

months' active duty after June 24, 1950; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. YORTY:

H. R. Res. 373. Joint resolution declaring the boundaries of the inland or internal waters of the United States to be as far seaward as is permissible under international law, and providing for a survey of such boundaries to be made by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey in the light of the Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries case; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SABATH:

H. J. Res. 374. Joint resolution authorizing the President of the United States of America to proclaim October 11, 1952, General Pulaski's Memorial Day for the observance and commemoration of the death of Brig. Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SIEMINSKI:

H. J. Res. 375. Joint resolution to rescind the consent of Congress to the compact or agreement between the State of New York and the State of New Jersey creating the Port of New York Authority, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin:

H. J. Res. 376. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties and executive agreements; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAGEN:

H. Con. Res. 197. Concurrent resolution to establish the Joint Committee on Coverage of Administrative Positions into the Classified Civil Service; to the Committee on Rules.

H. Con. Res. 198. Concurrent resolution to provide funds for the expenses of the joint committee created pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 197; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. DOLLINGER:

H. Res. 521. Resolution favoring the embracing within the Republic of Ireland of all the territory of that country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

#### 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 Delaware, relative to transmitting an authenticated copy of an interstate civil defense compact as entered into and ratified by the State of Delaware, pursuant to subsection 201 (g) of the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950 (Public Law 920, Eighty-first Congress; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Nevada, relative to transmitting an authenticated copy of an interstate civil defense compact as entered into and ratified by the State of Nevada, pursuant to subsection 201 (g) of the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, Public Law 920, Eighty-first Congress; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, relative to transmitting an authenticated copy of Act No. 330 of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, concerning mutual military aid and assistance by and between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and other States, in an emergency, and empowering the Governor to enter into a compact with the State of New Jersey and the State of New York and any other State concurring therein for such purpose; to the Committee on Armed Services.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Kentucky, relative to requesting the official designation of the body of water impounded by Wolf Creek Dam, "Lake Cumberland", and asking that the name of the Dam remain "Wolf Creek Dam"; to the Committee on Public Works.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, relative to urging Congress to lower the premiums on national service life insurance; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HESELTON: Resolutions of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, urging Congress to lower the premiums on national service life insurance; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts: Memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, urging Congress to lower the premiums on national service life insurance; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FORAND: Resolution entitled "Resolution requesting the Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States to work for the passage of legislation to amend the social security act so as to authorize the extension of old-age and survivors benefits under the act to State and local employees who are covered by State or local retirement systems, as passed by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations at the January session, A. D. 1952, and approved by the Governor on February 5, 1952"; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. BRAMBLETT:

H. R. 6551. A bill for the relief of Hyeng Pok Sunoo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 6552. A bill for the relief of Velisarios G. Zavitsanos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURLESON:

H. R. 6553. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas, Abilene Division, to hear, determine, and render judgment upon certain claims of Yetta Mae Slatton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BYRNES:

H. R. 6554. A bill to effect entry of Kim Jung Soo to be adopted by United States citizens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CASE:

H. R. 6555. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Seyre Odichou; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. D'EWART:

H. R. 6556. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Erie E. Howe; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. JAVITS:

H. R. 6557. A bill for the relief of Rebecca Polak; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LANE (by request):

H. R. 6558. A bill for the relief of certain members of the naval service, with respect to shipments of household effects; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McGREGOR:

H. R. 6559. A bill for the relief of Setsuko Motohara Kibler, widow of Robert Eugene Kibler; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McVEY:

H. R. 6560. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Joyce Heveran, nee Rigby; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RICHARDS:

H. R. 6561. A bill to effect entry of a minor child adopted or to be adopted by United States citizens; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RIEHILMAN (by request):

H. R. 6562. A bill for the relief of Andreas or Andrew Voutsinas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ZABLOCKI:

H. R. 6563. A bill for the relief of Peter Penovic, Milos Grahovac, Nikola Majkovic,

and Mile Milanovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 6564. A bill for the relief of Antonio Tralonga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

538. By Mr. KILDAY: Petition of Richard M. Casillas, M. M. Lugo, Henry Romo, Joaquin Abrego, Wayne E. LeCroy, Fred M. Ramirez, A. M. Ramirez, Martin B. Aparicio, Frank Galvan, R. Rubio, T. G. Hernandez, Joseph N. McCumber, Albert A. Pena, Jr., Julian S. Garvia, and Conrad Salinas, urging legislation to prohibit employing, harboring, or recruiting illegal workers from Mexico; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

539. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Miami Friendship Townsend Club, No. 1, Miami, Fla., requesting enactment of House bills 2678 and 2679, known as the Townsend plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

540. Also, petition of West Palm Beach Townsend Club, No. 1, West Palm Beach, Fla., requesting enactment of House bills 2678 and 2679, known as the Townsend plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

541. Also, petition of Miami Townsend Club No. 22, Miami, Fla., requesting passage of House bills 2678 and 2679, known as the Townsend plan; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

542. Also, petition of Rotary Club of Jacksonville, Jacksonville, Fla., relative to being gravely concerned that many rights and privileges now possessed by us as citizens of this State or of this Nation can easily be impaired by proposed treaties implementing the International Covenant of Human Rights under our United Nations Charter; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

543. Also, petition of New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, Inc., New York City, N. Y., relative to urging passage of the bill H. R. 4544, dealing with the antismuggling situation and narcotics; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

544. Also, petition of Chamber of Commerce, Houston, Tex., relative to stating its continued opposition to the proposed St. Lawrence seaway; to the Committee on Public Works.

545. Petition of Texas Harris County Mayors' and Councilmen's Association, Baytown, Tex., relative to requesting the Congress to act favorably upon and adopt bill S. 940 or H. R. 4484 pending in the Eighty-second Congress, relative to the tidelands areas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

546. Also, petition of Ricardo J. de Castro, Valenzuela Subdivision, Manila, Philippines, relative to stating a grievance wherein the United States civil-service regulations were completely ignored, and the true spirit of the Missing Persons Act was misinterpreted; to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### SENATE

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1952

(Legislative day of Thursday, January 10, 1952)

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:

O God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed: As the torch of a new day lights afresh the path of duty we bow before

Thee in humility and hope. Through the lips that speak in this forum of freedom may there be heard by a listening world the solemn summons to men of good will, of all colors and all nations, to a new commonwealth of all peoples, in which power shall be administered as a sacred trust and dedicated to the common good.

In this creative hour of destiny, save us from surrendering to cynicism, because of rampant evil, and of being made men of little faith by those who desecrate the dignity of human life. Dedicate us anew to the yet unfinished task, that we may win a just peace for which brave men are giving their lives. And Thine shall be the kingdom and the power and the glory. Amen.

#### DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The Chief Clerk read the following letter:

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D. C., February 14, 1952.  
To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. WALTER F. GEORGE, a Senator from the State of Georgia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

KENNETH MCKELLAR,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. GEORGE thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. CLEMENTS, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, February 11, 1952, was dispensed with.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT—APPROVAL OF BILLS

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 the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On February 12, 1952:

S. 471. An act for the relief of Ai Mei Yu and Ai Mei Chen;  
S. 527. An act for the relief of Youichi Nobori;  
S. 605. An act for the relief of Constance Chin Hung;  
S. 639. An act for the relief of Motoi Kano;  
S. 702. An act for the relief of Joseph Emmanuel Winger;  
S. 971. An act for the relief of Ralph Albrecht Hsiao;  
S. 1120. An act for the relief of Misao Konishi;  
S. 1448. An act for the relief of Robert William Lauber;  
S. 1819. An act for the relief of Wolfgang Vogel;  
S. 2095. An act for the relief of Joe Kosaka; and

S. 2169. An act authorizing the acquisition by the Secretary of the Interior of the Gila Pueblo, in Gila County, Ariz., for archeological laboratory and storage purposes, and for other purposes.

On February 13, 1952:

S. 634. An act for the relief of Stela S. Ransier;  
S. 640. An act for the relief of Isamu Furuta;

S. 659. An act for the relief of Ritsuko Chojin;  
S. 1158. An act for the relief of Takako Kitamura Dalluge; and  
S. 2158. An act for the relief of Michiyo Chiba.

On February 14, 1952:  
S. 1177. An act for the relief of Misako Kinoshita;

S. 1280. An act for the relief of the minor child, Peng-siu Mei;

S. 1421. An act for the relief of Masako Sugiyama; and

S. 1911. An act for the relief of Michael David Liu, a minor.

#### TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators be permitted to introduce bills and joint resolutions, make insertions in the RECORD, and transact other routine business, without debate.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### REPORT OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AND FINANCIAL PROBLEMS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 353)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

#### To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting herewith, for the information of the Congress, a report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems covering its operations from April 1, 1951, to September 30, 1951, and describing in accordance with section 4 (b) (5) of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act, the participation of the United States in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the above period.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 14, 1952.

#### REPORT ON MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 352)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying report, referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

#### To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of Public Law 329, Eighty-first Congress, first session (63 Stat. 714), I am transmitting herewith the fourth report on the mutual defense assistance program, covering the period from April 1, 1951, to October 9, 1951.

I am able to report to the Congress and the people of the United States that substantial and continuing progress has been made toward the goals of the mutual defense assistance program. The continued strengthening of defense potential of the free nations has stimu-

lated their friendship for the United States and served increasingly to deter aggressive ventures.

It is clear, however, that the systematic creation of military strength in the free world posed many difficult and complex problems. We have not solved all of them, nor even a majority of them. Much remains to be done. It is my belief, however, that our achievements, and those of the nations associated with us, now have provided the all-essential base on which the free world can complete the structure of an invincible mutual defense.

With the appointment of a Director for Mutual Security, in accordance with the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1951, the mutual defense assistance program enters a new phase in which it becomes integrated even more closely into the fabric of our total foreign-aid program. It has therefore seemed appropriate to include in this fourth report a summary of the operation of the mutual defense assistance program over the past 2 years and a survey of the principles and current problems of military assistance.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.  
THE WHITE HOUSE, February 12, 1952.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

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

#### REPORT OF ACTIVITIES UNDER UNITED STATES INFORMATION AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE ACT

A letter from the Secretary of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of activities under the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, for the period January 1 through June 30, 1951 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### AMENDMENT OF CODE RELATING TO JURISDICTION OVER OFFENSES COMMITTED BY OR AGAINST INDIANS

A letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 18, United States Code, entitled "Crimes and Criminal Procedure," with respect to State jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against Indians in the Indian country, and to confer on the State of Oregon civil jurisdiction over Indians in the State (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### REPORT ON BORROWING AUTHORITY UNDER DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

A letter from the Director, Office of Defense Mobilization, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the borrowing authority under the Defense Production Act, as amended, for the quarter ending December 31, 1951 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

#### REPORT OF FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1951 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

#### REPORT OF UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION

A letter from the Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on Information, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the

Commission dated January 1952 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

**REPORT OF CONTRIBUTIONS UNDER FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ACT**

A letter from the Administrator, Federal Civil Defense Administration, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of contributions for the quarter ended December 31, 1951 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

**REPORTS OF CERTAIN EXPENDITURES IN EXCESS OF ALLOTMENTS**

A letter from the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, reports of certain expenditures in excess of allotments of funds made under apportionments approved by the Bureau of the Budget, for the fiscal year 1952 for the Federal Housing Administration (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Appropriations.

**REPORT OF NATIONAL SOCIETY OF DAUGHTERS OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

A letter from the Acting Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, for the year ended April 1, 1951 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

**DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS**

A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a list of papers and documents in 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 (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore 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 ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A letter from the Governor of the State of Nevada, transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of an interstate civil defense compact entered into by that State (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

A letter from the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, transmitting a copy of an act of the legislature of that State, entitled "An act concerning mutual military aid and assistance by and between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and other States, in an emergency; and agreeing to, approving, and authorizing and empowering the Governor to enter into a compact with the State of New Jersey and the State of New York and any other State concurring therein or otherwise approving thereof, for such purposes" (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

A resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the National Association of Alcoholic Beverage Importers, Inc., Washington, D. C., protesting against the proposed transfer of the administration of the functions of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act outside the Treasury Department; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

A resolution adopted by the board of directors of the Parent-Teachers Association, Public School No. 53, Richmond Hill, N. Y., favoring the enactment of House bill 4544, to establish in the Bureau of Customs the United States Customs Port Patrol and the United States Customs Border Patrol in order to improve the enforcement of the anti-smuggling laws; to the Committee on Finance.

Resolutions adopted by the Three-Score-Ten Club of West Palm Beach, the Fifth Congressional District Council of Townsend Clubs, Sanford, the Victory Townsend Club No. 13, of St. Petersburg, and the Associated Townsend Clubs of Dade County, Miami, all in the State of Florida, favoring the enactment of legislation providing old-age assistance; to the Committee on Finance.

The memorial of Mrs. M. McKinnon, of Chicago, Ill., remonstrating against the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A resolution adopted by the membership of the First Baptist Church of Central City, Ky., protesting against the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A letter in the nature of a memorial from the Pine Grove Baptist Church, of Sumter, S. C., signed by the pastor, church clerk, and sundry members of the church, remonstrating against the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A letter in the nature of a memorial from the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Henderson, Ky., signed by Mrs. Bertha Sisk, Christian social relations chairman, Mrs. Charles Busby, president of Women's Society of Christian Service, and Mrs. H. E. Donahoo, secretary of Women's Society of Christian Service, remonstrating against the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A letter in the nature of a memorial from the Society of Christian Service, Methodist Church, Clay, Ky., signed by Mrs. P. B. Clark, and sundry other members, remonstrating against the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The petitions of Mr. and Mrs. Ed Schlei, of Fenton, Iowa, and Mrs. Irene Fields, of Sacramento, Calif., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the transportation of alcoholic beverage advertising in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

A letter in the nature of a petition from the Conover-Mast Publications, Inc., New York, N. Y., relating to alleged discrimination against the alcohol beverage industry in the exercise of its right to advertise its products; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

A letter in the nature of a petition from the mayor of the city of Hackensack, N. J., relating to the termination of the use of Teterboro Airport as a replacement point for the planes heretofore operating out of the closed Newark Airport; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SALTONSTALL:

Resolutions of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Resolutions memorializing the Congress of the United States in favor of the enactment of legislation granting aid to the Israeli Government

"Whereas there is now pending before Congress bills to grant aid to the Israeli Government, being S. 1247, H. R. 3458, H. R. 3488, and H. R. 3807; and

"Whereas it is the purpose of these bills to give financial aid in the form of grants to the Government of the ancient and tradi-

tional democracy now known as the Israeli State; and

"Whereas such assistance to the people of Israel in developing their natural resources, expanding their agricultural and industrial economy, will mean a great productive capacity and will further the promotion of the security and general welfare of the United States and of Israel and will strengthen the ties of friendship between the people of the United States and of Israel; and

"Whereas such grants would further the basic objectives of the Charter of the United Nations: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Members in the Congress of the United States of America be, and they are hereby, respectfully requested by the General Court of Massachusetts to give intensive study and consideration to S. 1247, H. R. 3458, H. R. 3488, and H. R. 3807, now pending in the Congress of the United States, and to use their best efforts to have this proposed legislation enacted into law; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the secretary of state be, and he is hereby, authorized to transmit to the presiding officers of the Senate and House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, and to the Senators and Representatives from Massachusetts in said Congress, copies of these resolutions.

"In senate, adopted January 28, 1952.

"IRVING N. HAYDEN,  
"Clerk.

"In house of representatives, adopted in concurrence February 5, 1952.

"LAWRENCE R. GROVE,  
"Clerk.

"A true copy. Attest:

"EDWARD J. CRONIN,  
"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

Resolution of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

"Resolutions memorializing Congress to enact a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act

*Resolved*, That the Massachusetts General Court hereby petitions the Congress of the United States to enact legislation creating a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act with enforcement provisions adequate to insure compliance by employers; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officers of each branch of Congress, and to the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

"In senate, adopted January 28, 1952.

"IRVING N. HAYDEN, Clerk.

"In house of representatives, adopted, in concurrence, February 5, 1952.

"LAWRENCE R. GROVE, Clerk.

"A true copy. Attest:

"EDWARD J. CRONIN,

"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

Resolutions of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; to the Committee on Finance:

"Resolutions urging Congress to lower the premiums on national service life insurance

"Whereas veterans of World War II carrying national service life term insurance are now required to pay substantial premiums, only to have approximately two-thirds of this payment returned to them later as a dividend; and

"Whereas more veterans would be encouraged to retain their national service life insurance if the premiums were lowered substantially as would occur with the adoption of a modern mortality table; and

"Whereas commercial insurance companies have been required to utilize the commissioners standard ordinary mortality table,

which has the effect of lowering term insurance premiums especially during the middle years of life: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States be urged to adopt the commissioners standard ordinary mortality table for use with the national service life term insurance program; and be it further

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, the Veterans' Administrator, the national commanders of the major veterans' organizations, and the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"House of representatives, February 4, 1952, adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE, Clerk.

"A true copy.

"Attest: EDWARD J. CRONIN,  
"Secretary of the Commonwealth."

(The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate resolutions of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, identical with the foregoing, which were referred to the Committee on Finance.)

#### ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY PROJECT AND POWER PROJECT AT NIAGARA FALLS

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the New York State Rural Electric Cooperative Association in a recent meeting adopted a resolution favoring the St. Lawrence seaway project and also urging the approval of S. 517, a bill introduced by me for a power project at Niagara Falls.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution adopted by this fine organization of New York farmers and cooperatives, together with a letter addressed to me by Robert Donovan, secretary of this organization, transmitting the resolution and expressing certain views on the projects in question be printed in the RECORD, and appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolution and letter were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### NIAGARA AND ST. LAWRENCE POWER

Whereas plans have been prepared by the Secretary of the Army under the supervision of the Chief of Engineers for the redevelopment and improvement of the Niagara Falls for the generation and distribution of power for the benefit of the people of the northeastern United States; and

Whereas the bill, S. 517, known as the Lehman-Roosevelt bill, now pending in the Senate, would preserve the scenic beauty of the Niagara Falls and provide for the most beneficial use of the waters for the development of power; and

Whereas it has been the well-established policy of the American people to improve, use, and preserve the natural resources of the Nation for the public benefit; and

Whereas the provision of said bill assures the development of the project pursuant to the treaty with Canada of 1950 and assures as well the operation of the generating and distribution units by an agreement with a duly authorized agency of the State of New York: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, the officers, directors and members of the New York State Rural Electric Cooperative Association assembled this 21st day of January 1952, in the city of Binghamton, N. Y., do hereby authorize the officers of this association to support and seek the adoption of said bill S. 517, by the

Congress of the United States, for the following reasons:

1. Because industry and farms, especially in the State of New York, must have cheaper power to compete in production with other States.

2. The high cost of electric power and low margin of generating capacity over demand in New York State is a shameful record for the local utilities. The fact that this is true, in view of the availability of the great coal mines, oil, and gas wells of neighboring Pennsylvania, and the hydroelectric possibilities of New York State, is a strong argument against the surrender of the natural resources of the Niagara to their monopolistic practices.

3. Other pending legislative proposals would not provide any relief from the present inequitable distribution of power from this great natural resource.

4. To meet the national emergency now demands development of the Niagara to supply much more power for the farms and industry of the Northeast and to lower the rate level for the whole area; be it further

*Resolved*, That we urge the earliest adoption of legislation providing for the Federal construction of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project; and be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to our representatives in Congress and made available to the press and to members of our local electric cooperatives.

NEW YORK STATE RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION,  
Delhi, N. Y., February 6, 1952.

Subject: S. 517, Niagara redevelopment.  
Hon. HERBERT H. LEHMAN,  
Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LEHMAN: Thank you for your telegram of January 21, stating your interest in the rural electric cooperatives in New York State.

The five New York REA co-ops, at a special meeting January 21, gave serious consideration to the three proposals for redevelopment of power at Niagara Falls. We unanimously endorsed your proposal for this project, and are enclosing a copy of our resolution.

The Ives-Cole bill and the Capehart-Miller bill will not assure us any appreciable relief from the high rates charged by the New York Electric & Gas Co. Under these two bills rates to consumers would be reviewed by the New York State Public Service Commission. There is no yardstick for the apportionment of hydro power savings among classes of utility customers. Mr. Earl J. Machold, president of the Niagara Mohawk Co., in testifying for the five New York utilities before the Senate committee on August 22, 1951, was unable to explain how costs of power generation are allocated between residential consumers and large wholesale users. It must also be kept in mind that the New York utilities are unfriendly to the farmers' electric cooperatives. Considering these things, we feel that the safeguards in your bill are essential if our hard-pressed co-ops are to benefit from this power project.

In our recent consideration of the three Niagara proposals we note one important consideration did not appear in the record of either the Senate or House committee hearings. Without transmission lines from the Falls it seems that industry will be attracted to the Niagara area for power cost benefits, and that such a new concentration of industry will be dangerous from a national-defense standpoint. It also appears that transmission lines would bring new industrial employment throughout a wider area and the employment benefits would be available to more people.

The New York cooperatives do not favor nationalization of the power industry. Redevelopment of the Niagara in accordance with your bill will not be a step toward nationalization. The private utilities will not be driven out of business in New York, but they will gain because most of the project power will be sold to them. Your bill will not result in loss of tax revenue, except for retirement of Niagara Mohawk's ancient Adams plant; in fact, tax revenues will be increased through payments in lieu of taxes and taxes on new industries that will be attracted to the area. It is doubtful if existing private utility transmission lines are capable of carrying 1,250,000 kilowatts of additional power; hence, we do not feel that the lines called for in your bill will duplicate existing facilities. As to who should design and supervise construction, we cannot imagine any group, private or public, more able to undertake this project than the Corps of Engineers.

The policy of the American people since about 1906 has provided that nonprofit, publicly owned power systems receive first priority in the allocation of electric power generated from waters belonging to all the people of this country. We think it would be a serious mistake if our legislators scrapped the safeguards in your bill just because only a small percentage of New York people receive power from cooperative or municipal power lines. The cooperatives in particular should be given the maximum benefit of low-cost power because the co-op lines were built into areas not considered by the utilities to be economically feasible, and rates to members are high partially because of distance between farms; low-cost power will help offset high fixed charges due to low consumer density.

It is our hope that the Congress will give early consideration to the Niagara project. The farmers in this area need more and cheaper power to offset the scarcity of farm labor. We want you to know we appreciate your untiring efforts to bring us the benefits of both Niagara and St. Lawrence power.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT N. DONOVAN,  
Secretary, New York State Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina (for Mr. PASTORE), from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service:

S. 1829. A bill to repeal the provision of the act of July 1, 1902 (32 Stat. 662), as amended, relating to pay of civilian employees of the Navy Department appointed for duty beyond the continental limits of the United States and in Alaska; without amendment (Rept. No. 1166).

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

S. Res. 271. Resolution providing for the return to their owners of certain property loaned to or subpened by the so-called Special Crime Committee; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1167).

By Mr. O'CONOR, from the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

S. Res. 259. Resolution extending the authority for a study and investigation of export policies and control regulations; without amendment; and, under the rule, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. O'MAHONEY, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

S. 1032. A bill to authorize each of the States of Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Washington to pool royalties de-

rived from lands granted to it for public schools and various State institutions; without amendment (Rept. No. 1168);

S. 2408. A bill to amend the act authorizing the negotiation and ratification of certain contracts with certain Indians of the Sioux Tribe in order to extend the time for negotiation and approval of such contracts; without amendment (Rept. No. 1169); and

H. R. 3100. A bill to repeal the act of August 7, 1939 (53 Stat. 1243; 48 U. S. C., sec. 353); without amendment (Rept. No. 1170).

#### 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. BUTLER of Maryland:

S. 2648. A bill for the relief of Harold Trevor Colbourn; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORSE:

S. 2649. A bill for the relief of Edith Winifred Loch; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GREEN (for himself and Mr. PASTORE):

S. 2650. A bill to provide that voluntary agreements for the coverage of State and local employees under the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system may include positions covered by retirement systems; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 2651. A bill relating to telegram, long-distance telephone, and special-delivery and air-mail postage allowances of Senators; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

S. 2652. A bill to grant additional income-tax exemptions and deductions to taxpayers who are permanently disabled, and to allow additional income-tax exemptions to taxpayers supporting dependents who are permanently disabled; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado (by request):

S. 2653. A bill to standardize rates on household goods shipped by the United States Government for its employees; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

S. 2654. A bill for the relief of Walter John Gamel; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMITH of New Jersey:

S. 2655. A bill for the relief of Lajos Schmidt and his wife, Magda; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATKINS (for himself and Mr. JENNER):

S. 2656. A bill for the relief of Daniel P. Ostovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado (by request):

S. 2657. A bill to amend the act of June 28, 1944 (ch. 294, title III, 58 Stat. 414); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. O'MAHONEY (for himself and Mr. HUNT):

S. 2658. A bill to amend the act of September 25, 1950, so as to provide that the liability of the town of Mills, Wyo., to furnish sewerage service under such act shall not extend to future construction by the United States; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HENDRICKSON:

S. 2659. A bill for the relief of Matthew J. Berckman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MONRONEY:

S. 2660. A bill to establish a temporary commission to investigate the costs and effects of watershed programs for flood control in agricultural watersheds; to the Committee on Public Works.

(See the remarks of Mr. MONRONEY when he introduced the above bill, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. CASE:

S. 2661. A bill to provide that wool purchased or procured by the Armed Forces shall be produced in the United States as long as such wool is available; to the Committee on Armed Services.

S. 2662. A bill for the relief of Sadako Ishiguro; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BENTON:

S. 2663. A bill for the relief of Chenoch Lieberman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MAGNUSON:

S. J. Res. 131. Joint resolution to provide that January 30th, the birth date of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, shall be a national holiday; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLEMENTS:

S. J. Res. 132. Joint resolution to provide the power of subpea in certain investigations relating to improper and illegal conduct in the transaction of the business of the Government of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(See the remarks of Mr. CLEMENTS when he introduced the above joint resolution, which appear under a separate heading.)

By Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado:

S. J. Res. 133. Joint resolution to provide for the appropriate commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase from France by President Thomas Jefferson in 1803 and for public celebrations, historical exhibits and pageants in the 17 Louisiana Purchase States in 1953 and 1954; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### TEMPORARY COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE COSTS AND EFFECTS OF PROGRAMS FOR FLOOD CONTROL IN AGRICULTURAL WATERSHEDS

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a bill providing for the creation and appointment of a temporary Presidential commission for the study of the relative costs and benefits of upstream flood control, through soil conservation, gully plugs, reforestation, and other upstream water runoff control devices, as compared with the construction of huge main-stem dams.

This will be a temporary commission and will expire after the survey is completed. Two of the five members must be eminent civil engineers with a thorough knowledge of soil conservation and the controls of upstream watersheds.

The purpose of this bill is to determine, for the first time, whether more attention, and, in fact, more money should be devoted to upstream flood control. At the present time we spend hundreds of millions of dollars on one remedy for floods—namely, huge main-stem dams. A part of this huge sum perhaps could be more wisely spent by investing in upstream flood control, so as to prevent the floodwater from ever reaching the main-stem valley.

In order to properly study and focus public attention on upstream flood-control methods and the conservation of

natural resources, including the making available for cultivation of increased amounts of bottom lands, instead of inundating tens of thousands of such acres in main-stem-dam reservoirs, the enactment of this bill is necessary.

We have talked for years about the need for more attention being paid to upstream flood-control methods. The program has been virtually at a standstill so far as action by Congress is concerned. The Army engineers, who have ably presented their program for large dams, have been heard at every session of Congress. It is time the farmers, the residents on smaller streams have their chance to present their evidence and data to show that our flood-control problems cannot be solved by trying to make every watershed fit just the one shoe—the main-stem-dam route.

In Oklahoma and in a few other States projects for such upstream flood control have been started. They are being starved to death and under present rate of appropriations it will be 25 to 50 years before the upstream methods will be effective.

The time is ripe for action instead of talk. This bill will make it possible to get the first real firm figures on the relative costs and benefits of one new method as contrasted with the old huge main-stem-dam program now almost our exclusive means of controlling devastating floods.

This upstream program adds land to our resources—it does not withdraw huge areas from cultivation. This upstream program will increase the fertility of the watershed as well as protect those downstream against devastation. This upstream program holds the water where it falls—the logical place to start on flood control.

The bill (S. 2660) to establish a temporary commission to investigate the costs and effects of watershed programs for flood control in agricultural watersheds, introduced by Mr. MONRONEY, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

Mr. MONRONEY. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an article entitled "Senator Urges Conservation Funds Be Used for Upstream Work," written by Roy P. Stewart, Washington correspondent for the Farmer-Stockman.

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

#### SENATOR URGES CONSERVATION FUNDS BE USED FOR UPSTREAM WORK

(By Roy P. Stewart)

February 4 in the United States Senate the opening gun will be fired in what admittedly will be a long fight for upstream flood control. Senator MIKE MONRONEY, Democrat, of Oklahoma, will introduce a bill proposing creation of a short-lived Presidential commission to investigate the wisdom of spending a portion of all flood-control money on upstream projects.

MONRONEY is quite frank about reasons for having such a commission appointed. Basic purpose is to focus public attention on the problem of saving water where it falls, preventing flooding of rich bottom lands. It would merge such a program on

a national basis with the long-known, well-entrenched idea of flood control by large, main-stream dams alone.

"This program must have public attention if we are ever going to have a genuine control program," Senator MONRONEY said. "It is not a substitute for multipurpose dams on main streams but a companion program to them, with the disadvantage of overcoming nearly 100 years of flood control attempts by the big dams only.

"We must show folks that big dams alone aren't the answer, but that proper treatment of runoff waters must be shaped to fit the individual drainage area involved. We have seen the Army engineer type of flood control move upstream from the mouth of major waters toward head of the river. But large dams and many levees seem to be the only result. Now we have to go further upstream and into tributaries of major rivers to really control runoff waters."

MONRONEY said by proper upstream control on a planned, drainage area basis, we can add to fertile acres instead of taking from production some of the best bottom lands, as is always the case with large dams. It would also prevent siltation on large dams.

"Look what proper upstream flood control can do for Oklahoma and Texas," the Senator said. "The Cloud Creek project in western Oklahoma has shown that, and it is but partially complete when tied in with the whole Washita Valley. We have water erosion, we actually restore land to cultivation by upstream control methods, instead of taking it out of production; we store water against periods of need; we make it possible to farm fish as we farm other food for the family table, and we do it at a fraction of the cost of huge dams."

MONRONEY pointed out that upstream flood-control measures would require little land that would have to be condemned and purchased. Therefore only small portions of land would leave tax rolls, a factor many counties in Oklahoma have felt and one of the basic arguments in Kansas against large dams on the Neosho and Verdigris. These two dams, incidentally, contribute water to flood conditions in northeastern Oklahoma.

"My bill to create the Presidential commission of five members to investigate methods and costs of upstream control and make recommendations within a year, is one method to get needed public attention," he said. "I can make speeches all day on the Senate floor, but it is the support from folks on the small creeks at home that will determine whether we can get a portion of flood control funds applied to this particular needed type of work."

MONRONEY says he first became interested in upstream control in 1941 when the original Washita tributary project was authorized. It was hard to keep the appropriated money from being taken away during war years and even since actual work started in 1946, but he thinks it would be foolish not to complete the entire project now.

Of the 11 projects authorized by Congress for upstream flood control, 9 were authorized in 1941, 1 in 1946, and 1 in 1950. The estimated total cost of all 11 is \$152,094,700. Compared to that figure, \$23,819,067 has been spent on them through June 1951, with \$5,109,842 in funds obligated through 1952 fiscal year. Expenditures on the Washita in Oklahoma have been exceeded slightly by those on the Trinity River Basin in Texas and the Los Angeles River in California. (See accompanying table.)

Monroney's bill calling for creation of the commission would require two of the five members to be experts in civil engineering as it pertains to flood control and soil conservation. On submission of their report February 1, 1953, the commission would cease to exist. Under the bill they would do the following:

1. Investigate feasibility of allocating each year a certain percentage of flood control

funds to upstream control through construction of small dams, check dams, gully plugs;

2. Cite advantages to be obtained from such upstream control measures from the standpoint of conserving bottom lands; and

3. Cite relative costs of such upstream control measures as compared with costs of constructing main stream dams.

There still will be places and needs for multipurpose dams, MONRONEY said, where needed hydroelectric power production is a factor, where topography and economic needs dictate only the huge dam. But he sees an end to the theory that main stream dams alone are cure-alls. He pointed to rapid siltation in Lake Texoma as evidence of need in stopping upstream water erosion. He said the siltation has caused loss of efficiency in flood control and destroyed fish food, reducing the recreational value of the project.

"There is another factor which counties can appreciate," he added. "Every county has roads and bridges that are often rendered unusable for days at a time, from runoff waters in bayous and small creek areas. Those roads and bridges are constant cost items to counties. They are not on State-aid systems. If you prevent the small floods you not only save counties money but keep the water where it belongs, on land that can use it best, and even in flash floods you suffer but brief inconvenience."

Upstream flood control is nothing but a collection of many small jobs, he pointed out, many of which can be done by men who work the land. But the very nature of construction is one reason army engineers, through their civil function activities, the accepted dam builders, do not like the idea much.

The Senator does not see an easy way to get money appropriated for upstream control until the theory and proven ideas themselves have an effect and the public demands a cut in flood control funds for downstream dams. He intends to attach an amendment to the United States Department of Agriculture appropriations bill this session asking for a percentage of soil conservation funds for agricultural flood-control work. He doesn't expect to get the amendment through, frankly, because it will not have been budgeted, but it will give him an opportunity to focus attention on the matter.

Then there's another angle. When the Army engineers civil functions bill comes up a request can be made that 5 or 10 percent of flood-control funds nationally be spent only on upstream flood control. This will get more attention paid that type of work. But MONRONEY is determined to see that upstream control work does get eventually the share of appropriations it needs to make flood control a well-rounded, comprehensive program to put—and keep—more soil in the land bank of the future.

*Flood-control projects authorized for construction by Agriculture*

Watershed	Estimated total cost	Obligations to June 1951	Estimated obligations to June 1952
Buffalo Creek, N. Y.	\$4,517,450	\$840,209	\$200,391
Colorado River, Tex.	4,712,750	678,604	194,724
Little Sioux River, Iowa	7,490,000	3,807,634	630,853
Little Tallahatchie River, Miss.	6,856,500	1,121,868	494,381
Los Angeles River	16,399,250	4,631,517	521,608
Santa Ynez River, Calif.	1,831,500	946,971	288,435
Trinity River Basin, Tex.	55,999,000	4,649,816	1,027,510
Washita River, Okla.	19,675,250	4,478,471	668,946
Yazoo River, Miss.	31,024,250	1,551,616	620,317
Potomac River	1,431,000	401,760	107,899
Coosa River, Ga.	2,157,750	402,008	99,718
Emergency funds		308,593	240,000
Total	152,094,700	23,819,067	5,109,842

**EQUIPMENT OF ROOM IN CAPITOL TO BE USED AS CHAPEL BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS**

Mr. MONRONEY (for himself and Mr. Moody) submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 61), which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Architect of the Capitol is hereby authorized and directed to make available and equip a room conveniently located for the Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, adjacent to the rotunda, to be used as a chapel, with facilities for prayer and meditation. The Architect shall provide appropriate altars for the various religious faiths of America and shall maintain said chapel exclusively for Members of the Congress.*

**NATIONAL DAY OF PRAYER**

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, 2 years ago the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] introduced a joint resolution which was passed and became Public Law 512, of the Eighty-first Congress, calling upon the President of the United States to designate each Memorial Day, May 30, as a national day of prayer on which the people would call on God for guidance and help.

I supported and approved of that action, but, Mr. President, I feel that we are now confronted with a state of world affairs which has placed this Nation in a situation as crucial, in some respects, as that which existed at the time of its establishment. We are threatened at home and abroad by the corrosive forces of communism which seek simultaneously to destroy our democratic way of life and the faith in an Almighty God on which it is based. This body must deal daily with vital questions which leave us in much the same situation as the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia when the venerable Benjamin Franklin said:

In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understanding?

Many of us are acutely aware of our need for divine guidance at this particular time and have been happy to learn that on next Sunday a vast throng of consecrated people of many faiths—Protestants, Catholics, and Jews—will gather around the Washington Monument to offer their combined prayers for God to guide and protect our Nation.

The ministers of the District of Columbia who are participating in this service have petitioned the Senate to call upon the people of the United States to join in these prayers and I consider it highly proper that we should do so.

I am therefore submitting and asking unanimous consent for immediate action upon a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that it would be timely and appropriate for the people of our Nation to join in this service of prayer in the spirit of the founding fathers who believed that God governs in the affairs of men and who based their Dec-

laration of Independence upon a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence.

In the brief time available after I learned of the action of the ministers of the District and prepared this resolution, I was able to confer with only a limited number of Senators, but several of those whom I reached have agreed to become cosponsors of the resolution. I should be happy to have any other Member of the Senate, whom I was not able to contact, add his name to the resolution now before we act upon it.

Mr. President, I send the resolution to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 276) submitted by Mr. ROBERTSON (for himself, Mr. CONNALLY, Mr. GILLETTE, Mr. STENNIS, Mr. KERR, Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina, Mr. NEELY, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. WILEY, Mr. FLANDERS, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. BUTLER of Maryland, Mr. MAYBANK, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. MOODY, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. BENTON, was read, as follows:

Whereas this Nation is facing serious problems in Korea and elsewhere in the world because of the challenge of communism to religious freedom and the fundamental tenets of democracy, which are based on faith in God and the teachings of His Holy Word; and

Whereas a vast throng of consecrated men and women will on the afternoon of Sunday, February 17, assemble at the Washington Monument, which was erected by a grateful people in honor of the Father of Our Country, to offer prayers that God may guide and protect our Nation and preserve the peace of the world; and

Whereas ministers of the District of Columbia of all faiths have petitioned this honorable body to express its interest in a nation's observance of this day of prayer: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States that it would be timely and appropriate for all the people of the United States to offer up their petitions on Sunday, February 17, 1952, in the spirit of those Founding Fathers who, in declaring their independence from a foreign ruler, stated their "firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence."

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution was considered and agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

#### PROPOSED BREAKING OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, for myself and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. O'CONOR], I submit a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the United States should immediately break diplomatic relations with Hungary.

In my opinion, as I stated publicly at the time, we should have broken diplomatic relations 2 months ago when the Hungarian Government interned our four fliers who were forced down in Hungary while on a peaceful mission.

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After the kind of mock trial which is typical of Communist countries, the fliers were fined \$30,000 each on trumped-up charges of espionage. The flimsiness of the charges is demonstrated by the relatively light sentences of the court. Who believes for a minute that the Communist let off real spies for only \$30,000 apiece?

The sentence was simply an excuse to blackmail the United States, and I regret to say that the American Government rose to the bait and dutifully paid the blackmail.

It is a sad day, Mr. President, when the Government of the United States of America, the mightiest country in the world, has to resort to ransom payments to a gang of ruffians to protect the members of its service in the peaceful performance of their duties.

The saddest part of it is that this is only the beginning. Unless we show more determination to defend our rights, compliance in this case will encourage other bandit-minded governments to demand similar blackmail. We will be paying ransom to any gang of bandits who happens to catch an American away from home.

The resolution I am submitting today is one way we can show more determination. I realize that the question of breaking diplomatic relations is one for the President to decide. The Senate does, however, have the duty to advise the President on these matters. I hope that the Senate will do so in an unmistakable voice, and that the President will listen. I hope the Government of Hungary and like-minded governments will also listen.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be read for the information of the Senate.

The resolution (S. Res. 277) submitted by Mr. CONNALLY (for himself and Mr. O'CONOR) was read, as follows:

Whereas the recent action of the Government of Hungary in arresting the crew of a United States Air Force plane forced to land in Hungary while engaged on a peaceful mission, in subjecting them to repeated and prolonged questioning, and finally trying them on false charges of willfully violating the Hungarian border and sentencing them to imprisonment, was a grave affront to the Government and people of the United States and violated the basic rules of long-established international conduct; and

Whereas the action of the Government of Hungary in forcing the United States Government to pay ransom in the amount of \$120,000 in order to obtain the release of these American fliers was an act of international extortion; and

Whereas such conduct on the part of the Government of Hungary, if not effectively challenged, will invite other similar acts of international brigandage against the United States by governments having the same political philosophy as the Government of Hungary: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the Senate that diplomatic relations with Hungary should be terminated immediately, and should be resumed only if and when the Government of Hungary gives suitable assurances to the Government of the United States that it will extend to the Government and people of the United States the courtesy and treatment normally befitting the relations between friendly nations.

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

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes.

Mr. BRIDGES. Does the resolution which the Senator from Texas has submitted, expressing the sense of the Senate that diplomatic relations with Hungary should be broken, contain a censure of the executive department of the American Government because it did pay blackmail? I should think that would be the logical thing to do.

Mr. CONNALLY. In submitting the resolution I said that I regretted the fact that our Government did pay blackmail. The Senator from New Hampshire is a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and I suggest that one way in which the Senate can have a voice in the matter is to cut off any appropriations for the support of an ambassador or consular officers who are assigned to represent our Government in Hungary.

The Senator can help along that line. He exerts a powerful influence in the Committee on Appropriations. I have observed how easily he has extracted money from the Treasury as a member of the Committee on Appropriations, and I commend him to the course of action which I have suggested.

Mr. BRIDGES. The Senator from Texas has not answered my question as to whether the resolution submitted by him contains a censure of the executive department, but the Senator's attitude is reflected in his remarks, wherein he states that he regrets the course of action of the executive department.

Mr. CONNALLY. I have so stated. It is, after all, a function of the President.

The resolution (S. Res. 277) submitted by Mr. CONNALLY (for himself and Mr. O'CONOR) was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 278), which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is authorized to expend from the contingent fund of the Senate, during the Eighty-second Congress for the purposes specified in section 134 (a) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, \$10,000 in addition to the amount authorized in such section.

#### SUBMERGED LANDS OF CONTINENTAL SHELF—AMENDMENTS

Mr. CASE submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 20) to provide for the continuation of operations under certain mineral leases issued by the respective States covering submerged lands of the Continental Shelf, to encourage the continued development of such leases, to provide for the protection of the interests of the United States in the oil and gas deposits of said lands, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

**AMENDMENT OF IMMUNITY PROVISION  
RELATING TO TESTIMONY BY WITNESSES BEFORE EITHER HOUSE OF CONGRESS OR OTHER COMMITTEES—AMENDMENT**

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] I submit an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1570) to amend the immunity provision relating to testimony given by witnesses before either House of Congress or their committees. At the request of the Senator from Nevada, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be printed and lie on the table, and that an additional 500 copies of the amendment may be printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will be received and will lie on the table, and, without objection, the amendment will be printed as requested by the Senator from Kentucky.

**NATIONAL SECURITY TRAINING CORPS—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL**

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I received a telegram from the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], who is necessarily absent from the Senate, requesting me to ask unanimous consent that his name appear as a coauthor of the bill (S. 2441) to provide for the administration and discipline of the National Security Training Corps, and for other purposes. I submit the request, accordingly, that his name may be added to the names of Senators who are sponsoring that legislation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Georgia? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

**EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED**

As in executive session.

The ACTING 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 REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE—NOMINATIONS**

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, as in executive session, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, I report favorably the nominations of Ellis G. Arnall, of Georgia, to be Director of Price Stabilization, and Andrew N. Overby, of the District of Columbia, to be United States Executive Director of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Eight members of the Committee on Banking and Currency have approved the nomination of Mr. Overby. The other members of the committee were out of town because of the Lincoln Day holiday. Mr. Overby is an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nominations will be received and placed on the Executive Calendar.

**JAPANESE AND RELATED TREATIES—EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF A COMMITTEE**

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, as in executive session, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, I report favorably Executive A, Eighty-second Congress, second session, a treaty of peace with Japan, signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951; Executive B, Eighty-second Congress, second session, a mutual-defense treaty between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines, signed at Washington on August 30, 1951; Executive C, Eighty-second Congress, second session, a security treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America, signed at San Francisco on September 1, 1951; and Executive D, Eighty-second Congress, second session, a security treaty between the United States of America and Japan, signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951, and I submit a report (Ex. Rept. No. 2) thereon.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report will be received, and the treaties will be placed on the Executive Calendar.

**ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX**

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. BRIDGES (for Mr. BUTLER of Nebraska):

Article entitled "U. N. Blueprint for Tyranny," written by Senator BRICKER and published in the Freeman, January 28, 1952.

By Mr. SMITH of New Jersey:

Statement on Delaware River channel improvement, made by Senator HENDRICKSON, February 11, 1952, before the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. MARTIN:

An address delivered by him at a Lincoln Day dinner of the Adams County Republican Committee at Gettysburg, Pa., February 11, 1952, and an address delivered by him at a Lincoln Day dinner of the Middlesex County, N. J., Women's Republican Club, at Metuchen, N. J., February 12, 1952.

Editorial entitled "New Look" in Housing," relating to housing for veterans, published in the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick, of February 8, 1952.

Editorial entitled "Washington and W. & J. Lose Wilbur F. Henry," published in the Washington (Pa.) Observer, of February 8, 1952.

By Mr. WATKINS:

Two articles written, respectively, by Senator KEM and Eugene S. Gregg, under the heading "Should United States restrict East-West trade?"

