korean conflict. While I was not consulted prior to the President's decision to intervene in support of the Republic of Korea, that decision, from a military standpoint, proved a sound one [applause] as we hurled back the invaders and decimated his forces. Our victory was complete and our objectives within reach when Red China intervened with numerically superior ground forces. This created a new war and an entirely new situation—a situation not contemplated when our forces were committed against the North Korean invaders—a situation which called for new decisions in the diplomatic sphere to permit the realistic adjustment of military strategy. Such decisions have not been forthcoming. [Applause.]

While no man in his right mind would advocate sending our ground forces into continental China and such was never given a thought, the new situation did urgently demand a drastic revision of strategic planning if our political aim was to defeat this new enemy as we had defeated the old. [Applause.]

Apart from the military need as I saw it to neutralize the sanctuary protection given the enemy north of the Yalu, I felt that military necessity in the conduct of the war made mandatory:

1. The intensification of our economic blockade against China;
2. The imposition of a naval blockade against the China coast;
3. Removal of restrictions on air reconnaissance of China's coast areas and of Manchuria [applause];
4. Removal of restrictions on the forces of the Republic of China on Formosa with logistical support to contribute to their effective operations against the common enemy. [Applause.]

For entertaining these views, all professionally designed to support our forces committed to Korea and bring hostilities to an end with the least possible delay and at a saving of countless American and Allied lives, I have been severely criticized in lay circles, principally abroad, despite my understanding that from a military standpoint the above views have been fully shared in the past by practically every military leader concerned with the Korean campaign, including our own Joint Chiefs of Staff. [Applause, the Members rising.]

I called for reinforcements, but was informed that reinforcements were not available. I made clear that if not per-

mitted to destroy the build-up bases north of the Yalu; if not permitted to utilize the friendly Chinese force of some 600,000 men on Formosa; if not permitted to blockade the China coast to prevent the Chinese Reds from getting succor from without; and if there were to be no hope of major reinforcements, the position of the command from the military standpoint forbade victory. We could hold in Korea by constant maneuver and at an approximate area where our supply line advantages were in balance with the supply line disadvantages of the enemy, but we could hope at best for only an indecisive campaign, with its terrible and constant attrition upon our forces if the enemy utilized his full military potential. I have constantly called for the new political decisions essential to a solution. Efforts have been made to distort my position. It has been said, in effect, that I am a warmonger. Nothing could be further from the truth. I know war as few other men now living know it, and nothing to me is more revolting. I have long advocated its complete abolition as its very destructiveness on both friend and foe has rendered it useless as a means of settling international disputes. Indeed, on the 2d of September 1945, just following the surrender of the Japanese Nation on the battleship *Missouri*, I formally cautioned as follows:

"Men since the beginning of time have sought peace. Various methods through the ages have been attempted to devise an international process to prevent or settle disputes between nations. From the very start, workable methods were found insofar as individual citizens were concerned, but the mechanics of an instrumentality of larger international scope have never been successful. Military alliances, balances of power, leagues of nations, all in turn failed, leaving the only path to be by way of the crucible of war. The utter destructiveness of war now blots out this alternative. We have had our last chance. If we will not devise some greater and more equitable system, Armageddon will be at our door. The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advances in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural developments of the past 2,000 years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh." [Applause.]

But once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. War's very object is victory—not prolonged indecision. [Applause.] In war, indeed, there can be no substitute for victory. [Applause.]

There are some who for varying reasons would appease Red China. They are blind to history's clear lesson. For history teaches with unmistakable emphasis that appeasement but begets new and bloodier war. It points to no single instance where the end has justified that means—where appeasement has led to more than a sham peace. Like blackmail, it lays the basis for new and successively greater demands, until, as in

blackmail, violence becomes the only other alternative. Why, my soldiers asked of me, surrender military advantages to an enemy in the field? I could not answer. [Applause.] Some may say to avoid spread of the conflict into an all-out war with China; others, to avoid Soviet intervention. Neither explanation seems valid. For China is already engaging with the maximum power it can commit and the Soviet will not necessarily mesh its actions with our moves. Like a cobra, any new enemy will more likely strike whenever it feels that the relativity in military or other potential is in its favor on a world-wide basis.

The tragedy of Korea is further heightened by the fact that as military action is confined to its territorial limits, it condemns that nation, which it is our purpose to save, to suffer the devastating impact of full naval and air bombardment, while the enemy's sanctuaries are fully protected from such attack and devastation. Of the nations of the world, Korea alone, up to now, is the sole one which has risked its all against communism. The magnificence of the courage and fortitude of the Korean people defies description. [Applause.] They have chosen to risk death rather than slavery. Their last words to me were "Don't scuttle the Pacific." [Applause.]

I have just left your fighting sons in Korea. They have met all tests there and I can report to you without reservation they are splendid in every way. [Applause.] It was my constant effort to preserve them and end this savage conflict honorably and with the least loss of time and a minimum sacrifice of life. Its growing bloodshed has caused me the deepest anguish and anxiety. Those gallant men will remain often in my thoughts and in my prayers always. [Applause.]

I am closing my 52 years of military service. [Applause.] When I joined the Army even before the turn of the century, it was the fulfillment of all my boyish hopes and dreams. The world has turned over many times since I took the oath on the plain at West Point, and the hopes and dreams have long since vanished. But I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barrack ballads of that day which proclaimed most proudly that—

"Old soldiers never die; they just fade away."

And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away—an old soldier who tried to do his duty as God gave him the light to see that duty.

Good-by.

JOINT MEETING DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The joint meeting of the two Houses is now dissolved.

Thereupon (at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the joint meeting of the two Houses was dissolved.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired (at 1 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), the House was called to order by the Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings had during the recess be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

RECESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair will state that the House will reassemble at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 16 minutes p. m.) the House stood in recess until 2 o'clock p. m.

AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker at 2 o'clock p. m.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. DOYLE, from April 23 till April 23, 1951, inclusive, to act as member of Board of Visitors to West Point Military Academy, by appointment of Hon. CARL VINSON, chairman, House Armed Services Committee.

