

Government service; to the Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

3271. By Mr. TAYLOR of Arkansas: Petition of James W. Morris and F. M. Edwards, of Donaldson and Ico, Ark., favoring extra compensation for star route mail carriers; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3272. By Mr. TAYLOR of Tennessee: Petition of the Fulton Co., of Knoxville, Tenn., regarding the delay in C. O. D. parcel-post shipments; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3273. Also, petition of Bank of Loudon, Loudon, Tenn., protesting against the Federal reserve checking system; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3274. By Mr. YATES: Petition of O. C. Smith and 15 other officers of Benton, Ill., urging that officers be included in any bonus legislation as well as enlisted men; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3275. Also, petition of American Legion, Post No. 14, Flora, Ill., urging the passage of fourfold plan for the benefit of ex-service men; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

3276. Also, petition of M. Sykes, of Chicago, Ill., favoring the passage of House bill 13334; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

3277. Also, petition of Illinois Lumber and Builders Supply Dealers Association, of Chicago, urging reclassification of salaries of postal employees; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3278. Also, petition of Association of American State Geologists, urging an appropriation for superpower survey; to the Committee on Appropriations.

3279. Also, petition of C. F. Baum & Co., of Chicago, protesting against the great delay now existing in the mail service; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

3280. Also, petition of Building Construction Employers' Association of Chicago, protesting against the passage of House bill 12320 regarding immigration; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, April 28, 1920.

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we lift our hearts in reverent devotion and worship to Thee, the author of every good and perfect gift. We thank Thee for the marvelous resources Thou hast put at our command, and we seek Thy divine guidance in their use. We remember that our freedom is the worst of slavery if we do not use it aright, and our resources but lower and degrade unless they are dedicated to the highest possible uses. Grant us this day the constant vision of Thy face that we may work as in the presence of God and do the things that are pleasing in Thy sight. We ask it for Christ's sake. Amen.

The Assistant Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when on request of Mr. CURTIS, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with and the Journal was approved.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. JONES of Washington presented a telegram in the nature of a petition from the Washington Coal Operators' Association, praying for the passage of the so-called anti-dumping bill, which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a petition of sundry citizens of Tacoma, Wash., praying for the enactment of legislation for the relief of the gold-mining industry, which was referred to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

Mr. TOWNSEND (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a memorial of the Seelye & Brown Co., of Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against the proposed increase in the tax on all forms of advertising, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a memorial of the Federation of Labor, of Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against the deportation of aliens, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a petition of the Federation of Labor, of Detroit, Mich., praying for an investigation of the activities of the Bureau of Immigration, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a petition of Local Lodge No. 849, International Association of Machinists, of

Kalamazoo, Mich., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the parole of Federal prisoners, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also (for Mr. NEWBERRY) presented a petition of the Kent County (Michigan) Farm Bureau, praying for the enactment of legislation providing for collective bargaining, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY.

Mr. McLEAN, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 8038) to amend section 4 of the act approved July 17, 1916, known as the Federal farm loan act, extending its provisions to Porto Rico, reported it with amendments and submitted a report (No. 558) thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to which were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment and submitted reports thereon:

H. R. 12460. An act to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Maine into the Union (Rept. No. 559);

H. R. 12824. An act to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State of Alabama into the Union (Rept. No. 560); and

H. R. 13227. An act to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims (Rept. No. 561).

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED.

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

By Mr. CURTIS:

A bill (S. 4302) to extend the provisions of the act of February 8, 1887, as amended, to lands purchased for Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A bill (S. 4303) to provide for the storage of certain grain under Federal custody, the issue of receipts therefor, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

By Mr. TRAMMELL (for Mr. FLETCHER):

A bill (S. 4304) for the relief of W. H. Overocker; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 4305) to increase the pensions of widows of soldiers of the various Indian wars; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LENROOT:

A bill (S. 4306) for the relief of the Wisconsin Ice & Coal Co., a Wisconsin corporation, for losses sustained by it through the erroneous ruling of the Federal Fuel Administrator; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. FRANCE:

A bill (S. 4307) to release and remove the lien in favor of the United States, and of any officer or official thereof, on any distillery, still, vessel, fixture, and tool contained in any distillery, and the lot or tract of land on which any distillery may be situated, and any building thereon; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 4308) granting an increase of pension to John H. Edge; and

A bill (S. 4309) granting an increase of pension to Ellen M. Leary; to the Committee on Pensions.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 192) providing for the recommendation of amnesty and pardon for political prisoners in the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

DUTY ON GLASSWARE.

Mr. KNOX submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 7785) to provide revenue for the Government, to establish and maintain in the United States the manufacture of laboratory glassware, laboratory porcelain ware, optical glass, scientific and surgical instruments, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. Sharkey, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on this day approved and signed the act (S. 806) conferring jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment in claims of the Iowa Tribe of Indians against the United States.

THE SUBMARINE CABLE SITUATION.

Mr. KELLOGG obtained the floor.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Assistant Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Brandeege	Hale	McLean	Smith, Md.
Calder	Harris	McNary	Smoot
Capper	Henderson	Myers	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Hitchcock	Nelson	Swanson
Comer	Jones, N. Mex.	New	Thomas
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Townsend
Curtis	Kellogg	Overman	Trammell
Dial	Kendrick	Page	Underwood
Dillingham	King	Phelan	Wadsworth
Edge	Knox	Phipps	Walsh, Mass.
France	Lenroot	Pittman	Warren
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Pomerene	Watson
Gay	McCormick	Reed	
Gerry	McCumber	Sheppard	
Glass	McKellar	Smith, Ariz.	

Mr. GERRY. The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. ASHURST], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SIMMONS], and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. RANDELL] are absent on official business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Fifty-seven Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I send to the desk a bill to prevent the unauthorized landing of submarine cables in the United States, and I ask the privilege of making a few remarks explaining the measure.

I introduce the bill by request. I am not prepared to say that I indorse it or will support it, but I do think the circumstances surrounding the cable situation in South America should receive the attention of the Senate, and that the Committee on Interstate Commerce ought to have a hearing and carefully consider this subject.

The bill proposes to give the Secretary of State the power to issue licenses for cable landings. This power has been exercised, but some question has been raised as to the right of the Secretary of State to grant such licenses upon conditions which will protect the United States. That is all the bill proposes to do.

But, Mr. President, there is a situation in South America which is the cause of this bill being prepared and introduced which I think the Senate should understand. The All-American Cable Co. is an American line. It owns a line of cables from New York to Cuba, from Cuba to Panama, and down the west coast of South America to Valparaiso, across from Valparaiso to Montevideo, and two lines from Montevideo to places in Brazil, Rio Janeiro, and Santos. It also owns the cable line up the coast of Mexico and to Galveston. This is the only all-American cable line to South America.

An English company, known as the British Co., has practically a monopoly of the Brazilian cable business. The All-American Cable Co. has two lines to places in Brazil; but in 1873 the Brazilian Government granted to the British Co. the exclusive privilege of laying cables between points in Brazil for a period of 60 years. Subsequently, however, it was claimed that this monopoly only extended to points reached by the British Co., and the All-American Co. was allowed to lay two cables from Montevideo, one to Rio de Janeiro and the other to Santos, but they had to lay two cables; they could not go to Santos and from Santos to Rio de Janeiro. To-day this British Co. has practically a monopoly in Brazil, and the Brazilian Government has placed against the All-American Cable Co. a discriminatory tariff, whereby a tax of 3 francs a word is imposed against cables going from Brazil to the United States by the Pacific coast, so that the British Co. under this system will have an absolute monopoly of the Brazilian cable business.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator permit me a question right there?

Mr. KELLOGG. Yes.

Mr. KING. Have representations been made to the Brazilian Government by our Government or by any of our diplomatic representatives in respect to that discrimination? Have they made any protest against it or have they made any request for relief?

Mr. KELLOGG. I think so, but I am not familiar with the correspondence. I think, however, when the Brazilian Government granted the right to build these two cable lines they did so at the request of the American Government. I am not familiar, however, with the diplomatic correspondence on the subject and have not had time to look it up.

It is now proposed that the British Co. shall extend a line from Brazil to the Barbados—British islands—and that the American Western Union Co. shall extend to the Barbados to meet the British Co. lines, and that they will have together a monopoly of the business to Brazil, which would practically shut out the All-American line. The All-American line objects to this. I am not stating whether it is wise or unwise; it may be that it is the only way that the Western Union Co. can get

into Brazil, but it seems to me unfortunate that the American cable business to Brazil must be handled over a British line, and that all our diplomatic and commercial business must necessarily go over a British line.

Mr. McCORMICK. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. KELLOGG. Yes.

Mr. McCORMICK. Is it not true that American enterprise is ready to lay a cable from the United States to Brazil if not stopped by the Brazilian Government under the alleged terms of existing concession?

Mr. KELLOGG. Yes. I understand that both the Western Union and the All-American Co. are anxious to lay cables to Brazil and to all other South American points.

The line to be built by the Western Union proposes to run from Barbados to Miami, Fla., and it is a question whether the Secretary of State has authority to place conditions upon the landing rights of the Western Union Co.

Mr. President, this country controls direct cables to Europe and direct cables to the Orient.

Mr. McCORMICK. One of them.

Mr. KELLOGG. All of them.

Mr. McCORMICK. The Senator does not mean that it controls the Canadian oriental cable?

Mr. KELLOGG. No; I mean the cables from the United States. South America is a continent in which we must look for the greatest expansion of American trade, and if we are going to carry on that trade we must have not only ships and banking facilities but cable facilities as well. We ought to be able to reach South American ports over our own lines, not over any foreign lines. I am, however, simply introducing this bill so that the subject may come before the Senate.

I do not vouch for the statement that the British company is willing to make a contract which will give the Western Union all of the business from Brazil and practically shut out the All-American Co. It may be that the Western Union is powerless. However, it would be unfortunate if any of the American cable lines should be shut out of any South American country.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me, it is alleged that the materials necessary for the laying of the cables, and which are controlled by British manufacturers, will be withheld from the Western Union unless they agree to this proposed juncture of the lines at the Barbados.

Mr. KELLOGG. That may be true; I am not advised as to that. I presume it is somewhat difficult to get such materials. We are now, I understand, in this country ourselves preparing to manufacture cables. Heretofore we have been dependent upon British manufacturers.

Mr. President, when the first all-American cable line went to South America the rates for cabling were over \$7 a word, as I recall; I think the rate was about \$7.50 a word. The rates have gradually been reduced until to-day they are 50 cents a word, and since the All-American cables were built to two points in Brazil the New York rate has been reduced from 85 cents to 65 cents. It may be that the most economical and the only way is to make a joint arrangement with the British cable line; but it seems to me the subject should be investigated by the Interstate Commerce Committee and that if legislation is necessary it should be passed.

Mr. McCORMICK. Does the Senator mean the Interstate Commerce Committee?

Mr. KELLOGG. I mean the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the Senate.

Mr. McCORMICK. Does not the Senator mean the Committee on Commerce?

Mr. KELLOGG. No; I mean the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. KELLOGG. Certainly.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Has the Senator made any inquiries or obtained any information from the State Department with reference to the exclusive concessions granted by South American countries to British or other foreign interests?

Mr. KELLOGG. Yes; I have with me, I think, the grant made by the Brazilian Government to the British company in 1873, which is an exclusive grant.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have understood that there were several exclusive grants not only in South America but in China and other oriental countries. It has seemed to me that if our State Department is not taking active steps toward trying to influence South American countries not to grant these exclusive privileges to other nations it ought to do so. It seems to me that it ought to be able to accomplish a great deal in that

direction and possibly might make arrangements under which landing privileges could be secured.

I will say that the Committee on Commerce of the Senate has held quite extensive hearings with reference to the trans-Pacific cable possibilities in connection with a bill which has been introduced looking toward Government construction of a cable across the Pacific. It has been disclosed that we may have some difficulty in getting landing rights over there. I do not know just what the State Department has done, but it has seemed to me that the State Department ought to get active along those lines and that it might be able to be of very great service in connection with this very important matter, because, as the Senator has said, the expansion of our commerce, especially in the Pacific and in the Orient, at any rate, is very largely dependent upon our soon getting additional cable communication.

Mr. KELLOGG. I quite agree with the Senator. I looked into the subject to some extent when the Government took over the cable lines, but I have not had time thoroughly to investigate the question of landing rights in other countries.

The bill (S. 4301) to prevent the unauthorized landing of submarine cables in the United States was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS.

The VICE PRESIDENT (at 12 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m.). The morning business is closed. The calendar under Rule VIII is in order.

Mr. LODGE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the naval appropriation bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13108) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, on yesterday afternoon I asked to have the naval appropriation bill go over in order to dispose of two amendments which the committee had not fully prepared. I now desire to offer an amendment which appears in printed form, but I wish slightly to modify the amendment before it is read. On page 4, in line 10, after the word "Medical," I desire to strike out the word "or," and after the word "Dental" to strike out the word "Corps" and insert "or Civil Engineering Corps," so as to read:

Appointed to the Medical, Dental, or Civil Engineering Corps.

With that slight change in phraseology, I now submit the amendment and move its adoption.

I ought to say by way of explanation that it carries no appropriation, but is designed to cover the relations of temporary appointees in the Navy to the permanent Navy. It is very essential that the amendment should be acted upon at this time. I may add that the proposed reservations were first brought to us by the House, who are very anxious to have this amendment put on, and it is also recommended by the department.

Mr. KING. I ask to have the amendment read.

Mr. THOMAS. Before the amendment is read, I desire to give notice that at the appropriate time I shall move to strike out all beginning with the word "That," on line 3 of page 53, down to and including the word "and" on line 15.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment submitted by the Senator from Massachusetts.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. It is proposed to add as a new section, at the end of the bill, the following:

Sec. — That the Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to employ on active duty, with their own consent, members of the Naval Reserve Force in enlisted ratings, the number so employed not to exceed during any fiscal year the average of 20,000 men: *Provided*, That the number of naval reservists so employed on active duty, together with the total number of enlisted men in the Regular Navy, shall not exceed the total enlisted strength of the Navy as authorized by law: *Provided further*, That such members of the Naval Reserve Force so employed shall serve on active duty for not less than 12 nor more than 18 months unless sooner released: *And provided further*, That the number of commissioned officers of the line, permanent, temporary, and reserve on active duty, shall not exceed 4 per cent of the total authorized enlisted strength of the Regular Navy, and the number of staff officers shall be in the same proportions as authorized by existing law: *Provided further*, That 500 reserve officers are also authorized to be employed in the aviation and auxiliary service: *And provided further*, That temporary appointments may be continued or hereafter made, in the discretion of the President, not to exceed the number allowed in any grade or rank based upon the total permanent and temporary commissioned strength of the line or any staff corps: *And provided further*, That nothing herein shall be construed as reducing the permanent, commissioned or enlisted, strength of the Regular Navy as authorized by existing law.

Sec. — That officers holding temporary commissioned and warrant ranks in the Navy and members of the Naval Reserve Force of commissioned and warrant ranks shall be eligible for transfer to and appointment in the permanent grades or ranks in the Navy for which they may be found qualified not above that held by them on the date of transfer, but not to exceed a total of 1,200 commissioned officers in the line, of which number 500 may be appointed from the Naval Flying

Corps, with proportionate number in all staff corps as now authorized by law, except that the Medical, Dental, and Supply Corps shall be entitled to such additional numbers as are necessary to make up the full quota of officers in those corps, as now authorized by law: *Provided*, That officers so appointed shall take rank in accordance with their precedence while holding temporary rank, and members of the Naval Reserve Force of commissioned and warrant ranks found qualified for a given rank shall be arranged according to their precedence among themselves and commissioned in the permanent service next after the lowest temporary officer who qualifies for the same rank and is appointed in accordance with the provisions of this act.

Sec. — That in addition to the number of transfers and appointments hereinbefore allowed, commissioned warrant officers of more than 15 years' service since date of warrant or date of first appointment as paymaster's clerk or mate, who have creditably served in the war with the German Government in temporary commissioned ranks or grades in the Regular Navy, may be appointed to a permanent rank or grade for which they may be qualified not above the temporary rank or grade held by them at the time of transfer and shall take rank therein in accordance with their precedence while holding temporary rank: *Provided*, That no transfers or appointments made in accordance with the foregoing provisions of this act shall be to a higher grade or rank than lieutenant in the Navy.

Sec. — That officers appointed under any of the foregoing provisions shall be not more than 35 years of age when so appointed to the line of the Navy, Construction Corps, Civil Engineering Corps, or Supply Corps, and not more than 38 years of age when so appointed to the Corps of Chaplains, or 40 years of age when so appointed to the Medical, Dental, or Civil Engineering Corps: *Provided*, That said age limits shall be increased in the cases of officers who have rendered prior service as paymaster's clerks, or as mates, or as warrant or commissioned officers in the naval service to the extent of such prior service: *Provided further*, That officers originally appointed to the Dental Corps above the said age limits shall be eligible for appointment and promotion under this act irrespective of age: *And provided further*, That officers of the line of the Navy who are appointed thereto pursuant to this act from sources other than the Naval Academy shall not be ineligible for promotion by reason of age as prescribed by the act of August 29, 1916 (39 Stats., p. 579), until they have rendered 10 years' service in the grade of lieutenant commander, 6 years' service in the grade of commander, or 8 years' service in the grade of captain, respectively, upon the completion of which service such officers, if then ineligible for promotion by reason of age, shall be retired in accordance with said act: *And provided further*, That until June 30, 1923, promotions to lieutenant (junior grade) and lieutenant may be made without regard to length of service: *And provided further*, That until June 30, 1923, officers of the permanent Navy who have served satisfactorily during the war with the German Government in a temporary grade or rank shall be eligible under the provisions of existing law for selection for promotion or for promotion to the same permanent grade or rank without regard to statutory requirements other than age and professional and physical examination: *And provided further*, That in making reductions in rank as may be required by this act officers holding temporary appointments may be given temporary appointments in lower grades, and officers so appointed shall take precedence from the dates of their original appointments in such lower grades.

Sec. — That in case any enlisted man or enrolled man who, since the 11th day of November, 1918, has been or hereafter shall be discharged from any branch or class of the naval service for the purpose of reenlisting in the Navy, or heretofore has extended or hereafter shall extend his enlistment therein, he shall be entitled to the payment of the \$60 bonus provided in section 1406 of the act entitled "An act to provide revenue, and for other purposes," approved February 24, 1919, and to travel pay as authorized in section 3 of the act entitled "An act permitting any person who has served in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps in the present war to retain his uniform and personal equipment and to wear the same under certain conditions," approved February 28, 1919: *Provided*, That only one bonus shall be paid to the same person.

Sec. — That that part of the act entitled "An act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1919, which reads as follows: "Until June 30, 1920, enlistments in the Navy may be for terms of two, three, or four years, and all laws now applicable to four-year enlistments shall apply, under such regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy, to enlistments for a shorter period with proportionate benefits upon discharge and reenlistment," be, and hereby is, amended by striking out the words "until June 30, 1920," and adding the words "and the Marine Corps."

Sec. — That section 125 of the act entitled "An act for making further and more effectual provisions for the national defense, and for other purposes," approved June 3, 1916, shall hereafter be in full force and effect as originally enacted, notwithstanding anything contained in the act entitled "An act permitting any person who has served in the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps in the present war to retain his uniform and personal equipment and to wear the same under certain conditions," approved February 28, 1919: *Provided*, That the words "or the Secretary of the Navy" shall be inserted immediately after the words "the Secretary of War" wherever those words appear in section 125 of the act approved June 3, 1916, hereinbefore referred to.

Sec. — That hereafter the Secretary of the Navy may, in his discretion, withhold any part or all of the retainer pay which may be due a member of the Naval Reserve Force where such members fail to perform such duty as may be prescribed by law for the maintenance of the efficiency of the Naval Reserve Force: *Provided*, That any money so withheld shall be credited to the appropriation for organizing and administering the Naval Reserve Force to be used for any purpose that the Secretary of the Navy may consider proper to increase the efficiency of the Naval Reserve Force: *Provided further*, That hereafter the minimum amount of active service required for the maintenance of the efficiency of the Fleet Naval Reserve shall be the same as for the Naval Reserve.

Sec. — That the age limits for promotion by selection, which, under existing law, will become effective on June 30, 1920, are hereby deferred until June 30, 1921.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I should like to have some explanation of this amendment. It seems so far-reaching in its effects that I think we are entitled to have an explanation of it.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, if we had had the good fortune to have had the Senator from Utah with us in the committee he would appreciate that it is not so far-reaching as it appears. The main object is to settle the relations of the temporary appointments, and that is something which must be done at once. For instance, there is a law now on the statute books which extended their service. It has been twice extended, and it was extended the last time to the 30th of June. If it is not further extended we shall lose 1,200 reserve officers at this time whose places will be impossible to fill now. We must keep those reserve officers to carry on the Navy.

There are other provisions relating to the temporary appointment which it is necessary to make to establish their relations with the permanent Navy. What I first spoke of, the last section, is the one covering that feature, and there is another in the body of the bill covering it, allowing them to be continued temporarily for a year.

There is a clause in the amendment in regard to wearing the uniform. They now have the right under certain conditions to wear the uniform of the United States after they are discharged, and there are unworthy persons who take advantage of that privilege. There is a provision of law by which the Secretary of War has control over that matter in the Army, that it shall not be permitted unless it has the approval of the Secretary. This is simply putting the Navy on the same basis as the Army.