By Mr. LEHMAN:

Letter dated February 9, 1952, addressed by him to the Lithuanian American Information Center.

Statement by Department of Defense dated February 12, 1952, relative to posthumous award of Medal of Honor to Sgt. Cornelius H. Charlton, and article entitled "Harlem Sergeant Wins Honor Medal," published in the New York Times of February 1, 1952.

Article by Walter Adams, entitled "The Aluminum Case: Legal Victory, Economic Defeat," published in the American Eco-

nomic Review, volume XLI, No. 5, December 5, 1951.

By Mr. MAYBANK:

Address delivered by Ambassador Claude G. Bowers at the Chilean-American Cultural Institute, on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Joel R. Poinsett, first diplomatic agent in Chile; and a statement dealing with the life of Mr. Poinsett, prepared by Senator MAYBANK.

By Mr. SPARKMAN:

Letter regarding materials and recommendations contained in 1952 economic report of the President, addressed to Senator O'MAHONEY by Mr. C. Wilson Harder, president, National Federation of Independent Business, under date of January 31, 1952.

By Mr. MURRAY:

Statement by Rufus Wallowing regarding allotments of land to the Tribal Council of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe.

Statement by Thomas Main, representative of the Gros Ventre Indian Tribe of Montana, chairman of the Montana Inter-Tribal Policy Board, regarding policy of Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in approving or disapproving Indian-attorney contracts.

By Mr. MORSE:

Editorial entitled "How To Lick Reds," from Labor, a national weekly newspaper, of January 12, 1952.

Article entitled "Gruening of Alaska," written by Richard L. Neuberger, and published in the February 1952 issue of Frontier magazine.

By Mr. BENTON:

Letter requesting support of seven-point program to insure balanced budget and to effect Federal economy, addressed to him by G. M. Williams, president, Connecticut Chamber of Commerce, Inc., Hartford, Conn., under date of January 11, 1952, and his reply thereto.

Editorial entitled "More Atomic Weapons," published in the Hartford (Conn.) Times on January 26, 1952.

Article entitled "The Schuman Plan: A Blow to Monopoly," written by Gen. William J. Donovan, and published in the current issue of the Atlantic Monthly.

Article appearing in the column Abroad, entitled "The Successor to the ECA in Europe," written by Anne O'Hare McCormick, and published in the New York Times of February 2, 1952.

By Mr. BREWSTER:

Editorial entitled "Farmers Versus Compulsion," published in the Christian Science Monitor of January 22, 1952.

Editorial entitled "For Whom Does He Speak?" relating to labor conditions, published in the Chicago Daily News of January 29, 1952, together with accompanying letter from "A Worker."

By Mr. MOODY:

Editorial entitled "International Materials Conference Allocations," from American Metal Market, February 6, 1952.

Editorial entitled "Why We Need Access to the Sea," from the Detroit News, February 10, 1952.

**COMMUNICATION FROM A GI IN KOREA**

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, under date of January 7 I received from Korea, from a GI who is manning an antiaircraft gun at Kimpo Airfield near Seoul, a letter which has a few significant paragraphs I should like to quote. I should like to have this statement in the body of the RECORD, because it is part of the narrative of what is going on today in one of the most critical areas in the world.

Mr. President, I speak with some pride and with real respect for the young man who wrote this letter. He happens to

be my own grandson, and it has meant much to me to see the continuing courage he has displayed in what he has done in this dangerous part of the world, and in what he is trying to do with his fellow GI's over there. The expression of faith he shows is something that is worth while for all of us in these troubled times.

I ask unanimous consent that a brief statement of his which I have extracted from a much longer letter be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

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

**EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM A GI IN KOREA  
WHO IS TODAY MANNING AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT  
GUN AT KIMPO AIRFIELD, NEAR SEOUL**

The days and weeks sure roll by. Here we are well in 1952. By the time you get this I will have finished my tenth week in Korea. I am really beginning to feel pretty much at home over here.

Most of us are pretty fed up with the peace talks over here. One guy said last night he wished we'd stop all this backing and filling and get on with the fighting. I'm not sure what the boys on the line feel about it. They may feel differently.

We've thought and talked a good deal about the old home country, too—and not without sadness and even a bit of bitterness sometimes. These strikes and threats of strikes don't exactly lift morale over here. When that strike was on in New York we felt it very definitely in the shortage of supplies and especially equipment for several days. It woke me up to how closely connected all the fronts we battle on are. You begin to wonder if the old country realizes there's a war going on over here. I know myself when I was over there I didn't think much of the Korean war, except maybe as some sort of police action. Call it what you want—guys are dying every day a few miles north of here. I've seen a few of them die right here—blown to bits as their shot-up planes exploded before they were able to reach the runway or crushed to death because a parachute didn't open when they bailed out. Then we read about 500 people being arrested for peddling dope in the United States. Wow, what are we coming to?

I hope I don't sound bitter. I don't mean to be, and when I do I just need to change, because that doesn't help anyone. I love America and always will, and I'm ready to give everything for her—even life itself if that's what God wants. I couldn't say that awhile ago. Now I can, thanks to the miracle God has worked in my heart by showing me the answer to fear of death. The fear is always cropping up, but the answer's there,

**THIRTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF  
LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE**

**Mr. SALTONSTALL.** Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have half a minute in order to make a short statement.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Senator from Massachusetts may proceed.

**Mr. SALTONSTALL.** Mr. President, 34 years ago tomorrow the independence of Lithuania was declared. With high hopes and a feeling of deep emotion, the people of Lithuania and their descendants and friends throughout the world celebrated the day when Lithuania took its place among the free and peace-loving nations of the world. But today the people of Lithuania have lost their freedom. For more than 11 long years

they have not been able to practice or enjoy freedom in any way. Yet their spirit and love of freedom is as deep today, as they observe the thirty-fourth anniversary of Lithuanian independence, as it was on February 16, 1918.

On this solemn anniversary I wish to extend to the people of Lithuania, both in their home country and elsewhere, my heartfelt greetings, and the equally sincere hope that in the days to come Lithuania once again will have that freedom and happiness which for so many long years have been denied her.

None of the freedom-loving peoples know better than the patriots of Lithuania what the loss of freedom can mean. It is Lithuania's magnificent determination to regain her freedom that gives inspiration to all of us in these terribly critical times. The fact that the voice of liberty has been forcibly muffled within her borders does not mean that its heartbeat has been stilled. In that fact we find splendid hope and inspiration for all who are working so hard everywhere in the interests of the brotherhood of man and peace in the world.

**REFUSAL OF CERTAIN WITNESSES TO  
TESTIFY BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL  
COMMITTEES**

**Mr. WATKINS.** Mr. President, in the February 15 issue of United States News and World Report there appears an article entitled "How Witnesses Avoid Talking to Congressmen."

This article carries the subheading:

Mum's the word congressional investigators can't get around. Silent witnesses, refusing to talk, get court backing.

Probes into crime, communism, other scandals are being brought up short by key figures who will not answer key questions.

How can they get away with it? The Constitution and court decisions are on the side of the wrongdoer who chooses silence.

The article then goes on to discuss in some detail the problem of attempting to get testimony from recalcitrant witnesses before congressional committees, witnesses who may, under the present state of the law, refuse to testify on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate them.

This is a very serious situation, Mr. President. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate has taken note of it, and has reported to the Senate a bill which is now on the calendar—Senate bill 1570, Calendar 673—which would correct this situation by putting congressional committees in a position to grant immunity to a witness in a case in which his testimony is considered essential, and thereupon to force him to testify.

I ask unanimous consent that the article in United States News and World Report, to which I have referred, may be printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

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

**HOW WITNESSES AVOID TALKING TO  
CONGRESSMEN**

Mum's the word congressional investigators can't get around. Silent witnesses, refusing to talk, get court backing.

Probes into crime, communism, other scandals are being brought up short by key figures who will not answer key questions.

How can they get away with it? The Constitution and court decisions are on the side of the wrongdoer who chooses silence.

Congress appears to be running into a stone wall in conducting investigations. Its powers to force witnesses to testify before investigating committees are being curbed by the courts. The same curbs are being applied to Federal grand juries.

The gimmick in the situation is the fifth amendment to the Constitution, which states that no person can be compelled to give evidence against himself in a criminal case. That rule has now been applied to congressional committees and to grand juries. Result is that in the last year a number of suspected Communists and racketeers have successfully defied Congress and been acquitted by the courts.

The magical phrase that puts a witness beyond the reach of Congress is: "I refuse to answer on the ground that to do so would tend to incriminate me." That phase acquired its magic when the Supreme Court, on December 11, 1950, held that Patricia Blau could not be required to answer questions about her employment with the Communist Party in Colorado. Miss Blau had been convicted of contempt of court and the Supreme Court reversed the decision.

Suspected racketeers received the same protection after the Supreme Court held, on May 28, 1951, that Samuel Hoffman, whose name was linked with crime in Philadelphia, could not be forced to testify during a rackets inquiry by a Federal grand jury. He was freed from a conviction for criminal contempt.

Powers of Congress to punish for contempt have not recently been ruled on by the Supreme Court, but lower Federal courts, using the Blau and Hoffman cases as authority, have granted a rash of acquittals in the last year. Thus, last month Jacob "Greasy Thumb" Guzik, once linked to the Capone gang in Chicago, was acquitted of contempt of Congress. He refused to answer questions before the Kefauver Crime Committee last March. This decision is expected to lead to the acquittal of more than 60 persons cited by the Kefauver committee for contempt.

Acquittals also have been won by many suspected Communists. Earl Browder, one-time Communist Party leader, was acquitted when the trial court held that questions asked by a Senate investigating committee were not pertinent, and Frederick Vanderbilt Field, so-called Communist Party "angel," was acquitted after he pleaded self-incrimination before the same committee. This has won acquittals for five officials of the United Electrical Workers and two atomic scientists who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Self-incrimination, however, appears to be the only plea that will get a witness immunity. Ten Hollywood writers were convicted and sentenced for contempt after they refused to testify on the ground that Congress could not force them to answer whether they were Communists or not. The Supreme Court has held that people cannot refuse to answer questions for fear of implicating others and that, once answers are begun, further answers on the same subject must follow.

Refusal to supply pertinent records and documents to congressional committees or grand juries is usually held to justify a conviction for contempt. The same Mr. Field who got off on a self-incrimination plea before Congress, drew a 90-day contempt sentence for refusing to produce in court the records of the Civil Rights Congress bail fund, which put up bail for four convicted Communists who jumped their bond.

The courts have upheld contempt convictions for refusal to supply committees

with records of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. In these cases, more than a dozen persons were sentenced to jail.

Contempt charges continue to be used by Congress despite the prospect that a plea of self-incrimination will enable most witnesses to keep silent and escape punishment. A number of congressional investigators hold that convictions are less important than exposure. In this view, a refusal to answer and a contempt charge stands virtually as a public admission of guilt.

Use of contempt powers by Congress did not become widespread until committees began their many and extending investigations. From 1940 to 1946, the House cited only seven persons for contempt. In the next year the number jumped to 23. Then on one day, August 11, 1950, the House cited 54 persons. At present, the United States Attorney's office in Washington is swamped with contempt cases and more are pouring in.

The clause in the fifth amendment that protects a witness before Congress reads that "no person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The question has been raised that congressional investigations are not criminal cases, but the courts have held that they may lead to criminal charges, so the constitutional protection applies.

A proposal that would enable Congress to make witnesses talk comes from Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff, of the District of Columbia. After acquitting the fifteenth person on contempt charges, he suggested that Congress could grant witnesses immunity from prosecution for anything they said. A proposal also has been made to let the Attorney General grant immunity to witnesses before grand juries. This policy would strengthen the ability of Congress to get information, but would protect witnesses from going to jail if they talk.

**Mr. WATKINS.** I should now like to ask the acting majority leader how long it will be before the Senate will be permitted to take up the bill to which I have referred, proposing this urgently needed legislation?

**Mr. CLEMENTS.** Mr. President, I am unable at this time to advise the Senator from Utah. I may be able to advise him on Monday of next week.

**Mr. WATKINS.** Let me say to the acting majority leader that the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which is investigating subversive activities is seriously handicapped in its operations by reason of witnesses claiming immunity under the fifth amendment. Many witnesses coming before the committee rely upon that immunity, and we do not get any information.

We are convinced that there is a great deal of information which such witnesses could give and should give. If the proposed law were enacted, it would be possible to get such information. On behalf of the committee, I urge that the proposed legislation be considered at as early a date as possible, so that the committee can really get down to work and obtain the information which it ought to have in order to inform the Congress with regard to subversive activities.

**Mr. CLEMENTS.** I assure the Senator that some action will be taken in the near future.

#### AIRPLANE CRASH AT ELIZABETH, N. J., ON FEBRUARY 11, 1952

**Mr. JOHNSON** of Colorado. Mr. President, investigators of the CAB believe that they have discovered the cause of the fatal airplane crash which occurred at Elizabeth, N. J., on February 11. I desire to read into the RECORD the release the Civil Aeronautics Board has just made at Elizabeth covering their preliminary findings:

The following preliminary findings made by CAB accident investigators and relating to a cause of the fatal accident involving a National Airlines, Inc., DC-6 at Elizabeth, N. J., on February 11, 1952, were released today:

1. A tear-down examination of the propeller dome and blade assemblies installed on No. 3 engine (right-inboard) disclosed that the propeller blades were in full reverse position.

2. The tear-down examination of the propeller dome and blade assemblies installed on No. 4 engine (right-out board) disclosed that the propeller blades were in the feathered position.

3. Examination of the propeller dome and blade assemblies installed on engines Nos. 1 and 2 respectively are incomplete but continuing.

These preliminary findings were disclosed by CAB accident investigators during the tear-down examinations on the propeller blades and other studies conducted at the Newark Airport following removal of the wreckage at Elizabeth, N. J.

These preliminary findings indicate the No. 3 propeller was in reverse and No. 4. engine was stopped. Reversing is used only to create a braking action during landing roll on the runway and is never used while an aircraft is airborne. Feathering (when propeller blades are feathered they are turned to align with the air stream and offer minimum drag) is an action usually initiated by a crew member as an emergency procedure to stop the engine from windmilling. It is accomplished to reduce drag by stopping an engine when a malfunction occurs.

The conditions revealed by CAB investigators in their examination of No. 3 and No. 4 propeller assemblies indicate that the DC-6 involved in the accident at Elizabeth on February 11, 1952, suffered loss of power on the right side, which could cause a yaw to the right and loss of flying speed.

The CAB investigation of National DC-6 Elizabeth crash is under the supervision of Joseph O. Fluet, Chief of CAB's region No. 1, New York, assisted by James M. Peyton, Chief of the Accident Investigation Division, CAB, Washington, D. C. The investigation is continuing.

It should be noted at this time that the air carrier operators, the manufacturer of the aircraft and its components, the New Jersey Bureau of Aeronautics, the CAA, the Airline Pilots Association, the CAB, and other interested agencies have been apprised of this preliminary finding and are now working on a permanent fix.

**Mr. SMITH** of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield for a question?

**Mr. JOHNSON** of Colorado. I yield.

**Mr. SMITH** of New Jersey. First, I should like to commend the distinguished Senator from Colorado for the prompt report he has made in regard to the deplorable accident.

From the reading of the report, do I correctly understand that the committee feels that there was a lack of proper

inspection of the plane before it took off? After all, the plane fell within 2 minutes of its take-off. Could it have been properly inspected, in view of the accident which occurred?

**Mr. JOHNSON** of Colorado. Of course, there is a possibility that the inspection was not adequate, and that if it had been adequate, it would have disclosed that one of the engines was not in proper working order. However, four-engine planes can fly on three engines and even on two engines, and this plane should have been able to return to the airfield without incident with three engines in proper operation.

On the other hand, it is evident from the inspection of the propeller blades that for some reason or other the propeller on engine No. 3 was reversed and caused a terrific braking action. Of course, when that happened, the crash could not be avoided, in view of the fact that at the same time when the propeller on engine No. 3 was in reverse, engine No. 4 had stopped. There was no way to avoid a crash in that situation.

I do not know whether the accident investigation will ever disclose what caused the propeller to go into reverse. The difficulties may have been compounded by the pilot of the plane; in his anxiety over the stopping of the first engine which failed, he may have inadvertently done something to the feathering mechanism of the second engine. On the other hand, it is more likely that there may have been a defect in the electrical wiring which short-circuited the safety devices which prevent the inadvertent feathering of propeller blades in flight.

At any rate, the Administrator of Civil Aeronautics, Mr. Charles F. Horne, now has notified all airline companies, as a precautionary measure, to separate the wire to the propeller feathering controls from all the other wires in the plane by placing these important wires in separate conduits. When this is done an accident similar to the one which has just occurred cannot result in the future from defective wiring.

It takes about 2 hours of work on each aircraft to make this separation in the wiring. American Airlines advise me they will modify their complete fleet of planes in a matter of a few more days now, and the wiring will be doubly safe. The National Airlines, the company which suffered the recent terrible catastrophe, has disconnected that wiring on its planes, so that the pilots no longer will have power to reverse the propellers, until the wiring is further changed.

Of course, Mr. President, progress occurs as a result of such disasters; and no doubt improved airplane operation will be brought about by this recent terrible tragedy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article from the New York Times of yesterday in regard to this tragedy and the corrective action being taken by the New York Port Authority and the airline companies operating in the New York area.

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

[From the New York Times of February 13, 1952]

**NEWARK AIRPORT STAYS CLOSED PENDING RESULTS OF INQUIRIES — SAFETY GROUP HEADED BY RICKENBACKER SET UP BY UNITED STATES AND AIRLINES — TAKE-OFFS OVER WATER PLEDGED AT LaGUARDIA, IDLEWILD**

Government and airline officials agreed last night to keep Newark Airport closed, pending congressional and other investigations, and set up a joint 15-member committee under Edward V. Rickenbacker, president of Eastern Airlines, to increase the safety of airline operations over cities.

With LaGuardia and New York International (Idlewild) Airports in Queens taking over the bulk of Newark's former flights for the time being, it was also agreed to use their runways so as to enable planes to take off over water or over least-settled areas as much as possible. Queens residents were promised that this would "substantially reduce the volume of operations over congested areas."

The agreements were announced at the Commodore Hotel after a closed-door conference of 5½ hours, called by the Port of New York Authority as a result of three airplane crashes in Elizabeth, N. J., which have taken 116 lives in the last 2 months and which caused closing of Newark Airport early Monday morning.

The conference was attended by representatives of 25 domestic airlines, three transport associations, the unionized pilots, the Civil Aeronautics Administration and the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The Air Transport Association, representing 42 scheduled airlines, announced it would meet here tomorrow afternoon to work out new flight schedules for LaGuardia, Idlewild, and Teterboro Airports during the Newark shut-down. The first meeting of the new Rickenbacker safety committee will take place Friday morning at the Lexington Hotel.

Milton W. Arnold, vice president of the Air Transport Association, said he still believed Newark was the Nation's safest airport, but agreed it had to be closed for the time being—"in view of the third accident in 2 months and the feeling of the public."

Other airline leaders, talking privately, observed that it might be mathematically possible for the other airports to take over Newark's flights. But in practice, they said, this mathematics might be deceptive, overlooking weather and other operating factors. Newark had been handling some 400 flights a day. La Guardia about 300 and Idlewild 125 to 150.

After Newark's closing, La Guardia handled 132 extra flights on Monday up to midnight. Idlewild took an extra 37. Teterboro, near Hackensack, N. J., usually handling chiefly student and private planes and some freight, took an extra 29. This was a total of 198. Others usually operating from Newark were rescheduled to fields such as Allentown, Pa., or cancelled.

**POLICY AGREED ON AT MEETING**

The joint statement observed that the top executives of all American flag airlines, both scheduled and nonscheduled, serving the metropolitan area, had attended the conference. It opened with an expression of grief and sympathy for the victims of the Elizabeth disasters and then set forth the following unanimous points of agreement on policy:

1. Newark Airport will be kept closed pending Congressional and other responsible official investigations, and a special coordinating committee on safety will include the following members: Captain Rickenbacker, chairman; Juan T. Trippe, president of Pan

American World Airways; Ralph S. Damon, president, Trans-World Airlines; W. A. Patterson, president, United Air Lines; C. R. Smith, president, American Airlines; Charles F. Horne, Civil Aeronautics Administrator; O. Roy Chalk, president, Independent Military Air Transport Association (nonscheduled operators); Thomas L. Grace, president Slick Airways; Donald W. Nyrop, chairman, Civil Aeronautics Board; Howard S. Cullman, chairman, Port of New York Authority; Clarence M. Sayen, president, Airline Pilots Association; J. H. Carmichael, president, Capital Airlines; Amos E. Hecock, president, Air Coach Transportation Association; G. T. Baker, president, National Airlines; Admiral Emory S. Land, president, Air Transport Association.

2. The C. A. A. will control flights at Idlewild, La Guardia and Teterboro airports, in the interest of maximum safety, basing their number on weather and other operating considerations. But Mr. Horne said it would be impractical to fix an arbitrary numerical limit on flights for each port and the Air Transport Association agreed to work out and announce new schedules tomorrow.

**SAFE TAKE-OFF ROUTES PLANNED**

3. The CAA will enforce runway priorities for take-offs already recommended (but not yet made public) by a joint committee of airlines, the Airline Pilots Association, the Administration and the Port Authority, for La Guardia and Idlewild runways, which permit take-offs over water or over the most sparsely settled areas as a matter of first choice.

"Under these plans," the statement continued "the runways requiring operation over congested areas would be utilized only when such use is mandatory for reasons of safety."

4. So that the public may appreciate the division of responsibility, it was noted that the Port Authority's responsibilities were limited to the land and structures at airports, while the CAA runs control towers, and aircraft operators conform to CAA and CAB standards for pilot competency, the airworthiness of aircraft, legal minimums of ceiling and visibility for the aircraft operation at the airport itself, all air traffic control and procedures for approaches and take-offs.

Seventeen airlines originally had been invited to the Commodore meeting by the Port Authority. Twenty-five showed up. With many sending large staffs, the attendance numbered more than 100 persons when Commissioner Bayard F. Pope opened the session.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator from Colorado yield again to me?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado whether his committee has considered the point that the runways at Newark Airports are too close to the congested area and whether it will be necessary to relocate the runways, so that both the runways used for take-offs and the runways used for landings will be at a greater distance from the areas of congested population. In view of the series of distressing accidents which have occurred within the past 2 months, is the committee considering that question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Our committee has brought in a preliminary report, on January 31, 1952, which dealt with runway No. 6-24, as it is designated. When runway No. 6 is used for landings and when No. 24 is used for take-offs, the airplanes fly over the city of Elizabeth.

The committee's staff has been at the scene of the accident twice, and is continuing its interest in the investigation which now is taking place. I am sure our staff will make a firm recommendation that if the airport is reopened, runway No. 6-24 be not used for landings or take-offs over Elizabeth.

Runway No. 6-24 was used in the case of the recent airplane disaster. Runway No. 6-24 was the one which was used in the case of the Convair crash which occurred just a few weeks ago. Runway No. 10-28, however, was used in a westerly direction for the take-off of the non-scheduled plane which crashed on December 16. So runway No. 6-24 is a serious offender.

Although I do not know whether the investigation has completely proved the point it is my understanding that it was not necessary for the DC-6 plane which was involved in the most recent crash to take off on runway No. 24, but that runway No. 10 could safely have been used. However, runway No. 6-24 is a convenient one for planes which are taking off for Miami, Fla., and it was the runway facing most directly into the wind.

At any rate, the plane which crashed did use runway No. 6-24. It is a long and a good runway, and the only criticism of it is that planes which are taking off from runway No. 24 or planes which are entering Newark Airport via runway No. 6, must pass over the heart of the city of Elizabeth. That arrangement should not be continued. Our committee will strongly recommend that if the airport is reopened, any dangerous runways, such as runway No. 6-24, shall not be opened to traffic at Newark Airport.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Is the Senator from Colorado familiar with the fact that the people of Elizabeth have become most indignant as a result of these crashes and have held various meetings at which they have urged that the entire airport be removed to a safer location?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes. Our committee will make a recommendation with respect to that matter, when all the facts are available. Perhaps the recommendation will be that the entire airport be moved to another location.

However, in connection with that phase of our investigation, it must be realized that there is a definite tendency for many persons to build houses or places of business immediately adjacent to airports and under the runway approaches. They do this after the airports are developed. We realize that the city of Elizabeth was established long before the Newark Airport was constructed. However, in the case of a newly located airport, there is a definite tendency for homes and places of business to spring up immediately adjacent to the airport. That situation must be corrected in the future, for the hazard it creates is too dangerous to be permitted to continue.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Colorado very much for the report he has submitted for the RECORD.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado subsequently said:

Mr. President, a few minutes ago I placed in the RECORD a report with reference to the latest plane disaster at Elizabeth, N. J., and it has been intimated that the remarks I made may have given the impression that the pilot of the crashed plane at Newark may have been partially responsible. I did not intend to imply any such thing because it is not known how it happened that the propellers of No. 3 engine were in reverse. We do not know what caused it. We do know that safety devices have been built into these planes which are intended to make it impossible for the propellers of any engine to go into reverse while the plane is in flight. This indicates there must have been a mechanical failure.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for a few moments on a matter of importance.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MOODY. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, could we not conclude the placing of matters in the RECORD before we come to the speech-making stage?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is heard. The Senator from Michigan will be recognized as soon as the morning hour is concluded.

Mr. MOODY. That is entirely agreeable to me.

#### GEN. THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO

Mr. BENTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator may proceed for 1 minute.

Mr. BENTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD the leading article in the New York Times magazine section of Sunday, February 10. This article is by Michael Padev, who is described by the Times as a writer with a background of long study of East European literature. It is entitled "The Great Liquidation: Satellite Culture."

On the same day this article was published, I had the privilege of participating in a ceremony honoring the memory of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko. This ceremony was held in Lafayette Park opposite the Cosmos Club in the shadow of the great statue erected in his honor. Representative SABATH, who introduced a bill 42 years ago which led to the erection of this statue, was present and participated in the ceremony.

The occasion as is known to many Senators, was the annual celebration of General Kosciusko's birthday which, by happy coincidence, falls on February 12—the day we honor the memory of

America's own great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln. This year is the 206th anniversary. Because the Senate was not in session that day, I am taking this first opportunity to make a few brief comments appropriate to that occasion.

In my talk about the great significance of the fight for Poland's freedom and liberty, led by General Kosciusko in Poland and throughout Europe after his return as a Brigadier General from the American Revolution, I quoted at length from Mr. Padev's article. I pointed out that General Kosciusko is still today a vibrant symbol of the fight for liberty on behalf of the Polish people. This fight, as Mr. Padev's article shows, has never been more important than today. Mr. Padev points out that past conquerors and exploiters of Poland have always permitted the Polish cultural traditions to remain intact—and have always permitted them to retain their sense of national history as well as their national language—this made their survival possible. Mr. Padev goes on to state:

Now, however, Moscow's viceroys in Eastern Europe are out to destroy the national cultural traditions of the countries they govern. They make every effort to blunt the sense of national history of the peoples under their rule, and try even to change their spoken and written language.

Mr. Padev further states:

Polands today, for example, are told that their greatest poet and national hero, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), was an ardent supporter of cooperation and friendship with Russia, while in fact he was a nationalist who fought Russia all his life. Anti-Russian references in history books, fiction works, encyclopedias and dictionaries are drastically purged, even if they describe events which have taken place more than 10 centuries ago.

On top of that there is an intense campaign to make the Russian language a sort of lingua franca for the whole of satellite Europe. Courses in Russian are obligatory in all schools, universities, Government offices, factories, collective farms, etc. In Poland 1,400,000 children have now been organized in "circles of friends of the U. S. S. R." whose primary object is to study the Russian language and Soviet culture.

Mr. Padev concludes his illuminating article, which I hope will be read widely by the Congress and the American people, with the following paragraph:

The problem is no longer confined to combating Communist lying propaganda about present-day conditions and international events. The problem is how to keep the national spirit and the national consciousness of each nation in Eastern Europe alive. The task is to save the sense of history, the cultural traditions, the literature, the arts and even the national languages of Eastern Europe from destruction and oblivion.

Mr. President, General Kosciusko is best known to school children in this country as the Adjutant to General Washington, and for his great career as a soldier in the battles of the Revolutionary War at New York, Yorktown, and elsewhere. He is known also for the vote of thanks given him by the Congress, after the war, and for the rank of brigadier general which was accorded to him which he carried forward into his return in the Polish Army.

But an even more brilliant part of his career, which is but little known to the American people, is that which followed his return to Europe, where he led the Polish armies in their struggle for freedom in the 1790's. General Kosciusko refused high rank under Napoleon because Napoleon would not pledge himself to a free and unified Poland.

General Kosciusko is regarded by some as the Polish Lafayette. More accurately, perhaps, it might be said that Lafayette is the French Kosciusko. If it had been Poland which had had the fleet and the strength to come to the aid of the American colonies—instead of France—I think it is fair to state that Kosciusko today might be better known to every American schoolboy than even the French Lafayette. Kosciusko came to this country as a trained and experienced soldier and engineer, of enormous value to the inexperienced Continental Army, trained at the expense of the Polish Government in England and Germany and France—whereas Lafayette came here as a romantic youth of 16 or 17, a glamorous young French nobleman of great symbolic and propaganda value but with little practical military experience.

I am glad to have this chance to ask my colleagues in the Congress to join with me in this salute to this great American patriot to whom our Congress voted citizenship to a man whose ideals and goals and devotion to freedom were far in advance of the times—to this great figure in the history of the struggle for the freedom of Poland, a struggle which will go on—and on—until final victory is achieved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request for the printing of the article in the body of the RECORD?

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

#### THE GREAT LIQUIDATION: SATELLITE CULTURE (By Michael Padev)

LONDON.—The mass arrests, summary executions and deportations in satellite Europe have by now become familiar to the American public. But comparatively little is known of the Communist policy of oppression in the realm of culture and the arts.

Yet this particular kind of Communist oppression may prove, in the long run, more dangerous for the survival of the nations in Eastern Europe than the political, economic, and physical sides of Communist terror. All six satellite nations—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania—have, in the past, experienced many centuries of foreign rule and foreign domination. But they always kept their cultural traditions intact and their sense of national history as well as their national language alive. This made their survival possible.

Now, however, Moscow's viceroys in Eastern Europe are out to destroy the national cultural traditions of the countries they govern. They make every effort to blunt the sense of national history of the peoples under their rule, and try even to change their spoken and written language.

The production of books in Eastern Europe is planned and controlled in much the same way as the production of coal or steel. But this party control does not cover only the choice of subject-matter or the political outlook of the author. "The party puts a greater demand on its writers than that they should be merely tendentious," says Jozef Revai.

Hungarian Politburo member.<sup>1</sup> The technique of writing, the manner of description, the portrayal of the characters, the style, and even the choice of words are "planned" and supervised by the party.

A writer may produce a book which suits perfectly the exigencies of the party political line. For example, he may write an historical novel "proving" that during the last war the western allies did not fight Nazi Germany seriously, but were more concerned with "sabotaging the Soviet war effort." Yet such a book can be rejected and condemned on the ground that the writer uses "incorrect" methods of characterization, or that his style is "decadent" or his dialog "unrealistic from the point of view of the class war."

This strict party control over the process of writing has brought about a very elaborate and very complex system of book production. Every month the party announces its target for novels, short stories, plays, or poems. These are allotted to different writers at a meeting of the writers' union. Writers have to report on their work usually every month. The completed manuscript is submitted to a new and very thorough examination.

Collective writing is also used as a means of additional party control. A well-known writer is given a party-paid secretary or assistant, whose job it is to guide the writer along party lines. When the book is published the party supervisor is announced as the coauthor. This cultural-commissar system is also applied in nearly all other fields of art, including music and painting. Between one-third and one-half of the new poems, plays, and novels as well as musical works and paintings in satellite Europe, are now the products of such collective efforts.

Conditions are, of course, the same in Soviet Russia. But Russian writers have at least one big advantage over their colleagues in satellite countries: the controlling authority in Russia is a Russian authority. The distortions of history and the urges of literature are kept, to a certain extent, within the framework of the Russian tradition. But satellite writers are obliged to follow not only a Communist and a Soviet Party line; they have also to give a strictly Russian interpretation of their countries' cultural traditions and of their literature.

Poles today, for example, are told that their greatest poet and national hero, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), was an ardent supporter of cooperation and friendship with Russia, while in fact he was a nationalist who fought Russia all his life. Anti-Russian references in history books, fiction works, encyclopedias, and dictionaries are drastically purged, even if they describe events which have taken place more than 10 centuries ago.

On top of all that there is an intense campaign to make the Russian language a sort of lingua franca for the whole of satellite Europe. Courses in Russian are obligatory in all schools, universities, Government offices, factories, collective farms, etc. In Poland 1,400,000 children have now been organized in "circles of friends of the U. S. S. R."<sup>2</sup> whose primary object is to study the Russian language and Soviet culture. The Rumanian Communist daily, Scantea, insists that all Rumanians should learn Russian quickly because only in this way

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Revai to the Union of Hungarian Writers. Published in full in Lukacs and Socialist Realism.

<sup>2</sup> Information broadcast by Radio Warsaw and released also by the Polish Press Agency on November 1, 1951. (B. B. C. Monitoring report on Polish broadcast. See also East Europe, London, No. 356, of November 15, 1951.)

can they "acquire a real sense of socialist patriotism."<sup>3</sup>

In Bulgaria all kinds of purely Russian words and expressions have been introduced in the new dictionaries and the alphabet itself has been changed by Government decree to conform to present Russian spelling. According to official Communist statistics, out of the 5,800,000 copies of books distributed in Bulgaria in 1950, 1,500,000 were Russian books,<sup>4</sup> imported from the Soviet Union.

Language purges, so far, existed only within the boundaries of the Soviet Union proper. Last November, for example, the Ukrainian writers' union was strictly censured because many Ukrainian writers had acquired the shameful habit of using "nationalist words" instead of their Russian counterparts.<sup>5</sup> In this way they tried to "wrench the Ukrainian language away from the Russian language."

No wonder that in the atmosphere of this cultural and linguistic oppression writers cannot produce anything of value. Novels, plays and poems published in the past few years make pathetic reading. Glowing references about Stalin's "leadership of genius" and the wonderful qualities of the Russians appear in almost every page. But the spark of talent or even the signs of technically passable literary workmanship are nowhere to be found.

From time to time the Communist authorities become themselves aware of the low level of this barren "assembly line" literature. A few months ago the Polish Government convened a big conference devoted to "the problems of artistic creative activities."<sup>6</sup> Speeches were made against the so-called black-and-white technique in writing, that is, the division of society into two tight compartments of heroes (Communists) and villains (reactionaries). Writers were advised to show "merits and defects" in both groups. But, most significantly, they were also warned that "healthy criticism" (of Communist heroes) should never "degenerate into slandering the U. S. S. R."

In the field of the theater, music, painting, and sculpture, the enforcement of a strict party policy is just as severe. The theater bills in the satellite capitals in the past year read like the announcements of lectures at the Marx-Lenin Institute in Moscow. Plays on the childhood of Lenin, on the life of Stalin; plays about the "atrocities of the imperialists in Korea"; plays about warmongering America, such as The Voice of America, John, the Soldier of Peace, Who Is To Blame?; plays about collective agriculture, about factory production, and about American spying activities in Eastern Europe form nearly 90 percent of all theater productions.

In music, all so-called modernists are banned. But nearly all prominent composers in Eastern Europe are, or rather were, modernist (in the Communist sense of the word). Consequently, the greater part of the musical works of contemporary composers in Eastern Europe is today proclaimed decadent. Naturally, no orchestra or musician would dare to touch it.

<sup>3</sup> Scantea, of October 24, 1951, broadcast by Radio Bucarest, published in BBC monitoring.

<sup>4</sup> Official Communist information published in all the Bulgarian press and released by the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency in October 1951. English text available in the Communist publication, Free Bulgaria, Sofia, October 15, 1951.

<sup>5</sup> Full report published in Pravda of November 25, 1951, on the shortcomings of the Ukrainian party's ideological work, the shortcomings of the Ukrainian writers, etc.

<sup>6</sup> The conference took place on October 27 and 28, 1951, in Warsaw, and was fully reported in the Polish Communist press and broadcast by Radio Warsaw (available in BBC monitoring also).

Light music resembling in any way American jazz is strictly forbidden. Jazz music was described by Scantea as "the lowest expression of the rotteness of bourgeois light music." It "perverts and stultifies the masses."<sup>7</sup> In the hands of "the American imperialists" it has become "one of the means of molding the beasts who kill the peaceful Korean population and lynch Negroes in the United States of America."

Artists in Eastern Europe today have two main preoccupations—first, to make huge photographic portraits of the leaders of the day, revealing their noble features, great wisdom and strength of character, and, secondly, to serve as illustrators of party and state history. The actual photographs and films made of official personages and festive occasions since the end of the war are no longer any good. In all of them the traitors of today appear as the heroes of yesterday. Photographs and film negatives cannot be altered by party histories, pamphlets, or encyclopedias.

Consequently they have to be destroyed, and the new paintings re-create the past not as it actually was but as it should have been according to the latest party line. Historical cabinet meetings, party gatherings, parades, and so forth, are painted anew, with the right people made to sit and stand in the right places. As the party line changes constantly and new traitors are discovered practically every day, this pictorial change of history keeps most of the painters in Eastern Europe busy all the time.

There are many signs that even Communist artists resent working under such conditions. A most important artists' revolt took place last year in Bulgaria, the satellite which, to use a communistic expression, is the most progressive—i. e., the most sovietized—state in Eastern Europe. The revolt was led by Alexander Jendov, by far the best-known and most talented Bulgarian Communist painter, who had earned for himself a considerable reputation in Moscow, where he lived for many years before World War II.

Backed, as it transpired later, by nearly all leading Bulgarian artists, Jendov wrote a letter of protest to the Bulgarian Prime Minister and party boss (Valko Chervenkov). Artists, Jendov said, were made to work under "barracks discipline, inane censorship and administrative terror."<sup>8</sup> They were compelled to recite hollow phrases about Soviet art, endless and meaningless quotations about the role of the party and nonsensical strictures about western art. As a result of all this, the artistic value of all new painting was below the lowest.

Two months later Jendov was expelled from the artists' union and the party and arrested. Another Communist painter, Kolyu Kolev, committed suicide. But a new executive of the artists' union was appointed and it made at once a public declaration that artists would no longer look at Soviet art with indifference. The victorious Bolshevik (Russian) party spirit would prevail in all paintings.

The purge in the visual arts is gradually enveloping the other satellites. There can be little doubt that in the coming months all the Jendovs in Eastern Europe will be liquidated. Sculptors and painters in Czechoslovakia are already on the mat. Rude Pravo, the Communist Party daily, recently took to task all painters of portraits

<sup>7</sup> Scantea, September 30, 1951, reporting the decisions of the Rumanian People's Republics Composers' Federation (BBC monitoring).

<sup>8</sup> Jendov's letter was published in part by all Bulgarian papers, which reported the speech of Chervenkov (on the expulsion of Jendov) on May 26, 1951. A full account of the controversy was also published in the magazine *Hudojnik* (Artist), book No. 4, 1951, Sofia.

of President Gottwald. They had missed, the paper lamented, the "psychological depth of the face of a man who personified the historical experiences of the working class and the best characteristics of a Communist." Moreover, Czech sculptors who had made busts of Stalin had "failed to make visual the utter simplicity of Stalin's appearance, the clear logic of every word he utters, his great serenity, and his steel-like firmness." And, naturally, Czechoslovak artists were advised to look at Soviet art for inspiration and guidance.

This cultural iron curtain has been pulled down by Moscow to separate the nations in Eastern Europe not only from the "outside world" and the democratic west but also from their own history, from the heritage of their own culture, and even from the bonds of their own national languages. This puts a new and much heavier responsibility on all allied agencies—such as the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, the British Broadcasting Corporation, etc.—which are engaged in the battle of ideas behind the curtain.

The problem is no longer confined to combating Communist lying propaganda about present-day conditions and international events. The problem is how to keep the national spirit and the national consciousness of each nation in Eastern Europe alive. The task is to save the sense of history, the cultural traditions, the literature, the arts, and even the national languages of Eastern Europe from destruction and oblivion.

#### KASHMIR-PAKISTAN DISPUTE—STATEMENTS BY DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, for the past several months Dr. Frank P. Graham, of North Carolina, formerly a distinguished Member of the Senate, has been serving as the United Nations representative in connection with the Kashmir-Pakistan dispute. At the recent meeting of the United Nations Security Council in Paris, Dr. Graham made two statements by way of a tentative report on his work as United Nations representative in this very disturbing dispute. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD the conclusions of his first statement, dealing with the Kashmir dispute, as he submitted those conclusions to the Security Council.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

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

#### CONCLUSION OF STATEMENT OF FRANK P. GRAHAM ON KASHMIR DISPUTE TO U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL

The United Nations representative, in making these recommendations, because of his faith in the two governments, wishes now to make an additional purely personal statement to emphasize the possible far-reaching results of an early agreement on the implementation of the provisions for demilitarization to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, to the people of India and Pakistan, and to the people of the world.

With respect to the value of a settlement to the people of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the first significant result which would proceed from an agreement would be the exercise by the people of Jammu and Kashmir of the promised right of self-determination for which they have been anxiously waiting for 3 years. It would recognize the enduring idea that, in the long run, the

sovereignty which proceeds from princes is subject to the sovereignty of the people who, after all, under God, are the highest sovereignty. Any status based on the compulsions of force by either nation or on the attrition of long delays in settlement would not be permanently accepted by the people of the state or of either nation, would not be in accordance with the principles and spirit of the United Nations, would not have the support of the moral opinion of mankind, and therefore could not long endure.

As a practical matter, without fulfillment of the promised right of self-determination through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite to be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations, the continuing dispute, as has been well said, would become a running sore, which would tend to drain away resources and energies to the damage of the state and the peoples of both nations.

Furthermore, an agreement on the provisions for actual demilitarization as a fair condition for holding a free plebiscite would obviously be welcomed by many peoples of Asia who, out of their long and recently victorious struggles for self-determination, have a most sympathetic concern. Such an agreement would give a lift to the spirit of peoples anywhere struggling to be free.

As to the value of a settlement to the peoples of both nations, the chief road-block in the way of the cooperation of India and Pakistan is the Kashmir dispute. The prior settlement of the Kashmir dispute would help clear the way for the settlement of other disputes of importance to the life of millions of people in India and Pakistan. Without knowledge of and without any thought on my part of going into the merits of any other disputes, it is appropriate to point out that the importance of the other disputes adds even more to the high importance of settling the Kashmir dispute. The settlement of the dispute about which there is the most bitterness would remove the main barrier to the spirit of cooperation between India and Pakistan necessary for the settlement of the disputes over evacuee property and waterways. In pointing out the importance of the disputes over evacuee property and waterways, I mean only to emphasize the higher importance of first settling the Kashmir dispute.

The lack of settlement of the evacuee property issue gives millions of people, including their families and friends, a deep sense of grievance and injustice which is damaging to the creative energies and hopes of both peoples. These refugees from communal slaughter, uprooted from the land, who passed or counterpassed each other on the trek from one country into the other, have called forth the heroic efforts of both nations for their rehabilitation. To assuage some of the sorrow in their hearts and the horror in their memories, an agreement to adjust for them in their new country the values of their lands, homes, shops, and other property left behind in the old country would relieve some of the tension between the two peoples and add to the productive energies and morale of both nations.

The cooperative spirit, enhanced by a settlement of the Kashmir dispute, would also likely facilitate the settlement of the dispute over rivers and canals. This dispute is another obstacle in the way of the cooperation of India and Pakistan in the development of a program for the maximum use of the water resources to the advantage of both. Too much the waters from the hills and mountains wash away the precious topsoils, pile up the silt in the rivers, and go their wasteful way to the sea. The river valley systems can be cooperatively developed for the storing of the vast water resources, the conservation of the soils, the irrigation and reclamation of the lands for the production of foods and fibers and for the generation of

power to meet the urgent needs of the peoples of the whole subcontinent. Out into the waste places and up the hillsides would move the mills and factories with their creative power, and down from the hills would come tumbling the rivers for the electrification of civilization cleanly charged with the potentials for the production of foods, fibers, goods, books, leisure, culture, and something more of the good life for the further self-development of the high natural and spiritual capacities of the people of India and Pakistan.

During the past several months, along with my task of finding out the present differences between the two nations over Kashmir, I have been trying to find out their historic differences in fundamental ideas and ways of life. I have read through scores of books and piles of related material, talked with many people in my line of duty and observed the life and scenes about me. I have, within the narrow limits of my time, my ability and opportunity, tried to dig deep into the centuries to find the origin and depth of these differences.

Though still in the midst of explorations, even the fragments of my findings move me to say that it is important for the peoples of the subcontinent and the world that every effort should be made promptly by the two governments and by the United Nations to settle this crucial dispute between the two peoples. Despite all the history, experience, and hopes which the two peoples have long had in common, a present crucial dispute too long unsettled might become so heavily charged as to connect the currents of present differences with the high potentials of profound historic differences. An unsettled dispute over Kashmir must not be allowed to overspread and engulf two nations in the horrors of fratricidal strife. Disputes dragging along over demilitarization in one State must not be allowed to drift into an unintended catastrophe for a whole subcontinent. A local spark must not become a global conflagration. It would be tragic for all peoples for the conditions on the subcontinent either to drift or to explode into war which would be ruinous for both nations and disastrous for the world.