THE LATE HONORABLE ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WOLCOTT].

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my very sad duty to announce the passing of the senior Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

Senator VANDENBERG served in the Senate as one of the greatest men ever to enter public life for about 25 years.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 201).

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, a Senator of the United States from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 17 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD].

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on this day of great emotion in this Chamber it is most difficult for me to speak my words of tribute concerning a fellow townsman, the great Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. The citizens of his home town are in deep mourning as the result of his passing. This sorrow at home is shared by all of the people throughout the world who truly believe in freedom and liberty.

We of Grand Rapids, Mich., were rightfully proud of the star that had been his and we all hope that his untiring efforts on behalf of humanity and mankind will long endure. Those who were acquainted with the family rather well knew of some of the physical difficulties that Senator VANDENBERG endured in the last few years, but until an

announcement released by his son after his passing none of us realized the great personal sacrifice that he made over and above the call of duty. For future posterity I think it highly important that this statement be included at this time in the RECORD.

•The following is the statement issued by the Senator's son:

The long interval between the discovery in 1948 of a tumor and its removal in October 1949, was due to the Senator's firm insistence that his health was of far less importance than his attention to affairs of government.

It will be recalled that then, as an advocate of a unified and bipartisan foreign policy, he played a major role in piloting through Congress such historic measures as the so-called Vandenberg resolution, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Inter-American Treaty.

His inflexible determination to conclude these responsibilities without regard to his personal welfare and against the advice of his doctors unquestionably was a contributing factor in later serious physical disability.

Because of his sacrifices, we in Grand Rapids have lost one of our greatest and finest citizens. The Nation has lost the outstanding statesman of recent times. The people throughout the world who hope for peace, freedom, and security have lost a real leader and the one person who to a large extent is responsible for the ray of hope which is now visible in our struggle against world domination by the Communist forces in the Kremlin.

Senator VANDENBERG in his many years of service in the Senate made an enviable record that will stand as an everlasting inspiration for present and future generations. It is a tragedy that this superb statesman and leader should leave us at this critical hour in our Nation's history, but his record should forever be a guiding light for our people.

America and her allies throughout the world mourn his untimely passing, but it is most fortunate that the world had the benefit of his leadership and guidance in recent years when the free people of the globe so badly needed men of his unquestioned stature.

In closing I would like to say that my words on this occasion, as inadequate as they may be, are, I hope, those of the people of his home town, his State, this Nation, but I think the people of the world.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. RABAUT].

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, of Senator VANDENBERG it well could be said that he was one who had a broad view of relations between nations, devoting himself to the principle that all nations of the world can live in peace and prosper if they have a common understanding. One of his major contributions to the peace of the world was his continuing effort to build international organizations through which this mutual international understanding could be nourished and developed. The Government of the United States has lost a great statesman and the peace of the world has lost an untiring friend.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO].

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, the Nation today mourns the loss of a great leader. A vacancy has been made through the death of one of the Nation's great men. Like the line in Edwin Markham's poem, "He went down with a great shout upon the hills and leaves a lonesome place against the sky." He now goes to fill a place in the immortal roll of illustrious statesmen of the Nation. We shall mourn and miss him in the Wolverine State of Michigan. Long will be the years before another takes his place and discharges his duty to the Nation with such great ability as did ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL].

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the sad and shocking news late last night announced to the world the end of the brilliant and productive career of ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, the senior Senator from the State of Michigan.

The passing of this great statesman-legislator, who has rendered over the years such outstanding and patriotic service, not only to the people of his own State and to the people of the Nation, but to the entire world, has focused attention upon him. His ability has in recent years been accentuated and recognized in the farsightedness of his contributions toward the upbuilding of the United Nations and the structure of a just and permanent peace. The entire legislative career of the late and beloved senior Senator from Michigan is deeply ingrained with the mark of his wholesome and lasting service.

He was physically a great and attractive personality which was more than matched by his mental and spiritual stature. The occasional error which was attributed to his judgment is a frailty of all humanity and great genius, to which Senator VANDENBERG was no exception. He was gifted in his mental capacity, with great discernment and eloquence. His originality and initiative were a constant test imposed upon an indefatigable and seemingly inexhaustible energy. These qualities were obvious to all, and they were an irresistible inspiration not only to his colleagues in the Senate but to the world. Aside from the spiritual, mental, and physical charm of the distinguished Senator, who was called by his God and maker to claim his eternal reward, ARTHUR VANDENBERG had a sparkle and attraction that which while felt cannot readily be described.

As the vital chapter of the life of ARTHUR VANDENBERG closes, a new and more brilliant page in history begins. The name of ARTHUR VANDENBERG will be remembered and his great service recalled by the world's statesmen and patriots whenever the cause of peace and economic freedom are mentioned. He takes his place among the greatest names ever produced in the State of Michigan and his rank among the Nation's intellectual and legislative leaders will be recognized as deserving of the top echelon as long as the record of the United States Senate survives.

Throughout my legislative career of nearly 20 years, especially in the more recent years, I have been brought into more and more intimate contact with the senior Senator from Michigan. This contact grew into a mutual friendship and respect which to me will always be a stimulus and an inspiration. I have observed his enormous persuasive power which has won the support of his senatorial colleagues and, more directly and closely as a member of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and a joint conferee, I have had occasion to study at close hand some of the sound and fundamental arguments which he put forth.

On this sorrowful occasion when the people have sustained such a great personal loss, I want to tender my sincere sympathy to the survivors of my dear and departed friend. It is with a sense of deep affection and reverence that at this moment I pay my humble tribute to him as I pray that God, the Father, grant eternal rest to his weary soul.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. POTTER].

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Speaker, it was with saddened hearts that we heard the tragic news this morning of the death of our senior Senator, ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

As a freshman Member of Congress a few years ago I will always recall the kindness, the thoughtfulness, the patience, and the guiding hand extended to me by our senior Senator. He and I collaborated on a bill which was for the interest of one of the cities of my district, the city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich. I am sure if it had not been for the efforts of the senior Senator from Michigan, who at that time was confronted with major international problems, we would not have been successful in having that legislation enacted into law. The State of Michigan has lost its most outstanding citizen. The Government of the United States has lost a most able and a most courageous legislator. The world has lost a champion for peace and an outstanding world statesman.