I think all the other provisions relate to establishing the relations between the temporary appointments made by the act of 1917 and the acts subsequent thereto. It establishes them on a proper basis now, in relation to the permanent fleet in peace time, and it is absolutely essential that this should be done.

We have modified this amendment somewhat. In its original form it was brought to us by the House committee after the bill had practically gone through the Senate. It was also strongly recommended by the Navy Department and the Bureau of Navigation, and I can assure the Senator that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] and I have given many hours to trying to get it in proper shape, and we have left out a good many things which we thought had better go over.

Except by going into it in very great detail, there really is nothing more to be said about the amendment. The Senator from Virginia, who knows the amendment even better than I do, I am sure can make a statement in regard to it, if the Senator from Utah desires it.

Mr. KING. I will be satisfied with the explanation of the Senator from Massachusetts if I can direct his attention to just one thought. A number of persons have been to see me, as a member of the committee, with reference to this proposed amendment. The criticism they made was that they were apprehensive it would prevent, or at least delay, the bringing into the Navy of officers and men for the regular service in contradistinction to temporary service.

Mr. LODGE. It has no effect on that whatever.

Mr. KING. If I may be permitted to continue, they were afraid that preferences would be given to these temporary officers, so that it would discourage the enlistment of men who would be inclined to go into the Navy for life.

Mr. LODGE. I can assure the Senator that there is nothing in that objection. This leaves the regular force just where it is. The regular force is far below the necessities at the present time, and we must have temporary men. But no injustice is done the regular service.

Mr. SWANSON rose.

Mr. LODGE. I am sure the Senator from Virginia will say the same thing.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, the first section of this amendment authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to take 20,000 of the naval reserves and put them in the Regular Navy. The enlistments have been so poor in the Regular Navy that it authorizes the Secretary to transfer 20,000 men to make up the authorized strength of the Regular Navy, which is now 137,800 men. This amendment does not change the number at all which was fixed last year. We have refused to change that this year, although there are more battleships which will come into commission. We think that some of these ships can be supplied with a smaller quota of men and some of them can be retired and put out of commission, but in case an emergency comes, with a naval reserve force of 250,000 men we will be equipped for any war which may arise anywhere in the near future.

So the first provision authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to take 20,000 of the naval reserves and enlist them for a limited time to make up the deficiency, where they have not been able to get the required enlistments in the Navy.

As everybody knows, there has been a general complaint that enlistments have not been large enough to keep the Navy up to proper strength. That is very important. In doing that we do not increase the number of officers.

Some Senators seem to have the idea that this means an increase in the number of officers. The number of officers for the Navy was fixed in the law of 1916, when the Navy was entirely reorganized. Under the law approved August 18, 1916, the number of officers in the Navy of all classes—admirals, lieutenants, ensigns, and all—is fixed at 4 per cent of the enlisted strength of the Navy. That was thought to be the least number of officers they could get along with. So, with an authorized strength of 137,800, there could be 4,512 officers. During the war there were about 450,000 men in the Navy. The number has been reduced now to 137,000. Before 1917 the strength of the Navy was 54,000 men. That has been increased now on account of the increased number of ships and various lines of work to 137,000.

There is a deficiency in officers. That is, we have not been able to get graduates from the Naval Academy to make up the 4 per cent, and we passed a law permitting those of the Naval Reserve who can stand the examination to be appointed as officers in the Navy to make up that deficiency.

Young men went to Annapolis and went to these training schools and made up the deficiency caused by the increase in the number of men to 450,000. When we reduced the Navy to 137,000 we still were deficient in graduates from the Naval Academy. We lacked nearly 2,000 graduates from the Naval Academy to fill up the requirements of the Navy in the matter of officers.

To cure that, last year we enacted a law permitting the Secretary of the Navy to make up the deficiency by making temporary appointments, after examination and selection. That law will expire on the 30th of June, the number not yet exceeding the 4 per cent fixed by the law of 1916. Unless that law is continued, on the 30th of June, when it will expire, there will be a deficiency of 2,000 officers in the Navy and it will be utterly impossible to man the Navy with a deficiency of 2,000 officers. This amendment is designed to continue these temporary appointments. A great many of the best temporary men are disposed to resign because they can not become permanent in the Navy—in the Paymaster General's Department, in the Engineering Department, and in other branches. Some of the officers have shown themselves to be good officers; some of them are good seamen, who came from the shipping service. So, in order to keep the best men, the Navy has insisted that these temporary men should have an opportunity to stand qualified examinations and that there be authority to transfer 1,200 into the Regular Navy to make up this deficiency, which number the department has not been able to obtain from the Naval Academy.

There is a deficiency now in the Navy. There is no change in the law as to the number of officers and no change in the pay of the officers by this amendment. There is no change in the percentage of admirals, captains, commanders, and lieutenant commanders.

It had been hoped that this matter could be taken care of by a separate bill passed through the House and the Senate, and not have it taken care of by an amendment to the appropriation bill; but those in the House in touch with the situation have informed us that they will not be able to get through a bill in time, if Congress shall adjourn early in June, to permit that legislation to be passed at this session, and if that legislation is not passed at this session the Navy will be absolutely demoralized by losing 2,000 of these officers.

That is all this amendment will do. Last year we extended the law for one year. This will extend it, with the other provisions, to let the best temporary men come into the Navy permanently, as they do in the Army. It is such a provision as there is with regard to the Army, where officers proved themselves worthy in France or have proved themselves worthy in the service. It is as is provided in the Marine Corps. After proper examination they can be transferred into the Navy, but we do not allow any of them to be transferred to a higher rank than they have. None of them can be transferred, I believe, to a rank higher than that of commander; at any rate, it is not a very high rank, and they can be transferred only after examination.

With that situation before us, I hope no Senator will make a point of order against the amendment. If any Senator should make a point of order, he will take the responsibility for the Navy being entirely demoralized on account of an insufficient number of officers after the 30th of June.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator yield? I am quite satisfied with this provision; but, as I stated to the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], several persons of naval experience have complained to me that they were afraid this provision would be used for the purpose of elevating into positions men who are now in the Reserve Corps, and that that would deter men from entering who would like to come into the service and make it a life work.

Mr. SWANSON. No; that is not the case.

Mr. KING. They were apprehensive that it would be converted to that purpose.

Mr. SWANSON. The provision on page 3 takes care of that. The bill as originally introduced did not, but if the Senator will look on page 3 of the amendment he will find this provision, which takes care of that situation, a provision which we put in yesterday:

Provided, That officers so appointed shall take rank in accordance with their precedence while holding temporary rank, and members of the Naval Reserve Force of commissioned and warrant ranks found qualified for a given rank shall be arranged according to their precedence among themselves and commissioned in the permanent service next after the lowest temporary officer who qualifies for the same rank and is appointed in accordance with the provisions of this act.

Under that provision a graduate of the Naval Academy who went into the Navy permanently can never be preceded by one of these temporary officers. We put that provision in because we thought it was but justice to those who had qualified themselves and held rank in the permanent Navy that they should have that privilege and that right, which is accorded by the provision on page 3, lines 6 to 14. That obviates the objection alluded to by the Senator.

BOLSHEVISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, again there has been a strike in the mines at Butte, Mont., that nesting place of I. W. W., Bolsheviks, and other anarchists, where they appear to flourish with impunity and immunity, and, unless countermanded since the latest news from there, it is still more or less in force. I assume it is. It is one of the numerous miners' strikes that have afflicted that long-suffering community at frequent intervals for a number of years. It is the second miners' strike there in less than a year. It was ordered by the I. W. W., Bolsheviks, and other anarchists, who are bent upon destroying all industry and all government.

This strike was ordered and put in force, too, notwithstanding the fact that last fall the miners' unions of Butte, through their duly authorized officials and leaders, whose actions were duly ratified by the unions, entered into a contract with the mine operators, and a complete agreement and understanding, duly signed and executed, as to wages and working conditions, with which the unions expressed satisfaction. At the time the contract was executed the representatives of the unions congratulated the miners upon the liberal terms and fair provisions of their contract and complimented the mine operators upon their liberality and upon their fair, square dealing. Mutual satisfaction was expressed, and it was believed there would be no more trouble, a long strike having just ended.

By the terms of the contract the very lowest wage paid to any person working in a mine was to be, I believe, \$5.75 per day. Wages provided for ranged from that sum up to a much higher figure. The eight-hour day was retained. The contract, I know, was to continue in force for at least one year from last fall, and maybe longer; perhaps two or three years; I know not less than one year.

Only about six months have elapsed. The contract is in force. It has at least six months yet to continue in force. Yet there occurs another strike. No demands have been made on the operators. It is reported that the strikers say they want a minimum wage of \$7 per day and a workday of six hours and the discharge of all so-called "political" prisoners anywhere imprisoned in this country. I fail to see any reason for making wage contracts if they are to be thus ruthlessly broken.

Undoubtedly the great majority of the miners did not and do not want a strike. Undoubtedly the great majority of them are satisfied and want to work. The strike was ordered and put in force and effect by a small minority of the miners who are reds, radicals, and I. W. W.'s, and are criminals at heart. Not satisfied with quitting work, they took possession of the city, the largest mining camp in the United States, and inaugurated a reign of lawlessness, force, and terror. They would not work nor permit any work by others who wanted to work. There are thousands of miners who are peaceable and law-abiding who wanted to continue work, but the thugs, sluggers, desperadoes, and criminals among the strikers, by assaulting and slugging all miners who reported for work and by force, violence, and terror, completely closed down the mines; and this in boasted free America!

The local authorities appeared to be helpless. Butte, a city of 100,000 population, was for several days in the hands of a mob. The mob roamed the city at will. Street cars loaded with peaceful miners who wanted to work and were en route to mines were stopped, assaulted, and turned back. Street car traffic was suspended. Miners in street cars going to work were compelled to alight and go back. For several days the mines were picketed by the lawless and none allowed to work. The

picketers did not resort to moral suasion; they used slugging and force as their arguments. There were violent clashes followed by bloodshed. Firearms were used. Strikers were armed. Twelve or fourteen thousand men were thrown out of work, forcibly kept from working.

For several days this reign of terror prevailed in Butte. Federal troops have been sent to Butte, and I assume order will now be preserved and lawlessness in large measure stopped. I assume those miners who want to work will now be given some protection. The strikers declare, however, that the strike is still in force and will continue.

What the Government will do beyond keeping temporary order by the use of troops, what it will do to go to the bottom of this nest of anarchy and root out the moving forces of it, I do not know; judging by the past, not much, I fear. There is one thing that the Government appears to be extremely reluctant to do, and that is to measure strength to a final test with any organized body of persons affiliated with organized labor or calling themselves a branch of organized labor.

The Government may promise to do so, may threaten to do so, may start to do so, but when the time for the actual test comes it seems there is almost certain to be by the Government compromise, concession, promise of investigation, yielding, or some other way found of avoiding the test. There will continue to be trouble in Butte until there is a clean-out there.

This strike fever all over the country will continue until employers adopt the policy of filling strikers' places, and when the strikers tire of striking and return to work, telling them there is no employment for them. So long as men may strike when they please and return to work when they please this hysteria of striking will continue. Of course, the policy of refusing work to returning strikers would be followed by violence, but in that event the Government should protect employers and those who take the places of strikers. I believe many employers would adopt this policy if they thought the Government would protect them and those whom they might put to work, but they will not do it, because they feel the Government would not back them.

I am sure the motive of the strikers in Butte is to bedevil and pester the operators and prevent any from working in the mines until the operators are compelled to close the mines. Then the reds and radicals would expect a complacent and tolerant Government to take over the mines and turn them over to the Bolsheviks to operate and loot for their own benefit. I have no doubt that is their object.

I am satisfied this lawless strike in Butte is only part and parcel of a widespread plan to keep up strike after strike until there is a universal, country-wide strike, followed by the taking over of all industries and the sovietization of this country. I am sure the majority of the workmen do not want it, but a lot of reds, radicals, and agitators are working for it, and, I think, in many instances are using the strike and are misleading thousands of deluded workmen as a means to their end. Already there is in this country a widespread movement to have the Government take over the railroads and turn them over to the employees to operate for their benefit. I am sure reds and radicals are taking advantage of this movement to get in their mischievous work.

The Attorney General of the United States says that the recent railroad strike, which covered almost the entire country, and which is still hanging on and showing symptoms of revival, was instigated by radicals, reds, and Bolsheviks, who aim at the overthrow of our Government, and I have no doubt he knows whereof he speaks. The Department of Justice has an adequate force of agents and detectives, and a goodly number of them are at all times in the field. It has every facility for discovering the schemes of enemies of the Government and trailing their work. During the strike handbills, addressed to "Railway men and port workers," were distributed among the strikers and those railway men and port workers who remained at work in the chief transportation centers. They were signed by the "Central Revolutionary Council of America." They were worded as follows:

Strike to put an end to the whole capitalist system! Strike to take over the industries and the country for the benefit of the workers, and the workers alone! * * * Your workers' councils and your one big revolutionary union must get ready to fight the United States Government. Prepare to take over the Government and run it for the benefit of the workers alone.

While it is probable most of the men who engaged in that strike had no knowledge of the sinister influences behind it, I have no doubt the leaders of it and those who were responsible for it were working in conjunction with enemies of the Government. In fact, I believe a great many of the frequent strikes with which the country has been afflicted of recent months are, so far as concern those who instigate them, in line with the general policy and purpose of the Bolsheviks and other anarchists of the country to disrupt industry, upset the country, and

delude workingmen, and to lead up to the formation of the one big union, which is the shibboleth of enemies of the Government, and to the universal strike, which is constantly kept in mind and aimed at by all who would overturn all government and bring conditions of anarchy and chaos. I have no doubt there are at least a million and perhaps three or four million people in this country who want to see our Government overthrown and who are engaged more or less actively in scheming to that end or encouraging those who are doing such scheming. I have no doubt there are in this country at least a million foreign-born people, mostly aliens, who want to see our Government overthrown, and most of whom belong to some society or organization having that object.

It has been estimated that in New York City there are 500,000 people who are opposed to our form of government and want to see it overthrown, and that each week there are as many as two or three dozen meetings in that city, having for their purpose the arousing of opposition to our form of government. Much of this estimate is based on the investigations of the Lusk investigating committee, a committee of the New York Legislature, which spent weeks in the investigation of disloyal conditions and sentiments in that city. The widespread sympathy or semi-sympathy in this country with the Soviet Government of Russia is alarming. It appears to pervade all classes of people and all ranks of society. It appears to have some hold in colleges and schools. It has adherents in the ranks of fashion. It has some adherents among the well-to-do and intelligent. It is astounding that some people who appear to be educated, intelligent, native Americans will express more or less sympathy with the Soviet Government of Russia. I have encountered some of it which has amazed me.

When Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, with a lot of other anarchists, were deported from this country an indignation meeting in protest against their deportation was held at Boston, and seated on the stage, giving the support of their presence and sympathy, the prestige of their participation, and joining in the applause, were some wealthy and fashionably dressed women of Boston, who hesitated not to parade themselves before the public as being in sympathy with Berkman and Goldman and their fellow anarchists and to make known their protest against the deportation of such scoundrels.

Sympathy with bolshevism seems to be getting a hold in the public-school system of parts of the country. There are sporadic instances of it which should serve as a warning of what may be found more extensively under cover. It is reported that about a year ago a teacher in one of the public schools of Washington, in talking on current topics to her pupils, expressed a tolerant feeling for bolshevism, and undertook to give "the other side," the pleasing side, of bolshevism, and instead of unsparingly condemning it, warned her pupils that they should not be too quick to condemn bolshevism. To my mind this is horrible, shocking. So far as I know, this charge has never been denied. The school board of the District of Columbia took cognizance of it and undertook to discipline that teacher for her shockingly indiscreet expressions.

It is understood that she acknowledged making them, and the infliction of discipline followed by order of the board. A great furore about the infliction of the discipline was aroused by many of the teachers of the District. The cause of the disciplined teacher was taken up by the teachers' unions of the District and by the labor unions of the District. A great protest was made, and soon thereafter two of the members of the board, who were chiefly instrumental in disciplining the offending teacher, resigned. Apparently their positions were made uncomfortable for them. That teacher is still teaching in the public schools of the District. I understand the president of the school board defends her.

There are hundreds of publications in the United States which are openly praising the Soviet Government of Russia or advocating the overthrow of our Government, or doing both. Many of them are printed in foreign languages and circulate among the ignorant, prejudiced, easily misled class of foreigners, most of whom can read no language other than their own and rely upon their foreign-language papers for all of their information and guidance. It is impossible to know what these foreign-language periodicals are publishing unless their articles are translated into English. To keep track of their publications and translate their every utterance is a tremendous task. Department of Justice officials, I believe, undertake it, but it imposes an undue burden on them. The publishers should be required to print their publications in English or suspend. There is in my State a daily paper which, I am informed, continually praises the Soviet Government of Russia and holds it up as a model.

I believe there are many people who express feelings of leniency for or sympathy with the Soviet Government of Russia who do not know anything about it, do not know what it is. I believe there are millions of people in this country who are indifferent to it, who have no knowledge whatever of the character of that Government.

All the while emissaries in this country of that Government are "boring from within" and injecting the insidious poison of their virus into the veins of our body politic, misleading credulous people and doing incalculable harm. I think the American people need to be aroused. The people appear to be asleep to the dangers that are in their very midst and which are daily growing. I think the people of the United States should be awakened from their lethargy and made to know something of the Government which is daily being loudly praised in this country as superior to our own time-tried and tested Government. Let us see what kind of a Government it is they have in Russia which we are being daily advised is the model Government.

Something more than a year ago, by authority of the United States Senate, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary conducted an exhaustive, searching, far-reaching, thoroughgoing investigation of bolshevik propaganda in this country, and the scheming of alien Bolshevists to poison and corrupt this country, and at the same time conducted a thorough investigation of the character and nature of the Soviet Government of Russia. The hearings held as a result of this investigation lasted for months. Authentic information of the character, nature, practices, and laws of the Soviet Government of Russia was obtained. Witnesses were sworn and testimony under oath was had. The subcommittee examined and heard as witnesses many people of intelligence who had spent months in Russia since the establishment there of the Lenin and Trotski government. Some of them had spent years in Russia. They testified to many things of their own knowledge. They produced voluminous documents, duly authenticated, which showed the decrees, laws, and rulings of the Soviet Government of Russia and the facts about it.

The proceedings of these hearings were published. A summary of them was set forth in a report made by the subcommittee. The announcements and conclusions of the subcommittee are authenticated and vouched for by it. They are based upon sworn testimony. They are based upon duly proven facts. The conclusions arrived at by the subcommittee and the announcements made by it are therefore duly accredited and well established. They are official. Not a great deal of publicity was given to these hearings, the testimony had thereat, or the conclusions of the subcommittee.

Inasmuch as the activities of the enemies of our Government which were then investigated appear to have increased instead of diminished, and as this danger appears to be growing and bearing fresh fruit, and as the people seem to be but poorly informed or indifferent in regard thereto, I shall undertake to give here some of the facts about the Russian Soviet Government brought out by these hearings and duly authenticated and accredited by the subcommittee which conducted them, in order that I may assist in making better known what sort of government exists in Russia and what sort of government it is that great numbers of people in this country are advocating and upholding as better than our Government and contending we should have.

It appears that the Government of Russia, under the general supervision of those criminal despots and anarchists, Lenin and Trotski, is divided into different jurisdictions, much as this country is divided into the different jurisdictions of the several States of the Union. Instead of being called States there they are called soviets. The proletarians of each city of any considerable size, together with the surrounding country, more or less extensive, tributary to the city and controlled by its forces, constitute a soviet or local government. Those within that jurisdiction who are permitted to take part issue the decrees which constitute the laws of that soviet or jurisdiction. Thus the laws of different soviets differ to some extent. Some are worse than others, although all are bad enough. Let us see what some of them are. Vladimir is the capital of the Province of the same name, 75 miles from Moscow. A decree issued by the soviet of the city of Vladimir follows:

Any girl having reached her eighteenth year and not having married is obliged, subject to the most severe penalty, to register at the bureau of free love of the commissariat of surveillance.

Having registered at the bureau of free love, she has the right to choose from among the men between the ages of 19 and 50 a cohabitant husband.

Remarks—(1) The consent of the man in the said choice is unnecessary. (2) The man on whom such a choice falls has no right to make any protest whatsoever against the infringement.

The right to choose from a number of girls who have reached their eighteenth year is also given to men.

The opportunity to choose a husband or wife is to be presented once a month.

The bureau of free love is autonomous.

Men between the ages of 19 and 50 have the right to choose from among the registered women, even without the consent of the latter, in the interests of the State.

Children who are the issue of these unions are to become the property of the State.

It appears that in the jurisdiction of that soviet "marriage," such as it is, is contracted to last but a month, and that at the end of a month either party may dissolve it at will, without cause or formality, by contracting another "marriage" for a month with another partner, and that this performance may be repeated ad infinitum once a month. Children resulting from such cohabitant state become the property of the State.