The damaging results of unsettled disputes and the vast human needs of hundreds of millions of the people of the two nations emphasize the need in the mind and hearts of men and women of good will in both India and Pakistan for a settlement of this most crucial dispute. Furthermore, the mutually destructive fears, bitter memories, and profound differences make imperative the finding of moral substitutes through the development of projects for creative international cooperation between the two peoples. International conferences between leaders and representatives of the two people can promote the cooperative development of water resources, hydroelectric power, economic programs, scientific research, health projects, university exchange, intercollegiate sports, youth conferences, women's associations, civic clubs and in every other fundamental field of international cooperation for a freer and fairer life. With full and final acceptance of each other's national independence and with full loyalty to their own high spiritual heritage and indigenous ways of life, the two peoples have opportunities for the needed positive programs of cooperation as various as the life of the people on the long peninsula between the seas, as wide in scope as the vast subcontinent, as annual as the monsoons and as high as the mountains from which come the waters of the life of the people.

An agreement on the provisions for the demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir may provide the example of international cooperation for peace for which the peoples of the world hope in their day's work and pray in the sanctuary of their

\* *Rude Pravo*, July 27, 1951. Similar criticisms were published in many other Czech newspapers.

hearts. The leaders and the peoples of India and Pakistan want peace. Yet these two great peoples are turned from a larger realization of their far-visioned programs by fears of possible war on the subcontinent. The great masses of the people of the British Commonwealth, the Soviet Union, the United States and all other nations of the world want peace. Nevertheless a billion and a half people in two opposing worlds are turned from a larger fulfillment of their humane programs by the fears of a third world war.

The intellectual, political, and spiritual leaders of India and Pakistan have the most strategic opportunity through the settlement of a complex and stubborn dispute to give to the United Nations and to the peoples of the world a desperately needed example of international cooperation for freedom, self-determination and peace.

The United Nations, with all its growing pains and frustrations, is the only international body for the settlement of the most difficult international disputes. The failure of peaceful settlement of such deep disputes has involved the world in tragedies too terrible to risk again. The United Nations, with all its defects, is nevertheless, with its multilateral procedures for the peaceful settlement of complex disputes, still the best hope of the peoples for peace.

The call comes to the peoples and the leaders of India and Pakistan not only from the United Nations but also from the homes and the common life and hopes of hundreds of millions of human beings all over the earth who toil in the fields and factories, people in the villages, towns and cities, mothers and fathers in homes, refugees without homes, sons and daughters dreaming of homes of their own, children in schools and without schools and the unnumbered millions of human beings disinherited by war and hate. The call comes from the people of our common human family around the earth who hope for homes and work in freedom and peace for themselves and their children.

On the vast Asian peninsula between the seas guarded by the highest mountains on this earth, developed one of the most advanced ancient civilizations of prehistoric times. Out of the basic Dravidian-Indo-Aryan stocks with Greco-Scythian, Arab, Persian, Turco-Afghan, Moghul, and British elements and influences have developed the peoples of India and Pakistan. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and more especially the British made the subcontinent an interdependent part of the great commercial revolution by which the new lands of America and the old lands of India and the east became the mighty pivots upon which the medieval turned to the modern world. The Hindu epics, traditions, and folk dramas, the Koran, the Islamic traditions, the assimilations of great religions; the values and treasures of great languages and literatures; the principles of the common law and the fundamental right of the common man; the struggles of the people on that subcontinent; the foundations of their own ancient spiritual heritage for the principles of civil liberties, federalism, and parliamentary government of the basically humane people against whose imperial rule the people of the subcontinent struggled—all are now combined together in the ancient heritage and fresh hopes of the great peoples of India and Pakistan.

From the heritage and hopes, life, and struggles of these peoples, great leadership has developed from the times of Ashoka to Gandhi to Nehru and from the days of Akbar to Jinnah to Liaqat Ali Khan. Out of the crossing of ancient faiths and modern science, old customs, and modern democracy, frustrations and hopes, patient sufferings and victorious struggles in great causes have developed some of the noblest spirits of

our time, always overburdened, sometimes baffled but never daunted on that subcontinent as they grapple with the problems of poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, religious intolerance, caste, class, and exploitation of untold millions of people struggling toward a higher freedom.

On the southern subcontinent of Asia and in many lands east and west, men and women of good will are working and hoping through the long days and nights against the desperate hours of a darkening age to redirect the possibilities of the self-destruction of civilization to the potentialities of creative cooperation of nations in a great adventure of the human spirit through the United Nations, pioneering along the far frontiers of the vast wilderness of our yet unmastered civilization.

As a key part of this forward movement of freedom, an agreement on the provisions for the actual demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, by preparing the way for a free and impartial plebiscite and the self-determination of the people, would prepare the way for the settlement of other disputes and the larger cooperation of the governments and peoples of India and Pakistan; would strengthen the democratic and moral ties of the Indonesian, southern Asian, north African, southeastern European, and Mediterranean world, not as a bloc but as a spiritual force for freedom and peace, and might bring about a reorientation of the relations of east and west for a decisively human turn in the tragic history of our times.

The great leadership of the peoples of India and Pakistan by the settlement of this crucial dispute might set in motion a spiritual chain reaction which, we pray, would encompass the earth with the moral power of mankind in behalf of human freedom, the self-determination of people and the cooperation of nations for the peace of the world.

Through the settlement of the Kashmir dispute, through the mutual respect of the national independence and high values of both peoples by both peoples, and through the cooperation of both nations in their far-visioned educational, agricultural, industrial, social, scientific, medical, and humane programs for the equal opportunity, the more abundant and spiritual life of all their people, may I readapt, in a spirit of brotherhood with both great peoples, a hope which I once expressed for my own beloved country.

May India and Pakistan be nations in which, in the larger fulfillment of their own ancient heritage and youthful hopes, in response to their own great leaders, the people more and more become brothers in the sight of God and in the human heart; where the lowest and the highest and all the people equally together have the freedom to struggle for a higher freedom and where life is made richer by the vigor and variety of the differences of the people; where the answer to error is not terror, and the response to a difference in religion, race, color, economic condition, or social status is not discrimination, exploitation, or intimidation; where and when men are free the way of progress is not subversion, the respect for the past is not reaction, and the hope of the future is not revolution; where the majority is without tyranny, the minority without fear, and all people have hope for freedom, peace, and brotherhood in the long human pilgrimage, under God, toward one world neighborhood of human brotherhood.

An agreement regarding the provisions for the demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir would be one decisive step toward the fulfillment of this long hope, to which India and Pakistan and the nations of the world are committed by the noble principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD the conclusions of the second statement which Dr. Graham submitted to the Security Council of the United Nations at the recent Paris meeting.

There being no objection, the conclusions of the second statement by Dr. Graham were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONCLUSION OF SECOND STATEMENT OF FRANK P. GRAHAM TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

An agreement between the two countries upon demilitarizing would have potential values for the people of Jammu and Kashmir and the people of India and Pakistan. Agreement has now been reached on 8 of the 12 proposals. The agreement on proposals 7 and 10 would probably lead to certain agreements also on 5 and 6 and be, as has been suggested, the linchpin binding all 12 proposals together in an effectively integrated program, and would prepare the way for the promised plebiscite.

The plebiscite would keep the promise made to the people of Jammu and Kashmir, who are worthy of the right of their own self-determination through a free, secure, and impartial plebiscite. They are a people of legend, song, and story, associated with snowcapped mountains, beautiful valleys and life-giving waters. The valleys are set like gems in the mid' of mountains which surround the land and the people and which look down upon them from untold ages of history and from the highest majesty of this earth. These people, Moslems, Hindus, Sikhs, and Christians, as farmers, craftsmen and artists, small shopkeepers, boatmen, bearers, and other workers in areas now on both sides of the cease-fire line have, through the centuries, been the victims of exploitation and conflict. The recognition of the rights and dignity, the security and the self-determination of these historic people, under the auspices of the United Nations, might well become a challenging example of the progressive values of self-determination to the dependent peoples of the earth. The people of Jammu and Kashmir through a free and impartial plebiscite would signal through the darkness of these times a ray of hope that not by bullets but by ballots, not through conflict of armies but through cooperation of peoples, is the enduring way for people to determine their own destiny and way of life.

The agreement of two sovereign nations on a plan of demilitarization of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, as the basis of self-determination, peace and cooperation in the great humane programs on the subcontinent, might help to contribute its bit to the hopes of the people for an eventual agreement of all the nations through the United Nations for universal disarmament as a basis for freedom, peace and cooperation in great humane programs across the earth.

The peoples of the earth who do the work of the world and carry the loads of these desperate days still look for some sign of better times for themselves and their children. Without flinching from the privations of self-defense or the burdens of their daily toil, they look east and west for the intelligent and spiritual leadership which would guide the ways of the world from self-destruction to self-realization of the cooperative and creative capacities of the sons of God and the brothers of men.

On the subcontinent of India and Pakistan today, the place, the time, the opportunity and the leadership have met in one of the great junctures of human history for the possible weal or woe of the peoples of the world.

The place is where meet the three largest nations and perhaps the fifth largest nation in the world.

The time is past when society can safely take slow decades and centuries to muddle through in adjustments to scientific and technological revolutions. Social drift and unsettled disputes, such as the Kashmir issue, heavily charged with high potentials, did not then as now possibly involved mankind in the swift and total tragedy of global war and the scientific destruction of civilization. Human society with an atomic bomb in its bosom cannot lag in humane and creative adjustments to its potentially suicidal power.

The opportunity in time and place is for the leadership on the subcontinent, tested in the struggles and sufferings for the human liberty of 400,000,000 human beings, to help prevent the destruction of human freedom and the self-destruction of civilization by challenging examples of demilitarization, self-determination, reconciliation, and reconstruction in a fearful and broken world.

Out of the east have come the great religious and spiritual hopes of mankind. Modern man, with all his scientific but yet unmastered power, looks with increasing humility and hope to the east where founders and exemplars of great religions taught peace on earth and good will among men. The west needs the east and the east needs the west. Now the twain must meet to save and advance the best of both.

Spiritual idealism with scientific mechanisms can accelerate the ways and widen the meaning of peace and brotherhood. Scientific mechanisms without spiritual idealism can destroy them both. Spiritual idealism and scientific mechanisms must join forces for building freer, nobler, and more creative societies in the east and the west.

The international mechanical framework of our dynamic industrial society which encompasses the earth and catches up a depression or a war anywhere and involves human beings everywhere, needs for its international control around the earth the political framework, world forum and peaceful procedures of the United Nations. Both the international economic society and the international political organization of the United Nations need the world communion of the spiritual brotherhood of peoples for the increasingly humane mastery of tyranny, antagonisms, racism, industrialism, and imperialism.

The subcontinent is the place for a timely example of demilitarization and self-determination. Now is the time for the dedicated leadership of two great peoples to rise to the call of their spiritual heritage, the responsibility of their power and the opportunity for their greatness to give in a dark world challenging examples and fresh hopes to the peoples in the unresting adventure of the human spirit, through the United Nations, in the long pilgrimage toward a freer and fairer world, in answer to the prayers of the people for peace and freedom on God's good earth.

#### PRELIMINARY FINDINGS OF THE BUREAU OF MINES WITH REFERENCE TO MINE DISASTER AT CARPENTERTOWN, PA.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter sent to me by Mr. Oscar L. Chapman, the Secretary of the Interior, containing the preliminary findings of the inspectors of the Bureau of Mines who investigated the mine disaster which occurred at Carpentertown, Pa., on February 2, 1952.

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

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, D. C., February 6, 1952.

My DEAR SENATOR NEELY: Attached herewith for your information is a copy of the preliminary findings of the Bureau of Mines inspectors who investigated the mine disaster which occurred at Carpentertown, Pa., on February 2, 1952. A copy of the final inspection report will be forwarded to you within the next few days. In this connection I feel compelled to point out certain facts and observations for use in congressional mine-safety deliberations. I would appreciate your making these comments a matter of record.

Not only has this latest mine tragedy come close on the heels of Orient No. 2, which caused the death of 119 men in southern Illinois before Christmas, but the two disasters are quite similar in that certain common factors were responsible for these incidents. Let me illustrate this fact by highlighting some of the more important features of this new mine accident.

The explosion occurred about 1:40 a. m., February 2, 1952, in the Carpentertown Mine, Carpentertown Coal & Coke Co., Carpentertown, Westmoreland County, Pa., about 2 miles east of Mount Pleasant, Pa. At the time of the explosion, 65 men were in the mine, 20 of whom were working in the affected section. As I have said, six men were killed; four were affected by the afterdamp resulting from the explosion (carbon monoxide), the remainder (55 men) escaped unaided and uninjured.

The primary cause of the explosion was ignition of a body of explosive gas (methane). The source of the gas is believed to have been in open, inactive workings adjacent to live workings. Specifically, the explosive gas is believed to have seeped or drifted onto the main haulage road, which was in return air and in which electric trolley locomotives were operated.

Arcing or sparking of a trolley locomotive in all probability was the source of the ignition.

The history of the classification of this mine will be important to your deliberations as you consider coal-mine-safety legislation.

During the June 5-8, 1951, Federal inspection, an air sample collected in the mine by Bureau of Mines inspectors was found to contain 0.25 percent methane and the mine was thereafter considered by the Federal Bureau of Mines to be gassy. Although a mixture of methane gas in the amount of 0.25 is not, in and of itself, explosive, the presence of such percentage of gas is a danger signal calling for preventive measures.

As a consequence of these findings, the Federal inspectors' report, following the June 5-8 inspection, contained the following recommendations:

"Examinations for gas should be made before and after firing each shot where on-shift blasting is done.

"The air currents at the working faces should have sufficient volume and velocity to dilute and carry away harmful gases.

"Air that has passed through abandoned workings should not be used to ventilate live workings.

"Trolley wires should not be in air returning from pillar-recovery work."

On June 15, 1951, a letter was forwarded to the secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Mines by the chief of the Pittsburgh branch of the Health and Safety Division of the Bureau of Mines, calling the secretary's attention to these serious hazards.

No acknowledgment was received. No action was taken.

At the request of the company, because it was dissatisfied with the gassy classification of the mine made by the Bureau of Mines, the mine was reinspected on August 23-24 and 27-28, 1951, and the same conclusions as to gas conditions were arrived at and the warnings of danger were repeated. A letter similar to the one forwarded by the Bureau of Mines Health and Safety Division on June 15, was forwarded to the secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Mines after this latest inspection.

No acknowledgment was received. No action was taken on this report.

On September 7, following the second inspection, Mr. J. J. Forbes, now Director of the Bureau of Mines, then Chief of the Health and Safety Division of the Bureau, wrote the president of the Carpentertown Coal & Coke Co., calling attention to the fact that air that had passed through abandoned workings was continuing to be used to ventilate active workings. Mr. Forbes asked that the condition be corrected promptly and that the president of the company advise him of any action taken to eliminate the hazard.

No reply or acknowledgment was received from this communication.

On September 21-24, 1951, a further inspection of the mine was made by Federal inspectors of the Bureau of Mines, and, although the air samples taken indicated that the methane content of the air was not as great at this time as it had been during the June inspection, the inspectors nonetheless concluded that the mine should operate as a gassy mine and that the recommendations applicable to gassy mines should continue to apply.

Throughout these inspections, and in spite of the recommendations of the Federal inspectors, the Pennsylvania Department of Mines continued to classify the mine as non-gassy, and it was so classified by that agency up to and including the date of the explosion.

The plain facts are that even though the mine had been considered gassy by the Federal inspectors of the Bureau of Mines, even though warnings were issued to the proper State and company authorities, and even though the State of Pennsylvania was the only governmental agency with both this knowledge of danger and the power to act, no action was taken.

I call your attention, Senator, to the analogy that exists between the tragedies of Orient No. 2 and Carpentertown:

1. In both cases the explosion was caused by methane gas moving into parts of the mine actively being worked.

2. It is most likely that in both instances the ignition factor was an arc or spark from unsafe electric machinery working in improperly ventilated areas of the mine.

3. In both instances the Federal inspectors had warned of the dangerous condition of these mines and those warnings had gone unheeded.

Senator NEELY, I feel that the pattern for mine disaster has been spelled out for us clearly in the past 40 days. We have had the knowledge to prevent the death of 125 men, but we in the Federal Government have not had the power to protect them from death. We have known that these mines were seriously dangerous. We have issued warnings to company officials and to State officials of the serious danger. Yet the proper action was not taken, and tragedy has been the result. We in the Federal Government who have the knowledge required to protect our citizens from death and injury in the coal mines of our Nation do not have the legislative authority necessary for us to effect that protection.

As I have said before, in my opinion, we must have legislative authority from this Congress which will permit the Federal Government, through the Department of the Interior, to—

1. Close mines where factors constituting imminent danger are found to exist.

2. Set up safety regulations designed to raise the over-all standards of safety throughout the coal operations of our country; and, further—

Such legislation must contain such penalty clauses, as will cause violation of Federal shut-down orders to be classed a felony carrying heavy penalty, and the violation of safety regulations to be classed a misdemeanor.

The law must have teeth; otherwise it will be an empty, ineffective, meaningless responsibility.

I hear it argued that the States can enforce their own safety legislation more effectively than can the Federal Government. I submit to you the Carpentertown tragedy of last Saturday night as a case in refutation of that argument. If the Federal Government had been possessed with the power of enforcing its recommendations and regulations, Carpentertown would not have occurred.

I hear it argued that any legislation on coal-mine safety should incorporate the safety rules and regulations in the act. I submit to you that new philosophies and standards of safety are constantly being adopted and improved to meet new techniques and mining methods according to various local conditions, and that such legislative mechanism would be difficult to adapt and change and might well lend itself to serious impracticability.

Arguments against this legislation emanate from many sources, but none of them can be permitted to prevail in view of our Nation's history for failure in the humanitarian business of providing reasonable safety and protection for our coal-mine workers.

In closing, let me say to you that I am personally very grateful to you and to your committee and to the Members of Congress for the fine work that is being done in connection with coal-mine safety legislation, and certainly the people of this Nation owe to you a debt of the deepest gratitude.

Sincerely yours,

OSCAR L. CHAPMAN,  
Secretary of the Interior.

Hon. MATTHEW M. NEELY,  
Chairman, Special Subcommittee  
on Mine Safety,  
United States Senate.

#### THREAT TO CIVIL LIBERTIES

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak for 3 or 4 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New Jersey? The Chair hears none, and the Senator may proceed.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in behalf of my colleague [Mr. HENDRICKSON] and myself I should like to speak briefly about what I consider to be a very serious threat to the civil liberties of the American people and to insert in the RECORD some communications I have received from persons in New Jersey who are justifiably concerned about this threat.

Beginning last June there began in this Nation a wave of terrorism which has resulted in several murders, destruction of property, desecration of religious places, and serious threats to our basic

freedoms. These atrocities have included the bombing and attempted bombing of places of worship and private residences, and have challenged the rights of individuals to assemble, worship, and be secure in their own homes.

While these recent acts of violence seem to have been concentrated in the State of Florida, I am well aware that such acts are not necessarily limited to any particular State or region. It is obvious, moreover, that their occurrence anywhere in the United States is a matter of grave concern to the entire Nation, as such flagrant violations of law and order in one State encourage similar acts of terrorism in other States.

As this reign of terror continued, it became apparent that law enforcement at the local, county, and State level was inadequate to cope with the situation. It also became apparent that there might well be violations of Federal law involved. I have been informed that investigations are proceeding at the Federal, State, county, and local level. Insofar as the Federal Government is concerned, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is making the investigation but has not yet submitted a report. I cannot stress too strongly the necessity for a most thorough investigation by the FBI and for the promptest possible submission of a report. On the basis of this report the Department of Justice should determine the extent to which existing legislation and methods of law enforcement are deficient and should be strengthened to prevent a similar pattern of violence from occurring in the future.

Mr. President, this series of violent outbreaks has brought forth protests from individuals and groups throughout the Nation. Leaders of responsible citizens' groups are shocked at these crimes and are deeply concerned over the possible recurrence of such incidents. I ask unanimous consent that at this point in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, I may insert some examples of the correspondence I have received relating to this problem.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. First, Mr. President, I should like to refer to a letter from the Newark Civil Rights Commission. I might say that this commission has done outstanding work in the Newark area in New Jersey in the field of race relations, and that it includes among its membership some of Newark's most prominent citizens. I should like to read several paragraphs from a letter I received from Mr. David M. Litwin, the chairman of the Newark Civil Rights Commission:

We are sorely touched by the recent breakdown of law and order in Florida, where Christian and Jewish religious institutions and Negro homes were bombed and Negro citizens were murdered in an outbreak of violence and terrorism. Although these events took place some 1,200 miles away, they are our direct concern, for anything that affects any of the peoples of our Nation has a direct impact upon the welfare of the citizens of this city. Any act of discrimination

and bigotry against any minority, wherever situated, influences the status of all minorities.

We who are vitally interested in the human relations and civil rights of our citizens cannot sit idly by and permit these incidents of lawlessness go unnoticed. Every such act is a serious set-back to the progress that we have made in recent years in the recognition of the brotherhood of man. As right-thinking Americans, we must work to stop bigotry and prejudice by striking at its cancerous body wherever it rears its head.

Every act of prejudice, intolerance, bigotry, and discrimination, because of race, color or creed, national origin or ancestry, is a menace to the institutions of a free democratic government. The invasion or violation of any one of our civil rights gives the communistic countries an advantage for propaganda purposes in their cold war of attrition. We must not give them this ammunition.

Mr. President, I shall not take the time of the Senate to read any of the many other communications I have received on this same subject, but I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point in my remarks several examples.

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

CITY OF TRENTON, N. J.,  
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS,  
February 8, 1952.

Hon. H. ALEXANDER SMITH,  
Senator from New Jersey,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

SIR: I am enclosing herewith a certified copy of a resolution adopted by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Trenton, N. J., at a regular meeting held on Thursday, February 7, 1952, entitled "Resolution condemning acts of violence and lawlessness in the State of Florida."

Yours very truly,

T. J. BURNS,  
City Clerk.  
By ALBERT G. HOWELL,  
Acting City Clerk.

#### RESOLUTION CONDEMNING ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS IN THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Whereas recent occurrences in the State of Florida have indicated a serious trend toward violence and lawlessness, as shown by the many atrocious crimes which have been perpetrated against the minority groups in that State and which have recently resulted in the deaths of a Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, decent and upright citizens of the community in which they resided; and

Whereas the bombing and destruction of Catholic and Negro churches, Jewish synagogues, and homes and buildings belonging to such groups, have caused many innocent people to become the victims of the existing reign of terror; and

Whereas such acts and conduct are a direct challenge of our democratic faith and processes and the denial of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed to all people by our fundamental law as embodied in the State and Federal Constitutions: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Trenton, That it vigorously and wholeheartedly condemns the acts and conduct afore-mentioned in the State of Florida, or anywhere else in the United States and respectfully urges Congressman CHARLES R. HOWELL to immediately demand a congressional investigation of the acts and conduct afore-mentioned in the State of Florida, or anywhere else in the United States; and that such action be taken by the President and the

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executive branch of the Government as may be necessary to apprehend the murderers of the said Harry Moore and his wife; and be it further

*Resolved*, That Congress immediately enact such legislation as may be deemed necessary to put an end to such outrageous acts; and be it further

*Resolved*, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Harry S. Truman, President of the United States; to the Honorable H. ALEXANDER SMITH and ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON, United States Senators for the State of New Jersey; the Honorable CHARLES R. HOWELL, Representative of the Fourth Congressional District of the State of New Jersey and to the local press.

WARREN W. ORPEN,  
ANDREW J. DUCH,  
DONAL J. CONNOLLY,  
SIDO L. RIDOLFI.

Adopted February 7, 1952.

I hereby certify that this is a true copy.

ALBERT G. HOWELL,  
City Clerk,

Dated, Trenton, N. J., February 8, 1952.

NEWARK, N. J., February 5, 1952.  
Hon. H. ALEXANDER SMITH,  
Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.:

The Montclair branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People urgently beseeches you to exert your influence upon Attorney General McGrath to call a Federal grand jury with the appointment of a special assistant attorney general to prosecute Sheriff Willis McCall for the murder of Samuel Shepherd and the wounding of Walter Lee Irvin; also, the bombing of the home of Harry T. and Harriet Moore, which resulted in their deaths. It is our sincere hope that you will strongly urge the Department of Justice to conduct a thorough investigation with respect to the apprehension of the parties. We further urge that you introduce effective legislation providing for extreme penalties to be imposed upon those who commit these barbarous crimes. Such wanton violation of civil rights has stigmatized our democratic society and reduced our prestige and self-respect before the eyes of the civilized world.

RAYMOND L. JOHNSON.

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF NUTLEY,  
Nutley, N. J., January 25, 1952.  
Hon. H. ALEXANDER SMITH,  
Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR SMITH: As citizens of a democracy, we have read with mounting horror of the bombings which have occurred in the State of Florida during the past 9 months. The bombing murder of a Negro citizen and the subsequent death of his wife are of deep concern to every American.

Acts of violence of this kind are usually the result of frustrations of individuals or groups of individuals released against others who may be different. It would seem to us that every resource of law and public action should be utilized to build attitudes and relationships among all the citizens of our great country so that no one will feel the need for violence in dealing with members of any racial, religious, or ethnic group.

We urge you to use every power of your office in securing congressional action to try to reduce the causes of racial and religious strife and to find and bring the perpetrators of this violence to justice.

Respectfully yours,  
HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF  
NUTLEY,  
MURIEL WEBER  
(Mrs. Sanford Weber),  
Corresponding Secretary.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, it is especially urgent that positive action be taken now to prevent such terrorism before it increases. History has shown clearly that intergroup friction and resulting violence increase during times of stress. With the probability that international tension will continue for some time, it is especially important that waves of lawlessness, which weaken the Nation's unity and lower its international prestige, be curbed. Let me emphasize again the critical importance of a thorough and prompt report on the pending investigation of these outbreaks by the FBI, and the most careful study of this report by the Department of Justice to determine the extent to which existing legislation and methods of law enforcement are deficient and should be strengthened to prevent a similar pattern of violence from occurring in the future.

#### ADDITIONAL POWERS GRANTED NEWBOLD MORRIS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 355)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which was read by the legislative clerk.

(For the President's message, see today's proceedings of the House of Representatives.)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The message from the President and the accompanying paper will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, in connection with the message of the President just read and to carry out the recommendations of the message, I introduce a joint resolution.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 132) to provide the power of subpoena in certain investigations relating to improper and illegal conduct in the transaction of the business of the Government of the United States, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. CLEMENTS, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### REPORT ON LABOR DISPUTES IN NON-FERROUS METALS INDUSTRY—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 354)

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which was read, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

(For the President's message, see today's proceedings in the House of Representatives.)

#### STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business which is the bill (S. 50) to provide for the admission of Alaska into the Union.

#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, one of the keenest humorists in the United States is Mr. Fletcher Knebel, whose column appears regularly in the Washington Star under the title, "Potomac Fever." Last night one of Mr. Knebel's observations, which I thought was very well pointed and observant, read as follows:

Republicans blast the Truman administration in Lincoln Day speeches around the country. Lincoln is the GOP patron saint. He'd have to be—only a saint could forgive what's being said today in his name.

All over the United States this week, Republican Senators, Representatives, and party brass hats are talking about Abraham Lincoln.

Some of them are worthy spokesmen. They believe, as Lincoln did, that all men really were created equal; that government should be not alone by and of but for the people; that it should be an instrument not for special privilege but for the public good.

But others, I regret to say, are using the anniversary of this great man's birth merely as a stage setting for unbridled attacks on the very things he stood for—on Government action to implement the human rights and human justice to which he dedicated his career and his life.

I have read and heard some of these Lincoln Day speeches. They indicate that the Republican Party has gone a long way from the principles of government enunciated by Abraham Lincoln. In one of the greatest anachronistic maneuvers of all history, it has gone a long way indeed—backward.

I am addressing the Senate briefly on this subject, because I believe it would be healthy for us, as Americans, to pause a few moments and consider some of the things that President Lincoln himself said, as reflecting what he might do and think of the problems that face us if he were with us today.

Abraham Lincoln was not a narrow man or a negative man. He was not a man to turn to past prejudices when facing a real and dangerous problem of the hour. Had he been, he could not have saved the Nation. And were our Nation today in the hands of some of those who use his name and his memory to make scurrilous attacks on those who employ the same broad approach to human problems, and to the Nation's safety, the approach that his expressed views indicate he would surely employ if he were with us now, our dangers today would be far greater.

We read and hear repeatedly, for example, the allegation that the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman are leading this Nation down the road to socialism. I rather imagine that if such a foolish statement were made before the man who had an icy contempt for pettiness, he might make the soft suggestion that weekly wages, net farm income, and corporate profits, now and in 1932, be compared.

To those who shudder "socialism" when our free system is strengthened by

some constructive act of government, Lincoln might say, as he once did:

The legitimate object of government is to do for the people what needs to be done, but which they cannot, by individual effort do at all, or do so well, for themselves.

I can imagine Lincoln's reaction to those twentieth century men with sixteenth century minds who say, and rightly, that business should be protected fully against an inequitable impact of the defense mobilization economy, but in the next breath argue that the Federal Government holds no responsibility for the well being of workers thrown out of their jobs by the wrenching dislocations of a guns-and-butter transition.

Lincoln said:

Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.

But capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights.

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

Mr. MOODY. I shall be glad to yield when I conclude.

It is not hard to guess how Lincoln, himself the target of heartless, baseless, conscienceless attacks while he was about the task of saving the Union might react to the modern rash of demagogues. When abuse of him was at its height Lincoln said:

If the great American people only keep their temper on both sides of the line, the troubles will come to an end, and the questions which now distract the country will be settled, \* \* \* and just as other clouds have cleared away in due time, so will this great Nation continue to prosper as heretofore.

Those who have been found in that musty museum of mummified mentality known as the Society of Sentinels forge restrictive covenants for organized labor, their calendars hanging unturned for more than a century.

But 92 years ago Lincoln said:

I am glad to see \* \* \* a system of labor \* \* \* under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances. I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations and tongues and kindreds.

But Lincoln looked at both sides of the coin, a trait not always shared by his latter-day lauditors. He said:

Nor should this lead to a war upon property or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; it is a positive good in the world.

That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise.

Some of the more strident voices raised about the land this week insist that our Government is about to be seized from within by a hard core of revolutionaries.

Said Abraham Lincoln:

Whatever might be the wishes or dispositions of foreign states, the integrity of our

country and the stability of our Government mainly depend \* \* \* on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people.

Do the false disciples of Lincoln lack his faith in the people?

If Abraham Lincoln were alive today, he might find himself among the thin strip of forward-looking Republicans who see danger in the policies of those who dominate their own party.

But more likely he would be a Democrat.

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

Mr. MOODY. I am delighted to yield to the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BRIDGES. I was very much interested in some of the Lincoln quotations which the Senator from Michigan read. I wonder if he feels that he is in a position, Abraham Lincoln having died 87 years ago, to interpret Lincoln's philosophy and tell how it would be applied today. I could hear only a portion of the Senator's remarks. As I understood him, he not only quoted Abraham Lincoln, but he interpreted how Lincoln would analyze and face problems today. I should like to know how the Senator from Michigan is able to set himself up as an authority to interpret what Lincoln would think today, when Lincoln died 87 years ago.

Mr. MOODY. I did no such thing, of course.

Mr. BRIDGES. If the Senator did not, I beg his pardon, but I understood him to say that if Lincoln were alive today, he would think and act in a certain manner.

Mr. MOODY. If the Senator was present in the Chamber when I began my remarks, he will remember that I read from Mr. Fletcher Knebel's observations. He said that Lincoln would have to be a saint, because only a saint could forgive what is being said in his name today.

My objection is that a great deal is being said today in Lincoln's name which I doubt he would say if he were here. I have quoted some of the things which he actually did say, so that the country may be reminded of them, and so it may not be misled by some of the misrepresentations of his position which have been presented to the country.

Mr. BRIDGES. Of course, we are delighted to have the Senator from Michigan interpret the philosophy of the founder of the Republican Party and give us his views on various subjects. Up to this time, generally speaking, the Republicans have been able to do so, but we are very glad to have the contribution of the able Senator from Michigan. I know that he offers it in good spirit.

Mr. MOODY. I was merely pointing out that I hoped that all members of the Republican Party, instead of only some of them, would continue to hew to the line in interpreting the ideas of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. BRIDGES. I believe that Republicans are certainly imbued with the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. If I may do some interpreting, I believe that if Lin-

coln were alive today we would have a different kind of nation than we have today.

Mr. MOODY. I think the Nation is a pretty good Nation today. Does not the Senator agree with me?

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

Mr. MOODY. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. BREWSTER. In a few days or a few weeks the great party of which the Senator from Michigan is a member will celebrate the anniversary of the birth of Andrew Jackson.

Mr. MOODY. That is correct.

Mr. BREWSTER. I wonder if at that time they will address themselves to the policies of Andrew Jackson, under which he paid off all the public debt and returned surplus funds in the Treasury to the various States? We received a check in Maine which was very much appreciated. I wonder if that is to be the policy of the party to which the Senator belongs, in celebrating the birthday anniversary of Andrew Jackson.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for an observation?

Mr. MOODY. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McMAHON. I believe that we ought to consider the question which has been raised. We ought also to remember Andrew Jackson's fight against predatory, selfish greed, and we ought to talk about present-day apostles of such greed. I think we shall have plenty to say on that subject. God knows, we have plenty to talk about.

Mr. MOODY. I am delighted to have the observation of the Senator from Connecticut. I also point out that if Andrew Jackson were alive today I think the Senator from Maine would agree that he would not have failed properly to arm the country to resist the aggressions of the Red empire.

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

Mr. MOODY. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. I believe it was Andrew Jackson who instituted the spoils system in this country, which has reached its full flower, apparently, under the current administration.

Mr. MOODY. Is the Senator for or against Andrew Jackson?

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield to me for an observation?

Mr. MOODY. I am always glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McMAHON. I think the present civil-service system is a system to which both parties subscribe, even with all its faults. However, I question the use of the words "full flower." The other day I was reading from not too ancient history. I read that Mr. Mellon, the former Secretary of the Treasury, had suggested that Senator Couzens, in his resolution for an investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, was ill-advised and was trying to hurt the morale of the Bureau. He said that he had discharged 756

deputy collectors of internal revenue who had been false to their trust. I think that was the number. At that time we were collecting \$11,000,000,000 in revenue. It now develops—and I hope I shall not be held to the exact figure—that the number recently involved was 156. Today we are collecting about fifty-five billion or sixty billion dollars. So I question whether the situation has flowered quite to the extent that it did under the administration of Mr. Mellon.

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

Mr. McMAHON. I should like to conclude my remarks. Whether it is 1, 156, or 756, it is too many. I merely wanted to make a comment on the extent of the flowering of the situation.

Mr. BRIDGES. I should like to ask whether the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Moody] would include in his quotations from Lincoln two additional quotations. The first one is from an address which Lincoln delivered at Springfield, Ill., on June 13, 1858. It reads:

If we could first know where we are and whether we are tending we could better judge what to do and how to do it.

I believe that to be a very appropriate quotation from Lincoln.

Mr. MOODY. I think it is very appropriate, and I shall be glad to include it.

Mr. BRIDGES. The second quotation is from an address which Lincoln delivered at Bloomington, Ind., on May 29, 1856.

Mr. MOODY. I may add that at a time when we are faced by the threat of Communist world revolution we cannot tell what the future will bring, because we cannot read the minds of the gangsters in the Kremlin. I am sure the Senator from New Hampshire will agree with me on that score.

Mr. BRIDGES. The second quotation reads:

We live in the midst of alarms; anxiety beclouds the view; we expect some new disaster with each newspaper we read. Are we in a healthful political state? Are not the tendencies plain? Do not the signs of the times point plainly in the way in which we are going?

I believe that to be a very appropriate quotation also.

Judging by his remarks, I ask the Senator from Michigan whether he is getting ready to run for office on the Republican platform.

Mr. MOODY. Certainly not.

Mr. McMAHON. God forbid.

Mr. MOODY. I was reporting the philosophy of Lincoln, in his own words. Incidentally, I was making the same point which the Senator from New Hampshire made at the beginning of his remarks, namely, that a great many people attempt to justify many things merely because they belong to the same party that once gave the country a great President.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF PUERTO RICO

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, two Members of the Senate, the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] and the junior Senator from South

Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], have taken the floor in the past few days to raise questions concerning Puerto Rico. Both have emphasized the fact that reports have been emanating from the island to the effect that the present administration there is exercising dictatorial tactics.

This, Mr. President, would certainly be a shocking condition if true. As I have no facts concerning the situation, I shall not attempt to judge it at this time. I have been concerned, however, with the question of how the American taxpayers' money is being spent in Puerto Rico. That certainly is a matter of grave interest to all of us.

It is almost impossible to give an accurate figure as to the total amount of Federal funds allocated to Puerto Rico because of the many larger appropriation items in which Puerto Rican funds are hidden. We do know, however, that the amount is very large. It has been estimated as higher than \$1,250,000,000 over the past 10 years. We also know, Mr. President, that the Puerto Ricans enjoy a peculiar status in that no exercise, income, or other tax payments are made by the island government, business interests, or citizens to the United States Treasury. This is certainly a rare advantage not enjoyed by any of the 48 States or the Territories of Alaska or Hawaii. For example, I am told that the State of Mississippi, which is roughly comparable to Puerto Rico in population, per capita income, and in the fact that it is largely an agricultural area, returns more than \$80,000,000 annually to the Federal Treasury. Similarly, the State of Florida, which is somewhat larger and richer than Mississippi or Puerto Rico, pays into the Treasury some \$400,000,000 annually. I doubt that either of these States receives as much in Federal benefits of various kinds as does Puerto Rico.

We all know, Mr. President, that Puerto Rico enjoys the unique advantage of keeping all revenue from the rum tax, which, incidentally, is collected for them by the Treasury Department. Also, the Customs Bureau collects duties for Puerto Rico on imports to the island and turns over the proceeds to the Puerto Rican government, not to the Federal Treasury. Incidentally, high customs duties in Puerto Rico are levied against United States goods and, although sold under the American flag and collected by United States customs agents, these proceeds go to the insular government.

There are a few figures available with reference to Puerto Rico. For instance, in budget estimates for the fiscal year 1953 Puerto Rico shares in a number of special funds to be earmarked for that island, Alaska, and Hawaii. Typical is a request for \$26,919,000 for nutrition, improvement of rural living standards, conservation and development of home industries in the Territories. Congress has not yet been informed how much of the total amount would be allocated to Puerto Rico. There are a number of smaller items which, in the aggregate, become appreciably large, for example, a special fund of \$159,000 is sought for

administration, operation, and maintenance of agricultural experiment stations in Puerto Rico.

Here are a few comparative figures which are enlightening:

*Regular grants to States and Territories in the fiscal year 1951*

State	Agricultural experiment stations	Cooperative agricultural extension work	School lunches
Arkansas	\$283,025	\$975,419	\$1,908,817
Mississippi	328,507	1,232,146	2,454,497
South Carolina	274,533	848,524	2,133,332
Puerto Rico	247,786	583,264	2,850,658

It is interesting to note that in most instances the States matched Federal contributions in these appropriations, while Puerto Rico did not.

Further comparisons show, for the fiscal year 1951:

State	Removal of surplus agricultural commodities, value of commodities distributed within States	Commodity Credit Corporation value of commodities donated
Arkansas	\$641,748	\$728,440
Mississippi	342,738	654,726
South Carolina	376,233	1,045,349
Puerto Rico	1,135,783	1,184,400

Pursuing the comparison between Mississippi and Puerto Rico, it is interesting to note the following figures representing certain grants by the Federal Security Agency to the States and Territories during the fiscal year 1951:

*Comparison of certain regular Federal Security Agency grants to Mississippi and Puerto Rico during fiscal year 1951*

State	VD control	TB control	General health sanitation	Mental health
Mississippi	\$209,682	\$157,889	\$360,130	\$50,423
Puerto Rico	215,703	202,092	340,000	52,019

State	Cancer control	Heart disease	Hospital construction
Mississippi	\$69,961	\$28,321	\$4,661,572
Puerto Rico	54,494	23,381	1,333,646

Mr. President, I shall cite one more comparative table. It represents expenditures made by the Federal Government as direct payments to States under cooperative arrangements and expenditures within States which provided relief and other aid. This has to do with the fiscal year 1951 also.

*Expenditures made by the Government as direct payments to States under cooperative arrangements and expenditures within States which provided relief and other aid, fiscal year 1951*

Maryland	\$51,378,383
Mississippi	106,590,440
New Mexico	35,819,902
North Dakota	30,665,635
Rhode Island	21,864,280
West Virginia	46,271,356
Hawaii	22,478,673
Puerto Rico	54,412,416

Mr. President, although the comparative figures I have cited are fragmentary, they do demonstrate that mainland taxpayers' money is being spent in Puerto Rico for the benefit of Puerto Rico alone, and that the island returns nothing to the mother country. I do not mean by this that Puerto Rico necessarily should return anything to our Treasury or that it is improper for us to subsidize the island. My point is, Mr. President, that in view of the fact that we do subsidize Puerto Rico without return, it is the responsibility of the Congress of the United States, which has appropriated these large amounts of money for the benefit of Puerto Rico, to be absolutely certain that those amounts are being used properly in every sense of the word.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Governor Muñoz Marín's inauguration in 1948 is reported to have cost \$1,000,000, and that the cost of maintaining his official residence is said to have increased more than sixfold over that of his predecessor. Other interesting items are the budget of \$120,000 per year for a New York publicity firm to sell Puerto Rico, and an additional ninety-odd-thousand dollars for junkets to Puerto Rico by American newspapermen and others who might be helpful to the government's propaganda program. If these expenditures represent the government's policy in handling its funds, certainly we should take a close look at the entire spending program in Puerto Rico, so as to see just what is happening to the part of the American tax dollar that is being allocated to Puerto Rico.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maryland yield to me?

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. I yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I should like to say to the Senator from Maryland, in connection with the remarks he has just made, that in the year 1947 or the year 1948, when the Senator's namesake, the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] was chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, a subcommittee of that committee went to Puerto Rico and inspected the entire island, under the direction of the Senator from Nebraska. I was happy to be one of the members of that subcommittee. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. ECTON] were other members of the subcommittee, as I recall. We made a very thorough study of the operations of the then Government, under Governor Piñero, a very intelligent, energetic, and active man, of great desire to serve the people of that island. We visited the legislature, over one of the houses of which—I have forgotten now which one it was, but I believe it was the House of Representatives—the present Governor, Mr. Luis Muñoz Marín, was the presiding officer.

As a result of that visit, the members of the subcommittee, upon their return to Washington, endorsed unanimously, as I recall, the bill of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] to provide for the popular election of the Governor of Puerto Rico. We were particularly impressed with the incentives which were

being granted by the Territorial government for the establishment of new industries within the island.

The expenditures to which the Senator from Maryland has just referred were, I am sure—certainly this is true in the case of the expenditures which were being made at that time—for the purpose of bringing in new sources of revenue which might tend to make the Island of Puerto Rico and the people of Puerto Rico less dependent than they had been upon the generosity of the people of the United States. Let me say that this generosity is not a matter of recent origin. Since immediately after the Spanish-American War, the Congress of the United States has always been most desirous of encouraging the development of better living standards among the people of Puerto Rico. I am quite confident that the Senator from Maryland will find, upon investigation, that the people and the Government of Puerto Rico have taken rather successful advantage of the opportunities which have been extended.

The policy of the committee, under the chairmanship of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER], was to encourage a greater participation in public affairs of the masses of the people and to promote the economic status of the island. We were unanimous in that regard.

In the Eighty-first Congress, when I became chairman of the committee, again there was complete unanimity, as I recall, among the Members of the committee with respect to the steps which were being taken to promote the highest degree of self-government among those people.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. I certainly thank the Senator from Wyoming for the contribution he has made—

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, if the Senator from Maryland will permit, I should like to say, further, that in the Eighty-first Congress it was the unanimous opinion of our committee that the people of Puerto Rico should be enabled to adopt a constitution of their own, and Public Law 600, of the Eighty-first Congress, enacted on July 3, 1950, provided for the submission of the act authorizing the holding of a constitutional convention to the people of Puerto Rico, for their approval or rejection.

Section 2 of that law provides:

Upon the approval of this act by a majority of the voters participating in such referendum, the Legislature of Puerto Rico is authorized to call a constitutional convention to draft a constitution for the said island of Puerto Rico.

In that election, by a vote of 350,000 to 110,000, the holding of the constitutional convention was approved.

Section 3 of that law provides that if the constitution is adopted by the people of Puerto Rico, it shall be submitted to the President of the United States; and if he finds that such constitution conforms with the applicable provisions of that act and of the Constitution of the United States, it shall be referred to the Congress; and the Congress is specifically given the responsibility of acting

upon that constitution, which cannot become effective until it is approved by the Congress.