On behalf of myself and the citizens of Michigan's Eleventh Congressional District, whom it is my privilege to represent, I wish to convey to the Vandenberg family our deepest sympathy. May God grant him peaceful rest and may mortals long remember his unselfish devotion and accomplishments to the attainment of world peace.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, I read the great address of the Senator from Michigan of January 10, 1945, when I was in the Army. I remember I had just come off duty. I was not in politics in any way at that time. It had an enormous impact on me and had an enormous impact on my fellows. We felt that at last the country was together.

I would like, Mr. Speaker, as part of our tribute to this great man who was the architect of what has come to be the

historic bipartisan foreign policy which had so much to do with winning World War II and can have so much to do with winning the peace after World War II, to read just three sentences from that great address. I quote:

We cannot drift to victory. We must have maximum united effort on all fronts. We must have maximum united effort in our councils and we must deserve the continued united effort of our own people.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and, I think, with all Americans, in mourning this very grave loss to our country and to the great State of Michigan and to the world.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, every generation has its outstanding figures, and one of the outstanding figures of this generation is the late ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. I know of no man who in recent years has made his imprint upon the American mind to a greater extent in the establishment of bipartisan efforts and policies to meet the problems of today than the late Senator VANDENBERG. Every peace-loving person of the world, every soul who hates war mourns today the passing of this great man. The devotion of this great American, this man of fierce enthusiasm for just and enduring peace knew no party lines in his own country and knew no boundaries between nations where the spark of freedom lives in the heart of men. Perhaps more than any other American this warm, friendly, and very able gentleman from Michigan, symbolized by his own growth of perspective the transition of America from the thoughts of yesterday to the thoughts and considerations of world responsibility and leadership.

The late Senator VANDENBERG became one of the architects of American foreign policy which now works for world peace and human liberty by combined international effort to make the democracies and the non-Communist countries of the world so strong that no dictator would dare take the risk of starting a war of conquest. In doing so he flung to the winds all thoughts of partisan advantage or personal sacrifice. His one dream was that America, by presenting a united front, could lead the world to an era of peace without fear.

His own country and the world will never forget ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. We shall remember his dream, and the free world, because he lived, and we will fight more fiercely and forever together to protect its liberties.

I extend to his loved ones my profound sympathy in their bereavement.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, we have already felt the loss of Senator VANDENBERG on Capitol Hill, but we know that his influence lives on. It was my privilege to serve on a number of conference committees with him on some extremely controversial matters. That is where I knew him best. There I got the measure of his breadth and his depth, his wis-

dom, wit, high ideals, sound judgment, and common sense. This bipartisan foreign policy was a very practical thing as he operated it, because it depended upon consultation, discussion, persuasion, compromise on nonessential differences, but no compromise on matters of principle. It achieved results by giving due credit to both parties in seeking results that were above partisan advantage.

It was a wonderful thing to see Senator VANDENBERG preside in a conference. In my judgment, he not only was a great practitioner of the bipartisan policy but of the bicameral policy, because he understood the differences between the two bodies, the difference in their rules, and the way things had to be brought about. He had no pride of authorship in the language of legislation, but was surpassingly skillful in drafting language that achieved the best in conflicting viewpoints. He had no exalted feeling of his own position, but would promptly seek out the points of agreement, point out the essentials, and very rapidly, as I say, in a witty, winsome way, eliminate the nonessential differences that were keeping us from agreement. The result was some legislation that has played an historic part in the past few years.

Senator VANDENBERG was the man who wrote the word "justice" into the Charter of the United Nations. He will be remembered in history, I think, as a man who stood for justice in international affairs. His influence will live on through the ages.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MACHROWICZ].

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to express my profound and deep sorrow at the tragic and untimely death of the senior Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

In the death of Senator VANDENBERG, the State of Michigan has lost one of its most distinguished sons, but the Nation lost one of its greatest statesmen.

In these critical days of uncertainty and confusion the Nation will sadly miss the leadership, self-sacrifice and deep understanding of the senior Senator from Michigan. He fought incessantly for a strong, bi-partisan foreign policy and he, more than anyone else, can be credited with the success made to take American foreign affairs out of partisan policies. The necessity for this unity was best pointed out by him in his radio address of October 4, 1948: "The purpose of this unity is to strengthen American security and sustain American ideals by giving maximum authority to America's voice for peace with justice. In the face of any foreign problem, our unity is as important as our atom bomb."

We will never forget his self-denial, self-sacrifice and his willingness to have political and personal ambition be always subservient to the welfare of the Nation and to the cause of a just and enduring peace in the world. His devotion to this task was so great that he was willing to neglect his own health and it undoubtedly advanced his untimely death.

Neither can I forget his constant concern over the necessity for the restoration of freedom to Poland and other nations now under the yoke of communistic tyranny. He recognized the fact that there can be no permanent peace unless we apply the principles of justice and fair play to these nations. He expressed himself clearly on this on April 2, 1944, when he said:

"I shall contribute every effort behind the unimpaired rebirth of the great and heroic Polish Republic. We would be lacking in enlightened self-interest if we did not recognize the fact that, for the sake of America as well as for the sake of humanity, we also fight for a better and a safer and a happier world, and for organized international justice and fair play and security for big and little nations. We fight to unchain liberty in a free world from which international pirates shall be permanently barred by the organized conscience and the united vigilance of freedom. And, I know of no better typical test to apply to the progress which we make toward this emancipation than to supply the test to Poland."

Long before I became a Member of this House I had the honor of frequently conferring with Senator VANDENBERG with regard to necessary steps to be taken to insure restoration of freedom to the enslaved nations. I found him deeply interested and willing to do all in his power to repair the injustices caused by the Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam Agreements.