The decree states further that it has been based on the "Excellent example of similar decrees already issued at Luga, Kolpin, and other places." A similar proclamation of provisional rights in connection with the socialization of women in the city of Hvelinsk and vicinity has been published in the Local Gazette of the workers' and soldiers' deputies of Hvelinsk. That may be considered bad enough, but note the decree or code governing the soviet of Saratov! The Bolsheviks of Vladimir, Luga, Kolpin, Hvelinsk, and so forth, are conservatives as compared with those of the city of Saratov. Saratov is the tenth largest city in Russia, with a population of 217,000. A decree, dated March 15, 1918, issued by the anarchists' soviet of Saratov, which was charged by Lenin and Trotski with the government of the city of Saratov and surrounding country, follows:

I ask that the extract be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks without reading. It is not fit to read in public.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GERRY in the chair). Without objection, permission is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

This decree is proclaimed by the free association of anarchists in the town of Saratov. In compliance with the decision of the soviet of peasants and soldiers and workmen's deputies of Kronstadt, the abolition of the private possession of women.

Social inequalities and legitimate marriage having been a condition in the past which served as an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie, thanks to which all the best species of all the beautiful women have been the property of the bourgeoisie, have prevented the proper continuation of the human race. Such ponderous arguments have induced the present organization to edict the following decree:

1. From March 1 the right to possess women having reached the ages 17 to 32 is abolished.

2. The age of women shall be determined by birth certificate or passports or by the testimony of witnesses, and on failure to produce documents their age shall be determined by the black committee, who shall judge them according to appearance.

3. This decree does not affect women having five children.

4. The former owners may retain the right of using their wives without awaiting their turn.

5. In case of resistance of the husband he shall forfeit the right of the former paragraph.

6. All women according to this decree are exempted from private ownership and are proclaimed the property of the whole nation.

7. The distribution and management of the appropriated women in compliance with the decision of the above said organization are transferred to the Anarchist Saratov Club. In three days from the publication of this decree all women given by it to the use of the nation are obliged to present themselves to the given address and give the required information.

8. Before the black committee is formed for the realization of this decree, the citizens themselves shall be charged with such control. Remarks: Each citizen knowing a woman not submitting herself to the address under this decree is obliged to let it be known to the anarchist's club, giving the full address, full name, and father's name of the offending woman.

9. Male citizens have the right to use one woman not oftener than three times a week, for three hours, observing the rules specified below.

10. Each man wishing to use a piece of public property should be a bearer of certificate from the factories committee, professional union, or workmen's, soldiers', and peasants' council, certifying that he belongs to the working family class.

11. Every working member is obliged to discount 2 per cent from his earnings to the fund of general public action. Remarks: This committee in charge will put these discounting funds with the specifications of the names and lists into the State banks and other institutions, handing down these funds to the popular generation.

12. Male citizens not belonging to the working class in order to have the right equally with the proletariat are obliged to pay 100 rubles monthly into the public funds.

13. The local branch of the State bank is obliged to begin to reserve the payments to the national generation funds.

14. All women proclaimed by this decree to be national property will receive from the funds an allowance of 238 rubles a month.

15. All women who are pregnant are released of the direct State duties for four months, up to three months before and one month after childbirth.

16. Children born are given to an institution for training after they are 1 month old, where they are trained and educated until they are 17 years of age at the cost of the public funds.

17. In case of a birth of twins the mother is to receive a prize of 200 rubles.

18. All citizens, men and women, are obliged to watch carefully their health and to make each week an examination of urine and blood. Remark: The examinations are to be made daily at the laboratories of the popular generation health.

19. Those who are guilty of spreading venereal disease will be held responsible and severely punished.

20. Women having lost their health may apply to the Soviet for a pension.

21. The chief of anarchists will be in charge of perfecting the temporary arrangements and technical measures concerning the realization of this decree.

22. All those refusing to recognize and support this decree will be proclaimed sabotage, enemies of the people, and counter anarchists, and will be held to the severest responsibilities.

(Signed) COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF SARATOV, RUSSIA.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, could anything be more horrible and shocking? It is astounding and beyond comprehension that such a state of affairs can exist in the world of to-day, in any country which has ever claimed to be even semicivilized. It is shocking beyond expression to every sense of decency. It is worse than the practices of the most barbarous tribes of darkest Africa. Even among them a sort of mating of the sexes, a crude form of matrimony, is recognized and upheld. This beats the heathen. This is recognized, legalized, universal prostitution. It sinks to a lower depth than dumb brutes. Russia is a disgrace to the world. It is astounding that there are women in this country who uphold bolshevism and speak tolerantly of the Soviet Government of Russia. What are we to think of them?

As a result of this promiscuous intercourse of the sexes without pretense of mating or matrimony, commanded and sanctioned by law, no child is to know its parents. The identity of its father can never be known. At the tender age of 1 month all children are to be taken from their mothers and put in State founding nurseries. They are to be kept there and supported by the State until 17 years of age, and then they are to be turned loose to shift for themselves—the boys to hunt jobs, the girls to fall into prostitution. In proof of this, I quote from an official decree, as follows:

The children born are given to an institution for training after they are 1 month old, where they are trained and educated until they are 17 years of age at the cost of the public funds.

Children thus torn from their mothers before they know the mothers are entered in State founding nurseries and registered merely by numbers. They are to have no names. Even the names of the mothers are not to attach to them or be known. No child will ever know who was its father or mother.

They have utterly destroyed marriage, the home, the fireside, the family, the corner stones of all civilization, all society. They have undertaken to destroy what God created and ordained. They defy alike the will of God, the precepts of Christianity, the decrees of civilization, the customs of society. It is hard to realize that such things exist and are tolerated by the civilized world.

How the Soviet Government of Russia was established, after Lenin and Trotski and their hellish coconspirators had overthrown the very respectable Kerensky government and obtained control of Russia, is disclosed by the hearings of the subcommittee to which I have referred. I quote therefrom:

The dictatorship, utilizing Lettish troops and Chinese laborers, as well as to some extent German and Austrian prisoners and criminals discharged from the jails as its so-called Red Guard to enforce its decrees, promptly secured possession and control of:

(a) All arms and ammunition.

(b) Practically all foodstuffs and commodities essential to the maintenance of life.

(c) All clothing and household goods necessary for warmth and health.

(d) All gold, silver, and specie, including jewelry, ornaments, gold and silver plate.

This was accomplished by means of confiscation followed by the nationalization and monopolizing by the State of all commercial, industrial, and financial enterprises. Having secured possession of all of these instruments of physical and economic power and domination, this dictatorship was enabled to enforce the submission of most of the population to its will. The rank and file of the people of Russia had no other choice. They could not resist or oppose the Bolsheviks with force, as they were without firearms and without ammunition. They could not refuse to obey its dictates else they would be starved to death. They could not defy the dictators, as they would be left without raiment. They could not sustain life with money possessing an intrinsic value, for they had none, and thousands have been starved to death and murdered as a result of this régime.

Possessing, therefore, every instrument necessary for the exercise of the forcible persuasion of the populace, it became expedient to reinforce the dictatorship with an increased man power. Recognizing the state of the public mind, it was necessary to guard against betrayal by those who were drafted into the service of the State, and the most effective weapons selected to secure the faithful execution of the will of the dictators were fear, terrorism, and a system of hostages. By this system of hostages the relatives, family, and loved ones of the drafted subject were held as prisoners, their food supply, their clothing, even their lives depending upon the fidelity with which the dictatorship was supported and its orders executed.

Disfranchisement on a wholesale scale is practiced by the villains who are in control of Russia. Practically everybody who is not part and parcel of their devilish schemes is disfranchised from any participation or voice in the government under which they have to live. On that score I quote further from the hearings to which I have referred:

Having professed an adherence to the democratic form of government to assist in securing control of Russia, the Bolsheviks, in establishing its paper government, sought to maintain its dictatorship under color of a representative political system. A recognition of the democratic principle that all men are created equal, however, would have necessitated the equal participation of all citizens in the affairs of government. Such universal participation in political affairs would have made impossible a dictatorship of the minority, but would inherently have been a rule of the majority and have accomplished just what the dissolution of the constituent assembly was intended to prevent. The following of the bolshevik government being more numerous in the cities, and these by reason of their concentration within more restricted territorial limits being more readily led and dominated, it was prescribed by constitutional direction that representation from cities in the government should be five times as great as the representation from the provincial districts. In other words, representation from cities is in the ratio of 1 to every 25,000 of the population, while from the rural districts and the territory of the peasants, who constitute a large percentage of the Russian population, representation is 1 to every 125,000 of the population. Even this discrimination did not adequately safeguard the domination of the bolshevik minority. Disfranchisement of large groups of the population was necessary. By constitutional provision they denied the right to participate in the government and disfranchised the following classes:

- (a) All persons employing others in connection with the conduct of their business.
- (b) All persons receiving interest, rents, dividends, or an income from financial or industrial enterprises.
- (c) All merchants, traders, and dealers.
- (d) All clergymen, priests, and employees of churches and religious bodies.
- (e) Certain persons connected with the Czar's government, persons mentally afflicted, and persons convicted of certain crimes against the bolshevik government.

Even with these restrictions upon suffrage, the bolshevik government has refused to undertake the election of a constituent assembly. The elections that are permitted are conducted under supervision of the Red Guard.

Local bodies or soviets that are not satisfactory to the dictatorship are removed, and in some instances so-called commissars or officials of unquestioned loyalty to the government are imported from the cities to govern the affairs of the political unit (the local soviet) sought to be dominated according to the bolshevik faith.

Confiscation, nothing more nor less than wholesale robbery by the robbers who constitute the Russian Government, has been practiced on a wholesale plan. On that score I quote further from the hearings:

Confiscation on a wholesale scale has been used as a means of undertaking to create and maintain tangible assets that could be used as the economic foundation upon which could be built the industrial and financial superstructure of the bolshevik State. By constitutional edict and by a series of decrees issued by the dictatorship all land, forests, and natural resources of Russia have been confiscated by the government in order that the bolshevik government may become the landlord of the entire population and exercise the control incident thereto. Where a man shall live and toil and till the soil is determined by the State and the right to determine the nature and extent of each man's domicile, and the power to compel the migration of the peasant from the locality of his birth or adoption, even to the extent of separating families as the population of the various communities expands or contracts, is exercised by the bolshevik government through the laws which it has decreed for the control of the people.

The alleged purpose of the seizure of land by the government was that the right to the land might be transferred to the rank and file of the people of Russia in order that the individual Russian peasant might become the unrestrained and unrestricted architect of his own future economic development, but the methods adopted by the Bolsheviks have merely transferred the landlordship from the large landowners, and in many instances from the peasant groups themselves, to the bolshevik government, and the present control by that government is not confined to the land itself, as was the control of the landowners under the old régime, but extends as well to the persons and even the tools, implements, and products of the peasants. The aged and infirm are deprived of all right to utilize and enjoy during their declining years the soil their efforts may have enriched, because their physical strength makes them powerless to perform all of the labor incident to its full cultivation. They thereupon become mere pensioners of the State. This system guarantees to the peasant only the present enjoyment of a given piece of land, and consequently only warrants him in so utilizing the beneficence of the State in according him the right to use the same as to insure the maximum present production to the exclusion of a scientific development that will inure to future advantage. In other words, an uncertain tenure is naturally accompanied by an exploitation rather than by a systematic development of the leasehold interest. Under this system the peasant can never become the owner of the land he tills or of any other land. To aid in the system and to establish a larger control of peasant activities by the government the principle of confiscation has also been invoked in the case of all live stock and all agricultural implements, and as a consequence these essential instruments of land cultivation, these chattels necessary to the production of both meat and vegetable foodstuffs, have become, without regard to the rights of former owners or the advantage to the individual of future ownership thereon, the property of the bolshevik government, and the only right thereto that the peasant can in the future acquire is a use upon such terms and conditions as the government may prescribe.

As may well be expected, there seems to be much difficulty in determining the manner in which this policy is being carried into actual operation, and it is apparent that only by the application of arbitrary methods can the already existing articles in these categories be made useful to any portion of the peasant population or be adequately protected and maintained so as to preserve their value. It is also interesting to contemplate, but dubious to predict, how meat-food products can under this system be maintained at a sufficient quantity to sustain life.

The thrift, industry, perseverance, and intelligence which has enabled a portion of the Russian people in the past to acquire and save money has also been penalized by the confiscation of all banks and banking institutions and their transformation into a state monopoly.

Confiscation under the milder term of nationalization has eliminated from all industrial establishments, such as factories, mills, and mines the business acumen and scientific methods necessary to successful operation and competitive methods. The absolute control of their operation and management is placed in the hands of the employees. This has been followed by the stagnation of the industrial life of the country, and

even those nationalized industries which have been able to operate under Government control have operated at an enormous percentage of loss, the deficiencies being met from the unlimited issue of fiat paper money printed by the Government. The nationalization of the enterprises essential to the production and delivery of raw materials has so handicapped their production as to restrict the quantity of raw materials available for the maintenance of industrial enterprises, and the whole economic condition of Russia has made it impossible to secure relief from foreign sources. These industrial conditions can only continue so long as the Government can succeed in monopolizing the means of subsistence, maintain an adequate military force to enforce the decrees of the dictatorship, and force the recognition of worthless fiat paper money as the basis of its financial system.

As the economic formula of the Bolsheviks prescribes the confiscation of the property rights of others, likewise it proclaims the doctrine of the repudiation of financial obligations, and the debts of Russia have been renounced. Repudiation is also invoked to secure the government against the incumbrances upon and liabilities of the property and assets of enterprises, land, and chattels seized by it under its confiscation program. This repudiation also aided materially in suppressing and exterminating the creditor class, which naturally constitutes a part of the element that the Bolsheviks are pleased to call the bourgeoisie, or capitalistic class, by depriving them of the right and ability to recover and utilize the earnings, savings, and accumulations of the past. As it affected them it was a form of confiscation. Repudiation is therefore a consistent accompaniment of confiscation and an essential element in the process of destruction. The financial condition of the dictatorship, however, required the adoption of some constructive policy that would finance it. It was necessary to maintain at least a color of legitimacy, an appearance of honest business methods, in supporting its so-called red army and in securing control of the articles necessary to sustain life. Further than that it was desirable to devise ways and means by which service in the red army and employment in nationalized enterprises might appear sufficiently attractive and at the same time give an appearance of prosperity to the government itself, in order that hope as well as fear might assist in maintaining the bolshevik government. The policy adopted was the printing of unlimited amounts of fiat paper money unsecured by any reserve. This naturally furnished to the government a cash capital limited only by the capacity of the printing presses of the government, which in turn had been confiscated and nationalized. Already it is estimated that a sum in excess of 30,000,000,000 rubles has been put into circulation. This has created a ridiculously inflated circulating medium of no material value to the public, but of enforced value to the government.

Compulsory military service is ruthlessly enforced. I quote further:

Repudiating the doctrine of all radical revolutionary groups throughout the world that have claimed for the individual of all lands the right of conscientious objection for religious or other reason against the bearing of arms and the participation in armed conflicts, the Bolsheviks have adopted as the essential safeguard of their political fabric compulsory military service. As Prussianism has found it essential to world domination by the autocracy of the Hohenzollerns, so bolshevism seized upon it as the mainstay that would weather its autocracy of the dictatorship through its campaign of confiscation and repudiation.

Courts of law have been abolished. On that score I quote:

All of the established courts and judicial institutions have been abolished and in their place have been created revolutionary tribunals. Under the dictatorship these new judicial tribunals disregard all laws that "contradict the revolutionary conception of right." In actual operation these revolutionary tribunals have tried and condemned men in their absence. No right to bail is recognized and the penalty imposed depends largely upon the caprice of the court. The death penalty, the reestablishment of which under the provisional government was vociferously denounced by the Bolsheviks, has been invoked for all sorts of crimes and misdemeanors. In fact, the procedure in the courts is a mere travesty on justice and most summary in its nature.

The existence of God is denied and religion has been banned. On that score I quote:

Every activity of the bolshevik government indicates clearly the antipathy of the Bolsheviks toward Christianity and the Christian religion. Its program is a direct challenge to that religion. The Christian church and bolshevism can not both survive the program that is being developed by the Russian dictatorship and which it is undertaking to extend throughout the world. Not only have they confiscated all church property, real and personal, but they have established the right of antireligious propaganda as a constitutionally recognized institution. Church and school have been divorced even to the extent of suppressing the Sunday school, and the teaching of all religious doctrines in public, either in schools or educational institutions of any kind, is expressly forbidden. Religion can only be taught or studied privately. All church and religious organizations are prohibited from owning property of any kind. All recognition of a Supreme Being in both governmental and judicial oaths is abolished. The clergy and all servants or employees of church bodies are expressly disfranchised and deprived of all right to hold public positions. The full significance of the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward Christianity is most fully manifested in the fact that, though by Russian custom and decree under the old régime every newspaper or periodical published on Easter Sunday in the Russian Empire was required to carry the headline, "Christ is risen," on Easter Sunday in 1918 all bolshevik papers substituted for this sacred sentiment the headline and slogan, "One hundred years ago to-day Karl Marx was born." Thus the issue has been framed between the gospel of Karl Marx and the teachings of Christ. We reiterate, therefore, that bolshevism and the Christian religion can not both survive.

All freedom of speech and freedom of the press has been abolished. I quote further:

The freedom of the press and of speech, though heralded by the advocates of bolshevism as necessary to the intelligent participation of the people in popular government, has been abrogated in Russia, and by the usual confiscatory method of the accepted formula all of the mechanical devices and materials necessary for the publication of periodicals and all places of meeting and public assemblage have been seized by the bolshevik government.

To make the control more complete and effective, the publication of all advertisements, whether in regularly published periodicals or on handbills or programs, is made a monopoly of the government. As a consequence the people of Russia are deprived of all facts, literature,

and public expression through the medium of the press or public meetings, except such as is approved by the dictatorship and has been passed by its censorship.

In summary the subcommittee in its report says of the character of the Russian Government:

The salient features which constitute the program of bolshevism as it exists to-day in Russia and is presented to the rest of the world as a papaca for all ills may be summarized as follows:

- (1) The repudiation of democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship.
- (2) The confiscation of all land and the improvements thereon.
- (3) The confiscation of all forests and natural resources.
- (4) The confiscation of all live stock and all agricultural implements.
- (5) The confiscation of all banks and banking institutions and the establishment of a State monopoly of the banking business.
- (6) The confiscation of all factories, mills, mines, and industrial institutions and the delivery of the control and operation thereof to the employees therein.
- (7) The confiscation of all churches and all church property, real and personal.
- (8) The confiscation of all newspapers and periodicals and all mechanical facilities and machinery used in the publication thereof.
- (9) The seizure and confiscation of all public meeting places and assembly halls.
- (10) The confiscation of all transportation and communication systems.
- (11) The confiscation of the entire estate of all decedents.
- (12) The monopolizing by the State of all advertisements of every nature, whether in newspapers, periodicals, handbills, or programs.
- (13) The repudiation of all debts against the government and all obligation due the nonbolshevik elements of the population.
- (14) The establishment of universal compulsory military service, regardless of religious scruples and conscientious objections.
- (15) The establishment of universal compulsory labor.
- (16) The abolition of the Sunday school and all other schools and institutions that teach religion.
- (17) The absolute separation of churches and schools.
- (18) The establishment through marriage and divorce laws of a method for the legalization of prostitution.
- (19) The refusal to recognize the existence of God in its governmental and judicial proceedings.
- (20) The conferring of the rights of citizenship on aliens without regard to length of residence or intelligence.
- (21) The arming of all so-called "foilers," and the disarming of all persons that had succeeded in acquiring property.
- (22) The discrimination in favor of residence of cities and against residents of the rural districts through giving residents of cities five times as much voting power as is accorded to residents of rural districts in such elections as are permitted.
- (23) The disfranchisement of all persons employing any other person in connection with their business.
- (24) The disfranchisement of all persons receiving rent, interest, or dividends.
- (25) The disfranchisement of all merchants, traders, and commercial agents.
- (26) The disfranchisement of all priests, clergymen, or employees of churches and religious bodies.
- (27) The denial of the existence of any inalienable rights in the individual citizen.
- (28) The establishment of a judicial system exercising autocratic power, convicting persons and imposing penalties in their absence, and without opportunity to be heard, and even adopting the death penalty for numerous crimes and misdemeanors.
- (29) The inauguration of a reign of fear, terrorism, and violence. This is the program that the revolutionary elements and the so-called "parlor Bolsheviks" would have this country accept as a substitute for the Government of the United States, which recognizes that "all men are created equal," and that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the inalienable rights of all its citizens. This is the formula they would have adopted to supersede the Government which was established by all the people of the United States "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity," and "promote the general welfare." The mere recital of the program is a sufficient denunciation of it and of the individuals and groups which advocate and defend it.

Upon other phases of the Russian Government I quote further from the report of the subcommittee:

The apparent purpose of the bolshevik government is to make the Russian citizen, and especially the women and children, the wards and dependents of that government. Not satisfied with the degree of dependency incurred by the economic and industrial control assumed by its functionaries, it has destroyed the natural ambition and made impossible of accomplishment the moral obligation of the father to provide, care for, and adequately protect the child of his blood and the mother of that child against the misfortunes of orphanhood and widowhood. To accomplish this it has by decree expressly abolished and prohibited all right of inheritance, either by law or will. Upon death of all of the decedent's estate is confiscated by the State, and all heirs who are physically incapable of working become pensioners of the State to the extent that the assets confiscated by the government make such pensions possible.

Insurance of all kinds has been nationalized, the assets of insurance companies confiscated, and the business of insuring life, property, accident, old age, and unemployment made a State monopoly. In the attempted liquidation of existing companies and associations the liquidating representatives of the government seem only concerned in securing possession and record of all of their assets and fail to recognize the propriety of accurately adjusting their liabilities. As a consequence, those insured and the beneficiaries under existing policies find themselves without the protection for which they have been paying premiums.