I am happy to be able to say that the constitution, which was adopted by such an overwhelming vote, has already been approved by the constitutional convention, which was in session from September 17, 1951, to February 6, 1952. Ninety-two delegates were elected by popular election. When the final vote came, the constitution was approved by a vote of 88 yeas and 3 nays, 1 absent. Still there has to be a popular referendum, and that referendum will take place on the 3d of March, this year. After action by the people in the referendum, the measure will be sent to the United States, to be handled in accordance with the provisions of law which I have already read.

If the Senator from Maryland will indulge me a moment further, I should like to read the preamble to the constitution, which the delegates to this constitutional convention have drawn.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. I am very happy to yield for that purpose.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. This morning, the Commissioner to the Congress from Puerto Rico, Dr. FERNOS-ISERN, was good enough to hand me a copy of this constitution; and, for the first time, I have had the opportunity to glance at it. The preamble is particularly stimulating, it seems to me, because it indicates that the attitude which we have taken to help the people of Puerto Rico develop their economic and cultural status is bearing fruit in the American tradition. The preamble reads:

We, the people of Puerto Rico, in order to organize ourselves politically on a fully democratic basis, to promote the general welfare, and to secure for ourselves and our posterity the complete enjoyment of human rights, placing our trust in Almighty God, do ordain and establish this constitution for the commonwealth which, in the exercise of our natural rights, we now create within our union with the United States of America.

In so doing, we declare:

The democratic system is fundamental to the life of the Puerto Rican community;

We understand that the democratic system of government is one in which the will of the people is the source of public power, the political order is subordinate to the rights of man, and the free participation of the citizen in collective decisions is assured;

We consider as determining factors in our life our citizenship of the United States of America and our aspiration continually to enrich our democratic heritage in the individual and collective enjoyment of its rights and privileges; our loyalty to the principles of the Federal Constitution; the coexistence in Puerto Rico of the two great cultures of the American Hemisphere; our fervor for education; our faith in justice; our devotion to the courageous, industrious, and peaceful way of life; our fidelity to individual human values above and beyond social position, racial differences, and economic interests; and our hope for a better world based on these principles.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I thank the Senator. The objectives, as stated in that preamble, are very worthy, and I think we would all like to see them accomplished. The debate was touched off by my statement that \$1,000,000 had been spent for the

inauguration of the President of Puerto Rico, that the cost of maintaining the president's residence had increased six-fold, that \$120,000 a year was being paid to an advertising firm in New York, and that approximately \$90,000 in addition was being spent for other advertising and publicity purposes. All this may turn out to be good. The Senator from Maryland is not expressing an opinion on that.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I understand.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. But I am saying those dollars belong to the taxpayers of the United States, and that the Congress is bound to ascertain how they are spent. All I am asking that we do here is to see that the taxpayers' money is safeguarded. I want to see Puerto Rico get along, as does the Senator. They are a fine people, but I think we must take a look every now and then to see what they are doing with our money.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, if the Senator will be good enough to yield, I want to say that, of course, I am in complete agreement with that statement. What I am trying to point out, however, is that the Congress of the United States, all through this century, from the time Puerto Rico was taken over and was made a responsibility, has been most generous to that island, whatever administration was in power. I point out, however, in addition to that, that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is not unaware of its responsibility to investigate these various matters, though some of the concessions by way of tax revenues and others come from other committees. But inasmuch as the new constitution will have to be examined by the Congress, and inasmuch as it will be referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, I merely want to assure the Senator from Maryland that every question which is raised and every charge which may be made, and every possible criticism which may be offered, will be thoroughly studied by the committee. I am quite sure it will be done in the same nonpartisan manner in which the committee has acted under the chairmanship of the Senator from Nebraska and under the present chairman.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. I can assure the Senator that there is no partisanship in my remarks.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I believe that.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. At the opening of my remarks, I stated that the senior Senator from Maine and the junior Senator from South Carolina, who are of different political persuasions, had already spoken to this matter, and I think it is the sort of thing that we must look into, and that, without any charges being made, we should give it immediate consideration.

Mr. President, I am deeply disturbed by reports that the present administration of Puerto Rico is not operating in the most efficient and proper way.

It would seem that we have given free rein to the administration in Puerto Rico in a way that could jeopardize funds taken from the Treasury of the United States. Certainly we have every right to demand that full accounting be made by the custodians of those funds whether

they be the insular government in Puerto Rico or the Interior Department, or both.

It is for this reason that I join with the senior Senator from Maine and the junior Senator from South Carolina in the opinion that a full investigation of Puerto Rican affairs should be made. This investigation should embrace all of the economic, social, and political facets of the island's affairs because we all know that each of these facets impinges on the others; that they are so enmeshed it is impossible to examine the financial questions, for example, without investigation of the political questions.

If it is true that the government is using dictatorial methods it would be fair to assume that financial chicanery is part and parcel of such methods.

If also it is true, as the Senator from South Carolina said, that the Interior Department and the Puerto Rican Government are working together "to obscure the operations of the Puerto Rican Government and the many federal agencies in Puerto Rico," financial irregularities might well be part and parcel of this also.

In conclusion, Mr. President, let me say that I strongly recommend, in fairness to the Interior Department and the government of Puerto Rico on the one hand, and the American taxpayer on the other, that this matter be thoroughly sifted so that we can feel confident that all is right in Puerto Rico or go about setting it right.

Mr. O'MAHONEY subsequently said:

Mr. President, earlier in the day I read the preamble of the proposed new constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The document itself is of great interest, and I ask unanimous consent that the entire text may be printed in the body of the RECORD in connection with my remarks, as a matter of public information and the information of the Senate.

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

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO

We, the people of Puerto Rico, in order to organize ourselves politically on a fully democratic basis, to promote the general welfare, and to secure for ourselves and our posterity the complete enjoyment of human rights, placing our trust in Almighty God, do ordain and establish this constitution for the commonwealth which, in the exercise of our natural rights, we now create within our union with the United States of America.

In so doing, we declare:

The democratic system is fundamental to the life of the Puerto Rican community;

We understand that the democratic system of government is one in which the will of the people is the source of public power, the political order is subordinate to the rights of man, and the free participation of the citizen in collective decisions is assured;

We consider as determining factors in our life our citizenship of the United States of America and our aspiration continually to enrich our democratic heritage in the individual and collective enjoyment of its rights and privileges; our loyalty to the principles of the Federal Constitution; the coexistence in Puerto Rico of the two great cultures of the American Hemisphere; our fervor for education; our faith in justice; our devotion to the courageous, industrious, and peaceful way of life; our fidelity to individual human

values above and beyond social position, racial differences, and economic interests; and our hope for a better world based on these principles.

ARTICLE I—THE COMMONWEALTH

SECTION 1. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is hereby constituted. Its political power emanates from the people and shall be exercised in accordance with their will, within the terms of the compact agreed upon between the people of Puerto Rico and the United States of America.

SECTION 2. The government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico shall be republican in form and its legislative, judicial, and executive branches as established by this constitution shall be equally subordinate to the sovereignty of the people of Puerto Rico.

SECTION 3. The political authority of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico shall extend to the Island of Puerto Rico and to the adjacent islands within its jurisdiction.

SECTION 4. The seat of the government shall be the city of San Juan.

ARTICLE II—BILL OF RIGHTS

SECTION 1. The dignity of the human being is inviolable. All men are equal before the law. No discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, sex, birth, social origin or condition, or political or religious ideas. Both the laws and the system of public education shall embody these principles of essential human equality.

SECTION 2. The laws shall guarantee the expression of the will of the people by means of equal, direct and secret universal suffrage and shall protect the citizen against any coercion in the exercise of the electoral franchise.

SECTION 3. No law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. There shall be complete separation of church and state.

SECTION 4. No law shall be made abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

SECTION 5. Every person has the right to an education which shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. There shall be a system of free and wholly nonsectarian public education. Instruction in the elementary and secondary schools shall be free and shall be compulsory in the elementary schools to the extent permitted by the facilities of the state. No public property or public funds shall be used for the support of schools or educational institutions other than those of the state. Nothing contained in this provision shall prevent the state from furnishing to any child noneducational services established by law for the protection or welfare of children.

SECTION 6. Persons may join with each other and organize freely for any lawful purpose, except in military or quasi-military organizations.

SECTION 7. The right to life, liberty, and the enjoyment of property is recognized as a fundamental right of man. The death penalty shall not exist. No person shall be deprived of his liberty or property without due process of law. No person in Puerto Rico shall be denied the equal protection of the laws. No laws impairing the obligation of contracts shall be enacted. A minimum amount of property and possessions shall be exempt from attachment as provided by law.

SECTION 8. Every person has the right to the protection of law against abusive attacks on his honor, reputation, and private or family life.

SECTION 9. Private property shall not be taken or damaged for public use except upon payment of just compensation and in the manner provided by law. No law shall be en-

acted authorizing condemnation of printing presses, machinery, or material devoted to publications of any kind. The buildings in which these objects are located may be condemned only after a judicial finding of public convenience and necessity pursuant to procedure that shall be provided by law, and may be taken before such a judicial finding only when there is placed at the disposition of the publication an adequate site in which it can be installed and continue to operate for a reasonable time.

SEC. 10. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

Wire tapping is prohibited.

No warrant for arrest or search and seizure shall issue except by judicial authority and only upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons to be arrested or the things to be seized.

Evidence obtained in violation of this section shall be inadmissible in the courts.

SEC. 11. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to have a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation and to have a copy thereof, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, to have assistance of counsel, and to be presumed innocent.

In all prosecutions for a felony the accused shall have the right of trial by an impartial jury composed of 12 residents of the district, who may render their verdict by a majority vote which in no case may be less than nine.

No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself and the failure of the accused to testify may be neither taken into consideration nor commented upon against him.

No person shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment for the same offense.

Before conviction every accused shall be entitled to be admitted to bail.

Incarceration prior to trial shall not exceed 6 months nor shall bail or fines be excessive. No person shall be imprisoned for debt.

SEC. 12.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except in the latter case as a punishment for crime after the accused has been duly convicted. Cruel and unusual punishments shall not be inflicted. Suspension of civil rights including the right to vote shall cease upon service of the term of imprisonment imposed.

No ex post facto law or bill of attainder shall be passed.

SEC. 13.—The writ of habeas corpus shall be granted without delay and free of costs. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless the public safety requires it in case of rebellion, insurrection or invasion. Only the legislative assembly shall have the power to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and the laws regulating its issuance.

The military authority shall always be subordinate to civil authority.

SEC. 14.—No titles of nobility or other hereditary honors shall be granted. No officer or employee of the Commonwealth shall accept gifts, donations, decorations or offices from any foreign country or officer without prior authorization by the legislative assembly.

SEC. 15. The employment of children less than 14 years of age in any occupation which is prejudicial to their health or morals or which places them in jeopardy of life or limb is prohibited.

No child less than 16 years of age shall be kept in custody in a jail or penitentiary.

SEC. 16. The right of every employee to choose his occupation freely and to re-

sign therefrom is recognized, as is his right to equal pay for equal work, to a reasonable minimum salary, to protection against risks to his health or person in his work or employment, and to an ordinary workday which shall not exceed eight hours. An employee may work in excess of this daily limit only if he is paid extra compensation as provided by law, at a rate never less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

SEC. 17. Persons employed by private businesses, enterprises and individual employers and by agencies or instrumentalities of the government operating as private businesses or enterprises, shall have the right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own free choosing in order to promote their welfare.

SEC. 18. In order to assure their right to organize and to bargain collectively, persons employed by private businesses, enterprises and individual employers and by agencies or instrumentalities of the government operating as private businesses or enterprises, in their direct relations with their own employers shall have the right to strike, to picket and to engage in other legal concerted activities.

Nothing herein contained shall impair the authority of the legislative assembly to enact laws to deal with grave emergencies that clearly imperil the public health or safety or essential public services.

SEC. 19. The foregoing enumeration of rights shall not be construed restrictively nor does it contemplate the exclusion of other rights not specifically mentioned which belong to the people in a democracy. The power of the legislative assembly to enact laws for the protection of the life, health and general welfare of the people shall likewise not be construed restrictively.

SEC. 20. The Commonwealth also recognizes the existence of the following human rights:

The right of every person to receive free elementary and secondary education.

The right of every person to obtain work.

The right of every person to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, and especially to food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services.

The right of every person to social protection in the event of unemployment, sickness, old age, or disability.

The right of motherhood and childhood to special care and assistance.

The rights set forth in this section are closely connected with the progressive development of the economy of the Commonwealth, and require, for their full effectiveness, sufficient resources and an agricultural and industrial development not yet attained by the Puerto Rican community.

In the light of their duty to achieve the full liberty of the citizen, the people and the Government of Puerto Rico shall do everything in their power to promote the greatest possible expansion of the system of production, to assure the fairest distribution of economic output, and to obtain the maximum understanding between individual initiative and collective cooperation. The executive and judicial branches shall bear in mind this duty and shall construe the laws that tend to fulfill it in the most favorable manner possible.

#### ARTICLE III—THE LEGISLATURE

SECTION 1. The legislative power shall be vested in a legislative assembly, which shall consist of two houses, the senate and the house of representatives, whose members shall be elected by direct vote at each general election.

SEC. 2. The senate shall be composed of 27 senators and the house of representatives of 51 representatives, except as these numbers

may be increased in accordance with the provisions of section 7 of this article.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of election of members of the legislative assembly, Puerto Rico shall be divided into 8 senatorial districts and 40 representative districts. Each senatorial district shall elect two senators and each representative district one representative.

There shall also be 11 senators and 11 representatives elected at large. No elector may vote for more than one candidate for senator at large or for more than one candidate for representative at large.

SEC. 4. In the first and subsequent elections under this constitution the division of senatorial and representative districts as provided in article VIII shall be in effect. After each decennial census beginning with the year 1960, said division shall be revised by a board composed of the chief justice of the supreme court as chairman and of two additional members appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. The two additional members shall not belong to the same political party. Any revision shall maintain the number of senatorial and representative districts here created, which shall be composed of contiguous and compact territory and shall be organized, insofar as practicable, upon the basis of population and means of communication. Each senatorial district shall always include five representative districts.

The decisions of the board shall be made by majority vote and shall take effect in the general elections next following each revision. The board shall cease to exist after the completion of each revision.

SEC. 5. No person shall be a member of the legislative assembly unless he is able to read and write the Spanish or English language and unless he is a citizen of the United States and of Puerto Rico and has resided in Puerto Rico at least 2 years immediately prior to the date of his election or appointment. No person shall be a member of the senate who is not over 30 years of age, and no person shall be a member of the house of representatives who is not over 25 years of age.

SEC. 6. No person shall be eligible to election or appointment as senator or representative for a district unless he has resided therein at least 1 year immediately prior to his election or appointment. When there is more than one representative district in a municipality, residence in the municipality shall satisfy this requirement.

SEC. 7.—If in a general election more than two-thirds of the members of either house are elected from one political party or from a single ticket, as both are defined by law, the number of members shall be increased in the following cases:

(a) If the party or ticket which elected more than two-thirds of the members of either or both houses shall have obtained less than two-thirds of the total number of votes cast for the office of governor, the number of members of the senate or of the house of representatives or of both bodies, whichever may be the case, shall be increased by declaring elected a sufficient number of candidates of the minority party or parties to bring the total number of members of the minority party or parties to 9 in the senate and to 17 in the house of representatives. When there is more than one minority party, said additional members shall be declared elected from among the candidates of each minority party in the proportion that the number of votes cast for the candidate of each of said parties for the office of governor bears to the total number of votes cast for the candidates of all the minority parties for the office of governor.

When one or more minority parties shall have obtained representation in a proportion equal to or greater than the proportion

of votes received by their respective candidates for governor, such party or parties shall not be entitled to additional members until the representation established for each of the other minority parties under these provisions shall have been completed.

(b) If the party or ticket which elected more than two-thirds of the members of either or both houses shall have obtained more than two-thirds of the total number of votes cast for the office of governor, and one or more minority parties shall not have elected the number of members in the senate or in the house of representatives or in both houses, whichever may be the case, which corresponds to the proportion of votes cast by each of them for the office of governor, such additional number of their candidates shall be declared elected as is necessary in order to complete said proportion as nearly as possible, but the number of senators of all the minority parties shall never, under this provision, be more than 9 or that of representatives more than 17.

In order to select additional members of the legislative assembly from a minority party in accordance with these provisions, its candidates at large who have not been elected shall be the first to be declared elected in the order of the votes that they have obtained, and thereafter its district candidates who, not having been elected, have obtained in their respective districts the highest proportion of the total number of votes cast as compared to the proportion of votes cast in favor of other candidates of the same party not elected to an equal office in the other districts.

The additional senators and representatives whose election is declared under this section shall be considered for all purposes as senators at large or representatives at large.

The measures necessary to implement these guarantees, the method of adjudicating fractions that may result from the application of the rules contained in this section, and the minimum number of votes that a minority party must cast in favor of its candidate for governor in order to have the right to the representation provided herein shall be determined by the legislative assembly.

SEC. 8. The term of office of senators and representatives shall begin on the second day of January immediately following the date of the general election in which they shall have been elected. If, prior to the 15 months immediately preceding the date of the next general election, a vacancy occurs in the office of senator or representative for a district, the governor shall call a special election in said district within 30 days following the date on which the vacancy occurs. This election shall be held not later than 90 days after the call, and the person elected shall hold office for the rest of the unexpired term of his predecessor. When said vacancy occurs during a legislative session, or when the legislative assembly or the senate has been called for a date prior to the certification of the results of the special election, the presiding officer of the appropriate house shall fill said vacancy by appointing the person recommended by the central committee of the political party of which his predecessor in office was a member. Such person shall hold the office until certification of the election of the candidate who was elected. When the vacancy occurs within 15 months prior to a general election, or when it occurs in the office of a senator at large or a representative at large, the presiding officer of the appropriate house shall fill it, upon the recommendation of the political party of which the previous holder of the office was a member, by appointing a person selected in the same manner as that in which his predecessor was selected. A vacancy in the office of a senator at large or a representative at large

elected as an independent candidate shall be filled by an election in all districts.

Sec. 9. Each house shall be the sole judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its members; shall choose its own officers; shall adopt rules for its own proceedings appropriate to legislative bodies; and, with the concurrence of three-fourths of the total number of members of which it is composed, may expel any member for the causes established in section 21 of this article, authorizing impeachments. The senate shall elect a president and the house of representatives a speaker from among their respective members.

Sec. 10. The legislative assembly shall be deemed a continuous body during the term for which its members are elected and shall meet in regular session each year commencing on the second Monday in January. The duration of regular sessions and the periods of time for introduction and consideration of bills shall be prescribed by law. When the governor calls the legislative assembly into special session it may consider only those matters specified in the call or in any special message sent to it by him during the session. No special session shall continue longer than 20 calendar days.

Sec. 11. The sessions of each house shall be open.

Sec. 12. A majority of the total number of members of which each house is composed shall constitute a quorum, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and shall have authority to compel the attendance of absent members.

Sec. 13. The two houses shall meet in the Capitol of Puerto Rico and neither of them may adjourn for more than three consecutive days without the consent of the other.

Sec. 14. No member of the legislative assembly shall be arrested while the house of which he is a member is in session, or during the 15 days before or after such session, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The members of the legislative assembly shall not be questioned in any other place for any speech, debate, or vote in either house or in any committee.

Sec. 15. No senator or representative may, during the term for which he was elected or chosen, be appointed to any civil office in the government of Puerto Rico, its municipalities, or instrumentalities which shall have been created or the salary of which have been increased during said term. No person may hold office in the government of Puerto Rico, its municipalities, or instrumentalities and be a senator or representative at the same time. These provisions shall not prevent a member of the legislative assembly from being designated to perform functions ad honorem.

Sec. 16. The legislative assembly shall have the power to create, consolidate, or reorganize executive departments and to define their functions.

Sec. 17. No bill shall become a law unless it has been printed, read, referred to a committee, and returned therefrom with a written report, but either house may discharge a committee from the study and report of any bill and proceed to the consideration thereof. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings and of the votes cast for and against bills. The legislative proceedings shall be published in a daily record in the form determined by law. Every bill, except general appropriation bills, shall be confined to one subject, which shall be clearly expressed in its title, and any part of an act whose subject has not been expressed in the title shall be void. The general appropriation act shall contain only appropriations and rules for their disbursement. No bill shall be amended in a manner that changes its original purpose or incorporates matters extraneous to it. In amending any article or section of a law, said article or section

shall be promulgated in its entirety as amended. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives, but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Sec. 18. The subjects which may be dealt with by means of joint resolution shall be determined by law, but every joint resolution shall follow the same legislative process as that of a bill.

Sec. 19. Every bill which is approved by a majority of the total number of members of which each house is composed shall be submitted to the governor and shall become law if he signs it or if he does not return it with his objections to the house in which it originated within 10 days (Sundays excepted), counting from the date on which he shall have received it.

When the governor returns a bill, the house that receives it shall enter his objections on its journal and both houses may reconsider it. If approved by two-thirds of the total number of members of which each house is composed, said bill shall become law.

If the legislative assembly adjourns sine die before the governor has acted on a bill that has been presented to him less than 10 days before, he is relieved of the obligation of returning it with his objections and the bill shall become law only if the governor signs it within 30 days after receiving it.

Every final passage or reconsideration of a bill shall be by a roll-call vote.

Sec. 20. In approving any appropriation bill that contains more than one item, the governor may eliminate one or more of such items or reduce their amounts, at the same time reducing the total amounts involved.

Sec. 21. The house of representatives shall have exclusive power to initiate impeachment proceedings and, with the concurrence of two-thirds of the total number of members of which it is composed, to bring an indictment. The senate shall have exclusive power to try and to decide impeachment cases, and in meeting for such purposes the senators shall act in the name of the people and under oath or affirmation. No judgment of conviction in an impeachment trial shall be pronounced without the concurrence of three-fourths of the total number of members of which the senate is composed, and the judgment shall be limited to removal from office. The person impeached, however, may be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment according to law. The causes of impeachment shall be treason, bribery, other felonies, and misdemeanors involving moral turpitude. The chief justice of the supreme court shall preside at the impeachment trial of the governor.

The two houses may conduct impeachment proceedings in their regular or special sessions. The presiding officers of the two houses, upon written request of two-thirds of the total number of members of which the house of representatives is composed, must convene them to deal with such proceedings.

Sec. 22. The governor shall appoint a controller with the advice and consent of a majority of the total number of members of which each house is composed. The controller shall meet the requirements prescribed by law and shall hold office for a term of 10 years and until his successor has been appointed and qualifies. The controller shall audit all the revenues, accounts and expenditures of the Commonwealth, of its agencies and instrumentalities and of its municipalities, in order to determine whether they have been made in accordance with law. He shall render annual reports and any special reports that may be required of him by the legislative assembly or by the governor.

In the performance of his duties the controller shall be authorized to administer oaths, take evidence and compel, under pain of contempt, the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, letters, documents,

papers, records and all other articles deemed essential to a full understanding of the matter under investigation.

The controller may be removed for the causes and pursuant to the procedure established in the preceding section.

#### ARTICLE IV—THE EXECUTIVE

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a governor, who shall be elected by direct vote in each general election.

SEC. 2. The governor shall hold office for the term of 4 years from the second day of January of the year following his election and until his successor has been elected and qualified. He shall reside in Puerto Rico and maintain his office in its capital city.

SEC. 3. No person shall be governor unless, on the date of the election, he is at least 35 years of age, and is and has been during the preceding 5 years a citizen of the United States and a citizen and bona fide resident of Puerto Rico.

SEC. 4. The governor shall execute the laws and cause them to be executed.

He shall call the legislative assembly or the senate into special session when in his judgment the public interest so requires.

He shall appoint, in the manner prescribed by this constitution or by law, all officers whose appointment he is authorized to make. He shall have the power to make appointments while the legislative assembly is not in session. Any such appointments that require the advice and consent of the senate or of both houses shall expire at the end of the next regular session.

He shall be the commander in chief of the militia.

He shall have the power to call out the militia and summon the posse comitatus in order to prevent or suppress rebellion, invasion, or any serious disturbance of the public peace.

He shall have the power to proclaim martial law when the public safety requires it in case of rebellion or invasion or imminent danger thereof. The legislative assembly shall meet forthwith on their own initiative to ratify or revoke the proclamation.

He shall have the power to suspend the execution of sentences in criminal cases and to grant pardons, commutations of punishment, and total or partial remissions of fines and forfeitures for crimes committed in violation of the laws of Puerto Rico. This power shall not extend to cases of impeachment.

He shall approve or disapprove in accordance with this constitution the joint resolutions and bills passed by the legislative assembly.

He shall present to the legislative assembly, at the beginning of each regular session, a message concerning the affairs of the Commonwealth and a report concerning the state of the treasury of Puerto Rico and the proposed expenditures for the ensuing fiscal year. Said report shall contain the information necessary for the formulation of a program of legislation.

He shall exercise the other powers and functions and discharge the other duties assigned to him by this constitution or by law.

SEC. 5. For the purpose of exercising executive power, the governor shall be assisted by secretaries whom he shall appoint with the advice and consent of the senate. The appointment of the secretary of state shall in addition require the advice and consent of the house of representatives, and the person appointed shall fulfill the requirements established in section 3 of this article. The secretaries shall collectively constitute the governor's advisory council, which shall be designated as the council of secretaries.

SEC. 6. Without prejudice to the power of the legislative assembly to create, reorganize and consolidate executive departments and to define their functions, the following departments are hereby established: state,

justice, education, health, treasury, labor, agriculture and commerce, and public works. Each of these executive departments shall be headed by a secretary.

SEC. 7. When a vacancy occurs in the office of governor, caused by death, resignation, removal, total and permanent incapacity, or any other absolute disability, said office shall devolve upon the secretary of state, who shall hold it for the rest of the term and until a new governor has been elected and qualified. In the event that vacancies exist at the same time in both the office of governor and that of secretary of state, the law shall provide which of the secretaries shall serve as governor.

SEC. 8. When for any reason the governor is temporarily unable to perform his functions, the secretary of state shall substitute for him during the period he is unable to serve. If for any reason the secretary of state is not available, the secretary determined by law shall temporarily hold the office of governor.

SEC. 9. If the governor-elect shall not have qualified, or if he has qualified and a permanent vacancy occurs in the office of governor before he shall have appointed a secretary of state, or before said secretary, having been appointed, shall have qualified, the legislative assembly just elected, upon convening for its first regular session, shall elect by a majority of the total number of members of which each house is composed, a governor who shall hold office until his successor is elected in the next general election and qualifies.

SEC. 10. The governor may be removed for the causes and pursuant to the procedure established in section 21 of article III of this constitution.

#### ARTICLE V—THE JUDICIARY

SECTION 1. The judicial power of Puerto Rico shall be vested in a supreme court, and in such other courts as may be established by law.

SEC. 2. The courts of Puerto Rico shall constitute a unified judicial system for purposes of jurisdiction, operation, and administration. The legislative assembly may create and abolish courts, except for the supreme court, in a manner not inconsistent with this constitution, and shall determine with the venue and organization of the courts.

SEC. 3. The supreme court shall be the court of last resort in Puerto Rico and shall be composed of a chief justice and four associate justices. The number of justices may be changed only by law upon request of the supreme court.

SEC. 4. The supreme court shall sit, in accordance with rules adopted by it, as a full court or in divisions. All the decisions of the supreme court shall be concurred in by a majority of its members. No law shall be held unconstitutional except by a majority of the total number of justices of which the court is composed in accordance with this constitution or with law.

SEC. 5. The supreme court, any of its divisions, or any of its justices may hear in the first instance petitions for habeas corpus and any other causes and proceedings as determined by law.

SEC. 6. The supreme court shall adopt for the courts rules of evidence and of civil and criminal procedure which shall not abridge, enlarge, or modify the substantive rights of the parties. The rules thus adopted shall be submitted to the legislative assembly at the beginning of its next regular session and shall not go into effect until 60 days after the close of said session, unless disapproved by the legislative assembly, which shall have the power both at said session and subsequently to amend, repeal, or supplement any of said rules by a specific law to that effect.

SEC. 7. The supreme court shall adopt rules for the administration of the courts. These rules shall be subject to the laws concerning procurement, personnel, audit, and appro-

priation of funds, and other laws which apply generally to all branches of the government. The chief justice shall direct the administration of the courts and shall appoint an administrative director who shall hold office at the will of the chief justice.

SEC. 8. Judges shall be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. Justices of the supreme court shall not assume office until after confirmation by the senate and shall hold their offices during good behavior. The terms of office of the other judges shall be fixed by law and shall not be less than that fixed for the term of office of a judge of the same or equivalent category existing when this constitution takes effect. The other officials and employees of the courts shall be appointed in the manner provided by law.

SEC. 9. No person shall be appointed a justice of the supreme court unless he is a citizen of the United States and of Puerto Rico, shall have been admitted to the practice of law in Puerto Rico at least 10 years prior to his appointment, and shall have resided in Puerto Rico at least 5 years immediately prior thereto.

SEC. 10. The legislative assembly shall establish a retirement system for judges. Retirement shall be compulsory at the age of 70 years.

SEC. 11. Justices of the supreme court may be removed for the causes and pursuant to the procedure established in section 21 of article III of this constitution. Judges of the other courts may be removed by the supreme court for the causes and pursuant to the procedure provided by law.

SEC. 12. No judge shall make a direct or indirect financial contribution to any political organization or party, or hold any executive office therein, or participate in a political campaign of any kind, or be a candidate for an elective public office unless he has resigned his judicial office at least 6 months prior to his nomination.

SEC. 13. In the event that a court or any of its divisions or sections is changed or abolished by law, the person holding a post of judge therein shall continue to hold it during the rest of the term for which he was appointed and shall perform the judicial functions assigned to him by the chief justice of the supreme court.

#### ARTICLE VI—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SECTION 1. The legislative assembly shall have the power to create, abolish, consolidate and reorganize municipalities; to change their territorial limits; to determine their organization and functions; and to authorize them to develop programs for the general welfare and to create any agencies necessary for that purpose.

No law abolishing or consolidating municipalities shall take effect until ratified in a referendum by a majority of the qualified electors voting in said referendum in each of the municipalities to be abolished or consolidated. The referendum shall be conducted in the manner determined by law, which shall include the applicable procedures of the election laws in effect when the referendum law is approved.

SEC. 2. The power of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to impose and collect taxes and to authorize their imposition and collection by municipalities shall be exercised as determined by the legislative assembly and shall never be surrendered or suspended. The power of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico to contract and to authorize the contracting of debts shall be exercised as determined by the legislative assembly.

SEC. 3. The rule of taxation in Puerto Rico shall be uniform.

SEC. 4. General elections shall be held every 4 years on the day of November determined by the legislative assembly. In said elections there shall be elected a governor, the members of the legislative assembly, and

the other officials whose election on that date is provided for by law.

Every person over 21 years of age shall be entitled to vote if he fulfills the other conditions determined by law. No person shall be deprived of the right to vote because he does not know how to read or write or does not own property.

All matters concerning the electoral process, registration of voters, political parties and candidates shall be determined by law.

Every popularly elected official shall be elected by direct vote and any candidate who receives more votes than any other candidate for the same office shall be declared elected.

SEC. 5. The laws shall be promulgated in accordance with the procedure prescribed by law and shall specify the terms under which they shall take effect.

SEC. 6. If at the end of any fiscal year the appropriations necessary for the ordinary operating expenses of the Government and for the payment of interest on and amortization of the public debt for the ensuing fiscal year shall not have been made, the several sums appropriated in the last appropriation acts for the objects and purposes therein specified, so far as the same may be applicable, shall continue in effect item by item, and the governor shall authorize the payments necessary for such purposes until corresponding appropriations are made.

SEC. 7. The appropriations made for any fiscal year shall not exceed the total revenues, including available surplus, estimated for said fiscal year unless the imposition of taxes sufficient to cover said appropriations is provided by law.

SEC. 8. In case the available revenues including surplus for any fiscal year are insufficient to meet the appropriations made for that year, interest on the public debt and amortization thereof shall first be paid, and other disbursements shall thereafter be made in accordance with the order of priorities established by law.

SEC. 9. Public property and funds shall only be disposed of for public purposes, for the support and operation of state institutions, and pursuant to law.

SEC. 10. No law shall give extra compensation to any public officer, employee, agent or contractor after services shall have been rendered or contract made. No law shall extend the term of any public officer or diminish his salary or emoluments after his election or appointment. No person shall draw a salary for more than one office or position in the Government of Puerto Rico.

SEC. 11. The salaries of the governor, the secretaries, the members of the legislative assembly, the controller and judges shall be fixed by a special law and, except for the salaries of the members of the legislative assembly, shall not be decreased during the terms for which they are elected or appointed. The salaries of the governor and the controller shall not be increased during said terms. No increase in the salaries of the members of the legislative assembly shall take effect until after the expiration of the term of the legislative assembly during which it is enacted. Any reduction of the salaries of the members of the legislative assembly shall be effective only during the term of the legislative assembly which approves it.

SEC. 12. The governor shall occupy and use, free of rent, the buildings and properties belonging to the Commonwealth which have been or shall hereafter be used and occupied by him as chief executive.

SEC. 13. The procedure for granting franchises, rights, privileges, and concessions of a public or quasi-public nature shall be determined by law, but every concession of this kind to a person or private entity must be approved by the governor or by the executive official whom he designates. Every franchise, right, privilege, or concession of

a public or quasi-public nature shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal as determined by law.

SEC. 14. No corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate or be permitted to hold or own real estate except such as may be reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the purposes for which it was created, and every corporation authorized to engage in agriculture shall by its charter be restricted to the ownership and control of not to exceed 500 acres of land; and this provision shall be held to prevent any member of a corporation engaged in agriculture from being in any wise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture.

Corporations, however, may loan funds upon real-estate security, and purchase real estate when necessary for the collection of loans, but they shall dispose of real estate so obtained within 5 years after receiving the title.

Corporations not organized in Puerto Rico, but doing business in Puerto Rico, shall be bound by the provisions of this section so far as they are applicable.

These provisions shall not prevent the ownership, possession, or management of lands in excess of 500 acres by the Commonwealth, its agencies, or instrumentalities.

SEC. 15. The legislative assembly shall determine all matters concerning the flag, the seal, and the anthem of the Commonwealth. Once determined, no law changing them shall take effect until 1 year after the general election next following the date of enactment of said law.

SEC. 16. All public officials and employees of the Commonwealth, its agencies, instrumentalities, and political subdivisions, before entering upon their respective duties, shall take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

SEC. 17. In case of invasion, rebellion, epidemic, or any other event giving rise to a state of emergency, the governor may call the legislative assembly to meet in a place other than the capital of Puerto Rico, subject to the approval or disapproval of the legislative assembly. Under the same conditions, the governor may, during the period of emergency, order the government, its agencies and instrumentalities to be moved temporarily to a place other than the seat of the government.

SEC. 18. All criminal actions in the courts of the Commonwealth shall be conducted in the name and by the authority of the people of Puerto Rico until otherwise provided by law.

SEC. 19. It shall be the public policy of the Commonwealth to conserve, develop, and use its natural resources in the most effective manner possible for the general welfare of the community; to conserve and maintain buildings and places declared by the legislative assembly to be of historic or artistic value; to regulate its penal institutions in a manner that effectively achieves their purposes and to provide, within the limits of available resources, for adequate treatment of delinquents in order to make possible their moral and social rehabilitation.

#### ARTICLE VII—AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1. The legislative assembly may propose amendments to this constitution by a concurrent resolution approved by not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of which each house is composed. All proposed amendments shall be submitted to the qualified electors in a special referendum, but if the concurrent resolution is approved by not less than three-fourths of the total number of members of which each house is composed, the legislative assembly may provide that the referendum shall be

held at the same time as the next general election. Each proposed amendment shall be voted on separately and not more than three proposed amendments may be submitted at the same referendum. Every proposed amendment shall specify the terms under which it shall take effect, and it shall become a part of this constitution if it is ratified by a majority of the electors voting thereon. Once approved, a proposed amendment must be published at least 3 months prior to the date of the referendum.

SEC. 2. The legislative assembly, by a concurrent resolution approved by two-thirds of the total number of members of which each house is composed, may submit to the qualified electors at a referendum, held at the same time as a general election, the question of whether a constitutional convention shall be called to revise this constitution. If a majority of the electors voting on this question vote in favor of the revision, it shall be made by a constitutional convention elected in the manner provided by law. Every revision of this constitution shall be submitted to the qualified voters at a special referendum for ratification or rejection by a majority of the votes at the referendum.

SEC. 3. No amendment to this constitution shall alter the republican form of government established by it or abolish its bill of rights.

#### ARTICLE VIII—SENATORIAL AND REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS

SECTION 1. The senatorial and representative districts shall be the following:

I. Senatorial district of San Juan, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (1) The capital of Puerto Rico, excluding the present electoral precincts of Santurce and Río Piedras; (2) electoral zones Nos. 1 and 2 of the present precinct of Santurce; (3) electoral zone No. 3 of the present precinct of Santurce; (4) electoral zone No. 4 of the present precinct of Santurce; and (5) wards Hato Rey, Puerto Nuevo, and Caparra Heights of the capital of Puerto Rico.

II. Senatorial district of Bayamón, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (6) The municipality of Bayamón; (7) the municipalities of Carolina and Trujillo Alto; (8) the present electoral precinct of Río Piedras, excluding wards Hato Rey, Puerto Nuevo and Caparra Heights of the capital of Puerto Rico; (9) the municipalities of Cataño, Guaynabo, and Toa Baja; and (10) the municipalities of Toa Alta, Corozal, and Naranjito.

III. Senatorial district of Arecibo, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (11) The municipalities of Vega Baja, Vega Alta, and Dorado; (12) the municipalities of Manati and Barceloneta; (13) the municipalities of Ciales and Morovis; (14) the municipality of Arecibo; and (15) the municipality of Utuado.

IV. Senatorial district of Aguadilla, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (16)—The municipalities of Camuy, Hatillo and Quebradillas; (17)—the municipalities of Aguadilla and Isabel; (18)—the municipalities of San Sebastián and Moca; (19)—the municipalities of Lares, Las Marias, and Maricao; and (20)—the municipalities of Añasco, Aguada, and Rincón.

V. Senatorial district of Mayagüez, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (21)—The municipality of Mayagüez; (22)—the municipalities of Cabo Rojo, Hormigueros, and Lajas; (23)—the municipalities of San Germán and Sábana Grande; (24)—the municipalities of Yauco and Guánica; and (25)—the municipalities of Guayanilla and Peñuelas.

VI. Senatorial district of Ponce, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (26)—The first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth wards and the City Beach of the municipality of Ponce; (27)—the municipality of Ponce, except for the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and

sixth wards and the City Beach; (28)—the municipalities of Adjuntas and Jayuya; (29)—the municipalities of Juana Diaz, Santa Isabel, and Villalba; and (30)—the municipalities of Coamo and Orocovis.

VII. Senatorial district of Guayama, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (31)—The municipalities of Albonito, Barranquitas, and Comerio; (32)—the municipalities of Cayey and Cidra; (33)—the municipalities of Caguas and Aguas Buenas; (34)—the municipalities of Guayama and Salinas; and (35)—the municipalities of Patillas, Maunabo, and Arroyo.

VIII. Senatorial district of Humacao, which shall be composed of the following representative districts: (36)—The municipalities of Humacao and Yabucoa; (37)—the municipalities of Juncos, Gurabo, and San Lorenzo; (38)—the municipalities of Naguabo, Ceiba, and Las Piedras; (39)—the municipalities of Fajardo and Vieques and the Island of Culebra; and (40)—the municipalities of Rio Grande, Loiza and Luquillo.

Sec. 2. Electoral zones Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 included in three representative districts within the senatorial district of San Juan are those presently existing for purposes of electoral organization in the second precinct of San Juan.

#### ARTICLE IX—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

SECTION 1. When this constitution goes into effect all laws not inconsistent therewith shall continue in full force until amended or repealed, or until they expire by their own terms.

Unless otherwise provided by this constitution, civil and criminal liabilities, rights, franchises, concessions, privileges, claims, actions, causes of action, contracts, and civil, criminal, and administrative proceedings shall continue unaffected, notwithstanding the taking effect of this constitution.

Sec. 2. All officers who are in office by election or appointment on the date this constitution takes effect shall continue to hold their offices and to perform the functions thereof in a manner not inconsistent with this constitution, unless the functions of their offices are abolished or until their successors are selected and qualify in accordance with this constitution and laws enacted pursuant thereto.

Sec. 3. Notwithstanding the age limit fixed by this constitution for compulsory retirement, all the judges of the courts of Puerto Rico who are holding office on the date this constitution takes effect shall continue to hold their judicial offices until the expiration of the terms for which they were appointed, and in the case of justices of the supreme court during good behavior.

Sec. 4. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico shall be the successor of the people of Puerto Rico for all purposes, including without limitation the collection and payment of debts and liabilities in accordance with their terms.

Sec. 5. When this constitution goes into effect, the term "citizen of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" shall replace the term "citizen of Puerto Rico" as previously used.

Sec. 6. Political parties shall continue to enjoy all rights recognized by the election law, provided that on the effective date of this constitution they fulfill the minimum requirements for the registration of new parties contained in said law. Five years after this constitution shall have taken effect the legislative assembly may change these requirements, but any law increasing them shall not go into effect until after the general election next following its enactment.

Sec. 7. The legislative assembly may enact the laws necessary to supplement and make effective these transitory provisions in order to assure the functioning of the government until the officers provided for by this constitution are elected or appointed and qualify, and until this constitution takes effect in all respects.

Sec. 8. If the legislative assembly creates a department of commerce, the department of agriculture and commerce shall thereafter be called the department of agriculture.

Sec. 9. The first election under the provisions of this constitution shall be held on the date provided by law, but not later than 6 months after the effective date of this constitution. The second general election under this constitution shall be held in the month of November 1956 on a day provided by law.

Sec. 10. This constitution shall take effect when the Governor so proclaims, but not later than 60 days after its ratification by the Congress of the United States.

Done in convention, at San Juan, Puerto Rico, on the 6th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1952.

Antonio Fernós Isern, María Libetrad Gómez Víctor Gutiérrez Franqui, Luis Muñoz Marín, Celestino Iriarte Miró, Lino Padrón Rivera, Samuel R. Quiñones Quiñones, Ernesto Ramos Antonini, Luis A. Negrón López, Jaime Benítez Rexach, Yldefonso Solá Morales, Benjamín Ortiz Ortiz, Cruz Ortiz Stella, Santiago R. Palmer Díaz, José Trias Monge, Alvaro Rivera Reyes, José Villares Rodríguez, Rubén Gazzambide Arrillaga, Ernesto Carrascalillo Quiñones, Santiago Polanco Abréu, Heracio H. Rivera Colón, José Mimoso Raspaldo, Alfonso Román García, Jorge Font Saldaña, José M. Davila Monsanto, Francisco L. Anselmi Rodriguez, Bernardo Méndez Jiménez, Angel Sandín Martínez, Sigfredo Vélez González, Luis Alfredo Colón Velázquez, Juan Dávila Díaz, Manuel Acevedo Rosario, Andrés Rivera Negrón, Arcilio Alvarado Alvarado, Enrique Alvarez Vicente, Francisco Arrillaga Gazzambide, Carmelo Avila Medina, José B. Barceló Oliver, Ramón Barreto Pérez, Ramón Barrios Sánchez, Francisco Berio Suárez, Virgilio Brunet Maldonado, Agustín Burgos Rivera, Mario Canales Torresola, Angel M. Candelario Arce, Dionisio Casillas Casillas, José A. Cintrón Rivera, Lionel Fernández Méndez, Luis A. Ferré Aguayo, Alcides Figueroa Olivo, Leopoldo Figueroa Carreras, Ernesto Juan Fonfrías Rivera, Juan R. García Delgado, Miguel A. García Méndez, Jenaro Gautier Dapena, Fernando J. Géigel Sabat, José R. Gelpí Bosch, Dario Góitia Montalvo, Hector González Blanes, Andrés Grillas Salas, Jesús Izcoa Moure, Lorenzo Lagarde Garcés, Ramón Llobet Díaz, Ramiro Martínez Sandín, Juan Meléndez Bález, Ramón Mellado Parsons, Armando Mignucci Calder, Pablo Morales Otero, Luis Muñoz Rivera, Eduardo Negrón Benítez, Abraham Nieves Negrón, Mario Orsini Martínez, Norman E. Parkhurst, Francisco Paz Granel, Ubaldino Ramírez de Arellano Quiñones, Ramón María Ramos de Jesús, Antonio Reyes Delgado, Dolores Rivera Candelaria, Alejo Rivera Morales, Carmelo Rodríguez García, Carlos Román Benítez, Joaquín Rosa Gómez, Alberto E. Sánchez Nazario, Luis Santaliz Capellany, Juan B. Soto González, Rafael Torrech Genoves, Lucas Torres Santos, Pedro Torres Díaz, Augusto Valentín Vizcarrondo, Baudilio Vega Berrios, José Veray Hernández.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maryland yield?

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. I yield.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I should like to make the announcement that the first triple amputee from Korea was a Puerto Rican and a resident of Baltimore, Md.