I sincerely hope that his spirit will forever remain with us and will lead us in a program of national unity, in a program to put an end to the tyranny of Communist imperialism and restore peace to a troubled world.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BLACKNEY].

Mr. BLACKNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to join with my Michigan colleagues and my associates of the House in paying respect to our departed public servant, Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. We in Michigan have known him for many years. We know of the splendid work that he has done.

One of his fine books which the Senator wrote was on Alexander Hamilton. He predicated his belief in Hamilton on Hamilton's knowledge of finances and of his close study and early love for the Constitution. Most of you have read Bryce's American Commonwealth. In that book the author said that the "American Constitution is the greatest political document ever penned by man." That was Senator VANDENBERG's philosophy. He lived and loved the Constitution of the United States.

My home State has lost its favorite son, and the Nation has lost a fine Senator, an orator of distinction, a brilliant statesman.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. LESINSKI].

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of this great House I join my colleagues from Michigan on both sides of the aisle in mourning Senator

VANDENBERG, a man from my home State who has done so much for his Nation. To his immediate family, to the people of Michigan and the Nation I express sincere regret at the passing of this great man. His name will stand out with the other immortals of this country and he will always be remembered as a man who placed his country above personal interests, not as so many are doing today, by permitting petty grievances to take precedence.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Michigan [Miss THOMPSON].

Miss THOMPSON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to have known Senator and Mrs. Vandenberg for a period of more than 25 years. I knew Senator VANDENBERG as coming from a very humble home. I remember him when he entered the field of journalism in Grand Rapids, Mich., where he was most successful. I remember Senator VANDENBERG as a good neighbor, a fine friend, a great statesman. His soul is another of those who belong to the ages.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, born in Grand Rapids, Mich., growing to young manhood there, it was inevitable that the people of southwestern Michigan should have known Senator VANDENBERG very well indeed.

There was never in the State in which he lived any question as to his ability, either as an orator or as a statesman. Perhaps southwestern Michigan is now in the Republican fold because of the efforts he put forth in his earlier days.

All Michigan feels honored because he was born in and remained a resident of the State while rendering outstanding service to the Nation.

There are two instances I recall which demonstrated his unquestioned political integrity and courage. One was, I think, in 1933, when he was the only Member of the other body to vote against recognition of Soviet Russia.

The other was a few years later when a group of those who in those days nominated and sometimes elected candidates for the Presidency came to Washington. Senator VANDENBERG at that time had the opportunity to receive the Republican nomination. Before him was every prospect of being successful. At least, that then was, now is, my thought. But because he could not, would not, go along with the political philosophy of the members of that particular group, he refused to then be a candidate.

He rendered a most remarkable service to the State and to the Nation.

Because Stanley R. Banyon, publisher and editor of the News-Palladium, published at Benton Harbor, Mich., who was long associated with Senator VANDENBERG, has so ably and so accurately evaluated his service, I adopt his statement, which reads as follows:

ONE LESS TO DEFEND FREEDOM'S CAUSE

In the lamentable death of Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Michigan and the Nation lose one of their truly great citizens.

Indeed, no statesman of his stature has ever occupied a Senate seat from this

State. And as foreign policy spokesman for the Republican Party for the last decade and a half, Senator VANDENBERG not only wielded tremendous influence within his party, but enjoyed singular national and international prestige.

As the country knows, Senator VANDENBERG was the Republican apostle of the so-called bipartisan foreign policy. Like all leaders of national vision and influence, his position brought him both cheers and jeers. Three years ago next June it could easily have won him the Republican nomination for President at Philadelphia, for then the Nation was pretty well convinced that the route to world peace was along the highroad of bipartisan cooperation in foreign affairs.

The shadow of critical illness, however, hung over the senior Senator from Michigan. He refused to wage a vigorous campaign for the nomination. Had he been nominated the chances are good that he would have been elected and the mess we are in today might well have been avoided.

Thus are the pages of history marked with the "ifs" and imponderables of fate and destiny.

Senator VANDENBERG must have suffered many disappointing moments in the closing months of his heroic fight against the malignancy that finally won the grim battle, for his bipartisan foreign policy gradually fell apart.

For one thing, there was no one in the Senate of his ability and fervor with which to carry on the battle. Moreover, the war in Korea with all its disillusionments and fumbling by the Truman administration, soured the American people. Added to this was the disgust of millions of good Americans with the United Nations farce, both at Lake Success and in the field when the fighting started in Korea.

General MacArthur got United Nations flags for his troops but pitifully little military help from UN member nations. What the American people discovered was that the UN was nothing more than a sounding board for Russian propaganda and insults; that the UN delegates were willing to pass brave resolutions defying and denouncing Soviet Russia, but that UN governments were not going to fight.

It was, and still is, a shattering blow for all patriots like Senator VANDENBERG, who had hoped that after two World Wars the free nations might successfully hammer out a workable formula for peace on the anvil of past mistakes.

It is no secret that many Republicans could not follow Senator VANDENBERG along the tortuous road of his bipartisan foreign policy. Many of them thought that he went over to the New Dealism of Roosevelt and the fumbling of Truman and Acheson. They remembered, too, when the Senator's voice and pen rendered yeoman service in the successful Senate fight against the old League of Nations. One day he was a rabid isolationist and almost the next he was marching with the internationalists.

What the critics overlooked was that the Michigan Senator from his vantage point of service and experience in Washington, believed that unless our foreign policies were realistically American and helpful in welding together all democratic-minded peoples, another world war of even more terrible design and scope would be inevitable.

A tremendous worker, Senator VANDENBERG's health was unquestionably impaired by his Senate service. His grave might appropriately be in Arlington in the hallowed ground reserved for the Nation's heroes.

For a quarter century, as editor of the Grand Rapids Herald, Senator VANDENBERG's editorial pen authored dynamic support for progressive Republicanism. He was a deep student of the science of government—never a mere politician.

No leader in Michigan public life was ever a more loyal patriot. If he had lived in Washington's time he would have been another Alexander Hamilton, about whom he once wrote a book to prove his contention that Hamilton was "the greatest American."