During modern times the effort of civilization has been directed to lifting mankind to the highest possible level of intelligence and social and material well-being in order to attain the highest degree of social equality between man and man. For the first time since the Dark Ages has an organized government undertaken to invoke a process of equalization by establishing as the basis of social equality the minimum rather than the maximum degree of existing educational, industrial, social, and moral efficiency, yet such is the policy of the bolshevik government. It recognizes that the psychology of even the most illiterate elements of the Russian people is such that it can not perpetuate this doctrine in practice unless the same reactionary methods of equal-

ization are simultaneously destroying the social fabric, the efficiency, the individual initiative, the ambition, and the material prosperity of the people of all other nations, whose competition and accomplishments would necessarily result in odious and destructive comparisons. Not content, therefore, in fathering in Russia this retrograde method of establishing the equality of mankind on the basis of the lowest strata of society, it has undertaken to arouse in the United States and in all other countries resentment, rancor, and hatred against those elements of society which have, by reason of their aptitude, perseverance, industry, and thrift, attained that superior degree of intelligence and prosperity that has made possible the accomplishment of twentieth century civilization. The effort of progressing civilization has always been the uplifting of man to a higher and higher plane of living and a loftier place in society.

The activities of the Bolsheviks constitute a complete repudiation of modern civilization and the promulgation of the doctrine that the best attainment of the most backward member of society shall be the level at which mankind shall find its final and victorious goal. The pulling down of the progressive rather than the lifting up of the retrogressive is presented as the doctrine of their new kind of civilization. To carry this message to the uttermost parts of the earth they have appropriated enormous sums of money, and, incidentally, their process of equalization in Russia was promoted by the starvation which the funds thus expended might have been utilized to alleviate. Their messengers and their friends have afflicted this country and their new civilization has been represented as Utopian in its nature. Many well-disposed persons have been deceived into the belief that they were promoting a social welfare movement in advocating it. They have even given their substance that it might be perpetuated and extended. Yet, while these people who have been popularly called "parlor Bolsheviks" are contributing to these bolshevik agents, these same agents are appealing to the hatred and the lowest instincts of the more ignorant elements of the population, reinforced by the criminally inclined, to whom the doctrine of confiscation furnished a form of legalized robbery and a means of livelihood without physical or mental effort, to rise en masse and destroy our civilization and the so-called bourgeoisie, with whom, of course, must be classed these same "parlor Bolsheviks" who are assisting by lending funds and respectability to the movement in bringing the temple down upon their own heads.

The report of the subcommittee is extensive and exhaustive and contains much more startling information and sheds much more light upon conditions in Russia and the activities of Bolsheviks in this country, but I will not quote further from it.

As a result of these shocking conditions in Russia, the rule of the Soviet Government, a reign of terror exists there, accompanied by wholesale murder, robbery, arson, pillage, loot, rape, licentiousness, and every other form of lawlessness. Dr. George L. Simon, a very intelligent witness who had been in Russia, testified before the subcommittee, and being asked to estimate the number of persons who had been murdered by the Bolsheviks, he replied that it was in the thousands, but that no man could even approximate the number of the victims. "The Bolsheviks never investigate; they kill on the spot, as a rule," he said. More people were killed in Petrograd in one week than were killed during the entire French Revolution.

As a result of this reign of terror and crime the people of Russia are starving by hundreds of thousands. Starvation and disease are rampant in all parts of Russia. The people are not producing enough to live on and want stalks everywhere. The population of Petrograd was formerly 2,000,000. It is now reported to be 700,000. The boasted Soviet Government, the rule of the "workers," is worse than a failure.

Much valuable information about the Soviet Government of Russia, based upon the hearings conducted by the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee and its report and upon other authentic sources of information, is contained in a valuable work, in pamphlet form, compiled by Mr. T. H. B. Patterson, of Toledo, and entitled "The White Slaver of the World." It is published by the Rights of Labor Association, at 409 Victoria Place, Toledo, Ohio, and sold at a nominal price. I am indebted to it for much information.

The time has come when we should use plain, unvarnished language, when naked facts should be stated. The time has come when the men and women of this country who are loyal should be told the plain truth about the Soviet Government of Russia, which is being eulogized and defended in this country and declared to be a better government than ours, even though the telling cause decency to falter and bring the blush of shame to those who tell and to those who hear or read.

This, in brief, is a description of the government which is daily being held up in this country as an example for us, and which is declared by some to be superior to our form of government. This is the character of government which some people in our midst would have established in this country. This is the government toward which some fairly respectable people in this country exhibit a lenient and tolerant feeling. This is the government of which there is some talk of recognition by this country. There are people in this country who declare our Government should recognize the Lenin and Trotsky government of Russia as a reputable government, and that we should appoint an ambassador to it and receive an ambassador from it and with which we should, they say, conduct generally diplomatic negotiations and business, and to which we should extend full diplomatic recognition. That has been suggested by high authority in this country.

A year ago last December a public meeting was held at Poli's Theater, in this city, the Capital of this Nation, on a Sunday afternoon, at which speakers eulogized the Soviet Government of Russia and declared it a better government than our Government. A Member of Congress was present at that meeting and apparently in sympathy with its objects.

Recently at a largely attended public gathering, in a city some distance from here, I delivered an address on this theme, and in the course of my address I quoted extensively from the report of the aforementioned subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, about these things, as I have here, showing conclusively the nature of the Soviet Government of Russia. I stated then, as I have now, that the report was based on authentic proof, on the sworn testimony of witnesses who had been in Russia, and on duly certified documentary evidence; that it was, as it is, authentic, official, and duly accredited. I was followed by a distinguished speaker of widespread note, who began his address by saying:

I do wish we could learn the truth about Russia; some say one thing about it and others say differently; we get one report and it is contradicted; we get another report and it is contradicted; maybe some day we will get the truth.

To my mind it was apparent where his sympathies were.

A man named Martens has been in this country for many months representing this horrible government of Russia. His professed objects are to open negotiations with our Government, to create sympathy in this country for the Russian Soviet Government, to carry on propaganda for it. His suspected object, of which there is much evidence, is to scatter in this country the poisonous seeds of sedition and disloyalty, to raise all sorts of trouble, and to cause an uprising in this country. By order of the United States Senate his activities were recently investigated by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

At the hearing, which was conducted by the subcommittee in the course of its investigation, Martens testified or, more properly speaking, I would say he squirmed and adroitly endeavored to keep from giving any testimony. Apparently it was hard for the subcommittee to elicit much from him. He did, however, make many damaging admissions. He admitted that he was in close touch with and had attended and addressed secret meetings of the Communist Party of this country, known to be an anarchistic organization, having for its object the overthrow of this Government. There is plenty of evidence that Martens is and has been conducting extensive bolshevistic propaganda in this country, plotting and scheming with those who desire the overthrow of this Government, associating with anarchists, and generally scattering in this country seeds of sedition, disloyalty, and bolshevism.

I consider it an outrage that Martens has been allowed to remain in this country as long as he has. His presence here is an act of effrontery, an insult to the people of this country. In my opinion, he should have been long ago deported, and I think he should now be deported without delay or ado. If I had my way he would be given punishment much more severe than deportation. I think the least he merits is imprisonment at hard labor for life. Such creatures should be made to work instead of being allowed to scatter broadcast insidious poison. The Department of Justice started deportation proceedings against him, but I understand they are held up by the Department of Labor, and that meantime Martens has been by the last-named department released on his own recognizance.

I am not satisfied with the handling of the matter by the Department of Labor, but know of no remedy. I think it flagrant. I do not believe, however, Martens will be deported. I think the Department of Labor will permit him to remain here and brazenly continue his nefarious work. The despots of Russia are doing their best to spread their vile system of anarchy to the entire world. They boast of it. Their minions have invaded this fair country and their seed sown here is bearing fruit.

In the last few months 3,000 arrests of radical Reds, agitators, and undesirable aliens have been made by agents of the Department of Justice, with a view to their deportation. I have no doubt all of them are highly undesirable and are guilty of disloyal activities. I have no doubt this country would be better off if all of them were deported to the countries from which they came or tied in bags and dumped into the middle of the ocean. The Department of Justice claims to have adequate evidence against all of them and claims all of them are just subjects of deportation. A recent statement issued by the Department of Labor, which by an anomalous arrangement of law is given the power of passing judgment in deportation cases, shows that of the 3,000 persons arrested only 390 have been ordered deported, while 933 have been dismissed. The remainder doubtless are out on bail or have had their cases otherwise disposed of without any penalty. That less than 400 of 3,000 have been ordered deported, after months of investigation and resistance of the processes of

the law, it seems to me is an unsatisfactory condition of affairs. That the Department of Justice would cause to be arrested twenty-six hundred people in a few months, with a view to their deportation, with no adequate evidence against them, is to me unbelievable. The Department of Justice gets the evidence before making arrests. There appears to be in the Department of Labor a marked reluctance to deport these disturbers of the Government which I think lamentable and alarming.

The activities of those who would undermine and overturn our Government are undoubtedly increasing. They appear to go on with little check or hindrance. In my opinion the country is honeycombed underneath the surface with the vicious activities of hydraheaded monsters and cunning plotters, who are scattering the poison of their malignant virus and working day and night for the overthrow of the best Government which the world has ever seen, where more liberty is given to the masses, more freedom to its citizens, more rights to its workingmen, more privileges to the whole populace than in any other Government under the sun. In my opinion this country is reeking and seething with the machinations of disloyalty, sedition, and bolshevism. Their proponents are becoming bold. They have defenders and sympathizers in high places.

What is the remedy? The Attorney General of the United States says there is not sufficient law to combat these conditions, to prevent their growth, to punish such deadly malefactors. He says the country is in need of more efficient and drastic laws to enable the Government to fight its insidious foes and preserve its safety. Very well; I say, then, let us enact more law. Let us have laws that are adequate and sufficiently drastic. Self-preservation is the first law of nature as applied to nations as well as individuals. Months ago the Senate passed a bill known as the Sterling sedition bill, to give the officials of the Government more power in suppressing and punishing sedition and disloyalty, intended to save us from those in our midst who are, with safety to themselves, "boring from within." The House of Representatives has not yet passed that bill nor any other of its kind. I hope it may yet do so, but time is fleeting and the danger grows. What the Congress of the United States needs is some of the backbone evinced by the New York Legislature when it expelled from its membership five men who had been proven to the satisfaction of the legislature disloyal to their country. I honor the New York Legislature for its brave and patriotic act.

There is very much opposition to the enactment by Congress of the additional legislation upon this subject asked for by the Attorney General of the United States. It is opposed from many quarters. Some college professors, journalists, theorists, and exponents of the liberty which is license to say or do anything short of outright treason oppose it. High-brow Socialists and parlor Bolshevists oppose it. Some German-Americans and other hyphenated Americans oppose it. Colonies and bodies of foreign-born voters oppose it.

Unfortunately the leaders of organized labor generally oppose it. Why they should do so is beyond my comprehension. The proposed legislation is only aimed at those who advocate the overthrow of our Government by violence or force. It is not intended to suppress the opinions of peaceful, law-abiding citizens, be they workingmen or anybody else. Nevertheless Samuel Gompers has said this proposed legislation must not be enacted, nor anything like it, and I believe that probably ends it.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DIAL in the chair). Does the Senator from Montana yield to the Senator from Washington?

Mr. MYERS. I yield with pleasure.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Is the Senator aware of the fact that the Attorney General, before the House committee, opposed the bill which the Senate passed?

Mr. MYERS. I understand that the Attorney General opposed the Sterling sedition bill and favored the Davey sedition bill introduced in the House by Representative DAVEY, of Ohio. I understand the Attorney General says he thinks some of the provisions of the Sterling bill are rather too drastic and are objectionable, but that the Davey bill will furnish all the instrumentality of law which he needs to enforce the law in the matters upon which I have been speaking.

But the House has not passed either bill, and I do not believe it will pass either one, or any like bill on the subject. I would be satisfied with either the Davey bill or the Sterling bill. I want some law on the subject which will give the Attorney General the power which he says is needed, and I am not particular who is the author of it, nor what it is, so long as it betters the deplorable condition in which we now find ourselves.

It is said by some who oppose the proposed legislation that it would be a blow at liberty; that it would invade the right of free speech and the right of freedom of the press. I believe in liberty,

and in freedom of speech and press, but I do not believe in that liberty or that freedom of speech or press which is license to advocate the overthrow by force or violence, plotting or scheming, of the best and freest Government ever established by man.

However, with this combined class opposition, with the very pronounced opposition of leaders of organized labor, and with the great masses of the American people lethargic and indifferent, I regard it exceedingly doubtful if the Attorney General of the United States will be given the power and the legislation which he says is necessary to protect this Government from its enemies within. The Congress of the United States is too subservient to the decrees of organized labor. Some people say we should placate these enemies of our Government, these disturbers of the peace, these radical agitators, and reds by giving them what they want and removing the cause of their unrest. Some people in high places advocate this. Well, that is one way of removing unrest. Of course, if a man is going to rob a bank you can keep him from robbing it by giving him all the money there is in the bank. That would temporarily remove the unrest of the would-be robber, but it would not give a very restful feeling to the depositors and stockholders of the bank. If a man wants possession of my house and home and threatens to burn it down and kill me unless he gets it, I can placate him by moving out and letting him move in. I suppose that would temporarily remove his unrest, but it would be paying a pretty high price for the cure. It would be pretty hard on me and my family. There has been too much yielding to the demands of this element. It was largely instrumental in procuring commutation of the death sentence of Tom Mooney, one of its number.

The truth is, for Bolshevism there is neither cause nor justification. It can not be remedied by human agencies. Bolshevism is simply hell in the hearts of men and women; it is hell in the hearts of people who are natural criminals. It can not be removed from their hearts by human means. The only effective eradicator of the seeds of Bolshevism in the hearts of people there can be is by act of God. What this country needs and what the world needs more than anything else is a great revival of religion. If men and women everywhere had in their hearts the spirit of the Savior of mankind, there would be no Bolshevism.

That, though, can not be brought about by legislation. However, legislation can, by gripping the situation and providing drastic laws for prevention and punishment, deter people from acts of Bolshevism, disloyalty, and sedition, and from teaching their vile doctrines, or punish them after committing such acts or teaching such doctrines, and thereby keep within the bounds of safety this criminal spirit. Many people are kept good only through fear of the law. Many a man would commit acts of robbery or other lawlessness if not deterred by fear of punishment at the hands of the law. Nobody but God can take out of a wicked man's heart the criminal instinct, but the law can prevent him from exercising it, or, as a deterrent to others, punish him if he does exercise it.

Congress should take hold of this situation firmly, without fear or favor. It can remedy it. The conditions of which I speak will continue and will increase unless our Government takes hold of them with a firm hand and adopts stern repressive measures for its own protection, especially the legislative branch of the Government. We whipped the redskins to obtain possession of this country, we whipped the Red Coats to achieve its independence, and we must not let the red-hearted and red-handed overthrow it. "Down the reds" has been our practice. It should now be our motto. These red malefactors and enemies of good government should be made to feel the stripes and see the stars—the stripes and stars of the glorious American flag.

Some of these insidious foes have wormed their way into the ranks of organized labor and are attempting to use labor as a means to their nefarious ends. Some of them are "boring from within" the ranks of organized labor. Undoubtedly some of them who profess to be friends of labor are continually endeavoring to foment strikes and all manner of industrial disturbances. They are using every specious pretext to mislead and prey upon the minds of workmen. They are mingling among factory hands, miners, smelter men, and other industrial workers and poisoning their minds. They are doing everything they can to bring about continual increases of wages, shorter hours of labor, and curtailment of production, in the hope that that course may bring about industrial ruin and enable them to seize the industries of the country. Their object undoubtedly is to place on industry greater burdens than it can bear and cause a breakdown of industry, with resultant chaos, hoping at the time of such a crisis to seize the industries of the country and ultimately the Government. Seeds of dissatisfaction are continually sown among workmen. Strikes, with or without cause, are encouraged.

According to the old common law of England, there was a criminal punishment known as *peine et forte*. It consisted of putting the victim in prison and placing him on his back, upon a stone floor, and then putting upon his breast, by means of iron or stones, all the weight he could bear and a little more, and keeping it there. The aim of some radical agitators, some of the red element, seems to be to put upon industry and upon the people of the country all the weight that can be borne and a little more, in hope of bringing about chaos and anarchy and thereby an opportunity to seize everything. Designing men seem to have spread everywhere the spirit of demand for exorbitant wages. I am told that last fall farmers in Virginia had to pay negro men \$12 a day to cut corn. A friend of mine, who is a farmer in Missouri, recently told me that last summer he had to pay boys \$6.50 a day to pile bundles of wheat for shocking. Recently I read an article in a newspaper which stated that two coal miners in Pennsylvania, in a workday of eight hours, had each earned \$23.40. In my State farm laborers are getting \$100 a month and board. Most farmers can not afford to pay it and are putting in only such crops as they can attend to without hired help, resulting in greatly decreased acreage.

This sort of thing can not go on without disaster. The farm production of the country will be greatly curtailed this year. This will inevitably increase still further the already high cost of living. Every strike curtails production some and increases a little the high cost of living. Every day workers are out on a strike helps to curtail production and increase the high cost of living. I know the greatly inflated condition of our currency and credits, which the Government appears to be making no effort to reduce, has much to do with the high cost of living and with our industrial unrest, and is a just cause of complaint, but the prevailing orgy of strikes and curtailment of production only makes matters worse, and, I think, is encouraged by some designing agitators for the purpose of making matters worse.

I know that many well-meaning and law-abiding workmen are demanding increases of wages. Perhaps some of them should have some increase, when overly high wages paid to others are considered, but I believe that some of the demands, under cover, are instigated by designing men who are taking advantage of conditions and who have ulterior purposes, not good for workmen, which would destroy government and society and benefit none save criminals such as now rule Russia. The avowed object of these men is to foment strike after strike until there is the one big union and the universal strike, resulting in the seizure of industry and the annihilation of all government.

One of these is William Z. Foster. He boasts of his object. Recently there was a country-wide strike of the steel workers of the country. Undoubtedly it was, in its origin, largely instigated by Foster and his coconspirators. Foster quickly appeared upon the surface as a leader and director of the strike. He had wormed himself into it in such a manner as to be one of its principal factors. This man Foster has written and published a book entitled "Syndicalism." In it he boldly sets forth his aims and his defiance of government and society. He tells what he is aiming at in all his agitation and promotion of strikes and industrial disturbance. I quote some passages from it:

The wages system of robbery is responsible for the great extremes of poverty and wealth to be found in modern society. It has existed ever since the very beginning of industrialism and its effects grow worse daily. Every invention of a labor-saving device, by increasing the army of the unemployed and making the competition for jobs keener, enables the owners of the industries to more thoroughly exploit their slaves. Thus the wages system has the effect of making inventions of labor-saving devices curses to the bulk of society, instead of blessings as they should be.

The wages system is the most brazen and gigantic robbery ever perpetrated since the world began. So disastrous are its consequences on the vast armies of slaves within its toils that it is threatening the very existence of society. If society is even to be perpetuated—to say nothing of being organized upon an equitable basis—the wages system must be abolished. The thieves at present in control of the industries must be stripped of their booty, and society so reorganized that every individual shall have free access to the social means of production. This social reorganization will be a revolution. Only after such a revolution will the great inequalities of modern society disappear.

For years progressive workers have realized the necessity for this revolution. They have also realized that it must be brought about by the workers themselves.

The wages system has divided the immense bulk of society into two classes—the capitalist class and the working class. The interests of these two classes are radically opposed to each other. It is the interest of the capitalist class to rob the workers of as much of their product as possible and the interest of the workers to prevent this robbery as far as they can. A guerrilla warfare—known as the class struggle and evidenced by the many strikes, working class political eruptions, and the many acts of oppression committed by capitalists upon their workers—constantly goes on between these opposing classes. The capitalists, who are heartlessness and cupidity personified, being the dominant class of society and the shapers of its institutions, have organized the whole fabric of society with a view to keeping the working class in slavery. It is, therefore, evident that if the workers are to become free it must be through their own efforts and directly against those of the capitalists.

The syndicalist movement is a labor-union movement, which, in addition to fighting the every-day battles of the working class, intends to

overthrow capitalism and reorganize society in such a manner that exploitation of man by man through the wages system shall cease. The latter phase of this triple task—the establishment of a society worthy of the human race—is the real goal of syndicalism and the end for which all its efforts are finally spent. Consequently, an understanding of the manner in which the new society shall be organized is a matter of first importance to syndicalists and they have given it much thought.

At this early date, though many of the minor details of the organization plan of the new society can only be guessed at, many of its larger outlines are fairly clear. One of these is that there will be no State. The syndicalist sees in the State only an instrument of oppression and a bungling administrator of industry, and proposes to exclude it from the future society. He sees no need for any general supervising governmental body, and intends that the workers in each industry shall manage the affairs of their particular industry; the miners shall manage the mines; the railroaders manage the railroads, and so on through all the lines of human activity.

Just how the workers shall be organized to manage their industries has been a matter of much speculation. The current syndicalist theory is that the labor unions in the various industries will each take over the management of their particular industry; that "the fighting groups of to-day will be the producing and distributing groups of to-morrow."