#### VERMONT GIRL WINS MEDAL AT OLYMPIC GAMES

Mr. STENNIS obtained the floor.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield to me for a moment?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I am very happy to announce at this time that the first gold medal of the Olympic Games of 1952 was won this morning by a 19-year-old student from my State, Mrs. Andrea Mead Lawrence, of Rutland, Vt., who won the woman's giant slalom race at Oslo, Norway. Mrs. Lawrence became a member of the United States Olympics team in 1948, when she was but 15 years old, but this is the first gold medal she has won. Also, it is the first gold medal won by any American or the citizen of any other country since the beginning of the Olympic Games of 1952.

We in Vermont are very proud of the young lady's ability on skis, and I am very happy to make the announcement to the Senate at this time.

I thank the Senator from Mississippi for giving me time to do this bragging.

#### NECESSITY FOR REDUCTION IN SPENDING

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the people of the United States are concerned regarding the soundness of our financial affairs, and especially so when they view the enormous burdens that our Government will be forced to carry for at least a decade, and in fact for many decades. We are faced with the absolute necessity of a strong military program for many years to come to protect our Nation, to make it secure, and to enable it to maintain a firm position in world affairs. It thus becomes absolutely essential that the pattern of all Government functions, including our extended military preparedness program, be worked out within the limits of the sound financial structure of our economy. We must also look to the limits of our essential basic materials.

By far the greater part of the spending for our present military program is yet to come. We now have a Federal public debt of \$260,000,000,000. For the current year we will actually spend about \$70,000,000,000 and will have to borrow \$8,200,000,000 of this sum because our current tax collections fall this far short of paying our bills as we go. I do not believe that many of our people yet realize the full import of our spending during the past few years, but we as Members of the Congress know these facts and the people will hold us responsible for them later.

By way of review of our present situation, from the time of George Washington's first administration until the beginning of World War II, the Federal Government collected \$179,000,000,000 in taxes. During the 6 years from the end of World War II until June 30, 1951, the Federal Government collected in taxes from the American people the sum of \$260,000,000,000, which is \$81,000,000,000 more than was collected during the entire lifetime of our Government from the adoption of the Constitution until

the beginning of World War II, a period of 152 years.

TAX BARREL EMPTY

The senior Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] recently pointed out that if we should confiscate all the taxable income of each individual taxpayer above the sum of \$10,000, the additional yield would be only \$3,000,000,000, which would be sufficient to operate the Government under our present spending program for only 16 days, and this would still fall \$5,000,000,000 short of balancing the budget for the current fiscal year. I have collected the further figures and had them verified, which show that if we should confiscate all taxable income from each individual taxpayer above the sum of \$4,000, the additional yield would be only \$9,002,000,000, which would be enough to operate the Government for only 47 days. These cold facts are alarming to me and prove conclusively that we are already near the bottom of the income-tax barrel.

According to a recent compilation of the figures, 17,665,783 individuals now receive regular monthly checks from the Federal Government. Of course this figure fluctuates considerably as of any given date. In addition, more than 5,000,000 people receive one or more checks irregularly from the Federal Government in the course of a year. This latter group includes unemployment checks, part-time workers, and the beneficiaries of various governmental programs.

I recite these facts, not because they are new, but because they combine to present a picture which should convince all of us that we have been following a trend which has brought us to a critical point in our financial affairs. We have no positive plan in operation here to reverse this present trend of spending—a trend that is certain to impair seriously and conceivably destroy our national solvency and the American system. The tendency and trend now is to increase rather than decrease the spending. We in the Congress have gotten into the dangerous habit of comforting ourselves with the thought and statement that more than three-fourths of these expenditures go for our national security program; and we then assume that little if anything can be done to better the situation.

Mr. President, I believe that this is the road to ruin and that something can be done about it. In this discussion I am not directing my remarks at the President of the United States. I refer more to the presidential office, and I speak not only of 1952 or 1953, but of the years to come, during which we must develop a trend of gradual reductions and more carefully planned spending. We must think of these problems in terms of the years ahead, and realize that we must evolve a long-range plan that actually comes to grips with realities, and then we must systematically apply the plan. The American people must be made to realize the seriousness of the situation; their advice and consideration must be obtained in seeking a solution, and then their active interest and aid is necessary

in applying whatever plan may be agreed upon. In my opinion there are at least three things which can and must be done about the question of the spending of Federal funds before any appreciable progress is made in eliminating the excessive and unnecessary spending.

LEADERSHIP NEEDED

In the first place, the President of the United States, as Chief Executive of the Nation, and the one in charge of handling and spending the appropriated funds at the spending-level, must take the lead in a systematic plan to reduce expenditures. Any plan will fail unless it has the President's leadership and cooperation. And this is true regardless of what individual may be the President. I repeat, the administration in power must take the lead, through the departmental heads and other subordinates, in helping to reduce appropriations to the minimum amount required for the sound administration of the various governmental programs. Federal programs have become so large and extensive over the years that if every Member of the Congress worked on the appropriations bill every hour of the day, still there would not be sufficient time to consider properly, check, and weigh the various items of these enormous bills.

I was told that one of the 1951 appropriations bills for one governmental department, nonmilitary, included funds for 1,863 separate and distinct programs which had to be examined and considered by the Appropriations Committee. The recent budget proposals submitted by the President consisted of two books weighing 8 pounds and totaling 1,690 pages, with thousands and thousands of separate items therein pertaining to hundreds of programs throughout the Nation and all over the world.

The cooperation which the Congress must have from the executive branch of the Government is not limited to the Budget Bureau. It must extend down to the departments and include the subordinate heads of various governmental programs. It must include the idea of eliminating waste and demanding a full day's service from every employee. Incidentally, I have never believed that we were serious and in dead earnest about the preparedness program so long as we stick to the 40-hour week. The subject of eliminating waste and demanding a full day's work from every employee will evoke smiles among those so familiar with the present pattern among many departments who seek to get all the funds possible, rather than help in holding down the costs. Nevertheless, I repeat, to control the spending and eliminate the unnecessary items, the cooperation of the executive branch of the Government is necessary all the way down the line. The only other alternative the Congress has is a drastic and more or less arbitrary reduction across the board which may seriously injure, or even destroy, many worth-while programs. This program of cooperation is necessary and essential; it cannot be accomplished in 1 year. It must be planned, put into effect, and sustained as a permanent policy of the Government.

CONGRESS NEEDS HELP

I have not made a complete study of S. 913, introduced by the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], and favorably reported by the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments; and I do not intend to discuss the bill now. That will be done later by its distinguished and outstanding author. But I have certainly been most favorably impressed with the significant feature of this measure, and feel that it provides, at least in part, some necessary new machinery to meet the increasing burden which confronts the Congress.

As an ex-officio member of the Army Civil Functions Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, I have gained some concept of the task confronting the Appropriations Committee of the Senate. It is absolutely beyond the human possibilities of the 21 members of this committee to pass intelligently on the multitudinous items of an \$80,000,000,000 budget. It cannot be done under our present system. I am convinced that the Congress must go at least as far as the terms of S. 913, and also must create its own budget bureau. I am convinced that the Congress cannot discharge its responsibility to the people without its own agency to determine the actual needs of the various governmental departments, and also check on the money at the spending level.

CURBS ON MILITARY

The second point of my suggested three-point program pertains to the spending of funds appropriated to the military services. The time has come when a great part of the billions of dollars which are annually spent for our military program must be placed, at the spending level, in the hands of civilians who are trained in the hard knocks of the American competitive business system. It is no reflection upon our military personnel to say that many of them are not trained in modern competitive business methods. We must have handling these vast billions of dollars, especially in our hard-goods purchases, men who can stand toe to toe in competition with the well-trained and highly selective executives in the business world. We must have civilians who can drive a bargain and make certain that \$2 of the taxpayer's money is not spent to get a dollar in value received.

In spite of the strong efforts of the Congress for a unification of the armed services under the Unification Act and other measures, we still have no effective centralized purchasing plan. A central purchasing and contracting agency for the combined armed services under the immediate and active supervision of experienced businessmen operating under the civilian head of the Department of Defense is going to be necessary.

In seeking a safe road to travel in the uncertain days, if our military men do not earnestly cooperate all the way down the line in helping to work out a plan to defend our Nation at a cost our economy can stand, then they will have failed just as much as does the soldier who turns and runs while facing an enemy under fire in battle.

## PUBLIC COOPERATION

My third point is that our people must be made to realize that they must be satisfied with fewer gifts, fewer grants, and fewer services from the Federal Government. This is a message which the membership of the Congress must carry to the people. Many of our people do not realize the accumulated and grave impact of these governmental programs on the Federal Treasury. Many of these programs are constructive and productive, and should be continued; others are necessary in order that we may have a balanced economy. But all these programs must be systematically reexamined over the years and reappraised, with reductions made in some instances, and a postponement of programs in others. The people can stand the truth and will appreciate it. Our people do not realize that many of the States are far more able to finance the various programs within the States than is the Federal Government, which already owes \$1,717, or a figure approximating that, for every man, woman, and child in America, and is already spending at the rate of almost \$10,000,000 every hour of every day.

Mr. President, I am no calamity howler; I do not say that we are now going over a precipice. I do not say that our Government bonds are not a good investment. I think that they are of good value, and are a splendid investment. But I do say that we have developed a trend over the years that is taking us in the direction of a precipice, and that if we do not reverse that trend we will reach the point of a calamity, a point at which our bonds will not be good and a point at which our free economy cannot survive.

Of course, the real problem created by excessive Federal spending is rooted in the question of Federal taxes. The fountain spring of our American economy for more than a century has been the expansion, the extension, and growth of our enterprises and industries, with new ones added from time to time. The rate of our present Federal taxation is already so high that normal expansion, extension, and growth, will be curtailed or stopped within a few years. The present growth is due to the augmented military program. Federal taxes are already so high that the so-called little man can hardly make ends meet. The middle group, with their small businesses and enterprises, finds the rate of taxation so great that there is little left for extensions and expansions, and this will soon be true of the larger groups. Under these conditions the main losers are the so-called little man and the great middle group for whom we will soon be unable to create new jobs. Their only alternative will be for the Government to create the jobs, not as an emergency, but as a part of a permanent program, which is just another step down the highway to statism.

There is another serious phase to our taxation trend. Soon the Federal Government will have exhausted all legitimate sources of revenue, leaving no sources of revenue for the local school districts, the counties, the municipalities, and the States. We will thus gradually

destroy all forms of local self-government, which of course cannot function without revenue, and will have substituted therefor, under one guise or another, an entire Federal program directed by bureaucracy from Washington. These programs will be so vast and so numerous that the people's elected representatives here cannot possibly give them the necessary personal attention, and thus protect their interests. We will have thus totally centralized and federalized the entire Government in our great Nation without having changed one sentence or even one word in the Constitution of the United States. We will have accomplished it through Federal taxation.

Mr. President, I do not claim to have any solution for the problems I have posed. I have pointed them out in these few words to call the attention of Congress to three steps which I think are absolutely essential and vital. Solving the problem is not something that can be done overnight. It is going to take years of effort, and we must develop a trend in the direction of the three points I have suggested.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to yield to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I wish to commend highly the Senator from Mississippi for calling these matters to the attention of the Senate. I certainly agree with almost everything he has said. I agree completely with points 1 and 3. From my knowledge of the armed services, I think there is some debatable ground in point 2.

However, I should like to ask the Senator a question with reference to his constant use, under point 1, of the word "cooperation" as between the executive branch and the Congress. Does there not have to be something more than that? Does there not have to be a will to economize and a will to be more efficient by the leadership from the top down in the executive branch in order that the Congress may be able to cut Federal expenditures? I should like to see used a word that is stronger than the word "cooperation."

Mr. STENNIS. I think the Senator from Massachusetts is entirely correct. The Senator from Mississippi pointed out in the beginning that there must be a realization of this problem on the part of the President and on the part of the Congress. Then those who come here representing the various departments must come in a spirit of cooperation in meeting the objective, rather than in an effort to see how much they can get out of the Congress.

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

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I realize that the Senator is on one side of the aisle and I am on the other side of the aisle. That may make a little difference in our points of view. But it seems to me that the only thing we can do as a last resort is to make a cut across the board, as the Senator has suggested, which is most

unsatisfactory. Yet, if we cannot obtain cooperation and feel that there is a will in the executive department to lead the way and to point out the little places in each department where money can be saved, Congress can never do that on its own initiative, because it has not the help and it has not the knowledge. Therefore it is unable to do the job. That has been one of the great criticisms and weaknesses of the budgetary procedure of the past few years.

Mr. STENNIS. The Senator is entirely correct. There is required a will and a determination to economize, after the administration and the Congress have decided to reach a goal which is within the attainment of our sound financial ability.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one more question?

Mr. STENNIS. I am very glad to yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I was Governor of Massachusetts for 6 years. A circular was sent out asking about different places where services could be reduced. I am speaking now in relation to the Senator's point 3. The circular came back indicating that 95 percent of the people wanted economy. However, with respect to the six or seven services which were mentioned as possibilities to be abandoned, there was a majority against relinquishing any one of those services. In other words, everyone is willing to economize so long as the economy does not hit his particular service.

Mr. STENNIS. That is the problem which is always before the Congress.

## TAX CASE OF INDIANAPOLIS BREWING CO.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD as a part of my remarks section 99, chapter 1, of title 5, United States Code.

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

## TITLE 5. UNITED STATES CODE, CHAPTER 1, PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO DEPARTMENTS AND OFFICERS GENERALLY

SEC. 99. Ex-officers or employees not to prosecute claims in departments.

It shall not be lawful for any person appointed as an officer, clerk, or employee in any of the departments, to act as counsel, attorney, or agent for prosecuting any claim against the United States which was pending in either of said departments while he was such officer, clerk, or employee, nor in any manner, nor by any means, to aid in the prosecution of any such claim, within 2 years next after he shall have ceased to be such officer, clerk, or employee.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, it appears that this section of the law has not been strictly enforced. Exceptions have been made.

For instance, Joseph D. Nunan, Jr., who resigned as Commissioner of Internal Revenue on June 30, 1947, to enter private law practice, was granted special consent on March 28, 1949, to represent the Indianapolis Brewing Co. of Indianapolis, Ind., on a tax case which had

been pending before the Bureau during his term of office.

At this point I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD a copy of that special waiver.

There being no objection, the copy of the special waiver was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Form 901—Revised July 1935

Treasury Department, Committee on Practice.

APPLICATION BY ONE FORMERLY IN THE SERVICE OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT FOR CONSENT TO HANDLE A SPECIFIC CASE BEFORE THE DEPARTMENT (TO BE EXECUTED IN DUPLICATE)

MARCH 28, 1949.

COMMITTEE ON PRACTICE, TREASURY DEPARTMENT:

I, Joseph D. Nunan, Jr., formerly in the service of the Treasury Department from March 1, 1944, to June 30, 1947, as Commissioner in the Bureau of Internal Revenue with my office now at 55 Liberty Street, New York 5, New York, respectfully apply for permission to appear before the Treasury Department and offices thereof to represent Indianapolis Brewing Co., of Indianapolis, Ind., in connection with Federal income and excess profits taxes for the period of years 1944, 1945, and 1946, to which I gave no personal consideration, and as to the facts of which I had no actual personal knowledge while in the service of the Treasury Department, and I am not now associated with, and will not be associated with, any former employee of the Treasury Department who has gained knowledge of the case while employed by the Treasury Department. Employment in the above matter is not prohibited by title 5, section 99, U. S. Code or other law, or by the regulations of the Treasury Department.

JOSEPH D. NUNAN, JR.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of March 1949.

DOROTHY S. SJUSTEN,  
Notary Public.

[First Endorsement]

WASHINGTON, April 5, 1949.

Respectfully forwarded to the Honorable E. I. McLaRney, Deputy Commissioner, Income Tax Unit.

ELIZABETH H. ROGERS,  
Senior Clerk, Committee on Practice.

[Second Endorsement]

(To be signed by officer in charge of personnel)

WASHINGTON.

Respectfully forwarded with the information that the applicant named above was formerly employed in the Treasury Department as follows:

See Second Endorsement Form 901, dated October 28, 1947, Re the Brown Derby Corp., Ltd., etc., Los Angeles, Calif.

[Third Endorsement]

(To be signed by officer in charge of records)

WASHINGTON, April 8, 1949.

Respectfully returned with the information that the above-named case was pending in offices and divisions as follows:

The records of this office disclose that the above case was not personally considered by Mr. Nunan during the time that he was employed in the service.

C. W. STOWE,  
Acting Deputy Commissioner.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1949.

The foregoing application is hereby approved subject to section 10, 2, sub-paragraph 2, of the regulations and statutory restrictions.

By authority of the Secretary of the Treasury.

JOHN L. GRAVES,  
Chairman, Committee on Practice.

Mr. WILLIAMS. According to the records of the Treasury Department the proposed tax deficiency of the Indianapolis Brewing Co. for the years 1944, 1945, and 1946 was \$812,098.

At this point I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD a breakdown of the Treasury's proposed assessment along with a record of the original tax as reported.

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

Indianapolis Brewing Co., Indianapolis, Ind.

Years	Original tax	Proposed deficiencies
1944	\$133,933.96	\$399.84
1945	3,439.26	49,966.30
1946	48,412.03	761,731.86
Total	185,785.25	\$812,098.00

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

Mr. WILLIAMS. I yield.

Mr. CASE. Am I to understand that the deficiency estimated by the Bureau totaled \$812,098 for 3 years, the years 1944, 1945, and 1946?

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator is correct.

Mr. CASE. That is quite a sizable deficiency. What was the total amount of the tax which was reported for those years?

Mr. WILLIAMS. One hundred and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and eighty-five dollars and twenty-five cents.

Mr. CASE. So while the company reported a tax of \$185,785.25, the deficiencies, according to the Treasury Department, were \$812,098?

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is true; and the \$812,098 does not include any penalties which could have been assessed.

Mr. CASE. That represented only the deficiency in the tax itself.

Mr. WILLIAMS. That is the proposed deficiency.

Mr. Nunan in his private practice has been associated with Mr. John P. Wenchel, former chief counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. Mr. Wenchel left Government service about the same time as Mr. Nunan and was succeeded as chief counsel by Mr. Charles Oliphant.

Thus we find the new tax-consulting firm was composed of a former Commissioner of Internal Revenue and a former chief counsel of the Bureau, and it was to this group that a special privilege was extended on March 28, 1949, authorizing them to represent the Indianapolis Brewing Co. in their \$812,098 tax case, a case which had been pending in their department prior to their resignations.

A chronological record of the case is as follows:

On March 28, 1949, special waiver was granted to Mr. Nunan to represent the firm.

About the same time the department was notified by the United States attorney in Indianapolis of possible receivership proceedings for the Indianapolis Brewing Co.

On September 23, 1949, the chief counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue first referred this case to the Department of Justice "for consideration and such action as you may deem necessary to protect the Government's interests." At this time the amount of the proposed Government's tax claim was listed as aggregating some \$636,000 instead of the \$812,000.

I may say that the reduction of \$176,000 is not explained in the information, but it does not represent any payments which have been made.

On November 5, 1949, an offer in compromise was submitted whereby the taxpayer would pay the Government \$4,500 in lieu of the above claim.

On December 8, 1949, on the basis of recommendations of acceptance by the chief counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, Charles Oliphant, the offer was accepted by the Tax Division of the Department of Justice under Lamar Caudle.

On February 9, 1951, the Indianapolis Brewing Co. filed suit against the United States Government claiming to have overpaid in previous years the sum of \$35,000 in income and excess-profits tax.

The chief counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue advised the Department of Justice that his office could suggest no defense to this suit.

On August 28, 1951, an administrative settlement in the amount of \$35,000 was approved.

On November 2, 1951, the Treasury check of \$35,000 was issued.

Thus we find in this particular case that the taxpayer was first reported to owe the Government \$812,098. The case ended with the taxpayer paying the Government \$4,500, and collecting \$35,000.

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

Mr. WILLIAMS. I yield.

Mr. CASE. What happened to the rumored receivership proceedings?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Presumably the company went through receivership, one of the excuses for the compromise settlement was the inability of the company to pay. I fail to find any explanation as to why the Government had not taken proper steps, long before the receivership proceedings, to protect its own interest. At the same time, if in 1947 and 1948 the company had an asset in the form of a claim for \$35,000 against the Government, surely the Government could have kept that small amount as a part of the payment.

Mr. CASE. Certainly it could have been made an offset against the claim of \$636,000.

Mr. WILLIAMS. This is a most interesting case, when we consider that the firm employed a former Commissioner of Internal Revenue and a former chief counsel of the Treasury Department, both of whom were serving the Government at the time the claim was first made.

Mr. CASE. And the settlement was recommended for acceptance by Mr. Lamar Caudle.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; and it is significant that Mr. Caudle has since been fired.

Mr. President, immediately following my remarks I ask unanimous consent to

have printed in the RECORD a letter dated February 13, 1952, signed by Ellis N. Slack, Acting Assistant Attorney General, explaining this case.

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

FEBRUARY 13, 1952.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: In response to your request made by telephone today the following outline of the circumstances surrounding the settlement of the tax liabilities of Indianapolis Brewing Co., Inc., 930 West High Street, Indianapolis, Ind., are set forth below:

The matter was first referred to the Department by the Chief Counsel, Bureau of Internal Revenue, on September 23, 1949, "for consideration and such action as you may deem necessary to protect the Government's interests" in connection with the Government's claim for income and declared value excess profits taxes for the years 1945 and 1946, aggregating some \$636,000, filed in the receivership proceeding pending in the Marion Superior Court for the County of Marion, State of Indiana. Early in 1949 this office had been advised by the United States Attorney at Indianapolis of the receivership proceedings.

The first suggestion of a compromise was made by the attorney for the receiver, Mr. James E. Bingham, 712 Guaranty Building, Indianapolis, Ind., to the United States Attorney in September 1949. During the next few weeks representatives of the Department conferred with the attorney for the receiver, with the result that an offer in compromise was submitted by Mr. Bingham on November 5, 1949. Meanwhile, representatives of this office had taken a number of depositions in preparation for the trial of the case.

Although the Government's proof of claim in the receivership proceeding was \$636,000, the asserted liability was reduced by carry-overs and carry-backs to approximately \$242,000. This liability was based primarily on the theory that so-called "side payments" aggregating over \$900,000 which had been made to one or more of the Bardin brothers, some of whom were stockholders of the taxpayer corporation, were in fact income of the taxpayer. However, the depositions taken by the Government indicated that extreme difficulty would be experienced in establishing the Government's theory and a careful analysis of the situation lead to the conclusion that the maximum amount of "side payments," if any, that could be included in the corporation's income was approximately \$222,000, which, by virtue of carry-overs and carry-backs, would have resulted in deficiencies for the period 1943-1948 of some \$4,400. In addition it was considered that the assets remaining in the hands of the receiver were valued at between \$25,000 and \$40,000.

The receiver counterclaimed for some \$54,000 by reason of operating loss carry-backs from the years 1947-48. It was apparent that should the Government fail to establish its theory as to the side payments there would be no defense to the merits of this counterclaim. On the basis of recommendations of acceptance by the chief counsel, Bureau of Internal Revenue, and the Tax Division, the Attorney General accepted the offer on December 8, 1949. The offer as accepted provided for the payment to the Government of \$4,500, but taxpayer reserved the right to sue for a refund in the maximum amount of \$35,000. The terms of this settlement were embodied in a stipulation filed in the Marion Superior Court, and the sum of \$4,500 was paid to the Collector of Internal Revenue.

On February 9, 1951, the Indianapolis Brewing Co. filed suit against the United

States to recover the sum of \$35,000 in income and excess-profits taxes for the years 1943 through 1946. The attorneys for taxpayer in this suit were Bamberger & Feibelman, 902 Farm Bureau Insurance Building, Indianapolis, Ind., and Lawrence A. Jacobson, 100 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.

The chief counsel, Bureau of Internal Revenue, advised this office that his office could suggest no defense to this suit for the reasons apparent in considering the settlement of the receivership case. A computation made by the Bureau of Internal Revenue revealed that the elimination of the side payments from 1946 income and other adjustments resulted in overassessments of approximately \$70,000.

Following careful reconsideration of the side payments it was concluded that the Government had no adequate defense to the suit. Accordingly, an administrative settlement in the amount of \$35,000, without interest, was approved by the Department on August 28, 1951. On September 4, 1951, the chief counsel, Bureau of Internal Revenue, was authorized and directed to issue a refund to taxpayer in that amount. The refund was made by Treasury check issued November 2, 1951, and the suit was dismissed on December 3, 1951.

Our records show that the attorneys representing the receiver and the taxpayer as listed above are the only ones to participate in the settlement of these matters.

In considering the above settlements the Department took into account the possible effect of so disposing of this litigation upon the criminal prosecution of one or more of the Bardin brothers for tax evasion for the years involved. As you were advised in our letter of February 7, 1952, this office has sent the case of Lawrence P. Bardin to the United States attorney for the institution of appropriate criminal proceedings. Our records show that Lawrence P. Bardin has been represented at various times by Joseph D. Nunan, Jr., Washington, D. C., and 55 Liberty Street, New York, N. Y.; Maurice J. Walsh, 39 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill.; and Samuel Blum, 1009 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

I trust that the above is all the information that you desire with respect to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

ELLIS N. SLACK,  
Acting Assistant Attorney General.  
(For the Attorney General.)

Mr. WILLIAMS. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD immediately following my remarks an article entitled "Tax Collector Is Forced Out of Texas Post," written by George T. Draper and published in the Washington Post of today.

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

TAX COLLECTOR IS FORCED OUT OF TEXAS POST  
(By George T. Draper)

Frank Scofield, president of the Association of Collectors of Internal Revenue and Collector of the First Texas Revenue District at Austin, resigned by request yesterday "for the best interest of the revenue service."

He became the seventh collector either to resign under fire, be ousted from office, or be indicted since the Federal tax scandal swept the Nation.

Announcement of Scofield's resignation was made by Commissioner John B. Dunlap, of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, together with a White House announcement that President Truman had accepted the resignation effective February 29.

APPOINTED IN 1933

A former Texas banker, merchant, and cattleman, Scofield was appointed to his \$10,750

job in 1933 by President Roosevelt, whom he helped nominate while serving as a Texas delegate to the 1932 Democratic convention.

Commissioner Dunlap refused to say why Scofield had been asked to get out but did state that the action was based on a preliminary investigation of his office.

"This office suggested to Mr. Scofield that our preliminary investigation of the administration of his office indicated that it would be for the best interest of the revenue service that he submit his resignation," Dunlap said.

Dunlap said the investigation of the tax collecting operations in the Texas First District was continuing and that no further statement would be made until it had been completed.

#### HEADS ASSOCIATION

Scofield was elected president of the Association of Collectors of Internal Revenue when the Nation's 64 collectors gathered here for conferences with Dunlap last October.

Others who have been president of the association include former Collector Denis W. Delaney, of Boston, and former Collector James P. Finnegan, of St. Louis.

Delaney was fired by President Truman last summer and sentenced last January 29 to 2 years in prison and a \$10,500 fine for bribery and falsely certifying tax-lien payments.

Finnegan, who told the King subcommittee he was a 3- to 4-hour-a-day collector, is now under indictment and facing trial for bribery in St. Louis.

A third ousted collector now facing a tax-conspiracy trial in San Francisco, James G. Smyth, once served as secretary of the association.

In a telephone interview with the Washington Post last October, Scofield said he was opposed to President Truman's plan of placing collectors of internal revenue under civil service.

It was his feeling at that time that policy makers in the revenue service should not be under civil service and that collectors as Presidential appointees were in a position to be liberal about tax-payment plans.

"Civil servants would be more apt to go by the book," he said, adding that taxpayers are entitled to every consideration in these days of high taxes.

Last December, Senator JOHN J. WILLIAMS, Republican, of Delaware, stated that he had given Commissioner Dunlap information on the outside activities of two more collectors of internal revenue not included among the six already fired, resigned, or indicted.

WILLIAMS could not be reached for comment on the Scofield case last night and Bureau officials would not state whether Scofield was one of the two collectors mentioned in December by the Senator.

Other collectors affected by the tax scandal were Joseph P. Marcelle, of Brooklyn, who resigned under fire; James W. Johnson, of New York's third district, who was replaced; and Lipe Henslee, of Nashville, Tenn., who resigned.

Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder told a House Appropriations Subcommittee last January that 82 employees of the Internal Revenue Bureau were separated from the service in 1951 for reasons of embezzlement or irregularities involving improper relations with taxpayers.

Since the tax scandal broke, President Truman has called for a reorganization of the Internal Revenue Bureau. The 64 political plum collectors' jobs would be abolished and replaced by offices calling for civil servants.

Meanwhile, it was announced at Fargo, N. Dak., that Theodore J. Naumann, deputy collector of internal revenue in charge of the Minot office, yesterday was relieved of his duties for alleged irregularities.

Announcement of Naumann's removal was made by J. F. Lamb, collector for North Dakota.

Lamb said the action was taken after investigation by special agents of the intelligence division of the Bureau.

Naumann was informed by the Bureau that it has evidence proving that he is unsuitable for the revenue service.

Naumann has been with the service since December 22, 1942. He has been on annual leave since last December 21.

**Mr. WILLIAMS.** Mr. President, I call attention to the fact that this is the seventh collector of internal revenue, out of 64, either to resign under fire, be ousted from office, or indicted since the Federal tax scandal swept the Nation.

Mr. WILLIAMS subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD immediately following my preceding remarks this afternoon, an opinion prepared by Colin F. Stam, chief of staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, regarding section 99.

**The PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, it is so ordered.

The opinion is as follows:

#### SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

It is believed that the following conclusions may be drawn as to the qualification of former employees of the Treasury Department to prosecute or to aid in the prosecution of claims against the United States:

1. It is unlawful for a period of 2 years subsequent to the termination of his employment in the Treasury Department for any former officer or employee of the Treasury to prosecute or aid in the prosecution of any claim which was pending in any department during the period of his Treasury employment. (Sec. 99, U. S. C. title 5.)

2. The foregoing prohibition is waived as to any officer or employee of the Treasury (without regard to the duration of his service) with respect to his service (or any part thereof) from May 27, 1940 to June 30, 1950. (Sec. 403 (j) of the Sixth Supplemental National Defense Appropriation Act, as amended.)

3. The Renegotiation Act of 1951 provides no waiver of the prohibition prescribed in section 99, U. S. C., title 5, as to Treasury employees.

4. The waiver found in section 403 (j) of the prior Renegotiation Act specifically did not apply to prosecution of claims, the subject matter of which the former employee was directly connected with during his employment.

5. The authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to permit persons to prosecute claims before his department must be exercised within the limits of the above rules.

#### THE FEDERAL ROAD CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

**Mr. CHAVEZ.** Mr. President, only a short time ago Mr. Winston Churchill made a wonderful address before a joint meeting of both Houses of Congress. Senators will recall his statement that he did not come here to ask for gold; that he came to ask for steel.

As chairman of the Committee on Public Works, I should like to state that the members of the committee are concerned with steel. It is with reference to that commodity that I desire to address myself briefly this afternoon.

Mr. President, a few days ago while turning through the pages of Time magazine, I came across an advertisement by

the Goodyear Co. This advertisement reads:

Motor transportation is the lifeblood of America's economy. The highways are its arteries—we cannot let them harden.

Everywhere, every day, more and more people are awakening to the sad fact that we don't have the highway system we thought we had. As this advertisement in Time magazine so aptly puts it, "America is slogging along in 1952 on roads that were scarcely adequate for even 1935's traffic." I do not believe anyone can argue that this Nation is not road starved.

I do not know when we are ever going to catch up, or if we ever will. It may well be that we are behind because our national program has not been sufficiently strong. To some degree, we have slipped because of the world emergencies. Our highway program virtually stopped in World War II. Immediately after the war, the highway departments had so slowed down for lack of manpower and materials that we were some 3 years restoring their potency. Now comes Korea. Just as we were on the upswing once more, we find that the highway program has the brake on again. For how long I do not know.

The time is rapidly coming when we shall have to develop a new and more bold national road building program. I think Senators would be surprised to know that the Federal aid program of today amounts to only about 12 percent of the total money spent for roads, both State, county, and city. It is big business. There are about 375,000 persons directly engaged in road building at the State and national level. There are that many more involved at the county and municipality levels.

This means that 800,000 people are actively engaged in transportation, construction, and maintenance. This is not surprising since highways and affiliated transportation interests, such as tourist stations, automobile companies, and so forth, represent one-seventh of the total national income.

The budget transmitted to Congress on January 21 recommends a decrease in the amount of Federal aid. It means a lessening in Federal supervision and, therefore, a continual decline in any national road building effort.

The coming of the atomic age has added tremendously to the load on our highway system. The accepted answer to the threat of atomic attacks is dispersal. We have the best military advice on that, and dispersal has already been put into action. New industries and expansions of existing industries are being established in dispersal locations. Dispersal is a prime factor in the awarding of defense contracts. The dispersal trend is found everywhere in population shifts. Dispersal industries and dispersal defense contracts have led to a steady movement of workers from heavily populated cities to areas closer to their new places of work. Even where industries have not been moved, there is a gradual drift of people from the confines of large cities to the surrounding rural fringe where there is space enough to escape the direct effects

of atomic blasts on the city. All of this has further strained our already overtaxed highways.

We all know, from recent experiences this winter, what happens when ice and snow catch us unprepared. Our transportation routes become paralyzed and all of the vehicles upon which we depend to move ourselves, our food, our school children, our doctors, and all necessary daily activities are stalled, just as effectively as if the roads were completely torn up for the same period of time. This is simply a dramatic and instantaneous illustration of what is actually happening today to our highways on a little longer time scale. The deterioration and breaking up of the older roads, accelerated by such things as more defense movements and greater use because of dispersal activities, has so far outreached replacement and new road construction that we are approaching this same sort of paralysis much faster than many people think.

Perhaps the answer to the problem is to designate more and more of our highways as access or defense roads and thereby secure better treatment in the defense picture when it comes to allocations of both funds and critical materials. If that is all that is needed to bring about an awakening to the fact that our highways are one of the few major factors without which our defense efforts would be doomed to utter failure, then I am all for it. They say that our current program is one of butter and guns. If we do not have adequate highways, we will not have either butter or guns.

I believe that in defense planning we have dangerously neglected the military importance of American highways. Hitler's General Staff, in their war plans, planned the German highway system with great care in preparing for World War II. The German General Staff, together with various government committees, laid out across Germany a system of magnificent four-lane highways capable of moving military equipment north and south or east and west to any front without delay.

Picture the situation in the United States in the event of total war. If a war should start with the simultaneous bombing of our important industrial centers the conditions of our present highways could paralyze the moving of troops, the evacuation of civilians, and the moving of fire-fighting and relief equipment. Many pieces of modern fire-fighting equipment weigh 15 tons or more and military equipment is even heavier. How would we have time after an attack to work out routes with bridges and underpasses capable of moving this equipment in and out of our metropolitan centers? The time for this sort of planning is before the attack comes.

It is not beyond the stretch of the imagination to assume that enemy troops may some day invade this country during a total war. If an enemy landing should take place in Alaska for instance, do we have transcontinental highways laid out and properly constructed for quick troop movement

across the country into possible combat areas?

We are now in the midst of a gigantic mobilization effort. It is the purpose of this effort to prevent war, but it is also the purpose of the effort to be prepared in case war should come. In this preparation let us not overlook the planning and construction of adequate national highway systems.

I suggest that a military committee be appointed immediately by the Secretary of Defense to study our present national highway system. This committee should designate primary roads which they consider of major military importance. Plans should be developed for the rebuilding of these roads and their bridges and material requirements developed. This type of planning is at present impossible since roads can now be evaluated only on a State by State basis. After requirements have been developed the Defense Production Administration should make every effort to find materials to at least make these primary military roads adequate for the defense of the United States.

This Military Highway Planning Committee should work closely with the Bureau of Public Roads in order to take into account the necessity of providing good transportation routes for industrial plants and other defense-supporting facilities which we are now building, since these roads are as important to the defense program as any other components of our mobilization effort.

The principal difficulty of today seems to be not money, but steel. The recent conference of governors developed a single appeal from those State executives for more steel and more attention to the highway programs. I am quite sure many Senators have heard directly from their own States regarding this matter. The governors also spoke of schools and hospitals, for both schools and hospitals have failed to keep pace, as have roads.

Although there were some improvements in steel allocations from the National Production Authority in this second quarter, the picture is still quite black. Allocations are running at scarcely half of the minimum requirements. The only spot of slight encouragement is in the case of small projects. I understand that the Defense Production Administration is seriously considering a suggestion, which was developed at the hearing of the Committee on Public Works last fall, that for small projects requiring 25 tons or less, contractors be allowed to self-certify allocations, thus eliminating a great deal of red tape and uncertainty. I sincerely hope this suggestion will be adopted.

Likewise, the regulations now require a producer who accepts a steel order to deliver the steel at some time. Previously, a steel allocation was good for only the calendar quarter in which it was accepted. At the present time, shipments of the original allotment can be made in future calendar quarters.

The minimum requirements of steel for the calendar year 1952 are 1,761,000 tons. At the present rate of alloca-

tions allowed by the Defense Production Authority, we shall be lucky if we get one-half of that amount. For the first quarter of the present year, the minimum requirements were 367,000 tons, but the allocations totaled only 210,000 tons. For the second quarter, the minimum requirements are 475,000 tons, but the allocations probably will be 245,000 tons.

Even these figures do not tell the whole story. The critical item in steel requirements for highways is structural steel. The allocations for structural steel are running at a little less than one-third of the minimum requirements. This means that highway construction is going to be held back severely during the rest of the present year.

Mr. President, I think I should point out that in 1950 we exported slightly more than 3,000,000 tons of steel. In the first 10 months of 1951, we exported 2,843,000 tons of steel. Just a few days ago we learned that Mr. Churchill's recent conferences produced another 1,000,000 tons of steel for Great Britain. In my opinion, our exports are not so important to us as are our own roads, our schools, our highways, and our business firms. If I did not make known what information I have, I would be less than fair to the Senate, to the entire Congress, and to the people of the United States.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, will the Senator from New Mexico yield to me?

Mr. CHAVEZ. I yield.

Mr. CASE. The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Public Works is bringing to the Senate some very interesting figures. The Committee on Public Works, of which the Subcommittee on Public Roads has been holding hearings during the past week, has been addressing itself to this problem, as the chairman of the committee knows, for he has been meeting with the subcommittee.

I should like to ask the chairman of the committee whether any information has been developed in regard to the suggestion that the Ohio Turnpike Commission was looking into the possibility of obtaining some steel from Belgium or from some other European country, in view of the fact that the Commission could not obtain sufficient steel allocations from the Authority here in the United States.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I have no direct information regarding the matter to which the Senator from South Dakota has referred. However, the highway departments of the various States are so far behind their programs in connection with the work of road construction, and they are so concerned with the problem, that I would not be at all surprised if efforts were being made to obtain steel from Belgium or elsewhere.

Mr. CASE. In view of the matters being brought before the committee and in view of the committee's studies last summer and last fall in connection with the steel problem, in which studies the distinguished chairman of the committee played such an important part, would the Senator from New Mexico care to say whether he feels that Con-

gress should limit the exports of steel until more adequate allocations are made for domestic needs?

Mr. CHAVEZ. Toward the end of the last session I introduced in this body a joint resolution to the effect that no steel should be exported until it was developed that the necessary, reasonable domestic needs were met.

We have received some reports in connection with that resolution, which now is before our committee. Those who make the reports generally agree regarding the need for steel, but they also are generally adverse to the idea of meeting the reasonable domestic demands for steel. In that connection I point out that the resolution does not call for meeting all the domestic demands or requirements, but specifically calls for meetings only the reasonable requirements.

In this connection, Mr. President, let me cite several instances which I know can be duplicated in the case of every other State in the Union: In the city of Albuquerque, additions are being made to some bridges which were constructed approximately 25 or 30 years ago; the highway traffic has become so great that it is necessary that those additions be made. The money for the construction of those additions has been spent, and the additions have been constructed. However, because it is impossible to obtain a few tons of steel which are required in order to finish the approaches to the bridges, they cannot be used.

Another road unit has been under construction between Tucumcari and the little city of San Jon, near the Texas border. Because of the lack of a few tons of steel—probably not more than 3, 6, or possibly 11 tons—the road could not be used.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the chairman of the Committee on Public Works is taking a very realistic view of the situation.

Earlier in his remarks he suggested that the Department of Defense or some other agency be called upon to give the Committee on Public Works an estimate of the steel needs for highways for defense purposes, so that the committee could have that information in connection with its deliberations regarding the pending estimates. The Senator's suggestion is very much in order, Mr. President; and I hope it will be followed.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I thank the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. President, any high-school student, even if he had not investigated this matter, if asked the question, "Do roads play a part in the national defense?" would reply, "Yes, indeed."

Certainly the construction of highways is as important to the national defense as is the manufacture of guns. Just imagine what would happen in the city of Washington if there were even a rumor that an attack by atomic bombs would soon occur—not to mention what would happen in the event of an actual attack by atomic bombs or other bombs—in view of the system of highways now existing, so far as concerns facilitating the exit of large numbers of persons from the Capital City.

Mr. CASE. Of course, Mr. President, I heartily agree with the suggestion the Senator from New Mexico has made, because there are pending some bills which I have introduced, which call for the building of a radial highway around the city of Washington or the building of some circumferential highways, in order to meet the situation the Senator from New Mexico has described.

Mr. CHAVEZ. The same statement can be made with respect to the situation existing at Baltimore, Detroit, and almost every other city in the United States.

I should like to ask anyone who is connected with the national defense what he thinks would have been the length of World War II—of course, we would have won that war eventually—if we had not had a system of highways. In that event, undoubtedly we would not have won the war as quickly as we did.

Mr. CASE. It is obvious that that is correct. What the Senator from New Mexico has said is likewise true in regard to Chicago, Philadelphia, and many other cities which are in the same category. It was for that reason that I suggested that a plan calling for the construction of radial and circumferential highways be adopted in regard to other cities.

The Senator from New Mexico has put his finger upon a point which must not be overlooked, namely, that in the past most of the wars have been conducted on territory not that of the United States. Everyone who is familiar with the business of modern warfare recognizes that an aerial attack upon cities of the United States is a definite and distinct possibility. So the highway problem, from the standpoint of defense, becomes even more important when we address ourselves to the realities of today's picture.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I do not want either the Senate or the country to feel that I am opposed to friendship with Great Britain or with any of the other so-called free countries; I am not. But I feel that the Members of this body owe some responsibility in connection with the local conditions confronting our people. While I am most anxious to help Great Britain and certain other countries, I still do not think it sound American business to neglect our own interest. Roads create wealth; by creating wealth, taxes are paid; by the payment of taxes, it is possible for us to ship steel to England and elsewhere. So if we do something which is detrimental to our own economy, we shall not be able to give the assistance which we are supposed to give to some other country. I am very strong for Mr. Churchill, but I am also very strong for the roads of Pennsylvania, Oregon, New Mexico, and in all the other States and Territories.

I repeat, Mr. President, that in 1950 we exported slightly more than 3,000,000 tons of steel. In the first 10 months of 1951, we exported 2,843,000 tons of steel. Only a few days ago we learned that Mr. Churchill's recent conferences produced another million tons for Great Britain. To me, our exports are not so important as our own roads, our schools,

our highways, our business firms. If I did not make known what information I have, I would be less than fair.

I venture to say there is not a single Senator who has not heard from his State, not only in respect to roads, but in respect to the inability of their school systems to obtain sufficient steel to enable them to provide adequate school facilities for their children. I venture to say that there is not a Senator within the sound of my voice who has not heard from the health officials of his State, stating that they are unable to complete a badly needed hospital by reason of their inability to obtain steel. Nevertheless, we are expected to become enthusiastic, merely because Mr. Churchill says, "I want 1,000,000 tons more." I wish we could give it to the British, but I have always been under the impression that charity begins at home; and I think it should.

In the past Mr. Wilson, who heads the Defense Production Administration, has frequently made oversimplified statements, which lead to considerable misinformation and misunderstanding.

Our arrangement with the United Kingdom calls for supplying Britain with 1,000,000 long tons of steel, or its equivalent, this year. This steel is for the maintenance of the British defense program. We have the option of supplying this 1,000,000 tons in the form of ore, in the form of scrap diverted from foreign sources, in the form of pig iron diverted from foreign sources, in the form of ingots from conversion mills, or in finished steel. Our arrangement is that we will do that which has the least effect on our economy. I am assured it was made most clear to Mr. Churchill that we will not be able to supply any portion of the 1,000,000 long tons in the form of structural or plate steel. Structural and plate steel are the items in most critical supply. In return we receive tin and aluminum, both of which are essential in our economy, and without which business would suffer. That is my understanding of the matter.

There is so much misinformation in regard to the steel situation, and so many rumors, that I would like to get the facts on the record and straighten it out. One way to straighten this matter out would be to conduct hearings on Senate Joint Resolution 113, which is now before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and to which I called the attention of the Senator from South Dakota. Some of the Senators may recall that this joint resolution was introduced by me on October 20 last year. That was the last day of the session. The joint resolution would prohibit the exporting of steel. I told Senators then that I sought no immediate action on the bill, but preferred to leave it pending for their thought while at home. I said on October 20 that I hoped the Senators would look into the steel picture as it affected their States, with respect to schools, hospitals, roads, and small business, and that after January 8 we could take up the measure.