In ideals, aspirations, in self-accomplishment and public service, ARTHUR VANDENBERG personified the typical American. Against the sordid backdrop of today's exposures of political chicanery, criminal gangsterism, and Red termites in high places of our national government, Senator VANDENBERG's nobility of character and integrity of citizenship and public service are as inspiring as the first rays of the morning sun.

The country loses a valiant warrior and defender in this statesman's passing.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. MEADER].

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, it was with great shock that I learned last evening of Senator VANDENBERG's passing; not a shock in the sense that we had not been well aware of his illness and the great fight he was putting up against a dread disease, but a shock because, for the first time, I realized that the Republican Party and the Congress were going to face now the replacement of Senator VANDENBERG, his counsel and his influence upon the policies of this country, particularly in its relationship with other nations of the world.

I did not know Senator VANDENBERG intimately. I had known him over a long period of time when, as a practicing lawyer, occasionally I would call on him in Washington. I knew him during my service as counsel for Senate committees when, from time to time, I had occasion to talk with him.

I remember in the early days his fight against the Florida ship canal as one of the outstanding activities in which he engaged in the Senate. In later years he had come to wield a very great power, not only in the Republican Party, but in the entire Senate, on foreign affairs.

I visited him briefly in Paris during the Conference of Foreign Ministers, which ended in a stalemate, and discussed with him some of the experiences that he was going through. As you all recall, there then was a definite stiffening in the attitude of the American Government toward the demands of the Russians. In that stiffening of resistance to Russian encroachments Senator VANDENBERG played a very great part.

I think that among all of the attributes of this great American citizen perhaps the one which stands forth in the minds of all of us is the outstanding manner in which he placed his country's interest above his personal interest or the interest of his party. I think that example may well stand in good stead when, in the heat of partisan controversy in this body or in the other body, we recall the attributes of Senator VANDENBERG which led to his being regarded by the people of this country as one of its outstanding statesmen. His example and his spirit will remain with us.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD].

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, disease and hazards to which mankind is subjected have little respect for youth, for the middle-aged, or for those who have obtained great experience in this game we call life. I wish to use this opportunity to express my deep sympathy, as well as that of the great people of my district, the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan, for the loss which our State and our country has suffered by reason of the death of Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. His life has been taken away from us after he had received great experience in the affairs of this country and this world at a time when he could have been of great service had he been permitted, by the great forces of the universe, to have lived another decade or two. I have often thought of Senator VANDENBERG as one who would have rendered great service to the country and to the world had he been permitted to serve in the embassies which represent the United States across the face of the earth. He was a man of great stature, physically and mentally and intellectually, and by reason of the issues which have been drawn in this country, I think that his representation in some foreign embassy would perhaps have rendered as great a service as man has ever been permitted to render, particularly at this great hour of need. The country will have a job to find a man who will measure up to his stature, whether representing the great State of Michigan or some other State. He has made his own record. There is nothing I can add to it except to say that my district deeply sympathizes with his family and with his loved ones and with his friends, thousands of whom reside in the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT].

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG. There is tremendous power in that very name: Dutch stubbornness, solidity, substantiality. He was a giant among intellects, whose honor was untarnished, whose integrity was unquestioned, and whose ability was often demonstrated, so much so that both friend and foe would quickly admit that he was not only of presidential stature but one of the outstanding statesmen not only of our day, but in the history of our country.

Mr. Speaker, in 1944 ARTHUR VANDENBERG said to me on the floor of the Senate just prior to our National Republican Convention, "Dewey, in my opinion, Gen. Douglas MacArthur is the most brilliant man I have ever known." He was of that same opinion in 1948. There were two great heroes that Senator VANDENBERG almost worshiped. One was Borah. I want to ask Members this afternoon before they leave their offices to read the incomparable tribute paid by Senator VANDENBERG to Senator Borah on the occasion of the death of the dean of the Senate; the greatest encomium I think I have ever read by one man paid to another.

VANDENBERG was a master of the tongue of Shakespeare. All of his speeches,

though they apparently were extemporaneous, were very carefully prepared. He learned it as a newspaperman. I happen to know that he wrote and rewrote his speeches and often he would rewrite a paragraph a dozen times, and was never quite satisfied with it when it was—I started to say finished; I will say ended, because it was never finished.

Borah was one of his great idols. The other was Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Much as I have admired the general in days gone by, after the experience of today I know why ARTHUR VANDENBERG revered and admired him and all but worshiped him.

We heard MacArthur's speech here today. We saw a great hunk of God in the flesh, and we heard the voice of God.

Speeches are not made, they are born. When Mr. Webster over in the old Supreme Court Chamber that was the Senate Chamber at that time made his immortal reply to Hayne, a Washington lady shook his hand as he left the Chamber and said, "Oh, Senator Webster, I am surprised that you could prepare a speech such as you gave today after hearing Hayne only yesterday." Daniel Webster said, "Oh, my dear lady, I have spent 40 years preparing this speech."

MacArthur, I think, has spent 52 years in giving us the climax today of a long and a distinguished career.

Oh, Mr. Speaker, I would that ARTHUR VANDENBERG with his melodious voice, of rich resonance, of impressive intonation, born of the deep convictions of his soul, could have been here this noon. It is rather singular, is it not, a rather queer coincidence that the senior Senator from Michigan shuffled off his mortal coil only last night before the greatest idol of his life addressed us today. I thought of it all the time he was speaking.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a man perhaps could have been President had he not been too honest. One night after he and I had attended a meeting, and he was kind enough to drop me by my apartment on the way to his hotel, I said, "Senator, a lot of people don't understand you. They think you are a stuffed shirt." Even I accused him of being capable of drinking boiling water and sweating icicles. And he laughed. He had a sense of humor. But ARTHUR VANDENBERG possessed a warm heart. He was congenial, he was convivial, and after you knew him, if anyone ever thought he had an icy exterior, if they penetrated that and came to know him they would find one of the warmest and most congenial and compatible persons he had ever met. It is those personal qualities as well as his great intellect and his contribution to American statecraft, that I think of this afternoon. There is little tribute I or anyone else can pay him which would do justice to him. Today I like to put him in the class of his two great idols—I put them together—Borah, MacArthur, Vandenberg.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not trespass longer upon your time. I will simply pronounce their names and let them shine on in deathless splendor. "Life is real, life is earnest, and the grave is not its goal. Dust thou art and to dust

returnest, was not spoken of the soul." God bless America where men from humble origins can rise to such heights of success and glory. May God in his infinite mercy bless not only the loved ones of his family, but may He look down upon the United States of America, this beloved Republic, and in the days to come it is my earnest and hopeful prayer that we shall have more Borahs, and more MacArthurs, and more Vandenberg—all good soldiers, whether in the public arena or on the battlefield. Old soldiers never die, though they may silently fade away.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KERSTEN].