In the future society the shop organizations will be perfectly autonomous—each automatically regulating its own affairs and requiring no interference from without. The producing force of society will be composed of autonomous units, each industry constituting a unit. The beginnings of this industrial autonomy are seen in the more highly monopolized industries of to-day. These industries are becoming automatic in their operation. Chance and arbitrary industrial dictatorship are being eliminated from them. The whole industrial process is becoming a matter of obeying facts and figures. In a monopolized industry the national demand for its product flows inevitably to it, and it regulates its production automatically to conform to this demand. In the future society all industries will be monopolized, and each will regulate its production according to the demands placed upon it by the rest of society. Their relations between the various industries will be simply the filling of each other's orders for commodities.

As the activities of the autonomous shop organizations will extend over all social production, including education, medicine, criminology, etc., there will be no need for a general supervising body to administer industry—be it the State or the labor unions. And as there will be no slave class in society and no ownership in the social means of livelihood, the State will have lost the only other reasons for its existence—the keeping of the working class in subjection and the regulation of the quarrels between the owners of the industries.

The question of the system for the division of the social product in the new society has not been the subject of much discussion by syndicalists. However, they very generally accept the anarchist formula: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." They will abolish all ownership in the social means of livelihood and make them free for each to take what he needs.

They believe that when all are free to help themselves from the all-sufficient products of society they will no more misuse their opportunity than people now misuse the many enterprises under capitalism—streets, roads, bridges, libraries, parks, etc.—which are managed according to the anarchistic principle of each taking what he needs. The prevailing code of ethics will prevent would-be idlers from taking advantage of this system.

The syndicalist is characterized by the harmony that exists between his theories and his tactics. He realizes that the capitalist class is his mortal enemy; that it must be overthrown, the wages system abolished, and the new society he has outlined established if he is to live; and he is proceeding to the accomplishment of these tasks with unparalleled directness. He allows nothing to swerve him from his course and lead him in an indirection.

The syndicalist knows that capitalism is organized robbery, and he consistently considers and treats capitalists as thieves plying their trade. He knows they have no more "right" to the wealth they have amassed than a burglar has to his loot, and the idea of expropriating them without remuneration seems as natural to him as for the footpad's victim to take back his stolen property without paying the footpad for it. From long experience he has learned that the so-called legal and inalienable "rights" of man are but pretenses with which to deceive workingmen; that in reality "rights" are only enjoyed by those capable of enforcing them. He knows that in modern society, as in all ages, might is right, and that the capitalists hold the industries they have stolen and daily perpetrate the robbery of the wages system simply because they have the economic power to do so. He has fathomed the current system of ethics and morals, and knows them to be just so many auxiliaries to the capitalist class. Consequently, he has cast them aside and has placed his relations with the capitalists upon a basis of naked power.

In his choice of weapons to fight his capitalist enemies the syndicalist is no more careful to select those that are "fair," "just," or "civilized" than is a householder attacked in the night by a burglar. He knows he is engaged in a life and death struggle with an absolutely lawless and unscrupulous enemy, and considers his tactics only from the standpoint of their effectiveness. With him the end justifies the means. Whether his tactics be "legal" and "moral" or not does not concern him, so long as they are effective. He knows that the laws, as well as the current code of morals, are made by his mortal enemies, and considers himself about as much bound by them as a householder would himself by regulations regarding burglary adopted by an association of housebreakers. Consequently, he ignores them in so far as he is able and it suits his purposes. He proposes to develop, regardless of capitalist conceptions of "legality," "fairness," "right," etc., a greater power than his capitalist enemies have, and then to wrest from them by force the industries they have stolen from him by force and duplicity, and to put an end forever to the wages system. He proposes to bring about the revolution by the general strike.

By the term "general strike," used in a revolutionary sense, is meant the period of more or less general cessation of labor by the workers, during which period the workers, by disorganizing the mechanism of capitalist society, will expose its weakness and their own strength; whereupon, perceiving themselves possessed of the power to do so, they will seize control of the social means of production and proceed to operate them in their own interest, instead of in the interest of a handful of parasites, as heretofore. The general strike is the first stage of the revolution proper.

There is nothing strained or abnormal in the general strike theory, neither in the supposition that the workers can so disorganize capitalist society as to be able to seize the industries, nor in the supposition that

they will do so once they realize they have the power. Both conclusions flow naturally from the everyday experiences of the workers.

The everyday tactics of the workers strongly indicate the truth of the conclusion that they will expropriate the capitalists as soon as they learn they have the power to do so. In their daily strikes they pit their strength against that of their employers and wring from them whatever concessions they can. They don't remain long content with these concessions, and as soon as they are able they proceed to win more. They are insatiable, and, when the general strike proves their ability to do so, they will have no scruples against expropriating the capitalists. This expropriation will seem the more natural to them then, as they will be fortified by the syndicalist conception that the capitalists are thieves and have no "right" to their property.

The partial strike of to-day, in which a comparatively few workers disorganize an industry and force concessions from their employers, is but a miniature of the general strike of the future, in which the whole working class will disorganize all the industries and force the whole capitalist class to give up its ownership of them.

Once the general strike is in active operation, the greatest obstacle to its success will be the armed forces of capitalism—soldiers, police, detectives, etc. This formidable force will be used energetically by the capitalists to break the general strike. The syndicalists have given much study to the problem presented by this force and have found the solution for it. Their proposed tactics are very different from those used by rebels in former revolutions. They are not going to mass themselves and allow themselves to be slaughtered by capitalism's trained murderers in the orthodox way. There is a safer, more effective, and more modern method. They are going to defeat the armed forces by disorganizing and demoralizing them.

A fruitful source of this disorganization will be the extreme difficulty the armed forces will experience in securing supplies and transportation. Modern armies, to be effective, must have immense arsenals, powder works, and other industrial establishments behind them to furnish them their supplies of ammunition, arms, food, and clothing. They also must have the railroads constantly at their disposal for transportation. When the general strike has halted these industries the army will be stricken with paralysis.

Syndicalists in every country are already actively preparing this disorganization of the armed forces by carrying on a double educational campaign amongst the workers. On the one hand they are destroying their illusions about the sacredness of capitalist property and encouraging them to seize this property wherever they have the opportunity. On the other they are teaching working-class soldiers not to shoot their brothers and sisters who are in revolt, but, if need be, to shoot their own officers and to desert the army when the crucial moment arrives. This double propaganda of contempt for capitalist property "rights" and antimilitarism are inseparable from the propagation of the general strike.

In all probability the general strike, at least in its incipient stages, will follow the course that any number of modern great strikes have taken. Only a small part of the workers will be organized; this organized fraction, under some strong stimulus, will provoke a great strike; vast masses of unorganized workers, seeing an opportunity to better their conditions and caught in the general contagion of revolt, will join the strike, organizing themselves meanwhile; the strike will spread; society will be paralyzed; and the revolutionary workers, perceiving their power, will proceed to put an end to capitalism.

The success of the general strike does not necessitate the voluntary striking of every worker. Modern industry is so delicately adjusted and the division of labor so complete that if the bulk of the workers in a few of the so-called strategic industries—transportation, coal mining, steel making, etc.—quit work, the rest of the workers would be forced to do likewise through lack of materials and markets for their products. No doubt the workers forced to quit thus, who would be mostly unorganized, unskilled, and the oppressed of the oppressed, would readily fall in with the program of the revolutionists once the general strike was well under way.

The objection that universal preliminary organization is necessary to the success of the general strike is a shallow one. It serves as a convenient excuse for designing politicians and labor leaders to keep labor unions from striking.

The general strike will not be broken by the workers being starved into submission, as is often objected. The general strike will be so devastating in its effects that it can last only a few days, during which period, if need be, the workers, accustomed as they are to starvation, and sustained by the enthusiasm of the revolution, could live on the most meager rations. To get these rations, the syndicalists intend to confiscate, as far as possible, all provisions found in the cities. They will also encourage the numerous poor farmers, tenants, and agricultural wage workers to cast their fortunes with them, to revolt against the State, their landlords, and employers, and to seize the land they occupy. Until production is normally resumed, the syndicalists will trade to these farmers the amassed wealth of the cities for their foodstuffs. More than one revolution has been starved out by the farmers refusing to part with their products in exchange for worthless paper money. The syndicalists have learned this lesson well, and intend to give the farmers the substantial commodities they desire in exchange for their products. The Army will be so busy protecting capitalist property and so permeated with rebellion that it will be at once incapable and unwilling to prevent this method of provisioning the revolution.

The syndicalist is a possibilist. While attending the time he will be strong enough to dispossess his masters by the general strike, he carries on a continual guerrilla warfare with them, winning whatever concessions he can from them. In this daily warfare he uses a variety of tactics—chosen solely because of their effectiveness. Of these, the one most commonly used is the partial strike.

The syndicalist is opposed, on principle, to the partial strike, as he would much rather settle with capitalism by the general strike. But realizing the impossibility of accomplishing the general strike at present, owing to the uneducated and unorganized state of the working class, and knowing also that strikes offer the workers the best opportunities to secure this education and organization, he does the next best thing by provoking strikes wherever they have a reasonable chance for success. He makes these strikes as large, as revolutionary, and as nearly approaching his general strike idea as possible.

The result of this policy is that in countries where the syndicalist movement is strong strikes are taking on an extent and revolutionary character, and achieving a success unknown in countries with conservative labor movements.

A large portion of the syndicalists' success in their strikes is due to their energetic treatment of the strike breaker. According to syndicalist ethics, a poverty-stricken workingman, in his predicament, can do any-

thing save scab. He may beg, borrow, steal, starve, or commit suicide, and still retain the friendship and esteem of his fellow workers, but let him take the place of a striker and he immediately outlaws himself. He becomes so much vermin, to be ruthlessly exterminated. The French syndicalists are especially merciless toward scabs. They are making strike breaking such a dangerous profession that scabs are becoming pleasingly scarce and expensive. They literally hunt scabs as they would wild animals. This war on scabs is popularly known as "la chasse aux renards" (the fox chase).

The syndicalist is as "unscrupulous" in his choice of weapons to fight his everyday battles as for his final struggle with capitalism. He allows no considerations of "legality," religion, patriotism, "honor," "duty," etc., to stand in the way of his adoption of effective tactics. The only sentiment he knows is loyalty to the interests of the working class. He is in utter revolt against capitalism in all its phases. His lawless course often lands him in jail, but he is so fired by revolutionary enthusiasm that jails, or even death, have no terrors for him. He glories in martyrdom, consoling himself with the knowledge that he is a terror to his enemies, and that his movement, to-day sending chills along the spine of international capitalism, to-morrow will put an end to this monstrosity.

The syndicalist takes no cognizance of society. He is interested only in the welfare of the working class and consistently defends it. He leaves the rag-tag mass of parasites that make up the nonworking class part of society to look after their own interests. It is immaterial to him what becomes of them so long as the working class advances. He is not afraid of "turning the wheels of progress backward" in thus constantly confining himself to the interests of the working class, as he knows that by freeing the working class entirely he will give social development the greatest stimulus it has ever known.

The syndicalist is strictly an antistatist. He considers the State a meddling capitalist institution. He resists its tyrannical interference in his affairs as much as possible and proposes to exclude it from the future society. He is a radical opponent of "law and order," as he knows that for his unions to be "legal" in their tactics would be for them to become impotent. He recognizes no rights of the capitalists to their property, and is going to strip them of it, law or no law.

The syndicalist is a radical antipatriot. He is a true internationalist, knowing no country. He opposes patriotism because it creates feelings of nationalism among the workers of the various countries and prevents cooperation between them, and also because of the militarism it inevitably breeds. He views all forms of militarism with a deadly hatred, because he knows from bitter experience that the chief function of modern armies is to break strikes, and that wars of any kind are fatal to the labor movement. He depends solely on his labor unions for protection from foreign and domestic foes alike and proposes to put an end to war between the nations by having the workers in the belligerent countries go on a general strike and thus make it impossible to conduct wars.

The anarchist is an individualist. He is an antidemocrat, having a supreme contempt for majority rule. He opposes authoritarianism in all its manifestations. He is an inveterate enemy of the State and its laws, and would establish a society in which they will not exist. In his tactics he is a direct actionist.

Syndicalism has placed the anarchist movement upon a practical, effective basis. It has at once given it a clear-cut aim—the emancipation of the working class—and the most powerful organizations in modern society—the labor unions—to achieve this aim. Before the advent of syndicalism the anarchist movement confusedly and ineffectively appealed to all society and was destitute of organization. Like the socialist movement, the anarchist movement has also become possibilist.

I will not quote further from this seditious and dangerous publication. There is much more of it, but this is enough to show the character of it. This stuff is admitted to the United States mail and scattered broadcast over the country. The book is widely circulated. The harm it does among the ignorant and prejudiced is incalculable.

People who advocate this sort of thing should be dealt with by law, and if there is no law for it one should be supplied. It is a sad spectacle to see such a man as this man leading and directing a great strike. Foster was defeated in the steel strike, but he will plan and cause further strikes. He will come back. If allowed his liberty, he will continue his nefarious work. This man should be imprisoned at hard labor for life. If there be no law for it, one should be enacted. Unless the honest leaders of honest labor can be separated from the influence of such men, and unless such men can be dealt with as they deserve to be dealt with, the whole social and industrial fabric of this country is in grave danger.

I know the disposition of many excellent people and true Americans is to pooh-pooh at these things and at such warnings as I am giving. I see it almost daily. I hear people say: "Oh, the great majority of the American people are all right; the great body of our citizenship is loyal and truly American; the American people will take care of themselves; they will not permit anything of that kind to prevail; they will take hold of it when they get ready and throttle it; you can depend on the good sense of the American people; this will pass away; there is no danger; American institutions are not in danger; trust the people." That is what some people said about secession in 1861 and preceding years. That is what some people said about the threats of Germany to torpedo neutral vessels. That is what was said by people who opposed preparedness on our part when Germany threatened to defy us and to draw us into the great World War. Well-meaning people thus discourage action. They would lull the people into a sense of security when the world is afire with incendiarism and sparks have long been falling in this country and starting sporadic fires. The fire is amongst us. The danger is here. We should not be lulled into

a false sense of security. When one is aroused from his slumber in the middle of the night by the sound of the fire gong, he might as well say, "Oh, the firemen will put out the fire; it will be attended to; there is no danger," and turn over and resume his slumber.

The people are asleep. They need to be aroused to action. There is need of preparedness and action. The trouble is that people who oppose preparedness and action in this grave danger are organized and have votes, and the one thing of which Congress most stands in awe is organized votes. Congress will quail before organizations controlling votes. The great masses of the people are not organized.

They divide their votes along political lines. Those who are Republicans generally vote the Republican ticket. Those who are Democrats generally vote the Democratic ticket. They are not organized and drilled to cast their votes in a block, regardless of party. Hence, who cares for them? They will vote according to party. They receive little consideration. In this respect both of the great political parties are alike. The chief end of each appears to be to get votes. "Get votes" seems to be their motto. In such matters as this, where threats are made by large bodies of organized voters, I would not give a pinch of snuff for the difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties. Each party bids for the organized vote, and so long as that unwholesome condition may prevail the people of the country will have no chance to register their judgment in such matters as that I am discussing. The people will have to awaken and by concerted action hold political parties and public men of both parties responsible to their concerted will before there can be any improvement.

Unless there is a marvelous awakening of the people I fear that in a very few years the industries of this country will be sovietized and then the next step would be to sovietize the Government, and then we would have in this country what there is to-day in Russia. There is in this country a wave of radicalism, encouraged by many well-meaning people, which is giving the reds and radical agitators a golden opportunity. If I can say or do anything to arouse the people I deem it my duty to do it, and shall do it regardless of consequences. I hope the people may take heed. I hope the Government in all of its branches may take heed and that there may be adequate and efficient action before it is too late to avert a great catastrophe.

Some may say I am an alarmist. Paul Revere was an alarmist. Patrick Henry was an alarmist. I am not a Paul Revere nor a Patrick Henry, but when there is danger some one must be an alarmist to prevent a catastrophe. The danger is here; it is around us, upon us. I hope some one may be sufficient of an alarmist to arouse the people and to arouse the Government to action and thus avert dire consequence. It is time for all good citizens of this country to stand together. If they do not stand together, undoubtedly they shall fall separately!

NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 13108) making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SHEPPARD in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE].

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment of the committee, on page 5, which was passed over, will be stated.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. On page 5, in line 7, after "\$30,000," insert:

Provided, That the Secretary of the Navy is directed to take possession of all properties within the naval petroleum reserves as are or may become vested in the United States; to conserve, develop, use, and operate the same in his discretion, directly or by contract, lease or otherwise, and to use, store, exchange, refine, sell, or otherwise dispose of the oil and gas products thereof, and those from all royalty oil, for the benefit of the United States; *And provided further*, That such sums as have been or may be turned into the Treasury of the United States from royalties on lands within the naval petroleum reserves prior to July 1, 1921, not to exceed \$500,000, are hereby made available for this purpose until July 1, 1922; *Provided further*, That this appropriation shall be reimbursed from the proper appropriations on account of the oil and gas products from said properties used by the United States at such rate, not in excess of the market value of the oil, as the Secretary of the Navy may direct.

Mr. SMOOT. To that amendment I desire to offer the following amendment: On page 5, line 10, strike out the words "vested in the United States" and insert the following:

Subject to the control and use by the United States for naval purposes, and on which there are no pending claims or applications for permits or leases under the provisions of an act of Congress approved February 25, 1920, entitled "An act to provide for the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, oil shale, gas, and sodium on the public domain," or pending applications for United States patent under any law.

The words "vested in the United States" would take in all of the withdrawn lands not only within the naval reserves but the withdrawn lands of every kind and character. I am quite sure there is no objection to the amendment to the amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. I also offer the following amendment to the amendment. On page 5, line 14, after the words "United States," insert the following additional proviso:

And provided further, That the rights of any claimant under said act of February 25, 1920, are not affected adversely thereby.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMOOT. I offer a further amendment. On page 5, in the committee amendment, line 12, after the word "exchange," I move to insert the word "or," and strike out the word "refine," and in the same line to strike out the words "or otherwise disposed of," so that it would read:

To conserve, develop, use, and operate the same in his discretion, directly or by contract, lease or otherwise, and to use, store, exchange, or sell the oil and gas products thereof.

And so forth.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee as amended.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Before the amendment is agreed to, I want to just emphasize what has already been called to the attention of the Senate from time to time with reference to the oil situation. I remember that the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] quite a little while ago called very clearly to the attention of the Senate and of the country the very serious situation, especially concerning this country, in connection with the oil supply.

We hope to have developed an American merchant marine which will be commensurate with our wealth, our power, and our interest in the world trade. The success of that merchant marine and its maintenance depend very largely upon our fuel supply, and especially our oil supply. The Senator from California called attention to the control which is being secured over the oil supply of the world by the citizens of other nations, and I simply want to emphasize that at this time, in the hope that our administrative officers will look into the matter very carefully, and do anything and everything they possibly can to encourage our people to secure concessions and rights along these lines. They may be doing that now; I hope they are. If they are not, they ought to be doing it, and they ought to be looking at the situation with the idea of calling on Congress for any help or aid they think they ought to have through legislation.

I know that Congress is blamed for a great many sins of omission, as well as commission, but there are some things which must be initiated by the administration. There are facts which administrative officers must gather and acquaint themselves with in the administration of their duties, which Congress could not get except through the administrative officers, and legislation ought to be had many times which can be had only upon the suggestion or recommendation of the administrative officers. I trust that the administrative officers who are brought in contact with this situation will give it their very careful consideration, with a view to ascertaining whether there is any legislation they need in order to protect, so far as possible, the rights and interests of the country, not only in the present but in the future.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, will the Senator permit an inquiry?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Certainly.

Mr. KING. I did not hear all the Senator's statement. Does it carry the implication that the Government of the United States should encourage American citizens to secure oil concessions and the acquisition of oil properties in other countries, as Great Britain has encouraged her citizens? If so, then, of course, the duty would rest upon the Government to protect them where they have acquired, honestly and legitimately, oil lands. In Mexico some American citizens are the owners of oil lands; they have paid for them; they have developed them and made them productive. Nevertheless, in some instances such citizens have been assaulted, their representatives have been killed, they have been robbed, some of their property has been expropriated, and for many years there has been no disposition, apparently, upon the part of some executive officials to properly protect Americans who honestly and legitimately have acquired property in Mexico.

Diaz, as the Senator recalls, invited Americans to invest in Mexico. They went there; they spent their time, their energy, and millions and tens of millions of dollars of American capital, not for the purpose of exploiting Mexico or the Mexicans, but for the purpose of developing Mexico and advancing her in-

terests and improving the condition of the Mexican people themselves.

Notwithstanding that fact, that they went there pursuant to the invitation of Mexico and in good faith spent their money, developed property, built smelters, opened mines, and plantations, built railroads, and did much for the material development of the country, their property, both real and personal, has been damaged or destroyed. Their mines and smelters have been closed down, their employees have been murdered, and thousands of them have been driven from Mexico.

I might say in passing that this condition has existed for many years—indeed, for more than 60 years. As a matter of fact, in the time of Andrew Jackson Americans who went there in good faith and tried to develop the country, under treaties existing between our country and Mexico, having a right to go there, were subjected to similar depredations and wrongs, perhaps not to the same extent, not differing perhaps in kind, but only in degree. The Mexican Governments and the Mexican people for more than three-quarters of a century have failed to respect at times American rights, rights secured by treaty but in behalf of American citizens as well as the Government of the United States itself.