The joint resolution is very drastic. I did not expect it to be considered in its initial form. It is now, as I have said, pending before the Interstate and For-

ign Commerce Committee, and through hearings we could determine where the 3,000,000 tons we are now exporting is going, and where the 1,000,000 tons sought by Mr. Churchill will go.

We are actually exporting less steel now than formerly. It is our own huge military program which is devouring this great national power, that is, steel. I judge that 40 percent of our steel production is used in military and directly related activities, such as chemical industrial expansion, and so forth.

I must be honest and admit that as a result of much discussion some improvement has been effected in the allocation of steel for roads. There was an increase in the amount of steel for public roads in the second quarter. It was one of the few programs, other than the direct military programs, which received an increase in steel. The increase was about 50,000 tons over the first quarter.

I have never found the National Production Authority guilty of being unfair, but I believe they have been convicted several times of erring in judgment. That is a human failing. Fortunately, we retain no record of such convictions anywhere. Fortunate, indeed, for all of us.

In general, I think that allocations of critical materials for the elementary and secondary schools for the first half of this year will provide for a construction rate in excess of one and one-half billion dollars per year. This may be about the highest in history. With respect to hospitals, critical-materials allocations provide for operations at the rate of \$900,000,000 per year. This is also close to a high. These high levels of construction in highways, schools, and hospitals are apt to give an erroneous impression. It is apt to lead to the belief among those who control the materials that, since this is new high in construction, we can very easily cut down to the level of former years. Well, we cannot, because we have been 15 years awakening to our sad lack of facilities.

We are just starting to bridge the gap. If we were to compare the annual dollar rate only, then there would be grounds for suspicion. But if we were to correlate the need in the absence of facilities for the past two decades with the picture of 1952, then it would become clear that we are not building at a new high, we are just sprinting to try and catch up with what has already outdistanced us.

I venture to predict there will not be an agency in the Government that will endorse the sentiment of Senate Joint Resolution 113, let alone endorse the resolution. That matters little, since we are entitled to honest differences of opinion. What we have to determine is who needs the steel, and for what purpose.

Mr. President, I ask consent to insert in the RECORD the advertisement by the Goodyear Co. with respect to roads and to save time I also ask consent to insert in the RECORD at this time at the conclusion of these remarks some information with respect to schools and hospitals.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request?

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

[Advertisement by Goodyear in the Time magazine, issue dated January 28, 1952]

Roadblock ahead—an everyday occurrence—everywhere.

Cars with engines idling, burning up gas. Drivers fuming over wrecked schedules, missed appointments, ruined plans. Trucks standing still—delivery costs mounting.

When the jam breaks, drivers speed ahead to make up lost time—a major cause of America's frightful highway death toll.

Who's responsible for the strangling inadequacy of major traffic routes that's slowing down our cars and trucks to bumper-to-bumper crawl?

We're all responsible.

Not because of the 42,000,000 cars we use traveling to work and play. Not because we need 9,000,000 trucks, large and small, to transport a major share of all commodities, including 90 percent of our food.

We're responsible because we haven't moved, individually and as a Nation, to get enough roads built to handle the traffic.

America is slogging along in 1952 on roads that were scarcely adequate for even 1935's traffic. Today, we've 20,000,000 more vehicles than then—and millions more are in the offing.

Why has our road building fallen so woefully behind our needs?

Is it because of the cost? No. Sufficient modern, multilane expressways, designed for heavy traffic, would cost only a part of the huge toll in wasted time, wasted gasoline, higher hauling costs and traffic-accident deaths that present conditions exact.

Is it because of the labor involved? No. Modern road-construction machines, thrusting rapidly ahead on the giant pneumatic earth-mover tires that made them possible, can do the work of thousands of men and teams.

There's just one answer: we're road-starved because we haven't made a strong demand for a national road-building program. This is what America needs.

A program designed to save you those extra, cramped hours spent inching along over-crowded roads—to save you that gasoline you now must waste—to save you money in extra hauling costs run up by trucks that must move at snail's pace.

If you want it, you must demand it!

So, remember: the most powerful voice will be your voice. If enough of us realize this, the resulting volume will do more than move mountains—it will build the roads we all need.

#### ESTIMATES OF STEEL REQUIREMENTS FOR EDUCATIONAL AND HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION

There is attached a table of estimates of carbon steel requirements for educational and hospital construction based on standards widely accepted by professional organizations and acknowledged authorities in the educational and health fields. It will be noted that estimates are shown separately for (1) hospitals and health facilities, (2) elementary and secondary schools, and (3) higher education.

##### PART I

Part I of the table shows the estimated quantities of carbon steel required to support a building program sufficient to meet existing and projected needs. The levels of construction represented by these figures do not take into account problems of financing, the supply of materials, or other factors which tend to limit actual construction.

The figures shown for the period 1952 to 1960 would make provision for new facilities, the improvement and enlargement of exist-

ing facilities, and the construction required to meet the current backlog of unmet need.

The steel tonnage requirements are based in part on experiences under the Controlled Materials Plan and therefore reflect stringent conservation practices which probably will not be continued throughout the entire period covered by these projections.

##### PART II

Part II of the table shows the estimated quantities of carbon steel required to meet 1952 needs on all construction which would be put in place if adequate supplies of materials were at hand. These estimates relate only to that construction for which financing is currently available. They do not reflect projects which may have been postponed by the sponsors because of the probability that materials would not be available.

##### PART III

The estimates stated on the tonnage of carbon steel which is expected to be made available during the calendar year 1952 under the Controlled Materials Plan are based on allocations made for the first and second quarters of this year. It has been assumed that steel allocations in the third and fourth quarters will be at the same rate as the allocations made for the second quarter.

##### GENERAL COMMENTS

Detailed narrative interpretation of the table is attached. In general, however, it may be observed that the allocations of critical materials for elementary and secondary school construction in the first half of 1952 provide for a construction rate in excess of \$1,500,000,000 per year, which is the second highest rate, if not the highest, in history. In respect to hospital construction, the allocation of critical materials will permit operating at a rate of about \$900,000,000 per year. This also is close to an all-time high in dollar volume of hospital and health facility construction. The factors which cause the marked discrepancy between the need for schools and hospitals in the United States and the actual construction program are principally factors resulting from the lack of funds in the local communities requiring these facilities.

PART I—Estimated number of tons of carbon steel required to support a building program sufficient to meet needs

	Hospital and health facilities	Elementary and secondary schools	Higher education
1952	430,000	678,000	258,400
1953	526,000	642,000	258,400
1954	517,000	600,000	258,400
1955	508,000	510,000	258,400
1956	510,000	438,000	276,000
1957	507,000	390,000	276,000
1958	504,000	282,000	276,000
1959	502,000	310,000	276,000
1960	498,000	300,000	308,004

NOTE.—(1) Above figures reflect established standards, obsolescence rates, and population increases. Ability to finance and availability of materials have not been considered. (2) Elementary and secondary school requirements are based on use of six tons of steel per classroom unit—a low rate of steel use resulting from current conservation practices. Larger quantities of steel would doubtless be used if supplies were plentiful.

PART II—Estimated carbon steel required to meet needs on all construction which would be put in place in calendar 1952 if materials were available

Hospital and health facilities..... 378,250  
Elementary and secondary schools..... 528,611  
Higher education..... 202,500

PART III—Anticipated carbon steel to be made available during calendar 1952 under the controlled materials plan

Hospital and health facilities..... 1292,000  
Elementary and secondary schools..... 1427,000  
Higher education..... 169,886

Figures based on assumption that steel allocations in third and fourth quarters will equal allocations of second quarter.

##### ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

In the 1943-44 school year, the enrollment in the elementary and secondary schools of the United States totaled 26,115,426. For the 1951-52 year, the enrollment, according to best current estimates, is 30,636,000; and for the school year, 1952-53, it will be 32,327,000. The best available estimate for the 1953-54 year is 33,861,000; and for 1954-55 it is 35,209,000; and for 1955-56 the figure is 36,159,000. The 1959-60 enrollment will be approximately 37,138,000.

The enrollment for 1952-53 will exceed by 1,691,000 that of 1951-52. Using a standard of 27 pupils per classroom (which is slightly above the 25-pupil recommended standard) it is apparent that approximately 63,000 new classrooms are required to provide for this increase. However, this covers only a segment of the school housing problem. As the Citizens' Federal Committee on Education stated in June 1951, "Over the past 20 years our whole school plant has been sadly neglected. New construction has lagged far behind the need, and repair work has been held to a minimum. The situation was serious during the depression, critical during the defense and war period, and is now alarming."

The problem is one not merely of providing for an annual increase in enrollment, but also of cutting into a vast backlog of serious unmet school housing need and of providing replacement for facilities which are destroyed or which menace the health and safety of the pupils. If this backlog is to be wiped out within 10 year period, 30,000 classrooms, in addition to those required by normal population growth, must be constructed in 1952 and in each of the 9 subsequent years. In addition, approximately 20,000 classrooms must be constructed each year to replace facilities which are destroyed or become unfit for use during the year. Thus, a total of approximately 113,000 new classrooms are needed during 1952 to (1) meet the increase in enrollment, (2) provide for a reduction in the backlog of unmet need at an annual rate which will wipe out the backlog over a 10 year period, and (3) provide for normal annual replacement of unsafe and otherwise obsolete facilities.

In determining the amount of steel required to construct the 113,000 classrooms, the estimate of 6 tons of carbon steel per classroom (including related administrative and service facilities) may be regarded as conservative, as it represents an average which can be attained only through application of stringent conservation measures. On the basis of the 6 tons average requirement per classroom unit, 678,000 tons of carbon steel would be required to complete the 113,000 classrooms.

These are the facts of the situation as determined by the qualified experts in the field and by citizen groups who are close to the problem. The program outlined is one which should be regarded as the minimum program required to carry forward during 1952 a plan for providing minimum adequate school housing to the school children of America within the next 10 years.

This minimum program will not be accomplished under present circumstances. In some areas in which need is greatest there is lacking the financial capacity to provide adequate school housing. In others efforts to raise money for adequate schools will fall

for other reasons. Then we do not know whether the materials will be available in the future. It is estimated that 88,000 classrooms would be built in 1952 if no materials shortages existed. This represents construction which is planned and for which financing is available. Approximately 528,000 tons of carbon steel would be required to carry on this construction. Because of the steel shortage, however, it is estimated that about 427,000 tons of steel will be available for elementary and secondary school projects during the year. This will mean that sufficient steel will be available to authorize the projects planned by school districts which face serious overcrowding problems or which need structures to replace facilities damaged or destroyed by fire and other disaster. It will not permit, however, the construction of many new schools for the purpose of improving and broadening instructions and other purposes, such as consolidation of rural schools and the building of gymnasiums and auditoriums.

The attached table indicates the estimated carbon steel requirements for elementary and secondary school construction for 1952 and each of the nine subsequent years. While it is not possible to estimate requirements for the subsequent years with the same precision as those for 1952, the figures, nevertheless, reflect fairly good estimates of need based upon present knowledge of population growth and of backlog of unmet need and obsolescence.

#### HOSPITALS AND RELATED FACILITIES

The rate of hospital and health facility construction has lagged far behind increased national needs, resulting largely from increased population, improved standards of hospital care, and continual progress in the fields of medicine and public health. The estimates on steel consumption have been based on widely accepted estimates of health facility deficiencies, including 230,000 general hospital beds, 327,000 mental hospital beds, 54,000 tuberculosis hospital beds, 257,000 chronic-disease hospital beds, and 4,300 health centers.

The unit cost entailed in constructing these facilities has been established as follows:

General bed.....	\$16,000
Mental bed.....	6,000
Tuberculosis bed.....	8,000
Chronic disease bed.....	7,500
Health center.....	100,000

Use of carbon steel in the construction of hospitals and health facilities is estimated at 330 tons per million dollars of construction.

If the existing deficiencies were to be made up equally over the 9-year period, 1952 to 1960, approximately 500,000 tons of carbon steel would be required each year. Of this amount more than 82,000 tons is required merely for maintenance of present hospital and health facilities.

If there are further, unanticipated increases in population, our needs will become even greater. For every increase in population of 1,000 the following facilities are needed: 5 general beds; 5 mental beds; one-half tuberculosis bed; 2 chronic disease beds; one-thirtieth health center.

The current rate of hospital construction is barely adequate to maintain present hospital and health facilities, to replace obsolescent and unsafe structures and to build the most essential of proposed new facilities. The wide gap between needs and current construction is not attributable primarily to lack of critical materials, but rather to the problem of financing within the individual communities. Critical material allotments have been sufficient to cover most hospital and health facilities which the local communities were ready to start building, although in some instances projects have had to be deferred from one quarter to the next.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

It is more difficult to estimate college and university enrollment in the future than elementary and secondary school population, since the economic health of the Nation, the distribution of the population in relation to college facilities and the necessity for armament and mobilization are factors difficult of prediction. On the basis, however, of the best projections available, enrollment will increase during the period 1951 to 1960, particularly so in the later years of the decade, as many of the children born during the last years of World War II will be entering our colleges. It can be estimated conservatively that steel requirements will amount to an annual average of approximately 270,000 tons during the period 1952 through 1960.

The construction in progress or authorized under present allotments for higher education is at a rate below that required to maintain established standards and to replace facilities which are no longer usable because of disaster, condemnation or obsolescence.

#### THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Mr. O'CONOR. Mr. President, one of the propositions upon which there is widespread agreement both among Members of Congress and among thoughtful citizens generally is that costly new undertakings which cannot be thoroughly justified from the defense standpoint should not be undertaken at this time. The critical materials that would be necessary for such projects, and the required manpower, would cut so deeply into present short supplies of both that construction of anything, but the most essential nondefense projects would be highly detrimental to the defense effort.

In a message to the Congress dated January 28, 1952, the President of the United States called attention to what he termed "the immediate urgency of action on legislation to authorize the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project."

In support of this 50-year-old project, the message offered several arguments. First, it is urged that the United States should join in constructing the seaway because it is important to national security.

Secondly, it was emphasized, repeatedly, that the cost of "the relatively small amount of materials and manpower needed," would be fully repaid in tolls and power receipts. The seaway would be self-liquidating, it was asserted, and the funds invested in it would be repaid with interest.

The third reason advanced for asking approval of the project is that supplies of high-grade iron ore allegedly are being rapidly depleted, and millions of tons of iron ore would move through the seaway every year to the great steel-manufacturing and fabricating plants on or near the Great Lakes.

It is pointed out in the message that Canada has informed this country that it is prepared to proceed with the construction of the seaway alone, if United States cooperation is not forthcoming. The United States should not be content to be merely a customer of Canada's for use of the seaway after it is built, because, the message warned, it is of great significance to us to have an equal voice with Canada in establishing the schedule of tolls on the seaway.

Whatever else may be said, it seems a fair observation that proponents of the St. Lawrence seaway have always shown an abundance of enthusiasm and imagination in their spirited advocacy of this long-debated project. They have also demonstrated considerable versatility in shifting the focus of their supporting arguments with changing circumstances and events. In their current view, as voiced by the President's message, the seaway offers great strategic benefits to both the United States and Canada; its immediate construction, along with the development of hydropower, is held to be a vital matter of the most urgent necessity and high priority as a means of promoting the security as well as the economic welfare of the two countries.

It seems particularly appropriate at this time, therefore, to suggest that strong words and a high-keyed chorus of advocacy do not provide an adequate substitute for sober analysis and dispassionate appraisal in matters of this kind. Resolutions which are now pending before committees of the Senate and the House would, if approved, ratify the provisional agreement made in 1941 between Washington and Ottawa for joint action to construct a ship canal and power plant in the St. Lawrence River. Over the past year, there has been developed in congressional hearings on this proposal a voluminous record which has made it possible, by thorough sifting of the evidence, to obtain a better perspective regarding the merits of the project and its limitations.

Careful analysis of this record and of accumulating evidence brought out in other recent studies regarding the seaway, rather than affording any convincing justification for the proposal, points strongly instead to the very dubious desirability of the undertaking either as a matter of security or of any real transportation economy. Such analysis also casts much doubt, at the least, upon the familiar complaint of the proponents that development of the seaway has long been held up only by virtue of the dogged efforts exerted by certain obstructionists concerned with protecting their own selfish economic interests to the detriment of the Nation's strength and welfare.

It seems quite clear, when the pros and cons have been weighed in the balance, that a decision to proceed with the construction of the seaway has not been forthcoming primarily because its advocates have been unable to make a case for doing so which will stand up under close examination.

Is the St. Lawrence seaway and power project vitally important to national security, as has so frequently been alleged and as has been so definitely stated in the President's message? Testimony of authorities in the shipbuilding field would seem to be clear on one point. As far as ship construction is concerned, they declare, there are ample facilities on the east, west, and Gulf coasts to take care of any possible major ship construction requirements. On the question of providing a safe route for shipment of iron ore the evidence all points to an utter lack of necessity for

shipments via the proposed seaway either to the Great Lakes area or to the east coast from the Lake Superior district.

This much is absolutely certain, likewise. The utter impossibility of shipments through such a proposed waterway during the five winter months, and the vulnerability of the seaway's bottleneck—the Welland Canal locks—to hostile attack offer little assurance that the seaway could be maintained on a going basis for any great length of time, should any prospective enemy consider it important enough to sabotage.

As for the power aspect, with relation to defense, it should be pointed out that any construction of power facilities would require a minimum of three to five years for completion, and this would be telling only half the story.

The truth of the matter is, as has been clearly brought out in testimony, that currently planned and in-process expansion by private utilities in the State of New York alone will provide triple the amount of new power which would result from the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway. So far as the northeastern area of the country is concerned, construction now planned or under way by private-utility companies will, by the end of 1953, be equal to seven times the St. Lawrence power potential.

While much has been claimed from the power phase of the seaway proposal, as a matter of hard fact the amount of kilowatts that would be realized is rather negligible in comparison to the total power consumption of the area.

The requirements for New York State alone for 1953 are estimated at approximately 7,000,000 kilowatts at peak load. The planned capacity for 1953 is approximately 8,000,000 kilowatts. Against this, and against the estimated total Northeastern States' requirement of 18,500,000 kilowatts, the 570,000 kilowatts from the St. Lawrence plant on the American side loom insignificant as an argument for spending several million dollars on the seaway.

On the question of cost, the latest official estimate by the Army engineers, based on conditions in 1950, is that the total cost of a seaway and power project to provide a channel 27 feet deep would amount to \$982,175,000. However, the eventual cost of the project would probably prove to be much greater, for several reasons. In the first place the estimate noted above does not encompass a complete Great Lakes-seaway project, inasmuch as it does not include any allowance for the costs of improving harbors on the Great Lakes to accommodate ocean-going vessels. Apart from that omission, moreover, it has not infrequently been true that the actual cost of constructing public works of this general type has been substantially greater than had been indicated by preliminary estimates.

Take, for instance, the Welland Canal, which would be such an important part of the St. Lawrence seaway. It was estimated to cost \$40,000,000. Actually it cost three times that much, or \$120,000,000. Or consider the Bonneville Dam, estimated to cost \$42,000,000, actually cost \$80,000,000. Expenditures for the

Hoover Dam originally were placed at \$70,000,000. Total expenditures, however, were \$116,000,000. And the same drastic rise in costs over estimates has resulted in the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, the Chicago Drainage Canal, the New York State Barge Canal, and practically every other major undertaking of this nature.

An even more serious consideration with respect to costs, however, is whether the project as presently envisaged by its sponsors would provide a seaway worthy of the name. It is an established fact that a 27-foot channel would be deep enough to accommodate, when fully loaded for efficient operation, only a small fraction of the total number of ships in the American merchant fleet—limited to those shallower draft vessels which comprise less than 10 percent of our ocean-going vessels.

Within recent weeks, as reported in press dispatches from Albany, Army engineers have approved proposals for deepening the Hudson River channel, from New York City to Albany, from the present 27-foot depth, which is the proposed seaway depth, to 32 feet. And what is the reason they give? Many of the freighters now entering the Albany port cannot enter or leave fully loaded, they declare, because of the inadequate 27-foot channel.

If we rule out the great number of American vessels that would be unable to use the St. Lawrence seaway profitably for the reason cited by the Army engineers, and eliminate all traffic, small or large, American or foreign, that could not use the seaway at all for 5 months of the year, then the estimated Army engineers' construction cost would be entirely uneconomical.

Under these circumstances, and considering further that the continuing trend is toward deeper draft ocean vessels, it is contended that a 35-foot channel would be necessary to provide a genuine and adequate seaway. Some of the estimates that have been made for such a project range upward to more than \$4,000,000,000, although the Army engineers have tentatively suggested that the total cost, exclusive of work in improving Great Lakes' harbors, might run to approximately \$2,000,000,000.

The extent to which operators of ocean vessels would actually use a seaway, even of such enlarged dimension, is uncertain, however, since movements through the channels and locks would of necessity be relatively slow and the route would be open only about 7 months in a year.

Even with such greater costs and limited availability in view, perhaps it might still be concluded as a matter of public policy that the seaway project should be undertaken if the advantages and economies claimed for it by the proponents could be adequately supported. It is precisely at this point, however, that basic infirmities in the contentions advanced by the seaway advocates are found to lie beneath the surface of the glamorous cloak of generalities with which they have sought to surround it.

The present drive to build the seaway is centered predominantly on the contention that it will be essential to facil-

tate the movement of imported iron ore into this country, in order to supplement the remaining reserves available in the region of Lake Superior. Actually, this premise with reference to the seaway is unsound, even though it be true, as seems altogether likely, that our imports of iron ore from foreign sources, including Canada, will increase in the future. But it is not likely at all that the seaway would at any time in the foreseeable future be an important, much less an indispensable, factor in the movements of such ore to steel mills in this country.

Let us consider briefly, first, the iron ore requirements of steel mills in the Midwest area. At present, this area produces more iron ore than the steel mills located there consume. It is a surplus ore-producing area which sends iron ore in large volumes to steel mills in the East and elsewhere. There is no reasonable prospect that iron ore of any substantial volume would move into the Midwest via the St. Lawrence seaway or otherwise for many years to come, if ever. To meet the needs of this area, there are large reserves of high-grade ores remaining in the Lake Superior region of the United States. In addition there are virtually unlimited reserves of taconite and other iron-bearing materials already in the initial stage of development, and mining operations also are going forward in the promising Steep Rock area north of Lake Superior in Canada.

Eastern steel mills, on the other hand, depend heavily upon iron ore produced outside that area. At present, much of it is Lake Superior ore, but the prospect is that the eastern steel plants will rely in the future more and more upon imported ores, from Venezuela, Labrador, and other foreign sources. It is altogether evident, however, that the eastern steel mills have made and are continuing to make their forward plans involving large additional investments without reliance upon the possible development of a St. Lawrence seaway.

Obviously, ores from South American or African sources will not move to Atlantic seaboard plants via the St. Lawrence, nor would such ores destined for the Pittsburgh area take the long haul up through the St. Lawrence rather than being transshipped by rail from Baltimore or Philadelphia. Ore imported from Labrador, where contemplated plans and facilities call for total iron ore production at a rate of approximately 10,000,000 tons a year, would logically be expected to move largely by ocean to the eastern steel mills where it can be utilized more economically than elsewhere. If ore from this source were to be transported via the proposed seaway to steel mills on the Great Lakes, the result would be to deprive the eastern steel plants of such ore and consequently to increase their deficit requirements, which could then only be made up by wasteful cross-hauling movements of ore from the Lake Superior district. It seems clear, that, except for some possible movements of Labrador ore to interior eastern steel mills such as those in the Pittsburgh and Youngstown areas, prospect for the movement of iron ore in any appreciable volume via the proposed seaway are very remote.

Even as to these destinations, it is at least doubtful that ore could be delivered cheaper via the seaway, with toll charges included, than it could be by other existing methods of transportation, including transshipments by rail from Baltimore or by using the existing canal facilities on the St. Lawrence. Possible movements of iron ore are thus shown to furnish a slender thread from which to hang an attempted justification of the St. Lawrence seaway project.

In short, there is no reasonable prospect whatever that the costs of the proposed seaway could be made self-liquidating through toll charges, as claimed by its sponsors and as held forth in the resolutions to approve this project which are now pending before the Congress. Neither is there merit in the argument that the seaway is needed so as to permit the movement of large ocean vessels into and out of the Great Lakes area for construction or repairs. Facilities and possible new locations for such construction at tidewater points are more than ample and, if necessary, they can be dispersed as widely as considerations of the national security may require. Furthermore, it is unrealistic under existing conditions to regard the Great Lakes as a relatively safe haven for ships or for shipbuilding.

The conclusion seems inescapable that the St. Lawrence seaway would provide cheap transportation only in the sense that it would make available to certain shippers a heavily subsidized transportation facility. No real basis has been shown for hoping that the shipway project would be self-supporting or that it would fulfill the glowing promises of its advocates.

Let us further discuss one of the most emphasized claims for the project, namely, that it will be self-liquidating. If any group of American businessmen were considering such a project it would be absolutely basic in their planning to have the most exact and complete facts as to just how much the project would cost, how much traffic it could be expected to handle, what tolls could be charged and, finally, whether the total anticipated receipts would be adequate to take care of interest charges, amortization, maintenance, and other expenses.

The following are the facts: Back in 1932 the Department of Commerce did make a study of the matter, as a result of which there was published in 1934 Senate Document No. 116, Seventy-third Congress, second session, incorporating the results of a study of the proposed project by the Corps of Engineers entitled "Survey of the Great Lakes St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project." In that detailed study the Army engineers arrived at a figure of 27,473,000 tons as the capacity of the proposed St. Lawrence waterway. The report suggested, however, that because certain of the data "assumed"—and I emphasize this word "assumed"—because certain of the "assumed" data in the estimate were not exact, the Corps of Engineers recommended that the annual capacity of the St. Lawrence waterway should be considered as 25,000,000 tons.

That was in 1932, 20 years ago.

This report took into consideration the 8,500,000 tons then passing through the Welland Canal. By 1950 traffic through the Welland Canal had grown to 15,000,000 tons, which meant that it was some 6,500,000 tons closer to its total capacity. And a point to be remembered in any consideration of the St. Lawrence waterway is that its total capacity is strictly limited to the capacity of the Welland Canal with its eight locks, its average lift of 46½ feet for each of seven of these locks, and the minimum of 8 hours required for passage through its 26-mile length.

When pressure began to be applied again for construction of the seaway several years ago its proponents found that the 25,000,000 tons estimated as a result of the 1932 survey was far too low to support their claim for self-liquidation. Then in 1947, during hearings on the Senate resolution to build the seaway, the Department of Commerce came up with an estimate not of 25,000,000 tons but of 38,000,000 to 52,000,000 tons. It was qualified, however, by the Secretary's statement:

I wish to emphasize once again that the traffic figures which I have been indicating do not constitute the results of detailed recent surveys but rather the best judgment of the experts of the Department.

The best judgment of the experts of the Commerce Department seemed to expand with the years. By the spring of 1950, just 3 years later, it was revised upward and a new estimated traffic figure for the seaway submitted of 57,000,000 to 84,000,000 tons. Again last year the 57,000,000- to 84,000,000-ton figure was used.

Keep in mind that these figures were not based on engineering studies. They were simply estimates. Apparently the detailed study system, as used back in 1932, did not produce the desired results. So proponents of the seaway have avoided any such unsatisfactory sources of information since that time.

To illustrate how the best judgment of the experts works when it is desired to build up a case for a project, it is interesting to note the testimony to be found on page 16 of the hearing on House Joint Resolution 271.

Petroleum had been included as an important possible source of traffic for the seaway but the testimony showed—

In the case of this traffic (petroleum), it is impossible to predict with any assurance the timing, the direction, or the volume of movement. In the absence of detailed knowledge of oil reserves and production costs in Alberta, Venezuela, and the Middle East, no accurate predictions of petroleum traffic over the seaway can be made.

Yet despite these qualifications, there was included in the fifty-seven to eighty-four-million-ton estimate a figure of six to twenty million tons of petroleum, on which, again estimating, there was set anticipated revenues of from \$1,500,000 to \$5,000,000. Witnesses did not know, of course, at that time, and no one knows as yet, on what toll basis these estimates were to be based.

In that same fifty-seven- to eighty-four-million-ton estimate of traffic there was included a total of thirty to thirty-

seven and one-half million tons of iron ore estimated to produce toll revenues of \$15,000,000 to \$18,750,000.

What was the source of these figures? They were taken from a study made by Mr. Paul M. Zeis, which was incorporated in the hearings on the House Resolution. The method of computing runs something like this. First, Mr. Zeis "estimated"—again note that word "estimated"—the maximum number of vessel passages which could be accommodated by the Welland Canal in a season. Then, after making allowance for other types of traffic that would utilize the waterway, he came to the conclusion that the total number of freighters carrying ore that could be expected—note the word "expected"—to use the Welland Canal was "probably"—note the word "probably"—in the neighborhood of 2,000 and almost certainly not in excess of 2,500. Continuing his assumptions, Mr. Zeis "assumed" that the capacity of each such freighter carrying ore to the Welland Canal would be 15,000 tons. He then multiplied his assumed 15,000-ton average capacity by his assumed 2,000 vessels using the canal, and thus came up with his "expert" estimate of thirty to thirty-seven and one-half million tons of ore traffic.

At the hearings at that time Mr. Zeis explained that this estimate was a "judgment figure based upon the 'assumed' market for iron ore in the Great Lakes region."

The same dearth of technical or engineering data is apparent, likewise, with regard to costs of various phases of the proposed undertaking. There has been no over-all detailed engineering study, based on borings and other usual tests. It is hardly possible, therefore, that the minimum cost estimates offered would be possible of maintenance when the unvarying record of such construction projects is that they have run far beyond estimated cost.

If the members of the Senate, or the members of any committee of the Senate, were asked to sit in judgment, as directors of a corporation, to decide on the feasibility of such a tremendous project as the proposed St. Lawrence seaway, do they think there could be any doubt as to how such "expert judgement" based almost completely on assumptions, would be assayed?

It is not persuasive to have proponents advocate spending many hundreds of millions of dollars of the Government's tax money for a project on which they not only did not have exact data but in connection with which it would certainly seem that they avoided trying to secure such data because they knew it would not prove the point they are trying to make.

Of particular interest in the President's message with regard to the seaway is the statement that the Congress should approve it because, and I quote, "we have already trespassed on the good will of our Canadian neighbors. Differences of opinion in the United States have long blocked a development that means a great deal to the growth and progress of Canada as well as ourselves."

I can well understand that it is important to Canada to market the ore

which has been found in Labrador. This being so, the decision of Canada to go ahead on its own with the seaway can be understood.

Why it should be necessary for us to go along with it, is not so clear. Why should we spend hundreds of millions of dollars which, whatever they may do to improve the economic status of some particular area of our country, will certainly have only a harmful effect on certain other areas which have, over the years, built up expensive facilities which would be rendered partially obsolete thereby?

Certainly we will not lose any of our rights on the St. Lawrence River. The fact that Canada would have the right to set tolls for passage through a new canal through Canadian territory should not cause too much alarm. If the tolls are too high, Canada will suffer because ships will not use the facility. Even though they might be considered higher than necessary, we can be completely assured that the cost to the shippers who use the Canadian-built seaway will be but a drop in the bucket compared to the cost to the taxpayers of the entire country to enter upon the construction of a project whose feasibility and desirability are of such a dubious nature.

With all due respect to our Canadian neighbors, for whose friendliness and ability I have the utmost respect and regard, must we approve a project which our good sense tells us should not be approved merely because our neighbor to the north finds it to her advantage to go ahead with a project she considers beneficial?

I think not. The reasons for unfavorable congressional action on the entire St. Lawrence seaway proposal so far outweigh any possible advantage and benefits to be gained therefrom that even if these were normal times, even if the country were not carrying a national debt that threatens to founder it, prudence would dictate that we not build the seaway.

Under conditions that now obtain, and in the light of our known tremendous financial obligations for defense, we should be foolhardy in the extreme, I am convinced, even to consider entering upon a project against the initiation of which there are so many valid arguments.

We talk of economy. Let us begin right here to practice it. Every reasoning American realizes the necessity of reducing the terrific expenditures which are proposed in the budget for 1953. I consider it my duty to protest against, and to vote against, the St. Lawrence seaway proposal and all other such non-desirable undertakings.

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

Mr. O'CONOR. I am happy to yield to my colleague.

Mr. BUTLER of Maryland. Mr. President, I want to associate myself with the remarks made by my senior colleague.

Mr. O'CONOR. I acknowledge the comment of my junior colleague, and I yield the floor.

#### MINE SAFETY

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, disasters involving scores of Americans have a way of focusing public attention on situations in our society which require correction. All too often, however, as the memory of a disaster fades away we fail to take the appropriate steps which will serve to prevent similar disasters in the future.

The business of mining coal is one of our basic industries. It has a very vital importance to that State and that section of the country which I represent. New England depends on coal for a substantial part of its basic heating needs as well as its power requirements.

In addition, new and important uses of coal are becoming more apparent each day. It is a basic natural resource in much of our expanding chemical industry.

The United States probably has the most efficient coal mining industry in the world. The skill of the miners and the equipment which is provided by management for bringing coal to the surface are unmatched by other nations. A controversy is raging today with regard to the human factor—the safety factor as it affects the men who mine the coal. It was recently stated publicly that an average of seven miners die in accidents each working day. Obviously, if the death toll from accidents averages seven per working day, injuries to the miners must reach a much higher total.

It has been suggested that the Federal Government give teeth to its mine-inspection service—give it authority to enforce safety regulations which are now made in the form of suggestions.

I would look into this proposal for several reasons. First of all, the various States in which coal is mined enforce varying safety codes. Some codes are strictly enforced. Some codes are not enforced. There are varying degrees of laxity in between. Coal operators compete on an interstate basis regardless of the safety code under which they operate. In fairness to the operators and the miners, the hazards of the industry should be standardized insofar as possible. It is argued that Federal enforcement would tend to accomplish this important purpose.

Another compelling reason for exploring this matter is that additional Federal expenditures would not be necessary. The inspection service of the Bureau of Mines is already doing business. Federal inspectors are cooperating today with State inspectors in setting up safety regulations and suggesting compliance.

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

Mr. BRIDGES. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Is the Senator satisfied that State inspectors are cooperating with Federal inspectors today?

Mr. BRIDGES. I do not think they are in some cases, but in other cases probably they are.

Mr. MORSE. With particular reference to the New Orient No. 2 Mine in Illinois, would the Senator from New Hampshire say that State inspectors co-

operated with Federal inspectors when the last 13 reports of Federal inspectors showed that mine to be a hazardous one, and the State inspectors knew it?

Mr. BRIDGES. No. I think that is a very good example of the failure to get cooperation from a State. As I understand, the suggestion is that Congress provide the inspectors with authority to enforce a uniform Federal safety code.

I believe that Congress should thoroughly review the situation relating to mine safety, explore the avenues of correction, and after a thorough investigation and exploration of the general situation proceed to take whatever steps are necessary to put mine inspection on a better and a more effective basis than it is today.

#### POETIC TRIBUTE BY MISS CORDELIA MURPHY TO AMERICAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN ACTION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, as a tribute to American soldiers who have died in our defense Miss Cordelia Murphy, of my State, has written a very beautiful, soul-stirring poem entitled, "Truce Eternal."

I ask unanimous consent to have this poem, a letter I received from Miss Murphy, and also a statement from her entitled "So Shall They Be Remembered," printed in the body of the RECORD as part of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The poem, the letter, and the statement are as follows:

##### TRUCE ETERNAL

All who have loved some other lad,  
Be good to mine  
As, in the lands afar, his grave  
You make a shrine:  
For he, who has with friendly folk  
A haven found,  
Knows—in this bit of home—an ever  
Hallowed ground.  
Still seas, whose depths may lave a youth  
With gentleness,  
Give sanctuary where he met  
Swift death's caress.  
Or, greensward on a mountain-slope,  
More verdant be  
As shroud for him to wear  
Through all eternity.  
\* \* \* \* \*

Her love, our lad, their dear one,  
Where'er you are today,  
Let your gift be truce eternal—  
For this, O Lord, we pray.

PORTLAND, OREG., February 4, 1952.  
The Honorable WAYNE P. MORSE,  
United States Senator from Oregon,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: When I saw a photograph of a foreign cemetery used to show how the National Cemetery in Honolulu looked before the crosses were removed as grave markers, I thought of Capt. Leverett Richard's poignant article about Punchbowl Cemetery; and the photograph which he took of it, while he was aviation editor for the Oregonian. The photograph, or one similar, can be duplicated; but Captain Leverett Richard's—now with Army Air Force in Greenland—description cannot—I dare anyone who thinks it too expensive to mow grass around crosses, to read Leverett Richard's words, and look at the pointing fingers in the rows of course.)

Reverence for the dead soldier's sacrifice can be shown with a cross carved on each

grave marker, as well as the standing cross, but the magnitude of their gift of deliverance is but shown by the vast expanse of white-lined prayers, which should be for us who put the dead where they are now. Counting the cost, in pay to living soldiers and in the upkeep of graves of those who are victims of the slaughter of the innocents, is sacrilege. Potential manhood within each grave is fourfold: son, brother, husband, father, with countless generations who must remain unborn because the family lines ends at the foot of the cross.

I am going to ask the Oregonian how many copies of the Sunday Oregonian, May 28, 1950, are left, in case you may wish to send for them.

The little poem, "For Home Is Best," was part of a letter of condolence sent to a mother whose son had his third temporary burial in Honolulu, where his mother had become an exchange teacher. The poem is unimportant, but the poster cover of Northwest's magazine deserves national recognition: as an augury of war about to break; and an omen of victory in Korea, because of the Flag Triumphant. I have tried to have the drawing entered for Pulitzer Prize material, but the artist is too modest.

Two memorial cards, with story folded within, are sent to show the follow-up of the Oregonian's publication. You may have as many as you want without charge, as this is my contribution to remembrance of many who have been my pupils.

Sincerely yours,  
(Miss) CORDELIA MURPHY.

#### So SHALL THEY BE REMEMBERED

For Home Is Best, the poem used for the first memorial card, was not written for publication: It was part of a letter of condolence to a friend whose son died heroically in a flaming plane over China, in World War II. Finally brought home for burial in Mount Calvary Cemetery, he found rest, at last, "Here on this hill." (This wording was later changed to suit any burial place.)

Persuaded that she should share with others the comfort the poem gave her, the mother took it to the Oregonian for publication. Mr. Jalmar Johnson, then editor of the Sunday Oregonian, suggested the background for it; and Mr. Ernest Richardson, artist, gave For Home Is Best purposeful meaning on the cover of the Northwest's Own Magazine, in the Sunday Oregonian, May 28, 1950. Requests came for copies of the poem, and it was decided to make this soliloquy of a young man "home from the wars" into memorial card form:

He speaks for the soldier who gave his life for his country in the far places of this world; and has returned for repatriation in the soil of his homeland.

Remembering only our group of lads, in whom we glory and for whom we mourn, seemed unfair, so Truce Eternal was made an Armistice Day prayer for the soldiers buried in cemeteries overseas, or "missing in action."

In this poem, a mother thinks always of her son as the boy who went off to the wars. She shares her thought with the girl, or the wife, he left behind; her family; and his intimate own.

Truce Eternal memorializes the war dead of any country, and any war fought away from the homeland. It is a salute to the warrior who died in the air, on land, or in far seas.

Still seas give sanctuary to a lad whose plane intercepted a Jap kamikaze, and saved his battleship and its crew from destruction. He is symbol of all who met "swift death's caress."

Another of our boys wears the verdant shroud on the mountain-slope because all

fliers, victims of combat in the skies, should find rest on "heav'nkist" hilltops.

"Where'er you are today assembles all who are missing in action."

From these heroic souls we ask the gift of truce eternal, won for us by their valiant sacrifice. Nothing we can offer them in honor and devotion is fair recompense—but they shall not be forgotten by the beneficiaries of their valor.

CORDELIA MURPHY.

PORTLAND, OREG., December 7, 1951.

#### THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

MR. MORSE. Mr. President, I now turn my attention very briefly to another matter which I consider to be of serious import to the American people.

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services of the United States Senate, I wish to raise my voice today in praise and defense of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I wish to say to the mothers and fathers of boys serving in the American uniform that, in my opinion, they have every right to place complete confidence in the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I desire to say further to the mothers and fathers of America that, in my opinion, Gen. Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is one of the greatest American military officers ever to have worn the American uniform. His associates, constituting the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Collins, General Vandenberg, and Admiral Fechteler, are great American military leaders, dedicated, in my opinion, to but one objective, namely, to develop the global defenses of the United States into such a position of strength that we will be able not only to win the peace but, if war should come, to win the war quickly.

In the midst of a partisan campaign I consider it a great public disservice to make statements which shake the confidence of the American people in the leadership of the military men who in these days have the solemn and sacred responsibility of developing the global defense program of the United States. I believe such partisan statements, no matter who may utter them, constitute a disservice to the morale of the American civilians, as well as that of the men in the American uniform. Such statements spread confusion, misunderstanding, and perplexity among our allies.

Mr. President, I wish to say further that I believe anyone critical of the Joint Chiefs of Staff should be able to show a record of consistent support over the past few years for a maximum strengthening of the defenses of the Nation so that today we would not be in a position which we know is not nearly so strong as it should be to meet the global defense problems which confront us.

Such a record ought to show consistent support for a mobilization program which would subordinate the selfish greed of economic interests to the common welfare of a strong defense program. Such a record should show support for an inflation-control program which long before this would have put the United States on an all-out mobilization program for the support of the tremendous job of global defense which is the task of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Furthermore, Mr. President, as a member of the Armed Services Committee I can bear testimony to the fact that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, whose names I have mentioned, including the great admiral recently deceased, Admiral Sherman, time and time and time again have pointed out to the Armed Services Committee and, through the Armed Services Committee, to the United States Senate, the serious crisis which faces our country in this contest to preserve freedom and to protect freemen from the enslavement of an ever-encircling communism.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff have sought to warn the Congress of the United States against the calamitous hazard of becoming involved in a full-scale war in Asia before we are strong enough to protect the American boys who inevitably would become involved in such a war, even if one were to accept the naive notion that we could limit our participation in a full-scale Asiatic war to air activities. The boys in the Air Force, too, are precious American boys. We ought to get ourselves into such a position that those boys will have air power behind them, so that they can be protected, just as the boys on the ground in Korea and elsewhere in Asia should be protected by a necessary and superior air-force umbrella. In my opinion, at the present time we do not have the air superiority which would be of primary importance if we got into an all-out war in Asia now. We should be strong enough to give our Air Forces in Asia the protection they need from enemy air attack. We are not that strong today. Talk about limiting any war action by the United States in Asia to air and navy engagements is the talk of military sophomores. Once war breaks out it has the habit of soon developing into a total war. Certainly an expanded war in Asia supported by air and navy action by the United States, as advocated by some politicians these days, most likely would bring Russia into the war on a full-scale basis. There is no place that would be more advantageous for her than to fight us in Asia. If she succeeded in driving us out of Asia we not only would lose Asia to communism but our strength in Europe would also suffer.

Oh yes, Mr. President, in the midst of a partisan political campaign it is possible to wave the flag, stir up the emotions of the American people, and leave the impression that we are able now to back up the flag, even without allies, no matter to what corner of the earth it may be carried. But that is deceptive argument. The facts do not support the argument. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, with dignity, with reserve, with military statesmanship, have been trying to make that situation plain to the American people.

Mr. President, I believe that a united American people can still win the peace; but I question whether a divided American people can win either a peace or a war. I am very much disturbed about America's military posture in Asia. As my record shows, I have been a critic of many phases of the administration's foreign policy in Asia since July 1945, when I made my first speech on the floor of the Senate in criticism of a position then

taken by the State Department in regard to Asiatic policy. I have not ceased to be a critic of many phases of the administration's foreign policy in Asia. Even before Korea, I think costly and tragic blunders were made in Asia, including Korea. Great mistakes have been made since Korea; but they have not been made by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

I believe it to be unfortunate, either by innuendo or implication, to give the American people the impression that the Joint Chiefs of Staff are partisans, that they are puppets dangled at the end of manipulating strings by the White House and the State Department, carrying out the orders of the White House and the State Department. I happen to be one who is convinced that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in keeping with the oath which they took when they donned the uniform, have given to the administration, to the Congress, and to the American people nonpartisan, unbiased, honest advice with regard to the global defense program of the United States. They have been advising the American people on the basis of a record of facts which I think overwhelmingly supports their position. In effect they have cautioned that we must not permit ourselves to be maneuvered into an all-out war in Asia. They have warned that we must not become involved in a full-scale war in Asia at least until we are much stronger than we are at the present time. Even then they point out that Asia is not the place to fight Russia should a war with Russia become a reality on a worldwide basis.

Thus, with the courage and intellectual honesty which characterize these great military leaders, they told the American people in the MacArthur hearings, through the lips of the late Admiral Sherman, that an American unilateral blockade of Port Arthur and Dairen would constitute an act of war on the part of the United States against the Soviet Union. They spoke the truth.

So, Mr. President, when we pull back the veil of the war propaganda of those who are advocating expanding the war in Asia, we are confronted with the ugly proposal on the part of this growing war clique in the United States that we commit an act which constitutes for the first time in American history an aggressive act of war against a foreign power. I do not believe that we should push the American people into a war through the back door. I believe that the constitutional provision for a declaration of war is still the legal process we should follow in putting this Nation of ours into a war. That should have gone for Korea as well as for any other possible war in Asia.