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the waters of ablation of Lake Michigan touch the shores of the State of Wisconsin and the State of Michigan and they join their boundaries, too. Wisconsin wishes to lay a wreath upon the tomb of a great world statesman, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. Today we see about our horizon the threatening clouds of war, but we know that behind those clouds ultimately there is a time when there finally will be established the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, and when that time comes the spirit of VANDENBERG will be there because he envisioned that time and helped prepare for it. He was one of the great statesmen of the world, and I wish to pay tribute to him.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD].

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, when a boy in school reads his history lessons and sometimes memorizes portions of the addresses which great debaters and political leaders of our country have given in the past, he comes to have a sort of hero worship for the Jeffersons, the Madisons, the Websters, Calhouns, and Clays, and the many other great congressional leaders in our history. I had never dreamed of getting into political life myself, but when I came to the Congress 8 years ago, I looked forward eagerly to meeting men who would be all the time like those men were in their finest moments. Frankly, I was disappointed at first because I did not find many of the sort of person I had imagined as a boy. I found many who, most of the time, were ordinary people like those in other walks of life. Their moments of great or spectacular effort were intermingled with or seemed overshadowed by so many other moments of ordinary, inconspicuous, plodding effort—the sort of thing of which even I was capable. Only as I come to know my colleagues better, did I realize that probably no one lives at a peak all the time. A man is great who makes even a few truly notable contributions in a lifetime. And with that view I came to have a truer appreciation of the genuine greatness of so many of the Members of Congress of our day.

I say all this as background for the statement that of all the men it has been my privilege to know since becoming a Member of the Congress, the man who came nearest to measuring up to the standard of greatness which was in my

mind as a boy, the man who came nearest to what I had pictured as a statesman, the equal to the giants who built this Republic and have preserved it—that man was ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

There were many reasons for such an estimate; his impressive appearance, his lucidity of thought and speech, his ability to influence the minds of others. He had great capacity and wisdom and patriotism and courage. But perhaps the outstanding mark of his statesmanship was this: When he saw that a position he had been a leader in maintaining was no longer tenable in the kind of shrinking world in which we live, he had the greatness to reverse his stand and become the leader of the opposite position from that which he had supported and advocated for so long. That is true greatness; the capacity to grasp and to grow; and the courage to give up mere consistency in order to do the thing that he now believed was in the best interest of his country.

Perhaps it is proper for me to repeat this personal word of appreciation. Many times in the six or more years I was privileged to know and consult with him, when I was struggling almost alone at times in favor of policies and actions which I believed were necessary if we were not to get into the perilous situation in Asia, which we have heard portrayed here today by General MacArthur, I received encouragement from Senator VANDENBERG. Perhaps his sympathy with my views came from his long association with General MacArthur, to which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] so eloquently referred. In any case he helped me keep plugging away at the job.

The last time I went to him for help on a major matter was in July 1948. The Congress had passed on April 3, 1948, the foreign-aid bill containing a title called the China Aid Act. It was designed to prevent exactly the dangerous predicament in which we find our country today, by helping the Chinese Government put down the Communist rebellion which had not yet been able to conquer even Manchuria. For 3 months somebody in the State Department had refused to move to set in motion the provisions of the bill which it was their business to carry out in good faith because it was the law of the land, whether they liked it or not. Military-type aid had been authorized and the money appropriated to help those who were already fighting this great Communist cancer so that American boys would not have to give up their lives in Korea or elsewhere fighting it later. Time was of decisive importance, and we could not budge the road block. I finally went to Senator VANDENBERG. He was to leave that afternoon, the session having ended, to go back to Michigan, and he was busy. I said, "How in the world can we break this thing loose so that the aid will start going? The Chinese cannot hope to win if they have to wait for supplies months longer in the midst of the battle." He said, "Well, I have an idea. The key-man in the agency responsible—I shall not mention his name—has gone to the

hospital for a check-up. I think we can get hold of a certain other man down there who might get this program started while his boss is in the hospital." So he called up the individual in my presence and talked to him, and the road block was broken, and after 3½ months of delay the will of the Congress began to be carried out.

That was the last contact on a major matter which I had with the distinguished gentleman—brilliant, patriotic, courageous, tactful, persuasive—who served the State of Michigan and all America so effectively in the Senate of the United States. He was a blessing to me, just one of the many, many humble persons to whom he gave considerate attention as he walked the road of life, and I am sure he has been a blessing to all who have been privileged to know him well. We can only wish comfort for the hearts of those loved ones who are left, in their knowledge of the great service he rendered to our country and to mankind.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, of all the men I have met since I came to Congress, almost 10 years ago, Senator VANDENBERG was the most inspiring person. I first met him at a national convention in 1936. At that time he did not impress me. I went away with the impression, as my colleague the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] stated, that he was a "stuffed shirt." But after I came to Congress a group of Congressmen, of which the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUD] was one and of which I was one, had him talk to us off the record, about a solution of our postwar problems.

I was very much impressed with what he had to say. He pointed out that in the chaotic, uncertain, shattered, and explosive world in which we lived that some way must be found to settle international disputes by peaceful means. He himself had changed his own position and had turned from the restrictive position of isolationism to the broader one that nations like persons could not successfully live in a state of anarchy.