If we expect American trade and commerce to be extended and American citizens to acquire oil concessions and oil properties in other countries, the United States must protect them and see that they are not despoiled of their property, that they are not murdered, and that their employees are not driven from the work in which they are engaged.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I agree fully with the Senator from Utah. We ought to see to it that Americans are protected in their rights in other countries, just as other Governments see that their citizens are protected and preserved in their rights and are treated fairly and justly under the laws of the country in which they are. As the Senator said, until we do that, of course we can not expect American citizens to go into other countries, initiate rights there, and put in their money and efforts to develop resources which may be of great benefit to our own country. They must feel assured that this Government will see that they are protected in their rights under the laws of the country to which they go.

Of course, I do not think we should make the laws for the country to which our citizens go, and our citizens should take into account, of course, the conditions in those various countries, but they should understand that behind them there is the Government of the United States to protect them in their rights wherever they may go. If we will just take a leaf out of Great Britain's book in that respect, we will not only protect our citizens in their rights, but we will gain the respect of the people of other nations.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator yield to the Senator from California?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. PHELAN. The Senator from Washington, in his position as chairman of the Committee on Commerce, has particular facilities for ascertaining the importance of oil for our merchant marine, and he doubtless agrees with me that it is vital for the success of the merchant marine that this country shall be in a position to command the necessary fuel oil.

But what are the conditions? To-day the United States, as the Senator is well aware, is consuming a great deal more oil than it is producing, and therefore it must look to other lands. As the Senator has observed, Great Britain has shown a great deal of foresight in looking after oil supplies in other lands. In the allotment of territory after the war she was very careful to make arrangements with Persia, and assumed, I believe, a mandate for Mesopotamia, where there are extensive oil properties. In other words, she is perhaps as much concerned in the production of oil as in the protection of the inhabitants.

The United States, as the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] has just observed, has not given protection to the men of this country who have gone into foreign lands for the purposes of exploitation and development. A remedy or a way out has occurred to me, and I want to submit it to the Senator from Washington, the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, for his judgment.

For a long time the merchant marine was without support from the Government, and it languished. It was a constant political cry to restore the merchant marine, and it was not accomplished until, due to the exigencies of the war, the Government organized a corporation known as the Emergency Fleet Corporation, appropriating for its use large sums of money. Ships were constructed and put upon the seven seas, and the success has been phenomenal. I will not say how much more

than \$100,000,000 were earned last year by the Shipping Corporation. Our trade has been restored to the sea, and we are the dominant commercial power to-day.

As the Government did not in the past support the merchant marine by giving subsidies or otherwise to the ships, as it has not given aid and encouragement to the men who go to foreign lands, as Mexico, instanced by the Senator from Utah, why would it not be good policy to organize an oil-development corporation, incorporated by Congress, and provide it with funds? It has proved no loss to the Government in providing a fund for the Shipping Board, which is really a revolving fund, neither would it involve any loss to the Government should a corporation be formed for the purpose of going into other lands and developing oil and acquiring property. That is the alternative.

If the Government does not give charter and protection to individuals to successfully engage in such enterprises, why should it engage in the enterprise itself? There is no reason, because of the precedent of the Shipping Board, why we should not do such a thing. We can not, because gentlemen do not like municipal trading, as it is called, or the Government engage in business, see our merchant marine fail by reason of inability to get oil, and, furthermore, see our Navy fail in competition with the navies of the world by reason of its inability to get oil.

It may be distasteful to gentlemen to put the Government in business, but put it in another way. Great Britain does not act in the name of Great Britain. When she goes into Colombia, Mexico, and Mesopotamia she goes in the name of the Royal Dutch Shell Corporation. It is a perfect camouflage; it is Great Britain masquerading in the name of the Dutch. I am not criticizing Great Britain. I admire the foresight of the men who, at the helm of State, are steering the State so that her ships and her navy will be always provided with the essential fuel. But if Great Britain for some reason enters into the field under the name of the Royal Dutch Shell, why should not the United States enter into the field as long as individuals are apparently disqualified and lack equipment or protection? Why should not the United States, under an anonymous name, under a company, such as the Shipping Board, undertake this?

The French always call their corporations anonymous associations. It is more particularly, I suppose, to conceal the names of the men behind it, but here there is nothing to conceal. We would organize what would be a public corporation, as the Shipping Board is a public corporation, and the Government of the United States would be the sole owner of the stock, and in the name of that corporation it could sue and be sued, and enjoy such flexibility that it could manage its business. That is the reason why we have not created a department, that we have organized a fleet corporation where it could freely buy and sell without let or hindrance, giving it discretion, power, and means.

I have interrupted the Senator already too long, but I want to say that I submitted such a plan to the Secretary of the Interior within the week, and he politely replied that he would be very glad to cooperate. What he means by that I do not know. He said he would be very glad to cooperate in the suggestion of organizing a corporation to meet what I believe to be a vital and critical need for the welfare of this country, its Navy, and its merchant marine.

With the permission of the Senator from Washington, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD my letter of April 21 to the Secretary of the Interior on the subject of the organization of a United States public corporation to take care of the oil interests of the country abroad and his answer thereto.

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

A Federal oil corporation.

APRIL 21, 1920.

HON. JOHN BARTON PAYNE,
Secretary of the Interior.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The oil situation to-day is substantially as follows:

That while the United States is the greatest producer of oil, it is consuming more than it produces. Its stocks are being diminished rapidly. In the State of California foreigners can organize corporations and acquire the oil lands and properties of the State without let or hindrance.

The Royal Dutch Shell, and other agents, have already acquired valuable holdings there, and, I understand, in Texas and Oklahoma. Now, the Royal Dutch Shell is, I am credibly informed, controlled by the British Government. That is to say, the British Government is for its uses, naval and maritime, acquiring the control of the oil lands and production of the world.

I beg to call your attention to the report of Mr. Van Manning, Director of the Bureau of Mines.

American and other foreigners are barred by England, for instance, in her possessions and protectorates, and furthermore our Government has never encouraged exploitation and exploration in foreign territory which, in view of the facts, is probably a mistaken policy.

If we are not prepared to back up our nationals in the world field, it has occurred to me that there is but one thing to do, and that is to organize a corporation on the lines of the Shipping Board and properly finance it so that this Government can secure, by or through exploration and exploitation, purchase, or lease, oil properties outside the territory of the United States.

I have in mind the preparation of a bill of this kind and desire by this letter to advise you of it in advance, seeking at the same time, in the public interest, your valuable suggestions and, perhaps, cooperation. Your experience in the Emergency Fleet Corporation will doubtless confirm my view that such a corporation as I propose is practicable. The serious situation which confronts the country is my justification for trespassing upon your time.

Yours, very truly,

JAMES D. PHELAN.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, April 22, 1920.

HON. JAMES D. PHELAN,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR PHELAN: Acknowledging your kind letter of the 21st re the oil situation, I will be glad, indeed, to cooperate with you along the line of your suggestions.

My kindest personal regards.

Cordially, yours,

JOHN BARTON PAYNE.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I am not prepared at this time to pass upon the merits of the suggestion of the Senator from California, but I am prepared to say that I have reached a point where I am willing to support any proposition that will insure or tend to insure an adequate merchant marine for this country. I believe that the matter of oil for fuel is extremely important, almost vital, as the Senator said. If it is necessary that the Government, through a corporation or otherwise, should put forth activities toward the securing of oil concessions and the development of oil lands, I will support it.

It is my judgment that Great Britain is not acting so much through governmental agencies, either camouflaged or otherwise, as she is through her private citizens. I think possibly largely, as the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] suggested, when the British subject goes to a foreign country to live there and to invest in property and engage in business, he knows that his Government is behind him for the protection of his rights, and he has no hesitation in investing his money and in developing industries under that condition.

Furthermore, there may be this difference between our country and Great Britain. There is no serious question made in Great Britain as to an official of the Government engaging in private activities with which he may be officially connected; and yet in this country we think it heinous for a shipping man for instance to be interested in the Shipping Board or connected officially with the Shipping Board. We put an express provision in our statute that a man interested in the shipping industry should not be a member of the board. We seem to want to get men to run it who are just as little informed about the business as we possibly can find.

What is the British policy in that respect? As an example, it was shown in the testimony taken before the committee investigating the merchant marine situation that many of the officials of the great shipping syndicates of Great Britain are members of Parliament, who have to do with legislation under which they operate and work. Why? I think it is because they made shipping one of the great national essentials, and they are willing to do whatever is necessary to maintain it and upbuild it. So it is with reference to the oil development and oil concessions and the acquirement of oil properties throughout the country.

I have not any doubt, and I am going to read a statement about it directly, that possibly the British Government, as a Government, is behind some of the oil companies. It will not hesitate a moment to get behind those companies if they deem it necessary in order to secure ample oil for the future. It probably has not done it in many cases, because it was not necessary, and yet it is true that it gives to its private people every possible encouragement and every possible incentive to develop along these lines.

I simply rose to emphasize the situation as it is developed throughout the world, and especially with reference to Great Britain. As the Senator said, I am not finding fault with Great

Britain; I admire Great Britain for what she is doing, how she stands behind her citizens, how she stands behind her industries, and I would like, as I said awhile ago, to take a leaf out of her book. Let us stand behind our people as she stands behind hers. Let us encourage our people as she encourages hers. Let us do what is necessary for our interests as she does whatever is necessary for her interests.

I have here a clipping from the Public Ledger of Philadelphia under date of April 9, dated at London, a special cable dispatch:

Writing in the Times, Sir E. Mackay Edgar, in explaining Great Britain's control of the oil resources of the world, says that within a few years the United States will be paying British oil interests \$1,000,000,000 annually for oil for the American Navy and for American home consumption.

With the exception of Mexico and to a lesser extent of Central America, the outer world is securely barricaded against an American invasion in force, he said. There may be small, isolated sallies, but there can never be a massed attack. The British position is impregnable.

If our administrative officers, if our State Department, who should know more about this situation than we can know or than anyone else in the country can know, are satisfied that the only way we can protect our interests in the acquirement of oil concessions and in securing oil to meet our future needs, is through a corporation or company, as suggested by the Senator from California, it seems to me that it is the duty of those administrative officers to say so, and to recommend to Congress legislation along those lines. If they will come to Congress and do that, I, for one, will stand by them.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator permit an interruption right there?

Mr. JONES of Washington. Yes; although I had not expected to take so much time.

Mr. KING. I will wait until the Senator concludes the article and then I will propound the question.

Mr. JONES of Washington. It is rather lengthy, and the Senator can proceed.

Mr. KING. Very well. I have thought for some time, particularly in view of the information which the Senator from California [Mr. PHELAN] furnished to the Senate several months ago, that it is the duty of the Navy Department of the Government to acquire oil lands for naval purposes and uses in remote parts of the earth where our fleet will be called, and I should be glad to see an appropriation made, to be placed in the hands of the President, for the purpose of acquiring oil lands in those countries to which our fleet may go and when oil might be needed for our Navy.

I should be very glad if the Committee on Naval Affairs would consider that question, or if some other committee of the Senate would take up the matter. If it is not done I shall offer an amendment to the pending bill or introduce an independent bill, so that the whole subject may be considered by the Senate.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I would welcome something along that line, but I want to emphasize the statement I made. I am not criticizing the administration or the department, but it seems to me that, they being more familiar with the details of the needs and the difficulties that they face, it is their duty to recommend to Congress what they think ought to be done. We can not know these facts and the details except as we get them in a general way. They run right up against them in the conduct of their affairs.

Just as the Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] has said, the Secretary of the Navy and the officials of the Navy know exactly what are the needs of the Navy; they know the difficulties that they have in supplying those needs; they know the facts at the different points of the compass in the world that we do not know, and about the only way that we can get the information is that they call them to our attention and make recommendations to us, based upon their knowledge of the situation and the facts.

Reading further from this article:

Sir Mackay declares that all known oil fields and all likely or probable oil fields outside the United States are in British hands or under British management or control or financed by British capital.

"We shall have to wait a few years before the full advantages of the situation shall begin to be reaped," he said, "but that that harvest eventually will be a great one there can be no manner of doubt. To the tune of many millions of pounds a year America before very long will have to purchase from British companies and to pay for in dollar currency in progressively increasing proportion the oil she can not do without and is no longer able to furnish from her own store. I estimate that, if their present curve of consumption, especially of high-grade products, is maintained, Americans in 10 years will be under the necessity of importing 500,000,000 barrels of oil yearly at \$2 a barrel, a very low figure, and that means an annual payment of \$1,000,000,000 per annum, most, if not all, of which will find its way into British pockets. If there are pessimists left in the United Kingdom, I confidently invite them to put that in their pipes and smoke it."

And, Mr. President, in this connection I desire to suggest that now is the time for us to begin to lay our plans to meet any

such situation as that. There are different ways by which we can meet it.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. President, does the Senator understand that the Mexican oil fields are in control of the British?

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; I do not understand that they are entirely so.

Mr. WATSON. The all-sweeping declaration the Senator has read would lead one to conclude that such was the case.

Mr. JONES of Washington. No; just preceding that statement—probably the Senator from Indiana did not notice it—I think he says that, outside of Mexico and one other field, the British practically control the oil of all the world.

However, what I want to suggest is this: This is the time for us to unshackle ourselves so that we can do whatever we think along different lines will be for the protection of our interests. We may in a few years be dependent upon the British Empire for oil, as Sir Mackay Edgar says; but, Mr. President, they are dependent upon us in this country for many things, and we ought to prepare ourselves so that we can use their needs to secure just treatment in the satisfaction of our needs. There ought to be some reciprocity in these matters to our advantage as well as to theirs. Concessions ought not to go always from this country to other people; and we are in a position, in my judgment, to insist that when we make concessions along certain lines or when our needs must be supplied from other countries we shall also get concessions because of needs of theirs which we must meet.

There are treaties now that prevent us from doing what we ought to do for ourselves and for our own interests. Those treaties ought to be abrogated, so that we shall be in a position to look after our own interests. Our administrative officers—and I am not saying that they are not doing it—ought to see to it when advantages and concessions are secured by other countries, especially along commercial lines, that we also get concessions and advantages for our benefit.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me to interrupt him?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from California.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield.

Mr. PHELAN. The Senator has observed that the United States has been asked to take the mandate for Armenia?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I hope we shall not get the League of Nations up to-day.

Mr. PHELAN. I will spare the Senator, because I was about to observe that if we had a representative in that body we might make terms, but now—

Mr. JONES of Washington. We do not have to have such a representative. I can not yield to the Senator for that, because I do not want to go into its discussion. However, Mr. President, we have administrative representatives and diplomatic agents abroad who can look after the interests of this country, and it is not necessary to make the excuse that we need some representative on the council of the League of Nations to deal with mandatories or anything like that to look after the interests of this country, and the Senator from California knows that as well as I do.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ON QUI VIVE.

That this view is not exaggerated is indicated by the fact that four departments of the American Government—War, Navy, State, and Commerce—have instructed their representatives throughout the world to watch all oil developments with the greatest care and report to Washington fully.

Mr. President, I am glad that that has been done. What use is being made of these reports? This is right in line with what I suggested a while ago, that they get information which we can not get unless they give it to us. If there is information which they have secured or that they shall secure, that shows the need of action by Congress, it is their duty to come to Congress and tell us what they want and then ask us to enact the legislation.

Mr. SMOOT. We are locking the stable door after the horse is stolen.

Mr. JONES of Washington. The quotation continues:

During the last week several important conferences have taken place both in Paris and London, between American officials, when the oil situation was discussed because of the persistent reports that British interests are about to close big oil deals in Mexico and Peru with companies now operating there or owning concessions.

Mr. President, if there are companies and corporations, for instance, in Peru, that hold great oil concessions there, why is not our Government trying to get similar concessions or to get an interest in them? If they need authority, if they need legislation that is important to enable them to do so, let them ask Congress and the authority will be granted.

If this deal goes through, Britain's control of the oil resources of the world will be equal to a strangle hold. "Apart from Mexico," Sir Mackay Edgar continues, "it is almost a case of the British first and the rest of the world nowhere. I should say that two-thirds of the improved fields of Central and South America are in British hands. In Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador a decisive and really overwhelming majority of the petroleum concessions are held by British subjects. They will be developed by British capital."

Why is it, Mr. President, that American citizens can not get oil concessions in South American countries? In my judgment, they can if our Government will take the proper steps, diplomatic and otherwise, with those countries. Quoting further:

EXTENT OF BRITISH CONTROL.

The Alves group, whose holdings encircle practically two-thirds of the Caribbean Sea, is wholly British, working under arrangements which insure that perpetual control of its undertakings shall remain in British hands. No American citizen and no American group has acquired or ever could acquire any such position in Central America as that which enterprise and personality have secured for Mr. Alves.

I believe, Mr. President, that we have men in this country who have just as fine personality and just as much enterprise as has any British subject or citizen, and, with the encouragement that our Government ought to give them, I believe we could accomplish just as much as the British citizens have accomplished.

Or, take again that greatest of all oil organizations, the Shell group. It owns exclusive or controls interests in every important oil field in the world, including the United States, Russia, Mexico, the Dutch East Indies, Roumania, Egypt, Venezuela, Trinidad, India, Ceylon, the Malay States, North and South China, Siam, the Straits Settlements, and the Philippines.

It looks to me as though we ought to be able to have some little control at least over the Philippines and the interests of the United States there.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, as the Senator knows, there is to-day no law which prevents a foreigner from acquiring all the oil lands in Texas, Oklahoma, and California. The Shell oil interests have actually purchased valuable property in California, known as Coalinga, and other properties, and are acquiring our own oil as well as the oil of the world.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Certainly; that is what Sir Edgar says.

Mr. PHELAN. There is no power in Congress to stop it; it must be done by the States.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Then, the States ought to act.

Mr. PHELAN. I have urged in my State that action be taken to limit the power of foreigners to organize corporations and acquire lands and mineral properties. The legislature will not meet, however, for eight months, and in the meantime our entire oil investment in California may pass into foreign hands.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have not looked into this phase of the subject to any considerable extent, but I am inclined to believe that in a matter of this kind, which is of such vital importance to the Nation as a nation, the Government could, at any rate, control the sending out from this country of this vital necessity. We could, if necessary, condemn it, as the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Knox] suggests. I am satisfied that we could do that. I have some other facts here which I wish to lay before the Senate in a moment, but I desired to call attention to or suggest the consideration of the question, at any rate, of an embargo upon the exportation of oil from this country, in order to preserve and maintain for the future our supply of that which is so necessary in national undertakings.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, the Senator will recall that I introduced an amendment to the oil-leasing bill when it was before this body giving the President the power to impose an embargo upon the exportation of all oil. It was considered at that time dangerous because it might excite retaliation; but I could not see then, nor do I see now, why there is any danger of that kind, and, if there is, it is insignificant in the face of the greater danger of losing all our oil.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. JONES of Washington. I yield.

Mr. SMOOT. In answer to the Senator from California, I wish to say that the mere suggestion upon the part of Congress to place an embargo on the exportation of American oil did bring retaliation. The question has been discussed many times in Congress, and, outside of the war power, I take it for granted many Congressmen have already decided that such action would be unconstitutional; that there is no power granted by the Constitution for Congress to place an embargo upon the exportation of the products of the different States.

Mr. PHELAN. Except as a war power?

Mr. SMOOT. Except as a war power.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator that the Senate did put in the oil-leasing bill a provision giving the President of the United States certain control over oil produced upon the

public domain—that is, upon public lands and reservations in the United States—but it was impossible to affect the privately owned lands. The great bulk, however, of the oil lands in the United States are on lands within reservations. We did put what I consider a power in the hands of the President that would have acted as a deterrent, at least, to foreign investors controlling the oil produced in this country, for, as the Senator will remember, we struck out the House provision and put in the provision to which I have referred. When, however, the bill reached conference, the Senate conferees had to yield and agree to the House provision, and the provision I am about to read is what resulted from our endeavors:

And provided further, That citizens of another country, the laws, customs, or regulations of which deny similar or like privileges to citizens or corporations of this country, shall not, by stock ownership, stock holding, or stock control, own any interest in any lease acquired under the provisions of this act.

That is what we obtained in the effort to control the oil of this country. That provision, however, does not affect England; she is exempt from its provisions, because she does not impose restriction upon citizens of the United States owning stock in companies in British possessions.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I think the Senator is in error in that respect. I do not think that any foreigner can own more than one-fourth of the shares of a British corporation operating in foreign lands.

Mr. SMOOT. I think in the case of one of the British dependencies there is a provision of law to that effect, but the laws of Great Britain, and the laws of most of her dependencies, make no mention of the subject at all. We recognized that, in order to accomplish anything whatever, we had to prevent the English oil interests from obtaining a foothold in the United States, for if such a foothold were acquired, and British interests should grow in the future as they have grown elsewhere in the last few years, they would control a great percentage of the oil produced in this country.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, for the Senator's information, I am also informed—in fact, I know from a communication I have received from the State Department in answer to one of my own—that in the Orient, where English law controls, as in Hongkong, all foreigners have been eliminated from the British service in any capacity where there is superintendency or control. No longer can a foreigner serve a British corporation in any such capacity. A great many Americans have complained that, without fault of their own or complaint by their employers as to their efficiency or honesty or capability, they are summarily dismissed because they are Americans; and so Great Britain is going into the world now to protect her interests, or the interests of her nationals, even in matters of employment.