So let the politicians, who now, in the interest of advancing partisan political causes, are dividing the people of the country on the issue as to whether or not we should proceed with a course of military action which our Joint Chiefs of Staff have very clearly indicated would amount to an all-out war in Asia, come upon the floor of the Senate and propose a declaration of war.

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

Mr. MORSE. Not at this point. That, Mr. President, would draw the issue not only between the United States and our enemies, but between the United States and our potential allies as well. Where is this war party in the United States going to get its allies to help fight an all-out war in Asia? That is a fair question for them to answer.

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

Mr. MORSE. Not at this point. Our allies have indicated very clearly, Mr. President, that they are not going to buy the proposal of this growing war party in the United States for an all-out war in Asia.

I am just as strongly opposed as any one can be to unnecessary war, whether it can be labeled a so-called Democratic war or a so-called Republican war. So far as my party is concerned, I warn it here today that if in the convention in Chicago in July it permits itself to be maneuvered into a position which will justify attaching to it a war-party label it will go down to tremendous defeat in November, as it should. It then would be the patriotic duty of every citizen in both major parties to rise above all partisanship and place the interests of a still possible peace above the partisan consideration of a Presidential campaign.

Mr. President, I have never favored the kind of political and military blockade which the United States is maintaining around Formosa. I have been unable to reconcile that blockade with any known principle of international law. I am in favor, and have consistently been in favor, of giving to Chiang Kai-shek a free rein. If he wants to fight on the mainland of China, let him fight there. I have taken the position in the Committee on Armed Services, and repeat it today, that I think military equipment and aid short of American manpower should be made available to him by way of assistance for any campaign he may want to conduct on the mainland of China.

Failure to give him that freedom of military action has been one of my criticisms of the administration's Asiatic policy. However, I am not going to be a party to misleading the American people in regard to the strength of the Chiang Kai-shek forces, because there has yet to be presented to me, in any executive session of the Committee on Armed Services or in any conference I have had with any member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, any evidence which justifies the representations that Chiang Kai-shek has anywhere near 600,000 able-bodied troops just champing at the bit to fight the Chinese Communists.

When such statements are made to the American people, which develop in them a false sense of available support from the island of Formosa I think it is fair to ask for documented proof. The records of the Armed Services Committee fail to disclose any evidence from the Joint Chiefs of Staff that there is anywhere near such a number as 600,000 soldiers on Formosa, physically fit and ready and willing to fight on the mainland of China. Mr. President, do not

forget the importance of the little word "willing."

Oh, Mr. President, it is one thing for a Chinese leader who is asking for more and more American funds and military equipment to do a little puffing and a little super-sales talking regarding the number of men he has behind him but it is another thing to find 600,000 Chinese soldiers on Formosa ready, willing and able to fight. When the head of the American military mission on Formosa comes forward and tells the Armed Services Committee that at long last the Chinese Nationalists have succeeded in building up an army of 600,000 men who are ready, capable, and willing to start any kind of an invasion against the Communists on the mainland of China, then I will be just as anxious as anyone else to give them every possible encouragement to inaugurate such a program. I am not so naive as not to recognize that the enemy of the United States in Asia at the present time, so far as open military engagement is concerned, happens to be the Chinese Communists—not only those who are in Korea, but those who are in the Communist Army uniform in south China and elsewhere.

Although I cannot escape the importance of the fact, which has been pointed out time and time again by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that we must not permit an American land army to become involved on the mainland of China, I certainly am just as anxious as is any other member of my party or any member of the opposition party to make use of any assistance we can obtain in Asia, either from Formosa or from anti-Communist bands which I understand are in the mountains on the mainland of southern China. We have been advised in the Armed Services Committee that there is some hope that these guerrilla bands might be welded together into a Chinese fighting force against the Communists. It is not certain that they would fight with the Nationalist forces, because at one time they were both anti-Chiang and anti-Communist. However there is some reason to believe that they might join with Nationalist troops in fighting the Communists.

Mr. President, what I am protesting against today is what, on the basis of the evidence submitted to me as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I think, is a false assurance to the American people namely, that in Asia we are in a stronger position than the Joint Chiefs of Staff have led us to believe through the potential availability of a much larger force on Formosa than in fact exists there. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have indicated many times that the fighting strength and capabilities of the Nationalist forces are still uncertain. However they have proposed and they have been carrying out a program of helping Chiang build up those forces with both training and equipment. They have made clear that any use of those forces should be by Chiang and his Chinese leaders without any expectation that we will back up a Nationalist invasion of the mainland of China either

with an American land army or an extensive American air or naval support short of an all-out war in China. Even then we would necessarily pick our own methods for fighting that war and not make the mistake of either allowing Chiang or China and Russia to select the battle fronts for us.

I close by saying once again to the American people, as I have done so many times in recent years: Wake up before it is too late. Be on guard against war parties which would have you follow a course of all-out war in Asia, but a course of a new brand of isolationism in Europe. Be on guard against war parties that would have you adopt a perimeter defense theory for Europe, although the Europeans will not buy such a defense theory because they are not interested in liberation by America through pulverization of their cities and industrial centers by American air attack. On the contrary, they are interested in joining with us in a mutual defense program through NATO, which means a coordinated military defense program on the part of all our allies, in all the branches of the military service—air, ground, and naval. Our European allies are not interested in the new modification of an old isolationism in America in relation to Europe, namely, building up our air and naval forces alone, and then, liberate Europe after Russia has marched across Europe. Our European allies want to either join in a NATO program of mutual defense aimed at stopping the Russian armies at the borders of Europe or to give up any idea of using them as the bombing targets in a war with Russia. I am convinced that the Joint Chiefs of Staff can develop an adequate mutual defense program through NATO if partisan politics in the United States during the coming presidential campaign doesn't cost us the confidence and support of our allies. We have as much at stake in NATO as does any other free country.

I do not know how our allies can use clearer diplomatic language than they have used in a long series of conferences on our mutual European defense problems in which they have indicated that an American foreign policy for Europe based upon the air perimeter defense concept will not be acceptable to them. Yet many of those who propose the perimeter defense program in Europe are heard these days advocating at the same time what I am satisfied would develop into a full-fledged, all-out Asiatic war. If we should stand alone in such a war, Mr. President, we would not fight it with airplanes and naval vessels alone, because, as in the case of all the wars that have gone before, that one also would involve thousands upon thousands of American troops. Should that war come, I know we would unite, as we must in fighting it, 150,000,000 strong, as a single man. However, let us guard against stumbling into that war. Let us not permit campaigning politicians to divide us into a war camp and a peace camp. Let us continue to strengthen our defenses for war so that we can win it quickly if it should come but let us at the same time

remain united with our allies in a mutual defense program aimed at peace.

Mr. President, now is the time for foresight. Now is the time for caution. Now is the time for a full mobilization, along with our allies, in a last, great effort to win the peace, short of a world war.

Now is no time, I say in closing, to shake the morale and the confidence of the American people in the military leaders of our Nation. Now is no time to try to rationalize the greatest military defeat in our history—a defeat which was suffered in Korea now more than a year ago.

Now is the time, Mr. President, for all of us, as a united people, led by united leaders in both major parties, to adopt a program of defense that will put us into such a position that we can lead through strength, not through weakness. Now is the time to keep faith with what is still the only official Republican foreign policy doctrine of which I know, and will remain such until the Republican Party in its convention in the coming July adopts a new platform. That foreign policy plank of the 1948 Republican platform is, in my opinion, still a fine expression of statesmanship; it is a plank which pledged the Republican Party to stop at the water's edge, insofar as partisanship over foreign policy is concerned. The issue of peace is too vital to the security and very survival of America to be jeopardized by political irresponsibility in a Presidential campaign.

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield to me for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HENNINGS in the chair). Does the Senator from Oregon yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. LONG. First, I should like to congratulate the Senator from Oregon on the eloquent statement he has just made.

As a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I have observed the activities of the Senator from Oregon; in fact, I have done so over a period of several years, even before becoming a member of that committee. I believe that as a member on this side of the aisle, I should state that, so far as I know, there is no Member of this body who places above politics the defense of the United States any more than the Senator from Oregon does.

The statement he has made today is further evidence on his part showing conclusively, as has been shown by his activities as a member of the Armed Services Committee, that he places the defense of his country far above any political considerations or any considerations involving his own political party.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator from Louisiana. I am confident he agrees with me that when we who serve on the committee go into the committee room, we park outside all considerations of partisanship, and we enter the committee room, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Senators entrusted by the American people with the tremen-

dous task of trying to effectuate and implement a defense program which will best protect the future of our country and will win for us a lasting peace.

#### RECESS TO MONDAY

Mr. CLEMENTS. I move that the Senate stand in recess until Monday next, February 18, at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Monday, February 18, 1952, at 12 o'clock meridian.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 14 (legislative day of January 10), 1952:

##### PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named candidate for appointment in the Regular Corps of the Public Health Service:

To be senior assistant sanitary engineer, effective date of acceptance:

Zadok D. Harrison

##### IN THE NAVY

Vice Adm. Harold M. Martin, United States Navy, to have the grade, rank, pay and allowances for a vice admiral while serving as Commander, Air Force, United States Pacific Fleet.

Rear Adm. Joseph J. Clark, United States Navy, to have the grade, rank, pay and allowances for a vice admiral while serving as a fleet commander.

Vice Adm. Jerauld Wright, United States Navy, to have the grade, rank, pay, and allowances of a vice admiral while serving as Commander, United States Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic, and Deputy Commander-in-Chief, Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean.

Rear Adm. Arthur C. Davis, United States Navy, to have the grade, rank, pay, and allowances of a vice admiral while serving as Deputy United States Representative to the Standing Group of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grades indicated, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force under the provisions of section 506, Public Law 381, Eightieth Congress (Officer Personnel Act of 1947), and section 307 (b), Public Law 150, Eighty-second Congress (Air Force Organization Act of 1951), with a view to designation for the performance of duties as indicated:

##### To be first lieutenants, USAF (chaplain)

Eugene R. Alt, AO954246.

William H. Balkan, AO1859783.

Dallas A. Bird, AO1857952.

Freddie W. Carlock, AO937754.

Carlton D. Garrison, AO540986.

Joseph M. Graeber, AO1860233.

Leander J. Ketter, AO2214673.

Kalman L. Levitan, AO1851974.

Victor H. Schroeder, AO1855175.

Wade K. Tomme, AO933935.

Earl E. Waugh, AO1855804.

##### To be first lieutenants, UASF (medical)

George E. Ainsworth, AO2212402.

Walter H. Smartt, AO2213227.

##### To be first lieutenants, USAF (dental)

William C. Adams, AO1851151.

Charles D. Ridgley, O2049840.

##### To be first lieutenants, USAF (veterinary)

Charles M. Barnes, AO1775045.

William R. Bilderback, AO1776016.

Frederick W. Clayton, AO1745008.  
Thomas P. Griffin, AO672803.  
Johnie L. Reeves, AO2212469.

*To be first lieutenants, USAF (medical service)*

Franklin L. Davis, Jr., AO659039.  
Wayne E. Gulley, AO1685700.  
Billy B. McIntosh, AO584502.  
Earl Weiss, AO1533704.

*To be second lieutenants, USAF (medical service)*

Leonard Berlow, AO1860451.  
Daulton E. Bissett, AO1996866.  
Joseph T. Bitzko, AO766184.  
John L. Clay, AO1860683.  
Donald E. Covell, AO2212620.  
Joseph DiBona, AO2212509.  
Sam D. Glenn, AO2213485.  
Oliver F. Harper, Jr., AO719317.  
Elmer A. Hutt, AO2213371.  
Ralph B. Jones, AO1906495.  
Robert G. Kelley, AO2051199.  
John A. Kelly, AO2014245.  
Hubert P. Kirkel, AO2213481.  
Hans A. Krakauer, AO2212478.  
Robert P. Martin, AO1859993.  
Joseph J. Quenck, AO1543582.  
James D. Schofield, Jr., AO2212619.  
Carl L. Spaur, AO579318.

The following-named persons for appointment in the Regular Air Force in the grade indicated, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force under the provisions of section 101 (c) or 102 (c), Public Law 36, Eightieth Congress (Army-Navy Nurses Act of 1947), as amended by section 5, Public Law 514, Eighty-first Congress; with a view to designation for the performance of duties as indicated under the provisions of section 307, Public Law 150, Eighty-second Congress (Air Force Organization Act of 1951):

*To be second lieutenants, USAF (nurse)*

Wanda M. King, AN792696.  
Alberta F. Maisey, AN792139.  
Mary L. Ryder, AN1806808.  
Helen Wells, AN2214109.  
Elizabeth J. Yates, AN792935.

*To be second lieutenant, USAF (women's medical specialist)*

Olive J. Potter, AM1906461.

Subject to physical qualification and subject to designation as distinguished military graduates, the following-named distinguished military students of the Air Force Reserve Officers' Training Corps, for appointment in the Regular Air Force, in the grade of second lieutenant, with dates of rank to be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force under the provisions of section 506, Public Law 381, Eightieth Congress (Officer Personnel Act of 1947):

John R. Albright Edward H. Bultmann, Jr.  
Fred S. Anderson Kenneth L. Burgess  
John H. Anderson Edward A. Burkhardt  
Ronald E. Anderson Charles S. Badgett III William R. Burkholder  
Hugh D. Bailey, Jr. Harry A. Busch, Jr.  
Jay F. Baker Robert R. Cahall  
Raymond L. Balcer Eric W. Carlson  
Walter A. Ballinger Daniel W. Cheatham, Jr.  
James W. Bannerman William G. Bastedo  
David A. Baxter Stanley J. Chlystek  
David K. Beaudoin Jim K. Choate  
George G. Beveridge Gene N. Chomko  
John H. Beyer Donald W. Clifford  
Friedrich O. Beyerle Ernest Cobb  
Gareth H. Black Ardis M. Cole  
Theodore F. Bohren James A. Conklin  
Jimmie L. Bradford John R. Cooper  
Raymond E. Brantley, Jr. Richard E. Covington  
James M. Brennenman Joseph H. Craven, Jr.  
William T. Brooks Burford W. Culpepper  
B. T. Bryant John W. Cure III  
Nathaniel G. Bullard John M. Dahlem  
John Davidson

Hutson S. Davis, Sr. Robert A. Matasick  
Irving M. Davis Edward K. Matthews  
Walter J. Davis F. Gordon Maxson  
William E. Dean Frank W. McCallister, Jr.  
William C. Denson Jeffrey S. Deutsch  
Robert A. DuLong LeRoy H. Durr, Jr.  
Robert C. Eckert Luis F. Dominguez  
Everett E. Eldridge Edward P. Douglas  
John D. Elpi, Jr. Robert A. DuLong  
Richard G. Farmer Robert C. Eckert  
Howard A. Farrar Everett E. Eldridge  
Theodore A. Flanders John D. Elpi, Jr.  
Mitchell G. Florence Robert A. DuLong  
Wilford L. Fluckiger Robert C. Eckert  
Donald C. Fontaine Murphy J. Foster, Jr.  
Murphy J. Foster, Jr. Robert A. DuLong  
John J. Frantz Robert C. Eckert  
Clarence B. Fry Everett E. Eldridge  
Gilbert A. Gallant John D. Elpi, Jr.  
James A. Garman Robert A. DuLong  
William A. Gillingham Robert C. Eckert  
William C. Giltner Arthur K. Goldsby, Jr.  
Arthur K. Goldsby, Jr. Robert A. DuLong  
Raymond V. Gomez Robert C. Eckert  
William R. Graham Peter A. Graubard  
Peter A. Graubard William T. Green  
William T. Green Kenneth E. Griffith  
Armin E. Grossé Richard A. Gunst  
Richard A. Gunst Eugene W. Haley  
Eugene W. Haley Lawrence S. Hansrote  
Lawrence S. Hansrote Norman K. Hargett  
Norman K. Hargett Donald J. Harris  
Donald J. Harris Russell C. Hastler, Jr.  
Richard C. Hastler, Jr. Richard J. Hartfield  
William H. Hartfield Edward W. Hauer  
Edward W. Hauer James H. Herman  
James H. Herman Alonzo C. Hicks, Jr.  
Alonzo C. Hicks, Jr. Jack G. Hilden  
Jack G. Hilden Joseph W. Holcomb  
Joseph W. Holcomb Edward E. Holley  
Edward E. Holley Edward E. Hood, Jr.  
Edward E. Hood, Jr. John B. Horras  
John B. Horras James T. Hudson  
James T. Hudson Kenneth V. Hughes, Jr.  
Kenneth V. Hughes, Jr. Rolland G. Hull  
Rolland G. Hull William W. Hunt, Jr.  
William W. Hunt, Jr. John H. Jacobsmeyer, Jr.  
John H. Jacobsmeyer, Jr. John W. Jamar  
John W. Jamar William J. Jameson  
William J. Jameson Robert W. Jeffery  
Robert W. Jeffery Duane C. Jensen  
Duane C. Jensen Charles T. V. Jones  
Charles T. V. Jones Irving W. Jones  
Irving W. Jones John F. Jones  
John F. Jones Richard B. Kading, Jr.  
Richard B. Kading, Jr. Arnold R. Kane  
Arnold R. Kane Charles F. Kaye  
Charles F. Kaye Junius H. Kershaw, Jr.  
Junius H. Kershaw, Jr. James A. Killgore  
James A. Killgore James F. Koonce  
James F. Koonce Bobby G. Kouri  
Bobby G. Kouri William F. Kraft  
William F. Kraft James N. Kurtz  
James N. Kurtz Joseph E. Kutz  
Joseph E. Kutz George R. Landis  
George R. Landis Richard A. Larson  
Richard A. Larson Robert E. Leestamper  
Robert E. Leestamper Warren F. Legg  
Warren F. Legg Ralph W. Leidholdt  
Ralph W. Leidholdt Paul J. Leming, Jr.  
Paul J. Leming, Jr. Vernon R. Letourneau  
Vernon R. Letourneau Edward K. Lindorme  
Edward K. Lindorme Ignatius C. Trauth, Jr.  
Ignatius C. Trauth, Jr. Stanislaw K. Lipczynski  
Stanislaw K. Lipczynski Jack R. Vinson  
Vance M. Lockamy, Jr. Paul G. Von Beck  
Herbert A. Malm, Jr. William C. Walter  
Herbert A. Malm, Jr. Robert L. Wanna  
Wesley B. Martin maker  
Raymond W. Martilla Kenneth A. Ward  
Bobby J. Massingill Leon B. Webber

Gordon H. Weed Stuart J. Williams  
Billy G. Weir Richard C. Wingerson  
Jasper A. Welch, Jr. John T. Wood  
Hugh D. White, Jr. Durward D. Young,  
Wert L. White, Jr. Jr.  
Edward J. Whittier Frank R. Young III  
Joseph W. Widing, Jr. Daniel M. Youngblade  
Reidy A. Williams, Jr. David D. Zink II

#### IN THE ARMY

#### APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

The following-named officer for appointment, by transfer, in the Judge Advocate General's Corps, Regular Army of the United States:

Maj. Edward Harry Kurth, O21807, United States Army.

The following-named officer for appointment, by transfer, in the Medical Service Corps, Regular Army of the United States:

Capt. John Harvey Holt, O37814, United States Army.

The following-named officers for appointment, by transfer, in the Regular Army of the United States, without specification of branch, arm, or service:

Lt. Col. James Martin Hanley, Jr., O41688, Judge Advocate General's Corps, United States Army.

#### PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of sections 502 and 510 of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. Those officers whose names are preceded by the symbol (x) are subject to physical examination required by law. All others have been examined and found physically qualified for promotion:

#### To be colonels

Charles Clarke White Allan, O17671.  
Robert Loomis Anderson, O17644.  
DeVere Parker Armstrong, O17533.  
Francis Henry Barnes, O41601.  
Roy William Bartlett, O41600.  
William Lewis Bell, Jr., O17549.  
Lester Skene Bork, O17685.  
Ernest Wilford Bosgieter, O41596.  
Lyman Dutton Bothwell, O51046.  
David Ferdinand Brown, O17540.  
Burnell Varnum Bryant, O38629.  
David Haytor Buchanan, O17746.  
William Carson Bullock, O17635.  
George Elial Bush, O17634.  
Dominick Joseph Calidonna, O17539.  
Charles Greene Calloway, O17690.  
Paul Wyatt Caraway, O17659.  
George Richard Carey, O17587.  
Edwin Hugh John Carns, O17560.  
James Harvey Cash 2d, O38628.  
Frederic Henry Chaffee, O17524.  
Robert Henry Chard, O17753.  
Logan Clarke, O17713.  
Joseph Milton Colby, O17562.  
John Drury Cone, O17683.  
Edgar Thomas Conley, Jr., O17665.  
George Frederick Conner, O17777.  
Robert Little Cook, O17675.  
George Waite Coolidge, O17599.  
Airel Burr Cooper, O17595.  
Ralph Copeland Cooper, O17741.  
Normando Antonio Costello, O17764.  
Edward Tudor Cowen, O51042.  
Robert Gordon Crandall, O17652.  
Raymond George Curtin, O38627.  
Frank Meredith Davenport, O51029.  
Norman August Donges, O29088.  
Philip Henry Draper, Jr., O17543.  
James Dreyfus, O29117.  
Douglas Golding Dwyre, O17535.  
Bruce Easley, Jr., O17735.  
Charles Claude Ege, O29102.  
James Burt Evans, O17523.  
Allan Lee Feldman, O51036.

Francis Emmons Fellows, O17620.  
 William Hastings Francis, O17693.  
 Paul Lamar Freeman, Jr., O17704.  
 William Kerr Ghormley, O17674.  
 Milo Irving Gray, O41598.  
 X William Hopkins Greear, O17607.  
 X Brendan McKay Greeley, O17740.  
 Thomas Norfleet Griffin, O17775.  
 William Darwin Hamlin, O17619.  
 Louis Anderson Hammack, O17696.  
 X Thomas West Hammond, Jr., O17622.  
 James Percy Hannigan, O17531.  
 James Gordon Harding, O17613.  
 Paul Donal Harkins, O17625.  
 Harold George Hayes, O17554.  
 Carl Bascombe Herndon, O17720.  
 X Raymond Leslie Hill, O17495.  
 X John Lyford Hornor, Jr., O17726.  
 Joseph Horridge, O17555.  
 X Charles Newton Hunter, O17710.  
 X Lionel Rowan Ingram, O29096.  
 Joseph Charles Jackson, O29089.  
 Carl Henry Jark, O17556.  
 Robert Glenn Johnston, O51033.  
 Charles Freeman Kearney, O17771.  
 Elmer Elsworth Kirkpatrick, Jr., O17660.  
 Nathaniel William Koeneman, O29106.  
 Walter Elmer Kraus, O17571.  
 Charles Randolph Kutz, O17763.  
 X John James LaPage, O17564.  
 Edmund Chauncey Rockefeller Lasher, O17624.  
 George Edward Lynch, O17715.  
 Nelson Marquis Lynde, Jr., O17730.  
 Ralph Robert Mace, O17578.  
 Hugh Mackintosh, O17716.  
 X William Erwin Maulsby, Jr., O17718.  
 Samuel Edwin Mays, O17783.  
 Charles Elake McClelland, O17558.  
 Henry Ray McKenzie, O17623.  
 Edward Jamet McNally, O17629.  
 Joseph Aileen McNerney, O17707.  
 Philip William Merrill, O17767.  
 Robert George Henry Meyer, O17528.  
 George Van Millett, Jr., O17787.  
 Herbert Milwit, O17514.  
 Emmett Lee Nations, O41592.  
 James Adolph Ostrand, Jr., O17501.  
 Andrew Burbidge Padgett, O41611.  
 X Calvin Luther Partin, O17636.  
 David Mural Perkins, O17574.  
 X John Lloyd Person, O17517.  
 X John David Francis Phillips, O17584.  
 Norman Edwin Poinier, O17581.  
 Donald Alexander Poorman, O17631.  
 James Bernard Quill, O17673.  
 Joseph Reisner Rancck, O17647.  
 Kai Eduard Rasmussen, O17655.  
 Charles Guthrie Rau, O17721.  
 X Clarence Renshaw, O17708.  
 Roy Repard, O29084.  
 Jacob George Reynolds, O17618.  
 X Bruce Douglas Rindlaub, O17513.  
 X Chandler Prather Robbins, Jr., O17614.  
 X Andrew Samuels, Jr., O17552.  
 Thomas Jahn Sands, O17521.  
 John Francis Regis Seitz, O17734.  
 John Russell Seward, O17698.  
 Samuel Fayette Silver, O17770.  
 Fred Winchester Sladen, Jr., O17677.  
 X Carl Nathaniel Smith, O29105.  
 Harlan Robinson Statham, O17672.  
 Leslie Jacob Staub, O29123.  
 X Frank M. Steadman, O17616.  
 Paul William Steinbeck, O17670.  
 Hugh Warner Stevenson, O17642.  
 X Ralph Bishop Strader, O17686.  
 Marshall Stubbs, O17706.  
 William Werner Sturdy, O51043.  
 Daniel Norman Sundt, O17604.  
 Eric Hilmer Frithiof Svensson, O17630.  
 X Horace Fennell Sykes, Jr., O17494.  
 Thomas Fowler Taylor, O17626.  
 Charles Theodore Tench, O17502.  
 John Elliot Theimer, O17566.  
 X Merle Russell Thompson, O17534.  
 William Jonathan Thompson, O17530.  
 Edwin Michael VanBibber, O17789.  
 Herbert John VanderHeide, O1754.  
 Alvin Galt Viney, O17511.  
 Norman Hayden Vissering, O41603.

Russell Lowell Vittrup, O17681.  
 John Stein Walker, O17522.  
 X Roy Norman Walker, O29112.  
 X Robert William Ward, O17637.  
 Richard Joseph Werner, O29107.  
 X Harold Stevens Whiteley, O17608.  
 X Charles Dudley Wiegand, O17731.  
 X Walter King Wilson, Jr., O17512.  
 Benjamin Richard Wimer, O17516.  
 James Julius Winn, O17724.  
 Lincoln Wood, O29116.  
 Kenneth Johnson Woodbury, O17601.  
 Ralph Nisley Woods, O17679.  
 X Edgar Wright, Jr., O17736.  
 Edmund Otto Zarwell, O51040.  
 To be colonels, *Chaplains*  
 Edwin Lankford Kirtley, O24355.  
 William Joseph Moran, O29195.  
 X Peter Stephen Rush, O56793.  
 To be colonels, *Dental Corps*  
 Frank Aloysius Disch, O29186.  
 Oscar John Ogren, O20037.  
 The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States under the provisions of sections 502 and 509 of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.  
 To be lieutenant colonels, *Judge Advocate General's Corps*  
 Franklin Willis Clarke, O29792.  
 Tom Bryson Hembree, O29789.  
 Cameron Forrest Woods, O42089.  
 To be lieutenant colonels, *Dental Corps*  
 James Moles Fairchild, O30844.  
 William Foster Perkins, Jr., O21691.  
 To be majors, *Dental Corps*  
 James Merle Enmeier, O43168.  
 William Thompson Fisher, O43171.  
 Arnold Walter Kirchoff, O31146.  
 The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of sections 502 and 509 of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.  
 To be captains  
 Fernand Mitchell Achee, O50470.  
 Theodore Fadden Gerwin Adair, O27185.  
 Carroll Edward Adams, Jr., O27145.  
 Joseph Tormin Adams, O27529.  
 Walter Robert Adkins, Jr., O27675.  
 George O'Neil Adkisson, Jr., O27229.  
 Charles Scott Adler, O27139.  
 Donald Wesley Alberti, O56695.  
 Ralph Herschel Alexander, O50373.  
 James Morehead Alfonte, O27562.  
 George Robert Allen, Jr., O50495.  
 Walter Gordon Allen, O27600.  
 William Haskell Allison, O56525.  
 Gilbert Harry Amis, O38394.  
 Harry Oliver Amos, Jr., O27494.  
 Carl Andrew Anderson, O50386.  
 Fred Gordon Anderson, O38473.  
 Fred John Archibald, O27737.  
 Reamer Welker Arg, Jr., O27447.  
 David Uel Armstrong, O27685.  
 Douglas Albright Armstrong, O38527.  
 Richard Burkhart Armstrong, O27879.  
 Archibald Vincent Arnoid, Jr., O27184.  
 Douglas Clark Atkins, O27088.  
 Leslie Sherman Ayers, O27213.  
 Kinchon Hubert Bailey, Jr., O27531.  
 Howard Arthur Baldwin, O27329.  
 Roscoe Allen Barber, Jr., O27093.  
 John Maurice Barnard, O56483.  
 William Louis Barnes, O27105.  
 Robert Laurence Barr, O27279.  
 John Frederick Bates, O56633.  
 Robert Ricketts Batson, O27365.  
 Howard Reamy Bealmeir, Jr., O27868.  
 Earl William Bell, O27743.  
 Alexander James Belmont, O27509.  
 John Bennington Bennet, Jr., O27458.  
 David Nell Bennett, O38475.  
 John Charles Bennett, O27263.  
 George Charles Benson, O27853.  
 Joseph Peter Berg, Jr., O27211.  
 Vincent William Bezich, O38457.  
 George Samuel Blankenbaker, O50494.  
 Walter Parks Blanton, O39474.  
 William Blum, Jr., O27862.  
 Richard Walter Paul Boberg, O27198.  
 Louis Henry Boettcher, O27558.  
 William Fred Boiler, Jr., O27571.  
 John Calvin Boleyn, O27492.  
 James Charles Bowman, O27614.  
 Harvey Stein Boyd, O27504.  
 Ernest Paul Braucher, O27070.  
 Julius Hoesterer Braun, O50472.  
 Robert Burnham Brewer, O50290.  
 Erwin Risley Brigham, O38438.  
 John James Briscoe, O27503.  
 Earl Barnette Broome, Jr., O50300.  
 Levin Barnett Broughton, O27310.  
 Cyril Joseph Brown, O27069.  
 John Francis Brown, O27540.  
 James Russell Brownell, Jr., O27107.  
 Glenn Samuel Brunson, Jr., O27098.  
 Robert Clay Burgess, O27551.  
 John Hamilton Burke, O50272.  
 John Thomas Burke, O27530.  
 Michael John Burke, O50375.  
 Bates Cavanaugh Burnell, O27241.  
 George Monroe Bush, O27072.  
 Olva Barland Butler, O50507.  
 Leon Curtis Byrd, O27746.  
 Lochlin Willis Caffey, O27061.  
 Walter Joseph Cain, O27696.  
 Patrick O'Keefe Callahan, O27168.  
 Robert Victor Calvert, O27555.  
 Luther Clyde Campbell, Jr., O27413.  
 Jefferson DeRosenroll Capps, O50447.  
 Waldo Louis Carbonell, O27427.  
 John Terrel Carley, Jr., O27852.  
 Richard Chapman Carnes, O27321.  
 George Baker Carrington, O27670.  
 Charles Faulkner Carter, Jr., O27114.  
 Colin McRae Carter, Jr., O27082.  
 Douglas Henry Carter, O50371.  
 George William Casey, O27609.  
 Augustus Raymond Cavanna, Jr., O27576.  
 Richard Atlee Chidlaw, O27096.  
 Albert Wylie Childress, Jr., O27749.  
 James George Christiansen, Jr., O27161.  
 George Anson Churchill, O27362.  
 Clyde Othnell Clark, O56632.  
 Raymond Lavern Clark, O27300.  
 William Doran Clark, O27448.  
 David Carleton Clymer, O27125.  
 Ira Burdette Coldren, Jr., O27249.  
 William Collins, O27764.  
 George Washington Connell, Jr., O41326.  
 Robert Grant Conrad, O27545.  
 Albert Henry Conyne, O50505.  
 Leon Arthur Cookman, O27156.  
 Charles William Cox, O27667.  
 Richard Clarkson Crane, O27245.  
 Richard Edwin Cross, O39433.  
 Edward Paul Crovo, O38430.  
 James Albert Crowe, O27672.  
 George Benson Crowell, O27719.  
 Robert Muir Cunningham, O27344.  
 Harold Edwynne Curry, O27830.  
 Charles Harry Curtis, O27564.  
 Howard James Dager, Jr., O27147.  
 Bernard Clark Dailey, Jr., O27822.  
 James Howard Dalman, O27846.  
 Harle Hoyt Damon, O27371.  
 George Arlington Daoust, Jr., O27416.  
 William Anderson Daugherty, O27491.  
 John Lynch Davis 3d, O39480.  
 Raymond Preston Davis, O56400.  
 Richard Winslow Davis, Jr., O27595.  
 William Lee Davis, O27677.  
 Stephen Albion Day, O27810.  
 Richard Frank DeKay, O27469.  
 Marcello Joseph Del Vecchio O27774.  
 Jere Hill Dement, O50347.  
 Ernest John Denz, O27172.  
 Thomas Henry Devlin O27860.  
 Hobart Elam Dewey, O39479.  
 George Ellis Dexter, O27162.  
 Raymond Oscar Dietsche, O27292.  
 Robert Edward Dingeman, O27380.  
 Willard Almur Dodge, O56411.  
 Phillip Jarvis Dolan, O27092.

Richard Holt Dolson, Sr., O50258.  
 Arthur Frederick Dorie, O56572.  
 Thomas Edward Dowd, Jr., O27160.  
 John Philip Downing, Jr., O27290.  
 Arthur Luke Doyle, Jr., O27684.  
 Thomas Davison Drake 2d, O27728.  
 Warren Wallace Drake, O27727.  
 Clarence Richard Driscoll, O27324.  
 James Arthur Driscoll, O50467.  
 Keith Francis DuBois, O50403.  
 Charles Frank Dubsky, O27480.  
 Philip Edward Dunn, O50379.  
 Reynold Martin Eckstrom, O27207.  
 Frederick Roy Einsidler, O27388.  
 William Alan Ekberg, O27111.  
 James Henry Elkey, O27370.  
 Richard Bruce Elliott, O50442.  
 Edward Seales Eneboe, O27488.  
 Robert Carl Erickson, O27089.  
 David Erlenkotter, O27350.  
 Vaughn Gracie Evans, O38460.  
 Mac Cyril Eversole, O56634.  
 George Senseny Eyster, Jr., O27645.  
 Leland Boyd Fair, O56387.  
 Roy William Farley, O27543.  
 William Joseph Farrell, O38488.  
 Andrew Gilligan Favret, O27065.  
 George Crosland Fee, O27794.  
 John Whelan Fehrs, O27086.  
 Ernest Scholten Ferguson, O27594.  
 John Markham Ferguson, Jr., O27436.  
 Harris Markham Findlay, Jr., O27666.  
 David Fink, O27589.  
 Carl Henry Fischer, Jr., O27873.  
 Kenneth Peter Fischer, O39471.  
 Thomas Edward Fitzpatrick, Jr., O27453.  
 Don Smith Fletcher, O50476.  
 Earl Warren Fletcher, O50297.  
 John Wilkinson Fletcher, Jr., O27813.  
 Glenwood William Flint, O27390.  
 Gilbert Hermann Foltz, O50318.  
 John Morris Forbes, O27739.  
 George Thure Forssell, Jr., O27376.  
 Louis Renshaw Fortier, O27302.  
 Adolph Clarence Fossum, O50317.  
 Delbert Marcom Fowler, O27117.  
 Donald Edward Fowler, O27237.  
 Lawrence James Fox, Jr., O27859.  
 Clyde Luther Friar, O50410.  
 Arthur William Fridl, O27522.  
 Earl William Fuqua, Jr., O27289.  
 Robert Wallace Fye, O27248.  
 Charles Liston Gambill, O50435.  
 Alfred Karl Ganschow, O50352.  
 William Pringle Gardiner, O27136.  
 George Albert Garman, Jr., O27142.  
 Phil Riter Garn, O50395.  
 Joseph Bordeaux Garrett, O56512.  
 Andrew John Gatsis, O27883.  
 John Colclough Geer, O27722.  
 Walter Charles Gelini, O27132.  
 James Wesley Gilland, O27484.  
 John Michael Gilligan, Jr., O27724.  
 Joseph Francis Gioe, O56619.  
 Thomas Robert Gleason, O27432.  
 Carl Edgar Glenn, O50369.  
 William Joseph Glunz, O27748.  
 Frederick Carl Goeth, O27640.  
 John Loren Goff, Jr., O27554.  
 Joseph Aaron Goldes, O38389.  
 Lawrence Lionel Golston, O50367.  
 Randolph Goodwin, O56641.  
 Charles Richard Gorder, O27287.  
 James Butler Graham, O27441.  
 John Washington Graham, O27164.  
 Victor David Green, O50445.  
 Arthur Bryan Greene, O27681.  
 Charles Francis Greer, O27373.  
 Rabun Watson Griffith, O27326.  
 Donald Edwin Gross, O27805.  
 Richard Hubert Groves, O27141.  
 Edward Francis Gudgel, Jr., O27464.  
 Melvin Eugene Gustafson, O27693.  
 William Robert Guthrie, O27406.  
 Joseph George Hadzima, O27264.  
 Luther Leon Halbrook, O50261.  
 Richard Louis Haley, O27342.  
 Robert Metcalf Hall, O27260.  
 Theodore Harding Halligan, O27520.  
 Claud Steward Hamilton, O27511.  
 William Henry Hamilton, O41322.

Arthur Pancratius Hanket, O27194.  
 William Brevard Hankins, Jr., O27656.  
 Ernest Lauriston Hardin, Jr., O27154.  
 Earl Caldwell Hardy, O27582.  
 John Robert Harman, Jr., O27476.  
 John Trompen Harmeling, O27579.  
 James Boyle Harrington, Jr., O27455.  
 Robert Healy Harrington, O56543.  
 Richard Sides Hartline, O27180.  
 Durell Benner Hartman, O39466.  
 John Collingwood Hastie, O27332.  
 Harvey Dodson Hawley, O50402.  
 James Lloyd Hayden, O27475.  
 Robert Earl Hayes, O27347.  
 William Raymond Healey, O50456.  
 Edmund Gus Heilbronner, O27378.  
 Laurence Louis Heimerl, O27454.  
 Donald Horton Henderson, O27293.  
 James Lynn Henshaw, O27357.  
 James Arthur Herbert, O27419.  
 Alfred Olivier Hero, O27078.  
 William Allin Herring, O41340.  
 Robert McKissic Herron 3d, O27457.  
 Richard Joseph Hesse, O27226.  
 James Julius Heyman, O27090.  
 David Higgins 4th, O27285.  
 Joseph Chamberlain Hill, O27838.  
 Rolfe Louis Hillman, Jr., O27661.  
 Ralph Moe Hinman, O27669.  
 Kenneth Richard Hintz, O39469.  
 Joseph Homer Hoffman, O27823.  
 George Fredendall Hoge, O27375.  
 James Frederick Holcomb, O27219.  
 William Henry Holcombe, Jr., O27581.  
 Paul Robert Holland, Jr., O27741.  
 James William Howe, O27674.  
 Otto William Huebner, O50346.  
 Henry Joseph Hughes, Jr., O27831.  
 Joseph Daniel Hughes, O38386.  
 William Hayden Hughes, O27740.  
 Leonard Alfred Humphreys, O27467.  
 Ira Augustus Hunt, Jr., O27074.  
 Thomas Joseph Hurley, O50389.  
 Henry Emmette Hutcheson, Jr., O27725.  
 Lowell Russell Hutson, O38419.  
 Walter Raymond Hylander, Jr., O27104.  
 Neil ImObersteg, O27389.  
 James Dudley Ingham, Jr., O27628.  
 Robert Northrup Ives, O27797.  
 George Daniel Jackson, O27821.  
 Walter Allen Jacobson, O50473.  
 Walter Albert Jagiello, O27584.  
 Alvin Carl Jensen, O38400.  
 Rupert Watson Jernigan, Jr., O27382.  
 Richard Orem Jett, O27856.  
 Richard Harold Johnson, O27179.  
 Bernard Edwin Johnsrud, O27423.  
 Bud LeVatte Jones, O38522.  
 Fred Eugene Jones, O27232.  
 George Salley Jones 3d, O27569.  
 Harvey Cooper Jones, O27169.  
 Lawrence McMeney Jones, Jr., O27412.  
 William Cloyd Jones, O50396.  
 Claude Kitchin Josey, O27433.  
 Francis Borgia Kane, Jr., O27602.  
 Fred Ernest Karhohs, O56540.  
 Loren Ralph Keefer, O38492.  
 Henry Eaton Kelly, Jr., O27291.  
 John Luther Kennedy, Jr., O27466.  
 Edwin Bartlett Kerr, O27796.  
 Geoffrey Brooks Keyes, O27253.  
 John David Zafcek Kinsey, O38517.  
 Alfred William Klement, Jr., O27381.  
 Lawrence John Klima, O27188.  
 Albion Williamson Knight, Jr., O27216.  
 Charles Edward Knudsen, O27829.  
 Kenneth George Kochel, O27445.  
 Fred Kochli, Jr., O27611.  
 Donald Jay Kohler, O27203.  
 Richard Irving Kothrade, O27190.  
 Wilbert Joe Kovar, O27094.  
 William George Kratz, O27083.  
 Robert Gordon Krebs, O27668.  
 Ralph Severin Kristoferson, O27102.  
 George Raymond Krough, O38580.  
 John Bernard Kusewitt, Jr., O27495.  
 Frank Alvin LaBoon, O27183.  
 James Polk La Croix, Jr., O41330.  
 Kenneth Roland Ladensohn, O27277.  
 Lincoln Landis, O27588.  
 Garland Sivley Lendrith, Jr., O27075.

Ernest Edward Lane, Jr., O27146.  
 Philip Lewis Lansing, O27298.  
 Quentin Charles LaPrad, O27744.  
 Anthony Lavite, Jr., O38474.  
 Edward Bertram Ledford, O38496.  
 Raimon William Lehman, O56586.  
 Raymond Godfrey Lehman, Jr., O56621.  
 Loren Ray Lester, O38411.  
 Burton Oliver Lewis, Jr., O27745.  
 Robert Wilder Lewis, O50400.  
 Karl Raymond Liewer, O27474.  
 Charles Everett Limpus, Jr., O27876.  
 John Henning Linden, O27119.  
 Albert Ellmore Lockhart, O50374.  
 Houghton Lohn, O27181.  
 Thomas Dick Longino 2d, O27798.  
 Florenzo D. Losco, O56579.  
 Robert Clyde Loudermilch, O27398.  
 Everett Eugene Love, O27148.  
 William James Love, O27224.  
 Arthur Hadley Lozano, O27438.  
 Robert Chester Lutz, O27359.  
 Richard Millo Lyman, O56519.  
 Monor Collins Mabry, O27201.  
 Melville Jewell MacDonald, Jr., O56444.  
 Jack MacFarlane, O38463.  
 Horace Abbott MacIntire, O27238.  
 Robert Neale Mackinnon, O27889.  
 Richard Harriman Maeder, O38409.  
 Thomas Brock Maertens, O27847.  
 Dale Eugene Mahan, O27642.  
 Harold Elwin Maier, O50287.  
 Norman Douglas Mallory, O27068.  
 Nikitas Constantin Manitsas, O27254.  
 Robert James Mann, O27361.  
 Robert Francis Mantey, O27323.  
 Robert Leslie Marben, O27235.  
 Albert James Maris, O27711.  
 Thomas Everett Marriott, O27348.  
 Clarence Ames Martin, Jr., O38387.  
 John Boone Martin, Jr., O27550.  
 Joe Ignacio Martinez, O27446.  
 Robert Carter McAlister, O27159.  
 John Thomas McAtee, O56390.  
 Robert Wegley McBride, O27076.  
 Joseph Edward McCarthy, O27570.  
 Herbert Joseph McChrystal, Junior, O27327.  
 Robert Hunter McCleary, O41316.  
 Richard Edward McConnell, O27108.  
 Bruce Olem McCracken, O27343.  
 John James McCulloch, O27177.  
 Thomas George McCunniff, O27732.  
 Robert Lee McDaniel, O27771.  
 Joseph Corbett McDonough, O27864.  
 Raymond Iszard McFadden, O27171.  
 Russell Daniel McGovern, O27738.  
 William Vincent McGuinness, Jr., O27296.  
 Theodore Hays McLendon, O27204.  
 Leo Thomas McMahon, Jr., O41352.  
 Strathmore Keith McMurdo, O27498.  
 William Harvey McMurray, O27118.  
 Roland William McNamee, Jr., O27544.  
 William Jeremiah McNeese, O41354.  
 Frank Day McPeek, O27812.  
 Claude Monroe McQuarrie, Jr., O27434.  
 Frank Erhard Mehner, O27122.  
 Joseph Edward Melanson, Jr., O27624.  
 Kenneth Dale Mertel, O38477.  
 Alexander Serge Mikhailevsky, O38452.  
 Eric Otto Alfred Miller, Jr., O50342.  
 Judson Frederick Miller, O38518.  
 Raymond Oscar Miller, O27489.  
 William Van Deusen Millman, O27115.  
 John Thomas Monaghan, O38455.  
 Ernest Mahlon Monroe, Jr., O38497.  
 Putnam Waldner Monroe, O27282.  
 Harold Gregory Moore, Jr., O27678.  
 Kenneth Mason Moore, Jr., O27272.  
 Richard Lee Moriarty, O50440.  
 James Monroe Morris, Jr., O27833.  
 James Wingfield Morris, O27583.  
 Thomas Arnot Mort, O50330.  
 Albert Farquharson Muehlke, O27234.  
 James Mathew Mueller, O27121.  
 James Alva Munson, O27230.  
 John DeSales Murphy, O27789.  
 Kyran Martin Murphy 3d, O27874.  
 Thomas Clinton Musgrave, O27276.  
 John Francis Myron, O27585.  
 John Dorsey Nacy, O27308.  
 Herman Smith Napier, O27636.