Furthermore, Senator VANDENBERG dropped much of his partisanship and took a more objective view of the stupendous problems facing the world. He recognized that the United States was the leader in the family of nations and unless our position was one of broad tolerance and of a determination to unify the world in the interest of peace, there was little chance for a peaceful world.

He expounded the thesis of collective security and peace with justice. His leadership had a profound influence on myself and I think many other Members of the House and undoubtedly also on Members of the other body.

His record is a good illustration of the statement that partisanship and statesmanship do not mesh very often. As his partisanship became less pronounced his statesmanship became more evident. If the free and peaceful world which we are all hoping for comes, it can then be

truly said that Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG helped build the foundation for that world. On these broad and fundamental problems he undoubtedly had a grasp that was unexcelled. His influence will be felt by millions of persons who may get the freedom that they never had before.

It was his attitude on these matters that leads me to say that of all the men I have known in Congress, he was the most statesmanlike and also inspired me most.

His loss will be tremendous but all of us can make his work more successful by doing our part in trying to carry out his ideas.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DEANE].

Mr. DEANE. Mr. Speaker, when I think of the distinguished and beloved Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR VANDENBERG, I think of the United Nations. During these days it is difficult when we think of our parties to be absolutely fair, unbiased, and sincere; we are so prone to put partisanship ahead of the welfare of our country. But I feel that no person in America made a greater contribution and exemplified a greater sincerity than did Senator VANDENBERG. The people of both of our great parties respected this great statesman from Michigan.

Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I feel that much of the success of the United Nations is due to the leadership of Senator VANDENBERG, and I have a feeling, too, that if he were living and in his full vigor and strength that he would yet urge greater and more sincere cooperation on the part of our Congress with this great organization.

Senator VANDENBERG exemplified in my opinion the ideology of "Not who is right, but what is right" when it came to a matter of a decision involving the peace of the world.

We can only hope and pray that his vision of a great group of nations acting together in a common undertaking will yet prevail. To his memory I pay this very sincere salute.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. JENKINS].

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to know Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG well and intimately for a long time. As some of you know, I have had a somewhat extended experience here as a Member of this House. Because of that I have had occasion to know a great many men who have served in the House or in the Senate. I presume, like all the rest of you, I would mentally appraise them as I met them and had association with them. I have appraised Senator VANDENBERG for a long time. There are other men that I have met and known as Members of the House or Senate who probably could match him in oratory and in debate, but nobody that I have known here in Congress in either House was superior to Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG in putting on paper what he thought, what he believed, and what he wanted to say. His

ability in this respect was to my mind responsible for the high standing that he achieved among the statesmen of his generation. To his family I extend my sympathy and I say to his children that they no doubt found many characteristics of mind and heart that will cause them to forever revere and respect their brilliant father.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks at this point on this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost one of its most distinguished sons in the death of Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG, of Michigan.

It was my privilege to work with Senator VANDENBERG for many years, and particularly at the time that I served as House majority leader in the Eightieth Congress and he was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is on the basis of this pleasant association with the Senator that I place my high evaluation on his record of service to America.

When history places its final assessment on his contribution to the country during his long and illustrious career in the Senate of the United States I am confident that the sentiments expressed here now by his colleagues of both Houses shall not have proved without foundation.

If by his works they shall know him, then future generations of Americans will know that the Senator from Michigan was a man of great intellectual and moral stature; a man conscious of his responsibilities, determined to fulfill his obligations of office and devoted to the land he served so well.

In his great capacity for hard work, it may well be that he hastened his untimely death by his very insistence that whatever it was humanly possible for him to do should not be left undone.

It is tragic for the welfare of our people that Senator VANDENBERG should have been stricken at a time when the fulfillment of his tremendous capacities appeared to be at hand. That we in the Congress should find ourselves now bereft of his wise leadership, his friendly counsel and his broad experience in the field of foreign relations is a disheartening fact to contemplate.

His was a commanding voice, a voice which gave eloquent expression to convictions deeply held, convictions arising from profound thought, careful study, and a sincere desire to place country above all.

In these unhappy times all of us shall miss the steadying influence of a colleague held in deepest respect. The tasks we face will be less easy without the helpful voice and hand we knew so well.

Words are poor things at best in time of sorrow and bereavement, but through them, and through his deeds, Americans of a future day will learn that the Senator from Michigan was a man loved and

venerated by his compatriots; that he was held in justifiable esteem for his unselfish service to a noble cause.

I add my tribute to the late Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG, of Michigan, of whom no greater thing may be said than that he lived a rich and useful life, a life dedicated to the welfare of his countrymen.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the death of ARTHUR VANDENBERG, senior Senator from the State of Michigan, is a very great loss to his State and to the Nation as a whole.

Successful as an editor, successful as an author, he was to attain outstanding success as a Member of the United States Senate in extremely difficult times.

Elected to the Senate in 1928, he became recognized throughout the Nation as one of its outstanding Members and as a leader in the field of foreign affairs, serving as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate during the Eightieth Congress, and playing a vital role in the molding of important legislation dealing with relations between this country and other nations in the free world.

In these critical days in the history of the world the country can ill afford to lose his great ability and fine capacity for leadership.

I have known him over the years, ever since he came to Washington, as a personal friend. I shall miss him.

I join in heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family and to all those close to him.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, with my fellow citizens of Michigan and of the Nation, and with my colleagues in Congress, I mourn the passing of Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

My personal acquaintance and association with Senator VANDENBERG began long before either of us came to Congress. He was the city editor of a Grand Rapids newspaper when I held my first job as a reporter with the paper.

In later years it was my pleasure, on numerous occasions, to have him speak in my district. In those addresses, with the graciousness so characteristic of him, he would invariably refer to me as his "protégé."

Senator VANDENBERG was faithful to his duties as a United States Senator even to the detriment of his health. From his sense of public obligation he remained at his post against the counsel of his physician, undoubtedly aggravating the condition which has led to his long illness and finally his death.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG will always be remembered, by the Nation and the world, for his advocacy of national unity in the cause of world peace. The impulse which prompted his sponsorship of the bipartisan foreign policy—which he preferred to call nonpartisan—was deeply patriotic. Unfortunately, as he lived to learn, it takes two to make a bipartisan foreign policy. Unfortunately, too, the bipartisan policy he espoused was not extended to those crucial international conferences, particularly at Yalta and Potsdam, which did so much to create our present critical dilemma.