Mr. SMOOT. The American people ought to realize the fact that a British subject has every advantage in the world over an American citizen in investing in foreign lands. Wherever a Britisher goes, no matter in what part of the earth he invests, the British Government stands back of him and protects him in that investment, just as it has done with investors in Mexico in the past four years. Britishers were not murdered in Mexico, as Americans have been. Their interests were protected, as far as it was possible for what government there was in Mexico to protect them; and whenever any outrage was committed against a British subject or his interest in Mexico an apology was immediately made and the matter was righted. Not so with the American citizen; and it seems to me that that is one reason why a British subject to-day is willing to risk his money in hunting for oil anywhere in the world; because he feels that his investment is safe, for when an Englishman invests his money in a foreign land the British Government is back of him, and sees that his money is protected and all the interests that he may have in a foreign land.

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, one word. The Senator, then, will agree with me that he is in error when he says that Great Britain does not discriminate against foreigners.

Mr. SMOOT. That is not a discrimination against foreigners. That is just protecting her own citizens, which America ought to do.

Mr. PHELAN. If they deny Americans, for instance, the right to own stock in their corporations, and look to their dismissal from service in which they have distinguished themselves for British corporations, it is certainly a discrimination against Americans, as it is a discrimination against all foreigners.

Mr. SMOOT. Then, if that is the case, the provision in the oil-leasing bill would apply to England.

Mr. PHELAN. It certainly does, I think.

Mr. SMOOT. Then British subjects, in the language of that act, could not—

By stock ownership, stock holding, or stock control own any interest in any lease acquired under the provisions of this act.

I recognize the fact, as I said before, that that applies only to oil produced on reservations and upon Government-owned lands. As to privately owned lands, of course, there is no law and, in my opinion, there could be no law that would prevent it.

Mr. PHELAN. Lest there be confusion, it is understood that the law the Senator has just read applies only to acquisitions on the public domain?

Mr. SMOOT. Yes.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, with reference to the suggestion about an embargo, I looked into this matter somewhat in connection with the merchant marine bill that our committee is preparing. I felt very much like trying to have inserted in that bill a provision authorizing the President to issue an embargo, in case he deemed it necessary, with reference to oil. We were rather forced, however, to the conclusion which the Senator from Utah has just stated, that probably in time of peace that would be unconstitutional; that we could not invest him with that power. I am not absolutely sure of that. It does seem to me that where the interests of the Nation are so vitally concerned, where the very life of the Government itself is at stake, as well as the interests of individuals, we can find the power somewhere, even along that line; but I do not think we need to be driven to an embargo proposition.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, at the time when the potash situation was so threatened, when Germany undertook to control the potash fields of this country, I thought it was proper to introduce a bill placing an embargo upon the shipment of all potash from this country. I had that bill referred to the Department of Justice for an opinion, and the opinion that was given at that time was that under the Constitution it could not be done.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President—

Mr. JONES of Washington. Of course, the Department of Justice sometimes is in error on legal propositions, just as other legal experts sometimes commit errors.

Mr. EDGE. Mr. President, I was going to ask the Senator from Washington if he does not think perhaps it would be more conducive to proper protection if we would not consider so much placing an embargo on exportation in this trade, but rather prepare in every possible way to protect American interests in other countries in order to increase the supply there, particularly in Mexico, where American interests for many years have had no protection, with the result that the oil supply from Mexico has been greatly reduced.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I have affirmed that two or three times during the discussion to-day, and other Senators have taken the same position; and I think there is hardly anybody on the floor who does not stand for a position of that kind.

I do believe, Mr. President, that it will not be very long until we have a tariff bill passed by Congress under which provision will be made for the proper protection of the interests of this Government, and a method provided under which, when we make certain concessions, we will also receive concessions that are of benefit to us; and I believe that in that way we can pretty well take care of the oil situation, if it is not cared for in any other way.

But, continuing with this interview:

Sir Mackay stated that the most important development of the week was the Washington report that the United States Government was alarmed by the oil situation.

"That is not a new discovery," he writes. "Oil men of the United States have been aware of the situation for a good deal more than a year, but Congress and the country have slumbered. The average man was vaguely aware that America was a huge oil tank, and never being troubled by any scarcity of motor spirits, has taken it for granted that oil was as inexhaustible a product as apples. Unhappily for him, but happily for us, his eyes have been opened too late."

It may be too late for us to get direct possession of oil resources or of a supply of oil throughout the country, but Great Britain and the other nations of the world are not absolutely independent of the United States. They must have many things that we alone can furnish them, and that is—well, call it a club if you want to—that is a club that we have in our hands, and I am in favor of using it.

Now, Mr. President, I want to call attention to the production of oil in the country since 1913.

The crude petroleum production in 1913 was, in round numbers, 248,000,000 barrels.

In 1914 it was 265,000,000 barrels.

In 1915, 281,000,000 barrels.

In 1916, 300,000,000 barrels.

In 1917, 335,000,000 barrels, of a value of \$522,000,000.

But, Mr. President, in 1918 we exported from this country, sent abroad to other countries, took from our own supply for the future and preserved for the future supply of their country, refined oil of the value of \$289,000,000, or one-half the

total value of all the crude petroleum produced in this country in 1917.

Mr. President, it seems to me that those simple facts should make us study and see what we can do with reference to keeping at home the supply we have for the future. It is something, of course, to have this product in the world trade at the present time; but, Mr. President, we must look to the future as well as the present, and if we exhaust our own supply now it will cost us far more in the future to make it up.

Mr. President, in this morning's Post I find an article headed:

French fear grip of oil combines. Nation's serious situation is revealed in warm debate by deputies. Seek to control imports—

And so forth. I shall not take the time to read this article, but I ask that it may be printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

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

[From the Washington Post of Wednesday, Apr. 28, 1920.]

FRENCH FEAR GRIP OF OIL COMBINES—NATION'S SERIOUS SITUATION IS REVEALED IN WARM DEBATE BY DEPUTIES—SEEK TO CONTROL IMPORTS—SPEECHES REVEAL VIRTUAL ULTIMATUM TO UNITED STATES DURING THE WAR—DEAL WITH STANDARD CO. ASSAILED.

(By Laurence Hills. Special cable to the Washington Post and New York Sun-Herald.)

PARIS, April 27.

Developments in the San Remo conference and elsewhere showing that oil is steadily becoming an increasingly important factor in world politics provoked a debate in the French Chamber of Deputies regarding France's position in the face of this new weapon.

The charge was made by several deputies that France, without her own supply of oil, is at the mercy of a private oil pool of 10 French firms affiliated with two "oil mastodons" which control the world's oil supply—the Standard Oil Co. and the Royal Dutch Co., the latter being controlled by the English trust, in which it has been reported the British Government is buying an interest.

BROUGHT UP IN BUDGET.

The oil question is brought up in an article of the new budget which would give the Government control of the sale and distribution of oil in France, but not its importation, which it was charged, would be again in the hands of the oil pool.

A demand by Socialist deputies for Government control of importation, as well, led to the declaration by the Government that if this were adopted the trusts would refuse to deliver their products. The Government announced, however, that its experts would start immediately studying ways to "free the nation from the grip of foreign oil companies," and added that oil is now being sought in the French colonial possessions of Algeria, Madagascar, and Indo-China, and a little had been found already at some places.

The debate brought out that oil was becoming more important than coal and that the French supply was only a tenth of the nation's needs. The gravity of France's situation was emphasized in heated debate when it was disclosed that Clemenceau in December, 1917, cabled a virtual ultimatum to President Wilson demanding that America send oil to France immediately. The appeal had to be renewed two weeks later, it was charged, after Andre Tardieu, then French high commissioner to the United States, who had been negotiating with the Standard and Royal Dutch companies, complained of secret maneuvers to prevent him from buying oil.

ACCUSES FRENCH POOL.

M. Barthe charged that the French oil pool had inspired these maneuvers and that their profits a year ago were 50 per cent of their capitalization. M. Tardieu confirmed the fact that he had met with resistance from the refiners.

M. Barthe charged that the budget proposed by M. Francois-Marsal, minister of finance, would deliver France to the American oil trust. In answer to the direct question whether it was impossible for the Government to buy oil from the Standard and Royal Dutch companies and fix the price, the finance minister said it was not utterly impossible but that one of these two companies would probably refuse the Government oil. It was intimated that the Government had information which it could not make public concerning this situation, and at its request this article in the budget was postponed.

WAR PROFIT REALIZED.

During the war the Government did the importing under the allied economic pool arrangement and realized a profit despite the attempt to sell at cost, which is now adduced as showing how the oil trusts are again to profit through the control of oil importation.

Commenting on the debate, Humanite, the Socialist organ, credits the socialists with having exposed the Standard Oil trick and prevented the adoption of the Government's proposal, which now goes over for further debate.

Mr. JONES of Washington. I just want to call attention, however, to this statement, which refers to the debate in the French Chamber of Deputies:

The debate brought out that oil was becoming more important than coal and that the French supply was only a tenth of the nation's needs. The gravity of France's situation was emphasized in heated debate when it was disclosed that Clemenceau in December, 1917, cabled a virtual ultimatum to President Wilson demanding that America send oil to France immediately. The appeal had to be renewed two weeks later, it was charged, after Andre Tardieu, then French high commissioner to the United States, who had been negotiating with the Standard and Royal Dutch companies, complained of secret maneuvers to prevent him from buying oil.

Mr. President, if we can not control these great corporations, that would really endanger the safety of the world in order to promote their own welfare and their own interests, then, indeed, have we come to a dangerous pass. I believe that the Government has the power, somewhere and somehow, to do it.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, I am compelled to leave the Chamber for a few moments on official business. I have an amendment which I intended to offer to the bill. It authorizes the President of the United States to make an investigation with a view to acquiring oil lands in other countries for the use of the Navy. Upon further consideration I have determined not to offer that amendment, but I offer the following resolution and ask that it be read and lie upon the table. To-morrow morning I shall invite the attention of the Senate to it and ask for its adoption.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The resolution (S. Res. 354) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be directed to report to the Senate whether or not it is necessary or would be advantageous for the United States to acquire oil lands in foreign countries for naval purposes; and if so, what steps should be taken to acquire such lands.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will lie on the table. The question is on the committee amendment on page 5 as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the next amendment passed over.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. On page 5, line 6, after the word "assistants," insert the words "at Washington, D. C., and elsewhere."

The amendment was agreed to.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. On the same page, line 7, strike out "\$30,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$50,000."

The amendment was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill is in Committee of the Whole and open to further amendment.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I desire to offer an amendment to an amendment which was adopted yesterday. Yesterday there was offered and adopted an amendment to give officers and enlisted men in the Navy six months' pay as a gratuity, as is provided for in the Army, in cases of death from wounds, and so forth, in the military service, not the result of their own misconduct. We left out the word "nurses." The Army act included nurses, and it seems to me that the nurses in the Navy should have the same privilege as the enlisted men. The department called my attention to it.

Mr. SMOOT. Let the amendment be stated, Mr. President.

Mr. SWANSON. In the amendment we adopted yesterday there is given to the estate of a man who dies from wounds in the naval service six months' pay, the same as is given in the Army. The word "nurse" was left out. I ask unanimous consent that the word "nurse" be inserted. It was an oversight when the department sent it in.

Mr. LODGE. It should go in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there is no objection, the vote whereby the amendment was agreed to will be reconsidered. The Secretary will state the amendment of the Senator from Virginia to the amendment.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. On page 32, in the amendment to follow line 13, insert the words "or nurse" after the words "enlisted man," so as to make the amendment read:

That hereafter, immediately upon official notification of the death from wounds or disease, not the result of his own misconduct, of any officer, enlisted man, or nurse on the active list of the Regular Navy or Regular Marine Corps, or on the retired list when on active duty, the Paymaster General of the Navy shall cause to be paid to the widow, and if there be no widow to the child or children, and if there be no widow or child to any other dependent relative of such officer, enlisted man, or nurse previously designated by him, an amount equal to six months' pay at the rate received by such officer, enlisted man, or nurse at the date of his or her death. The Secretary of the Navy shall establish regulations requiring each officer and enlisted man or nurse having no wife or child to designate the proper dependent relative to whom this amount shall be paid in case of his death. Said amount shall be paid from funds appropriated for the pay of the Navy and Marine Corps: *Provided*, That nothing in this section or in other existing legislation shall be construed as making the provisions of this section applicable to officers or enlisted men of any forces of the Navy of the United States other than those of the Regular Navy and Marine Corps, and nothing in this section shall be construed to apply in commissioned grades to any officers except those holding permanent or provisional appointments in the Regular Navy or Marine Corps.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I offer the following amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. Under "Pay of the Navy," on page 32, insert the following proviso:

Provided, That the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey shall have the rank, pay, and emoluments of a captain in the Navy, and that hereafter he shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from the list of commissioned officers

of the Coast and Geodetic Survey not below the rank of commander for a term of four years, and he may be reappointed for further periods of four years each.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CALDER. Mr. President, a moment ago the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] offered an amendment to include nurses in the amendment adopted by the Senate yesterday in relation to the six months' allowance for enlisted men and officers who die in service. The same provision is carried for the enlisted men in the Army, and I have an amendment adding a proviso to the amendment adopted yesterday, to include enlisted men in the Coast Guard Service. If it is in order, I offer it as a proviso to the amendment adopted yesterday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The vote by which the amendment was agreed to will have to be reconsidered.

Mr. CALDER. I move that the vote be reconsidered for the purpose of adding the proviso which I send to the desk.

The motion to reconsider was agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment to the amendment.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. Add at the end of the amendment the following proviso:

Provided, That the provision of this section shall apply to the officers and enlisted men of the Coast Guard, and the Secretary of the Treasury will cause payment to be made accordingly.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

Mr. KING. I offer the following amendment, Mr. President. The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. Add a new section at the end of the bill, as follows:

SEC. —. The President may, in his discretion, direct the sale in such manner, at such price, not less than the original cost price, and upon such terms as he may deem proper, of torpedo-boat destroyers, built for the prosecution of the war, not to exceed 50 in number. All moneys received from the sale of said vessels shall be deposited by the Secretary of the Navy in the Treasury.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Utah.

Mr. THOMAS. I should like to have some explanation of the amendment.

Mr. KING. Mr. President, as I understand the facts, we have more than 250 of the boats of the character described in the amendment. The greater portion of them are unnecessary. They are in the docks, unmanned and unneeded, many of them rusting and suffering material deterioration. There is a market for some of these boats. England is selling some of hers of the same character, I am advised. There was talk a few weeks ago of the United States selling some of the boats of this type, and it is alleged that there was objection made, or intimation of objection, by some of the South American Republics to a disposition by the United States of these boats. But thereupon Great Britain began disposing of the same type boats to South American Republics.

Mr. McCORMICK. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. KING. Certainly.

Mr. McCORMICK. To what sale by Great Britain to South American Republics does the Senator allude?

Mr. KING. My information is that sales were made to Argentina, if not to Brazil, of a number of torpedo-boat destroyers.

Mr. McCORMICK. Does not the Senator refer to the transfer of a number of ships under the British flag to Chile?

Mr. KING. No; I do not have that in mind, although I am familiar with the statements respecting that matter. But, Mr. President, my information is that the United States have a large number of these torpedo-boat destroyers which are not necessary. They are rapidly becoming unfit for service and will within a comparatively short time be junked. The announcement merely authorizes the President to make disposition of not exceeding 50 in number of these unnecessary boats. Of course, he would not dispose of them unless it met with the approval of the naval authorities, the naval strategists, and those who are familiar with the subject and charged with the naval defense of our country.

This amendment is in the interest of the Navy. We are advised that the only way to maintain a navy in proper form, to keep it up to the highest standard of efficiency, is to get rid of all obsolete types of boats and any not required, to keep a proper balance and relation. England has scrapped hundreds of war vessels. It has been said that the German ships sunk at Scapa Flow were of no particular value, though they cost millions. The types of war vessels rapidly change. We should dispose of the old types—those not necessary for a properly balanced war fleet. My information is that we have absolutely no use for

many of the torpedo-boat destroyers and that they can be sold for cost, if we will act promptly. I might add that under continuing contracts made during the war we are receiving torpedo-boat destroyers, several being added to the Navy each month.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, we have had no recommendation from the department whatever, no suggestion of it from the department, so far as I know, and it seems to me that with almost no knowledge of the situation—except that we have a very large number of torpedo-boat destroyers, owing to that being the ship chiefly demanded in the war—to enter on it by a general provision at the end of the bill is not the way to deal with a matter of such importance. If it is thought well for the Secretary to do it, he is certain to let us know, and then he could get the authority very easily. This, of course, is a change in general law, because the Secretary has no authority to sell the ships of the United States, and I think it had better go over. I make the point of order that the amendment is general legislation.

Mr. KING. Will the Senator withhold his point of order just a moment?

Mr. LODGE. I will withhold it.

Mr. KING. I am entirely willing, if it meets the approval of the chairman of the committee, to have the amendment agreed to with the understanding that in conference, if the Secretary of the Navy or other naval authorities do not deem it wise, proper, and necessary, the conferees may disagree.

Mr. LODGE. I do not see how we can make an agreement of that sort with the House conferees. We can not possibly bind them, and it seems to me wiser to let the amendment go over. We shall have another bill in December, and I think it is much wiser to let it go over until we get the recommendation of the department.

Mr. KING. I appreciate that it is subject to a point of order. Of course, if the Senator insists upon it, I have nothing further to say; but I am sure that an investigation will reveal the fact that we have more of these boats than are necessary, and that we ought to dispose of them, and dispose of them now.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is sustained.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I move to strike out that part of the bill beginning with line 3, on page 55, down to and including the word "and," in line 15, and upon that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will state the amendment.

The ASSISTANT SECRETARY. On page 55, line 3, strike out that line and all down to and including the word "and" in line 15 in the following words:

That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employee of the United States Government while making or causing to be made with a stop watch or other time-measuring device a time study of any job of any such employee between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employee while engaged upon such work; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premiums or bonus or cash reward to any employee in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any Government plant and

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this amendment the Senator from Colorado asks for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the Reading Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. EDGE (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. OWEN], and in his absence I withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "yea."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). I observe that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. MCLEAN], with whom I have a pair, is not present. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. SHIELDS] and vote "yea."

Mr. NEW (when his name was called). I am paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH]. Not knowing how he would vote on this proposition, I withhold my vote.

Mr. SIMMONS (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. KELLOGG]. I transfer my pair to the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. STANLEY] and vote "nay."

While I am on my feet I wish to announce that the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH] is detained from the Senate on official business.

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER] to the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. KING] and vote "yea."

Mr. TRAMMELL (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT]. I transfer that pair to the Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] and vote "nay."

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when his name was called). I transfer my general pair with the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HARDING] to the junior Senator from Mississippi [Mr. HARRISON] and vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. KENDRICK. I have a general pair with the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL], which I transfer to the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK] and vote "nay."

Mr. McCORMICK (after having voted in the negative). I ask if the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON] has voted?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He has not.

Mr. McCORMICK. I have a standing pair with the junior Senator from Nevada and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. GLASS. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN], which I transfer to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. REED] and vote "nay."

Mr. LODGE (after having voted in the negative). I observe that my pair, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. SMITH], is not present. I transfer my pair with that Senator to the Senator from Washington [Mr. POINDEXTER] and allow my vote to stand.

Mr. NEW. I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH] to the senior Senator from Kansas [Mr. CURTIS] and vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (after having voted in the negative). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM]. He is absent and I therefore withdraw my vote. If permitted to vote, I would vote "nay."

Mr. ASHJRST. I rise to announce that my colleague, the junior Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH], is unavoidably detained, and if present he would vote "nay."

The roll call resulted—yeas 8, nays 33, as follows:

YEAS—8.			
Brandegee	New	Thomas	Wadsworth
Myers	Phipps	Underwood	Warren
NAYS—33.			
Ashurst	Hale	McNary	Sheppard
Calder	Harris	Nelson	Simmons
Capper	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Smith, Md.
Chamberlain	Kendrick	Overman	Swanson
Dial	Keyes	Page	Trammell
Dillingham	Knox	Phelan	Walsh, Mass.
France	Lenroot	Pittman	
Gerry	Lodge	Pomerene	
Glass	McKellar	Ransdell	
NOT VOTING—55.			
Ball	Gay	La Follette	Smith, Ariz.
Beckham	Gore	McCormick	Smith, Ga.
Borah	Gronna	McCumber	Smith, S. C.
Colt	Harding	McLean	Smoot
Comer	Harrison	Moses	Spencer
Culberson	Henderson	Newberry	Stanley
Cummins	Hitchcock	Norris	Sterling
Curtis	Johnson, Calif.	Owen	Sutherland
Edge	Johnson, S. Dak.	Penrose	Townsend
Elkins	Jones, N. Mex.	Poindexter	Walsh, Mont.
Fall	Kellogg	Reed	Watson
Fernald	Kenyon	Robinson	Williams
Fletcher	King	Sherman	Wolcott
Frelinghuysen	Kirby	Shields	

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], the yeas are 8 and the nays are 33. There is not a quorum voting. Let the roll be called for a quorum.

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

Ashurst	Harris	Nelson	Smith, Ga.
Brandegee	Jones, Wash.	New	Smith, Md.
Capper	Kendrick	Nugent	Smoot
Chamberlain	Keyes	Overman	Sterling
Curtis	Knox	Page	Sutherland
Dial	Lenroot	Phelan	Swanson
Dillingham	Lodge	Phipps	Thomas
Edge	McCormick	Pittman	Trammell
Gerry	McKellar	Pomerene	Underwood
Glass	McNary	Sheppard	Walsh, Mass.
Hale	Myers	Simmons	Warren

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-four Senators have answered to the roll call. There is not a quorum present. The roll of absentees will be called.