John Henry Neff, O27790.  
 Donald Thomas Nelson, Jr., O27303.  
 George Delno Nelson, Jr., O27863.  
 Paul Burnham Nelson, Jr., O27383.  
 Robert Clough Nelson, O27124.  
 Milton Max Nemky, O50288.  
 Carl Bryant Nerdahl, O27664.  
 John Hyatt Newell, O38420.  
 Vernon Howard Harper Newman, O27336.  
 Thomas Joseph Nichols, O27138.  
 William Muir Nichols, O27101.  
 David J. Nicol, O38480.  
 John Ashley Noble, O27197.  
 William Henry Norris, O27295.  
 Keith Chandler Nusbaum, O27251.  
 James Henry O'Brien, Jr., O27369.  
 William Van Dyke Ochs, Jr., O27857.  
 Charles Donald O'Connor, O38471.  
 Neil Joseph O'Donnell, O27697.  
 Joseph Patrick O'Hanlon, O27257.  
 Joseph James O'Hare, Jr., O56560.  
 Peter George Olenchuk, O50411.  
 Hugh Clifford Oppenheimer, O27568.  
 Merle Francis Ormond, O38479.  
 James Gyde Owens, O50358.  
 Kenneth Lawrence Paape, O27063.  
 Fred Charles Parker 3d, O27493.  
 Robert Joseph Parr, O27461.  
 James Kelley Patchell, O27735.  
 John Walter Patrick, Jr., O38443.  
 Frank Ned Pavia, O27791.  
 William Oliver Perry, Jr., O27729.  
 Thomas Oakley Phillips, Jr., O26892.  
 Edmund d'Autremont Pickett, O27723.  
 Harry Theodore Pierson, Jr., O50343.  
 Vernon Wyatt Pinkley, O27174.  
 Homer Shepherd Pitzer, Jr., O27652.  
 Martin Harrison Plotkin, O38160.  
 Philip Bertram Polak, O27193.  
 Robert Maitland Polz, O56431.  
 Lewis Vincent Posich, O50397.  
 Everett Orville Post, O27619.  
 John Joseph Powers, Jr., O27478.  
 Patrick William Powers, O27346.  
 Robert Milton Prater, O38507.  
 Randall Upson Pratt, O27421.  
 Bert Frank Prentiss, O27608.  
 Daniel Chapman Prescott, O27837.  
 Edmund Randolph Preston, Jr., O27525.  
 Alfred Jess Price, O27397.  
 Herbert Hamilton Price, Jr., O27825.  
 Marvin Louis Price, O27157.  
 William David Proctor, Jr., O38482.  
 Francis Joseph Quinn, O56664.  
 Fred Wharton Rankin, Jr., O27073.  
 James Asa Rasmussen, O27612.  
 Donald Volney Rattan, O27695.  
 William Ross Reed, O50328.  
 Robert Milton Reese, O27875.  
 Donald Howard Rehm, O27807.  
 William James Reidy, O27679.  
 Matthew William Reiss, O56659.  
 Charles LeRoy Reynolds, O27163.  
 John Taylor Rhett, Jr., O27178.  
 Howard Deschler Rhodes, O50525.  
 Robert Vincent Ridenour, O27627.  
 Gordon James Rieger, O56428.  
 Abram Vorhees Rinearson, 3d, O27242.  
 Arthur Herbert Ringler, O27820.  
 Mark Edmond Rivers, Jr., O27309.  
 Gene Albert Roberts, O41349.  
 George Locke Robson, Jr., O27702.  
 Joseph John Rochefort, Jr., O27085.  
 Wilfred Lee Rogers, O27603.  
 Allen Driscoll Rooke, Jr., O38511.  
 James Thurman Root, O27734.  
 Walter Harold Root, Jr., O27486.  
 Charles Coolidge Ross, O56661.  
 Almon Richard Roth, O27355.  
 Hampton Rowland, Jr., O38512.  
 Darrell Roland Rumpf, O50368.  
 Joseph Russo, O27356.  
 James Arthur Ruth, O27273.  
 Robert Anthony Ryan, O56587.  
 Robert Joseph St. Onge, O27844.  
 Sylvan Edwin Salter, O27364.  
 Chester Craig Sargent, O27653.  
 Bickford Edward Sawyer, Jr., O27689.  
 Edward Stanley Saxby O27404.  
 Donald Cary Schaffer, O38231.  
 Otto Paul Scharth, O41337.  
 Louis John Scheiter, Jr., O27806.

Barney Groves Schneckloth, O27756.  
 Kenneth Russell Scurr, Jr., O27542.  
 Joseph Schilling Senger, O27783.  
 Winfred Bullard Senior, O56588.  
 John Lewis Shadday, O27463.  
 Wade Harvey Shafer, O27703.  
 Harry James Shaw, O27131.  
 Albert Dermont Sheppard, Jr., O27259.  
 Robert Vernon Shirky, O56436.  
 Almon Leroy Shoaff, O27866.  
 Gordon Hughes Shumard, O27497.  
 Leslie Edwin Shumway, Jr., O38478.  
 William Cary Sibert, O27733.  
 Robert Herman Siegrist, O39475.  
 Daniel Nathan Silverman, Jr., O27872.  
 Walter Jerome Slazak, O27151.  
 Erskine Smith, O27747.  
 Frank Armand Smith, O27701.  
 George Francis Smith, Jr., O27247.  
 Rayburn Lester Smith, Jr., O27607.  
 Richard Agnew Smith, O27490.  
 William Scott Smith, O38509.  
 Charles Raymond Sniffin, O50437.  
 Melvin Jordan Sowards, O39473.  
 Charles William Spann, O27135.  
 Lawrence Edward Spellman, O50267.  
 Jack Winslow Spiller, O27629.  
 Charles Echols Spragins, O27712.  
 Joseph John Stanowicz, O27869.  
 Charles Lenton Stark, O50451.  
 Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Starkey, O27422.  
 James Wells Startt, O56521.  
 Donald Frederick Staver, O50422.  
 Herman Stein, O50312.  
 Carl Arnett Steinhagen, O27812.  
 Norman Maynard Stephens, O38390.  
 Robert Edward Steteklub, O27575.  
 Frank Durand Stevens, O56568.  
 George Craig Stewart, Jr., O27682.  
 Harry Thaddeus Stewart, O27331.  
 Howell Francis Stewart, O56571.  
 Keith MacArthur Stewart, O27700.  
 William Garrett Stewart, O27084.  
 William Hopkins Stites, O27399.  
 Milton Dair Stone, Jr., O27782.  
 Paul Allen Stough, O27429.  
 Thomas Laverne Stovall, O50512.  
 Joseph Leon Strelecki, Jr., O50468.  
 James Austin Stuart, Jr., O27777.  
 Jonas William Stuckey, O27649.  
 Warren Robert Stumpe, O27062.  
 Camillus Caruthers Sullivan, Jr., O27442.  
 Gordon Sumner, Jr., O38489.  
 James Benjamin Tanner, O27401.  
 Robert Francis Tansey, O27496.  
 William Brockenbrough Taylor, O27077.  
 David Harlan Thomas, O27610.  
 Robert Inman Thompson, O27750.  
 Ralph Thomas Tierno, Jr., O27601.  
 Frank Winston Tippitt, O50298.  
 Robert Beeghly Tobias, Jr., O27578.  
 Robert Alfred Tolar, O27468.  
 John Gibson Tomlinson, O27233.  
 Robert Charles Tongue, O27635.  
 John Howard Tooles, O50392.  
 William Carl Treitz, O27079.  
 Ralph Gunther Tross, O50257.  
 George Henry Troxell, Jr., O27440.  
 John Orrien Truby, O27426.  
 Lucian King Truscott 3d, O27519.  
 John Phillip Tyler 3d, O27128.  
 Paul Henry Ugis, Jr., O27071.  
 George Colles Valentine, O50385.  
 John Joseph Vallaster, Jr., O27473.  
 Daniel Vance, Jr., O38441.  
 Jasper Clyde Vance, Jr., O56715.  
 Joseph Collins Van Cleve, Jr., O27431.  
 John Maurice Van Dyke, O38451.  
 Harold Anton VanHout, O27623.  
 John Paul Vann, O38485.  
 James Clarence Vaughn, O39422.  
 Earl Robert Velle, O27410.  
 George Catron Viney, O38516.  
 Wilbur Henry Vinson, Jr., O27405.  
 John Henry Von Der Bruegge, Jr., O38523.  
 Walter William Von Tongeln, O38453.  
 Robert Barton Waddington, O27527.  
 John Wahl, O27613.  
 Thomas Meredith Waitt, O50475.  
 Cornelius William Wakefield, Jr., O27236.

Paul Mulford Wakeman, Jr., O50500.  
 Roger Stanley Walden, O41320.  
 William Allen Walker, Jr., O27415.  
 George Magoun Wallace 2d, O27556.  
 John Christian Wallman O41311.  
 Richard Park Wallsten, O27396.  
 James Rock Walpole, O32579.  
 Owen Joseph Walsh, O50345.  
 Robert Charles Waring, O27721.  
 Lamar Weaver, Jr., O27523.  
 William Gaulbert Weaver, Jr., O38337.  
 Richard Luther West, O27091.  
 Chester Carlton Westfall, Jr., O50489.  
 Paul Ross Wheaton, O27600.  
 Clifford Martin White, Jr., O27363.  
 William Edward Whittington 3d, O27815.  
 Bernard James Wichele, O27349.  
 William Benson Wier, Jr., O27200.  
 Perry Oldham Wilcox, O27452.  
 Richard Charles Williams, O27462.  
 Harold Dale Wilson, O27515.  
 Edward Leon Winthrop, O27560.  
 George Lindsay Withey, Jr., O27714.  
 Wallace Keith Wittwer, O27294.  
 Harold Dale Wolaver, O27803.  
 Donald Joseph Wolf, O27231.  
 William Roy Wolfe, Jr., O27514.  
 John Lawrence Wood, O27565.  
 William Clark Wood, Jr., O27861.  
 Joseph Laird Woolley, O27400.  
 Fayette Loomis Worthington, O27318.  
 Amos Luther Wright, O27095.  
 John James Wuchter, O27753.  
 Francis Lester Wycoff, O53391.  
 Eames Langden Yates, O50350.  
 Austin Joseph Yerks, Jr., O27787.  
 Robert Charles Yowell, O41335.  
 Robert Farrer Zeidner, O27499.  
 James Robert Zeller, O27767.  
 William Eugene Zook, O27708.  
 To be captains, Judge Advocate General's Corps  
 Bruce Campbell Babbitt, O61198.  
 Germain Patrick Boyle, O63227.  
 John Lowell Child, O61197.  
 Charles Rook Counts, O61196.  
 James Baylis Earle, O61961.  
 Gilbert Arthur Frisbie, O63116.  
 Austin James Gerber, O63175.  
 Charles Christian Grimm, O63226.  
 Joseph Andrew Hill, O61965.  
 Thomas Howard Hooten, O61960.  
 Wallace Sims Murphy, O63174.  
 Robert James Reed, O60900.  
 Thomas Haydn Reese, O62992.  
 Richard Frederick Seibert, O61966.  
 James Frederick Senegal, O61199.  
 To be captains, Chaplains  
 Gerard Joseph Gefell, O63103.  
 Harold Bowsher Lawson, O60750.  
 Walter Scott McCleskey, O65427.  
 Ora Herbert McKenney, O60751.  
 Jerome Oscar Sommer, O65424.  
 To be captains, Medical Corps  
 Archibald Mark Ahern, O58256.  
 William Stewart Allerton, O59713.  
 John Hamilton Angell, O58721.  
 Walter McAdoo Anglin, O62979.  
 Norman Lee Arnett, O62928.  
 Glen Keith Arney, O63170.  
 John Clement Baber, Jr., O58270.  
 Theodore McBride Badgley, O62975.  
 Dexter Taber Ball, O58260.  
 William Paul Barron, O55225.  
 Thomas Grady Baskin, O60088.  
 Alexander Hiatt Beaton, O60094.  
 Richard Requartte Beckwith, O62953.  
 John Fisher Benson, O59714.  
 Irving Berke, O62918.  
 Wilmer Conrad Betts, O59715.  
 William Wylie Bindeman, O58713.  
 William Jessup Blake, O58235.  
 Nelson Robert Blemlly, O62969.  
 Don Girton Bock, O58725.  
 Richard Charles Bodie, O59716.  
 Eugene Frederick Bollinger, O59717.  
 Gordon Willis Briggs, O62940.  
 John Peter Briske, O62931.  
 Norman Edward Brodeur, O58211.

Otto Curtis Brosius, O59645.  
 Bourbon Ellis Canfield, O58777.  
 John Edward Canham, O62925.  
 Arnold John Capute, O58719.  
 Hugo Maria Cardullo, O58264.  
 Morton Burtram Carlton, O59718.  
 Frederick Ruthven Carricker, O62788.  
 John Jefferson Carter, O58232.  
 Elwyn Cavin, O62917.  
 Mark Thomas Cenac, O63220.  
 Eugene Faye Chandler, O63672.  
 Robert Arthur Chase, O59719.  
 Thomas Paschal Clarke 3d, O58722.  
 James Robert Collier, O62972.  
 Harold Collings, Jr., O63456.  
 George Andrew Colom, O58726.  
 Edgar Lewis Cook, O58167.  
 Glen Ernest Cooley, O59720.  
 Henry Clay Cosand, Jr., O62982.  
 Robert Milton Counts, O58782.  
 Frank Joseph Cozzetto, O58214.  
 Calvin Clarence Cranfield, Jr., O62958.  
 Forrest Glenn Dannenbring, O62955.  
 Michael Joseph Davis, O65428.  
 Norman Ralph Davis, O58770.  
 Joseph William Dennis, O59721.  
 Robert Francis Dillon, O62943.  
 Philip Roger Dodge, O60078.  
 Charles Raymond Downs, O62970.  
 Phillip Edward Duffy, O60072.  
 John Albert Duggan, O58258.  
 William Caldwell Dunckel, Jr., O60781.  
 Williford Eppes, O58723.  
 Ralph Haynes Forrester, O63165.  
 Bruce Todd Forsyth, O60091.  
 Donald Chesterfield Fox, O62967.  
 Douglas Wayne Frerichs, O59648.  
 Richard Hawley Garrett, O62945.  
 James Jaquet Gibbs, O62934.  
 John Rogers Gibson, O63454.  
 Ralph Victor Gieselman, O60081.  
 Robert Burnes Giffin, Jr., O60152.  
 Cleston Wayne Gilpatrick, O59649.  
 Thomas Tilden Glasscock, O60093.  
 Robert Francis Glock, O62936.  
 Evan Roy Goitra, O59724.  
 Maurice Joseph Gonder, O62948.  
 Robert Jean Gosling, O62790.  
 William Allen Gruber, O58259.  
 Oscar Green, O59725.  
 Richard Eubank Green, O62935.  
 Robert Roland Hahn, O58715.  
 Howard Essex Hall, O59726.  
 David Alan Hamburg, O58735.  
 William Roy Hancock, O59539.  
 James Edward Hansen, O62926.  
 Louis Elmore Harman, Jr., O62916.  
 John McRoberts Harter, O60080.  
 William Hausman, O58273.  
 Joseph Albert Hawkins, O63835.  
 John Phinazee Heard, O59728.  
 Charles Gordon Hermann, O59727.  
 Wood S. Herren, O60082.  
 John Allen Hightower, O60075.  
 Robert Frederic Hood, O62949.  
 John Harvey Hoon, O60071.  
 William Kawood Howard, O62983.  
 Jay Carroll Hoyt, O59445.  
 William Floyd Hughes, Jr., O58717.  
 Vincent Harrington Somers Hume, O62921.  
 Rudolph Micrael Jaryl, O58262.  
 Richard Price Jobe, O60095.  
 Arnold Warren Johnson, Jr., O62920.  
 David Eugene Johnson, O63164.  
 Robert Jean Johnson, O60151.  
 Albert Richard Jones, Jr., O58226.  
 Robert Charles Jones, O62941.  
 Sheldon William Joseph, O59607.  
 Richard Leon Kasper, O58212.  
 William McClure Keeling, O63455.  
 Robert Raymond Keim, Jr., O62937.  
 Robert John King, O62973.  
 William Breuster Kingsley, O59733.  
 Ervin Arthur Kjenaas, O59696.  
 George Henry Klumpner, O59734.  
 Arthur Emanuel Hertzler Knox, O58254.  
 Kenneth Ashley Kooi, O59735.  
 John Montgomery Kroyer, O60089.  
 James Edward Lamb, Jr., O60136.  
 Arthur Gregory Law, O62977.  
 John Douglas Lawson, O65533.

Donald Valentine Leddy, O63721.  
 Robert Ray Leonard, Jr., O60096.  
 Wendell Frederick Lienhard, Jr., O62933.  
 Edwin Lindig, Jr., O58576.  
 Frank Wilson Little, O58215.  
 Bruce Leffler Livingstone, O62944.  
 Franklin Marquis Lockwood, O58263.  
 Edward Anthony Lundberg, O59738.  
 William Francis Mac Gillivray, O59739.  
 Nicholas Mallis, O60153.  
 David Nuttle Marine, O58265.  
 Bruce Rodger Marshall, O60090.  
 Francis Paul Martin, O60778.  
 John Wayne Mason, O59740.  
 Robert Livingston Massonneau, O63673.  
 Joseph Henry Masters, O62968.  
 William Kesley McClelland, O59741.  
 John Marshall McCoy, O59742.  
 Laurence Charles McGonagle, O62938.  
 John Martin McGuire, O65575.  
 Robert Donald McKnight, O58218.  
 James Lewis McNeil, O58229.  
 Edward Eugene Mercier, O58720.  
 Albert Gordon Miller, O58773.  
 William Hal Morse, O58734.  
 Arthur Jefferson Moseley, O58272.  
 Travis Henry Mueller, O62927.  
 Jack Paul Myers, O59743.  
 Robert Phillip Natelson, O59744.  
 Loren Elmer Nelson, O59745.  
 Merrill Fred Nelson, O58271.  
 Stanley Newman, O62965.  
 Theodore Herman Nicholas, O58771.  
 George Roberts Nicholson, O60074.  
 Lester Irevin Nienhuis, O58257.  
 James Hiatt Noble, O60150.  
 Bernard Francis O'Hara, O62962.  
 Robert Earl Parmenter, O62960.  
 Jack Webster Passmore, O60144.  
 Harvey William Phelps, O64935.  
 Charles Tannehill Pinsky, O59746.  
 Forrest Williford Pitts, O59747.  
 Gennady Evgenevich Platoff, O63457.  
 George William Pogson, O58268.  
 Edwin Eugene Pontius, O58237.  
 Douglas Boyd Price, O62930.  
 Francis Thomas Rafferty, O59748.  
 Robert Pike Ranson, O60073.  
 Maurice Scaggs Rawlings, O60076.  
 Bruce Allen Raymond, O63834.  
 James Arthur Reilly, Jr., O58219.  
 John Edmund Reisner, O62952.  
 Joel Hiram Richert, O60145.  
 Francis Joseph Rigney, O62923.  
 James Daley Roorda, O58729.  
 Eugene A. Rosenberger, O62951.  
 Milton Emanuel Rubini, O62974.  
 Charles Jacob Ruth, O59646.  
 Emmett John Ryan, O60149.  
 Robert William Saunderson, Jr., O58222.  
 Howard Pierce Sawyer, Jr., O59751.  
 Robert Bernard Schmidt, O62966.  
 William Frederic Schnitzker, O59444.  
 Gerald John Schwab, O62961.  
 John Joseph Schwab, O59752.  
 Irvin Leroy Schweitzer, O58269.  
 John Bayne Selby, O58231.  
 Robert Myron Senty, O58716.  
 John Brodhead Sheffer, O58216.  
 Robert William Sherwood, O63476.  
 Dermott Andrew Paul Smith, O65532.  
 Vernon Milan Smith, O62964.  
 John Willard Southworth, O60147.  
 Reuel Arthur Stallones, O62929.  
 William Arthur Stephens, O65429.  
 William Leete Stone 3d, O60085.  
 Robert Duane Story, O59753.  
 Charles Middleton Struthers, O62981.  
 Leon Stutzman, O58266.  
 Robert Ludwig Sundre, O62950.  
 Martin Abraham Swerdlow, O58224.  
 Harold Newell Taylor, O59755.  
 Paul Teplis, O58778.  
 John Quincy Thompson, O58714.  
 William West Thompson, O58213.  
 Elias Moe Throne, O62956.  
 Edward Joseph Tomsovic, O58217.  
 Joseph Nicholas Tori, O62922.  
 Ernest Randolph Trice, O59640.  
 Richard Current Turrell, O59760.  
 Darl Edwin Vanderploeg, O62963.

Gilbert Abel Varnell, O58261.  
 Rhey Walker, O59647.  
 Lawrence Lee Washburn, Jr., O60083.  
 John Watt, Jr., O58223.  
 John Howard Webb, Jr., O58724.  
 Calvin James Wegner, O59762.  
 George Chitty Weinland, O58220.  
 Charles Henry Phillips Westfall, O62971.  
 Edwin J. Westfall, O58227.  
 Ralph Leonard White, O59643.  
 Robert Henry Wildhack, O58728.  
 Charles Frederick Wilkins, Jr., O62954.  
 David Harold Williams, O63786.  
 Mortimer Lee Williams, O59763.  
 William Arthur Williams, O63169.  
 John Colver Wilsey, O58233.  
 David Cole Wilson, Jr., O58731.  
 George Sawyer Woodard, Jr., O62924.  
 Kent Thomas Woodard, O58230.  
 Louis Earnest Young, O60087.  
 Norman Bernard Yourish, O59764.

*To be captains, Dental Corps*

Carl Henry Anderson, O57754.  
 Wilfred Bernard Bell, O60103.  
 Walter Emerson Benson, O61950.  
 Charles Bartlett Bingham, O59712.  
 Thomas Walter Brehm, O61953.  
 Thomas Jay Brown, O60104.  
 Glenn Ray Carwell, O57074.  
 Andrew Christopher, O62791.  
 Millard Edward DeYoung, O57418.  
 Robert August Dietzschold, O63171.  
 Richard Anthony Doane, O62984.  
 James Leo Donahue, O58116.  
 Fred F. Foxx, O61077.  
 Alfred Guttman, O63787.  
 Harold Robert Hayes, Jr., O63172.  
 Charles Cuthrel Heath, O60107.  
 Richard Lorin Howard, O57576.  
 Edward Jones, O61078.  
 Herbert Anthony Keith, O61075.  
 James Emmett Lancaster, O57037.  
 Wallace Lynn Lancaster, O60154.  
 Sherman Lewis, O57844.  
 Robert Honnold Marlette, O60102.  
 Wendell Alvin Meikle, O62792.  
 Walter Mason Ormes, Jr., O58070.  
 James Franklyn Parker, O57575.  
 Willis Edmund Scott, O60106.  
 Joseph Lawrence Shomo, O61189.  
 John Whitney Snodgrass, Jr., O63477.  
 Joseph Paul Summa, O65574.  
 Francis Henry Vonnahmen, O61952.  
 Adolphus Gill White, O61073.  
 Anton Charles Zeman, Jr., O60105.

*To be captains, Veterinary Corps*

Lorenz Leon Beuschel, O60776.  
 Merida William Castleberry, O61954.  
 Charles Van Loan Elia, O60771.  
 John Thomas Flynn, O60768.  
 Robert Bruce Greiner, O60770.  
 Earl Wayne Grogan, O58275.  
 Donald Edward Guy, O60774.  
 Walter Dorland Hammer, O60769.  
 Joshua Edward Henderson, O56264.  
 Dan Hightower, O63222.  
 Arthur Lee Hogge, Jr., O37634.  
 Daniel Willis Hubbard, O60775.  
 Samuel Keith Kirk, O58783.  
 Robert Otto Linder, O56232.  
 Thomas Calvin McChesney, O56242.  
 Robert Clair McCord, O60772.  
 Henry Manford Miller, O41150.  
 Robert Melton Nims, O37638.  
 Martin Stanford Oster, O60777.  
 Joseph Sigurd Quigley, O60765.  
 George Edgar Ritter, O63221.  
 Warren John Schneider, O56209.  
 James Nelson Shively, O56270.  
 Samuel Wesley Thompson 2d, O56268.  
 John Oscar Wilson, O60773.

*To be captains, Medical Service Corps*

Robert Isaiah Anderson, O56990.  
 Conrad Stenset Braaten, O38581.  
 Robert Levi Covington, O38576.  
 Robert Newell Gilliam, O38572.  
 Irving Gray, O58738.  
 Charles Anderson Joyner, O38560.  
 Forest Lee Neal, O38577.

Thomas Ross Ostrom, O50576.  
 Robert Eugene Van Der Aa, O38575.  
 Gordon Falconer Weighton, O56772.  
 John Owen Williams, O56276.

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of section 107 of the Army-Navy Nurses Act of 1947, as amended by section 3, Public Law 514, Eighty-first Congress, approved May 16, 1950. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.

*To be captains, Army Nurse Corps*

Audrey Pauline Atkinson, N1493.  
 Willie Vivian Bailey, N2510.

Della Murphy Bechen, N1622.

Esther Rosalyn Bichler, N2512.

Mary Louise Blaney, N2514.

Goldie Mae Bowman, N2520.

Mozelle Ruth Breedlove, N2513.

Erin Eugenia Cannon, N1497.

Mary Loretta Carroll, N1936.

Julia Choate, N800.

Amy Louise Connors, N809.

Genevieve Annah Connors, N1183.

Clara Cotton Copeland, N1706.

Alyce-Marie Cecilia Cushing, N2110.

Ruth Evelyn Darrow, N967.

Patricia Anne Donaldson, N1709.

Lorraine Helen Droxler, N1164.

Stella Genevieve Duc, N1848.

Dorothy Janice Eck, N2502.

Muriel Eva Eckelberg, N1490.

Lois Cordelia Eldson, N1933.

Odessa Anna Falls, N1620.

Rose Marie Ferrell, N1500.

Mildred Olivia Flie, N2017.

Doris Imogene Foster, N2506.

Elizabeth Gilbert, N2341.

Ella Marie Gill, N2339.

Lillian Pearl Goodall, N2337.

Bertha Grace Goodfellow, N1492.

Ruth Irene Graham, N2517.

Olga Wynkin Gull, N1163.

June Dorothea Harris, N1182.

Mary Margaret Hill, N1495.

Bertha Jane Hoehn, N1846.

Marjorie Knox Hoover, N2111.

Dovie Roberta House, N1934.

Golda Sloan Howard, N1181.

Elizabeth Hagans Hurless, N2342.

Ethel Marian Inglis, N1516.

Elizabeth Ann Jones, N1700.

Lelia Jeanette Jones, N2019.

Lethie Lee Kay, N2508.

Ruth Alice Kegler, N960.

Helen Mary Killien, N2518.

Margaret Marla Kish, N1523.

Dorothy Marie Klasinski, N2332.

Mary Catherine Lachette, N1707.

Jean Dorothea Leipper, N2340.

Nancy Leigh Limb, N799.

Evelyn Winnifred Lund, N968.

Geraldine Massingill, N1158.

Dorothy Jean Matheson, N2109.

Catherine Shanley McBride, N806.

Shirley Mae McCoy, N1166.

Ellen Marie McDonald, N1187.

Eleanor Theresa McHugh, N2343.

Iva Rene Miller, N1177.

Maxine Miller, N1493.

Helen Kathryn Murphy, N2338.

Jean Nuss, N2505.

Eileen Dorothy O'Dwyer, N2507.

Mary Joan Oissen, N1847.

Anne Rose Piergallini, N1937.

Doris Idella Pillsbury, N2519.

Virginia Mae Porch, N1935.

Genevieve Rose Potochnik, N2504.

Elizabeth Fitch Purcell, N2214.

Bernadette Lucille Reider, N1494.

Evelyn Revels, N2516.

Emily Madeline Rickey, N1613.

Mary Frances Haley Riley, N796.

Gracie Vivian Roberts, N2216.

Sylvia Ross, N2334.

Mary Elizabeth Rosser, N804.

Margaret Ann Rowland, N1178.

Lena Joanne Russell, N1483.

Mildred Elizabeth Schmidt, N2333.

Bonnie Frances Schulz, N2336.  
 Katherine Wilhelmina Schumacher, N1621.  
 Artrude Muriel Stark, N2016.  
 Marilynne Claire Stevens, N1491.  
 Mary Ann Strauss, N793.  
 Mary Ellen Suglia, N1168.  
 Gladys Irene Toms, N1522.  
 Anastasia Patricia Urbanik, N1864.  
 Alma Ellen Virginia Wallsten, N1503.  
 Marian Waterhouse, N1619.  
 Anita Weber, N2215.  
 Margaret Emily Weydert, N2515.  
 Geraldine Lucille Whitford, N2511.  
 Joan Martha Wissing, N1710.  
 Rosemary Witt, N1520.  
 Marie Josephine Wood, N1521.  
 Olga Angelina Zanella, N1180.  
 Phyllis Marian Zimmer, N2335.

*To be captains, Women's Medical Specialist Corps*

Amelia Dorothy Amizich, M10029.  
 Madge Ashton, M10117.  
 Mary Katherine Berteling, J60.  
 Mildred Virginia Bond, J21.  
 Jeanne Ruth Bowdish, R10121.  
 Mildred Elizabeth Breimyer, R10120.  
 Betty Price Cheilman, R10116.  
 Frances Mildred Davison, M10030.  
 Maryelle Dodds, J67.  
 Dorothy Edith Fisher, R10058.  
 Mary Elizabeth Fraze, M10107.  
 Alvera Ethel Hamlyn, M10099.  
 Rosamond Ella Hughes, R10029.  
 Frances Jane Johnson, M10031.  
 Virginia Louise Jones, R10115.  
 Margaret Eileen Mahoney, M10017.  
 Ellen Christine Miller, R10094.  
 Sophia Nikitovna Obuhanych, R10127.  
 Mary Ann Perta, M10048.  
 Mary Rachel Preston, R10109.  
 Barbara Bangs Roper, J20.  
 Catherine Marie Ruane, R10119.  
 Betty-Jean Stratton, J64.  
 Alice Modelia Strong, R10133.  
 Mary Agnes Tope R10126.  
 Elizabeth Wadeila Woodham, R10108.

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of sections 502 and 508 of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. Those officers whose names are preceded by the symbol (X) are subject to physical examination required by law. All others have been examined and found physically qualified for promotion.

*To be first lieutenants*

X Joe Baker, Jr., O63359.  
 Alfred Barnes, O63099.  
 Ernest Franklin Barrett, O65114.  
 X Warren George Beer, O59966.  
 X William George Benedict, O65117.  
 X Gorham Louis Black, Jr., O65111.  
 Jerry Fuller Bradley, O65489.  
 X James Benjamin Bryant, O65490.  
 Robert Maurice Carroll, O63355.  
 LeRoy Welch Caulder, O65122.  
 X Ray Arthur Clardy, O65488.  
 X Richard Allen Cole, O65080.  
 X Charles Earl Connaway, O65130.  
 X William Charles Davidson, O65125.  
 X Richard Selden Demory, O65079.  
 X John Franklin Dennington, O65083.  
 X Roland Magness Dixon, Jr., O65128.  
 Wellington John Dunn, O63287.  
 X James Richard Ellingsworth, O63371.  
 X Thomas George Ellis, Jr., O65106.  
 X Robert William Engberg, O65104.  
 X Donald Bernard Erickson, O65092.  
 X Alex Eugene Fisher, O65126.  
 X Jack Norman Foshee, O65602.  
 Daniel Leonard French, O63650.  
 X John Philip Geraci, O65127.  
 X John Robert Goodrich, O65124.  
 Raymond McCauley Gunn, O65118.  
 X Clifford Pershing Hannum, O65965.  
 Richard Harwood, O65113.  
 X Ray Richard Hayden, O65131.  
 Joseph Norman Hearn, Jr., O63848.  
 X Carl Jackson Helton, O65095.  
 X Cam Jennings Hurst, Jr., O65491.

X Joseph Patrick Jaugstetter, O65487.  
 X Thomas Franklin Jenkins, O65085.  
 Wilbur Gibson Jenkins, Jr., O65099.  
 Harry Thomas Jones, O65119.  
 Roy Mac Jones, O65115.  
 Julius Jack Jorgensen, Jr., O65112.  
 X Rudolf Wolf Kogan, O65098.  
 X James Richard Lay, O63110.  
 George Stever Long, O65082.  
 X William Dennis Lynch, O65081.  
 X Harold Martin Maness, O63339.  
 X Patrick Joseph McDonnell, O63849.  
 Terence James McLarnon, O65086.  
 X Harold Jacob Meyer, O65097.  
 X John Henry Moore, O65093.  
 John Haygod Morrison, Jr., O65121.  
 Billy Bradley Nicholas, O65116.  
 Joel Birger Nyquist, Jr., O65107.  
 X Anthony Bernard Petrucci, O65105.  
 X Harlan Anthony Rasmussen, O65492.  
 X Neil Reese, O65101.  
 Foy Rice, O65088.  
 Robert Lee Richters, O65109.  
 X Elton Clarence Rodgers, O65100.  
 X Albert A. Rosner, O65077.  
 Homer Leigh Sellers, Jr., O65084.  
 Harold Eugene Shilling, O60473.  
 X Raymond Eld Slegrist, O65120.  
 X Robert Lee Smith, O65129.  
 Marvin Henry Snow, O63043.  
 X Fred Stivers, Jr., O65089.  
 X Jack Graves Stoitenberg, O65123.  
 X James Lamar Stone, O65096.  
 Anthony Santo Suglia, O65108.  
 X Chester Franklin Sunski, O65087.  
 X Wilbert Arthur Tieman, O65078.  
 Everett George Topham, O65091.  
 X Norbert Joseph Wayne, O65090.  
 John Fry Wood, Jr., O63372.  
 X Lloyd George Wright, O65103.

*To be first lieutenants, Medical Service Corps*

Louis Henry Foubare, O65076.

Keith Orville Shafer, O65102.

(Note.—The above-named officers were promoted during the recess of the Senate.)

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of sections 502 and 508 of the Officer Personnel Act of 1947. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.

*To be first lieutenants*

Alfred Lindbergh Allen, O60849.  
 Ralph Charles Antrim, Jr., O65170.  
 Edward Joseph Appel, O60846.  
 John Raby Armstrong, O65159.  
 John Edward Baker, O65151.  
 Henry Charles Becker, Jr., O63389.  
 Cleo Orth Bell, O65190.  
 Woodson Woods Bercaw, Jr., O59077.  
 John Paul Berres, O62276.  
 Courtland Clouis Bivens, Jr., O65237.  
 Louis Benjamin Bjostad, Jr., O65138.  
 Frederick Hilton Borland, O65162.  
 Sam Frank Bornhauser, O63385.  
 Howard Hannan Braunstein, O65196.  
 James Joseph Brockmyer, O63401.  
 Thomas Paul Burke, O62803.  
 Jerome Joseph Butler, Jr., O65146.  
 Robert Page Carter, O63396.  
 Robert Thomas Carty, O65188.  
 Eual Arthur Cathey, O65137.  
 Albert Catullo, O65144.  
 Bryce Thomas Cayce, O65189.  
 Donald Eber Chamberlain, O60823.  
 Louis Arthur Chateau, O60236.  
 Coleman Clay Clement, Jr., O63111.  
 Merrill Roger Cohn, O58342.  
 Richard Joseph Connolly, O65139.  
 Paul Archibald Cooper, O65133.  
 Joseph Edward Corr, Jr., O63393.  
 Rennie Melville Cory, O65207.  
 Charles Richard Covell, O58284.  
 Steven Stewart Crowell, O65156.  
 John William Dearing, O65201.  
 William Meinert DeLoach, O59978.  
 Harold Eugene Dill, O65143.  
 Louie Wayne Donoho, O61135.  
 Ralph Meade Dorsey, O63394.

Jimmie Weston Edmunds, O65160.  
 Robert Lewis Ednie, O60243.  
 Alexander Ross Evans, O65494.  
 Byron Aaron Falk, Jr., O65171.  
 Paul Thomas Fancher, O65205.  
 John Dominick Florio, O63398.  
 Donald Charles Fox, O65154.  
 Louis Claude Fry, O65608.  
 Ephriam Mayper Gershater, O59959.  
 Rudolph Francis Louis Giglio, O63399.  
 Robert Edmund Good, O59995.  
 Homer Earl Gray, Jr., O65198.  
 Clinton Burnell Haden, O65177.  
 Lindsey Wortham Hale, O65607.  
 Turner Petty Hall, Jr., O60238.  
 Robert Earling Hammerquist, O59969.  
 Eugene Hammonds, O65179.  
 Donald Leroy Harouff, O65165.  
 Phillip Eugene Hassman, O59972.  
 Norvell Hamner Hawkins, O59971.  
 Haven Hartwell Hemmings, O65168.  
 Joseph Donald Hynes, O63390.  
 Jasper Peter Jacques, O65180.  
 Robert M. Japinga, O65142.  
 Hugh Henry Jones, Jr., O65163.  
 Thomas Gerard Kearney, O65167.  
 Edward Lamotte King, O65175.  
 Robert Joseph Kirk, O59974.  
 Kenneth Thomas Kuefer, O59493.  
 Robert Adolph Kuntze, O65203.  
 Howard Henry Lamar, Jr., O59504.  
 Robert Oliver Lambert, O63400.  
 Charles Martin Landis, O65193.  
 Ernest John Lansing, O63113.  
 Gale Lyman Larson, O65185.  
 Willard Latham, O65141.  
 Thomas Martin Lawler, Jr., O65136.  
 John Daniel Layser, Jr., O59507.  
 Lloyd LaVern Le Clair, O63115.  
 Elbert Excell Legg, O58477.  
 Charles Collinwood Leneten, Jr., O63114.  
 Samuel Alexander Lewis, O65191.  
 Robert Edmond Lynch, O59893.  
 William Ford Macatee, O58491.  
 John Stephen Mace, O59789.  
 Christopher Stephen Maggio, O59975.  
 David Donald Maul, O65169.  
 Jack Mayer, O60240.  
 Kernen Maurice McConkey, O63384.  
 Edgar McGowan, O63404.  
 John Lewis McNeal, O65174.  
 Samuel Judson Merrill, O65145.  
 Robert August Mesick, O60610.  
 Russell J. Miller, O63388.  
 Andreas Jersin Moller, O58520.  
 Hunter Milton Montgomery, O59495.  
 Howard McKinley Moore, O63387.  
 Robert Hanna Moore, O65147.  
 Charles Edward Morris, O65206.  
 Meredith Eklund Murphy, O65176.  
 Clive Edison Murray, Jr., O58529.  
 Allen Lynn Myers, Jr., O59963.  
 Neil Gregory Nelson, O59660.  
 Hubert Maurice Nicholson, Jr., O58241.  
 Doyt Paul Norton, O65149.  
 Dunbar Sutton Norton, O65199.  
 Richard Edward O'Brien, O65187.  
 Hubert Wingfield Ogilvy, O65134.  
 Timothy Osato, O60241.  
 Joseph Lodge Parker, O65172.  
 Thomas James Patton, O65155.  
 Dallas M. Peyton, Jr., O65186.  
 Wilbur Francis Price, O60847.  
 Chesley Dean Prichard, O58562.  
 William Layton Prout, O59977.  
 George Peters Ramsey, Jr., O62277.  
 Forrest Douglas Ream, O59503.  
 Alfrfed Calvin Ring, O65153.  
 David Lindell Rool's, O63391.  
 Ralph Ray Rusche, O59970.  
 Rudolph Louis Ruzich, O65178.  
 Jack Richardson Sadler, O59081.  
 Herbert Louis Sauerma, O65493.  
 Harry Peter Schoen, Jr., O60848.  
 James Parker Scilley, Jr., O65161.  
 Harry Aloysius Seese, O63392.  
 Lewis Sylvester Selby, O63402.  
 Gervies Lyle Semmens, O59976.  
 Norman Irving Shapira, O60239.  
 Robert Sherman, O61101.  
 Charles Joseph Shoemaker, Jr., O62274.

Richard Dunbar Smith, O65158.  
 Carl Beeler Smyth, O65173.  
 Ray Vaughan Spivey, O63489.  
 Clyde Hurchell Stagner, O65183.  
 John Douglas Sterrett, O59474.  
 Robert Henry Strohm, O65152.  
 Leslie Walton Sturdivant, O58620.  
 Archie W. Summers, O60237.  
 Joseph Fred Teel, O65164.  
 James Leman Teese, O63386.  
 Robert William Thams, O65609.  
 William Charles Thoma, O63397.  
 Paul Allen Thompson, O65604.  
 Frederick Marshall Townroe, O63395.  
 Frank William Trinkle, O65204.  
 Francis Warren Turnbull, O63112.  
 James McNeil Van Hook, O59768.  
 Jack Dwight Van Meter, O65182.  
 James Burton Vaughn, O65181.  
 Edward Thurston Watling, O59506.  
 Robert James Weber, O65208.  
 Donald Eugene Wendling, O65150.  
 Albert Louis Wenz, O65148.  
 Thomas Randolph Westermann, O62275.  
 Thomas Daniel Whitlock, O65195.  
 Clifford Clyde Wilson, O59066.  
 Floyd Madison Wilson, O58663.  
 William James Worth, O62844.  
 Willard Sterling Wyatt, O65166.  
 Lewis Howerton Youngblood, Jr., O59967.  
 Walter Joseph Zarnowski, O65605.  
 Marion Baker Zollicoffer, O65184.  
*be first lieutenants, Medical Service Corps*  
 Eugene Manigault Baker, 3d, O65140.  
 Jack Thornton Blue, O65556.  
 Nicholas Vincent Carroll, O65192.  
 Thomas Anthony Costello, O65132.  
 Glenn Wesley Madere, Jr., O65200.  
 Marshall Allen Mason, Jr., O63462.  
 Robert Edwin Ward, O58676.  
 Richard Walker Whitney, O65197.  
*To be first lieutenants, Women's Army Corps*  
 Betty Jane Baumgartner, L338.  
 Helen Jean Buzzetti, L337.  
 Martha Charlene Eliker, L354.  
 Jean May Fuller, L353.  
 Alice White Leete, L352.  
 Dorothy Sue Siler, L389.  
 Helen Dolores Steir, L390.  
 The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Army of the United States, under the provisions of section 107 of the Army-Navy Nurses Act of 1947, as amended by section 3, Public Law 514, Eighty-first Congress, approved May 16, 1950. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.  
*To be first lieutenants, Army Nurse Corps*  
 Vivian Marguerite Arnold, N1759.  
 Emma Amelia Galgano, N1760.  
 Olga Luckton, N1757.  
 Mary Edna Maher, N1762.  
 Sara Cecelia Mooney, N1752.  
 Margaret Patricia Phillips, N1758.  
 Theresa Rose Cardillo Sailer, N1753.  
 Marion Doris Sydenham, N1763.  
 Elta Rae York, N1766.  
 Elva Mae York, N1765.  
*To be first lieutenants, Women's Medical Specialists Corps*  
 Phyllis Helene Fauble, M10087.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1952

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
 Rev. Norbert Feld, St. Columbian's Foreign Mission Society, St. Louis, Mo., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, who hast created all things, send forth Thy light to direct those here in the paths of Thy divine will. By Thy mercy they have taken up the difficult task of governing this

Nation. No man rules except he share in Your authority, who alone art the true and supreme ruler of the world. Teach them, O Lord, how best to protect those rights upon which this Nation is built: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Show them that Your law alone can preserve these rights. Strengthen them to do that which they see to be Thy will so that, under Thy divine providence, they may faithfully fulfill the office they have assumed, and by their service may merit Thy everlasting rewards. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of Monday, February 11, 1952, was read and approved.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Hawks, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On February 11, 1951:

H. R. 4948. An act to suspend certain import duties on land; and

H. R. 5448. An act to provide for the temporary free importation of zinc.

On February 14, 1952:

H. R. 1469. An act for the relief of Rosario Garcia Jimeno.

### COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

FEBRUARY 14, 1952.

The honorable the SPEAKER,

*House of Representatives.*

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a sealed envelope addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives from the President of the United States, received in the office of the Clerk at 11:30 a. m. on February 13, 1952, said to contain the fourth report on the mutual defense assistance program, covering the period from April 1, 1951, to October 9, 1951.

Respectfully yours,

RALPH R. ROBERTS,

*Clerk of the House of Representatives.*

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the message of the President of the United States.

The Clerk read as follows:

MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 352)

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of Public Law 329, Eighty-first Congress, first session (63 Stat. 714), I am transmitting herewith the fourth report on the mutual defense assistance program, covering the period from April 1 to October 9, 1951.

I am able to report to the Congress and to the people of the United States that substantial and continuing progress has been made toward the goals of the