The Nation still needed ARTHUR VANDENBERG. Even more it still needs the sort of unity, in support of sound principles of enlightened self-interest, which ARTHUR VANDENBERG envisioned and which he strove so valiantly to achieve.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks in respect to the resolution just offered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

HOUSE MEMBERS OF FUNERAL COMMITTEE

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to attend the funeral the following Members: Messrs. WOODRUFF, WOLCOTT, DINGELL, DONDERO, CRAWFORD, HOFFMAN of Michigan, SHAFER, BLACKNEY, BENNETT of Michigan, POTTER, RABAUT, O'BRIEN of Michigan, FORD, LESINSKI, MACHROWICZ, MEADER, and Miss THOMPSON of Michigan.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the balance of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned, under its previous order, until Monday, April 23, 1951, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

395. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, transmitting the Semi-Annual Report of the Federal National Mortgage Association for the 6 months ended December 31, 1950, in accordance with section 306 of the National Housing Act, as amended, and section 2 (6) of Reorganization Plan No. 22 of 1950, was taken from the Speaker's table, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. EBERHARTER: Committee on Ways and Means. Part II, minority views on H. R. 2084. A bill relating to the treatment of powers of appointment for estate- and gift-tax purposes; (Rept. No. 327, pt. II). Ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. ANFUSO:

H. R. 3781. A bill relating to the promotion of veterans of World War II in the field service of the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

SENATE

MONDAY, APRIL 23, 1951

(Legislative day of Tuesday, April 17, 1951)

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

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

Our Father God, whose truest words to us are heard in the silences of the soul: Grant Thy servants, in the public ministry of this chamber of debate and decision, quiet hearts and open minds. May the fret and fever of our own spirits not add to the confusion of a confused age, instead of helping and healing. Bewildered by the world's upheaval we lose certitude and stability and self-control; we are tempted to yield to the angry emotions of the time.

Forgive the petulance of our impatience, our hasty judgments, and our childish outbursts. Give us a faith that will not shrink, though pressed by every foe. Be Thou the shining presence in every fear-shadowed area of life. Take to Thyself those who in the fiery hurricane of battle under eastern skies are giving their lives that freedom may live. Hasten the day when righteousness shall be triumphant, and peace shall bless our land and every land. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. McFARLAND, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, April 19, 1951, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Snader, its assistant reading clerk, announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 238) making an emergency appropriation for the fiscal year 1951, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

NOTICE OF HEARING OF NOMINATION OF RICHARD T. RIVES TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE, FIFTH CIRCUIT

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, and in accordance with the rules of the committee, I desire to give notice that a public hearing has been scheduled for Monday, April 30, 1951, at 10 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, upon the nomination of Richard T. Rives, of Alabama, to be United States circuit judge, fifth circuit, vice Hon. Leon McCord, retired. At the indicated time and place all persons interested in the nomination may make such representations as may be pertinent. The subcommittee consists of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], chairman; the Sena-

tor from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND]; and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY].

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators be permitted to present petitions and memorials, submit reports, introduce bills and joint resolutions, and transact other routine business, without debate, and that the time be not charged to either side.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE LATE SENATOR ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a telegram from Mauricio Nabuco, Brazilian Ambassador, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 19, 1951.

UNITED STATES SENATE,

Washington, D. C.:

On behalf of my Government and my own, I wish to associate myself with the Senate of the United States of America in mourning the loss of Senator Arthur Vandenberg.

MAURICIO NABUCO,
Brazilian Ambassador.

DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents on the files of several departments and agencies of the Government which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, and Mr. LANGER members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

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

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A resolution adopted by the Municipal Council of Polo, Province of Bulacan, Republic of the Philippines, favoring the enactment of legislation providing additional war damage appropriations; to the Committee on Armed Services.

A resolution adopted by the Municipal Council of Plaridel, Province of Bulacan, Republic of the Philippines, expressing gratitude for the generosity of the American people; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. THYE:

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

"Resolution 7

"Joint resolution memorializing the Secretary of the Army of the United States to take such action as is necessary to make available to the State of Minnesota such arms, uniforms, and equipment as are necessary to equip the Minnesota State Guard

"Whereas the Selective Service Act of 1950 authorizes the President to order into the active military or naval service of the United

By Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin:

H. R. 3782. A bill to authorize a per capita payment to members of the Menominee Tribe of Indians; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin:

H. R. 3783. A bill to redefine the term "employee of the Government," as used in chapter 171 of title 28, United States Code (relating to tort claims procedure), so as to include within such term certain caretakers employed by the National Guard; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON:

H. R. 3784. A bill to provide for the transfer of the Spanish-Mexican land-grant papers to the custody of the secretary of state of California; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. KEARNEY:

H. R. 3785. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to increase the criminal penalty provided for persons convicted of gathering or delivering certain defense information to aid a foreign government in time of peace; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KIRWAN:

H. R. 3790. A bill making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. BENNETT of Florida:

H. Res. 202. Resolution concerning the foreign policy in the Far East of the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Kansas, requesting a study and reexamination to be made of all plans for flood-control dams and works in the State of Kansas which were authorized more than 5 years ago and on which actual work has not been started; to the Committee on Public Works.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. CRUMPACKER:

H. R. 3786. A bill for the relief of Victorina Molina; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin:

H. R. 3787. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Western District of Wisconsin to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of Stanley J. Nietupski and Sarah Jane Nietupski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MITCHELL:

H. R. 3788. A bill for the relief of Camilla Pintos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan:

H. R. 3789. A bill for the relief of Roosevelt Pollard, the General Exchange Insurance Corp., and Fred Warren; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

237. Mr. BUSH presented a resolution of Lieutenant John C. Roche Post, No. 212, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, Bradford, Pa.; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.