The Reading Clerk called the names of the absent Senators. Mr. COMER, Mr. CALDER, Mr. GRONNA, Mr. GAY, and Mr. WADSWORTH entered the Chamber and answered to their names.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Forty-nine Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a quorum present. The Secretary will call the roll on the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS].

The Reading Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. EDGE (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as previously, I withhold my vote.

Mr. KENDRICK (when his name was called). Making the same announcement as to the transfer of my pair which I previously made, I vote "nay."

Mr. MYERS (when his name was called). Making the same announcement of the transfer of my pair as I did on the last vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. NEW (when his name was called). I am paired for the day with the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. SMITH]. Being unable to obtain a transfer of my pair, and not knowing how that Senator if present would vote, I withhold my vote.

Mr. STERLING (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. SMITH]. In his absence, I withhold my vote.

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BECKHAM]. He being absent, I am unable to vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. THOMAS (when his name was called). Making the same announcement concerning my pair and its transfer as heretofore, I vote "yea."

Mr. TRAMMELL (when his name was called). I transfer my pair with the senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. COLT] to the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON] and vote "nay."

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when his name was called). Making the same announcement with reference to my pair that I made a few moments ago, I vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. McCORMICK. In the absence of the junior Senator from Nevada [Mr. HENDERSON], with whom I have a general pair, I withhold my vote.

Mr. GAY. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MOSES], and therefore withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Montana [Mr. WALSH]. I am unable to obtain a transfer, and therefore withhold my vote. If permitted to vote, I should vote "nay."

Mr. KNOX (after having voted in the negative). I notice on this roll call that the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN] has not voted. I am paired with that Senator, and therefore withdraw my vote.

Mr. CURTIS. I have been requested to announce the following pairs:

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BALL] with the Senator from Florida [Mr. FLETCHER];

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ELKINS] with the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE];

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. FALL] with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. KENDRICK];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. FERNALD] with the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. JOHNSON];

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. KIBBY];

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. PENROSE] with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS];

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. SPENCER] with the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. JONES];

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. WATSON] with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT];

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SHERMAN] with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS]; and

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. TOWNSEND] with the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. ROBINSON].

The roll call resulted—yeas 9, nays 32, as follows:

YEAS—9.

Brandegee	Myers	Thomas	Wadsworth
Comer	Phipps	Underwood	Warren
Dial			

NAYS—32.

Ashurst	Hale	McNary	Ransdell
Calder	Harris	Nelson	Sheppard
Capper	Jones, Wash.	Nugent	Smith, Ga.
Curtis	Kendrick	Overman	Smith, Md.
Dillingham	Keyes	Page	Smoot
France	Lenroot	Phelan	Swanson
Gerry	Lodge	Pittman	Trammell
Gronna	McKellar	Pomerene	Walsh, Mass.

NOT VOTING—55.

Ball	Glass	La Follette	Shields
Beckham	Gore	McCormick	Simmons
Borah	Harding	McCumber	Smith, Ariz.
Chamberlain	Harrison	McLean	Smith, S. C.
Colt	Henderson	Moses	Spencer
Culbertson	Hitchcock	New	Stanley
Cummins	Johnson, Calif.	Newberry	Sterling
Edge	Johnson, S. Dak.	Norris	Sutherland
Elkins	Jones, N. Mex.	Owen	Townsend
Fall	Kellogg	Penrose	Walsh, Mont.
Fernald	Kenyon	Polindexter	Watson
Fletcher	King	Reed	Williams
Frelinghuysen	Kirby	Robinson	Wolcott
Gay	Knox	Sherman	

The VICE PRESIDENT. On the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] the yeas are 9 and the nays are 32. The junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. EDGE], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. STERLING], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. SUTHERLAND], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. McCORMICK], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. NEW], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GAY], the senior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN], and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. KNOX] being present and not voting, but making a quorum, the amendment is rejected.

Mr. DIAL. Mr. President, when the motion of the Senator from Colorado was first made I voted against striking the provision out of the bill and to sustain it, and on the second roll call I voted to strike it out. I misunderstood the purport of the amendment at the time I cast my first vote.

I think this legislation is ill advised. I can see no reason why the Government should not be allowed to test the skill, the efficiency, and the competency of its employees in any way it sees proper. Neither can I see any reason why it should not be allowed to give a bonus to a faithful and a more efficient employee.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I notice that there is no provision in this bill for the completion of submarine stations. There is at my home city in Connecticut a station known as the New London Submarine Station. It is one of the most important in the country, and the Government has heretofore appropriated large sums of money for that station. It is not, however, completed. As I am informed by members of the committee, the department made no estimate for the completion of that station; but I do not know why an estimate for its completion was not submitted. The Representative from the district where the station is located inquired of the department and was informed by the Secretary that he did not intend to make any recommendation for the completion of the New London station, although I understand from constituents at home that it can not be completed without an additional appropriation.

Of course, I know it would be useless to present an amendment providing for its completion, because the amount has not been estimated for, and such an amendment would, therefore, be subject to a point of order; but I wish to say in this connection that when the next appropriation bill comes up in December—and the Senator from Massachusetts has just stated that there will be another appropriation bill at about that time—if the department can not give some reason why the appropriation which is needed for the completion of the station is not recommended, I shall urge the committee to make an appropriation on its own motion for that purpose.

There appears in the hearings just shown by one of the clerks of the committee a list of the contracts outstanding for that station; but, as I understand, there are many things needed which are not provided by the contracts, such as roads and walks, and other improvements necessary to make the station available.

I simply want to say, the station having been perfected to its present state and being of such vital necessity, that I shall insist that a proper appropriation be made for it in the next naval appropriation bill.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, I do not know to what extent the Senator desires an appropriation to complete the submarine station to which he has referred. During the war appropriations were made for that station to make it effective—and it is a very effective station—and in the appropriation for ordnance and maintenance and repair there is carried an item of \$30,000 to keep that station in repair. It is not so stated in specific language, but the Ordnance Department in submitting the items covering the entire sum needed for the different stations, submarine stations and others, made an estimate of \$30,000 for repairs and to take care of the station at New London during the coming year.

I do not know to what the Senator from Connecticut refers when he speaks of his desire to secure an appropriation for the completion of the station. We made appropriations during the war—and they are continuing appropriations—and contracts were let to complete it in accordance with what was asked at that time; and the appropriations made in the pending bill for repairs, and so forth, will, I think, be sufficient to keep it in a good condition during the coming year.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Mr. President, I have no doubt that a proper estimate has been made for keeping the station in repair, but I doubt very much if an appropriation for maintenance could be used for the construction of new roads and sidewalks, which are a necessary part of the equipment of the station. While I can not speak authoritatively, I have been informed by the chamber of commerce of my home city that the station, which is of considerable extent, needs for the purpose of moving mate-

rial from one part to another some roads, sidewalks, and so forth.

Mr. President, I find myself in a more or less embarrassing position on this question. Although the naval station is located in my home city and I have had representations made to me by the board of trade of that city that some appropriation is needed, I can not definitely state how much is required for the building of the roads and walks. So I shall ask the Senator from Vermont, the chairman of the committee, and the Senator from Virginia, if, for the purpose of getting information from the Secretary—for I have had no opportunity to procure it—they will consent to let the amendment I am about to suggest go to conference, and then eliminate it if the Secretary of the Navy is opposed to it or if the House does not agree to it?

Mr. SWANSON. What is the amendment?

Mr. BRANDEGEE. On page 26, line 16, there is a provision, beginning:

Submarine base, San Pedro, Calif.: Toward the development of a submarine base, \$500,000.

I suggest that after line 24, at the bottom of page 26, the following be added:

Submarine base, New London, Conn.: Toward the completion of a submarine base at New London, Conn., \$50,000.

I suggest that merely for the purpose of bringing it before the conference committee.

Mr. SWANSON. I have no objection to such an amendment going to conference, because it is one of the most important bases on the coast—it is the main base for submarines, which have proven a great factor in the recent war—with the assurance that if upon investigation we find that it is not needed the Senator would not feel that it should be insisted upon.

Mr. BRANDEGEE. Oh, I shall have no complaint at all. I simply want it given some consideration.

Mr. SWANSON. I have no objection to its going into conference, so far as I am concerned.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time and passed.

Mr. PAGE. I ask unanimous consent that the Secretary be authorized to correct all totals requiring correction.

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

Mr. PAGE. I move that the Senate request a conference with the House of Representatives upon the bill and amendments, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Vice President appointed Mr. PAGE, Mr. BALL, Mr. McCORMICK, Mr. SWANSON, and Mr. SMITH of Maryland conferees on the part of the Senate.

THE BUILDING SITUATION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the provisions of Senate resolution 350, authorizing the appointment of a committee of five Senators, consisting of three members of the majority party and two members of the minority party, to inquire into the general building situation and to report to the Senate before December 1, 1920, such measures as may be deemed necessary to stimulate and foster the development of construction work in all its forms, the Chair appoints the Senator from New York [Mr. CALDER], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. KENYON], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. EDGE], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WOLCOTT], and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. GAY].

NATIONAL BUDGET SYSTEM.

Mr. McCORMICK. Mr. President, in order that it may be the unfinished business of the Senate at the conclusion of the morning hour to-morrow, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of H. R. 9783, being the so-called budget bill.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the bill (H. R. 9783) to provide a national budget system and an independent audit of Government accounts, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Special Committee on the National Budget with an amendment.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Illinois if he desires to proceed with the bill at this time?

Mr. McCORMICK. I do not. I moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill merely in order that it might be the unfinished business to-morrow.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. LODGE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After 10 minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 4 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, April 29, 1920, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS.

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 28, 1920.

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY.

Peter Augustus Jay, of Rhode Island, now counselor of embassy at Rome, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Salvador.

CONSULAR SERVICE.

Homer Brett, of Mississippi, formerly a consul of class 7, now consular agent at Caracas, to be a consul of class 7 of the United States of America.

Robert W. Heingartner, of Canton, Ohio, to be a consul of class 6 of the United States of America.

REGISTERS OF LAND OFFICES.

William H. Canon to be register of land office at Roseburg, Oreg.; term expiring May 14, 1920. (Reappointment.)

Maek C. Warrington to be register of land office at Broken Bow, Nebr.; term expiring May 24, 1920. (Reappointment.)

John L. Heffernan to be register of land office at Marquette, Mich.; term expired December 16, 1919. (Reappointment.)

George A. C. Rochester to be register of land office at Seattle, Wash.; term expired December 16, 1919. (Reappointment.)

John L. Wiley to be register of land office at Spokane, Wash.; term expiring May 14, 1920. (Reappointment.)

Richard Strobach to be register of land office at Yakima, Wash.; term expired May 25, 1917. (Reappointment.)

RECEIVERS OF PUBLIC MONEYS.

Perry H. Ross to be receiver of public moneys at Marquette, Mich.; term expired December 16, 1919. (Reappointment.)

Sydney S. Beggs to be receiver of public moneys at Waterville, Wash.; term expired March 2, 1919. (Reappointment.)

Kurt A. Beyreis to be receiver of public moneys at Wausau, Wis.; term expired December 16, 1919. (Reappointment.)

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be captains.

First Lieut. Amos B. Shattuck, jr., Corps of Engineers, from October 4, 1919, subject to examination required by law.

First Lieut. Leland H. Hewitt, Corps of Engineers, from October 21, 1919.

First Lieut. Michael C. Grenata, Corps of Engineers, from October 26, 1919.

First Lieut. Preston W. Smith, Corps of Engineers, from October 30, 1919.

First Lieut. Thomas F. Kern, Corps of Engineers, from November 7, 1919.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

To be colonels with rank from March 2, 1920.

Lieut. Col. David M. King, Ordnance Department.

Lieut. Col. Tracy C. Dickson, Ordnance Department.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be lieutenant colonel.

Maj. Ola W. Bell, Cavalry, from April 22, 1920.

To be majors.

Capt. George B. Rodney, Cavalry, from April 19, 1920.

Capt. Alexander H. Davidson, Cavalry, from April 22, 1920.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be colonels.

Lieut. Col. Harrison Hall, Field Artillery (Adjutant General's Department), from April 20, 1920.

Lieut. Col. Wright Smith, Field Artillery, from April 20, 1920.

To be lieutenant colonel.

Maj. Augustine McIntyre, Field Artillery, from April 20, 1920.

To be major.

Capt. Walter S. Sturgill, Field Artillery, from April 20, 1920.

INFANTRY.

To be majors.

Capt. Roscoe H. Hearn, Infantry (General Staff), from April 20, 1920.

Capt. Morris M. Keck, Infantry, from April 20, 1920, subject to examination required by law.

PORTO RICO REGIMENT OF INFANTRY.

To be captain.

First Lieut. Enrique Urrutia, jr., Porto Rico Regiment of Infantry, from April 21, 1920.

PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. Richard B. Coffman to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 1st day of August, 1919.

Lieut. Emory F. Clement to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 11th day of August, 1919.

Lieut. Louis C. Scheibla to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 17th day of August, 1919.

Lieut. Patrick N. L. Bellinger to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 25th day of September, 1919.

Lieut. William T. Mallison to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 20th day of October, 1919.

Lieut. Newton H. White, jr., to be a lieutenant commander in the Navy from the 21st day of October, 1919.

Maj. William L. Redles to be a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 12th day of March, 1920.

Capt. Ralph E. Davis to be a major in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 12th day of March, 1920.

Capt. Harry W. Weitzel to be a major in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 10th day of April, 1920.

Capt. Sidney N. Raynor to be a major in the Marine Corps, for temporary service, from the 10th day of April, 1920.

CONFIRMATIONS.

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 28, 1920.

CONSULAR SERVICE.

Charles L. Hoover to be consul of class 4.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE ARMY.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

Charles P. Summerall (emergency), to be major general.

Henry Jervey (emergency), to be brigadier general.

PROMOTIONS IN THE ARMY.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

To be captains.

Edward P. Morton.

George J. Nold.

John P. Dean.

Patrick H. Timothy, jr.

Hugh J. Casey.

Robert E. Hamilton.

Patrick H. Tansey.

To be first lieutenant.

Henry G. Lodge.

MEDICAL CORPS.

To be majors.

Allen R. Howard.

Benjamin B. Rowley.

Henry C. Bradford.

Harry H. Towler.

Oral B. Bolibaugh.

Harold E. Clark.

Roland A. Davison.

FIELD ARTILLERY ARM.

To be captains.

Joseph Kennedy.

George D. Shea.

John V. D. Hume.

COAST ARTILLERY CORPS.

To be first lieutenant.

Lee E. Gray.

CAVALRY ARM.

To be lieutenant colonel.

John P. Wade.

To be major.

George B. Comly.

INFANTRY.

To be colonel.

Harrison J. Price.

To be lieutenant colonel.

Henry E. Eames.

To be majors.

Robert H. Peck.

Ward Dabney.

Paul M. Goodrich.

William W. Taylor, jr.

George A. Herbst.

Thomas M. Hunter.

Elverton E. Fuller.

William S. Neely.

Frank H. Adams.

George Chase Lewis.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

To be rear admirals.

Nathan C. Twining.

Thomas P. Magruder.

To be naval constructors.

Julius A. Furer, with the rank of captain.

Walter W. Webster, with the rank of commander.

To be commanders.

John S. Graham.

Ralph M. Griswold.

Ralph P. Craft.

William L. Pryor.

James P. Lannon.

Walter G. Roper.

Otto C. Dowling.

To be lieutenant commanders.

Richard S. Edwards.

Ernest D. McWhorter.

James Parker, jr.

To be lieutenants.

Roy J. Wilson.

Walter Seibert.

John A. Brownell.

Paul Cassard.

George B. Junkin.

Charles N. Ingraham.

George L. Greene, jr.

Thomas Shine.

Eric F. Zemke.

Paulus P. Powell.

Alfred H. Donahue.

To be lieutenants (junior grade).

John E. Williams.

James K. Davis.

Sidney W. Kirtland.

Raymond Spear to be a medical director, with the rank of captain.

James E. Gill to be a medical inspector, with the rank of commander.

David C. Cather to be a medical inspector, with the rank of commander.

To be assistant surgeons with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

Francis Phillips Gardner,

Reuben Alvord Moffett, and

Leonard Otto Riggert.

William A. Dorney to be an assistant dental surgeon, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

To be naval constructors with the rank of commander.

William McEntee and

Richard D. Gatewood.

To be naval constructors with the rank of lieutenant commander.

Jerome C. Hunsaker,

Edmund R. Norton, and

Andrew W. Carmichael.

Civil Engineer Greer A. Duncan to be a civil engineer, with the rank of lieutenant.

Charles H. Hastings to be a chaplain, with the rank of lieutenant (junior grade).

To be chief boatswains.

Stephen Ingham and

Nils Anderson.

To be passed assistant surgeons with the rank of lieutenant.

Russell J. Trout.
Franklin F. Murdoch.
Ogden D. King.
Charles F. Glenn.
Louis H. Williams.
George P. Shields.
Park M. Barrett.

To be a pay director with the rank of captain.

George G. Seibels.

To be a paymaster with the rank of lieutenant commander.

Duette W. Rose.

To be chief pay clerks.

Leonard A. Klauer.
Nathaniel E. Disbrow.
Jacques H. E. Everette.

To be a lieutenant on the retired list of the Navy.

Renwick J. Hartung (retired).

To be chief gunners.

Edmund D. Duckett.
Vincent Benedict.
Anthony Prastka.
William F. Schlegel.
William H. Stephenson.
Joseph O. Johnson.
Lee W. Drisco.
Arthur E. Rice.

To be chief machinists.

Frank E. Nelson.
John Reber.
Leon W. Knight.
Charles N. Koch.
Norman McL. McDonald.
Henry A. Reynolds.
Henry H. Beck.
Sofus K. Sorenson.

MARINE CORPS.

To be a brigadier general.

Wendell C. Neville.

To be a major general.

Wendell C. Neville.

POSTMASTERS.

ALABAMA.

Lucius K. Simmons, Demopolis.
Howard F. Little, Linden.

FLORIDA.

Lena M. T. Clarke, West Palm Beach.

IOWA.

Mary T. Jacobson, Blakesburg.
Claude M. Sullivan, Cherokee.
George A. Huffman, Des Moines.
Benjamin R. Mowery, Maquoketa.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Bess M. Driscoll, Clarendon.

VERMONT.

Alice E. Barrett, Milton.

TENNESSEE.

Robert A. Potter, Crossville.
Fred B. Harrington, Erwin.
Haggia M. Miller, Mountain City.
James Bond, National Soldiers' Home.
Hammond Fowler, Rockwood.
James A. Byrd, Tracy City.
Archer H. Jones, Trezevant.
Claude L. Boyd, Waynesboro.
Charles H. O'Meara, Westmoreland.

WITHDRAWAL.

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate April 28, 1920.

UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION.

Theodore E. Burton to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, April 28, 1920.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, offered the following prayer:

Our Father in heaven, draw near to us, we beseech Thee, as we draw near to Thee, in faith, hope, and confidence in the overruling of Thy providence to the eternal good of Thy children.

The world is in sorrow and distress because of the waywardness of Thy children, and we pray that Thy spirit may dominate our hearts, that the lowering clouds which have settled down upon us may be dispersed by the light of heaven, and Thy kingdom come in all our hearts and Thy will be done in earth as in heaven through the glorious example of Thy son, Jesus Christ our Lord and Master. Amen.

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

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a letter from Mr. E. O. Perry, a very prominent business man of Springfield, Ill., in which he suggests a way by which we might raise money to pay bonuses to the soldier boys. I believe it is worthy of consideration, and I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois asks unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the letter referred to. Is there objection?

Mr. GARD. Reserving the right to object, has the gentleman transmitted the letter to the Ways and Means Committee?

Mr. WHEELER. I have not.

Mr. GARD. Is not that the proper place for it to go?

Mr. WHEELER. That is probably true.

Mr. GARD. The Ways and Means Committee is the committee that passes on this matter of bonus legislation.

Mr. WHEELER. I do not think it has any jurisdiction over the proposition suggested in this letter.

Mr. GARD. I do not believe that we should cumber the RECORD with a lot of letters, especially when the Ways and Means Committee is here and the gentleman who represents the steering committee.

Mr. WHEELER. It should go before another committee if it comes up at all.

The SPEAKER. Objection is made.

Mr. McARTHUR. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD by printing the text of an address I delivered before the Advertising Club of the city of Baltimore last Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oregon asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by inserting an address which he delivered before the Advertising Club in the city of Baltimore last Wednesday. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS.

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 13266, being the District appropriation bill, disagree to all the Senate amendments, and ask for a conference.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the District appropriation bill, disagree to all the Senate amendments, and asks for a conference. Is there objection?

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I want to ask the gentleman whether or not if, by action in another body for about the fifth time the almost unanimous action of this House on various occasions has been set aside and ignored and done away with, we are going to have the right to vote in this House on the half-and-half proposition before the Senate action is agreed to by the conferees?

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. I will state to the gentleman this, that I agree with all he has said. There have been a very great number of votes on this proposition. And I now, as a conferee, will state, furthermore, that before I consent to the restoration of the half-and-half this House will have to direct me by a vote to do so.

Mr. GARNER. Reserving the right to object, may I ask the gentleman if he has consulted with the probable conferee on this side of the House as to his action in this matter?

Mr. DAVIS of Minnesota. I presume the gentleman refers to Mr. BUCHANAN?

Mr. GARNER. Yes, sir.